

Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi

## Historia Novella

Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd  
London Edinburgh Paris Melbourne Toronto and New York

## The Historia Novella

by

William of Malmesbury

Translated from the Latin with Introduction  
and Notes by

K. R. Potter

*Senior Lecturer, Department of Humanity,  
Edinburgh University*

Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd  
London Edinburgh Paris Melbourne Toronto and New York

## INTRODUCTION

### I. THE AUTHOR AND HIS WORK

THE *Historia nouella* (henceforth *HN*) is the last work of one of England's greatest historians. William of Malmesbury saw his place in history as being the first man since Bede to write a continuous history of the English people in Latin. He made the claim in the Prologue to the first book of the work that was intended to supply the lack, the *Gesta regum* ('The Deeds of the Kings', henceforth *GR*), which covered the period from the *adventus Saxonum* to the reign of Henry I.<sup>1</sup> He restated it in the Prologue to the third and final book of the *HN*.<sup>2</sup> 'As we men of the present day severely and rightly blame our predecessors, who since Bede have left no record of themselves and their doings, I, who have set myself to remove this disgrace from us, may fairly claim the kindly favour of my readers if they judge aright.' While his Prologues were directed to his contemporaries he looked beyond them, to a time, as he hoped, 'when love and envy are no more';<sup>3</sup> there would be an audience for his life of Wulfstan, a contemporary saint, he believed, 'as long as the pole turns the stars and literature survives'.<sup>4</sup> So indeed it has proved. The comparison with Bede has not been found fanciful by the authorities of the present day.<sup>5</sup> The audience for William's work currently grows apace, with several important studies of his career,<sup>6</sup> and new and

<sup>1</sup> *GR*, book i. prologue.

<sup>2</sup> *HN*, prologue.

<sup>3</sup> *GR*, book i. pro. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. R. R. Darlington (Camden Soc., 3rd ser., xl, 1928), p. 3; cf. *ibid.*, p. v, and *JW*, ii, p. xvii.

<sup>5</sup> Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 499–500; R. W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European tradition of historical writing: 4. The sense of the past', *TRHS*, 5th ser., xxiii (1973), 243–63, at pp. 253–6; R. Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury', in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Historians*, ed. J. Cannon *et al.* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 451–2.

<sup>6</sup> Thomson; Farmer, 'Life and works'; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, i. 166–85. Stubbs's prefaces to the two volumes of the Rolls Series edition of the *GR* remain fundamental: on William's life and work, Stubbs, i, pp. xvii–xliii; on the historical value of his work, *ibid.*, ii, pp. xv–cxlii.

revised editions of some of his works.<sup>7</sup> The present study offers a new edition of the *HN*, and a reassessment of the significance of the work. William of Malmesbury's career, and his other works, are brought into commission only so far as this is necessary for an understanding of the *HN*. The 'judging aright' of this text is in itself a difficult enough task.

William of Malmesbury's date of birth is usually given as c.1095, following a literal reading of his reference to himself, 'quadrigenarius sum hodie', in the Prologue to his commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah, a work which refers to Henry I as recently dead.<sup>8</sup> Stubbs saw the difficulties in accommodating what was then known of William of Malmesbury's career with so late a date; and subsequent work has made it all but impossible to sustain. Sir Richard Southern saw William as hard at work in the Canterbury archives, collecting material for the *GR* and his other main historical work the *Gesta pontificum* ('The Deeds of the Prelates', henceforth *GP*), in the years from 1115 to 1120.<sup>9</sup> Letters of dedication prefacing a copy of the *GR* surviving in Troyes show that the work was first taken up at the invitation of Henry I's queen, Matilda, who died in 1118.<sup>10</sup> That request came to a religious house, and a library, and a scholar, with an established reputation. If 'quadrigenarius' is taken as 'in my forties',<sup>11</sup> then a date of birth of c.1090 seems to be preferable, and would still do no damage to William of Malmesbury's reputation as a prodigy.

It is known that William of Malmesbury was of mixed parentage—English and Norman—for when he paused to

<sup>7</sup> Among the new editions are: Scott, *Glastonbury*; P. N. Carter, 'An Edition of William of Malmesbury's Treatise on the Miracles of the Virgin', D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1959), and also J. M. Canal, 'El libro de laudibus et miraculis Sanctae Mariae de Guillermo de Malmesbury, O.S.B. (†c.1143)', *Claretianum*, viii (Rome, 1968), 71–242; R. W. Pfaff, 'The Abbreviatio Amalarii of William of Malmesbury', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, xlvii (1980), 77–113, xlviii (1981), 128–71; *William of Malmesbury, Polyhistor: A Critical Edition*, ed. H. Testroet Ouellette (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, x: Binghamton, NY, 1982).

<sup>8</sup> The relevant passages are fully discussed in Stubbs, i, pp. xiii–xvii.

<sup>9</sup> Southern, *Anselm*, pp. 390–1, 400–2, 470–3.

<sup>10</sup> E. Könsgen, 'Zwei unbekannte Briefe zu den *Gesta regum Anglorum* des Wilhelm von Malmesbury', *Deutsches Archiv*, xxxi (1975), 204–14.

<sup>11</sup> Stubbs had suggested this as a possibility (i, p. xvi), and it was seen as a probability by Farmer, 'Life and works', p. 50. The date c.1095 is retained by Thomson, pp. 1–2, and in *Dictionary of Historians*, pp. 451–2.

comment on the significance of the Battle of Hastings, he claimed an understanding of both sides of the argument, 'having the blood of both nations in my veins'.<sup>12</sup> It is presumed that, as is demonstrably the case with his older contemporary Orderic Vitalis, his father was of Norman stock and his mother was English.<sup>13</sup> It was from his father that he gained his love of books and of learning.<sup>14</sup> He entered the monastery of Malmesbury in Wiltshire as a boy,<sup>15</sup> and is presumed to have been born either in that county or in Somerset.<sup>16</sup> He is unlikely to have travelled far to find his vocation, for Malmesbury in the late eleventh century did not cast a long shadow.<sup>17</sup> In terms of endowment it was barely in the first division of the Benedictine monasteries as they are recorded in Domesday Book in 1086.<sup>18</sup>

If not wealthy in terms of endowment, Malmesbury was rich in the heritage of sanctity that William would come to see as the chief contribution of the Anglo-Saxon to the Anglo-Norman world. He would travel widely collecting material for his writings, most notably the *GP*,<sup>19</sup> and books for his library. 'You can scarcely pass any settlement of consequence but that you hear the name of some new saint'; but of the majority of these, 'all memory had perished'.<sup>20</sup> A saint without a c.v. was a sad specimen. Where he could, and using any material that came to hand, William sought to supply the lack. Southern has described his study of St

<sup>12</sup> *GR*, book iii, prologue; cf. §228.12.

<sup>13</sup> On Orderic's background, see OV i. 1–6.

<sup>14</sup> *GR*, book ii, prologue.

<sup>15</sup> This cannot have been much, if at all, later than 1100, for the memory of the community in his day (*nostro tempore*) stretched back to Abbot Wulfsgige, who died c.1033/4; Stubbs, i, pp. xvii–xviii, citing *GP*, p. 411; *Heads*, p. 54.

<sup>16</sup> Matthew Parker's manuscript of the *GP* was identified as written 'per . . . Guilhelmum Malmesburiensis Benedictine sodalitatis monachum qui Somerset proprio cognomine dictus est': Cambridge U.L., MS Ff. 1. 25, part 1, fo. 3'. William described Stephen Harding monk of Sherborne (Dorset) and later third abbot of Cîteaux as 'one of us' ('noster ille': *GR* §334), but in the context this may mean no more than that he was English.

<sup>17</sup> On the history of the monastery, see A. Watkin, 'The abbey of Malmesbury', in *VCH Wiltshire*, iii. 210–31.

<sup>18</sup> It occurs in sixteenth place in the list given in Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 702–3 in terms of wealth recorded in Domesday Book (£178).

<sup>19</sup> The book was edited from William's autograph by N. E. S. A. Hamilton in the *Rolls Series*.

<sup>20</sup> *GR* §245.2.

Aldhelm, the most notable of the early abbots of Malmesbury, which forms book v of the *GP*, as 'his masterpiece of historical method. . . . He had to rely on a mixture of charters, inscriptions, archaeological remains, pictures, legends and chronicles; and to these he added Aldhelm's own theological writings and letters.'<sup>21</sup> He offered his expertise also to the neighbouring, and very wealthy, monastery at Glastonbury in Somerset, writing biographies of four of its saints, Benignus, Dunstan, Indract, and Patrick.<sup>22</sup> These works were all seen by John Leland at Glastonbury early in the sixteenth century,<sup>23</sup> but they have suffered the more subtle iconoclasm of the destruction of the great monastic libraries, and only the *Life of Dunstan* now survives.<sup>24</sup> William's materials for this work were 'writings both in Latin and English', which the monks had found for him in a very old chest.<sup>25</sup> He showed his independence as a historian by rejecting some of the traditions of the community, finding no evidence, for instance, that they possessed the body of St Dunstan as they claimed;<sup>26</sup> while, without mentioning the possibility of forgery, he noted as remarkable a charter of Cædwalla attested by a cross while that king remained a pagan.<sup>27</sup> The saints still lived in the places where their bones lay. In writing their lives, William was writing contemporary history.

Archival research had its fascination and its challenges, in dealing both with texts and with their custodians; but the foundation of serious study was a good library. The building up of a library was an essential part of William of Malmesbury's work. He describes the library in his time as the joint achievement of

<sup>21</sup> Southern, 'The sense of the past', p. 255.

<sup>22</sup> *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey: An Edition, Translation and Study of John of Glastonbury's 'Cronica siue Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie'*, ed. J. P. Carley (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. xxxvii–xlii.

<sup>23</sup> Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. 155.

<sup>24</sup> The *Life of Dunstan* is printed in *Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS lxiii, 1874), pp. 250–324.

<sup>25</sup> Scott, *Glastonbury*, p. 7, quoting *Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, p. 252.

<sup>26</sup> Scott, *Glastonbury*, pp. 4–5, 23. For a discussion and translation of Eadmer's letter on the subject, see R. Sharpe, 'Eadmer's letter to the monks of Glastonbury concerning St Dunstan's disputed remains', *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey: Essays in Honour of the Ninetieth Birthday of C.A. Ralegh Radford*, ed. L. Abrams and J. P. Carley (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 205–15.

<sup>27</sup> Scott, *Glastonbury*, pp. 92–3.

Abbot Godfrey of Jumièges (1091–1109) and himself. In the time of Abbot Godfrey<sup>28</sup>

the foundations of a library were laid; and if I draw attention to this activity of his, I believe this is within my rights, for in this respect I have not yielded to any of my predecessors; indeed, if it is not boastful to say so, I have outstripped them all . . . I have collected much for reading, emulating the vigour of one who, in this respect at least, deserves praise.

Modern study has confirmed this description. The range of William's interests can be gauged by considering a small sample of this collection, the books that survive in his own handwriting.<sup>29</sup> These include the autograph of the *GP*, a portable copy, in which the text was much revised over time;<sup>30</sup> a collection of authors 'designed to provide a reasonably connected account of Roman history, from the siege of Troy to the Greek and Roman emperors of William's own day';<sup>31</sup> treatises on the calendar, annotated and corrected by William;<sup>32</sup> the works of Julius Frontinus and Eutropius, and the *De re militari* of Vegetius;<sup>33</sup> John Scotus's *Periphyseon*;<sup>34</sup> and canons from the Church councils.<sup>35</sup> A study of these and other surviving manuscripts from the *scriptorium* at Malmesbury, which William directed with meticulous care, has shown how he galvanized the community.<sup>36</sup> When William

<sup>28</sup> *GP*, pp. 431–2; trans. Farmer, 'Life and works', p. 41.

<sup>29</sup> The manuscripts are listed in *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. N. R. Ker, 2nd edn. (London, 1964), p. 128 and n. 9, and *ibid.*, *Supplement to the Second Edition*, ed. A. G. Watson (London, 1987), p. 48. On William's handwriting see N. R. Ker, 'William of Malmesbury's handwriting', *EHR* lix (1944), 371–6; Thomson, pp. 76–7 and plates 1 and 2.

<sup>30</sup> Magdalen College, Oxford, MS 172; facsimiles are printed as frontispieces to the *GP*, and in Gransden, *Historical Writing*, i, plate v.

<sup>31</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden B. 16; description from Thomson, p. 66, with facsimile plate 2.

<sup>32</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. 3. 14; discussed, without the attribution to William of Malmesbury, by W. H. Stevenson, 'A contemporary description of the Domesday survey', *EHR* xxii (1907), 72–84, and, with attribution, by Ker, 'William of Malmesbury's handwriting', pp. 374–5.

<sup>33</sup> Oxford, Lincoln College, MS Lat. 100.

<sup>34</sup> Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 1301; discussed by E. Jeuneau, 'Guillaume de Malmesbury, premier éditeur anglais du *Periphyseon*', *Sapientiae Doctrina: mélanges de théologie et de littérature médiévales offerts à Dom Hildebrand Bascour* (Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, numéro spécial, 1: Louvain, 1980), pp. 148–79.

<sup>35</sup> Oxford, Oriel College, MS 42; discussed by Thomson, pp. 64–6.

<sup>36</sup> Thomson, pp. 76–97.

introduced himself in the Prologue to the *HN* it was as 'librarian of Malmesbury', a simple title that encapsulated his life's work.

William of Malmesbury's own studies, continuing alongside the building up of a library, formed clear preferences in his mind. In the Prologue to book ii of the *GR* is found perhaps the best known of the many fragments of autobiography in his writings:<sup>37</sup>

To Logic, the armourer of speech, I no more than lent an ear. Physic, which cures the sick body, I went deeper into. As for Ethics, I explored parts in depth, revering its high status as a subject inherently inaccessible to the student and able to form good character; in particular I studied History, which adds flavour to moral instruction by imparting a pleasurable knowledge of past events, spurring the reader by the accumulation of examples to follow the good and shun the bad.

This latter point is more fully developed in the Prologue to the *HN*:<sup>38</sup>

What is more to the advantage of virtue or more conducive to justice than recognizing the divine pleasure in the good and punishment of those who have gone astray? Further, what is more pleasant than consigning to historical record the deeds of brave men, that following their example the others may cast off cowardice and arm themselves to defend their country?

It was as a historian that William of Malmesbury became best known, particularly for the *GR* and the *GP*, which may originally have been intended as a single work. The *GR* was started, as has been seen, before 1118, and was completed by 1125, with two further editions appearing soon after 1134.<sup>39</sup> The *GP* was also completed in 1125, and revised over the next fifteen years.<sup>40</sup> There are about thirty surviving medieval manuscripts of the *GR* (fewer than half of which have additionally a text of the *HN*); and there are about twenty surviving manuscripts of the *GP*.<sup>41</sup> The *Liber*

<sup>37</sup> *GR*, book ii. pro. 1.

<sup>38</sup> *HN*, prologue. This is modelled very closely on the Prologue to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.

<sup>39</sup> Könsen, 'Zwei unbekannte Briefe zu den *Gesta regum Anglorum*'; *GR* i, pp. xix–xxxi, xliii–xlv.

<sup>40</sup> The date 1125 is given in the text: *GP*, p. 442. On the revisions, *GP*, pp. xiv–xvii, and Farmer, 'Life and works', pp. 44–6.

<sup>41</sup> These figures are found in Farmer, 'Life and works', p. 43 n. 4; the locations are briefly described in Gransden, *Historical Writing*, i. 179–80.

*pontificalis*, identified as his by Rodney Thomson, was also a major work of historical scholarship, completed soon after 1119.<sup>42</sup>

The historian who wrote the *HN* was not just supremely well-read,<sup>43</sup> but also very well-travelled, and very well-connected. His travels took him the length and breadth of England, to the north (where he found the dialect of Yorkshiremen all but incomprehensible)<sup>44</sup> to the fenlands (where the monks of Thorney were misogynists),<sup>45</sup> and widely in southern England (where the fertility of the Vale of Gloucester was singled out for particular commendation).<sup>46</sup> Much of the civil war would be fought over what for William was home ground. The *HN* is not, however, a text in which the sense of place is well developed, for William of Malmesbury is less interested in the struggle for castles than in the struggles for men's minds. Here the quality and the range of his connections, his 'networking', become important. In the 1120s he wrote of himself as being 'of a retiring disposition and far from the secrets of the court';<sup>47</sup> but this may be tongue in cheek, as are many of his asides. It certainly was not true in the last decade of his life. After the death of Queen Matilda in 1118, the monks of Malmesbury looked to her stepson Robert earl of Gloucester, established at Bristol 24 miles away, for support. The later editions of the *GR* were dedicated to Robert;<sup>48</sup> and the *HN* was his commission. Roger of Salisbury was often at Malmesbury, and he can be heard in the *HN*, explaining why he felt himself no longer bound by his oath to the empress, and confiding his fears before setting off for the meeting of the court at Oxford in June 1139.<sup>49</sup> The *HN* also confirms that William of Malmesbury remained closely tied to Henry of Blois, abbot of Glastonbury (1126–71), bishop of Winchester (1129–71), and papal legate (1139–43). It was Henry of Winchester above all who brought

<sup>42</sup> Thomson, pp. 119–38.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 39–75; N. Wright, 'William of Malmesbury and Latin poetry: further evidence for a Benedictine's reading', *Revue Bénédictine*, ci (1991), 122–53; idem, 'Industriae testimonium: William of Malmesbury and Latin poetry revisited', *ibid.*, ciii (1993), 482–531.

<sup>44</sup> *GP*, p. 209.

<sup>45</sup> *GP*, p. 327.

<sup>46</sup> *GP*, pp. 291–2.

<sup>47</sup> *GR*, book v, prologue.

<sup>48</sup> *GR*, ep. iii; also *GR* §446–9 (epilogue).

<sup>49</sup> *HN* §3, 'sepe audiui dicentem'; *HN* §23, 'audiui eum dicentem'.

William close to the secrets of the court, into the cloisters of power. William went to the legatine councils at Winchester in 1139 and 1141,<sup>50</sup> and there saw the behaviour of kings put under scrutiny, and the fate of nations decided. His brethren would not be allowed to forget it: 'my memory is very clear'.<sup>51</sup> William of Malmesbury gives us the clearest picture of a prelate in perpetual motion; and at times he seems almost to echo Henry's patterns of thought.<sup>52</sup>

William of Malmesbury was also well-connected in literary circles. Indeed it may be, following up Martin Brett's observations,<sup>53</sup> that his is the first generation of which we may speak of the existence of a historical profession within England, a group of scholars in regular contact, collecting material, distributing drafts of their writings to one another for comment, confident both of their methodology and of the market for their work. It is the fruit of the close textual work of the last two decades that this world starts to come to life. Three centres of contact have been shown to have been particularly important in determining the shape of William of Malmesbury's academic career. The first chronologically, and which may have retained its primacy for him throughout his life, was Canterbury.<sup>54</sup> At Canterbury William met Eadmer, whose work he admired,<sup>55</sup> and made extensive use of in the *GR*;<sup>56</sup> he heard of the deeds of—and

<sup>50</sup> *HN* § 25–30 (1139); § 46–51 (1141).

<sup>51</sup> 'Egregie quippe memini': *HN* § 46.

<sup>52</sup> The following may be noted: (i) he 'was not slow to carry out what he had once taken in hand': *HN* § 59 (and also § 58); cf. references to lay brothers of Sempringham, 'men who had put their hand to the plough of divine service': *The Book of Saint Gilbert*, ed. R. Foreville and G. Keir (OMT, 1987), pp. 146–7; (ii) 'knowing that it was the special concern of his office that peace should be agreed upon': *HN* § 40; cf. 'on him [England] depends for peace or war, agitation or rest': Henry of Blois enamel plaques, *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200*, ed. G. Zarnecki et al. (London, 1984), nos. 277 a and b, pp. 261–2 (which refer also to his eloquence, cf. *HN* § 58); (iii) both William (of Roger of Salisbury) and Henry (of himself) use the—admittedly common—tag *uel prece uel pretio* ('by prayer or by price'): *HN* § 33; *EEA*, viii: *Winchester 1070–1204*, ed. M. J. Franklin (Oxford, 1993), App. I, p. 209.

<sup>53</sup> Brett, 'John of Worcester', pp. 101–26.

<sup>54</sup> Thomson, pp. 46–7, 70, 73.

<sup>55</sup> 'He expounds everything so clearly that all seems to happen under our very eyes': *GP*, p. 74, trans. Southern, *Anselm*, p. 247.

<sup>56</sup> Much of book v of the *GR* was taken from Eadmer's *Historia novorum*: Stubbs, ii, p. cxxiv. As to which version of Eadmer's work was used, see Brett, 'John of Worcester', p. 112 n. 1, and references there cited.

perhaps even saw—Anselm,<sup>57</sup> whom some already revered as a saint; and he could not fail to note the importance for contemporary history of the Canterbury archive, with its 'huge piles of material'.<sup>58</sup> Sir Richard Southern has recently identified William of Malmesbury as the 'unauthorised person' who had carried off parts of this archive,<sup>59</sup> but he sees him also as maintaining a collaboration with the house,<sup>60</sup> and his autograph collection preserves the texts of some of Anselm's letters not found elsewhere. At Canterbury, William drew on the libraries both of Christ Church and of St Augustine's, taking from the latter a copy of the 'E' text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and a distinctive version of an early *Life* of Dunstan.<sup>61</sup> The second of the major centres was Glastonbury. William must have visited Glastonbury at least once before 1125, whilst he was writing the *GP*, for he refers to its fine library, but in that work it was given comparatively short shrift.<sup>62</sup> About 1129, however, and thus shortly after the appointment of Henry of Blois as abbot, William made a longer visit to Glastonbury. Whilst there, as has already been noted, he wrote the lives of its local saints, but he also completed a substantial monograph, *On the Antiquity of Glastonbury*. This last work has a fulsome Prologue dedicated to Henry of Blois, in which he describes himself as 'a son of your church',<sup>63</sup> which it is suggested shows that he had been admitted to the abbey's fraternity.<sup>64</sup> Worcester is the third centre where William found important material and congenial colleagues, who included Prior Nicholas, a protégé of Wulfstan, and the monk John. As at Glastonbury, at least two visits must be posited, one to work on the *GP*, and the second to work on the monograph, the *Life of Wulfstan*.<sup>65</sup> William of Malmesbury and John of

<sup>57</sup> Anselm is described as 'uir qui omnes quos quidem uiderimus sapientia et religione praestaret', in *GP*, p. 121.

<sup>58</sup> *GP*, p. 113. The dispute between Canterbury and York he had condensed from many tedious volumes (*GP*, p. 44), and what have become known as 'the Canterbury forgeries' were coming to light as he wrote (*GR* § 294; Southern, *Anselm*, pp. 359–62).

<sup>59</sup> Southern, *Anselm*, pp. 390–4.

<sup>60</sup> Thomson, pp. 45–7, 70, 73–5.

<sup>61</sup> Scott, *Glastonbury*, pp. 40–3.

<sup>62</sup> *GP*, pp. 278–89; *Vita Wulfstani*, ed. R. R. Darlington; and for comment see E. Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester c.1008–1005* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 289–94, 295–6, and D. H.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., pp. 400–2, 473.

<sup>64</sup> *GP*, pp. 196–8.

<sup>65</sup> Stubbs, i, pp. xxvii–xxx.

Worcester drew on each other's work, as Martin Brett has shown in detail in his fine study.<sup>66</sup> More speculative must be the suggestion that it was from his contacts at Worcester that William derived his interests in the calendar and in cosmology.<sup>67</sup> It is interesting also that it was at Worcester, twenty years after William's death, that a son of Robert of Gloucester (to whom the *HN* is dedicated) became the diocesan bishop.<sup>68</sup> Roger of Worcester owned a copy of William of Malmesbury's *Commentary on Lamentations*,<sup>69</sup> and probably one of the *HN* also.

The *Commentary on Lamentations* was written early in the reign of King Stephen. It is almost certainly the last surviving work written by William of Malmesbury before the *HN*, and it is important for this reason. It has not been edited, but the main themes are picked out in an admirable article by David Farmer, which in quotation and paraphrase reproduces substantial parts of the text.<sup>70</sup> The *Commentary* is pessimistic, not least in its references to the history of recent events.<sup>71</sup>

We have both heard from our elders and ourselves seen Christian kings, princes, and bishops destroying abbeys and putting monks to flight. We have seen the church's ornaments put up for sale or given to other churches. Our prince's religion consists in carrying away for his own followers spoils from ancient monasteries, whilst what has been filched from the poor countrymen is offered up to God.

The themes of this passage occur elsewhere in the *Commentary*, and they would recur no less insistently in the *HN*. Under Stephen:<sup>72</sup> 'the treasures of some churches were plundered and their landed property given to laymen; churches belonging to

Farmer, 'Two biographies of William of Malmesbury', *Latin Biography*, ed. T. A. Dorey (London, 1967), pp. 165–74.

<sup>66</sup> Brett, 'John of Worcester', pp. 113–17.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 158–80, at 168–9, and plates VII and VIII.

<sup>68</sup> M. Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester 1164–1179* (Oxford, 1980). See further below, pp. xci–xciv.

<sup>69</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 868; Farmer, 'Lamentations', p. 286; Stubbs, i, pp. cxxi–cxxxiii.

<sup>70</sup> Farmer, 'Lamentations'.

<sup>71</sup> Farmer, 'Lamentations', pp. 294–5.

<sup>72</sup> *HN* § 19; cf. the complaint of Henry of Winchester in 1139 that church property had been given to 'laymen and moreover men of little religion', *HN* § 24.

clerks were sold to strangers; bishops were made prisoners and compelled to alienate their property; abbacies were granted to unfit persons either to oblige friends or to pay off debts.' When he came to summarize the state of the nation, in the year 1140, he would conclude in the same vein: 'everything in England was up for sale, and now churches and abbeys were split up and sold not secretly but openly'.<sup>73</sup> And if in the *HN* the bishops were among the victims, in the *Commentary* they were chief among the culprits. They should preach the Word and live in holy simplicity, but instead they oppressed the poor, and served as 'yes-men' (*assentatores*) to the rich; their proper sobriety had been turned to worldly pomp; they ruled their subjects but profited them not at all.<sup>74</sup> Here, we may be sure, the 'ancient monastery' of Malmesbury, and its diocesan bishop Roger of Salisbury, were uppermost in William's mind.

Roger of Salisbury under Henry I, and briefly under Stephen, had all the authority which would later be associated with the formal title justiciar, and a good deal more besides.<sup>75</sup> His writ ran throughout England. The four great castles with which he is particularly associated—Salisbury (Old Sarum), Devizes, Sherborne, and Malmesbury—show the scale of his ambition within his comparatively small diocese. At Malmesbury he took over both the monastery and the borough. In 1118 the abbot Eadwulf was deposed;<sup>76</sup> and Roger appropriated the abbey to the bishopric, 'insofar as this was within his power'.<sup>77</sup> Stubbs saw the importance of this episode,<sup>78</sup> but later writers have perhaps discounted it a little. The monks felt themselves, and seem to have been, totally defenceless against the suspension of their liberties. Their feelings are best expressed in the letters to David of Scotland and to the empress found in the early Troyes manuscript of the *GR*, which

<sup>73</sup> *HN* § 37; cf. the complaint of Henry of Winchester in 1141 that abbacies had been sold and churches despoiled of treasure, *HN* § 47. On the lack of respect for graveyards, *HN* § 17, 36, and discussion below, p. xcvi and n. 403.

<sup>74</sup> Farmer, 'Lamentations', pp. 293–4.

<sup>75</sup> Kealey, *Roger*; Green, *Henry I*.

<sup>76</sup> 'Eadulfus abbatiam Malmesberiae sine causa amisit': 'Annals of Winchester', in *Ann. Mon.*, ii, 45; but other sources say that the abbot died: *VCH Wiltshire*, iii, 216. In either event, he was not replaced.

<sup>77</sup> *HN* § 33.

<sup>78</sup> 'This eclipse of the monastic independence of the house must have been a very notable thing': Stubbs, i, p. xxiii.

have been dated to 1126–7.<sup>79</sup> The abbey was leaderless, they said, and for the lack of a shepherd the sheep were being dispersed.<sup>80</sup> The protests of the monks fell on deaf ears, and the bishop only tightened his grip. When the oaths to the empress were renewed at Northampton in September 1131, the king granted the monastery of Malmesbury to the church of Salisbury and its bishop, ‘ut dominium suum et sedem propriam’, thus reducing it to the status of a cathedral priory.<sup>81</sup> This was cast as a ‘restoration’, made with the approval of the bishops present, since the monastery had earlier been united with the see.<sup>82</sup> Then, after Stephen’s accession, the bishop obtained additionally the grant of the borough of Malmesbury, with the hundreds attached, as Henry I had held them in demesne.<sup>83</sup> He built a castle at Malmesbury, within a stone’s throw of the abbey church.<sup>84</sup>

This was the outlook, as William composed his *Commentary on Lamentations* at Malmesbury, and England descended into civil war. Advancing years and worsening circumstances (‘fortuna deterior’), he said in his Prologue, had led him to put aside historical work.<sup>85</sup> The monastery’s circumstances, if not those of the country as a whole, were about to look up. The disgrace of Roger of Salisbury in summer 1139 was followed shortly thereafter by his death. The monks of Malmesbury then sought out the king, and obtained from him ‘the restoration of their ancient privileges and their abbots’.<sup>86</sup> The abbatial election of 1140, suggested

<sup>79</sup> *GR*, ep. i, ii; Könsgen, ‘Zwei unbekannte Briefe zu den *Gesta regum Anglorum*’, pp. 211–14.

<sup>80</sup> Under the protection of Queen Matilda the house had been greatly blessed: ‘Hoc solum in habundantia totius bonitatis superfuit, quod absque pastore gregem ecclesiae nostrae liquerit. Qua de causa oues ipsas, quas domina nostra congregauit, iniuste dispersas noueritis’: letter to David, king of Scots, *GR*, ep. i, 7.

<sup>81</sup> *Regesta*, ii, no. 1715; full text in *Sarum Charters and Documents*, ed. W. Rich Jones and W. D. Macray (RS xcvi, 1891), pp. 6–7.

<sup>82</sup> The history behind this claim is elucidated in a valuable article by N. Berry, ‘St Aldhelm, William of Malmesbury, and the liberty of Malmesbury Abbey’, *Reading Medieval Studies*, xvi (1990), 15–38.

<sup>83</sup> *Regesta*, iii, no. 784.

<sup>84</sup> *HN* § 22: ‘uix iactu lapidis’.

<sup>85</sup> Farmer, ‘Lamentations’, p. 288 and n. 17.

<sup>86</sup> *HN* § 35. It was the later tradition at Malmesbury that Stephen had kept Roger imprisoned at Devizes until the time of his death (BL, Cotton MS Vitell. A. x, fo. 159v), from which it has been suggested that the election may have taken place as soon as Roger was imprisoned (*VCH Wiltshire*, iii. 216 n. 60), but *HN* and the other contemporary sources argue against this.

Stubbs, ‘may possibly have been one of the critical events of our author’s life’.<sup>87</sup> Whether or not he knew it, this was a propitious moment for Robert of Gloucester to ask William to turn his talents to the writing of contemporary history. ‘Now your highness’s mind desires the transmission to posterity of those things that, by a very wonderful dispensation of God, have happened in England in recent times (*moderno tempore*).’<sup>88</sup> Here was a great challenge; but also great dangers. William of Malmesbury was well aware of the dangers. But now he could relish the challenge. His whole career had been a preparation for it.

## II. THE WRITING OF THE *HISTORIA NOVELLA*

In response to Robert of Gloucester’s commission, William of Malmesbury explained in his Prologue that he needed to go back in time, so that ‘the history may be related in a more orderly sequence’. He would start, he said, with ‘the empress’s return to England after her husband’s death’. The emperor Henry V died in May 1125, and the empress returned to England in September 1126. The final event described in the *HN* was the empress’s dramatic escape from the siege of Oxford in December 1142. The text of the work is divided into three books (*libri*). The first book goes from 1126 to the siege warfare which followed Robert of Gloucester’s renunciation of his homage to Stephen in summer 1138.<sup>89</sup> The second book covers the years 1139 and 1140, the first of these being the year in which the empress, ‘eadem uirago’, ‘came to England to vindicate her right against Stephen’, and concludes with the peace discussions of 1140.<sup>90</sup> The third book covers the years 1141 and 1142, starting with the battle of Lincoln on 2 February 1141, and concluding with the siege of Oxford in December 1142.<sup>91</sup> This last event, William explained, he had not the information to put in context. ‘I am disposed to go into this

<sup>87</sup> Stubbs, i, p. xxxviii.

<sup>88</sup> *HN*, prologue.

<sup>89</sup> *HN* § 1–21.

<sup>90</sup> *HN* § 22–40.

<sup>91</sup> *HN* § 41–79.

more thoroughly if ever by the gift of God I learn the truth from those who were present.<sup>92</sup>

Even without William of Malmesbury's initial disclaimer, it would have been clear that the text of the early part of the *HN* was not strictly contemporary with the events described. The reference to Henry of Winchester's prominent part in securing Stephen's coronation in December 1135 noted that he was 'now legate' ('modo legatus'),<sup>93</sup> a title he first used at the Council of Winchester in August 1139. Other anticipated references are to the death of the antipope Anacletus II, which occurred in January 1138, during the discussion of the dual papal election of February 1130,<sup>94</sup> and to the accession and marriage of Louis VII in the summer of 1137, noted under the year 1131.<sup>95</sup> So far as the structure of the *HN* is concerned, the importance of these references is that they show that book i (which finished in 1138), and book ii (which dealt with the events of 1139 and 1140), must be taken together and be viewed as a single composition.

These references within the text would suggest that the *HN* was commenced not earlier than 1140. Other evidence confirms this date, and indicates a date of composition possibly starting late in 1140 and stretching into the early months of 1141 for books i and ii. In the year 1140 England 'was troubled by the brutalities of war',<sup>96</sup> but for the monks of Malmesbury it was a year of liberation, when after an interval of more than twenty years they were given licence to elect an abbot.<sup>97</sup> They elected one of their own number, the monk John. Abbot John was no sooner elected than he was *en route* for Rome, a journey made (it may be supposed) to appeal against Henry of Winchester's rejection of the appointment on the grounds of simony.<sup>98</sup> John died on 19 August 1140,<sup>99</sup> and his companion on the journey, Peter Moraunt, was elected abbot in his place.<sup>100</sup> William of Malmesbury wrote a

<sup>92</sup> *HN* § 79.

<sup>94</sup> *HN* § 7.

<sup>96</sup> *HN* § 36.

<sup>98</sup> *HN* § 35, says simply that Henry 'disapproved of the person elected, for in no way could he be convinced that the king had agreed to the election without a bribe'.

<sup>99</sup> The date of death is given in the Gloucester chronicle: JW iii. 280-1.

<sup>100</sup> This information also comes from the Gloucester chronicle: JW iii. 292-3.

<sup>93</sup> *HN* § 14: *modo* in AC texts, omitted in B.

<sup>95</sup> *HN* § 8.

<sup>97</sup> *HN* § 35.

history of this journey, a work now lost but seen by John Leland in the sixteenth century.<sup>101</sup> In the Prologue to this work—the *Itinerarium* or *Odoeporicon* of Abbot John—William of Malmesbury stated that he was currently hard at work on the *HN*.<sup>102</sup> If, as is possible, Abbot John died in Rome,<sup>103</sup> Peter cannot have returned, have been elected as abbot, and have started to brief William of Malmesbury on the journey, before October 1140. The *HN* may only have been commenced after the *Itinerarium* was completed. When dealing with the eclipse of March 1140, William comments that 'it was thought and said by many, nor were they wrong, that the king would not survive the year in office',<sup>104</sup> clearly anticipating the Battle of Lincoln in early February 1141. Books i and ii may have been written in their entirety in the weeks immediately following this battle, when for the Angevins everything was possible. They were certainly completed at this period, but they could have been commenced in late 1140.

There was then a break in the writing. Book iii of the *HN* has a separate, short Prologue, which starts as follows:

In the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1142, I am undertaking to unravel the trackless maze of events and occurrences that befell in England, with the aim that posterity should not be ignorant of these matters through our lack of care, it being worthwhile to learn the changefulness of fortune and the mutability of the human lot, by God's permission or bidding.

It is obvious that William here is writing after the battle of Lincoln, and that the reference to the changefulness of fortune was suggested to him, as to other chroniclers, by the outcome of that battle and by events later in 1141. It is less obvious, but it may be suggested, that when William wrote of 'inextricabilem laberinthum rerum et negotiorum' he was looking forward to the events of 1141, which he was about to describe, and not back to the period 1126 to 1140, which had been treated in his earlier text in terms of the straight line of legitimate succession. In 1141 a

<sup>101</sup> Leland, *Collectanea*, iii. 272; the incipit was *Principium et processum Malmesburiensis cenobii*: Bale, *Index*, p. 136; Stubbs, i, pp. xxxviii-xl.

<sup>102</sup> 'Iam vero in Novella Historia diligenter ad hoc nostra vigilavit oratio': Leland, *Collectanea*, iii. 272.

<sup>103</sup> 'de laboriosa . . . profectioe versus Romam': *ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *HN* § 38.

treatment in these terms could no longer be sustained. If William had lost his narrative line, had lost track, it was because the Angevin party had suffered the same fate:<sup>105</sup> the labyrinth was in their minds. William said that he was writing this section of the *HN* in 1142. The scribe of the Margam manuscript, conscious that the events described dated from 1141, altered the reading here from '1142' to '1141'. This emendation was followed by Hardy and by Stubbs, because they saw this manuscript as William's definitive text;<sup>106</sup> but the reading 1142 was restored by Mynors.<sup>107</sup> This was undoubtedly correct.

A further break in the text is signalled a little over half way through book iii, after a description of the legatine council held in December 1141:

It has occurred to me to join up the early events of this year, which is the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1143, with what is left over from the year before; and at the same time to make into a parcel, as it were, the main points scattered through my text bearing on the conduct of Robert, earl of Gloucester, King Henry's son, and to present them in a recapitulation for the reader to evaluate.<sup>108</sup>

There are some problems in interpreting this passage. 'What is left over from the year before' was the detail of negotiations for the exchange of the king and the earl of Gloucester in the later months of 1141. It follows that 'the early events of this year' should refer to early 1142 and not early 1143. There is more than one possible explanation of this confusion. The sentence, which is a long one, reads slightly awkwardly, and it may be that spelling out 'huius anni' was an interpolation; but, if so, it certainly comes from Malmesbury before the text was disseminated. The conclusion to the *HN* was certainly written early in 1143. It would appear that the text from this passage onwards was written at this time, and that the tie-in to the earlier sections of book iii has been carelessly drafted. The final book is less polished than the previous two. Certainly the work lacks a final revision.

The following sequence of writing is suggested:

<sup>105</sup> See below, pp. lxiv–lxvii.

<sup>107</sup> Mynors, p. 46.

<sup>106</sup> Hardy, ii. 737; Stubbs, ii. 567.

<sup>108</sup> *HN* §60.

Books i and ii: October 1140–April 1141

Book iii up to para. 57: early 1142

Book iii para. 58 to the end: early 1143

The writing of the text took place between late 1140 and early 1143, a period of mutability of fortune for both parties in the civil war, and much soul-searching in the Angevin camp. For the ideas of the Angevin party in the decisive years of 1141 and 1142 it is the crucial text.

### III. THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE *HISTORIA NOVELLA*

The *HN* is William of Malmesbury's contemporary history. He was a historian who thought deeply about his craft, and in the Prologues that he wrote in the full range of his works, and in asides to his readers, he shows an awareness of the problems of writing in each particular genre. Contemporary history was one such. There were conventions in the writing of prologues,<sup>109</sup> and the reader must be aware of what was conventional in them; but William of Malmesbury was seldom content simply to copy,<sup>110</sup> and throughout all his works he is particularly tenacious in claiming his readers' attention. In writing about current affairs, he believed, the historian had some advantages, but faced several difficulties. One great advantage was immediacy. He wrote in the Prologue of book i of the *GR*:<sup>111</sup> 'I guarantee the truth of nothing in past time except the sequence of events; the credit of my narrative must rest with my authorities. But whatsoever I have added out of recent

<sup>109</sup> G. Simon, 'Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbriefe mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, iv (1958), 52–119, v–vi (1959–60), 73–153; A. Gransden, 'Prologues in the historiography of twelfth-century England', *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 55–81; D. W. T. C. Vessey, 'William of Tyre and the art of historiography', *Mediaeval Studies*, xxxv (1973), 433–55.

<sup>110</sup> B. Guenée, 'L'histoire entre l'éloquence et la science. Quelques remarques sur le prologue de Guillaume de Malmesbury à ses *Gesta regum Anglorum*', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes Rendues des Séances de l'Année 1982* (Paris, 1982), pp. 357–70.

<sup>111</sup> *GR*, book i, pro. 7–8.

## PROLOGUS

*Incipit Prologus Willelmi Malmesberiensis in libros nouelle historie, missos Roberto comiti Glocestrie*

DOMINO amantissimo Roberto, filio regis Henrici, et consuli Glocestrensi, Willelmus bibliothecarius Malmesberie, post emerita trophea in terris triumphare in celis. Pleraque gestorum precellentis memorie patris uestri stilo apponere non neglexi, et in quinto libro regalium actuum<sup>a</sup> et in tribus libellis quibus Cronica dedi uocabulum. Nunc ea que moderno tempore magno miraculo Dei acciderunt in Anglia, ut mandentur posteris, desiderat animus uestre serenitatis: pulcherrium plane<sup>b</sup> desiderium, et uestrorum omnium simile. Quid enim plus ad honestatis spectat commodum, quid conducibilius<sup>c</sup> equitati, quam diuinam agnoscere circa bonos<sup>d</sup> indulgentiam, et erga periuros<sup>e</sup> uindictam? Quid porro iocundius quam fortium facta<sup>f</sup> uirorum monumentis tradere litterarum, quorum exemplo ceteri exuant ignauiam, et ad defendendam armentur patriam? Quod quia officio stili mei preceptum est fieri, ordinatius puto posse historiam transigi, si paulo altius repetens a reditu imperatricis in Angliam post uiri sui<sup>g</sup> decessum seriem annorum contexam.<sup>h</sup> Itaque primo uocata, ut decet, in auxilium<sup>i</sup> Diuinitate, rerum ueritatem scripturus, nichilque offense daturus aut gratie, ita incipiam.

*Explicit prologus*

<sup>a</sup> actuum om. B      <sup>b</sup> plene B      <sup>c</sup> conducibilis] magis conduit AB  
<sup>d</sup> circa bonos agnoscere A      <sup>e</sup> peruersos AB      <sup>f</sup> factum Ce<sup>1</sup>, om. Ce<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>g</sup> sui om. AB      <sup>h</sup> contexam annorum AB      <sup>i</sup> in aux. ut decet AB

## PREFACE

*Here begins William of Malmesbury's preface to the three books of the 'Historia Novella,' sent to Robert Earl of Gloucestershire*

To his well-beloved lord Robert, son of King Henry and Earl of Gloucester, William the librarian of Malmesbury sends the wish that he may triumph in heaven when he has ended his victories on earth. Most of the achievements of your father of illustrious memory I have not failed to set down, both in the fifth book of the deeds of the kings and in the three little books to which I have given the name of Chronicles.

Now Your Highness's mind desires the transmission to posterity of those things that, by a very wonderful dispensation of God, have befallen in England in recent times: indeed a very noble desire and like everything in you. For what is more to the advantage of virtue or more conducive to justice than learning the divine gentleness to the good and vengeance upon traitors? Further, what is pleasanter than consigning to historical records the deeds of brave men, that following their example the others may cast off cowardice and arm themselves to defend their country? And since I am bidden to do this by the service of my pen I think the history may be related in more orderly sequence if I go a little further back and open my annals with the Empress's return to England after her husband's death.

Therefore, first, as is fitting, calling God to my aid and intending to write the truth of things without any concession to dislike or favour, thus will I begin.

## INCIPIT LIBER PRIMUS NOUELLE HISTORIE

§ 450. *Quibus de causis imperatricem rex Henricus ab Alemannia reuocauerit.*

Anno Henrici regis Anglorum uicesimo sexto, qui fuit incarnationis Dominice millesimus centesimus uicesimus sextus, Henricus imperator Alemannorum, cui prefati regis filia Matildis nupserat,<sup>1</sup> in ipso etatis et uictoriarum flore obiit.<sup>a</sup> Morabatur eo tempore rex noster Normannie, ob<sup>b</sup> pacificandos si qui in his partibus fierent motus; qui, ubi primum obitum generi accepit, non multo post honoratis uiris a se missis filiam reuocauit. Inuita, ut aiunt, imperatrix rediit, quod dotalibus regionibus consueta esset, et multas ibidem possessiones haberet. Constat certe aliquos Lotharingorum et Longobardorum principes succedentibus annis plus quam semel Angliam uenisse, ut eam sibi dominam requirerent; ueruntamen<sup>c</sup> fructu laborum caruisse, cogitante rege ut filie conubio inter se et Andegauensem comitem pacem componeret. Mirum enim in modum uir ille, omnium regum quos nostra et etiam patrum nostrorum tenet memoria maximus, suspectam tamen semper habuit Andegauensium potentiam. Hinc est quod sponsalitia que Willelmus<sup>2</sup> nepos

<sup>a</sup> obierat uel obiit A      <sup>b</sup> ad AB      <sup>c</sup> set AB

<sup>1</sup> Matilda went to Germany for her betrothal in 1110, but being only a child at that time was not married until 1114.

<sup>2</sup> William 'Clito' (1101-28), son of Robert of Normandy, and regarded by many Normans as justly entitled to his father's duchy. The Count of Evreux persuaded his nephew Fulk of Anjou to promise this William his daughter Sybil and the county of Maine (*Orderic*, IV, p. 440) and formed a conspiracy among the Norman barons, but the failure of the conspiracy caused Fulk to break his promise. William Clito, after being made Count of Flanders by the King of France, died of a gangrened wound at the siege

HERE BEGINNETH THE FIRST BOOK OF  
THE HISTORIA NOVELLA

§ 450. *Why King Henry recalled the Empress from Germany*

IN the twenty-sixth year of Henry King of England, which was the eleven hundred and twenty-sixth of the Incarnation of the Lord, Henry Emperor of Germany, whom the aforesaid king's daughter Matilda had married,<sup>1</sup> died in the very flower of his age and his victories. At that time our king was staying in Normandy to calm any disturbances that might arise in those regions and, on hearing of his son-in-law's death, he not long afterwards sent men of distinction and called his daughter home. The Empress, they say, was loth to return because she had grown accustomed to the lands into which she was married and had many possessions in them. At any rate there is no doubt that some princes of Lorraine and Lombardy came to England more than once in the following years to ask for her as their lady but gained nothing by their efforts, the king being minded to establish peace between himself and the Count of Anjou by his daughter's marriage. For strangely enough that great man, though the mightiest of all kings in our recollection or that of our fathers, yet always regarded the power of the Angevins with suspicion. For this reason he broke off and brought to nothing the alliance that William,<sup>1</sup> his nephew, afterwards Count of Flanders,

of Alost in 1128 (*Orderic*, IV, pp. 481-2). The other daughter mentioned, Matilda, had married Henry's son William, then barely sixteen years old, in June 1119 (*Orderic*, IV, p. 347), the year before the bridegroom was drowned in the White Ship.

suus, comes postea Flandrie, cum filia comitis Andegauensis Fulconis, postea regis Ierosolimorum, contracturus esse uidebatur,<sup>a</sup> dissoluit et cassauit. Hinc est quod aliam eiusdem filiam filio suo Willelmo impubi uixdum adolescenti coniunxit. Hinc est quod hanc filiam suam, de qua incepimus loqui, post imperatorium thorum, eiusdem Fulconis filio nuptum collocauit,<sup>2</sup> sicut sermo procedens dicere perget.

§ 451. *De concilio habito Londoniis.*

Anno uicesimo septimo<sup>b</sup> rex Henricus Angliam uenit mense Septembri, adducens secum filiam suam. Proximo uero Natali Domini conuocato apud Londoniam magno cleri et optimatum numero, uxori sue, filie ducis Louanensis, quam post obitum Matildis duxerat, comitatum Salopesberie dedit : quam uidelicet feminam dolens non concipere, dum et perpetuo sterilem fore timeret, de successore regni merito anxius cogitabat. De qua re antea multum diuque considerato<sup>c</sup> consilio, tunc in eodem concilio omnes totius Anglie optimates, episcopos etiam et abbates, sacramento adegit et obstrinxit, ut, si ipse sine herede masculo decederet, Matildam filiam suam quondam imperatricem incunctanter et sine ulla retractatione<sup>d</sup> dominam susciperent<sup>e</sup> : prefatus quanto incommodo / patrie fortuna Willelmum filium<sup>f</sup> sibi surripuisset, cui iure regnum competeret : nunc superesse filiam, cui soli legitima debeatur successio, ab auo, auunculo, et patre regibus ; a<sup>h</sup> materno genere multis retro seculis. Siqui-

<sup>a</sup> dicebatur A B

<sup>b</sup> septimo + regni sui AB

<sup>c</sup> deliberato B

<sup>d</sup> retractione AB

<sup>e</sup> reciperent B

<sup>f</sup> dampno AB

<sup>g</sup> filium + suum B

<sup>h</sup> a] et a B

<sup>1</sup> The betrothal took place in 1127, when Geoffrey of Anjou was only fifteen, and the marriage was consequently delayed until 1129.

seemed about to contract with the daughter of Fulk Count of Anjou, afterwards King of Jerusalem. For this reason he married a daughter of that same count to his own son William, who was then a mere boy, hardly yet a youth. For this reason he married<sup>1</sup> this daughter of his own, of whom I have begun to speak, to the son of that same Fulk after her marriage with the Emperor, as the narrative will proceed to relate in its course.

§ 451. *The council held at London*

In the twenty-seventh year of his reign King Henry came to England in the month of September, bringing his daughter with him. Next Christmas, summoning a great number of the clergy and nobility to London, he gave his wife, the daughter of the Duke of Louvain, whom he had married after Matilda's death, the earldom of Shrewsbury : in grief that the woman did not conceive and fear that she would always be barren he was, with good cause, thinking anxiously about the successor to his throne. After deliberating long and deeply on this matter he then, at this same council, bound the nobles of all England, likewise the bishops and abbots, by the obligation of an oath that, if he himself died without a male heir, they would immediately and without hesitation accept his daughter Matilda, formerly Empress, as their lady. He said first what a disaster it had been for the country that fortune deprived him of his son William, the rightful heir to the throne ; as it was, he said, his daughter remained, and she alone had a legal claim to succeed him since her grandfather, uncle and father had been kings, while on the mother's side the royal lineage went back for many centuries—

dem ab Egbirto rege<sup>a</sup> West-Saxonum, qui primus ceteros insule reges uel expulit uel subegit, anno Dominice incarnationis octingentesimo, sub quatuordecim regibus, usque ad eiusdem incarnationis annum millesimum quadragesimum tertium, quo rex Edwardus<sup>b</sup> in regnum sullimatus est. Nec unquam eiusdem regalis sanguinis linea defecit, nec in successione regni claudicauit. Porro Edwardus illius progeniei ultimus, idemque et præclarissimus, proneptem suam Margaritam ex fratre Edmundo Ireneside Malcolmi regis Scottorum nuptiis copulauit; quorum filiam fuisse Matildem, huius imperatricis matrem, constat.<sup>c</sup>

§ 452. *De sacramento quod primates Anglie fecerunt Imperatrici*

Iurauerunt ergo cuncti, quicumque in eodem concilio alicuius uiderentur<sup>d</sup> esse momenti; primo Willermus Cantuarie archiepiscopus, mox ceteri episcopi, nec minus abbates. Laicorum primus iurauit David rex Scotie, eiusdem imperatricis auunculus; tum<sup>e</sup> Stephanus comes Moritonii<sup>f</sup> et Bononie, nepos Henrici regis ex sorore Adala: mox Robertus regis filius,<sup>g</sup> quem ante regnum susceperat, et comitem Glocestre fecerat, data ei in matrimonium Mabilia,<sup>1</sup> spectabili et excellenti femina, domina tum uiro morigera, tum etiam fecunditate numerose et pulcherrime prolis beata.<sup>h</sup> Notabile, ut dicitur, fuit<sup>i</sup> certamen inter Robertum et Stephanum, dum emula laude uirtutum inter se contenderent quis eorum prior iuraret, illo priuilegium filii, isto dignitatem nepotis spectante. Ita obstrictis

<sup>a</sup> rege om. B      <sup>b</sup> Edwardus + qui apud Westmonasterium iacet AB

<sup>c</sup> filiam—constat] filia Mathildis huius imperatricis mater extitit AB

<sup>d</sup> uidentur A      <sup>e</sup> tunc B      <sup>f</sup> Moritonii comes B      <sup>g</sup> filius regis AB

<sup>h</sup> data—beata om. AB      <sup>i</sup> ut dicitur fuit] fuit ut fertur AB

the reigns of fourteen kings, from Egbert, King of Wessex, who first drove out or subdued the other kings of the island, in the eight-hundredth year of the Lord's Incarnation, to the thousand and forty-third year of his Incarnation, when King Edward was raised to the throne. And the line of that same royal blood never failed or suffered impediment in succession to the monarchy. Then Edward, last and most illustrious of that race, married his great-niece Margaret, descended from his brother Edmund Ironside, to Malcolm King of Scots, and it is well-known that Matilda, mother of this Empress, was their daughter.

§ 452. *The oath that the chief men of England took to the Empress*

So all in that council took the oath who were regarded as carrying any weight, first William Archbishop of Canterbury, then the other bishops and likewise the abbots. Of the laity David King of Scots, the Empress's uncle, swore first, next Stephen Count of Mortain and Boulogne, King Henry's nephew by his sister Adela, then Robert the king's son, whom he had recognised as his before he came to the throne and made Earl of Gloucester, giving him to wife Mabel,<sup>1</sup> a lovely and noble woman, a lady who was both obedient to her husband and blessed in being the mother of numerous and very fair offspring. There was a noteworthy contest, it is said, between Robert and Stephen, who as rivals in distinction strove with each other for the honour of swearing first, the one regarding the prerogative of a son, the other the rank of a nephew. When all the chief men had thus been

<sup>1</sup> She was the eldest daughter of Robert Fitz Haimon and brought her husband the honour of Gloucester (*Monasticon*, ii, 53).

proceribus<sup>a</sup> omnibus fide et sacramento, tunc quidem a quoque in sua discessum est. Post Pentecosten uero misit rex<sup>b</sup> filiam<sup>c</sup> in Normanniam, iubens eam per Rothomagensis archiepiscopum desponsari filio predicti Fulconis, adolescenti magne nobilitatis et predicandi roboris: nec distulit quin ipse quoque Normanniam nauigaret, eosque matrimonio coniungeret. Quo facto, quodam uaticinio omnes predicabant ut post mortem eius a sacramento desciscerent. Ego Rogerum Salesberiensem episcopum sepe dicentem audiui,<sup>d</sup> solum se<sup>e</sup> sacramento quod imperatrici fecerat: eo enim pacto se iurasse, ne rex preter consilium suum et ceterorum procerum filiam cuiquam nuptum daret extra regnum. Eius matrimonii nullum auctorem, nullum fuisse conscium, nisi Robertum comitem Glocestre, et Brianum<sup>1</sup> filium comitis, et episcopum Luxouiensem. Nec uero hec iccirco dixerim quod credam uera fuisse uerba hominis, qui se unicuique tempori pro uolubilitate fortune accommodare nosset; set sicut uerax historicus opinionem prouincialium scriptis appono.

§ 453. *De obitu Honorii pape, et de contentione eligendi apostolici*

Reliquos annos uite et regni Henrici regis<sup>f</sup> breuiter percensere libet, ut nec rerum cognitione fraudentur posterī, nec his<sup>g</sup> que minus ad hanc historiam pertinent prolixius<sup>h</sup> immorari uidear. Anno uicesimo octauo rediit in Angliam rex a Normannia.<sup>j</sup> Anno uicesimo nono quiddam accidit in Anglia quod mirum

<sup>a</sup> proceribus om. AB

<sup>d</sup> audiui dicentem AB

<sup>g</sup> his] in his AB

<sup>b</sup> rex om. Cc<sup>1</sup>

<sup>e</sup> se + a AB

<sup>h</sup> prolixus AB

<sup>c</sup> filiam + suam AB

<sup>f</sup> regis om. AB

<sup>j</sup> a Norm. rex B

<sup>1</sup> For Brian or Brien Fitz Count see *Gesta*, chs. 42, 66 and notes.

bound by faith and oath they departed, each to his own home. After Whitsuntide the king sent his daughter to Normandy with orders that she should be betrothed by the Archbishop of Rouen to the son of the aforesaid Fulk, a young man of very high birth and remarkable strength, and he did not delay sailing to Normandy himself and marrying them. When this had been done all men were asserting, as though by some prophetic spirit, that after his death they would fail to keep their oath. I myself have often heard Roger Bishop of Salisbury saying that he was released from the oath he had taken to the Empress because he had sworn only on condition that the king should not give his daughter in marriage to anyone outside the kingdom without consulting himself and the other chief men, and that no-one had recommended that marriage or been aware that it would take place except Robert Earl of Gloucester and Brian<sup>1</sup> Fitz Count, and the Bishop of Lisieux. I would not say this as accepting the word of a man who knew how to adapt himself to any occasion according as the wheel of fortune turned; I merely, like a faithful historian, add to my narrative what was thought by people in my part of the country.

§ 453. *The death of Pope Honorius and the dispute about the papal election*

I wish to review the remaining years of King Henry's life and reign in brief, that posterity may not be deprived of the knowledge of events and yet I may not appear to dwell too long on matters irrelevant to this history. In the twenty-eighth year of his reign the king returned from Normandy to England. In the twenty-ninth year a thing befell in England that may cause wonder to our

uideatur crinitis nostris, qui, obliti quid<sup>a</sup> nati sunt, libenter se<sup>b</sup> in muliebris sexus habitum transformant.<sup>c</sup> Quidam prouincialium militum, magno crinium luxu superbiens, conscientiaque stimulante perterritus, uisus est sibi uidere in sompniis<sup>d</sup> quasi aliquis eum capillorum suorum crinibus suffocaret; quare, sompno excussus, quicquid superfluebat comarum cito abscidit. Cucurrit exemplum per Angliam, et, sicut recens pena mentem mouere solet, omnes pene milites ad iustum<sup>e</sup> modum crines suos recidi equanimiter tulerunt. Set non diu stetit<sup>f</sup> hec sanctitas; uix enim<sup>g</sup> anno elapso, cuncti, qui sibi curiales esse uidebantur, in prius uitium reciderunt: longitudine capillorum cum feminis certabant, et, ubi crines deficiunt, inuolucra quedam innodabant, obliti uel potius ignari sententie apostolice, 'Vir si comam nutrierit, ignominia est illi.'<sup>1</sup>

Anno tricesimo rex Henricus transiit in Normanniam. Eo anno defuncto papa Honorio, magna contentione<sup>2</sup> eligendi apostolici Romana fluctauit ecclesia. Erant tunc in eadem urbe duo famosissimi cardinales, Gregorius diaconus sancti Angeli, et Petrus presbyter cardinalis, filius Leonis Romanorum principis: ambo litteris et industria insignes; nec erat facile discernere populo quisnam eorum iustius eligeretur a clero. Preuenit tamen pars quæ fauebat Gregorio ut pontifex ordinatus uocaretur Innocentius: sparsus est etiam rumor in plebem quod adhuc Honorius spiraret, et ita fieri preciperet. Auctores fuerunt huius ordinationis

<sup>a</sup> quod AB      <sup>b</sup> libenter se om. AB

<sup>c</sup> habitum + capillorum longitudine se ipsos AB

<sup>d</sup> som(p)nis AB      <sup>e</sup> istum A      <sup>f</sup> stetit diu A      <sup>g</sup> enim om. B

<sup>1</sup> 1 Corinthians, xi, 14.

<sup>2</sup> The schism was largely due to rivalry between the Pierleoni, a family of Jewish origin, and the Frangipani, the other leading noble house of Rome

wearers of long hair who, forgetting what they were born, enjoy transforming themselves to look like women. One of the knights in my part of the country, proud of his very luxuriant hair but alarmed by the stings of conscience, imagined in his sleep that he saw someone strangling him with his own tresses, and so, on waking up, he promptly cut off all the excess of hair. This precedent quickly made its way through England and, as a penalty just suffered is wont to influence the mind, almost all the knights had no objection to their hair being cut to a reasonable length. But this strictness did not last for long, since a year had hardly passed before all who regarded themselves as courtiers relapsed into their old fault; they vied with women in the length of their locks and, when the hair was inadequate, they fastened on a kind of wig, forgetting, or rather not knowing, the Apostle's judgment, 'If a man have long hair it is a shame unto him.'<sup>1</sup>

In the thirtieth year King Henry crossed to Normandy. On the death of Pope Honorius in that year the Church at Rome was agitated by a great dispute<sup>2</sup> about the papal election. There were then in that city two most celebrated cardinals, Gregory Deacon of St Angelo and Peter, a Cardinal Priest, son of Leo a prince of the Romans: both were eminent for learning and zeal, nor was it easy for the people to distinguish which of them would more properly be elected by the clergy. However, the partisans of Gregory anticipated their rivals and ordained him Pope by the name of Innocent, and a story was spread among the common people that Honorius was still alive and bade this be done. Those

at the time. An account may be found in Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, vol. iv, part ii, ch. iii.

Willelmus Prenestinus episcopus, Matheus Albanensis, Conradus<sup>a</sup> Sabinensis, Iohannes Hostiensis, Petrus Cremonensis de titulo sancti Crisogoni, Haimericus<sup>b</sup> cancellarius. At uero pars altera, sepulto iam Honorio, annitentibus fratribus Petri, locupletissimis Romanorum et potentissimis, eum electum et sacratum uocauit Anacletum. Maximus huius ordinationis hortator et auctor Petrus Portuensis episcopus fuit : cuius epistolam si posuero, ea omnem controuersiam aperiet, pronior tamen in Anacletum.

§ 454. *Epistola Petri Portuensis de eadem contentione*

‘ Petrus Portuensis episcopus, quatuor episcopis Willelmo Prenestino, Matheo Albanensi, Conrado Sabinensi, Iohanni Ostiensi. Quanta sit pro uobis tribulatio cordis mei, ille solus nouit qui omnia nouit : uobis quoque meis litteris cognitum saltem iam ex parte fuisset, nisi ecclesie sententia et communis auctoritas prohiberet. De commendatione seu uituperatione personarum de quibus nunc sermonum uarietas agitur, non est huius temporis iudicare : est qui querat et iudicet. Si tamen quisquam presto fuerit accusare, presto erit et qui debeat respondere ; presertim cum in uestro et meo, immo in totius ecclesie conspectu, uterque sapienter uixerit et honeste, et que officii sui erant plena hucusque exercuerint libertate. Abstinere uos potius conuenit a sermonibus otiosis et uerbis precipitationis : si de rumoribus agitur, longe se aliter habent res quam uestre apud me littere protestantur. Ad hec, si uerba que posuistis, si ordinis

<sup>a</sup> Cuonradus AB

<sup>b</sup> Haimerus B

who brought about this ordination were William Bishop of Palestrina, Matthew Bishop of Albano, Conrad Bishop of Sabina, John Bishop of Ostia, Peter Bishop of Crema, taking his title from St Chrysogonus, and Haimeric the chancellor. But after Honorius's burial the other side, supported by the efforts of Peter's brothers, the richest and most powerful of the Romans, elected him and consecrated him by the name of Anacletus. He who chiefly urged and brought about this ordination was Peter Bishop of Porto, and if I quote his letter it will explain the whole dispute, though it is too favourable to Anacletus.

§ 454. *Letter of Peter of Porto on this same controversy*

‘ Peter Bishop of Porto to the four bishops William of Palestrina, Matthew of Albano, Conrad of Sabina, John of Ostia.

‘ How great is the affliction of my heart for you he alone knows who knows all things : you also would already have learnt of it, at least in part, through a letter from me, did not the judgment of the Church and its universal decision forbid. With regard to praise or blame of the persons about whom differing opinions are now being expressed this is not the time to judge : there is one that seeketh and judgeth. If however anyone comes forward to accuse, one also will come forward whose duty it is to answer, especially as in your sight and mine, or rather in that of the whole Church, each of the two has lived in wisdom and righteousness and performed in full freedom up to this day all that pertained to his office. It befits you rather to refrain from idle speech and words of rashness : if reports are in question, things stand far otherwise than your letter asserts to me. Further, if you

rationem attenditis, ut salua reuerentia uestra loquar, factionem illam uestram qua confidentia, qua fronte, electionem uocare presumitis? Cur illum uestrum dicitis ordinatum, cum prorsus in causa eius ordo non fuerit? Siccine didicistis papam eligere? in angulo, in abscondito, in tenebrosis et umbra mortis? Si mortuo pape uiuum succedere uolebatis,<sup>a</sup> cur mortuum uiuere predicabatis? multo melius erat mortuo humanitatem impendere, et sic de uiui solatio cogitare. Set ecce dum <sup>b</sup> de mortuo solatium uiuo requiritis, et uiuum et mortuum pariter suffocastis.<sup>c</sup> Postremo nec uestrum, sicut nec meum, fuit eligere, set potius electum a fratribus spernere uel approbare. Quod igitur, neglecto ordine, contempto canone, spreto etiam ipso a uobis condito anathemate, me inconsulto priore uestro, inconsultis etiam fratribus maioribus et prioribus, nec etiam uocatis aut expectatis, cum essetis nouitii et in numero breui paucissimi,<sup>1</sup> facere presumpsistis, pro infecto habendum esse, et nichil omnino existere, ex ipsa uestra estimatione potestis aduertere. Cito autem nobis Dominus affuit, et uiam qua errori <sup>d</sup> uestro contraire possemus ostendit; fratres siquidem nostri cardinales, quorum precipua est in electione potestas, cum clero uniuerso, expetente populo, cum honoratorum consensu, in luce, in manifesto, unanimi uoto et desiderio, elegerunt dominum Petrum cardinalem in Romanum pontificem Anacletum. Hanc ego electionem canonice celebratam conspexi, et auctore Deo

<sup>a</sup> uoluistis A      <sup>b</sup> dum om. Ce<sup>1</sup>      <sup>c</sup> suffocatis AB      <sup>d</sup> errore B

<sup>1</sup> The election originally was to have been left to eight cardinals, including Peter of Porto, and it would not, according to normal procedure, have taken place before the funeral, but immediately after Honorius's death five of the electors met in secret, near the Frangipani stronghold, and then

regard the words you have set down and the method of procedure, with all due respect to you, by what brazen impudence do you presume to call that plot of yours an election? Why do you say your candidate was ordained, when there was no order at all in his case? Is it thus that you have learned to elect a Pope, in a corner, in secret, in darkness and the shadow of death? If you wished a living Pope to succeed a dead one, why did you say that the dead man was alive? It would have been much better to show kindness to the dead and then think of consoling the living. But, behold, in seeking consolation from the dead for the living you have strangled living and dead alike. Finally, it was neither for you nor for me to elect, but rather to reject or approve him who had been elected by our brethren. You can therefore perceive by your own judgment that the thing must be regarded as altogether null and void which you presumed to do, though but newly appointed and a mere handful of a small number,<sup>1</sup> ignoring the procedure, despising the canon law, showing contempt even for the very interdict that you yourselves had drawn up, without consulting me your senior or your brethren of greater age and seniority or so much as summoning us or waiting for us. But the Lord speedily came to our aid and showed us a way whereby we might counteract your error, for our brother cardinals, who have chief power to elect, together with the entire clergy, at the request of the people, with the agreement of the nobles, in the open light of day, by the wish and desire of all, have elected the Lord Cardinal Peter to be Anacletus Pope of Rome.

proclaimed Gregory as Pope. There were only sixteen of the younger cardinals on their side (Gregorovius, op. cit.).

confirmaui. Hunc ecclesia suscipit et ueneratur ; hunc per Dei gratiam episcopi, abbates, principes, capitanei, et barones, quidam per se ipsos, quidam per nuntios suos, uidentibus nobis frequentant. Depredationem illam et crudelitatem, quam pretenditis, non uidemus. Quicunque ad eum pro responsis seu negotiis suis ueniunt benigne suscipiuntur,<sup>a</sup> benignius reuertuntur. Redite, iam redite ad cor : nolite scisma in ecclesia facere ad animarum subuersionem ; nolite ulterius laborare : teneat uos timor Dei,<sup>b</sup> non pudor seculi. Nunquid qui dormit, non adiciet<sup>c</sup> ut resurgat ? desistite iam mendaciis, in quibus impii spem suam ponere consuerunt. Dominus Tiburtius in scriptis suis cum iuramento<sup>d</sup> testificatus est, dicens quod ego diaconum sancti Angeli solum idoneum iudicaui ad pontificatus ordinem. Videat ipse quid dixerit : ego in occulto locutus sum nichil ; non est aliquis qui hoc uerbum ab ore meo unquam audierit. Hec fuit sententia mea semper, ut non nisi sepulto papa de successoris persona mentio haberetur. Unitatem ecclesie tenui et tenebo : ueritati et iustitie adherere curabo, confidenter sperans quia iustitia et ueritas liberabit me.<sup>e</sup>

Sic predictus Petrus Portuensis, Petro Leoni<sup>e</sup> pronior, scripsit. Nec uero pars altera cessabat quin et ipsum Petrum catulum leonis diceret, et fautores eius factionis complices nominaret. Et illi quidem 'uaria inter se dubiis de rebus agebant.' Innocentius uero exclusus Roma, transcens Alpibus, Galliam contendit. Ibi ab omni citramontana ecclesia incunctanter susceptus est : quin etiam et rex Henricus, qui non leuiter a sententia

<sup>a</sup> suscipiuntur + et B<sup>b</sup> domini B<sup>c</sup> adiciat B<sup>d</sup> sacramento AB<sup>e</sup> Petro Leoni] episcopus in Petrum Leonis filium AB

This election I saw performed according to the canon law, and by God's will I ratified it. This man the Church accepts and reueres : to this man by God's grace the bishops, the abbots, the princes, captains and barons, some in person, some by messenger, are paying court in my sight. I do not see the plundering and the cruelty that you allege. All who come to him for answers or on matters of business are received with kindness and depart in greater kindness. Return, return now to understanding : do not make a schism in the Church for the ruin of souls ; labour no longer : let the fear of God be upon you, not regard for the world. Shall he who sleeps not rise again ? Cease now from lies, in which the wicked are wont to put their trust. The Bishop of Tivoli, in his letter, bore witness on oath, saying that I judged the Deacon of St Angelo alone fitting for the dignity of Pope. Let him take heed to his own words : I spoke nothing in secret ; there is no man who has ever heard this saying from my lips. This was always my opinion, that until the Pope was buried nothing should be said about the person to succeed him. I have maintained, and will maintain, the unity of the Church : I shall take care to cling to truth and justice, in the sure hope that justice and truth will set me free.<sup>e</sup>

Thus wrote the aforesaid Peter of Porto, too much favouring Peter Leo. Nor did the other side refrain from calling Peter himself the lion-cub and his supporters accomplices in a plot. And they for their part were contending about matters that lay in doubt ; Innocent, banished from Rome, crossed the Alps and hastened to France. There he was immediately recognised by the entire Church on this side of the Alps ; moreover King Henry, who could not lightly be moved from a decision he had once made, paid him reverence voluntarily at

quam semel proposuisset deici nosset, illi apud Carnotum ultro manus dedit; et apud Rothomagum non modo suis set et optimatum et etiam Iudeorum muneribus eum dignatus est. Nec uero Innocentius, quamuis ab Anglorum et Francorum regibus, simul et ab imperatore Alemannorum, ualde iuuaretur, nunquam tamen quiete potiri potuit, quod Anacletus Romane sedem teneret ecclesie.<sup>a1</sup> At uero ipso<sup>b</sup> Anacleto defuncto,<sup>c</sup> octauo presumpti ut dicebatur sui episcopatus anno, dominus Innocentius inconcussa ad hoc tempus pace apostolica fruitur dignitate.

§ 455. Anno tricesimo primo regni sui rediit rex<sup>d</sup> in Angliam. Imperatrix quoque eodem anno natali solo aduentum suum exhibuit; habitoque non paruo procerum conuentu apud Northamptonam, priscam fidem apud eos qui dederant nouauit, ab his qui non dederant accepit. Eodem anno Lodowicus rex Francorum, et in senium uergens et nimia corpulentia grauis, filium coronari iussit ut regni successorem: quo non multo post casu equi exanimato, alterum per manum pontificis Remensis<sup>e</sup> diademate insigniuit.<sup>2</sup> Is, ut ferunt, ab antiqua Francorum fortitudine non degenerans, etiam Aquitaniam iuri suo per uxoris dotale fedus adquisiuit; quam post Lodowicum, Caroli magni filium, in proprio dominatu Francorum reges non habuisse noscuntur.

<sup>a</sup> ecclesie sedem teneret AB

<sup>c</sup> defuncto post anno AB

<sup>e</sup> Romani AB

<sup>b</sup> ipso om. Ce<sup>1</sup>

<sup>d</sup> rediit rex] rex Henricus rediit AB

<sup>1</sup> Anacletus was supported by his brother-in-law, Roger Guiscard Duke of Apulia, whom he consecrated King of Sicily, and by Roger's aid brought almost the whole of Italy over to his side. The Emperor Lothar went to

Chartres and at Rouen honoured him with gifts not only from himself but from the nobles and even from Jews. Innocent, however, though strongly supported by the kings of England and France and likewise by the Emperor of Germany, still could not obtain a tranquil life because Anacletus held the capital city of the Roman Church.<sup>1</sup> But since the death of Anacletus in the eighth year of what was alleged to be his bishopric the lord Innocent has enjoyed the position of Pope in peace undisturbed to this day.

§ 455. In the thirty-first year of his reign the king returned to England. That year the Empress also arrived on her native soil and holding no small gathering of the nobles at Northampton received an oath of fealty from those who had not given one before and a renewal of the oath from those who had. In the same year Louis King of France, who was growing old and burdened with excessive corpulence, bade his son be crowned as successor to his kingdom, and when this son was killed not long afterwards through his horse's falling he honoured the second one with the crown<sup>2</sup> at the hands of the Archbishop of Rheims. The son, they say, is no unworthy heir of the ancient valour of the Franks, and through his wife's marriage-contract has gained possession of Aquitaine as well, which the kings of France are known not to have had under their own lordship since Louis the son of Charlemagne.

Rome in 1133 and made an unsuccessful attempt to expel him (Gregorovius, op. cit.).

<sup>2</sup> It was Philip who was killed by a fall from his horse at Paris two years after he was crowned; the future Louis VII got possession of Aquitaine.

§ 456. *De lue pecorum*

Anno tricesimo primo regni Henrici infesta lues domesticorum animalium totam peruagata est Angliam : plene porcorum are subito uacuabantur ; integra boum presepia repente destituebantur. Durauit sequentibus annis eadem pestis, ut nulla omnino totius regni uilla, huius miserie immunis, alterius incommoda ridere posset. Tunc etiam contentio inter Bernardum episcopum Meneuensem et Vrbanum Landauensem de iure parrochiarum, quas idem Vrbanus illicite usurpauerat, eterno fine sopita est : tot enim ad curiam Romanam appellationibus, tot itinerum expensis, tot causidicorum conflictibus multis annis uentilata, tandem aliquando morte Vrbanus apud Romam soluta uel potius decisa est ; nam et apostolicus, equitate rei perpensa, religioni et iustitie Meneuensis episcopi qua decebat sententia satisfecit. Eodem<sup>1</sup> etiam<sup>a</sup> anno Willelmus archiepiscopus Cantuarie legationem in Anglia, Romane sedis indulgentia personaliter impetrauit.

§ 457. *De transitu Regis Henrici et de morte eius*

Anno tricesimo secundo regni pridie transacto, Henricus nonis Augusti, quo die quondam apud Westmonasterium corone culmen acceperat, Normanniam nauigauit. Vltimus ille fatalisque<sup>b</sup> regi transitus fuit. Mira tunc prorsus prouidentia Deitatis rebus allusit

<sup>a</sup> etiam om. A      <sup>b</sup> -que om. B

<sup>1</sup> He was already legate when he summoned a council at Westminster in 1127 (*John of Worcester*, ed. Weaver, p. 23).

§ 456. *The plague among beasts*

In the thirty-first year of Henry's reign a destructive plague among domestic animals made its way through the whole of England : sties full of pigs were suddenly emptied ; byres of oxen, as yet untouched, were made desolate in a moment. The same pestilence continued during the following years, so that no village at all in the entire kingdom was free from this calamity and could laugh at the misfortunes of another. Then too the dispute between Bernard Bishop of St David's and Urban Bishop of Llandaff for authority over the parishes that the same Urban had unlawfully appropriated was put to its everlasting rest : for after being fanned for many years by so many appeals to the court at Rome, so much expenditure on journeys, so many struggles between advocates, it was at length settled, or rather broken off, by the death of Urban at Rome ; for the Pope likewise, after weighing the rights of the case, contented the piety and justice of the Bishop of St David's by the decision that was fitting. In the same year also<sup>1</sup> William Archbishop of Canterbury obtained in person the post of legate in England, by favour of the Roman See.

§ 457. *King Henry's crossing and his death*

Having completed the thirty-second year of his reign the day before, Henry sailed to Normandy on the fifth of August, the day on which he had once received the supreme dignity of the crown at Westminster. That was the king's last crossing and the one that brought him to his doom. God's providence jested strangely then with

humanis, ut eo die nauem ascenderet, nunquam iterum <sup>a</sup> reuersurus, quo dudum coronatus fuerat, tam diu et tam feliciter regnaturus. Erant tunc, ut dixi, none Augusti et feria quarta. Prosecuta sunt elementa dolore suo extremum tanti principis transitum. Nam et sol ipsa die, hora sexta, tetra ferrugine, ut poete <sup>1</sup> solent dicere, nitidum caput obtexit, mentes hominum defectione sua terrenis <sup>b</sup>: et feria sexta proxima primo mane tantus terre motus fuit ut penitus subsidere uideretur, horrifico sono sub terra <sup>c</sup> ante audito. Vidi ego et in eclipsi stellas circa solem; et in terre motu parietem domus in qua sedebam, bifario impetu eleuatum, tertio resedisce. Fuit ergo <sup>d</sup> rex in Normannia triennio continuo, <sup>e</sup> et tanto plus quantum est inter nonas Augusti, quo die, ut <sup>f</sup> dictum est, mare transiuit, et kalendas Decembris, qua nocte decessit. Nec uero dubitandum, multa eum, que non inmerito scribi deberent, in Normannia gessisse; set consilium fuit preterire que ad nostram notitiam non integre peruenere. Opiniones redditus eius in Angliam multe; siue fato quodam, siue diuina uoluntate, omnes frustrate. Regnauit ergo annis <sup>h</sup> triginta quinque, et a nonis Augusti usque ad kalendas Decembris; id est, mensibus quatuor <sup>i</sup>, diebus quatuor minus. <sup>k</sup> Apud Liuns <sup>l</sup> exercitio uenationis intentus, ualitudine aduersa correptus decubuit. Qua in deterius crescente, euocauit <sup>m</sup> ad se Hugonem, quem primo ex priore de Lewis abbatem apud Radingas, mox Rothomagi archiepiscopum, fecerat; merito sibi et heredibus suis pro tantis beneficiis obnox-

<sup>a</sup> uiuus AB      <sup>b</sup> defectione sua terrenis] eclipsi sua concutiens AB  
<sup>c</sup> terris AB      <sup>d</sup> ergo om. A      <sup>e</sup> continue A      <sup>f</sup> ut om. Ce  
<sup>g</sup> discessit B      <sup>h</sup> annis om. A      <sup>i</sup> quatuor mensibus A  
<sup>k</sup> quatuor minus] minus Ce<sup>1</sup>, quinque plus Ce<sup>2</sup>      <sup>l</sup> Leonas AB  
<sup>m</sup> uocauit A

<sup>1</sup> Virgil, *Georgics*, I, l. 467.

human affairs, that he should go on board, never to come back again, on the day when he had been crowned in the distant past to reign so long and so happily. It was then, as I have said, the fifth of August, and a Wednesday. The elements accompanied with their sorrow the last crossing of so great a prince. For on that very day the sun, at the sixth hour, covered his shining head with gloomy rust, as the poets <sup>1</sup> are wont to say, putting fear into men's minds by his eclipse, and on the following Friday at dawn the earth quaked so terribly that it seemed to sink to the depths, and a dreadful noise was heard under the earth before this. In the eclipse I saw myself the stars around the sun, and in the earthquake the wall of the house in which I sat lifted up by two shocks and settling down at a third. The king then was in Normandy for three years on end, and as much longer as is the interval between the fifth of August, when, as has been said, he crossed the sea, and the first of December, on the night of which he died. Nor indeed is it to be doubted that he did many things in Normandy with just claim to be written down, but it has been my intention to pass over everything that did not fully come to my knowledge. There were many expectations of his return to England, but all, by a kind of fate or by the divine will, were disappointed. He reigned then for thirty-five years and in addition, from the fifth of August to the first of December, that is four months less four days. When occupied in hunting at Lyons, he was seized by illness and took to his bed. When the illness grew worse he summoned Hugh, whom he had first made Abbot of Reading instead of Prior of Lewes and afterwards Archbishop of Rouen, a man with good reason devoted to him and his heirs in return for benefits so great. The report of his illness quickly brought the nobles together.

ium. Optimates rumor sue<sup>a</sup> egritudinis celeriter contraxit. Affuit et Robertus filius eius, comes Gloecestre, qui, pro integritate fidei et uirtutis eminentia, uicturam in omne seculum memoriam sui nominatim promeruit. A quibus de successore interrogatus, filie omnem terram suam citra et ultra mare legitima et perhenni successione adiudicauit, marito eius subiratus, quod eum et minis et iniuriis aliquantis irritauerat. Septimo incommodi die transacto, nocte iam intempesta nature cessit. Cuius magnanimos mores hic dicere supersedeo quia in quinto libro regaliū gestorum plenissime illos contexui: quam Christiane autem<sup>b</sup> obierit, hec subsequens epistola supradicti Rothomagensis archiepiscopi docebit:

§ 458. *Epistola Rothomagensis Archiepiscopi de obitu Regis Henrici*

‘Domino et patri suo Innocentio pape, seruus Hugo Rothomagensis sacerdos, obedientie debitum. De domino meo rege, non sine dolore memorando, pie paternitati uestre notificandum duximus; qui,<sup>c</sup> subita preuentus egritudine, nos missis quam citissime legatis suis egritudinis<sup>d</sup> solatiis uoluit interesse. Venimus ad ipsum, et cum ipso plenum meroribus confecimus triduum. Prout ei dicebamus, ipse ore proprio sua fatebatur peccata, et manu propria pectus suum percutiebat, et malam uoluntatem dimittebat. Consilio Dei et nostro et episcoporum emendationem uite sue obseruaturum sese promittebat. Sub ista<sup>e</sup> promissione, eo<sup>f</sup> firmiter annuente, pro nostro officio tertio eum<sup>g</sup> et per triduum absoluimus. Crucem Domini adorauit;

<sup>a</sup> sue om. AB

<sup>b</sup> autem om. AB

<sup>c</sup> quia AB

<sup>d</sup> egritudinis + sue AB

<sup>e</sup> ipsa B

<sup>f</sup> eo] ista ei AB

<sup>g</sup> eum ante officio AB

His son Robert, Earl of Gloucester, also came, who, for his steadfast loyalty and distinguished merit, has pre-eminently deserved that the recollection of him shall live for all time. When he was asked by them about his successor he assigned all his lands on both sides of the sea to his daughter in lawful and lasting succession, being somewhat angry with her husband because he had vexed the king by not a few threats and insults. When the seventh day of his illness had passed he paid his debt to nature in the dead of night. I refrain from speaking of his noble character here because I have dealt with it very fully in the fifth book of the deeds of the kings: in how Christian a fashion he died the following letter of the aforesaid Archbishop of Rouen will show.

§ 458. *Letter of the Archbishop of Rouen on King Henry's death*

To the lord and father Pope Innocent his servant Hugh, priest of Rouen, offers the obedience that he owes. Compassionate father, I thought I should give you news of my lord the King, whom I cannot name without sorrow. He was seized by sudden illness and sent representatives with all speed, asking me to help to comfort him in that illness. I came to him and spent with him three days full of grief. As I bade him he confessed his sins with his own lips and beat his breast with his own hand and renounced all evil desires. By the counsel of God and myself and the bishops he promised that he would see to the amendment of his life. In view of that promise (earnestly made) in virtue of my office I gave him absolution for the third time in the course of the three days. He adored the crucifix; he received with devotion the body and blood of the Lord; he made his arrange-

corpus et sanguinem Domini deuote suscepit; elemosinam suam disposuit, ita dicendo: "Soluantur debita mea, reddantur liberationes et solidate quibus<sup>a</sup> debeo; reliqua indigentibus distribuuntur." Vtinam sic fecissent qui thesauros eius tenebant et tenent! Tandem illi auctoritatem de unctione infirmorum, quam ecclesia a beato Jacobo apostolo suscepit, studiose proposuimus; et ipsius pia petitione oleo sancto eum inunximus. Sic in pace quieuit: pacem det ei Deus, quia pacem dilexit!

§ 459. *Quomodo corpus Regis Henrici exinteratum est*

Hec prefatus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus de fide regis Henrici morientis uere contestatus est. Funus regaliter curatum, proceribusque<sup>b</sup> uicissim portantibus Rotomagus usque delatum est. Illic in quodam recessu ecclesie maioris exinteratum est, ne diuturnitate corruptum nares assidentium uel astantium exacerbaret: reliquie interaneorum in cenobio sancte Marie de Pratis iuxta urbem humate; quod ipse, ut audio, a matre sua inchoatum, non paucis compendiis honorauerat. Corpus Cadomi seruatum, quousque serenas auras paulo clementior hiemps inueheret, que tum aspera inhorrebat.

§ 460. *De Stephano Rege in regnum promoti*

Interea Stephanus comes Moritonii et Bononie, nepos regis Henrici, ut supra dixi, qui post regem Scottie primus laicorum fidem suam imperatrici obstrinxerat, in

<sup>a</sup> que AB

<sup>b</sup> -que om. AB

ments for almsgiving, saying thus: 'Let my debts be paid, let quittance and payment be made to my creditors; let the rest be distributed among the poor.' Would that they had done thus who held and hold his treasures! At last I put it to him solicitously that he should give me leave to perform the anointing of the sick, which the Church has received from the blessed apostle James, and at his own pious request I anointed him with the holy oil. So he rested in peace: God grant him peace, for peace he loved.

§ 459. *How King Henry's body was disembowelled*

This witness the aforesaid Archbishop of Rouen has borne with truth concerning King Henry's faith when he was dying. The dead body was attended to as befits a king and brought to Rouen with nobles acting as bearers in turn. There it was disembowelled in a corner of the cathedral lest it should rot with lapse of time and offend the nostrils of those who sat or stood by it: the remains of the bowels were buried near the city in the convent of Sainte Marie des Prés, which had been founded by his mother and distinguished by himself, I hear, with no small endowments. The body was kept at Caen until winter, which was then raging fiercely, should grow a little milder and bring gentle breezes.

§ 460. *King Stephen's advancement to the kingship*

Meanwhile Stephen Count of Mortain and Boulogne, King Henry's nephew, as I have said above, he who first among the laity, after the King of Scots, had bound himself by allegiance to the Empress, hurried on his

Angliam per Witsand maturavit aduentum. Imperatrix certis ex causis, simul et frater eius Robertus comes Glocestre, cum omnibus pene proceribus, redire in regnum distulerunt. Quedam tamen <sup>a</sup> castella in Normannia, inter que præcipuum Danfrontum, partibus heredis se applicuere. Constat sane illo die quo Stephanus appulsus est Angliam, summo mane, contra naturam hiemis in regionibus nostris, terrirepum sonum tonitruum cum horrendo fulgure fuisse, ut paulo minus mundus solui estimaretur. Ille, ubi a Londoniensibus et Wintoniensibus in regem exceptus est, etiam Rogerum Salesberiensem episcopum et Willelmum de Ponte Arcus, custodes thesaurorum regaliū, ad se transduxit. Ne tamen ueritas celetur posteris, omnes eius conatus irriti fuissent, nisi Henricus frater eius, Wintoniensis episcopus, qui modo <sup>b</sup> <sup>1</sup> apostolice sedis legatus est in Anglia, placidum ei commodasset assensum; spe scilicet captus amplissima quod Stephanus aui sui Willelmi in regni moderamine mores seruaret, precipueque in ecclesiastici <sup>c</sup> uigoris disciplina. Quapropter districto sacramento, quod a Stephano Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus exegit de libertate reddenda ecclesie et conseruanda, episcopus Wintoniensis se mediatorem et uadem apposuit. Cuius sacramenti tenorem, postea scripto inditum, loco suo non pretermittam.

§ 461. *De coronatione Regis Stephani, et de moribus eius*

Coronatus est ergo <sup>d</sup> in regem Stephanus Anglie <sup>e</sup> undecimo kalendas Ianuarii, dominica, tribus episcopis

<sup>a</sup> tamen om. Ce<sup>1</sup>

<sup>b</sup> modo om. B

<sup>c</sup> ecclesiastice A

<sup>d</sup> ergo om. A

<sup>e</sup> Anglie Stephanus AB

<sup>1</sup> He was legate from 1139 to the death of Innocent II in 1143.

arrival in England by way of Wissant. For certain reasons the Empress and likewise her brother Robert Earl of Gloucester, together with almost all the nobles, delayed their return to the kingdom. Yet some castles in Normandy, of which Domfront was the chief, sided with the heiress. It is certainly established that on the day when Stephen landed in England, at dawn, there was, contrary to the nature of winter in our part of the world, a terrible sound of thunder accompanied by fearful lightning, so that it was almost thought the world was breaking up. On being received as king by the people of London and Winchester he also brought over to his side Roger Bishop of Salisbury and William de Pont de l'Arche, who had the charge of the royal treasure. Nevertheless, that the truth may not be concealed from posterity, all his efforts would have been in vain had not his brother Henry Bishop of Winchester, who now <sup>1</sup> is legate in England of the Apostolic See, granted him an easy acquiescence, allured indeed by a very strong hope that Stephen would continue the ways of his grandfather William in the governance of the kingdom, especially as regards strict uprightness in Church affairs. Wherefore the Bishop of Winchester made himself guarantor and surety of the solemn oath that William Archbishop of Canterbury exacted from Stephen about the restoration and maintenance of the freedom of the Church. The terms of that oath were afterwards put in writing and I shall not fail to insert them in the proper place.

§ 461. *King Stephen's coronation and his character*

Stephen then was crowned King of England on the twenty-second of December, a Sunday, in the presence

presentibus, archiepiscopo, Wintoniensi, Salesberienſi, nullis abbatibus, pauciſſimis optimatibus, uicesima ſecunda die poſt exceſſum auunculi, anno Dominice incarnationis milieſimo centeſimo triceſimo quinto. Vir quidem impiger ſet minus prudens,<sup>a</sup> armis ſtrenuus, immodici animi ad quelibet ardua inchoanda, lenis et exorabilis hoſtibus, affabilis omnibus : cuius cum dulcedinem in promiſſis ſuſpiceres, ueritatem tamen<sup>b</sup> dictorum et promiſſorum efficaciam deſiderares ; unde fratris conſilium non multo poſt lapſo tempore poſtponerat, cuius, ut dixi, auxilio munitus et aduerſantes ſummueraſt et ad regnum aſcenderat.

§ 462. *De humatione regis Henrici*

Anno Dominice incarnationis milieſimo centeſimo triceſimo ſexto,<sup>c</sup> poſtea,<sup>d</sup> regis Henrici corpus, lenibus flabris ſpirantibus, ſtatim poſt Natale Domini impositum nauſ Angliam deuectum<sup>e</sup> eſt ; et apud Radingenſe cenobium, quod et<sup>f</sup> foris prediorum magnitudine et<sup>g</sup> intus religioſorum monachorum ordine decorauerat, preſente regni ſucceſſore, humatum eſt. Poſtea uero rex Stephanus in Northanhumbriam paulo ante quadrageſimam contendit, ut David regem Scottie, qui diuerſa ſentire dicebatur, conueniret : nec uero difficulter<sup>h</sup> ab eo quod uoluit impetrauit, quia et ille morum lenitate et propiori iam ſenectute infractus, libenter in otium uel uere uel ſimulate pacis conceſſit.

<sup>a</sup> minus prudens] prudens A imprudens B      <sup>b</sup> tamen ueritatem A  
<sup>c</sup> quinto B      <sup>d</sup> poſtea om. AB      <sup>e</sup> deuectus A      <sup>f</sup> et om. AB  
<sup>g</sup> et om. B      <sup>h</sup> uero difficulter] difficile AB

of three biſhops (the archbiſhop and thoſe of Wincheſter and Salisbury), no abbots and very few nobles, on the twenty-ſecond day after his uncle's death, in the eleven hundred and thirty-ſiſth year of the Lord's Incarnation. He was a man of energy but little judgment, active in war, of extraordinary ſpirit in undertaking any difficult taſk, lenient to his enemies and eaſily appeaſed, courteous to all : though you admired his kindneſs in promiſing, ſtill you felt his words lacked truth and his promiſes fulfilment ; which was the cauſe why after no long interval he diſregarded the advice of his brother, fortified by whoſe aid, as I have ſaid, he had thruſt his opponents from his path and aſcended the throne.

§ 462. *King Henry's burial*

Thereafter, in the eleven hundred and thirty-ſiſth year of the Lord's Incarnation, the body of King Henry was put on ſhipboard, when gentle winds blew, immediately after Chriſtmas, and brought to England and buried, in the preſence of his ſucceſſor as king, at the moſtacy of Reading, which he had diſtinguiſhed without by vaſt eſtates and within by an order of holy monks. Then King Stephen haſtened to Northumbria a little before Lent to meet David King of Scots, who was ſaid to entertain different views, and had no difficulty in obtaining from him what he wanted, ſince David too, from the mildneſs of his character and becauſe he was enfeebled by the approach of old age, was glad to paſs into tranquillity, whether it were of a genuine or a pretended peace.

§ 463. *De aduentu Roberti comitis Gloecestre in Angliam*

Eodem<sup>a</sup> anno post Pascha Robertus comes Gloecestre, cuius prudentiam rex Stephanus maxime<sup>b</sup> uerebatur, uenit in Angliam.<sup>c</sup> Is, dum esset in Normannia, multa cogitatione fatigarat animum quidnam sibi super hoc negotio statuendum putaret: si enim regi Stephano subderetur, contra sacramentum quod sorori fecerat fore uidebat<sup>d</sup>; si refragaretur, nichil sorori uel nepotibus profuturum, sibi certe immaniter nociturum intelligebat. Habebat enim, ut supra tetigi, rex immensam uim thesaurorum, quos multis annis rex Henricus auunculus suus<sup>e</sup> agghesserat; estimabantur denarii, et hi exquisitissimi, fere ad centum milia libras: erant et uasa tam aurea quam argentea magni ponderis et inestimabilis pretii, et antiquorum regum, et Henrici potissimum, prudentia<sup>f</sup> congesta. Hanc copiam gazarum habenti auxiliares deesse non poterant, presertim cum esset ipse in dando diffusus, et, quod minime principem decet, prodigus. Currebatur ad eum ab omnium generum militibus, et a leuis armature hominibus, maximeque ex Flandria et Britannia. Erat genus hominum rapacissimum et uiolentissimum, qui nichil pensi haberent uel cimiteria frangere uel ecclesias expoliare<sup>g</sup>; religiosi quinetiam ordinis uiros non solum equis proturbare, set et in captionem abducere: non<sup>h</sup> solum aduene, set etiam indigene milites, qui pacem regis Henrici oderant, quod sub ea tenui uictu uitam transigebant. Hi omnes gratanter principi assenserant, quem leui negotio ad sua commoda inflectere possent, prouincialium dispendio

<sup>a</sup> eo B      <sup>b</sup> maxime Stephanus (om. rex) AB  
<sup>c</sup> uenit in Angliam post Gloecestre AB      <sup>d</sup> uidebat fore B  
<sup>e</sup> rex Henricus et suus om. AB      <sup>f</sup> magnanimitate AB  
<sup>g</sup> expilare AB      <sup>h</sup> nec AB

§ 463. *The arrival in England of Robert Earl of Gloucester*

In the same year, after Easter, Robert Earl of Gloucester, for whose wisdom King Stephen had the greatest respect, came to England. He had wearied his mind with much reflection, while he was in Normandy, on what he thought he should decide to do in this matter, for he saw that if he submitted to King Stephen it would be contrary to the oath he had taken to his sister, but understood that if he resisted it would bring no advantage to his sister or nephews and would certainly do enormous harm to himself. For (a thing I have touched on above) the king had a vast quantity of treasure, heaped up during many years by his uncle King Henry; the pennies, and they too of the finest, were reckoned to amount to nearly a hundred thousand pounds: there were also vessels of gold and silver of great weight and inestimable value, amassed by the forethought of earlier kings and especially King Henry. As the king had this mass of treasure he could not lack helpers, particularly as he himself was a generous giver and, the fault least befitting a prince, a spendthrift. Knights of all kinds made a rush to him, men who served in light harness also, especially from Flanders and Brittany. They were a class of men full of greed and violence, who cared nothing for breaking into churchyards or robbing churches; moreover, they not only rode down members of religious orders, but even dragged them off to captivity: and it was not only foreign knights that acted thus but likewise some born in England, who hated King Henry's peace because under it they had had but a scanty livelihood. All these had gladly given their support to a prince whom with little trouble they could influence to their own advantage, pushing their own fortunes at the expense of the people

suas fortunas urgentes. Erat preterea Stephanus, cum esset comes, facilitate morum et communione iocandi, considendi, conuescendi<sup>a</sup> etiam cum infimis, amorem tantum demeritus quantum uix mente aliquis concipere queat : et iam omnes procures Anglie in eius assensum pronis mentibus transierant. Erat igitur<sup>b</sup> anxius prudentissimus comes ut illos delicti coargueret, et ad saniolem sententiam presenti colloquio reuocaret ; nam uiribus obuiare nulla propter prefatas causas dabatur facultas : cui nimirum nec in Angliam uenire liberum erat, nisi, quasi defectionis eorum particeps, mentis suæ archanum ad tempus dissimularet. Itaque homagium regi fecit sub conditione quadam, scilicet, quamdiu ille dignitatem suam integre custodiret et sibi pacta seruaret<sup>1</sup> ; spectato enim iamdudum regis ingenio, instabilitatem fidei eius preuidebat.

§ 464. *De sacramento quod rex Stephanus fecit de seruanda iustitia et priuilegiis et legibus regni*

Eodem anno, non multo post aduentum comitis, iurauerunt episcopi fidelitatem regi quamdiu ille libertatem ecclesie et uigorem discipline conseruaret. Ipse quoque iurauit iuxta tenorem scripti quod sic habetur in subditis : ‘ Ego Stephanus, Dei gratia, assensu cleri et populi, in regem Anglie electus, et a domino Willelmo archiepiscopo Cantuarie et sancte ecclesie Romane<sup>c</sup> legato consecratus, et ab Innocentio sancte Romane sedis pontifice postmodum confirmatus, respectu et amore Dei sanctam ecclesiam liberam esse concedo, et debitam

<sup>a</sup> conuescendi om. B      <sup>b</sup> quidem AB      <sup>c</sup> sedis Romane AB

<sup>1</sup> Note the highly conditional character of this allegiance.

of the country. Stephen besides, when he was a count, had by his good nature and the way he jested, sat and ate in the company even of the humblest, earned an affection that can hardly be imagined, and already all the chief men of England had willingly gone over to his side. So that very wise earl was anxious to convince them of their fault and bring them to a sounder opinion by personal conversation ; for on account of the reasons mentioned above there was no chance of resistance by force, indeed he could not even come to England unless he concealed his secret purpose for a time by pretending to share their breach of faith. Therefore he did homage to the king conditionally, that is to say, for as long as the king maintained his rank unimpaired and kept the agreement,<sup>1</sup> since having long observed the king's disposition he foresaw that he would be likely to break his word.

§ 464. *The oath King Stephen took to maintain the justice, privileges and laws of the kingdom*

In the same year, not long after the earl's arrival, the bishops swore fealty to the king for as long as he should maintain the freedom of the Church and the strict observance of its discipline. He himself also swore in the terms of the document appended, to this effect : ‘ I Stephen, by the grace of God, with the approval of the clergy and people, chosen King of England, consecrated by William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and Legate of the Holy Roman Church and afterwards confirmed by Innocent, Pontiff of the Holy Roman See, from regard and love for God grant the freedom of Holy Church and confirm to it the reverence that I owe. I promise that

reuerentiam illi confirmo. Nichil me in ecclesia uel in rebus ecclesiasticis simoniace acturum uel permissurum esse promitto. Ecclesiasticarum personarum et omnium clericorum et rerum eorum iustitiam et potestatem, et distributionem bonorum ecclesiasticorum, in manu episcoporum esse perhibeo et confirmo. Dignitates ecclesiarum priuilegiis earum confirmatas, et consuetudines earum antiquo tenore habitas, inuiolate manere statuo et confirmo.<sup>a</sup> Omnes ecclesiarum possessiones et tenuras, quas die illa habuerunt qua Willelmus rex auus meus fuit uiuus et mortuus, sine omnium calumpniantium reclamatione, eis liberas et absolutas esse concedo. Si quid uero de habitis aut possessis ante mortem regis, quibus modo careat,<sup>b</sup> ecclesia deinceps repetierit, indulgentie et dispensationi mee uel discutiendum uel restituendum reseruo. Quecunque uero post mortem regis, liberalitate regum, largitione principum, oblatione uel comparatione uel qualibet transmutatione fidelium collata sunt, confirmo. Pacem me et iustitiam in omnibus facturum et pro posse meo conseruaturum promitto. Forestas quas Willelmus rex auus meus et Willelmus secundus auunculus meus instituerunt et tenuerunt, mihi reseruo: ceteras omnes, quas Henricus rex <sup>c</sup> superaddidit, ecclesiis et regno quietas reddo et concedo.<sup>1</sup> Si quis autem episcopus uel <sup>d</sup> abbas, uel alius ecclesiasticus <sup>e</sup> ante mortem suam rationabiliter sua distribuerit, uel distribuenda statuerit, firmum manere concedo: si uero morte preoccupatus fuerit, pro salute anime eius ecclesie consilio eadem fiat distributio. Dum uero sedes propriis

<sup>a</sup> statuo et confirmo] statuo et concedo A concedo et statuo B

<sup>b</sup> caret A <sup>c</sup> rex om. B <sup>d</sup> aut A

<sup>e</sup> alius ecclesiasticus] alia ecclesiastica persona AB

<sup>1</sup> King Henry would not allow men to hunt or cut down timber in their own woods when he held them 'in manu sua' (*Henry of Huntingdon*, p. 258).

I will not do or allow anything of the nature of simony in the Church or in what appertains to it. I assert and confirm that jurisdiction and power over churchmen and all clerks and their property and the distribution of the goods of the Church are in the hands of the bishops. I decide and confirm that the prerogatives of the churches, confirmed by their privileges, and their customs maintained from of old, shall remain inviolate. All the property of the churches and the tenures that they had on the day when my grandfather William was alive and dead I grant to them in free and absolute possession, exempt from any vexatious claims. If a church afterwards seeks restoration of what it held or possessed before that king's death and now has not, I reserve the investigation or restoration of this to my own indulgence and disposal. Whatever has been added after that king's death, by the generosity of other kings, the bounty of princes, offerings or purchases or any kind of transfer made by the faithful, I confirm. I promise that I will bring about peace and justice in all things and maintain them as far as lies in my power. The forests that King William my grandfather and King William the second my uncle established and held I reserve for myself: all the others that King Henry added I restore and grant to the churches and the kingdom in peaceful possession.<sup>1</sup> If any bishop or abbot or other churchman has distributed his property before his death, or arranged for its distribution, in a reasonable fashion, I grant that this shall stand: if death seized him before he could do this let the same distribution take place for the benefit of his soul according to the advice of the Church. While sees

Stephen soon broke this promise when he went to hunt at Brampton (*Henry of Huntingdon*, p. 260).

fuerint pastoribus uacue, et ipse et omnes earum possessiones in manu et custodia <sup>a</sup> clericorum et <sup>b</sup> proborum hominum eiusdem ecclesie committantur, donec pastor canonice substituat. Omnes exactiones <sup>1</sup> et mescheningas et iniustitias, siue per uicecomites uel per alios quoslibet male inductas, funditus extirpo. Bonas leges et antiquas et iustas consuetudines in murdris et placitis et aliis causis obseruabo, et obseruari precipio et constituo.<sup>c</sup> Apud Oxeneford, anno incarnationis Domini millesimo centesimo tricesimo sexto, regni mei primo.<sup>7</sup>

§ 465. *Quod rex Stephanus omnia hec que iurauerat perperam mutauit*

Nomina testium, qui multi fuerunt, apponere fastidio, quia pene omnia ita perperam mutauit, quasi ad hoc tantum iurasset ut preuaricatorem sacramenti se regno toti ostenderet. Liceat enim mihi, pace mansuetissimi hominis, uerum non occulere; qui, si legitime regnum ingressus fuisset, et in eo administrando credulas aures maliuolorum susurris non exhibuisset, parum ei profecto ad regie persone decorem defuisset. Itaque sub eo aliquarum ecclesiarum thesauri direpti, possessiones terrarum laicis date; ecclesie clericorum alienis uendite; episcopi capti et <sup>d</sup> res suas abalienare coacti; abbacie uel amicorum gratia uel relaxatione debitorum <sup>e</sup> indignis concesse. Set hec non tam illi quam consiliariis eius ascribenda puto; qui persuadebant ei, nunquam eum debere carere denariis dum monasteria essent referta thesauris.

<sup>a</sup> et custodia om. Ce<sup>1</sup>      <sup>b</sup> uel AB      <sup>c</sup> statuo A      <sup>d</sup> uel B  
<sup>e</sup> debitorum om. A

<sup>1</sup> Henry of Huntingdon (p. 258) says Stephen promised to abolish Dane-geld (two shillings annually on every hide of land).

lack pastors of their own let them and all their property be put in the hands and guardianship of clerks and good men of the same church until a new pastor is appointed according to the canon law. All exactions and legal chicaneries and injustices,<sup>1</sup> wrongly brought into practice by the sheriffs or any other persons whomsoever, I utterly abolish. Good laws and ancient and just customs in what relates to murders and pleas and other cases I will observe and I enjoin and establish their observance. At Oxford, in the eleven hundred and thirty-sixth year of the Lord's Incarnation, the first of my reign.

§ 465. *How King Stephen changed for the worse all these things which he had sworn*

To add the names of the witnesses, who were many, would be a weary task, for he changed almost everything for the worse, just as if he had sworn for no other purpose than showing the whole kingdom he could not keep an oath. Let me be allowed not to hide the truth, with all respect for a very kindly man, who, if he had acquired the kingdom in a lawful way and in administering it had not lent trusting ears to the whispers of the ill-disposed, would certainly have lacked little that adorns the royal character. The result was that under him the treasures of some churches were plundered and their landed property given to laymen; churches belonging to clerks were sold to strangers; bishops were made prisoners and compelled to alienate their property; abbacies were granted to unfit persons either to oblige friends or to pay off debts. But I think these things should not be attributed to him so much as to his counsellors, who used to urge upon him that he should never lack money while the monasteries were full of treasure.

§ 466. *De transitu regis Stephani et Roberti comitis Gloecestre in Normanniam, et de insidiis habitis a rege in comitem*

Anno Dominice incarnationis millesimo centesimo tricesimo septimo,<sup>a</sup> rex primo tempore quadragesime transiit mare. Comes etiam, pertemptatis illorum et cognitis animis quos date fidei tenaciores esse nouerat, dispositoque quid deinceps agendum decerneret, ipso<sup>b</sup> die Pasce mare ingressus plenaque felicitate in terram euectus est. Nec multo post malignitatem aduerse fortune paulo minus expertus est; rex enim eum, incentore quodam Willelmo de Ipre,<sup>1</sup> insidiis intercipere conatus est. Comes autem eas<sup>c</sup> per quendam insidiarum conscium premunitus, paratos sibi euitauit dolos; et curia, quo sepe inuitabatur, aliquantis diebus abstinuit. Rex, consternatus animo quod insidiis parum profecisset, astutia agendum ratus, serenitate uultus et gratuita confessione magnitudinem culpe attenuare studuit. Iurauit tamen uerbis pro placito comitis conceptis, se nunquam ulterius tanto sceleri affuturum; et ut magis in gratiam reciperetur, manu archiepiscopi Hugonis Rothomagensis in manum Roberti missa, sacramentum solidauit. Et hec quidem egit ille; set nunquam plenam ei exhibuit amicitiam, cuius semper suspectam habebat potentiam: itaque coram<sup>d</sup> pulchre iocundeque comitem<sup>e</sup> appellans, retro maledicis uerbis mordebat, et quibus poterat possessionibus uellicabat. Robertus quoque, arte artem eludens, occultabat fronte animum; pacificeque regem in regnum redire<sup>2</sup> dimittens, ipse commodis suis in

<sup>a</sup> sexto Ce      <sup>b</sup> ipse B      <sup>c</sup> eas om. AB

<sup>d</sup> coram + comite AB      <sup>e</sup> comitem + illum AB

<sup>1</sup> For William of Ypres see note on ch. 55 of *Gesta*.

<sup>2</sup> The king came back in Advent 1137 (*Robert de Torigni*, p. 133).

§ 466. *The crossing of King Stephen and Robert Earl of Gloucester to Normandy and the ambush that the king laid for the earl*

In the eleven hundred and thirty-seventh year of the Lord's Incarnation the king crossed the sea at the beginning of Lent. The earl also, after thoroughly testing and learning the disposition of those whom he knew to be most tenacious of the faith they had given, put to sea actually on Easter day and landed without any mishap. Not long afterwards he almost experienced the spite of evil fortune, for the king, instigated by a certain William of Ypres,<sup>1</sup> tried to catch him in an ambush. But the earl was forewarned about it by someone in the secret and avoided the trap prepared for him, and for some days he kept away from court, to which he was frequently invited. The king, upset by the failure of the ambush, thought he must proceed by subtle methods and tried to diminish the enormity of his fault by a genial countenance and an unsolicited confession. He swore, however, according to a formula approved by the earl, that he would never again take part in so great a crime, and the better to re-establish cordial relations he added weight to the oath by putting Hugh Archbishop of Rouen's hand into Robert's. And yet, though he acted thus, he never showed the earl an entire friendship, always regarding his power with suspicion: and so, though in the earl's presence he addressed him in fair and pleasant fashion, behind his back he criticised him in spiteful terms and cavilled him out of what property he could. Robert also, parrying craft by craft, let his face mask his purpose, and after seeing the king off with no sign of hostility on his return<sup>2</sup> to his kingdom himself remained in Normandy

Normannia manens intendit. Ita Stephano multis tumultibus in Anglia impedito, et nunc super hos,<sup>a</sup> nunc super alios irruente, ut merito illi quod de Ismahele dictum est coaptari posset, quia 'manus omnium contra illum, et illius contra omnes,'<sup>1</sup> Robertus toto anno illo securum in Normannia egit otium. Rex prompte contra sibi resistentes crebro,<sup>b</sup> ut ferebatur, dicere solebat, 'Cum me in regem elegerint,<sup>c</sup> cur me destituunt? per nascentiam Dei, nunquam rex deiectus appellabor!' Robertus, quasi positus in specula, rerum prouidebat exitum, et ne de iuramento, quod sorori fecerat, erga Deum et homines perfidie notaretur, sedulo cogitabat.

§ 467. *Quomodo et quibus de causis Robertus comes  
homagium regis abdicauit*

Anno incarnationis Dominice<sup>d</sup> millesimo centesimo tricesimo octauo, intestinis discidiis Anglia quatiebatur: multi siquidem, quos<sup>e</sup> nobilitas generis uel magnitudo animi uel potius uiridioris ætatis audacia ad illicita precipitabat, a rege hi prædia, hi castella, postremo quæcunque semel collibisset, petere non uerebantur; que cum ille dare differret, excusata mutilatione regni, uel quod eadem alii calumpniarentur aut etiam possiderent, illi continuo ira commoti castella contra eum obfirmabant, predas ingentes ex eius terris agebant. Nec uero ille aliquorum defectione frangebatur animo; set modo hic, modo illic subitus aderat, semperque suo magis quam resistentium dampno rem conficiebat: multis enim<sup>f</sup> et magnis laboribus suis in cassum effusis,

<sup>a</sup> unos AB

<sup>b</sup> crebre AB

<sup>c</sup> elegerunt B

<sup>d</sup> Dominice incarnationis AB

<sup>e</sup> quos + uel AB

<sup>f</sup> enim om. B

<sup>1</sup> Genesis xvi. 12

and devoted himself to his own advantage. So, while Stephen was hampered by many disturbances in England, attacking now some and now others, so that what was said of Ishmael might justly be applied to him, 'every man's hand will be against him and his hand against every man,' Robert spent all that year in Normandy in untroubled ease. The king, it was reported, was often quick to say of his opponents, 'When they have chosen me king, why do they abandon me? By the birth of God, I will never be called a king without a throne!' Robert, as though placed on a watch-tower, was looking to see how things would end and considering carefully how he could avoid being branded before God and man as a traitor to the oath he had taken to his sister.

§ 467. *How and for what reasons Earl Robert renounced his  
homage to the king*

In the eleven hundred and thirty-eighth year of the Lord's Incarnation England was being shaken by internal strife, for many, urged on to unlawful courses by high birth or lofty spirit or rather the recklessness of youth, did not shrink from asking the king for estates or castles or in fact anything that had once taken their fancy, and when he deferred the gift with excuses that the domains of the Crown would be impaired or that others laid claim to the same things or were in actual possession of them, they were at once moved to wrath, fortified castles against him and carried off immense plunder from his lands. Yet he was not broken in spirit by any man's rebellion but appeared suddenly now here, now there and always settled the business with more loss to himself than to his opponents, for after expending many great

dati uel <sup>a</sup> honoribus uel castellis, simulatam ad tempus pacem ab illis promerebat.<sup>b</sup> Denique multos etiam <sup>c</sup> comites, qui ante non fuerant, instituit, applicitis possessionibus et redditibus que proprio iure regi competeabant.<sup>1</sup> Erant illi audiores ad petendum, et is profusior ad dandum, quia fama per Angliam uolabat, quod comes Gloecestre Robertus, qui erat in Normannia, in proximo partes sororis foret adiuturus, rege tantum modo ante diffidiato. Nec fides <sup>d</sup> rerum fame leuitatem destituit: celeriter enim post Pentecosten, missis a Normannia suis regi more maiorum amicitiam et fidem interdixit, homagio etiam abdicato; rationem preferens quam id iuste faceret, quia et rex illicite ad regnum aspirauerat, et omnem fidem sibi iuratam neglexerat, ne dicam mentitus fuerat; ipsemet quin etiam contra legem egisset, qui, post sacramentum quod sorori dederat, alteri cuilibet ea uiuente se manus dare non erubisset. Animabant nimirum mentem eius multorum religiosorum responsa, quos super negotio consuluerat: nullo modo eum posse sine ignominia uitam presentem transigere, uel mereri <sup>e</sup> beatitudinem future, si paterne necessitudinis sacramentum irritum haberet.<sup>f</sup> Ad hec <sup>g</sup> etiam apostolici decreti pre se tenorem ferebat, precipientis ut sacramento, quod presente patre fecerat, obediens esset; cuius decreti paginam posteriori libello indicare curabo. Hec uir ille, qui plena satietate litterarum scientiam combiberat, magno fructu sibi fore in posterum sciebat. Ceterum, rex egre ferens comitis magnanimitatem, omnibus eum

<sup>a</sup> uel om. A<sup>c</sup> etiam multos A<sup>f</sup> haberet irritum A<sup>b</sup> premerebat A promerebatur B<sup>d</sup> ueritas AB<sup>e</sup> merere AB<sup>g</sup> ad hec] addebant quod A adde quod B

efforts in vain he would win a pretence of peace from them for a time by the gift of honours or castles. Finally he also established many as earls who had not been earls before, with endowments of landed estates and revenues that had belonged directly to the king. They were the more greedy in asking and he the more lavish in giving because a rumour was flying over England that Robert Earl of Gloucester, who was in Normandy, was just on the point of siding with his sister, as soon as he had defied the king. Nor did the insubstantial rumour lack confirmation in fact, for immediately after Whitsuntide he sent representatives and abandoned friendship and faith with the king in the traditional way, also renouncing homage, giving the reason that he did it justly because the king had both unlawfully claimed the throne and disregarded, not to say belied, all the faith he had sworn to him; and that he himself likewise had acted contrary to law in that he, after taking the oath to his sister, had not been ashamed to give his hands to another in her lifetime. He was indeed encouraged by the answers of many ecclesiastics whom he had consulted on the matter, to the effect that in no wise could he pass this present life without disgrace or win blessedness in the life to come if he neglected to keep the oath to his father's daughter. He also produced the terms of a bull from the Pope, bidding him obey the oath he had taken in his father's presence; I will take care to insert a page of this decree in a later book. That man, who had drunk a full draught of the knowledge of letters, knew that these things would avail him much for the future. However, the king, indignant at the earl's lofty spirit, deprived

<sup>1</sup> The new earls really gained little, if any, financial advantage (see Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 267-9 and 293-4, and Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, pp. 230-2).

possessionibus in Anglia quibus poterat priuauit,<sup>a</sup> et quedam eius castella complanauit. Solum Bristowia remansit, ut non solum hostes expelleret, set etiam crebris regem <sup>b</sup> incursionibus fatigaret. Set quia primum librum Nouvelle Historie a reditu imperatricis post mortem mariti ad patrem hucusque protraxisse sufferit, nunc secundum ordiemur, ab eo anno quo eadem uirago in Angliam uenit, ius suum contra Stephanum assertura.

*Explicit Liber Primus Nouvelle Historie*

<sup>a</sup> quibus poterat priuauit] priuauit quantum in ipso fuit AB

<sup>b</sup> regem crebris A

him of all the possessions in England that he could and levelled some of his castles. Only Bristol remained, so that it could not only drive out his enemies but also harass the king with frequent raids. But because it will be enough to have extended the first book of the *Historia Novella* from the Empress's return to her father, after her husband's death, up to this point, I shall now begin the second book from the year when that woman of masculine spirit came to England to vindicate her right against Stephen.

*End of the first book of the 'Historia Novella'*

## INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS

§ 468. ANNO Dominice incarnationis millesimo centesimo tricesimo nono, uenenum malitie diu in animo regis Stephani <sup>a</sup> nutritum tandem erupit in publicum. Serebantur in Anglia rumores iam iamque aduenturum <sup>b</sup> e Normannia comitem Robertum cum sorore ; qua spe cum multi a rege non solum animo set et facto deficerent, ipse dispendia sua multorum iniuriis <sup>c</sup> sarciebat. Plures etiam pro sola suspicione diuersarum contra se partium in curia sua <sup>d</sup> contra decus regium captos, et ad redditionem castellorum et ad quascunque uoluit conditiones adduxit. Erant tunc duo in Anglia episcopi potentissimi, Rogerius Salesberiensis et nepos eius ex fratre, Alexander Lindocoliensis. Alexander ad tutamen, ut dicebat, et dignitatem episcopii, castellum de Niwewerche construxerat ; Rogerius qui ædificiorum constructione magnanimum se uideri uellet, plura. Apud Scireburnam et apud Diuisas multum terrarum edificiis amplexus, turritas moles erexerat. Apud Malmesberiam in ipso cimiterio, ab ecclesia principali uix iactu lapidis, castellum inchoauerat. Castellum Salesberie, quod cum <sup>e</sup> regii iuris proprium esset, ab Henrico rege impetratum, muro cinctum custodie sue attraxerat. His moti quidam potentes laici, qui se a clericis et opum congerie et municipiorum magnitudine superatum iri dolerent, cecum intra pectora <sup>f</sup> uulnus alebant inuidie. Itaque

<sup>a</sup> Stephani regis AB<sup>b</sup> euenturum AB<sup>c</sup> dispendia—iniuriis] iniuras suas multorum dispendiis AB<sup>d</sup> sua om. B<sup>e</sup> cum om. AB<sup>f</sup> pectus AB

## BEGINNING OF THE SECOND BOOK

§ 468. IN the eleven hundred and thirty-ninth year of the Lord's Incarnation the poison of malice, long nurtured in King Stephen's mind, at length burst forth to be observed by all. Reports were being spread in England that Earl Robert might arrive from Normandy at any moment with his sister, and since, in expectation of this, many were deserting the king in deed as well as thought he tried to make up for his losses by wrongs to many. A number too, on mere suspicion of siding against him, he arrested in his own court, in a manner unbefitting a king, and forced them to surrender of their castles and any terms he liked. There were then in England two very powerful bishops, Roger of Salisbury and his nephew through his brother, Alexander of Lincoln. Alexander had built the castle of Newark for the protection, as he said, and glorification of his diocese ; Roger, wishing to seem magnificent in the buildings he erected, had built several. At Sherborne and at Devizes he had raised masses of masonry, surmounted by towers, building over a great extent of ground. At Malmesbury he had begun a castle actually in the churchyard, hardly a stone's throw from the abbey. The castle at Salisbury, which belonged immediately to the king, he had obtained from King Henry, surrounded with a wall and brought under his own guardianship. In consequence some powerful laymen, vexed that they would be surpassed by clerks in the amassing of wealth and the size of their castles, nourished within their hearts an unseen grudge of envy.

conceptas querimonias regi effundunt : episcopos, oblitos ordinis, in castellis edificandis insanire ; nulli dubium esse debere quin hec ad perniciem regis fierent omnia, dum illi, statim ut uenisset imperatrix, cum traditione castellorum domine occurrerent, paternorum scilicet beneficiorum memoria inducti ; preueniendos ergo citius, et ad deditionem munitionum artandos ; alioquin regem seram penitentiam acturum, cum in potestate hostium esse<sup>a</sup> uideret que, si saperet, sibi apponere potuisset. Hec optimates sepius. Ille, quamuis eis nimio esset fauore obnoxius, aliquamdiu auribus suis blandientes dissimulauit audire ; molliens delationis<sup>b</sup> amaritudinem, uel religionis in episcopis gratia, uel, quod magis opinor, sue detractationis inuidia. Denique illorum,<sup>c</sup> que proceres suaserant, effectum non distulit cum primum uolenti se occasio ingressit. Ea fuit huiusmodi.

§ 469. *De captione episcoporum*<sup>1</sup>

Apud Oxenefordum circa octauum kalendas Iulii facto conuentu magnatum, predicti quoque pontifices aduenerunt. Inuitus ualde Salesberiensis hanc expeditionem incepit. Audiui etenim<sup>d</sup> eum dicentem uerba in hanc sententiam : ‘ Per dominam meam sanctam Mariam, nescio quo pacto, reluctatur mens mea huic itineri ! Hoc scio, quod eius utilitatis ero in curia, cuius est equinus pullus in pugna.’ Ita presagiebat animus mala futura. Tum,<sup>e</sup> quasi fortuna uideretur fauere<sup>f</sup> uoluntati regis, concitatus est tumultus inter homines

<sup>a</sup> esse om. AB      <sup>b</sup> dilationis AB      <sup>c</sup> illarum A

<sup>d</sup> etenim om. AB      <sup>e</sup> tunc AB

<sup>f</sup> uideretur fauere] famulari uideretur AB

<sup>1</sup> For this chapter see *Gesta*, ch. 35 and notes.

And so they poured forth to the king the grievances that had formed in their minds. The bishops, they said, forgetting they were churchmen, were mad with a rage for castle-building ; no-one should doubt that all this was being done for the king's ruin, for the time when, immediately on the Empress's arrival, they could meet their lady and hand over the castles, influenced by the recollection of her father's favours ; therefore they must be anticipated with all speed and compelled to surrender their fortifications, otherwise the king would repent too late when he saw in the power of his enemies what, if he had been wise, he could have added to his own strength. The chief men kept on urging this. The king, though easily swayed owing to his excessive favour towards them, pretended for some time not to listen to their cajolment of his ears, softening their bitter accusations either through regard for religion where bishops were concerned or, as I think more probable, because he disliked exposing himself to censure. In the end he did not delay execution of what the great men had advised as soon as an opportunity met his wishes. It was of the following sort.

§ 469. *The arrest of the bishops*<sup>1</sup>

When a council of the leading men was held at Oxford about June 24th the aforesaid bishops arrived also. The Bishop of Salisbury was most unwilling to set out, in fact I heard him speaking to this effect : ‘ By my blessed lady Mary, somehow I am disinclined to this journey ! This I know, that I shall be as useful at court as a colt in a battle.’ Thus did his mind forebode the evil to come. Then, as if fortune were favouring the king's wishes, a brawl arose between the bishops' men

episcoporum et Alani comitis Britannie pro uendicandis hospitiiis : euentu miserabili ut homines episcopi Salesberiensis ecclesie,<sup>a</sup> mense assidentes, semesis epulis ad pugnam prosilirent. Primo maledictis, mox gladiis res acta. Satellites Alani fugati, nepos eius paulo minus occisus : uictoria non incruenta episcopalibus cessit, multis sauciatis, uno etiam milite interfecto.<sup>b</sup> Rex, occasione accepta,<sup>c</sup> per antiquos incentores conueniri iussit episcopos ut curie sue<sup>d</sup> satisfacerent de hoc, quod homines eorum pacem ipsius exturbassent : modus satisfactionis foret, ut clauas castellorum suorum quasi fidei uades traderent. Illos ad satisfaciendum paratos, sed de deditione castellorum cunctantes, ne abirent artius asseruari precepit. Ita Rogerium episcopum absque uinculis, cancellarium, qui nepos esse<sup>e</sup> uel plusquam nepos eiusdem episcopi ferebatur, compeditum, duxit ad Diuisas, si uel castellum recipere posset<sup>f</sup> multis et uix numerabilibus sumptibus, non, ut ipse præsul dictitabat,<sup>g</sup> ad ornamentum, set, ut se rei ueritas habet, ad ecclesie detrimentum, edificatum. In ipsa obsessione castella Salesberie, Sciresburnie, Malmesberie regi data : ipse Diuise post triduum reddite, cum sibi ultroneum ieiunium episcopus indixisset, ut hac angustia sua animum<sup>h</sup> episcopi Eliensis, qui eas occupauerat, flecteret. Nec Alexander<sup>i</sup> episcopus Lindocoliensis obstinatius egit, redditione castellorum Niwerh et Eslefford<sup>k</sup> liberationem mercatus.

<sup>a</sup> ecclesie om. AB      <sup>b</sup> occiso AB

<sup>c</sup> occasione accepta] occasionem aucupatus AB      accepta—conueniri om. Ce<sup>2</sup>      <sup>d</sup> suc om. Ce<sup>1</sup>      <sup>e</sup> esse post episcopi AB

<sup>f</sup> si—posset] scilicet castellum AB      <sup>g</sup> dictabat AB

<sup>h</sup> animositatem AB      <sup>i</sup> Alexander om. AB

<sup>k</sup> castellorum—Eslefford] castelli AB

and those of Alan Count of Brittany about claims on lodgings, with the lamentable result that the Bishop of Salisbury's men, who were sitting at table, leapt up to fight before they had finished their meal. The contest was carried on first with abusive language, then with swords. Alan's followers were put to flight and his nephew almost killed, nor did the bishop's men gain their victory without loss of blood, since many were wounded and one knight slain. The king, taking the opportunity, ordered the bishops to be summoned by the old fomenters of trouble to satisfy his court for their men's disturbance of its peace, the means of satisfaction to be surrender of the keys of their castles as guarantees of their trustworthiness. When they were ready to give satisfaction but hesitated about the surrender of the castles he put them under close arrest to prevent their going away. Then he brought Bishop Roger, without chaining him, and the chancellor, who was said to be the nephew or an even closer relation of that same bishop, in chains, to Devizes, on the chance of obtaining the handing over of the castle, which had been built at great expense, hardly to be counted, not, as the bishop kept on saying himself, for the adornment but, as is in fact the case, for the injury of the church. In the course of siege-warfare the castles of Salisbury, Sherborne and Malmesbury were delivered up to the king : Devizes itself was surrendered after three days, when the bishop had imposed on himself a voluntary fast, that by undergoing this suffering he might influence the mind of the Bishop of Ely, who had taken possession of the place. Nor did Alexander<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Lincoln show any more resolution, buying his freedom with the surrender of the castles of Newark and Sleaford.

<sup>1</sup> Stephen took Alexander to Newark and threatened to deprive him of all food until the castle was surrendered (*Henry of Huntingdon*, p. 266).

§ 470. Hoc regis factum in diuersas sententias soluit ora multorum. Quidam dicebant iure castellis alienatos episcopos uideri, que preter scita canonum edificassent : illos euangelistas pacis esse debere, non architectos domorum que auctoribus maleficii forent refugium.<sup>a</sup> Hec amplioribus rationibus et sermonibus agebat Hugo archiepiscopus Rothomagi, quantum illa facundia poterat maximus regis propugnator. Alii contra, quorum partibus assistebat Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus, sedis apostolice in Anglia legatus, frater regis Stephani, ut ante dixi ; quem nec fraterna necessitudo, nec periculi metus, a uero tunc<sup>b</sup> exorbitare cogebat. Sic porro dicebat : si episcopi tramitem iustitie in aliquo transgrederentur, non esse regis, set canonum iudicium ; sine publico et ecclesiastico concilio illos nulla possessione priuari debuisse : regem id non<sup>c</sup> rectitudinis zelo, set commodi sui compendio fecisse ; qui castella non ecclesiis, ex quarum sumptibus et in quarum terris constructa erant, reddiderit, set laicis eisdemque parum religiosis contradiderit. Ista uir ille tum priuatim, tum etiam publice coram rege affirmans, eisdemque aures de liberatione et restitutione pontificum appellans, omnem consumpsit operam, in nullo auditus : quapropter, uigorem canonum<sup>d</sup> experiendum ratus, concilio, quod quarto kalendas Septembris celebraturus erat Wintonie, fratrem incunctanter adesse precepit.

<sup>a</sup> maleficii *post* refugium AB<sup>b</sup> tunc *om.* AB<sup>c</sup> non + ex B<sup>d</sup> canonicum Ce<sup>1</sup>

§ 470. This action by the king opened the mouths of many to express different opinions. Some were saying they thought the bishops had rightly been deprived of castles they had built in defiance of the canon law : that they should be evangelists of peace, not builders of houses that might be a refuge to doers of evil deeds. This was urged, in more copious argument and language, by Hugh Archbishop of Rouen, the king's foremost champion with all the power of his great eloquence. Others took the opposite view, supported by Henry Bishop of Winchester, legate in England of the Apostolic See, King Stephen's brother, as I have said above ; neither brotherly affection nor fear of danger then made him swerve from the truth. Thus he spoke : if the bishops had in anything stepped aside from the path of justice, then it was not for the king to judge them, but for the canon law ; without a general council of churchmen they should not have been deprived of any property : the king had not acted thus through zeal for righteousness but to serve his own advantage, seeing that he had not restored the castles to the churches at whose expense and on whose land they had been built but handed them over to laymen and likewise men of little religion. He spent all his efforts in saying these things both in private and openly in the king's presence, appealing to him to free and restore the bishops, but on no subject would the king listen to him : wherefore, thinking he would try what force lay in the canon law, he bade his brother promptly attend a council which he was to hold at Winchester on August 29th.

§ 471. *De concilio habito pro captione episcoporum*

Dicto die omnes fere episcopi Anglie, cum Thetdbaldo archiepiscopo Cantuarie qui Willelmo successerat, uenerunt Wintoniam. Archiepiscopus Eboracensis Turstinus pro <sup>a</sup> ualitudine qua grauabatur, uix enim animi uiribus corpus regebat, ceteri uero pro guerra, litteris absentiam suam excusarunt.<sup>b</sup> Lectum est primo in concilio decretum Innocentii pape, quo iam a kalendis Martii, si bene commemini,<sup>c</sup> partes sollicitudinis sue idem apostolicus domino episcopo Wintoniensi iure <sup>d</sup> legationis in Anglia iniunxerat. Exceptum id summo fauore, quod, diuturnitate temporis temperantiam suam ostendens episcopus, non se prerupta legatum promulgasset iactantia. Processit deinceps in concilio sermo eiusdem, latialiter ad litteratos habitus, de indignitate <sup>e</sup> captionis episcoporum: quorum Salesberiensis in camera curie, Lindocoliensis in diuersorio suo intercepti essent; Eliensis exemplum simile ueritus, ueloci profugio ad Diuisas se calamitati emisisset. Scelus miserabile,<sup>f</sup> regem ab incentoribus ita fuisse seductum, ut hominibus suis, presertim episcopis, in curie sue pace manus inici iussisset. Adiecta esset regio dedecori celestis iniuria, ut, sub obtentu culpe pontificum, ecclesie possessionibus suis spoliarentur. Sibi regis contra Dei legem <sup>g</sup> excessum tanto dolori esse, ut mallet se multo dispendio et corporis et rerum suarum affici, quam episcopalem celsitudinem tanta indignitate deici. Quin etiam regem de emendatione peccati multotiens commonitum; postremo <sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> pro] qui pro A<sup>b</sup> excusabant A<sup>c</sup> memini A<sup>d</sup> iura B<sup>e</sup> indignatione AB<sup>f</sup> mirabile Ce<sup>1</sup><sup>g</sup> legem Dei AB<sup>h</sup> postremo + tunc AB§ 471. *The council held with regard to the arrest of the bishops*

On the appointed day almost all the bishops of England came to Winchester, together with Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, the successor of William. Thurstan, the Archbishop of York, excused his absence by letter on account of the ill-health from which he was suffering, for he could scarcely govern his body by the strength of his mind; the others made the war their excuse. At the opening of the council a bull of Pope Innocent was read, whereby, as early as the first of March, if I remember rightly, the Pope had given his commission to the Lord Bishop of Winchester with the office of legate in England. It was most favourably received that the bishop had shown his restraint by delay and not hastened ostentatiously to announce himself as legate. Next he made a speech before the council, in Latin, as he was addressing educated men, on the indignity of arresting the bishops, of whom the Bishop of Salisbury had been seized in a room at court and the Bishop of Lincoln in his lodging, while the Bishop of Ely, from fear of such a precedent, had escaped disaster by a speedy flight to Devizes. It was a lamentable crime, he said, that the king had been so led astray by those who instigated him to this as to order hands to be laid on his men, especially when they were bishops, in the peace of his court. To the king's disgrace had been added a wrong to heaven, in that, under pretence of the bishops' being at fault, churches were robbed of their property. The king's outrage upon divine law caused him so much grief that he would sooner suffer great damage to his person and possessions than that the dignity of bishops should be lowered by such a humiliation. The king, moreover, had often been urged to atone for his sin and

concilii uocationem non abnuisse. Proinde archiepiscopus et ceteri consulerent in medium quid opus esset facto : se ad executionem concilii nec pro regis, qui sibi frater erat, amicitia,<sup>a</sup> nec pro dampno possessionum, nec etiam pro capitis periculo, defuturum.

§ 472. Dum<sup>b</sup> hec ille sensim per amplificationem exponit, rex, cause sue non diffusus, comites in concilium misit, querens cur uocatus esset. Responsum est a legato ex compendio : non debere illum, qui se Christi fidei subiectum meminisset, indignari si a ministris Christi ad satisfactionem uocatus esset, tanti reatus<sup>c</sup> conscius quantum nostra secula nusquam uidissent. Gentilium quippe seculorum opus esset episcopos incarcerare et possessionibus suis exuere. Dicerent ergo fratri, quod, si consilio suo placidum commodare dignaretur assensum, tale illi Deo auctore largiretur, cui nec ecclesia Romana, nec curia regis Francie, nec ipse comes Thetbaldus frater amborum, sapiens profecto uir et religiosus, ex ratione contraire posset, set quod fauorabiliter complecti deberent. Consulte uero in presentiarum rex faceret, si uel rationem facti sui redderet, uel canonicum iudicium subiret. Ex debito etiam oportere ut ecclesie faueret, cuius sinu exceptus, non manu militum, in regnum promotus fuisset. Cum<sup>d</sup> dicto comites egressi nec multo post cum<sup>e</sup> responso reuersi sunt. Comitabatur eos Albericus quidam de Ver,<sup>1</sup> homo causarum uarietatibus exercitatus. Is responsum regis retulit, et

<sup>a</sup> amicitia *post* regis AB      <sup>b</sup> cum AB      <sup>c</sup> reati A  
<sup>d</sup> cum] sic cum AB      <sup>e</sup> prouiso AB

<sup>1</sup> Chamberlain, father of the Aubrey de Vere who was afterwards created Earl of Oxford and father-in-law of Geoffrey de Mandeville ; killed at London 15 May 1141 (Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, II, p. 174).

finally had not rejected a summons to the council. Therefore let the archbishop and the others take counsel together about what should be done : he himself would not fail to carry out the decision of the council either out of regard for the king, who was his brother, or for loss of property or even danger to his life.

§ 472. While the legate thus expressed himself deliberately and at length, the king, who did not lack confidence in his own case, sent earls to the council to enquire why he had been summoned. The legate answered in brief that one who remembered he owed obedience to the faith of Christ should not complain if he had been summoned by Christ's ministers to give satisfaction, when he knew himself guilty of an offence such as our times had nowhere seen ; for it belonged to pagan times to imprison bishops and deprive them of their property. Let them therefore tell his brother that if he thought it fit to acquiesce calmly in his advice he would by God's will give him advice to which neither the Church of Rome nor the court of the King of France nor even Count Theobald, the brother of both of them, certainly a wise and religious man, could reasonably object, but which they ought to accept with favour. In the present juncture the king would act prudently if he either gave account of what he had done or submitted to judgment according to the canon law. It was also his bounden duty to favour the Church, whose welcoming arms, not the prowess of his knights, had raised him to the throne. The earls went out with what he had said and returned not long afterwards with an answer. They were accompanied by Aubrey de Vere, a man practised in many kinds of cases. He gave the king's answer and did all the harm he could to Bishop Roger's case (for Bishop

quantum potuit causam antistitis<sup>a</sup> Rogerii, episcopus enim Alexander aberat,<sup>b</sup> quem manutenuit,<sup>c</sup> grauauit; modeste tamen, sine ulla uerborum<sup>d</sup> contumelia: quamuis quidam comitum, astantes<sup>e</sup> iuxta, crebro loquelam eius interromperent, probra in episcopum iacentes.

§ 473. Hec ergo fuit summa dictorum Alberici: multis iniuriis Rogerium episcopum affecisse regem Stephanum: rarissime ad curiam uenisse, quin homines sui, de eius potentia presumentes, seditiones mouissent.<sup>f</sup> Qui cum sepe<sup>g</sup> alias, tum nuper apud Oxenefordum fecissent impetum in homines et in ipsum nepotem comitis Alani; in homines etiam Heruei de Liuns, qui esset tante nobilitatis, tanti supercilii, ut nunquam regi Henrico petenti animum indulserit in Angliam uenire. In iniuriam ergo regis Stephani redundare, pro cuius amore uenerit, quod ei<sup>h</sup> tanta uis illata sit. Episcopum Lindocoliensem, ex ueteri odio in Alanum, seditionis per<sup>i</sup> homines suos auctorem fuisse. Episcopum Salesberiensem inimicis regis clam fauere, dissimulata interim pro tempore uersutia: id regem ex multis indubitanter comperisse; eoque potissimum, quod Rogerium de Mortemer, cum militibus regiis quos ducebat,<sup>k</sup> in summo de Bristowiensibus metu, nec una nocte idem episcopus Malmesberie manere dimisisset. Omnibus esse in ore, quod, statim ut imperatrix uenisset, ille ad eam cum nepotibus et castellis se<sup>l</sup> conferret. Rogerius itaque captus sit non ut episcopus, set ut regis seruiens, qui et procuraciones eius administraret et solidatas acciperet. Castella non per uiolentiam rex eripuerit, set episcopi

<sup>a</sup> antistitis Ce	<sup>b</sup> abierat AB	<sup>c</sup> quem manutenuit om. AB
<sup>d</sup> uerba A	<sup>e</sup> stantes AB	<sup>f</sup> mouissent Ce <sup>1</sup>
<sup>g</sup> sepe om. Ce <sup>1</sup>	<sup>h</sup> ea Ce	<sup>i</sup> super B
<sup>k</sup> ductitabat AB	<sup>l</sup> se post ille AB	

Alexander, whom Roger supported, was not there); yet he did it with restraint and without abusive language, though some of the earls, standing by his side, often interrupted his speech by hurling insults at the bishop.

§ 473. This then was the sum of what Aubrey said: that Bishop Roger had inflicted many wrongs on King Stephen; had very seldom come to court without his men raising a brawl, presuming on his power. At many other times and recently at Oxford they had attacked Count Alan's men and even his nephew, likewise the men of Hervey de Lyons, who was so high-born and so proud that he had never deigned to come to England at King Henry's request. It therefore amounted to a wrong to King Stephen, from affection for whom he had come, that such violence had been offered him. The Bishop of Lincoln, owing to an old hatred for Alan, had stirred up the brawl through his men. The Bishop of Salisbury secretly favoured the king's enemies, though meanwhile he disguised his craft for the time: the king had learnt that beyond doubt by many proofs, and this especially, that the bishop had not allowed Roger de Mortimer, with the king's troops whom he was leading, to stay even one night at Malmesbury, when he was in the greatest dread of the people of Bristol. Everyone was saying that as soon as the Empress came he would take her side together with his nephews and his castles. Roger then had been arrested not as a bishop but as a servant of the king, who both managed his affairs and received his pay. The king had not seized the castles by force, but both the bishops had surrendered them gladly to avoid facing a charge for the brawl they had stirred up at court. The king had found some money

ambo gratanter reddiderint, ut calumpniam de tumultu quem in curia concitauerant euaderent. Aliquantum<sup>a</sup> pecuniarum rex in castellis inuenerit, que ipsius legitime essent; quia eas<sup>b</sup> tempore regis Henrici, auunculi et antecessoris sui, ex fisci regii redditibus Rogerius episcopus<sup>c</sup> collegisset. Eis tamen, sicut et castellis, idem presul pro timore commissorum in regem libens cesserit; inde non deesse testes regi. Ipsum proinde uelle ut pacta inter se et episcopos rata permanerent.

§ 474. Reclamatum est ab episcopo Rogerio contra sermones Alberici, quod nunquam regis Stephani minister fuisset, nec ipsius solidatas<sup>d</sup> acceperisset: mine quinetiam ab animoso uiro, et qui malis erubesceret frangi, prolate,<sup>e</sup> si iustitiam de rebus sibi ablatis in illo concilio non inuenisset,<sup>f</sup> eam in audientia maioris curie querendam. Leniter legatus, ut cetera: omnia que dicuntur contra episcopos prius in concilio ecclesiastico et accusari et an uera essent decuisset inquiri, quam in indempnes contra canonum decreta sententiam proferri. Rex itaque faciat, quod etiam in forensibus iudiciis legitimum est fieri, ut reuestiat episcopos de rebus suis: alioquin iure gentium dissaisiti<sup>g</sup> non placitabunt.<sup>1</sup>

§ 475. Dictis in hunc modum utrobique multis, causa petiti regis in posterum diem dilata,<sup>h</sup> nec minus in crastino<sup>i</sup> ad aduentum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis posttridie prolongata. Is ubi uenit, omnium suspensis

<sup>a</sup> aliquantulum A  
<sup>d</sup> soliditates A  
<sup>g</sup> dissaisati AB

<sup>b</sup> eas + in A  
<sup>e</sup> prolati A  
<sup>h</sup> prolata A

<sup>c</sup> episcopus Rogerius A  
<sup>f</sup> inueniret AB  
<sup>i</sup> crastinum Ce

in the castles, but it was money that lawfully belonged to him, because Bishop Roger had amassed it from the revenues of the royal treasury in the time of King Henry, his uncle and predecessor. However, that same bishop, in the fear induced by his misdeeds, had willingly yielded up the money to the king, just like the castles, and the king did not lack witnesses of this. It was therefore his wish that the agreement between himself and the bishops should remain in force.

§ 474. Bishop Roger cried out against what Aubrey said, that he had never been King Stephen's servant or received his pay: moreover, he uttered threats, for he was a man of spirit, and one ashamed to be broken by misfortune, that if he did not find justice in that council for what had been taken from him he would seek it in the hearing of a higher court. The legate said, with his usual moderation: 'All the charges against the bishops should have been made, and their truth investigated in a Church council rather than sentence pronounced, contrary to the canon law, against men who had not been proved guilty. Let the king therefore do what the law requires even in cases at the bar, reinstate the bishops in their property, otherwise, by natural law, if they are dispossessed they will not plead.'<sup>1</sup>

§ 475. After much had been said on both sides to this effect the case on the king's request was adjourned to the next day, and on the morrow was put off again till the arrival of the Archbishop of Rouen two days later. When he came, with all in anxiety about what he might

<sup>1</sup> cf. the arraignment of William de St Calais, Bishop of Durham, before William Rufus (*Symeon of Durham*, I, pp. 179 et seq.).

animis quidnam afferret, dixit se concedere ut episcopi castella <sup>a</sup> haberent si se iure habere debere per canones probare possent; quod quia non possent, extreme improbitatis esse contra canones niti uelle. 'Et esto,' inquit, 'iustum sit ut habeant: certe, quia suspectum est tempus, secundum morem aliarum gentium, optimates omnes clauces munitiorum suarum debent uoluntati regis contradere, qui pro omnium pace debet militare. Ita omnis controuersia episcoporum infirmabitur: <sup>b</sup> aut enim secundum canonum scita iniustum est ut habeant castella; aut, si hoc ex <sup>c</sup> indulgentia principali toleratur, ut tradant clauces necessitati temporis debent cedere.'

§ 476. His predictus subiecit <sup>d</sup> causidicus Albericus: significatum esse regi quod murmurarent <sup>e</sup> inter se pontifices, pararentque aliquos ex suis contra eum Romam mittere. 'Et hoc,' ait, 'laudat uobis rex, ne quisquam uestrum presumat facere; quia, si quis contra uoluntatem suam et regni dignitatem ab Anglia quouam iret, <sup>f</sup> difficilis ei fortassis reditus foret. Ipse quinetiam quia se grauari uidet, ultro ad Romam appellat uos.' <sup>g</sup>

§ 477. Hec postquam rex partim quasi laudando, partim minando mandasset, intellectum est quo tenderet. Quapropter ita discessum est, ut nec ipse censuram canonum pati uellet, nec episcopi in <sup>h</sup> eum

<sup>a</sup> castella episcopi B      <sup>b</sup> infirmabatur AB

<sup>d</sup> predictus subiecit] addidit predictus AB

<sup>e</sup> minitarent A minarentur B

<sup>g</sup> uos post ultro AB

<sup>h</sup> in om. AB

<sup>c</sup> pro AB

<sup>f</sup> ierit A

bring, he said he would allow the bishops to have their castles if they could prove by the canon law that they were entitled to have them; but, as they could not, it was a mark of extreme wickedness to wish to strive against the canon law. 'Even granted,' he said, 'that it is right for them to have the castles, yet certainly, as it is a time of suspicion, all the chief men, in accordance with the custom of other peoples, ought to hand over the keys of their fortifications to the disposal of the king, whose duty it is to fight for the peace of all. So the bishops' whole case will fall to the ground, for either it is unjust, according to the canon law, for them to have castles or, if this is permitted by the king as an act of grace, they ought to yield to the emergencies of the time by delivering up the keys.'

§ 476. To this Aubrey, the advocate mentioned above, added that the king had been told that the bishops were murmuring among themselves and preparing to send some of their number to Rome against him. 'The king also recommends to you,' he said, 'that no one of you should presume to do this, for if anyone went anywhere out of England contrary to his wish and the majesty of the Crown it might be difficult for him to return. Moreover, since he sees he is being injuriously accused, he himself of his own accord summons you to Rome.'

§ 477. After this message from the king, which was a mixture of advice and threat, it was understood what he was aiming at. Wherefore the council broke up without the king's consenting to bear a canonical censure or the bishops' thinking it wise to produce one against him,

exerere<sup>a</sup> consultum ducerent: duplici ex causa, seu quia principem excommunicare sine apostolica conscientia temerarium esset; seu quoniam audirent, quidam etiam uiderent, gladios circa se nudari. Non enim iam ludicra erant uerba, set de uita et sanguine pene certabatur.<sup>1</sup> Non omiserunt tamen legatus et archiepiscopus quin tenorem officii sui prosequerentur: suppliciter enim pedibus regis in cubiculo affusi, orauerunt ut miseretur ecclesie, miseretur anime et fame sue, nec pateretur fieri discidium inter regnum et sacerdotium. Ille dignanter assurgens, quamuis a se facti eorum amoliretur inuidiam, malorum tamen preuentus consiliis, nullam bonarum<sup>b</sup> promissionum exhibuit efficaciam.

§ 478. *De adventu imperatricis et Roberti comitis in Angliam.*

Kalendis Septembris solutum est concilium. Pridie uero kalendarum Octobrium<sup>2</sup> comes Robertus, tandem nexus morarum eluctatus, cum sorore imperatrice inuectus est Anglie, fretus pietate Dei et fide legitimi sacramenti, ceterum multo minore armorum apparatu quam quis alius tam periculosum bellum aggredi temptaret; non enim plusquam centum quadraginta milites tunc secum adduxit. Testimonio ueridicorum relatorum sermo meus nititur. Dicerem, nisi adulatio uideretur, non imparem fuisse illum<sup>c</sup> Iulio Cesari dumtaxat animo, quem Titus Liuius commemorat quinque solum cohortes habuisse quando ciuile bellum inchoauit; cum quibus, inquiens, orbem terrarum adortus<sup>d</sup> est. Quamuis iniqua comparatione Iulius et Robertus conferantur: Iulius enim, uere fidei extorris,

<sup>a</sup> exercere B (execrare Cd)  
<sup>c</sup> illum om. AB

<sup>b</sup> bonorum A  
<sup>d</sup> adorsus AB

for two reasons, one, that it was rash to excommunicate a prince without the Pope's cognizance, the other, that they heard, and some even saw, swords being drawn around them. For it was no longer a dialectical game but wellnigh a struggle for men's lifeblood.<sup>1</sup> However, the legate and the archbishop did not fail to pursue the course that their duty prescribed, for they fell as suppliants at the king's feet in his room and begged him to take pity on the Church, pity on his soul and reputation, and not suffer a divorce to be made between the monarchy and the clergy. Though he rose respectfully and removed the stigma that their act had laid on him, yet, taken up with the advice of wicked men, he showed no fulfilment of righteous promises.

§ 478. *The arrival of the Empress and Earl Robert in England*

The council broke up on the first of September. On the thirtieth of September<sup>2</sup> Earl Robert, escaping at last from hampering delays, landed in England with his sister the Empress, relying on the mercy of God and his fidelity to a lawful oath, yet with a far smaller military force than that with which anyone else would have ventured on so hazardous a war, for he brought with him at that time no more than a hundred and forty knights. My statement is based on the authority of trustworthy informants. Did it not seem flattery I would say that he was not unequal, at any rate in spirit, to Julius Caesar, of whom Titus Livius tells that he had only five cohorts when he began the civil war, with which, says Livy, he assailed the world. Though the comparison between

<sup>1</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, xii, ll. 764-5.

<sup>2</sup> Robert de Torigni (p. 137) says they landed in August, Orderic says 'in autumn.'

in fortuna sua, ut dicebat, et legionum uirtute spem reclinabat : Robertus, Christiana pietate insignis,<sup>a</sup> in Sancti Spiritus et domine sancte Marie patrocinio totus pendulus erat. Ille in tota Gallia, et partim in Germania et Britannia, fautores habens, omnem etiam Romanam plebem, excepto senatu, muneribus sibi deuinxerat : iste, preter paucissimos qui fidei quondam iurate non immemores erant, in Anglia optimates uel aduersantes uel nichil adiuuantes expertus est. Appulit ergo Arundellum ; ibique nouerce sue, quam, amissa matre imperatricis, ut prefatus sum, Henricus rex<sup>b</sup> quondam lecto copulauerat, tuta, ut putabat, custodia sororem interim delegauit. Ipse per tam confertam barbariem, uixdum, ut<sup>c</sup> audiui, duodecim militibus comitatus, Bristou contendit, occurrente sibi medio itineris Briano filio comitis ex Walengeford. Nec multo post cognouit sororem ex Arundello profectam ; nouerca enim feminea leuitate fidem, totiens etiam missis in Normanniam nuntiis promissam, fefellerat. Dedit rex porro<sup>d</sup> imperatrici Wintoniensis episcopi Henrici et comitis Mellentensis Walleranni conductum ; quem cuilibet, quamuis<sup>e</sup> infestissimo inimico, negare laudabilium militum mos non est. Et Wallerannus quidem ultra Calnam tendere supersedit, episcopo in conductu perseuerante. Contractis ergo comes celeriter copiis ad metas a rege datas aduenit, sororemque Bristou ad tutiora / perduxit. Recepit illam postea in Glocestram Milo, qui castellum eiusdem urbis sub comite habebat tempore regis Henrici, dato ei homagio et fidelitatis sacramento : nam eadem ciuitas caput est sui comitatus.

<sup>a</sup> insignitus A      <sup>b</sup> rex Henricus A      <sup>c</sup> ut om. A  
<sup>d</sup> rex porro] ergo rex A porro rex B      <sup>e</sup> quis AB  
 / Bristou ad tutiora] ad Bristou tutior Ce

Julius and Robert is unfair, for Julius, having no part in the true faith, rested his hopes on his luck, as he said, and the valour of his legions ; Robert, distinguished for his Christian piety, entirely relied on the aid of the Holy Spirit and Our Blessed Lady, Mary. Julius had supporters in the whole of Gaul and parts of Germany and Britain and had attached the entire Roman people to himself with gifts, except the senate ; Robert found in England that the nobles were either hostile or gave no help, apart from a very few who had not forgotten the faith they once swore. So he landed at Arundel and there entrusted his sister for the time being, in what he believed to be safe guardianship, to her stepmother, whom, as I said earlier, King Henry had married after the loss of the Empress's mother. He himself, through such a mass of barbarians, with hardly twelve knights, I have heard, to accompany him as yet, hastened to Bristol, and Brian Fitz Count from Wallingford met him half-way on his journey. Not long after he learnt that his sister had left Arundel, for her stepmother, with a woman's fickleness, broke the faith she had so often pledged even by sending envoys to Normandy. Then the king gave the Empress the escort of Henry Bishop of Winchester and Waleran Count of Meulan, escort which it is not the custom of honourable knights to refuse to anyone, even their bitterest enemy. Waleran for his part went no farther than Calne, but the bishop continued as escort. So the earl, quickly gathering his forces, arrived at the limits prescribed by the king and brought his sister to greater safety at Bristol. Afterwards Miles, castellan of Gloucester under the earl in King Henry's time, gave her homage and an oath of fealty and admitted her to Gloucester, for that city is the chief place of his earldom.

§ 479. *Quomodo rex ceperat Malmesberiam, et de obsidione Trohbrigie*

Nonis Octobris Robertus quidam, filius Huberti, immanis ac barbarus, castellum Malmesberie, quod Rogerius episcopus infausto auspicio inchoauerat, fur-  
tim noctu ingressus, combustoque uico, quasi magno triumpho gloriatus est. Veruntamen ante quindecim dies letitia excidit, a rege fugatus. Castellum precepit rex interim asseruari, quoad pace data posset destrui. Ipse uero rex, antequam Malmesberiam uenisset, quandam munitiunculam Milonis supernominati, Cernei<sup>1</sup> nomine, occupauerat, ibique milites suos posuerat. Quapropter, sicut et ibi et Malmesberie, alias sibi successurum existimans, castellum Hunfridi de Buhun, qui partibus imperatricis fauebat, uocabulo Trobrigge, inuasit, set irritus abiit.<sup>a</sup>

§ 480. *Quomodo Here ord cessit imperatrici*

Tota itaque regio circa Glocestram usque profundas Guallias, partim ui, partim beniuolentia pedetemptim residuis illius anni mensibus se domine imperatrici applicuit. Aliquanti castellanorum, intra munitiones suas se contutantes, exitum rerum<sup>b</sup> speculabantur. Ciuitas Hereford sine difficultate recepta: pauci milites, in castello animis obstinatis se includentes, a foris obsessi. Appropinquauit rex si forte laborantibus opem aliquam comminisci posset; set frustratus uoto, inglorius discessit: equitauit etiam iuxta Bristou, superiusque contendens,

<sup>a</sup> Nonis—abiit (§ 479 totum) om. AB      <sup>b</sup> rei A

<sup>1</sup> South Cerney, on the border of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, near Cricklade.

§ 479. *How the king took Malmesbury, and the siege of Trowbridge*

On October 7th a certain Robert Fitz Hubert, a cruel and savage man, stealthily entered by night the castle of Malmesbury, which Bishop Roger had begun under an evil star, and after burning the village boasted of it as though it were a great victory. However, within fifteen days he was cast down from his rejoicing, being put to flight by the king. The king gave orders for the castle to be guarded for a time until, with the coming of peace, it could be demolished. The king himself, before arriving at Malmesbury, had seized a small fortification of the Miles mentioned above, named Cerney,<sup>1</sup> and posted a garrison there. Wherefore, thinking he would be as successful elsewhere as there and at Malmesbury, he attacked a castle of Humphrey de Bohun, who sided with the Empress, named Trowbridge, but went away without achieving anything.

§ 480. *How Hereford yielded to the Empress*

So the whole district around Gloucester as far as the depth of Wales, partly under compulsion and partly from good-will, gradually went over to the lady Empress in the remaining months of that year. Some of the castellans, keeping safe within their fortifications, were watching how things would turn out. The town of Hereford was gained without difficulty: a few knights, resolutely shutting themselves up in the castle, were besieged from outside. The king approached on the chance of being able to devise some help for them in their difficulties, but was disappointed of his wish and departed ignominiously: he also led a cavalry raid near

uillas que fuerunt in circuitu Dunestor<sup>a</sup> combussit, nichil omnino, in quantum ualebat, reliquum faciens quod posset inimicis suis esui uel alicui usui esse.

§ 481. *De obitu et moribus Rogerii episcopi Salesberie*

Tertio idus Decembris Rogerius episcopus Salesberie febrem quartanam, qua iamdudum quassabatur beneficio<sup>b</sup> mortis euasit: dolore animi aiunt eum<sup>c</sup> contraxisse ualitudinem, utpote tantis et tam<sup>d</sup> crebris a rege Stephano pulsatum incommodis. Eum mihi uidetur Deus exemplum diuitibus pro uolubilitate rerum exhibuisse, ne sperent in incerto diuitiarum; quas quidam, ut ait apostolus, appetentes a fide naufragauerunt.<sup>1</sup> Insinuatus est primo comiti Henrico, qui postmodum rex fuit, pro prudentia res domesticas administrandi, et luxum familie cohibendi. Fuit enim Henricus ante regnum in expensis parci animi et frugi, penuria scilicet rei familiaris astrictus, fratribus Willelmo et Roberto arroganter eum tractantibus. Cuius cognitis moribus, Rogerius ita eum tempore inopie demeruit, ut, cum ille solium regni ascendisset, nichil ei uel<sup>e</sup> parum negaret quod ipse petendum putasset: largiri predia, ecclesias, prebendas clericorum, abbatias integras monachorum, ipsum postremo regnum fidei eius committere: cancellarium initio<sup>f</sup> regni, nec multo post episcopum Salesberie, fecit. Rogerius ergo agebat causas, ipse moderabatur expensas, ipse seruabat gazas; hoc quando rex erat in Anglia, hoc sine socio et teste quando, quod

<sup>a</sup> fuerunt in circ. Dunestor] in circ. Dun(e)store erant AB

<sup>b</sup> beneficio] a beneficio Ce <sup>c</sup> eum om. A <sup>d</sup> tam om. B

<sup>e</sup> aut AB <sup>f</sup> initio] in initio AB

<sup>1</sup> 1 Timothy i. 19

Bristol and, making his way up-country, burnt the villages round Dunster, leaving nothing at all, as far as it lay in his power, that could serve his enemies for food or any purpose.

§ 481. *The death and the character of Roger Bishop of Salisbury*

On the eleventh of December Roger Bishop of Salisbury escaped from a quartan fever, by which he had long been afflicted, by the favour of death: they say he contracted the illness from mental suffering, having been assailed by King Stephen with injuries so many and so great. God seems to me to have displayed him to the rich as a warning of the mutability of things, lest they should trust in the uncertainty of riches, by seeking which, as the Apostle says, some concerning faith have made shipwreck.<sup>1</sup> He first made his way into the confidence of Earl Henry, who afterwards became king, by judgment in managing his private affairs and checking the luxury of his household. For Henry, before he began to reign, was sparing and frugal in his expenditure, being hampered by lack of means, since his brothers William and Robert treated him haughtily. Learning his character, Roger deserved so well of him in his time of need that on ascending the throne he refused Roger little or nothing that he himself thought fit to ask, lavishing on him estates, churches, prebends of clerks, whole abbeys of monks, finally entrusting the very kingdom to him: he made him chancellor at the beginning of his reign and not long afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. So Roger pleaded the cases, controlled the expenditure himself, kept the treasure himself, both when the king was in England and likewise, without colleague or witness, when, as happened often and for long periods,

crebro et diu accidit, morabatur Normannie. Nec solum a rege, set et ab optimatibus, ab his etiam quos felicitatis eius inuidia clam mordebat, maximeque a ministris et tunc <sup>a</sup> debitoribus regis, ei quecumque pene cogitasset conferebantur. Si quid possessionibus eius contiguum erat quod suis utilitatibus conduceret, continuo uel prece uel precio, sin minus uiolentia, extorquebat. Ipse, singulari gloria, quantum nostra etas reminisci potest, in domibus edificandis, splendida per omnes possessiones suas construxit habitacula, in quibus solum tuendis successorum eius frustra laborabit opera; sedem suam mirificis ornamentis et edificiis, citra ullam expensarum parsimoniam, in immensum extulit. Erat prorsus mirum uidere de homine illo, quanta eum in omni genere dignitatum opum sequebatur copia, et quasi ad manum affluebat: quantula illa gloria, qua quid posset accidere maius? quod duos nepotes, sue educationis opera, honeste litterature et industrie uiros, effecit episcopos; nec uero exilium episcopatum, set Lindocoliensis et Heliensis, quibus opulentiores nescio si habet Anglia. Sentiebat ipse quantum posset, <sup>b</sup> et, aliquanto durius quam talem uirum deceret, Diuinitatis abutebatur indulgentia. Denique, sicut poeta quidam de quodam <sup>c</sup> diuite dicit,

'Diruit, edificat, mutat quadrata rotundis: '<sup>1</sup>

ita Rogerius abbatias in episcopatum, res episcopatus in abbatiam <sup>d</sup> alterare conatus est. <sup>e</sup> Malmesberiense et Abbadesberiense, antiquissima cenobia, quantum in ipso fuit, episcopatui delegauit: Scireburnensem prio-

<sup>a</sup> tunc om. AB

<sup>b</sup> potuit A

<sup>c</sup> quolibet AB

<sup>d</sup> abbatias A

<sup>e</sup> est om. B

<sup>1</sup> Horace Ep. I, i, l. 100.

he was staying in Normandy. And not only from the king but also from the nobles, even those who were gnawed in secret by envy of his prosperity, and especially from the king's servants and those who were his debtors at the time, he received almost anything he could think of. Anything bordering his property that suited his requirements he extracted at once by prayer or price, otherwise by force. He himself, since in building he took an especial pride unsurpassed within the recollection of our age, made magnificent dwellings on all his estates, for the mere upkeep of which his successors will spend their efforts in vain; his own see he glorified beyond measure by wondrous adornments and buildings, without any sparing of expense. It was indeed remarkable to see, in the case of that man, what abundance of wealth followed him in every high office he held, flowing into his hand, as it were, how little he boasted of the fact (though what greater thing could have fallen to his lot?) that he made bishops of two nephews, who thanks to the education he gave them were men of credit for learning and zeal, and not in poor dioceses but those of Lincoln and Ely, as rich perhaps as any that England holds. He himself was conscious of his power and abused God's indulgence somewhat more persistently than befitted such a man. Finally, as a poet says of a rich man that he

'Pulls down and builds, exchanges square for round,'<sup>1</sup>

so Roger tried to turn abbeys into a bishopric, the property of a bishopric into an abbey. Two most ancient monasteries, those of Malmesbury and Abbotsbury, he attached to the bishopric as far as lay in his power: the priory of Sherborne, which belongs directly

ratum, qui proprius est episcopi Salesberiensis, in abbatiā mutauit, abbatia de Hortuna proinde destructa et adiecta. Hec tempore regis Henrici, sub quo res eius, ut dixi, magnis successibus floruerunt: set enim sub Stephano rege,<sup>a</sup> sicut predixi, retro sublapse sunt; nisi quod in initio regni eius nepotibus suis, uni cancellariam, alteri thesaurariam,<sup>b</sup> sibi burgum Malmesberie impetrauit, subinde rege familiaribus suis ingeminante, 'Per nascentiam Dei! medietatem Anglie darem ei, si peteret, donec tempus pertranseat: ante deficiet ipse in petendo, quam ego in dando.' Posterioribus annis fortuna, nimium et ante<sup>c</sup> diu ei blandita,<sup>d</sup> ad extremum scorpiacea crudeliter hominem cauda percussit. Quale fuit illud, quod ante ora sua uidit homines bene de se meritos sauciari,<sup>e</sup> familiarissimum militem<sup>f</sup> obtruncari: postero die seipsum, ut supra fatus sum, et<sup>g</sup> nepotes suos potentissimos episcopos, unum fugari,<sup>h</sup> alterum teneri, tertium, dilectissimum sibi adolescentem, compedibus uinciri: post redditionem castellorum thesauros suos diripi, et se postmodum in concilio fedissimis conuiciis proscindi: ad ultimum, cum apud Salesberiam pene anhelaret in exitum, quicquid residuum erat nummorum et uasorum, quod scilicet ad perficiendam ecclesiam super altare posuerat, se inuito asportari. Extremum puto calamitatis, cuius etiam me miseret, quod, cum multis miser uideretur, paucissimis erat miserabilis,<sup>i</sup> tantum liuoris et odii ex nimia potentia contraxerat, et immerito apud quosdam quos etiam honoribus auxerat.

<sup>a</sup> rege om. AB<sup>d</sup> blandita ei B<sup>g</sup> et post seipsum AB<sup>b</sup> thesauriam A<sup>e</sup> sauciari + et AB<sup>h</sup> fugari + et A<sup>c</sup> et ante] ante et A ante B<sup>f</sup> militum Ce<sup>1</sup><sup>i</sup> miserabilis erat B

to the Bishop of Salisbury, he turned into an abbey, suppressing the abbey of Horton on that account and adding it to Sherborne. This was in the time of King Henry, under whom, as I have said, his affairs prospered exceedingly, but under King Stephen, as I have already said, they suffered a decline, except that at the beginning of Stephen's reign he obtained for one of his nephews the post of chancellor and for another that of treasurer, and for himself the borough of Malmesbury, the king repeating to his friends from time to time, 'By the birth of God! I would give him half England if he asked for it, until his time shall pass: he will grow tired of asking before I do of giving.' In later years fortune, that had favoured him excessively for long, at last stung the man cruelly with a scorpion's tail. What a grief it was that he saw before his own eyes men who had deserved well of him being wounded, a knight who was his close intimate cut down; on the next day his own arrest, as I have related above, and of two nephews, bishops of great power, one put to flight and one arrested, while a third, a young man whom he dearly loved, was put in chains: after the surrender of the castles the plunder of his treasure and himself later in the council lashed with the vilest abuse: finally, when he was almost breathing his last at Salisbury, the carrying off against his will of all the money and precious vessels he had left, which he had placed on the altar for the completion of the cathedral. I think it the crown of his misfortune, and I am sorry for it myself, that while to many he seemed a man of sorrows yet very few were sorry for him, so much envy and hatred had he acquired by his excessive power, undeservedly too among some whom he had even advanced to posts of distinction.

§ 482. *De restitutione abbatiarum*

Anno incarnati Verbi millesimo centesimo quadragésimo monachi abbatiarum quas Rogerius episcopus contra fas tenuerat, rege adito, antiqua priuilegia et abbates habere meruerunt. Electus est in abbatem Malmesberie a monachis, secundum tenorem privilegii quod beatus Aldelmus a Sergio papa iam ante quadringentos et sexaginta sex annos impetrauerat, et a regibus West Saxonum Ina, Merciorum Ethelredo, roborari fecerat, eiusdem loci monachus Iohannes,<sup>a</sup> uir benignitate morum et animi liberalitate apprime insignis. Probauit legatus causam, improbauit personam; nullo enim modo menti eius persuaderi poterat regem preter dationem pecunie electioni consensisse. Et quidem aliquantum nummorum promissum fuerat, causa libertatis ecclesie, non electionis persone. Itaque Iohannes, quamuis immatura morte anno eodem preceptus fuerit, eternam tamen et laudabilem sui memoriam cunctis post se seculis dereliquit: nullus enim, uere fateor, eius loci monachus tante magnanimitatis facto assisteret, nisi Iohannes inchoasset. Itaque habeant successores eius laudem si libertatem ecclesie tutati fuerint, ipse proculdubio eam a seruitute uendicauit.

§ 483. *De confusione guerre per Angliam*

Totus annus ille asperitate guerre inhorruit. Castella erant crebra per totam Angliam, queque suas partes defendentia, immo ut uerius dicam, depopulantia. Milites castellorum abducebant ab agris et pecora et pecudes, nec ecclesiis nec cimiteriis parcentes. Vauassores<sup>b</sup>, rusticos, quicumque pecuniosi putabantur, intercipientes, suppli-

<sup>a</sup> Iohannes post fecerat A<sup>b</sup> Vauassores—cogebant om. AB§ 482. *The restoration of abbeys*

In the eleven hundred and fortieth year of the Incarnate Word the monks of the abbeys that Bishop Roger had unlawfully seized approached the king and obtained the restoration of their ancient privileges and their abbots. In accordance with the terms of the privilege that the blessed Aldhelm had gained from Pope Sergius four hundred and sixty six years before and got ratified by Ina King of Wessex and Ethelred King of Mercia, the monks elected as abbot of Malmesbury a monk of the same place named John, a man especially distinguished by his kindly nature and noble mind. The legate approved their claim to elect but disapproved of the person elected, for he could in no wise be convinced that the king had agreed to that election without a bribe. And it is a fact that a certain amount of money had been promised, but it was to secure the freedom of the church and not the election of a person. So John, though carried off that same year by an untimely death, yet left a lasting and honourable recollection of himself to all succeeding ages, for no monk of that place, I frankly confess, would have taken part in so spirited an act had not John given a lead. Then let his successors be praised if they maintain the freedom of the church, but it was he beyond doubt who rescued it from slavery.

§ 483. *The turmoil of war throughout England*

That whole year was troubled by the brutalities of war. There were many castles all over England, each defending its own district or, to be more truthful, plundering it. The knights from the castles carried off both herds and flocks, sparing neither churches nor

ciorum magnitudine ad quoduis promittendum coge-  
bant. Domibus miserorum ruricularum usque ad  
stramen<sup>a</sup> expilatis, ipsos uinctos incarcerabant; nec,  
nisi omnibus quecumque habebant, et<sup>b</sup> quocumque  
modo adquirere poterant, in redemptionem consumptis,  
dimittebant. Plures in ipsis tormentis quibus ad se  
redimendum constringebantur dulces efflabant animas,  
quod solum poterant, Deo miseras suas applorantes.  
Et quidem, ex uoluntate comitis, legatus cum episcopis  
omnes effractores cimiteriorum et uiolatores ecclesiarum,  
et qui sacri uel religiosi ordinis hominibus uel eorum  
famulis manus iniecissent, multotiens excommunicauit;  
set nichil propemodum hac profecit industria. Erat ergo  
uidere calamitatem, Angliam, preclarissimam quondam  
pacis<sup>c</sup> nutriculum, speciale domicilium quietis, ad hoc  
miserie deuolutam esse, ut nec etiam episcopi nec  
monachi de uilla in uillam tuto possent progredi. Sub  
Henrico rege multi alienigene, qui genialis humi inquie-  
tationibus<sup>d</sup> exagitabantur, Angliam annauigabant, et  
sub eius alis<sup>e</sup> quietum otium agebant: sub Stephano  
plures ex Flandria et Britannia, rapto uiuere assueti, spe  
magnarum predarum Angliam inuolabant. Comes  
Glocestre Robertus<sup>f</sup> interea modeste se agere,<sup>g</sup> nichil  
magis cauere quam ne uel paruo detrimento suorum<sup>h</sup>  
uinceret. Magnates Anglorum, quos ad religionem  
iurisiurandi seruandam flectere non posset, satis habebat  
in officio continere, ut qui nichil adiuuare uellent minus  
nocerent; secundum comicum, uolens<sup>i</sup> quod posset,  
dum non posset quod uellet. Vbicumque tamen com-

<sup>a</sup> stratum AB<sup>d</sup> turbellis B<sup>g</sup> agere se AB<sup>b</sup> et + quecumque A<sup>e</sup> alis eius A<sup>h</sup> suorum om. B<sup>c</sup> pacis om. B<sup>f</sup> Glocestre Robertus om. AB<sup>i</sup> uolens post nocerent AB

graveyards. Under-tenants, peasants, any who were  
thought wealthy, they kidnapped and compelled to  
promise anything by the severity of their tortures. After  
pillaging the dwellings of the wretched countrymen to  
the very straw they bound the owners and imprisoned  
them, and did not let them go until they had spent for  
their ransom all they possessed or could in any way  
obtain. Many breathed forth their dear lives actually  
during the tortures by which they were being forced to  
ransom themselves, lamenting their sufferings to God,  
which was all they could do. And indeed, by the earl's  
wish, the legate, with the bishops, many times ex-  
communicated all who broke into graveyards and out-  
raged churches and laid hands on men of a holy or  
religious order or their servants, but he accomplished  
hardly anything by these efforts. So a dreadful thing  
could be seen, that England, once the noblest nurse of  
peace, the peculiar habitation of tranquillity, had sunk  
to such wretchedness that even bishops or monks could  
not safely pass from village to village. Under King  
Henry many foreigners, displaced by troubles in their  
native land, sailed to England and lived in undisturbed  
peace under his wings: under Stephen many from  
Flanders and Brittany, who were wont to live by plunder,  
flew to England in the hope of great booty. Meanwhile  
Robert Earl of Gloucester behaved with restraint and  
avoided nothing more carefully than even a slight loss  
of men to gain a battle. The great ones of England  
whom he could not influence to keep their solemn oath  
he was content to maintain in their positions, that those  
who would give no help might do less harm, in the words  
of the comic poet wishing to do what he could as he  
could not what he would. Still, wherever he saw that it  
could conveniently be done, he nobly fulfilled the duty

mode fieri posse uidebat, et militis et ducis probe officium exequabatur : denique munitiones, que potissimum partibus susceptis nocebant, strenue debellauit,<sup>a</sup> scilicet Harpetreu,<sup>1</sup> quam rex Stephanus a quibusdam militibus comitis, antequam in Angliam uenisset, ceperat ; et alias multas, Sudleie,<sup>2</sup> Cernei, quam rex, ut dixi, militibus suis impleuerat ; et castellum quod idem rex contra Valengeford offirmauerat, solo complanauit<sup>b</sup>. Fratrem etiam suum Reinaldum in tanta difficultate temporis comitem Cornubie creauit. Nec uero minor erat regi animus ad<sup>c</sup> adeunda quæ sibi competebant munia, qui nullam occasionem premittebat quo minus sepe et aduersarios propulsaret et sua defenderet ; set frustrabatur successibus, uergebantque in peius omnia pro iustitie penuria (iamque caritas annone paulatim crescebat) et pro falsitate. Difficultas enim<sup>d</sup> monete tanta erat, ut interdum ex decem et eo amplius solidis uix duodecim denarii reciperentur.<sup>3</sup> Ferebatur ipse rex pondus denariorum, quod fuerat tempore Henrici regis,<sup>e</sup> alleuiari iussisse ; quia, exhausto predecessoris sui immenso illo thesauro, tot militum expensis nequiret sufficere. Erant igitur Anglie cuncta uenalia ; et iam non clam, set palam, ecclesie et abbacie uenum distrahebantur.

#### § 484. *De eclipsi solis*

Eo anno in quadragesima, tertiodecimo kalendas Aprilis hora nona feria quarta, fuit eclipsis, per totam Angliam ut accepi. Apud nos certe, et apud omnes

<sup>a</sup> debellabat AB      <sup>b</sup> scilicet—complanauit om. AB      <sup>c</sup> ad om. Ce  
<sup>d</sup> enim *mutata distinctione* om. AB      <sup>e</sup> regis Henrici AB

<sup>1</sup> For Harptree, in Somerset, see *Gesta*, ch. 31.

<sup>2</sup> In Gloucestershire, close to Winchcomb.

of a knight and a leader. Finally he reduced with vigour the fortifications that did most harm to the cause he had adopted, for example Harptree,<sup>1</sup> which the king had taken from some of the earl's knights before he came to England, and many others, Sudeley,<sup>2</sup> Cerney, which the king, as I said, had garrisoned ; and he levelled to the ground the castle the king had fortified against Wallingford. Also, in view of the great difficulties of the time, he made his brother Reginald Earl of Cornwall. Nor yet did the king show less spirit in dealing with the tasks that fell to his lot. He never missed a chance, and they were many, of driving back his opponents and defending his own ; but he failed of success and everything was deteriorating because of the lack of justice (and now the cost of living was gradually rising) and owing to the quantity of bad money ; for there was such difficulty with the coinage that sometimes hardly twelve pennies could be accepted out of ten shillings or more.<sup>3</sup> It was said that the king himself had ordered the weight of pennies to be reduced from what it had been in King Henry's time, because after exhausting his predecessor's huge treasure he could not meet the expense of so many knights. So everything in England was for sale, and now churches and abbays were split up and sold not secretly but openly.

#### § 484. *The eclipse of the sun*

That year in Lent, on March 20th, at the ninth hour on a Wednesday, there was an eclipse, all over England,

<sup>3</sup> The solidus was a sum, not a coin, and payment would be made entirely in pennies. Many light coins of this reign are in existence, but none, apparently, that are debased. See the footnote on p. lii of Howlett's introduction to the *Gesta Stephani*.

uicinos nostros, ita notabiliter solis deliquium fuit, ut homines, quod tunc fere ubique accidit, erat enim quadragesima,<sup>a</sup> mensis assidentes,<sup>b</sup> antiquum chaos timerent; mox, re cognita, progredientes, stellas circa solem cernerent. Cogitatum et dictum est a multis, non falso, regem non perannaturum in regno sine dispendio.<sup>c</sup>

§ 485. *De captione Roberti Filii Huberti*

Sequenti ebdomada, ipso tempore Passionis, septimo kalendas Aprilis, prefatus barbarus Robertus filius Huberti,<sup>d1</sup> ad furta belli peridoneus, castellum de Diuisis clanculo interceptit. Homo cunctorum quos nostri seculi memoria complectitur immanissimus, in Deum etiam blasphemus; ultro quippe gloriari solebat se interfuisse ubi quater uiginti monachi pariter cum ecclesia concremati fuerint: idem se in Anglia factitaturum et Deum contristaturum depredatione Wiltoniensis ecclesie, etiam<sup>e</sup> subuersione Malmesberiensis, cum monachorum illius loci omnium cedere; id se muneris eis repensurum, quod regem ad nocumentum sui admisissent. Hoc enim illis imponebat, set falso. Hisce auribus audiui, quod si quando captiuos, quod quidem rarissime fuit, immunes absque tortionibus dimittebat, et gratie ipsi de Dei parte agebantur, audiui, inquam, eum respondisse, 'Nunquam mihi Deus grates sciat!' Captiuos melle litos flagrantissimo sole nudos sub diuo exponebat, muscas et id generis

<sup>a</sup> erat—quadragesima om. AB

<sup>b</sup> assidentes + primum (primo Cd) AB

<sup>c</sup> sine dispendio om. AB

<sup>d</sup> prefatus—Huberti] Robertus quidam filius Huberti immanis ac barbarus et AB

et AB

illis om. B

I have heard. With us certainly and all our neighbours it was such a remarkable eclipse that men sitting at table, as they mostly were at the time, it being Lent, feared the primeval chaos; then, learning what it was, went out and saw the stars around the sun. It was thought and said by many, nor were they wrong, that the king would not pass that year in his office without loss.

§ 485. *The capture of Robert Fitz Hubert*

In the following week, just at the time of the Passion, on March 26th, the savage previously mentioned, Robert Fitz Hubert,<sup>1</sup> a man excellently suited to stratagems, took by stealth the castle of Devizes. He was the cruellest of all men within the recollection of our age and likewise a blasphemer against God; for he used to boast gratuitously that he had been present when eighty monks were burnt together with their church and said he would do the same thing again and again in England and vex God by plundering the church at Wilton and destroying the one at Malmesbury, killing all the monks of the place at the same time; he would give them this requital, he said, for letting in the king to do him harm. He ascribed this to them but without reason. I have heard with my own ears, if ever he let prisoners go (and it was a very uncommon thing) without a ransom and without torturing them and they thanked him in God's name, I have heard him answer, I say, 'May God never be grateful to me!' He used to smear prisoners with honey and expose them naked in the open air in the full blaze of the

<sup>1</sup> See *Gesta*, chs. 43, 50-52

animalia ad eos compungendum irritans. Iam uero nactus Diuisas, iactitare<sup>a</sup> non dubitauit se totam regionem a Wintonia usque Londoniam per id castellum occupaturum, et ad tuitionem sui pro militibus Flandriam missurum. Hec facere meditantem ultio celestis impediuit per Iohannem filium Gildeberty,<sup>b</sup> magne uersutie uirum, qui apud Merleberge castellum habebat : ab eo siquidem<sup>c</sup> uinculis innodatus, quia Diuisas domine sue imperatrici reddere detractabat, patibulo appensus et exanimatus<sup>d</sup> est. Miro circa sacrilegum Dei iudicio concitato, ut non a rege cui aduersabatur, set ab illis quibus fauere uidebatur, exitium tam turpe meruerit. Mortis illius auctores digno attollendi preconio,<sup>e</sup> qui tanta peste patriam liberarint<sup>f</sup> ac intestinum hostem tam iuste dampnarint.<sup>g</sup>

§ 486. *De conuentu legati et archiepiscopi et regine, et Roberti comitis Gloecestre, pro federe pacis agendo inter regem et imperatricem*

Eodem anno in Pentecoste resedit rex Londonie in Turri, episcopo tantummodo Sagiensi presente : ceteri uel fastidierunt uel timuerunt uenire. Aliquanto post, mediante legato, colloquium indictum est inter imperatricem et regem, si forte Deo inspirante pax reformari posset. Conuentum iuxta Bathoniam, misso ex parte imperatricis Roberto fratre et ceteris suis, ex parte regis legato et archiepiscopo, simul et regina. Set inaniter, inaniter inquam, triuerunt et<sup>h</sup> uerba et tempora, infec-

<sup>a</sup> iactare AB      <sup>b</sup> filium Gildeberty] quendam AB      <sup>c</sup> quidem A  
<sup>d</sup> patibulo—exanimatus] more latronum suspensus AB  
<sup>e</sup> preconio attollendi A      <sup>f</sup> liberarent AB      <sup>g</sup> dampnarent AB  
<sup>h</sup> et om. B

<sup>1</sup> See *Gesta*, chs. 51 and 52, 52

sun, stirring up flies and similar insects to sting them. Now, having won Devizes, he did not hesitate to boast that by means of that castle he would gain possession of the whole district from Winchester to London and send to Flanders for knights to act as his bodyguard. As he was preparing to do these things the vengeance of heaven prevented him by the agency of John Fitz Gilbert,<sup>1</sup> a man of great cunning who was castellan of Marlborough : for as he objected to handing over Devizes to his lady the Empress John chained him, hanged him on a gallows and put him to death. Wondrously was God's judgment exercised upon a sacrilegious man, in that he earned so shameful an end not from the king, to whom he was an enemy, but from those whom he seemed to favour. Those who brought about his death must be given the praise they deserve for ridding the country of such a plague and so justly punishing an enemy in their midst.

§ 486. *The meeting of the legate, the archbishop and the queen, and Robert Earl of Gloucester, to make a treaty of peace between the king and the Empress*

In the same year, at Whitsuntide, the king stayed at London in the Tower, with no bishop in his company except him of Sééz : the others disliked coming or feared it. Some time afterwards, by the mediation of the legate, a parley was appointed between the Empress and the king, on the chance that peace might be restored by the inspiration of God. The meeting was near Bath : on the Empress's side her brother Robert was sent and the rest of her advisers, on the king's, the legate and the archbishop, and likewise the queen. But vainly, vainly,

taque pace discessum. Nec fuit ambarum partium equum discidium ; dum imperatrix, ad bonum pronior, ecclesiasticum non se uereri iudicium mandasset ; et regii <sup>a</sup> illud quam maxime nollent, dum <sup>b</sup> dominari ad utilitates suas ualerent. Proximo <sup>c</sup> Septembri legatus, qui nosset officii sui potissimum interesse ut pax conueniret, pro ea restituenda laborem itineris transmarini aggressus, in Galliam nauigare maturauit. Ibi a rege Francie et comite Thetbaldo, multisque religiosi ordinis personis, magno et sollicito tractatu de pace Anglie habito, reuersus est in fine pene <sup>d</sup> Nouembris ; salubria patrie mandata referens, si esset qui uerba factis apponeret. Et plane imperatrix et comes confestim consensere <sup>e</sup> ; rex uero de die in diem producere, postremo in summa frustrari. Tum demum legatus se intra se continuit, rerum exitum, ut ceteri, speculaturus : quid enim attinet contra torrentem brachia tendere ? cum <sup>f</sup> laboribus non nisi odium querere extreme sit, ut quidam ait, dementie.

*Explicit Liber Secundus Novelle Historie*

<sup>a</sup> rex AB

<sup>b</sup> nollent dum] caueret, consilium eorum (illorum B) male credulus, qui nihil minus quam pacem uellent, dum ei AB

<sup>c</sup> postremo AB

<sup>d</sup> pene om. Cc<sup>1</sup>

<sup>e</sup> assensere AB

<sup>f</sup> cum] et cum AB

I say, they wasted both words and time and parted without making peace. Yet the two sides did not separate for the same reasons, the Empress, more inclined to good, having sent a message that she did not fear the decision of the Church, whereas the king's envoys were entirely opposed to this as long as they could hold the upper hand to their own advantage. In the following September the legate, knowing it was the special concern of his office that peace should be agreed on, undertook the hardships of a sea-crossing for its restoration and hastened to sail to France. After a long and anxious discussion on peace in England between the King of France, Count Theobald and many ecclesiastics he came back near the end of November, bringing instructions that would have benefited the country had there been anyone to combine words and deeds. And indeed the Empress and the earl agreed at once ; the king put off a decision from day to day and finally made the whole plan of no avail. Then at last the legate withdrew within himself, watching, like the others, to see how things would turn out : for what is the use of contending against a racing stream ? It is the extreme of folly, as someone says, to seek nothing but hatred by one's efforts.

*End of the second book of the Historia Novella*

## INCIPIT PROLOGUS LIBRI TERTII

ANNO incarnationis Dominice millesimo centesimo quadagesimo secundo<sup>a</sup> inextricabilem laberinthum rerum et negotiorum que acciderunt in Anglia aggredior euoluere; ea causa, ne per nostram incuriam lateat posteros, cum sit opere precium cognoscere uolubilitatem fortune statusque humani<sup>b</sup> mutabilitatem, Deo dumtaxat permittente uel iubente. Itaque quia moderni non mediocriter et merito reprehendunt predecessores nostros, qui nec sui nec suorum post Bedam ullam<sup>c</sup> reliquerunt memoriam, ego, qui a nobis hanc proposui summouere infamiam, debeo apud lectores bonam, si recte iudicabunt, pacisci gratiam.<sup>d</sup>

## LIBER TERTIUS

§ 487. *Quomodo rex uenerit ad obsidionem Lindcolnie*

Rex Stephanus ante Natale a Lindocolina prouincia pacifice abscesserat, comitemque Cestrensem et eius fratrem honoribus auxerat. Is comes filiam comitis Glocestrensis iamdudum a tempore regis Henrici duxerat. Burgenses<sup>e</sup> interim Lindocoline ciuitatis, qui uellent apud regem grandem locare amicitiam, eum Londonie manentem per nuntios certiore faciant ambos fratres in castello eiusdem urbis securos resedissee: eos, nichil minus quam regis aduentum opinantes, leui negotio posse circumueniri; se daturos operam ut quam occultissime rex castello potiatur. Ille, qui nullam

<sup>a</sup> secundo] ii in i mutatum Ce<sup>1</sup>      <sup>b</sup> humani om. AB  
<sup>c</sup> ullam om. Ce<sup>1</sup>      <sup>d</sup> gloriam Ce      <sup>e</sup> ciues AB

## BEGINNING OF THE PREFACE OF THE THIRD BOOK

IN the eleven hundred and forty-second year of the Lord's Incarnation, I am undertaking to unravel the trackless maze of events and occurrences that befell in England, with the aim that posterity should not be ignorant of these matters through our lack of care, it being worth while to learn the changefulness of fortune and the mutability of the human lot, by God's permission or bidding. Therefore, as men of the present day severely and rightly blame our predecessors, who since Bede have left no record of themselves and their doings, I, who have set myself to remove this disgrace from us, may fairly claim the kindly favour of my readers if they judge aright.

## BOOK THREE

§ 487. *How the king came to besiege Lincoln*

KING STEPHEN had gone away in peace from Lincolnshire before Christmas and had conferred distinctions on the Earl of Chester and his brother. That earl had married the Earl of Gloucester's daughter long since in King Henry's time. Meanwhile the burgesses of Lincoln, wishing to lay the king under a great obligation, informed him by messengers when he was staying at London that the two brothers had settled unsuspectingly in the city's castle, that as they expected nothing less than the king's arrival they could easily be surrounded, and that they themselves would see to it that the king got possession of the castle with the greatest secrecy. He, unwilling to

occasionem ampliande potestatis omittere uellet, letus eo contendit : ita fratres circumuenti et obsessi sunt in ipsis Natalis Dominici feriis.

Iniquum id uisum multis, quia, sicut dixi, nulla suspicione rancoris ab eis ante festum abscesserat, nec modo more maiorum amicitiam suam eis interdixerat, quod diffidiare dicunt. Porro comes Cestrensis, quamuis ancipiti periculo inuolutus, probe tamen castelli angustias euasit, non diffinio qua uersutia ; siue consensu aliquorum obsidentium, siue quia uirtus deprehensa solet multis modis querere et plerumque inuenire consilium. Itaque non contentus sua solum liberatione, de salute fratris et uxoris, quos<sup>a</sup> in castello reliquerat, sollicitus, animum partes uersabat in omnes. Sanior sententia uisa flagitare a socero auxilium, quamuis animos eius iamdudum nonnullis ex causis offendisset, maxime quia in neutro latere fidus uideretur esse. Misit ergo perpetuam per nuntios pactus fidelitatem imperatrici, si, respectu pietatis magis quam ullius sui meriti, periclitantes, qui in ipsis captionis faucibus tenebantur, eximeret iniurie.

§ 488. *Quomodo comes Gloecestre Robertus ierit ad succurrendum obsessis*

Non habuit comes Gloecestrie difficiles aures, indignitatem rei non ferens ; simul etiam pertesus more, quia preclarissima patria causa duorum hominum intestinis rapinis et cedibus uexabatur, maluit, si Deus permisisset, rem in extremos deducere casus. Sperabat etiam diuinum in incepto fauorem, quia rex generum

<sup>a</sup> quas Ce

miss any chance of increasing his power, hastened thither joyfully : so the brothers were surrounded and besieged actually during the Christmas festival.

This seemed unfair to many because, as I have said, he had left them before the festival without any suspicion of ill-will and had not, in the traditional way, renounced his friendship with them, what they call 'defiance.' But the Earl of Chester, though involved in critical danger, yet made good his escape from the close siege of the castle, by what device I do not determine, whether by the collusion of some of the besiegers or because valour, when caught in a snare, is wont to seek a plan in many ways and commonly to find it. Then, not satisfied with his own freedom, anxious about the safety of his brother and wife, whom he had left in the castle, he turned his mind in every direction. It seemed the wisest policy to beg aid from his father-in-law, though he had long since offended him for various reasons, chiefly because he seemed faithful to neither side. So he sent to him promising by the messengers a lasting fidelity to the Empress if, from motives of pity rather than any deserts of his own, he would rescue from wrong those who were in danger and on the very brink of captivity.

§ 488. *How Robert Earl of Gloucester went to the aid of the besieged*

The Earl of Gloucester was not hard to persuade since he could not bear the shame of the thing ; and at the same time, loathing delay because his noble country, for the sake of two persons, was being tormented by the plunder and slaughter of civil war, he preferred, if God should allow it, to hazard a final decision. He also hoped for the divine approval in his enterprise because

suum nullis eius culpis iniuriauerat, filiam obsidebat, ecclesiam beate Dei genitricis de Lindocolino incastellauerat. Hec quanti apud mentem principis esse debebant? Nonne prestaret mori et gloriose occumbere, quam tam insignem contumeliam pati? Ulciscendi ergo causa Deum et sororem, simulque necessitudines suas liberandi, dedit se discrimini. Comitati sunt eum impigre sue fautores partis, quorum erat maior exheredatorum numerus, quos in martem accendebat rerum amissarum dolor et conscia uirtus: quamuis toto itinere, quod protenditur a Glocestria in Lindocolinum, ipse callide intentionem dissimularet, quibusdam ambagibus totum exercitum preter paucissimos suspendens.

§ 489. *De pugna comitis Glocestre et captione regis*

Ventum ad supremum ipso die Purificationis beatissime Marie, ad flumen quod inter duos exercitus preterfluebat, Trenta nomine, quod et ortu suo et pluuiarum profluuio tam magnum fuerat ut nullatenus uado transitum preberet. Tum demum et genero, qui cum manu ualida occurrerat, et ceteris quos ductauerat, detegens animum hoc sibi propositum iam dudum esse adiecit, quod nulla unquam necessitate terga uerteret; uel moriendum uel capiendum esse, si non uicisset. Cunctis igitur bona spe ipsum implentibus, mirabile auditu, ilico belli discrimen initurus, predicti rapacitatem fluminis cum omnibus suis nando transgressus est. Tantus erat comiti ardor finem <sup>a</sup> imponere, ut mallet ultima experiri quam regni calamitatem ulterius protendi: nam et rex cum comitibus quamplurimis <sup>b</sup> et non inerti militum

<sup>a</sup> finem + malis AB

<sup>b</sup> quampluribus B

the king had wronged his son-in-law who was in no wise at fault, was besieging his daughter and had turned into a castle the church of the Blessed Mother of God at Lincoln. How greatly these things must have influenced the prince's mind! Would it not be better to die and fall with glory rather than bear so signal an affront? So, to avenge God and his sister and to free his relatives, he took the risk. The adherents of his party, most of them disinherited men inflamed to war by grief for what they had lost and consciousness of valour, followed him eagerly, though he cunningly concealed his purpose all the way from Gloucester to Lincoln, keeping the whole army in uncertainty, except for a very few, by taking an indirect route.

§ 489. *The Earl of Gloucester's fight and the king's capture*

The time of decision came on the very day of the Purification of most blessed Mary, by the river that flowed between the two armies, named Trent, which was then so much swollen by a heavy fall of rain as well as water from its source that there was no possibility of fording it. Only then did the earl disclose his intention to his son-in-law, who had met him with a strong body of troops, and the rest of his followers, adding that he had long since made up his mind that nothing should ever compel him to retreat; he would die or be captured if he did not win the victory. Then, as all filled him with good hope, he resolved to risk a battle at once, and, strange to hear, swam across the racing current of the river mentioned above with all his men. So eager was the earl to make an end of the troubles that he would sooner face the final danger than have the kingdom's misfortune prolonged: for the king on his side had

copia bello se animose, intermissa obsidione, optulerat. Temptauere primo regii proludium pugne facere, quod iustam uocant, quia tali periti erant arte : at ubi uiderunt quod consulares, ut ita dictum sit, non lanceis eminus, set gladiis cominus rem gererent, et infestis uiribus uexillisque aciem regalem perrumperent, fuga sibi omnes ad unum comites consuluere ; sex <sup>1</sup> enim cum rege comites bellum inierant ; plures <sup>a</sup> barones predicande fidei et fortitudinis, qui regem nec in hac necessitate deserendum ducerent, capti. Rex ipse, quamuis ad se defensandum non ei defuisset animus, tandem a militibus comitis Gloeestre circumquaque aggressus, ictu lapidis cuiusdam, terre procubuit ; a quo autem id factum fuerit, ignoratur. Ita omnibus circa se uel captis uel fugatis, cedendum pro tempore, et teneri sustinuit. Predicandus itaque comes Gloeestrie precepit regem uiuum et illesum conseruari,<sup>b</sup> non passus etiam ullo exprobrationis conuitio illum irretiri : <sup>c</sup> et quem iratus modo impugnabat regno fastigatum, placidus ecce protegit triumphatum ; ut, compositis ire et letitie motibus, et consanguinitati impenderet humanitatem et in captiuo diadematis respiceret dignitatem. Vulgus uero burgensium <sup>d</sup> Lindocolinorum <sup>e</sup> multa parte obtruncatum est, iusta ira illorum qui uicissent, nullo dolore illorum qui uicti essent, quod ipsi principium et fomes istius mali fuissent.

<sup>a</sup> sex—plures] pauci AB

<sup>b</sup> reseruari A asseruari B

<sup>c</sup> pro(s)cindi AB

<sup>d</sup> ciuium AB

<sup>e</sup> Lindocolinum AB

<sup>1</sup> The six earls on the king's side were Alan of Brittany, Waleran of Meulan, Waleran's half-brother, William de Warenne of Surrey, Hugh of Norfolk, Simon of Northampton and William of Albemarle, Earl of York-shire (*Henry of Huntingdon*, pp. 269-72).

broken off the siege and offered battle with spirit, accompanied by a great number of earls and no backward body of knights. The royalists first attempted that prelude to the fight which is called jousting, for in this they were accomplished, but when they saw that the ' earlists,' if the expression may be allowed, were fighting not with lances at a distance but with swords at close quarters and, charging with their banners in the van, were breaking through the king's line, then all the earls to a man sought safety in flight (six <sup>1</sup> of them had entered the battle on the king's side), but a number of barons, of notable loyalty and courage, thinking they should not abandon the king even at this desperate moment, were taken prisoners. The king himself, though he did not lack spirit in self-defence, was at length attacked on all sides by the Earl of Gloucester's knights and fell to the ground on being struck by a stone ; it is not known who dealt the blow. So, as all around him were captured or put to flight, he brought himself to yield for the time and be held a prisoner. Therefore the glorious Earl of Gloucester gave orders that the king should be kept alive and unharmed, not suffering even that he should be the victim of any insulting language : behold, he mildly protected in humiliation him whom he had just been furiously assailing when exalted in majesty, so that, controlling emotions of anger and joy, he both showed kindness to a relative and had regard, even in the person of a captive, to the splendour of the crown. But the mass of the burgesses of Lincoln was in great part cut down, through the just anger of the victors and without causing any grief to the vanquished, since it was they who by their instigation had given rise to this calamity.

§ 490. *Quomodo rex imperatrici presentatur*

Rex uero,<sup>a</sup> iuxta morem illius generis hominum quos captiuos nominant, imperatrici a fratre presentatus Gloecestre: post etiam ad Bristou ductus, et ibi honorifice preter progrediendi facultatem seruatus est primo. Succedenti enim<sup>b</sup> tempore, propter insolentiam quorundam palam et probrose dictitantium non expedire comiti ut regem secus ac ipsi uellent seruaret, simul et quia ipse ferebatur plus quam semel, uel elusis uel delinitis custodibus, extra statutam custodiam noctu presertim inuentus, anulis ferreis innodatus est.

§ 491. *Quomodo imperatrix, industria comitis Gloecestre, a legato et quibusdam episcopis et primatibus Wintonie recepta sit*

Interim et imperatrix et comes apud legatum fratrem eius nuntiis egerunt, ut ipsam, tanquam regis Henrici filiam, et cui omnis Anglia et Normannia iurata esset, incunctanter in ecclesiam et regnum reciperet. Quarto decimo kalendas Martii eo anno prima dominica quadragesime fuit. Ita, mediantibus utrobique nuntiis, ad hoc res expedita, ut ad colloquium in patenti planitie camporum citra Wintoniam conueniretur. Ventum ergo dominica tertia quadragesime, pluuioso et nebuloso die, quasi mestam cause uicissitudinem fata portenderent. Iurauit et affidauit imperatrix episcopo, quod omnia maiora negotia in Anglia, præcipueque donationes episcopatum et abbatiarum, eius nutum spectarent, si eam

<sup>a</sup> uero om. B<sup>b</sup> uero AB§ 490. *How the king was brought before the Empress*

The king, according to the usual procedure with those who bear the name of captive, was brought before the Empress at Gloucester by her brother, then taken to Bristol and kept there at first in a manner that was honourable, except that he was not allowed to leave his quarters. Later on, because of the insolence of some who said openly and continually, in an offensive way, that it was not to the earl's advantage to keep the king in a different fashion from what they themselves desired, and also because he himself was said to have been found more than once, especially at night, outside his appointed place of custody, after deceiving or winning over his guards, he was confined in iron rings.

§ 491. *How the Empress, by the efforts of the Earl of Gloucester, was received at Winchester by the legate and some of the bishops and leading men*

Meanwhile both the Empress and the earl urged the legate by messages to receive her immediately in the cathedral as queen, since she was King Henry's daughter and the whole of England and Normandy had taken the oath to her. In that year the first Sunday of Lent was on the sixteenth of February. So it was settled by an exchange of messages that they should meet for conference on an open plain near Winchester. They came then on the third Sunday of Lent, a rainy and cloudy day, as though the fates presaged a turn of ill-fortune for their cause. The Empress swore and gave assurance to the bishop that all the matters of chief account in England, especially gifts of bishoprics and abbacies, should be subject to his control if he received her in

ipse in <sup>a</sup> sancta ecclesia in dominam <sup>1</sup> reciperet, et perpetuam ei fidelitatem teneret. Idem iurauerunt cum ea, et affidauerunt pro ea, Robertus frater eius comes de Gloecestre, et Brianus filius comitis marchio de Walingeford, et Milo de Gloecestre, postea comes de Hereford, et nonnulli alii. Nec dubitauit episcopus imperatricem in dominam Anglie recipere, et ei cum quibusdam suis affidare, quod, quamdiu ipsa pactum non infringeret, ipse quoque fidem ei custodiret. Crastino, quod fuit quinto nonas Martii, honorifica facta processione recepta est in ecclesia episcopatus Wintonie; episcopo, eodemque legato, eam ducente in dextro latere, Bernardo uero de sancto David episcopo in sinistro. Affuerunt preterea episcopi Alexander de Lindocolino, Robertus de Herefordo, Nigellus de Heli, Robertus de Bathonia: abbates etiam Ingulfus de Abbenduna, Edwardus de Radinges, Petrus de Malmesberia, Gilebertus de Gloecestre, Rogerius de Theokesberia, et nonnulli alii. Paucis post diebus Thetbaldus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus uenit ad imperatricem apud Wiltunam,<sup>b</sup> inuitatus a legato: distulit sane fidelitatem domine facere, inconsulto rege alias diuertere fame personeque sue indignum arbitratus. Itaque et ipse et plerique presules, cum aliquantis laicis, permissi ad regem ire et colloqui, dignanterque impetrata uenia ut in necessitatem temporis transirent, in sententiam legati concessere.<sup>c</sup> Pascha, quod tunc fuit tertio kalendas Aprilis, imperatrix apud Oxenefordum egit; a ceteris in sua discessum.

<sup>a</sup> in]cum AB      <sup>b</sup> Wiltuniam B      <sup>c</sup> cessere AB

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta*, ch. 59, says 'dominam et reginam acclamare praecepit.' For 'dominus' or 'domina,' used of the lawful successor before coronation, see

Holy Church as lady <sup>1</sup> and kept his faith to her unbroken. The same oath was taken with her, and assurance given for her, by her brother Robert, Earl of Gloucester, Brian Fitz Count, Marquis of Wallingford, Miles of Gloucester, afterwards Earl of Hereford, and a number of others. Nor did the bishop hesitate to receive her as lady of England and give her assurance, together with some of his followers, that as long as she did not break the agreement he would keep faith with her himself. The next day, which was March 3rd, she was received in Winchester Cathedral in ceremonial procession, with the bishop, who was likewise legate, escorting her on the right side and Bernard Bishop of St David's on the left. There were also present, of the bishops, Alexander of Lincoln, Robert of Hereford, Nigel of Ely and Robert of Bath, and of the abbots Ingulf of Abingdon, Edward of Reading, Peter of Malmesbury, Gilbert of Gloucester, Roger of Tewkesbury and a number of others. A few days later Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury came to the Empress at Wilton on the legate's invitation, though he put off swearing fealty to her as his lady as he thought it unbecoming his reputation and position to transfer his allegiance without consulting the king. Therefore both he and most of the bishops, together with a number of laymen, were allowed to go to the king and confer with him, and on obtaining a courteous permission to change over as the times required they adopted the legate's opinion. Easter, which was then on March 30th, the Empress spent at Oxford; the others went away to their own homes.

a letter from the Chapter of St David's to John in 1199 (*Giraldus*, I, p. 110) with Giraldus's comment.

§ 492. *Quomodo solempni concilio imperatricem in dominam Anglie confirmauerint*

Feria secunda post octauas Pasche, concilium archiepiscopi Cantuarie Thedbaldi et omnium episcoporum Anglie multorumque abbatum, legato præsidente, Wintonie ingenti apparatu inceptum. Si qui defuerunt, legatis et litteris causas cur non uenissent dederunt. Cuius concilii actioni quia interfui, integram rerum ueritatem posteris non negabo; egregie quippe memini. Ipsa die, post recitata scripta excusatoria quibus absentiam suam quidam tutati sunt, seuocauit in partem legatus episcopos, habuitque cum eis archanum consilii sui; post<sup>a</sup> mox abbates, postremo archidiaconi conuocati. Ex consilio nichil processit in publicum; uolutabatur tamen per omnium mentes et ora quid foret agendum.

§ 493. *Quomodo legatus debitam et legitimam successionem imperatricis in regnum commendauerit*

Feria tertia hoc fere sensu legati cucurrit oratio: Dignatione pape se uices eius in Anglia tenere; ideoque per eius auctoritatem clerum Anglie ad hoc concilium congregatum, ut de pace patrie, que grandi periculo naufragabatur, consuleretur in medium. Tempore regis Henrici auunculi sui singulare domicilium pacis in Anglia fuisse; ita ut per uiuacitatem, animositatem, industriam eiusdem precellentissimi uiri non solum indigene, cuiuscunque potentie uel dignitatis essent nichil turbare auderent, set etiam eius exemplo finitimi quicumque reges et principes in otium et<sup>b</sup> ipsi concederent, et subiectos uel

<sup>a</sup> post om. AB

<sup>b</sup> et om. B

§ 492. *How in a solemn council they confirmed the Empress as lady of England*

On the Monday after Easter week a council of Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury and all the bishops of England and many abbots, under the presidency of the legate, was begun at Winchester in great state. Any who failed to attend gave reasons for not coming by representatives and letters. As I took part in the proceedings of the council I will not deny posterity the whole truth of what occurred, for my recollection is very clear. That same day, after the reading of the letters of excuse by which some defended their absence, the legate called the bishops aside and conferred with them in secret; afterwards the abbots were summoned and finally the archdeacons. No part of their deliberations was published, but the minds and lips of all were busy with what had to be done.

§ 493. *How the legate recommended the due and lawful succession of the Empress to the throne*

On the Tuesday the legate's speech was much to this effect: that by appointment of the Pope he took his place in England and it was therefore by the Pope's authority that the clergy of England were gathered in this council to discuss the peace of their country, which was suffering a very perilous shipwreck. In the time of King Henry, his uncle, England had been the peculiar habitation of peace, so that through the activity, spirit and vigour of that pre-eminent man not only did the natives, whatever their power or position, not venture to create any disturbance but likewise all the neighbouring kings and princes, following his example, both inclined

inuitarent uel compellerent.<sup>a</sup> Qui uidelicet rex, non-nullis ante obitum annis, filie sue quondam imperatrici, que sola sibi proles ex desponsata quondam coniuge supererat, omne regnum Anglie, simul et ducatum Normannie, iurari ab omnibus episcopis simulque baronibus fecerit, si successore masculino ex illa, quam ex Lotharingia duxerat, uxore careret. 'Et inuidit,' inquit,<sup>b</sup> 'atrox fortuna precellentissimo auunculo meo, ut sine masculino herede in Normannia decederet. Itaque quia longum uidebatur dominam expectare, que moras ad ueniendum in Angliam nectebat, in Normannia quippe residebat, prouisum est paci patrie, et regnare permissus frater meus. Enimuero, quamuis ego uadem me apposerim inter eum et Deum<sup>c</sup> quod sanctam ecclesiam honoraret et exaltaret, et bonas leges manuteneret, malas uero abrogaret; piget meminisse, pudet narrare, qualem se in regno exhibuerit: quomodo in presumptores nulla iustitia exercita,<sup>d</sup> quomodo pax omnis statim ipso pene anno abolita; episcopi capti, et ad redditionem possessionum suarum coacti; abbacie uendite, ecclesie thesauris depilate; consilia prauorum audita, bonorum uel suspensa uel omnino contempta. Scitis quotiens eum tum per me tum per episcopos conuenerim, concilio presertim anno predicto<sup>e</sup> ad hoc indicto, et nichil nisi odium adquisierim. Nec illud quemquam, qui recte<sup>f</sup> pensare uelit, latet, debere me<sup>g</sup> fratrem meum mortalem diligere, set causam<sup>h</sup> Patris immortalis multo pluris facere. Itaque quia Deus iudicium suum de fratre meo exercuit, ut eum, me nesciente, in potestatem potentium

<sup>a</sup> impellerent AB  
<sup>d</sup> exercitata AB  
<sup>g</sup> me om. A

<sup>b</sup> inquit om. B  
<sup>e</sup> preterito AB  
<sup>h</sup> causa A

<sup>c</sup> Deum et eum B  
<sup>f</sup> rectum Ce<sup>1</sup>

to peace themselves and invited or forced their subjects to it. That king, some years before his death, had had the whole kingdom of England and also the duchy of Normandy confirmed on oath by all the bishops and barons to his daughter, formerly Empress, his only surviving offspring by his first wife, if he failed of a male successor by his wife from Lorraine. 'And cruel fortune' he said, 'showed a grudge against my pre-eminent uncle, so that he died in Normandy without a male heir. Therefore, because it seemed tedious to wait for the lady, who made delays in coming to England since her residence was in Normandy, thought was taken for the peace of the country and my brother allowed to reign. But though I made myself guarantor between him and God that he would honour and exalt Holy Church, maintain good laws and repeal bad ones, I am vexed to remember and ashamed to tell what manner of man he showed himself as king, how no justice was enforced upon transgressors, peace at once brought entirely to an end, almost in that very year, bishops arrested and compelled to surrender their property, abbacies sold and churches despoiled of their treasure, the advice of the wicked hearkened to, that of the good either not put into effect or altogether disregarded. You know how often I made application to him, sometimes personally and sometimes through the bishops, especially when I called a council for this purpose in the year mentioned before, and gained nothing but hatred. And if anyone will consider the matter aright he cannot be unaware that while I should love my mortal brother I should esteem far more highly the cause of my immortal Father. Therefore, since God has executed his judgment on my brother in allowing him to fall into the power of the strong without my knowledge, that the kingdom may

incidere permetteret ; ne regnum uacillet, si regnante careat, omnes uos pro iure legationis mee huc conuenire inuitau. Ventilata est hesterno die causa secreto coram maiori parte cleri Anglie, ad cuius ius<sup>a</sup> potissimum spectat principem eligere, simulque ordinare. Inuocata itaque primo, ut par est, in auxilium Diuinitate, filiam pacifici regis, gloriosi regis, diuitis regis, boni regis, et nostro tempore incomparabilis, in Anglie Normannieque dominam eligimus, et ei fidem et manutenementum promittimus.'

§ 494. *Quomodo Londonienses in concilio*

Cumque omnes presentes uel modeste acclamassent sententie, uel silentes non contradixissent, subiecit legatus<sup>b</sup> : 'Londonienses, qui sunt quasi optimates pro magnitudine ciuitatis in Anglia, nuntiis nostris conuenimus, et conductum ut tuto ueniant misimus. Eos quia confido non ultra hunc diem moraturos, bona uenia usque cras sustineamus.'

§ 495. Feria quarta uenerunt Londonienses, et, in concilium introducti, causam suam eatenus egerunt ut dicerent, missos se a communione quam uocant Londoniarum, non certamina set preces offerre,<sup>c</sup> ut dominus suus rex de captione liberaretur. Hoc omnes barones, qui in eorum communionem iamdudum recepti fuerant, summopere flagitare a domino legato et ab archiepiscopo, simulque ab<sup>d</sup> omni clero qui presens erat. Responsum est eis a legato ubertim et splendide ; et, quo minus fieret quod rogabant, eadem oratio que pridie habita.

<sup>a</sup> ius om. Ce<sup>1</sup> (mg. examen)  
<sup>c</sup> ab om. AB

<sup>b</sup> legatus om. AB  
<sup>d</sup> afferre AB

not totter without a ruler I have invited you all to meet here in virtue of my position as legate. The case was discussed in secret yesterday before the chief part of the clergy of England, whose special prerogative it is to choose and consecrate a prince. Therefore, first, as is fitting, calling God to our aid, we choose as lady of England and Normandy the daughter of a king who was a peacemaker, a glorious king, a wealthy king, a good king, without peer in our time, and we promise her faith and support.'

§ 494. *How the Londoners bore themselves in the council*

When all present had either discreetly applauded his speech or acquiesced in it by their silence the legate added : 'The Londoners who on account of the greatness of their city hold, as it were, the leading place in England, we have summoned by messages and sent them safe-conduct. As I am sure they will not be later than today, with your kind permission let us wait until tomorrow.'

§ 495. The Londoners came on the Wednesday and, on being introduced into the council, pleaded their cause to the extent of saying they had been sent by what is called the commune of London and brought not contentiousness but a request for the freeing of their lord the king from captivity. All the barons who had earlier been received into their commune were urgent in demanding this from the lord legate, the archbishop and all the clergy who were present. The legate answered them at length and with eloquence and made the same speech as the day before in opposition to what they asked. Moreover, he added it was not fitting that the Londoners,

Adiectum quinetiam,<sup>a</sup> non decere ut Londonienses, qui precipui habebantur in Anglia sicut proceres, illorum partes fouerent<sup>b</sup> qui dominum suum in bello reliquerant, quorum consilio idem sanctam ecclesiam exhonoraauerat, qui postremo non ob aliud ipsis Londoniensibus fauere uidebantur nisi ut eos pecuniis emungerent.

§ 496. *De clerico regine*

Interea surrexit quidam, cuius nomen, si bene memini, Christianus, regine ut audiui clericus, porrexitque cartam legato; qua ille sub silentio lecta, uoce quantum potuit exaltata dixit non esse legitimam, nec que<sup>c</sup> deberet in tanto, presertimque sublimium et religiosarum personarum, conuentu recitari. Preter cetera enim que reprehensibilia et notabilia erant scripta, testem appositum qui preterito anno, in eodem quo tunc sedebant capitulo, uenerabiles episcopos maxima uerborum affecerit<sup>d</sup> contumelia. Ita illo tricante, clericus legationi sue non defuit, set preclara fiducia litteras legit in audientia, quarum hec erat summa: rogabat regina obnixe omnem clerum congregatum, et nuncupatim<sup>e</sup> episcopum Wintonie fratrem domini sui, ut eundem dominum regno restituerent,<sup>f</sup> quem iniqui uiri, qui etiam homines sui essent, in uinacula coniecissent. Huic suggestioni retulit legatus uerba in eandem sententiam qua et Londoniensibus. Illi, communicato consilio, dixerunt se decretum concilii conuicaneis suis relatueros, et fauorem suum quantum possent prestituros. Feria quinta solutum est concilium, excommunicatis ante multis qui regiarum erant partium; nominatim Willelmo Martello, qui quondam pincerna

<sup>a</sup> etiam A

<sup>b</sup> fauerent B

<sup>c</sup> nec que] neque Ce<sup>1</sup>

<sup>d</sup> effecerit A

<sup>e</sup> nuncupatum B

<sup>f</sup> restitueret Ce<sup>1</sup>

who held a special position of superiority in England, should give comfort to those who had abandoned their lord in war, by whose advice he had dishonoured Holy Church, and who finally seemed to favour the Londoners with no other object than squeezing money out of them.

§ 496. *The queen's clerk*

Meanwhile a certain man, named Christian if I remember rightly, a clerk of the queen as I have heard, stood up and held out a document to the legate; he read it in silence and said at the top of his voice that it was not valid and ought not to be read out in so great an assembly, especially one of persons of rank and religion. For, he said, apart from the other things written in it that were worthy of reproof and censure, the name of a witness had been added who the year before, in the same chapter-house in which they were sitting, had used the most insulting language to reverend bishops. When he shuffled thus the clerk did not fail to perform his commission but with splendid boldness read the letter before that audience, the substance being as follows: 'The queen earnestly begs all the assembled clergy, and especially the Bishop of Winchester, her lord's brother, to restore to the throne that same lord, whom cruel men, who are likewise his own men, have cast into chains.' The legate's answer to this proposal was to the same effect as to the Londoners. They, after discussing the matter, said they would take back the decree of the council to their fellow-citizens and give it all the support they could. The council broke up on the Thursday after excommunicating many of the king's adherents, notably William Martel, who had formerly been King Henry's butler and

regis Henrici, tunc dapifer Stephani. Iste immaniter exulcerauerat legati animum, multis rebus eius interceptis et surreptis.

§ 497. *Quomodo imperatrix a Londoniensibus recepta sit*

Itaque multe fuit molis Londoniensium animos permulcere posse, ut, cum hec statim post Pascha, ut dixi, fuerint actitata, uix paucis ante Natiuitatem beati Iohannis diebus imperatricem reciperent.<sup>a</sup> Pleraque tunc pars Anglie<sup>b</sup> dominatum eius suspiciebat; frater eius Robertus assiduus<sup>c</sup> circa eam omnibus quibus<sup>d</sup> decebat modis<sup>e</sup> eius gloriam exaltare, proceres benigne appellando, multa pollicendo, diuersas partes uel terrendo uel etiam per internuntios ad pacem sollicitando, iam iamque in omnibus partibus imperatrici fauentibus iustitiam et patrias leges et pacem reformando. Satisque constat quod, si eius moderationi et sapientie a suis esset creditum, non tam sinistrum postea sensissent alea casum. Aderat et dominus legatus sedula, ut uidebatur, fide imperatricis commodis presto. Set ecce, dum ipsa putaretur omni Anglia statim posse potiri, mutata omnia. Londonienses, semper suspecti et intra se frementes, tunc in aperti odii uocem eruperunt; insidiis etiam, ut fertur, dominam eiusque comites appetiuerunt. Quibus illi precognitis et uitatis, sensim sine tumultu<sup>1</sup> quadam militari disciplina urbe cesserunt. Comitatus imperatricem legatus, et rex Scottie David auunculus eiusdem uiraginis, et frater eius Robertus, in

<sup>a</sup> receperunt A      <sup>b</sup> Anglie + dignanter AB      <sup>c</sup> assiduus Ce<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>d</sup> quibus om. B      <sup>e</sup> modis degebat B (modis ut decebat Cd)

<sup>1</sup> Note the very different account of the retreat from London in the *Gesta*, ch. 62.

was then King Stephen's steward. He had mightily exasperated the legate by seizing and stealing much of his property.

§ 497. *How the Empress was received by the Londoners*

So difficult was it to reduce the Londoners to acquiescence that though these proceedings took place, as I have said, immediately after Easter it was not until a few days before the Nativity of St John that they received the Empress. At that time the greater part of England looked up to her authority with respect; her brother Robert, constantly with her, increased her prestige in every fitting way, by speaking affably to the chief men, making many promises, either intimidating the opposition or urging it to peace by his envoys and beginning the restoration of justice and the ancestral laws and peace in every region that supported the Empress. It is well established that if the other members of his party had trusted his restraint and wisdom they would not afterwards have endured such a turn of ill-fortune. The lord legate also was at hand to serve the Empress with what seemed to be a zealous loyalty. But, behold, when it was thought that she might at once gain possession of the whole of England, everything was changed. The Londoners, who had always been under suspicion and in a state of secret indignation, then gave vent to expressions of unconcealed hatred; they even laid a plot, it is said, against their lady and her companions. The latter, forewarned of it and avoiding it, gradually left the city in good order<sup>1</sup> with a kind of military discipline. The Empress was accompanied by the legate, David King of Scots, uncle of that woman of masculine spirit, her brother Robert,

omnibus ut semper, sic et tunc, fortunarum sororis socius, et, ut de compendio dicam, partium eius omnes ad unum incolumes. Londonienses, cognito eorum abscessu, in hospitia inuolant, quicquid rerum pro festinatione relictum erat abradentes.

§ 498. *De discordia imperatricis et legati*

Nec multis post diebus surrexit simultas inter legatum et imperatricem, quem casum<sup>a</sup> uere possum dicere fomitem omnium malorum rursum in Anglia fuisse: quod qualiter<sup>b</sup> acciderit, expediam. Habebat rex Stephanus Eustachium nomine ex filia Eustachii comitis Bononiensis susceptum filium.<sup>c</sup> Rex enim Henricus, pater imperatricis, ut altius repetam, ne ueritas gestorum lateat posteros, sororem uxoris sue, matris istius domine, Mariam nomine, nuptum dederat<sup>d</sup> predicto comiti, quod esset is et amplis maioribus ortus, simulque prudentia et fortitudine iuxta insignis. Ex Maria Eustachius nichil liberorum tulit preter filiam Matildem uocabulo. Hanc patre defuncto nubilem idem magnificentissimus rex Stephano nepoti legitimo matrimonio copulauit, et pariter Bononiensem comitatum industrie adquisiuit; nam antea Moritoliensem in Normannia ex suo dederat. Hos comitatus nepoti suo quem nominaui, Eustachio, legatus iure dandos<sup>e</sup> destinauerat dum pater in captione teneretur; imperatrice prorsus abnuente, incertum an aliis etiam promittente. Qua ille offensus iniuria, multis diebus ab eius abstinuit curia, et, quamuis sepe reuocaretur, negare perseuerauit. Interea familiare apud

<sup>a</sup> casu B  
<sup>d</sup> dedit AB

<sup>b</sup> quatinus Ce<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>e</sup> dandas B

<sup>c</sup> filium post Stephanus AB

then as always sharing his sister's fortunes in everything, and, to put it briefly, by all her adherents, unharmed to a man. The Londoners, learning of their departure, dashed into their lodgings and carried off whatever had been left in haste.

§ 498. *The dispute between the Empress and the legate*

Not many days later a quarrel arose between the legate and the Empress, a mischance that I may truly call the origin of all the evils that followed in England: I will relate how it befell. King Stephen had a son named Eustace by the daughter of Eustace Count of Boulogne. To go back further, that posterity may not be unaware of the truth about these events, King Henry, the Empress's father, had given Mary, the sister of his wife the Empress's mother, in marriage to the aforesaid count because he was both of distinguished birth and eminent alike for prudence and valour. Eustace had no children by Mary except a daughter named Matilda. As she was of marriageable age on her father's death that most splendid of kings united her in lawful wedlock with his nephew Stephen and at the same time took trouble to gain for him the county of Boulogne, having already given him that of Mortain in Normandy from his own possessions. These counties the legate had intended to give to his nephew Eustace, whom I have mentioned, as being his lawful property while his father was held a prisoner, but the Empress firmly refused and, it may be, actually promised them to others. The legate, enraged by this affront, kept away from her court for many days and, though often summoned back, persisted in refusal. Meanwhile he had an intimate conference at Guildford

Geldeford cum regina, fratris uxore,<sup>a</sup> colloquium habuit, eiusque<sup>b</sup> lacrimis et satisfactione infractus ad liberationem germani animum intendit; omnes etiam illius partis quos in concilio excommunicauerat, inconsultis episcopis absoluit. Ferebantur et per Angliam eius in imperatricem querele<sup>c</sup>: quod eum capere uoluerit; quod quicquid ei iurauerat pro nichilo habuerit<sup>d</sup>; omnes barones Anglie fidem suam circa eam implesse, set ipsam temerasse, que adquisitis uti modeste nescierit.<sup>e</sup>

§ 499. *Quomodo comes Glocestrensis legatum conuenerit cum imperatrice et coadiutoribus suis*

Ad hos motus, si posset, componendos comes Glocestrensis non adeo denso comitatu Wintoniam<sup>f</sup> contendit; set re infecta ad Oxeneford rediit, ubi soror statua mansione iamdudum se continuerat.<sup>g</sup> Ipsa itaque, ex his que continue audiebat et a fratre tunc cognouit, nichil legatum<sup>h</sup> molle ad suas partes cogitare intelligens, Wintoniam<sup>f</sup> cum quanto potuit apparatu uenit. Illic intra castellum regium sine cunctatione recepta, bona forsitan mente<sup>k</sup> per nuntios episcopum conuenit, ut, quia ipsa presens erat, non pigritaretur ad eam uenire: ille, non integrum sibi fore arbitratus si ueniret, ambiguo responso nuntios elusit hoc tantum<sup>l</sup> uerbo, 'Ego parabo me'; statimque propter omnes misit<sup>m</sup> quos regi fautores<sup>n</sup> sciebat. Venerunt ergo fere omnes comites Anglie; erant enim iuuenes et leues, et qui mallent equitationum discursus quam pacem. Preterea plures illorum, confusi quia regem bellantem, ut superius dictum est, deseruerant,

<sup>a</sup> uxore fratris A      <sup>b</sup> eiusque] et suis A      <sup>c</sup> quee. in imp. A  
<sup>d</sup> haberet AB      <sup>e</sup> nesciret AB      <sup>f</sup> Wintonie AB  
<sup>g</sup> continuauerat Ce<sup>1</sup>      <sup>h</sup> legatum nichil AB      <sup>i</sup> Wintonie B  
<sup>k</sup> mente forsitan A      <sup>l</sup> tamen Ce<sup>1</sup>      <sup>m</sup> misit propter omnes A  
<sup>n</sup> fautoris A

with the queen, his brother's wife, and influenced by her tears and offers of amends he resolved to free his brother; he also gave absolution, without consulting the bishops, to all the members of his brother's party whom he had excommunicated in the council. His complaints against the Empress were likewise current throughout England: that she had wished to arrest him; that she had disregarded everything she had sworn to him; that all the barons of England had kept their faith with her but she had broken hers, being unable to show restraint in the enjoyment of what she had gained.

§ 499. *How the Earl of Gloucester, with the Empress and their supporters, summoned the legate*

The Earl of Gloucester, with no very large retinue, hastened to Winchester to settle these disturbances if he could, but having accomplished nothing went back to Oxford, where his sister had long been in permanent quarters. Then she, perceiving from what she had always been hearing and then learnt from her brother that the legate had no kindly intentions towards her party, came to Winchester with as large a force as she could. There she was at once received within the royal castle and summoned the legate by messengers, perhaps meaning him no harm, not to delay coming to her as she herself had arrived; but he, thinking he would lose his freedom of action if he did come, deceived the messengers by an ambiguous answer, saying merely 'I will get ready,' and sent immediately for all those who he knew would favour the king. So almost all the earls in England came, for they were young and lightminded, men who preferred cavalry-raids to peace. Most of them likewise, ashamed of having abandoned the king in battle, as has been said

conuentu illo fuge sue obprobrium lenire conabantur. Pauci uero cum imperatrice uenerant: <sup>a</sup> rex Scottie David, Robertus comes Gloecestre, Milo de Hereford, et barones pauci; Reinnulfus <sup>b</sup> comes Cestrie tarde et inutiliter aduenit. <sup>c</sup> Vt ergo magnam seriem rerum breui uerborum compendio explicem: a regina, et comitibus qui uenerant, undique foras muros Wintonie obseruate sunt uie, ne uictualia imperatricis fidelibus <sup>d</sup> inferrentur; Andeuera etiam uicus incensus. Ab occidente itaque <sup>e</sup> raro et anguste importabantur necessaria, uiatoribus nonnullis interceptis uel <sup>f</sup> occisis uel parte membrorum mutilatis: ab oriente uero toto tramite uersus Londoniam constipabantur semite multitudine commeatuum, <sup>g</sup> episcopo et suis importandorum; Gaufrido de Mandeulla, qui iam iterum auxilio eorum cesserat, antea enim post captionem regis imperatrici fidelitatem iurauerat, <sup>h</sup> et Londoniensibus maxime annitentibus, nichilque <sup>i</sup> omnino quod possent pretermittere quo imperatricem contristarent. Wintonienses porro uel tacito ei fauebant iudicio, memores fidei quam ei pacti fuerant cum inuiti propemodum ab episcopo ad hoc adacti essent. Interea ex turre pontificis iaculatum incendium in domos burgensium, qui, ut dixi, prouiores erant imperatricis felicitati <sup>k</sup> quam episcopi, comprehendit et combussit abbatiam totam sanctimonialium intra urbem, simulque cenobium <sup>l</sup> quod dicitur Ad Hidam extra. Erat ibi imago crucifixi Domini magna mole auri et argenti simulque gemmarum, dono <sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> conuenerant B      <sup>b</sup> Rannulfus AB (+ enim B)      <sup>c</sup> uenit B  
<sup>d</sup> fidelibus imperatricis A      <sup>e</sup> itaque om. A      <sup>f</sup> et uel AB  
<sup>g</sup> commeantium Ce<sup>1</sup>      <sup>h</sup> Gaufrido—iurauerat om. AB  
<sup>i</sup> —que om. A      <sup>k</sup> felicitati imperatricis A  
<sup>l</sup> cenobium + monachorum AB      <sup>m</sup> dano A

above, were trying to palliate the disgrace of their flight by assembling then. Only a few had come with the Empress: David King of Scots, Robert Earl of Gloucester, Miles Earl of Hereford and a few barons; Ralph Earl of Chester's arrival was late and ineffective. So, to unfold a long succession of events in a brief account, everywhere outside the walls of Winchester the roads were being watched by the queen and the earls who had come, to prevent provisions being brought in to the Empress's adherents, and the village of Andover was burnt. So from the west necessities were being brought in seldom and on a limited scale, and of those who conveyed them a number were captured or killed or mutilated in some part of their limbs: on the east, all the way to London, the tracks were crowded with masses of supplies being taken to the bishop and his men, Geoffrey de Mandeville, who had again gone over to aid them—for formerly, after the king's capture, he had sworn allegiance to the Empress—and the Londoners making the greatest efforts and not letting slip a single thing that lay in their power whereby they might annoy the Empress. But the people of Winchester gave her their unspoken loyalty, remembering the faith they had pledged to her when they were induced to do it, almost against their will, by the bishop. Meanwhile firebrands, flung from the bishop's tower upon the houses of the citizens, who, as I have said, were more zealous for the Empress's success than the bishop's, caught and burnt an entire nunnery within the city and the monastery called Hyde without. There was in it a likeness of the crucified Lord with a great mass of gold and silver, also precious stones, wrought with laborious devotion as a gift from

Cnutonis quondam regis operosa deuotione fabrefacta : hec, igne tunc comprehensa et solo prostrata, post etiam iubente legato <sup>a</sup> excrustata est. Inuente plusquam quingente argenti marce,<sup>b</sup> auri triginta, donatio militum profecere. Combusta est etiam abbatia sanctimonialium de Warewella a quodam Willelmo de Ipra, homine nefando, qui nec Deo nec hominibus reuerentiam obseruaret, quod in ea quidam imperatricis fautores se conutati essent.

§ 500. *De discessu comitis Gloecestre a Wintonia et captione sua*

Comes Gloecestre <sup>c</sup> interea, quamuis cotidiano regiorum prelio cum suis affligeretur, minusque quam cogitaret <sup>d</sup> res ex sententia cederet, semper tamen ab incendio ecclesiarum temperandum putauit, quamuis in uicino <sup>e</sup> sancti Swithuni hospitatus esset. Veruntamen indignitatem rei ultra non ferens, se suosque pene obsideri et fortunam in alteros declinare, cedendum tempori ratus, compositis ordinibus discessionem parauit. Itaque in primo agmine ut libere abiret sororem premittebat cum reliquis, ipse cum paucis qui auderent animis multos non timere, lente progrediebatur.<sup>f</sup> Quapropter comitibus regiis<sup>g</sup> confestim insecutis, dum et ipse fugere pudori et citra dignitatem suam estimat, et <sup>h</sup> solus ab omnibus precipue impetitur, captus est. Ceteri ceptum iter, procures presertim, continuare, summaque<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> legato iubente B  
<sup>d</sup> cogitarat AB  
<sup>g</sup> regis om. AB

<sup>b</sup> marce + et A  
<sup>e</sup> uicino AB  
<sup>h</sup> et om. B

<sup>c</sup> Gloecestre om. AB  
<sup>f</sup> progreditur B  
<sup>i</sup> et summa A

Canute, a king in former times : it was then caught by the fire and fell to the ground and was afterwards stripped by the legate's order. More than five hundred marks of silver were found and thirty of gold, and they helped to provide largesse for the knights. Also the nunnery of Wherwell was burnt by a certain William of Ypres, an impious man who regarded neither God nor men, on the ground that some of the Empress's adherents had taken refuge in it.

§ 500. *The Earl of Gloucester's withdrawal from Winchester and his capture*

Meanwhile the Earl of Gloucester, though he was hard-pressed by daily battles between the king's men and his own and his success was not proportionate to his expectations, still always thought he must refrain from burning churches, though he was lodged in the neighbourhood of St Swithun's. But since he could no longer bear the shame of the thing, that he and his men were practically besieged and fortune was turning to favour the other side, he thought he must bow to the emergencies of the time and prepared an orderly withdrawal. And so he sent his sister on ahead with the remainder in the front part of the column, that she might get away unimpeded, and himself moved on slowly with a few who had the courage not to fear numbers. Wherefore, as the earls of the king's party pursued at speed and he himself thought it unbecoming and beneath his dignity to fly and was alone the special object of everyone's attack, he was taken prisoner. The others, particularly those of high rank, went on with the journey they had

cum festinatione Diuisas peruenerunt. Sic a Wintonia die sancte Crucis Exaltationis, que tunc habebatur in dominica, discessum; cum illuc paucis ante Assumptionem beate Dei genetricis diebus uentum fuisset. Nonnullique miraculi exemplum et multorum materia sermonum fuit in Anglia, quod sicut rex dominica in domine nostre Purificatione, ita comes dominica in uiuifice Crucis Exaltatione,<sup>a</sup> unam eandemque sortem experti sunt. Illud uero percelebre magnificumque fuit, quod pro isto euentu nemo comitem Glocestre uel infractum mente, uel etiam tristem uultu, uiderit<sup>b</sup>; ita conscientiam alte nobilitatis spirabat, ne se fortune ludibrio subiceret. Quamuis enim primo blanditiis inuitatus, post etiam minis lacesseretur, nunquam tamen inflexus est ut de liberatione sua preter consensum<sup>c</sup> sororis tractaretur. Ad ultimum eo modo res uentilata, ut equis conditionibus et rex et ipse absoluerentur; nullo pacto alio interueniente, nisi ut quisque<sup>d</sup> partes suas pro posse, sicut et<sup>e</sup> prius,<sup>f</sup> tutaretur. Hec ab Exaltatione sancte Crucis usque ad festum<sup>g</sup> Omnium Sanctorum plurimo<sup>h</sup> uerborum agmine sepe uersata, tunc demum debito fine conclusa; ea enim die rex eluctatus captionem, in eadem apud Bristou reginam suam et filium cum duobus magnatibus reliquit, uades liberandi comitis continuo, cum festinato itinere rex Wintoniam uenisset; ibi enim asseruabatur comes, reductus a Rouecestra, quo prius abductus fuerat. Tertio die, mox ut rex Wintoniam uenit, comes abscessit; dimisso ibi, quousque regina absolueretur, in eodem<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ita—exaltatione om. Ce<sup>1</sup>

<sup>d</sup> quisquis A

<sup>g</sup> festiuitatem A

<sup>b</sup> uidit AB

<sup>e</sup> et om. A

<sup>h</sup> plurimorum A

<sup>c</sup> conscientiam AB

<sup>f</sup> superius B

<sup>i</sup> eodem + die B

begun and reached Devizes in the greatest haste. Such was the departure from Winchester on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, which then fell on a Sunday, the arrival having been a few days before the Assumption of the Blessed Mother of God. It was a matter of some wonder and much talk in England that the king and the earl met one and the same fate, the former on a Sunday, the Purification of Our Lady, the latter on a Sunday, the Exaltation of the lifegiving Cross. What was greatly famed and brought him much honour was that no-one saw the Earl of Gloucester broken in spirit or even gloomy of countenance because of that mischance; such consciousness of his lofty rank did he breathe that he could not be humbled by the outrage of fortune. For though he was first lured by flatteries and afterwards even assailed by threats he was never induced to allow negotiations for his release without his sister's consent. The discussions ended in an agreement that the king and he should be released on the same terms, no other condition being involved except that each should maintain his own cause to the best of his ability, as before. These matters were argued at very great length from the Exaltation of the Holy Cross to the feast of All Saints and only then reached a suitable conclusion, for on that day the king emerged from captivity. On that same day he left his queen and son with two men of high rank at Bristol as sureties for the earl's release immediately the king could reach Winchester by travelling at speed; for that was where the earl was kept, having been brought there from Rochester, where he was taken at first. On the third day, as soon as the king came to Winchester, the earl went away, leaving his son William there as a hostage in the same manner until the queen's release. So he travelled rapidly, came to Bristol and released the

obsidatu filio suo Willelmo. Celeriter igitur permensa uia, Bristou ueniens reginam absoluit; cuius reditu Willelmus filius comitis ab obsidatu liberatur. Satis autem constat, toto tempore captionis, sequentibusque<sup>a</sup> mensibus usque ad Natale, multis et magnis pollicitationibus sollicitatum ut a sorore descisceret, pluris semper pietatem germanitatis quam quaslibet promissiones fecisse: nam et relictis rebus castellisque<sup>b</sup> suis, quibus commode frui posset, circa germanam sedulo apud Oxeneford mansitabat; quo loco, ut prefatus sum, illa sedem sibi<sup>c</sup> constituens, curiam fecerat.

§ 501. *De concilio quo legatus temptauit lenire causam  
receptionis imperatricis in dominam*

Interea legatus, immodici animi pontifex, qui quod semel proposuisset non ineffectum relinquere uellet, concilium pro iure legationis sue apud Westmonasterium die octauarum sancti Andree coegit. Eius concilii actionem non ita exacta fide pronuntio ut superioris, quia non interfui. Auditum est lectas in eo litteras domini apostolici, quibus modeste legatum argueret quod liberare fratrem suum dissimulasset; delicti tamen superioris gratiam facere; et magnopere cohortari, ut quocumque modo, uel ecclesiastico uel seculari, posset, ad germani liberationem accingeretur. Regem ipsum in concilium introisse, et apud sanctum conuentum querimoniam deposuisse, quod homines sui et eum ceperint, et afflictione contumeliarum paulo minus exstinxerint, qui iustitiam eis nunquam negasset. Ipsum legatum magnis eloquentie uiribus factorum suorum inuidiam temptasse alleuiare: quod scilicet imperatricem non uoluntate sed necessitate

<sup>a</sup> et sequentibus A

<sup>b</sup> et castellis A

<sup>c</sup> sibi sedem A

queen, and on her return the earl's son William was released from custody as a hostage. It is well established that all through the time of his imprisonment and in the following months up to Christmas the earl was tempted to abandon his sister by many great promises, yet always set more store by his duty to her than by any promises whatsoever, for leaving his property and his castles, which he might have enjoyed at his ease, he constantly remained with his sister at Oxford, in which place, as I have already said, she had settled and made her court.

§ 501. *The council in which the legate tried to excuse his  
reception of the Empress as lady*

Meanwhile the legate, a prelate of haughty spirit and unwilling to leave undone what he had once set himself to do, in his official capacity summoned a council at Westminster a week after St Andrew's day. I cannot relate the proceedings of that council with as much confidence as those of the earlier one because I was not present. I heard that a letter from the Pope was read in it in which he mildly rebuked the legate for evading the task of his brother's release but forgave him his previous fault and strongly urged him to gird himself to procure his brother's freedom by any means, ecclesiastical or secular: that the king himself entered the council and laid a complaint before that holy assembly because his men had both captured him and almost killed, by the grievous burden of their insults, one who had never refused them justice: that the legate himself tried to diminish by great efforts of eloquence his unpopularity for what he had done. He said he had received the Empress not of his own will but under

recepisset, quippe cum recenti adhuc fratris sui clade, omnibus comitibus uel fugatis, uel euentum rei suspecta mente prestolantibus, ipsa cum suis muros Wintonie circumsonasset; ipsam quecumque pepigerat ad ecclesiarum ius pertinentia obstinate fregisse. Quin etiam certis auctoribus ad se delatum eam et suos non solum dignitati sue, sed et uite, struxisse insidias: ceterum, Deum pro sua clementia secus quam ipsa sperasset uertisse negotia, ut et ipse perniciem uitaret, et fratrem suum uinculis eximeret. Itaque iubere se de parte Dei et apostolici, ut regem, uoluntate populi et assensu sedis apostolice inunctum, quantis possent uiribus enixe iuuarent; turbatores uero<sup>a</sup> pacis, qui comitisse Andegauensi fauerent ad excommunicationem uocandos, preter eam que Andegauorum domina esset.<sup>1</sup>

§ 502. *Quomodo quidam fautor imperatricis locutus fuerit pro imperatrice*

Hec eius uerba non dico quod omnes<sup>b</sup> gratis animis exceperint, certe nullus expugnauit; omnes clerici<sup>c</sup> uel metu uel reuerentia frenarunt ora. Vnus fuit laicus, imperatricis nuntius, qui palam legato interdixit, ne per fidem quam ei pactus fuerat quicquam in illo concilio statueret quod eius honori aduersum foret: fidem ab eo<sup>d</sup> imperatrici factam,<sup>e</sup> ne fratrem suum ullo auxilio iuuaret,<sup>f</sup> nisi forte uiginti<sup>g</sup> milites nec plures mitteret. Quod in Angliam ipsa uenisset, frequentibus epistolis eius factum: quod regem cepisset, quod in captione<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> uero om. A      <sup>b</sup> omnes + clerici AB      <sup>c</sup> clerici om. AB  
<sup>d</sup> eo + hanc AB      <sup>e</sup> factam imperatrici A      <sup>f</sup> adiuuaret B  
<sup>g</sup> uiginti] ei xx ei A xx B      <sup>h</sup> captionem A

<sup>1</sup> Note the description of the Empress as Countess of Anjou.

compulsion, because, when his brother had just suffered disaster and all the earls had either been put to flight or were waiting in a doubtful frame of mind to see how things would turn out, she and her men had surrounded Winchester with the noise of arms; that she herself had persistently broken all her pledges relating to the freedom of the churches. Moreover, he said, he had been informed on reliable authority that she and her men had plotted not only against his position but against his life: however, God in his mercy had given affairs a different course from what she hoped, that he might avoid destruction himself and rescue his brother from bondage. Therefore, in the name of God and the Pope, he bade them aid zealously to the utmost of their power a king anointed with the goodwill of the people and the approval of the Apostolic See; those disturbers of the peace who supported the Countess of Anjou must be sentenced to excommunication, all except the lady of the Angevins<sup>1</sup> herself.

§ 502. *How an adherent of the Empress spoke on her behalf*

I do not say that these words of the legate were gladly received by all, but certainly no-one confuted them; all the clergy bridled their lips from fear or respect. There was one layman, an envoy from the Empress, who publicly forbade the legate, by the pledge he had given to the Empress, to make any decision in that council to the prejudice of her position, saying he had given her this pledge, not to aid his brother in any way, unless perchance he sent him twenty knights, but no more. Her own coming to England had been caused by frequent letters from him: the king's capture and imprisonment

tenuisset, ipso potissimum coniuente actum. Dixit <sup>a</sup> hec et alia pleraque magna uerborum austeritate, nichil omnino legato blanditus: nec uero ullo sermonum pondere ille moueri potuit ut iram proderet, semel incepti, ut prius dixi, sui non segnis insecutor.<sup>b</sup> Fuit ergo <sup>c</sup> hic annus, cuius tragedias compendio digessi, fatalis et pene perniciosus Anglie; in quo cum aliquo modo sibi ad libertatem respirandum putasset, rursum in erumpnam recidit, et, nisi Dei misericordia mature occurrat, diu herebit.

§ 503. *Recapitulatio de comite Gloecestre*

Principia gestorum huius anni, qui est incarnationis dominice millesimus centesimus <sup>d</sup> quadragesimus tertius, ex reliquis superioris anni successit animo resarcire; simulque summam rerum que de Roberto filio regis Henrici comite Gloecestre sparsim dicte <sup>e</sup> sunt, quasi in fasciculum collectam, lectoris estimationi per recapitulationem proponere. Ipse quippe sicut primus ad partes sororis sue iuste defendendas initium suscepit, ita semper inuicto animo in incepto gratis perseuerauit: gratis dico, quia nonnulli fautorum eius uel fortunam sequentes cum eius uolubilitate mutantur, uel, multa iam emolumenta consecuti, spe ampliorum premiorum pro iustitia pugnant. Solus uel pene solus Robertus in neutram partem pronior, nec spe compendii nec dispendii timore unquam flexus est, sicut ex consequentibus <sup>f</sup> liquebit. Non ergo alicui, si hec integre scribo, adulationis surrepat suspicio; nichil enim a me dabitur gratie, set sola

<sup>a</sup> dixit + nuntius AB  
<sup>d</sup> centesimus om. Ce<sup>1</sup>

<sup>b</sup> executor AB  
<sup>e</sup> dicta Ce<sup>1</sup>

<sup>c</sup> ergo om. B  
<sup>f</sup> sequentibus AB

were mainly due to his connivance. The envoy said this and a great deal more in very harsh terms, without any attempt to appease the legate, but the latter could not be induced by any severity of language to betray anger, being, as I said before, a man not slow to carry out what he had once taken in hand. So this year, whose tragedies I have briefly related, was ill-omened and almost mortal for England, which, after thinking that it might now in some sort draw a breath of freedom, fell back again into misery, and in misery, unless God's mercy sends a remedy soon, will long remain.

§ 503. *The Earl of Gloucester: a summing up*

It has occurred to me to join up the early events of this year, which is the eleven hundred and forty-third of the Lord's Incarnation, with what is left over from the year before, and at the same time to gather into a bundle, as it were, a summary of what has been said in different places about Robert Earl of Gloucester, King Henry's son, and put it before the reader in a recapitulation for him to judge. As he took the lead in the just defence of his sister's cause so he has always persisted in his undertaking with unconquerable spirit and without self-interest: I say 'without self-interest' because a number of her adherents are either followers of fortune and change as it changes or, having already made great gains, fight for justice in the hope of yet richer rewards. Robert alone, or almost alone, inclining neither way, has never been influenced by hope of gain or fear of loss, as will be clear from what follows. So, if I write these things honestly, let no suspicion of flattery creep into anyone's mind; for I shall make no concession to favour but the

ueritas historie sine ullo fuco mendacii posterorum producet<sup>r</sup>ur notitie.

§ 504. Dictum est de comite quo modo primus omnium<sup>a</sup> post David regem Scottie, presente patre Henrico, fidelitatem sorori sue imperatrici de regno Anglie et ducatu Normannie sacramento firmavit : nonnulla, ut dixi, contentione inter eum et Stephanum tunc Bononie comitem, postmodum Anglie regem, quisnam prior sacramentum faceret : Roberto excellentiam filii, Stephano dignitatem nepotis defendentibus.

§ 505. Dictum est etiam<sup>b</sup> quam rationabiles eum cause<sup>c</sup> a Decembri, quo pater defunctus est, usque post sequens Pascha in Normannia continuerint, ne statim in Angliam ueniens sororis iniurias uindicaret. Postremo ueniens, quam prudenti consilio et qua exceptione ad hominum regis se inclinauerit, et quam iuste idem sequenti anno et deinceps abiecerit.

§ 506. Nec est pretermisus secundus eius post mortem patris a Normannia in Angliam cum sorore aduentus ; in quam se sicut in quandam siluam frementium beluarum immersit, Dei quidem gratia et animi confidentia fretus, set uix centum quadraginta militibus stipatus. Set nec illud tacitum, quod in tanto motu bellorum, cum sollicite ubique pretenderentur excubie, cum solis duodecim militibus impigre ad Bristou uenit, sorore interim apud Arundellum fida, ut putabat, custodia commissa. Qua prudentia et tunc sororem suam e

<sup>a</sup> omnium + primatum AB

<sup>b</sup> autem A

<sup>c</sup> cause cum A

truth of history alone, without any colouring of falsehood, will be set forth for the knowledge of posterity.

§ 504. It has been said about the earl how first of all men after David King of Scots, in the presence of King Henry, he confirmed by oath his allegiance to his sister the Empress with regard to the kingdom of England and Duchy of Normandy, after some dispute, as I have said, between him and Stephen, then Count of Boulogne, afterwards King of England, as to which should take the oath first, Robert maintaining the pre-eminence of a son, Stephen the rank of a nephew.

§ 505. It has also been said what valid reasons kept him in Normandy from December, when his father died, until after the following Easter and prevented his coming to England at once and avenging his sister's wrongs, and through what a wise policy, when he came at last, and under what condition he submitted to pay the king homage, and how justly he renounced that homage in the next year and thereafter.

§ 506. Nor have I overlooked his second arrival in England from Normandy with his sister after his father's death ; he plunged into a country that was like a forest full of raging wild beasts, trusting indeed in God's grace and his own resolute spirit but accompanied by hardly as many as a hundred and forty knights. Neither have I failed to mention that amid such stirrings of war, when pickets were on the alert for him everywhere, he boldly came to Bristol with only twelve knights, meanwhile leaving his sister at Arundel in what he thought to be faithful guardianship. I have said with what judgment he then rescued his sister from the midst of

mediis hostibus ad se receperit, et postmodum in omnibus pro posse prouexerit; semper circa eam conuersatus, ipsius commoda procurans, sua postponens, cum quidam abutentes eius absentia terras ipsius undique uellicarent. Ad postremum, qua necessitate adductus, ut generum suum, quem rex incluserat, periculo eximeret, bello graui se<sup>a</sup> dederit regemque<sup>b</sup> ceperit. Set tam felicem euentum captio eius<sup>c</sup> apud Wintoniam, ut in superioris anni gestis perstrinxi,<sup>d</sup> paulo minus decolorauit<sup>e</sup>; quamquam ea captione non tam miserandum quam laudandum se ipse per Dei gratiam exhibuerit: cum enim uideret regios comites ita obstinatos ad persequendum<sup>f</sup> ut sine suorum detrimento res transigi nequiret, omnes quibus timebat nominatimque<sup>g</sup> imperatricem premisit; quibus pretergressis,<sup>h</sup> ut iam tuto possent euadere, ipse sensim equitans, ne similis fuge profectio putaretur, admisit in se persequentium manus, amicorum liberationem impedimento suo mercatus. Iam uero in ipsa captione nemo eum, ut ante dixi, uel sensit deiectum animo, uel audiuit humilem in uerbo: adeo supra fortunam eminere uidebatur, ut persecutores suos, nolo<sup>i</sup> dicere hostes, ad reuerentiam sui excitaret. Itaque regina, que licet meminisset uirum suum eius iussu fuisse compeditum, nichil ei unquam uinculorum inferri permisit, nec quicquam inhonestum de sua maiestate presumpsit: denique apud Rouecestram, illuc quippe ductus fuit, libere ad ecclesias infra castellum quo libebat ibat, et quibuslibet<sup>k</sup> loquebatur, ipsa dumtaxat regina presente: nam post profectionem eius in turrim

<sup>a</sup> se graui A<sup>b</sup> et regem A<sup>c</sup> eius om. AB<sup>d</sup> perstrinximus A<sup>e</sup> declinauit Ce<sup>1</sup><sup>f</sup> sequendum B<sup>g</sup> et nominatim A<sup>h</sup> pregressis AB<sup>i</sup> nolo + enim AB<sup>k</sup> quibuslibet] quibus libebat AB

her enemies and afterwards advanced her cause in all things to the utmost of his power, always in her company, attending to her interest and neglecting his own, though certain persons, taking advantage of his absence, were everywhere harassing his lands. Finally I have told how, compelled to save from danger his son-in-law, whom the king had besieged, he faced a grievous conflict and captured the king. But, a thing I have touched on among the events of the year before, the lustre of this triumph was almost tarnished by his capture at Winchester; though in that capture, by God's grace, he made himself an object less of pity than of praise: for when he saw the earls of the king's party so determined in pursuit that the action could not end without loss to his own side he sent on all for whom he feared, especially the Empress, and when they had gone ahead, so that they could now escape in safety, he himself rode slowly, to prevent his journey being thought like a flight, and so let himself fall into the hands of the pursuers, buying his friends' freedom with the loss of his own. Moreover in the actual capture no-one, as I said before, either noticed that he was downcast in mind or heard anything abject in his language: so did he seem to rise above ill-fortune that he aroused the respect of his pursuers (I will not call them his enemies). Therefore the queen, though she remembered her husband had been fettered by his orders, never allowed any chains to be put on him or ventured anything that would have dishonoured his rank: finally at Rochester, for he was taken there, he freely went to the churches under the castle whither he liked, and talked with whom he liked, at least as long as the queen was there, for after she had gone away he was brought into the tower under open arrest, so unruffled and calm in mind that on receiving money from his

sub libera custodia ductus est, adeo presenti et securo animo ut ab hominibus suis de Cantia accepta pecunia equos non parui pretii compararet, qui ei post aliquanto tempore et usui et commodo fuere.

§ 507. *De liberatione regis*

Temptauere primo comites, et hi quorum intererat de talibus loqui, si forte regem et se sineret equis conditionibus liberari. Hoc quamuis Mabilla<sup>a</sup> comitissa pre desiderio uiri sui dilecti<sup>b</sup> statim amplexa nuntiis acceptis esset, in eius liberationem coniugali caritate propensior, ille profundiori consilio contradixit, regem et comitem non equalis ponderis esse asseuerans: ceterum, si permitterent omnes qui uel secum uel sui causa capti essent liberari, id se posse pati. Set noluerunt assentire<sup>c</sup> comites, et alii qui regaliū partium erant; regem quidem liberari cupientes, set citra suas in pecunie amissione iacturas: nam et<sup>d</sup> Gillebertus<sup>1</sup> comes Willelmum de Salesberia,<sup>e</sup> Willelmus de Ipra Hunfridum de Bohun, nonnulli<sup>f</sup> alii quos potuerant, Wintonie ceperant, multis in eorum redemptione marcis inhiantes.<sup>g</sup>

§ 508. *Quomodo temptatum est comitem Glocestre posse inflecti in partes regis*

Itaque alia uia comitem adorsi, promissis ingentibus, si forte possent, illicere cupiebant. Concederet, sorore dimissa, in partes regis, habiturus proinde totius terre

<sup>a</sup> Mabilla B      <sup>b</sup> dilecti om. AB      <sup>c</sup> assentiri A

<sup>d</sup> et om. A      <sup>e</sup> Salesberia + et AB

<sup>f</sup> nonnulli] et nonnulli A nonnullique B

<sup>g</sup> multis marcis inh. in eorum red. A

<sup>1</sup> Earl Gilbert was Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford, nephew of the Earl of Pembroke. William of Salisbury was the brother of Earl Patrick, mentioned in ch. 112 of the *Gesta*.

men in Kent he bought at a high price horses that afterwards were of service and advantage to him for a considerable time.

§ 507. *The king's release*

At first the earls, and those whose concern it was to speak of such things, tried if the earl would allow the king and himself to be released on equal terms. Though the Countess Mabel, on account of her longing for her loved husband, at once accepted this proposal when she received the messengers, being from a wife's affection too eager for his release, he with deeper judgment refused, saying a king and an earl were not of equal importance; however he could consent to it if they would allow the release of all who had been taken with him or on his account. But the earls, and others on the king's side, would not agree, desiring indeed the king's release, but not if it meant any loss of money to themselves: for Earl Gilbert<sup>1</sup> had taken William of Salisbury at Winchester, William of Ypres, Humphrey de Bohun, and a number of others those whom they could, and they were eager for many marks as their ransom.

§ 508. *How an attempt was made to bring the Earl of Gloucester over to the king's side*

Therefore they desired, approaching the earl in another way, to win him over by vast promises, if only they could. Let him abandon his sister and come over to the king's side; thereby he would have the lordship over the whole land, so that everything would be

dominatum, et ad ipsius arbitrium penderent omnia essetque in sola corona rege inferior, ceteris omnibus pro uelle principaturus. Repulit comes immensas promissiones memorabili responso, quod posteritas audiat et miretur uolo: 'Non sum,' inquit meus<sup>a</sup> set alieni iuris: cum mee potestatis me uidero, quicquid ratio de re quam<sup>b</sup> allegatis dictauerit, facturum me respondeo.'

§ 509. Tum illi concitiores et nonnichil moti, cum blanditiis nichil promouerent, minas intentare ceperunt, quod eum ultra mare in Bononiam mitterent, perpetuis uinculis usque ad mortem innodandum. Enimuero ille, minas sereno uultu dissoluens, nichil minus se timere protestatus est. Constanter et uere: confidebat enim in magnanimitate comitis, uxoris sue scilicet,<sup>c</sup> et animositate suorum, qui statim regem in Hiberniam mitterent, si quid perperam in comitem factum audissent.

§ 510. Transiit in his mensis; tante molis<sup>1</sup> erat liberari posse<sup>d</sup> principes quos fortuna sua innexuisset<sup>e</sup> catena. Tandem porro communicato consilio, quicumque imperatrici fauebant crebris legationibus comitem conueniunt, ut quia non posset quod uellet, secundum comici<sup>2</sup> dictum, uellet quod posset: pateretur ergo<sup>f</sup> regem et se liberari mutuis conditionibus; 'alioquin timemus,' aiebant, 'ne comites facti sui maximi et preclarissimi, quo te ceperunt, erecti conscientia unos et unos ex nobis inuadant, castella oppugnent,<sup>g</sup> ipsam sororem tuam obsideant.'<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> meus inquit A  
<sup>d</sup> posse liberari B  
<sup>g</sup> expugnent B

<sup>b</sup> quam] qua me A  
<sup>e</sup> innexisset Ce<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>h</sup> oppugnent AB

<sup>c</sup> scilicet om. AB  
<sup>f</sup> ergo om. A

dependent on his will and he would be lower than the king only as regards the crown, dominating all others as he would. The earl rejected their huge promises with a memorable answer, which I want posterity to hear and admire: 'I am not under my own control,' he said, 'but in the power of others; my answer is that when I see myself my own master I will do whatever reason dictates with regard to your proposal.'

§ 509. Then they, becoming more excited and considerably disturbed as they achieved nothing by cajoleries, began to threaten that they would send him overseas to Boulogne to be kept in bondage there for life. But he, making light of their threats with a calm countenance, asserted that he feared nothing less. A true and resolute response, for he had confidence in the high spirit of his wife the countess and the determination of his men, who would send the king to Ireland at once if they heard of any wrong done to the earl.

§ 510. A month passed in these negotiations, so hard was it<sup>1</sup> to release princes whom fortune had put in her chains. But at last, after taking counsel, the Empress's adherents, repeatedly sending envoys, urged the earl to wish to do what he could, in the comic poet's words,<sup>2</sup> since he could not do what he would. Let him allow the king and himself to be released on terms of equal exchange. 'Otherwise,' they said, 'we are afraid that the earls, encouraged by the knowledge of their very great and glorious deed in taking you, may attack us one by one, storm our castles and besiege your sister herself.'

<sup>1</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, l. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Terence, *Andria*, II, i, ll. 5-6.

§ 511. Tum <sup>a</sup> demum Robertus mollitus legato et archiepiscopo assensit; ita tamen, ne quicquam castellorum uel terrarum redderetur quod post regis captionem in ius imperatricis uel quorumcumque <sup>b</sup> fidelium eius transierat.<sup>c</sup> Illud sane nullo potuit obtinere modo quatinus sui secum liberarentur; offensis uidelicet aliis, quod tantas eorum promissiones de principatu totius regni, quodam quasi <sup>d</sup> fastu fastidiens, repudiauerat. Et quia maxime annitebantur ut propter regiam dignitatem primo rex liberaretur, deinceps <sup>e</sup> comes; cum id ille dubitaret concedere, firmauerunt iureiurando legatus et archiepiscopus, quod, si rex post liberationem suam detractaret comitem liberare, ipsi se in captionem comitis incunctanter inicerent, quocumque ipsi libuisset abducendi.

§ 512. Nec adhuc quieuit, set preter <sup>f</sup> hec quo sibi prouideret <sup>g</sup> sagax animus inuenit: posset nempe fieri ut rex, malorum, quod sepe fit, preuentus consilio, captionem fratris sui et archiepiscopi parui duceret dummodo ipse liber in pluma iaceret. Exegit ergo ab utroque singillatim breuia et sigilla sua ad apostolicum in hunc sensum: sciret dominus apostolicus eos ob regis liberationem et regni pacem hoc se pacto comiti astrinxisse, quod, si eum rex post suam ipsius liberationem liberare dissimularet, ipsi ultro se in captionem ipsius immitterent. Quapropter, si ad hoc infortunium peruentum foret, obnixè rogare, quod apostolice <sup>h</sup> hu-

<sup>a</sup> tunc A<sup>d</sup> quasi om. A<sup>g</sup> prouideret AB<sup>b</sup> quorumque AB<sup>e</sup> deinde AB<sup>h</sup> apostolici B<sup>c</sup> transierant A<sup>f</sup> propter A

§ 511. Then at last Robert was softened and made an agreement with the legate and the archbishop, on condition, however, that no castles or lands should be restored that had passed into the hands of the Empress or any of her adherents after the king's capture. The point he could by no means gain was that his men should be released with him, the reason being that others had taken offence at his rejecting, with a kind of proud indifference, their great promises to make him the chief man of the whole kingdom. And as they were especially insistent that the king should be released first, on account of his royal rank, then the earl; when the earl hesitated to grant this the legate and the archbishop gave an assurance on oath that if the king, after his own release, objected to releasing the earl they would immediately make themselves the earl's prisoners, to be taken off wherever he chose.

§ 512. Even then he was not satisfied, but his prudent mind thought of other precautions: it might happen that the king, overborne by evil counsellors, as often happens, would care little for the imprisonment of his brother and the archbishop provided that he himself was a free man lying on down. He therefore extracted from each individually a letter to the Pope under his own seal to this effect; let the Apostolic Lord know that for the release of the king and the peace of the kingdom they had bound themselves to the earl by this condition, that if the king after his own release evaded releasing the earl they would voluntarily make themselves the earl's prisoners. Therefore they earnestly requested what one so kindly as the Pope would do of his own accord, namely, that if this misfortune should come to pass he would rescue from undeserved bondage those who were

manitatis esset sponte facere, ut et eos qui suffraganei ipsius erant, et comitem pariter, ab indebitis nexibus exueret; et quedam talia.

§ 513. Hec scripta Robertus ab utrisque pontificibus recepta tuto loco deposuit, et Wintoniam cum eisdem simulque<sup>a</sup> magna baronum copia uenit. Rex quoque, ut in preteritis dictum est, non multo post eodem ueniens, familiare colloquium cum comite communicauit: set quamuis et ipse rex, et cuncti principes qui aderant, magno annisu satagerent comitem in sua uota traducere, ille, 'uelut pelagi rupes immota resistens,'<sup>1</sup> omnes eorum conatus uel irritos fecit uel rationabiliter compescuit: non esse rationis, dicens, set nec humanitatis, ut sororem suam desereret, cuius partes iuste defendendas suscepisset: nullius commodi causa, nec tam regis odio quam sacramenti sui respectu, quod uiolare nefas esse ipsi quoque deberent attendere, presertim cum ab apostolico sibi mandatum meminisset ut sacramento quod sorori presente patre fecerat, obedientiam exhiberet. Ita infecta pace ab utrisque discessum.

§ 514. Hec ideo sic<sup>b</sup> in superioris anni gestis non apposui, quia clam conscientia mea erant: semper quippe horrore habui aliquid ad posteros transmittendum stilo committere, quod nescirem solida ueritate subsistere. Ea porro, que de presenti anno dicenda sunt, hoc habebunt principium.

§ 515. *Tractatus ut pro comite Andegauense mitteretur*

Utreque partes, imperatricis et regis, se cum quietis modestia egerunt a Natali<sup>c</sup> usque ad quadragesimam,

<sup>a</sup> et simul A

<sup>b</sup> sic om. AB

<sup>c</sup> natiuitate A natale B

his own suffragans and likewise the earl; and more of the same sort.

§ 513. Having got these letters from the two prelates Robert put them in a safe place and came to Winchester with the prelates and a great number of barons. The king, as was said earlier, also came there not long afterwards and had a friendly conversation with the earl, but though the king himself and all the nobles present made great efforts to bring the earl over to their wishes he, 'resisting like an immovable rock in the ocean,'<sup>1</sup> either baffled all their attempts or checked them by reasoned arguments, saying it would neither be reasonable nor even show decent feeling to abandon his sister, the just defence of whose cause he had undertaken: he would not do it on any account, and not so much from hatred of the king as regard for his oath, which they themselves ought to perceive it was a crime to break, especially as he remembered an injunction from the Pope to obey the oath he had taken to his sister in his father's presence. So the two sides parted without making peace.

§ 514. I did not include these things among the events of the previous year because I was ignorant of them at the time, for I have always dreaded putting in writing, for transmission to posterity, anything that I did not know to be established as solid fact. What is to be said about the present year will begin at this point.

§ 515. *Proposal to send for the Count of Anjou*

Both sides, the Empress's and the king's, behaved with calm restraint from Christmas to Lent, seeking

<sup>1</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, l. 586.

magis sua custodire quam aliena incursare studentes : rex in superiores regiones abscessit, nescio que compositurus. Superueniens quadragesima omnibus<sup>a</sup> uacaturam<sup>b</sup> bellorum indixit ; qua mediante, imperatrix cum suis ad Diuisas uenit, illic misterium consilii cum suis<sup>c</sup> habitura<sup>d</sup> : quod tamen eatenus exiit in uulgu, ut sciretur omnibus fautoribus eius complacitum quatinus pro comite Andegauensi mitteretur, qui coniugis et filiorum hereditatem in Anglia iure defensitare deberet. Missi sunt ergo spectabiles iuri, et qui merito tante rei curam exequerentur.

§ 516. *De infirmitate regis*

Non multo post, in ipsis<sup>e</sup> Paschalibus feriis, regem quedam, ut aiunt, dura meditantem grauis incommodum morbi apud Norhamptunam detinuit, adeo ut in tota propemodum Anglia sicut mortuus conclamaretur. Durauit inprospera ualitudo usque post Pentecosten ; tunc enim sensim refusus salutis uigor eum in pedes erexit.

§ 517. Interim nuntii ex Andegauis redeuntes, iterato apud Diuisas in ipsis octauis Pentecostes coacto concilio, imperatrici et principibus audita reportant : comitem Andegauensem legationibus procerum nonnulla ex parte fauere ; ceterum, solum ex omnibus comitem Glocestrensem cognoscere,<sup>f</sup> eiusque prudentiam ac<sup>g</sup> fidem, magnanimitatem et industriam, probatam iam olim habuisse. Is si ad se transito mari ueniat,<sup>h</sup> uoluntati eius se pro posse non defuturum ; alioquin ceteros in eundo et redeundo frustra laborem consumpturos.

<sup>a</sup> omnibus om. Ce<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>c</sup> cum suis] sui AB  
<sup>f</sup> recognoscere B

<sup>b</sup> uacationem AB uel cessationem interl. Ce<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>d</sup> habitum A      <sup>e</sup> ipsis + pene AB  
<sup>g</sup> et AB      <sup>h</sup> adueniat AB

rather to keep their own than to assail what belonged to others : the king went north to settle some affairs. The arrival of Lent enjoined upon all a truce from war, taking advantage of which the Empress came to Devizes with her counsellors to hold a secret conference there, the purport of which was, however, so far made public that it was known all her adherents approved sending for the Count of Anjou, it being his duty to maintain the inheritance of his wife and children in England. So men of reputation were sent, qualified to undertake so great a charge.

§ 516. *The king's illness*

Not long afterwards, during the Easter festival, the king, while preparing some harsh measures, it is said, was kept at Northampton by an illness so dangerous that in nearly the whole of England he was proclaimed as dead. His ill-health lasted until after Whitsuntide ; then the vigour of health gradually came back and put him on his feet again.

§ 517. Meanwhile the envoys returned from Anjou and, when a council had again been summoned at Devizes a week after Whit Sunday, announced to the Empress and the chief men what they had been told, namely, that the Count of Anjou in some respects approved what the nobles had proposed but knew none of them except the Earl of Gloucester and had long been assured of his prudence and loyalty, high spirit and energy. If the earl would cross the sea and come to him he would meet his wishes as far as he could ; if not, it would merely be a waste of time for anyone else to come and go.

§ 518. *Quomodo comes Gloecestre ad comitem  
Andegauensem ierit*

Ita omnium audientium spebus erectis, ad comitem preces uerse, ut hunc laborem pro sororis et nepotum hereditate dignaretur. Dissimulauit ille primo, difficilem rem pretendens: suspectum per confertissimos hostes iter citra et ultra mare; periculosum sorori, quam in absentia eius alii egre tuerentur, qui eam in captione sua pene reliquerant, rebus ipsi suis<sup>a</sup> diffisi. Fauens tandem omnium unanimi uoluntati, obsides poposcit singillatim ab his qui optimates uidebantur, secum in Normanniam ducendos, uadesque<sup>b</sup> futuros tam comiti Andegauensi quam<sup>c</sup> imperatrici, quod omnes iunctis umbonibus ab ea, dum ipse abesset, iniurias propulsarent, uicibus suis apud Oxenefordum manentes. Acclamatum est sententie, dati<sup>d</sup> obsides Normanniam ducendi.

§ 519. *Quomodo comes Andegauensis auxilio comitis Gloecestre  
decem castella in Normannia ceperit*

Robertus ergo ualefaciens sorori, ductis secum obsidibus, cum expeditis militibus per tuta hospitia ad Waram profectus est, quem uicum cum castello iamdudum commiserat filio suo primogenito Willelmo. Ibi aliquanto post festum sancti Iohannis alto se per Dei gratiam committens, naues quas tunc habebat<sup>e</sup> soluit. Que fere in medium mare delate, omnes preter duas tempestate coorta in diuersa iactate; quedamque<sup>f</sup> retro uerse, quedam ultra destinatum propulse sunt: due

<sup>a</sup> suis ipsi A  
<sup>d</sup> datique AB

<sup>b</sup> et uades A  
<sup>e</sup> habebant Ce<sup>1</sup>

<sup>c</sup> quam + etiam B  
<sup>f</sup> et quedam A

§ 518. *How the Earl of Gloucester went to the Count of Anjou*

So the hopes of all the hearers were raised and they turned to entreat the earl to accept this task for the sake of the inheritance of his sister and his nephews. He refused at first, making the difficulties an objection: it was a hazardous journey through a mass of enemies on both sides of the sea; it would be dangerous for his sister, whom others could hardly protect when he was away, men who had practically abandoned her when he himself was captured, without confidence in their own cause. Deferring at length to the unanimous wish of all he demanded hostages from each of those who were reckoned of highest rank, to be taken to Normandy with him and serve as sureties both to the Count of Anjou and the Empress that all would stand together and guard her from wrong while he himself was away, remaining at Oxford in his stead. His speech was applauded and the hostages given to take to Normandy.

§ 519. *How the Count of Anjou took ten castles in Normandy  
with the aid of the Earl of Gloucester*

So Robert, bidding farewell to his sister and taking the hostages with him, made his way with knights ready for action by safe places of sojourn to Wareham, a village which together with its castle he had long since entrusted to his eldest son William. There, some time after the festival of St John, he committed himself by God's grace to the deep and set sail with the ships that he then had. When they had almost reached the middle of the Channel a storm arose and all the ships but two were carried in different directions; some went back, some were driven beyond their destination, two only, in one

solummodo, in quarum una comes cum fidissimis erat, rectum cursum tenentes, in idoneam stationem appulerunt. Veniens itaque Cadomum, comitem Andegauensem per nuntios accersiuit. Venit ille non aspernanter, set audite legationi sua impedimenta et ea multa obiecit: inter que, quod rebellione multorum castellorum in Normannia detineretur quo minus in Angliam ueniret. Ea res moras redeundi comiti Glocestrensi ultra placitum innexuit: nam ut Andegauensem omni occasione nudaret, cum eo decem castella expugnauit in Normannia,<sup>a</sup> quorum hec sunt uocabua, Tenerchebrai, Seithilaret, Brichesart, Alnai,<sup>b</sup> Bastonborg, Triueres, Castel de Vira, Plaiseiz, Vilers, Moretoin.<sup>c</sup> Set prope modum nichil quantum ad legationem hac promouit industria; Andegauensis enim<sup>d</sup> comes et alias occasiones, prioribus solutis, substituit, quibus in Angliam aduentum excusaret suum. Magni sane loco beneficii filium suum ex imperatrice primogenitum auunculo concessit in Angliam<sup>e</sup> deducendum,<sup>2</sup> cuius intuitu proceres iusti heredis partes propugnare animarentur. Henricus uocatur puer, nomen aui referens, utinam felicitatem et potentiam quandoque relaturus.

§ 520. *Quomodo rex ceperat Waram, absente comite*

Interea rex in Anglia, comitis absentiam aucupatus, subito ad Waram ueniens, et non bene munitum<sup>f</sup> propugnatoribus offendens, succensa et depredata uilla,<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> in Norm. expugnauit AB

<sup>b</sup> Alani Ce<sup>1</sup>

<sup>c</sup> quorum—Moretoin om. AB

<sup>d</sup> enim om. A

<sup>e</sup> Anglia Ce

<sup>f</sup> non bene munitum] uacuum AB

<sup>g</sup> succensa—uilla] succenso et depredato uico AB

<sup>1</sup> Tinchebray in the department of Orne, near Domfront, Saint Hilaire-du-Harcouët and Mortain in the south-east of Manche, Trévières near Bayeux, Aunay-sur-Odon and Villers-Bocage north-west of Falaise, Castel-de-Vire west of Falaise near the border of Calvados and Orne.

of which was the earl with his most faithful retainers, kept straight on their course and put in at a suitable anchorage. So he came to Caen and summoned the Count of Anjou by messengers. The count came without reluctance, but on hearing the proposal he pleaded his own difficulties in objection, and they were many, one being that he was kept from coming to England because a number of castles were in revolt against him in Normandy. This involved the Earl of Gloucester in longer delay than he wished before he could return, for to deprive the Angevin of every pretext he joined him in capturing ten castles in Normandy, named Tinchebray, St Hilaire, Brichesart, Aunay, Bastonbourg, Trévières, Castel de Vire, Plaiseiz, Villers and Mortain.<sup>1</sup> But by this service he accomplished almost nothing towards the object of his mission, for the Count of Anjou invented fresh pretexts, when the first were removed, as excuses for not coming to England. He did indeed, as a great favour, allow the boy's uncle to take to England<sup>2</sup> his eldest son by the Empress, that on seeing him the nobles might be inspired to fight for the cause of the lawful heir. The boy is called Henry, recalling his grandfather's name, and would he may some day recall his prosperity and his power.

§ 520. *How the king had taken Wareham in the earl's absence*

Meanwhile in England the king, snatching at the opportunity of the earl's absence, came suddenly to Wareham, and finding it insufficiently garrisoned he set fire to the village and plundered it and also gained immediate possession of the castle. Not satisfied with

<sup>2</sup> The boy was handed over at Bristol to a certain Matthew for education (*Gervase*, I, p. 124).

statim etiam castello potitus est. Nec eo contentus, qui fortunam sibi aspirare uideret, tribus diebus ante festum sancti Michaelis inopinato casu Oxeneford ciuitatem concremauit, et castellum, in quo cum domesticis militibus imperatrix erat, obsedit; ita scilicet offirmato<sup>a</sup> animo, ut nullius spe commodi, nullius timore detrimenti, discedendum pronuntiaret, nisi castello reddito et imperatrice in ditionem suam redacta. Mox igitur<sup>b</sup> optimates quidem<sup>c</sup> omnes imperatricis, confusi quia a domina sua preter statutum abfuerant, confertis cuneis ad Walengeford conuenerunt, eo proposito ut regem bello impeterent si ipse in aperto campo martem experiri uellet,<sup>d</sup> set eum<sup>e</sup> intra ciuitatem aggredi consilium non fuit, quam ita comes Gloecestre fossatis munierat, ut inexpugnabilis preter incendium uideretur.

§ 521. *De reditu comitis Gloecestre in Angliam*

His rumoribus in Anglia<sup>f</sup> disseminatis, comes Gloecestre<sup>g</sup> Robertus reditum maturauit. Trecentos itaque milites et aliquanto plures, quorum tamen numerus ad quadringentos non peruenit, nauibus quinquaginta duabus imposuit; his duas,<sup>h</sup> quas redeundo in pelago expugnauit, adiunxit. Itaque pie uoluntati Deus per gratiam sui<sup>i</sup> egregie fauit ut nulla e tanto numero nauium longius euagaretur,<sup>k</sup> set omnes, uel pariter iunctis lateribus uel leniter une ante alias progresse,<sup>l</sup> placida sulcarent maria. Nec uero uiolentia fluctuum nauigia impetebat, set quodam famulatu prosequabatur; sicut aspectus

<sup>a</sup> efirmato Ce<sup>1</sup>      <sup>b</sup> igitur om. AB

<sup>d</sup> uoluisset AB      <sup>e</sup> eum om. A

<sup>g</sup> Gloecestre om. AB

<sup>i</sup> gratiam sui] suam gratiam AB

<sup>c</sup> quidem om. AB

<sup>f</sup> Normannia AB

<sup>h</sup> duabus AB

<sup>k</sup> euagarentur Ce<sup>1</sup>

<sup>l</sup> gresse B

this, as he saw fortune was favouring him, three days before Michaelmas he burnt the city of Oxford by an unexpected chance and besieged the castle, where the Empress was with the knights of her household, with such determination that he stated the hope of no advantage, the fear of no loss should make him go away unless the castle had been surrendered and the Empress brought into his power. Then soon the nobles of the Empress's party, ashamed at having left their lady contrary to the agreement, massed their forces at Wallingford with the intention of attacking the king if he would risk a fight in the open field, but it was not their plan to assail him within the city, which the Earl of Gloucester had so strongly fortified with earthworks that it seemed impregnable unless it were set on fire.

§ 521. *The Earl of Gloucester's return to England*

When these reports were spread abroad in England the Earl of Gloucester hastened his return. So he put three hundred knights and somewhat more, though the number did not reach four hundred, on fifty-two ships and to these he added two that he captured at sea on his way back. Then God of his grace showed signal favour to his dutiful intention, so that of so great a number of ships not one wandered from its course but all cleft calm seas either side by side or in orderly line ahead. Nor did the billows assail the ships with fury but escorted them like an attentive retinue, the way in which the look of the sea is wont to be most pleasant, when the waves glide gently up and play against the shores. So

maris solet esse gratissimus, cum placidis allisa lapsibus alludit unda littoribus. In portum ergo Waram delate, comitem<sup>a</sup> et omnes socios desideriiis suorum felices carine restituere.

§ 522. *Quomodo comes Gloecestre reditu suo Waram ceperit*

Cogitauerat primo ad Hamtunam appellere, ut dispendio burgensium<sup>b</sup> simul et domini eorum iniurias suas ulcisceretur; set flexerunt eius impetum precibus multis Vituli, qui artissimarum necessitudinum parentes, quos apud Hamtunam habebant, erumpnis ceterorum inuolui timerent. Genus hominum nauticorum est quos Vitulos<sup>1</sup> uocant; qui quia fidi<sup>c</sup> clientes comitis sunt, preces eorum non negligendas arbitratus, cepto destitit; simul et honoratius uisum, ut in locum de quo egressus fuerat reuerteretur, quod per uiolentiam amiserat ui recuperaturus. Statim ergo portu et uico in potestatem subactis, castellum obsedit, quod lectissimorum<sup>d</sup> militum quos ibi rex locauerat munitione sua confirmarat<sup>e</sup> animositatem, ne dicam contumaciam. At enim paulo post milites, machinis comitis labefactati et consternati, petiuerunt<sup>f</sup> indutias ut, sicut moris est illorum hominum, efflagitarent a rege suppetias; die dicta, si forte uenire negaret, castellum reddituri. Id, spe regem ab obsidione sororis abducendi, acceptissimum comiti fuit, quamuis impatienti desiderio castelli habendi teneretur; qua putamus animi confidentia, ut nullo ex Anglia fultus adhuc auxilio, cum trecentis et paulo plus militibus

<sup>a</sup> comites AB

<sup>b</sup> ciuium AB

<sup>c</sup> fide AB

<sup>d</sup> electissimorum B

<sup>e</sup> confirmabat AB

<sup>f</sup> pecierunt AB

<sup>1</sup> In Osbern's account of the capture of Lisbon by the Crusaders in 1147 William Vitulus and his brother Ralph are associated with the men of

the happy barks entered Wareham harbour and restored the earl and all his companions to their longing friends.

§ 522. *How the Earl of Gloucester captured Wareham on his return*

He had thought first of putting in at Southampton, to avenge his wrongs at the cost of the burgesses and their lord, but his impulse was turned aside with many entreaties by the 'Seals,' who feared that very close relations of theirs, whom they had at Southampton, would be involved in the troubles of the others. Those whom they call 'Seals'<sup>1</sup> are a seafaring family, and as they are loyal dependants of the earl he thought he should not disregard their entreaties and abandoned the enterprise; at the same time it seemed a more glorious thing to return to the place from which he had set out and recover by force what he had lost by force. So he at once made himself master of the harbour and the village and besieged the castle, which by its strength had encouraged the high spirit, not to say the obstinacy, of the picked knights whom the king had stationed there. But soon afterwards these knights, shaken and terrified by the earl's siege-engines, asked for a truce that, as is customary with those people, they might beg aid from the king; they would surrender the castle on a fixed day supposing he refused to come. This proposal was most agreeable to the earl, though he was filled with an impatient longing to possess the castle, because it afforded a hope of bringing the king away from besieging his sister; what must we think of his resolution, seeing that, as yet supported by no aid from England, he fearlessly awaited

Southampton and Hastings (*De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. C. W. David, pp. 100-4 and note 1 to p. 100).

regem intrepidus operiretur, qui mille milites et eo amplius habere ferebatur; multi enim non tam imperatricis odio quam auiditate prede ad obsidendum conuolauerant.

§ 523. *Quomodo comes Gloecestre congregato exercitu tetendit ad liberandam imperatricem*

Veruntamen, cum relatum esset quod obsessis apud Waram a rege negaretur auxilium, ea scilicet obstinatione qua predixi castellum recepit; eodemque<sup>a</sup> impetu insulam Portland, quam incastellauerant, subegit; nec minus et tertium, cuius nomen Lulleworda, quod Willelmi de Glastonia cuiusdam cubicularii fuerat, qui nuper a fide imperatricis descuerat.<sup>b</sup> Inde omnes fautores imperatricis ad Cirecestram conuocauit, iam ingresso<sup>c</sup> Aduentu. Ibi igitur ad domine sue succurrendum omnibus suis<sup>d</sup> uiribus conspirati, profectionem ad Oxenefordum meditabantur, infensis mentibus cum rege, nisi abscederet, preliaturi.<sup>e</sup> Enimuero iam progressis plausibile nuntium allatum est, egressam imperatricem ab obsesso castello Oxeneford, apud<sup>f</sup> Walengeford tuto manere. Illic<sup>g</sup> ergo diuertentes, eiusdem domine sue<sup>h</sup> consilio, quia et milites qui ea exeunte remanserant, castello reddito indempnes abierant, et sancti dies quiescere uel parum admonebant, bello abstinendum rati, ad sua quique sunt reuersi.<sup>j</sup>

*Explicit Liber Tertius Nouvelle Historie*

<sup>a</sup> et eodem A      <sup>b</sup> quod—descuerat] armis perdomuit AB  
<sup>c</sup> ingresso + Domini AB      <sup>d</sup> suis om. AB  
<sup>e</sup> preliaturi nos preliatum iri AB preliaturum iri Ce  
<sup>f</sup> apud] et apud AB      <sup>g</sup> illuc AB      <sup>h</sup> sue om. AB  
<sup>j</sup> reuersi sunt A

with only a few more than three hundred knights the arrival of the king, who was said to have a thousand knights and more, for many had flocked to the siege not so much from hatred of the Empress as greed for plunder.

§ 523. *How the Earl of Gloucester collected an army and marched to relieve the Empress*

However, when an answer came that the king refused help to those besieged at Wareham, the earl recovered the castle with the determination I mentioned before and with the same vigour subdued the Isle of Portland, which they had turned into a castle, likewise a third castle named Lulworth, belonging to William of Glastonbury, a chamberlain, who had recently deserted the Empress. Then he summoned all the Empress's adherents to Cirencester after the beginning of Advent. So there they united all their forces to rescue their lady and were preparing to march to Oxford, intending to fight a desperate battle with the king if he did not go away. But when they had already started the welcome news was brought that the Empress had left the besieged castle of Oxford and was staying at Wallingford in safety. So they directed their course thither and then, on the advice of their lady, because the knights who stopped behind when she went out had surrendered the castle and gone away unharmed, and also because the holy season urged rest even for a little while, they thought they should refrain from war and went back each to his own home.

End of the third book of the *Historia Novella*.

§ 524. Modum<sup>1</sup> sane liberationis imperatricis grantanter apponerem, si pro certo compertum haberem; est enim<sup>a</sup> evidens Dei miraculum. Illud satis constat, quod, metu aduentantis<sup>b</sup> comitis, obsessoribus plurimis apud Oxeneford, quo quisque poterat, dilapsis, reliqui laxiores custodias et remissiores excubias fecere; magis, si ad bellum ueniretur, saluti sue solliciti, quam aliorum exitio infesti. Quare<sup>c</sup> ab oppidanis<sup>2</sup> animaduversa, imperatrix cum solis quatuor militibus per posterulam<sup>3</sup> egressa amnem transiuit. Mox, ut nonnunquam et fere semper necessitas et remedium excogitat et audaciam subministrat, pede Abbenduniam profecta, hinc ad Walingeford equo subuecta est. Que tamen latius persequi fert animus si unquam, dante Deo, ab his qui interfuere ueritatem accepero.<sup>d</sup> Sed hec in uolumine sequenti, Deo uolente, latius expedientur.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ergo A      <sup>b</sup> aduenientis AB      <sup>c</sup> Quare (*sic* MSS)

<sup>d</sup> Quare—accepero *om.* Ce<sup>1</sup> *in litura scripsit* Ce<sup>2</sup>

<sup>e</sup> sed—expedientur *om.* AB

<sup>1</sup> For the Empress's escape see *Gesta*, ch. 72.

§ 524. I should certainly be pleased to add the manner<sup>1</sup> of the Empress's escape if I had sure knowledge of it, for it is a manifest miracle of God. This is well established, that from fear of the earl's arrival very many of the besiegers at Oxford slipped away whither each man could and the rest were slacker in their guard and more careless in their watch, more anxious for their own safety if it came to a fight than eager for the destruction of others. When this was noticed by the garrison of the castle<sup>2</sup> the Empress went out by a little postern<sup>3</sup> with only four knights and crossed the river. Then, as often, indeed almost always, necessity both invents the cure and supplies the boldness to effect it, she went on foot to Abingdon and thence on horseback to Wallingford. I am, however, disposed to go into this more thoroughly if ever by the gift of God I learn the truth from those who were present. But these matters will be more fully set forth, God willing, in the next book.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning given is quite usual in twelfth-century Latin; only the castle remained in the Empress's possession.

<sup>3</sup> The account in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (p. 384) says that she was let down from the tower by ropes.