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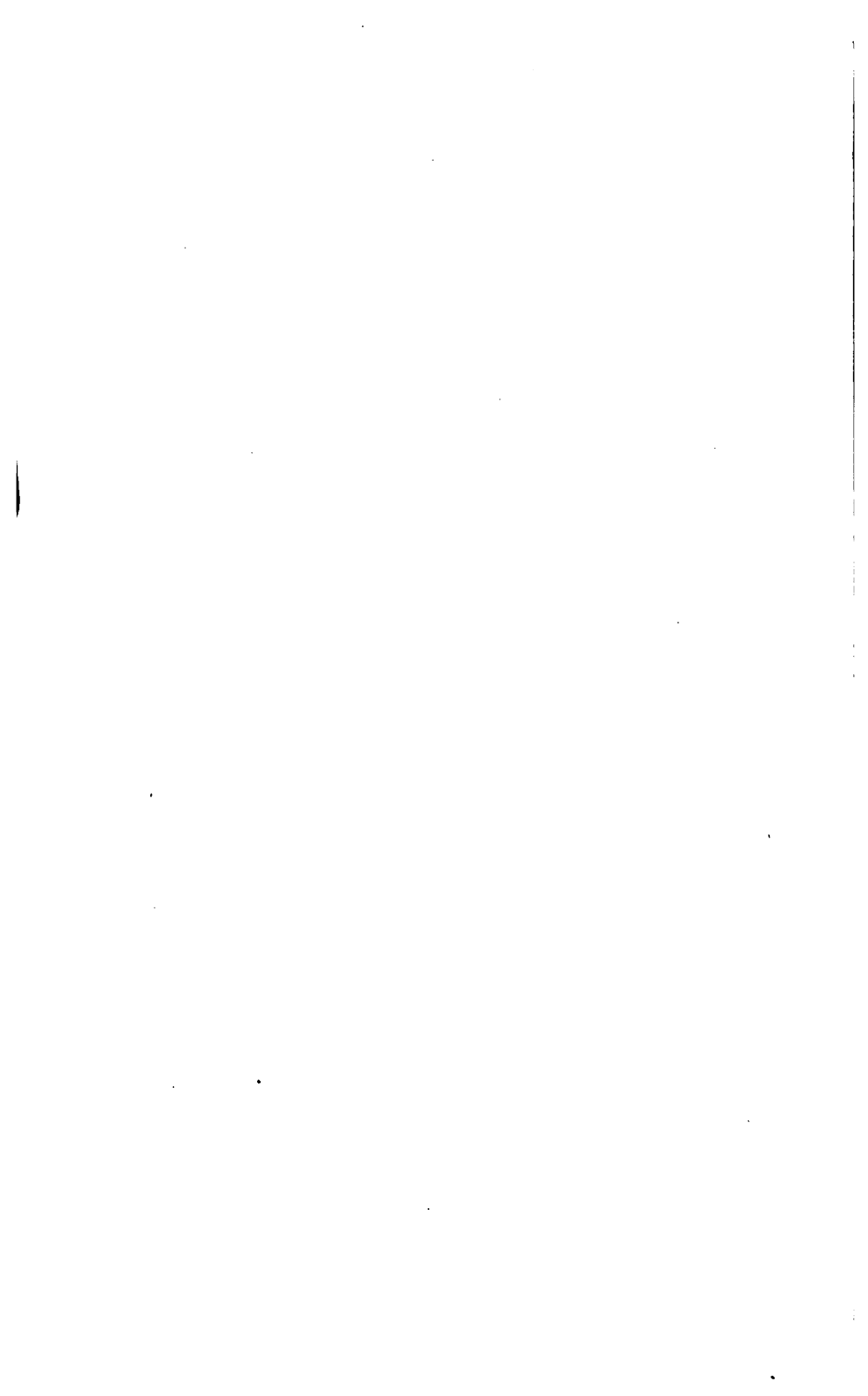
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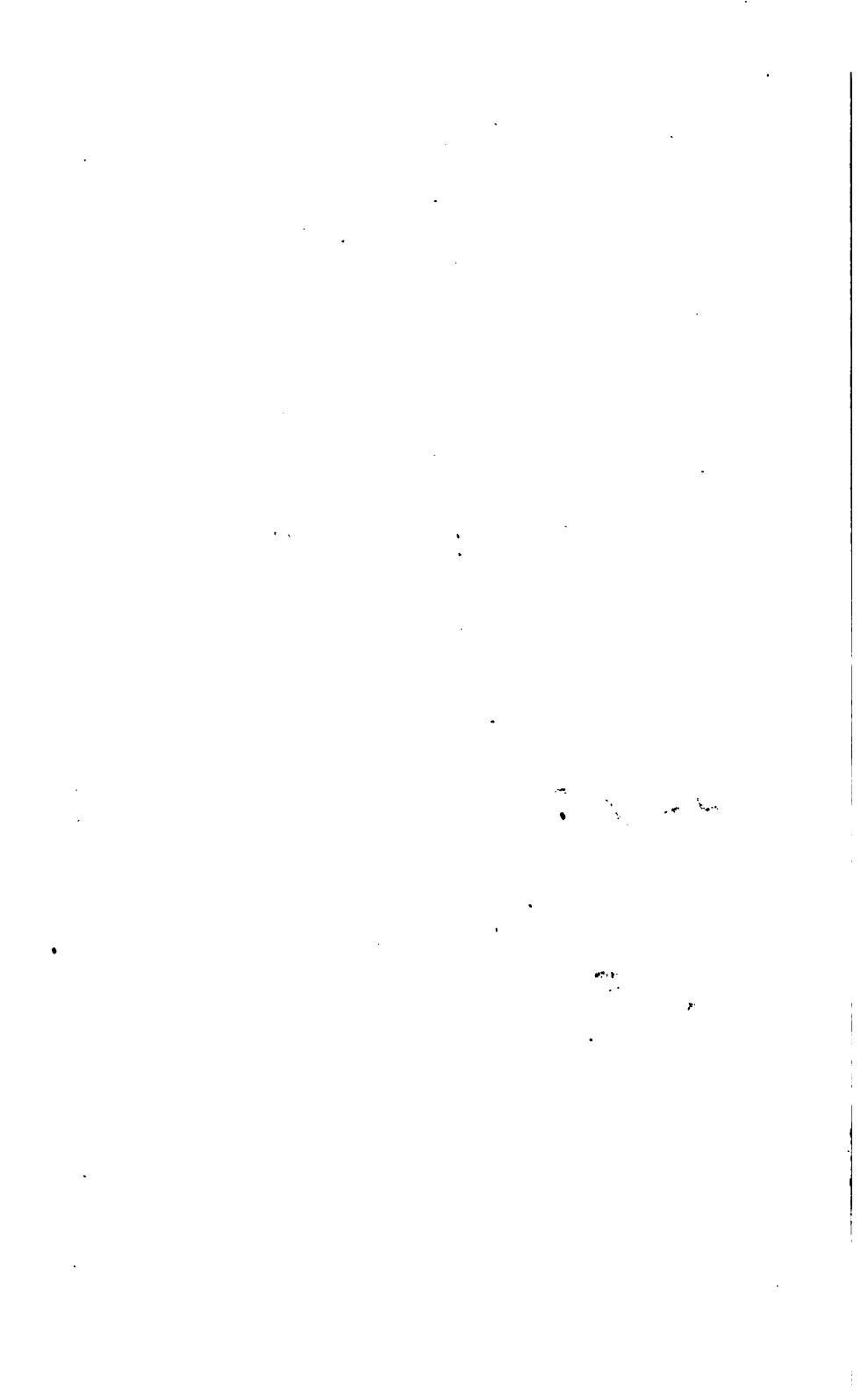
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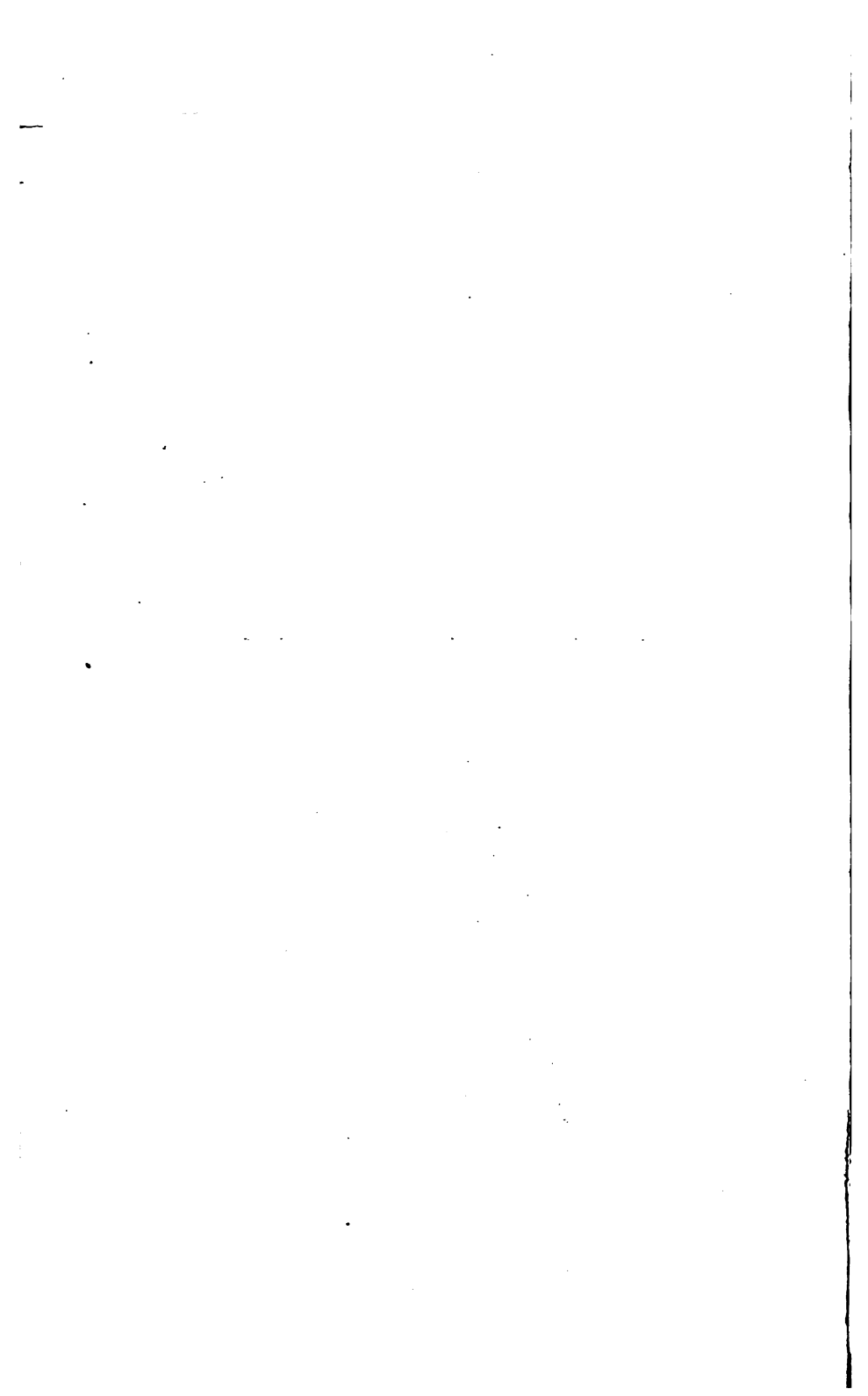
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**GESTA
REGUM ANGLORUM.**



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GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM,

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HISTORIA NOVELLA.

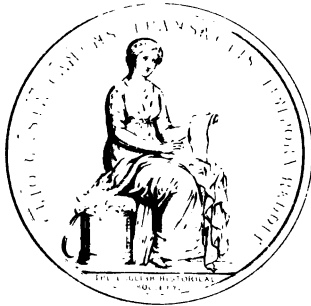
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P R E F A C E.

 **AMONG** the Historians and Annalists Biographical notice. who flourished in England before the close of the fifteenth century, **WILLIAM, THE MONK OF MALMESBURY**, occupies a conspicuous place. Of the personal history of this celebrated writer very little is known beyond what he himself has casually told. Tradition has not even preserved the names,¹ or the rank of his parents; and it is from incidental expressions in his work that the information is derived that one of them was a Norman, the other a Saxon.² It is evident, however, that they earnestly desired to give their son a literary education; and their solicitude was rewarded by the eminence he attained. The exact time of his birth has not been discovered.³

¹ Leland, Cave, Tanner, Wharton, and other writers, state that his family name was Somerset, but their authority has not been ascertained.

² 'Quia utriusque gentis sanguinem traho.' Again, towards the conclusion of the second book, these words occur: 'Nec hæc dicens virtuti Normannorum derogo, quibus tum pro genere, tum pro beneficiis, fidem habeo.'

³ 'In the "Commentary on Jeremiah," Malmesbury observes, that he "had long since, in his youthful days, amused himself with writing history, and that he was now forty years of age;" and in another place he mentions a circumstance which occurred in the time of King Henry, apparently implying that Henry was then dead. Now, admitting the expression of "long since" to denote a period of ten years, this,

He appears in early life to have shown an earnest love of study; and in the preface to his second book, where he gives a brief account of his youth, he observes — ‘ For a long time past, thanks to my parents’ care and my own diligence, I have been habituated to reading; a pursuit which had charms for me from my very childhood, and with my years I have found its attractions increase. In fact, my father brought me up to think that if I directed my attention to other pursuits, it would be a waste of life, and a hazard of reputation. Accordingly, I prevailed on myself, young as I was, to acquire a taste for that for which I could not, with credit to myself, show a distaste.’ He then proceeds to state that he was orally instructed in logic, that he had devoted himself somewhat more closely to physic, and that he studied ethics in detail, which led him naturally to the cultivation of history. His labours in this last study he thus describes :—‘ Accordingly, after I had accumulated, at my own expense, various histories of foreign nations, I proceeded, as my leisure permitted, to inquire whether any records of my own nation worth transmitting to posterity could be found; for, not being content with the writings of antiquity, I myself became possessed

as his Histories of the Kings and of the Prelates were completed in the year 1125, must have been written about 1135, the time of Henry’s death, and would of course place his own birth about 1095 or 1096.’ Such is Mr. Sharpe’s reasoning; but there does not appear to be sufficient ground for fixing on either of those years for Malmesbury’s birth. The assumption that King Henry was only just dead, upon

which the deduction rests, seems scarcely warranted by the passages cited. One fact, however, is clear, namely, that the author of a history upon which the first critics of modern times have pronounced the highest encomiums for learning and judgment, could barely have exceeded his majority at the time when he commenced and had even finished the greater portion of this work.

with a desire to write; not, however, for the purpose of exhibiting my own knowledge, but with the view of bringing to light matters which lie hidden and buried under the ruins of ages. Dismissing matters of trifling concern, I have amassed chronicles from every quarter, though it must be confessed I have not profited proportionably to the labour bestowed; for, after I had explored all the ground, I remained comparatively without information.'

It seems that Malmesbury passed the greater part of his life within the confines of the monastery whence he derived his name, devoting all his time, not occupied in religious and monastic duties, to literature; but there is, however, evidence that he visited the principal monasteries in the kingdom, for the purpose of collecting books.¹ Of his industry some idea may be formed, from the fact that he was the author of no less than twenty distinct works, all of which were written before he attained the fiftieth year of his age.² His zeal and abilities obtained for him

¹ Malmesbury elsewhere states that he collected many books for the library of his monastery; and he mentions others which he had seen at Canterbury, Bury St. Edmund's, &c. — Gale, iii. pp. 298. 376.

² The following is a list of Malmesbury's works; and Tanner attributes several others to him.

1. *Gesta Regum Anglorum.*
2. *Historia Novella.*
3. *Gesta Pontificum.*
4. *Passio Sancti Indracti Martyris.*
5. *De Vita Sancti Aldelmi.*
6. *De Vita Sancti Dunstani Archiepiscopi.*
7. *Vita Sancti Patricii.*
8. *Miracula S. Benigni.*

9. *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesie.*

10. *Vita S. Wulstani Episcopi Wigorniensis.*

11. *Chronica.*

12. *Miracula S. Elfgife.*

13. *Itinerarium Joannis Abbatia Meldunensis versus Romam.*

14. *Expositio Threnorum Hieremie.*

15. *De Miraculis Mariæ Virginis.*

16. *De Serie Evangelistarum, nullo non genere carminis.*

17. *De Miraculis B. Andrea.*

18. *Abbreviatio Amalarii de Ecclesiasticis Officiis.*

19. *Epitome Historiæ Haimonis Floriacensis monachi a Justiniano ad Carolum Magnum.*

20. *De Dictis Philosophorum.*

a high reputation, and he was selected by the principals of several monasteries to write either the history of their foundations, or the lives of their patron saints. Though his own monastery appreciated his talents, and showed its sense of his learning by appointing him librarian, and afterwards precentor, of the establishment, and by offering him the dignity of its abbacy, none of its inmates had sufficient reverence for his memory to leave any written memorials of his life.¹ The precise time of his death is as uncertain as that of his birth; but, from the fact of his last work abruptly terminating in the midst of the most deeply interesting period of his time,—the events of the year 1142,—he is generally supposed to have died in that, or the following year.

These few passages contain all that is known of the life of the most judicious and best informed of all the early writers of English history.

Contents of
this volume.

The two principal and by far most interesting works of William of Malmesbury — the *GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM*, and the *HISTORIA NOVELLA* — are printed in the following pages. The former comprises five, and the latter is limited to three books.

The 'Gesta
Regum An-
glorum.'

The first book of the *GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM* commences with a cursory sketch of the history of Britain, from its invasion by Cæsar, to the final departure of the Romans from England; and then proceeds with a synchronical history of the respective kingdoms of the Saxon

¹ Leland, who appears to have collected everything relating to him, indignantly observes, that in the monastery of Malmesbury the monks had then nearly lost all remembrance of their bright-
est ornament. Posterity, however, has not appreciated him the less for their indifference: his works will ever rank high amongst those of the writers of the dark ages.

dynasty, from the first settlement of that people in Britain, to the time when the several kingdoms were subjugated by Egberht, and consolidated into one empire.

The second book traces the history of the West-Saxon empire through the line of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish sovereigns, to the death of Harold, and the arrival of the Normans.

The third book is devoted to the reign of William the First.

The fourth and fifth books bring the history down to the year 1120. In the fourth book there is also a very interesting account of the first Crusade, with vivid sketches of the principal leaders therein engaged.

At what periods of his life Malmesbury commenced and finished the 'Gesta Regum Anglorum' cannot be positively ascertained. There seems to be some ground for supposing that it was written between the years 1114 and 1123;¹ and that he revised the work at a subsequent period, making several important additions to the text, and alterations in the language, whilst, in one or two instances, he substituted whole paragraphs for those which he had originally written.² He beseeched those who knew more than

Period when written.

¹ An examination of every point connected with the subject has been made; but with anything beyond the mere result it seems unnecessary to burthen these remarks. That Malmesbury, after he had published his work, was in the constant habit of correcting it, is beyond doubt.

² An opinion has prevailed that Malmesbury originally ended this work with the third book. The Editor has not seen

any MS. merely containing three books; and it seems to him doubtful whether the three first books were published by Malmesbury before the whole work was completed. Mr. Sharpe is, however, of the contrary opinion; but he has not assigned any reason for adopting it. Malmesbury's statement, in the preface to the fourth book, certainly favours the conclusion Mr. Sharpe has drawn. 'I am aware,' Mal-

he had inserted in his history to communicate their knowledge to him, that, at least, those events might appear in the margin of his history.

Of the 'Historia Novella.'

The 'Historia Novella' is supposed to be William of Malmesbury's latest production. It commences with a brief retrospect of the latter part of the reign of Henry the First; and continues the history to the year 1142, when it terminates. From internal evidence it is manifest

mesbury writes, 'that many persons think it unwise in me to have written the history of the kings of my own time, alleging that in a work of such description truth is often made shipwreck of, while falsehood meets with support; because to relate the crimes of contemporaries is attended with danger, their good actions with applause. Whence it arises, say they, that, as all things have now a natural tendency to evil rather than good, the historian passes over any disgraceful transaction, however obvious, through timidity; and, for the sake of approbation, feigns good qualities when he cannot find them. There are others who, judging of us by their own indolence, deem us unequal to so great a task, and brand our undertaking with malignant censure. Wherefore, impelled by the reasoning of the one, or the contempt of the other, I had long since voluntarily retired to leisure and silence; but, after indulging in these for some time, my inclination to write returned, being, moreover, strongly urged, by friends I dearly loved, to proceed further with my history, and to which I am already sufficiently disposed.' Another circumstance also favours Mr. Sharpe's opinion: there is, in the possession of

Sir Thomas Phillipps, (MS. Phillipps, No. 237,) a MS. of the twelfth century, formerly belonging to the monastery of Camhay in Normandy, containing, inter alia, an abridgement of the *Three first Books* of the 'Gesta Regum Anglorum;' and a similar MS. was also used by Jerome Commelin, (Heidelberg, 1587,) who printed it (not knowing the author) as a continuation of Beda's Ecclesiastical History. Commelin's MS. contained more matter than the Phillipps MS.; but the additional matter is certainly not to be found in any MS. of the 'Gesta Regum Anglorum' now extant. There seems to be no doubt that Malmesbury wrote the fourth and fifth books of this work at the desire of Robert earl of Gloucester; and it is not a little singular that the dedication to that nobleman occurs in most MSS. at the end of the third book, although it relates to the whole work. That the prefaces to each of the five books were written after the whole work was completed, is sufficiently obvious; and there are expressions in them which strongly favour the opinion that the first three, though of course written earlier than the remainder, were never published before the whole work was completed.

that he commenced this work after the death of King Henry the First, and brought it down to the year 1142. Though complete as far as it goes, it was left unfinished: the narrative concludes with a brief notice of the flight of the Empress Maud from Oxford; but the author intended to treat largely of all the facts relating to her escape in another book, a work which he was not destined to complete. Fortunately, however, he revised the whole work which forms the present publication, and made some important emendations and additions to it.

From the time of Beda to that of Malmesbury, a period of four centuries, the only histories of England which had been attempted consist of brief relations of facts, without any attempt to reason upon the events, or to point out their influence upon the political state of the country. Malmesbury, as he informs his readers, was the first, after Beda, who aspired to a higher character than that of a mere annalist, and attempted a continuous History of England: 'The history of the English, from their arrival in Britain to his own times, has been written in a plain and pleasing manner by Beda, a man of great learning and modesty. After him, you will not, as I imagine, find any one who has composed in Latin a history of that people. Let others declare if they have been, or are likely to be, more fortunate in their researches. My own labour in searching, though exceedingly great, has, I admit, been fruitless up to this period. There are certainly extant some old chronicles in the vernacular tongue, and arranged according to the years of our Lord. By means of these alone the history of the times succeeding Beda has been rescued from oblivion: for it is better to

Period when the 'Historia Novella' was published.

Malmesbury's object in writing his work.

be silent of Aethelweard, a noble and illustrious man, who attempted to render these chronicles into Latin; his object I could applaud, if his style did not disgust. Nor have I forgotten Eadmer's work, written in temperate graceful language, in which he takes a cursory glance at the times from Eadgar to William the First; and thence, taking a wider field, brings his copious and useful history down to the death of Archbishop Anselm.¹ So that, from the time of Beda, there is a period of two hundred and twenty-three years of which there is no history: thus the regular series of time halts in the middle, from want of a connected relation. Wherefore, as well out of love of my country as out of respect to those who have enjoined me to the undertaking, I have been induced to fill up the chasm, seasoning my crude materials with Roman salt; and, that my design may proceed with greater regularity, I shall cull somewhat from Beda, to whom I must often refer, glancing at some few things, but omitting more.'

Sources of
his informa-
tion.

The principal sources from which Malmesbury derived his History may be divided into three classes:

First — Authors and data still extant; such as Gildas, Nennius, Beda, the Saxon Chronicle, Saxon Laws, Asser, Aethelweard, Eadmer, Osberne, Gosceline, Hariulf, and other earlier writers, original charters, letters, and official documents.²

¹ Eadmer, when Malmesbury published his 'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' had concluded his History with the death of Anselm archbishop of Canterbury. He afterwards continued it to the death of Archbishop Ralph, in 1122.

² It must not be inferred that Malmesbury always inserted, verbatim, original charters or letters; he merely abridges them: but occasionally he inserts the whole instrument.

Second — Materials derived from authorities now lost; such as metrical tales, historical tradition, reliques, charters, letters, and biographical notices.

Third — Personal knowledge of facts which he had himself witnessed, or had heard from credible persons.

As Malmesbury's object was to give a clear relation of events, he collected everything within his reach. He, however, more than once states that the result of his researches was by no means satisfactory. He observes—'I deem it necessary to inform the reader that I vouch nothing for the truth of long past transactions but the consonance of the time: the veracity of the relation must rest with its authors. Whatever I have recorded of later times, I have either myself seen, or heard from credible authority. Moreover, in either part, I pay but little respect to the judgment of my contemporaries; trusting that I shall gain with posterity, when love and hatred shall be no more, if not the reputation of eloquence, at least the credit of modesty.'

His character as an historian.

The facts which he has borrowed from preceding writers are so interwoven with his own remarks, that they are almost inseparable from his narrative. Everything which he thought necessary for the elucidation of the manners and customs of the people in the different periods of his history, or which exhibited their progress towards civilization, whether in government, laws, or the arts, is stated with considerable ability. When his materials are not abundant, or the historical facts uninteresting, he enlivens his work with anecdotes;¹ often painting in vivid

¹ In one place, after relating various anecdotes, he states that he will no longer torture the patience of his readers; though, if

colours the prominent traits of individual character, and depicting with artistical skill the trifling incidents or local transactions of his time.

His history has been compared to a drama, in which the story is presented entire, though the tediousness of continued narration is avoided.

He dedicates
his work to
the earl of
Gloucester.

He dedicated his labours to his friend and patron Robert earl of Gloucester, the natural son of King Henry the First. This eminent person appears to have possessed great legislative and military talents, and to have been much attached to literature. He seems to have acted only from the purest principles of justice and duty, without pride, passion, or selfish ambition. Had he aspired to the throne when the nation had grown tired of Matilda and Stephen, he might possibly have gained it; but he chose rather to preserve his fidelity and honour inviolate. At the conclusion of the 'Gesta Regum,' Malmesbury thus addresses him: 'So devoted are you to literature, that, though distracted by such a mass of business, you yet snatch some hours to yourself, for the purpose either of reading, or of hearing others. Justly do you regulate your exalted rank in life, neither omitting the toils of war for literature, nor contemning literature, as some do, for military service. Here, also, the excess of your learning appears; for, whilst you love books, you manifest how deeply you have drunk of the stream. Many things are eagerly desired when not possessed; but no person will love philosophy, who shall not have thoroughly imbibed it.'

he be not too partial to himself, | morose enough to rival the su-
a variety of anecdote can be dis- | perciliousness of Cato.
pleasing to no one, unless he be |

Malmesbury requests that no blame may attach to him, because his narrative often wanders from the limits of this country. He designed it, he said, as a compendium of many histories, although, from the larger portion relating to England, he entitled it the 'History of the Kings of England.'

It is to be regretted that so many pages of his work are filled with legendary tales and miracles; but, lest his veracity should be impeached,¹ he carefully gives his authority for them. It must also be remembered that miraculous tales were consistent with the current belief of his age; that they were greedily sought after by all classes; and that they were intimately connected with the religious belief of the people. Mr. Sharpe sensibly observes, on this subject, that no one ever thought of impeaching the judgment of Livy, or any other historian of credit, for insertions of a similar nature. Several passages in his work, however, could be adduced which seem strongly to favour the conclusion that Malmesbury was not himself a believer in the marvellous stories he relates. Alluding to the death of Aelfred the Great, and to the tradition of his spirit re-entering his body and wandering nightly through the buildings of the cathedral, he writes thus: 'These and similar superstitions, such as that the dead body of a wicked man runs about after death by the agency of the devil, the English hold with almost inbred credulity, borrowing

¹ As an instance, when speaking of Osuuald's remains (p. 73), he writes, 'Whether they remain at that place at the present day I venture not rashly to affirm, because I waver in opinion: if other historians have precipitately recorded any matter, let them be accountable. I hold common report at a cheaper rate, and affirm nothing but what is deserving of entire credit.'

them from the heathens, according to the expression of Virgil, "Morte obita quales fama est volitare figuras."¹ A credulous man would scarcely direct attention to such a weakness, did he himself hold a similar belief. In one point of view, these marvellous tales are not without their use: they frequently contain, amidst their gross absurdities, curious and valuable information illustrative of manners, customs, and dresses; and in numerous instances throw considerable light upon the literature, arts, sciences, and commerce of the period to which they relate. Many of those tales are likewise so completely distinct from the main narrative as almost to justify the conclusion that they are interpolations. In some of the manuscripts which have been consulted, there are tales not usually found in the better class of manuscripts.

His impartiality as an author.

That William of Malmesbury was both a temperate and impartial writer, must be apparent to all who read his History; he wrote as he felt, lauding the virtuous and reproving the vicious; whilst he adduces, with high commendation, examples of virtue, his strictures on the vicious are pungent and deserved. When writing of William the First, he observes, 'Incited by different motives, both Normans and English have written of King William: the former have praised him to excess, alike extolling to the utmost his good and his bad actions; while the latter, out of national hatred, have laden their conqueror with undeserved reproach. For my part, as the blood of both people flows in my veins, I shall steer a middle course: where I am certified of his good

¹ Æneid. x. 641.

deeds, I shall openly proclaim them, — his bad conduct I shall touch upon sparingly, though not to conceal it; so that neither shall my narrative be condemned as false, nor will I brand that man with ignominious censure, almost the whole of whose actions may reasonably be excused, if not commended.—My course will be to extenuate evil as much as is consistent with truth, and not to bestow excessive commendation even on good actions.'

That Malmesbury was a man of tried integrity and singular veracity, is manifest from his works. When he has a doubt on the subject of which he is writing, though it were currently believed in his day, his language is particularly cautious, and he throws all the responsibility for the facts he mentions on the authors from whom he derived them. His integrity.

His style, especially in his earlier works, is occasionally laboured; yet it abounds with choice and elegant phrases. Much of his work is written with classical taste; and although his language is usually concise, strong, and nervous, it is nevertheless sometimes verbose and obscure. It is impossible to read his works without discovering, from his frequent quotations, and successful adaptation of their phrases, that he had studied the Roman writers, and that his mind was imbued with their spirit and beauty. He has several times declared that he purposely varies his diction,¹ lest the reader should be disgusted by its sameness; and he seems to have been always anxious to avoid repetition. His style.

There appears, however, to be one radical His chronology.

¹ 'Præterea non indecens æstimo si multicolori stylo varietur oratio.'

defect in the plan pursued by Malmesbury in his History,—a fault of design rather than of inadvertence. Fearful lest his work should assume the character of a chronicle, he fell into the opposite extreme, and frequently relates circumstances without stating the exact year in which they occurred. He did this either in imitation of the Roman writers, or for the purpose of avoiding the difficulty of fixing each transaction to a particular year, there being such frequent discrepancies on those points in the sources whence he derived his information. It was not the custom of the Saxons to be very exact as to dates in their annals. In some copies of that invaluable relic—the Saxon Chronicle—events are recorded as occurring in given years, while in other copies the same events are referred to different years. But these discrepancies may now be easily remedied, as they arose from the fact of the authors of the chronicles commencing the year at different periods. At Peterborough, and the other monasteries founded by Aethelwold, the year was commenced on the 25th of March; but at Worcester, and the monasteries founded by Osuuald, it was considered to begin on the 25th of December: thus, transactions that occurred between Christmas-day and Lady-day are frequently, in the different copies of the Saxon Chronicles, referred to different years. The chronology of Asser, in his Life of Aelfred the Great, is occasionally inexact, as he sometimes states that Aelfred commenced his reign in one year, at other times in a different year. Aethelweard affixes dates to the commencement and termination of the reigns of many of the Saxon monarchs different from those assigned in the Saxon Chronicles. These writers, taking as the

basis of their history the copy of the chronicles which they had consulted, followed it, having no sufficient means of testing the correctness of the dates. Each monastery in the respective kingdoms of the heptarchy undoubtedly had an officer who at the termination of every year recorded the memorable occurrences, not only in the kingdom in which his monastery was situated, but also those events of which he had heard in the neighbouring kingdoms; it is therefore but natural to expect that discrepancies in dates will be found, especially when it can be established that the northern commenced the year at a different time from the southern writers. Moreover, in the manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle the dates are expressed in Roman characters; and it might easily occur in setting down III. or IIII, and other numerals, that an I. might be inserted or omitted, which error would of course affect the subsequent series. These facts were either not known or little regarded in Malmesbury's time; and as he must have observed many obvious discrepancies, and was unable satisfactorily to reconcile them, he may have adopted a plan which seldom required him to affix the exact date of a transaction. Not ambitious to be a mere chronographer, it was enough for his purpose to state that in a given reign an occurrence took place which produced certain effects; but whether it happened in the year 800, or 802, was a matter of no immediate moment, the plan of his work not requiring minute accuracy: but this want of exactitude has occasionally, when he has given the year, betrayed him into anachronism; and, in one or two instances, he has actually made the event precede the cause. To remedy this defect in some degree, and supply

his omissions in regard to dates, it has been deemed requisite in this edition of the work, to place the correct date in the margin when it is erroneous in the author, together with the exact date of every transaction, when the author has not furnished it. The authority for these will, in most instances, be found in a note at the foot of the page.

Previous editions of the present work.

It has already been stated that, as early as the year 1587, Jerome Commelin published at Heidelberg a volume entitled 'RERUM BRITANNICARUM, ID EST, ANGLIÆ, SCOTIÆ, VICINARUMQUE INSULARUM AC REGIONUM, SCRIPTORES VETUSTIORES.' At page 281 of that work, under the title 'DE GESTIS ANGLORUM LIBRI TRES, INCERTO AUCTORE,' are contained excerpts from the three first books of Malmesbury's 'GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM;' but it is evident, from such occasional notes as 'Videntur hic non pauca deesse;' 'Multa hic quoque requiri videntur;' 'Desunt nonnulla,' &c.; but especially from the expression 'Incerto auctore,' that Commelin did not know that it was Malmesbury's 'GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM' from which the compiler of the MS. had taken his statements.¹

London edition.

About nine years after the appearance of Commelin's volume, Sir Henry Savile published his well-known 'SCRIPTORES POST BEDAM,' in which is included Malmesbury's 'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' 'Historia Novella,' and his 'Gesta

¹ The three last chapters in Commelin's volume are not, however, to be found in any copy of Malmesbury at present extant: it would therefore seem that the compiler of the MS. from which Commelin printed had introduced into his work other matter, obtained from another source. With the exception of these three chapters, Sir Thomas Phillipps' MS. No. 237, agrees with that from which Commelin printed.

Pontificum.' In dedicating his work to Queen Elizabeth, Sir Henry Savile passed this just eulogy on Malmesbury: 'Inter quos cum et narrationis fide, et iudicii maturitate, principem locum teneat Guilielmus Malmesburiensis, homo, ut erant illa tempora, literate doctus, qui septingentorum plus minus annorum res tanta fide et diligentia pertexuit ut e nostris prope solus historici munus explesse videatur.'¹

The manuscript from which Savile's edition was printed was either carelessly transcribed, or the volume was incorrectly printed: the text abounds with gross errors, which the table of errata printed at the end of the work very inadequately remedies. From occasional notices in the margin, it is evident that Savile consulted more than one manuscript: but instead of having followed any one in particular, he seems to have formed his text from several. The present Editor has not met with any manuscript which entirely agrees with Savile's text: the Royal MS. in the British Museum, 13. B. XIX. comes nearest to it, but does not thoroughly agree with it. Savile has no authority for dividing his work into chapters; but his sections are nearly the same as those found in the best manuscripts. The edition commonly called the London edition having become scarce, was reprinted, in the year 1601, at Frankfort, with a

Frankfort
edition.

¹ An author of such acknowledged fidelity was not likely to remain for ever without being rendered into English, and Sir Simonds D'Ewes employed himself upon a translation of this work, but he never published the result of his labours; and the Reverend John Sharpe, in the year

1815, published his translation of this writer: Mr. Sharpe's notes are always replete with information. The extent to which the Editor has availed himself of the learning of this able translator will be seen in the foot-notes of each page.

considerably greater number of errors than are to be found in the London edition, though the Frankfort edition professes to embody in the text the corrections made in the table of errata of the London edition.

Present edition.

The text of the present edition has been taken from a MS. written towards the close of the twelfth century, which formerly belonged to the abbey of Margan, founded by Robert earl of Gloucester, the nobleman to whom Malmesbury dedicated his work. This magnificent MS. now preserved among the Royal manuscripts in the British Museum, (Bibl. Reg. 13. D. II.) was selected, after a careful examination and comparison with other manuscripts, because it was found not only to be the least corrupted, but to contain proofs of the author's latest corrections. The only other MS. which agrees with the Royal Manuscript, though not so ancient by some centuries, is in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. From the various readings, and from many important alterations observable throughout, it is certain that the author made several corrections in his work after he had completed it; and it is believed that traces may be found of at least four distinct classes of copies of the 'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' and of two of the 'Historia Novella.' No one can examine the various readings in the foot-notes of this edition without coming to the conclusion that the author was constantly employed in the correction and amplification of his work. Many of his alterations, it is true, are merely verbal; but they contribute greatly to the elegance of his diction. In some places severe expressions are modified and softened, whole passages are added,

and others are substituted for those originally written. It is not, however, to be inferred that all the various readings were Malmesbury's own alterations. Several are clearly owing to mistakes of the copyists of the different manuscripts.

The text of this volume will be found to vary considerably from that of Savile; but the variations between his edition and the present are preserved in the foot-notes, under the designation of the letter *S*. At first sight it might appear that too many variations in the different MSS. have been shown: but it will be sufficient to state that those variations only have been regarded which identify the manuscript referred to as belonging to a particular class; but when the variation has been clearly an error attributable to the copyist of the MS. and not peculiar to any particular class, it has not been thought necessary to increase the notes by inserting it. There is, however, one exception to this rule. Every word in the manuscript upon which the present text is formed has been faithfully preserved, howsoever trivial; and when the word was a palpable mistake of the copyist, the proper word, supplied from other MSS. has been inserted in the text, and the error noticed, with the authority upon which the amendment was made: but so correct is the MS. in question, that these instances are very rare.

By a careful comparison of the numerous MSS. a very important result has been gained. It is proved that there are various editions or classes of manuscripts, to one of which classes every manuscript of this author can be referred.

The principal manuscripts which have been referred to are denominated in the foot-notes

Manuscripts
which have
been ex-
amined.

by the letters *A. S. C. D. E. F. G. H. K. L. M.*

A. The Harleian Manuscript No. 261; the Cottonian Manuscript Claudius C. ix.; both in the British Museum: and Sir Thomas Phillipps' Manuscript No. 2777.

S. Savile's text, both London and Frankfort editions.

C. The Royal Manuscript 13. B. xix.; the Harleian Manuscript No. 447; both in the British Museum.

D. The Royal Manuscript 13. D. v.; the Royal Manuscript 13. B. xvii.; both in the British Museum.

E. The Royal Manuscript 13. D. ii. in the British Museum; Sir Thomas Phillipps' Manuscript No. 8239.

F. The Manuscript in the library of the College of All Souls, Oxford, probably of the same class as *E.*

G. The Bodleian Manuscript, Laud 548, at Oxford, apparently of the same class as *L.*

H. The Bodleian Manuscript, Hatton 54, seemingly of the same class as *A.*

K. The Bodleian Manuscript, Bodley 712, agreeing with the class *C.*

L. The Arundel Manuscript No. 35, in the British Museum; and the Manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 14.

M. The Arundel Manuscript No. 161, a verbatim copy of the Royal Manuscript 13. D. v.

Several other manuscripts preserved at Oxford, at Cambridge, in the British Museum, and in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, have been consulted; but, as they appear to have been taken from some exemplar of one or other of

the MSS. above mentioned, it has not been thought necessary to refer to them.

This seems to be the fittest place to state, that, Marginal and foot notes. in the marginal and foot notes, the most approved orthography of Anglo-Saxon proper names has been adopted; a plan which appeared to the Editor the most advisable, in consequence of the variety of opinions prevailing on this subject. No two authors spell a name in the same manner; and it was thought best to follow contemporaneous orthography when it could be obtained, and, next to that, the orthography used nearest to the time when the individual lived. In the manuscripts which have been consulted, the orthography of proper names occurs in a variety of modes, and even in the same manuscript the same name is often variously spelt; for this reason it was thought useless to give, among the various readings at the foot of the pages, the variation in the spelling of proper names, and (except in a few instances obviously wrong) the orthography found in the Royal Manuscript 13. D. II. which is the authority for the present text, has been adhered to. In the Index, which has been compiled with much care and talent by Mr. Fehon, will be found all the modes of spelling proper names reduced to uniformity, and arranged under one head; so that no inconvenience can arise from the variations in ancient orthography. It should be also stated that the Index forms a good digest of the work itself. Of the Notes generally it may be sufficient to observe, that they have only been introduced when the meaning of the author did not appear to be sufficiently obvious, and required explanation, or when any error required to be cor-

rected. When dates have been introduced in the margin which did not occur in the text, a note stating the authority has generally been given.

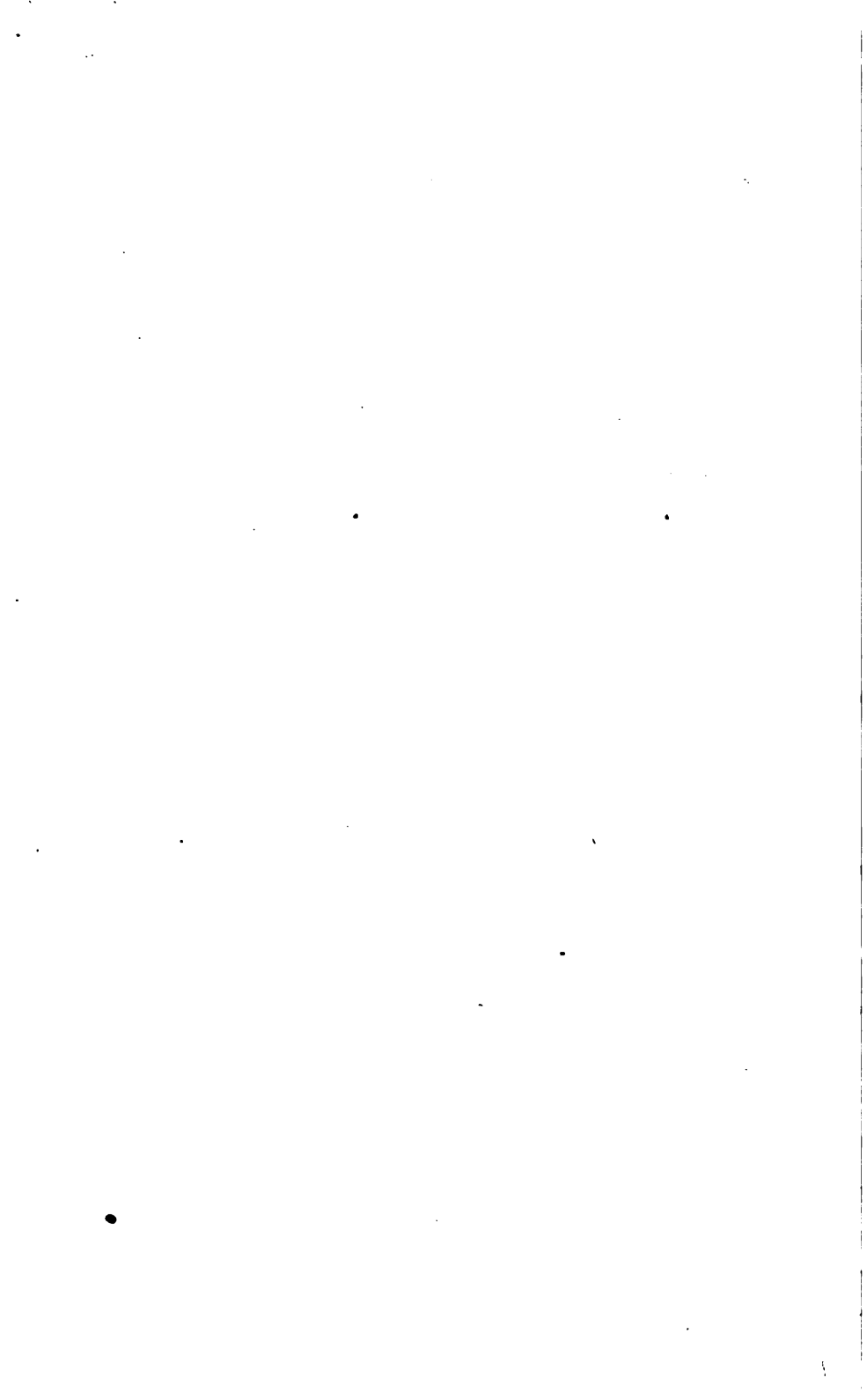
It may possibly be thought that the present edition is overburthened with notes; but it must be remembered that the peculiar plan of Malmesbury's History in many cases renders some comment or annotation to the text necessary; and little has been done that will not either elucidate the author's meaning, or save the reader the trouble of referring to works not always at hand. In every instance it is believed that the authority for the statement given is derived either from contemporaneous sources, or from the best accessible authority.

Conclusion.

The Editor cannot close these prefatory remarks without returning his thanks to those friends who have assisted him during the progress of this work through the press; but more particularly to Sir Harris Nicolas, G.C.M.G., and to John Holmes, Esq. of the British Museum. To Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. not only are the Editor's thanks especially due, but those also of the English Historical Society, he having kindly lent several valuable MSS. of Malmesbury to the Editor, for the purpose of collation. From Mr. Samuel Bentley it would be unjust to withhold a public acknowledgement of the very great advantage this work has derived from the skill and assiduity of his establishment: those only who have been engaged in passing a similar work through the press can adequately appreciate the services for which an editor may be indebted to the vigilance and sagacity of the printer.

The Editor cannot conclude these remarks without naming his brother, Mr. William Hardy, to whom he is indebted for constant and valuable assistance in collating manuscripts, and correcting the press. Had that assistance been rendered by a stranger, he should certainly not have been satisfied with so inadequate an acknowledgement.

Record Office, Tower,
May 22, 1841.



PROLOGUS

IN LIBRUM TERTIUM.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS LIBRI TERTII.



DE Willelmo rege scripserunt, diversis incitati causis, et Normanni et Angli: illi ad nimias efferati sunt laudes, bona malaque juxta in cœlum prædicantes; isti, pro gentilibus inimicitiis, foedis dominum suum proscidere convitiis. Ego autem, quia utriusque gentis sanguinem traho, dicendi tale temperamentum servabo: bene gesta, quantum cognoscere potui, sine fuco palam ¹efferam; perperam acta, quantum sufficiat scientiæ, ²leviter et ³quasi transeunter attingam; ut nec mendax culpetur historia, nec illum nota inuram censoria cujus cuncta pene, etsi non laudari, excusari certe possunt opera. Itaque de illo talia narrabo libenter et morose quæ sint inertibus incitamento, promptis exemplo, usui præsentibus, jocunditati sequentibus. Verum in his protrahendis non multum temporis expendam impendium, quæ nulli emolumentum, imo legenti fastidium, scribenti pariant odium. Satis superque sufficiunt qui genuino molari facta bonorum lacerent. Mihi hæc placet provincia, ut

NOTES AND VARIOUS READINGS.

¹ *Efferam.*] A. S. D. E. L.;
proferam, C.

² *Leviter.*] A. S. D. E. L.; le-
niter, C.

³ *Quasi.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.
M.; omitted in E1.

mala, quantum queo, sine veritatis dispendio extenuem; bona non ¹nimis ventose collaudem. De qua moderatione, ut æstimo, veri qui erunt arbitri, me nec timidum nec inelegantem pronuntiabunt. Hoc itaque non solum de Willelmo, sed et de duobus filiis ejus stylus observabit, ut nihil nimie, nihil nisi vere dicatur: quorum primus parum quod laudetur egit, præter primos regni dies; tota vita damno provincialium comparans favorem militum. Secundus, patri quam fratri morigeratior, invictum animum inter adversa et prospera rexit: cujus si expeditiones attendas, ignores cautior an audacior fuerit; si fortunas aspicias, hæsites beatior, aut boni eventus indigentior, fuerit. Sed de talibus tempus erit ²cum lector arbitretur. Nunc, tertium volumen incepturus, satis reor egisse ut attentum et docilem facerem; ipse sibi benigne persuadebit ut benevolus sit.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

¹ *Nimis.*] A. S. C. E. L.; mi- | ² *Cum.*] A. C. D. E. L.; ut,
nus, D. | S.

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM

LIBER TERTIUS.

INCIPIT LIBER TERTIUS DE ADVENTU NORMAN- NORUM IN ANGLIAM.



ROBERTUS,¹ alter filius Ricardi William duke of Normandy. secundi, postquam septem annis gloriose ducatum Normanniæ tenuit, Ierosolymam pergere mentem appulit. Habebat tunc filium septennem, ex concubina susceptum, cujus speciem in choreis saltitantis forte conspicatus, non abstinit quin sibi nocte conjungeret; deinceps unice dilexit, et aliquandiu justæ uxoris loco habuit. Puer ex ea editus, Willelmus a nomine abavi dictus: cujus magnitudinem futuram matris somnium portendebat, quo intestina sua per totam Normanniam et Angliam extendi et dilatari viderat; ipso quoque momento quo, partu laxato, in vitam effusus pusio humum attigit, ambas manus junco, quo pavimenti pulvis cavebatur, implevit, stricte quod corripuerat compugnans. Ostensum visum mulierculis, læto plausu gannientibus; obstetrix quoque fausto omine acclamat puerum regem futurum. His birth, A.D. 1028.

NOTES AND VARIOUS READINGS.

¹ *Robertus, alter filius Ricardi secundi.*] Robert I. (See notes ⁴ and ⁶, p. 294.

A.D. 1035.
The Normans swear fealty to him.

§ 230. Paratis ergo omnibus quæ ¹Ierosolymitani itineris viaticum informarent, apud Fiscannum concilium proceribus indicitur. Ibi, jubente patre, in nomen et fidem Willelmi ab omnibus juratur: ²Gislebertus comes tutor pupilli constituitur; tutela tutoris ³regi Francorum Henrico assignatur. Roberto cœptam viam expediente, Normanni omnes communi umbone patriam per sua quisque munimenta tutari, parvum herum ex amore venerari. Stetit hæc fides usque ad famam obitus ejus; qua ubique gentium disseminata, cum fato mutatus amor: mox quisque sua munire oppida, turres agere, frumenta comportare, causas aucupari quibus quamprimum a puero dissidium meditarentur. Inter hæc ille, haud equidem reor sine Dei auxilio qui eum tanto principatum præviderat imperio, tutus adolescebat; cum solus pene Gislebertus æquum et bonum armis defensitaret suis. Cæteri studiis partium agebantur. Jam vero ⁴interfecto Gisleberto a Radulpho patruelo suo, ubique cædes, ubique ignes versabantur. Clarissima olim pa-

They rebel against him.

¹ *Ierosolymitani itineris.*] Robert's expedition to Jerusalem was in 1035. (Bouq. xi. 420.)

² *Gislebertus comes tutor pupilli constituitur.*] Ordericus Vitalis writes, 'Ducatum vero suum Guillelmo, octo annorum puero, non rediturus reliquit; ipsumque Alano consanguineo suo, Britonum comiti, commendavit.' And again: 'Rebellaverunt proceres Normanniæ contra Guillelmum infantem; qui, dum pater ejus cum Drogone comite iter iniit Hierosolymitanum, octo solummodo erat annorum, et a patre commissus tutelæ Alani consanguinei sui, comitis Britonum.'

³ *Regi Francorum Henrico.*] Henry I.

⁴ *Interfecto Gisleberto a Radulpho patruelo suo.*] 'Gislebertus comes Ocensis, filius Godefridi comitis, callidus et fortis tutor Willelmi pueri, sed domini, quodam mane dum equitans loqueretur cum compatre suo Wascelino de Ponte Erchenfredi, nil mali suspicans, occiditur cum Fulcoio filio Gerouii. Hoc vero malum dolosis hortatibus Rodulphi de Waceio filii Roberti archiepiscopi factum est, per manus crudeles Odonis Grossi et audacis Roberti filii Gerouii.' (Will. Gemet. Histor. lib. vii. c. 2.)

tria, intestinis dissensionibus exulcerata, pro latronum libito dividebatur, ut merito posset querimoniam facere, ¹‘Væ terræ cujus rex puer est!’ At ille, ubi primum per ætatem potuit, militiæ insignia a rege Francorum accipiens, provinciales in spem quietis erexit. Sator discordiarum erat ²Guido quidam, Burgundus a patre, nepos Ricardi secundi e filia; infantiam cum Willelmo cucurrerat, tunc quoque januas adolescentiæ pariter urgebant. Convictus familiaritatem, familiaritas ³amicitias paraverat. Huc accedebat quod ei Brionium et Vernonium castella dederat, nihil pro ⁴consanguinitate negandum putans. Horum Burgundus immemor, afflictis criminibus quibus id merito facere videretur, abalienavit se a comite. Longum est et non necessarium si persequar quæ hinc inde acta, quæ castella capta: repererat enim perfidia socios Nigellum vicecomitem Constantini, Rannulfum vicecomitem ⁵Baiocensem, ⁶Haimonem dentatum, avum Roberti qui nostro tempore in Anglia multarum possessionum incubator extitit. Cum his per totam Normanniam grassabatur prædo improbissimus, inani spe ad comitatum illectus. Necessitas regem tutorem excivit ut desperatis partibus pupilli succurreret. Itaque paternæ benevolentiae recordatus, quod eum favore suo in regnum sublimaverat, apud ⁷Walesdunas in de-

A.D. 1047.

¹ *Væ terra cujus rex puer est!*] Ecclesiastes x. 16.

² *Guido quidam, Burgundus a patre.*] Guy was the son of Renaud I, earl of Burgundy, by his wife Alix (called also Judith), daughter of Richard II, duke of Normandy.

³ *Amicitias.*] A. C. D. E. L.; amicitiam, S.

⁴ *Consanguinitate.*] A. C. D.

E. L.; sanguinitate, S.

⁵ *Baiocensem.*] A. C. D. E. L.; Tembaiocensem, S.

⁶ *Haimonem dentatum.*] He was lord of Torigui in Normandy, and probably ancestor of the family of Duredent, or Duerden, settled in England.

⁷ *Walesdunas.*] ‘Locus iste, qui nunc ignotus videtur, differabat a Valle-Duni, loco in Ca-

fectores irruit: cæsa illic multa eorum millia; multi ¹fluminis Olnæ rapacitate intercepti, quod, in arcto locati, equos ad transvadandos vortices instimularent. Guido, vix elapsus, Brionio se recepit: inde per Willelmum expulsus, non ferens probri famam, ultro Burgundiam, nativum scilicet solum, contendit. Nec ibi inquietus animus quietem invenit: nam a comite illius provinciae, fratre suo ²Willelmo, quem insidiis impetiverat, fugatus, incompertum quem finem habuit. Nigellus et Radulfus in fidem recepti: Haimo in acie cæsus, cujus insignis violentia laudatur quod ipsum regem equo dejecerit; qua re a concurrentibus stipatoribus interemptus, pro fortitudinis miraculo regis jussu tumulatus est egregie. Tulit hujus gratiæ stipendium rex Henricus a Normanno domino contra Gaufredum Martellum apud Molendinum Herle, quod castrum in Andegavensi regione est, summa vi adjutus; nam jam in virile robur excreverat, majoribus natu et pluribus solus metuendus, solus caput discriminibus inferre, solus ³vel cum paucis in confertissimos diversæ partis insilire: quapropter ab illa expeditione laudatæ fortitudinis specimen, et amicitiarum apud regem culmen, retulit; adeo ut, quasi paterno consilio, sæpe admoneret ne ad pericula promptus vitam suam despiceret, quæ esset Francis decori, Normanniæ tutamento, utrisque exemplo.

§ 231. Eo tempore erat comes Andegavorum

Account of
Geoffrey
Martel.

letis diocesisque Rotomagensi, posito ad Talam vel Dunum fl. vulgo *Le Val-Dun*. Situs enim erat ad fl. Olinam in comitatu pagove Oximensi, et in diocesi Saiensi.' (Bouq. xi. 178, note.) The battle of Val-des-Dunes is fixed in the year 1047.

¹ *Fluminis Olnæ.*] The river Orne.

² *Willelmo.*] William I, duke of Burgundy, called 'Le Grand.'

³ *Vel.*] *A. S. C. E 2. L.*; omitted in *D. E 1.*

¹Gaufredus cognomento Martellus, quod ipse sibi ²usurpaverat quia videbatur sibi felicitate quadam omnes obsistentes contundere. Denique ³dominum suum, comitem Pictavensem, ⁴aperto Marte cepit, ferreisque vinculis innodatum ad ignobiles pacis conditiones adduxit; Burdegala et confinibus urbibus cederet, de cæteris annum vectigal pensitaret: ⁵sed ille, ut creditur, pro ferri injuria et ciborum inedia, beneficio opportunæ mortis post triduum perpetuæ ignominie exemptus est. Tum Martellus, ne quid deesset impudentiæ, novercam defuncti matrimonio sibi copulavit, fratres in tutelam recipiens quoad possent principatui regendo sufficere. Mox ⁶Teodibaldi ⁷Teodaldus, et in ergastulo reclusus, urbem sibi omnibusque suis hæredibus in posterum

A.D. 1034.

A.D. 1044.

¹ *Gaufredus cognomento Martellus.*] Geoffrey II, son of Foulques III, earl of Anjou, whom he succeeded, A.D. 1040.

² *Usurpaverat.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; nomen usurpaverat, *D.*

³ *Dominum suum, comitem Pictavensem.*] William IV. earl of Poitiers, 1029—1038.

⁴ *Aperto Marte cepit.*] ‘Anno m. xxxiii. Gaufredus Martellus cepit Willelmum comitem Pictavensem, cujus uxorem [*? novercam*] Agnetem ante duxerat.’ (Ex Chron. S. Michaelis in Periculo Maris; apud Labbeum, tom. i. Novæ Biblioth. Libr. MSS. p. 350.) The Chronicle of S. Aubin d’Angers likewise assigns this event to the year 1033; but the year 1034 would seem to be the more correct date. (*L’Art de vérif. les Dates*, ii. p. 355.)

⁵ *Sed ille . . . exemptus est.*]

The earl of Poitiers, having endured a captivity of about three years and a half, was redeemed by his wife Eustachie; but he survived his deliverance only three days. The authors of *L’Art de vérif. les Dates* quote for the latter statement Malmesbury, whom they cite under the name of the Continuator of Beda.

⁶ *Teodaldi Blesiensis . . . obsedit.*] ‘Anno m. xliv. cepit Gaufredus Martellus comitem Theobaldum Turonensem, et extorsit ab eo urbem Turonicam. (Ex Chron. S. Mich. in Peric. Mar.) See also Chron. Andegav. apud Labbeum, tom. i. Nov. Bibl. Libr. MSS. p. 257.

⁷ *Teodaldus.*] *C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. L.*

abjuravit. Pudendam miseriam hominis quis dixerit ? ut, pro ambitione quantulæcunque vitæ, tantæ urbis dominio successores suos perpetuo fraudaret ; licet severiores plerumque aliorum arbitri simus, quam ipsi nobis consulere noverimus si forte in talibus deprehensi fuerimus. Ita Martellus, tantarum virium augmento turgidus, etiam Normannum comitem ¹Alentii castelli possessione vellicavit, pronis in perfidiam habitatoribus. Qua is irritatus injuria, par pari retulit ; et ²Danfruntum, quod erat tunc comitis Andegavorum, obsidione coronavit : nec mora, obsessorum querelis commonitus Gaufredus, non segnis advolat innumero stipatus milite. Nuncio advenientis accepto, Willelmus ³Rogerium de Monte Gomerico, et ⁴Willelmum filium Osberni, exploratum mittit : illi, pro alacritate juventæ, brevi multa milliaria progressi, equitantemque Martellum conspicati, certiozem de domini sui audacia faciunt. Ille contra fremere, immania minari, ⁵postridie se illuc venturum, ostensurum mundo quam præstet in armis Andegavensis Normanno ; simul, eximia arrogantia, colorem equi sui, et armorum insignia, quæ habiturus sit, insinuat. At explo-

¹ *Alentii.*] Alençon.

² *Danfruntum.*] Domfront. See note c, Bouq. xi. p. 178.

³ *Rogerium de Monte Gomerico.*] He was the son of Hugh de Montgomery and Jocelina his wife, daughter of Turolf of Pont-Audomare, by Weva, sister to Gunnora, great-grandmother to the Conqueror. He led the centre of the army at the battle of Hastings, and was afterwards governor of Normandy. William the Conqueror gave him the earldoms of Arundel and Shrewsbury. See more of him in Sir Henry Ellis's

Introduction to Domesday, vol. i. p. 479.

⁴ *Willelmum filium Osberni.*] William Fitz-Osbern de Crepon, dapifer of Normandy: he was related to the Conqueror, by whom, after the Conquest, he was created earl of Hereford. In the Domesday Book this nobleman is described as ' Comes Willelmus.' The particulars of his death, which happened abroad in the year 1071, are related by Ordericus Vitalis, p. 536, and by Malmesbury, § 256.

⁵ *Postridie.*] *S. C. E. L.* ; post triduum, *A. D.*

ratores, non minori fastu eadem de Willelmo denunciantes, regrediuntur, et suos in certamen accendunt. Hæc ideo seriatim retuli, ut Martelli tumor legentibus elucesceret. Cæterum, nihil tunc de solita magnanimitate ausus, antequam in manus veniretur terga ostendit. Quo audito, Alentini se dedidere, pacti membrorum salutem: post etiam Danfruntini feliciora signa secuti.

§ 232. Posterioribus annis rebellavit ¹Willel-
mus comes de Archis, patruus ejus sed nothus, a
primis auspiciis ducatus infidus et versipellis;
nam et in obsidione Danfronti clam profugerat,
et multis sæpe animi sui latebras aperuerat.
Quapropter Willelmus quibusdam, quos fideles
falso arbitrabatur, firmitatem castelli commiserat;
verum ille astu quo callebat, multa largiendo,
plura pollicendo, in suas partes eosdem traduxit.
Munitione igitur potitus, bellum domino suo denunciavit.
Ille solito more alacerime Archas obsedit, dissuadentibus amicis;
palam professus, nihil latrones ausuros si in conspectum
ejus venissent. Nec promissio fide caruit; namque plusquam
trecenti milites, qui pabulatum et populatum processerant,
eo pene solo conspecto, intra munitiones refugere.
Dux sine sanguine rem peragere volens, obfirmato contra
Archas castello, ad alia quæ magis urgebant bella
conversus est: simul quia sciebat regem Francorum,
jam pridem, nescio qua simultate, sibi infensum,
ad opem obsessio ferendam adventare; namque prædicandi
moderaminis consilio,

William
comte
d'Arques
rebels.

¹ *Willelmus comes de Archis.*] Compare William of Jumièges, l. vii. c. 20, as to the rebellion mentioned by Malmesbury.
William, comte d'Arques, was son of Richard II. duke of Normandy, by his third wife, Papia.]

quamvis justiorem causam habere videretur,¹ cum eo decernere ferro cavebat, cui et pro sacramento et pro suffragio obnoxius erat. Reliquit tamen primates aliquos qui impetum regum tardarent; quorum astutia insidiis exceptus, Isembardum Pontivi comitem coram se obtruncari, Hugonem Pardulfum capi, merito ingemuit. Nec multo post, eo dulcem Franciam, quia res male cesserat, repetente, comes Arcensis, fame tabidus et vix ossibus hærens, deditioi consensit, ad exemplum clementiæ, ad indicium industriæ, vitæ et membris reservatus. Hujusce obsidionis intervallo populus castri quod Molendinis dicitur, exolescens, ad partes regis incentore quodam Galterio transiit. Imponitur ibi non segnibus militum manus, præfecto Guidone fratre comitis Pictavensis. Is aliquantibus diebus sedulo militiæ munia executus est; verum crebrescente fama Arcensis victoriæ, Franciam elapsus, non leve incrementum accessit ducalis gloriæ.

The battle of
Mortemer,
A.D. 1054.

§ 233. Nec rex Henricus otio indulsit, quin grunniret exercitus suos ludibrio fuisse Willelmo; coactis itaque omnibus viribus, et copiis bipartitis, totam inundavit Normanniam: ipse de parte² Galliæ Celticæ, quæ inter Garumnam et Sequanam fluvios jacet, quicquid militum erat suo ductu trahens; ³Odonem fratrem populo⁴Gal-

¹ *Cum eo decernere ferro cavebat.*] Upon these words the editors of the *Rec. des Hist. de la France* remark, 'Priusquam enim prælium consereret cum Henrico rege, debebat Willelmus homagio et fidei renuntiare: quod quidem fieri poterat ob regium malefactum.'

² *Galliæ.*] *C. D. E. L1.*; *Gallicia*, *A. S. L2.*

³ *Odonem fratrem.*] See p. 317, note ⁴.

⁴ *Galliæ Belgicæ.*] Pomponius Mela writes, 'A Garumna ad Sequanam Celtas, inde ad Rhenum pertinere Belgas; but Pliny, 'a Sequana ad Scaldem.' Ptolemy, Orosius, and others, describe the bounds of Belgian Gaul 'a septentrione oceanum Britannicum, ab oriente flumen Rhenum, vel montes Adulam et Juram, ab euro Alpes Penninas, a meridie partem provinciæ Narbonnensis, ab occasu fluvium Sequanam et Galliam Lugdunensem.'

liæ Belgicæ, quæ est inter Renum et Sequanam, præficiens. Eodem modo Willelmus suos, qua poterat animositate, divisit, juxta regis castra sensim obambulans, quæ jam in Ebroicensi pago metabatur, ut nec cominus ¹pugnandi copiam faceret, neq̄ provinciam coram se vastari sineret. Duces ejus, Robertus comes Aucensis, Hugo Gornacensis, Hugo Montis fortis, Willelmus Crispinus, ad castellum quod ²Mortuum mare vocatur, infestis signis contra Odonem constitere. Nec ille pro numero militum, quo tumebat, moram pugnae fecit, sed parumper resistere ausus, mox impetum Normannorum non ferens, terga nudavit, omen fugæ primus auspicatus: ibi dum Guido Pontivi comes studiosius ultioni fratris intendit, captus, fatalem familiæ suæ manum exhorruit; præterea plures alii, præcellentes ³operibus, turgentés majorum natalibus. Hunc successum, ex ⁴advenientibus cognitum, Willelmus circum regis tentoria nocte intempesta præconari curavit; quo audito, post aliquot dies quos in Normannia egit, refugit in Franciam: nec multo post tempore, discurrentibus utrobique nunciis, pacifice conventum ut regii captivi absolventur, comes erepta vel eripienda Martello jure vendicaret legitimo.

§ 234. Longum est et non necessarium referre quantæ inter eos contentiones versatæ sunt, quomodo Willelmus semper superiorem manum retulerit. Quid quod inæstimabili præsumptione fortitudinis, nunquam subito, nec nisi prænun-

¹ *Pugnandi.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*; *pugnando, E 1.*

² *Mortuum mare.*] The famous battle of Mortemer is fixed in the year 1054 by the interpolator of William of Jumièges.

³ *Operibus.*] *D. E 1.*; *opibus, S. E 2. L 2.*

⁴ *Advenientibus.*] *C. D. E.*; *adventantibus, A. S. L.*

A. D. 1058.

ciata die, illum aggredi dignatus, nostri temporis morem animi magnitudine contempserit? Illud quoque prætereo, quod, iterum ruptis amicitiiis, ¹rex Henricus Normanniam ingressus, per pagum ²Oximensem usque ad fluvium Divæ pervenerit, jactitans solum oceanum progressioni suæ esse obstaculum: verum Willelmus, qui se videret propter fidei dissimulationem immoderate premi, tunc tandem consciæ virtutis arma concutiens, regias copias, quæ circa flumen erant, (nam pars paulo ante, ejus adventu audito, transvadaverat,) tanta internicie cecidit, ut nihil postea Francia plus ³metuerat quam Normannorum ferociam irritare. Terminum discordiarum fecit properata ⁴mors Henrici, nec multo post ⁵Martelli. Rex moriens Baldewino comiti Flandriæ tutelam admodum parvuli Philippi filii delegavit. Is erat fide et sapientia æque mirandus, præviridantibus membris incanus, præterea regiæ sororis conubio sublimis: filia ejus Matildis Willelmo jamdudum nupserat; foemina nostro tempore singulare ⁶prudentiæ speculum, pudoris culmen. Hinc factum est, ut pupilli et generi mediator tumores ducum et provincialium salubri proposito compesceret.

Genealogy of
the earls of
Anjou.

§ 235. Sed, quia totiens Martelli se occasio

¹ *Rex Henricus Normanniam ingressus.*] King Henry entered Normandy for the third time in the year 1058.

² *Oximensem.*] *A. D. E.*; Exiomensem, *S. L.*; Eximensem, *C.*

³ *Metuerat.*] *S. D. E 1.*; metueret, *A. C. L. E 2.*

⁴ *Mors Henrici.*] King Henry died on the 4th of August, A. D. 1060.

⁵ *Martelli.*] Geoffrey Martel

died on the 14th November 1060. 'In eodem porro anno (1060) rex Henricus obiit in nativitate S. Johannis; et meus avunculus Goffridus, tertio die post festivitatem B. Martini, bono fine quievit.' (Ex Historiæ Andegavensis fragmento, auctore Fulcone comite Andegavensi; apud Acherium, Spicilegii, tom. III. p. 233.)

⁶ *Prudentiæ.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*; omitted in *E 1.*

ingessit, genealogiam ¹comitum Andegavensium, ²quam relatoris nostri memoria attigit, transcurram, ³præfata diverticuli venia. ⁴Fulco antiquior, pluribus annis, usque ad senium, illum moderatus comitatum, multa fecit industrie, multa egregie. Unum omnino est quo eum notari audierim, quod Herbertum comitem Cenomanensem, Sanctonas sponsione urbis illectum, in medio colloquio ab apparitoribus arctari, et quibus placuit conditionibus irretiri fecit. ⁵Cætera sanctus et integer, extremis fere annis filio sæpe dicto ⁶Gaufredo principatu vivens cessit. Ille in provinciales (immane!) quam dure, in ipsum collatorem honoris quam superbe actitans, jussusque magistratum et fasces deponere, adeo sibi arrogavit ut contra patrem arma sumeret. Tunc senis frigidus jam et effætus sanguis ira incaluit, filiumque juveniliter insultantem paucis diebus maturiori consilio adeo infregit, ut, per aliquot milliaria ⁷sellam dorso ⁸vehens, pronum se cum sarcina ante pedes patris exponeret. Ille, cui vetus animositas adhuc palpitaret, assurgens, et pede jacentem pulsans, 'Victus es, tandem vic-

¹ *Comitum Andegavensium.*] For an account of the earls of Anjou, consult the *Gesta Consulum Andegavensium*, auctore Monacho Benedictino Majoris Monasterii. (Apud Acherium, tom. III.)

² *Quam.*] C. E.; quantum, A. S. D. L.

³ *Præfata diverticuli venia.*] A. C. D. E. L.; omitted in S.

⁴ *Fulco antiquior.*] Foulques III, called Nerra, or Le Noir, and Le Jerosolymitain, and also Le Palmier. He succeeded his father Geoffrey I. in the year 987.

⁵ *Cætera.*] C. D. E. L.; cæterum, A. S.

⁶ *Gaufredo.*] Geoffrey II. surnamed Martel.

⁷ *Sellam dorso vehens.*] 'To carry a saddle was a punishment of extreme ignominy for certain crimes. See another instance in William of Jumièges, Du Chesne, p. 259. Ducange, in voce "Sella," very justly supposes the disgrace to arise from the offender acknowledging himself a brute, and putting himself entirely in the power of the person he had offended.' (Sharpe, 306.)

⁸ *Vehens.*] C. E.; evehens, A. S. D. L.

tus, ter quaterque ingeminat: superfuit victo spiritus, et quidem egregius, ut responderet, 'Tibi pater soli, quia ¹pater es, victus; cæteris omnibus invictus sum.' Hoc relatu tumentis animus emollitus, patriaque pietate verecundiam prolis consolatus, principatui restituit; monitum ut maturius se ageret, provincialium fortunas et pacem suum esse decus ad extraneos, commodum ad domesticos. Eodem anno veteranus, et secularibus stipendiis emeritus, jam de animæ viatico cogitans, Ierosolymam adiit: ibi a duobus servis, sacramento adactis ut quod juberet facerent, per publicum ad sepulchrum Domini nudus, inspectantibus Turchis, tractus est; alter ²restem ligneum collo ejus intorserat, alter ³flagris terga expoliati urgebat. Inter hæc ille clamabat, 'Accipe, Domine, miserum Fulconem, perjurum tuum, fugitivum tuum; confessam dignare animam, Domine Jesu Christe.' Nec tamen quod desiderabat tunc impetravit; sed, domum placide regressus, post aliquot annos ⁴obiit. Filii ejus Gaufridi præruptam audaciam superior narratio patefecit. ⁵Is moriens ⁶Gaufredo, sororis filio, hæreditatem suam contradidit, sed industriam seculi transfundere non potuit: nam ille, simplicium morum juvenis, magis in ecclesiis orare quam arma tractare consuetus, homines regionis illius, qui quiete victitare nescirent, in contemptum sui excitavit; quare, tota terra prædonibus

¹ *Pater.*] A. S. C. E. L.; pater meus, D.

² *Restem.*] A. S. D. E.; vectem, C.; rastem, L.

³ *Flagris.*] A. C. D. E. L.; flagellis, S.

⁴ *Obiit.*] Foulques III. died at Metz on the 21st June 1040.

⁵ *Is moriens.*] Geoffrey Martel died without issue by either of his three wives.

⁶ *Gaufredo, sororis filio.*] Geoffrey III. called Le Barbu. He was the son of Geoffrey Ferréol comte de Château-Landon, and Ermengarde, daughter of Foulques le Noir.

exposita, Fulco frater illius ultro ducatum corripuit. ¹Fulco, Rechin dictus, quod, germani ²simplicitati crebro infrendens, ad ultimum honore spoliatum perpetua custodia coercuerit, ³habuit uxorem quæ, pruritu altioris nominis allecta, illo relicto, Philippo regi Francorum nupsit; quam is, immemor dicti,

‘ Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur, Majestas et amor,’

tanta venere ardebat, ut, cum imperare aliis omnibus cuperet, ab ea sibi imperari æquanimiter ferret. Denique omnium digitis quasi fatuus notari, ab omni orbe Christiano excommunicari, propter ejus libidinem, aliquantis annis sustinuit. Filii Fulconis fuerunt Gesfridus et Fulco: Gesfridus, cognomen Martelli hæreditarium sortitus, suis sudoribus ampliavit; tanta pace et quiete per terras illas parta, quantam ⁴nemo viderit, nemo visurus sit; quapropter suorum insidiis necatus, egregiæ probitatis decus luit. ⁵Fulco, in regimine succedens, adhuc in rebus humanis versatur; de quo forsitan tempore regis Henrici dicturus, nunc de Willelmo explanabo quod restat.

§ 236. Ille, ubi civile dissidium multo exercitio William recovers Maine and Brittany. composuit, rem majoris gloriæ animo sequens,

¹*Fulco, Rechin dictus.*] Foulques IV, also called Le Querelleur.

²*Simplicitati.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*; *supplicitati, E 1.*

³*Habuit uxorem.*] Her name was Bertrade. Foulques married her in the year 1089, during the lives of his second and third wives, whom he repudiated.

⁴*Nemo viderit.*] *A. S. D. L.*; omitted in *C. E.*

⁵*Fulco, in regimine succedens, adhuc in rebus humanis versatur.*] From this passage it is clear that Foulques IV. was still the reigning earl of Anjou, which therefore proves that Malmesbury had finished this work before 1129, in which year Geoffrey le Bel, better known as Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Foulques, became earl of Anjou.

terras olim ¹Normanniæ appendices, quæ longo usu insoleverant, restituere intendit; Cenomanicum dico comitatum et Britanniam. Quorum Cenomanis, ²dudum a Martello succensa, et domino suo ³Hugone privata, tunc nuper aliquantulum sub Herberto Hugonis filio respiraverat: qui, ut tutior contra Andegavensem esset, Willelmo se manibus dederat, in ejus fidelitatem sacramento juratus; præterea filiam ipsius petierat et desponderat, quæ priusquam nubilibus annis matura conjugio fieret, ille morbo decessit. Hæredem sibi Willelmum pronuncians, adjuratis civibus ne alium susciperent: habituri, si vellent, lenem et probum dominum; si nollent, recti sui exactorem immodicum. Quo defuncto, Cenomannenses magis ad Gualterium Medantinum declinantes, cui soror Hugonis nupserat, sero tandem ut Willelmum susciperent resipuere, gravibus sæpe damnis admoniti. Illud fuit tempus quo Haroldus invitus Normanniam, importuna sibi aura, evector est: quem, ⁴sicut supra dictum est, Willelmus in Britannicam expeditionem duxit, volens ejus manum explorare; simul et strictiori consilio, apparatus ostentans suum, conspicituro quantum præstaret Anglicis bipennibus ensis Normannicus. Alanus tunc ibi comes, viridis juvena et præcellens robore, Eudonem patrum ⁵vinxerat, multa egregie fecerat; Willelmum non solum non timebat, sed et irritabat: at ille Britanniam ut hæreditarium solum calumnians, quod

A.D. 1065.

¹Normanniæ appendices.] 'Anno 931, Britones in cornu Galliæ constituti, adversus Normannos, quibus subditi erant, insurgentes, repressi sunt a Willielmo Longa-spata.' (Ex Libello Hugonis Floriac. Monachi.) Bouq. xi. 181, note ².

² Dudum.] A. S. D. E. L.; olim, C.

³ Hugone.] A. S. C. D. E2. L.; omitted in E 1.

⁴ Sicut supra dictum est.] § 228, pp. 383-4.

⁵ Vinxerat.] A. C. D. E. L.; vicerat, S.

eam Karolus Rolloni cum ¹filia Gisla dederat, brevi effecit ut, ultro Alanus adveniens, suppliciter se suaque dederet. Sed, quia de Britannia parum alias dicturus sum, hic quoddam miraculum, quod illis ferme diebus in Nannetis civitate contigit, paucis inseram.

DE DUOBUS CLERICIS SOCIIS.

§ 237. Erant in urbe illa duo clerici, nondum patientibus annis, presbyteri; id officium magis precario quam bonæ vitæ merito ab episcopo loci exegerant: denique alterius miserandus exitus superstitem instruxit quam fuerint antea in inferni lapsum ambo præcipites. Cæterum, quod ad scientiam literarum tendit ita edocti, ut aut parum aut nihil ipsis deberent artibus; a reptantibus infantia rudimentis adeo jocundis amicitia officii æmuli, ut, juxta ²Comici dictum, 'Manibus pedibusque conando, periculum etiam, si necesse esset, capitis pro invicem facerent.' Quare die quadam, liberio rem ³animum a curis forinsecis nacti, in secreto conclavi hujusmodi sententias fudere: Pluribus se annis nunc literis, nunc seculi ⁴lucris, mentes exercuisse, nec satiasset, magis ad distortum quam ad rectum intentas: inter hæc, illum acerbum diem sensim appropinquare qui societatis suæ inextricabile in vita vinculum dirumperet; unde præveniendum mature, ut fides, quæ conglutinarat viventes, primo mortuum comitaretur ad manes. Paciscuntur ergo ut quisquis eorum ante obiret, superstiti, vel dormienti vel vigilantanti, appareret infra triginta pro-

Legend of
the two
clerks of
Nantes.

¹ *Filia.*] C. D. E.; filia sua, A. S. L.

² *Comici dictum.*] Terent. Andr. iv. 1.

³ *Animum.*] A. S. C. D. E 2.; omitted in E 1.

⁴ *Lucris.*] A. C. D. E. L.; curis, S.

culdubio dies : si fiat, edoctrus quod, secundum Platonicos, mors spiritum non extinguat, sed ad principium sui Deum tanquam e carcere emittat ; sin minus, Epicureorum sectæ concedendum, qui opinantur animam corpore solutam in aerem evanescere, in auras effluere. Ita data acceptaque fide, quotidianis colloquiis sacramentum frequentabant. Nec multum in medio, et ecce, mors repentine imminens indignantem halitum uni eorum violenter extraxit. Remansit alter, et serio de socii sponsione cogitans, et jam jamque affuturum præstolans cassa opinione triginta diebus ventos pavit ; quibus elapsis, cum desperans aliis negotiis avocasset otium, astitit subito vigilantem, et quiddam operis molienti, vultu, qualis solet esse morientium anima fugiente, exanguis. Tum tacentem vivum prior mortuus compellans, ‘ Agnoscis me ? ’ inquit : ‘ Agnosco, ’ respondit ; ‘ et non tantum de insolita tua turbor præsentia, quantum de diuturna miror absentia. ’ At ille, ubi tarditatem adventus excusavit, tandem ait, ‘ Tandem, expeditis morarum nexibus, venio : sed adventus iste tibi, si voles, (amice,) erit commodus, mihi omnino infructuosus ; quippe qui, pronunciata et acclamata sententia, sempiternis sim deputatus suppliciis. ’ Cumque vivus, ad ereptionem mortui, omnia sua monasteriis et egenis expensurum, seque dies et noctes jejuniis et orationibus continuaturum, promitteret ; ‘ Fixum est, ’ inquit, ‘ quod dixi, quia sine poenitentia sunt judicia Dei, quibus in sulphuream voraginem inferni demersus sum : ibi dum rotat astra polus, dum pulsat littora pontus, pro criminibus meis volvar ; inflexibilis sententiæ manet ¹ rigor, æterna et innumera poenarum genera commi-

¹ Rigor.] A. C. D. E. L. ; rigor æternus, S.

niscens, totus modo mundus valitura remedia exquirat. Et ut aliquam experiaris ex meis innumerabilibus pœnis,' protendit manum sanioso ulcere stillantem, et 'en,' ait, 'unam ex minimis, videtur tibi levis?' Cum levem sibi videri referret, ille, curvatis in volam digitis, tres guttas defluentis tibi super eum jaculatus est; quarum duæ tempora, una frontem contingentes, cutem et carnem sicut ignito canterio penetrarunt, foramen nucis capax efficientes. Illo magnitudinem doloris clamore testante, 'Hoc,' inquit mortuus, 'erit ¹ in te quantum vixeris, et pœnarum mearum grave documentum, et, nisi neglexeris, salutis tuæ singulare monumentum. Quapropter dum licet, dum nutat ira, dum pendula ²Deus operitur clementia, muta habitum, muta animum, Redonis monachus effectus apud sanctum Melanium.' Ad hæc verba vivo respondere nolente, alter eum oculi vigore perstringens, 'Si dubitas' (inquit) 'converti, miser, lege literas istas;' et simul cum dicto manum expandit tetricis notis inscriptam, in quibus Sathanas et omne inferorum satellitium gratias omni ecclesiastico cœtui de Tartaro emittebant, quod cum ipsi in nullo suis voluptatibus deessent, tum tantum numerum subditarum animarum paterentur ad inferna descendere prædicationis incuria, quantum nunquam retroacta viderunt secula. His dictis loquentis aspectus disparuit; et audiens, omnibus suis per ecclesias et egenos distributis, sanctum Melanium adiit, omnes audientes et videntes de subita ³conversione admonens ut dicerent 'Hæc est mutatio dextræ Excelsi.'

¹ In te.] E 1.; tibi, A. S. C. D. E 2. L.

² Deus operitur.] C. E.; Deus

te operitur, A. D. L.; Dei te operitur, S.

³ Conversione.] C. D. E.; conversione et illustri conversatione, A. S. L.

A. D. 1066.
William asserts his claim to the English throne.

§ 238. *Ista pro utilitate legentium me inseruisse non piguit; nunc de Willelmo loquar. Nam quia breviter, nec ut puto inutiliter, res ejus, quas duntaxat comes in Normannia annis triginta actitavit, percurri; modo aliud narrandi exordium ordo temporum flagitat, ut de regno ejus, quantum nostra sciscitatio penetrare potuit, mendacium arguam, veritatem pronunciem. Rex Edwardus fato functus fuerat: Anglia dubio favore nutabat, cui se rectori committeret incerta, an Haroldo, an Willelmo, an Edgardo; nam et illum, pro genere proximum regno, proceribus rex commendaverat, tacito scilicet mentis iudicio, sed prono in clementiam animo. Quare, ut prædixi, Angli diversis votis ferebantur, quamvis palam cuncti bona Haroldo imprecarentur: et ille quidem, diademate fastigiatus, nihil de pactis inter se et Willelmum cogitabat; liberatum se sacramento asserens, quod filia ejus quam desponderat citra nubiles annos obierat. Fertur enim vir ille, non paucis virtutibus præditus, parum adversus perfidiam sibi consuluisse dummodo posset quibuscunque præstigiis hominum ratiocinationes suspendere: præterea, qui putaret minas Willelmi nunquam ad factum erupturas, quod ille conterminorum ducum bellis implicaretur, totum animum otio cum subjectis indulserat; nam profecto, nisi quod Noricorum regem adventare didicit, nec militem convocare nec aciem dirigere dignatus fuisset. Alter interea illum per nuncios leniter convenire, de rupto fœdere expostulare, precibus minas insuere; sciret se ante annum emensum ferro debitum vindicaturum, illuc iturum quo Haroldus tutiores se pedes habere putaret. Contra, ille, ¹quæ dixi*

¹ *Quæ dixi.*] See § 228, p. 384.

de puellæ nuptiis referens, de regno addidit, præsumptuosum fuisse quod, ¹absque generali senatus et populi conventu et edicto, alienam illi hæreditatem juraverit; proinde stultum sacramentum frangendum. Nam si jusjurandum vel votum quod puella in domo patris, nesciis parentibus, de suo corpore volens fecerit, judicatur irritum; quanto magis quod ille, sub regis virga constitutus, nesciente omni Anglia, de toto regno, necessitate temporis coactus, impegit, ²videatur non esse ratum: præterea iniquum postulat ut imperio decedat, quod tanto favore civium regendum susceperit; hoc nec provincialibus gratum, nec militibus tutum. Ita revertebantur inanes nuncii, vel veris vel verisimilibus argumentis præstricti. Sed comes toto illo anno bello necessaria expediebat, largis sumptibus milites suos continebat, alienos invitabat: ordines aciesque ita instituebat, ut milites proceri corpore, præcellentes robore essent; duces et antesignani, præter scientiam rei militaris, etiam consilii et ætatis maturitate pollerent; ut si singulos vel in acie vel alibi cerneres, non proceres sed reges putares. Ita episcopi et abbates illius temporis religione, ita ³optimates magnanima liberalitate certabant, ut mirum sit quod, ⁴paucissimis annis

His preparations for an invasion.

¹ *Absque generali senatus et populi conventu et edicto . . . nesciente omni Anglia.*] These words seem to imply that the Great Council of the kingdom had never agreed to any settlement of the crown on the duke; and without such sanction no oath made by Harold in favour of William would have been binding.

² *Videatur.*] *S. D. E. L.*; judicatur, *A. C.*

³ *Optimates.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; primates, *C.*

⁴ *Paucissimis annis... deprimeret parati.*] *C. E. F. K.*; nondum sexaginta annis evolutis, utraque turba abortivum bonitatis effecti, jurata bella contra justitiam susciperent: illi, pro ambitione sacrorum, magis distortum quam æquum et bonum amplectentes; isti rejecto pudore, undecumque captatis occasionibus, compendia pecuniarum velut quotidianam

A.D. 1066.

evolutis, pleraque et pene omnia in utrisque ordinibus mutata videas: illi in quibusdam hebetiores, sed largiores; isti in omnibus prudentiores, sed tenaciores; utrique tamen in defendenda patria manu validi, consilio providi, fortunas suas evehere, inimicorum deprimere parati. Verum tunc Willelmi industria cum prudentia Dei consentiens, jam spe Angliam invadebat; et, ne justam causam temeritas decoloraret, ad apostolicum, qui ex Anselmo Lucensi episcopo ¹Alexander dicebatur, misit, justitiam suscepti belli quantis poterat facundia² nervis allegans. Haroldus id facere supersedit; vel quod turgidus natura esset, vel quod causae diffideret, vel quod nuncios suos a Willelmo et ejus complicibus, qui omnes portus obsidebant, impediri timeret. Quare, perpensis apud se utrinque partibus, papa vexillum in omen regni Willelmo contradidit; quo ille accepto, conventum ³magnatum apud Lillebona fecit, super negotio singulorum sententias sciscitatus. Cumque omnes, ejus voluntatem plausibus excipientes, magnificis promissis ⁴animasset, comneatum navium omnibus, pro quantitate possessionum, indixit. Ita tunc discessum, et mense Augusto ad sanctum Walericum in commune ventum: portus ⁵ita ⁶per

stipem emendicantes, *A. S. G. H. L.*; *D. M.* contain both passages, omitting the words 'paucissimis annis,' after 'stipem emendicantes.'—The expression *nondum sexaginta annis elapsis* in the above passage enables us to approximate to the date of the first completion of the 'Gesta Regum;' but it would seem that a less definite expression, as appears by the text, was adopted, —probably when the author revised his work at some later period.

¹ *Alexander.*] Alexander II. He was crowned pope on the 30th September 1061, and died 21st April 1073.

² *Magnatum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; *magnum, S.*

³ *Animasset.*] *S.*; *animassent, A. C. D. E. L.*

⁴ *Ita.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; *ille, C.*

⁵ *Per metonymiam dicitur.*]

There are two places called St. Valeri: one in Picardy, situate at the mouth of the Somme, and formerly called Leugonau; the other is a large seaport town

metonymiam dicitur. Congregatis undecunq̄ue A.D. 1066. navibus, felix exspectabatur aura quæ illas ad destinatum ¹locum eveheret. Qua multis diebus remorante, vulgus militum, ut fieri solet, per tabernacula mussitabat: insanire hominem qui vellet alienum solum in jus suum refundere; Deum contra tendere, qui ventum arceret; idem patrem voluisse, eodemque modo inhibitum; fatale illi familiæ esse, ut, altiora viribus spirans, Deum adversantem experiatur. Ista per publicum serebantur, quæ possent fortium robur enervare. Dux itaque, facto cum senioribus concilio, corpus sancti Walerici foras efferri, et, pro vento deprecando, sub divo exponi jussit; nec mora intercessit quin prosper flatus carbasa impleret. Tunc lætus clamor exortus omnes ad naves invitavit: comes ipse, a continenti primus ²ad altum provectus, cæteros in mediõ fere mari anchoris jactis sustinuit. Omnibus itaque ad prætorixæ puppis vermiculatum velum convolantibus, post cibum sumptum placido cursu Hastings appulerunt. In egressu navis pede lapsus, eventum in melius commutavit, acclamante sibi proximo milite, ³'Tenes,' inquit, 'Angliam, comes, rex futurus!' Omnem exercitum a præda continuit,

Lands at
Hastings,
Sept. 28.

situate in Normandy, in the diocese of Rouen, and was formerly called S. Valeri les Plains, but now S. Valeri en Caux. It seems to be the former place to which Malmesbury here refers. 'In Pontivo apud S. Walericum in anchoris congrue stare fecit,' writes William of Jumièges.

¹ Locum.] *D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. C. L.*

² Ad.] *C. D. E.*; in, *A. S. L.*

³ Tenes ... Angliam.] 'This was said in allusion to the feudal

investiture, or formal act of taking possession of an estate by the delivery of certain symbols.' (Sharpe, 315.) This story, however, is rendered a little suspicious by these words being in exact conformity with those of Cæsar when he stumbled and fell at his landing in Africa, *Teneo te, Africa*. The silence of William of Poitou, who was the duke's chaplain, and with him at his landing, makes the truth of it still more doubtful.

A. D. 1066. *parcendum rebus* ¹*quæ suæ forent prælocutus; continuisque quindecim diebus adeo se quiete agens, ut nihil minus quam bellum cogitare videretur.*

Harold marches against William.

§ 239. Interea Haroldus de pugna Noricorum revertebatur, sua æstimatione felix quod vicerat; meo iudicio contra, quod parricidio victoriam compararat: allatoque ad se nuncio adventus Normannici, sicut erat cruentus in armis, paucissimo stipatus milite Hastings protendit. Præcipitabant eum nimirum fata, ut nec auxilia convocare vellet, nec, si vellet, multos parituros inveniret; ita, ²*ut ante dixi, omnes illi erant infensi, quod solus manubiis borealibus incubuerat.*

Sends spies into the Norman camp.

Præmisit tamen qui numerum hostium et vires specularentur; quos intra castra deprehensos Willelmus circum tentoria duci, moxque, largis eduliis pastos, domino incolumes remitti jubet. Redeuntes percunctatur Haroldus quid rerum apportent: illi, verbis amplissimis ductoris magnificam confidentiam prosecuti, serio addiderunt, pene omnes in exercitu illo presbyteros videri, quod totam faciem cum utroque labio rasam

¹ *Quæ suæ forent.*] Whatever may have been the Conqueror's orders to restrain his army from plundering, it is conclusive from the Domesday Survey that they were of no avail. The whole of the country in the neighbourhood of Hastings appears to have been laid waste. Sir Henry Ellis, in the last edition of his General Introduction to Domesday, observes that the destruction occasioned by the Conqueror's army on its first arrival is apparent more particularly under Hollington, Bexhill, &c. The value of each manor is given as it stood in the reign of the Con-

fessor; afterwards it is said, 'vastatum fuit;' and then follows the value at the time of the survey. The situation of those manors evidently shows their devastated state to have been owing to the army marching over it; and this clearly evinces another circumstance relating to the invasion, which is, that William did not land his army at one particular spot,—at Bulverhithe, or Hastings, as is supposed,—but at all the several proper places for landing along the coast from Bexhill to Winchelsea.

² *Ut ante dixi.*] See § 228, p. 387.

haberen; Angli enim superius labrum pilis incessanter fructificantibus intonsum dimitunt, quod etiam gentilitium antiquis Britonibus fuisse Julius Cæsar asseverat ^{A D. 1066.} ¹in libro Belli Gallici. Subrisit rex fatuitatem referentium, lepido insecutus cacinno, quia non essent presbyteri, sed milites armis validi, animis invicti. Rapuit ergo ex ore ipsius sermonem ^{Guerth's advice to Harold.} ²Gurtha frater, plus puero adultus, et magnæ ultra ætatem virtutis et scientiæ. 'Cum' (inquit) 'tantam fortitudinem Normanni prædices, indeliberatum aestimo cum illo confingere, ³quo inferior robore et merito habearis. Nec enim ibis in inficias quin illi sacramentum vel invitus vel voluntarius feceris; proinde consultius ages si, instanti necessitati te subtrahens, nostro periculo colludium pugnae tentaveris: nos, omni juramento expediti, juste ferrum pro patria stringemus. Timendum ne, si ipse decernas, vel fugam vel mortem oppetas: sed, nobis solis præliantibus, causa tua utrobique in portu navigabit; quia et fugientes restituere, et mortuos ulcisci, poteris.'

§ 240. Noluit effrænata temeritas aurem placidam monenti commodare, existimans inglorium et anteactæ vitæ opprobrium cuicumque discrimini terga nudare: eademque impudentia, vel, indulgentius dicam, imprudentia, monachum, Willelmi legatum, nec bono vultu dignatus turbide abegit; hoc tantum imprecans, ut Deus inter eum et Willelmum judicaret. Afferebat ille tria:

William's propositions to Harold.

¹ *In libro Belli Gallici.*] 'Capilloque sunt promisso, atque omni parte corporis rasa, præter caput et labrum superius.' (Lib. v. c. 14. Caii Julii Cæsaris de Bello Gallico; ed. Oudendorpii, Lugd. Batav. 1737.)

² *Gurtha frater.*] Guerth, the

brother of Harold, was undoubtedly slain at the battle of Hastings; but in the Harleian MS. 3776, fol. 21 b. there is a legend that Guerth escaped alive, and was seen in extreme age by King Henry the Second.

³ *Quo.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; qui, C.

A. D. 1066. ut vel regno secundum conditiones descenderet; vel sub eo regnaturus teneret; vel certe, spectante utroque exercitu, gladio rem ventilarent. Calumniabatur enim Willelmus regnum, quod rex illi Edwardus concesserat, ¹consilio Stigandi archiepiscopi, et Godwini et Siwardi comitum; ejusque doni obsides filium et nepotem Godwini Normanniam miserat. Si id negare velit Haroldus, judicio se sedis apostolicæ vel prælio acturum: quibus omnibus solo, quod dixi, nuncius frustratus responso, discessit, suisque ad dimicandum vivaciores animos dedit.

Battle of
Hastings,
Oct. 14.

§ 241. Ita que utrinque animosi duces disponunt acies, patrio quisque ritu: Angli, ut accepimus, totam noctem insomnem cantibus potibusque ducentes, mane incunctanter in hostem procedunt: pedites omnes cum bipennibus, conserta ante se scutorum testudine, impenetrabilem cuneum faciunt; quod profecto illis ²ea die saluti fuisset, nisi Normanni simulata fuga more suo confertos manipulos laxassent. Rex ipse pedes

¹ *Consilio Stigandi archiepiscopi, et Godwini et Siwardi comitum.*] 'This is from W. Pictaviensis, who puts it in the mouth of the Conqueror: but it is evidently false, for Godwin died A.D. 1053, Siward A.D. 1054; and in 1054 we find Edward the Confessor sending for his nephew from Hungary to make him his successor in the kingdom, who accordingly arrives in 1057, and dies almost immediately after. He could not therefore have made the settlement, as here asserted.' (Sharpe, 316.) 'Stigandus nunquam pallium a Roma meruit, quamvis et ibi venalitas multum operetur. . . . Coronam regni de manu ejus rex detrectavit suscipere, astu-

tia qua consueverat prohibitores ex parte apostolici subornans. Nec multo post in Normanniam navigans, sub velamine honoris, illum renitentem secum traxit; ne quid perfidiæ, se absente, per ejus auctoritatem in Anglia pulularet. Inter quæ difficile dictu est, quantis eum exceperit officiis, dignanter ubique locorum assurgendo, et contra eum in omnibus episcopatibus Normanniæ et abbatibus longa serie pompæ procedi faciendo. Sed quid his tegebatur involucris erupit in clarum; scilicet cum depositus est Stigandus, fidem Willelmi appellans.' (Ex Gestis Pontif. Angl. p. 116 b.)

² *Ea.] A. S. E. L.; illa, C. D.*

juxta vexillum stabat cum fratribus, ut, in com- A.D. 1066.
mune periculo æquato, nemo de fuga cogitaret.
Vexillum illud post victoriam papæ misit Wil-
lelmus, quod erat in hominis pugnantis figura,
auro et lapidibus arte sumptuosa ¹intextum.

§ 242. Contra Normanni, nocte tota confes-
sioni peccatorum vacantes, mane Dominico cor-
pore communicarunt. Pedites cum arcubus et
sagittis primam frontem muniunt, equites retro
divisis alis consistunt. Comes vultu serenus, et
clara voce suæ parti utpote justiori Deum affu-
turum pronuncians, arma poposcit; moxque mi-
nistrorum tumultu ²loricam inversam indutus, ca-
sum risu correxit, 'Vertetur,' inquires, 'forti-
tudo ³comitatus mei in regnum.' Tunc ⁴cantilena
Rollandi inchoata, ut martium viri exemplum
⁵pugnatuos accenderet, inclamatoque Dei auxilio,
prælium ⁶consertum, bellatumque acriter, neutris
in multam diei horam cedentibus. Quo com-
perto, Willelmus innuit suis ut, ficta fuga, campo
se subtraherent. Hoc commento Anglorum cu-
neus solutus, quasi palantes hostes a tergo cæsu-
rus, exitium sibi maturavit; Normanni enim,
conversis ordinibus reversi, dispersos adoriuntur,
et in fugam cogunt. Ita ingenio circumventi,
pulchram mortem pro patriæ ultione meruere:
nec tamen ultioni suæ defuere, quin, crebro con-

¹ *Intextum.*] C. D. E.; con-
textum, A. S. L.

² *Loricam inversam.*] As the
armour of that time was of mail,
this might easily happen.

³ *Comitatus.*] A. C. D. E. L.;
ducatus, S. — The words *co-
mitatus* and *ducatus* appear to be
used indifferently by the histo-
rians of that time.

⁴ *Cantilena Rollandi.*] It is
supposed to be a metrical ro-
mance, commemorating the heroic

achievements of the Paladin Ro-
land and other peers of Charle-
magne, who fell at Roncevaux.
Rivet (*Histoire littéraire de la
France*, tom. vii. p. 72,) infers
from this passage that *la langue
Romane* was in use at that pe-
riod.

⁵ *Pugnatuos.*] A. S. C. D.
E 2. L.; pugnatōres, E 1.

⁶ *Consertum.*] C. D. E. L.;
utrinque consertum, A. S.

A. D. 1066.

sistentes, de insequentibus insignes cladis acervos facerent; nam, occupato tumulo, Normannos, calore succensos acriter ad superiora nitentes, in vallem dejiciunt, levique negotio in subjectos tela torquentes, lapides rotantes, omnes ad unum fundunt. Item fossatum quoddam præruptum compendiario et noto sibi transitu evadentes, tot ibi inimicorum conculcavere, ut cumulo cadaverum planitiem campi æquarent, Valuit hæc vicissitudo, modo illis, modo istis victibus, quantum ¹Haroldi vita moram fecit; at ubi jactu sagittæ violato cerebro procubuit, fuga Anglorum perennis in nocte fuit. Emicuit ibi virtus amborum ducum.

Death of
Harold.

His conduct
during the
battle.

§ 243. Haroldus, non contentus munere imperatorio ut hortaretur alios, militis officium sedulo exequabatur; sæpe hostem cominus venientem ferire, ut nullus impune accederet quin statim uno ictu equus et eques prociderent: quapropter, ut dixi, eminus lethali arundine ictus mortem implevit. Jacentis femur unus militum gladio proscidit; unde a Willelmo ignominie notatus, quod rem ignavam et pudendam fecisset, militia pulsus est.

William's
conduct
there.

§ 244. Item Willelmus suos clamore et præsentia hortari, ipse primus procurrere, confertos hostes invadere: ideo dum ubique sævit, ubique infrendet, tres equos lectissimos sub se confossos ea die amisit. Perstitit tamen magnanimi ducis et corpus et animus, quamvis familiari susurro a custodibus corporis revocaretur; perstitit (inquam) donec victoriam plenam superveniens nox infunderet. Et proculdubio divina illum manus protexit, ut nihil sanguinis ex ejus corpore ²hostis hauriret, quamquam illum tot jaculis impeteret.

¹ Haroldi.] A. S. D. E. L.; Haroldo, C. | ² Hostis.] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

§ 245. Illa fuit dies fatalis ¹ Angliæ, funestum Manners and customs of the English. excidium dulcis patriæ, pro novorum dominorum commutatione. Jam enim pridem moribus Anglorum insueverat, qui varii admodum pro temporibus fuere: nam, primis adventus sui annis, vultu et gestu barbarico, usu bellico, ritu fanatico vivebant; sed postmodum, Christi fide suscepta, paulatim et per incrementa temporis, pro otio quod actitabant, exercitium armorum in secundis ponentes, omnem in religione operam insumpserunt. Taceo de pauperibus, quos fortunarum tenuitas plerumque continet ne cancellos justitiæ transgrediantur: prætermitto graduum ecclesiasticorum viros, quos nonnunquam professionis contuitus, sed et infamiæ metus, a vero deviare non sinit. De regibus dico, qui pro amplitudine potestatis licenter indulgere voluptatibus possent: quorum quidam in patria, quidam Romæ, mutato habitu, cœleste lucrati sunt regnum, beatum nacti commercium; multi, specie tenus, tota vita mundum amplexi, ut thesauros egenis effunderent, monasteriis dividerent. Quid dicam de tot episcopis, heremitis, abbatibus? nonne tota insula tantis reliquiis indigenarum fulgurat, ut vix aliquem vicum insignem prætereas ubi novi sancti nomen non audias? quam multorum etiam periit memoria, pro scriptorum inopia! Veruntamen literarum et religionis studia ætate procedente obsoleverunt, non paucis ante adventum Normannorum annis. ² Clerici literatura tumultuaria contenti, vix sacramen-

¹ Angliæ.] D. E. L.; Anglis, S.

² Clerici literatura . . . grammaticam nosset.] See § 123, pp. 191, 192. King Aelfred, in his preface to Gregory's Pastoral, states that learning was so de-

cayed in England, that very few priests on this side of the Humber could understand the common service of the church, and he knew none south of the Thames who could turn an ordinary piece of Latin into English.

torum verba balbutiebant: stupori erat et miraculo cæteris qui grammaticam nosset. Monachi, subtilibus indumentis et indifferenti genere ciborum, regulam ludificabant. Optimates, gulæ et veneri dediti, ecclesiam moræ Christiano manere non adibant; sed in cubiculo, et inter uxorios amplexus, matutinarum solemnia et missarum a festinante presbytero auribus tantum libabant. Vulgus, in medio expositum, præda erat potentioribus, ut, vel eorum substantiis exhaustis, vel etiam corporibus in longinquas terras distractis, acervos thesaurorum congererent, quanquam magis ingenitum sit illi genti commensationibus quam ¹opibus inihiare. Illud erat a natura abhorrens, quod multi ancillas suas ex se gravidas, ubi libidini satisfacissent, aut ad publicum prostibulum aut ad ²externum obsequium venditabant. ³Potabatur in commune ab omnibus, in hoc studio noctes perinde ut dies perpetuantibus. Parvis et abjectis domibus totos ⁴absumebant sumptus; Francis et Normannis absimiles, qui amplis et superbis ædificiis modicas expensas agunt. Sequebantur vitia ebrietatis socia, quæ virorum animos effæminant. Hinc factum est, ut, magis temeritate et furore præcipiti quam scientia militari Willelmo congressi, uno prælio, et ipso perfacili, servituti se patriamque pessunderint. Nihil enim temeritate levius; sed quicquid cum impetu inchoat, cito desinit vel compescitur. Ad summam, ⁵tunc erant Angli

¹ *Opibus.*] A. C. D. E. L.; operibus, S. | *perpetuantibus.*] See § 149, p. 237.

² *Externum obsequium venditabant.*] C. D. E. L.; æternum obsequium vendicabant, A. S. See note ¹, p. 63.

³ *Potabatur in commune . . .*

⁴ *Absumebant.*] S. C. D. E.; abliguriebant, L.

⁵ *Tunc erant Angli . . . insigniti.*] This description of the English must refer to the ancient

vestibus ad medium genu expediti, crines tonsi, barbas rasi, armillis aureis brachia onerati, picturatis stigmatibus cutem insigniti; in cibis urgentes crapulam, in ¹potibus irritantes vomitam. Et hæc quidem extrema ²jam victoribus suis participarunt, de cæteris in eorum mores transeuntes. Sed hæc mala de omnibus generaliter Anglis dicta intelligi nolim: scio clericos multos tunc temporis simplici via semitam sanctitatis trivisse; scio multos laicos omnis generis et conditionis Deo in eadem gente placuisse: facessat ab hac relatione invidia, non cunctos pariter hæc involvit calumnia; verum sicut in tranquillitate malos cum bonis fovet plerumque Dei serenitas, ita in captivitate bonos cum malis nonnunquam ejusdem constringit severitas.

DE MORIBUS NORMANNORUM.

§ 246. Porro Normanni (ut de eis quoque dicamus) erant tunc, et sunt adhuc, vestibus ad invidiam culti, cibis citra ullam nimietatem delicati: gens militiæ assueta, et sine bello pene vivere nescia; in hostem impigre procurrere, et, ubi vires non successissent, non minus dolo et pecunia corrumpere. Domi ingentia, ut dixi, ædificia moderatos sumptus moliri, paribus videre, superiores prætergredi velle, subjectos ³sibi vellicant

Manners of
the Nor-
mans.

British, and not to the Saxons. It accords with the notices of them by Cæsar, Diodorus, Pomponius Mela, and Dion Cassius, but more particularly with that by Herodian. (Herodiani Historiarum; ed. Irmisch. Lipsiæ, 1789.) The British, that historian writes, go naked as to the greater part of their bodies. Indeed they do not know the use of clothing. They gird with iron their loins and necks, deeming it

an ornament, and an evidence of opulence: they puncture their bodies with pictured forms of all kinds of animals, and therefore they wear no clothing, lest they should hide the figures on their bodies.

¹ Potibus.] A. S. D. E. L.; poculis, C.

² Jam.] D. E. L.; omitted in A. S. C.

³ Sibi.] E 1.; ipsi, A. S. C. D. E 2. L.

ab alienis tutari; dominis fideles, moxque levi offensa infideles. Cum fato ponderare perfidiam, cum nummo mutare sententiam. Cæterum, omnium gentium benignissimi advenas æquali secum honore colunt; matrimonia quoque cum subditis jungunt; religionis normam, usquequaque in Anglia emortuam, adventu suo suscitavunt; videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et urbibus monasteria, ¹novo ædificandi genere consurgere; recenti ritu patriam florere, ita ut sibi perisse diem quisque opulentus existimet quem non aliqua ²præclara magnificentia illustret. Sed, quia de his satis dictum, Willelmi gesta prosequamur.

QUOMODO WILLELMUS AB ANGLIS SUSCEPTUS EST.

A. D. 1066.
William's
conduct after
the battle of
Hastings.

§ 247. Ille, ubi perfecta victoria potitus est, suos sepeliendos mirifice curavit; hostibus quoque si qui vellent, idem exequendi licentiam præbuit. ³Corpus Haroldi matri repetenti sine pretio misit, licet illa multum per legatos obtulisset: acceptum itaque apud Waltham sepelivit, quam ipse ecclesiam, ex proprio constructam in honore

¹ *Novo.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; nova, E 1.

² *Præclara.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

³ *Corpus Haroldi . . . apud Waltham sepelivit.*] There seems to have been a fabulous story current during the twelfth century that Harold escaped from the battle of Hastings. Giraldus Cambrensis asserts that it was believed Harold had fled from the battle-field pierced with many wounds, and with the loss of his left eye, and that he ended his days piously and virtuously as an anchorite at Chester. Both Knighton and Brompton quote this story. W. Pictaviensis says

that William refused the body to his mother, who offered its weight in gold for it, ordering it to be buried on the seacoast. In the Harleian MS. 3776, before referred to, Guerth, Harold's brother, is said to have escaped alive: he is represented in his interview with Henry the Second to have spoken mysteriously respecting Harold, and to have declared that the body of that prince was not at Waltham. Sir Henry Ellis, quoting this MS. justly observes that the whole was, probably, the fabrication of one of the secular canons, who were ejected at the re-foundation of Waltham abbey in 1177.

sanctæ Crucis, canonicis impleverat. Sensim ergo Willelmus (ut triumphatorem decebat) cum exercitu, non hostili sed regali modo progrediens, urbem regni maximam Londoniam petit; moxque cum gratulatione cives omnes effusi obviam vadunt. Prorupit omnibus portis unda salutantium, auctoribus magnatibus, præcipue Stigando archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et Aldredo Eboracensi: nam præcedentibus diebus, Edwinus et Morcardus, amplæ spei fratres, apud Londoniam audito interitus Haroldi nuncio, urbanos sollicitaverant ut alterutrum in regnum sublevarent; quod frustra conati, Northanhimbriam discesserant, ex suo conjectantes ingenio nunquam illuc Willelmum esse venturum. Cæteri proceres Edgarum eligerent si episcopos assertores haberent; sed proximo urgente periculo, et domesticæ litis dissidio, nec illud ¹quidem effectum: ita Angli, qui, in unam coeuntes sententiam, potuissent patriæ reformare ruinam, dum nullum ex suis volunt, alienum induxerunt. Tunc ille, haud dubie rex conclamatus, die Natalis Domini ²coronatus est ab Aldredo archiepiscopo; cavebat enim id munus a Stigando suscipere, quod esset is archiepiscopus non legitime.

Is crowned,
25 Dec. 1066.

SUMMA BELLORUM WILLELMI IN ANGLIA.

§ 248. Omnium deinde bellorum quæ gessit, hæc summa est. Urbem ³Exoniam rebellantem

His warfare
in England,
A.D. 1067.

¹ *Quidem.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*; omitted in *E 1.*

² *Coronatus est.*] A full account of William's coronation will be found in the Chronicle of William of Poictou, the Conqueror's chaplain (p. 205).

³ *Exoniam.*] *A. C. D. E.*; Oxoniam, *S.*—It will be observed that, with the exception of the

MS. used by Savile, all the MSS. agree in reading *Exoniam*: but Matthew Paris, who has followed Malmesbury, seems to have written Oxford instead of Exeter; the best MSS. of Matthew Paris (*MS. Reg. 14, C. vii.* and *MS. Cott. Nero, D. v.*) reading *Oxoniam*. Upon a passage in the Domesday Survey describ-

leviter subegit, divino scilicet jutus auxilio, quod pars muralis ultro decidens, ingressum illi patefecerit: nam et ipse audacius eam assilierat, protestans homines irreverentes Dei destituendos suffragio; quia unus eorum, supra murum stans, nudato inguine auras sonitu inferioris partis turbaverat, pro contemptu videlicet Normannorum.

A. D. 1068. ¹Eboracum, unicum rebellionum suffugium, civibus pene delevit, fame et ferro necatis: ibi enim rex Scotorum Malcolmus cum suis, ibi Edgarus et Marcherius et Weldeofus cum Anglis et Danis, nidum tyrannidis sæpe fovebant; sæpe duces illius trucidabant, quorum sigillatim exitus si commemoravero, fortasse superfluous non ero, licet fastidii discrimen immineat, dum relatori, si forte secundum dictores suos mentiatur, difficilis sit regressus ad veniam.

QUOMODO EBORACUM CEPERIT, ET TOTAM PROVINCIAM VASTAVERIT.

The northern provinces laid waste.

§ 249. Malcolmus omnes Anglorum perfugas libenter recipiebat, tutamentum singulis quantum poterat impendens; Edgarum præcipue, cujus

ing Oxford as containing four hundred and seventy-eight houses which were so desolated that they could not pay geld, Sir Henry Ellis remarks: 'The extraordinary number of houses specified as desolated at Oxford requires explanation. If the passage is correct, Matthew Paris probably gives us the cause of it, under the year 1067, when William the Conqueror subdued Oxford, in his way to York: "Eodem tempore rex Willielmus urbem Oxoniam sibi rebellem obsidione vallavit. Super cujus murum quidam, stans nudato inguine, sonitu partis inferioris

auras turbavit, in contemptum videlicet Normannorum; unde Willielmus in iram conversus, civitatem levi negotio subjugavit. (Matt. Par. ed. Watts, sub ann. 1067, p. 4.)"' The siege of Exeter in 1067 is also mentioned by Simeon of Durham, col. 197; Hoveden, col. 258; Ralph de Diceto, col. 482; Florence of Worcester, fol. Francof. 1601, p. 635; and by Ordericus Vitalis, p. 510.

¹ Eboracum.] E.; Eboracum civitatem, A. S. C. D. L.—The destruction of York took place in 1068.

sororem, pro antiqua memoria nobilitatis, jugalem sibi fecerat. Ejus causa conterminas Angliæ provincias rapinis et incendiis infestabat; non quod aliquid ad regnum illi profuturum arbitraretur, sed ut Willelmi animum contristaret, qui Scotticis prædis terras suas obnoxias indignaretur. Quapropter Willelmus, coacta peditum et ¹militum manu, aquilonales insulæ partes petiit: et primo urbem metropolim, quam Angli cum Danis et Scottis obstinate tenebant, in dedicationem accepit, civibus longa inedia consumptis; maximum quoque hostium numerum, qui obsessis in auxilium convenerant, ingenti et gravi prælio fudit, non incruenta sibi victoria multos suorum amittens. ²Tunc totius regionis vicos et agros corrumpi, fructus et fruges igne vel aqua labefactari jubet; maritima maxime, tum propter recentem iram, tum quia Cnutonem Danorum regem, filium Swani, adventare rumor sparserat: ea præcepti ratio, ut nihil circa oram maritimam prædo piraticus inveniret secum asportaturus, si citius remeandum; vel fami consulturus, si diutius manendum putaret. Itaque provinciæ quondam fertilis, et tyrannorum nutriculæ, incendio,

¹ *Militum.*] *D. E. L.*; equitum, *S.*

² *Tunc totius regionis vicos et agros corrumpi.*] Domesday Book bears ample testimony to this statement, and that which closely follows, viz. that the resources of this once flourishing province were cut off by fire, slaughter, and devastation; and the ground for more than sixty miles totally uncultivated and unproductive, remains bare to the present day. The land which had belonged to Edwin and Morcar in Yorkshire almost everywhere in the Survey is stated to be *wasta*; and in

Amunderness, after the enumeration of no fewer than sixty-two places, the possessions in which amounted to one hundred and seventy carucates, it is said, 'Omnes hæ villæ jacent ad Prestune et III. ecclesiæ. Ex his XVI. a paucis incoluntur, sed quot sint habitantes ignoratur. Reliqua sunt *wasta*.' Moreover *wasta* is added to numerous places belonging to the archbishop of York, St. John of Beverley, the bishop of Durham, and to those lands which had belonged to Waltheof, Gospatric, Siward, and Merleswain.

præda, sanguine, nervi succisi; humus, per sexaginta et eo amplius milliaria, omnifariam inculta; nudum omnium solum usque ad hoc etiam tempus: urbes olim præclaras, turres proceritate sua in cœlum minantes, agros lætos pascuis, irriguos fluviis, si quis modo videt peregrinus, ingemit; si quis superest vetus incola, non agnoscit.

DE MALCOLMO REGE SCOTTORUM.

Malcolm
king of Scots.

§ 250. Malcolmus, antequam ad manus veniretur, se deditit, totoque Willelmi tempore incertis et sæpe fractis foederibus ævum egit; sed, filio Willelmi Willelmo regnante, simili modo impetitus, falso sacramento insequentem abegit. Nec multo post, dum fidei immemor superbius provinciam inequitaret, a Roberto de Molbreia, comite Northanhimbriæ, ¹cum filio cæsus est; humatusque multis annis apud Tinemuthe, nuper ab Alexandro filio Scotiam ad Dunfermelin portatus est.

A.D. 1093.

DE EDGARO.

Eadgar
Aetheling.

§ 251. Edgarus, cum Stigando et Aldredo archiepiscopis regis ²dedititus, sequenti anno, facto ad ³Scottum transfugio, jusjurandum maculavit; sed cum ibi aliquot annis degens, nihil ad præsens commodi, nihil ad futurum spei, præter quotidianam stipem nactus esset, Normanni liberalitatem experiri pergens, ad eum, tunc ultra mare degentem, navigavit. Quod regi gratissimum

¹ *Cum filio cæsus est.*] Malcolm, with his son Edward, was slain on the 13th of November 1093, by Morael of Bamborough, the steward of the earl of Northumberland. (Sax. Chron.)

² *Dedititus.*] *S. L.*; deditus, *E.*

³ *Scottum.*] *A. S. E. L.*; Scotiam, *C. D.*

fuisse ferunt, ut incentore bellorum Anglia vacaret; nam et ultro solitus erat quoscunque Anglos suspectos habebat, quasi honoris causa, Normanniam ducere, ne quicquam se absente in regno turbarent. Receptus ergo Edgarus, et magno donativo donatus est; pluribusque annis in curia manens, pedetentim pro ignavia, et, ut mitius dictum sit, pro simplicitate, contemptui haberi cœpit. Quantula enim simplicitas, ut libram argenti, quam quotidie in stipendio accipiebat, regi pro uno equo perdonaret? Subsequenti tempore cum Roberto filio Godwini, milite audacissimo, Ierosolymam pertendit. Illud fuit tempus quo Turchi Baldwinum regem apud Ramas obsederunt; qui, cum ^{A.D. 1103.} ¹obsidionis injuriam ferre nequiret, per medias hostium acies effugit, solius Roberti opera liberatus præeuntis, et evaginato gladio dextra lævaque Turchos cædentis: sed cum, successu ipso truculentior, alacritate nimia procurreret, ensis manu excidit; ad quem recolligendum cum se inclinasset, omnium incursu oppressus, vinculis palmas dedit. Inde Babylonem (ut aiunt) ductus, cum Christum abnegare nollet, in medio foro ad signum positus, et sagittis terebratus, martyrium sacravit. Edgarus amisso milite regressus, multaque beneficia ab imperatoribus Græcorum et Alamannorum adeptus, (quippe qui etiam eum retinere pro generis amplitudine tentassent,) omnia pro natalis soli desiderio sprexit; quosdam enim profecto fallit amor patriæ, ut nihil eis videatur jocundum nisi consuetum hauserint cœlum. Unde Edgarus, fatua cupidine illusus, Angliam rediit, ²unde (ut superius dixi) diverso fortunæ ludicro

¹ *Obsidionis.*] A. S. C. D. | ² *Unde.*] C. E.; ubi, A. S. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1. | D. L.

rotatus, ¹nunc remotus et tacitus canos suos in agro consumit.

DE EDWINO ET MORCARDO FRATRIBUS.

Of Eadwin
and Morcar.

§ 252. Edwinus et Morcardus erant fratres, filii Elfgari, filii Leofrici. Hi comitatum Northanhimbrorum susceperant, et communi umbone pacifice tuebantur: nam (²ut prædixi), paucis diebus ante mortem regis Edwardi, provinciales aquilonis in rebellionem surrexerant, et Tostinum comitem suum expulerant, petierantque et acceperant unum e fratribus dominum, annitente Haroldo. Fiebant ista, ut a consciis accepimus, infenso rege, quia Tostinum diligeret: sed morbo invalidus, senio gravis, pene jam despectui ³omnibus haberi cœperat, ut dilecto auxiliari non posset; quare ex animi ægritudine majorem valetudinem corporis contrahens, non multo post decessit. Perstitit in incepto Haroldus ut fratrem exlegaret: quocirca ille, prius piraticis excursibus avitos triumphos polluens, mox cum rege Noricorum (ut supra scripsi) cæsus est. Cadaver ejus, indicio verrucæ inter duas sca-

¹ *Nunc remotus et tacitus canos suos in agro consumit.*] It is probable that Eadgar resided in Hertfordshire, as in the Domesday Survey he occurs as a tenant in capite in Hertfordshire. (Doms. tom. i. fol. 142^a.) Fordun (lib. v. c. 27—34) has a story of Eadgar's being cleared from an accusation of treason against William Rufus, by one Godwin, in a duel; whose son Robert is afterwards described as one of Eadgar's adherents in Scotland: and the Saxon Chronicle states that in the year 1106 he was one of the prisoners taken

at the battle of Tinchebrai, in Normandy. Eadgar is stated by Dr. Sayers, in his *Disquisitions*, 8vo. 1808, p. 296, upon the authority of the *Spelman Manuscripts*, to have again visited Scotland at a very advanced period of life, and died in that kingdom in the year 1120. If this date can be relied upon, the passage above noted would prove that Malmesbury had written this portion of his history before the close of that year.

² *Ut prædixi.*] § 228, p. 386.

³ *Omnibus.*] *A. S. D.*; omitted in *C. E. L.*

pulas agnitum, sepulturam Eboraci meruit. Tunc Edwinus et Morcardus (Haroldo jubente) manubiales prædas Londoniam tulere; nam ipse ad Hastingsensem pugnam festinabat, ¹unde jam partam victoriam falso præsaus somniabat. At, eo interemto, germani, ad terras suæ potestatis perfugientes, aliquot annis pacem Willelmi turbaverunt, clandestinis latrocinis sylvas infestantes, nec unquam cominus et aperte martem agentes; sæpe etiam capti plerumque se dedere, sed miseratione juvenilis decoris, et gratia nobilitatis, impune dimissi. Postremo nec vi nec dolo hostium, sed ²suorum perfidia trucidati, A.D. 1071. regem ad lachrymas flexere; quibus ipse et conjugia cognatarum et amicitiae dignationem jam pridem indulisset, si quieti adquiescere vellent.

DE WELDEOFO COMITE.

§ 253. Weldeofus, amplæ prosapiæ comes, Of Earl Waltheof. multam familiaritatem novi regis nactus fuerat, quod ille, præteritarum offensarum immemor, magis illas virtuti quam perfidiæ attribuebat. Siquidem Weldeofus in Eboracensi pugna plures Normannorum solus obtruncaverat, unos et unos per portam egredientes decapitans: nervosus læcertis, thorusus pectore, robustus et procerus toto corpore, filius Siwardi magnificentissimi comitis, quem Digera Danico vocabulo, id est fortem, cognominabant. Postmodum vero, victis partibus, sese sponte dedens, et ³Judithæ neptis

¹ Unde.] *C. D. E.*; indeque, *A.*; inde, *L.*; ubi, *S.*

² *Suorum perfidia trucidati.*] The Saxon Chronicle states that Earl Eadwin was treacherously slain by his own men in 1071, and that Earl Morcar surrender-

ed himself to the king in the same year.

³ *Judithæ neptis regis.*] Judith was daughter of Comte Enguerrand, and Adeliza, sister of the Conqueror. William seems to have been very profuse in his grants to her.

regis connubio privataque amicitia donatus, non permansit in fide, pravum ingenium cohibere impotens: compatriotis enim omnibus, qui existimarant resistendum, cæsis vel subjectis, etiam in Radulfi de Waher perfidia se immiscuit,¹ sed conjuratione detecta, comprehensus diuque in vinculis tentus, ultimo spoliatus capite, Crolando sepultus est; quamvis quidam dicant, necessitate interceptum, non voluntate addictum, infidelitatis sacramentum agitasse. Anglorum est ista excusatio; nam cætera Normanni² asserunt, Anglorum qui plurimum præsent. Quorum astipulationi Divinitas suffragari videtur, miracula multa, et ea permaxima, ad tumbam illius ostendens. Aiunt enim, in catenas conjectum, quotidianis singultibus perperam commissa diluisse.

A.D. 1074.

A.D. 1075.

William's severity towards the English.

§ 254. Inde propositum regis fortassis merito excusatur, si aliquando durior in Anglos fuerit, quod pene nullum eorum fidelem invenerit. Quæ res ita ferocem animum exasperabant, ut potentiores primum pecuniis, mox terris, nonnullos etiam vita exueret: quin etiam Cæsarianum secutus ingenium, qui Germanos in Ardenna maxima sylva abditos, et inde crebris eruptionibus exercitum suum affligentes, non per Romanos suos, sed per Gallos foederatos expulit; ut, dum alienigenæ alterutros transfoderent, ipse sine sanguine triumphum duceret. Idem (inquam) Willelmus in Anglos egit: nam contra quosdam, qui post primam infelicis ominis pugnam Danemarchiam et Hiberniam profugerant, et valida congregata

A.D. 1068.

¹ *Sed conjuratione detecta.*] Earl Waltheof, or Wallef as he is always stiled in Domesday Book, was, according to the Saxon Chronicle, beheaded at Winchester on the 31st May 1076.

The Chronicle of Mailros and Florence of Worcester, however, assign this event to the preceding year.

² *Asserunt.*] A. S.; afferunt, C. D. E. L.

manu tertio anno redierant, Angligenam exercitum et ducem objecit, Normannos ferriari permittens; ingens sibi levamen providens, utrilibet vincerent. Nec eum cogitatio lusit; nam utrique Angli, aliquandiu digladiati inter se, palmam otiosam regi refudere: advenæ Hiberniam fugati; regii, maxima sui clade, nomen inane victoriae, amisso duce, mercati. Vocabatur is Ednodus, domi belloque Anglorum temporibus juxta insignis, pater Herdingi qui adhuc superest, magis consuetus linguam in lites acuere, quam arma in bello concutere. Ita laicorum potentia subruta, stabili quoque obfirmavit edicto ut nullum ejus gentis, monachum vel clericum, ad aliquam dignitatem conari pateretur: a Cnutonis quondam regis facilitate immaniter abhorrens, qui victis honores integros exhibuit; unde factum est, ut, eo defuncto, indigenæ advenas leviter expellerent, sibi que antiquum jus vendicarent. At iste certis de causis viventes quosdam canonicè deposuit, et in locum illorum qui morirentur, cujuscunque gentis ²industrium, præter Angligenam, imposuit. Exigebat hoc, nisi fallor, indurata in regem pervicacia; cum sint Normanni (³ut ante dixi) in conviventes advenas naturali benignitate proclives.

A. D. 1070.

§ 255. Radulfus, de quo prius tetigi, erat per donum regis comes Northfolki et Suthfolki; ⁴Brito ex patre, distorti ad omne bonum animi. Is, quod cognatam regis, filiam Willelmi filii Os-

Ralph de Guader's conspiracy, A. D. 1074.

¹ *Is Ednodus.*] C. D. E. L.; Isednodus, A. S.—Ednoth was Harold's master of the horse. He was killed in 1068, in opposing the sons of Harold when they came upon their expedition from Ireland.

² *Industrium.*] C. E.; industrium hominem, A. S. D. L.

³ *Ut ante dixi.*] § 246.

⁴ *Brito ex patre.*] Raulf pær Brýttiric on his modenbealfe, but his father was English, and born in Norfolk. (Sax. Chron. A. D. 1075.)

berni, desponderat, majora jūsto mente metiens, tyrannidem adoriri meditabatur. Itaque ipso nuptiarum die magnis apparatus convivium agitatum, (quod Normannorum gulæ jam Anglorum luxus influxerat,) ebris convivis, et vintumentibus, amplo verborum ambitu propositum suum aperit: illi, quia in eorum animo pro potu omnis ratio caligabat, ingenti plausu dicenti acclamant. Ibi Rogerius comes Herefordensis; uxoris Radulfi frater, ibi Weldeofus, ibi præterea quamplurimi, in necem regis conjurant; sed postero die, cum, digesto calore vini, temperatior aura corda quorundam afflasset, major pars facti poenitens a convivio dilapsa. Unus eorum (Weldeof fertur), qui consilio Lanfranci archiepiscopi ¹Normanniam ultro ²navigans, rem regi, causa sua duntaxat celata, detulit: at comites in incepto persistere, provinciales suos quisque in tumultum excitare; sed obsistebat eis Deus, omnes conatus eorum in irritum deducens. Mox enim re comperita, duces regis, qui custodiam prætendebant, Radulfum ad hoc calamitatis compulere, ut, arrepta nave apud Norwic, mari se committeret: uxor ejus, pacta membrorum salute, traditoque castello, maritum secuta. Rogerius, a rege vinculis irretitus, tota vita carcerem frequentavit vel potius incoluit; detestandæ perfidiæ juvenis, nec moribus patrisans.

§ 256. Siquidem ³genitor ejus, Willelmus filius

William
Fitz-Os-
berne.

¹ *Normanniam ultro navigans, rem regi, causa sua duntaxat celata, detulit.*] Mr. Ingram, the editor of the Saxon Chronicle, has accused Malmesbury of here perverting the words of the Saxon Chronicle. He moreover charges the Latin historians with having in general misunderstood these words, and assumes that 'Some

have omitted the whole passage, because they did not comprehend it.' Mr. Ingram's reasons for arriving at this conclusion are, however, far from satisfactory.

² *Navigans.*] E 1; enavigans, A. S. C. D. E 2. L.

³ *Genitor ejus.*] William Fitz-Osborne was only the father-in-law of Ralph de Guader.

Osberni, ¹principibus optimis comparandus fuerit, haud scio an etiam præponendus. Ejus consilio rex Willelmus primo animatus ad invadendam Angliam; mox, virtute adjutus, ad manutenendam. Erat in eo mentis animositas quam commendabat manus pene prodiga liberalitas: unde factum est, ut militum multitudine, quibus larga stipendia dabat, hostium aviditatem arceret, civium sedulitatem haberet; quare pro effusis sumptibus asperrimam regis offensam incurrit, quod gazas suas improvide dilapidaret. Manet ad hanc diem, in comitatu ejus apud Herefordum, legum quas statuit inconcussa firmitas, ut nullus miles pro qualicumque commisso plus septem solidis solvat; cum in aliis provinciis, ob parvam occasiunculam in transgressione præcepti herilis, viginti vel viginti quinque pendantur. Sed tam secundos eventus turpi fine fortuna conclusit, dum tanti regni sustentator, Angliæ et Normanniæ consiliarius, pro foeminea cupidine Flandriam pergens, ab insidiatoribus impetitus interiit. Nam Baldwinus antiquus ille (de quo superius dixi), pater Matildis, duos habuit filios: Robertum, qui, patre superstite comitissam Frisiæ uxorem nactus, Frisonis cognomen accepit: Baldwinum, qui post patrem aliquot annis Flandriæ præfuit, immatureque fato functus est; superstitibus duobus liberis Arnulfo et Baldwino, de Richilde uxore, quorum tutelam regi Francorum Philippo, ²cujus amitæ filius erat, et Willelmo filio Osberni, commendaverat.

¹ Principibus.] A. C. D. E.; principis, S. L.

² Cujus amitæ filius erat.] 'Robertus (rex Francorum) genuit Henricum, qui xxix. annis regnavit: Henricus genuit Philippum, qui, Henrico rege Franco-

rum patre suo mortuo, parvulus remansit; cujus Balduinus comes Flandriæ tutor fuit; nam ejus amitam, sororem Henrici regis, uxorem duxerat.'—Lib. de Castro Ambasiæ, ap. Acherium, tom. III. p. 272. (Bouq. xi. 186.)

Libens id munus suscepit Willelmus, ut, foederatis cum Richilde nuptiis, altius nomen sibi pararet. At illa, foemineo fastu ¹ampliora sexu spirans, novaque a provincialibus tributa exigens, in perfidiam illos excitavit; misso quippe propter Robertum Frisonem nuncio, ut supplicantis patriæ habenas acciperet, omnem fidelitatem Arnulfo, qui jam comes dicebatur, ²abjurant. Nec vero defuere qui pupilli partes fulcirent; ita multis diebus Flandria intestinis dissensionibus conturbata. Id filius Osberni, qui totus in amorem mulieris concesserat, pati nequivit, quin, militari manu coacta, Flandriam intraret; susceptusque primo ab his quos tutari venerat, post paucos dies securus de castello in aliud equitabat, expeditus cum paucis: contra, Friso, quem hujusmodi fatuitas non latebat, occultatis insidiis inopinum excepit, et, nequicquam fortiter agentem, ipsum et nepotem suum Arnulfum cecidit.

A.D. 1071.

Robert le Frison earl of Flanders.

§ 257. Ita Flandria potitus, sæpe Willelmum regem Normannicis prædis irritavit. Filia ejus Cnutoni regi Danorum nupsit, de qua genitus est ³Karolus, qui modo principatur in Flandria. Pacem cum Philippo rege comparavit, data sibi in uxorem privigna, de qua ille Lodowicum tulit qui modo regnat in Francia; nec multo post, pertæsus connubii, (quod illa præpinguis corpulentiae esset,) a lecto removit, uxoremque Andegavensis comitis contra fas et jus sibi conjunxit. Eorum affinitate tutus, Robertus nihil quod de-

¹ *Ampliora.*] C. D.; altiora vel ampliora, E.; altiora, A. S. L.

² *Abjurant.*] A. S. D. E. L.; abjuravit, C.

³ *Karolus, qui modo principatur in Flandria.*] Charles, called the

Good. He was the son of Cnut IV. king of Denmark, and Adele daughter of Robert le Frison. He succeeded Baudouin VII. as earl of Flanders (17th June 1119), and died 2nd March 1127.

ploraret suo tempore vidit; licet Baldwinus frater Arnulfi, qui in Hanoea provincia et castello Valentianis comitatum habuit, regis Willelmi auxilio plures assultus faceret. Tribus ante mortem annis, jam canis sparsus caput, Ierosolymam contendit pro peccatorum alleviamento; regressus mundanis involucris renunciavit, finem vitæ quietus a negotiis Christiana sollicitudine operiens. Filius ejus Robertus ille fuit qui in expeditione Asiatica (quam nostris diebus Europa contra Turchos movit) mirandus innotuit; sed nescio quo infortunio, postquam domum reversus est, nobilem illum laborem decoloravit, in quodam (quod vocant) torniamento ¹ ad mortem læsus. Nec filium ejus Baldwinum fortuna excepit felicior, qui, ultro in Normannia regis Anglorum Henrici vires lacessens, juvenilis audaciæ temeritatem luit; namque conto in capite percussus, multorumque medicorum promissis illus, metam vitæ abruptit, Karolo illi de quo ^{A.D. 1119.} supra diximus principatu tradito.

§ 258. At vero rex Willelmus in subjectos leniter, turbide in rebelles agens, feliciter omni Anglia potiebatur; Walenses omnes tributarios habens. Jam vero trans mare, nunquam otiosus, ^{A.D. 1073.} ² Cenomannico solo pene exterminium indixit, ducta expeditione illuc de Anglis, qui sicut facile in solo suo potuerunt opprimi, ita in alieno semper apparuere invicti. ² Apud Dolum, cas- ^{A.D. 1075.}

Transactions
in this reign.

¹ *Ad mortem læsus.*] He died in the year 1111.

² *Cenomannico . . . de Anglis.*] 'A. D. 1073. This year led King William an army English and French over sea, and won the district of Maine.' (Sax. Chron.)

² *Apud Dolum . . . desideravit.*] 'King William now went over sea, and led his army to Brittany, and beset the castle of Dol; but the Bretons defended it, until the king came from France; whereupon King William departed thence, having lost there both

tellum transmarinæ Britanniae, dum nescio qua similitate irritatus manum illuc militarem duxisset, innumeros ex suis desideravit. Philippum regem Francorum, cujus amitæ filiam uxorem duxerat, semper infidum habuit, quod scilicet ille tantam gloriam viro invideret quem et patris sui et suum ¹hominem esse constaret: sed Willelmus nihilo ²secius ejus conatibus improbe obviabat, quamvis primogenitus filius ejus Robertus fatuo consilio ³conatibus ejus assisteret; unde contigit, ut in quodam assultu ⁴apud Gibboracum filius patri resultans, eo vulnerato, equum ipsius confoderet, Willelmus medius filiorum saucius abiret, multi ex regiis caderent. Cæterum tota vita ita fortunatus fuit, ut exteræ et remotæ gentes nihil magis quam nomen ejus timerent. Provinciales adeo nutui suo substraverat, ut sine ulla contradictione ⁵primus censum omnium capitum ageret, omnium prædiorum redditus in tota Anglia notitiæ suæ per scriptum adjiceret, omnes liberos homines, cujuscunque essent, suæ fidelitati sacramento adigeret. Solus ejus majestatem concutiebat ⁶Cnuto rex Danorum, qui et

A.D. 1079.

men and horses, and many of his treasures.' (Sax. Chron. A.D. 1076.) This event is more correctly attributed by Florence and others to the preceding year.

¹ *Hominem.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

² *Secius ejus.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; segnius, *D.*

³ *Conatibus ejus assisteret.*] *C. D. E. L.*; contra patrem illi assisteret, *A. S.*

⁴ *Apud Gibboracum filius patri resultans, eo vulnerato, equum ipsius confoderet.*] 'A. D. 1079. This year Robert fought with his father without Normandy, by a castle called Gerborai, and

wounded him in the hand; and the horse that he sat upon was killed under him.' (Sax. Chron.)

⁵ *Primus censum . . . adigeret.*] Malmesbury here alludes to that noble and invaluable record Domesday Book, which was printed at the expense of the nation in the year 1783, and has been since so learnedly and ably explained and commented upon by Sir Henry Ellis, principal librarian of the British Museum. Two vols. 8vo. 1833.

⁶ *Cnuto.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*; omitted in *E 1.*—Cnut IV. A.D. 1080—1086.

affinitate Roberti Frisonis et suapte potentia in immensum extollebatur; rumore in populos sato quod Angliam invaderet, debitum sibi pro affinitate antiqui Cnutonis solum: et profecto fecisset nisi Deus ejus audaciam vento contrario infirmasset. Quæ res admonuit ut genealogiam regum Danorum qui post nostrum Cnutonem fuere¹ seriatim abbreviem, de Noricis quoque pauca inserturus.

§ 259. ²Ei, ut ante dictum est, successit Haroldus in Anglia, Hardecnutus in Danemarchia, filii ejus; nam Noricam, quam subegerat, recuperavit Magnus, filius ³Olavi quem in gestis ⁴Cnutonis dixi a provincialibus suis necatum fuisse. Haroldo in Anglia defuncto, ⁵ambo regna tenuit Hardecnutus paucis temporibus: quo mortuo successit Edwardus simplex, avitoque regno contentus, transmarinum imperium ut laboriosum et barbarum desupuit. ⁶Tunc rex Danorum levatus est Swanus quidam, haud dubie nobilissimus; cujus cum regnum aliquot annis prosperaretur, Magnus rex Noricorum (consentientibus Danis quibusdam), illum vi bellica expellens, suo animo terram subiecit. Ejectus Swanus regem Suevorum adiit, ejusque auxilio, cum Suevos et Windelicos et Gothos corrasisset, rediit ut regnum reformaret; sed conspirantibus Danis, qui potestatem Magni diligenter, prioris fortunæ cala-

Genealogy of the kings of Denmark.

Hardecnut, A.D. 1035.

Magnus, A.D. 1042.

¹ *Seriatim.*] E 1.; strictim, A. S. C. D. E 2. L.

² *Ei.*] Cnut died, according to Suenon, the Danish historian, on the 12th Nov. 1036: but see p. 318, note ⁴.

³ *Olavi quem in gestis Cnutonis dixi.*] § 181, p. 307.

⁴ *Cnutonis.*] A. C. D. E. L.; Cnutonis nostri, S.

⁵ *Ambo regna tenuit Harde-*

cnutus paucis temporibus.] § 188, p. 319.

⁶ *Tunc rex Danorum levatus est Swanus quidam.*] Magnus king of Norway succeeded Hardecnut in 1042, but in the following year Sweyn attempted to deprive him of the kingdom of Denmark. Upon the death of Magnus, in 1047, Sweyn obtained the kingdom.

mitatem expertus est. Ingens illud et memorabile in ea barbarie praelium fuit, ¹quo nunquam vel discrimen formidabilius vel omen lætius Dani viderunt. Denique ad hoc tempus votum illibatam custodiunt quo se ante ²pugnam constrinxerunt ut vigiliam sancti Laurentii cunctis in posterum seculis jejunio et eleemosynis ³sacrarent. Eo enim die certatum, et tunc quidem Swanus fugit; sed non multo post, mortuo Magno, regnum suum integre recepit.

Sweyn II.
A. D. 1047.

Succession of
the kings of
Norway.

§ 260. Successit Magno in Norica Swanus quidam, Herdhand cognominatus, non de regia progenie, sed manu et caliditate provectus: illi Olavus, patruus Magni (quem sanctum ferunt): Olavo Haroldus Harvagra, frater Olavi, qui etiam imperatori Constantinopolitano dudum juvenis militaverat; cujus jussu pro stupro illustris foeminae leoni objectus, belluam immanem nudo laertorum nisu suffocavit. Hic in Anglia ab Haroldo filio ⁴Godwini ⁵cæsus. Filii ejus, Olavus et Magnus, regnum paternum partiti; sed, Magno præmature mortuo, Olavus totum occupavit. Illi successit filius Magnus, qui nuper in Hibernia, dum temere illuc appulisset, miserabiliter occisus est. Ferunt Magnum superiorem, filium Haroldi, post mortem patris ab Haroldo rege Angliæ clementer domum dimissum, illius beneficii memoria Haroldum filium Haroldi, post victoriam Willelmi ad se venientem, benigne tractasse; eundemque in expeditione socium habuisse quam in Angliam tempore Willelmi junioris

A. D. 1066.

A. D. 1068.

¹ Quo.] S.; quod, A. C. D. E. L.

² Pugnam.] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

³ Sacrarent.] A. S. D. E. L.; consecrarent, C.

⁴ Godwini.] A. S. D. E. L.; omitted in C.

⁵ Cæsus.] C. E.; cæsus est, A. S. D. L. See § 228, p. 386.

duxit, quando et Orchadas et ¹Mevanias insulas sibi subjecit, et occurrentes comites, Hugonem Cestrensem et Hugonem Salopesbiriensem, priorem ²fugit, secundum interemit. Filii ultimi Magni, Hasten et Siwardus, regno adhuc diviso imperitant; quorum posterior, adolescens speciosus et audax, non multum est quod Ierosolymam per Angliam navigavit, innumera et præclara facinora contra Saracenos consummans, præsertim in ³obsessione Sidonis, quæ pro conscientia Turchorum immania in Christianos fremebat.

§ 261. Sed Swanus in regno Danorum ut dixi Sweyn II, king of Denmark. restitutus, ægre quietem ferens, in Angliam bis Cnutonem filium misit; primo cum trecentis, secundo cum ducentis navibus. Prioris classis A.D. 1069. socius fuit Osbernus frater Swani, sequentis ⁴Hacco: A.D. 1075. utrique (accepta pecunia) conatus adolescentis fregere, domum sine effectu repatriantes; quare a Swano rege gravi contumelia inusti, quod fidem pecunia læsissent, in exilium acti sunt. Swanus, ad mortem veniens, omnes juramento provinciales constrinxit ut, quia quatuordecim filios habebat, omnibus per ordinem regnum delegarent, quantum ipsa ⁵soboles durare posset. A.D. 1076. Eo ergo defuncto, successit ⁶filius Haroldus Harald, A.D. 1077. annis tribus; illi Cnuto, quem pater in Angliam miserat. Is, veteris repulsæ memor, ⁷classem (ut accepimus) mille et eo amplius navium in Angliam parat; auxilio ei erat socer Robertus Friso, Cnut IV. A.D. 1080-1086.

¹ *Mevanias insulas.*] Man and Anglesey.

² *Fugit.*] C. E. L.; fugavit, A. S. D.

³ *Obsessione.*] C. D. E. L.; obsidione, A. S.

⁴ *Hacco.*] A. C. D. E. L. 1.; Bacco, S. L. 2.

⁵ *Soboles.*] A. S. D. E. L.; progenies, C.

⁶ *Filius.*] A. S. C. E. L.; filius ejus, D.

⁷ *Classen.*] A. C. D. E. L.; omitted in S.—Cnut's meditated invasion may be referred to the year 1085.

sexcentarum ¹ratum dominus : sed, duobus pene annis venti adversitate coercitus, voluntatem mutavit, pronuncians non sine Dei nutu esse quod transfretare nequiret. Verum ²post modicum quorundam colloquiis depravatus, qui difficultatem transitus anicularum maleficiis imputabant, optimatibus, quarum foeminae de hoc insimulabantur, pensiones importabiles indixit; Olavum quoque fratrem, factionis ejusdem principem accusatum, vinculis irretivit, et socero in exilium misit: quapropter barbari, libertatis suae injuriam non ferentes, intra ecclesiam quandam altare amplexum, et emendationem ³facti promittentem, ⁴trucidarunt. Aiunt eo loci multa miracula coelitus ostensa, quod fuerit vir ille jejuniis et eleemosynis deditus, et qui in legum transgressores magis divinas quam suas persequeretur contumelias; unde et ei martyris honor consecratus est a papa Romano. Post eum homicida, ut invidiam facti aliquo bono compensarent, Olavum a vinculis decem millibus marcarum argenti redemerunt. Hic, octo annis ignave imperitans, regnum fratri Henrico reliquit. Is, ⁵viginti et novem annis modeste vivens, Ierosolymam ⁶abiit, medioque mari spiritum evomuit. ⁷Quintus nunc Nicolaus in regno subsistit.

§ 262. Rex igitur Danorum (ut dixi) solus erat obstaculum ne Willelmus continua ferieretur laetitia, cujus respectu tantam multitudinem sti-

A. D. 1086.

Olaf, A. D. 1086.

Eric I. A. D. 1095.

A. D. 1103.

Nicolas, A. D. 1105.
A. D. 1085.

¹ *Ratum.*] A. S. D. E. L.; navium, S.

² *Post modicum.*] C. D. E.; postmodum, A. S. L.

³ *Facti.*] A. C. D. E. L.; omitted in S.

⁴ *Trucidarunt.*] Cnut was murdered in the church of Odensée on the 10th July 1086. Vide Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 228.

⁵ *Viginti et novem annis.*] Eric I, after a reign of seven years

only, died, on his way to the Holy Land, at Cyprus, on the 11th of July 1103.

⁶ *Abiit.*] A. C. D. E. L.; adiit, S.

⁷ *Quintus nunc Nicolaus in regno subsistit.*] Nicolas succeeded his brother, after an inter-regnum of two years, A. D. 1105; and was murdered on the 25th June 1135.

pendiariorum conducebat militum ex omni quæ citra montes est provincia, ut eorum copia regnum gravaret; sed ipse, pro magnanimitate sua, dispendium expensarum non sentiens, etiam Hugonem Magnum, regis Francorum fratrem, cum illius commilitio, inter militares numeros sibi servituum redegerat. Animabat et excitabat ipse virtutem suam propter ¹Roberti Guiscardi memoriam, pronuncians pudendum si illi fortitudine cederet quem nobilitate præiret; siquidem Robertus, ²mediocri parentela in Normannia ortus, quæ nec humi reperet nec altum quid tumeret, paucis ante adventum Willelmi in Angliam annis, cum quindecim militibus abierat Apuliam, penuriam necessariorum gentis illius ignavæ stipendiis correcturus. Nec multi fluxerunt anni quod, stupendo Dei munere, totam ³terram in potestatem accepit: nam ubi viribus destituebatur, ingenio callebat; oppida primo, mox civitates, suæ ditioni associans. Ita ergo ^{A.D. 1060.} profecit ut se ducem Apuliæ et Calabriæ, fratrem Ricardum principem Capuæ, alterum Rogerum comitem Siciliæ, faceret. Postremo, data Apulia filio Rogero, cum altero filio Boamundo Adriaticum pelagus transivit; statimque ^{A.D. 1082.} ⁴Dira-

Robert Guiscard, A.D. 1020—1085.

A.D. 1060.

A.D. 1082.

¹ *Roberti Guiscardi.*] The birth, character, and first actions of Robert Guiscard may be found in Jeffrey Malaterra (lib. i. cap. 3, 4, 11, 16, 17, 18, 38, 39, 40), William Apulus (lib. ii. pp. 260—262), William of Jumièges, (lib. xi. c. 30, pp. 663, 664; edit. Camden), and Anna Comnena (Alexiad. lib. i. pp. 23—27; lib. vi. p. 165), with the annotations of Du Cange (note in Alexiad. pp. 230—232, 320), who has swept all the French and Latin chronicles for supplemental intelligence. (Gibbon, Dec. Rom. Emp. vii. 217.)

² *Mediocri parentela in Normannia.*] The pedigree of Robert Guiscard is variously deduced from the peasants and dukes of Normandy. His genuine descent may be ascribed to the second or middle order of private nobility. He sprang from a race of *valvassors*, or *bannerets*, of the diocese of Coutances in Lower Normandy. (*Ibid.*)

³ *Terram.*] *A. S. D. E. L.;* terram illam, C.

⁴ *Dirachio capto.*] Durazzo was taken on the 8th Feb. 1082.

chio capto, super Alexium imperatorem Constantinopolitanum ulterius progrediebatur: sævientem retinuit nuncius Hildebrandi apostolici. Imperator enim Alamannorum ¹Henricus, filius Henrici ²de quo supra memoravimus, iratus contra papam quod excommunicationem in eum propter investituras ecclesiarum promulgaverat, cum exercitu veniens, ³Romam obsedit, Hildebrandum expulit, Guibertum Ravennansem introduxit. Quo per literas expulsi Guiscardus audito, relicto filio Boamundo cum militibus ut inchoata paterna persequeretur, Apuliam rediit: contracta velociter Apulorum et Normannorum manu, Romam tendebat. Nec sustinuit nuncium advenientis Henricus, quin cum falso papa, sola fama territus, terga ⁴daret. Vacua ab obsessoribus, Roma legitimum præsulem accepit; sed non multo post, eadem violentia qua prius, amisit. Tunc quoque Alexius, audiens Robertum ad sua necessario revocatum, summamque manum bello imponere sperans, supra Boamundum, qui partes relictas tuebatur, ⁵irruit; sed Normannus, gentilitii roboris tenax adolescens, arietantes Græcos, et cæteras quæ convenerant gentes, usu militari, quamvis multum numero inferior, fugæ tradidit. Eodem quoque tempore Veneti, gens mari assueta, Guiscardum, propter quæ venerat sedatis, transfretare volentem aggressi, superiorem calamitatem sentire; pars mersi et cæsi, pars fugati. Ille, cœptam enavigans viam, multas civitates Alexii suæ voluntati

¹ *Henricus, filius Henrici.*] besieged by Henry in the years 1081 and 1084.

² *De quo supra memoravimus.*] ⁴ *Daret.*] *S. D.* ; damnaret, *A. C. E. L.*

§ 189, p. 322, et seq.

³ *Romam obsedit.*] Rome was ⁵ *Irruit.*] *A. S. D. E. L.* ; venit, *C.*

applicuit. Sustulit imperator maleficio quem virtute ¹nequibat, uxori ipsius connubium augustale mentitus: cujus insidiis elaboratum ²virus hauriens interiit, meliorem exitum, si Deus voluisset, emeritus; invincibilis hostili ferro, et domestico obnoxius veneno. ³Sepultus est apud Venusam Apuliæ, ⁴habens epitaphium:

‘Hic terror mundi Guiscardus; hic expulit urbe
Quem Ligures regem, Roma, Lemannus, habent.
Parthus, Arabs, Macedumque phalanx non texit
Alexin,
At fuga; sed Venetum nec fuga nec pelagus.’

⁵DE HILDEBRANDO PAPA.

§ 263. Verum, quia Hildebrandi mentio se in- Hildebrand, or Pope Gregory VII.
gessit, de eo dicam quæ non frivolo auditu hausi,
sed seria relatione ejus audiivi qui se illa ex ore
Hugonis abbatis Cluniacensis audisse juraret.
⁶Quem ideo admiror et prædico, quia cogitationes
aliorum prophetico mentis intuitu pronuntiabat.
Alexander ⁷eum papa efficax, ipsius studium con-

¹ Nequibat.] *A. S. D. E. L.*; non poterat, C.

² *Virus hauriens interiit.*] The most authentic writers, William of Apulia (lib. v. p. 277), Jeffrey Malaterra (lib. III. c. 41, p. 589), and Romuald de Salerno (Chron. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. VII.) are ignorant of this accusation. Hoveden, moreover, (p. 710, in Script. post Bedam,) who follows Malmesbury, adds that Alexis married, crowned, and then burnt alive his female accomplice. (See Gibb. Dec. Rom. Emp. VII. 247.)

³ *Sepultus est apud Venusam Apuliæ.*] He died (17th July 1085) in the isle of Cephalonia, in his tent. The galley which transported the remains of Guis-

card was shipwrecked on the Italian shore; but his body was recovered from the sea, and deposited in the sepulchre of Venusia, a place illustrious for the birth of Horace. (*Ibid.*)

⁴ *Habens epitaphium.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; hoc habens epitaphium, D.

⁵ *De Hildebrando papa.*] The Lives of Gregory VII. are either legends or invectives (St. Marc, *Abrégé*, tom. III. p. 235, &c.) and his miraculous or magical performances are alike incredible to a modern reader.

⁶ *Quem.*] *E 1.*; quæ, *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*

⁷ *Eum.*] *E.*; omitted in *A. S. D. L.*; enim, C.

spicatus, cancellis apostolorum præfecerat. Circumibat ergo pro sui contuitu officii provincias, ut perperam acta corrigeret. Accurrebatur ab ¹omnium ordinum hominibus, decisiones diversorum negotiorum postulantibus. Cuncta ²ei submittebatur secularis potentia, tum pro sanctitatis, tum pro ministerii ipsius reverentia. Unde die quadam, cum solito major ³adequitantum esset turma, abbas prædictus in extremo agmine cum monachis suis sensim progrediebatur; visoque eminus tanto viri honore, quod tot mundanæ potestates nutum illius præstolarentur, hujuscemodi sententias ventilabat animo: Homuncionem exilis staturæ, despicibilis parentelæ, quo Dei judicio tot divitum sepiri famulatio? tumere illum proculdubio, et metiri altiora merito, pro tot obambulatorum obsequio. Vix hæc (ut dixi) mente versarat, cum archidiaconus, reflexo equo et calcaribus incito, a longe clamans et abbatem obuncans, 'Tu, tu,' (inquit,) 'male cogitasti, falso infamans hujusce duntaxat rei innocentem: non enim mihi hanc gloriam, si gloria dici potest quæ cito transit, vel ego imputo vel ab aliis imputari volo, sed beatis apostolis, quorum exhibetur privilegio.' Suffusus ille pudore, nec quicquam inficiari ausus, hoc solum retulit: 'Quæso, domine, quomodo nosti cogitatum meum, quem nulli communicavi?' 'Ab ore' (ait) 'tuo, quasi per fistulas, ad aures meas omnis illa cogitatio deducta est.'

§ 264. Item in eadem provincia ecclesiam urbanam ingressi, ante aram continuatis et junctis lateribus se prostraverant. In multam horam

¹ *Omni-um.*] C. D. E.; omnibus, A. S. L.

A. S. C. D. E. L1.; eis submittebatur secularibus, L2.

³ *Adequitantum.*] D. E.; ad-equitandum, A. S. C. L.

protracta oratione, respexit archidiaconus abbatem, turbulento rictu infrendens : ille, cum diutius oratum esset, fores egressus, causamque commotionis percunctatus, responsum accepit : ' Si me amare vis, cave ne ulterius hac me injuria ¹expungas. Dominus meus ²Jesus, speciosus ille præ filiis hominum, postulationibus meis visibiliter astabat, intendens dictis, et serenis favens oculis ; sed, tuæ orationis addictus violentia, me deseruit, ad te conversus : puto quod tu ipse non diffiteberis esse genus injuriæ si amico eripias auctorem salutis suæ. Præterea prænoveris mortalitatem hominum, et huic loco imminere excidium ; cujus conjecturæ signum habeo, quod angelum Domini super altare stantem vidi evaginatum gladium stringere, et huc illucque rotare. Futuræ cladis notabilius habeo indicium, quod jam spissus et nebulosus aer provinciam istam circumvolat, ut vides. Maturemus ergo profugium, nisi cum aliis velimus subire exitium.' His dictis introeuntes diversorium, ad curam corporis assedere ; continuoque dapibus appositis, exortus in domo luctus aviditatem esurientium repressit, siquidem unus et alter, et mox plures e familia, dubium qua pernicie ³intercepti, animas subito amisere. Tum eadem peste per vicinas ædes grassante, ascensis mulis diffugiunt, festinationem viæ stimulis ⁴timoris accelerantes.

DE EPISCOPO PER SIMONIAM INTRODUCTO.

§ 265. In Gallia ⁵vicepapa præsederat concilio ; ibi plures episcopi, olim per simoniam in

¹ Expungas.] A. C. D. E. L. ; expunges, S.

² Jesus.] A. C. D. E. L. ; Jesus Christus, S.

³ Intercepti.] A. C. D. E. L. ; interempti, S.

⁴ Timoris.] A. S. C. D. E 2. L. ; omitted in E 1.

⁵ Vicepapa.] C. E. ; vice papæ, A. S. D. L.

ecclesias introducti, degradati, potioribus locum dedere. Unus erat quem suspicio istius apostasiæ insimulabat, sed nullis testibus argui, nullis argumentis confutari poterat: quem cum putares constrictum maxime, more anguis lubrici elapsum mirareris; ita dicendi arte callebat ut omnes eluderet. Tunc archidiaconus: ‘Cesset hominum eloquium, producat in medium divinum oraculum: scimus profecto quod episcopalis gratia Sancti Spiritus munus est; et quisquis episcopatum mercatur, Spiritus Sancti donum posse comparari pecunia opinatur. Coram nobis ergo, qui iudicio Sancti Spiritus congregati sumus, dicat iste, “Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto;” quod si expresse et sine titubantia dixerit, constabit apud me non illum venaliter, sed legitime, præsulatu functum.’ Libens hanc conditionem ille accepit, nihil minus quam horum verborum difficultatem ratus; et certe ‘Gloria Patri, et Filio,’ integre protulit, sed in ‘Spiritu Sancto’ hæsit. Suscitato cunctorum strepitu, nullo conatu, vel tunc vel in vitæ reliquo spatio, Spiritum Sanctum nominare potuit. Hujus miraculi testis fuit abbas sæpe nominatus, qui, dejectum episcopum per loca secum ducens, illius rei experimentum sæpe risit; de cujus verborum certitudine dubitantem omnis Europa confutat, quæ religionis Cluniacensis numerum per eum augmentatum non nescit.

§ 266. Alexandro ergo defuncto, successit Hildebrandus (¹Gregorius septimus dictus). Hic quod alii ²mussitaverant palam extulit, excommunicans electos qui investituras ecclesiarum de manu laici per anulum et baculum acciperent;

¹ *Gregorius septimus dictus.* | ² *Mussitaverant.* A. C. D. E.
He was elected pope 22nd April 1073, and died 25th May 1085. | L.; inusitaverant, S.

unde Henricus imperator Alamannorum fremens, quod sine sua conscientia ¹electus talia præsumeret, illum (ut prædixi) post undecim annos Roma deturbavit, Guiberto inducto. Nec multo post lethali papa morbo ictus, quo se moriturum non ambigeret, rogatus est a cardinalibus ut papam constitueret, beati Petri exemplum referentibus, qui, lactentis ecclesiæ rudimentis, vivens Clementem præfecerat. Negavit ille ²id se exemplum secuturum, quod ab antiquo conciliis esset vetitum: consilium vero daturum, si vellent hominem in seculo potentem, eligerent Desiderium abbatem ³Cassinensem, qui salubriter et in tempore numero militari violentiam Guiberti infringeret; sin ecclesiasticum et eloquentem, acciperent episcopum Hostiensem Odonem. Ita obiit vir apud Deum felicitis gratiæ, et apud homines austeritatis fortassis nimie. Denique fertur quod, inter eum et imperatorem primi tumultus initio, ⁴illum nudipedem, et forcipes cum scopis portantem, nec etiam foribus admiserit; abominatus hominem ⁵sacrilegum, et sororii incesti reum. Abscessit Cæsar exclusus, repulsam illam multorum necis causam protestans. Statimque quæcunque posset incommoda Romanæ sedi infligens, e diverso fautores papæ in tyrannidem excitavit; siquidem rebellante quodam Radulfo, jussu ipsius apostolici, qui ei coronam

¹ *Electus.*] C. D. E. L.; omitted in A. S.

² *Id se.*] C. D. E. L.; idem, A. S.

³ *Cassinensem.*] A. S. D. E. L.; Cassiorensem, C.

⁴ *Illum nudipedem, et forcipes cum scopis portantem.*] Mr. Sharpe observes that this seems intended to denote his absolute submission, and willingness to undergo

any kind of penance which might be enjoined him. Sometimes excommunicated persons wore a halter about their necks; sometimes they were shorn or scourged prior to receiving absolution. V. Basnage, Pref. in Canisium, pp. 69, 70.

⁵ *Sacrilegum.*] A. S. C. E. L.; sacrilegum ut ferebatur, D.

ex parte apostolorum miserat, bellorum fragoribus undique conflictatus est: sed ille, semper adversis superior, et illum et cæteros improbe assurgentes tandem oppressit. Postremo non aliorum impetu, sed domestico ¹filiis odio extrusus imperio, miserabilem vitæ terminum habuit. Successit Hildebrando Desiderius, Victor appellatus; sed ad primam missam, incertum quo discrimine, cecidit exanimatus, calice (si dignum est credere) veneno infecto. Tunc in Odonem declinavit electio: is natione Gallus, primum Remensis archidiaconus, inde prior ²Cluniacensis, mox episcopus Hostiæ, ultimo papa Romæ, Urbanus vocatus est.

A.D. 1086.

A.D. 1088.

Character of William.

§ 267. Hactenus circumvagari licuerit, dum occasione gestorum Willelmi quædam succurrebant quæ prætermittenda non putabam: nunc familiarem ejus vitam, et mores interiores, lector qui volet audiet. Inprimis, ³Dei famulis humilis, subjectis facilis, in rebelles inexorabilis erat. Religionem Christianam, quantum secularis ⁴poterat, ita frequentabat, ut quotidie missæ assisteret, ⁵quotidie vespertinos et matutinos hymnos audiret. Monasteria, unum in Anglia, alterum in Normannia, construxit. Primum ⁶Cado-

¹ Filii.] A. C. D. E. L.; filiorum, S.

² Cluniacensis.] A. S. C. D. E 1. L.; Duniacensis, E 2.

³ Dei.] A. S. D. E. L.; omitted in C.

⁴ Poterat.] A. S. D. E. L.; potentia, C.

⁵ Quotidie.] C. D. E. L.; omitted in A. S.

⁶ Cadomis.] 'Vulgo Caen. Ridicule igitur Britto et quidam alii putant, Cadomum Caii domum a Caio Julio Cæsare dic-

tam fuisse. Cadomensibus *feriam trium dierum*, id est nundinas triduanas, concessit Willielmus Conquæstor, ut patebit infra ex ejusdem litteris.' (Note in Bouq. xi. p. 188.) The abbey of St. Stephen's, Caen, is stated to have been completed in 1064, but when it was dedicated is not accurately known: some fix the dedication in 1073, others in 1081, and Orderic in 1077. There was, however, a foundation charter granted subsequently to 1066, for in it William styles himself king.

mis, quod sancto Stephano consecravit, opportunis prædiis et magnificentissimis donariis insignitum, ubi et Lanfrancum abbatem, post etiam Cantuariæ archiepiscopum, instituit: virum antiquis scientia et religione comparandum, de quo serio dici potest, 'Tertius e cælo cecidit Cato;' adeo cœlestis sapor pectus ejus et palatum infererat; adeo Latinitas omnis in liberalium artium scientiam, per doctrinam ejus, se incitabat; adeo, ipsius exemplo vel metu, professio monastica in religione sudabat. Non tunc episcoporum ambitus, non tunc abbatum venalitas proficiebat: ille majoris gloriæ, amplioris gratiæ apud regem et archiepiscopum erat, qui tenacioris sanctitudinis opinionem habebat. Alterum monasterium Hastings¹ ædificavit sancto Martino, quod cognominatur De Bello, quia in eo loco principalis ecclesia cernitur ubi inter consertos cadaverum acervos Haroldus inventus fuisse memoratur. Pene puer, et² maturiora ætate sapiens, patrum suum Malgerium ab archiepiscopatu Rotomagensi removit. Is erat literis quidem non mediocriter cultus; sed, pro natalium conscientia professionis oblitus, venationibus et avium certaminibus sæpius justo³ intendebat, et gazas ecclesiasticas conviviis profusioribus insumebat: cujus rei fama crebrescente, tota vita pallii usu caruit, quod negaret sedes apostolica honoris hujusce privilegium homini qui sacratum negligebat officium. Unde crebro conventus, exoptulante nepote patruelis offensas, cum nihilo re-

Malgerius,
archbishop
of Rouen.

¹ *Ædificavit.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; William Rufus stopped at Hastings on his way to Normandy.
 construxit, *C.* — Although William the Conqueror founded and endowed Battle Abbey, yet the church, according to Florence, was not dedicated till 1094, when

² *Maturiora.*] *A. C. E. L.*; maturi, *D.*; maturiore, *S.*

³ *Intendebat.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; incumbabat, *C.*

verentius se ageret, cogente ultima necessitate degradatus est. Ferunt quidam esse arcanam depositionis causam; Matildem, quam Willelmus acceperat, proximam sibi sanguine fuisse. Id, Christianæ fidei zelo, Malgerium non tulisse, ut consanguineo cubili fruerentur; sed in nepotem et comparem excommunicationis jaculum intentasse. Ita cum iræ adolescentis uxoriæ querelæ accederent, excogitatas occasiones quibus persecutor peccati sede pelleretur: sed postmodum provectoribus annis, pro expiatione sceleris, illum sancto Stephano Cadomis monasterium ædificasse, ¹illam beatæ Trinitati in eodem vico idem fecisse; utroque pro sexu suo personas inhabitantium eligente.

Maurilius.

§ 268. Malgerio successit Maurilius, Fiscanensis monachus, multis virtutibus sed maxime abstinentia laudatus. Is post bene et sancte actam vitam, cum ad extremum Deo vocante venisset, vitali privatus ²halitu ferme dimidia die jacuit defunctus; veruntamen, cum jam pararetur in ecclesiam ferri, anima resumpta circumstantes lachrymabili gaudio perfudit. Stupentes hoc sermone corroborat: 'Attenti animo estote, ultima pastoris vestri verba excipientes. Naturali morte resolutus fui, sed, ut vobis intimarem quæ vidi, reductus sum; nec aliquanto diutius subsistam, quia in Domino soporari delectat. Ductores spiritus mei vultibus et vestibus ad omnem elegantiam erant compositi; concordabat verborum lenitas cum nitore ves-

¹ *Illam beatæ Trinitati.*] The convent of the Holy Trinity was founded by Matilda in 1066, and its church dedicated on the 18th of June in that year. Duke William on the same day, presenting at the altar his infant

daughter Cecilia, devoted her to the service of God in this monastery, where she became the second abbess.

² *Halitu.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; *anhelitu, D.*

tium, ut nihil desiderarem præter talium virorum obsequium. Itaque blandis assentationibus gavisus, ibam, ut vere mihi videbatur, versus orientem: promittebatur mihi sedes paradisiaca, non multo post intranda. In momento præterita Europa, ingressi Asiam, venimus Ierosolymam; ibi sanctis adoratis, Jordanem pertendimus; citerioris ripæ accolæ, ductorum meorum contubernio mixti, lætum cœtum fecere. Ego, visendi ulteriora studio, transitum maturabam. Tunc comites Deum præcepisse referunt ut ante dæmonum visione terrificarer, quatenus veniales culpæ, quas confessione non dilueram, pavore horrendarum formarum purgarentur. Cum dicto astitit alteri parti tanta dæmonum vis, hastilia acuta vibrantium, ignes efflantium, ut ager ferreus, aer flammeus videretur. Eorum ¹horrore ita sum affectus, ut si terra dehisceret, si cœlum patesceret, tuto mihi utrobique refugiendum non æstimarem. Ita meticulous, dum quo evadam dubito, repente (ut hæc dicens vestræ saluti nisi negligitis consulerem) ²halitum recepi, confestim effusus. Dixit, et cum verbo pene spiritum emisit. Corpus, in ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ tunc humi defossum, miraculo ³modo (ut aiunt) divino altius tribus pedibus super terram elevatum est.

§ 269. Porro Willelmus, propositi quod in Normannia cœperat tenax, Stigandum, perperam et falso archiepiscopum, per cardinales Romanos, et Ermenfredum episcopum Sedunensem, deponi passus est. Successit ei in Wintonia ⁴Walke-

Ecclesiastical affairs,
A.D. 1070.

¹ *Horrore.*] S. C. D. E.; horrorum, A. L.

² *Halitum.*] A. S. C. E. L.; anhelitum, D.

³ *Modo.*] A. C. D. E. L.; omitted in S.

⁴ *Walkelinus.*] Glossed in L 1. 'Walkelinus, de quo alibi scribitur quod abstulit monachis trescentas libratas terræ, et eas tam usibus suis quam successorum suorum dampnabiliter applicuit.'

linus; cujus bona opera, famam vincentia, vetustatem oblivionis a se repellent quamdiu ibi sedes episcopalis durabit: in Cantia Lanfrancus (de quo supra dixi), qui talis Angliæ Dei dono¹ emicuit,

‘ Qualis discutiens fugientia Lucifer astra,
Cum roseo clarum provehit ore diem;’

ita ipsius industria monasticum germen effloruit, ita eo vivente vigor pontificalis induruit. Ejus consilio rex pronum se fecerat, ut nihil negandum duceret quod is faciendum diceret. Ipsius etiam impulsu ambitum nebulonum fregerat, qui consueto more mancipia sua Hiberniam venditabant: cujus facti præconium cui potius imputem, Lanfranco an Wulstano Wigornisæ antistiti, pro vero non discerno, qui regem, pro commodo venalitatibus quod sibi pensitabatur, renitentem vix ad hoc coegerint, nisi quod Lanfrancus laudaverit Wulstanus præceperit, auctoritate episcopali pro conscientia sanctitatis abunde exuberans; homo quo nullus unquam justior, nullus nostro seculo par illi apparuerit miraculorum potentia et prophetali gratia, quorum aliqua intendendo dicere posterius si tamen sanctissimis illius placuerit sensibus.

A.D. 1083.

§ 270. Veruntamen, quia alea fortunæ incertis jactibus volvitur, multa tunc² tempore adversa pervenere. ³Fæda inter abbatem Glastoniæ et monachos ejus discordia, ita ut post verborum lites ad arma ventum sit. Coacti ergo intra ec-

¹ *Emicuit.*] A. S. D. E. L.; apparuit, C.

² *Tempore.*] A. C. D. E. L.; temporis, S.

³ *Fæda . . . discordia.*] This disgraceful contention happened

in the year 1083. It seems to have arisen from the abbot (Thurstan) attempting to introduce a new chant, brought from Fescamp, instead of the Gregorian, to which the monks had been accustomed.

clesiam monachi, sancto altari miseras suas ¹ingemebant; sed irrumpentibus militibus, duo ex eis interfecti, quatuordecim vulnerati, cæteri repulsi, nam et furor militum etiam crucifixum sagittis inhorre fecerat. Hujus noxæ crimine infamatus abbas, tota vita regis exilio deportatus est; eoque defuncto, pro redemptione peccati auxiliaribus annumerata pecunia, honori restitutus est.

§ 271. Miserabilis et infanda cædes ²Walkerii Dunelmensis episcopi, quem Northanhimbri populus, semper rebellionem deditus, abjecto sacrorum ordinem respectu, multis impetum convitiis trucidarunt. Fusus ibi non paucus numerus Lotharingorum, quod præsul ipse nationis ejus erat. Causa cædis hæc fuit: erat episcopus, præter pontificatum, ³custos totius comitatus; præfeceratque rebus forensibus Gislebertum cognatum, interioribus Leobinum clericum, ambos in rebus commissis strenuos sed effrænes. Tolerabat episcopus eorum immodestiam, gratia strenuitatis inductus; et, quia eos elevarat, cumulum benignitatis augebat. Indulget enim natura sibi, placidoque favore suis arridet ipsa munerebus. Is Leobinus Liulfum, beatissimi Cuthberti ministrum, adeo dilectum ut ipse sanctus coram vigilanti assistens placita imperaret,—hunc, inquam, Liulfum per Gislebertum obtruncari fecit, livore ictus quod amplioris amicitiae locum apud pontificem, pro conscientia et æquitate judiciorum, haberet. Percussus nuncio

Murder of Walkerius bishop of Durham, A.D. 1080.

¹ *Ingemebant.*] *C. D. E.*; *ap- plorabant, A. S. L.*

² *Walkerii Dunelmensis episcopi.*] Bishop Walkerius was murdered on the 1st of May 1080.

³ *Custos totius comitatus.*] The

bishops of Durham were palatine lords, and had in the county of Durham 'regalem potestatem in omnibus' as fully as the king had in his palace. (*Bract. lib. iii. c. 8, § 4.*)

Walkerius, furenti parentelæ defuncti ¹legalis placiti iudicium opposuit, protestatus Leobinum suæ suorumque necis auctorem. Ubi ventum ad placitum, nullis effera gens rationibus emolliri potuit quin in episcopum referret culpam, quod ambos homicidas in curia ejus post necem Liulfi familiariter diversatos vidissent. Surrectum ergo in clamores et iras; et Gislebertus de ecclesia, in qua cum episcopo sederat, ultro egrediens, ut suo periculo vitam domini mercaretur, impie occisus. Tum præsul, præ januis pacem præterito ramo offerens, rabiem vulgi explevit interemtus: fomes etiam mali Leobinus semiustulatus, quod nisi ecclesia cremata exire nolebat, exiliens mille lanceis exceptus est. Prædictum id ab Edgitha relicta regis Edwardi; nam cum olim Walkerium vidisset Wintoniæ ad consecrandum duci, cæsarie lacteolum, vultu roseum, statura prægrandem, ‘Pulchrum hic,’ ait, ‘martyrem habemus,’ conjectura videlicet immodestæ nationis ad præsagiendum inducta. Successit ei ²Willelmus abbas sancti Carilefi, qui monachos in Dunelmo posuit.

A.D. 1082.

Remarkable occurrences.

§ 272. Præterea, anno antequam moriretur proximo, mortalitas hominum et jumentorum, vis tempestatum frequens, violentia fulgurum, quantam nemo viderat, nemo audierat. Illo quoque anno quo obiit, promiscua febris plusquam dimidiam partem plebis depasta, adeo ut plures incommoditas morbi extingueret; deinde, pro intemperie aeris, fames subsecuta vulgo ir-

¹ *Legalis placiti iudicium opposuit.*] Walkerius offered to purge himself by oath from all participation in the murder. (Flor. Wigorn. A.D. 1080.)

² *Willelmus abbas sancti Carilefi.*] William de Karilepho, con-

secrated bishop of Durham Jan. 3, 1082, held the office of chief justice of England under William the Conqueror. He was driven from his see for a considerable time by William Rufus, and died Jan. 6, 1095.

repsit, ut quod febribus erat reliquum ipsa corripere.

§ 273. Præter cæteras virtutes, præcipue in prima adolescentia castitatem suscepit, in tantum ut publice sereretur nihil illum in foemina posse; veruntamen, ex procerum sententia matrimonio addictus, ita se egit ut pluribus annis nullius probri suspicione notaretur. Tulit ex Matilde liberos multos, quæ, et marito morigera et prole fecunda, nobilis viri animum in sui amoris incitabat aculeum: quanquam non desint qui ganniant eum cœlibatui antiquo renunciasset cum regia potestas accrevisset, volutatum cum cujusdam presbyteri filia, quam per satellitem succiso poplite Matildis sustulerit; quapropter illum exhæredatum, illam ad mortem fræno equi cæsam. ¹Sed hæc de tanto rege credere dementiæ ascribo; hoc constanter asseverans, quod aliquantula simultas inter eos innata extremis annis fuerit pro Roberto filio, cui mater militarem manum ex fisci redditibus sufficere dicebatur: verum propter hoc nihil conjugalis gratiæ diminutum ipse ostendit, dum quatuor annis ante se defunctam, et magnificentissimis inferiis extulit, et, lachrymis per multos dies ubertim persecutus, amissæ charitatem desideraverit, quin et ex eo tempore, si credimus, ab omni voluptate descivit. ²Sepulta est regina Cadomis in mo-

Character of
William re-
sumed.

A.D. 1083.

¹ Sed hæc ... ascribo.] 'Stultum igitur ac omnino fabulosum hac in parte est chronicon Normanniæ, dum id monstri fert, et illud ipsum contra scriptorum æqualium auctoritatem exhibet tanquam occasionem constructionis duarum Cadomi abbatiarum. Vide Apologiam Willelmi, quam dominus noster Mathæus de la Dangie de Rauchie, cellerarius abbatæ S. Stephani

Cadomensis, ibidem edidit in 8^o. (Note in Bouq. xi. p. 188.)

² Sepulta est regina Cadomis in monasterio sanctæ Trinitatis.] Matilda died 2nd Nov. 1083. She bequeathed to this monastery her crown, sceptre, and ornaments of state. A copy of her will may be seen in the *Essais Historiques*, by the Abbé de la Rue, tom. II. p. 437.

nasterio sanctæ Trinitatis. Ejusdem pietatis indicium in ¹Edgithæ reginæ funere curando non minus fuit, quæ, apud Westmonasterium studio ejus prope conjugem locata, habet tumbam argenti aurique expensis operosam.

His sons.

§ 274. Filios habuit, Robertum, Ricardum, Willelmum, Henricum. Posteriores duo post eum successione continua ²in Anglia regnavere. Robertus, patre adhuc vivente, Normanniam sibi negari ægre ferens, in Italiam obstinatus abiit, ut, filia Bonifacii marchionis sumpta, patri partibus illis adjutus adversaretur: sed, petitionis hujusce cassus, Philippum Francorum regem contra patrem excitavit; quare et genitoris benedictione et hæreditate frustratus, Anglia post mortem ejus caruit, comitatu Normanniæ vix retento. Ea quoque post novem annos fratri Willelmo ³pro pecunia invadata, Asiaticam expeditionem cum cæteris Christianis aggressus est; inde, transactis quatuor annis, clarus militiæ gestis regressus, ⁴Normanniæ sine difficultate immersit, quod, germano Willelmo nuper defuncto, Henricus rex, novitate tener, Angliam in fide tenere satis habuit: sed quia de hoc alias dicendum, nunc coeptam de filiis Willelmi magni narrationem terminabo.

A.D. 1096.

A.D. 1100.

§ 275. Ricardus magnanimo parenti spem lau-

¹ *Edgithæ reginæ.*] The queen of Eadward the Confessor. 'This year (1075) died the lady Eadgithæ, who was the relict of King Eadward, seven nights before Christmas, at Winchester; and the king caused her to be brought to Westminster with great pomp, and he laid her with King Eadward her lord.' (Sax. Chron.)

² *In Anglia.*] *S. C. D. E 2. L.*; omitted in *E 1.*

³ *Pro pecunia invadata.*] Robert mortgaged Normandy to his brother in 1096 for the trifling sum of ten thousand marks.

⁴ *Normanniæ sine difficultate immersit.*] 'During the harvest time of this year (1100) came the Earl Robert home into Normandy . . . and he was there joyfully received by all his people.' (Sax. Chron.)

dis alebat, puer delicatus; ut id ætatulæ pusio, altum quid spirans. Sed tantam primævi floris indolem mors acerba cito depasta corrumpit; ¹tradunt cervos in Nova Foresta terebrantem, tabidi aeris nebula morbum incurrisse. Locus est quem Willelmus pater, ²subrutis ecclesiis, desertis villis, per triginta et eo amplius milliaria in saltus et lustra ferarum redegerat. ³Ibi libenter ævum exigere, ibi plurimis omitto quod diebus, certe mensibus, venationes exercere gaudebat. Ibi multa regio generi contigere infortunia, quæ habitatorum præsens audire volentibus suggerit memoria: nam postmodum in eadem silva Willelmus filius ejus, et nepos Ricardus filius Roberti comitis Normanniæ, mortem offenderint; severo Dei judicio ille sagitta pectus, iste collum trajectus, vel, ut quidam dicunt, arboris ramusculo equo pertranseunte fauces appensus.

§ 276. Filia ipsius fuerunt quinque: ⁴Cecilia, ^{His daughters.} Cadomensis abbatissa, ⁵vivit; altera, Constantia, comiti Britannia Alano Fergant in conjugium data, austeritate justitiæ provinciales in mortife-

¹ Tradunt cervos ... incurrisse.] Some historians relate that he died from the wounds he received from the goring of a stag's horns about three years before his father's decease. Malmesbury's account, however, is probably the truest. Richard was buried at Winchester, and his epitaph styles him Beornia dux. (Sand. General. Hist. fol. 1707.)

² Subrutis ecclesiis.] A. S. D. L.; omitted in C. E. K.

³ Ibi libenter ... nam postmodum.] C. D. E. K.; infando prorsus spectaculo, ut ubi ante vel humana conversatio vel divina veneratio fervebat, nunc ibi cervi et capreoli, et cæteræ illud genus bestia petulanter discursi-

tent, nec illæ quidem mortalium usibus communiter expositæ. Unde pro vero asserit quod, A. S. G. H. L.

⁴ Cecilia.] C. D. E. L.; prima Cecilia, A. S.—'Baldricus Burgul. in versibus inscriptis Cæcilia regis Anglorum filia, meminit sororis quam Cæcilia secum in monasterium traxerat: sic enim habet:

Audivi quamdam te detinuisse sororem,

Cujus fama meas aliquando perculit aures.

Nomen it elapsum, vidisse tamen reminiscor.'

(Note in Bouq. xi. 189.)

⁵ Vivit.] C. E. L.; quæ vivit, A. S. D.

ram sibi potionem exacuit; tertia, Adala, Stephani Blesensis comitis uxor, laudatæ in seculo potentiae virago; noviter apud Marcenniacum sanctimonialis habitum sumpsit. ¹Duarum ²nomen exciderunt: unius, quæ Haroldo (³ut diximus) promissa, infra maturos conjugii annos obiit; alterius, quæ Aldefonso Galliciae regi per nuncios jurata, virgineam mortem impetravit a Deo. Repertus in defunctæ genibus callus, crebrarum ejus orationum index est.

His brothers.

§ 277. Patris memoriam quantis poterat occasionibus extollens, ⁴ossa, olim Niceæ condita, sub extremo vitæ tempore per legatum transferebat; sed ille prospere rediens, audita morte Willelmi, apud Apuliam resedit, sepultis ibi illustris viri exuviis. Matrem quantum vixit insigni indulgentia dignatus est; quæ, ante patris obitum, cuidam Herlewino de Comitavilla, mediocrium opum viro, nupserat. Ex eo Willelmus fratres habuit: ⁵Robertum, quem comitem Moritonii fecit, crassi et hebetis ingenii hominem; ⁶Odonem, quem ad episcopatum Baiocensem provexit co-

¹ *Duarum.*] A. C. D. E. L.; duarum aliarum, S.

² *Nomina exciderunt.*] The names of William the Conqueror's five daughters, as given by Ordericus Vitalis (lib. iv. 512), were Agatha, Constantia, Adeliza, Adela, and Cecilia. William of Jumièges states that Adeliza was betrothed to Harold: 'Deinde dux, postquam Heraldus fidelitatem sibi de regno pluribus sacramentis firmavit, Adelizam, filiam suam, cum medietate Anglici regni se daturum eidem sponndit.' (lib. vi. c. 31.) Later historians speak of Margaret and Elianor; the former as being betrothed to Harold, the other to Alfonso VI. king of Leon. See

Hayward's Lives, p. 128; Tyrrel, Hist. Engl. ii. 61; and Lytt. Hen. II. vol. i. p. 356.

³ *Ut diximus.*] § 228, p. 384.

⁴ *Ossa.*] A. S. C. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.; Willelmus ossa patris sui, D.

⁵ *Robertum.*] Robert, soon after the Conquest, was advanced to the earldom of Cornwall, and had extensive possessions in almost every county conferred upon him by his uterine brother. He died in 1091.

⁶ *Odonem.*] Odo became bishop of Baieux in 1049, and was made earl of Kent in 1067: he died at Palermo on his way to the Holy Land in 1097.

mes, comitem Cantiae rex instituit. Callidioris pectoris ille totius Angliae vicedominus sub rege fuit, post necem Willelmi filii Osberni. Itaque in aggerandis thesauris mirus, tergiversari mirae astutiae, pene papatum Romanum absens a civibus mercatus fuerat; peras peregrinorum epistolis et nummis infarciens. Cujus futuri itineris opinione cum certatim ex toto regno ad eum milites concurrerent, rex indigne ferens, compedibus irretivit; praefatus non se Baiocarum episcopum, sed comitem Cantiae prendere. Clientes ejus, minis impulsus, tantam auri copiam prodidit, ut nostri seculi aestimationem superaret fulvi congeries metalli; denique et cullei plures e fluviis extracti, quos per certa loca, sublatis consciis, infoderat, plenos auro molito. Post mortem fratris absolutus, nepotique Willelmo aduersatus, partem Roberti fovebat; sed tunc quoque male cedente fortuna, extorris Anglia, Normannico nepoti et episcopatu insistebat. Deinde cum eodem Ierosolymitanam viam ingressus, Antiochia, in obsidione Christianorum, finem habuit.

§ 278. Exterarum nationum homines dignanter ad amicitiam admisit, indifferenter honoribus extulit: eleemosynae curam habuit: transmarinis ecclesiis multas possessiones in Anglia largitus; nec ullum fere monasterium, praesertim in Normannia, vel ejus vel ducum munificentia pertransiit, ut Angliae copia tenuitas illorum sustentaretur. Ita ejus tempore ultro citroque coenobialis grex excrevit, monasteria surgebant religione vetera, aedificiis recentia. Sed hic animadverto mussitationem dicentium, Melius fuisse ut antiqua in suo statu conservarentur, quam, illis semimutilatis, de rapina nova construerentur.

His munificence to monasteries.

¹ Astutiae.] C. D. E.; abstinentiae, A. S. L.

Description
of his person
and habits.

§ 279. Justæ fuit staturæ, immensæ corporulentia, facie fera, fronte capillis nuda, roboris ingentis in lacertis, ut magno sæpe spectaculo fuerit quod nemo ejus arcum tenderet, quem ipse admissis pedibus nervo extenso sinuaret; magnæ dignitatis sedens et stans, quanquam obesitas ventris nimis protensa corpus regium deformaret; commodæ valetudinis, ut qui nunquam aliquo morbo periculoso præter in extremo decubuerit; exercitio nemorum adeo deditus, ut (sicut prædixi) multa millia ejectis habitatoribus silvescere juberet, in quibus, a cæteris negotiis avocatus, animum remitteret. Convivia in præcipuis festivitatibus sumptuosa et magnifica inibat; Natale Domini apud Glocestram, Pascha apud Wintoniam, Pentecosten apud Westmonasterium agens quotannis quibus in Anglia morari liceret: omnes eo cujuscunque professionis magnates regium edictum accersiebat, ut exterarum gentium legati speciem multitudinis apparatusque deliciarum mirarentur. Nec ullo tempore comior aut indulgendi facilius erat, ut qui advenerant largitatem ejus cum divitiis quadrare ubique gentium jactitarent. Quem morem convivandi primus successor obstinate tenuit, ¹secundus omisit.

His love of
money.

§ 280. Sola est de qua ²nonnihil culpetur pecuniæ ³aggestio, quam undecunque captatis occasionibus, ⁴honestas modo et regia dignitate non inferiores posset dicere, congregabat. Sed excusabitur facile, quia novum regnum sine magna

¹ *Secundus omisit.*] See post, § 407.

² *Nonnihil.*] C. D. E.; merito, A. S. L.

³ *Aggestio.*] C. D. E.; cupiditas, A. S. L.

⁴ *Honestas . . . posset regere.*] C. D. E. K.; nihil unquam pensi habuit, quin corraderet; faceret, diceret nonnulla, et pene omnia, tanta majestate indigniora, ubi spes nummi effulsisset, A. S. G. H. L.

pecunia non posset regere. Non est hic aliquid ¹aliud excusationis quod afferam, nisi quod quidam dixit, 'Necesse est ut multos timeat, quem multi timent.' Nam ille, pro timore inimicorum, provincias suas pecunia emungebat, qua impetus eorum vel tardaret vel etiam propelleret, persæpe ut fit in rebus humanis viribus cassatis, fidem hostilem præmio pigneratus: regnat adhuc et indies augetur hujusce dedecoris calamitas, ut et villæ et ecclesiæ pensionibus supponantur; et ne hoc quidem perpetua exactorum fide, sed quicunque plus obtulerit, statim, pactis irritis prioribus, palmam habeat.

§ 281. Extremo vitæ tempore in Normannia William quarrels with the king of France. habitans, contractis inimicitis cum rege Francorum, aliquantisper se continuit; cujus abutens patientia, Philippus fertur dixisse, 'Rex Angliæ jacet Rotomagi, more absolutarum partu foeminarum cubile fovens,' jocatus in ejus ventrem quem potionem alleviavit. Quo præstrictus convitio, respondit, 'Cum ad missam post partum iero, ²centum millia candelas ei libabo;' talia 'per resurrectionem et splendorem Dei' pronuncians, quod soleret ex industria talia sacramenta facere quæ ipso ³hiatu oris terrificum quiddam auditorum mentibus insonarent.

§ 282. Nec multo post, Augusto mense declinante, quando et segetes in agris, et botri in vineis, et poma in viridariis, copiam sui volentibus His revenge.

¹ *Aliud.*] C. D. E.; omitted in A. S. L.

² *Centum millia candelas ei libabo.*] Alluding to the custom women had in those days of offering lighted candles when they were churched. Mr. Sharpe observes, 'The Romish ritual directs the woman to kneel, with a

lighted taper in her hand, at the church door, where she is sprinkled with holy water, and afterwards conducted into the church. The practice seems connected with the festival of the Purification; v. Durand, lib. VII. c. 7.'

³ *Hiatu.*] C. D. E.; habitu, S.; halitu, L.; rictu, A.

faciunt, exercitu coacto, Franciam infestus ingreditur. Omnia proterit, cuncta populatur; nihil erat quod furentis animum mitigaret, ut injuriam insolenter acceptam multorum dispendio ulcisceretur. Postremo Medantum civitatem injectis ignibus cremavit, combusta illic ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ; reclusa una ustulata, quæ spelæum suum nec in tali necessitate deserendum putavit; fortunæ omnes civium pessundatæ.

His last illness,

Quo successu exhilaratus, dum suos audacius incitat ut igni adjiciant pabula, propius flammam succedens, foci calore et autumnalis æstus inæqualitate morbum nactus est. Dicunt quidam quod præruptam fossam sonipes transiliens interanea sessoris ¹ruperit, quod in anteriori parte sellæ venter protuberabat. Hoc dolore affectus receptui suis cecinit; Rotomagumque reversus, crescente indies incommodo, lecto excipitur. Consulti medici inspectione urinæ certam mortem prædixere. Quo audito querimonia domum replevit, quod eum præoccuparet mors emendationem vitæ jamdudum meditantem. Resumpto animo, quæ Christiani sunt executus est in confessione et viatico. Normanniam invitus et coactus Roberto, Angliam Willelmo, possessiones maternas Henrico delegavit. Vincitos suos omnes educi et solvi, thesauros efferri et ecclesiis dispergi, præcepit. Certum numerum pecuniæ ad reparationem ecclesiæ nuper crematæ ipse indixit. Ordinatis ergo bene rebus, octavo idus Septembris decessit, anno regni ²vicesimo primo, comitatus quinquagesimo secundo, vitæ quinquagesimo nono, Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo octogesimo septimo. Ille fuit annus quo Cnuto

and death, Sept. 6, 1087.

¹ *Ruperit.*] E 1.; *disruperit,* | ² *Vicesimo primo.*] C. D. E.;
A. S. C. D. E 2. L. | *vicesimo secundo,* S. L 2.

rex Danorum (¹ut supra diximus) interemtus est; quo Sarraceni Hispani in Christianos efferati, mox ab Aldefonso rege Galliciae ad sua redire coacti, etiam urbibus quas olim tenuerant inviti cessere.

§ 283. Corpus, regio solenni curatum, per Se- His burial.
 quanam Cadomum delatum; ibi magna frequentia ordinatorum, laicorum pauca, humi traditum. Varietatis humanæ tunc fuit videre miseriam, quod homo ille totius olim Europæ honor, antecessorumque suorum omnium potentior, sedem æternæ requiescionis sine calumnia impetrare non potuit: namque ²miles quidam, ad cujus patrimonium locus ille pertinuerat, clara contestans voce rapinam, sepulturam inhibuit, dicens, Avito jure solum suum esse, nec illum in loco quem violenter invaserat pausare debere. Quocirca volente Henrico filio, qui solus ex liberis aderat, centum libræ argenti litigatori persolutæ audacem calumniam compescuere: nam tunc Robertus primogenitus in Francia contra patriam bellabat; Willelmus, antequam plane pater exspiraret, Angliam enavigaverat, utilius ducens suis in posterum commodis prospicere, quam ³obsequiis paterni corporis interesse. Porro, in dispartienda pecunia nec segnis nec parcus, omnem illum thesaurum Wintoniæ totis annis regni cumulatum ab arcanis sacrariis eruit in lucem; monasteriis aurum, ecclesiis agrestibus solidos quinque argenti, unicuique pago centum libras viri-
 tim egenis dividendas, largitus. Patris etiam

¹ *Ut supra diximus.*] § 261, p. 438. Malmesbury here follows the Saxon Chronicle, which refers the death of Cnut to 1087: but this event should be attributed to the preceding year. (L'Art de vérif. les Dates, II. 85.)

² *Miles quidam.*] His name is reported to have been Asselin Fitz-Arthur.

³ *Obsequiis.*] *C. E. L.*; equiis, *A. S. D.*

memoriam ingenti congerie argenti et auri, cum gemmarum luce, conspicue adornavit.

DE BERENGARIO.

Account of
Berengar.

§ 284. Fuit hoc tempore Berengarius, Turonensis hæresiarcha, qui panem et vinum in altari apposita, post consecrationem sacerdotis, verum et substantiale corpus Domini (sicut sancta ecclesia prædicat) esse denegabat. Jamque scatebat omnis Gallia ejus doctrina, per egenos scholares (quos ipse quotidiana stipe sollicitabat) disseminata. Unde soliditati catholicæ timens, ¹sanctæ memoriæ Leo papa, Vercellis contra eum instituto concilio, tenebras nebulosi erroris evangelicorum testimoniorum fulgure depulit; sed cum post obitum ejus virus hæreseos, diu in sinibus quorundam nebulonum confotum, iterum erumperet, Hildebrandus cum archidiaconus esset Turonis, mox papa Romæ, adunatis conciliis, convictum ad dogmatis sui anathema compulit: quæ scripta suis locis, qui desiderat, inveniet. Responderunt ei ²libris Lanfrancus archiepiscopus, sed præcipue et fortiter Guimundus, prius monachus de sancto Leufredo Normanniæ, postea episcopus Aversanus Apuliæ, nostri temporis eloquentissimus. Porro, licet Berengarius primum calorem juventutis aliquarum hæresium defensione infamaverit, ævo austeriore ita resipuit ut sine retractatione a quibusdam sanctus habeatur, innumeris bonis, maximeque humilitate et elemosynis, approbatus; largarum possessionum dis-

¹ *Sanctæ.*] E 1.; sanctissimæ, A. S. C. D. E 2. L.

² *Libris Lanfrancus.*] 'Scripsit, inquit Sigebertus, invectivas contra Berengarium Turonensem epistolas, refellens scripta ejus

de corpore et sanguine Domini. Lanfrancus, teste eodem bibliographo, scripsit laudes, triumphos, et res gestas Guillelmi Normannorum comitis.' (Note in Bouq. xi. 191.)

pertiendo dominus, non abscondendo et adorando famulus; fœmineæ venustatis adeo parcus, ut nullam conspectui suo pateretur admitti, ne formam videretur delibasse oculo quam non pruribat animo. Non aspernari pauperem, non adulari divitem; secundum naturam vivere; habens victum et vestitum, juxta apostolum, his contentus esse. Unde eum laudat Cenomanensis pontifex Hildebertus, in primis versificator eximius; cujus verba propterea inserui, ut prædicabilis episcopi affectum in magistrum ostendam, simul et doctrina ejus erit exemplo posteris ¹quo quomodo vivi debeat instituit, etsi fortasse metas veræ laudis amore incitatus transilierit.

Account of
Berengar.

‘Quem modo miratur, semper mirabitur orbis,
 Ille Berengarius non obiturus obit.
 Quem, sacræ fidei fastigia summa tenentem,
 Jam quinta dies abstulit, ausa nefas.
 Illa dies damnosa dies, et perfida mundo,
 Qua dolor et rerum summa ruina fuit;
 Qua status ecclesiæ, qua spes, qua gloria cleri,
 Qua cultor juris, jure ruente, ruit.
 Quicquid philosophi, quicquid cecinere poetæ,
 Ingenio cessit eloquioque suo.
 Sanetior et major sapientia, majus adorta,
 Implevit sacrum pectus et ora Deo.
 Pectus eum voluit, vox protulit, actio prompsit,
 Singula Factori sic studuere suo.
 Vir sacer et sapiens, cui nomen crescit in horas;
 Quo minor est quisquis, maximus est hominum.
 Cui sensus peperit, partos servavit honores;
 Cui potior pauper divite, jusque lucro.
 Cui nec desidiam nec luxum res dedit ampla,
 Nec tumidum fecit multus et altus honos.

¹ Quo.] E 1.; qua, A. S. C. D. E 2. L.

Account of
Berengar.

Qui nec ad argentum nec ad aurum lumina flexit;
Sed doluit quotiens, cui daret hæc, aberat.
Qui non cessavit inopum fulcire ruinas,
Donec, inops dando, pauper et ipse fuit.
Cujus cura sequi naturam, legibus uti,
Et mentem vitiis, ora negare dolis;
Virtutes opibus, verum præponere falso;
Nil vacuum sensu dicere vel facere;
Lædere nec quenquam, cunctis prodesse; favorem
Et populare lucrum pellere mente, manu.
Cui vestis textura rudis; cui non fuit unquam
Ante sitim potus, nec cibus ante famem.
Quem Pudor hospitium statuit sibi; quamque
Libido
Incestos superat, tam superavit eam.
Quem Natura parens cum mundo contulit, (in-
quit,)
“ Degenerant alii, nascitur iste mihi.”
Quæque vagabatur, et penè reliquerat orbem,
Inclusit sacro pectore Justitiam.
Vir sacer a puero, qui quantum præminet orbi
Fama, tam famæ præminet ipse suæ.
Fama, minor meritis, cum totum pervolet orbem,
Cum semper crescat, non erit æqua tamen.
Vir pius atque gravis; vir sic in utroque modestus,
Ut Livor neutro rodere possit eum.
Livor enim deflet quem carpserat antea; nec tam
Carpsit et odit eum, quam modo laudat, amat.
Quam prius ex vita, tam nunc ex morte gemiscit,
Et queritur celeres hujus abisse dies.
Vir vere sapiens, et parte beatus ab omni;
Qui cœlos anima, corpore ditat humum.
Post obitum vivam secum, secum requiescam,
Nec fiat melior sors mea sorte sua.’

§ 285. Videas in his versibus quod laudis ex-
cesserit modum episcopus; sed sic se ostentat

eloquentia, tali gestu procedit aureus lepos, eo modo Account of Berengar.

‘Purpureos flores fundit facundia dives.’

Berengarius, plane quamvis ipse sententiam correxerit, omnes quos ex totis terris depravaverat convertere nequivit; adeo pessimum est alios exemplo vel verbo a bono infirmare, quia fortassis peccatum te gravabit alienum, cum deletum fuerit tuum. Quod episcopum Carnotensem ¹Fulbertum, quem Domini mater Maria olim ægrotum lacte mammillarum suarum visa fuerat sanare, prædixisse aiunt: nam cum in extremis positum multi visitarent, et ædium capacitas vix confluentibus sufficeret, ille inter oppositas catervas oculo longe rimatus, Berengarium nisu quo valuit expellendum censuit, protestatus immanem dæmonem propter eum consistere, multosque ad eum sequendum blandiente manu et illice anhelitu corrumpere; quin et ipse die Epiphaniarum moriens, gemituque producto recordatus quot miseros quondam adolescens primo erroris calore secta sua infecerit, ‘Hodie,’ inquit, ‘in die apparitionis suæ apparebit mihi Dominus meus Jesus Christus, propter poenitentiam, ut spero, ad gloriam; vel propter alios, ut timeo, ad poenam.’

§ 286. Nos sane credimus, post benedictionem ecclesiasticam, illa mysteria esse verum corpus et sanguinem Salvatoris; adducti et veteris ecclesiæ auctoritate, et multis noviter ostensis miraculis. Quale fuit illud quod beatus Gregorius exhibuit Romæ. Quale quod Paschasius narrat contigisse Alamanniæ: presbyterum Plegildum visibiliter speciem pueri in altare contrectasse,

¹ Fulbertum, quem Domini mater Maria olim ægrotum lacte mammillarum suarum visa fuerat sanare.] See § 186, pp. 316, 317.

Account of
Berengar.

et, post libata oscula, in panis similitudinem conversum ecclesiastico more sumpsisse: quod arroganti cavillatione ferunt Berengarium carpere solitum, et dicere, 'Speciosa certe pax nebulonis, ut, cui oris præbuerat basium, dentium inferret exitium.' Quale de pusione Judaico; quod, in ecclesiam cum ¹æquævo Christiano forte et ludibunde ingressus, vidit puerum in ara membratim discerpi, et viritim populo dividi. Id cum innocentia puerili parentibus pro vero assereret, in rogam detrusum ubi ocluso ostio æstuabat incendium, multis post horis sine jactura corporis, exuviarumque, et etiam crinium, a Christianis extractum, interrogatusque quomodo voraces ignium globos evaserit, respondit, 'Illa pulchra fœmina quam vidi sedere in cathedra, cujus filius populo dividebatur, semper mihi in camino ad dextram astitit, flammineas minas et fumea volumina peplo suo summovens.'

The invention of the
body of Walwen.

§ 287. Tunc in provincia Walarum, quæ Ros vocatur, inventum est sepulchrum Walwen, qui fuit haud degener Arturis ex sorore nepos. Regnavit in ea parte Britannix quæ adhuc Walweitha vocatur: miles virtute nominatissimus, sed a fratre et nepote Hengistii, de quibus in primo libro dixi, regno expulsus, prius multo eorum detrimento exilium compensans suum; communicans merito laudi avunculi, quod ruentis patriæ casum in plures annos distulerint. Sed Arturis sepulchrum nusquam visitur, unde antiquitas nœniarum adhuc eum venturum fabulatur. Cæterum, alterius bustum, ut præmisi, tempore Willelmi regis repertum est super oram maris, quatuordecim pedes longum; ubi a quibusdam asseritur ab hostibus vulneratus, et naufragio

¹ *Æquævo.*] D. E. L.; cœquævo, S. C.

ejectus ; a quibusdam dicitur a civibus in publico epulo interfectus. Veritatis ergo notitia labat in dubio, licet neuter eorum defuerit famæ suæ patrocínio.

§ 288. Illa fuit tempestas qua Henrici (de quo inter gesta Willelmi locutus sum) miserabile et pene funestum per quinquaginta annos Alaman-
 nia ingemuit imperium. Erat is neque ineruditus neque ignavus, sed fato quodam ab omnibus ita impetitus, ut rem religionis tractare sibi videretur quisquis in illum arma produceret. Habebat filios duos, Conradum et Henricum : prior nihil impium contra parentem ausus, subjugata Italia, apud Aretium civitatem Tusciæ dies expleverat : alter patrem, aliquantulum ab externis feriatum, primo ævi tyrocínio aggressus, cedere imperio compulit ; nec multo post, defunctum imperialibus inferiis extulit. Vivit adhuc, ejusdem sententiæ pertinaciter sequax pro qua patrem persequendum putaverat : nam et investituram ecclesiarum per baculum et anulum donat, et sine suo arbitrato papam electum non legitimum æstimat ; licet Calixtus, ¹qui modo apostolicæ sedi præsidet, immodicam viri aviditatem egregie inhibuerit. Verum de his plura me diciturum lector præstoletur, cum series narrationis expetierit.

Concerning
the emperor
Henry IV.

§ 289. Porro Hildebrando papa (ut dixi) mortuo, et Urbano a cardinalibus electo, imperator hæsit in proposito ut Wibertum præferret et papam dictitaret, Romæque, altero expulso, inferret : sed æquiori (ut videbatur) causæ affuit militia ²Matildis Marcisæ, quæ oblita sexus, nec

Contests between
the emperor and
the papal see.

¹ Qui modo apostolicæ sedi præsidet.] Calixtus became pope on the 1st of Feb. 1119, and died on the 12th or 13th Dec. 1124.

² Matildis Marcisæ.] She was the daughter of Boniface duke of Tuscany, and at her death bestowed her immense possessions upon the holy see.

dispar antiquis Amazonibus, ferrata virorum agmina in bellum agebat foemina; ejus suffragio Urbanus posteriori tempore thronum indeptus apostolicum, securum per undecim annos activavit otium. Post eum Paschalis, consputa Henrici scientia, a Romanis institutus est. Gravabat superas adhuc vivendo Wibertus auras, unicus schismatis sator, nec unquam quoad vixit pervicaciam deposuit ut justitiae manus daret; imperatoris judicium pronuncians sequendum, non ¹lanistarum vel pellificum Romanorum: quare ambo, ab Urbano ²sequentibus conciliis excommunicati, arguto sententiam suspendebant ludibrio. Inter haec erant multa quae in Caesare probares; quod esset ore facundus, acer ingenio, multa eruditus lectione, impiger eleemosynis, prorsus in ³eo bona animi corporisque cerneret; ad arma prompte concurrere, ut qui sexagies et bis acie collata dimicavit; juste lites componere; cum res non successisset, querelis in caelum conversis inde opem expectare. Plures inimicorum ejus vitam exitu miserando concludere.

DE HOMINE A MURIBUS DILACERATO.

A legend.

§ 290. Audivi virum veracissimum referentem quod quidam ex adversariis ejus, homo impotens et factiosus, dum resupinatis cervicibus in convivio resideret, ita a muribus repente circumvallatus est ut nusquam esset effugium; tantus erat

¹ *Lanistarum vel pellificum Romanorum.*] Sharpe suggests that these words are intended as a sneer at the sanguinary disposition of the Roman people, and at the bulls of the pope. In a dispute on the credibility of evidence adduced, it is observed that the oral testimony of three

bishops was certainly to be preferred 'to sheep-skins blackened with ink, and loaded with a leaden seal.' (Eadmer. Hist. Novor. p. 65.)

² *Sequentibus.*] C. E.; frequentibus, A. S. D. L.

³ *Eo.*] A. S. D. L.; ea, C. E.

numerus bestiarum ut in quamlibet ampla provincia tot esse non putarentur. Itaque fustibus, et subselliorum quæ ad manum occurrissent fragminibus, diu in eas sævitum, nec quicquam profectum; et quamvis a cunctis repellerentur, nulli tamen noxam vicariam referebant; illum solum dentibus, illum terribili quodam occentu persequebantur. Quapropter a famulis ultra jactum sagittæ in pelagus provectus, nec sic violentiam evasit; continuo enim tanta vis murium ponto inundavit ut marmor paleis constratum jures. Sed cum jam tabulata navis corroderent, et naufragium indubitatum aqua per rimulas ingrediens minaretur, servientes puppem ad littus retorquent. Tum vero animalia, juxta carinam annavigantia, priora ad terram perveniunt; ita miser ille in aridam expositus, moxque totus dilaceratus, horrendam murium famem explevit.

QUOD QUEM LEOPARDUS MORDICUS ATTIGERIT
MURES COMMINGANT.

§ 291. Ideo minus hoc mirum judico, quia Another legend. certum est in Asiaticis regionibus si leopardus aliquem mordicus attigerit, confestim murium copiam adventare, ut vulneratum commingant, immundum urinæ diluvium comitari hominis exitium; sin vero sedulitate arcentium ministrorum intra novem dies vitata fuerit perniciēs, advocari medicorum industriam profecto valituram. Conspicatus est relator meus quendam ejusmodi saucium, cum desperaret in terra salutem, in altum jactis anchoris processisse; nec mora, ¹plures illo mures annasse, corticibus malorum granatorum quorum medullas exederant inclusos, mirabile dictu, sed obstrepentibus nautis demersos. Nihil

¹ *Plures illo.*] C. D. E.; plusquam mille, S.; plus mille, A. L.

enim ille Parens rerum creatum destituit ingenio, nihil porro noxium sine remedio.

DE MARINIANO SCOTO.

Concerning
Marianus
Scotus.

§ 292. Sub isto imperatore regnante floruit ¹Marinianus Scotus, qui primo Fuldensis monachus, ²post apud Magontiacum inclusus, contemptu præsentis vitæ, gratiam futuræ demerebatur. Is, longo vitæ otio chronographos scrutatus, ³dissonantiam cyclorum Dionysii exigui ab evangelica veritate deprehendit; itaque, ab initio seculi annos singulos recensens, viginti duos annos qui circulis prædictis deerant superaddidit, sed paucos aut nullos sententiæ suæ sectatores habuit. Quare sæpe mirari soleo cur nostri temporis doctos hoc respergat infortunium, ut in tanto numero discentium, in tam tristi pallore lucubrantium, vix aliquis plenam scientiæ laudem referat. Adeo inveteratus usus placet; adeo fere nullus novis, licet probabiliter inventis, serenitatem assensus pro merito indulget; totis conatibus in sententiam veterum reptatur, omne recens sordet: ita, quia solus favor alit ingenia, cessante favore ⁴obtorpuerunt omnia.

DE MIRACULO QUOD ACCIDIT IN FULDENSI
CŒNOBIO.

A legend.

§ 293. Sed quia Fuldense cœnobium ⁵nominavi, dicam quod ibidem accidisse vir reverendus mihi

¹ *Marinianus Scotus.*] *Marinianus Scotus* was born in Ireland A.D. 1028. He was the compiler of a chronicle (first published in 1569) from the commencement of the world to his own time (A.D. 1082), and which formed the basis of that of Florence of Worcester: he appears to have died in the year 1086.

² *Post.*] *C. D. E. L.*; mox, *S.*

³ *Dissonantiam cyclorum Dionysii exigui.*] Mr. Sharpe observes that this imagined correction of Dionysius is founded in error.

⁴ *Obtorpuerunt.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; torpent, *C.*

⁵ *Nominavi.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; semel nominavi, *C.*

narravit, Walkerius prior Malverni; cujus verbis qui non credit, injuriam religioni facit. 'Non' (ait) 'plusquam quindecim anni sunt quod in eodem loco exitialis lues grassata prius abbatem corripuit, mox multos monachorum extinxit. Superstitibus primo quisque sibi timere, orationes et eleemosynas largiores facere: sed processu temporis, ut est omnium natura hominum, pedetentim, metu dempto, omittere; cellararius præsertim, qui palam et ridicule clamitaret non posse penum tot expensis sufficere; sperasse se nuper aliquod alleviamentum, pro tot elationibus funerum; nihil ultra spei esse, si quod vivi nequissent mortui consumerent. Itaque cum quadam nocte pro re necessaria soporem diu distulisset, tandem elaqueatis morarum retibus in dormitorium ire pergebat; et ecce, rem miram auditurus es, videt in capitulo abbatem, et omnes qui obierant illo anno, eo quo excesserant ordine sedere. Timidus et effugere gestiens, vi retractus est; increpitus, et monastico more flagellis coercitus, audivit verba abbatis in hanc omnino sententiam, Stultum esse de alterius morte emolumento inhiare, cum sors cujusque sub eodem pendeat fato; impium esse, cum monachus omnem vitam in ecclesiæ consumpserit obsequio, ut careat unius saltem anni post mortem stipendio: illum citissime obiturum, sed quicquid pro eo feret, ad aliorum quibus abstulerat refundendum commodum; iret modo, et alios corrigeret exemplo quos corruperat verbo. Abiit ille; et nihil se vanum vidisse, tam recentibus plagis quam proximo sui obitu, monstravit.'

§ 294. Interea, dum alia agimus, irrepsit materia, et voluntas accessit, ut quid tempore Wilhelmi regis definitum sit de controversia quæ adhuc inter archiepiscopos Cantuariensem et

Controversy between the sees of Canterbury and York.

Eboracensem volutatur, describam. De qua re, ut plane norint posteri, quid inde antiqui patres senserint apponam.

QUOD OMNES EPISCOPI TOTIUS BRITANNIÆ ARCHIEPISCOPO DOROBERNIÆ SUBJICIANTUR.

Gregorius papa Augustino primo Anglorum archiepiscopo Doroberniæ.

§ 295. 'Tua fraternitas non solum eos episcopos quos ordinaverit, neque hos tantummodo qui per¹ Eboracensem episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam omnes Britannicæ sacerdotes, habeat, Deo Domino nostro Jesu Christo auctore, subjectos.'

Bonifacius Justo archiepiscopo Doroberniæ.

§ 296. 'Absit ab omni Christiano ut ex illa civitate Dorobernia aliquid minuatur, aut in aliud mutetur, nunc vel futuris temporibus, quæ a prædecessore nostro domino papa Gregorio statuta sunt, quoquo modo res humanæ quassantur: sed magis ex auctoritate beati Petri apostolorum principis id ipsum præcipientes firmamus, ut in Dorobernia civitate semper in posterum metropolitanus totius Britannicæ locus habeatur; omnesque provinciæ regni Anglorum, ut præfati loci metropolitanæ ecclesiæ subjiciantur, immutata et perpetua stabilitate decernimus. Hanc autem ecclesiam, utpote specialiter consistentem sub potestate et tuitione sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, si quis conatus fuerit imminuere, eique de concessæ potestatis jure quicquid abstulerit, auferat eum Deus de libro vitæ, sciatque se sub anathematis vinculis esse nodatum.'

¹ *Eboracensem.*] A. S. D. E.; Eboracæ, C. D. L.

Alexander Willelmo regi Anglorum.

§ 297. 'Causam Alricii, qui olim Cicestrensis ecclesiæ dictus est episcopus, diligenter retrahendam, et definiendam, fratri nostro episcopo Lanfranco commisimus. Item sibi negotium, de discernenda lite quæ inter archiepiscopum Eboracensem et episcopum Dorcacestresem de ¹per tinacia diocesis eorum est, firmiter injungendo commendavimus, ut hanc causam diligentissima perquisitione pertractet, et justo fine determinet. In causis autem pertractandis et definiendis ita sibi nostræ et apostolicæ auctoritatis vicem dedimus, ut quicquid in eis justitia dictante determinaverit, quasi in nostra præsentia definitum, deinceps firmum et indissolubile ²teneatur.'

¹ *Pertinacia.*] C. E.; pertinentia, S. D. L.; obtinentia, A.

² *Teneatur.*] S. C. D. E. L. 2.; in the margin of L. 1. 'Explicit de Willelmo Magno. Desunt leges ejusdem, continentes fere unum folium;' A. contains the Laws of the Conqueror, as follow.

'EXPLICIT DE WILLELMO MAGNO, NORMANNIÆ COMITE ET REGE ANGLORUM.

'INCIPIUNT LEGES EJUSDEM.

'Willelmus rex Anglorum, omnibus ad quos scriptum hoc perveniet per totam Angliam, salutem et amicitiam. Mando et præcipio per totam Angliæ nationem custodiri: Si Anglicus homo compellet aliquem Francigenam per bellum de furto, vel homicidio, vel aliqua re pro qua bellum fieri debeat, vel iudicium inter duos homines, habeat plenam licentiam hoc faciendi. Et si Anglicus bellum nolit, Francigena compellatus allegiet se jurejurando contra eum per testes suos secundum legem Normanniæ.

'ITEM; si Francigena compellet Anglicum per bellum de eisdem rebus, Anglicus plena licentia defendat se per bellum, vel per iudicium, si magis ei placeat. Et si unum sit, id est, invalidus, et nolit bellum, vel non possit, quærat sibi legalem defensionem. Si Francigena victus fuerit, persolvat regi sexaginta solidos. Et si Anglicus nolit se defendere per bellum vel per testimonium, allegiet se per Dei iudicium.

'DE omnibus uthlagii rebus rex instituit ut Anglicus purget se ad iudicium. Et si Anglicus appellet Francigenam de uthlagaria, et hoc super eum inventare velit, defendat se Francigena per bellum. Et si Anglicus non audeat eum probare per bellum, defendat se Francigena plano juramento, non in verborum observantiis.

'ITEM. Regem Angliæ, singulari majestate, regni sui dominum esse manifeste veritatis intuitus et singulorum denique cognovit effectus. Quod cum inclita be-

QUOD EBORACENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS, ET OMNES
SIBI SUBJECTI, ARCHIEPISCOPO DOROBERNIÆ
SUBJICIANTUR.

Generale concilium regni Anglorum de jure et primatu Dorobernensis sive Cantuariensis ecclesiæ.

A.D. 1072.

§ 298. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo septuagesimo secundo, pontificatus autem domini Alexandri papæ undecimo, regni vero Willelmi gloriosi regis Anglorum et ducis Normannorum sexto, ex præcepto ejusdem Alexandri papæ, annuente eodem rege, in præsentia ipsius et episcoporum atque abbatum, ventilata est causa de primatu quem Lan-

nignitate regis et jure, debita subditorum fidelitate proveniat, situs quoque patriæ confidenter adjuvat, naturæ beneficiis et maris vicinitate conclusus, ut sine gratuita dominorum licentia nullus exitus, nulli relinquatur ingressus. Unde tanta genti securitas, tanta bonorum omnium copia successit, ut, si veræ rationis honestate regeretur, ætatis aureæ pristina tempora conformaret. Sed hoc tantis eam promotionibus elicit, quod cum omni forinseca perturbatione sit libera, tantis gaudiorum voluptatibus evehatur, sicut miseranda mortalium conditio est, malo scilicet acclinis et lapsi prona, intestinis animi seditioibus et cæco novorum molimine semper infrendit. Hinc a primævo mundi nascentis exordio, quos rerum Deus Artifex æqua libertate ditaverat, inobedientiæ motus inflammantis ejecit. Et qui coeli Dominum ferre non poterant, hominum serviunt pravitate distincti, continuis malorum persecutionibus, in deteriora quæque projecti. Et licet immeritis divina tamen miseratio

tanta prosequitur, et tali dominos informatione componit, ne vel aliquos servitus adnichilet, aut impunita securitas elata præcipitet, reges quoque qui perfunctoria cæteros pompa præveniunt, ne potentatibus insolescant, carnis infirmitatibus et humanis admodum necessitatibus expositos utili penitus sollicitudine frequentat. Regem quippe non faciunt vulgi de fascibus fabulosa commenta, vel furentis insanix, vel infinita jugera, vel amica putredinis ingeniosa crapula, vel de lamentis pauperum convulsa pecunia. Regem non faciunt vestes Tyriæ, non auro nitidæ trabes, non color frontis vel vota regia. Sed rex est qui posuit metus et diri mala pectoris, quem non ambitio impotens et nunquam stabilis favor vulgi præcipitis movet. Rex est qui se diri pectoris factoribus evacuat, et prodese singulis sollerter invigilat, quales nuper ad fastigium hujus culminis non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio, provexit. Necessaria siquidem est mansuetudo prælatia,

francus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus super Eboracensem ecclesiam jure suæ ecclesiæ proclamabat; et de ordinationibus quorundam episcoporum, de quibus ad quem specialiter pertinerent certum minime constabat: et tandem aliquando diversis diversarum scripturarum auctoritatibus probatum atque ostensum est quod Eboracensis ecclesia Cantuariensi debeat subjacere, ejusque archiepiscopi, ut primatis totius Britanniae, dispositionibus, in iis quæ ad Christianam religionem pertinent, in omnibus obedire. Subjectionem vero Dunelmensis, hoc est, Lindisfar-nensis episcopi, atque omnium regionum a terminis Licifeldensis episcopii, et Humbriæ magni fluvii, usque ad extremos Scotiæ fines, et quicquid ex hac parte prædicti fluminis ad parochiam Eboracensis ecclesiæ jure competit, Cantuariensis metropolitanus Eboracensi archiepiscopo ejusque successoribus obtinere concessit. Ita ut si Cantuariensis archiepiscopus concilium cogere voluerit, ubicunque visum ei fuerit, Eboracensis archiepiscopus sui præsentiam cum omnibus sibi subjectis ad nutum ejus exhibeat, et ejus canonicis dispositionibus obediens existat. Quod autem Eboracensis archiepiscopus professionem Cantuariensi archiepiscopo ¹etiam cum sacramento facere debeat, Lanfrancus Dorobernensis

et disciplina subjectis. Postquam enim ad singula quæque sagax hominum penetravit intentio, et nichil ad pecuniam, visum est incommodum, crevit opulencia, crevit invidia, ex invidia odium, ex odio bellum, nulli fides, nulli profuit eleemosyna. Si qua tamen nativæ bonitatis remanserant monimenta, sanxere leges et vivendi jura, constituerunt urbes et fida receptacula

quo tuta fieret inter improbos innocentia. Et quos ipsa probitatis hortamenta non excitant, saltem conquiescant ad poenæ formidinem. Lex, alia naturalis, quæ apud omnes eadem est; alia consuetudinis, in qua habet unaquaque patria suum aliquid proprium.'

¹ *Etiam cum sacramento.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

archiepiscopus ex antiqua antecessorum consuetudine ostendit; sed, ob amorem regis, Thomæ Eboracensi archiepiscopo sacramentum relaxavit, scriptamque tantum professionem recepit, non præjudicans successoribus suis qui sacramentum cum professione a successoribus Thomæ exigere voluerint. Si archiepiscopus Cantuariensis vitam finierit, Eboracensis archiepiscopus Doroberniam veniet; et eum qui electus fuerit, cum cæteris præfatæ ecclesiæ episcopis, ut primatem proprium jure consecrabit. Quod si Eboracensis archiepiscopus obierit, is qui ei successurus eligitur, accepto a rege archiepiscopatus dono, Cantuariam, vel ubi Cantuariensi archiepiscopo placuerit, accedet, et ab ipso ordinationem canonico more suscipiet. Huic constitutioni consenserunt præfatus rex, et archiepiscopi Lanfrancus Cantuariensis et Thomas Eboracensis, et Hubertus, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ subdiaconus et præfati Alexandri papæ legatus, et cæteri qui interfuerunt episcopi et abbates. Ventilata est autem hæc causa prius apud Wentanam civitatem in Paschali¹ solennitate, in capella regia quæ sita est in castello; postea in villa regia quæ vocatur Windlesor, ubi et finem accepit in præsentia regis, episcoporum, abbatum diversorum ordinum, qui congregati erant apud curiam in festivitate Pentecostes. Signum Wilhelmi regis. Signum Matildis reginæ. Ego Hubertus, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ lector et domini Alexandri papæ legatus, subscripsi. ²Ego Lanfrancus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus subscripsi. Ego Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus

¹ Solennitate.] A. S. D. E. L.;
festivitate, C.

² Ego Lanfrancus Dorobernensis
archiepiscopus subscripsi.] A. S.
D. E. L.; omitted in C.

subscripsi. Ego Willelmus Londoniensis episcopus consensi. Ego Hermannus Scirburnensis episcopus subscripsi. Ego Wulstanus Wigornensis episcopus subscripsi. Ego Walterus Herefordensis episcopus ¹subscripsi. Ego Giso Wellensis episcopus consensi. Ego Remigius Dorcacensis episcopus subscripsi. Ego Wake-
linus Wentanus episcopus subscripsi. Ego Herfastus Helmeanensis episcopus subscripsi. Ego Stigandus Cicestrensis episcopus consensi. Ego Siwardus Rofensis episcopus consensi. Ego Osbernus Exoniensis episcopus consensi. Ego Odo Baiocensis episcopus, et comes Cantiae, consensi. Ego Godefridus Constantiensis episcopus, et unus de primatibus Anglorum, consensi. Ego Scotlandus abbas cœnobii sancti Augustini consensi. Ego Elfwinus, abbas cœnobii quod Ramesege dicitur, consensi. Ego Elnothus Glastoniensis abbas consensi. Ego Turstanus, abbas cœnobii quod in insula quæ dicitur Heli situm est, consensi. Ego Wlnothus, abbas cœnobii quod Certesei dicitur, consensi. Ego Elfwinus abbas cœnobii Evesandi consensi. Ego Fridericus abbas sancti Albani consensi. Ego Gosfridus abbas cœnobii sancti Petri, quod non longe a Londonia situm est, consensi. Ego Baldewinus abbas cœnobii sancti Edmundi consensi. Ego Tuoldus abbas de Burgo consensi. Ego Adelelmus abbas Abbendoniae consensi. Ego Rualdus abbas Novi Monasterii Wintoniae consensi.'

Professio Thomæ Eboracensis archiepiscopi.

§ 299. 'Decet Christianum quemque Christianis legibus subiacere, nec iis quæ a sanctis patribus

Profession of the archbishop of York.

¹ *Subscripsi.*] E 1.; consensi, S. E 2. L.

salubriter instituta sunt quibuslibet rationibus contraire. Hinc namque iræ, dissensiones, invidia, contentiones, cæteraque procedunt, quæ amatores suos in¹ pœnas demergunt. Et quanto quisque altioris est ordinis, tanto impensius debet obtemperare præceptis. Propterea ego Thomas ordinatus jam Eboracensis ecclesiæ metropolitanus antistes, auditis cognitisque rationibus, absolutam tibi Lanfrance, Dorobernensis archiepiscopi, tuisque successoribus, de canonica obedientia professionem facio; et quicquid a te vel ab eis juste et canonice mihi injunctum fuerit, servaturum me esse promitto. De hac autem re, dum a te adhuc ordinandus essem, dubius fui; ideoque tibi quidem sine conditione, successoribus vero tuis conditionaliter, obtemperaturum me esse promisi.²

Sees subject
to Canter-
bury and to
York.

§ 300. Habebat autem ex antiquo, ²sicut in libro primo dixisse me memini, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus hos episcopos; Londoniensem, Wintoniensem, Rofensem, Scireburnensem, Wigornensem, Herefordensem, Lichetfeldensem, Selesiensensem, Legacestreensem, Elmanensem, Sidnaces-trensem, Dommuccensem: additi sunt, tempore regis Edwardi senioris, Cornubiensis, Cridiensis, Wellensis in West-Saxonia, et in Mercii Dorcestrensis, ³ut secundo libro dixi. Eboracensis autem archiepiscopus habebat omnes trans Humbram episcopos suæ ditioni subjectos, Ripensem, Haugustaldensem, Lindisfarnensem, illum de Candida Casa quæ nunc Witerne dicitur, et omnes episcopos Scotiæ et Orcadum; sicut Cantuariensis habet episcopos Hiberniæ et Walarum.

¹ Pœnas.] C. D. E.; pœnas æternas, A. S. L.

me memini.] §§ 99, et seq. pp. 139, et seq.

³ Ut secundo libro dixi.] § 129,

² Sicut in libro primo dixisse | p. 204.

Perierunt autem jamdudum episcopatus Ripensis et Haugustaldensis vi hostilitatis; et Legacestrensis, et Sidnacestrensis et Dommuccensis, quo nescio modo. Porro autem, tempore regis Edwardi simplicis, Cornubiensis et Cridiensis uniti sunt, et translatus est episcopatus in Exoniam. Sub rege Willelmo, in isto eodem concilio pronunciatum est, secundum scita canonum, ut episcopi transeuntes de villis ¹constituerent sedes suas in urbibus dicecesium suarum: Licitfeldensis ergo ²migravit in Cestram, quæ olim Civitas Legionum dicebatur; Selesiensis in Cicestram; Elmanensis in Tethford primo, nunc ab Herberto episcopo in Norwic; Scirburnensis in Salesbiriam; Dorcestrensis in Lincoliam. Nam Lindisfarnensis pridem veteri tempore transierat in Dunelmum, et nuper Wellensis in Bathoniam.

§ 301. In hoc conventu Lanfrancus, qui erat Their rank in council. adhuc rudis Anglus, quæsivit a senioribus episcopis qui esset ordo sedendi in concilio, antiquo more statutus: illi vero, excusata difficultate responsi, in diem distulerunt posterum. Et tunc, diligentissime advocata memoria, hunc se vidisse morem asseruere; ut Cantuariæ archiepiscopus, concilio præsidens, habeat a dextro latere archiepiscopum Eboraci, et juxta eum episcopum Wintoniæ, a sinistro autem Londoniensem: quod si, ut contingit, pro aliqua necessitate Cantuariensis primas adventum suum ³negaverit, vel obitu defuerit, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, concilio præsidens, habeat a dextra Londoniensem episcopum, et a sinistra Wintoniensem; cæteri secundum tempora ordinationum sedilia sua agnoscant.

¹ Constituerent.] A. S. D. E. L.; construerent, C.

² Migravit.] A. S. D. E. L.; transiit, C.

³ Negaverit.] C. D. E.; excusaverit, A. S. L.

The jurisdiction of the sees of York and Canterbury settled.

§ 302. Tunc quoque querela archiepiscopi Eboracensis de clamore in Wigornensem et Dorcestrensem episcopos decisa et sopita est, namque dicebat eos suæ ditioni subjacere debere; quod, cum jamdudum muto silentio ruminasset, Romam cum Lanfranco profectus, ut pallia sua ab apostolico reciperent, palam audiente senatu Romano extulit. Tunc vero Lanfrancus, quamvis ad omnes injurias inconcussæ soliditatis esset, nonnihil tamen tam proterva et ante sibi inaudita postulatione turbatus, iræ motum vultu prodidit, verbis aliquandiu intra fauces devoratis: at Alexander papa, qui gravaretur Lanfrancum contristare, (nam et venienti dignanter assurrexerat, professus illud insigne reverentiæ non se detulisse honori archiepiscopi, sed amori magisterii,) tunc quoque judicandi invidiam a se¹ rejecit, litis arbitrium trajiciens in Anglorum concilium. Quapropter, ut dixi, res, multum diuque ventilata in hoc concilio, hunc sortita est terminum; ut, quia citra Humbram essent, hi episcopi Cantuariensi applicarentur, omnes vero Transhumbranos Eboracensis obtineret.

Wulstan bishop of Worcester.

§ 303. Hic sancta simplicitas beati Wulstani Wigornensis episcopi, immo magnanima in Deo confidentia, laudanda et plausu excipienda est. Cum enim et de hac re, et de parva scientia literarum pulsatus, foras exisset ut a strictiori consilio responsum comeret suum, a tumultibus remoto animo, 'Crede mihi,' inquit, 'nondum cantavimus horam sextam; cantemus ergo.' Tum sociis referentibus ut prius propter quod venerant expedirent, quod satis superque sufficeret cantibus tempus; regem et proceres, si hæc audierint, risui se haberi opinaturos; 'Prius, crede

¹ Rejecit.] A. S. D. E. L.; removit, C.

mihî,' dixit, 'faciemus Dei servitium, et post agitabimus hominum litigium.' Hora igitur cantata, nulla excogitata falsi tergiversatione, nullo commentato veri splendore, confestim aulam concilii ingredi pergebat. Suis eum retinere tentantibus persuaderi non potuit, quin potius timentibus causæ: 'Pro certo,' ait, 'noveritis visibiliter me hic videre beatos archiepiscopos Dunstanum Cantuariensem et Oswaldum Eboracensem, qui hodie, suis me precibus tuentes, falsiloquorum acumen hebetabunt.' Ita data benedictione monacho, minimæ facundiæ viro, sed Normannicæ linguæ sciolo, rem perorans obtinuit, ut qui suæ diocesis ante indignus putabatur regimine, ab archiepiscopo Eboraci suppliciter rogaretur ut suas dignaretur lustrare¹ partes, quo ipse pro timore hostium vel sermonis ignorantia cavebat accedere.

§ 304. Verum ego non ulterius lectorum expectationem macerabo, qui hæc forsitan non libenter intuentur, quia gesta Willelmi successorum præstolantur; quamvis, nisi me nimius amor mei fallit, nulli varietatem relationum displicituram opinor, nisi si quis tam nubilus est ut Catonis supercilium æmuletur. Sed alia in quarto et quinto libro qui volet experietur, nam tertius debitum agnoscit² modum.

¹ *Partes.*] *S.*; omitted in *A.*
C. D. E. L.

² *Modum.*] In *D. E.* after 'mo-


dum' follows the dedicatory epistle of the Author to Robert Earl of Gloucester, placed at the commencement of volume 1.



PROLOGUS

IN LIBRUM QUARTUM.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS
IN LIBRO QUARTO DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM.

CIO plerisque ineptum videri quod gestis nostri temporis regum scribendis stylum applicuerim; dicentibus quod in ejusmodi scriptis sæpe naufragatur veritas et suffragatur falsitas, quippe præsentium mala periculose, bona plausibiliter dicuntur. Eo fit (inquiunt) ut, quia modo ¹omnia magis ad pejus quam ad melius sint proclivia, scriptor obvia mala ²propter metum prætereat, et, bona si non sunt, propter plausum confingat. Sunt alii qui, nos ex segnitie sua metientes, impares tanto muneri existimant, et hoc studium prava suggillatione contaminant. Quapropter jam pridem, vel illorum ratiocinio vel istorum fastidio percussus, in otium concesseram, silentio libenter adquiescens; sed dum aliquandiu solutus inertia vacassem, rursus solitus amor studiorum aurem vellit et manum injecit, propterea quod nec nil agere possem, et istis forensibus et homine literato indignis curis me tradere non nossem. Accessere amicorum meorum stimuli, quorum vel tacitæ suggestioni deesse non debui; et illi quidem modeste jam prurientem impulere ut coeptum prosequerer. Illorum itaque, quos penitus reposito amore diligo, hortatibus animatus assurgo, ut ex pectoris nostri promptuario

¹ *Omnia.*] D. E.; pene omnia, L. | ² *Propter metum.*] A. S. D. E. L.; omitted in C.

victurum apud se ¹amicitiæ pignus contineant. Quocirca illorum, qui mihi timent ut aut odiar aut mentiar, benevolentia gratas, ita sub ope Christi satisfaciam, ut nec falsarius nec odiosus inveniar: sic enim bene et secus acta perstringam, ut, quasi inter Scyllam et Charibdim illæso volante navigio, nil desit sententiæ, etsi aliquid deesse putetur historiæ. Porro illis, qui alieni laboris onus sua æstimatione premunt, hoc respondeo quod olim ²sanctus Ieronymus canibus suis objecit, ‘Si placet, legant; si non placet, abjiciant:’ quia et ego hæc non tædiosis ingero, sed studiosis, si qui dignentur, consecro; quod et isti ³juri concinere pronunciabunt, si non de his sunt de quibus dicitur ‘Stulti facile possunt convinci, difficile compesci.’ Dicam igitur in hoc libro, qui hujus operis est quartus, quicquid de Willelmo filio Willelmi magni dici poterit; ut nec veritas rerum titubet, nec principalis decoloretur majestas. Ibunt et in istas paginas quædam quæ sub eo, vel in hac terra tristia, vel alias gloriosa, ⁴acciderunt, quantum duntaxat nostra scientia attingere potuerit; præsertim de peregrinatione Christianorum in Ierusalem, quam hic apponere non erit injurium, quia tam famosam his diebus expeditionem audire sit operæ pretium et virtutis incitamentum. Neque vero confido quod hæc a me, quam ab aliis qui scripserunt, dicantur commodius; sed ut, quod a multis scribitur, a multis legatur. Verum, ne tam diu procemiari lecturo generet nauseam, jam nunc quod intendo incipiam.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

¹ <i>Amicitia.</i>] A. S. D. E. L.; amicitiarum, C.	³ <i>Juri concinere.</i>] A. E. L.; viri concinere, C. D.
² <i>Sanctus.</i>] A. C. D. E. L.; omitted in S.	⁴ <i>Acciderunt.</i>] A. S. D. E. L.; contingere, C.

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM

LIBER QUARTUS.

INCIPIT LIBER QUARTUS DE WILLELMO REGE RUFO,
FILIO REGIS WILLELMI PRIMI.



WILLELMUS igitur filius Wil-
lelmi natus est Normanniæ, plu-
ribus annis antequam pater An-
gliam adiret. Ingenti cura pa-
rentum altus, cum et illi natura-
liter inesset ingentia parturiens
animus, ad culmen supremæ dig-
nitatis evasit. Incomparabilis procul dubio
nostro tempore princeps, si non cum magnitudo
patris obrueret, nec ejus juventutem fata præcipi-
tassent, ne per ætatem maturiorem aboleret er-
rores licentia potestatis et impetu juvenili con-
tractos. Emensa pueritia, in militari exercitio
adolescentiam egit; equitari, jaculari, certare
cum primævis obsequio, cum æquævis officio.
Jacturam virtutis putare si forte in militari tu-
multu alter eo prior arma corriperet, et nisi
primus ex adverso provocaret, vel provocantem
dejiceret. Genitori in omnibus obsequelam ge-
rens, ejus se oculis in bello ostentans, ejus lateri
in pace obambulans. Spe sensim scaturiente,
jam successioni inhians, maxime post ¹abdica-

A. D. 1087.
William Ru-
fus.

¹ *Abdicationem.*] This act can | been voluntary on the part of
scarcely be considered to have | Robert.

A. D. 1087. tionem fratris majoris, cum et tirocinium minoris¹ nonnihil suspiceret. Ita a patre, ultima valedudine decumbente, in successorem adoptatus, antequam ille extremum efflasset ad occupandum regnum contendit: moxque volentibus animis provincialium exceptus, et claves thesaurorum nactus est; quibus fretus totam Angliam animo subiecit suo. Accessit etiam favori ejus, maximum rerum momentum, archiepiscopus Lanfrancus, eo quod eum nutrierat et² militem fecerat: quo auctore et annitente, ³ die sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani coronatus, reliquo hyemis quiete et favorabiliter vixit.

Sept. 27.

QUOMODO ADVERSARIOS REX RUFUS VICERIT.

Conspiracy
of the nobles,
A. D. 1088.

§ 306. Qua exacta, mox⁴ in initio veris primus illi conflictus contra Odonem patruum, episcopum Baiocensem, fuit. Namque, cum ille (ut dixi), solutus a vinculis, Robertum nepotem in comitatu Normanniæ confirmasset, Angliam venit,⁵ recepitque a rege comitatum Cantia; sed cum omnia non suo arbitrato (ut olim) in regno disponi videret, (nam⁶ Willelmo Dunelmensi episcopo commendata erat administratio rerum publicarum,) livore ictus, a rege et ipse descivit. Et

¹ *Nonnihil.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; nihil, *S.*

² *Militem fecerat.*] At this period the custom of receiving knighthood from the hands of bishops or abbots yet obtained. There is a law of Henry I. prohibiting abbots from making knights.

³ *Die sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani coronatus.*] The feast of Saints Cosmas and Damian is the 27th Sept. Florence of Worcester and other authorities state that William was crowned on

Sunday, the 26th Sept. According to the Saxon Chronicle, it was 'three days ere Michaelmas day.'

⁴ *In initio veris.*] The conspiracy was formed in Lent; and as soon as Easter came, then went they forth, &c. (*Sax. Chron.* A. D. 1088.)

⁵ *Recepitque.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; recepit, *E.* — Odo was created earl of Kent, A. D. 1067.

⁶ *Willelmo Dunelmensi episcopo.*] William de Karlepho.

multos eodem susurro infecit: Roberto regnum competere, qui sit et remissioris animi, et juveniles stultitias multis jam laboribus decoxerit; hunc delicate nutritum, animi ferocia (quam vultus ipse demonstret) prætumidum, omnia contra fas et jus ausurum; brevi futurum ut honores jamdudum plurimis sudoribus partes amittant; nihil actum morte patris, si quos ille vinxerit iste trucidet. Hæc ipse, hæc Rogerius de Monte Gomerico, hæc ¹Gaufridus Constantiensis episcopus cum nepote Roberto comite Humberensium, et cum reliquis, primo clam fremebant; post etiam palam, per veredarios missis epistolis, frequentabant. Quin etiam Willelmus Dunelmensis episcopus, quem rex a secretis habuerat, in eorum perfidiam concesserat; quod graviter regem tulisse ferunt, quia, cum amissæ charitatis dispendio, remotarum provinciarum frustrabatur compendio. Itaque Odo prædam omnem Rovecestram comportabat, regios fiscos in Cantia devastans, maxime terras archiepiscopi; immortale in eum odium anhelans, quod ejus consilio a fratre se in vincula conjectum asserebat. Sed nec fides verborum vacillabat: nam cum olim Willelmus senior apud Lanfrancum quereretur se a fratre deseri, 'Tu' (inquit) 'prende eum et vinci.' 'Et quid,' (respondit ille,) 'quia clericus est?' Tunc archiepiscopus,

¹ *Gaufridus Constantiensis episcopus.*] Geoffrey de Montbray became bishop of Coutance in 1048. He was chief justiciar of England, and presided at the great trial in the county court held at Pinendene in Kent, between Lanfrank archbishop of Canterbury, and Odo bishop of Baieux. He died 4th Feb. 1093. In Domesday Book he is de-

scribed as 'Constantiensis episcopus;' but in one place (fol. 166) he is called 'Episcopus de Sancto Laudo,' (St. Lo, a town in Lower Normandy,) and, among the witnesses to a charter granted by the Conqueror to St. Augustine's monastery at Canterbury, is 'Episcopus Golfrydus de Seynt Loth.'

lepida hilaritate (¹ut Persius ait) ‘crimina rasis librans in antithetis,’ ‘Non’ (dixit) ‘episcopum Baiocarum capies, sed comitem Cantiaë custodies.’ Gaufridus episcopus, cum nepote, Bathoniam et Bercheleiam partemque pagi Wiltensis depopulans, manubias apud Bristou collocabat. Rogerius de Monte Gomerico, exercitum suum a Scrobesbiria cum Walensibus mittens, coloniam Wigorniensem prædabatur: jamque Wigorniam infestus advenerat, cum regii milites qui prætendebant, freti benedictione Wulstani episcopi cui custodia castelli commissa erat, pauci multos effugarunt, pluribusque sauciis et cæsis, quosdam abduxerunt. Præterea Rogerius Bigot apud Northwic, et Hugo de Grentemesnil apud Legecestram, suis quisque partibus rapinas urgebant. Ita totis defectionis viribus in eum, cui nec prudentia nec fortuna deerat, frustra sæviebatur. Namque ille, videns Normannos pene omnes in una rabie conspiratos, Anglos probos et fortes viros, qui adhuc residui erant, invitatoriis scriptis accersiit; quibus super injuriis suis querimoniam faciens, bonasque leges, et tributorum levamen, liberasque venationes pollicens, fidelitati suæ obligavit. Nec minori astutia Rogerium de Monte Gomerico, secum dissimulata perfidia equitantem, circumvenit. Sorsum enim ducto magnam ingessit invidiam; dicens, Libenter se imperio cessurum, si illi et aliis videatur quos pater tutores reliquerat. Non se intelligere quid ita effrænes sint: si velint, pecunias accipiant pro libito; si augmentum patrimoniorum, eodem modo; prorsus, quæ velint, habeant. Tantum videant ne iudicium genitoris periclitetur: quod si de se putaverint aspernan-

¹ *Ut Persius ait.*] Persius, Sat. i. 85.

dum, de se ipsis caveant exemplum; idem enim se regem, qui illos duces fecerit. His verbis comes et pollicitationibus incensus, qui primus factionis post Odonem signifer fuit, primus defecit. Continuo ergo in desertores profectus, castella patrum sui Tunebrige et Pevenesel effregit; ipso in posteriori intercepto: captum ad quod libuit jusjurandum impulit, ut Anglia decederet¹ et Rovecestram traderet. Ad quod implendum eum cum fidelibus suis præmisit, lento pede præeuntes subsecutus. Erat tunc apud Rovecestram omnis pene juventutis ex Anglia² et Normannia nobilitas; tres filii Rogerii comitis, et Eustachius Bononiæ junior, multique alii quos infra curam nostram existimo. Regii cum episcopo pauci et inermes (quis enim eo præsentem insidias timeret?) circa muros desiliunt, clamantes oppidanis ut portas aperiant; hoc episcopum præsentem velle, hoc regem absentem jubere. At illi, de muro conspicati quod vultus episcopi cum verbis oratorum non conveniret, raptim apertis portis ruunt, equos involant, omnesque cum episcopo vinctos abducunt. Rumor facti ad regem cito perlabitur. Severior ille malis, iramque intra conscientiam resorbens, Anglos suos appellat; jubet ut compatriotas advocent ad obsidionem venire, nisi si qui velint sub nomine³ Niðing, quod nequam sonat, remanere. Angli, qui nihil miserius putarent quam

¹ *Et Rovecestram traderet.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

² *Et Normannia.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

³ *Niðing.*] Of this word *Matt. Paris* writes 'Nothing, quod Latine nequam recenseri. Angli, qui nihil contumeliosius et vilius

æstimant quam hujusmodi ignominioso vocabulo,' &c. *Spelman* conceives it may be derived from 'nidus' and 'pullus,' and thinks it may signify the same as 'culvertagium.' *Nidering* is supposed by *Somner* (*Gavelk.* 56) to denote such as were infamous enough to rifle a dead body.

hujusce vocabuli dedecore ¹aduri, catervatim ad regem confluunt, et invincibilem exercitum faciunt. Nec diutius potuere pati oppidani quin se traderent; experti quamlibet nobilem, quamlibet consertam manum, nihil adversus regem Angliæ posse proficere. Odo, secundo captus, perpetuo Angliam abjuravit. Dunelmensis episcopus ultro mare transivit; quem rex, reverentia præteritæ amicitia, indemnem passus est effugere. Cæteri omnes in fidem recepti. Inter has obsidionis moras, homines regis mare custodientes, quosdam quos comes Normanniæ in auxilium perfidorum miserat, partim cæde, partim naufragio oppressere: reliqui fugam intendentes et suspendere carbasa conati, moxque vento cessante destituti, ludibrio nostris, sibi exitio fuere; nam, ²ne vivi caperentur, e transtris se in mare præcipitarunt.

DE PACE INTER WILLELMUM ET ROBERTUM.

Contention
and treaty
with Robert,
A.D. 1090.

§ 307. Postero anno, ut dolor semper retractione acescit, magno scrutinio rex agere cœpit quo modo injurias suas ultum iret, et vicariam fratri contumeliam referret. Itaque ³castrum sancti Walerici, et portum vicinum, et oppidum quod Albarla vocatur, sollertia sua acquisivit, pecunia custodes corrumpens. Nec fuit animus comiti ut resisteret; sed domino suo regi Franciæ per nuncios violentiam fratris exposuit, suppetias orans. Et ille quidem iners, et quotidianam crapulam ructans, ad bellum singultiens ingluvie veniebat: sed occurrerunt magna pollicenti nummi regis Angliæ; quibus infractus, cingulum

¹ Aduri.] A. S. D. E. L.; notari, C.

² Ne.] A. S. D. E. L.; cum, C.

³ Castrum sancti Walerici.] See Sax. Chron. A.D. 1090.

solvit et convivium repetiit. Ita bello intestino diu laboravit Normannia; modo illis, modo istis vincentibus: proceres utriusque furorem incitabant, homines levissimi, in neutra parte fidem habentes. Pauci quibus sanius consilium, consulentes suis commodis quod utrobique possessiones haberent, mediatores pacis fuere; ut comiti rex Cinomannis acquireret, comes regi castella quæ habebat et Fiscannum cœnobium concederet. Juratum est hoc pactum, et ab utrorumque hominibus sacramento firmatum. A.D. 1091.

QUOMODO WILLELMUS ET ROBERTUS OBSIDERINT
HENRICUM FRATREM SUUM APUD MONTEM
SANCTI MICHAELIS.

§ 308. Nec multo post rex mare transiit, ut fidem promissorum expleret. Ergo uterque dux ingentes moliebantur conatus ut Cinomannis invaderent: sed obstitit jam paratis, jamque profecturis, Henrici fratris minoris animositas, qui frenderet propter fratrum avaritiam; quod uterque possessiones paternas dividerent, et se omnium pene expertem non erubescerent. Itaque montem sancti Michaelis armatus insedit, et crebris excursibus obsidentem militiam germanorum contristavit. In ea obsidione præcluum specimen morum in rege et comite apparuit; in altero mansuetudinis, in altero magnanimitatis. Utriusque exempli notas pro legentium notitia ¹affigam. Siege of Mount St. Michael.

DE MAGNANIMITATE WILLELMI.

§ 309. Egressus rex tabernaculo, vidensque ^{Magnanimity of William.} eminus hostes superbum inequitantes, solus in multos irruit, alacritate virtutis impatiens, si-

¹ *Affigam.*] A. S. D. E. L.; infigam, C.

multaque confidens nullum sibi ausurum obsistere : moxque occiso sub foeminibus deturbatus equo, quem eo die quindecim marcis argenti emerat, etiam per pedem diu tractus est ; sed fides loricae obstitit ne læderetur. Jamque miles qui dejecerat manum ad capulum aptabat ut feriret, cum ille, periculo extremo territus, exclamat, ‘Tolle, nebulo ! rex Angliæ sum !’ Tremuit, nota voce jacentis, vulgus militum ; statimque reverenter de terra levato equum alterum adducunt. Ille, non expectato ascensorio, sonipedem insiliens, omnesque circumstantes vivo perstringens oculo, ‘Quis,’ inquit, ‘me dejecit ?’ Mussitantibus cunctis, miles audacis facti conscius non defuit patrocínio suo, dicens : ‘Ego, qui te non putarem esse regem, sed militem.’ Tum vero rex placidus, vultuque serenus, ‘¹ Per vultum,’ ait, ‘de Luca,’ (sic enim jurabat,) ‘meus a modo eris, et meo albo insertus laudabilis militiae præmia reportabis.’ Macte animi amplissime rex, quod tibi præconium super hoc dicto rependam ? A magni quondam Alexandri non degener gloria, qui Persam militem se a tergo ferire conatum, sed pro perfidia ensis spe sua frustratum, incolumem pro admiratione fortitudinis conservavit.

DE MANSUETUDINE COMITIS ROBERTI.

Humanity of
Earl Robert.

§ 310. Jam vero ut de mansuetudine comitis dicam. Cum obsidio eo usque processisset ut aqua deesset obsessis, misit Henricus nuncios

¹ *Per vultum ... de Luca.*] These words have been frequently mistranslated into ‘By St. Luke’s face !’ whereas it means ‘By the face at Lucca !’ Lord Lytton says, ‘There is at Lucca in Tuscany an ancient figure of Christ, brought there miraculously, as

they pretend. They call it “Il santo volto di Lucca :” it is stamped on their coins with this legend, “Sanctus vultus de Luca.”’ In an Italian book, called ‘Il Forestiere informato delle cose di Lucca,’ this legend is given in great detail. The au-

comiti, qui eum de siti sua convenient. Impium esse ut eum aqua arceant, quæ esset communis mortalibus: aliter, si velit, virtutem experiatur; nec pugnet violentia elementorum, sed virtute militum. Tum ille, genuina mentis mollitie flexus, suos qua prætendebant laxius habere se iussit, ne frater siticulosus potu careret: quod cum relatum regi esset, ut semper calori pronus erat, comiti dixit, 'Belle scis actitare guerram, qui hostibus præbes aquæ copiam; et quomodo eos domabimus si eis in pastu et in potu indulserimus?' At ille renidens illud come et merito famosum verbum emisit, 'Pape, dimitterem fratrem nostrum mori siti? et quem alium habebimus si eum amiserimus?' Ita rex, deridens mansueti hominis ingenium, resolvit prælium; infectaque re quam intenderat, quod eum Scottorum et Walensium tumultus vocabant, in regnum se cum ambobus fratribus recepit.

§ 311. Statimque primo contra Walenses, post in Scottos expeditionem movens, nihil magnificentia sua dignum exhibuit; militibus multis desideratis, jumentis interceptis. Nec tum solum, sed multotiens, parva illi in Walenses fortuna fuit; quod cuivis mirum videatur, cum ei alias semper alea bellorum felicissime arriserit. Sed ego intelligo, pro soli inæqualitate et cœli inclementia, sicut rebellionem eorum adjutam, ita ejus virtutem impeditam. Porro rex Henricus, excellentis ingenii vir, qui modo regnat, invenit qua commenta illorum labefactaret arte, Flandritis in patria illorum collocatis, qui eis pro claustris sint et eos perpetuo coerceant. At vero

Expedition
against the
Welsh and
Scotch, A.D.
1091.

thor states that it was the work of Nicodemus of the Gospel. See further on this subject in the Rev. J. E. Tyler's interesting volume entitled 'Oaths, their Origin, Nature, and History;' London, 8vo. pp. 289—296.

A. D. 1093.

Account of
Margaret,
Malcolm's
queen.

tunc satagente Roberto comite, qui familiarem jam dudum apud Scottum locaverat gratiam, inter Malcolmum et Willelmum concordia inita: veruntamen multis controversiis utrobique habitis, et fluctuante propter utrorumque animositatem justitia, Malcolmus ultro Gloecestram venit, æquis duntaxat conditionibus, multus pro pace¹ precatior; nec quicquam obtinuit, nisi ut in regnum indemnis² rediret, dedignante rege dolo capere quem virtute subegisset. Idemque proxima hyeme, ab hominibus Roberti comitis Humbrensium, magis fraude quam viribus occubuit. Cujus interitus accepto nuncio, uxor Margareta, eleemosynis et pudicitia insignis, fastidians hujus lucis moram, mortem precario exegit a Deo: ambo cultu pietatis insignes, illa præcipue. Namque toto vitæ tempore viginti quatuor pauperes habebat, ubicunque locorum erat, quos cibis et vestibus reficiebat. Cæterum, sacerdotum cantum in Quadragesima præveniens, noctibus in templo excubabat, triplicibus matutinis ipsa insistens, de Trinitate, de Cruce, de sancta Maria; inde psalterium, cum lachrymis vestem infundentibus, pectus succutientibus. Templo digrediens pascebat pauperes, primo tres, mox novem, inde viginti quatuor, postremo trecentos; ipsa cum rege assistens, et manibus aquam infundens. Eadgarum filium ejus, expulsus a patruo, Willelmus reformavit solio, egregia plane et quæ tantum virum decebat pietate, ut, paternarum injuriarum immemor, filium supplicem restitueret regno.

Character
and conduct
of William.

§ 312. Excellebat in eo magnanimitas, quam ipse processu temporis nimia severitate obfusca-

¹ *Precator.*] A. D. E. L.; pec-
cator, S. C.

² *Rediret.*] A. D. E. L.; abi-
ret, S. C.

vit; ita in ejus furtim pectus vitia pro virtutibus serpebant ut discernere nequirit. Diu dubitavit mundus quo tandem vergeret, quo se inclinaret, indoles illius. Inter initia, vivente Lanfranco archiepiscopo, ab omni crimine abhorrebat, ut unicum fore regum speculum speraretur; quo defuncto, aliquandiu varium se præstitit æquali lance vitiorum atque virtutum: jam vero, postremis annis ¹bonorum gelante studio, incommodorum ²seges succrescens incaluit. Et erat ita liberalis quod prodigus, ita magnanimus quod superbus, ita severus quod sævus. Liceat enim mihi, pace majestatis regiæ, verum non oculuisse; quia iste parum Deum reverebatur, nihil homines: quod indiscretum si quis dixerit non peccabit, quia a sapientibus tenenda sit moderatio, ut Deus timeatur omni tempore, homo pro tempore. Erat is foris et in conventu hominum tumido vultu erectus, minaci oculo astantem defigens, et affectato rigore feroci voce colloquentem reverberans; quantum conjectari datur, metu inopiæ et aliorum perfidiæ plus justo lucris et severitati deditus. Intus et in triclinio cum privatis, omni ³lenitate accommodus, multa joco transigebat; facetissimus quoque de aliquo suo perperam facto cavillator, ut invidiam facti dilueret et ad sales transferret. Sed de liberalitate ejus qua se ipsum fallebat, post etiam de cæteris, sermo prolixior erit, ut ostendam quanta vitia in eo sub prætextu virtutum pullularint.

§ 313. Sunt enim duo omnino genera largorum; alteri prodigi, alteri liberales dicuntur. Prodigii sunt, qui in ea pecunias suas effundunt

¹ *Bonorum . . . incaluit.*] S. C. D. E.; omni gelante studio virtutum, vitiorum in eo calor efferbuit, A. L.

² *Seges.*] S. C. E.; seges vel segnities, D.

³ *Lenitate.*] D. E. L.; levitati, S.; lenitati, A. C.

quorum memoriam aut brevem aut nullam omnino sunt relicturi in seculo, nec eleemosynam habituri in Deo: liberales sunt, qui captos a prædonibus redimunt, aut inopes sublevant, aut æs alienum amicorum suscipiunt. Est ergo largiendum, sed diligenter et moderate; plures enim patrimonia sua effudere inconsulte largiendo: ¹quid vero est stultius quam, quod libenter facias, curare ne diutius facere possis? Itaque quidam, cum non habeant quod dent, ad rapinas convertuntur; majusque odium assequuntur ab his quibus auferunt, quam beneficium ab his quibus contulerunt: quod huic regi accidisse dolemus. Namque cum primis initiis regni metu turbarum milites congregasset, nihil illis denegandum putabat, majora in futurum pollicitus. Itaque quia paternos thesauros evacuarat ²impigre, et modicæ ei pensiones numerabantur, jam substantia defecerat; sed animus largiendi non deerat, quod usu donandi pene in naturam verterat: homo qui nesciret cujuscunque rei effringere pretium vel æstimare commercium, sed cui pro libito venditor distraheret mercimonium, et miles pacisceretur stipendium. Vestium suarum pretium in immensum extolli volebat, dedignans si quis alleviasset. Denique quodam mane, ³cum calciaretur novas caligas, interrogavit cubicularium quanti constitissent: cum ille respondisset tres solidos, indignabundus et fremens, 'Fili,' ait, 'meretricis! ex quo habet rex caligas tam exilis pretii? vade, et affer mihi emptas marca argenti.' Ivit ille, et multo viliores afferens, quanti præceperat emptas ementitus est. 'Atqui,' inquit rex, 'istæ

¹ *Quid vero . . . possis.*] Cicero, de Officiis, II. 15.

² *Impigre.*] A. S. D. L.; omitted in C. E.

³ *Cum calciaretur.*] S. C. E. L.; cum pro libito calciaretur, A. D.

regiæ conveniunt majestati.' Ita cubicularius ex eo pretium vestimentorum ejus pro voluntate numerabat, multa perinde suis utilitatibus nundinatus.

§ 314. Excitabat ergo totum occidentem fama largitatis ejus, orientem usque pertendens: veniebant ad eum milites ex omni quæ citra montes est provincia, quos ipse profusissimis expensis munerabat; itaque cum defecisset quod daret, inops et exhaustus ad ¹lucra convertit animum. Accessit ²regiæ menti, fomes cupiditatum, ³Rannulfus clericus, ex infimo genere hominum lingua et ⁴calliditate proventus ad summum. Is, si quando edictum regium processisset ut nominatum tributum Anglia penderet, duplum adjiciebat, expilator divitum, exterminator pauperum, confiscator alienarum hæreditatum. Invictus causidicus, et tum verbis tum rebus immodicus, juxta in supplices ut in rebelles furens: subinde ⁵cachinnantibus quibusdam ac dicentibus, solum esse hominem qui sciret sic agitare ingenium, nec aliorum curaret odium dummodo complacaret dominum. Hoc auctore sacri ecclesiarum honores, mortuis pastoribus, venum locati; namque audita morte cujuslibet episcopi vel abbatis, confestim clericus regis eo mittebatur, qui omnia inventa scripto exciperet, omnesque in posterum redditus fisco regio inferret. Interea quærebatur quis in loco defuncti idoneus substitueretur, non pro morum sed pro nummorum experimento; da-

Its effect upon the kingdom.

¹ *Lucra.*] C. D. E.; rapinas, A. S. L.

² *Regiæ.*] C. E.; avidæ, A. S. D. L.

³ *Rannulfus clericus.*] Ralph Flambard, or Passefabere. He was raised to the dignity of bishop of Durham, and was consecrated

on the 5th June 1099. See Anglia Sacra, pars prima, p. 705.

⁴ *Calliditate.*] A. D. E. L.; assiduitate, S. C.

⁵ *Cachinnantibus quibusdam ac dicentibus.*] S. C. D. E.; cachinnante rege ac dicente, A. L.

baturque tandem honor, ut ita dicam, nudus, magno tamen emptus. Hæc eo indigniora videbantur, quod, tempore patris, post decessum episcopi vel abbatis omnes redditus integre custodiebantur, substituendo pastori resignandi, eligebanturque personæ religionis merito laudabiles; at vero, pauculis annis intercedentibus, omnia immutata. Nullus dives nisi nummularius, nullus clericus nisi causidicus, nullus presbyter nisi (ut verbo parum Latino utar) firmarius. Cujuscunque conditionis homunculus, cujuscunque criminis reus, statim ut de lucro regis appellasset, audiebatur; ab ipsis latronis faucibus resolvebatur laqueus si promisisset regale commodum. ¹Soluta militari disciplina, curiales rusticorum substantias depascebantur, insumebant fortunas, a buccis miserorum cibos abstrahentes. Tunc fluxus crinium, tunc luxus vestium, tunc ²usus calceorum cum arcuatis aculeis inventus: molliæ corporis certare cum fœminis, gressum frangere, gestu soluto et latere nudo incedere, adolescentium specimen erat. Enerves, emolliti, quod nati fuerant inviti manebant; ³expugnatores alienæ pudicitia, prodigi suæ. Sequebantur curiam effœminatorum manus et ganeorum greges, ut non temere a quodam sapiente dictum sit, ⁴felicem fore Angliam si Henricus regnaret; talia

¹ *Soluta militari disciplina.*] Compare Eadmer, Hist. Nov. p. 94.

² *Usus calceorum cum arcuatis aculeis inventus.*] 'These shoes, which gave occasion for various ordinances for their regulation or abolition during several successive centuries, are said to have owed their invention to Fulk earl of Anjou, in order to hide his ill-formed feet,—Ordericus Vitalis, p. 682; who also

observes that the first improver, by adding the long curved termination, was a fellow (quidam nebulo) in the court of William Rufus, named Robert.' (Sharpe, p. 386.)

³ *Expugnatores ... suæ.*] Ordericus Vitalis censures the French, and particularly the Normans under Duke Robert, for nearly similar vices.

⁴ *Felicem ... execraretur.*] S. C. D. E.; curia regis Angliæ

conjectans quod is ab adolescentia obscœnitates execraretur.

§ 315. ¹Adjicerem his, si esset necesse, quod Anselmus archiepiscopus ista corrigere conatus, sed societate suffraganeorum ²suorum destitutus, sponte discesserit, ³duritiae temporis cedens. Anselmus, quo nemo unquam justus tenacior, nemo hoc tempore tam anxie doctus, nemo tam penitus spiritualis fuerit, pater patriae, mundi ⁴speculum. Hic cum, jamjamque navigaturus, in portu ventos expectaret, ut prædo publicus ⁵expilatus est, manticis omnibus et bulgis in medium prolatis et exquisitis: de cujus injuriis plura dicerem si quicquam hoc solo sol vidisset indignius; simul et supersedendum est in historia, quam reverendissimi ⁶Edmeri præoccupavit facundia.

§ 316. Vides quantus, e liberalitate quam putabat, ⁷fomes malorum eruperit. In quibus corrigendis quia ipse non tam exhibuit diligentiam quam prætendit negligentiam, magnam et vix abolendam incurrit infamiam; immerito credo, quia nunquam se tali supponeret probro qui se tanto meminisset prælatum imperio. Hæc igitur ideo inelaborato et celeri sermone convolvo, quia de tanto rege mala dicere erubesco; in dejiciendis et extenuandis ⁸malis laborans.

Anselm ex-
iled.

Personal
qualities of
William.

non est majestatis diversorium, sed exoletorum prostibulum, *A. L.*; *L2.* has the passage 'curia ... prostibulum,' with this gloss: 'Quapropter felicem ... execraretur.'

¹ *Adjicerem his, si esset necesse.*] *S. C. D. E.*; ad dedecus temporum illorum pertinet, *A. L.*

² *Suorum.*] *A. S. C. D. E2. L.*; omitted in *E1.*

³ *Duritiae.*] *C. D. E.*; nequitiae, *A. S. L.*

⁴ *Speculum.*] *A. S. C. D. E2. L.*; speculum fuit, *E1.*

⁵ *Expilatus est.*] *D. E.*; jussu regis expilatus est, *L.*

⁶ *Edmeri.*] Eadmer wrote also a Life of Anselm. See note ¹, p. 2.

⁷ *Fomes malorum.*] *S. C. D. E.*; gurgis vitiorum, *A. L.*

⁸ *Malis.*] *D. E.*; criminibus, *L.*

§ 317. ¹Insolentiæ in Deum Judæi suo tempore dedere indicium: semel apud Rothomagum, ut quosdam ab errore suo refugas ad Judaismum revocarent, muneribus inflectere conati; alia vice apud Londniam, contra episcopos nostros in certamen animati, quia ille ludibundus, credo, dixisset, quod si vicissent Christianos, apertis argumentationibus confutatos, in eorum sectam transiret. Magno igitur timore episcoporum et clericorum res acta est, pia sollicitudine fidei Christianæ timentium. Et de hoc quidem certamine nihil Judæi præter confusionem retulerunt, quamvis multotiens jactarint se non oratione sed factione superatos.

A.D. 1096.

§ 318. ²Posteriori tempore, id est anno regni ejus ferme nono, cum Robertus comes Normannorum Ierosolymam eundi, monitionibus Urbani papæ (ut posterius dicitur), impetum cepisset, Normanniam fratri suo pro pecunia decem millium marcarum invadatus est. Itaque importabilis pensionis edictum per totam Angliam currit. Tunc episcopi et abbates frequentes ³curiam adeunt, super violentia querimoniam facientes, non se posse ad tantum vectigal sufficere, nisi si miseros agricolas omnino ⁴effugarent.

¹ *Insolentiæ . . . sectam transiret.*] *S. C. D. E.*; Insolentiæ vel potius inscientiæ contra Deum hoc fuit signum. Judæi qui Londoniæ habitabant, quos pater e Rothomago illuc traduxerat, eum in quadam solennitate adierunt xenia offerentes; quibus delinitus, etiam ausus est animare ad conflictum contra Christianos. 'Per vultum,' ait, 'de Luca!' pronuncians quod, si vicissent, in eorum sectam transiret, *A. L.*

Compare Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* p. 47.

² *Posteriori . . . nono.*] *S. C. D. E.*; paris arrogantiae altera vice dedit indicium, nam, *A. L.*

³ *Curiam.*] *S. C. D. E.*; regem, *A. L.*

⁴ *Effugarent.*] *S. D.*; effugerent, *C 1. L 2.*; effugent, *C 2. E 1. L 1.*; effugaret, *A.*; effugient, *E 2.*

Quibus ¹curiales, turbido, ut ²solebant, vultu, ‘Non habetis,’ ³inquiunt, ‘scrinia auro et argento composita, ossibus mortuorum plena:’ nullo alio responso obsecrantes ⁴dignati. Ita illi, intelligentes quo responsio tenderet, capsas sanctorum nudaverunt, crucifixos despoliaverunt, calices conflarunt, non in usum pauperum, sed in fiscum regium: quicquid enim pene sancta servavit ⁵avorum parcitas, ⁶illorum grassatorum absumsit aviditas.

§ 319. Nihilo secius in homines ⁷grassabantur; primo pecuniam, deinde terras auferentes. Non pauperem tenuitas, non opulentum copia tuebatur: venationes, quas rex primo indulserat, adeo prohibuit ut capitale esset supplicium prendisse cervum. ⁸Quapropter multa severitate, quam nulla condiebat dulcedo, factum est ut sæpe contra ejus salutem a ducibus conjuraretur: quorum unus, Robertus de Molbrei comes Humbronensium, orta inter eum et regem non modica controversia verborum, in provinciam juris sui abiit, ingentia contra dominum suum molimina conaturus; sed subsequente illo captus, et æternis vinculis irretitus est. Alter, Willelmus de Ou, proditionis apud regem accusatus, delatoremque ad duellum provocans, dum se segniter expurgat, cæcatus et extesticulatus est. Plures illa delatio involvit, innocentes ⁹plane et probos viros.

¹ Curiales.] S. C. D. E.; ille, A. L.

² Solebant.] S. C. D. E.; solebat, A. L.

³ Inquiunt.] S. C. D. E.; inquit, A. L.

⁴ Dignati.] S. C. D. E.; dignatus, A. L.

⁵ Avorum.] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; aliorum, E 1.

⁶ Illorum grassatorum.] S. C. D. E.; hominis unius, A. L.

⁷ Grassabantur.] S. C. D. E.; grassabatur, A. L.

⁸ Quapropter . . . factum est.] D. E.; Quibus artibus ita amorem provincialium a se effugaverat, L.

⁹ Plane.] A. D. E. L.; omitted in S. C.

Ex his fuit Willelmus de Alderia, speciosæ personæ homo et compater regis. Is patibulo affigi jussus, Osmundo episcopo Salesbiriæ confessus, et per omnes ecclesias oppidi flagellatus est. Itaque, dispersis ad inopes vestibus, ad suspendium nudus ibat; delicatam carnem frequentibus super lapides genuflectionibus cruentans. Episcopo et populo sequente ad locum supplicii ita satisfacit: 'Sic,' inquit, 'adjuvet Deus animam meam et a malis ¹liberet, ut ²de re de qua accusor immunis sum: et quidem sententia de me prolata non revocabitur, sed volo omnes homines innocentiae meae esse conscios.' Tunc dicta commendatione animæ, et aspersa aqua benedicta, episcopus discessit. Ille appensus est admirando fortitudinis spectaculo, ut nec moriturus gemitum, nec moriens produceret suspirium.

§ 320. Veruntamen sunt quædam de rege præclaræ magnanimitatis exempla, quæ posteris non invidebo. Venationi in quadam sylva intentum nuncius detinuit ex transmarinis partibus, obsessam esse civitatem Cinomannis, quam nuper fratre profecto suæ potestati adjecerat. Statim ergo ut expeditus erat retorsit equum, iter ad mare convertens. Admonentibus ducibus exercitum advocandum, paratos componendos, 'Videbo,' ³ait, 'quis me sequetur; putatis me non habiturum homines? si cognovi juventutem meam, etiam naufragio ad me venisse volet.' Hoc igitur modo pene solus ad mare pervenit. Erat tunc nubilus aer et ventus contrarius; flatus violentia terga maris verrebat. Illum statim transfretare volentem nautæ exorant ut pacem pelagi

A.D. 1099.

¹ *Liberet.*] A. D. E. L.; eruat, re qua, A. C. E 2. L.; de hac re qua, S.
² *De re de qua.*] D. E 1.; de ³ *Ait.*] A. D. E. L.; inquit, S. C.

et ventorum clementiam operiatur. 'Atqui,' inquit rex, 'nunquam audivi regem naufragio interiisse. Quin potius solvite retinacula navium, videbitis elementa jam conspirata in meum obsequium.' Ponto transito, obsessores, ejus audita fama, dissiliunt. Auctor turbarum, Helias quidam, capitur; cui ante se adducto rex ludibundus, 'Habeo te, magister!' ¹dixit. ²At vero illius alta nobilitas, quæ nesciret in tanto etiam periculo ³humilia sapere, humilia loqui: 'Fortuitu,' inquit, 'me cepisti; sed si possem evadere, novi quid facerem.' Tum Willelmus, præ furore fere extra se positus, et obuncans Heliam, 'Tu,' inquit, 'nebulo! tu, quid faceres? Discede, abi, fuge! concedo tibi ut facias quicquid poteris: et, per vultum de Luca! nihil, si me viceris, pro hac venia tecum paciscar.' ⁴Nec inferius factum verbo fuit, sed continuo dimisit evadere, miratus potius quam insectatus fugientem. Quis talia de illiterato homine crederet? Et fortassis erit aliquis qui, ⁵Lucanum legens, falso opinetur Willelmum hæc exempla de Julio Cæsare mutuatum esse: sed non erat ei tantum studii vel otii ut literas unquam audiret; immo calor ⁶mentis ingenitus, et conscia virtus, eum talia exprimere cogeant. Et profecto, si Christianitas nostra pateretur, sicut olim anima Euforbii transisse dicta est in Pythagoram Samium,

¹ *Dixit.*] A. C. D. E. L.; inquit, S.

² *At vero illius alta nobilitas, quæ nesciret.*] A. D. E. L.; at ille, cujus alta nobilitas nesciret, S. C.

³ *Humilia.*] A. C. D. E. L.; omitted in S.

⁴ *Nec . . . fugientem.*] Hélie comte de Maine, being taken by

Robert de Bellême in 1098, and delivered into the king's hands, purchased his liberty only by the surrender of the city of Mans, as testified by Ordericus Vitalis.

⁵ *Lucanum.*] Pharsalia, lib. II. 515; v. 580.

⁶ *Mentis.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

ita possit dici quod anima Julii Cæsaris transierit in regem Willelmum.

Description
of William's
person.

§ 321. Unum ædificium, et ipsum permaximum, ¹domum in Londonia incepit et perfecit, non parcens expensis dummodo liberalitatis suæ magnificentiam exhiberet; et mores quidem ejus ex his, quæ diximus, animadvertere poterit lector. Si quis vero desiderat scire corporis ejus qualitatem, noverit eum fuisse corpore quadrato, colore rufo, crine subflavo, fronte fenestrata, oculò vario, quibusdam intermicantibus guttis distincto; præcipuo robore, quanquam non magnæ staturæ, et ventre paulo projectiore. Eloquentiæ nullæ, sed titubantia linguæ notabilis, maxime cum ira succresceret. Plura sub eo subita et tristia acciderunt, quæ singulatim per annos ejus digereamus, veritati maxime secundum chronicorum fidem inservientes.

Remarkable
occurrences
during his
reign.

A.D. 1089.
Aug. 11.

§ 322. Secundo anno regni ejus terræ motus ingens totam Angliam exterruit tertio idus Augusti, horrendo miraculo, ut ædificia omnia eminus resilirent, et mox pristino more residerent. Secuta est inopia ²omnium fructuum; tarda maturitas frugum, ut vix ad festum sancti Andreæ messes reconderentur.

A.D. 1091.
Oct. 15.

§ 323. Quarto anno tumultus fulgurum, motus turbinum; denique idus Octobris apud Winchelcumbam ictus de cælo emissus latus turris impulit tanta vi, ut, debilitata maceria in confinio tecti, ingens foramen ad modum humanæ grossitudinis aperiretur. Ibi ingressus trabem maxi-

¹ *Domum in Londonia incepit.*] It has been inferred from this passage that Malmesbury states the Tower of London was built by William Rufus. There appears, however, little doubt that the principal building, now

called the White Tower, was commenced by the Conqueror, and finished by Rufus, under the superintendence of Gundulph bishop of Rochester.

² *Omnium.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*; omitted in *E 1.*

mam perculit, ut fragmina ¹in tota spargerentur ecclesia, quin et crucifixi caput cum dextra tibia, et imaginem sanctæ Mariæ dejecit. Secutus est odor teterrimus, hominum importabilis naribus. Tandem monachi, felici ausu irrumpentes, benedictæ aquæ aspergine præstigias inimici effugarunt.

§ 324. Quid illud omnibus incognitum seculis? discordia ventorum inter se dissidentium, ab euro-austro veniens, decimo sexto kalendas No-^{Oct. 17.}vembris Londoniæ plusquam ²secentas domos effregit. Cumulabantur ecclesiæ cum domibus, maceriæ cum parietibus. Majus quoque scelus furor ventorum ausus, tectum ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ quæ 'ad Arcus' dicitur pariter sublevavit, et duos homines ibi obruit. Ferebanturque tigna cum trabibus per inane, spectaculo a longe visentibus, timori prope stantibus ne obruerentur. Quatuor tigna, sex et viginti pedes longa, tanta vi in humum impacta sunt ut vix quatuor pedes extarent. Notabili visu quomodo duritiem strætæ publicæ perruperint, eo ibi ordine posita quo in tecto manu artificis fuerant locata, quoad ob impedimenta transeuntium ad planitiem terræ sunt desecta, quod aliter erui nequirent.

§ 325. Quinto anno eadem violentia fulminis ^{A.D. 1092.}apud Salesbiriam tectum turris ecclesiæ omnino disjecit, multumque maceriam labefactavit, quinta sane die postquam eam dedicaverat Osmundus, præclaræ memoriæ episcopus.

§ 326. Sexto anno tantum fuit pluviarum dilu-^{A.D. 1093.}vium, tanta tempestas imbrium, quantum nullus meminerat. Mox, accedente hyeme, fluvii ita sunt congelati ut essent pervii equitantibus et

¹ *In tota spargerentur ecclesia.*] *A. D. E. L.*; per totam spargerentur ecclesiam, *S. C.* | ² *Secentas.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; centenas, *S.* (var. lect.)

plaustra ducentibus; nec mora, resoluta gelu, impetu glacialium crustarum pontes effracti.

A. D. 1094.

§ 327. Septimo anno, propter tributa quæ rex in Normannia positus edixerat, agricultura defecit: qua fatiscente, fames e vestigio; ea quoque invalescente, mortalitas hominum subsecuta, adeo crebra ut deesset morituris cura, mortuis sepultura. Tunc etiam Walenses in Normannos efferati, Cestrensem pagum et partem Scrobeshiriensis depopulati, Anglesiam armis obtinuerunt.

A. D. 1097.
Oct. 1.

§ 328. Decimo anno kalendis Octobris apparuit cometes, quindecim diebus majorem crinem emittens ad orientem, minorem versus euro-astrum: apparuerunt et aliæ stellæ, quasi jacula inter se emittentes. Ille fuit annus quo Anselmus lux Angliæ, ultro tenebras erroneorum effugiens, Romam ivit.

A. D. 1098.

§ 329. Undecimo anno rex Noricorum Magnus, cum Haroldo filio Haroldi regis quondam Angliæ, Orcadas insulas et Mevanias, et si quæ aliæ in oceano jacent, armis subegit; jamque Angliam per Anglesiam obstinatus petebat: sed occurrerunt ei comites, Hugo Cestrensis, et Hugo Scrobeshiriensis; et, antequam continentem ingrederetur, armis eum expulerunt. Cecidit ibi Hugo Scrobeshiriensis, eminus ferreo hastili perfoctus.

A. D. 1099.

§ 330. Duodecimo anno fluctus marinus per Tamesim fluvium ascendit, et villas multas cum hominibus mersit.

A. D. 1100.

§ 331. Tertiodecimo anno, qui et extremus fuit vitæ, multa adversa: hoc quoque maxime horrendum, quod visibiliter diabolus apparuit hominibus in saltibus et deviis, transeuntes allocutus. Præterea in pago Berruscire, in villa ¹Hamstede, continuis quindecim diebus fons sanguinem

¹ *Hamstede.*] A. S. C. D. E. L.; Finghamsted, S. (var. lect.)

tam ubertim manavit ut vicinum vadum inficeret. Audiebat ille hæc, et ¹ridebat; nec sua somnia de se, nec aliorum visa, curans.

§ 332. Multa de ipsius ²nece et prævisa et prædicta homines ferunt, quorum tria probabili-um relatorum testimonio lecturis communicabo. Edmerus, nostrorum temporum historicus sinceritate veritatis laudandus, dicit nobilem illum exulem Anselmum, cum quo pariter omnis religio exulabat, Marcenniacum venisse, ut Hugonis abbatis Cluniacensis conscientiae querelas curarum suarum ingereret. Ibi, cum de rege Wilhelmo sermo volutaretur, abbatem prædictum dixisse, proxima nocte regem illum ante Deum ductum, et adjudicatum librato iudicio, tristem ³damnationis subiisse sententiam. Id quo modo nosset, nec ipse tunc exposuit, nec aliquis audientium requisivit: veruntamen, pro contuitu religionis ejus, nulli præsentium de fide dictorum inhæsit ambiguum. Ejus erat vitæ Hugo, ejus famæ, ut omnes ejus ⁴suspicerent eloquium, mirarentur consilium, quasi ex cœlesti aditu insonuisset oraculum. Nec multo post occiso, ut dicemus, rege, venit nuncius ut sedem suam dignaretur archiepiscopus.

§ 333. Pridie quam ⁵excederet vita, vidit per quietem se phlebotomi ictu sanguinem emittere; radium cruoris in cœlum usque protentum lucem obnubilare, diem interpolare. Ita, inclamata sancta Maria, somno excussus, lumen inferri præcepit, et cubicularios a se discedere vetuit.

¹ Ridebat.] S. C. D. E.; garriebat, A. L.

² Nece.] S. C. D. E.; interitu, A. L.

³ Damnationis.] A. S. C. D. E. 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

⁴ Suspicerent.] A. S. C. D. E. L.; suscipere, S. (var. lect.)

⁵ Excederet vita.] D. E.; periret, L.

Tunc aliquot horis ¹antelucanis nonnihil vigilatum. Paulo post, cum jam Aurora diem invenire meditaretur, monachus quidam transmarinus retulit Roberto filio Hamonis, viro magnatum principi, somnium quod eadem nocte de rege viderat, mirum et horrendum: Quod in quandam ecclesiam venerat, superbo gestu et insolenti, ut solebat, circumstantes despiciens. Tunc, crucifixum mordicus apprehendens, brachia illi corroserit, crura pene truncaverit. Crucifixum diu tolerasse, sed tandem pede ita regem depulisse ut supinus caderet: ex ore jacentis tam effusam flammam exisse, ²ut fumeorum voluminum orbis etiam sidera lamberent. Hoc somnium Robertus non negligendum arbitratus, regi confestim, quod ei a secretis erat, intulit: at ille cachinnos ingeminans, 'Monachus,' inquit, 'est, et causa nummorum monachaliter somniat; date ei centum solidos.' Multum tamen motus, diu cunctatus est an in sylvam sicut intenderat iret, suadentibus amicis ne suo dispendio veritatem somniorum experiretur. Itaque ante cibum venatu abstinuit, seriis negotiis ³crudelitatem indomitæ mentis eructuans; ferunt, ea die largiter epulatum, crebrioribus quam consueverat poculis frontem serenasse. Mox igitur post cibum in saltum contendit, paucis comitatus; quorum familiarissimus erat ⁴Walterius cognomento Tirel,

¹ *Antelucanis.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; antelucanum, E 1.

² *Ut fumeorum . . . lamberent.*] S. C. D. E. L.; ut fumi magnitudo etiam sidera obnubilaret, A.

³ *Crudelitatem.*] A. D. E. L.; crudelitatem, S. C.

⁴ *Walterius cognomento Tirel.*] The tradition of William having met his death by the hand of Sir Walter Tirel, whilst hunting in the New Forest, is generally re-

ceived; but Suger, a contemporary historian, and, as it seems, a friend of Tirel, in his Life of Louis le Gros king of France, alluding to the death of Rufus, observes, 'Imponebatur a quibusdam cuidam nobili Gualtero Tyrello quod eum sagitta perfoderat: quem, cum nec timeret nec speraret, jurejurando sæpius audivimus quasi sacrosanctum asserere, quod ea die nec in eam par-

qui de Francia, liberalitate regis adductus, venerat. Is, cæteris per moram venationis, quo quemque casus tulerat, dispersis, solus cum eo remanserat. ¹Jamque Phœbo in oceanum proclivi, rex cervo ante se transeunti, extento nervo et emissa sagitta, non adeo sævum vulnus infixit; ²diutile adhuc fugitantem vivacitate oculorum prosecutus, opposita contra violentiam solarium radiorum manu. Tunc Walterius pulchrum facinus animo parturiens, ut, rege alias interim intento, ipse alterum cervum qui forte propter transibat prosterneret, inscius et impotens regium pectus (Deus bone!) lethali arundine trajecit. Saucius ille nullum verbum emisit; sed ligno sagittæ quantum extra corpus extabat effracto, moxque supra vulnus cadens, mortem acceleravit. Accurrit Walterius; sed, quia nec sensum nec vocem hausit, perniciousiter cornipedem insiliens, beneficio calcarium probe evasit. Nec vero fuit qui persequeretur, illis conniventibus, istis miserantibus, omnibus postremo alia molientibus; pars receptacula sua munire, pars furtivas prædas agere, pars regem novum jamjamque circumspicere. Pauci rusticanorum cadaver, in rheda caballaria compositum, Wintoniam in episcopatum devexere, cruore undatim per totam viam stillante. Ibi infra ambitum turris, multorum procerum conventu, paucorum planctu, terræ traditum. ³Secuta est posteriori anno

The death of
William Rufus.
A.D. 1100.
Aug. 2.

A.D. 1107.

tem sylvæ, in qua rex venabatur, venerit, nec eum in sylva omnino viderit.'—See also Eadmer, Hist. Nov. p. 54, and Ord. Vital. Hist. Eccles. lib. x. p. 783.

¹ *Jamque.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; Itaque, E 1.

² *Diutile.*] C. D. E. L.; diu- tile, A. S.

³ *Secuta est . . . sepultus fu-*

isset.] S. C. D. E.; Neque defuere opiniones quorundam, dicentium ruinam turris, quæ posterioribus annis accidit, peccatis illius contigisse, quod injuria fuerit illum sacro tumulari loco qui tota vita peculans et lubricus, moriens etiam Christiano caruerit viatico, A. L.—The tower fell on the 7th of October 1107. An. Winton.; Angl. Sacr. pars 1. p. 297.

ruina turris: de qua re quæ opiniones fuerint parco dicere, ne videar ¹nugis credere; præsertim cum, pro instabilitate operis, machina ruinam fecisse potuisset etiamsi nunquam ipse ibi sepultus fuisset. Obiit anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo centesimo, regni tertio decimo, nonas Augusti quarto, major quadragenario, ingentia præsumens, et ingentia, si pensa Parcarum evolvere, vel violentiam fortunæ abrumpere et eluctari potuisset, facturus. Tanta vis erat animi, ut ²quodlibet sibi regnum promittere auderet. Denique ante proximam diem mortis interrogatus ubi festum suum in natali ³teneret; respondit Pictavis, quod comes Pictavensis, Ierosolymam ire gestiens, ei terram suam pro pecunia invadaturus dicebatur. Ita paternis possessionibus non contentus, majorisque gloriæ spe ⁴raptatus, indebitis incubabat honoribus. Vir sacrati ordinis hominibus pro damno animæ, cuius salutem revocare ⁵laborent, maxime miserandus; stipendiariis militibus pro copia donativorum mirandus; provincialibus, quod eorum substantias ⁶abradi sinebat, non desiderandus. Nullum suo tempore concilium fieri ⁷memini, in quo, delictis enervatis, vigor ecclesiasticus confirmaretur. ⁸Ecclesiasticos honores diu antequam daret deliberabat, sive pro commodo sive pro trutinando merito; utpote qui, eo die quo

¹ *Nugis credere.*] C. D. E.; nudis nugis magis credere, S.

² *Quodlibet.*] A. C. D. E. L.; quodvis, S.

³ *Teneret.*] S. D. E.; celebraret, L.

⁴ *Raptatus.*] A. C. D. E. L.; captatus, S.

⁵ *Laborent.*] C. E.; nequeant, A. S. D. L.

⁶ *Abradi sinebat.*] S. C. D. E.; abra-debat, A. L.

⁷ *Memini.*] S. C. D. E.; permisit, A. L.

⁸ *Ecclesiasticos . . . merito.*] S. C. D. E.; sed quia in præceps pecuniæ aviditate ferebatur, sacros honores sui juris esse dictabat, A. L.

excessit, tres episcopatus et ¹duodecim abbatias desolatas pastoribus in manu sua teneret. Quin et accepta occasione qua inter se dissiderent Urbanus in Roma, Gwibertus in Ravenna, tributum Romanæ sedi negavit; pronior tamen in Gwiberti gratiam, quod fomes et incentivum inter eum et Anselmum fuerat discordiæ ²quo ille vir Deo dilectus Urbanum apostolicum, alterum apostatam, pronunciaret.

DE CISTERCIENSIBUS.

§ 334. Ejus diebus religio ³Cistellensis cœpit, quæ ⁴nunc optima via summi in cœlum processus et creditur et dicitur. De qua hic loqui ⁵suscepti operis non videtur esse contrarium, quod ad Angliæ gloriam pertineat, quæ talem virum produxerit qui hujusce religionis fuerit et auctor et mediator. Noster ille, et nostra puer in palestra primi ævi tirocinium cucurrit. Quapropter, si non invidi sumus, eo illius bona complectimur gratiosius quo agnoscimus propinquius; simul et laudes ejus attollere mihi est animus, quia ingenua mens est si bonum in alio probes quod in te non esse suspites. Is fuit Hardingus nomine apud Anglos, non ita reconditis natalibus procreatus. A puero ⁶Scireburniæ monachus; sed cum adolescentem seculi urtica sollicitaret, pan-

Origin of the
Cistercian
order.

¹ *Duodecim.*] S. C. D. E. L.; quatuordecim, A.

² *Quo.*] C. D. E.; quod, A. S. L.

³ *Cistellensis.*] S. C. D. E. L.; Cisterciensis, A.

⁴ *Nunc optima via summi in cœlum processus.*]

— In cœlum quos evehit optima summi

Nunc via processus.

Juven. Sat. i. 38.

A similar allusion to the Cis-

tercian order being the surest road to heaven may be seen in the prologue to Richard of Devizes: 'quanto cella Cartusiæ celsior sit et coelo vicinior claustro Wintoniæ.' (Chron. Ric. Divis. cur. Jos. Stevenson.)

⁵ *Suscepti operis.*] S. D. E.; suscepto operi, L.

⁶ *Scireburniæ.*] A. S. C. D. E. L.; Cineburniæ, S. (var. lect.)

Origin of the
Cistercian
order.

nos illos perosus, primo Scotiam, mox Franciam contendit. Ibi aliquot annis literis liberalibus exercitus, divini amoris stimulos accepit: namque cum pueriles ineptias robustior ætas excluderet, Romam, cum consorte studiorum clerico, profectus est; nec illos continuatio et difficultas itineris, et facultatum penuria, unquam cohibere potuit quin quotidie totum psalterium et euntes et redeuntes cantarent. Profecto jam prædicabilis viri spirabat animus quod non multo post, per Dei gratiam, est adorsus: nam Burgundiam regressus, in Molesmo, novo et magno monasterio, crinem abjecit, et prima quidem elementa regulæ olim visa facile recognovit; cum vero ei alia proponerentur observanda, quæ nec in regula legerat nec usquam viderat, rationem eorum efflagitare cœpit, modeste sane et ut monachum decet. ‘Ratione,’ inquit, ‘supremus rerum Auctor omnia fecit, ratione omnia regit; ratione rotatur poli fabrica, ratione ipsa etiam quæ dicuntur errantia torquentur sidera, ratione moventur elementa; ratione et ¹æquilibrata debet nostra subsistere natura. Sed quia per desidiam sæpe ²a ratione decidit, leges quondam multæ latæ; novissime per beatum Benedictum regula divinitus processit quæ fluxum naturæ ad rationem revocaret; in qua etsi habentur quædam quorum rationem penetrare non ³sufficio, auctoritati tamen acquiescendum censeo. Ratio enim et auctoritas divinorum scriptorum, quamvis dissonare videantur, unum idemque sunt: namque cum Deus nihil sine ratione creaverit, et recreaverit; qui fieri potest ut credam

¹ *Æquilibrata.*] A. C. D. E. L.; æquabilitate, S. | ³ *Sufficio.*] A. D. E. L.; valeo, S. C.
² A.] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; | S. C.
omitted in E 1.

sanctos patres, sequaces scilicet Dei, quicumque præter rationem edicere, quasi soli auctoritati fidem debeamus adhibere? Itaque illorum, quæ procudit, aut rationem aut auctoritatem afferre. Quamvis non multum debeat credi, si quid humanæ rationis possit allegari, quod æquipollentibus argumentis valeat enervari. Quapropter ex regula quæ ratione et auctoritate nixa, utpote omnium justorum spiritu dictata est, date exempla; quod si non potestis, frustra profitemini illius prærogativam cujus contemnitis sequi doctrinam.'

Origin of the
Cistercian
order.

§ 335. Hujusmodi sententia, ab uno, ut fit, serpens in alios, merito movit corda Deum timentium ne forte in vacuum currerent aut currissent. Frequentibus ergo capitulis disputatio agitata hunc finem habuit, ut ipse abbas sententiam probaret, supersedendum superfluis, solam medullam regulæ vestigandam. Ita duo fratres electi, in quibus scientia literarum cum religione quadraret, qui, vicaria collatione, auctoris regulæ voluntatem inquirerent, inquisitam aliis proponerent. Abbas sedulo agere ut totus conventus assentiretur: sed quia difficile a mentibus hominum avellitur quod ex antiquo inderit, quia inviti expuunt quod prima saliva combiberint, pene omnes ¹suscipere recusarunt res novas, quia antiquas ²diligebant. Soli decem et octo, in quibus Hardingus, qui et Stephanus, sancta obstinatione pervicaces, cum abbate suo cœnobium derelinquunt; pronunciantes non posse regulæ puritatem custodiri in loco ubi et opum congeries et ciborum indigeries etiam reluctantem animum offocarent. Igitur Cistellas venere, lo-

¹ *Suscipere.*] *A. D. E. L.*; re- | ² *Diligebant.*] *S. L.*; omitted
cipere, *S. C.* | in *A. C. D. E.*

Origin of the
Cistercian
order.

cum prius saltuosum, nunc ita frequenti religione monachorum ¹perspicuum, ut divinitatis ipsius conscius non immerito aestimetur. Ibi suffragio archiepiscopi Viennensis, ²qui nunc apostolicus est, memorabile et omni seculo venerabile opus cœptarunt.

§ 336. Et plura certe videntur aspera, sed hæc præcipue: nihil pelliceum aut lineum vestiunt, nec illud quod subtiliter textitur laneum, quod nos staminium vocamus; nunquam femoralia, nisi in itinere directi, habent, quæ revertentes lota restituunt. Duas tunicas cum cucullis habentes, hyeme augmentum non assumunt; sed æstate, si volunt, levamen accipiunt. Vestiti dormiunt et cincti, ³nec ullo tempore post matutinas ad lectos redeunt: sed ita horam matutinarum temperant, ut ante laudes luceat; ita regulæ incubantes, ut nec iota unum nec apicem prætereundum putent. Statim post laudes primam canunt, post primam in opera horis constitutis exeunt; quicquid faciendum vel cantandum est die sine aliena lucerna consummant. Nullus ex horis diurnis, nullus ex completorio unquam deest, præter infirmos: cellararius et hospitarius post auditum completorium serviunt hospitibus, summo tamen studio servantes silentium. Abbas nihil sibi, nisi quod aliis, licere permittit; ubique præsens, ubique gregis sui curam circumferens: solummodo edentibus non adest, quia mensa ejus cum peregrinis et pauperibus est semper. Nihilominus, ubicunque sit, verborum et obsoniorum abstemius; quia nec ipsi nec aliis unquam nisi duo fercula apponuntur, sagimen et carnes nun-

¹ *Perspicuum.*] A. C. D. E. L.; conspicuum, S.

² *Qui nunc apostolicus est.*] Ca-
lixus II, A.D. 1119—1124.

³ *Nec ullo.*] A. C. D. E 2. L.;
non ullo, S.; nullo, E 1.

quam nisi infirmis. Ab idibus Septembris usque ad Pascha nullius festivitatis contuitu, præter dies Dominicos, nisi semel in die jejunium solvunt. Nunquam claustrum nisi causa operandi egrediuntur; nec ibi, nec usquam, nisi abbati aut priori invicem colloquentes. Horas canonicas indefesse continuant, nulla ¹appenditia extrinsecus adjicientes, præter vigiliam pro defunctis. Cantus et hymnos Ambrosianos, quantum ex Mediolano addiscere potuerunt, frequentant in divinis officiis. Hospitum et infirmorum curam habentes, importabiles corporibus suis pro animarum remedio comminiscuntur cruces.

Origin of the
Clsterian
order.

§ 337. Hæc abbas ille primo ingenti impetu et ipse faciebat et alios ²compellebat; sed temporis intercessu poenituit homo delicate nutritus, et ægre ferens tam diutinam ciborum parcimoniam. Cujus voluntatem monachi apud Molesmum residui cognoscentes, verbis quibusdam incertum an et epistolis, per obedientiam papæ astu quodam ad monasterium ³retrahunt, volentem cogentes. Quasi enim diffatigatus improbitate supplicum, angustos parietes reliquit pauperum, angustiorem repetens thronum. Secuti eum ex Cistellis omnes qui cum eo venerant, præter octo. Illi pauci numero, sed multi merito, abbatem Albericum quendam ex suis, priorem Stephanum constituunt. Nec ille in vita moratus plus octennio, supremo feliciter conventus est arbitrio. Tum, haud dubie nutu divino, Stephanus absens etiam in abbatem eligitur, dux olim facti totius, speciale et insigne nostrorum dierum decus; cujus quanti sit meritum testantur abbatiae sexdecim

¹ *Appenditia.*] A. E. L.; appendentia, S. C. D.

² *Compellebat.*] S. D. E.; facere compellebat, L.

³ *Retrahunt.*] D. E.; eum retrahunt, A. S. L.

Origin of the
Cistercian
order.

jam per eum factæ, septem cœptæ. Ita ipse, resona Dei tuba, circumpositos tum verbo, tum exemplo, in cœlum dirigit, nihil infra præceptum faciens: sermone comis, facie jocundus, animo semper in Domino lætus. Hinc palam præclari vultus gaudium, hinc clam, illud desuper veniens irriguum; quia, incolatum istum fastidians, patriam continuo amore desideret. Per hæc favorabilis cunctis habetur, quia Deus amorem viri quem diligit in animos hominum dignanter refudit. Quocirca beatum se computat terræ illius indigena quisquis per illius manum pecunias suas transmittit ¹ad Deum. Plura quidem ille accipit; sed, paucis in suos suorumque usus expensis, cætera in egenos et monasteriorum ædificationem confestim dispertit. Est enim Stephani marsupium omnium egentium publicum ærarium. Abstinentiæ illius est indicium, quod nihil ibi, sicut in cæteris cœnobiis, videas fulgurare auro, renidere gemma, micare argento; nam, ut Gentilis ait, ‘in sancto quid facit aurum?’ Nos in sacratis vasis parum putamus actum nisi crassi crustam metalli obumbret honor lapidum, vel topaziorum flamma, vel ametistorum viola, vel smaragdorum lux herbida; nisi tunicæ sacerdotales auro ludant; nisi multicoloribus parietes picturis renideant, et solem ad lacunar sollicitent. At vero illi, ea quæ prima mortales falso æstimant in secundis habentes, omne studium in ornandis moribus ponunt, magisque amant splendoras mentes quam auratas vestes; scientes quod benefactorum retributio optima est, munda frui conscientia. Quin etiam laudabilis abbatis clementia cum vel vult, vel velle se simulat, aliquid de jugo regulæ inflectere, illi contra nituntur:

¹ *Ad Deum.*] A. S. E 2. L.; ad eum, C. D. E 1.

non multum superesse vitæ suæ dicentes, nec tam diu se victuros quam vixere: sperare se duraturos in proposito, et successuris futuros exemplo, qui si flexi fuerint peccabunt. Et profecto fiet pro humana debilitate; cujus perpetua lex est, ut nihil maximis laboribus partum diu possit consistere. Sed ut omnia quæ de illis dicta sunt, vel dici possunt, in summam conferam, sunt hodie monachi Cistellenses omnium monachorum exercitium, studiosorum speculum, desidiosorum œstrum.

Origin of the Cistercian order.

DE TRANSLATIONE TRIUM EPISCOPATUUM, WEL-
LENSIS, CESTRENSIS, ET THETFORDENSIS.

§ 338. His temporibus in Anglia tres episcopatus ex antiquis sedibus transiere alias; Wel-
lensis per Johannem in Bathoniam, Cestrensis per Robertum in Coventreiam, Thetfordensis per Herbertum in Norwic: 'omnes majori ambitu quam ut tantorum virorum debuisset interesse studio. Denique, ut primum de postremo dicam, Herbertus, cognomento Losinga, quod ei ars adulationis impegerat, ex abbate Ramesiensi emit episcopatum Thetfordensem; patre quoque suo Roberto, ejusdem cognominis, in abbatiam Wintoniæ intruso. Fuit ergo vir ille magnus in Anglia symoniæ fomes, abbatiam episcopatumque nummis aucupatus; pecunia scilicet regiam sollicitudinem invisicans, et principum favori non leves promissiones assibilans; unde quidam egregie tunc temporis versificus ait:

Herbert bishop of Norwich.

'Surgit in ecclesia monstrum, genitore Losinga,
Symonidum secta, canonum virtute resecta.

¹ Omnes majori ambitu . . . studio.] S. C. D. E.; omnes num-
morum maleficio, omnes venalitatibus ambitu et sacrilegio, L.

Petre, nimis tardas, nam Symon ad ardua
tentat;

Si præsens esses, non Symon ¹ad alta volaret.
Proh dolor! Ecclesiæ nummis venduntur et
ære.'

Et infra :

' Filius est præsul, pater abbas, Symon uterque.
Quid non speremus si nummos possideamus?
Omnia nummus habet; quod vult facit, addit,
et aufert.

' Res nimis injusta, nummis fit præsul et abba.'

DE HERBERTO LOSINGA.

§ 339. Veruntamen erroneum impetum juven-
tutis abolevit poenitentia, Romam profectus se-
verioribus annis; ubi loci, symonicum et baculum
et annulum deponens, indulgentia clementissimæ
sedis iterum recipere meruit; quod Romani
sanctius et ordinatius censeant, ut ecclesiarum
omnium sumptus suis potius marsupiis serviant,
quam quorumlibet regum usibus militent. Ita
Herbertus, domum reversus, sedem episcopalem
quæ quondam fuerat in Helmam, et tunc erat
apud Thetford, ad insignem mercimoniis et po-
pulorum frequentia vicum transtulit, nomine Nor-
wic. Ibi monachorum congregationem numero
et religione percelebrem instituit, omnia iis ne-
cessaria ex nummis mercatus domesticis: pro-
videns scilicet successorum querelæ, nullas epi-
scopii terras monachis largitus est; ne illi Dei
famulos fraudarent victualibus, si quid donatum
offendissent quod suis competeret rebus. Præ-

¹ *Ad alta volaret.*] Alluding to the legend of St. Peter and Simon Magus, who, having undertaken, by means of enchantment, to fly, was, by the adjuration of St. Peter, dashed to the earth and killed. V. Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus*. (Sharpe, 402.)

terea apud Thetford monachos Cluniacenses instituit, quod sint illius cœnobii professores, ubique pene gentium dispersi, locupletes in seculo et splendidissimæ religionis in Deo. Ingenti ergo et numerosa virtutum gratia præteritarum offensarum molem obumbravit; disertitudinis et literarum copia, nec minus secularium rerum peritia, Romanæ quoque celsitudini suspiciendus. Fuitque Herbertus mutatus, (ut Lucanus de Curione dixit,) ‘momentum et mutatio rerum:’ sicut tempore istius regis symoniæ causidicus, ita posterius propulsator invictus, neque ab aliis fieri voluit quod a se præsumptum quondam juvenili fervore indoluit; præ se semper, ut aiunt, ferens Ieronymi dictum, ‘Erravimus juvenes, emendemus senes.’ Postremo quis in illius facti laudem digne pergat, quod tam nobile monasterium episcopus non multum pecuniosus fecerit; in quo nihil frustra desideres, vel in ædificiorum sublimium specie, vel in ornamentorum pulchritudine, vel in monachorum religione, et ad omnes sedula charitate? Hæc et vivum spe felici palpabant; et defunctum, si non vana fides poenitentiae, super æthera tulerunt.

DE JOHANNE EPISCOPO PRIMO BATHONIÆ.

§ 340. Johannes erat Wellensis episcopus, natione Turonicus; usu, non literis, medicus probatus. Is, defuncto abbate Bathoniensi, abbatiam a rege non¹ gravate obtinuit, eo quod et in curia omnia vœnum agebantur, et aviditatem videbatur palliare ratio ut urbs tam insignis nomen celebrius acciperet ex episcopio. Itaque primo in monachos severitatem exercere, quod essent et hebetes et sua æstimatione barbari; omnes terras

John bishop
of Bath.

¹ Gravate.] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; gravante, E 1.

victualium ministras ¹subtrahens, pauculumque victum per ²laicos exiliter inferens: sed procedentibus annis factis monachis novis, mitius se agere, aliquantulum terrarum ³quo se hospitesque suos quomocunque sustentarent indulgens priori. ⁴Et quamvis primo cœpisset austerius, multa nobiliter per eum ibi cœpta et consummata in ornamentis et libris; maximeque monachorum congregatione, qui sunt scientia literarum et sedulitate ⁵officii ⁶prædicabiles. Cæterum nunquam, nec etiam moriens, ⁷emendare voluit ut plena manu terrarum servitium manumitteret; successoribus suis non imitandum ⁸præbens exemplum.

DE ROBERTO EPISCOPO CESTRENSI.

Robert
bishop of
Chester.

§ 341. ⁹Erat in Cestrensi diœcesi cœnobium Coventreia nomine, quod comes magnificentissimus Lefricus, ut supra fatus sum, cum uxore Godiva, constituerat; tanto auri et argenti spectaculo, ut ipsi parietes ecclesiæ angusti viderentur thesaurorum ¹⁰receptaculis, miraculo porro magno visentium oculis. Hoc Robertus, ejusdem episcopus provinciæ, inhians, ¹¹non episcopaliter involavit; ex ipsis ecclesiæ gazis surripiens unde ¹²datoris manum suppleret, unde papæ occupationes

¹ *Subtrahens.*] S. D. E.; auferens, L.

² *Laicos.*] D. E.; laicos suos; A. S. L.

³ *Quo.*] L.; qua, S. D. E.

⁴ *Et quamvis primo cœpisset austerius.*] S. D. E.; et quamvis pene in omnibus insulsi esset animi et parum stabilis, L.

⁵ *Officii.*] C. D. E.; officiorum, A. S. L.

⁶ *Prædicabiles.*] C. D. E.; juxta prædicabiles, A. S. L.

⁷ *Emendare voluit.*] D. E.; L.

emolliri potuit, A. S. L.; emendari potuit, C.

⁸ *Præbens.*] C. D. E.; relinquens, A. S. L.

⁹ *Erat in Cestrensi . . . vindicandi.*] A. S. C. E. L.; the whole section is omitted in D. M.

¹⁰ *Receptaculis.*] A. S. E. L.; spectaculis, C.

¹¹ *Non episcopaliter.*] S. D. E.; more prædonis, L.

¹² *Datoris.*] S. D. E.; regis,

falleret, unde aviditati Romanorum irreperet; pluresque ibi annos moratus nihil probitatis exhibuit. Adeo tecta ruinam minitantiā nunquam periculo exemit, adeo sacras opes dilapidans peculatus crimen incurrit, repetundarum reus futurus episcopus; si esset, accusator paratus. Monachos miserabili stipe cibans, nec ad regularis ordinis amorem curavit ¹accendere, nec nisi ad popularem literaturam passus est ²aspirare; ne vel ciborum affluentia delicatos, vel regulæ rigor et scientiæ vigor contra se faceret elatos. Agresti igitur victu et triviali litera contenti, satis habebant si vel saltem quieti vivere possent. Quin etiam moriturus, parvi faciens scita canonum quibus edicitur pontifices in suis sedibus sepeliri debere, non apud Cestram, sed apud Coventreiam se tumultum iri præcepit; sua opinione relinquens successuris non indebitum calumniandi, sed quasi jus legitimum vindicandi.

§ 342. Hic occasio temporum Willelmi translationem Augustini præcellentissimi Anglorum apostoli cum sociis suis exponi animaret, nisi peritissimi ³Goscelini præcurrisset ingenium; Goscelini, qui, monachus de sancto Bertino, cum Heremanno episcopo Salesbirie quondam Angliam venerat, insignis literarum et cantuum peritia. Is, multo episcopatus et abbatias perlustrans tempore, præclaræ scientiæ ⁴multis locis monumenta dedit, in laudibus sanctorum Angliæ ⁵nulli post Bedam secundus. Musicæ porro palmam post Osbernum adeptus. Denique in-

Goscelin of
St. Bertin.

¹ *Accendere.*] A. C. E. L.; is printed in the Acta Sanctorum, attendere, S. Antwerp. 26 Maii.

² *Aspirare.*] A. C. E. L.; ascendere, S.

³ *Goscelini.*] Goscelin's 'Life and Translation of St. Augustine'

⁴ *Multis.*] S. D. E.; pluribus, L.

⁵ *Nulli.*] A. C. D. E.; omitted in S. L.

numeras sanctorum vitas recentium stylo extulit; veterum vel hostilitate amissas, vel informiter editas, comptius renovavit. Hujus quoque translationis seriem ita expolivit, ut eam præsentibus monstrasse digito, futurorumque videatur subjecisse oculo. Felix lingua quæ tot sanctis servierit, felix pectus quod tot vocales melodias emisit, præsertim cum in ejus conversatione certaret honestas doctrinæ! Veruntamen quia de quibusdam episcopis parum laudanda huc usque contexui, aliquos alterius modi disparisque vitæ, sed contemporaneos, introducā episcopos; ne ita videatur nostrum obtorpuisse seculum, quod non aliquem producat sanctum. Sed hanc sponsonem sequenti libro, post enarrata gesta Henrici regis, cui placuerit experietur.

QUÆDAM PRÆFATIO NARRATIONIS SEQUENTIS.

The expedi-
tion to Jeru-
salem

§ 343. Nunc iter Ierosolymitanum scripto expeditiam, aliorum visa et sensa meis verbis allegans. ¹Proinde, sicut se occasio ingesserit, de situ et divitiis Constantinopoleos, Antiochiæ, Ierusalem, ex scriptis majorum deflorata subtexam; ut qui ea ignorat, et hæc forte invenerit, in promptu habeat quæ aliis cognoscenda ipse proponat: sed ad hæc enarranda ferventiore opus est spiritu, ut consummem efficaciter quod incipio tam hilariter. Appellata igitur ²in auxilium, ut mos est, Divinitate, tale aucupabor exordium.

DE ITINERE CHRISTIANORUM IN IERUSALEM.

A.D. 1095.
Origin of the
first Crusade.

§ 344. Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo nonagesimo quinto, papa Urbanus secundus, qui

¹ Proinde.] A. C. D. E.; Porro | ² In auxilium.] A. D. E. L.;
inde, S. L. | omitted in S. C.

præsidebat apostolico culmini, evasis Alpius venit in Gallias: adventus causa ferebatur perspicua, quod, violentia Guiberti Roma extrusus, citramontanas ad sui reverentiam sollicitaret ecclesias. Illud repositius propositum non ita vulgabatur, quod Boamundi consilio pene totam Europam in Asiaticam expeditionem moveret; ut, in tanto tumultu omnium provinciarum facile obæratibus auxiliariis, et Urbanus Romam, et Boamundus Illyricum et Macedoniam, pervaderent: nam eas terras, et quicquid præterea a Dirachio usque in Tessalonicam protenditur, Guiscardus pater super Alexium acquisierat, iccirco illas Boamundus juri suo competere clamitabat; inops hæreditatis Appulæ, quam genitor Rogero¹ comiti filio delegaverat. Veruntamen, quæcunque transeundi fuerit occasio, magno et illustri adventus ejus fuit emolumento Christianis. Coactum ergo est apud Clarum Montem concilium, quæ clarissima est urbs Arvernorum; ² numerus episcoporum et abbatum trecenti decem; ubi aliquot diebus primo de catholica fide, et ³inter se dissidentium pace, tractatus prolixè habitus. Nam præter flagitia quibus singuli licenter incubabant, ad hæc calamitatis omnes Cisalpini devenerant, ut nullis vel minimis causis extantibus quisque alium caperet, nec nisi magno redemptum abire sineret. Præterea symonicus anguis ita lubricum caput erexerat, ita venenato foetu mortiferi germinis ova vaporaverat, ut totus orbis lethali sibilo infectus ecclesiasticos honores corrumperet. Tum enim non dicam episcopi ad

¹ Comiti.] C. D. E.; minori, A. S. L.

² Numerus episcoporum.] S. D. E.; numerus fuit congregatorum episcoporum, L.

³ Inter se dissidentium.] S. D. E.; eorum qui inter se dissident, L.

ecclesias, sed nec quislibet ad quoscunque ordines, nisi per pecunias aspirabat. Tunc, legitimis uxoribus exclusis, multi contrahebant divortium, alienum expugnantes matrimonium; quare, quia in his et illis erat confusa criminum sylvæ, ad pœnam quorundam potentiorum designata sunt nomina. Unde, ne longum faciam, totius actionem concilii subnectam; quædam meis sermonibus pro compendio brevians.

DE CONCILIO CLARI MONTIS.

The council
of Clermont.

§ 345. In concilio apud ¹Clarum Montem, sub præsentia domini Urbani papæ, hæc capitula finita sunt. ²Quod ecclesia catholica sit in fide, casta, libera ab omni servitute; ut episcopi, vel abbates, vel aliquis de clero, aliquam ecclesiasticam dignitatem de manu principum vel quorumlibet laicorum non accipiant. Quod clerici in duabus ecclesiis vel civitatibus præbendas non habeant. Quod aliquis simul episcopus et abbas esse non possit. Quod ecclesiasticæ dignitates a nullo emantur vel vendantur. Quod nullus cujuslibet sacri ordinis carnali commercio utatur. Quod eis qui, ignorantes canonum prohibitionem, canonicas emerunt, ignoscatur. Quod eis, qui scienter emptas a se vel a parentibus suis ³possederunt, auferantur. Quod nemo laicorum a capite jejunii, nemo clericorum a Quadragesima usque in Pascha, carnes comedat.

¹ *Clarum Montem.*] The council of Clermont, in Auvergne, continued from 18th to 28th Nov. A.D. 1095; wherein the decrees of the councils held by Pope Urban at Melfe, Benevento, Troie, and Plaisance, were confirmed, and many new canons made. Malmesbury's is perhaps the best account now known of

that celebrated council. See the acts of the council of Clermont; Concil. tom. XII. p. 829, &c.

² *Quod . . . servitute.*] *S. D. E.*; Quod ecclesia sit catholica in fide, casta pudicitia, libera ab omni servitute seculari, *L.*

³ *Possederunt.*] *S. D. E.*; habuerunt, *L.*

Quod omni tempore primum jejunium quatuor temporum prima hebdomada Quadragesimæ fiat. Quod ordines omni tempore vel in vespere Sabbati, vel, perseverante jejunio, in Dominica celebrentur: ut in Sabbato Paschæ, non nisi post horam nonam officium celebretur; ut jejunium secundum in hebdomada ¹Pentecostes celebretur. Quod ab Adventu Domini usque ad octavas Epiphaniæ, et a Septuagesima usque ad octavas Paschæ, et a prima die Rogationum usque ad octavas Pentecostes, et a quarta feria occidente sole omni tempore usque ad secundam feriam oriente sole ²trevia Dei custodiatur. Quod episcopum qui ceperit, omnino exlex habeatur. Quod qui sacri ordinis viros vel eorum famulos ceperit, anathema sit. Quod qui episcoporum vel clericorum morientium bona ceperit, anathema sit. Quod qui usque ad ³septimam generationem consanguinitati se copulaverit, anathema sit. Quod nemo in episcopum eligatur, nisi presbyter, aut diaconus, aut subdiaconus, et cui natalium dignitas suffragatur, nisi maxima necessitate et licentia papæ. Quod filii presbyterorum vel concubinarum ad presbyteratum non promoveantur, nisi prius ad religiosam vitam transierint. Quod qui ad ecclesiam vel ad crucem confugerint, data membrorum impunitate, justitiæ tradantur, vel innocentes liberentur. Quod unaquæque ecclesia decimas suas

¹ *Pentecostes celebretur.*] *S. D. E.*; fiat Pentecostes, *L.*

² *Trevia Dei.*] The truce of God was first invented in Aquitaine in 1032. It was so called from the eagerness with which its first proposal was received by the suffering people of every degree: during the time it endured, no one dared to infringe it by at-

tacking his fellows. It was blamed by some bishops as an occasion of perjury, and rejected by the Normans as contrary to their privileges. (Ducange, *Gloss. tom. vi. p. 682—685.* Consult also Robertson's *Charles V.*, vol. 1.)

³ *Septimam.*] *D. E. L.*; sextam, *S.*

habeat, nec ad aliam transeat. Quod laicus ¹decimam ²nec emat, nec vendat. Quod pro sepultura mortuorum pretium non ³recipiatur. ⁴In eo concilio excommunicavit dominus papa Philippum regem Francorum, et omnes qui eum vel regem vel dominum suum vocaverint, et ei obedierint, et ei locuti fuerint, nisi quod pertinet ad eum corrigendum. Similiter et illam maledictam conjugem ejus, et omnes qui eam reginam vel dominam nominaverint, quousque ad emendationem venerint, ita ut alter ab altero discedat. Similiter Guibertum Ravennansem, qui se papam appellat; et Henricum imperatorem Alamannorum, qui eum manutinet.

§ 346. Posteris diebus processit sermo ad populum sane luculentus et efficax, qualem decet ⁵sacerdotis esse, de Christianorum expeditione in Turcos; quem, sicut ab auditoribus accepi, placuit posteris ⁶transmittere, integro verborum sensu custodito: illius enim facundiæ vigorem servare quis poterit? Nobiscum agetur feliciter si, propinquam terentes orbitam, per aliquod diviticulum ⁷redeamus ad sententiam.

¹ *Decimam.*] C. D. E.; decimas, A. S. L.

² *Nec emat, nec vendat.*] S. D. E.; nec vendat nec retineat, L.

³ *Recipiatur.*] C. D. E.; exigitur, A. S. L.

⁴ *In eo concilio excommunicavit . . . discedat.*] ‘Philippum regem, cum pellice Bertrada, ab Urbano in concilio Claromontano percussus anathemate fuisse, extra dubium est; vetitum vero ab eodem ne quis ei obtemperaret, dominumque ac regem appellaret, Gallorum nemo quem sciamus, ante Albericum Trium Fontium monachum, ac seculi XIII. scriptorem, asseruit: quod quidem ip-

sius historiæ fide revincitur, cum ex Gallis, qui Philippum a consortio fidelium legitime segregatum existimabant, nullum legamus hac de causa obedientiam ejus abjecisse.’ (Note in Bouquet, XIII. 6.)

⁵ *Sacerdotis.*] S. D. E.; pontificis, L.

⁶ *Transmittere.*] There are other orations, said to have been delivered by Urban in this council, remaining; and L’Abbé (Concil. tom. x.) has printed one from a Vatican MS. (Sharpe, 410.)

⁷ *Redeamus.*] S. D. E.; recurramus, L.

SERMO URBANI PAPÆ.

§ 347. ‘*Multa,*’ (inquit,) ‘¹*fratres charissimi,* Pope Urban's speech. his diebus vobis dicta recolitis; quædam in concilio nostro jussa, quædam inhibita. Inconditum et confusum scelerum chaos exigebat dierum multorum interstitium; veteris morbus volebat cauterium. Dum enim indulgenti fune clementiæ dimittimus lineam, multa modo apostolatus nostri offendit officium quæ præcideret, nulla quibus parceret. Sed fuerit hactenus humanæ fragilitatis quod peccastis; quod, illecebrarum involucris sopiti, cœlestem exasperastis misericordiam, suspensam parvipendendo iracundiam. Fuerit mundanæ temulentæ quod, legitima non curantes matrimonia, alieni cubilis non pensastis ⁱnjuriam. Fuerit aviditatis nimix quod fratres vestros, illo magno et eodem pretio emptos, ut quisque poterat illaqueantes, contumeliose pecuniis emunxistis. Nunc vobis, inter ista peccatorum naufragia constitutis, portus placidæ quietis aperitur, nisi negligitis. Parvi laboris in Turcos compendio retribuetur vobis perpetuæ salutis statio. Comparete nunc labores quos in scelerum exercitio habuistis, et eos quos in itinere quod præcipio habituri estis. Plures vel adulterii vel homicidii meditatio dat timores (nihil enim timidius nequitia, ut ait ²Salomon), multos labores; quid enim laboriosius injustitia? qui autem ambulat simpliciter, ambulat confidenter. Horum laborum, horum timorum, exitus erat peccatum; stipendium autem peccati mors, mors vero peccatorum pessima. Nunc a vobis par labor atque metus pretio meliore petuntur. Horum laborum erit causa charitas, ‘ut, præcepto

¹ *Fratres.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; | ² *Salomon.*] *S. D. E.*; per Salomonem sapientia, *L.*

Dominico admoniti, animas pro fratribus ponatis: charitatis stipendium erit Dei gratia, Dei gratiam sequetur vita æterna. Ite ergo feliciter, ite confidenter, ad inimicos Dei persequendos. Illi enim jam pridem (proh! quantus Christianorum pudor!) Syriam, Armeniam, omnem postremo Asiam Minorem (cujus provinciæ sunt Bithinia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lidia, Caria, Pamphilia, Isauria, Licia, Cilicia), occupaverunt; nunc Illiricum et omnes inferiores terras insolenter inequant, usque ad mare quod Brachium Sancti ¹Georgii vocatur. Quid quod Dominicum monumentum, unicum fidei pignus, ditioni suæ vendicant, et ejus urbis introitum peregrinis nostris venditant, quæ solis Christianis patere deberet si aliquod solitæ virtutis vestigium eis inesset: hoc, si solum esset, frontes nostras onerare sufficeret; jam vero quis ferat nisi multum iners, nisi Christianæ gloriæ invidus, quod non ex æquo divisimus orbem? Illi Asiam, tertiam mundi partem, ut hæreditarium nidum inhabitant; quæ a majoribus nostris æqua duabus residuis partibus, et tractuum longitudine et provinciarum magnitudine, non immerito æstimata est. Ibi olim devotionis nostræ rami pullularunt; ibi apostoli omnes, præter duos, mortes suas consecrarunt; ibi modo Christicolæ, si qui supersunt, pauperculo agricolatu transigentes inedia, nefandis illis vectigal pensitant, vel tacitis suspiriis nostræ libertatis desiderantes conscientiam, quia perdidere suam. Illi Affricam, alteram orbis partem, ducentis jam annis et eo amplius armis possessam tenent; quod ideo Christiani honoris periculum pronuncio, quia fuerit terra illa olim præclarorum ingeniorum altrix, quæ divinis scriptis omnem vetus-

¹ Georgii.] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; Gregorii, E 1.

tatis situm a se repellent quamdiu fuerit qui Latinas literas legat. Norunt literati quod loquor. Tertium mundi clima restat Europa, cujus quantulam partem inhabitamus Christiani? nam omnem illam barbariem quæ in remotis insulis glaciale frequenter oceanum, quia more belluino victitat, Christianam quis dixerit? Hanc igitur nostri mundi portiunculam Turci et Saraceni bello premunt; jamque a trecentis annis Hispania et Balearibus insulis subjugatis, quod reliquum est spe devorant, homines inertissimi, et qui, cominus pugnandi fiduciam non habentes, fugax bellum diligunt. Nunquam enim Turcus pede conserto martem audet, sed pulsus loco longe tendit nervos, et permittit vulnera ventis; et quoniam habet tela mortifero succo ebria, in hominem quem percutit, non virtus sed virus mortem facit. Quicquid igitur agit, fortunæ, non fortitudini, attribuerim, quod pugnat fuga et veneno. Constat profecto quod omnis natio quæ in ea plaga nascitur, nimio solis ardore siccata, amplius quidem sapit, sed minus habet sanguinis; ideoque vicinam pugnam fugiunt, quia parum sanguinis se habere norunt. Contra, populus qui oritur in arctois pruinis, et remotus est a solis ardoribus, inconsultior quidem, sed largo et luxurianti superbus sanguine promptissime pugnat. Vos estis gens quæ intemperatioribus mundi provinciis oriunda; qui sitis et prodigi sanguinis ad mortis vulnerumque contemptum, et non careatis prudentia: namque et modestiam servatis in castris, et in dimicatione utimini consiliis; itaque, scientia et fortitudine præditi, agredimini memorabile iter. Totis seculis prædicandi, si fratres vestros periculo exueritis, presentibus ex Dei nomine præcipio, absentibus mando. Ituri et Christianitatem propugnaturi

specimen crucis vestibus insigniant, ut intestinæ fidei foris amorem prætendant; habentes per Dei concessum, et beati Petri privilegium, omnium absolutionem criminum, et hac interim lætitia laborem itineris allevient, habituri post obitum felicitis martyrii commercium. Ponentes ergo ferias sceleribus, ut saltem in his regionibus liceat Christianis pacifice vivere, vadite; illam fortitudinem, prudentiam illam, quam in civili conflictu habere consuestis, justiori effundentes prælio. Ite, prædicabiles per orbem milites! ite, et prosternite ignavas gentes! Eat famosa Francorum virtus, cum appendiciis sibi gentibus, solo sui nominis terrore totum orbem motura. Sed quid vos diutius immoror, ut fortitudinem gentiliū verbis extenuem? Immo proponite animis vestris Deificam sententiam, “Angusta est via quæ ducit ad vitam.” Esto ergo ut sit semita itinerantium arcta, plena mortibus, suspecta periculis; sed hæc eadem vos amissam ducet ad patriam, per multas nimirum tribulationes oportet vos ¹introire in regnum Dei. Spectate ergo animo, si prensi fueritis, cruces; spectate catenas, quæcunque ²postremo possunt tormenta infligi; operimini pro fidei vestræ robore horrenda supplicia, ut, si necesse fuerit, damno corporum agatis animarum remedium. Mortemne timetis, viri fortissimi, fortitudine et audacia præstantes? Nihil certe in vos poterit comminisci humana nequitia, quo superna pensetur gloria; non enim sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis. An nescitis quod vivere hominibus est calamitas, mori felicitas? Hæc vobis doctrina, si recordamini,

¹ *Introire.*] A. C. D. E. L.; in-
gredi, S.

² *Postremo.*] A. C. D. E. L.;
denique, S.

cum lacte matrum affusa est sacerdotum verbo ; hanc majores vestri martyres prætenderunt exemplo. Mors enim a cœnulento carcere liberat animas, ad proprium locum pro meritis evoluturas. Mors accelerat bonis patriam ; mors præcidit reis malitiam : per mortem ergo liberæ animæ vel oblectantur gaudiis, spe meliora præsumentes ; vel fruuntur suppliciis, nihil pejus timentes. Dum autem vinculis corporum irretiuntur, trahunt ab ipsis terrulenta contagia, et (quod veraciter quis dicat) mortuæ sunt ; nec enim luteum cœlesti, divinum mortali, pulchre cohæret. Plurimum quidem potest anima, etiam nunc corpori juncta ; instrumentum enim suum vivificat, latenter id movens, et ultra mortalem naturam gestis producens : veruntamen cum, sarcina qua in terram trahitur absoluta, proprium locum receperit, beatam et undique liberam participat fortitudinem, quomocunque divinæ naturæ invisibilitati communicans. Gemino ergo functa officio, corpori vitam ministrat cum adest, causam vero mutationis cum recedit. Videtis quam jocunde anima in dormiente corpore vigilet, et, a sensibus seducta, pro divina cognatione multa futura prævideat. Cur ergo mortem timetis, qui somni requiem, quæ instar mortis est, diligitis ? Res est nimirum dementiæ, pro cupiditate brevis vitæ, invidere sibi perpetuam. Quin potius (fratres charissimi), si ita contigerit, ponite pro fratribus animas vestras ; vacuate ab impiis Dei sacrarium, extrudite latrones ; inducite pios. Nulla vos necessitudinis pietas contineat, quia prima hominis pietas in Deum. Nullum natalis soli charitas tricet, quia diversis respectibus Christiano totus est mundus exilium, et totus mundus patria ; ita exilium patria, et patria exilium. Nullum patrimoniorum ampli-

tudo remoretur, quia ampliora sunt quæ promittuntur. Nec ea quæ inani spe miseris adulentur, vel ignavam mentem pigro rerum medicamine palpent; sed crebris exemplis exhibita, frequenti usu comprobata. Et hæc quidem sunt dulcia, sed caduca; et quæ centuplicatum ¹contemptoribus suis pretium importent. Hæc edico, hæc mando, terminumque proximi veris affigo. Aderit Deus euntibus, ut eis bonus arrideat annus, tum copia frugum, tum serenitate temporum. Morituri cœli intrabunt triclinium, victuri videbunt sepulchrum Dominicum. Et quæ major felicitas quam ut homo, in terris agens, videat loca illa in quibus cœlorum Dominus conversatus est humanitus? Felices qui ad hæc vocantur munia, ut illa nanciscantur munera! fortunati qui meditantur ista prælia, ut illa consequantur præmia!

Preparations
for the Cru-
sade.

§ 348. Hujusce orationis tenorem scripsi, pauca propter veritatem dictorum incastigato sermone depromens, plura manumittens. Hinc igitur populus auditorum accensus, iudicium animi clamore testatur, favens sermocinationi, favens peregrinationi: statimque in concilio proceres nonnulli, papæ genibus ²affusi, se suaque Dei militiæ consecrarunt; e quibus fuit Aimarus, insignis potentiæ Podiensis episcopus, qui postea exercitum illum ³rexit prudentia, auxit eloquentia. Igitur Novembri mense, in quo concilium actum fuit, a singulis in sua discessum. Continuoque fama boni, totum ⁴perlapsa per orbem, dulci Christianorum animos infecit aura:

¹ Contemptoribus.] A. C. D. E. L.; cum temporibus, S.

² Affusi.] S. C.; acclines, A. D. L.; affusi vel acclines, E.

³ Rexit prudentia, auxit eloquentia.] A. D. E. L.; auxit prudentia, rexit eloquentia, S. C.

⁴ Perlapsa.] A. D. E. L.; dilapsa, S. C.

qua circumquaque spirante, nulla fuit tam remota gens, tam abdita, quæ non sui partem mitteret; nam non solum mediterraneas provincias hic amor movit, sed et omnes qui ¹in penitissimis insulis, vel in nationibus barbaris, Christi nomen audierant. Tunc Wallensis venationem saltuum, tunc Scottus familiaritatem pulicum, tunc Danus continuationem potuum, tunc Noricus cruditatem reliquit piscium. Destituebantur agri cultoribus, ædes habitatoribus, totis porro migrabatur urbibus. Nullus necessitudinum amor, affectus patriæ vilis, solus Deus præ oculis; quicquid in horreis, quicquid in tricliniis repositum, responsum erat vel avari votis agricolæ, vel thesaurorum incubatoris, deseritur; in solum Ierosolymitanum iter esuritur. Gaudium erat euntibus, moeror remanentibus. Quid ²dico de remanentibus? ³Videres maritum cum matrona, cum omni postremo familia, euntem; rideres, carpentis impositos, totos in iter transferre penates. Angustus erat limes transeuntibus, arcus trames itinerantibus, sic ruebant agmina serie longa ⁴hærentia. Opinionem hominum vincebat numerus, quamvis æstimarentur ⁵sexagies centum

¹ *In penitissimis.*] E.; vel in penitissimis, A. S. C. L.; vel in penultimis, D.

² *Dico de.*] A. C. D. E 2. L.; dico, S.; dicam de, E 1.

³ *Videres . . . penates.*] 'The rustic,' observes Guibert, 'shod his oxen like horses, and placed his whole family on a cart; where it was amusing to hear the children, on the approach to any large town or castle, inquiring if that were Jerusalem.'—Guib. Novigent. Opera, p. 462. (Sharpe, 416.)

⁴ *Hærentia.*] A. D. E. L.; trahentia, S. C.

⁵ *Sexagies centum millia.*] Fulcherius Carnotensis estimates the number at six hundred thousand pilgrims able to bear arms, besides priests, monks, women, and children. He says that those who assumed the cross amounted to six millions; but that multitudes returned home ere they passed the sea. (Ap. Gesta Dei per Francos, pp. 387–389.) Guibert (p. 556) censures the credulity of Fulcher upon this point. By Urban II. the number is only rated at three hundred thousand pilgrims. (Epist. xvi.; Concil. tom. xii. p. 731.)

millia itinerantium. Nunquam proculdubio tot gentes in unam coiere sententiam; nunquam tanta barbaries imperio uni, et pene nulli, cervicositatem substravit suam. Præcipuum enim erat videre miraculum, cum tam infinita multitudo sensim per terras Christianorum, et non prædabunda procederet, et non esset qui coereret. Fervebat in omnibus alterutra dilectio, ut si penes aliquem quid repertum esset quod suum non esse cognosceret, per multos dies passim agnoscendum proponeret: suspendebaturque interim inventoris aviditas, dum forte illius qui perdiderat corrigeretur ¹ necessitas.

DE DUCIBUS CHRISTIANORUM ITINERIS IERUSALEM.

Departure
of the Cru-
saders, A.D.
1096.

§ 349. Jamque advenerat desiderantibus mensis Martius, quando, senecta brumali deposita, mundus, vernali vestitus juventa, in plagam orientis ituros invitabat: nec illi moras nexuere, tantus ardor animos invaserat. Godefridus, dux Lotharingorum, per Pannoniam iter instituit, nulli unquam militi virtute secundus; de antiqua Karoli magni origine lineam trahens, et cui vere plurimus inerat Karolus tam sanguine quam mente: sequebantur eum Frisones, Lotharingi, Saxones, et quicquid ² gentium inter Renum et ³ Garumnam fluvios jacet. Per Dalmatiam iter adorti ⁴ Raimundus comes de Sancto Ægidio, et Aimarus Podii episcopus, par insigne virtutis, viri armis in hostes, pietate in Deum splendidi:

¹ *Necessitas.*] 'However repugnant this representation may be to the generally received opinion, it is that of an eye-witness, when describing the army assembled at Constantinople. Fulcher. Carnot. p. 389.' (Sharpe, 417.) See Note * in Bouquet, XIII. 7.

² *Gentium.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*; omitted in *E 1.*

³ *Garumnam.*] It should perhaps be the Elbe.

⁴ *Raimundus.*] See post, § 388.

sub signis eorum militabant Gothi et Wascones, et quicumque populus in Pyrenæum et Alpes diffunditur. Prævenerat eos compendio Boamundus, loco Appulus, gente Normannus; namque is apud Brundusium navibus conscensis, Dirachioque appulsus, inde itinere pedestri Constantinopolim per notos sibi tramites contendit: ductu ejus agebat prælium Italia, et quæcunque contermina provincia a Tirrheno mari in Adriaticum protenditur. Hi omnes, pariter apud Constantinopolim convenientes, nonnihil mutuæ lætitiæ habuere; ibique Hugonem magnum, Philippi regis Francorum fratrem, invenere, quod is inconsultè et cum raro milite terras imperatoris ingressus, et ab hominibus ejus captus, in libera custodia habebatur. At vero Alexius,¹ ejus civitatis imperator, horum procerum adventu territus, volens, sed quasi precibus coactus, captionis gratiam fecit; homo tergiversatione famosus, et nihil unquam magnum nisi dolo machinatus. Ipse Guiscardum (² ut superius dixi) veneno, uxoremque ejus corruperat auro; fidem conjugalem falso per nuncios pactus. Ipse denique Willelmum comitem Pictaviensem in insidias Turcorum inductum, et ³sexaginta millibus armatorum privatum, pene solum effugere permisit; indignatus super ejus responso, quo Græco negaverat hominum. Ipsum postremo Boamundum, posteriori tempore contra se venientem ut injurias peregrinorum ulcisceretur, bis terque insidiis impetivit; sed cum parum promoveret, Guidone fratre et toto pene spoliavit exercitu,

A.D. 1101.

¹ *Ejus civitatis imperator.*] C. E.; hujus civitatis imperator, S. D.; omitted in A. L.

² *Ut superius dixi.*] See antea, § 262, p. 441; and Bouq. XIII. note ^c, p. 7.

³ *Sexaginta millibus armatorum.*] See also post, § 383. Ordericus Vitalis writes 'trecenta armatorum millia Pictaviensi comiti adhæsisse.'

notis artibus toxica vel fluminibus vel vestibibus infundens: sed hæc postmodum. Tum vero exercitum urbe arcens, proceribusque blande collocutus, tantum Graia facundia valuit, ut a singulis hominum et sacramentum exigeret quod illi nihil doli machinarentur; quod urbes imperio suo appendices, si acquirere possent, redderent, sanguinis sui periculo alienum mercantes commodum. Soli Raimundo visa est antiquior tuendæ libertatis gratia, ut nec ipsi suum substerneret hominum, nec profiteretur sacramentum.

A.D. 1097.

Itaque, coactis omnibus viribus, Niceam urbem Bithiniæ aggrediuntur. Ipsam ¹enim primitus placuerat invadi, quod et viantibus obsisteret, et mortem peregrinorum nuper ibi occisorum ultum ire animati essent: namque Walterus quidam, miles probatus sed præceps, (quia vix in homine uno sapientiam et audaciam conspicaberis, quod altera moretur, altera præcipitet,) incircumspecte circa moenia cursitans, cum multa manu occubuerat. Eam manum Petrus heremita prædicationibus suis de patria pellegerat.

DE ROBERTO NORMANNO.

A.D. 1096.

§ 350. Jam vero mense Septembri, Robertus Normannorum comes, frater Willelmi regis, cuius titulum hic liber gestat, iter illud adoriri gestiens, habuit socios Robertum Flandrensem, Stephanum Blesensem sororis maritum. Omnes amplæ prosapiæ comites, in quibus virtus citra genus non erat. Parebant eis Angli, et Normanni, et Occidentales Franci, et Flandritæ, et omnium populorum cunei qui ab oceano Britanico usque ad Alpes mediterraneo tractu jacent. Ita viam profecti ²receperunt apud Lucas papam

¹ Enim.] A. S. C. D. L.; omitted in E 1.

² Receperunt.] E.; reperierunt, D.; reperiunt, S. C.; reppererunt, A. L.

Urbanum, qui Guiberto infensus (ut dixi), auxilio Matildis Italiam et urbem circumsonabat armis. ¹Itaque tantum promoverat, ut Quirites, ad gratiam ejus versi, Guibertinos tum verbis tum verberibus lacerarent; nec erat alterutris vel in ecclesiis vel in triviis parcendi animus, donec Guibertus, viribus impar, Urbano sedem vacuefecit, Alamanniam elapsus.

DE URBE ROMA.

§ 351. De Roma, quæ quondam domina orbis terrarum, nunc ad comparationem antiquitatis videtur oppidum exiguum; et ²de Romanis, olim rerum dominis, genteque togata, qui nunc ³sunt hominum inertissimi, auro trutinantes justitiam, pretio venditantes canonum regulam;—de urbe, inquam, et urbicis quicquid conarer dicere prævenerunt versus Hildeberti Cenomannensis ⁴primo episcopi, ⁵post etiam Turonensis archiepiscopi: quos hic cum inseruero, non ideo faciam ut alieno labore partam gloriam in me transferam; sed erit ingenuæ mentis indicium, si, ejus non invidus gloriæ, apponam testimonium ⁶venustæ facundiae.

Description of Rome.

VERSUS HILDEBERTI, DE ROMA.

‘Par tibi Roma nihil, cum sis prope tota ruina;
Quam magni fueris integra, fracta doces.’

¹ *Itaque.*] E.; jamque, A. S. C. D. L.

² *De Romanis . . . togata.*] ‘Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.’ (Virg. Æneid. i. 286.)

³ *Sunt hominum inertissimi.*] D. E.; dicuntur hominum inertissimi, S. C.; dicuntur homines inertissimi, A. L.—Sharpe quotes a MS. which reads ‘incertissimi.’

⁴ *Primo.*] S. C. D. E.; omitted in A. L.

⁵ *Post etiam Turonensis archiepiscopi.*] S. C. D. E.; omitted in A. L.—Hildebert was translated to Tours A.D. 1125, upon the death of Gislebert, who died at Rome about the middle of Dec. 1124, in the same week with Pope Calixtus. (Orderic. Vital. lib. xii. p. 882.)

⁶ *Venustæ.*] A. S. C. D. E. L 1.; vetustæ, L 2.

Description
of Rome.

Longa tuos fastus ætas destruxit ; et arces
 Cæsaris, et superum templa, palude jacent.
 Ille labor, labor ille ruit, quem dirus Araxes
 Et stantem tremuit, et cecidisse dolet ;
 Quem gladii regum, quem provida jura senatus,
 Quem superi rerum constituere caput ;
 Quem magis optavit cum crimine solus habere
 Cæsar, quam socius et pius esse socer :
 Qui crescens studiis tribus, hostes, crimen,
 amicos,
 Vi domuit, secuit legibus, emit ope ;
 In quem, dum fieret, vigilavit cura priorum,
 Juvit opus pietas, hospitis unda locum ;
 Materiam, fabros, expensas, axis uterque
 Misit ; se muris obtulit ipse locus :
 Expendere duces thesauros, fata favorem,
 Artifices studium, totus et orbis opes.
 Urbs cecidit, de qua si quicquam dicere dignum
 Moliar, hoc potero dicere, " Roma fuit !"
 Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec
 ensis,
 Ad plenum potuit hoc abolere decus.
 Cura hominum potuit tantam componere Ro-
 mam,
 Quantam non potuit solvere cura deum.
 Confer opes, marmorque novum, superumque
 favorem,
 Artificum vigilant in nova facta manus ;
 Non tamen aut fieri par stanti machina muro,
 Aut restaurari sola ruina potest.
 Hic superum formas superi mirantur et ipsi,
 Et cupiunt fictis vultibus esse pares.
 Non potuit Natura deos hoc ore creare,
 Quo miranda deum signa creavit homo.
 Vultus adest his numinibus ; potiusque coluntur
 Artificum studio, quam deitate sua.
 Urbs felix, si vel dominis urbs illa careret,
 Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide.'

DE NUMERO PORTARUM ET SANCTIS ROMÆ.

§ 352. Parvane sunt hæc ad demonstrandam Description
of Rome. in tanta urbe vel olim bonorum dignitatem, vel modo malorum majestatem? Sed, ne quid honori desit, adjiciam et portarum numerum, et multitudinem sacrorum cinerum; et, ne ¹quis obscuritate verborum se causetur a cognitione rerum rejici, erit sermo quotidianus et ²levis.

PRIMA PORTA.

Prima porta Cornelia, quæ modo dicitur Porta Sancti Petri, et Via Cornelia. Juxta eam ecclesia beati Petri sita est, in qua corpus ejus jacet, ³auro et lapidibus parata; etiam nullus hominum scit numerum ⁴martyrum qui in eadem ecclesia pausant. In eadem via est altera ecclesia, in qua requiescunt sanctæ virgines Rufina et Secunda. In tertia ⁵ecclesia sunt Marius et Martha; etiam Audifax et Abacuc, filii eorum.

SECUNDA PORTA.

Secunda porta Flaminea, quæ modo appellatur ⁶Sancti Valentini, et Via Flaminea; et cum ad pontem ⁷Molbium pervenit, vocatur Via Ravennana, quia ad Ravennam ducit. Ibi in primo milliario foris sanctus Valentinus in sua ecclesia requiescit.

¹ *Quis.*] A. C. D. L.; aliquis, S.; omitted in E.

² *Levis.*] An account of the walls and gates of Rome will be found in Andrew Lumisden's 'Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome and its environs.' London, 4to, 1797.

³ *Auro.*] C. D. E.; auro et argento, A. S. L.

⁴ *Martyrum.*] D. E.; sanctorum martyrum, A. S. C. L.

⁵ *Ecclesia.*] S. C. D. E.; basilica, A. L.

⁶ *Sancti Valentini.*] Now called Porta del Popolo.

⁷ *Molbium.*] A. S. C. D. E. L.; Milvium, S. (var. lect.)

TERTIA PORTA.

Description
of Rome.

Tertia porta ¹Porciniana, et via eodem modo appellata, sed cum pervenit ad Salariam nomen perdit: et ibi prope, in eo loco qui dicitur Cucumeris, requiescunt martyres Festus, Johannes, Liberalis, Diogenes, Blastus, Lucina; et in uno sepulchro ²ducenti sexaginta, et in altero triginta.

QUARTA PORTA.

Quarta porta et Via Salaria, quæ ³modo Sancti Silvestri dicitur. Ibi juxta viam sanctus Hermes requiescit, et sancta Vasella, et Protus, et Jacinctus, Maxilianus, Herculanus, Crispus; et in altero loco prope requiescunt sancti martyres Pamphilus, Quirinus, septuaginta gradibus in imo terræ. Deinde basilica sanctæ Felicitatis, ubi requiescit illa, et Silanus filius ejus, et non longe Bonifacius martyr. Ibidem in altera ecclesia sunt Crisantus, et Daria, et Saturninus, et Maurus, et Jason, et mater eorum Hilaria, et alii innumerabiles. Et in altera basilica sanctus Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis, filii sanctæ Felicitatis; et sanctæ septem virgines, Saturnina, Hilarina, ⁴Dominanda, Rogantina, ⁵Serantina, Paulina, Donata. Deinde basilica sancti Silvestri, ubi jacet marmoreo tumulo coopertus; et martyres Celestinus, Philippus, et Felix: et ibidem martyres trecenti sexaginta quinque in uno se-

¹ Porciniana.] A. D. E. L.; Portitiana, S. C.—Now called Porta Pinciana.

² Ducenti sexaginta.] S. C. D. E.; ducenti quadraginta, A. L.—The two hundred and sixty martyrs are said to have been shot by arrows in the amphitheatre,

by order of Claudius. The thirty suffered under Dioclesian.

³ Modo Sancti Silvestri.] It is now called Porta Salaria.

⁴ Dominanda.] A. C. D. E. L.; Dunanda, S.

⁵ Serantina.] D. E.; Serotina, A. S. C. L.

pulchro requiescunt; et prope Paulus, et Crescentianus, Prisca, Semetrius, ¹Praxedis, Potentiana pausant.

Description
of Rome.

QUINTA PORTA.

Quinta porta ²Numentana; ³ibidem sanctus Nicomedes, presbyter et martyr: itemque via eodem modo dicitur. Juxta viam ecclesia sanctæ Agnetis, et corpus: in ⁴altera sancta Emerentiana, et martyres Alexander, Felix, Papias. In septimo milliario ejusdem viæ sanctus papa Alexander, cum Eventio et Theodolo, pausat.

SEXTA PORTA.

Sexta porta et Via ⁵Tiburtina, quæ modo dicitur Porta Sancti Laurentii. Juxta hanc viam jacet sanctus Laurentius in sua ecclesia, et Abundius martyr. Et ibi prope, in altera ecclesia pausant hi martyres, Ciriaca, Romanus, Justinus, Crescentianus. Et ibi, non longe, basilica sancti Ipolitii, ubi ipse cum familia sua pausat, id est, decem et octo. Et ibi requiescunt beata ⁶Trifena uxor Decii, et filia ejus Cirilla, et Concordia nutrix ⁷ejus. Et in altera parte viæ illius est ecclesia ⁸Agapiti martyris.

SEPTIMA PORTA.

Septima porta modo Major dicitur, olim ⁹Sircurana dicebatur, et Via Lavicana, quæ ad be-

¹ Praxedis.] A. C. D. E. L.; Praxides, S.

² Numentana.] Now called Porta Pia.

³ Ibidem.] D. E.; ibi, A. S. C. L.

⁴ Altera.] C. D. E.; altera ecclesia, A. S. L.

⁵ Tiburtina.] Now called Porta di San Lorenzo.

⁶ Trifena.] D. E.; Trifonia, S. C.; Trifona, A. L.

⁷ Ejus.] S. C. D. E.; Ypolitii, A. L.

⁸ Agapiti.] A. S. C. D. E. L1.; sancti Agapiti, L2.

⁹ Sircurana.] E. L.; Siracusana, A. C. D.; Seracusana, S. —It is now called Porta Maggiore.

Description
of Rome.

atam Helenam tendit. Ibi sunt prope, Petrus, Marcellinus, Tyburtius, Genuinus, Gorgonius, et ¹quadraginta milites, et alii innumerabiles; et non longe sancti ²Quatuor Coronati.

OCTAVA PORTA.

Octava ³porta Sancti Johannis, quæ apud antiquos Assenarica dicitur.

NONA PORTA.

Nona porta ⁴Metrosa dicitur, et coram istis ambabus Via jacet Latina.

DECIMA PORTA.

Decima porta et Via ⁵Latina dicitur. Juxta eam quiescunt in una ecclesia martyres Gordianus, et Epimachus, Sulpicius, ⁶Valerianus, Quintus, Quartus, Sophia, ⁷Triphenus. Et ibi prope, in alio loco, Tertullinus: et non longe ecclesia beatæ Eugenïæ, in qua jacet, et Claudia mater ejus; et Stephanus papa cum clero suo, numero decem et novem, et Nemesius diaconus.

UNDECIMA PORTA.

Undecima porta et Via dicitur ⁸Appia. Ibi requiescunt sanctus Sebastianus et Quirinus; et olim requieverunt ibi apostolorum corpora. Et

¹ *Quadraginta milites.*] The forty soldiers suffered martyrdom under Licinius at Sebastia in Armenia.

² *Quatuor Coronati.*] 'So called because for a long time after they had suffered martyrdom (martyrio coronati) their names were unknown; and though afterwards their real names were revealed to a certain priest, yet they still continued to retain their former designation.' (Sharpe.)

³ *Porta Sancti Johannis.*] Porta di San Giovanni.

⁴ *Metrosa.*] *S. C. D. E.*; *Metrosi, A. L.*—No notice of this gate is to be found in Lumisden.

⁵ *Latina.*] Porta Latina.

⁶ *Valerianus.*] *D. E.*; *Servilianus, A. S. L.*; *Seasserianus, C.*

⁷ *Triphenus.*] *S. C. D. E.*; *Triphonius, A. L.*

⁸ *Appia.*] Porta di San Sebastiano.

paulo propius Romam sunt martyres Januarius, Urbanus, Xenon, ¹Quintinus, Agapitus, Felicissimus. Et in altera ecclesia Tyburtius, Valerianus, Maximus. Non longe ecclesia Ceciliæ martyris, et ibi reconditi sunt Stephanus, Sixtus, Zepherinus, Eusebius, Melchiades, Marcellus, Euticianus, Dionysius, Anteros, Pontianus, Lucius ²papa, Optacius, Julianus, Colocerus, Parthenius, Tarsicius, ³Policamus, martyres. Ibidem ecclesia sancti Cornelii, et corpus. Et in altera ⁴ecclesia ⁵sancta Sotheris: et non longe pausant martyres Ipolitus, Adrianus, Eusebius, Maria, Martha, Paulina, Valeria, Marcellus; et prope, Marcus papa in sua ecclesia.

Description
of Rome.

DE VIA ARDEATINA.

Inter Viam Appiam et ⁶Ostensam est Via Ardeatina, ubi sunt Marcus et Marcellianus. Et ibi jacet Damasus papa in sua ecclesia; et non longe, sancta Petronilla, et Nereus, et ⁷Anchilleus, et alii plures.

DUODECIMA PORTA.

Duodecima porta et Via ⁸Ostensa dicitur, modo Porta Sancti Pauli vocatur, quia juxta eam requiescit in sua ecclesia. Ibidemque Timotheus martyr; et non longe, in ecclesia sanctæ Teclæ, sunt martyres Felix, et ⁹Adauctus, et Nemesius. In ¹⁰Aqua Salina est caput Anastasii martyris.

¹ Quintinus.] *D. E.*; Quirinus, *A. S. C. L.*

² Papa.] The MSS. read 'papa.' ³ Policamus.] *A. D. E. L.*; Politanus, *S. C.*

⁴ Ecclesia.] *A. S. D. L.*; omitted in *C. E.*

⁵ Sancta.] *A. S. C. L.*; sanctæ, *D. E.*

⁶ Ostensam.] *E. L.*; viam Ostiensem, *A. S. C. D.*

⁷ Anchilleus.] *E.*; Achilleus, *A. S. C. D. L.*

⁸ Ostensa.] *C. E. L.*; Ostiensis, *A. S. D.*—Now Porta di San Paolo.

⁹ Adauctus.] *A. C. E. L.*; Adauctus, *S. D.*

¹⁰ Aqua Salina.] Now Trefontane.

TERTIADECIMA PORTA.

Description
of Rome.

Tertiadecima porta et Via ¹Portuensis dicitur. Ibi prope sunt, in una ecclesia, martyres Felix, Alexander, Abdon, et Sennes, Symeon, Anastasius, Polion, Vincentius, Milex, Candida, ²Annocentia.

QUARTADECIMA PORTA.

Quartadecima porta et Via ³Aurea, quæ modo Porta Sancti Pancratii dicitur, quia juxta eam requiescit in ecclesia sua; et alii martyres, Paulinus, Arthemius, sancta Sapientia, cum tribus filiabus Fide, Spe, Charitate. Et in altera ⁴basilica Processus et Martinianus; et in tertia Felices duo; et in quarta sanctus Calixtus et Calepodius; et in quinta sanctus Basilides. Duodecimo intra urbem milliario in monte Celio sunt martyres Johannes et Paulus in sua domo, quæ est facta ecclesia post eorum martyrium; et Crispinus et Crispinianus, et sancta Benedicta. In eodem monte est ecclesia sancti Stephani prothomartyris, et ibi reconditi sunt martyres Primus et Felicianus. In monte Aventino sanctus Bonifacius, et in monte Nola sancta Tatiana, pausant.

DE ITINERE COMITUM DE ROMA AD CONSTANTINOPOLIM.

The Crusaders leave
Rome.

§ 353. Hæc sunt Romana sanctuaria, hæc sunt in terris divina pignora; et tamen intra hoc quasi cœleste promptuarium insano furore gens ebriata, cum illuc peregrini venerunt, foedo ambitu

¹ *Portuensis.*] Porta Portese. | *C. D. L.* — Now called Porta

² *Annocentia.*] *E.*; Innocentia, | di San Pancrazio.

A. S. C. D. L. | ⁴ *Basilica.*] *C. D. E.*; eccle-

³ *Aurea.*] *E.*; Aurelia, *A. S.* | sia, *S.*; basilica martyres, *A. L.*

omnia turbabant, et supra ipsa sanctorum corpora civilem libabant sanguinem, dum non possent satiari pecuniarum libidinem. Urbani igitur benedictione freti, comites, transita Tuscia et Campania, per Apuliam Calabriam venere; statimque mare transissent, nisi consulti ¹nautæ propter austrorum violentiam vetuissent. Quapropter Normannus et Blesensis comites, quaque quisque poterat, hyemem fovere, apud amicos perhendinantes. Solus Flandrensis ventis vela credit, præcipiti consilio feliciter usus: ideoque gregariorum vulgus, pars propter inopiam domum revertit, pars pro intemperie soli morbo defecit. Nec non et residui duces, ut videre pacatum classibus æquor, vernali sole redeunte, maris fidem experti, et Christi auxilio illæsi, duobus portibus excepti applicuere. Inde per Thessaliam, cujus metropolis est Thessalonica, Thraciam, et hinc Constantinopolim venere. Multi pauperum illa via morbo et inedia extincti; multi in vado, quod pro rapiditate 'Diaboli' dicitur, ²intercepti; pluresque profecto perissent nisi equi emissarii, ³adverso anni oppositi, violenti gurgitis vortices fregissent: ita quibusdam vita procurata, reliqui ⁴equis transducti. Omnis itaque multitudo, quindecim dierum spatio, præteritorum laborum indulset solatio, positis castris in suburbano civitatis; de qua, quia locus se obtulit, pauca dicenda.

VISIO CONSTANTINI.

§ 354. Constantinopolis primum Bizantium dicta; formam antiqui vocabuli præferunt impe-

Description
of Constanti-
nople.

¹ *Nautæ.*] A. C. D. E. L.; amnem, D.; in adversum am-
naturæ, S. nem, A. S. L.; adversum anni,

² *Intercepti.*] S. C. D. E.; C. suffocati, L.; suffocaturi, A.

³ *Adverso anni.*] E.; adversus ⁴ *Equis.*] A. S. C. D. E. L.;
aquis, S. (var. lect.)

Constan-
tine's vision.

ratorii nummi Bizantini vocati: hanc divinitus mutasse nomen, S. Aldelmus auctor est ¹in libro De Virginitate, hujusmodi sententia. Constantino, in eadem urbe soporato, visa est astitisse vetula rugis anilibus arata frontem; mox imperiali chlamyde amicta in juvenulam refluorisse, viridisque formæ decore Constantini pellexisse oculum ut non abstineret quin porrigeret ei osculum. Tunc Helenam matrem, quæ adesset, dixisse, 'Hæc tua semper erit, nec unquam morietur, nisi in fine seculi.' Hujus somnii solutionem Augustus, extruso sopore, jejuniis et elemosynis extrahebat e cœlo. Et ecce, post octo dies iterum soporatus, visus est videre Silvestrum papam, paulo ante defunctum, qui dulci luminum risu ²discipulum perstringens, 'Consueta,' inquit, 'egisti prudentia, ut quod intellectum effugeret hominis, a Deo expectares solvendum nodum ænigmatis. Hæc igitur quam vidisti ancilla est civitas ista, ævi situ decrepita; cujus jam vetustate quassa moenia, et vicinam ruinam minantia, reparatorem desiderant. Sed tu eam muris reformans et opibus, vocabulo quoque insignies tuo, et regnabit in ea perpetuo imperatoria progenies. Non tamen tuo arbitratu fundamenta jacies, sed ascenso sonipede, cui quondam rudis Christicola insidens apostolorum Romæ circuisti ecclesias, laxatis habenis, quo volet eundi promptum illi cedes arbitrium; habebisque in manu hastam regiam, cujus cuspide in terram tracta muri scribentur vestigia. Consules ergo

¹ *In libro De Virginitate.*] Cap. xxv. edit. Wharton. See note ¹, p. 44.

² *Discipulum.*] The legend of Constantine's baptism at Rome thirteen years before his death

was invented in the eighth century. He seems to have been baptized and received the imposition of hands for the first time during his last illness. (Euseb. in Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. 61.)

in terra cuspidis magisterium quo ordine disponi debeant fundamenta mœnium.’

Description
of Constantinople.

DE URBE CONSTANTINOPOLITANA.

§ 355. Paruit Augustus visioni præclue, et civitatem æquam Romæ constituit; ¹ lege professus non debere imperatorem Romæ principari ubi a Christo coronati apostoli principabatur. Fecit in ea duas ecclesias, quarum una Hirenis, altera dicitur Apostolorum; invehens illuc numerosa sanctorum corpora, qui possint contra incursus hostium cœlestium impetrare patrocinium. Statuas quoque triumphalium virorum a Roma deductas, et simulacra deorum ad videntium ridiculum, et tripodas Delficos, in Circo dedit, ad spectaculum simul et ad civitatis ornamentum. Gratumque admodum fuisse ferunt imperiali animo ² ut illic urbem divino jussu fundaret, ubi et soli ubertas et cœli temperies mortalium saluti conveniret; quia enim in ³ Britannia natus fuerat, ardores solis exosus erat. Est vero ⁴ Thracia

¹ *Lege professus.*] C. D. E.; lege confessus, S. (var. lect.); professus, A. S. L.

² *Ut illic urbem divino jussu fundaret.*] In one of his laws Constantine has been careful to instruct posterity that, in obedience to the command of God, he laid the everlasting foundations of Constantinople: the words are, ‘pro commoditate urbis quam æterno nomine, jubente Deo, donavimus.’ (Cod. Theod. lib. XIII. tit. v. leg. 7.)

³ *Britannia natus fuerat.*] Gloss in L1. ‘Nota de Constantino, quod in Britannia natus esset, quæ nunc dicitur Anglia.’—The place of Constantine’s birth, as well as the condition of his mother Helena, have been the sub-

ject not only of literary but of national disputes. There are three opinions with regard to his birth. The English antiquaries claim the honour for Britain on the words of his panegyrist, ‘Britannias, illic oriendo, nobiles fecisti;’ but these words may with as much propriety refer to the accession as to the nativity of Constantine. Modern Greek writers ascribe the honour of his birth to Depranum, a town on the gulf of Nicomedia, where his mother’s father kept an inn; but Nassius in Dacia is the place where he was most probably born. Its claim is supported by contemporary authority.

⁴ *Thracia una.*] S. C. E. L.; tertia, A. D.

Description
of Constantinople.

una Europæ provincia, ut poetæ quoque canunt; Hebri fluminis glacie et Bistonio aquilone perfrigida; ¹fœcundæ vicina Mœsiæ, cujus, ²ut ait Virgilius, 'mirantur Gargara messes.' At verò Constantinopolis, circumflua Ponto, Europæ atque Asiæ carpit utrinque libratam temperiem, quod aquilonares hiatus mulceat e proximo veniens Asiaticus eurus. Porrigitur ergo urbs ingentibus mœnibus, sed eam angustat convenarum innumerus populus; quapropter, rupium molibus et arenarum cumulis profundo injectis, longe itur in salum, et novo commento tellus inventa veteres contrahit undas. Stupet itaque mare peregrinos vitreo in gurgite campos, urbemque suam totis terrarum commodis cingit et pascit. Est enim civitas undique, præter ad aquilonem, mari magno cincta, ambitu murorum juxta situm pelagi angulosa, ³viginti millia passuum muro complexa. ⁴Danubius, qui et Ister, ⁵occultis canalibus sub terra influit urbi; diebusque constitutis, ablato pessulo inductus, cœnum platearum pelago importat. Certavere zelo imperiali Augusti singuli decorem addere, quisque arbitantes aliquid se institutæ debere operæ; iste sanctorum reliquiis, ille divitiis, Constantinus omnibus.

¹ *Fœcundæ.*] Fœcunda, D.; fœcundas, E. L.; omitted in A. S. C.

² *Ut ait Virgilius.*] Geor. i. 103.

³ *Viginti.*] S. C. E.; duodecim, A. D. L.

⁴ *Danubius, qui et Ister.*] See Pomponius Mela, lib. ii. c. 1.; Ptolom. lib. iii. c. 8.

⁵ *Occultis canalibus . . . im-*

portat.] The Danube empties itself through six mouths into the Euxine. The river Lycus, formed by the conflux of two little streams, pours into the harbour of Constantinople a perpetual supply of fresh water, which serves to cleanse the bottom, and to invite the periodical shoals of fish to seek their retreat in the capacious port of Constantinople.

DE IMPERATORIBUS CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

§ 356. Regnaverunt in ea, post Constantinum Emperors of Constanti-
nople. magnum, imperatores quorum hæc sunt nomina : Constantinus filius ejus, Julianus apostata, Jovinianus, Valens, Theodosius major, Archadius, Theodosius minor, Marcianus, Leo primus, Leo minor, Zeno, Anastasius, Justinus major, Justinianus, (hic, literis et bellis nobilis, fecit in Constantinopoli ecclesiam Divinæ Sapientiæ, id est, Domino Christo, quam Agiam Sophiam cognominavit ; opus, ut ferunt, omnibus per orbem ædificiis magnificentius, quodque certa rerum facie inspectum vincat ampullata verba referentium ;) Justinus minor, Tiberius, Mauricius, primus Græcus, Focas, Heraclius, Constantinus filius Heraclii, Heracleonas, Constans, (iste Romam veniens, et quod reliquum erat ornatus antiqui corradens, tegulis etiam æreis fastigia ecclesiarum nudavit, triumpho scilicet apud Constantinopolim de hisce manubiis inhians ; sed ei infeliciter illa cessit aviditas, quia, continuo apud Siracusas extinctus, Saracenis Alexandriam deferentibus omnes illas reliquit exuvias ;) Constantinus, Justinianus, Leontius, Tiberius, iterum Justinianus, Philippicus, Anastasius, Theodosius, Leo tertius. ¹Hi omnes regnaverunt et in Constantinopoli et in Roma ; sequentes tantum in Constantinopoli : Constantinus, Leo, Constantinus, Nicephorus, Stauratius, Michael, Leo, Michael, Theophilus, Michael, Basilius, Leo, Alexander, Constantinus, Romani duo, Nicephorus Focas, Johannes, Basilius et Constantinus, Romanus, Michael, Michael, Constantinus, Theodora imperatrix, Michael, ²Sachus, Constantinus, Romanus Dio-

¹ *Hi omnes.*] The definitive separation of the empires of the East and West took place much earlier, under the sons of Theodosius the Great, A.D. 395.

² *Sachus.*] Isaac Comnenus.

genes, Nicephorus Butanius, ¹Michael: hic, per Alexium depulsus imperio, ad Guiscardum in Apuliam clandestinam fugam composuit; traditaque illi potestate, aliquid se opinatus est ²fecisse quod noceret Alexio. Unde Guiscardo aggreendi magna increvit animus, ut inani spe ³mentiretur sibi acquiri posse per industriam quod alter amiserat per ⁴ignaviam; sed quantum istis profecerit præcedens liber patefecit. Est in ea civitate lignum Domini ab Helena de Ierosolymis delatum. Requiescunt ibi apostoli, Andræas, Jacobus frater Domini, Mathias; prophetæ, Elizeus, Samuel, Daniel, et alii plures; Lucas evangelista, martyres innumerabiles; confessores, Johannes Chrysostomus, Basilius, Gregorius Nazanzenus, Spiridion; virgines, Agatha, Lucia; omnesque postremo sancti quorum corpora illuc ex omnibus regionibus imperatores convehere potuerunt.

Siege of
Nice.
A.D. 1097.

§ 357. Normannus itaque et Blesensis comites hominum suum Græco ⁵prostraverunt; nam jam Flandrita transierat, et id facere fastidierat, quod se meminisset natum et educatum libere. Alii, data fide acceptaque, Niceam pertendunt hebdomada ⁶Junii prima, quam jam cæteri a medio Maii obsederant. Ita conjunctis viribus multæ utrinque mortes actæ sunt: cum ab oppidanis facile in subjectos telorum omnia genera rotarentur, nec alicujus licet inertissimi manus in confertos frustraretur. Quin ét exanimatorum cadavera Turci uncis ferreis in murum trahe-

¹ Michael.] Michael VII. preceded Nicephorus Botaniates, who was expelled by Alexius.

² Fecisse quod.] S. C. D. E.; efficisse quo, A. L.

³ Mentiretur.] A. C. D. E. L.; niteretur, S.

⁴ Ignaviam.] A. S. C. D. E. L.; ignominiam, S. (var. lect.)

⁵ Prostraverunt.] S. C. D. E.; prostituere, A. L.

⁶ Junii.] A. D. E.; jejunii, S. C. L.

bant, ludibrio nostrorum excarnificanda, vel ab- Siege of Nice.
latis vestibus ¹denudanda. Doluerunt id Franci :
nec prius abstiterunt ferro exercere dolorem,
quam Turci, extremis malis fessi, die solstitii
æstivalis per clandestinos nuncios imperatori se
dedidere. Ille, qui nihil præter commodum suum
pensare nosset, denunciavit Francis ut abirent ;
malens urbem servari Turcorum apertæ perfidiæ,
quam Francorum suspectæ potentiæ. Jussit ta-
men distribui argentum et aurum optimatibus,
nummos æreos inferioribus, ne se irremuneratos
quererentur. Ita Turci, qui jam a quinquaginta
annis Bithyniam, quæ est pars Minoris
Asiæ, quam Romaniam dicunt, Euphrate transito
possederant, in superiores fuga terras conces-
sere ; veruntamen ausi sunt, obsidione soluta,
exercitum ultra progredientem incessere, auctore
quodam ²Solimanno cui dominium totius Ro-
maniæ ³obtigerat. Is, coactis sagittariorum mil-
libus æstimatione trecentis sexaginta, nostros,
nihil minus quam bellum meditantes, tanta vi
aggressus est, ut, ferreo imbrey sagittarum inun-
dante perterriti, omnes incunctanter dorsa nu-
darent. Et tum forte ⁴dux Godefridus, et Hugo
magnus, et Raimundus aliam viam invaserant,
ut et inimicorum solum popularentur latius, et
suis pabula compararent facilius. At vero Nor-
mannus, ancipiti discrimine permotus, adventum
Turcorum, expeditis cursoribus, Godefrido et cæ-
teris per tutos tramites intimavit. Illi, moræ
nescii, signis in hostem conversis, socios eripuerunt

¹ *Denudanda.*] *D. E.* ; dejected, *A. S. C. L.* of Jerusalem. (See De Guignes, tom. iii. p. ii. pp. 10—30.)

² *Solimanno.*] His Turkish name was Kilidge-Arslan : his kingdom of Roum extended from the Hellespont to the confines of Syria, and barred the pilgrimage

³ *Obtigerat.*] *A. D. E. L.* ; ob-
venerat, *S. C.*

⁴ *Dux.*] *A. S. C. D. L.* ; omitted in *E.*

Siege of Nice. periculo; namque hi jam indiscrete in tentoriis suis necabantur, nihil bello intenti, sed solis lacrymis et precibus auras implentes. Nec rimabatur hostis vulneri aditum, sed in nothos fortunam emittens, nunquam pro densitate cuneorum inanem referebat manum. Sola erat mortis dilatio, quod, quia juxta quoddam arundinetum pugnabatur, equi Turcorum impediti liberis non exultabant cursibus. Sed tandem visis antesignanis optimatum venientium, nostri ex arundineto prodeunt; et ¹acclamato signo militari, 'Deus vult!' dissipatos ordines hostium invadunt, sociis ut ex altera parte feriant innuentes. Ita Turci, cum utrinque premerentur, nescio quid dirum stridentes, ululatus in cœlum actis diffugere; nec solito more pugna fugaci usi, sed, abjectis arcubus, majus aliquid quam humanum timorem continua trium dierum fuga testati sunt. Nec erat qui eos fugaret; quia equi nostrorum, vix jejuno cespite vitam sustentantes, alacrem persecutionem negabant, lasso statim ilium pulsu ²defectionem suam ostendentes. Erat enim Asia, terra quondam frugum feracissima, ita moderno et antiquo tempore Turcis sævientibus expilata, ut vix raro exercitui alimoniam ministrare sufficeret, nedum tantæ multitudini, quæ totas segetes depastura, totos ³annes epotatura videretur: æstimabantur enim cum ⁴a Nicea disces-

¹Acclamato signo militari, 'Deus vult!'] When Urban II. addressed the multitude from a lofty scaffold in the market-place of Clermont, inciting the people to undertake the Crusade, he was frequently interrupted by the shout of thousands in their rustic idiom exclaiming 'Deus lo volt!' 'It is indeed the will of God!' replied the pope; 'and let those

words, the inspiration surely of the Holy Spirit, be for ever adopted as your war-cry.'

²Defectionem suam.] S. D. E.; defectum suum, L.

³Amnes epotatura.] D. E. L.; amnes se potatura, C.; amnes epotura, A.; amnes epotatum, S.

⁴A Nicea.] A. S. D. E. L.; antea, C.

sere septingenta millia, pars reliqua vel ferro Siege of Nice. interemta vel valetudine minuta, major domos dilapsa.

§ 358. Inde ¹ergo, per Antiochiam Pisidiæ et Iconium urbes, Eracleam venere: ibi signum in cælo viderunt modo ensis fulminei figuratum, mucrone versus orientem protento. Jamque a July 1. kalendis ²Julii, cum Niceam deseruerant, Oc- Oct. 7. tobris mensis ³nonæolvebantur, quando Antiochiam Syriæ venere: cujus situm commemorarem, nisi aviditatem meam præoccuparet ⁴Ambrosiana in Egesippo facundia, simul et quod vereor ne mihi vertatur vitio quod tam frequenter in digressionibus peregrinatur narratio. Veruntamen quantum suscepti operis ⁵narratio postulat, dicam.

DE URBE ANTIOCHIA.

§ 359. Civitas est maximo muro circumdata, Description of Antioch. montem etiam mœnibus ⁶complexa; a Seleuco, rege Asiæ, nomine Antiochi patris cognominata; post Romam, et Constantinopolim, et Alexandriam quarto per orbem loco cunctis civitatibus prælata; mœnibus tuta, montibus ardua; magis ingenio quam vi, si unquam capiatur, obtinenda. Fluvius illi proximus, quem modo Fernum, quondam Orontem vocatum intelligo, duodecimo ab urbe milliario accipitur pelago, fluentis rapacibus,

¹ Ergo.] *A. S. C. D. L.*; omitted in *E.*

² Julii.] *A. E. L.*; Junii, *S. C. D.*

³ Nonæolvebantur.] *A. S. C. D. L.*; non evolvebantur, *E 1.*

⁴ Ambrosiana in Egesippo facundia.] Hegesippus, a Greek author of the second century. He wrote an ecclesiastical history in five books, a fragment of which only

remains. A work on the Jewish wars, and on the destruction of Jerusalem, has been also attributed to him, and which is said to have been translated into Latin by St. Ambrose.

⁵ Narratio.] *S. C. D. E.*; necessitas, *A. L.*

⁶ Complexa.] *S. C. D. E.*; circumplexa, *A. L.*

et ipso impetu frigidioribus, salubris auræ tem-
perie ¹saluti medetur ²civium; com meatum quo-
que navium oppidanis invehens, perseverantiam
obsidentium quantolibet tempore deridet. Ibi
primum ³Christianismi venerabile vocabulum ex-
cogitatum. Inde Paulus, hujusce religionis in-
centivum et fomes, ad prædicandum processit.
Ibi beatus Petrus primi antistitii cathedram se-
dit; in cujus honore fundata illic ecclesia toto
Turcorum tempore illibata permansit: nec mi-
nus altera, in honore sanctæ Mariæ consecrata,
decore sui oculos spectantium tenebat; mirum in
modum, ut cujus persequabantur fidem reve-
rentur ædem.

DE OBSIDIONE ANTIOCHIÆ.

Siege of An-
tioch.
A. D. 1097-8.

§ 360. Hanc itaque civitatem Franci ⁴ab Oc-
tobri usque ad Junium ⁵circumsedere, tentoriis
circum muros amne transito locatis: perspecta-
que difficultate ⁶expugnandi, timiditati quorun-
dam obviandum arbitrati, omnes pariter proceres
sacramento fecere obsidioni non ponendas ferias
quoad vel vi vel ingenio prederetur civitas; et,
ut quod intendebant facilius implerent, castra cis
fluvium constituerunt multa, quibus impositi mi-
lites ⁷castra prætenderent. Aoxianus quoque ci-
vitatatis admiratus, videns Francos non joco et
jejune agere, sed civitatem serio impetere, San-
sadolem filium ad Soldanum ⁸imperatorem misit,

¹ *Saluti.*] S. D. E.; sanitati, L.

² *Civium.*] S. D. E.; civicæ,
A. C. L.

³ *Christianismi.*] D. E.; Chris-
tiani olim nominis, A. S. L.;
Christianismi olim nominis, C.—
Act. Apost. XI. 26.

⁴ *Ab Octobri usque ad Junium.*] The siege of Antioch commenced

on the 21st October 1097, and
ended 3rd June 1098.

⁵ *Circumsedere.*] S. C. D. E.;
circumdedere, A. L.

⁶ *Expugnandi.*] A. D. E. L.;
capiendi, S. C.

⁷ *Castra.*] C. E.; excubias,
A. S. D. L.

⁸ *Imperatorem.*] C. D. E.; im-
peratorem Persidis, A. S. L.

qui, Francorum audaciam exponens, suppetias ^{Stiege of Antioch.} ¹expeteret. Soldanus apud Persas qui apud Romanos Augustus, totius orientis et omnium Saracenorum rector. Quod ideo, ut æstimo, tamdiu manet et propagatur imperium, quod gens illa parum (ut dixi) bellicosa, et vivacis sanguinis inops, semel acceptum nescit dediscere servitium, ignorantque, ²ut Lucanus ait,

‘ Ideo datos ne quisquam serviat enses.’

At vero gens occidentalis, audax et effera, diurnam unius ³populi dedignatur dominationem; sæpe se servitio exuens, et de uno in aliud transferens. Denique Romanum imperium prius ad Francos, post ad Teutones declinavit; orientale apud Persas semper durat.

QUARE TURCI CHRISTIANOS URBIS INDIGENAS
OCCIDERINT.

§ 361. Ad hujus igitur imperii principem Sandoles missus, viam studio celerabat juvenili; pater interim, in custodia urbis, imperatorio non deerat muneri. Nec contenta virtus inclusorum sua tutari, nostros ultro lacessebat; crebro illos, et subito, pabulantes et nundinantes aggressa; nam, de inventis navibus pontem facientes, nundinas ultra fluvium ⁴constituerant. Ope igitur Christi pertinaces sumptis armis hostes audacter propellere, ut nunquam eos superiorem gloriam paterentur referre: cujus contumeliæ ultionem in Syros et Armenios, civitatis indigenas, Turci ⁵refundebant; balistis et petrariis capita inter-

¹ *Expeteret.*] S. C. D. E.; oraret, A. L.

² *Ut Lucanus ait.*] Pharsalia, IV. 579.

³ *Populi.*] S. D. E.; gentis, L.

⁴ *Constituerant.*] D. E.; instituerant, A. S. C. L.

⁵ *Refundebant.*] A. D. E. L.; infundebant, S. C.

Siege of Antioch.

entorum in castra Francorum emittentes, ut illos eo modo ad dolorem incenderent.

DE FAME OBSIDENTIUM.

§ 362. Et jam, devastatis omnibus circa urbem quæ ad victum poterant parari, temeraria (fames, quæ tuta etiam expugnare solet,) exercitum incessere cœperat; adeo ut, nondum surgentibus in altam segetem culmis, quidam siliquas fabarum ¹nondum adultarum pro summis deliciis amplecterentur. Alii carnes jumentorum, alii coria aquis mollita, quidam carduos parum coctos per abrasas fauces utero demittebant; (quidam vel mures, vel talium quid deliciarum, poscentibus aliis venundabant, et esurire sustinebat prolato jejunos venditor auro.) Nec defuere qui cadavera cadaveribus infarcirent, humanis pasti carnibus; longe tamen et in montibus, ne nidore carnis adustæ cæteri offenderentur. Plures, spe reperiendæ alimonie, ignotis vagabantur semitis; et a latrunculis, viarum gnaris, trucidabantur. Sed non multo post civitas deditiōni consensit.

QUOMODO BOAMUNDUS TURCUM QUENDAM AD PRODITIONEM URBIS FLEXIT.

§ 363. Boamundus enim, solertis ingenii vir, ea parte qua prætendebat, ²principem quendam Turcum, maximæ turris custodem, promissis ingentibus ad proditiōnem per internuncios sollicitaverat. Ille quoque, ut infamiam proditiōnis insigni excusatione palliaret, Boamundo filium in obsidatum dedit; Christi edicto, quod per somnium didicisset, id se facere professus. Suos

¹ *Nondum.*] A. S. C. D. L.; ... per internuncios sollicitaverat.] omitted in E. Phirouz, a Syrian renegado, has the infamy of this perfidious and

² *Principem quendam Turcum* | foul treason.

igitur ad turrim Boamundus admovit, prius clandestino astu perpetuum a proceribus civitatis ^{Siege of Antioch.} donum nactus, si possit adquirere. Ita Franci, per funeas scalas nocte intempesta in murum evecti, vexilloque Boamundi, quod vermiculatum erat, ventis in fastigio turris exposito, signum Christianum lætis fragoribus ingeminant, 'Deus vult! Deus vult!' Turci experrecti, et soporis penuria inertes, fugam per angiportus invadunt: districtis nostri gladiis insecuti, magnas de inimicis strages acervant. In ea fuga ²occidit Aoxianus urbis admiratus, a quodam rustico Syro decollatus: caput ejus, Francis allatum, ridiculo et gaudio fuit.

DE ADVENTU TURCORUM.

§ 364. Nec diu opima victoria lætati, postero die Turcorum obsidionem extra muros ingemurere. Venerant illi a Sansadole invitati, ³duce Corbaguath satrapa orientali, qui ab imperatore Persidis acceperat trecenta millia cum viginti septem admiratis. Horum ⁴sexaginta in arcem urbis per scopulos ascendere, advocantibus eos Turcis qui adhuc ibidem remanserant. Itaque illi crebris excursibus Christianos potissimum fatigabant, nec erat ulla spes nisi in Dei auxilio;

¹ Donum.] A. C. D. E. L.; dominum, S.

² Occidit.] A. C. D. E. L. 2.; cecidit, S.; occiditur, L. 1.

³ Duce Corbaguath satrapa orientali . . . trecenta millia cum viginti septem admiratis.] In describing the host of Kerboga, most of the Latin historians, the author of the Gesta (p. 17), Robertus Monachus (p. 56), Baldric (p. 111), Fulcherius Carnotensis (p. 392), Guibert (p. 512), William of Tyre (lib. vi. c. 3, p. 714),

Bernardus Thesaurarius (c. 39, p. 695), are content with the vague expressions of 'infinita multitudo,' 'immensum agmen,' 'innumeræ copiæ,' 'innumeræ gentes.' The numbers of the Turks are fixed by Albertus Aquensis at two hundred thousand (lib. iv. c. 10, p. 242), and by Radulphus Cadomensis (c. 72, p. 309) at four hundred thousand horse. (Gibb. Decl. Rom. Emp. vii. pp. 364-5.)

⁴ Sexaginta.] D. E.; sexaginta millia, A. S. C. L.

Battle of Antioch.

cum bello infestatis cresceret inedia, inedia semper ¹magnorum comes prima malorum.) Quapropter, triduo prius cum letaniis exacto ieiunio, legatus ²Petrus heremita mittitur ad Turcos. Is familiari sibi eloquio ista prosecutus est, ut Turci Christianorum terras, quas olim pervaserant indebite, nunc evacuent voluntarie. Justum esse, ut sicut Christiani non ³infestant Persidam, ita Turci non ⁴urgeant Asiam. Proinde aut libenti discessu nativum solum repellant, aut mane futuro bellum expectent; sortem per duos vel quatuor vel octo experiantur, ne periculum ad totum vergat exercitum.

QUOMODO CHRISTIANI TURCOS VICERINT.

Battle of Antioch.

§ 365. Non erat Corbaguath ejus facilitatis ut legatum dignaretur responso; sed scacchis ludens, et dentibus infrendens, inanem dimisit: hoc tantum dicto, Jam conclamata esse Francorum superbiam. Ille quoque concite rediens exercitum de insolentia Turci certiozem reddidit. Tunc omnes se alterutrum animantes, etiam per præconem clamare fecere, ut quisque nocte illa equo suo pro posse præbendam porrigeret, ne sequenti die multiformibus gyris fatigatus deficeret. Jamque mane inclaruerat, cum, per acies dispositi, vexillis in hostem infestis produnt. Primam turmam duxere duo Roberti, Normannus et Flandrensis, et Hugo magnus; secundam dux Godefridus; tertiam Podiensis

¹ *Magnorum.*] A. S. C. D. L.; omitted in E.

² *Petrus heremita . . . Is familiari sibi eloquio ista prosecutus est.*] William of Tyre (lib. i. c. 11, pp. 637-8) thus describes the hermit: 'Pusillus, persona contemptibilis, vivacis ingenii, et

oculum habens perspicacem gratumque, et sponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium.'

³ *Infestant.*] C. D. E.; urgent, A. S. L.

⁴ *Urgeant.*] C. D. E.; infestent, A. S. L.

episcopus. Boamundus in extremo agmine ¹incedebat, cæteris subsidio futurus. Raimundus in urbe remanserat, qui nostris receptui provide-
ret, si necesse foret. Hoc Turci eminus conspicati, primo quid esset hæserere. Mox cognito vexillo episcopi, quod eum maxime metuerent, quia illum papam Christianorum et incentorem bellorum ²dictitarent, antequam ferirentur, videntes quod nostri tam animose et incunctanter procederent, terga dedere: alteri quoque, insperato exilientes tripudio, cedentes cecidere, quantum vel peditum ilia vel equitum calcaria sufficere potuerunt. Persuadebantque sibi videre se antiquos martyres, qui olim milites fuissent, quique mortis pretio parassent præmia vitæ, Georgium dico et Demetrium, vexillis levatis a partibus montanis accurrere, jacula in hostes, in se auxilium vibrantes. Nec diffitendum est affuisse martyres Christianis, sicut quondam angelos Macchabæis simili duntaxat causa pugnantibus. Reversi vero in prædam, tanta in castris illorum reperiunt quæ cujuslibet ³avidissimi exercitus satietatem possent vel temperare vel extinguere. Hoc prælium actum est anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo nonagesimo octavo, A.D. 1098.
quarto kalendas Julii; nam pridie nonas ⁴Julii June 28.
capta fuerat urbs. Mox, kalendis Augusti July 6.
sequentibus, Podiensis episcopus, Christianorum Aug. 1.
vexillifer, illius boni auctor præcipuus, communi mortalium conditioni feliciter manus dedit; et Hugo magnus, concessu ut aiunt heroum, Franciam rediit, causatus continuam viscerum tortionem.

¹ *Incedebat.*] A. D. E. L.;
omitted in S. C.

³ *Avidissimi.*] C. D. E.; av-
rissimi, A. S. L.

² *Dictitarent.*] A. D. E. L.;
dicerent, S. C.

⁴ *Julii.*] C.; altered by a later
hand from 'Julii' to 'Junii,' E.;
Junii, A. S. D. L.

Approach to
Jerusalem.
A.D. 1099.

§ 366. Sed cum, ¹sex mensibus Antiochiæ morati, præteritos labores tam diuturna quiete abstersissent, iter jamdudum inceptum resumere meditabantur. Primusque Raimundus, nullius unquam ignaviæ conscius, et cui semper ²cura primum in procinctu militari esse, et post eum Roberti et Godefridus, ³iter adorti; solum Boamundum florentissimæ civitatis aspectus et pecuniarum fames continuit, ut interim differret. Sed latebat sub cupiditate ratio persuasibilis, qua diceret Antiochiam non sine principe Turcis exponendam continuo involaturis. Residit ergo in urbe; et Raimundi homines, qui vicum unum tenebant, improbus exactor mœnibus ⁴depulit. At vero cæteri ⁵per Tripolim, et Beritum, et Tyrum, et Sydonem, et Ácaronem, et Caipham, et Cæsaream Palestinæ transeuntes, ibi a dextra dimittentes maritima, pervenerunt Ramulam; a quibusdam civitatibus gratanter excepti, quarundam subjectione virtutem suam insignientes. Non enim diutius moram protelari consilium erat, quod Aprilis mensis erat, et campestris fruges in maturas messes coaluerant. Ramula est civitatula, muro indiga, beati Georgii, si famæ credimus, martyrii conscia; cujus ibi ab antiquo fundatam ecclesiam Turci nonnihil deformaverant, tunc metu Francorum, subreptis omnibus suis, in montana dilapsi. Sequenti mane, dubio adhuc diei et noctis confinio, Tancredus nepos Boamundi, præstans animi miles, sumptis armis, et quidam alii, Bethleem pertenen-

¹ *Sex.*] *A. C. E. L.*; septem, *S. D.*

² *Cura.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; curæ vita, *S.* (var. lect.)

³ *Iter adorti.*] *D. E.*; viam moliti, *A. S. C. L.*

⁴ *Depulit.*] *A. D. E. L.*; expulit, *S. C.*

⁵ *Per Tripolim.*] The greatest part of their march is most accurately traced in Maundrell's *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (pp. 11—67).

dunt, loca vicina explorare cupientes. Syri qui essent in loco, progressi obviam, lætitiā suam desiderio lachrymante prodebant, salutē eorum pro paucitate nimirum metuentes; nam non multo plus quam centum milites venerant. At illi, supplicibus votis sacram ædem venerati, confestim Ierosolymam intentis animis invadunt. Turci quoque, pro fiducia virium mentibus effertati, foras exiliunt, in nostros aliquantisper arietantes; totus enim jam exercitus adventarat: sed mox, Francis annitentibus, summoti hostes claustrorum muralium objectu salutē suam tuebantur.

DE URBE IERUSALEM.

§ 367. De situ et positione Ierusalem nihil me dicere copia scriptorum admonet: nec necesse est ut in hoc campo ²nostra exultet oratio; adeo fere omnium notitiæ patet quod Josephus, quod Eucherius, quod Beda scripsere. Quis enim nesciat eam a Melchisedec Salem, a Jebuseis Jebus, a Salomone Ierosolymam vocatam? Quis non audierit quotiens, sub adverso Marte cadens, cives ruinis sepelierit suis, vel Nabugodonosor, vel Tito, vel Adriano agentibus? Adrianus ille fuit qui Ierosolymam, ex suo cognomine cognominatam Heliam, orbiculato et majori murorum ambitu ædificavit, ut locum sepulchri Dominici, quod olim extra fuerat, amplecteretur; nam et mons Sion, intra urbem receptus, pro arce supereminet. ³Fons intra nullus, sed cisternis ad hoc

Jerusalem described.

¹ Illi, supplicibus . . . venerati.] The church of St. Mary at Bethlehem contained within its walls a sort of grotto, in which it was pretended Christ was born. (See Beda, De Locis Sanctis.)

² Nostra.] A. D. E. L.; mea, S. C.

³ Fons intra nullus . . . Cedron augeat.] Jerusalem was possessed only of the torrent of Kedron, dry in summer, and of the little

præparatis colliguntur latices siti civium profuturi; quod ipsius urbis situs, supercilio ab aquilone montis Sion incipiens, ita sit molli clivo dispositus, ut pluvia ibi decidens nequaquam lutum faciat, sed instar fluviorum vel cisternis excipiatur, vel per portas defluens torrentem Cedron augeat. Ibi templum Domini et templum quod dicunt Salomonis, quibus incertum auctoribus ædificata, Turcorum celebri frequentia colebantur; templum præsertim Domini, quod quotidianis venerabantur excubiis, Christianosque ingressu arcebant, simulachro Mahumet ibidem collocato. Ibi ¹decenti opere compacta ecclesia sancti sepulchri capax, a Constantino magno ædificata, nullam unquam ab inimicis fidei tulit injuriam; metu, sicut conjicio, pro igne cœlesti percussis, ²qui quotannis in vigilia Paschæ lampadibus serenus infulget. Quod miraculum quando cœperit, vel si ante tempora ³Saracenorum fuerit, nullius historiæ cognitione discernitur. ⁴Legi ego in scripto Bernardi monachi, quod abhinc annis ducentis quinquaginta, id est,

brook or spring of Siloe. (Re-land, tom. i. pp. 294, 300.) Tacitus mentions a perennial fountain, an aqueduct, and cisterns of rain-water. The aqueduct was conveyed from the rivulet Tekoe, or Etham, which is likewise mentioned by Bohadin (in Vit. Saladin. p. 238).

¹ *Decenti.*] S. C. E.; tereti, A. D. L.

² *Qui quotannis in vigilia Paschæ lampadibus serenus infulget.*] It was pretended that the lamps in the church of the Holy Sepulchre were miraculously ignited on Easter-eve. Mosheim, in his Dissertations on Ecclesiastical History (tom. II. pp. 214—306), has separately dis-

cussed this pretended miracle. He ascribes the invention of the pious fraud to the Franks soon after the decease of Charlemagne.

³ *Saracenorum.*] S. D. E.; paganorum, L.

⁴ *Legi ego in scripto Bernardi monachi.*] ⁴ Bernard, with two companions, sailed from Italy to Alexandria, and travelled thence by land to Jerusalem in the year 870. Their travels are printed in Mabillon's Acta Benedictinorum. The account is short, but has several interesting particulars. There is also a good MS. in the British Museum, (Bibl. Cott. Faust. B. 1.) where, by a mistake of the scribe, it is dated A.D. 970; but this is clearly

anno incarnationis octingentesimo septuagesimo, idem, Ierosolymam profectus, ignem illum viderit; hospitatusque fuerit in xenodochio quod ¹ibi- dem gloriosissimus Karolus magnus construi jusserat, ubi et bibliotecam ingentis expensæ compegerat. Tantamque et Ægypti, et per id locorum, commemorat pacem Christianos sub Turcorum dominio habuisse, ut si alicui vianti in mediis forte triviis jumentum quo necessaria verheret defungeretur, ille, relictis ²sarculis, ad proximam urbem expeditus pro auxilio pergeret, omnia quæ dimiserat illibata proculdubio reperturus. Nullus tamen ibi Christianus alienigena secure vivere, pro exploratorum suspicione, poterat, nisi sigillo imperatoris Babylonii fretus: indigenæ pacem Turcorum tribus annuis talentis vel bizantinis redimebant. Veruntamen quia Bernardus Theodosii tunc patriarchæ nomen non tacet, ipsa me monet occasio ut omnium patriarcharum nomina proponam.

NOMINA PATRIARCHARUM IERUSALEM.

§ 368. Jacobus frater Domini, filius ³Alphei; Patriarchs of Jerusalem. Simeon filius Cleophæ, consobrinus Christi (Cleophas autem fuit frater Joseph); Justus, Zacheus, Tobias, Benjamin, Johannes, Machabeus, Philippus, Seneca, Justus, Levi, Effrem, ⁴Justus, Judas (hi quindecim circumcisi fuerunt); Marcus, Cassianus, ⁵Publius, Maximus, ⁶Julianus, Gaius (iste primus celebravit Pascha et Quadragesimam more Romanorum); Symacus, Gaius,

wrong, for Bernard mentions Lewis king of Italy as then living, and he died A.D. 875. (Sharpe, 438.)

¹ *Ibidem.*] A. D. E. L.; idem, S. C.

² *Sarculis.*] E.; sarcinis, A. S. C. D. L.

³ *Alphei.*] C. D. E.; Joseph, A. S. L.

⁴ *Justus.*] C. D. E.; Jesse, A. S. L.

⁵ *Publius.*] A. S. C. E. L.; Publicus, D.

⁶ *Julianus.*] A. S. D. E. L.; omitted in C.

Julianus, Capito, Maximus, Antonius, Valens, Docilianus, Narcissus, Dius, Germanio, Gordius, Alexander, Mazabanus, Irmeneus, Zabdas, Ermon, Macharius (hujus temporibus inventa est sancta crux ¹ab Helena); Ciriacus, Maximus, Cirillus (iste construxit ecclesiam sancti Sepulchri et montis Calvariæ, et Bethleem et vallis Josaphat). Hi omnes vocati sunt episcopi. Post hos surrexere patriarchæ: Cirillus, protus patriarcha; Johannes, ²Prailius, Juvenalis, ³Johannes, Zacharias (in cujus tempore venit ⁴Chosdroe rex Persarum Ierusalem, et destruxit ecclesias Judeæ et Ierusalem, et occisa sunt ab exercitu suo triginta sex millia Christianorum); Modestus (iste constitutus est patriarcha ab Heraclio imperatore postquam reversus est victor de Perside); Sofronius (cujus temporibus venere Saraceni, et ejecerunt Christianos omnes de Ierusalem, excepto patriarcha, quem ob reverentiam sanctitatis ibi dimiserunt. Illud fuit tempus quo Saraceni totam Ægyptum, et Affricam, et Judæam, et Hispaniam, et Baleares insulas pervaserunt. Partem Hispaniæ abstulit iis Karolus magnus; ⁵reliquas et omnes quas nominavi terras possident usque hodie, annis abhinc circiter quingentis); ⁶Theodorus, Ilia, Georgius, Thomas, ⁷Basilidis, Sergius, Salomontos, Theo-

A.D. 614.

¹ *Ab Helena.*] C. D. E.; a beata Helena, A. S. L.

² *Prailius.*] A. S. C. E. L.; Julius, D.

³ *Johannes.*] A. C. D. E. L1.; omitted in S. L2.—No patriarch of this name is known at this period. Anastasius succeeded Juvenal A.D. 458. The names of the eleven successive patriarchs prior to Zacharias (A.D. 458—609) are omitted by Malmesbury.

⁴ *Chosdroe.*] D. E.; Cosdroe, A. C. L.; Cosrel, S.—Chosroes II. king of Persia.

⁵ *Reliquas.*] D. E.; reliquam, A. S. C. L.

⁶ *Theodorus.*] The church of Jerusalem was vacant after the death of Sophronius (A.D. 644) until the year 705, when John V. succeeded, whom Theodorus followed, A.D. 754.

⁷ *Basilidis.*] D. E.; Basilus, A. S. C. L.

dosius: hunc Theodosium fuisse abbatem Bernardus memorat, et raptum de monasterio suo, quod distabat ab Ierusalem quindecim millibus, et factum fuisse patriarcham Ierosolymæ; tunc ¹Michaelem ²dicit fuisse patriarcham Babylonis super Ægyptum, translato patriarchatu Alexandriae in Babylonem: Ilia, Sergius, Leonthos, Athanasius, Christodolus, Thomas, Joseph, Orestes (in cujus tempore venit Achim Soldanus de A.D. 1009. Babylonia, nepos Orestis patriarchæ, misit exercitum suum Ierusalem, et destruxit omnes ecclesias, scilicet quatuor millia; et avunculum suum patriarcham adduci fecit Babyloniæ et ibidem occidi); Theofilus, Niceforus (hic ædificavit ³ecclesiam sancti Sepulchri quæ nunc est, favente A.D. 1048. Achim Soldano); Sofronius (in cujus tempore Turci Ierosolymam venientes, pugnauerunt cum A.D. 1059. Saracenis et omnes interfecerunt, et obtinuerunt civitatem; Christiani autem remanserunt ibi sub dominio Turcorum); ⁴Euthimius, Simeon: hujus tempore venerunt Franci et expugnauerunt Iero- A.D. 1099. solymam, et liberaverunt eam de manibus Turcorum et regis Babyloniæ.

§ 369. Anno igitur Ierosolymitanæ peregrinationis quarto, post captam Niceam tertio, post Siege of Jerusalem. A.D. 1099. Antiochiam secundo, obsessa est a Francis Ierusalem; urbs bellorum maxima merces, blandimentum laborum, supremæ spei viaticum. Erat tunc Junii mensis dies septimus; nec quicquam June 7. sibi obsessor verebatur in cibatu vel in potu, quod messis in agris, uvæ in vineis, maturaverant: sola jumentorum cura erat ⁵miserabilis,

¹ *Michaelem.*] *D. E.*; etiam patriarcham Michaelem, *S.*; etiam Michaelem, *A. C. L.*

² *Dicit.*] *A. D. E.*; dicunt, *S. C.*; diem, *L.*

³ *Ecclesiam.*] *D. E.*; casam, *A. S. C. L.*

⁴ *Euthimius.*] *A. C. E. L.*; Eubinnus, *D.*; Cuthimus, *S.*

⁵ *Miserabilis.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; miseris, *S.* (var. lect.)

Siege of Jerusalem.

quæ pro qualitate loci et temporis nullo sustentantur irriguo; nam et fontis Siloe recessus, qui horis incertis dulcibus scatet aquis, tunc calor solis ebiberat. Fons ille, si quando pluviabilibus pascitur aquis, torrentem Cedron auget, indeque undivomo impetu in vallem Josaphat decurrit; sed hoc admodum raro, quia nullus ejus augmenti vel decrementi ¹serius est terminus: quocirca nostros, ad aquationem jumentorum crebro dispersos, hostes e cavernis egredientes inopine cædebant. Interea duces suo quisque muneri; Raimundus vero ²turri Davidicæ impiger assidebat. Hæc, ab occasu solis urbem muniens, ad medium fere tabulatum quadratorum lapidum plumbo infuso compaginata, omnem metum obsidentium paucis intus defendentibus repellit. Itaque videntes urbem ad capiendum, propter prærupta montium et firmitatem mœnium et ferocitatem hostium, difficilem, machinas fieri præcepere: et prius quidem, ³obsessionis die septimo, fortunam scalis erectis tentarunt, in resistentes volaticas moliti sagittas; sed quia erant scalæ paucæ, ascendentibus damnosæ, quod vulneribus expositi undique nulla parte protegerentur, consilium mutarunt. Unum fuit machinamentum quod nostri Suem, veteres Vineam vocant; quod machina levibus lignis colligata, tecto tabulis cratibusque contexto, lateribus crudis coriis ⁴munitis, protegit in se ⁵subsidentes, qui, quasi more suis, ad murorum suffodienda pene-

¹ *Serius.*] A. C. E. L.; certus, S. D.

² *Turri Davidicæ.*] The Tower of David was the old tower Psephina, or Neblosa; it was likewise called Castellum Pisanum, from the patriarch Daimbert. (D'Anville, pp. 19—23.)

³ *Obsessionis.*] S. D. E.; obsidionis, L.

⁴ *Munitis.*] A. D. E. L.; comunitis, S. C.

⁵ *Subsidentes.*] S. C. D. E.; subsistentes, A. L.

trant fundamenta. Alterum fuit, pro lignorum penuria, turris non magna, in modum ædificiorum facta: Berfreid appellant, quod fastigium murorum æquaret. Hoc machinamentum, dum fieret, moram obsidioni dedit pro fabrorum in-
Siege of Jerusalem.
 scitia et lignorum ¹inopia. Et jam quartusdecimus dies Julii ^{July 14.}olvebatur, cum hi admotis vineis murum soffodere, hi turrem promovere cœpere: quod ut opportunius fieret, membratim disjunctam ad muros tulere; ibique, prope quantum a jactu sagittæ cavere poterant, compaginatam, rotarum volubilitate muro pene conjungere. Interea funditores lapidibus, sagittarii jaculis, arcubalistæ telis, quisque suum ²exercens officium, instare, et propugnantes de muro submovere; milites quoque virtute incomparabiles turrim ascendere, æquo jam pene marte telis et lapidibus in hostes agentes. Nec illi feriis vacabant, sed, omnem virtuti salutem committentes, adipem et oleum ignitum in turrim et in milites fundibalis jaculabantur, multorum mortibus sui voti se compotes gloriantes. Ita toto illo die certatum, ut neutra pars se victam putaret. ^{July 15.} Sequenti die, qui erat quintusdecimus Julii, ad suprema ventum: namque Franci, pridiani certaminis eventu eruditiores, fascēs oleagino succo vividas in turrim muro proximam et ejus custodes jecerunt. At flamma, vento agente in comas erecta, primo ligna, ³mox lapides corripuens, custodes effugavit. Quin et tigna quæ Turci e muro pendula dimiserant, ut turrim, si propius admoveretur, reducto nisu brachiorum arietando effringerent, Franci funibus desectis ad se traxere; et de machina in murum jactis, cratibusque

¹ *Inopia.*] C. D. E.; penuria, | L.; exercens, S. (var. lect.)
 A. S. L. | ³ *Mox.*] A. D. E. L.; postea,
² *Exercentes.*] A. S. C. D. E. | S. C.

Capture of
Jerusalem.

constratis, pontem, qui turrim et mœnia continuaret, fecere. Ita perfidis versum in exitium quod paraverant ad remedium. Tum vero, et fumeis flammaram globis, et nostrorum audacia, hostes infracti fugam ineunt. ¹Alteri in murum, et inde in urbem progredientes, quantum illa exigebat animorum lætitia, manibus egere. Et hæc quidem victoria in parte Godefridi et duorum Robertorum evenit. Ignorabat hoc Raimundus donec fugitivorum clamor, et se de muro ultro præcipitantium timor, (qui, dum mortem fugiunt, mortem invadunt,) urbem captam prodidit. Quod intuitus, strictisque gladiis in ²fugitivos irruens, quantum animositati suæ sufficere iudicavit, injurias Dei ultum ire festinabat. Quingentos quoque Æthiopas, qui, in arcem David refugi, claves portarum, pollicita membrorum impunitate, tradiderant, spectato pacis commodo præsentis, incolumes Ascalonem dimisit. Nec ullum erat Turcis refugium, ita et supplices et rebelles insatiabilis ira victorum consumebat. Decem millia in templo Salomonis interfecta; plura ex fastigiis templorum et arcis præcipitata. Post hæc cadavera cumulata, igne immisso, in aerium resoluta sunt elementum, ne, sub divo in tabem fluentia, inertii attraherent contagia mundo. Ita cæde infidelium expiata urbe, sepulchrum Domini, quod tamdiu desideraverant, pro quo tot labores tulerant, supplicibus cordibus et corporibus expetierunt. Quot ibi precum thurificatione cœlum incenderint, quot lacrymis Deum in gratiam revocaverint, nullus unquam profiteor evolveret: nec si veterum pompatica eloquentia procederet; non si Orpheus,

¹ Alteri.] A. D. E. L.; alii, | ² Fugitivos.] C. D. E.; fugi-
S. C. | entes, A. S. L.

qui vocalibus fidibus auritos, ut dicitur, scopulos flexit, resurgeret. Cogitetur igitur potius quam dicatur.

§ 370. Illud insigne continentiae in omnibus optimatibus exemplum fuit, quod nec eo die, nec consequentibus, quisquam respectu praedae avocavit animum quin ceptum persequerentur triumphum. Solus Tancredus, intempestiva cupidine occupatus, quaedam pretiosissima de templo Salomonis extulit; sed postmodum, sua conscientia et aliorum conventus colloquio, vel eadem vel apreciata loco restituit. Tum quicumque egenus vel domum vel aliquas divitias invasit; nunquam ulterius ullius locupletis tulit convitium, sed semel possessa in jus adoptavit haereditarium. Nec mora, praelucidum illud Christianae nobilitatis specular, in quo velut in splendido lacunari omnium virtutum repercutiebatur jubar, ¹Godefridus, in regem eligitur, omnibus non ignava spe conferentibus, nullo modo posse decentius prospici ecclesiae utilitatibus; ²dilato interim de patriarcha consilio, qui Romani papae deberet substitui iudicio.

§ 371. At vero Babylonis imperator, non illius quae, a Nembroth facta, a Semiramide aucta ³esse asseritur; sed illius quam Cambyses Cyri filius aedificavit in Aegypto, in loco ubi quondam fuerat Thaphnis, — imperator ergo Babylonis,

Forbearance
of the Crusaders.

Godfrey
chosen king.

The battle of
Ascalon
A. D. 1099,
Aug. 12.

¹ *Godefridus in regem eligitur.*] This devout pilgrim rejected the name and ensigns of royalty in a city where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns: he contented himself with the modest title of 'Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre.'

² *Dilato interim de patriarcha consilio, qui Romani papae deberet substitui iudicio.*] Pope Urban

did not live to hear of the memorable event; he died 29th of July 1099, fourteen days after the conquest of Jerusalem. Daimbert archbishop of Pisa was installed, without a competitor, patriarch of Jerusalem. (See William of Tyre, lib. ix. c. 15—18, and lib. x. 4, 7, 9.)

³ *Esse asseritur.*] *D. E.*; nunc asseritur deserta, *A. S. C. L.*

Battle of Ascalon.

diu conceptas in Francos iras parturiens, misit ducem militiae qui eos de regno, ut dictitabat, suo ¹propelleret. Ille, praecipua maturans munia, cum audisset captam Ierusalem, majori cura stimulavit negotium, quanquam ante nihil segnitiei admisisset. Eratque barbaro animus ut Christianos in Ierusalem obsideret; et, post victoriam quam jam mente somniabat falso praesagus, sepulchrum Domini a fundo erutum dilapidaret. Nostri, qui nihil minus diligerent quam obsidiales aërumnas denuo ²perpeti, sumpta ex Dei parte audacia, ex urbe versus Ascalonem prodeunt, obvia hostibus inferentes pectora; portabantque secum partem Dominici ligni, quam quidam Syrus civis Ierosolymitanus avita successione domi custoditam propalaverat. Felix plane et fidele furtum, ut toto tempore Turcis celaretur mysterium! Ingentem ergo praedam pecorum et pecudum ³secus Ascalonem nacti, generale proposuerunt edictum ut omnia in patulis campis relinquerent, ne postero mane pugnantibus impedimento forent: satis superque se praedam habituros si vincerent, dummodo expediti divinas ulciscerentur injurias. Itaque mane jam exercitu ⁴prodeunte, videres, supero credo instinctu, cornibus erectis pecora lateribus militum obambulantiâ, nec ulla posse abigi violentia: quod eminus hostes intuiti, et solaribus radiis visus hebetati, animis ante praelium conciderunt, quod crederent innumeram esse adversariorum manum; quamvis ipsis non deesset militaris copia multo exercitio ad praelium praeparata. Lentius itaque procedentes, Francos, bi-

¹ *Propelleret.*] S. D. E.; per-turbaret, L.

² *Perpeti.*] S. C. D. E.; ex-periri, A. L.

³ *Secus.*] C. D. E.; juxta, A. S. L.

⁴ *Prodeunte.*] S. C. D. E.; procedente, A. L.

partito agmine et sinuatis alis, includere conati sunt; sed duces, et maxime Robertus Normanus, qui antesignanus erat, arte artem, vel potius virtute calliditatem eludentes, sagittariis et peditibus deductis, medias gentilium perruperunt acies. Eques quoque Lotharingus, qui in extremo agmine cum domino suo erat, a lateribus involitans, libertatem fugæ et campos abstulit omnes. ¹Ita Turci, ab anterioribus penetrati et ab exterioribus inclusi, ad ²voluntatem victorum cæsi sunt; reliqui, noctis quæ imminabat beneficio, liberati. Multum aureæ suppellectilis in eorum castris inventum; multum gemmarum, quarum raritas in nostris regionibus incognita, ibi nativo decore refulgurat: nec ulla victoria lætior fuit Christianis, quod incruenti opima retulere spolia.

¹ Battle of Ascalon.

§ 372. Ierusalem itaque reversi, cum stativa mulatorum dierum requie vires reformassent, quidam, suspirantes in natalis soli desiderium, marinum adornarunt reditum. Soli Godefridus et Tancredus remanserunt; prædicabiles profecto principes, et quorum titulis nullas unquam affiget metas postera, si rectum iudicet, ætas: viri, qui ab extremo Europæ frigore in importabiles se Orientis calores immerserunt, vitæ suæ pro digi dummodo Christianitati laboranti ³concurrerent; qui, præter metum barbaricorum incursum, semper pro incommoditate ⁴ignoti poli suspecti, securitatem quietis et sanitatis in patria contempserint, et, pauculi numero, tot inimicorum urbes fama et effectu virtutum presserint; memorabili fiduciæ Dei exemplo, ut illic non du-

² Crusaders return home.

¹ *Ita Turci . . . cæsi sunt.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *A.* | ³ *Concurrerent.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; *succurrerent, S.*

² *Voluntatem.*] *S. C. D. E.*; | ⁴ *Ignoti poli.*] *C. D. E.*; *igniti poli, A. L.*; *ignoti populi, S.*

bitarent subsistere, ubi vel pestifero afflarentur aere vel Saracenicæ occiderentur rabie. Cedant ergo poetarum præconia; nec priscos heroas vetus attollat fabula. Nihil unquam horum laudi comparabile ulla genere secula: nam, et si qua illorum fuit virtus, in sepulchrales favillas post mortem evanuit; quod potius in mundialis pompæ fumum, quam in ullius boni solidum, effusa fuerit. Istorum autem fortitudinis sentietur utilitas, et ostendetur dignitas, quamdiu orbis volubilitas et sancta vigeat Christianitas. Quid vero de disciplina et abstinentia totius exercitus dicam? Nulla ibi ventris ingluvies, nulla fuit penis illuvies, quæ non continuo vel ducum ¹auctoritate vel episcoporum sermone corrigeretur. Nulla prædandi per terras Christianorum cupido; nulla inter se controversia quæ non facile, mediatorum iudicum cognitione, recideretur. Quapropter, quia tam ordinati exercitus laus ad prælatorum redundat gloriam, singulorum procerum facta et exitus scripto insigniam; nec quicquam veritati secundum relatorum meorum credulitatem subtraham. Nullus vero, cui amplior provenit gestorum notitia, me pro incurioso arguat; quia trans oceanum Britannicum abditos vix tenui murmure rerum Asianarum fama illustrat.

DE GODEFRIDO.

Account of
Godfrey of
Bouillon.

§ 373. Initium ergo laudum rex Godefridus ²occupat, qui Eustachii comitis Bononiensis, de quo tempore regis Edwardi dixi, filius, materno excellentior genere, ad Karoli magni spectabat lineam. Siquidem mater, Ida nomine, Godefridi antiqui Lotharingorum ducis filia, habuit fra-

¹ *Auctoritate.*] *S. D. E.*; aus- | ² *Occupat.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*;
teritate, *L.* | omitted in *S.*

trem, a genitoris nomine Godefridum dictum, Godfrey of Bouillon. cognomento Bocardum. Illud fuit tempus quando Robertus Friso (de quo superius locutus sum), mortuo Florentio Frisiæ duce, uxorem ejus Gertrudem duxit; privignum Theodoricum in successionem ducatus provehens. Non tulit hoc Bocardus, sed, Frisonem expellens, regionem suis ¹voluntatibus addixit: ultus se ille insidiis, qui non posset præliis, per Flandritas suos sedentem ad ²requisita naturæ extinxit, ferro per verenda immisso. Ita privignus beneficio victrici successit ducatu. Uxor hujus Godefridi fuit Matildis Marcisa, quam superior liber prædicat: quæ, mortuo marito, ducatum impigre contra imperatorem tentavit, maxime intra Italiam; nam Lotharingiam et inferiores terras imperator obtinuit. Ida ³vero, ut dicere cœperam, magnis spebus ad comitatum ⁴Lotharingorum petendum filium Godefridum erexit: namque seniori filio Eustachio hæreditas paterna obtigerat; minor, Baldewinus, pueriles adhuc annos terebat. Godefridus, habilem ad arma ætatem nactus, imperatori Henrico (de quo proximus liber loquitur) militiam suam consecravit. Ingentibus ergo sudoribus ejus in se transferens amicitiam, egregia liberalitate Cæsaris totam pro stipendio accepit Lotharingiam. Unde factum est, ut, orta inter papam et Henricum simultate, cum eo ad oppugnandam Romam profectus, eam partem ⁵muri quæ vigiliis suis observabatur primus prorumperet, magnam fenestram irrupturis aperiens. Ita potissimum sudans, et præfervidis venis suspiriosus, cellarium

¹ *Voluntatibus.*] A. C. D. E. L.; voluptatibus, S.

² *Requisita naturæ.*] D. E.; secreta naturæ, S. C.; necessaria, A. L.

³ *Vero.*] D. E 1.; ergo, A. S. C. E 2. L.

⁴ *Lotharingorum.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

⁵ *Muri.*] A. D. E. L.; omitted in S. C.

Godfrey of
Bouillon.

subterraneum, quod forte se ¹discursanti obtulerat, ingressus est: ibi, cum nimio vini haustu intemperantiam sitis placasset, febrim quartanam iniit. Dicunt alii venenato Falerno infectum; quod soleant Romani, et illius terræ homines, totis infundere toxica tonnis. Alii, ei partem illam mœnium sorte obtigisse ubi Tiberis influens mane sævas exhalat nebulas, quarum pernicie omnes milites ejus præter decem interiisse; ipsum, amissis crinibus et unguibus, dubie convaluisse. Veruntamen, quodlibet horum fuerit, constat eum nunquam continuæ sed lentæ febris incommodo vacasse; donec, audita fama viæ Ierosolymitanæ, illuc se iturum vovit si Deus propitius ei ²salutem largiretur: quo voto emisso, ita ducis vires refloruisse, ut nodosos integer artus, et spatioso erectus pectore, quasi squalentibus annis exutus, recenti emicaret juvena. Quare, divinis beneficiis in se confluentibus responsurus, Ierosolymam ivit vel primus vel cum primis, magnas in bellum trahens catervas; et quamvis durum et exercitatum militem haberet, nullus tamen eo vel prior in congressu, vel promptior in effectum, habebatur. Denique notum est, quod Turcum, in Antiochena obsidione pugnam singularem poscentem, medium a lateribus gladio Lotharingo dissecurit; et jam palpitabat arvis medietas hominis, cum alteram cornipes volucris cursu asportavit, adeo firme nebulo insederat. Alterum, ³æque congressum, librata in caput spatha a vertice ad inguina diffiderit; ⁴nec adhuc ictus horrendus steterit, sed sellam et spinam equi penitus disciderit. Audiivi veracem hominem referentem vidisse se

¹ *Discursanti.*] S. D. E.; dis-
currenti, L.

² *Salutem.*] S. D. E.; sani-
tatem, L.

³ *Æque.*] A. C. D. E. L.; equo,
S.

⁴ *Nec adhuc . . . disciderit.*] A.
S. C. D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

quod subijciam : In ipsa obsidione militem ducis pabulari progressum, et a leone invasum, objectu clypei mortem aliquandiu ¹distulisse ; indoluisse Godefridum viso, et venabulo feram transfodisse : illam sauciam, et dolore acrius sævientem, in principem irruisse, adeo ut ferro quod extabat e vulnere tibiam ejus ²læderet ; et, nisi properasset gladio belluam eviscerare, illud virtutis specimen potuisset dente ferino interire. His successibus clarus, in regem Ierosolymæ levatur ; propterea quod esset genere et virtute conspicuus, nec tamen superbus. Parvum admodum et finibus angustum fuit regnum, quod, præter paucas in circuitu villas, nullas ³pene urbes haberet : nam et infesta regis valetudo, quam statim post bellum Babylonicum incurrerat, ferias bellis dedit, ut nihil acquireretur ; et divina solertia barbaricas aviditates toto illo anno probe compescuit, ut nihil amitteretur. Fama est regem otii desuetudine febrim antiquam nactam fuisse ; sed ego conjicio Deum placitam sibi animam, et tot laboribus emeritam, in melius regnum transferre voluisse mature, ne malitia mutaret animam ⁴ejus, aut fictio deciperet intellectum illius. Igitur, rota temporis referente annum regni spatium, placida morte resolutus, et sub ⁵Golgothana rupe tumulatus est. Rex invicti sicut in ferrum sic in mortem animi, qui lachrymas astantium sæpe benignus coercuerit ; interrogatusque de successore, neminem nominatim, ⁶sed eum qui dignus

Godfrey of
Bouillon.

Death of
Godfrey.
July 18,
A.D. 1100.

¹ *Distulisse.*] *S. D. E.*; propulsasse, *L.*

² *Læderet.*] *S. D. E.*; saucia-
ret, *L.*

³ *Pene.*] *A. D. E. L.*; omitted
in *S. C.*

⁴ *Ejus.*] *C. D. E.*; ipsius, *A. S. L.*

⁵ *Golgothana rupe.*] The church of Golgotha contained within it the rock on which the cross was fixed for the crucifixion. (Beda, *De Locis Sanctis*, p. 315.)

⁶ *Sed eum.*] *C. D. E.*; sed tantummodo eum, *A. S. L.*

foret, pronunciauerit: nec unquam regium in-
signe ferre sustinuerit, professus ¹unicam esse
arrogantiam si coronaretur ipse ad gloriam in ea
urbe qua Deus coronatus fuerat ad contumeliam.
²Obiit quintodecimo kalendas Augusti.

DE BALDEWINO.

Account of
Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

§ 374. Eo defuncto, Tancredus et alii proceres
Baldwinum, fratrem ejus, futurum regem pro-
nunciant, qui tum in Mesopotamia morabatur;
nam Eustachius senior, qui cum Godefrido Iero-
solymam venerat, jamdudum hæreditarium solum
repetierat. Baldewini actus integra et breui ve-
ritate apponentur, fidei soliditate accommodata
dictis ³Fulcherii Carnotensis; qui, capellanus ip-
sius, aliquanta de ipso scripsit, stylo non quidem
agresti, sed, ut dici solet, sine nitore ac palæstra,
et qui alios admonere potuit ut accuratius scribe-
rent. Baldewinus igitur, iter sanctum cum cæ-
teris adorsus, multos milites habuit indolis suæ
complices; quibus fretus, novos sibi exercitus
ipse moliri, splendidas occasiones aucupari, qui-
bus virtus enitescere posset. Denique, non con-
tentus communi omnium laude, trium dierum ab
Antiochia spatio a reliquis discedens, Tarsum,
Ciliciæ urbem nobilem, voluntate civium ⁴suscep-
pit; Tarsum, Pauli quondam apostoli alumnam,
in cujus honore ibi ecclesia episcopatus cernitur.
Voluntarie Tarsenses se ejus clientelæ subdidere,
quod essent Christiani, et ipsius patrocínio se

¹ *Unicam.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; ni-
miam, *S.*

² *Obiit quintodecimo kalendas
Augusti.*] *A. S. E. L.*; omitted
in *C. D.*

³ *Fulcherii Carnotensis.*] Ful-
cher's narrative (*Historia Hiero-
solymitana* ab an. 1095, ad an.

usque 1127,) is printed in the
Gesta Dei per Francos; and in
Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptor.*
tom. iv. p. 816. Malmesbury ap-
pears to have derived much of
his information from this source.

⁴ *Suscepit.*] *C. D. E.*; receipt,
A. S. L.

sperarent a Turcis protegi. Certatim itaque ^{Baldwin king of Jerusalem.} Cilices in ejus jus transiere; maxime post Turhexel ¹deditum, quod est oppidum natura ²munitum, cujus nutum inferiora spectarent castella: quo, ut dixi, dedito, cætera ejus judicium secuta. Nec solum Cilicia, sed et Armenia et Mesopotamia familiaritatem ³ejus appetivere: erant enim hæ terræ pene Turcorum dominio liberæ, sed inequitationibus infestatæ. Quare dux Edessæ urbis, qui et civium odio et hostium gladio premeretur, literas necessitatis suæ interpretes Baldewino misit: veniret ergo quantocius, adoptionis præmio laborem veniendi consolaturus, namque ipse sexus utriusque prole carebat. Ea est urbs in Mesopotamia Syriæ ubere glebæ redditu et negotiatorum mercimoniis nominatissima, distans ab Euphrate viginti milliariis, ab Antiochia centum: Edessam Græci, Syri Rotasiam dicunt. Ita Baldewinus, exacto a legatis fidelitatis sacramento, cum ⁴octoginta solum militibus Euphratem transfretavit; spectaculo mirando, seu dicere velis fortitudinis, seu temeritatis, ut inter circumfusas barbarorum nationes, quas alter haberet vel pro gente vel pro incredulitate suspectas, cum tantillo exercitu non hæsitaret procedere. Et ab Armeniis quidem et Syris ⁵grato excipiebatur gaudio, et indulgenti fovebatur hospitio, cum crucibus et candelabris per tramites occurrentibus. Turci autem, posterius agmen tentare aggressi, solertia Baldewini omnibus frustrati sunt insidiis; Samosathenis exemplum fugæ facientibus. Samosatha est civitas ultra Euphra-

¹ Deditum.] D. E.; flexum, A. S. C. L.

² Munitum.] A. D. E. L.; invictum, S. C.

³ Ejus.] D. E.; viri, S. L.

⁴ Octoginta.] A. C. D. E. L.; sexaginta novem, S.

⁵ Grato.] A. S. C. D. E. L.; gratato, E 1.

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

ten, de qua ¹fuit ²Paulus Samosathenus, cujus hæresim confutatam ³in historia Eusebii leget qui volet: hanc etiam, si bene occurrit memoriæ, dicit Josephus obsedissee Antonium quando ad eum Herodes venit. Hujus igitur urbis incolæ Turci, qui primi fuissent in Francos audaciæ incentivum, primi defectionis dedere auspicium. Itaque Baldewinus, tuto Edessam perveniens, ⁴nihil inferius quam sperabat invenit; nam et ⁵invitatoris profuso favore susceptus, et non post multum tempus, illo a perfidis civibus dilaniato, legitimum urbis ducatum adeptus, toto tempore quo Franci apud Antiochiam et Ierosolymam laboraverunt non immunis bellorum fuit, frequentibus assultibus hostes contristans suos. At vero Novembri mense admonitus a Boamundo principe Antiochiæ ut iter Ierosolymæ jam tandem experirentur, profectionem composuit; propulsatisque solo candidi vexilli visu (quod insigne in prælio habebat) Turcis, qui sperato ejus discessu pacem læserant, a dextra relinquens Antiochiam, venit Laodiciam. Ibi liberalitate Raimundi comitis, qui ei civitati principabatur, tenui pretio sufficientiam stipis mercatus, Gibello transito recentibus vestigiis Boamundum insecutus est, qui eum fixis tentoriis operiebatur. Junxit se cum eis communione viæ Daibertus Pisanus ar-

He marches
to Jeru-
salem.

¹ Fuit.] *A. S. C. D. E. 2.*; omitted in *E. 1.*

² *Paulus Samosathenus.*] Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, A. D. 260. He was better pleased with the title of Ducenarius than with that of Bishop. His heresy, like those of Noetus and Sabellius in the same century, tended to confound the mysterious distinction of the divine persons. He was degraded from

his see in 270 by the sentence of eighty bishops, and altogether deprived of his office in 274 by Aurelian. (Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. 1. p. 702, &c.)

³ *In historia Eusebii.*] Euseb. *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. vii. c. 30.

⁴ *Nihil inferius quam sperabat invenit.*] *S. D. E.*; nihil minus promissis desideravit, *L.*

⁵ *Invitatoris.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; invitatoriis, *S.*

chiepiscopus, qui navigio multis sibi sociatis civibus Laodiciam applicuerat; et præterea duo alii episcopi. Ita junctis agminibus computabatur, æstimatione librata, esse viginti quinque milia: quorum multi, terras Saracenorum ingressi, pro charitate mercimonii fame conclusi; multi ex equitibus in pedites mutati, equis inedia interceptis. Accedebat miseris imbrum affluentia, quod in illis terris quasi præcipiti torrente pluvia hybernis duntaxat mensibus inundet; itaque¹ pauperes, carentes mutatoriis, algido rigore moriebantur, quampluribus diebus nulli tecto succedentes. Et hujus quidem calamitatis nullum erat remedium, quod et tentoria et ligna deficerent. At vero famem nonnihil levabant, arundines mellitas continue dentibus terentes, quas² cannamellas, nomine composito ex canna et melle, vocant. Sic³ bis omnino a Tripolitanis et Cæsariensibus⁴ immenso ære necessaria nacti, Ierosolymam venire solstitii brumalis die. Occurrit illis ad portas rex Godefridus cum fratre Eustachio, quem ad hoc tempus detinuerat, nihil liberalitatis et⁵ gratiæ in eorum omittens obsequio. Illi, peractis in Bethleem ex more Dominicæ Nativitatis solennibus, Daibertum patriarcham constituere. ⁶In quo facto Urbani papæ consensum obligatum non ambigo; quod esset is et reverendus senio, et potens eloquio, et pollens marsupio.

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

¹ *Pauperes.*] *S. D. E.*; pauperiores, *L.*

² *Cannamellas.*] The sugarcane. For an account of the cultivation and ancient manufacture of the Zucra, see Albertus Aquisensis, ap. *Gesta Dei*, p. 270.

³ *Bis.*] *E. L.*; his, *C 1. D.*; hii, *A. S. C 2.*

⁴ *Immensio.*] *S. D. E.*; infinito, *L.*

⁵ *Gratiæ.*] *C. D. E.*; gratiarum, *A. S. L.*

⁶ *In quo facto Urbani papæ consensum obligatum non ambigo.*] See note ², p. 569.

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

Igitur post Circumcisionem Domini ¹sumptis in Jerico palmis, quod insigne peregrinantium antiquitas instituit, sedes quisque suas raptim repetere properarunt. Causa festinationis erat putor inconditorum cadaverum, quorum ita exhalabat cœnum ut ipsum violaret cœlum. Quocirca tabida pestis, in auras effluens, multos ex his qui noviter venerant letho dedit; cæteri per urbes maritimas, Tiberiadem dico et Cæsaream Philippi, maturaverunt iter, quod eos tenuitas victus et hostilis metus urgebant. Sed fami, ut dixi, consuluere pedum celeritate: et trecentorum militum, qui eos de Baldac castello infestabant, furori prospexerunt militaris artis calliditate; namque simulata paulisper fuga, ut ipsi de angustiis locorum evadentes Turcos inducerent, consulto cessere, sed mox retroversi dispersos hostes prohibito ²fudere. Putaverant illi nostros inhabiles pugnæ, quod essent clypei eorum et arcus pluviali abundantia lentati; nesciebantque quod non in armorum vel in tegminum fiducia, sed in excellenti vi animorum et crudo robore brachiorum victoria virorum consistat.

He returns
to Edessa.

§ 375. Et tum quidem Baldwinus Édessam, Boamundus vero Antiochiam, incolumes remearunt. Initio autem Julii mensis licentia famæ Baldewini auribus detulit splendidum ducum nostrorum margaritum offuscatum, Boamundum scilicet captum, et in catenas conjectum, a quodam Danisman gentili, et in illis terris potenti. Quapropter, Edissenorum et Antiochenorum manu coacta, insignem Christianorum contumeliam

¹ *Sumptis in Jerico palmis*, 290. In this passage *L.* reads *quod insigne peregrinantium antiquitas instituit.*] Hence our word 'palmer,' or 'pilgrim.' V. Albert. Aquens. ap. Gesta Dei, p. *L.*

'cæsis' instead of 'sumptis.'

² *Fudere.*] *S. D. E.*; cecidere,

ulcisci sperabat. Porro Turcus, (qui magis ^{Baldwin king of Jerusalem.} bellica militia fraude et eventu quam virtute et ¹bellica militia duces cepisset, quod cum paucis ad Mellentiniam urbem recipendam venerat,) sciens Francos pro rei pudore viribus extremis in se usuros, in sua se recepit, compositis sane ordinibus, non quasi fugam intenderet, sed quasi triumphum duceret. Tunc Baldewinus, ultra Mellentiniam duorum dierum viam progressus, cum videret hostem belli necessitatem declinare, redeundum putavit; et ante tamen urbem in suos usus, non invito præfecto Gabriele, transduxit.

§ 376. Interea perlato ad se nuncio de fratris ^{Is elected king, and proceeds to Jerusalem.} obitu, provincialium ac ducum in ejus electionem consensu, commendata Edessa Baldewino cognato, arctissimæ necessitudinis propinquitate conjuncto, et præter hæc neque imprudenti neque ignavo, ad Ierosolymitanum regnum mentem impulit. Congregatis ergo equitibus ducentis, et peditibus septingentis, iter plenum mortis et periculorum ingressus est; unde audaciæ tantæ contuitu multi, quos falso fideles arbitrabatur, fuga clandestina dilapsi. Ipse cum reliquis Antiochiam petiit, ingens momentum desolatis futurus, consilio sagacis mentis informans ut Tancredum peterent in ducatum. Inde per Gibellum et Laodiciam venit Tripolim: cujus urbis admiratus, natione quidem Turcus, sed genio naturali clementiæ visceribus profusus, extra muros illi victui necessaria destinavit; adjecto quinetiam benignitatis mandato ut prudenter se ageret, quia Ducah rex Damascenorum tramitem angustum occupaverat per quem illum audierat venturum. Ille, quem puderet minis Saracenis moveri, constanti animo, quo proposuerat, contendit; sed,

¹ *Bellica militia.*] D. E.; militia, S. C.; bellica justitia, A. L.

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

ad locum veniens, fidem admirati probavit. Est enim citra civitatem Beritum, milliariis circiter quinque, locus omnino angustus juxta mare, quem et prærupta rupium et arcta ¹collium adeo coercent, ut centum viri, faucibus illis potiti, quantumvis numerum itinerantium aditu prohibere queant. Locus est inevitabilis de Tripoli Ierosolymam euntibus. Huc ergo Baldwinus perveniens, speculatores misit qui situm loci et vires hostium renunciarent. Regressi legati difficultatem faucium, et adversariorum qui insederant fiduciam, vix pro timore intellecti, anhelarunt: at Baldwinus, qui parum ab optimo qui unquam fuerit milite distaret, nihil perterritus, aciem dispositam in eos constanter instituit. Tunc Ducah mittit aliquos qui prælia prima lacescant, eliciantque incautos; retentans ampliores vires in locis opportunis. Itaque illi primo magno impetu venire, mox subinde subterfugere, ut nostros in angustias deducerent. Non latuit Baldwinum hujuscemodi calliditas; sed, antiquæ militiæ usu instructus, suis ut fugam simularent innuit; simul et, ut suspicionem metus urgeret, sarcinas et impedimenta quæ ²posuerant resumit, et jumenta stimulis agitari, quin et ordines laxari, ut hostes incurrerent, edixit. Tum vero hoc viso Turci exultare, et dirum frendentes, ut Eumenides exululare crederes, nostros insequi. Quidam ascensis navibus littora præoccupare; quidam equis præcurrere, et peregrinos incaute juxta mare ambulantes interimere. Nec Franci simulatam fugam omisere donec ad planitiem quam oculis destinaverant pervenirent: nullique tumultus excussere viris mentes, quinimmo ne-

¹ Collium.] S. C.; callium, | ² Posuerant resumit.] D. E.;
A. D. E. L. | jam deposuerant resumî, A. S. C.
L.

cessitas qua intercepti erant aluit, et ministravit Baldwin king of Jerusalem. audaciam; et pauci terraque marique innumeras sustinuerunt manus. Namque, ut visum est satis metum finxisse, confertis ordinibus et conversis signis inimicos jam jamque incursantes includere; ita versa rerum facie, qui vicerant victi, et victi fuere victores. Turci perniciose clade prostrati; Defeats the Turks. reliqui ad naves præcipiti studio fugientes, cum in altum plus jactu sagittæ processissent, ita navigium remis et totis pectoribus innixi propellebant, quasi manibus adversariorum ad terram retrahi possent. Et ut miraculum non sicut opinabile dubites, sed sicut visibile quodammodo palpes, solummodo quatuor Christiani milites fusi victoriam cæteris sanguine peperere suo. Quapropter confirmo quod nunquam Christicolæ a Paganis vincerentur si ante bellum fortitudinem suam coelestibus fulcirent præsidiis, et in bello armis suis amicas superiorum applicarent virtutes; sed quia in pace omnibus se ingurgitant flagitiis, et in pugna sola nituntur audacia, ideo, nec immerito, multotiens fortitudo eorum deviat a bona fortuna. Comes ergo pulchro triumpho exultans, cum reversus esset ad spolia cæsorum detrahenda, non paucos Turcos offendit vivos; quos damni corporum immunes, sed pecuniis inanes, dimisit. Ipse cum suis, ne aliqua fraus lateret, retro secedens, nocte illa sub olivarum virgultis requievit: sed mox diluculo cum expeditis ad angustias accessit, fide oculata visurus loci naturam; intuitusque omnia tuta esse, (nam Turci qui pridie circa montem discursibus lascivierant, nocte intempesta, cæde suorum visa, omnes diffugerant,) significatione fumi facta, sicut convenerat, sociis discessum hostium intimavit. Illi, morarum vinculis absolutis, ducem continuo secuti. Tunc Beriti admiratus victum

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

¹prætereuntibus misit, pro virtute ²tam pauci exercitus stupefactus. Idem et Tyrii, et Sidonii, et Acharonitæ qui et Ptholomaitæ, fecere, tacito metu Francorum fortitudinem suspicientes. Nec minus homines Tancredi, qui in Chaipha erant, liberales fuere, quamvis ipse absens esset. Castri illius nomen antiquum reperire nequeo, quia omnes mediterraneæ civitates, ³quæ in Josepho leguntur quondam fuisse, modo vel non sunt, vel, in viculos mutatæ, nomina perdiderunt: maritimæ integræ manent. Ita per Cæsaream Palestinæ et Azotum in Joppem ventum, ubi prima illi gratulatio regni fuit, civibus ingenti gaudio portas aperientibus.

Marches
against As-
calon.

§ 377. Igitur a Joppitis Ierosolymam deductus, et ibi favorabiliter exceptus, dierum ⁴sex spatio quieti satisfecit. Inde, ne Turci dubitarent indolem regni ejus magno eorum malo adolescere, versus Ascalonem expeditionem movit. Cumque non longe ab urbe vires suas ostentaret, impetentes Ascalonitas facili opera depulit; opportunum tempus ad id quod mente intendebat operiens. Denique repulsionem illorum gloriæ suæ tunc sufficere arbitratus, in montana receptui cecinit, ut hostes persequeretur; nec non et inimicorum damno necessaria suis conquisiturus, qui pro penuria terræ fame singultiebant, quia illo anno messis ægra victum negaverat, spem provinciæ sterili proventu decipiens. Itaque montana conscendit, quo habitatores terræ Turci relictis villis concesserant, Syros secum in penitus abditos specus immergentes: sed inve-

¹ Prætereuntibus.] A. D. E. L.; præeuntibus, S. C.

² Tam pauci.] D. E. L.; tanti, S. C.; tam parvi, A.

³ Quæ ... leguntur quondam fuisse.] A. C. D. E. L.; quas ... legimus quondam fuisse, S.

⁴ Sex.] A. C. E. L.; septem, S. D.

nere Franci quo commenta fugitivorum fallerent, fumo in ora cavernarum immisso; ¹quo latrones fugati pertinaciam amisere, uni et uni egredientes. Ita Turci ad unum omnes interfecti, Syri reservati. Inde digressus exercitus, Arabiamque petiturus, busta præteriit patriarcharum Abrahæ, Isaac, et Jacob, et trium matronarum Saræ, Rebecca, Liæ; locus est in Hebron, distans ab Ierosolymis tredecim millibus: nam corpus Joseph jacet in Neapoli, quæ olim Sichem dicta est, marmore candido tectum, omnibusque transeuntibus perspicuum; ²ubi quoque fratrum visuntur mausolea, sed inferiori gloria. Venit ergo exercitus in vallem ubi quondam Deus Sodomam et Gomórram subvertit, cœlestem flammam in scelestos jaculatus. Ibi lacus per octodecim millia diffunditur, nullius viventis capax; præterea tractatu adeo horribilis, ut potantium ora torqueat, et gustu amaro rictus distendat. Valli mons prominet, per loca scrobes salsas eructans, et quasi congelato vitro totus perlucidus; ubi colligitur quod quidam nitrum, quidam salis gemmam, vocant. Evadentes ergo lacum venerunt ad villam sane locupletissimam, et mellitis pomis quæ dactylos ³dicunt fœcundam; quorum esu se infarciunt vix lacunas ventrium implere, vix ingluviem faucium præ dulcedine temperare valebant. Cætera timore incolarum abrasa, præter aliquantos Æthiopes, ferrugineam capillorum lanugine fuliginem prætendentes; quorum cædem nostri æstimantes infra virtutem suam, non eos ira, sed risu dignati sunt. Huic villæ subjacet vallis in qua hodieque silex cernitur quo per-

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

¹ Quo.] Here D. E. commence a new section.

² Ubi quoque fratrum visuntur mausolea.] C. D. E.; visuntur-

que ibi fratrum ejus mausolea, A. S. L.

³ Dicunt.] S. D. E.; vocant, L.

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

cusso Moyses mussitanti populo aquas infudit : latex adhuc tam uberi et præcipiti rivo influit, ut molendinorum vertigines impetu suo rotet. Tum in declivi montis extat ecclesia, in honore legiferi Aaron ædificata; ubi ipse, meditante et cooperante fratre, serebat cum Deo alloquia. Ibi a præviis, viarum gnaris, qui ex Sarcenis Christiani essent, addiscentes inde usque ad Babylonem nihil esse nisi jejunum solum et omnium bonorum indigum, Ierosolymam reversi sunt, primitias regni tot hostilium regionum subjectione Deo consecraturi.

Coronation of
Baldwin,
25th Dec.
A.D. 1100.

§ 378. Paratis igitur ¹regiis insignibus, magna gloria in Bethleem die Dominicæ Nativitatis a Daiberto patriarcha coronatus est Baldewinus, fausta omnibus acclamantibus; nam ex tunc et deinceps nihil non venerationis regiæ et ipse labore suo est meritus, et aliorum favore adeptus, quamvis minimi et pene dico pudendi regni dominus. Quare decet Christi Domini clementiam suspicere, et in ²potentiæ illius contuitu spatiari, cujus suffragio timeri Christiani possent qui officere nequirent; vix enim in tota militia quadringenti milites erant, et tot pedites, qui Ierosolymam, et Ramulam, et Caipham, et Joppe custodirent. Nam qui veniebant navigio, intuito tamen inter tot hostium portus, animo sanctis adoratis, statim repatriandum censebant, pedestri via penitus interclusa. Cumulabat quinimmo difficultatem quod Martio mense Tancredus discesserat Antiochiæ principaturus, et nec ipse regi, nec rex ipsi, auxilium pro viæ longitudine ³ferre valebat; adde quod, si necessitas exposce-

¹ Regiis insignibus.] A. D. E.; regibus insignibus, S.; regis insignibus, L.; regalibus insignibus, C.

² Potentiæ illius contuitu spa-

tiari.] A. S. D. E. L.; contuitu ipsius spatiari, C.

³ Ferre valebat.] D. E.; conferre valebat, A. L.; conferre valebant, S.; ferre valebant, C.

ret, sine irreparabilis discriminis metu gentem suam de uno in aliud castrum ne transduceret. Evidens ergo miraculum pronuncio, quod Dei solius tutum suffragio tanta barbarorum horrebat natio.

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

§ 379. Illo anno, qui fuit Dominicæ incarnationis millesimus centesimus primus, ignis sacratus, qui solebat vigiliam Paschæ illustrare, tardavit plus solito. Sabbato enim lectis alternatim lectionibus Græce et Latine, repetitoque ter 'Kyrie eleison,' et clara Syrorum melodia perstrepenste, cum necdum appareret ignis, et jam occiduus sol vesperam urgeret, noctem inveheret, ab omnibus cum mœrore in domos discessum. Placuerat enim perpense consilio ut illa nocte omni homine vacaret sancti Sepulchri ecclesia, ne aliquis, cui ulcerosa squalebat conscientia, Deum magis irritaret ingerendi impudentia. Jamque diluculo sensim in lucem serpente, processio Latinorum ad templum Salomonis edicitur, ut ibi oraturi Dei misericordiam invitarent: idem circa sepulchrum Domini faciebant Syri, vi doloris barbas et capillos vellicantes. Nec diu potuere pati divina viscera, confestim igne in unam lampadem sepulchri immisso. Quem cum animadvertisset Syrus per fenestras scintillantem, plausu manuum lætitiâ prodens, cursum patriarchæ acceleravit. Ille, clavibus quas gestabat adytum ædiculæ sepulchralis aperiens, ¹cœleste munus cereo accenso extulit, omnibus ad hoc concurrentibus communicans. Mox per omnem ecclesiam cæteræ divinitus accensæ sunt lampades; mirum in modum illa, quæ proxime ²illuminanda esset, fumo præmisso vicinam accen-

A.D. 1101.

¹ Cœleste munus cereo accenso extulit.] See Fulcher, *Gesta Dei*, p. 407.

² Illuminanda.] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

sionem docente. Sic nimirum Christi vetus artificium novit quos amat terrere ut mulceat, et in materiam transeat laudis comminatio potestatis. Quia enim dona Dei, usitata, assiduitate ipsa vilesunt hominibus; plerunque assensum indulgentiæ suæ ¹caritate commendat, ut ametur gratius quod desideratum fuerat ardentius.

Siege of Azo-
tus, A. D.
1102.

§ 380. Tunc stolus navium Januensium et Pisanorum Laodiciam applicuerat, et inde Joppen prospero cursu navigaverat; nautæque, tractis ad terram ratibus, Ierosolymæ cum rege Pascha exegerant. Quorum ipse virtutem pretio vadatus, tertiam partem pecuniæ pepigit de omnibus urbibus quas acquirere ²pariter possent, et vicum unum civitatis quem eligerent: ita præcipites, aurique cupidine cæcos magis quam pro Dei amore, impulit, ut, sanguinem suum nundinantes, statim Azotum obsiderent, et ad deditionem post tres dies flecterent. Nec vero difficulter oppidani se dedidere, iram regis, si vi caperentur, reveriti; quia præterito anno Godefridum idem aggressum acriter repulerant, maleficio fortunæ adjuti: siquidem cum ille suos ³ascensu scalarum in murum erigeret, jam victores, jam fastigia moenium tenentes, repentinus lignæ turris casus, quæ forinsecus muro adjecta erat, viros victoria privavit, et plures extinxit; plures capti, et sævitia Saracenorum dilaniati. Inde Cæsaream Palestinæ Baldewinus totis viribus et obfirmato robore obsidens, cum videret civium pertinaciam et expugnandi difficultatem, machinas compaginari præcepit: factæ ergo petrarix; facta turris

Of Cæsarea.

¹ Caritate.] E 1.; raritate, A. C. D. L.; veritate, E 2.

² Pariter.] D. E.; omitted in A. S. C. L.

³ Ascensu scalarum in murum erigeret.] C. D. E.; ascensu scalarum in muros promovisset, S. L.; scalarum in murum erectione promovisset, A.

ingens, viginti cubitis muri altitudinem vincens. Baldwin king of Jerusalem. At vero nostri, moræ impatientes, et tam diutinæ impotes expectationis, scalis erectis murum superare aggressi, obstinatione virium ad superiora evasere; conscientia virtutis frementes, quod, jam quindecim diebus Saracenicis bellis intenti, tanti temporis spatium perdidissent. Quamvis igitur extrema vi a Cæsariensibus certaretur, multos molares in ascendentes volventibus, illi, dissimulato periculo, cuneos obstantes perrumpere, brachiis exertis et strictis gladiis rem agentes. Turci ulterius non ferentes, fugamque adorsi, vel ipsi se præcipitaverunt, vel hostili manu occubuerunt; plures servituti, pauci redemptioni servati, inter quos admiratus urbis, et episcopus, quem Archadium vocant. Eratque spectaculum quod videnti cachinum excuteret, cum Turcus, in collo Christiani pugno percussus, ¹byzantinos evomeret; nam miseri, extremæ inopiæ metu, mares intra gingivas, foeminæ intra non dicenda, nummos absconderant. Vides quod aperte loqui erubescit oratio; sed intelligit profecto lector quod volo, immo quod nolo, dicere.

§ 381. Nec adhuc quievit imperator Babylonis, Defeat of the Saracens. quin ducem et exercitum ad expugnandos Francos missitaret. Illi, navigio Ascalonem appulsi, mox juxta Ramulam cursitarunt, curis regis ab-

¹ *Byzantinos evomeret.*] 'Fulcher relates with great coolness that he saw the bodies of the Turks who were slain at Cæsarea piled up and burnt, in order to obtain the bezants which they had swallowed. (Hist. Hierosol. ap. Du Chesne, tom. iv. p. 845.) This practice of swallowing money is referred to by Pope Urban; and by his account the merely burning dead bodies to obtain

the hoard was a very humble imitation of the Saracen custom with respect to those who visited Jerusalem before the Crusades: which was, to put scammony in their drink, to make them vomit; and, if this did not produce the desired effect, they proceeded to immediate incision. Guibert. Abbas, Opera, p. 379.' (Sharpe, 461.)

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

utentes, qui tunc Cæsariensi bello tenebatur. Agrorum igitur depopulatione ad congregiendum crebrius illum irritarunt. At ille non impari caliditate, ut calor indomitus defervesceret, vetito instantes passus languescere bello: hac effecit cunctatione, ut plerique ¹ dilaberentur; reliquos, qui essent undecim millia equitum, ² viginti unum millia peditum, cum suis, ducentis quinquaginta equitibus, peditibus paulo minus septingentis, invasit. Paucaque militibus locutus, quibus, si perstarent, victoriam, si morirentur, gloriam promitteret; si fugerent, longe Franciam esse commoneret; primus in hostes irruit: productoque aliquantum certamine, cum acies suas labare cerneret, desperatis rebus occurrit. Itaque nota sui specie Turcos proturbans, conto ducem prostravit; quo interemto, tota diffugere agmina. Nostri, qui principio pugnae ita circumsepti fuerant ut nullus alterum videret, tunc, Dominicæ crucis vexillo prævio, adeo virtutem exercuerunt ut quinque millia trucidarent; ex Francis octoginta equites, pedites paulo plus desiderati. Porro sequens successus solatio fuit, quod quingentos equites Arabas interemerunt. Illi ante Joppen biduo cucurrerant, sed, parum explicantes, Ascalonem redibant; visoque eminus exercitu nostro, suos esse sperantes, tanquam triumphantibus congratulari obviam ibant: sed tandem aliquando in se jaculis emissis intelligentes Francos esse, perinde palluerunt, 'sicut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem,' ³ ut poetæ verbo utar; itaque, ipso hebetes stupore, terga cædentibus exhibuere. Ita rex Joppen perveniens errorem

¹ *Dilaberentur.*] C. D. E.; L.; viginti, E1.; A. omits 'equimorum pertæsi dilaberentur, tum, viginti unum.'

A. S. L.

³ *Ut poetæ.*] Juvenal, Sat. 1.

² *Viginti unum.*] S. C. D. E 2. 43.

epistolæ, quæ, Tancredo a Joppitis missa, falso regem cum exercitu extinctum nunciaverat, veraciori scripto correxit: jamque Tancredus iter ad Ierosolymam paraverat, cum nuncius veniens, ostenso sigillo regio, mœstitiam depulit, lætitiã reformavit.

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

§ 382. Longum est si velim explicare omnia ejus certamina; quomodo Tiberiadem, Sidonem, Accaronem, id est Ptholomaidem, quomodo postremo cunctas maritimas urbes, subegerit; quomodo pene omnem diem Turcorum mortibus insignierit, aut assultu clandestino aut bello publico. Ingentes operas ejusmodi desiderat ¹oratio hominis qui ampullato eloquio et curioso abundet otio; nobis utrumque deest, et, quod maxime obest, rerum expedita scientia; omnia vero indulgenti famæ credere, et facilitatem auditorum fallere, veracis ²historici non debet esse. Quocirca illa solummodo quæ ³scripto comperi apponam, quibus ad unguem comprobetur gloriosa viri devotio, et gratia victura in seculo: illudque constanter ⁴asseruerim, ⁵parva manu magna illum prælia persæpe lusisse; nec unquam campum fugisse, præter apud Ramulam et apud Accaronem. Enimvero ambas fugas prædicabiles exceperunt victoriæ, quod magis inconsiderata virtute quam timore provenerint, sicut paucis insertis lector agnoscet.

§ 383. Eo Septembri cujus septimo idus ⁶prælium fuit, Willelmus comes Pictavensis Ierosolymam perrexit, multa secum ducens agmina, ut

Sept. 7,
A.D. 1101.
Defeat of the
earl of Poitiers.

¹ Oratio.] C. D. E.; relatio, A. S. L.

² Historici.] A. S. C. D. E. L.; historia, S. (var. lect.)

³ Scripto.] A. S. C. D. E. L.; scripta, S. (var. lect.)

⁴ Asseruerim.] A. C. D. E. L.; asseveraverim, S.

⁵ Parva.] S. D. E.; pauca, L.

⁶ Prælium fuit.] C. D. E.; prædictum fuit prælium, A. S. L.

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

æstimarentur ¹ sexaginta millia militum, et multo plura peditum. Ivit cum eo Stephanus comes Burgundiæ, et Hugo Lizianensis, frater Raimundi comitis, et Hugo magnus, et Stephanus Blesensis, antiquæ discessionis improprium nova et excogitata virtute sarcire cupientes. Ita per Constantinopolim profectus, cum insolenti responso (ut superius dixi) Alexium offendisset, illo non curante, vel potius procurante, Solimanni incurrit insidias; qui sciens exercitum fame et siti laborare, quod aliquantis diebus errabundi per palustria et invia loca iverant, cum trecentis millibus sagittariorum occurrit. Nulla unquam luctuosior Francis pugna visa, quia nec timidum fuga, nec audacem virtus, poterat eripere discrimini; quod in arcto loco pugnaretur, et in consertos sagittarum nubes non frustraretur. Interfecta igitur plusquam centum millia, præda omnis abducta; ita Solimannus, ex manubiis Francorum claras manibus suorum nactus inferias, dispendium Niceæ ultus est. Sed quia multis tramitibus itum erat, nec omnes cæsi, nec omnia direpta; nam præter Pictavensem, qui pene ad pudenda nudatus erat, cæteri comites prompte sua defensitaverant. Omnes ergo, re-collectis ex fuga militibus, præter Hugonem magnum, quem mortuum Tarsensis civitatis urna excepit, Antiochiam convolarunt; in quibus Tancredus, egregiæ pietatis miles, ingentem munificentiae suæ gratiam ostendit, cunctos quatenus poterat pecuniis sustentans; Willelmum præcipue, quem fortunæ vicissitudo eo afflictaverat invidiosius quo ante provexerat serenius, qui præter gazas, quarum damno non adeo afficiebatur, quod caducæ sunt et reparabiles, ex tot

¹ *Sexaginta millia militum.*] See note ³, p. 535.

eximiis militibus solus pene remanserat superstes. Ita recreatis animis iter moliti, undecunque belli occasiones quærebant. Sensit sitim furentium prima Tortuosa civitas; qua pervasa et direpta, non modicum præteritas ærumnas relevarunt. Inde ad angustias de quibus superius dixi venerunt, ubi eos rex jampridem operiebatur, contra Turcos, si prohibere vellent, opem laturus. Ejus virtute defensi, et benigno apud Joppem hospitio suscepti, Ierosolymam proximo Pascha contendunt; ubi sacrosanctum ignem lætis hauserunt oculis, devotis adorarunt animis. Post hæc reversi Joppem, ascensis navibus, patriam quisque suam redire meditabatur: quorum Pictavensis, continua venti prosperitate propectus, patriam tenuit; cæteri retro violenter acti.

§ 384. Jam vero mense Maio ¹inchoante, Turci et Arabes Ramulam obsederunt, superioris anni damnum, novi exercitus supplemento, eodem reficientes numero. Episcopus urbis, prudenter opportunitate spectata, cavit sibi loco, Joppem latenter propectus. Jamque rex exierat, credens falso asserentibus non esse hostes plusquam quingentos: itaque nec aciem dirigere, nec pedites convocare curavit, tantum milites regem sequi cornicines monuerunt; multum amicis suadentibus ut Turcorum fraudes caveret. Stephani duo, Blesensis et Burgundus, regem equis insecuti, ne desides et inglorii, sed triumphalis pompæ ²conscii, terras repeterent suas; sed aliam quam opinabantur gloriam, aliam victoriam, parabant fata viris. Namque rex, visa hostium multitudine, dum se frustratum opinione cognosceret, ira mentem saucius, et magnanimitatis consci-

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

Ramula be-
sieged, May,
A.D. 1102.

¹ *Inchoante.*] S. C. D. E.; me-
diante, A. L.

² *Conscii.*] A. S. C. D. E. L1;
consocii, L 2.

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

entia fremens, quid faceret hæsitabat : si cederet, præteritæ gloriæ ignominiam ; si pugnaret, suorum mortes animo volutabat. Veruntamen vicit calor ingenitus, et terga jam dabat metus, cum, commilitonum hortatibus animatus ut fugam in castellum per medios hostes intenderet, acquievit. Cæteri, cum clamore secuti, densissimas perruperunt acies, animas suas Deo consecrantes, et mortes impigre ulti ; comites quoque, feriendo defatigati adeo ut manus gladiis obrigescerent, neci succubuerunt. Rex, in arcem lapsus, ex ducentis quos duxerat aliquantos socios habuit ; quibus orantibus ut vitam dignaretur fugiendo producere, sua pericula mundo parvi ponderis esse, illius vitam ad multorum profectum valere, utpote qui omni seculo sit virtutis spectaculum, quamvis in fractis rebus ingenti animi constantia, dignum se creditit vita. Itaque quinque militibus comitatus, in montana rependo, insidiantes elusit. Militum fuit unus Robertus Anglus, ut superius dixi ; cæteros notitiæ nostræ fama tam longinqua occuluit. Ille cum ¹tribus comprehensus est ; ²unus evasit cum rege. Turci extremam vim furoris in illos qui ³evaserant in arcem effuderunt, in quibus fuit Hugo Lizianensis et Gaufridus Vindocinensis ; tres tantum superstites Ierosolymitanis nuncii miseriarum fuere. Rex interdum ⁴latens, cornipedem cursu exhaustum stimulans, Azotum pervenit : pulchro et ad miraculum Dei prono salutis eventu, quod paulo ante Turci discesserant, qui jam biduo circa urbem prædas egerant. Inde Joppen navigio veniens, Ierosolymitanis epistolam de vitæ suæ certitudine le-

¹ *Tribus.*] C. D. E. ; tribus aliis, A. S. L.

² *Unus.*] C. D. E. ; quintus, A. S. L.

³ *Evaserant.*] S. D. E. ; refugerant, L.

⁴ *Latens.*] C. D. E. ; latens, noctu per avia, A. S. L.

gavit. Portitor chartæ fuit homuncio Syrus, qui, Baldwin
King of Jeru-
salem. etsi inveniretur, habitus vilitate et sermonis noti commercio insidiantes falleret. Hic, notis sibi per devia compendiis perfidorum pericula declinans, tertio die Ierosolymam pervenit. Tum equites qui urbem tutabantur, junctis sibi auxiliarium peditum turmis, ad Joppen profecturi, iter mari proximum direxerunt, mediterraneis devitatis: extremi ¹tamen agminis Turcis urgentibus interfecti, quod vel equis vel peditibus destituebantur. Ita congregatis ex Ierosolymis nonaginta equitibus, ex Tyberiadē octoginta, quos Hugo dux strenuissimus adduxerat in subsidium, armigeri quoque pro penuria in locum militum allekti. Postera ergo die moram pugnae absolvit, Turcis jam adeo ferocibus ut paratis machinis murum Joppis aggredi ²meditarentur. Præventum hoc Baldewini diligentia, et Dominica cruce prævia, qua superius bellum caruerat. Totis ³viribus in hostes alacriter itum, acriter certatum; at illi, more solito nostros circumgyrantes, actum de Christianis putarunt, hilari ululatu vociferantes: sed affuit, et de cælo tandem respexit Dominus Jesus, Francisque animositatem ingrens, inimicos campo privatos conjecit in fugam. Hoc et in anteriori prælio factum est, ut, non semel ejecti tentoriis, postea multitudine superarint: tum autem cum pedites eminus sagittis, et equites lanceis cominus ferirent, omni spe peditibus commissa, fugere perseveravere.

§ 385. Altera illi pugna posterioribus annis A.D. 1113. fuit, in qua milites nostri, Turcorum copia pressi et in fugam acti, etiam salutare vexillum ami-

¹ *Tamen.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

² *Meditarentur.*] S. D. E.; deliberarent, L.

³ *Viribus.*] C, D. E.; regni viribus, S. L.; regiminibus, A.

Baldwin
king of Jeru-
salem.

sere : sed cum longiuscule fugissent, reversi sunt ; pudor famæ trepidos animavit ut ignominiam propulsarent. Ingens ibi pugna virorum fuit, collato pede et adverso pectore rem agentium. Nostri crucem reportarunt, fuis adversariis campum vindicantes. Ceciderunt ibi plures quos ego quoque noram ; inter quos Godefridus, abnepos ejus nothus, jam inde a pueritia umbram virtutis vultu colorans, veritatem animo spirans. Ambæ ergo fugæ fuere in principio quasi fomentum ignominie, sed in fine verax alimentum gloriæ : illa nominatior, sed ista fructuosior. ¹Denique ad supplementum rerum quas amiserat, simul et ad legitimum connubium, non multo post comitissa Siciliæ Ierosolymam venit ; tantas gazas cubiculo regis inferens, ut mirum cuivis videatur unde mulier tam infinitos pretiosæ suppellectilis cumulos ²coacervavit ; et tunc quidem illam thoro recepit, sed non multo post dimisit. Aiunt incommodo tactam, quo ejus genitalia cancer, morbus incurabilis, ³exederit. Illud constat, regem prolis inopem fuisse ; nec mirum si homo, cujus otium erat ægrescere, uxorios amplexus horruerit, omnem ætatem in bellis dete-

¹ *Denique.*] *A. C. D. E. L.* ; Deinde, *S.*

² *Coacervavit.*] Albertus Aquensis mentions a variety of instances of the wealth of the Countess Adela, and states that the mast of the ship which conveyed her to Palestine was covered with pure gold. (*Ap. Gesta Dei*, p. 373.)

³ *Exederit.*] *D. E. L.* ; exesit, *S. C.* ; corroserit, *A.* ; exertit, *S.* (var. lect.)—Some authors assign a different reason for the divorce. His second wife (daughter of Taphnuz prince of Armenia), whom he had repudiated about

the year 1106, and confined in the convent of St. Anne of Jerusalem, was then living. The marriage with the countess of Sicily, his third wife, was therefore set aside by the pope ; after which she returned, in 1117, to Sicily, and died there, shortly after Baldwin. (*Albert. Aquen. lib. XII. c. 24* ; *Will. Tyr. lib. II. c. 1 and 15.*) His first wife, who accompanied him on the Crusade, but died before her arrival at Antioch, was the daughter of Raoul II. lord of Toëni, and had been separated from her former husband, Robert comte de Meulent.

rens. Quibus laboribus effecit, ut admirabilis et pene divina virtus ejus fuerit præsentibus stimulo, futura posteris miraculo. Obiit in expeditione Arabica mense Aprili, et publico funere Ierosolymis juxta fratrem tumultatus,¹ cum decimo septimo anno regni quartus accresceret mensis. Vir multis laboribus emeritus, et cujus gloriæ nullus prætendit nubila livor, nisi quod fuerit pecuniæ justo tenacior; sed hujus culpæ facilis et vera erit excusatio, si consideretur quod necessaria in remanentes effusio munerum inhiuerit quo minus mercaretur favorem abeuntium.

Death of
Baldwin,
A.D. 1118.

§ 386. Successit ei Baldewinus cognatus, dux Edessæ, quem moriens regem denunciaverat, antiquis jam stipendiis laudatum. Ille² multis annis regnum impigre tutatus, etiam auxit Antiocheno principatu; quem, occiso Rogerio filio Ricardi,³ obtinuit. Utrasque ergo regiones egregio moderamine rexit, minori quidem præsumptionis roncho, sed majori et consultiori providentia; quamvis sint qui opinionem ejus lace- rent, tenacitatis eum nimie arguentes. Quare, cum præterito anno non longe ab Ierosolyma equitantem Turci cepissent, paucis aut nullis⁴ gemitibus sui eum desiderarunt; latuitque pene anno et incolas et rumigerulos, quo terrarum abductus, si superis auris vesceretur, necne. Refutarunt porro Ierosolymitæ vel regem facere, vel ordinem et ducatum militum interrumpere, quoad rei certitudo sciretur, propter ejus absentiam in nullo infractiores. Postmodum vero, cognito loco quo vinculatus fuerat, milites auda-

Accession of
Baldwin II.

¹ *Cum decimo septimo anno regni.] S. C. D. E 2. L.; 'regni' omitted in E 1.; cum septem et decem regni annis, A.*

² *Multis annis.] S. C. D. E.; ad hoc tempus, A. L.*

³ *Obtinuit.] Roger, prince regent of Antioch, son of Richard seneschal of Apulia, married Hodierna, sister of Baldwin II. He was slain in 1119.*

⁴ *Gemitibus.] S. D. E.; gemitibus, ut ferunt, L.*

cissimi speciem negotiatorum mentientes, armis sub vestibus occultatis, oppidum ingressi, regem eripuerunt discrimini; protestati non conferre se id ejus avaritiæ, ¹sed Gozelini de Turbexel gratiæ, qui nihil unquam pensi fecerat quin omnia quæ posset militibus erogaret. ²Vixit diu frugi homo, et nulli præter hanc culpam infamiæ obnoxius. Principatus Antiochenus ad ³Boamundi spectat filium, de quo nunc dicam.

DE BOAMUNDO.

Account of
Bohemond
prince of An-
tioch.

§ 387. ⁴Boamundus Roberti Guiscardi ex ⁵Normanna filius fuit: alter, ⁶Rogierius, ex Appula genitus, qui cognomen Marsupii a patre meruit, quod paterno et curioso intuitu deprehendisset eum jam a tenero libenter nummos numerare; nam Boamundus ætatis majusculæ nihil erat quod retineret, sed etiam puerilia xenia dispertiret. Itaque Rogierius Apuliam, quæ sibi materno genere competere videbatur, accepit: Boamundus cum genitore ad bellum Durachinum profectus est. Cumque oppidani fiducia mœnium jactita-

¹ *Sed Gozelini de Turbexel gratiæ.*] 'This account appears in some measure incorrect: Gozelin and the king were both confined in the same castle. On its being seized, Gozelin escaped, and collected troops to liberate his friends, who were now themselves besieged; but, ere his arrival, the Turks had made themselves masters of the fortress, and carried off the king, who did recover his liberty for some time, and then only by paying a considerable ransom. Fulcher. Carnot. et Will. Tyr. ap. Gesta Dei.' (Sharpe, 469.)

² *Vixit diu.*] *S. D. E.*; vivit adhuc, *L.*—Baldwin died 21st Aug. A.D. 1131.

³ *Boamundi.*] *A. C. D. E.*; Boamundum, *S. L.*—Bohemond II. son of Bohemond I. and Constance, daughter of Philippe I. of France.

⁴ *Boamundus.*] Bohemond, the son of Guiscard by his first wife Alberade, was baptized Mark; but his father, hearing a tale related of a giant Buamund, gave him that appellation. (Ord. Vital. p. 817.)

⁵ *Normanna.*] *E 1.*; Normannia, *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*

⁶ *Rogierius.*] Roger, afterwards king of Sicily, was the son of Guiscard by his second wife Sikelgaite, daughter of Gaimar IV. prince of Salerno.

rent ideo urbem Durachium nominatam, quod Account of Bohemond. contra omnes obsidiones imperterrita duraret, 'Et ego' (¹inquit) 'voco Durandus; et eo usque in obsidione durabo quo civitati nomen auferam, ut non ²Durachium sed Mollicium amodo dicatur.' Cujus responsi constantia effecit ut confestim pavefacti portas aperirent. Ita tutus a tergo, cæteras urbes usque ad Tessalonicam leviore labore subegit. Jamque illuc pervenerat, jam Alexium tum per se tum per filium vinci posse docuerat, cum uxoria fraude deceptus ingens ³depositum morte destituit. Tum vero Boamundus, Apuliam reversus, aliquot castella fraterna indulgentia tenuit, multa ipse virtute et prudentia conquisivit, nam ad fratrem specie tenus ducatus pervenerat; alterum bello ⁴meliores sunt secuti. ⁵Nec vero parvi momenti fuit quod, paterni propositi sequax, Guibertum repellens, Urbano validissime astitit, et cunctantem impulit ut Gallias ad concilium Clari Montis accederet, quo eum Raimundi Provincialis comitis et episcopi Caturcensis epistolæ invitabant. Concilioque celebrato, libens occasionem accepit, et in Græciam copias trajecit; subindeque promovens exercitum, modeste Raimundum et Godefridum ⁶operiebatur: quibus venientibus sociatus, magnum incitamentum cæteris erat, disciplinæ militaris

¹ *Inquit.*] *C. D. E.*; inquit Guiscardus, *A. S. L.*

² *Durachium.*] The Romans had changed the inauspicious name of *Epi-damnus* to *Dyr-rachium* (*Plin. III. 26*), and the vulgar corruption of *Durachium* bore some affinity to 'duritia,' implying 'hardness.' One of Robert's names was *Durand*, a *durando*. (*Alberic. Monach. in Chron. apud Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. IX. p. 137.*) There

is a play upon the words, 'non *Durachium* sed *Mollicium*,' intended to imply soft and hard, — 'mollis' and 'durus.'

³ *Depositum.*] *E 1. L 2.*; *depositum, S. C. D. E 2. L 1.*

⁴ *Meliores sunt secuti.*] *E.*; *meliores secuti, A. D. L.*; *melio-rem secuti, S. C.*

⁵ *Nec.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; *jam, S.*

⁶ *Operiebatur.*] *S. D. E.*; *venturos operiebatur, L.*

Account of
Bohemond.

scientia et virtute nulli secundus. Sed quia quæ cum cæteris fecit communi laudi sors attribuit, et quomodo captus fuerit anterior sermo notitiæ dedit, nunc qualiter se servitio exuerit dicendum. Danisman enim, cum videret nihil utilitatibus suis applicari quod tantum virum teneret, inflexus ¹animo de pacis conditionibus actitare cœpit: nam nec illum occidere, ne in se odia Christianorum effusa concitaret, nec, sine spebus in perpetuum valituræ pacis, dimittere volebat. Pollicitus ergo Boamundus continuam gentili concordiam, revertit Antiochiam, argenteos compedes quibus ²alligatus fuerat secum deferens: a suis ergo exceptus plausibiliter, Laodiciam, et cæteras urbes quas Tancredus acquisierat, suscepit, ne videretur oscitare otio dum avunculus suspiraret in ergastulo. Nec multo post Gallias venit, offerens catenas sancti Leonardi honori, quæ sibi fuerant oneri. Fertur enim in primis ³ille sanctus absolvendorum vinculorum potens, ut, videntibus nec mutire audentibus adversariis, pondera sua captivus liber asportet. Ita ducta uxore filia regis Francorum, et altera Tancredo missa, repetiit Apuliam; sequentibus se Francorum proceribus, qui spe majoris commodi patriam deserebant, simul et spectaturi cominus quid viva virtutis species efficeret, quam tam insignis fama ubique loqueretur. Itaque ille, dispositis apud

¹ *Animo.*] *S. D. E.*; animi molitie, *L.*

² *Alligatus.*] *A. D. E.*; illigatus, *S. C. L.*

³ *Ille sanctus absolvendorum vinculorum potens.*] 'Leonard was grandson to Clovis king of France, and obtained, through the favour of that monarch, that, whenever he should see any one who was

in chains, he should immediately be set at liberty. At length it pleased God to honour him to that degree, that if any person in confinement invoked his name, his chains immediately fell off, so that he might depart, the keepers themselves having no power to prevent him. Vide Surrius, *Vitæ Sanct. Nov. 6.*' (Sharpe, 471.)

Apuliam rebus suis, denuo in Alexium efferatus est, prætendens belli causam peregrinorum injuriam, qua ille perinfamis erat; sed parum et prope nihil gessit prospere, solertis imperatoris deceptus astutia, qui omnes duces ejus aut pecuniis obæratos ab eo alienavit, aut veneno, ¹ut dixi, sustulit. Quapropter animo dejectus Apuliam rediit; ibique post paucos dies, dum ad Antiochiam iter ²meditatur, defungitur, ætate citra senium, prudentia infra nullum, relicto tenerioris ævi filio. Vir in adversis constans, in prosperis circumspectus; nam et, pro suspitione noxiæ potionis, paratum commentus erat remedium, cultellum, qui, ante ora comedentis infixus, sudore, mirum dictu, prodebat manubrii si quid tecto illatum esset veneficii. Post eum Tancredus Antiochiæ principatui præfuit, haud pudendus avunculo nepos; qui cum et ipse communem mortaliū viam obitu præpropere trivisset, successit Rogerius filius Ricardi. Is, gloriæ antecessorum in bellis non impar, ignominiam tamen avaritiæ incurrit; quapropter, cum eum milites caverent, stipendiario milite pene nullo et indigena raro Turcis congressus occubuit, mortem suam non ignave ultus. Nam cum ab ³eis captus et diloricatus juberetur ensem reddere, negavit se ulli nisi duci ⁴daturum, quod omnes infra dignitatis suæ deditioem aspiceret. Credidit infelix admiratus simulatis vocibus; et jam, galea caput nudatus, porrexit manum ut reciperet Rogerii gladium. Tunc vero ille infrendens, et totis fortitudinis reliquiis in ictum se cogens, Turco caput decussit; moxque perfossus, excogitato genere virtutis, dedecus ser-

Account of Bohemond.

Feb. A.D. 1111.

A.D. 1111.

6th Dec. A.D. 1112.

A.D. 1119.

¹ *Ut dixi.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

² *Meditatur.*] D. E.; meditari, A. S. L.

³ *Eis.*] C. D. E.; Turcis, A. S. L.

⁴ *Daturum.*] A. D. E. L.; redidit, S. C.

Account of
Bohemond.

vitutis effugit. Ejus mortem Baldewinus secundus rex Ierosolymorum ultus insigniter, principatum civitatis¹ et filiam suam Boamundo filio Boamundi servavit fideliter.

DE RAIMUNDO.

Account of
Raymond
count of
Thoulouse.

§ 388. Raimundus fuit filius² Willelmi antiquissimi Tolosæ comitis, qui, vir acer et efficax, patriam, antecessorum suorum socordia obscuram, titulis suis reddidit illustrem. Uxor ejus³ Almodis, multis vicissim desponsata, multam ex omnibus sobolem tulit; insano muliercula pruritu et irreverenti, ut cum ei longo usu vir displicisset, alias migraret novos impletura penates; denique primum⁴ Arelatensi comiti nupta, mox illius pertæsa, huic Willelmo se conjunxit; cui cum duos peperisset filios, ⁵Barcinonensem ad connubium illexit comitem. Porro Willelmus, mortis confinis foribus, Tolosanum comitatum dedit filio æquivoco, sed moribus absono, quod esset crassioris ⁶ingenii, et nihil Tolosani contra eum novarent, familiæ illius dominatui assueti. Raimundus vero, vivacioris spiritus,⁷ Caturcensem

¹ *Et filiam suam . . . fideliter.] S. D. E.; Boamundi filio reservat fideliter, L.—The accession of Bohemond II, and his marriage with Alix, daughter of Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, were subsequent to the year 1126. (L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. 442.)*

² *Willelmi.] More correctly 'Pontii.' Raymond was the brother of William, and son of Pontius count of Thoulouse. To Pontius therefore should be referred all that Malmesbury here relates of William. Raymond count of St. Giles and Thoulouse, took his name of St. Giles from the place of his birth, or first appanage. It is*

situated in the Lower Languedoc, between Nismes and the Rhone. He was also duke of Narbonne and marquis of Provence.

³ *Almodis.] She was the daughter of Bernard count of La Marche en Limosin. Her first husband was Hugh V. sire de Luzignan, from whom she was divorced, and afterwards married Pontius count of Thoulouse.*

⁴ *Arelatensi comiti.] More correctly Hugh de Luzignan.*

⁵ *Barcinonensem . . . comitem.] Raymond Berenger I. comite de Barcelone.*

⁶ *Ingenii.] S. D. E.; animi, L.*

⁷ *Caturcensem.] Querci.*

acceptit et ¹non mediocriter auxit; Arelatensi, et Narbonensi, et Provinciali, et Lemovicensi adjunctis. Tolosam quoque a germano emit, pluribus annis ante magni motus viam profecto Ierosolymam. Sed hæc multi temporis intercessu et ætate impensa labori. Itaque, pugnis semper assiduus, legitimam uxorem non desideravit, multinubo concubinato voluptatem exercens. Denique ex una pellicum filium natum, Bertramnum, cognatione et hæreditate dignatus est, quod in aliquantis patrissaret; cui uxorem conjunxit ²Matildis Marcisæ neptem ex Longobarda natam, ut illius affinitate ³illas provinciæ partes tutaretur. Ipse quoque extremis fere annis uxorem ascivit filiam regis Tarraconensis, splendendam dotem pactus, æternam scilicet conterminarum provinciarum pacem. Nec multo post, nivem capitis respiciens, Ierosolymitanum iter vovit, ut lassæ et effœti corporis vires jam vel sero Deo deservirent; auctore præcipue Caturcensi episcopo, cujus præcipua opera ipse semper impugnatus fuerat: etiam in quodam duellio altero lumine privatus, cujus insigne calamitatis præ se ferens non solum non occultabat, sed etiam gloriabatur ultro, specimen nobilis militiæ ostentans. Tunc autem mutua foederati amicitia, ut senectutem suam divinis consumerent cultibus, Urbano jam in prædicationem prono stimulos addidere, ut, transitis Alpibus, potissimum apud Clarum Montem concilium cogeret, quod esset ea civitas et illorum patriæ propinqua, et ex tota Gallia venientibus opportuna. Veruntamen, in ipso ad concilium itinere, pontifex obitu defecit. Suc-

Account of
Raymond.

¹ *Non mediocriter.*] C. D. E.; Eluta, or Helena, daughter of immane quantum, S. L.; in immensum, A. Otho I. duke of Burgundy.

² *Matildis Marcisæ neptem.*] S. C.

³ *Illas.*] A. D. E. L.; illius,

Account of
Raymond.

A.D. 1096.

A.D. 1099.

cessit curæ illius ¹præsul Podii, de quo supra diximus: cujus hortatibus animatus, et umbone protectus, Raimundus primus omnium laicorum crucem accepit; adjiciens voto ut nunquam in patriam rediret, sed potius, duraturo in Turcos labore, ²arvinam præteritarum iniquitatum extenuaret. Jam vero in itinere plura dedit indicia fortitudinis, ad laborem primus, ad quietem ultimus; plura etiam patientiæ, quod ³arce Antiochiæ, quam ⁴occupaverat, Boamundo, et turri David, Godefrido, libenter cesserit. Sed tandem, nimiis exactionibus quorundam fracta patientia, in deditionem urbis Ascalonensis decidit. Siquidem in primo Francorum adventu oppidani, exploratis omnium ducum nostrorum moribus, ipsum in patronum elegere, quod multi, eo ante a Monte ⁵Pessulano navigio venientes negotiatum, fidem ejus et virtutem in cœlum tulerant. Itaque, traditis clavibus, sacramento ducem adegere ut nulli Christianorum potestatem urbis refunderet, si vel ipse nollet tenere vel nequiret. Tunc a proceribus mussitatum est, expostulantibus urbem regis dominio, quod parum ei valeret regnum si non haberet Ascalonem, quæ hostibus esset receptaculo, nostris obstaculo. Et rex quidem ⁶leviter, ut omnia, et vultu tranquillis conveniente moribus, rem allegabat; cæteri pervicacius. Hæc illa verba parvi pendebat, non infirmis rationibus dicta eorum ⁷cassans: Omnes socios suos jam sibi receptui consuluisse, partim

¹ Præsul.] C. D. E.; pontifex, A. S. L.

² Arvinam.] C. E 1. L.; ru-
inam, A. S.; a ruina, D. E 2.

³ Arce.] E.; parte, A. S. C.
D. L.

⁴ Occupaverat.] A. D. E. L.;
præoccupaverat, S. C.

⁵ Pessulano.] S. C. D. E.;
Pislerio, A. L.

⁶ Leviter.] C. D. E.; leniter,
A. S. L.

⁷ Cassans.] A. D. E. L.; cassa
faciens, S.; cassa sunt, C 1.;
cassatus, C 2.

patriam devectos, partim acquisitam inhabitantes provinciam; se solum, abjurata ¹naturali terra, nec illuc posse redire, nec hic receptum habere. Cessisse se in aliis: hoc modo paterentur, ut Ascalonem in fidelitatem sancti Sepulchri teneret; cæterum, ne redderet sacramento fecisse. Quo audito cuncti strepere, perfidum et cupidum vocare, ut vix manibus temperarent. Contumeliæ hujus rubore comes suffusus, ab æqui bonique viri descivit officio; inimicis Dei clâves ²civitatis contradens, et metum pejerandi multorum in posterum sanguine compensans. Nèque enim ad hunc diem civitas illa capi vel vi vel ingenio potuit: ³quin et plures ex hominibus illius, affluentis urbis opulentia delectati, fidei transfugio civium charitatem meruere. Ita vir ille, Ierosolymam egressus, Laodiciam venit; qua subjugata, aliquantum ibi morarum nexuit: cumque Constantinopolim ivisset, obtinuit Laodiciam Tancredus, vi an amore ambiguum. Ille interea Byzantio commoratus, prudentia qua vigeat effecit ut Alexii gratiam haberet: unde contigit, ut, imperatoris benignitate per tuta deductus, societati ærumnarum non implicaretur quas Willelmum Pictavensem et cæteros ⁴superius incurrisse diximus; cum quibus ⁵Tortosam civitatem cepit, sed, illis ultra euntibus, solus possedit. Et, ut latius vires suas spargeret, oppidum contra Tripolim, quod Castellum Peregrinorum vocant, firmavit, et ibi Herbertum episcopum ex abbate constituit; et, ut quassæ suorum vires aliqua quiete coalescerent, cum Tripolitanis in septen-

Account of
Raymond.

¹ *Naturali.*] *D. E.*; natali, *A. S. C. L.*

² *Civitatis.*] *D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. C. L.*

³ *Quin.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; quia, *S.*

⁴ *Superius.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *E. I.*

⁵ *Tortosam.*] *S.*; Tortuosam, *A. C. D. E. L.*

Account of
Raymond.

28th Feb.
A.D. 1105.

A.D. 1109.

A.D. 1112.

nium foedus jecit. Veruntamen ante praestitutum terminum pax rupta est; deprehenso intra castellum quodam oppidano cum pugione toxicato, quem sub foemore occuluerat. Tum profecto Tripolitanæ victoriae supremam manum imposuisset, nisi prope diem mors adveniens praesentis vitae spiritum subduxisset ingentia parturientem. Cujus morte audita, Willelmus de Monte ¹Pessulano, et caeteri duces provinciae, Willelmum peregrinum, quem in ipsa obsidione ex Hispana susceperat, ²quadrimum, patriam devehendum curarunt, sollicita omnium spe in successionem educandum. Nec invitus Bertramus ³factum, quamvis se inconsulto, audivit, ut paternas adoras instauraret. Itaque innumero succinctus milite, praecipueque Januensibus et Pizanis, qui de conjugis cognatione erant, annitentibus, Tripolim terra marique aggressus est, diuturnaue obsidione fractam in potestatem redexit. Successit ei filius Pontius ex Longobarda, adolescens majorum æmulus gloriae; sortitusque est ⁴jugalem Tancredi, quondam Antiocheni principis uxorem. Id enim ille moriens praeeperat, protestatus ⁵in ephœbo et Christianorum commodum et Turcorum omnifariam dispendium. Pontius ergo Tripoli principatur, sancti Sepulchri se profitens servum, avitum scilicet et paternum secutus exemplum.

DE ROBERTO CURTA OCREA.

Account of
Robert duke
of Normandy.

§ 389. Robertus filius Willelmi Anglorum regis primi, natus in Normannia, spectatae jam vir-

¹ Pessulano.] S. C. D. E.;
Pislerio, A. L.

² Quadrimum.] D. E.; vix
quadrimum, A. S. C. L.

³ Factum.] A. S. C. D. E. L.;
fratrem, S. (var. lect.)

⁴ Jugalem.] A. S. C. E. L.; con-
jugalem, D.

⁵ In ephæbo.] C. D. E.; ado-
lescere in ephœbo, A. S. L.

tutis habebatur adolescens quando pater Angliam venit; fortitudinis probatæ, quanquam exilis corporis et pinguis aqualiculi. Inter bellicas patris alas excrevit primævo tyrocinio, parenti morem in omnibus gerens. Veruntamen, ¹juvenilem indutus calorem, Normanniam a patre adhuc vivente, fatuorum sodalium instinctu, impetrare se posse speravit: quod cum ille negasset, terrisonæ vocis roncho juvenem abigens, iratus abscessit Robertus, multisque assultibus patriam infestavit; primo quidem genitore cachinnos excutiente, et subinde dicente, ‘Per resurrectionem Dei! probus erit Robelinus Curta Ocrea.’ Hoc enim erat ejus cognomen, quod esset exiguus; cæterum nihil habens quod succenses, quia nec illepidæ formæ, nec infaceti eloquii, nec virtutis imbecillæ, nec enervis erat consilii. Posterius vero rex adeo efferata succensus est ira ut eum et benedictione ultima et hæreditate fraudaret Anglica, comitatu tamen Normanniæ ægre licet et improbe retento. Post novem annos Ierosolymitanæ viæ laboribus suæ fortitudinis periculum fecit; et in multis quidem mirabilis apparuit, ut nunquam a Christiano vel pagano potuerit ex equite pedes ²effici. Tum vero maxime in bello Antiocheno, cujus ipse victoriam pulchra experientia nobilitavit. Nam cum Turci, ut diximus, subito terrefacti fugæ se ³dedissent, nostrique palantes vehementius impeterent, Corbaguath dux, genuinæ virtutis memor, retento equo suos ⁴inclamat, famulos ignavos et annosarum victoriarum oblitos vocans, ut victores quondam ori-

Robert duke
of Nor-
mandy.

¹ *Juvenilem indutus calorem.*] C. E.; juvenilem inductus calorem, D.; juvenatæ viridem indutus calorem, A. S. L.

² *Effici.*] A. D. E. L.; fieri, S. C.

³ *Dedissent.*] S. D. E.; commisissent, L.

⁴ *Inclamat.*] C. D. E.; inclamavit, A. S. L.

Robert duke
of Nor-
mandy.

A.D. 1097.

entis paterentur se ab advena et pene inermi populo finibus excludi: quo clamore multi, resu- mentes animum, Francos conversi urgere et propiores cedere cœpere; Corbaguath suos animante et hostes feriente, ut imperatoris et militis probe officium exequeretur. Tum vero Normannus comes, et Philippus clericus, filius Rogerii comitis de Monte Gomerico, et Warinus de ¹Tanea castello Cenomannico, mutua se vivacitate invicem hortati, qui ante simulata fuga cedebant, convertunt cornipedes, et quisque suum comparem incessens dejiciunt. Ibi Corbaguath, quamvis comitem cognosceret, solo tamen corpore mensus, simul et fugere inglorium arbitrat, audaciam congressus morte propinqua luit, vitali statim spiritu privatus: cujus nece visa, Turci, qui jam gloriabundi ululabant, spe recenti exinaniti, fugam iterarunt. In eo tumultu Warinus cecidit, Robertus cum Philippo palmam retulit: Philippus hac malitia ²præclusus, sed Ierosolymis, ut fertur, bono fine functus; præter exercitium equestre literis clarus. Ita Robertus, Ierosolymam veniens, indelebili macula nobilitatem suam respersit, quod ³regnum, consensu omnium sibi ⁴utpote regis filio delatum, recusaret, non reverentiæ, ut fertur, contuitu, sed laborum

¹ Tanea.] C. D. E.; Taneo, A. S. L.

² Præclusus.] A. S. C. D. E. L 1.; præclusus, L 2.

³ Regnum . . . recusaret.] The original historians of the Crusade make no mention of Robert by name as refusing the crown. It is, however, to be found in Henry of Huntingdon. To Raymond of Thoulouse is also ascribed the honour of refusing the crown. (Villehardouin, No. 136.) It would seem that it was offered to and

refused by all the chiefs in succession; but Godfrey of Bouillon was compelled by the unanimous voice of the army to accept it, (Alb. Aquens. lib. vi. c. 33.)

⁴ Utpote regis filio.] The crown for the same reason might also have been offered to Hugh the Great, brother of King Philippe of France, but he had embraced an ambiguous opportunity of returning to his own country. Guibert (pp. 518, 523) attempts to excuse Hugh the Great.

inextricabilium metu. Veruntamen patriam re-
gresso, in qua licenter se delicatis voluptatibus in-
serviturum putaverat, affuit pro hac culpa, ¹credo, Robert duko
of Nor-
mandy.
Deus misericorditer ubique sæviens, et omnes
ejus dulcedines amarissimis offensionibus offus-
cans, sicut consequenti scripto palam fiet. UX- A.D. 1100.
orem filiam Willelmi de Conversana, quam redi-
ens in Apuliam duxerat, cujus elegantissimæ spe-
ciei prodigium vix ullius disertitudinis explicabit
conatus, post paucos annos ²morbo amisit; de- A.D. 1103.
ceptam, ut dicunt, ³obstetricis consilio, quæ pro
affluentis lactis copia, puerperæ mammas stricta
præceperat illigari fascia. Sed accessit, tanto-
rum malorum grande solatium, filius ex conjuge
⁴susceptus; qui, Willelmus dictus vaticinio nomi-
nis aviti, spem egregiæ ⁵pietatis aleret in poste-
rum. Pecuniam infinitam, quam ei socer dotis
nomine annumeraverat, ut ejus commercio Nor-
manniam exueret ⁶vadimonio, ⁷ita dilapidavit ut
pauculis diebus nec nummus superesset. Præ-
cipitavit quoque infamiam ejus inconsultus ad-
ventus in Angliam, ut fratri Henrico regnum eri- A.D. 1106.
peret; sed, desertorum qui eum invitaverant de-
stitutus auxilio, germani paci facile acquievit
⁸utriusque partis ducum ⁹auxilio, trium millium
marcarum annum donum ab Anglia verbo tenus

¹ Credo.] C. D. E.; ut credo, A. S. L.

² Morbo amisit.] Sibilla duchess of Normandy died by poison, according to Ordericus Vitalis, and the Continuator of William of Jumièges. Malmesbury's account does not appear to be supported by any contemporary testimony.

³ Obstetricis.] S. D. E.; pelli-
cis, L.

⁴ Susceptus.] S. C.; sublatus, A. D. E. L.

⁵ Pietatis.] D. E.; indolis, S. C.; probitatis, A. L.

⁶ Vadimonio.] Normandy was only mortgaged for ten thousand marks, about the one-hundredth part of its present value.

⁷ Ita dilapidavit.] C. D. E.; mimorum et nebulonum sinibus ita ingressit, A. S. L.

⁸ Utriusque.] A. S. C. D. E. 2. L.; utriusque, E 1.

⁹ Auxilio.] C. D. E.; arbitrio, A. S. L.

Robert duke
of Nor-
mandy.

habiturus. Nam promiserat ista rex, non daturus; sed, fratris facilitatem non nesciens, blandam credulitatem luserat dum interim calor bellicus defervesceret. Porro ille, quasi cum fortuna certaret utrum plus illa daret an ipse dispergeret, sola voluntate reginæ tacite postulantis comperta, tantam massam argenti benignus in perpetuum ignovit; acclines fœminei fastus preces pro magno exosculatus. Erat enim ejus in baptismo filiola, offensarum igitur erat immemor; culparum, quatenus non debet, remissor; omnibus pro voto respondens adeuntibus, ne tristes dimitteret; et quod dare non posset, ¹repromittens. Qua morum dulcedine, qui laudari et subjectorum amorem mercari debuerat, adeo in contemptum sui Normannos exacuit ut nullius eum momenti ²æstimarent. Tunc enim potentum quisque sibi adversari, ³tunc manubiæ prædarum per totam regionem agi, tunc vulgus expoliari. Quas incommoditates comiti provinciales deferentes, nullum referebant auxilium; dum ille primo commotus, mox vel munusculis, vel temporis intercessu ira languescente, leniebatur. Iccirco, extremis malis admoniti, opem regis Henrici censuere implorandam, ut laboranti patriæ succurreret. Ille ⁴Cæsarianæ sententiæ assistens, ‘Si violandum est jus, gratia civium violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas,’ non semel in Normanniam vires trajecit, ut laboranti justitiæ manum daret: tantumque postremo valuit, ut totam terram, præter Rotomagum, et Falesium, et Cadomum, subjugarret. Jamque ad hoc Robertus venerat, ut in vicis illis pene se altero vagaretur, precarium

State of Nor-
mandy.

¹ *Repromittens.*] *D. E.*; committens, *A. S. C. L.*

² *Æstimarent.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2.*
L.; æstimarant, *E 1.*

³ *Tunc.*] *A. S. C. L.*; omitted in *D. E.*

⁴ *Cæsarianæ sententiæ.*] Compare Cicero, *De Offic. lib. III. c. 21.*

victum a Burgensibus ¹nundinans. Quare of-
fensi Cadomenses, non diu in fide mansere; sed,
rege per nuncios admonito, portis serratis et re-
pagulis objectis urbem clausere. Quo Robertus
cognito effugere gestiens, vix permissus est, ar-
migero tamen cum cubiculi pannis retento. Inde
raptim Rotomagum veniens, dominum suum re-
gem Francorum, et cognatum comitem Flan-
drensem, de suffragio convenit; sed, nullo im-
petrato, ad bellum publicum venit, ultimam for-
tunam experturus. Qua illum infelici pede pro-
sequente, captus, et ad ²diem mortis in libera ³ten-
tus est custodia laudabili fratris pietate; quod
nihil præter solitudinem ⁴passus sit mali, si soli-
tudo dici potest ubi et custodum diligentia et jo-
corum præterea et obsoniorum non deerat fre-
quentia. ⁵Tenebatur ergo sociorum omnium ⁶viæ
superstes, ⁷nec unquam usque ad obitum relax-
atus. Patria lingua facundus, ut sit jocundior
nullus; in aliis consiliosus, ut nihil excellentius;
militiæ peritus, ut si quis unquam; pro mollitie
tamen animi nunquam regendæ reipublicæ ido-
neus iudicatus. Veruntamen quia ⁸superius dixi
quæcunque noram de Hugone magno, et Ble-
sensi et Flandrensi comitibus, non incongrue (ut
opinor) quartum librum hac meta concludam.

Robert duke
of Nor-
mandy.

A.D. 1106.

Feb. A.D.
1134.

EXPLICIT LIBER QUARTUS MAGISTRI WILLELMI
MALMESBIRIENSIS DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM.

¹ Nundinans.] A. D. E. L.;
nundinaturus, S.; nundinatus, C.

² Diem mortis.] S. D. E.;
hunc diem, A. L.

³ Tentus est.] S. D. E.; tene-
tur, A. L.

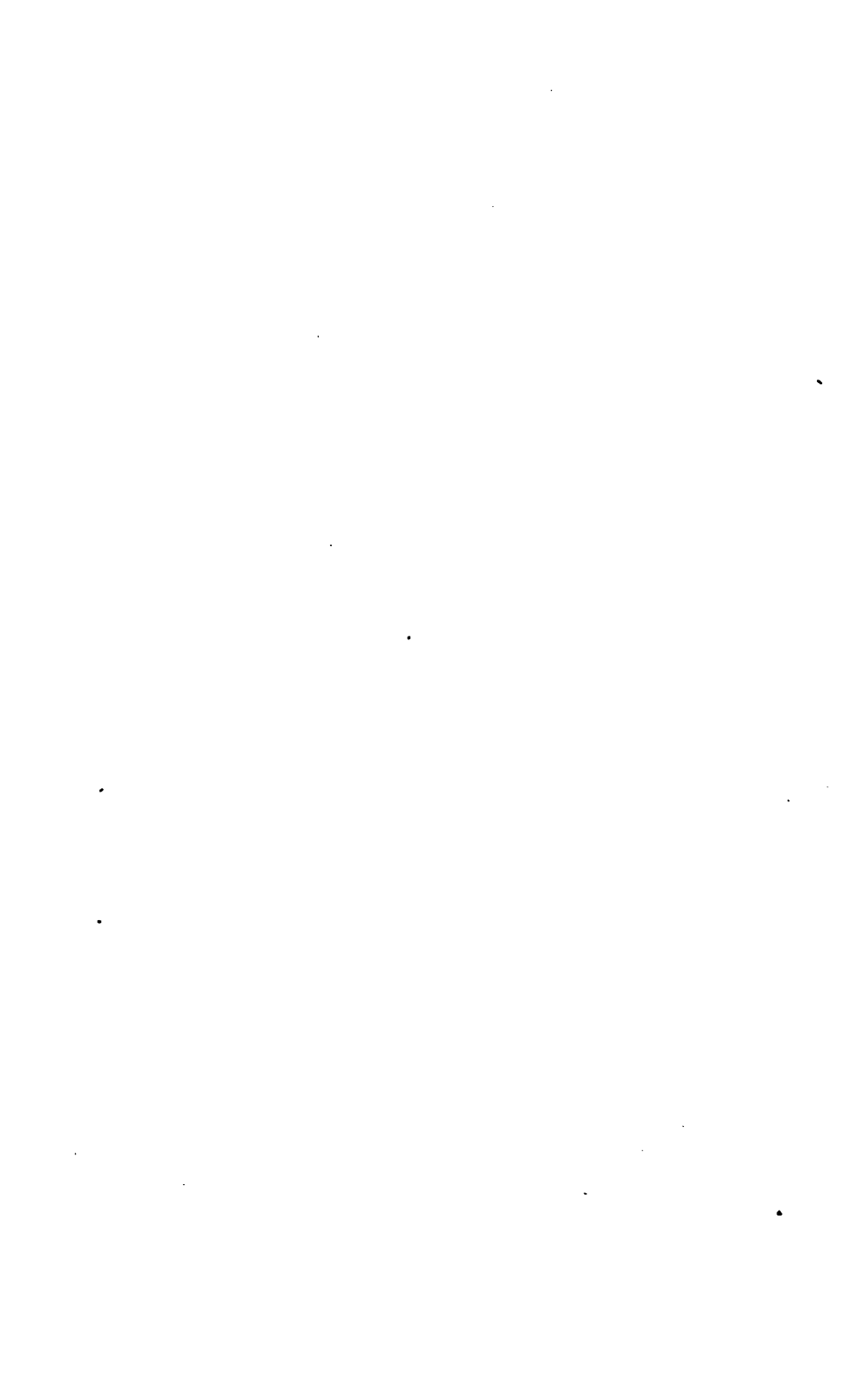
⁴ Passus sit.] S. D. E.; pa-
tiatur, A. L.

⁵ Tenebatur.] S. D. E.; tene-
tur, A. L.

⁶ Viæ.] A. C. D. E. L.; vitæ, S.

⁷ Nec unquam usque ad obitum
relaxatus.] S. D. E.; et utrum
aliquando sit exiturus, vero vacil-
lante in dubio, A. L.—The vari-
ous readings which the MSS.
here exhibit seem to mark the
periods when the author com-
posed and amended his history.

⁸ Superius.] C. D. E.; jam su-
perius, A. S. L.



PROLOGUS

IN LIBRUM QUINTUM.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS EJUSDEM IN LIBRUM QUINTUM.



RDINE rerum vocante, tempus Henrici regis ingressi sumus: cujus gesta styli officio posteris tradere, majoris quam a nobis debeat ¹exquiri est operæ; nam et si sola quæ nostras aures attigerunt scripto mandarentur, cujuslibet eloquentissimi nervos fatigare, et grandia possent armaria gravare. Quis ergo conetur omnia illa consiliorum pondera, illa gestorum regalium molimina, enucleatim retexere? altioris sunt ista negotii et otiosioris animi. Vix hæc auderet vel Cicero in prosa, cujus adorat sales tota Latinitas, vel si quis versuum favore Mantuanum lacessit poetam. Adde quod, dum ambiguis relatoribus fidem detraho, homo procul ab aulicis mysteriis, secretus, majora gesta ignorans, paucis manum appono. Quare verendum est, ne, dum literæ distant ab animi voto, minor videatur cujus gesta multa prætereo. Veruntamen hujus culpæ, si culpa dicenda est, bona erit apud illum deprecatio qui meminerit me nec omnia ejus gesta potuisse nosse, nec omnia quæ noveram scriptum iri debuisse: alterum exegerit personæ meæ exilitas, alterum coactura sit lectorum satietas. Pauca igitur rerum ejus liber hic quintus suo

¹ *Exquiri.*] *D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. C. L.*

vindicabit gremio; cætera proculdubio et seret fama, et victura in posteros feret memoria. Nec vero a proposito priorum quatuor degenerabit; sed quædam quæ hic et alias ejus acciderunt tempore procudet, quæ forsitan vel non scripta, vel multis sunt incognita. Occupabunt itaque ista magnam partem voluminis; præfata venia tam longarum digressionum et in hoc et in aliis.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM

LIBER QUINTUS.

INCIPIT LIBER QUINTUS DE GESTIS HENRICI REGIS.



ENRICUS, junior filius Wil-^{Henry the}lelmi magni, ^{First.} ^{A.D. 1068.} ¹natus est in Anglia anno tertio postquam pater eam adierat; infans jam tum omnium votis conspirantibus educatus egregie, quod solus omnium filiorum Willelmi na-

tus esset regie, et ei regnum videretur competere. Itaque tyrocinium rudimentorum in scholis egit ²literalibus, et ³librorum mella adeo avidis medullis indidit, ut nulli postea bellorum tumultus, nulli curarum motus, eas excutere illustri animo possent. Quamvis ipse nec multum palam legeret, nec nisi summis cantaret; fuerunt tamen (ut vere confirmo) literæ, quamvis tumultuarie libatæ, magna supellex ⁴ad regnandi scientiam, juxta ⁵illam Platonis sententiam, qua dicit ' Beatam esse rempublicam si vel phi-

¹ *Natus est.*] Henry was born in 1068, not in 1070, as stated by Ordericus Vitalis. (Annal. Burton. apud Fell. inter Rer. Anglic. Script. V. p. 246.)

² *Literalibus.*] A. C. D. E. L.; liberalibus, S.

³ *Librorum.*] D. E.; literarum,

A. S.; litera, C 1. L.; litalia, C 2.

⁴ *Ad regnandi scientiam.*] S.; ad regnandum scientiæ, A. C. D. E. L.

⁵ *Illam.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

losophi regnarent, vel reges philosopharentur.' Philosophia ergo non adeo exiliter informatus, sensim discebat ut successu temporis provinciales mitius contineret, milites nonnisi diligentissime explorata necessitate committere sineret. Itaque pueritiam ad spem regni literis muniebat; subinde, patre quoque audiente, jactitare proverbium solitus, 'Rex illiteratus, asinus coronatus.' Ferunt quinetiam genitorem non prætereuntem, notata morum ejus compositione quibus vivacem prudentiam aleret, ab uno fratrum læsum, et lachrymantem his animasse, 'Ne fleas, fili, quoniam et tu rex eris.'

Henry is knighted by his father, 24th May, A.D. 1086.

§ 391. ¹Vicesimo ergo primo regni paterni anno, ætatis suæ nono decimo, in Pentecoste, apud Westmonasterium sumpsit arma a patre, cum quo tunc Normanniam navigans, non multo post præsens funeri ejus astitit, cæteris fratribus quo quemque spes tulerat dilapsis, ut superior sermo non occuluit. Quapropter paterna benedictione et materna hæreditate, simul et multiplicibus thesauris ²nixus, supercilium germanorum parum faciebat, utrique vel assistens vel adversans pro merito: inclinatio porro Roberto pro mansuetudine, ejus lenitatem suo rigore satagebat acere. Contra, ille, noxia facilitate delatoribus credulus, fratrem immeritum injuriis vexabat, quas vel breviter taxare non erit incongruum.

His conduct during his brother's reign.

§ 392. Eo tempore, quo, frementibus adversus Willelmum secundum Angliæ proceribus, Robertus in Normannia ventum ³prosperum expec-

¹ *Vicesimo ergo primo . . .* year 1086, in the twentieth year of his father's reign.
² *Nixus.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*; nexus, *E 1.*
³ *Prosperum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

tabat ad navigandum, Henricus in Britanniam A.D. 1088. ejus jussu abscesserat. Tum ille, occasione aucupata, omnem illam pecuniarum vim testamento patris adolescentulo legatam, quæ erat trium millium marcarum, in stipendiarios suos absumpsit. Id Henricus reversus, licet forsitan ægre tulisset, taciturna præterit industria; enimvero, nunciata pacis compositione in Anglia, deposita militia ferias armis dedere. Comes in sua, junior in ea quæ frater suus dederat vel promiserat, discessit; namque et in acceptum promissa referebat, custodiens turrim Rotomagi in ejus fidelitatem: sed delatione pessimorum cessit in adversum fidelitas, et nulla sua culpa in ipso eodem loco Henricus libere custoditus est, ne servatorum diligentiam effugio luderet. Post medium annum laxatus, fratri Willelmo invitanti servituum se obtulit; at ille, nihilo modestius ephelum remunerans, plus anno inanibus sponsonibus egentem distulit. Quapropter, Roberto emendationem facti per nuncios promittente, Normanniam venit, amborum fratrum expertus insidias. Nam et rex, pro repulsa iratus, ut retineretur frustra mandarat; et comes, accusatorum lenociniis mutatus, voluntatem verterat, ut blanditiis attractatum non ita facile dimitteret. Verum ille, Dei providentia et sagaci sua diligentia cuncta evadens pericula, occupatione Abrincarum et quorundam castellorum coegit fratrem libenter paci manum dedere. Nec multo post, Willelmo veniente in Normanniam uti se de fratre Roberto ulcisceretur, comiti obsequelam suam exhibuit, Rotomagi¹ positus. Denique regios eo interdiu venientes, qui dolo civium totam jampridem occupaverant urbem, probe expulit,

¹ *Positus.*] A. C. D. E. L.; proventus, S.

A.D. 1090. admonito per nuncios comite ut ille a fronte propelleret quos ipse a tergo urgeret. Unde factum est, ut Conanum quendam, proditionis apud comitem insimulatum, quem ille vinculis irretire volebat, arbitratus nihil calamitosius posse inferri misero quam ut exosum spiritum in ergastulo traheret,—hunc ergo Conanum Henricus suæ curæ servatum iri postulavit. Quo concesso, in superiora Rotomagensis turris ¹duxit; jussaque ut late circumposita diligenter ex arcis ædito specularetur, sua per ironiam omnia futura pronuncians, inopinum ex propugnaculo deturbans in subjectam Sequanam præcipitavit, comitibus qui secum aderant pariter impellentibus: protestatus, Nullam vitæ moram deberi traditori; quoquo modo alieni hominis posse tolerari injurias, illius vero, qui tibi juratus fecerit hominum, nullo modo ²posse differri supplicium si fuerit probatus perfidiæ. Parum hic labor apud Robertum valuit, virum animi ³mobilis; qui, statim ad ingratitude flexus, bene meritum urbe cedere coegit. Illud fuit tempus quo, ⁴ut supra lectum est, apud montem sancti Michaelis ambobus fratribus Henricus pro sui salute, simul et gloria, restitit. Ita, cum utrique germano fuerit fidelis et efficax, illi, nullis adolescentem possessionibus dignati, ad majorem prudentiam ævi processu penuria victualium ⁵informabant.

A.D. 1091.

Henry is
elected king,
A D. 1100.

§ 393. Occiso vero rege Willelmo, ⁶ut supra dictum est, post justa funeri regio persoluta, in regem electus est, aliquantis tamen ante controversiis inter proceres agitatatis atque sopitis; an-

¹ Duxit.] A. C. D. E. L.;
em duxit, S.

² Posse.] A. S. C. D. L.;
omitted in E.

³ Mobilis.] A. C. D. E. L.;
nobilis, S.

⁴ Ut supra lectum est.] § 308,
p. 491.

⁵ Informabant.] A. S. C. D.
E 2. L.; reformabant, E 1.

⁶ Ut supra dictum est.] § 333,
p. 509.

nitente maxime comite Warwicensi Henrico, viro integro et sancto, cujus familiari jamdudum usus fuerat contubernio. Itaque, ¹edicto statim per Angliam misso, injustitias a fratre et Rannulfo institutas prohibuit, pensionum et vinculorum gratiam fecit: effœminatos curia propellens, lucernarum usum noctibus in curia restituit, qui fuerat tempore fratris intermissus; ²antiquarum moderationem legum revocavit in ³solidum, sacramento suo et omnium procerum, ne luderentur, corroborans. Lætus ergo dies visus est revirescere populis, cum, post tot anxietatum nubilata, serenarum promissionum infulgebant lumina. Et ne quid profecto gaudio accumulato abesset, Rannulfo nequitiarum fœce tenebris ⁴ergastularibus incluso, propter Anselmum perniciosus nunciis directum. Quapropter, ⁵certatim plausu plebeio concrepante, in regem coronatus est Londoniæ nonis Augustis, quarto post obi- Aug. 5. tum fratris die. Hæc eo studiosius celebrabantur, ne mentes procerum electionis quassarentur poenitudine, quod ferebatur rumor Robertum Normanniæ comitem ex Apulia adventantem jam jamque affore. Nec multo post, suadentibus amicis, ac maxime pontificibus, ut, remota voluptate pellicum, legitimum amplecteretur connubium, die sancti Martini ⁶accepit Ma- 11th Nov. thildem filiam Malcolmi regis Scottorum; cujus A.D. 1100. amoris jampridem animum impulerat, parvi pen-

¹ *Edicto ... misso.*] King Henry's charter is to be found in Matthew Paris, and in Text. Roff. p. 51.

² *Antiquarum.*] A. C. D. E. L.; aliquarum, S.

³ *Solidum.*] A. C. D. E. L.; solitum, S.

⁴ *Ergastularibus incluso.*] Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham, was confined in the Tower of

London on the 14th Sept. 1100, and escaped 4th Feb. 1101.

⁵ *Certatim.*] S. C. D. E.; statim, A. L.

⁶ *Accipit Mathildem filiam Malcolmi regis Scottorum.*] Matilda having taken the veil, though only for a purpose, scruples were raised as to the propriety of her entering the marriage state: a

dens dotales divitias, dummodo diu cupitis potiretur amplexibus. Erat enim illa, licet genere sublimis, utpote regis Edwardi ex fratre Edmundo abneptis, modicæ tamen domina supellectilis, utroque tunc parente pupilla: de qua posterius uberius erit narrandi materia.

Robert duke of Normandy returns from the Crusades.

§ 394. Robertus interea, Normanniam veniens, comitatum suum obsistente nullo recepit: quo audito, omnes pene hujus terræ optimates fidei regi juratæ transfugæ fuere; quidam nullis extantibus causis, quidam levibus occasiunculis emendicatis, quod nollet iis terras quas vellent ultro pro libito eorum impertiri. Soli Robertus filius Haimonis, et Ricardus de Retvers, et Rogerius Bigot, et Robertus comes de Mellento, cum fratre Henrico, justas partes fovebant. Cæterum, omnes vel clam pro Roberto, ut rex fieret, mittere, vel palam contumeliis dominum inurere; ¹Godricum eum, et comparem Godgivam, appellantes. Audiebat hæc ille, et formidabiles cachinnos iram differens ejiciebat; stultitias fatuorum insania objectas artificioso silentio dissolvens, blandus odii dissimulator, sed pro tempore immodicus retributor. Accessit temporum turbini versutia Rannulfi; namque ille, sollicitato per nuncios dapifero suo, funem afferri sibi impetravit: funem minister aquæ bajulus (²proh dolus!) amphora immersum detulit; quo ille muro ³turris demissus, si læsit brachia, si excoriavit

synod was therefore called at Lambeth by Archbishop Anselm, and it was there determined that Matilda, not having voluntarily become a nun, might marry according to the law of God. See Eadmer, pp. 56, 57.

¹ *Godricum eum, et comparem Godgivam.*] 'These appellations seem intended as sneers at the re-

gular life of Henry and his queen. Godric implies God's kingdom, or government.' (Sharpe, 486.)

² *Proh dolus!*] *A. D. E. L.*; *proh dolor!* *S. C.*

³ *Turris.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; *terris, S.*—Ordericus Vitalis relates the manner of the bishop's flight. (*Hist. Eccl.* p. 787.)

manus, parum curat populus. Inde Norman-
niam evadens, comiti jam anhelanti, et in fervorem
prælii prono, addidit calcaria ut incunctanter ve-
niret.

§ 395. Secundo ergo Henrici anno, mense Au-
gusto, ¹allitans apud Portesmuthe, copias suas
in omnem regionem exposuit, effudit, objecit.
Nec vero rex segnitiei deditus fuit, sed innume-
ram e regione manum ²traxit, dignitatem suam,
si necesse foret, asserturus: nam, licet prin-
cipibus deficientibus, partes ejus solidæ mane-
bant; quas Anselmi archiepiscopi, cum ³episcopis
suis, simul et omnium Anglorum tutabatur favor.
Quapropter ipse provincialium fidei gratus, et
saluti providus, plerumque cuneos circuiens, do-
cebat quomodo, militum ferociam eludentes, cly-
peos objectarent et ictus remitterent; quo effecti
ut ultroneis votis pugnam deposerent, in nullo
Normannos metuentes. Sed satagentibus sa-
nioris consilii hominibus, qui dicerent pietatis jus
violandum si fraterna necessitudo prælio con-
curreret, paci animos accommodavere; repu-
tantes quod, si alter occumberet, alter infirmior
remaneret, cum nullus fratrum præter ipsos su-
peresset. Sed et trium millium marcarum pro-
missio lenem comitis fallebat credulitatem, ut,
procinctu soluto, de tanta pecunia menti blandi-
retur suæ, quam ille posteriori statim anno vo-
luntati reginæ libens, quod illa peteret, condo-
navit.

He lands at
Portsmouth,
A.D. 1101.

§ 396. Posteriori anno rebellavit Robertus de
Belesmo, major filiorum Rogerii de Monte Go-
merico, obfirmans contra regem castella Brigas

Rebellion of
Robert de
Belesme,
A.D. 1102.

¹ *Allitans.*] *C. D. E. L.*; ap-
plicants, *A. S.*

² *Traxit.*] *E.*; contraxit, *A.*
S. C. D. L.

³ *Episcopis.*] *C. D. E.*; coepi-
scopis, *A. S. L.*

et Arundellum ; comportatum eo frumentum ex omni regione Scrobesbiriae, et quicquid necessarium bellum efflagitat ¹diuturnum : nec minus castellum Scrobesbiriense rebellionis consensit, Wallensibus pro motu fortunae ad malum pronis. Rex itaque animo ²ingens, omniaque adversa virtute premens, militia coacta Brigas obsedit, unde jam in Arundellum transierat Robertus, alimentorum copia et militum ferocia satis abunde munitum locum praesumens ; sed paucos post dies oppidani, et formidine conscientiae et fortitudine militiae regiae flexi, se dedidere. Quo audito, ab incepto tumore Arundellum destitit, regali se addicens clientelae ; egregia sane conditione, ut dominus suus integra membrorum salute Normanniam permetteretur abire. Porro Scrobesbirienses per Radulfum tum abbatem Saggi, postea Cantuariae archiepiscopum, regi misere castelli claves, deditionis praesentis indices, futurae devotionis obsides. Ita dissensionis incendium, quod putabatur fore magnum, paucissimis diebus in cineres consenuit ; et desertorum, semper novis rebus inhiantium, aviditatem coercuit. Robertus, cum fratribus Ernulfo, qui paternum cognomen sortitus fuerat, et Rogerio Pictavensi (quod ex ea regione uxorem acceperat sic dicto), Angliam perpetuo abjuravit ; sed vigorem sacramenti temperavit adjectio, nisi regi placito quandoque satisfacisset obsequio.

Troubles in
Normandy.

England and
Normandy
contrasted.

§ 397. Tunc fax bellorum immissa Normanniae, perfidorum admixtione, quasi rogalibus alimentis animata, convaluit, circumquaque posita corripiens. Est enim Normannia opportuna et patiens malorum nutricula, quamvis non multo

¹ *Diuturnum.*] A. C. D. E. L. ; | ² *Ingens.*] A. C. D. E. L. ;
devectum, S. | rigens, S.

tractu regionum diffusa; itaque diu seditiones intestinas probe tolerat, et pace reddita in foecundiorum statum mature resurgit, turbatores suos illius provinciae diffisos cum libuerit in Franciam liberis anfractibus emittens. Contra Angliam nec diu infestos patitur, sed semel intra sinum suum receptos vel dedit, vel extinguit; nec, populatibus attrita, redivivum cito caput attollit. Quocirca Normanniam Belesmitanus veniens, et tunc et deinceps habuit malignitatis suae complices, et (ne parum videretur) illices. In his erat Willelmus comes Moretolii, filius Roberti, regis patris. Is semper a puero Henrici gloriae invidus, tum maxime in adventu Normanni primum animum extulit: non enim contentus duobus comitatibus, Moretolii in Normannia, Cornuwalliae in Anglia, comitatum Cantiae, quem Odo patruus habuerat, a rege exigebat; infestus et improbus adeo, ut infami arrogantia se devotaret non induturum chlamydem nisi a patruo (ut dicitur) sibi refusam consequeretur haereditatem. Sed tunc quidem, suspensi calliditate responsi, frustratus est rex prudentissimus hominem: discussis vero turbinibus, serenoque pacis reddito, non solum quae petebat non annuit, verumetiam indebite retenta repetere coepit; modeste tamen et iudiciali placito, ut nihil quod faceret videretur resultare juri et calcitrare ab aequo. Tunc vero A.D. 1104. Willelmus, sententia iudicii expunctus, indignabundus et fremens Normanniam abiit: ibi, praeter assultus quos regis castellis irritus fecerat, in Ricardum quoque comitem Cestrensem, Hugonis filium, debacchatus, nonnulla partibus ejus appendicia invasit, carpsit, abrasit. Erat ille tunc pro aetate parvulus, et regis fidei tutelaeque accommodatus.

¹ *Serenoque pacis reddito.*] *C. D. E. L.*; serenaque pace reddita, *S.*

Henry obtains possession of Normandy, A. D. 1106.

§ 398. Hi ergo duo, factionum capita, rebellionum incentiva, cum aliis quos nominare pudet, patriam populationibus late contristabant. Consumebanturque frequentes, sed cassæ apud comitem querelæ provincialium de violentia clamantium: movebatur his ille; sed rebus suis timens, ne exacerbati ejus interpolarent otium, dissimulabat. At vero rex Henricus, pro fratris infamia, quam cumulabat patriæ miseria, dolorem transeuntem ferre nequibat: crudele et a boni principis officio longe esse permensus, quod impii homines pauperum fortunis ingluviem suam ¹urgebant. Itaque fratrem ad se accitum in Angliam semel blande verbis, post vero in Normanniam veniens non semel dure bellis, admonuit ut comitem, non monachum, ageret; nam et incentori Willelmo omnia quæ habebat in Anglia abstulit, castella ad solum complanavit. Sed cum ad pacem nihil promoveret, diu deliberatione consilii regia sublimitas curis pectus exercuit, utrum fraternæ necessitudinis oblitus patriam discrimini eriperet, an ²indiscreta pietate fluctuare permetteret: et profecto commune commodum et pietas, privatæ necessitudinis intuitu, terga dedissent, nisi (³ut aiunt) Paschalis apostolicus dubitantem ad hoc opus epistolis impelleret; asseverans, facundia qua vigebat, non fore civile bellum, sed præclare

¹ *Urgebant.*] Compare Malmes. de Gestis Pontific. lib. i. p. 227; edit. Francof. 1601.

² *Indiscreta.*] *C. D. E. L.*; indiscretam, S.

³ *Ut aiunt.*] There is no vestige of this exhortation in any letter of Pope Paschal to King Henry now known. Indeed Paschal, writing to Archbishop Anselm, enjoins him to effect a reconciliation between the king and his

brother. He writes: 'Significamus dilectioni tuæ, Normannorum comitem questum apud nos esse adversus Anglorum regem, quia et, fracto sacramento quod ei pro eodem regno acquirendo fecerat, regnum invaserit. Et nosti quia eidem comiti debemus auxilium, pro laboribus quos in Asianæ ecclesiæ liberatione laboravit,' &c. (Anselmi Op. nov. edit. p. 382, col. 2.)

patriæ prædicandum emolumentum. Itaque Normanniam veniens brevi totam cepit, vel potius recepit, omnibus ad ejus dominium confluentibus, ut fessæ provinciæ, vigore quo pollebat, consuleret. Non tamen sine sanguine tantam victoriam consummans, multos ex charissimis amisit: inter quos Rogerium de Glocestra, probatum militem, in obsessione Falesii arcubalistæ jactu in capite percussum; præterea ¹Robertum filium Hamonis, qui conto ictus tempora, hebetatusque ingenio, non ²pauco tempore quasi captus mente supervixit. Merito mulctatum ferunt, quod, ejus liberandi causa, rex Henricus Baiocas civitatem cum principali ecclesia ignibus absumpserit: sed utrique, ut speramus, purgabile fuit; nam et detrimenta ecclesiæ rex mirifice resarcivit, et Robertus monasterium Theochesbiriae suo favore non facile memoratu quantum exaltavit, ubi et ædificiorum decor, et monachorum charitas, adventantium rapit oculos et allicit animos. Horum dispendium ut fortuna sarciret, summam manum ingruente bello imposuit; venientemque contra se cum non contemnenda manu fratrem, et Willelmum comitem Moretolii, et Robertum Belesmi, ditioni ejus facili opera contradidit. Hoc bellum actum est apud Tenerchebri, castellum comitis Moritoliensis, ³Sabbato in sancti Michaelis vigilia. Idem dies ante quadraginta circiter annos fuerat, cum Willelmus Hastings primus appulit; provido forsitan Dei judicio, ut eo die subderetur Angliæ Normannia, quo ad eam subjugandam olim venerat Normannorum

Battle of
Tinchebral,
28th Sept.
A.D. 1106.

¹ *Robertum filium Hamonis.*] His daughter Mabil became the wife of Robert earl of Gloucester, to whom Malmesbury dedicated this work.

² *Pauco.*] *S. C. D. E2. L.*; parvo, E1.

³ *Sabbato.*] Michaelmas-eve in 1106 fell on Friday.

copia. Captus est ibi comes Moretolii, qui eo venerat studiosam sui operam oppidanis pollicitus, simul et injurias suas ultum iri sperans; sed (ut dixi) ¹preensus, squaloris carceri tota vita accolatum accepit: vivacitate mentis et alacritate juventutis nonnihil laudandus, sed pro perfidia finem asperum emeritus. Et tunc quidem Belesmensis in ipso ²belli exordio mortem cavit effugio; sed dum postmodum clandestinis factionibus regem irritasset, et ³ipse captus cæterorum involutus est periculo, ad mortem perpetuo inclusus ergastulo. Vir pro incompositis moribus ⁴intolerabilis, et in aliorum delicta inexorabilis; præterea sævitia notabilis, cum in aliis tum in hoc, quod puerulum ex baptismo filiolum, quem in obsidatum acceperat, pro modico delicto patris excæcarit, lumina miselli unguibus nefandis abrumpens: simulationis et argutiarum plenus, frontis sereno et sermonum affabilitate credulos decipiens, gnaros autem malitiæ exterritans, ut nullum esset majus futuræ calamitatis indicium quam prætensæ affabilitatis eloquium.

A.D. 1107.

§ 399. Ita rex clarus, successibus ovans, regnum regressus est; composita pace in Normannia, qualem nulla ætas meminit, qualem nec ipse pater, magno illo rerum et verborum ⁵fastu, unquam efficere potuit. In cæteris quoque genitoris æmulus, rapinas curialium, furta, stupra,

King Henry's laws.

¹ *Preensus.*] *A. E. L.*; *pressus*, *S. C. D.*

² *Belli.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

³ *Ipse captus . . . ergastulo.*] Robert de Belesme was seized by order of King Henry in 1112, having come to him in Normandy as ambassador from the king of

France to treat of peace. Robert was in the following year sent over to England, and confined in Wareham castle until his death.

⁴ *Intolerabilis.*] *A. S. L.*; omitted in *C. D. E.*

⁵ *Fastu.*] *S. C. D. E.*; *roncho*, *A. L.*

¹edicto compescuit; deprehensis oculos cum ²testibus evelli præcipiens. Contra trapezetas (quos vulgo monetarios vocant) præcipuam sui diligentiam exhibuit; nullum falsarium, quin pugnum perderet, impune abire permittens, qui fuisset intellectus falsitatis suæ commercio fatuos irrisisse.

§ 400. Scottorum reges lenitate sua palpavit, His transactions with the Scotch. morem fratris æmulatus: siquidem ille Duncanum, filium Malcolmi nothum, et militem fecit, et regem Scottorum mortuo patre constituit; A.D. 1093. sed eo patrum Duvenaldi fraude interempto, Edgarum in regnum promovit, præfato Duvenaldo A.D. 1094. astutia David junioris et viribus Willelmi extincto. A.D. 1099. Edgardo fatali sorte occumbente, Alexandrum successorem Henricus affinitate detinuit, data ei in conjugium filia notha; de qua ille viva nec sobolem, quod sciam, tulit, nec ante se mortuam multum suspiravit: defuerat enim foeminae, ut fertur, quod desideraretur, vel in morum modestia, vel in corporis elegantia. A.D. 1124. Alexandro majoribus suis appposito, David ³minor filiorum Malcolmi, quem rex comitem fecerat et connubio insignis foeminae donaverat, solium Scottorum ascendit: juvenis cæteris curialior, et qui, nostro convictu et familiaritate limatus a puero, omnem rubiginem Scotticæ barbariei detererat; denique regno potitus mox omnes compatriotas triennialium ⁴tributorum pensione levavit, qui velent habitare cultius, amiciri elegantius, pasci accuratius. Neque vero unquam in acta histo-

¹ *Edicto.*] The Laws of Henry the First have lately been reprinted in the 'Ancient Laws and Institutes of England,' under the able editorship of Mr. Thorpe.

² *Testibus.*] C. D. E.; testibus, A. S. L.

³ *Minor.*] C. D. E.; junior, A. S. L.

⁴ *Tributorum.*] A. S. D. E. L.; cubitorum, C.

riarum relatum est tantæ sanctitatis tres fuisse pariter reges et fratres, maternæ pietatis nectar redolentes; namque præter victus parcitatem, eleemosynarum copiam, orationum assiduitatem, ita domesticum regibus vitium evicerunt, ut nunquam feratur in eorum thalamos nisi legitimas uxores isse, nec eorum quenquam pellicatu aliquo pudicitiam contristasse. Solus fuit Edmundus Margaritæ filius a bono degener; qui, Duvenaldi patrum nequitiae particeps, fraternæ non inscius necis fuerit, pactus scilicet regni dimidium: sed captus, et perpetuis compedibus detentus, ingenue pœnituit; et, ad mortem veniens, cum ipsis vinculis se tumulari mandavit, professus se plexum merito pro fratricidii delicto.

Henry subjugates the Welsh.

§ 401. Wallenses rex Henricus, semper in rebellionem surgentes, crebris expeditionibus in deditionem premebat; consilioque salubri nixus, ut eorum tumorem extenuaret, Flandrenses omnes Angliæ accolæ eo traduxit. Plures enim, qui tempore patris pro materna cognatione confluerant, occultabat Anglia, adeo ut ipsi regno pro multitudine onerosi viderentur; ¹ quapropter cum substantiis et necessitudinibus apud Ros, provinciam Walliarum, velut in sentinam con-gessit, ut et regnum defæcaret, et hostium brutam temeritatem retunderet. Nec eo secius illuc expeditionem pro temporum opportunitate dirigebat; in quarum una, incertum cujus audacia eminus insidianti, arundine impetitus, probe et pulchre evasit, fideliter hamatæ thoracis adjutus beneficio, et simul perfidiam frustrante Dei consilio. Sed nec tunc auctor teli eminuit, nec unquam postea investigari valuit, quamvis ille statim non hæsitasset dicere, sagittam non a quo-

A.D. 1121.

¹ Quapropter.] C. D. E.; quapropter omnes, A. S. L.

libet Wallense, sed a provinciali emissam, 'per mortem Domini nostri,' talia pronuncians: quem morem jurandi, vel iræ nimietas, vel rei serietas, ab ore principis extorquebat; nam et ea hora in proprio solo, non in hostica regione, progrediebatur sensim et caute exercitus, ut nihil minus quam insidias quis opinari possit. Nec tamen, intestini discriminis metu, pedem ab incepto retulit, donec Wallenses, datis obsidibus nobilium suorum filiis, cum aliquanta pecunia et multo peculio, regiæ magnanimitatis motum sedarent.

§ 402. Brittones transmarinos, quos adolescens ^{And the Bretons.} vicinos ¹castellis Danfronto et ²Sancti Michaelis habuerat, pecuniis ad obsequium transducebat. Est enim illud genus hominum egens in patria, aliasque externo ære laboriosæ vitæ mercatur stipendia: si dederis, nec civilia, sine respectu juris et cognationis, detrectans prælia; sed pro quantitate ³munerum ad quasunque voles partes obnoxium. Hujus consuetudinis ille non inscius, si quando opus habuisset stipendiariis militibus, multa perdebat in Brittones, fidem perfidæ nationis nummis suis ⁴mutuatus.

§ 403. Robertum comitem Flandriæ primis ^{Robert earl of Flanders.} regni sui temporibus offendit hac causa: Baldewinus senior, hujus Roberti avus, Willelmum in Angliam venientem, arguto quo pollebat consilio, et militum additamento, vivaciter juverat. His ille illustres crebro retributiones refuderat, omnibus, ut ferunt, annis ⁵trecentas argenti marcas

¹ *Castellis.*] C. D. E.; castellis suis, A. S. L.

² *Sancti Michaelis.*] C. D. E.; monti Sancti Michaelis, A. S. L.

³ *Munerum.*] A. C. D. E. L.; nummorum, S.

⁴ *Mutuatus.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; mutuans, E 1.

⁵ *Trecentas argenti marcas.*]

It appears from two charters printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. 1. pp. 6, 7, that Henry agreed to pay a pension of four hundred marks annually to Robert earl of Flanders for the service of one thousand knights.

pro fide et affinitate socero annumerans. Ea munificentia, in filio Baldewino non imminuta, hæsit in Roberti Frisonis malitia, quam¹ superior non præteriit sermo. Porro iste Robertus, Frisonis filius, omissum munus a Willelmo secundo non difficulter impetraverat; quod et is cognationem prætenderit, et ille invictum animum in spargenda pecunia haberet. Verum Henricus majori pondere rem ventilans, ut nec indebite² adunaret pecunias, nec nisi debite dilapidaret habitas, Roberto ab Ierosolyma reverso, et quasi pro imperio trecentas argenti marcas exigenti, in hanc respondit sententiam: Non solitos reges Angliæ Flandritis vectigal pendere, nec se velle libertatem majorum macula suæ timiditatis fuscare: quapropter, si suo committat arbitrio, libenter se quod opportunitas siverit ut cognato et amico dare; si vero in exactione permanendum putaverit, omnino negare. Hac ille ratione dejectus, animum multo tempore in regem tumuit: sed, parum aut nihil simultatibus adjutus, mansuetudini mentem accommodavit, expertus regem posse flecti precario, non fastu tyrannico. Jam vero Baldewino filio ejus varietas temporum causas irarum in regem dedit: siquidem³ Willelmum filium Roberti Normanni volens hæreditati intrudere, alienis se sponte negotiis immiscuit, crebroque castella regis in Normannia inopinatis fatigabat assultibus; magnum incommodum, si Fata sivissent, terræ minatus: sed apud⁴ Archas

A.D. 1118.

¹ *Superior.*] See § 257, p. 432.

² *Adunaret.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Adamaret, *S.*

³ *Willelmum filium Roberti Normanni.*] William, surnamed Cliton, son of Robert duke of Normandy and Sibilla de Conversano, succeeded to the earldom

of Flanders upon the death of Charles le Bon, A.D. 1127.

⁴ *Archas.*] Historians differ both as to the place where Baldwin was wounded, and where he died, and even as to the time of his death; but it seems that he passed the last ten months of his

majori manu militum quam timebat exceptus mortem maturavit, crebris ictibus galea quassata cerebrum violatus. Causam ferunt morbi augmentati, quod ea die allium cum auca præsumpserit, nec nocte venere abstinerit. Hic intuebuntur posteri eximium regalis pietatis exemplum, quod medicum peritissimum decumbenti miserit; illachrymatus, si credimus, morbo perire, quem pro admiratione fortitudinis salvari maluisset. Successor ejus Karolus nulla molestia A.D. 1119. vires regis inquietavit; primo foedere suspenso, mox etiam ¹consummato, amicitiam ejus amplexus.

§ 404. Philippus rex Francorum regi nostro Philip king of France. nec ²utilis nec infestus fuit, propterea quod esset ventri magis quam negotiis deditus, nec præterea in castellis ejus collimitaneus; pauca enim, quæ tunc habebat in Normannia, magis Brittanniæ quam Franciæ vicina erant: adde quod (³ut su-

life in the monastery of St. Bertin, where he was buried. Meyerus (Ann. Fland. lib. iv. ad an. 1119), cited in Bouquet, XIII. 14, writes of this earl: 'Eo tempore, Henricus Anglorum rex fratrem suum Robertum Normanniæ ducem de Terra Sancta revertentem in vincula conjecit, eo quod regnum Angliæ, ut maximus stirpis, quod ille occupaverat, repeteret. Cujus filius Guillelmus exhæredatus ad hunc Balduinum comitem consanguineum suum confugit: quem iste comes nutriens et militaribus armis instruens, cum annum decimum octavum attigisset, contra patruum suum Angliæ regem Henricum eum rebellare admonens, sæpe cum eo Normanniam gravibus incursionibus infestabat. Sic ergo juvenis iste Balduinus, bellis assuetus et frequentibus triumphis de-

coratus, tantis laudibus effulsit, ut fama virtutis ejus per omnes diffunderetur regiones: cujus sicut virtus supra modum ætatis ejus subitaneis incrementis emicuit, sic occulta Dei dispositione coeptis ejus obviantem, diu durare non potuit. Nam cum dictum juvenem Guillelmum in paternam hæreditatem restituere nititur, Normanniamque sæpius infestat, scuto ipsius, ut fertur, ictu cujusdam militis fronti ejus illiso, graviter vulneratur; eoque vulnerere tandem vitam cum principatu, nulla superstite prole, amisit, anno sui principatus octavo.'

¹ *Consummato.*] C. D. E.; confirmato, A. S. L.

² *Utilis.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; inutilis, E 1.

³ *Ut superius dixi.*] See § 235, p. 403.

perius dixi) Philippus accedente senio, libidine gravis,¹ comitissæque Andegavensis specie lusus, illicitis ardoribus defœneratus famulabatur. Quocirca ab apostolico excommunicatus, cum in villa qua mansitabat nihil divini servitii fieret, sed, discedente eo, tinnitus signorum undique concreparent, insulsam fatuitatem cachinnis exprimebat; ‘Audis,’ inquit, ‘bella quomodo nos effugant!’ Adeo erat omnibus episcopis provinciæ suæ derisui, ut nullus eos desponsaret² præter Willelmum archiepiscopum Rotomagensem; cujus facti temeritatem luit multis annis interdictus, et vix tandem aliquando per Anselmum archiepiscopum apostolicæ communioni redditus. Philippo interea nulla mora insanæ temulentiae satietatem fecit, nisi quod, in extremo vitæ tactus morbo,³ monachicum apud Floriacum accepit habitum: pulchrius et fortunatius illa, quod ætate et sanitate integra, nec specie rugata, apud Fontem Evraldi sanctimonialium appetiit velum; nec multo post præsentī vitæ vale fecit, Deo forsitan providente non posse delicatæ mulieris corpus religionis laboribus inservire.

Louis VI.
king of
France.

§ 405. At vero Lodowicus filius Philippi varium se præstitit, in neutra parte bene constans. Primo enim tempore plurimus in fratrem irarum auctor Henrico ad capiendam Normanniam fuit, corruptus videlicet Anglorum spoliis et multo

¹ *Comitissæque Andegavensis.*] Bertrade, fourth wife of Foulques IV, earl of Anjou.

² *Præter Willelmum archiepiscopum Rotomagensem.*] Ordericus Vitalis attributes this act to Odo bishop of Bayeux; but Pope Urban II, in his epistle to Raynald archbishop of Rheims, ascribes it to Ursio bishop of Senlis.

³ *Monachicum apud Floriacum accepit habitum.*] Although King Philippe a few years before his death entertained some notion of embracing a monastic life, as is seen in the epistle written to him by Hugh abbot of Cluni, yet it appears that he never carried his design into effect.

regis obryzo. Non quod ille obtulerit, sed quod alter invitaverit, ultro adhortans ne clarissimæ olim patriæ nervos dissimulatione sua succidi sineret. Postea vero simultas inter eos exorta est pro Thetbaldo comite Blesensi, filio Stephani qui apud Ramulam occubuit, quod Thetbaldus susceptus esset Stephano ex Adala filia Willelmi magni. Diu igitur ex parte regis nostri labores viarum consumpserunt nuncii, ut dignaretur Lodowicus satisfactionem Thetbaldi. Ille vero, parvi faciens preces, Thetbaldum ab apostolico ¹devotari fecit quasi arrogantem et Deo rebellem; qui præter austeritatem morum, quæ omnibus videbatur intolerabilis, ferebatur dominum suum ²privare avitis possessionibus. Itaque ³diu productis inimicitiiis, cum uterque grossum tumeret, nec alter alteri ⁴pro persona cederet, Lodowicus Normanniam venit, inflatiori anhelitu late omnia exhauriens. Nunciabantur hæc regi, qui apud Rotomagum se continebat, ⁵adeo ut vulgus militum aures ejus infestaret; pateretur repelli Lodowicum, hominem aqualiculi pondere olim lectum foventem, sed nunc pro dissimulatione minis auras onerantem. Ille, paterni memor exempli, fatuitatem Franci patientia extundere, quam viribus repellere, malebat. Quinetiam milites benigne appellando hac ratione mulcebat: Non debere ⁶illos mirari si sanguinis eorum prodigus esse caveret, quos sibi fideles non modicis experimentis approbasset. Impium esse, ut, ad regnum sibi parandum, eorum gloriatur mortibus,

¹ *Devotari.*] A. C. E. L.; de-
notari, S. D.

² *Privare.*] A. C. D. E. L.;
fraudare, S.

³ *Diu.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.;
omitted in E 1.

⁴ *Pro.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.;
omitted in E 1.

⁵ *Adeo ut.*] A. D. E 1.; adeo,
E 2. L 2.; quoad, S.; ad, C.

⁶ *Illos.*] A. D. E. L.; eos,
S. C.

qui vitam suam pro ejus salute ultroneis devote-
ant certaminibus : illos regni sui nutritos, pietatis
alumnos ; quapropter boni principis se velle sequi
exemplum, ut modestia sua eorum remoretur im-
petum, quos ita paratos pro se videat ad mori-
endum. Postremo, cum videret prudentiam suam
sinistra interpretatione turbari et ignaviam vocari,
in tantum ut Lodowicus prope Rotomagum qua-
tuor milliariis ignes faceret, prædas ageret, ma-
jori fortitudine vim animi concussit, et procinctu
parato vicit egregie, præteritas dissimulationes
feroci puniens victoria. Veruntamen aliquanto
post pax parta est ; quia et ¹rerum omnium est
vicissitudo, et nummi quaslibet injurias levant,
ad persuadendum quod intendunt potentes. Quare
Willelmus, filius regis nostri, homagium regi
Francorum de Normannia fecit, jure legitimo ²de
eo provinciam cogniturus. Illud fuit tempus
quo idem puer filiam Fulconis comitis Andega-
vensis despondit, et accepit ; patris prudentia
satagente, ut hinc pecunia, hinc affinitate medi-
ante, nihil contra filium turbaretur.

A.D. 1119.

Henry's in-
terview with
Pope Calix-
tus.
A.D. 1119.

§ 406. His diebus Calixtus papa, de quo poste-
rius dicam plura, præsentiam suam prope Nor-
manniam exhibuit : ³cujus colloquio potitus, rex
Angliæ Romanos prudentiam Normannorum mi-
rari et prædicare coegit. Namque ille (ut fertur)
infesto venerat animo, ut eum asperius conve-
niret quare fratrem et sancti Sepulchri peregrin-
um in captione teneret ; sed responso principis,
quod erat simile veri, et probabilibus argumentis
perstrictus, parum contra retulit. Possunt enim

¹ *Rerum.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.;
omitted in E 1.

² *De eo provinciam.*] A. S. C.
D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

³ *Cujus colloquio potitus.*] Pope
Calixtus met King Henry at
Gisors on his return from the
council at Rheims, held in Oct.
1119.

communes ¹loci ad quamlibet partem inflecti pro facundia ²oratoris, præsertim cum non contemnatur eloquentia quam pretiosa condiunt xenia. Et ut nihil cumulatae pompæ deesset, adolescentulos clarissimi generis, filios comitis de Mellento, ut contra cardinales de dialectica disputarent, subornavit: quorum tortilibus sophismatibus cum ³vivacitate rationum obsisti nequiret, non puduit cardinales confiteri, majori occiduas plagas florere literarum peritia quam ipsi audissent vel putassent in patria. Itaque hæc collocutio hunc finem emeruit, ut pronunciaret apostolicus nihil Anglorum regis causa justius, prudentia eminentius, facundia uberius.

§ 407. Horum puerorum pater erat comes de Mellento Robertus (ut dixi), filius Rogerii de Bello Monte qui Pratellum cœnobium Normanniæ construxit: homo antiquæ simplicitatis et fidei, qui, crebro a Willelmo primo invitatus ut Angliam veniret, largis ad voluntatem possessionibus munerandus, supersedit; pronuncians, patrum suorum hæreditatem se velle fovere, non transmarinas et indebitas possessiones vel appetere vel invadere. Hic duos filios habuit; Robertum istum, et Henricum. Henricus comes Warwicensis, dulcis et quieti animi vir, congruo suis moribus studio vitam egit et clausit. Alter, astutior et ⁴pronioris ad versutiam cordis, præter paternam hæreditatem in Normannia et ingentia prædia in Anglia, castellum, quod matris suæ frater Hugo filius Gualeranni tenuerat, Mellentum nomine, a rege Franciæ nundinatus est pecunia. Qui cum superiorum regum tempore,

Account of
Robert
comte de
Meulent.

¹ Loci.] A. C. D. E. L.; omitted in S.

² Oratoris.] A. C. D. E. L.; orationis, S.

³ Vivacitate.] C. D. E.; pro vivacitate, A. S. L.

⁴ Pronioris.] A. C. D. E. L.; pro moribus, S.

spe sensim pullulante, in gloriam procederet, hujus ætate summo propectu effloruit; ¹habebaturque ejus consilium quasi quis divinum consulisset sacrarium. Jamque non immerito assecutus æstimabatur, quod esset ævi maturus ad consulendum, suasor concordia, dissuasor discordia, et prorsus ad quod intenderet, pro viribus eloquentia, citissimus persuasor. Ingentis in Anglia momenti, ut inveteratum vestiendi vel comedendi exemplo suo inverteret morem. Denique ²consuetudo semel prandendi in omnium optimatum curiis per eum frequentatur, quam ipse causa bonæ valetudinis acceptam, ³nunciis a Constantinopolitano imperatore Alexio, suo (ut dixi) cæteris refudit exemplo. Quod tamen magis parcitate dapsilitatis fecisse et docuisse, quam timore cruditatis et indigeriei, immerito culpatur; quia nemo eo, ut fertur, in dapibus aliis sumptuosior, vel sibi moderatior fuit. In placitis propugnator justitiæ, in guerris provisor victoriæ: dominum regem ad severitatem legum custodiendam exacuens, ipse non eas sequens, sed proponens: expers in ⁴regem perfidiæ, in cæteris ejus ⁵persecutor.

Account of
Roger bishop
of Salisbury.

§ 408. Habebat præterea rex Henricus episcopum Salesbiriensem Rogerium a secretis, cuius maxime nitebatur consilio, nam et ante reg-

¹ *Habebaturque.*] A. C. D. E. L.; habebaturque, S.

² *Consuetudo semel prandendi.*] This practice is referred to by Henry of Huntingdon (lib. vi. 209), when speaking of Hardacnut, who had four repasts served up every day: 'cum nostri temporis consuetudo sit, causa vel avaritiæ, vel, ut ipsi dicunt, fastidii, principes semel in die tantum suis escas antepone.']

³ *Nunciis.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

⁴ *Regem.*] E 1.; rege, D.; reges, A. S. C. E 2. L.

⁵ *Persecutor.*] Henry of Huntingdon, in his epistle to Walter (Anglia Sacra, pars II. p. 695,) gives a flattering character of Robert. Ordericus Vitalis places his death on the 1st June, A.D. 1118.

num omnibus suis ¹præfecerat rex; primum cancellarium, mox episcopum constituerat, prudentiam viri expertus. Sollerter administrati episcopatus officium spem infudit quod majori dignus haberetur munere; itaque totius regni moderamen illius delegavit justitiæ, sive ipse adesset Angliæ, sive moraretur Normanniæ. Refugit episcopus tantis se curis involvere, nisi tres archiepiscopi Cantuarienses, Anselmus, Radulfus, Willelmus, et postremo papa, injunxissent ei munus obedientiæ. Sategit ita fieri Henricus, non nescius quod fideliter sua tractaret commoda Rogerius: nec defuit ille spei regiæ; sed tanta integritate, tanta se agebat industria, ut nulla contra eum conflaretur invidia. Denique rex plerumque triennio, nonnunquam quadriennio, et eo amplius, in Normannia moratus, ²cum in regnum reverteretur, deputabat justitiarum modestiæ quod nihil aut parum inveniebat molestiæ. Inter hæc, ecclesiastica officia non negligere, sed quotidie mane omnia honeste persolvere, ut expeditius et tutius cæteris posset accedere. Pontifex magnanimus, et nullis unquam parcens sumptibus, dum quæ facienda proponeret, ædificia præsertim, consummaret; quod cum alias, tum maxime in Salesbria ³et Malmesbria est videre. Fecit enim ibi ædificia spatio diffusa, numero pecuniarum sumptuosa, specie formosissima; ita juste composito ordine lapidum, ut junctura perstringat intuitum, et totam maceriam unum mentiatur esse saxum. Ecclesiam Salesbiriensem et novam fecit et ornamentis excoluit, ut nulli in Anglia cedat, sed multas præcedat;

¹ *Præfecerat rex.*] See Guil. | A. C. D. E. G. K. L.; omitted
Neubrig. i. 6. | in S.

² *Cum in regnum . . . molestiæ.*] | ³ *Et Malmesbria.*] S. D. E.;
omitted in L 2.

ipseque non falso possit dicere Deo, 'Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuæ.'

Henry's
transactions
with Ireland,
&c.

§ 409. Hiberniensium regem Murcardum, et successores ejus, quorum nomina fama non extulit, ita devotos habuit noster Henricus, ut nihil nisi quod eum palparet scriberent, nihil nisi quod juberet agerent: quamvis feratur Murcardus, nescio qua de causa, paucis diebus inflatus in Anglos egisse; sed mox, pro interdicto navigio et mercimonio navigantium, tumorem pectoris sedasse. Quanti enim valeret Hibernia si non advnavigarent merces ex Anglia? Ita pro penuria, imo pro inscientia cultorum, jejunum omnium bonorum solum, agrestem et squalidam multitudinem Hibernensium extra urbes producit: Angli vero et Franci, cultiori genere vitæ, urbes nundinarum commercio inhabitant. Paulus Orcadam comes, quamvis Noricorum regi hæreditario jure subjectus, ita regis amicitias suspiciebat ut crebra ei munuscula missitaret: nam et ille prona voluptate exterarum terrarum miracula inhiabat, leones, leopardos, lynces, camelos, quorum foetus Anglia est inops, grandi (ut dixi) jucunditate a regibus alienis expostulans; habebatque conseptum quod Wudestoche dicitur, in quo delicias talium rerum confovebat. Posueratque ibi animal quod ¹hystrix vocatur, missum sibi a Willelmo de Monte Pislerio; de quo animali Plinius secundus in octavo Naturalis Historiæ libro, et Isidorus de Etymologiis, memorant, esse animal in Africa, quod Afri ericii genus dicunt, cooperatum hispidis setis, quas in canes insectantes naturaliter emittat. ²Sunt enim setæ (ut vidi) palmo et plus longæ, in utraque summitate acutæ; si-

Paul earl of
Orkney.

¹ *Hystrix.*] MSS. read 'strix.' | vero setæ illæ, E 2.; sunt vero
² *Sunt enim setæ.*] E 1.; sunt | setæ, A. C. D. L.; sunt vero, S.

miles pennis aucarum ubi desinunt plumæ, sed paulo plus grossæ; nigro et albo quasi intertinctæ.

§ 410. Illud præter cætera Henricum insignebat, quod, quamvis pro tumultibus Normannicis sæpe et diu regno suo deesset, ita timore suo rebelles frænabat, ut nihil pacis in Anglia desiderares; quocirca etiam exteræ gentes illuc, velut ad unicum tutæ quietis portum, libenter appellabant. Denique Siwardus rex Noricorum, primo ævi processu fortissimis conferendus, incepto itinere Ierosolymitano, rogataque regis pace, in Anglia tota resedit hyeme; plurimoque per ecclesias auro expenso, mox, ut Favonius ad serenitatem pelagi vernaes portas aperuit, naves repetiit; proventusque in altum, ¹ Baleares insulas, quæ Majorica et Minorica dicuntur, armis terribitas, faciliores ad subigendum præfato Willelmo de Monte Pislerio reliquit. Inde pertendit Ierosolymam, navibus omnibus incolumibus præter unam; quæ, dum retinacula a portu solvere tardat, absorpta est immani voragine (quam inter Sequanica et Aquitanica littora esse ² Paulus historicus Longobardorum asseverat), tanto undarum impetu ut ad triginta milliaria garrulitas discernatur aquarum. Ierosolymam veniens, Tyrum et Sidonem, urbes quas mare allambit, ad Christianitatis gratiam obsedit, effregit, subegit. Mutato itinere Constantinopolim ingres-

Siward king
of Norway.

¹ Baleares.] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; Balearum, E 1.

² Paulus historicus Longobardorum.] Paulus Diaconus, also called Winfrid, was secretary to Desiderius, last of the native princes of Lombardy. Paulus wrote his History of the Lombards, in six books, before the

empire by Charlemagne was founded. Sharpe says, 'that Malmesbury here seems to imply that the vessel was lost in the Mediterranean; but if so, he misunderstood Paulus Diaconus, who is speaking of the Race of Alderney.' Vide Paul. Diac. lib. i. c. 6; ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. 1.

sus, navem aureis rostratam draconibus fastigio sanctæ Sophiæ pro trophæo affixit. Hominibus suis ¹in eadem urbe catervatim morientibus remedium excogitavit, ut reliqui parcus, et aqua mixtum vinum biberent: ²ingenii acrimonia, ut, porcino jecore mero injecto, moxque pro asperitate liquoris resoluta, idem in hominibus fieri primo præ sagiret; post etiam, quodam defuncto exenterato, visu addiceret. Quare contuitu prudentiæ et fortitudinis, quæ grande quid pollicebantur, imperatore illum retinere tentante, spem ejus, qua jam aurum Noricum devorabat, ³pulchre cassavit; impetrata ad proximam urbem licentia, cistas thesaurorum, plumbo impletas, et obsignatas, apud eum deponens, quasi citissimi reditus vades. Ita ille illusus est; alter pedes domum contendit.

Recapitulation of Henry's character.

§ 411. Sed enim ut ad Henricum regrediatur oratio. Erat ille in rebus suis providendo efficax, defendendo pertinax: bellorum quatenus posset cum honestate repressor; cum vero decrevisset non pati, impatiendus injuriarum exactor, obvia pericula virtutis umbone decutiens. Odii et amicitiae in quemlibet tenax; in altero nimio irarum æstui, in altero regiæ magnanimitati, satisfaciens; hostes videlicet ad miseriam deprimens, amicos et clientes ad invidiam efferens: nam et hanc curam vel primam vel maximam boni principis philosophia proponit, ⁴ut parcat subjectis, et debellet superbos. Justitiæ rigore inflexibilis, provinciales quiete, proceres dignan-

¹ *In eadem urbe.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L.; omitted in E 1.

² *Ingenii acrimonia.*] C. D. E.; ingenti ingenii acrimonia, A. S. L.

³ *Pulchre cassavit.*] A. C. D.

E 2. L.; pulchro cassavit, E 1.; pulchre cessavit, S.

⁴ *Ut parcat subjectis, et debellet superbos.*] 'Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.' (Virg. Æn. vi. 853.)

ter continebat ; fures et falsarios latentes maxima diligentia perscrutans, inventos puniens ; parvarum quoque rerum non negligens. ¹Cum nummos fractos, licet boni argenti, a venditoribus non recipi audisset, omnes vel frangi vel incidi præcepit. Mercatorum falsam ulnam castigavit ; brachii sui mensura adhibita, omnibusque per Angliam proposita. ²Curialibus suis, ubicunque villarum esset, quantum a rusticis gratis accipere, quantum et quoto pretio emere debuissent, edixit ; transgressores vel gravi pecuniarum mulcta, vel vitæ dispendio, afficiens. Principio regni, ut terrore exempli reos inureret, ad membrorum detruncationem, post ad pecuniæ solutionem proclivior ; pro morum prudentia, ut fere fert natura mortalium, optimatibus venerabilis, provincialibus amabilis habebatur. Quod si qui majorum, jurati sacramenti immemores, a fidei tramite exorbitarent, continuo, et consiliorum efficacia et laborum perseverantia, erroneos revocabat ad lineam ; per asperitatem vulnere detrectantes reducens ad sanitatem animorum. Nec facile quam diuturnos sudores in talibus effuderit enumerem, dum nihil patitur inultum quod a delinquentibus commissum dignitati suæ non esset consentaneum. Pugnarum erat maxima causa Normannia, ut ante dixi, in qua ipse pariter multis annis degens, Angliæ quoque prospiciebat ; nullo audente caput erigere dum ille audaciam,

¹ *Cum nummos fractos . . . omnes vel frangi vel incidi præcepit.*]
 ' Whilst endeavouring to distinguish good coin from counterfeits, the silver penny was frequently broken, and then refused. Henry's order therefore that all should be broken, enabled any one immediately to ascertain the

quality, and at the same time left no pretext for refusing it on account of its being broken money. V. Edmerum, Hist. Novor. p. 94.' (Sharpe, 507.)

² *Curialibus suis.*] L1. ends abruptly with these words, the MS. being defective.

ille suspiceret prudentiam. Nec vero propter rebellionem aliquorum procerum unquam suorum appetitus est insidiis, nisi semel: auctor earum fuit quidam cubicularius, plebeii generis patre, sed pro regiorum thesaurorum custodia famosi nominis homine, natus: ¹is deprehensus, et facile confessus, pœnas perfidiæ acriter luit. Præter hoc tota vita securus, animos omnium timori, sermones amori obstrictos habebat.

Henry's person and habits.

§ 412. Statura minimos supergrediens, a maximis vincebatur: crine nigro et juxta frontem ²profugo, oculis dulce serenis, thoroso pectore, carnoso corpore. Facietiarum pro tempore plenus; nec pro mole negotiorum, cum se communioni dedisset, minus jucundus. Minus pugnacis famæ, Scipionis Africani dictum repræsentabat, 'Imperatorem me mea mater, non bellatorem, peperit.' Quapropter sapientia ³nulli unquam modernorum regum secundus, et pene dicam omnium antecessorum in Anglia ⁴facile primus, libentius belabat consilio quam gladio: vincebat, si poterat, sanguine nullo; si aliter non poterat, paucis. Omnium tota vita omnino ⁵obsœnitatum cupidinearum expers, quoniam (ut a consociis accepimus) non effrœni voluptate, sed gignendæ pro-

¹ *Is deprehensus.*] 'Suger relates that Henry was so terrified by a conspiracy among his chamberlains, that he frequently changed his bed, increased his guards, and caused a shield and a sword to be constantly placed near him at night; and that the person here mentioned, who had been favoured and promoted in an especial manner by the king, was, on his detection, mercifully adjudged to lose only his eyes and his manhood, when he justly deserved hanging. De Vit.

Lud. Grossi; Duchesne, iv. 308.' (Sharpe, 508.)

² *Profugo.*] A. C. D. E. L 2.; profuso, S.

³ *Nulli unquam.*] S. C. D. E 2.; nunquam, E 1.; nulli, A.; non nulli, L 2.

⁴ *Facile.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L 2.; omitted in E 1.

⁵ *Obsœnitatum cupidinearum expers.*] Compare Malmesbury's character of Henry in this particular with that given of him by Henry of Huntingdon.

lis ¹amore, mulierum gremio infunderetur: nec dignaretur advenæ delectationi præbere assensum, nisi ubi regium semen procedere posset in effectum; effundens naturam ut dominus, non obtemperans libidini ut famulus. Cibis indifferenter utens, magisque explens esuriam, quam multis obsoniis urgens ingluviem; potui nunquam præter sitim indulgens. Continentiæ minimum excessum tum in suis tum in omnibus execrans. Somni gravis, et quem frequens roncatio interrumpet. Facultatis in dicendo magis fortuitæ quam elaboratæ; nec præcipitis, sed maturæ.

§ 413. Pietatis in Deum prædicandæ, monasteria in Anglia et Normannia construxit; quibus quia nondum supremam manum imposuit, ego quoque interim iudicium meum differrem, nisi me Radingensium fratrum charitas tacere non sineret. Hoc ille cœnobium inter duo flumina Kenetam et Tamensem constituit, loco ubi pene omnium itinerantium ad populosiores urbes Angliæ posset esse diversorium; posuitque ibi monachos Cluniacenses, qui sunt hodie præclarum sanctitatis exemplum, hospitalitatis indefessæ et dulcis indicium: videas ibi quod non alibi, ut plus hospites, totis horis venientes, quam inhabitantes insumant. Præproperum me et adulatorem fortasse quis dixerit, quod nunc primum nascentem religionem tanto efferam præconio, nesciens quid ventura pariat dies; sed ipsi (ut spero) cum Dei gratia enitentur ut in bono durent. Ego non erubesco si sanctis viris blandiar; et bonum quod in me non habeo, in aliis admirer. Investituras ecclesiarum Deo et sancto Petro remisit, post multas controversias inter eum et

His piety.

¹ Amore.] A. S. C. D. L 2.; amoris, E.

Anselmum archiepiscopum habitas ; vix tandem ad consentiendum, pro ingenti Dei gratia, ingloriosa de fratre victoria inflexus. Sed harum causarum tenorem multo verborum circuitu egit dominus ¹Edmerus : nos, pro pleniore notitia, Paschalis sæpe dicti apostolici scripta ad hanc rem pertinentia subnectemus.

Letter from
Pope Paschal
on investitures.

§ 414. ‘ Paschalis episcopus Henrico regi salutem. In literis quas nuper ad nos per familiarem tuam, nostræ dilectionis filium, clericum Willelmum transmisisti, et personæ tuæ sospitatem cognovimus, et successus prosperos quos tibi, superatis regni adversariis, benignitas divina concessit : audivimus præterea optatam virilem sobolem ex ingenua te et religiosa conjuge suscepisse. Quod profecto cum nos lætificaverit, oportunitate sumus nunc tibi præcepta et voluntatem Dei validius inculcare, cum amplioribus beneficiis benignitati ejus te prospicis debitorem. Nos quoque divinis beneficiis benignitatem nostram penes te sociare optamus ; sed grave nobis est, quia id a nobis videris expetere ²quod præstare non possumus. Si enim consentiamus aut patiamur investituras a tua excellentia fieri, et nostrum proculdubio et tuum erit immane periculum. Qua in re contemplari te volumus quid aut non faciendo perdas, aut faciendo conquiras : nos enim in prohibitione hac nihil amplius obedientiæ, nihil liberalitatis, per ecclesias nanciscimur ; nec tibi debitæ potestatis aut juris subtrahere quicquam nitimur, nisi ut erga te Dei ira minuatur, et sic tibi prospera cuncta contingant. Ait enim Dominus, “ Honorificantes me honorificabo ; qui autem contemnunt me erunt igno-

¹ Edmerus.] See Eadmeri Hist. | ² Quod.] C. D. E. ; quod omnorum, edit. Seld. Lond. 1623. | nino, A. S. L2.

biles." Dices itaque "Mei hoc juris est." Non utique: non est imperatorium, non regium, sed divinum; solius illius est qui dixit "Ego sum ostium." Unde pro ipso te rogo, cujus hoc munus est, ut reddas hoc ipsi; ipsi dimittas, cujus amori etiam quæ tua sunt debes. Nos autem cur tuæ obniteremur voluntati, cur obsisteremus gratiæ; nisi Dei, in hujus negotii consensu, sciremus nos voluntati obviare, gratiam amittere? Cur tibi quicquam negaremus, quod cuiquam esset mortalium concedendum, cum beneficia de te ampliora sumpserimus? Prospice (fili charissime) utrum decus an dedecus tibi sit, quod sapientissimus ac religiosissimus Gallicanorum episcoporum Anselmus propter hoc tuo lateri adhærere, tuo veretur in regno consistere. Qui tanta de te bonâ hactenus audierant, quid de te sentient? quid loquentur, cum hoc fuerit in regionibus divulgatum? Ipsi qui coram te tuos excessus extollunt, cum præsentia tua caruerint, hoc profecto validius infamabunt. Redi ergo (charissime fili) ad cor tuum propter misericordiam Dei et propter amorem Unigeniti deprecamur: revoca pastorem tuum, revoca patrem tuum; et si quid, quod non opinamur, gravius adversus te gesserit, si investituras aversatus fueris, nos juxta voluntatem tuam, quantum cum Deo possumus, moderabimur: tu tamen talis repulsæ infamiam a persona tua et regno removeas. Hæc si feceris, et si gravia quælibet a nobis petieris, quæ cum Deo præberi facultas sit, profecto consequeris, et pro te Dominum ipso adjuvante exorare curabimus; et de peccatis tam tibi quam conjugii tuæ, sanctorum apostolorum meritis, indulgentiam et absolutionem faciemus. Filium autem tuum, quem ex spectabili et gloriosa conjugate suscepisti, quem (ut audivimus) egregii patris Willelmi nomine

nominasti, tanta tecum imminetia confovebimus, ut qui te vel illum læserit Romanam ecclesiam videatur læsisse. Datum Lateranis, nono kalendas ¹Decembris.’

Pope Paschal
to Anselm.

§ 415. ‘Paschalis Anselmo. Suavissimas dilectionis tuæ accepimus literas, charitatis calamo scriptas. In his reverentiam devotionis tuæ complectimur; et perpendentes fidei tuæ robur, et piæ sollicitudinis instantiam, exultamus, quia, gratia Dei tibi præstante auxilium, te nec promissa sustollunt, nec minæ concutiunt. Dolemus autem quia, cum fratres nostros episcopos, legatos regis Anglorum, benigne susceperimus, quæ nec diximus iis, nec cogitavimus, redeuntes ad propria retulerunt. Audivimus enim eos dixisse, quia, si rex in aliis bene ageret, nos investituras ecclesiarum nec prohibere, nec factas excommunicare; et quod ideo nolebamus chartæ committere, ne sub occasione ea cæteri principes in nos inclamarent. Unde Jesum, qui corda et renes scrutatur, in animam nostram testem invocamus, si, ex quo hujus sanctæ sedis curam suscepimus gerere, hoc immane scelus vel descendit in mentem.’ Et infra. ‘Si ergo virgam pastoralitatis signum, si anulum signaculum fidei, tradit laica manus, quid in ecclesia pontifices agunt? Episcopos autem qui veritatem in mendacium commutarunt, ipsa veritate, quæ Deus est, in medium introducta, a beati Petri gratia et a nostra societate secernimus donec Romanæ ecclesiæ satisfaciant. Quicumque vero intra prædictas inducias ²investituras consecrationum ac-

¹ Decembris.] See the letter in Eadmer, p. 74.

² Investituras consecrationum.]

All the MSS. read so. The letter printed in Eadmer, p. 72, reads rightly ‘investituram vel consecrationem.’

ceperunt, a consortio nostro et ecclesiæ alienos ^{Pope Paschal}
¹habemus.' ^{to Anselm.}

§ 416. 'Paschalis Anselmo. Quod Anglici regis cor ad apostolicæ sedis obedientiam omnipotentis Dei dignatio inclinavit, eidem miserationum Domino gratias agimus, in cujus manu corda regum versantur. Hoc nimirum tuæ charitatis gratia, tuarumque orationum instantia, factum credimus, ut in hac parte populum illum, cui tua sollicitudo præsidet, miseratio superna respiceret. Quod autem et regi, et his qui obnoxii videntur, adeo condescendimus, eo affectu et compassione factum noveris, ut eos qui jacebant erigere valeamus: te autem (in Christo venerabilis et charissime frater) ab illa prohibitione sive (ut tu credis) excommunicatione absolvimus, quam ab antecessore nostro sanctæ memoriæ Urbano papa adversus investituras ²ac hominia factam intelligis. Tu vero eos qui aut investituras accepere, aut investitos benedixere, aut hominia fecere, cum ea satisfactione quam tibi per communes legatos Willelmum ac Baldewinum, viros fideles et veridicos, significamus, Domino cooperante suscipito, et eos vice nostræ auctoritatis absolvo; quos vel ipse benedicas, vel a quibus volueris benedici ³præcipias, nisi in iis aliud forte reperias propter quod a sacratis honoribus sint repellendi. Si qui vero deinceps præter investituras ecclesiarum prælationes assumpserint, etiamsi regi hominia fecerint, nequaquam ob hoc a benedictionis munere arceantur, donec ⁴omnipotentis Dei

¹ *Habemus.*] See this letter in Eadmer, p. 71, et seq.

² *Ac.*] *A. C. D. E. L 2.*; aut, *S.*

³ *Præcipias.*] *A. C. D. E. L 2.*; percipias, *S.*

⁴ *Omnipotentis Dei gratia.*] *C. D. E.*; per omnipotentis Dei gratiam, *A. S. L 2.*

Pope Paschal
to Anselm.

gratia ad hoc omittendum cor regium tuæ prædicationis imbribus molliatur. Præterea super episcopis qui falsum (ut nosti) a nobis rumorem retulerunt, cor nostrum commotum est vehementius; quia non solum nos læserunt, sed multorum simplicium animas deceperunt, et regem adversus charitatem sedis apostolicæ impulerunt; unde et inultum eorum flagitium, Domino cooperante, non patimur: sed quia filii nostri regis instantia pro iis nos pulsat attentius, etiam ipsis communionis tuæ participium non negabis. Sane regem et conjugem, et proceres illos qui pro hoc negotio cum rege ex præcepto nostro laboraverunt, quorum nomina ex supradicti Willelmi suggestione cognosces, juxta sponsonem nostram a peccatis et pœnitentiis absolves. Rotomagensis episcopi causam tuæ deliberationi committimus, et quod ei indulseris ¹indulgemus.'

Anselm re-
called.

The contro-
versy about
investitures
determined.

§ 417. Hæc Paschalis summus papa, pro ecclesiarum Dei libertate, sollicitus agebat. Fuerunt autem episcopi quos mendacii arguit, Girardus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, et Herbertus Norwicensis; quorum errata reprehenderunt veraciores legati, Willelmus postea Exoniensis episcopus, et Baldewinus Beccensis monachus. Eratque tunc Anselmus archiepiscopus ²iterum tempore istius regis Lugduni exul, apud Hugonem ejusdem civitatis archiepiscopum, quando epistola prima, quam apposui, emissa est; quia nec ipse ullo desiderio veniendi tenebatur, nec rex animositatem suam pro copia susurronum sedari patiebatur. Diu ergo et revocare illum, et monitionibus apostolicis obsecundare, distulit;

¹ *Indulgemus.*] See this letter in Eadmer, p. 87.

² *Iterum . . . Lugduni exul.*]

Anselm had been recalled on the king's accession, but afterwards quitted the kingdom again.

non elationis ambitu, sed procerum, et maxime comitis de Mellento instinctu, qui, in hoc negotio magis antiqua consuetudine quam recti tenore rationem reverberans, allegabat multum regiae majestati diminui, si, omittens morem antecessorum, non investiret electum per baculum et anulum. Veruntamen rex, diligentius inspecto quid vivida epistolarum ratio, quid divinatorum munerum in se ubertim confluens admoneret largitio, investituram annuli et baculi indulsit in perpetuum; retento ¹tantum electionis et regalium privilegio. Coacto ergo apud Londoniam magno episcoporum et procerum abbatumque concilio, multa ecclesiasticarum et secularium rerum ordinata negotia, decisa litigia. Nec multo post, uno die quinque sunt ordinati episcopi in Cantia ab Anselmo archiepiscopo: Willelmus ad Wintoniam, Rogerius ad Salesbiriā, Willelmus ad Exoniam, Rainaldus ad Herefordum, Urbanus ad Glamorgan. Itaque controversia frequentibus dissensionibus agitata, plurimo Anselmi ad Romam itu et reditu ventilata, laudabilem finem accepit.

§ 418. Uxor ²regis ex antiqua et illustri regum stirpe descendit Matildis, filia regis Scottorum (ut prædixi), a teneris annis inter sanctimoniales apud Wiltoniam et Rumesium educata, literis quoque foemineum pectus exercuit. Unde ut ignobiles nuptias respueret, plusquam semel a patre oblatas, peplum ³sacratæ professionis index gestavit: quapropter, cum rex ⁴suscipere vellet eam thalamo, ⁵res in disceptationem venit;

Account of
Queen Matilda.

¹ *Tantum.*] A. C. D. E. L2.; tamen, S.

² *Regis.*] A. S. C. E2.; ejus, D.; regi, E1. L2.

³ *Sacratæ.*] A. C. D. E. L2.; sanctæ, S.

⁴ *Suscipere vellet.*] A. D. E. L2.; susciperet, S. C.

⁵ *Res in disceptationem venit.*] See Eadmer, Hist. Nov. pp. 56, 57.

nec nisi legitimis productis testibus, qui eam jurarent sine professione causa procorum velum gessisse, archiepiscopus adduci potuit ad consentiendum. Hæc igitur duobus partibus, altero alterius sexus, contenta, in posterum et parere et parturire destitit: æquanimiterque ferebat, rege alias intento, ipsa curiæ valedicere, Westminsterio multis annis morata. Nec tamen quicquam ei regalis magnificentiæ deerat; sed indefessa frequentia, undæ salutantium, et totis apportantium temporibus, accipiebantur et vomebantur superbis ædibus: hoc regis jubebat liberalitas, hoc ipsius gratia et dulcis attrahebat benignitas. Sanctitudinis egregiæ, non usquequaque despicibilis formæ, maternæ pietatis æmula, nihil sinistrum quantum ad se moribus admittebat; præter regium cubile pudoris integra, nulla etiam suspicione læsa. Cilicio sub regio cultu convoluta, nudipes diebus Quadragesimæ terebat ecclesiarum limina: nec horrebat pedes lavare morbidorum, ulcera sanie distillantia contractare; postremo longa manibus oscula protellare, mensam apponere. Erat ei in audiendo servitio Dei voluptas unica, ¹ideoque in clericos bene melodos inconsiderate ²provida; blande quoscunque alloqui, multa largiri, plura polliceri. Inde, liberalitate ipsius per orbem sata, turmatim huc adventabant scholastici tum cantibus tum versibus famosi; felicemque se putabat qui carminis novitate aures mulceret dominæ. Nec in his solum expensas conferebat, sed etiam omni generi hominum, præsertim advenarum; qui, muneribus acceptis, famam ejus longe per terras venditarent. Est enim cupiditas gloriæ ita in-

¹ Ideoque.] A. S. C. D. E 2. | ² Provida.] C. D. E.; prodiga, L 2.; ideo, E 1.

nata mentibus hominum, ut vix aliquis, bonæ conscientiæ pretiosis contentus fructibus, si quid bene fecerit, non dulce habeat efferri in vulgus: unde aiunt, et constat dominæ esse surreptum, ut extraneos quos posset præmiis deliniret; cæteros promissis, aliquando efficacibus, aliquando et sæpius inanibus, suspenderet. Eo effectum est ut prodige donantium non effugeret vitium, multimodas colonis suis deferens calumnias, inferens injurias, auferens substantias; quo bonæ largitricis nacta famam, suorum parvi pensaret contumeliam. Sed hæc qui recte judicare volet, consiliis ministrorum imputabit; qui, more harpyarum, quicquid poterant corripere unguibus, vel infodiebant marsupiis vel insumebant conviviis: quorum fœculentis susurris aures oppleta, nævum honestissimæ menti contraxit: de reliquo factis omnibus approbanda et sancta. Inter hæc erepta est patriæ, magno provincialium damno, suo nullo; nam et funus nobiliter curatum apud Westmonasterium, quietem accepit, et spiritus se cælum incolere non frivolis signis ostendit. ¹Obiit, ^{1st May, A.D. 1118.} regno post septemdecim annos et ²sex menses libenter relicto; fatum parentum experta, qui pene omnes virente potissimum ævo excessere mundo. ^{A.D. 1121.} Successit thoro ejus, sed non ita cito, ³Adala filia ducis de Lovanio, quod est castellum caput Lotharingæ.

§ 419. Filium habuit rex Henricus ex Ma- ^{Prince Will-}
tilde, nomine Willelmum, dulci spe et ingenti ^{iam.}
cura ⁴in successionem educatum et provectum;

¹ *Obiit.*] Matilda died on the 1st of May, A.D. 1118.

² *Sex.*] *A. C. D. E. L. 2.*; septem, *S.*

³ *Adala.*] Henry married Adala, daughter of Godfrey comte de Louvain, in Feb. 1121.

⁴ *In successionem educatum.*] Bromton (col. 1013, X. Script.) ascribes to Malmesbury words which are nowhere to be found in this author. 'Willelmus Malmesbiriensis dicit, quod ille Willelmus regis primogenitus palam Anglis

nam et ei, vix dum duodecim annorum esset, omnes liberi homines Angliæ et Normanniæ, cujuscunque ordinis et dignitatis, cujuscunque domini fideles, manibus et sacramento se dedere coacti sunt. Filiam quoque Fulconis comitis Andegavensis vix nubilem ipse etiam impubis ¹despondit et accepit, dato sibi a socero comitatu Cenomanico pro munere sponsalicio: quin et Ierosolymam Fulco ire contendens, comitatum commendavit regi suum, si ²viveret; futurum profecto generi, si non rediret. Plures ergo provinciæ spectabant nutum pueri, putabaturque regis Edwardi vaticinium in eo complendum; ferebaturque spes Angliæ, ³modo arboris succisa, in illo juvenculo iterum floribus pubescere, fructus protrudere, et ideo finem malorum sperari posse. Deo aliter visum; hujuscemodi enim opinionem tulerunt auræ, quod eum proxima dies urgebat fato satisfacere. Enimvero socero tunc annitente, simulque Thetbaldo filio Stephani et Adalæ amitæ, Lodovicus rex Franciæ Normanniam concessit puero, ut facto sibi hominio possideret eam jure legitimo: ordinabat hæc et efficiebat prudentissimi patris prudentia, ut hominum, quod ipse pro culmine imperii fastidiret facere, filius delicatus, et qui putabatur viam seculi ingressurus, non recusaret. His agitandis et placita concordia componendis quatuor annorum tempus rex impendit, in Normannia toto hoc tempore moratus. Veruntamen tam splendidæ et excogitatæ pacis serenum, tam omnium spes

A.D. 1119.

fuerat comminatus, quod, si aliquando super eos regnaret, faceret eos ad aratrum trahere quasi boves: sed spe sua choruscabili Dei vindicta cum aliis deperiit.

¹ Despondit.] The nuptials of Prince William with Matilda,

daughter of the earl of Anjou, were celebrated in June 1119, before the council of Rheims.

² Viveret.] *A. C. D. E.*; veniret, *S. L. 2.*

³ Modo arboris succisa.] See § 226, p. 381.

in speculam erectas, confudit humanæ sortis varietas. Namque indicto in Angliam reditu, rex sub ipso ¹crepusculo septimo kalendas Decembris apud Barbeflet naves solvit; eumque, qui impleverat carbasa, ventus feliciter regno et amplæ fortunæ invexit. At vero adolescentulus, jam septendecim annorum et paulo plus, cui nihil deliciarum præter nomen regis pro paterna indulgentia deesset, aliam sibi navem parari præcepit, omnibus pene adolescentulis procerum filiis, quasi pro colludio ætatis puerilis, eo accurrentibus; quin et remiges immodice mero ingurgitati, voluptate nautica quam potus ministrabat, mature illos qui præcesserant post tergum relinquendos clamitabant. Erat enim navis optima, tabulatis novis et clavis recenter compacta. Itaque cæca jam nocte, juvenus sapientiæ indiga, simulque potu obruta, navem a littore impellunt. Volat illa pennata perniciosior arundine; et, crispantia maris terga radens, imprudentia ebriorum impegit in scopulum non longe a littore supra pelagus extantem. Consurgunt ergo miseri, et magno clamore ferratos contos expediunt, diu certantes ut navem a rupe propellerent; sed obsistebat fortuna, omnes eorum conatus in irritum deducens. Itaque et remi in saxum ²obnixi crepuere, concussaque prora pependit. Jamque alios undis exponebat, alios ingressa per rimas aqua enecabat, cum ejecta scapha filius regis excipitur; salvarique potuisset ad littus regressus, nisi soror ejus notha, comitissa Perticæ, in majori nave cum morte luctans, fœmineo ululatu fratris opem implorasset, ne tam impie se relinqueret. Ille, misericordia infractus, lembum ca-

Nov. 25,
A.D. 1120.

¹ *Crepusculo.*] C. D. E. L 2.; | ² *Obnixi . . . pependit.*] ‘Obnixi crepuere, illisaque prora pependit.’ (Virg. *Æn.* v. 206.)

rinæ applicari jussit, ut sororem exciperet; mortem misellus pro clementiæ teneritudine indeptus: continuo enim multitudine insilientium scapha victa subsedit, omnesque pariter fundo involvit. Evasit unus et ille agrestis, qui, tota nocte malo supernatans, mane totius tragœdiæ actum expressit. Nulla unquam fuit navis Angliæ tantæ miseriæ, nulla toti orbi tam patulæ famæ. Perit ibi cum Willelmo alter filius regis Ricardus, quem ante regnum ex provinciali fœmina susceperat, juvenis magnanimus et patri pro obsequio acceptus; Ricardus comes Cestriæ, et frater ejus Otuelus, nutricius et magister filii regis; filia regis, comitissa Perticæ; et neptis ejus, soror Thetbaldi, comitissa Cestriæ: præterea quisquis erat in curia lectissimus miles vel capellanus, et optimatum filii ad militiam provehendi; ¹accurrerant enim undique (ut dixi), non leve gloriæ suæ numeraturi commodum si filio regis vel deferrent ludicrum vel conferrent obsequium. Accumulavitque calamitatem difficultas inveniendorum cadaverum, quia dispersis per littora quæditoribus nullum facile repertum est; sed ierunt tam delicata corpora æquoreis crudelia pabula monstris. Juvenculi ergo morte cognita, res mirum in modum mutata. Parens enim cœlibatui renunciavit, cui post mortem Matildis studuerat, futuros hæredes ex nova conjuge jamjamque operiens. Socer, ex Ierosolymis domum reversus, partibus Willelmi filii Roberti Normanni comitis improbus astitit, ²tradens ei alteram filiam nuptum, et Cenomannicum comi-

A. D. 1123.

¹Accurrerant.] *A. S. C. D. E 2.*
L 2.; accurrerunt, *E 1.*

²Tradens ei alteram filiam nuptum.] The marriage of William,

son of the duke of Normandy, with Sibilla, in 1123, was dissolved, at the instance of King Henry, in the following year by the pope's legate.

tatum : irarum stimulos in regem acuebat dos filiae, post mortem filii in Anglia retenta.

§ 420. ¹ Filiam Matildem, ex Matilde susceptam, dedit rex Henricus Henrico imperatori Alemanniæ, filio Henrici de quo tertius liber memoriam fecit. Fuit hic Henricus quintus ejus nominis apud Teutonicos imperator : qui licet pro contumeliis apostolicæ sedis patri graviter succensuisset, ipse tamen ejusdem sententiæ sequax, et propugnator suo tempore fuit infestus ; namque cum Urbano papæ Paschalis successisset, vir nullo virtutis genere carens, rursus quæstio de investituris ecclesiarum, rursus bella, rursus lites agitari, neutris partibus loco cedentibus. Imperator omnes episcopos et abbates regni sui quod citra montes est fautores habebat ; quia Karolus magnus, pro contundenda gentium illarum ferocia, omnes pene terras ecclesiis contulerat : consiliosissime perpendens, nolle sacri ordinis homines tam facile quam laicos fidelitatem domini rejicere ; præterea, si laici rebellarent, illos posse et excommunicationis auctoritate et potentiæ severitate compescere. Papa ultramontanas ecclesias suæ rationi subjecerat ; parumque suscipiebant urbes Italiæ Henrici dominium, servitio se putantes exutas post Conradi fratris ejus interitum, qui, a patre relictus Longobardiæ in regem, apud Aretium obierat diem : at vero Henricus, antiquis Cæsaribus in nullo virtute dejectior, post pacatum regnum Teutonicum præsumebat animo Italicum, rebellionem urbium subjugaturus, quæstionemque de investitura suo libito ² recisurus. Sed iter illud ad Romam,

Princess Matilda.

Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

A.D. 1111.

¹ *Filiam Matildem, . . . Henrico imperatori Alemanniæ.*] Matilda was betrothed to the emperor Henry V. in 1109, but was not married to him until the 7th Jan. 1114.

² *Recisurus.*] *A. C. D. E. L 2.* ; decisurus, *S.*

Contest of
Emp. Hen.
V. with the
Papal see.

magnis exercitationibus pectorum, magnis angoribus corporum, consummatum, David Scottus Bancornensis episcopus exposuit; magis in regis gratiam quam historicum deceret ¹acclinis: denique et inauditam violentiam, quod apostolicum cepit, quamvis libere custodierit, laudi ducit, ab exemplo quod Jacob, angelum violenter tenens, benedictionem ab eo extorserit. Præter hæc, laborat asserere dictum apostoli, ²'Nemo militans Deo, implicat se negotiis secularibus,' non adversari cupiditatibus pontificum per laicos investitorum, quia non sit seculare negotium si clericus laico fecerit hominum: quæ quantum sint frivola, cujuslibet dijudicabit prudentia. Ego interim, ne bonum virum verbo videar premere, statuo indulgendum, quia non historiam sed pænegyricum scripsit. Nunc vero privilegium et conventionem, violenta trium septimanarum captione a papa extorta, veraciter inseram; et qualiter non multo post religiosiori consilio enervata sunt, subjiciam.

Treaty between Pope Paschal and the emperor, 8th April, A.D. 1111.

§ 421. 'Dominus papa Paschalis non inquietabit dominum regem, nec ejus imperium vel regnum, de investitura episcopatum et abbatiarum, neque de injuria sibi illata et suis, in persona et bonis; neque aliquod malum reddet sibi vel alicui personæ pro hac causa: et penitus in personam regis Henrici nunquam anathema ponet; nec remanebit in domino papa quin coronet eum, sicut in ordine continetur; et regnum et imperium, officii sui auxilio, eum tenere adjuvabit pro posse suo. Et hæc adimplebit dominus papa sine fraude et malo ingenio.' Hæc sunt nomina

¹ *Acclinis.*] A. C. D. E. L2.; | ² *Nemo . . . secularibus.*] 2Tim. acclivus, S. | II. 4.

¹ illorum episcoporum et cardinalium qui, præcepto domini papæ Paschalis, privilegium et amicitiam domino Henrico imperatori sacramento confirmaverunt: Petrus Portuensis episcopus, Centius Sabinensis episcopus, Robertus cardinalis sancti Eusebii, Bonefacius cardinalis sancti Marci, Anastasius cardinalis sancti Clementis, Gregorius cardinalis apostolorum Petri et Pauli, item Gregorius cardinalis sancti Chrisogoni, Johannes cardinalis sanctæ Potentianæ, Risus cardinalis sancti Laurentii, Reinerus cardinalis sanctorum Marcellini et Petri, Vitalis cardinalis sanctæ Balbinæ, Teuzo cardinalis sancti Marci, Thetbaldus cardinalis Johannis et Pauli, Johannes decanus² in Schola Græca, Leo decanus sancti Vitalis, Albo decanus Sergii et Bachi.

Contest of
Emp. Hen.
V. with the
Papal see.

§ 422. Ipse etiam rex hoc sacramentum fecit: 'Ego Henricus rex liberos dimittam, quarta vel quinta feria proxima, et dominum papam, et episcopos et cardinales, et omnes captivos et obsides qui pro eo vel cum eo capti sunt, et secure perducere faciam intra portas Transtiberinæ civitatis; ³ nec ulterius capiam, aut capi permittam, eos qui in fidelitate domini papæ Paschalis permanent: et ⁴ populo Romano et Transtiberinæ civitati pacem et securitatem servabo, tam per me quam per meos, in personis, qui pacem mihi servaverint. Dominum papam fideliter adjuvabo ut patrum suum quiete et secure teneat. Patrimonia et possessiones Romanæ ecclesiæ quæ abstuli restituam, et cuncta quæ habere debet more an-

¹ *Illorum.*] *A. S. C. D. E2.* *L2.*; omitted in *E1.*

² *In Schola Græca.*] The church of S. Maria in Scuola Greca is so called from a tradition that St. Augustine, before his con-

version, there taught rhetoric. (Lumisden, 318.)

³ *Nec ulterius . . . civitati.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. L2.*

⁴ *Populo Romano.*] *S.*; *populi Romani, C. D. E.*

Context of
Emp. Hen.
V. with the
Papal see.

tecessorum suorum recuperare et tenere adjuvabo, bona fide, sine fraude et malo ingenio : et domino papæ Paschali obediam, salvo honore regni et imperii, sicut catholici imperatores catholicis pontificibus Romanis.' Et isti sunt juratores ex parte ipsius regis : Fridericus Coloniensis archiepiscopus, Godebardus Tridentinus episcopus, Bruno Spirensis episcopus, Berengarius comes, Albertus cancellarius, Herimannus comes, Fridericus comes palatinus, Bonifacius marchio, Albertus comes de Blandriaco, Fridericus comes, Godefricus comes, Warnerius marchio.

Account of
the consecration of the
emperor
Henry V.
15th April,
A.D. 1111.

§ 423. Hac conventione expleta, et prædictorum episcoporum et cardinalium sacramento confirmata, osculo utrinque dato, dominus papa quarto idus Aprilis, Dominica Quasi modo geniti, missam celebravit ; in qua, post communionem suam et ministrorum altaris, imperatori corpus et sanguinem ¹ Domini dedit in hæc verba : ' Hoc Dominicum corpus, quod sacrosancta tenet ecclesia, natum ex Maria virgine, elevatum in cruce pro redemptione humani generis, damus tibi (fili charissime) in remissionem peccatorum tuorum, et in conservationem confirmandæ pacis et veræ amicitiae inter me et te, et regnum et sacerdotium.' Altero vero die apostolicus et rex ² ad columnas quæ sunt in foro convenerunt ; dispositis præsidiis loricorum ubicunque videbatur opus esse, ne impediretur regis consecratio. Et in Argentea Porta receptus est rex ab episcopis, et cardinalibus, et toto clero Romano ; et cœpta oratione quæ in ordine continetur ab Ostiensi episcopo, quoniam Albanus deerat, a quo debu-

¹ Domini.] A. S. C. D. E 2. L 2. ; omitted in E 1.

² Ad columnas.] Supposed to be the remains of the temple of Jupiter Stator.

isset dici si adesset, ad mediam rotam ductus est; et ibi recepit secundam orationem a Portuensi episcopo, sicut præcipit Romanus ordo. Deinde duxerunt eum cum letaniis usque ad confessionem Apostolorum; ¹ et ibi unxit eum Hostiensis episcopus inter scapulas et in brachio dextro. Post hæc a domino apostolico ad altare eorundem apostolorum deductus; et ibidem, imposita sibi corona ab ipso apostolico, in imperatorem est consecratus. Post impositam coronam missa de Resurrectione Domini est celebrata; in qua ante communionem dominus ² apostolicus privilegium imperatori propria manu dedit, in quo sibi et regno suo quod hic scriptum est concessit, et in eodem loco sub anathemate confirmavit.

Contest of
Emp. Hen.
V. with the
Papal see.

§ 424. 'Paschalis episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio, et per Dei omnipotentis gratiam Romanorum imperatori augusto, Henrico, salutes et apostolicam benedictionem. Regnum vestrum sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cohærere divina dispositio constituit; prædecessores siquidem vestri, probitatis et prudentiæ amplioris gratia, Romanæ urbis coronam et imperium consecuti sunt: ad cuius videlicet coronæ et imperii dignitatem, tuam quoque personam (fili charissime Henrice), per nostri sacerdotii ministerium, majestas divina provexit. ³ Illam igitur dignitatis prærogativam, quam prædecessores nostri vestris prædecessoribus catholicis imperatoribus concesserunt, et privilegiorum paginis confirmaverunt, nos quoque tuæ dilectioni

Paschal's
grant.

¹ Et ibi unxit eum ... deductus.] A. D. E. G. K. L 2.; omitted in S. C.

² Apostolicus.] A. C. E.; papa, S. D. L 2.

³ Illam igitur dignitatis prærogativam, quam.] A. D. E. L 2.; illud igitur dignitatis privilegium, quod, S. C.

Contest of
Emp. Hen.
V. with the
Papal see.

concedimus, et præsentis privilegii pagina confirmamus, ut regni tui episcopis vel abbatibus, libere, præter violentiam vel symoniam electis, investituram virgæ et annuli conferas; post investitionem vero canonicè consecrationem accipiant ab episcopo ad quem pertinuerit. Si quis autem a clero vel populo, præter assensum tuum, electus fuerit, nisi a te investiatur, a nemine consecratur; exceptis nimirum illis qui vel in archiepiscoporum vel in Romani pontificis solent dispositione consistere. Sane archiepiscopi vel episcopi libertatem habeant a te investitos episcopos vel abbates canonicè consecrandi: prædecessores enim vestri ecclesias regni sui tantis regalium suorum beneficiis ampliarunt, ut regnum ipsum¹ maxime episcoporum vel abbatum præsidii oporteat communiri, et populares dissensiones, quæ in electis omnibus sæpe contingunt, regali oporteat majestate compesci. Quamobrem prudentiæ tuæ et potestati cura debet sollicitius imminere, ut Romanæ ecclesiæ magnitudo, et cæterarum salus, tuis, Domino præstante, beneficiis et servitiis conservetur. Si qua² ergo ecclesiastica vel secularis persona, hanc nostræ concessionis paginam sciens, contra eam temerario ausu venire tentaverit, anathematis vinculo, nisi resipuerit, innodetur, honorisque ac dignitatis suæ periculum patiat; observantes autem hæc misericordia divina custodiat, et personam potestatemque tuam ad honorem suum et gloriam feliciter imperare concedat.

§ 425. Peracto itaque toto ipsius consecrationis officio, apostolicus et imperator, complexis invicem dextris, iverunt cum celebri pompa ad

¹ *Maxime.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. | ² *Ergo.*] E 1.; igitur, A. S. C. L 2.; omitted in E 1. | D. E 2. L 2.

cameram quæ est ante confessionem sancti Gregorii, ut ibi deponeret apostolicus sua sacerdotalia, imperator autem sua regalia. Imperatori autem exeunti de camera, et suis regalibus exuto, occurrerunt Romani patricii cum aureo circulo, quem imposuerunt imperatori in capite, et per eum dederunt sibi summum patriciatum Romanæ urbis, communi consensu omnium et volenti animo.

Contest of Eup. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

§ 426. Omnem hanc ambitionem privilegiorum et consecrationis, verbo de scriptis præfati David transtuli, quæ ille (ut dixi) pronius quam deberet ad gratiam regis inflectit. Sequenti vero anno congregatum est concilium Romæ, non tam præcipiente quam connivente papa, et privilegium illud irritum factum est. Auctores fuere hujusce mutationis archiepiscopus ¹Viennensis, qui postea sedem apostolicam rexit, et episcopus Engolismensis, Girardus nomine, qui coepiscopos ad hæc exinanienda irritabant. Ejus ergo concilii actio hæc est.

A.D. 1112.

§ 427. Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo duodecimo, indictione quinta, anno ²pontificatus domini papæ Paschalis secundi ter-tiodesimo, mense Martio, quintodecimo kalendas Aprilis, celebratum est concilium Romæ Lateranis in ³basilica Constantiniana. In qua cum dominus papa Paschalis resedisset, cum archiepiscopis, et episcopis, et cardinalibus, et varia multitudine clericorum et laicorum, ultima die concilii, facta coram omnibus professione catholice fidei, ne quis de fide ipsius dubitaret, dixit :

Lateran council II. 18 March, A.D. 1112.

¹ *Viennensis.*] *A. S. C. D. E.* L 2.; Engolismensis, *S.* (var. lect.) — Afterwards Pope Calixtus II.

² *Pontificatus.*] *A. C. D. E.* L 2.; omitted in *S.*

³ *Basilica Constantiniana.*] The church built by Constantine the Great.

Contest of
Emp. Hen.
V. with the
Papal see.

‘Amplector omnem divinam scripturam Veteris ac Novi Testamenti, legem a Moyse scriptam et a sanctis prophetis: amplector quatuor evangelia, septem canonicas epistolas, et epistolas gloriosi doctoris beati Pauli apostoli, sanctos canones apostolorum, quatuor concilia universalis sicut quatuor evangelia, Nicenum, Ephesinum, Constantinopolitanum, Chalcedonense; præterea Antiochenum concilium, et decreta sanctorum patrum Romanorum pontificum, et præcipue decreta domini mei ¹papæ Gregorii septimi, et beatæ memoriæ papæ Urbani. Quæ ipsi laudaverunt, laudo; quæ tenuerunt, teneo; quæ confirmaverunt, confirmo; quæ damnaverunt, damno; quæ repulerunt, repello; quæ interdixerunt, interdico; quæ prohibuerunt, prohibeo; in omnibus et per omnia in his semper perseverabo.’ Quibus expletis, surrexit pro omnibus Girardus Engolismensis episcopus, legatus in Aquitania; et communi assensu domini papæ Paschalis, totiusque concilii, legit hanc scripturam.

Paschal's
grant an-
nulled.

§ 428. ‘Privilegium illud, quod non est privilegium, sed ²vere dici debet ³pravilegium, pro liberatione captivorum et ecclesiæ, a domino papa Paschali per violentiam regis Henrici extortum, nos omnes, in hoc sancto concilio cum domino papa congregati, canonica censura et ecclesiastica auctoritate iudicio Sancti Spiritus damnamus, et irritum esse iudicamus, atque omnino quassamus, et, ne quid auctoritatis et efficaciam habeat, penitus excommunicamus. Et hoc ideo damnatum est, quia in eo ⁴pravilegio continetur quod electus canonice a clero et populo a nemine

¹ Papæ.] A. S. C. D. E 2. L2.; omitted in E 1.

² Vere.] A. S. C. D. E.; jure, L 2.

³ Pravilegium.] C. D. E. L 2.; privilegium, A. S.

⁴ Pravilegio.] C. E. L 2.; privilegio, A. S. D.

consecratur nisi prius a rege investiatur; quod est contra Spiritum Sanctum et canonicam institutionem.' Perlecta vero hac charta, acclamatum ab omnibus et universo concilio, 'Amen, Amen! fiat, fiat!'

Contest of
Emp. Hen.
V. with the
Papal see.

§ 429. Archiepiscopi, qui cum suis suffraganeis interfuerunt, hi sunt: Johannes patriarcha Veneticus, ¹Semies Capuanus, Landulfus Beneventanus, Amalfitanus, Regitanus, Hydrontinus, Brundisinus, Capsanus, Gyrontinus; et Græci, Rosanus, ²et archiepiscopus sanctæ Severinæ. Episcopi vero: Centius Sabinensis, Petrus Portuensis, Leo Hostiensis, Cono Prænestinus, Girardus Engolismensis, Galo Leonensis legatus pro Bituricensi, et Viennensis archiepiscopus, Rogerius Vulturnensis, Gaufridus Senensis, Rolandus Populonensis, Gregorius Terracinensis, ³Willelmus Troianus, Willelmus Siracusanus legatus pro omnibus Siculis; et alii fere centum episcopi. Siwinus et Johannes Tusculanus episcopus, cum essent Romæ, illa die concilio non interfuerunt; qui postea, lecta damnatione privilegii, consenserunt et laudaverunt.

Names of the
ecclesiastics
present at
the council.

§ 430. Ferebantur ista per orbem, nec dissimulabat omnis Gallia imperatorem execrari, ecclesiastici zeli ⁴vigore in eum intentato. His commotus Romam ⁵septimodecimo anno Paschalis papæ contendit, acrius in illum ulturus; sed ⁶is felici transitu mundanas effugerat ærumnas, ridebatque in requie positus ex alto contumacis Cæ-

The emperor
proceeds to
Rome.

A.D. 1117.

A.D. 1118.

¹ *Semies.*] C. D. E.; Sennes, A. S. L 2. | L 2.; omitted in E 1. which reads 'rigore' in the margin.

² *Et.*] A. C. E. L 2.; omitted in S. D. | ⁵ *Septimodecimo.*] More correctly *octavodecimo*, as the emperor went before Easter in the year 1117.

³ *Willelmus Troianus.*] A. L 2.; Turianus, S.; omitted in C. D. E. | ⁶ *Is.*] A. C. D. E. L 2.; hic, S.

⁴ *Vigore.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. | —Paschal died in January 1118.

Contest of
Emp. Hen.
V. with the
Papal see.

aris minas. Cujus morte accepta, alacrius imperator celerabat viam, ut Johanne¹ Gaitano, superioris papæ cancellario, qui jam electus et Gelasius dictus fuerat, ejecto,² Mauricium Bracarensem episcopum, cognomento Burdinum, intruderet. Sed hæc epistola Gelasii certius proponet.

Epistle of
Pope Gela-
sius II.
16 Jan.
A.D. 1119.

§ 431. 'Gelasius, servus servorum Dei, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, clericis, principibus, et cæteris per Galliam fidelibus, salutem. Quia vos Romanæ ecclesiæ membra estis, quæ in ea nuper acta sunt dilectioni vestræ significare curamus. Siquidem post electionem nostram dominus imperator, furtive et inopinata velocitate Romam veniens, nos egredi compulit. Pacem postea et minis et terroribus postulavit, dicens, Quæ posset se facturum, nisi nos ei juramento pacis certitudinem faceremus: ad quæ nos ista respondimus, "De controversia quæ inter ecclesiam et regnum est, vel conventioni vel justitiæ libenter acquiescimus loco et tempore competentis, videlicet Mediolani vel Cremonæ in proxima beati Lucæ festivitate, fratrum nostrorum judicio, qui a Deo sunt iudices constituti in ecclesia, et sine quibus hæc causa tractari non potest. Et quoniam dominus imperator a nobis securitatem quærit, nos verbo et scripto eam promittimus, nisi ipse interim impediatur. Alias enim securitatem facere, nec honestas ecclesiæ nec consuetudo est." Ille statim die post electionem nostram³ quadragesimo quarto Bracarensem episcopum, anno præterito a domino⁴ præ-

¹ Gaitano.] A. C. D. E. L 2.; Gritano, S.

² Mauricium Bracarensem episcopum.] Maurice Bourdin, archbishop of Brague, was elected pope by the influence of the emperor Henry V. on the 9th of

March 1118, and took the name of Gregory VIII.

³ Quadragesimo quarto.] A. S. C. D. E.; quadragesimo tertio, L 2.

⁴ Prædecessore.] A. S. C. D. E 2.; præcessore, E 1. L 2.

decessore nostro Paschali papa in concilio Beneventi excommunicatum, in matris ecclesiae¹ invasionem ingessit; qui etiam, cum per nostras olim manus pallium accepisset, eidem domino nostro, et catholicis successoribus, quorum primus ego sum, fidelitatem juravit. In hoc autem tanto facinore nullum de Romanis dominus imperator (Deo gratias!) socium habuit; sed Wibertini soli, Romanus de sancto Marcello, Centius qui dicebatur sancti Chrisogoni, Teuzo qui multo per Daciam debacchatus est tempore, tam infamem gloriam celebrarunt. Vestrae igitur experientiae, literarum praesentium perceptione, mandamus ut, super his per Dei gratiam communi deliberatione tractantes, ad matris ecclesiae ultionem, communibus praestante Deo auxiliis, sicut oportere cognoscitis, accingamini. Data Gaitae, septimodecimo kalendas Februarii.

Contest of
Emp. Hen.
V. with the
Papal see.

§ 432. Expulsus autem Gelasius, Salerni navibus conscensis, inde venit Genuam; indeque itinere pedestri Cluniacum contendens, ibidem² obiit. Tunc, id est, anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo centesimo nonodecimo, cardinales qui cum Gelasio venerant, simulque omnis ecclesia Cisalpina, Guidonem archiepiscopum Viennensem in papam grandi paratu levantes, Calixtum vocarunt, religionis et efficaciae ipsius³ contuitu; sperantes se per illius potentiam, quod esset in auxiliando facultatis maximæ, imperatoris viribus obniti posse. Nec ille credulos spei effectu exinaniens, mox concilio Remis celebrato investitos vel investiendos a laicis ab ecclesiis removit; pariter et imperatorem, nisi resipisce-

Calixtus II.
elected pope.

A.D. 1119.

¹ *Invasionem.*] A. D. E. L 2.; obiit diem, E 1. — Gelasius II. gremium, S.; omitted in C. died at Cluni, 29th Jan. 1119.

² *Obiit.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L 2.; ³ *Contuitu.*] C. D. E.; intuitu, A. S. L 2.

Contest of
Emp. Hen.
V. with the
Papal see.

ret, involvens. Ita tempore aliquanto in inferioribus plagis moratus, ut partes suas augetet, Romam, compositis in Gallia rebus, venit, libenterque a civibus (nam jam imperator discesserat) receptus est. Tum Burdinus, in medio relictus, Sutrium effugit, multis peregrinorum calamitatibus papatum suum fovere meditatus; sed, quo modo inde sit ejectus, sequenti epistola cognosces.

Epistle of
Calixtus II.

§ 433. 'Calixtus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis fratribus et filiis, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, et cæteris tam clericis quam laicis, beati Petri fidelibus, per Gallias constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quia dereliquit populus legem Domini, et in iudiciis ejus non ambulat, visitat Dominus virga iniquitates eorum et in verberibus peccata eorum: paternæ tamen conservans viscera pietatis, de sua confidentes misericordia non relinquit. Diu siquidem, peccatis exigentibus, per illud Teutonicorum regis idolum, Burdinum videlicet, fideles ecclesiæ conturbati sunt; et alii quidem capti, alii usque ad mortem carceris maceratione afflicti sunt. Nuper autem, festis Paschalibus celebratis, cum peregrinorum et pauperum clamores ferre penitus non possemus, cum ecclesiæ fidelibus ab urbe digressi sumus, et tandem Sutrium obsedimus, donec divina potentia et supradictum ecclesiæ inimicum Burdinum, (qui diabolo nidum ibidem fecerat,) et locum ipsum, omnino in nostram tradidit potestatem. Rogamus itaque charitatem vestram ut pro tantis beneficiis una nobiscum Regi regum gratias referatis, et in catholicæ ecclesiæ obedientia et servitio constantissime maneatis, retributionem debitam in præsentem et futuro ab omnipotente Domino per ejus gratiam recepturi. Rogamus

etiam ut has literas alter alteri præsentari, omni remota negligentia, faciatis. Data Sutrii, quinto kalendas Maii.’

Contest of
Emp. Hen.
V. with the
Papal see.

§ 434. Urbana omnino et excogitata facietia, ut eum, quem oderat, regis Teutonici vocaret idolum; quod ille Mauriti peritiam, tum in literis tum in civilibus negotiis, magni pensaret. Erat ¹is, ut dixi, Bracarensis ²archiepiscopus, quæ est civitas Hispaniæ; quem multum quislibet revereri, et pene adorare, pro viva magnæ industriæ specie debuisset, nisi tam famoso facinore enitescere maluisset. Nec enim sanctissimam sedem nummis nundinari dubitasset, si tam desperatus inveniretur venditor quam paratus erat emptor. Tum autem captus, et monachus factus, in Caveam (³monasterium enim ita vocant) directus est.

Maurice
Bourdin cap-
tured.

§ 435. Processit ulterius in augendo bono laudabilis papæ magnificentia, ut illam effrænem et ingenitam Romanorum cupiditatem cohiberet. Nullæ ipsius tempore viantibus circa Romam insidiæ, nullæ urbem ingressis injuriæ. Oblationes apud sanctum Petrum (quas pro petulantia proque libidine potentes diripiebant, anteriores apostolicos, qui vel mutire auderent, indignis afficientes contumeliis,) Calixtus revocavit ad medium, scilicet ad apostolicæ sedis rectoris publicum usum. Nec quicquam in ejus pectore pecuniarum vel habendarum ambitus, vel habiturum amor, operari bono abhorrens potuit: adeo ut Anglos peregrinos magis ad sanctum ⁴David

State of the
church of
Rome.

¹ *Is.*] *A. C. D. E. L 2.* ; hic, *S.*
² *Archiepiscopus.*] *A. C. D. E.*
L 2. ; episcopus, *S.*

³ *Monasterium enim ita vocant.*] *F 1.* ; monasterium ita vocatum, *D.* ; monasterium ita vocant, *A. S. C. E 2. L 2.* — A monastery

near Salerno was called ‘The Den.’ Here were kept such as from their conduct had become either dangerous or scandalous. See Orderic. p. 870.

⁴ *David.*] *A. C. D. E. L 2.* ; dictum, *S.*

Contest of
Emp. Hen.
V. with the
Papal see.

quam Romam pergere admoneret, pro viæ longitudine; ad illum locum bis euntibus idem benedictionis refundendum commodum, quod haberent qui semel Romam irent. Quid quod illam inueteratam investituræ controversiam inter regnum et sacerdotium, quæ jam plus quam quinquaginta annis turbas fecerat, adeo ut, aliquo hæresis fauore morbo vel morte succiso, illico quasi hydræ capita plura pullularent, ipse sua industria abrasit, decidit, ¹delevit; Teutonicæ animositatis colla vigore securis apostolicæ decutiens. ²Quod et ejus et apostolici professiones mundo his dictis ostendent.

Epistle of
Calixtus to
the emperor
Henry V.

§ 436. 'Ego Calixtus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, tibi dilecto filio Henrico, Dei gratia Romanorum ³imperator, concedo electiones episcoporum et abbatum Teutonici regni qui ad regnum pertinent in præsentia tua fieri, absque symonia et absque ulla violentia; ut si qua inter partes discordia emergerit, metropolitani vel provincialium consilio vel iudicio, saniori parti assensum et auxilium præbeas. Electus autem regalia a te recipiat, et quæ ex his jure tibi debet faciat: ex aliis vero partibus imperii consecratus infra sex menses regalia a te per sceptrum recipiat, et quæ ex his jure tibi debet faciat; exceptis omnibus quæ ad Romanam ecclesiam pertinere noscuntur. De quibus vero mihi querimoniam feceris et auxilium postulaveris, secundum officii mei debitum auxilium tibi præstabo. Do tibi veram pacem, et omnibus qui in tua parte sunt, vel fuerunt tempore hujus discordiæ. Vale!'

¹ *Delevit.*] C. D. E.; delevit, evellit, A.; delevit vel evellit, S. L 2.

² *Quod . . . ostendent.*] A. S. C. D. E. L 2.; Quod et ejus et apostolici — in Dei fervet obse-

quo, F.; thus omitting all the intervening sections as far as 'Nam præter cæsterarum illecebrarum abdicationem,' § 440.

³ *Imperator.*] C. D. E.; imperatori augusto, A. S. L 2.

§ 437. ' In nomine sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis. Ego Henricus, Dei gratia Romanorum imperator augustus, pro amore Dei, et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, et domini Calixti papæ, et pro remedio animæ meæ, dimitto Deo, et sanctis Dei apostolis Petro et Paulo, sanctæque catholice ecclesiæ, omnem investituram per anulum et baculum; et concedo in omnibus ecclesiis, quæ in regno vel imperio meo sunt, canonicam fieri electionem et liberam consecrationem. Possessiones et regalia beati Petri, quæ a principio hujus discordiæ usque ad hodiernum diem, sive tempore patris mei, sive etiam meo, ablata sunt, quæ habeo, eidem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ restituo; quæ non habeo, ut restituantur fideliter juvabo. Possessiones etiam omnium aliarum ecclesiarum, et principum, et omnium aliorum tam laicorum quam clericorum, quæ in guerra ista amissæ sunt, consilio principum vel justitia, quas habeo reddam; quas non habeo, fideliter ut reddantur juvabo. Et do veram pacem domino papæ Calixto, et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, et omnibus qui in parte ipsius sunt vel fuerunt; et in quibus sancta Romana ecclesia auxilium postulaverit, fideliter juvabo; et de quibus mihi querimoniam fecerit, debitam sibi faciam justitiam.' Hæc omnia acta sunt consensu et consilio principum quorum nomina subscripta sunt: Albertus archiepiscopus Moguntiæ, Fredericus Coloniensis archiepiscopus, Ratisbonensis episcopus, Babenbergensis episcopus, Bruno Spirensis, Augustensis, Trajectensis, Constantiensis, abbas Foldensis, Heremannus dux, Fredericus dux, Bonifacius marchio, Thetbaldus marchio, Ernulfus comes palatinus, Othbertus comes palatinus, Berengarius comes.

The emperor's epistle to Calixtus.

§ 438. Sedato itaque tam veterno morbo, qui

The emperor subdues Italy.

ecclesiæ statum conturbaverat, magnum gaudium quisquis Christiane sapuit, accepit, quod is imperator, qui proxima fortitudinis gloria acriter Karoli magni invaderet vestigia, etiam a devotione ipsius in Deum non degeneraret; qui, præter Teutonici regni nobiliter sopitas rebelliones, etiam Italicum ita subegit ut nullus adeo. Ter enim in decennio Italiam ingressus urbium tumorem compecscuit; primo adventu Novariam, Placentiam, Aretium, secundo et tertio Cremonam et Mantuam, incendio exterminans: sed et Ravennæ motum paucorum obsidione dierum lenivit; namque Pisani et Papienses, cum Mediolanensibus, amicitiam ejus quam vim experiri malebant. Huic (¹ut ante fatus sum) filia regis Angliæ nupta exhibebat patrem fortitudine, matrem religione; contendebat in ea pietas industriæ, nec quod magis probares discerneres facile.

Account of
William VII.
earl of Pol-
tiers.

§ 439. Erat tunc Willelmus comes Pictavorum fatuus et lubricus; qui, ²postquam de Ierosolyma (ut superiori libro lectum est) rediit, ita omne vitiorum volutabrum premebat quasi crederet omnia fortuitu agi, non providentia regi. Nugas porro suas, falsa quadam venustate condians, ad facetias revocabat, audientium rictus cachinno distendens. Denique apud castellum quoddam, ³Niort, habitacula quædam, quasi monasteriola, construens, abbatiam pellicum ibi se positurum delirabat; nuncupatim illam et illam, quæcunque famosioris prostibuli esset, abbatissam vel priorem, ⁴cæterasve officiales instituturum canti-

¹ *Ut ante fatus sum.*] See § 420, p. 655.

² *Postquam.*] *A. C. D. E. L 2.*;

priusquam, *S.*

³ *Niort.*] *L 2.*; Niorth, *A.*; Ivor, *S.*; Nior, *C. D. E.*; Mort, *S.* (var. lect.)

⁴ *Cæterasve.*] *C. D. E.*; cæteras vero, *A. L 2.*; cætera vero, *S.*

tans. Legitima quoque uxore depulsa, ¹vicecomitis cujusdam conjugem surripuit, quam adeo ardebat ut clypeo suo simulachrum mulierculæ insereret; perinde dictitans se illam velle ferre in prælio, sicut illa portabat eum in triclinio. Unde increpitus et excommunicatus a Girardo Engolismorum episcopo, ²jussusque illicitam venerem abjicere, ‘Antea,’ inquit, ‘crispabis pectine refugum a fronte capillum quam ego vicecomitissæ indicam repudium;’ cavillatus in virum, cujus pertenuis cæsaries pectinem non desideraret. Nec minus, cum ³Petrus præclaræ sanctitatis Pictavorum episcopus eum liberius argueret, et detrectantem palam excommunicare A.D. 1114. inciperet, ille, præcipiti furore percitus, crinem antistitis involat, strictumque mucronem vibrans, ‘Jam,’ inquit, ‘mories, nisi me absolveris.’ Tum vero præsul, timore simulato, inducias petens loquendi, quod reliquum fuerat excommunicationis fidenter peroravit; ita comitem ⁴a Christianitate suspendens, ut nec cum aliquo convivari nec etiam loqui auderet, nisi mature resipisceret. Ita officio suo, ut sibi videbatur, peracto, martyriique trophæum sitiens, collum protendit; ‘Feri!’ inquit, ‘feri!’ At Willelmus, refractor, consuetum leporem intulit ut diceret, ‘Tantum certe te odio, ut nec meo te digner odio, nec cælum unquam intrabis meæ manus ministerio.’ Veruntamen post modicum, viperio ⁵meretriculæ infectus sibilo, incesti dissuasorem detrusit exilio; ubi beato fine conclusus, frequentibus et

¹ *Vicecomitis cujusdam.*] Maubergeon, wife of the vicomte de Chatelleraut.

² *Jussusque.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L 2.*; jussus, *E 1.*

³ *Petrus.*] Peter II. bishop of

Poitiers died on the 4th of April 1115, at Chauny. (*Gall. Christ.* II. col. 1120.)

⁴ *A Christianitate.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L 2.*; omitted in *E 1.*

⁵ *Meretriculæ.*] *S. C. D. E.*; mulierculæ, *A. L 2.*

A.D. 1115. magnis miraculis innuit mundo quam gloriose vivat in cœlo. Quibus auditis, comes dicacitate insolenti non abstinuit; professus palam, pœnitere se quod non ei jamdudum mortem accelerasset, ut ipsi anima sancta grates haberet potissimum, cujus furore cœleste mercatus esset commodum. Vitam Petri et mortem versus isti commendant. De vivo dictum est:

VERSUS DE PETRO EPISCOPO PICTAVORUM.

Verses commendatory of Peter bishop of Poitiers.

‘Corpus—opes—studium—mores, cibus asper—
egenus—

Lectio—probra, domat—carpit—alit—fugiunt.

Virtutes—culpas—fructum, colit—amputat—auget.

Jus—litem—pacem, protegit—odit—amat.

Fert misero—tribuit peccanti—servat amico,

Auxilium—veniam—continuamque fidem.

Mente Maria vacat, sed in actum Martha laborat;

Est intenta gregi Martha, Maria Deo:

Sic apud hunc regnat Deus intra, proximus extra;

Hic desiderio, proximus obsequio.

Diligit ille Rachel, nec Leam ferre recusat,

Uxoremque novus duxit utramque Jacob:

Hujus amat vultum, juvat hujus carpere fructum,

Cum sit pulchra Rachel, fertiliorque Lea.’

De mortuo dictum est:

VERSUS DE EODEM PETRO MORTUO.

‘Exutus rebus, intentus, pulsus ab urbe,

Præsul pauperiem, vincla, fugamque tulit.

Nunc dives—liber—stabilis, sua præmia—

Christum—

Astra, capit—sequitur—possidet iste Petrus.

Vitam religio, mentem discretio, famam
 Lux operum, studium lectio, verba modum,
 Judicium jus, justitiam rigor, ora venustas,
 Ornabant, pietas viscera, virga manum.
 Promovit—privavit eum—profugumque recepit,
 Papa—comes—Christus, ordine—sede—polo.’

DE AUCTORIBUS MONASTERIORUM FONTIS EBRALDI
 ET TIRUNENSIS.

§ 440. Hujus Petri fuerunt contemporanei, et in religione socii, ^{His contem-} ^{poraries.} ¹ Robertus de Arbreisel et ² Bernardus abbas Tirunensis; quorum primus omnium hujus temporis sermocinatorum famosissimus et profusissimus. Tantum non spumea sed mellea vigit eloquentia, ut hominibus certatim opes congerentibus, illud egregium sanctionialium monasterium apud Fontem Ebraldi construeret; in quo, tota seculi voluptate castrata, foeminarum Deo devotarum quanta nusquam multitudo in Dei fervet obsequio: nam praeter caeterarum illecebrarum abdicationem, quantum illud est, quod in nullo loco loquuntur nisi in capitulo; proposita a magistro perennis taciturnitatis regula, quia semel laxato silentio foeminae pronae sunt ad mussitandum frivola. Alter, famosus paupertatis amator, in saltuosum et desertum locum, relicto amplissimarum divitiarum coenobio, cum paucis concessit; ibique, quia lucerna sub modio latere non potuit, undatim multis confluentibus monasterium fecit, magis insigne religione monachorum et numero, quam fulgore pecuniarum et cumulo.

¹ Robertus de Arbreisel.] He founded the monastery of Font-Evrault in 1099, and died A.D. 1117.

² Bernardus.] Bernard founded the abbey of Tiron in 1109, and died in 1116.

DE SERLONE ABBATE GLOECESTRÆ.

Serlo abbot
of Gloucester.

§ 441. Et, ne Anglia expers boni putetur, quis possit præterire Serlonem abbatem Gloecestrensem, qui locum illum ex humili et pene nullo ad gloriosum provectum extulit? Nota est omnibus Anglis Gloecestrensis discreta religio, quam infirmus possit suspicere, nec possit fortis contemnere. Hoc illis signifer Serlo intulit, ut ne quid nimis. Quamvis ut erat bonis humilis, ita superbis minax ac terribilis. Ad quod firmandum versus de eo Godefridi prioris adducam in medium.

VERSUS DE EODEM MORTUO.

‘ Ecclesiæ murus cecidit, Serlone cadente :
Virtutis gladius, buccina justitiæ,
Vera loquens, et non vanis sermonibus utens,
Et, quos corripuit, principibus placuit.
Judicium præceps, contrarius ordinis error,
Et levitas morum, non placuere sibi.
Tertius a Jano mensis, lux tertia mensis,
Cum nece suppressum vita levavit eum.’

DE LANZONE PRIORE SANCTI PANCRATII.

Lanzo prior
of Lewes.

§ 442. Quis Lanzonem taceat, qui ea ætate nullo inferius sanctitate floruit, monachus Cluniacensis, et prior ¹sancti Pancratii in Anglia? qui probitate sua ita locum illum reverentiæ monachilis gratia nobilitavit, ut unicum bonitatis pro vero asseratur esse domicilium. De cujus vita quia quicquid dixero infra illius merita esse denuncio, solum illius obitum, verbis quibus scriptum inveni, apponam, ut liquido pateat quam gloriose vixerit qui tam gratiose obiit.

¹ Sancti Pancratii in Anglia.] At Lewes in Sussex.

DE MORTE EJUSDEM LANZONIS.

§ 443. ‘Pius Dominus, qui flagellat omnem Account of his death. filium quem recipit, qui justos suæ socios passionis simul et consolationis fore promittit, tam acerbo languore dominum Lanzonem triduo passionem suam prævenire permisit, ut si aliquis ex terrena conversatione mundissimæ menti ejus pulvis adhæsit, illa eum tribulatione excussum esse non sit ambiguum. Cum enim dicat tantus apostolus, qui super Dominicum recubuit pectus, “¹Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est:” cumque peccatum omne aut levius hic, aut in futuro gravius, judicet Christus, noluit ei aliquid offensionis post mortem occurrere, quem se toto corde sciebat amare; ideoque, si quid in eo examinandum judicabat, voluit ²in vivente decoquere. Huic nempe assertioni fiducia morientis attestata est. Nam cum quinta feria ante Passionem Domini incolumis, dicto ex quotidiana Quadragesimæ consuetudine psalterio, se hora tertia missam celebraturus usque ad casulam induisset, et usque ad incipiendam missam quæque dicenda erant prædixisset, subito languore tam molesto corripitur, ut ipse, quæ induerat vestimenta exuens, etiam non plicata reliquerit: egressusque oratorio, sine intermissione per bidduum, hoc est, usque ad Sabbatum, conteritur; non sedendo, non ambulando, non jacendo, non stando, neque dormiendo, ullam omnino requiem habens. Nunquam tamen noctibus locutus, ³rogantibus ut silentium solveret non acquievit; rogans ne monachus sui pudicitiam libarent,

¹ *Si dixerimus . . . veritas in nobis non est.*] 1 St. John, i. 8, 9. | *juventute, S. C.; omitted in D. ³Rogantibus.] C. D. E.; rogantibus fratribus, A. S. L 2.*

² *In vivente.] A. E. L 2.; in*

quod nunquam, postquam monachicum habitum accepisset, a completorio exiens usque ad sequentis diei primam locutus fuisset. Sabbato autem sequente dum ita quassatus se putaret jam jamque defungi, surgentes ad matutinam synaxim fratres ad se inungendum venire præcepit; quos cum inunctus ex more osculari voluisset, nimio eorum compulsus amore, non jacedo, nec sedendo, sed, quamvis ad mortem anxius, inter brachia sustentatus stando osculatus est. Die illucescente in capitulum ductus, cum sedisset, fratres ante se omnes venire rogavit; quibus paternam benedictionem et absolutionem impertiens, idem sibi ab iis voluit impertiri. Postea docuit quid, si obiret, eis esset agendum. Sicque regressus est unde venerat, reliquum diei cum sequenti Dominica aliquanto quietius transigens: cum ecce post hæc, id est, post Dominicam, imminentis mortis indicia deprehenduntur; et ipse manibus ablutis, pexo capite, missam auditurus oratorium ingreditur, sumptoque corpore et sanguine Domini ad lectum regressus est. Post modicum obmutuit: fratres ante illum venientes sigillatim benedicebat, simili modo totum conventum; at vero, oculis in cælum erectis, utraque manu dominum abbatem cum omnibus sibi commissis benedicere nitebatur. Rogatus autem a fratribus ut apud Deum, ad quem ibat, eorum memor esset,¹ caput inclinando benignissime acquievit. Hæc et his similia cum fecisset, innuit sibi porrigi crucem; quam capite, imo toto corpore inclinato adorans, manibus amplexans, læto ore salutare videbatur et jocundo² affectu deosculabatur; cum illico astantes mi-

¹ *Caput.*] A. C. D. E. L2.; | ² *Affectu.*] A. S. L2.; omitted capite, S. | in C. D. E.

grando percellit, raptusque in manibus eorum vivus adhuc in presbyterium ante altare sancti Pancratii defertur. Ubi aliquandiu supervivens, roseo faciei rubore suavis, eadem diei hora qua purgandus infirmatus est, cariturus perenniter omni malo, purus migravit ad Christum. Et vide quam ¹mirabiliter in eo cuncta concurrerunt: passio servi cum passione Domini; hora incipientis infirmitatis, cum hora incipientis æternæ salutis; quinque dies quos sustinuit ægritudinis, quinis corporis sensibus, quibus nemo vitat peccatum, emundandis. Porro quod quinto die necdum transacto decessit, ut ²remur, innuit eum in ultimo sensu, qui tactus dicitur, non perfecisse peccatum. Tertia vero diei hora, qua et infirmatus est et moriendo in vitam ingressus est æternam, quid aliud insinuat quam eandem Spiritus Sancti gratiam, qua omnem ejus vitam gubernatam cognoscimus, et infirmato et obeunti evidenter affuisse? Ut etiam esse supparem illis patribus nostris, ³Odoni scilicet atque Odiloni, et merito et præmio, non ambigamus, insigne quiddam illis concessum huic quoque collatum est. Cum enim illis contulerit Dominus ut octavo die solennitatum quas præ cæteris diligebant transirent; nam et beatus Odo festivitatem beati Martini, et sanctus Odilo Nativitatem Domini præcipue amabant, in quorum octava die uterque decessit; domino Lanzoni, qui præ cæteris hujus ævi hominibus regulam sancti Benedicti observabat, et beatam Dei genitricem ejusque solennia singulari venerabatur affectu, contulit, ut solita

¹ *Mirabiliter.*] *A. S. D. L 2.*; mutabiliter, *C. E.*

² *Remur.*] *C. D. E.*; reor, *A. S. L 2.*

³ *Odoni scilicet atque Odiloni.*]

Odo, second abbot of Cluni, was founder of the Cluniac rule in the tenth century. Odilo was the fifth abbot of Cluni, and succeeded in 994.

sibi consuetudine, et in transitu sancti Benedicti, et in festivitate sanctæ Mariæ quæ Annunciatio Dominica dicitur, majorem missam in conventu celebraret,¹ et octavo a prædicto sancti Benedicti transitu die præventus infirmitate, octavo nihilominus die ab Annunciatione Dominica migraret ad Christum. Igitur, qui vitam domini Lanzonis ignorat, quam placens Deo fuerit ex fine colligat; nec usitato morientium more prædicta illi contigisse nobiscum credat, quem Spiritus Sancti charismatibus nemine hujus temporis inferius ditatum sciat.”

DE GODEFRIDO PRIORE WINTONIÆ.

Godfrey prior
of Winches-
ter.

§ 444. Nec memoria ²Godefridi prioris Wintoniensis ire debet in perditum, qui temporibus his literatura et religione insignis fuit. Literaturam protestantur libri plures, et epistolæ familiari illo et dulci stylo editæ; maximeque epigrammata, quæ satyrico modo absolvit, præterea versus de primatum Angliæ laudibus. Quid? omne divinum officium, quod agresti quadam vetustate obsoletum, per industriam suam nativa excultum venustate fecit enitescere. Religionis et hospitalitatis normam pulchre inchoatam delineavit in monachos, qui hodieque ita in utrisque prioris terunt vestigium, ut aut nihil aut parum iis desit ad laudis cumulum. Denique est in ea domo hospitium, terra marique venientium quantum libuerit diversorium, sumptu indeficienti, charitate indefatigata. Inter hæc inerat sancto viro morum humilitas, ut nihil ex illo unico philosophiæ promptuario redoleret nisi humile, pro-

¹ Et octavo a prædicto sancti Benedicti transitu die præventus infirmitate.] A. S. L 2.; omitted in C. D. E.

² Godefridi prioris Wintoniensis.] Godfrey was prior of Winchester from 1082 to 1107.

cederet nisi dulce. Quantula vero potest videri hæc ejus laudatio? Quotus enim quisque est qui vel minimum literis imbutus non alios infra dignitatem suam opinetur, tumido gestu et pompatico incessu præ se ferens conscientiam literarum? Veruntamen, ne quid perfectionis sanctæ deesset animæ, multis ille annis grabbatum fovit, camino diuturnæ tabis medullas et peccata¹ excoctus.

DE TRANSLATIONE SANCTI CUTBERTI, ET DE SANCTA ETHELDRIETHA, QUORUM CORPORA INTEGRATA INVENTA SUNT.

§ 445. Sed quid de talibus plura? Erant Ecclesiastical affairs. prorsus tunc in Anglia multi scientia illustres, religione celebres; quorum virtus eo probabilior, quo, seculo senescente, constantior et viridior. Laudabiliter igitur vivendo fidem præteritis faciebant historiis, ne vetera possint falsitatis argui, cum novorum exemplo probentur potuisse fieri. Quin etiam si qui essent ecclesiarum prælati qui viderentur ab antiquorum sanctitate degeneres, in mundialibus scilicet efficaces, in spiritualibus desides; tales, inquam, si qui essent, sumptuosius locorum cultibus conabantur errata obumbrare. Erigebat quisque templa recentia, sanctorumque suorum argento et auro amiciebat corpora, nihil prætermittendo charitate sumptuum quod ad gratiam possit allicere oculos intuentium. Quorum est Rannulfus superius nominatus, qui, apud Dunelmum factus episcopus, in ædificiis monachorum novis, et beati Cuthberti veneratione, nonnullam gloriam nomini suo commentus est: cujus extulit famam² sacra²ti corpo- A. D. 1104.

¹ *Excoctus.*] A. C. D. E. L2.; | ² *Sacra²ti.*] A. C. D. E. L2.;
excoctans, S. | sancti, S.

A.D. 1109.

ris translatio, quod, e mausoleo levatum, cunctis volentibus fecit conspicuum. Tractavit illud ausu felici Radulfus tunc abbas Sagii, postea Cantuariæ archiepiscopus; et propalam illibatum protulit, quod quibusdam venisset in dubium utrum olim vulgatum adhuc de integritate compaginis duraret¹ miraculum. Eodemque fere tempore in Heliensi cœnobio, sub abbate Ricardo, virginales exuviæ beatæ Etheldrithæ integræ visæ: videntibus stupori et plausui fuere. Monasterium illud, nuper a rege Henrico in episcopatum mutatum, primum Herveum accepit episcopum; qui, pro penuria victualium, Bancornensem, ubi intronizatus fuerat, deseruerat locum: et ne Lincoliensis pontifex mutilatam suam quereretur dicecesim, ex rebus Heliensis cœnobii damnus rex sarcivit, querelam² composuit. Sane quid ejus tempore de primatu duorum metropolitānorum, Cantuariensis et Eboracensis, sit vel justitiæ surreptum, vel violentia præsumptum, dicam cum ad ordinem venero. Jam enim terminata serie regum, de successiōne tōtius Angliæ pontificum mihi video esse dicendum; in quo utinam afflueret uber dicendi copia, ne ulterius sub oblivione jaceant tam præclara patriæ lumina. Et quidem erunt multi fortassis, in diversis regionibus Angliæ, qui quædam aliter ac ego³ dixi se dicant audisse vel legisse: verunta-

¹ *Miraculum.*] See antea, p. 359, note ⁵.

² *Composuit.*] Here terminates the MS. F.—The following lines, which appear at the conclusion, indicate the writer's name to have been 'Ivo.'

'Scripserit hunc librum quis, lector forte requiret;
Exacuat sensus et metra legat, cito discet.

Illius nomen tria componunt elementa,

In numeris quorum primum satis indicat unum,

Ponunt et leges numeri pro quinque secundum,

Si Græcus scribat postremo collige finem.'

³ *Dixi.*] A. S. C. D. E 2. L 2.; omitted in E 1.

men, si recto aguntur iudicio, non ideo me censorio expungent stylo; ego enim veram legem secutus historiæ, nihil unquam posui nisi quod a fidelibus relatoribus vel scriptoribus addidici. Porro; quoquo modo hæc se habeant, privatim ipse mihi sub ope Christi gratulor, quod continuam Anglorum historiam ordinaverim post Bedam vel solus vel primus: ¹si quis ergo, sicut jam susurrari audio, post me scribendi ²de talibus munus attentaverit, mihi debeat collectionis gratiam, sibi habeat electionis materiam.

§ 446. Hæc habui, domine venerabilis Comes, Concluding address to Robert earl of Gloucester. de gestis Anglorum quæ dicerem, ab adventu eorum in Angliam usque in annum ³vicesimum octavum felicissimi regni patris vestri: cætera proprium occupabunt libellum, si benignum istis non negaveritis vultum. Hoc autem opus postquam absolvi, circumspectis plurimis, vobis potissimum delegandum credidi. Cum enim alios considero, in uno nobilitatem, in altero militiam, in isto literaturam, in illo justitiam, in paucis munificentiam invenio; itaque in aliis aliqua, in singulis singula, in vobis admiror universa. Si quis enim unquam fuit nobilis; vos in ea re præcellitis; cujus genus a præcellentissimis regibus et comitibus lineam trahit, animus a moribus imitationem conducit. Habetis ergo a Normannis bellandi peritiam, ⁴a Flandrensibus liniamento-

¹ *Si quis . . . materiam.*] Mr. Sharpe suggests that Malmesbury here probably alludes to Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote a History of England shortly afterwards.

² *De talibus.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L 2.*; omitted in *E 1.*

³ *Vicesimum octavum.*] *C. D. E. K.*; *vicesimum, A. S. L 2.*

⁴ *A Flandrensibus.*] *A. S. D. E. L 2.* — *A 3.* originally ended in the middle of this word: the remainder has been supplied by a much more modern hand.

rum gratiam, a Francis generositatis eminentiam. De militiæ porro vestræ industria quis hæsitet, cum eam excellentissimus pater in vobis suspiciat? Cum enim aliqui motus in Normannia nunciantur, vos præmittit, ut virtute vestra profligentur, suspecta sagacitate redintegretur concordia: cum redit in regnum, vos reducit, ut sitis ei foris tutelæ, domi lætitiæ, ornamento ubique.

§ 447. Literas ita fovetis, ut cum sitis tantarum occupationum mole districti, horas tamen aliquas vobis surripiatis, quibus aut ipsi legere, aut legentes possitis audire. Digno itaque moderamine fortunæ vestræ celsitudinem componitis, dum nec militiam propter literas postponitis, nec literas propter militiam, ut quidam, conspuitis: in quo etiam scientiæ vestræ patescit miraculum, quia, dum libros diligitis, datis ¹indicium quam avidis medullis fontem eorum combiberitis; ²multæ siquidem res, etiam cum non habentur, desiderantur, philosophiam nullus amabit qui eam extrema satietate non hauserit.

§ 448. Justitiæ vestræ fama regiones etiam nostras attigit; a vobis siquidem pravum iudicium nunquam extorsit vel personæ sublimitas vel fortunæ tenuitas. Nihil reperit in vestro pectore quod suis conducat artibus qui justitiam labefactare conatur, seu oblatione muneris, seu delinimento favoris.

§ 449. ³Munificentiæ vestræ pecuniæque contemptum prætendit Teochesbiræ cœnobium; de quo (ut audio) non solum xenia non corroditis,

¹ *Indicium.*] A. C. D. E. L 2.;
iudicium, S.

² *Multæ.*] A. C. D. E. L 2.;
multis, S.

³ *Munificentia ... iudicio.*] A. S.
C. D. E 2. L 2. — The whole of
this section is omitted in E 1.

sed etiam ultro missa ¹remittitis. Quantum hoc sit isto præsertim tempore, quantæ in seculo gloriæ, quantæ apud Deum gratiæ, ipsi certe intelligitis. Beata est igitur, secundum sententiam Platonis, respublica cujus rector est philosophus, cujus princeps non delectatur muneribus. Plura de talibus dicerem, nisi et suspicio meæ adulationis, et laudanda modestia vestri pudoris dicturientem cohiberet. Sane quæ dixi non prætermittere fuit consilium, ut per officium linguæ meæ probitas vestra posteros non lateat, et ipsa de virtute in virtutem proficere contendat. Et quidem jamdudum, quibusdam persuadentibus, ferebat animus ut, quæ prætereunda non putarem, per succiduos semper annos huic operi apponerem; sed consultius videtur alium de talibus librum procudere, quam jam absoluto frequenter nova insuere. Nec vero quisquam superfluam me operam dicat insumere, si clarissimi omnium sua ætate regum gesta propono: multa enim sublimitati ejus mea humilitas debet, et adhuc plura debebit, ut, si nihil aliud esset, quod se talem filium habere gaudet; nam et olim felici sorte susceptum, non perfunctorie, ut hodie claret, literis erudiri præcepit, post etiam amplissimarum possessionum fecit dominum, nunc postremo ²patrium in vos reclinat affectum. Sit ergo hic liber, ut est, vestræ gloriæ absolute consecratus; in altero erit idem vitæ, qui scripturæ, terminus. Quod superest, munus meum dignanter suscipite, ut gaudeam grato cognitoris arbitrio, qui non erravi eligendi ³judicio.

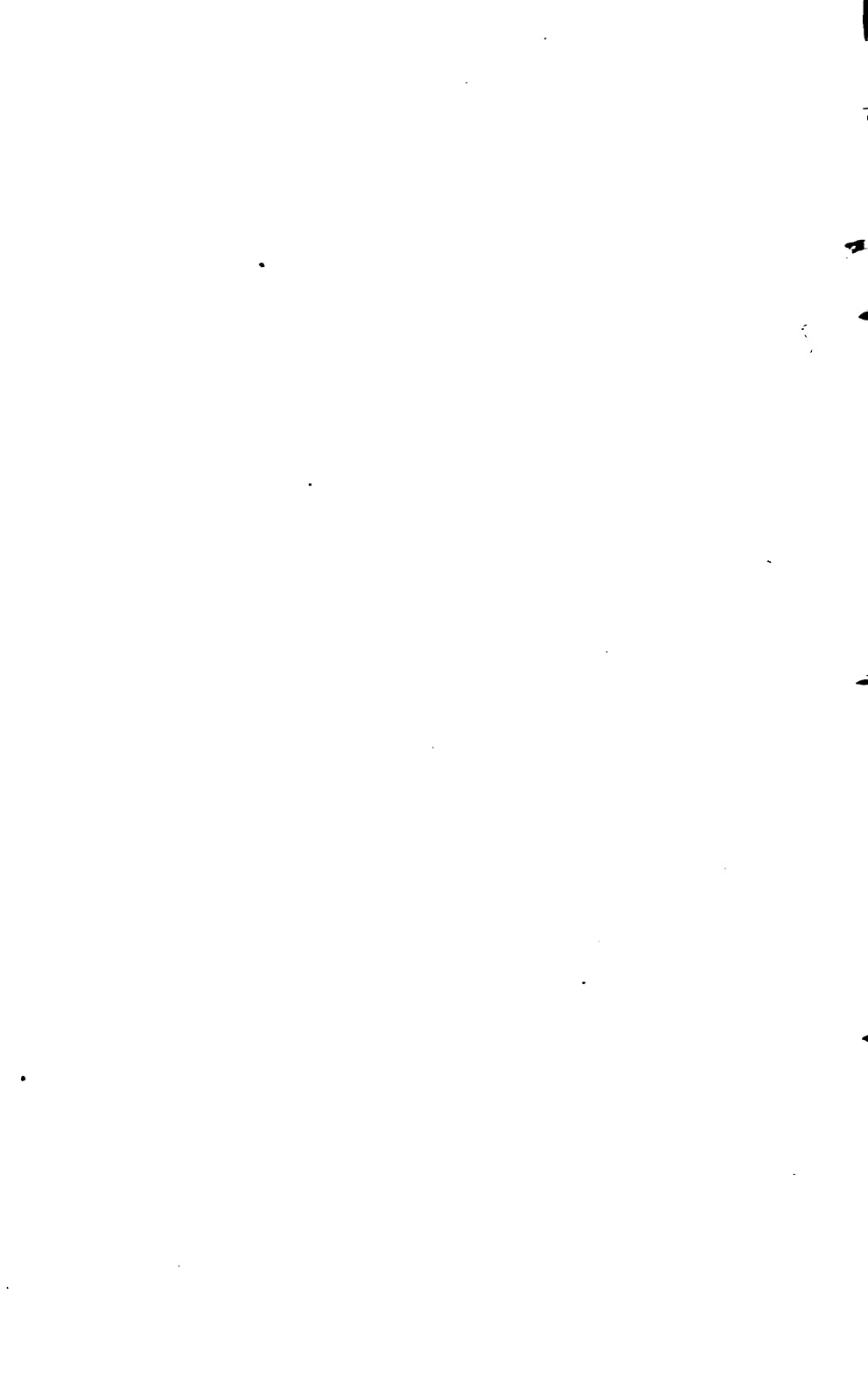
¹ Remittitis.] A. S. L 2.; mit-
titis, D. E 2.

² Patrium.] A. D. E 2. L 2.;
paternum, S. C.

³ Judicio.] A. S. C. D.; C 1.
adds 'Hæc habui, domine vene-
rabilis Comes, de gestis.'



HISTORIA NOVELLA.



PROLOGUS.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS
IN LIBROS NOVELLÆ HISTORIÆ, MISSOS ROBERTO
COMITI GLOECESTRÆ.



OMINO amantissimo Roberto, filio regis Henrici, et consuli Gloecastrensi, Willelmus bibliothecarius Malmesbiriæ, post emerita trophæa in terris, triumphare in cœlis. Pleraque gestorum præcellentis memoriæ patris vestri stylo apponere non neglexi, et in quinto libro regalium ¹actuum, et ²in tribus libellis quibus Chronica dedi vocabulum. Nunc ea quæ moderno tempore magno miraculo Dei acciderunt in Anglia, ut mandentur posteris, desiderat animus vestræ serenitatis: pulcherrimum ³plane desiderium, et vestrorum omnium simile. Quid enim plus ad honestatis spectat commodum, quid ⁴conducibilius æquitati, quam divinam agnoscere circa bonos indulgentiam, et erga perversos vindictam? Quid porro jocundius quam fortium facta virorum monumentis tradere literarum; quorum exemplo cæteri exuant ignaviam, et ad defendendam ar-

¹ Actuum.] *E. L2.*; omitted in *S. C. D.*

² In tribus libellis quibus Chronica dedi vocabulum.] No such work of this author is now extant.

³ Plane.] *S. E. L2.*; plene, *C. D.*

⁴ Conducibilis.] *E.*; magis conducit, *S. C. D. L2.*

mentur patriam? Quod quia officio styli mei præceptum est fieri, ordinatius puto posse historiam transigi, si, paulo altius repetens, a reditu imperatricis in Angliam post viri ¹sui decessum seriem annorum contexam. Itaque primo vocata, ut decet, in auxilium Divinitate, rerum veritatem scripturus, nihilque offensæ daturus aut gratiæ, ita incipiam.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

¹ Sui.] E.; omitted in S. C. D. L 2.

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

HISTORIÆ NOVELLÆ

LIBRI TRES.

INCIPIT LIBER PRIMUS NOVELLÆ HISTORIÆ.

QUIBUS DE CAUSIS IMPERATRICEM REX HENRICUS
AB ALEMANNIA REVOCAVIT.



ANNO Henrici regis Anglorum vi- Henry I.
cesimo sexto, qui fuit incarna-
tionis Dominicæ millesimus cen-
tesimus vicesimus sextus, Hen-
ricus imperator Alemannorum, Death of
Emp. Hen.
V. A.D. 1125.
cui præfati regis filia Matildis
nupserat, in ipso ætatis et victo-
riarum flore ¹ obiit. Morabatur eo tempore rex
noster Normanniæ, ² ob pacificandos, si qui in eis
partibus fierent, motus; qui, ubi primum obitum
generi accepit, non multo post honoratis viris a
se missis filiam revocavit. Invita, ut aiunt, im-
peratrix rediit, quod dotalibus regionibus con-
suetæ esset, et multas ibidem possessiones habe-
ret. Constat certe aliquos Lotharingorum et
Longobardorum principes succedentibus annis
plus quam semel Angliam venisse, ut eam sibi
dominam requirerent; ³ verumtamen fructu labo-
rum caruisse, cogitante rege ut filiæ connubio

Matilda re-
turns to Eng-
land, A.D.
1126.

¹ *Obiit.*] *L 2.* reads 'obierat vel obiit.'—The emperor Henry V. died on the 23rd May, A.D. 1125; and in September, A.D. 1126, King Henry returned from

Normandy with his daughter the empress.

² *Ob.] E.*; ad, *S. C. D. L 2.*

³ *Verumtamen.] E.*; sed, *S. C. D. L 2.*

inter se et Andegavensem comitem pacem componeret. Mirum enim in modum vir ille, omnium regum quos nostra et etiam patrum nostrorum tenet memoria maximus, suspectam tamen semper habuit Andegavensium potentiam. Hinc est quod ¹sponsalitia quæ Willelmus nepos suus, comes postea Flandriæ, cum filia comitis Andegavensis Fulconis, postea regis Ierosolymorum, contracturus esse ²videbatur, dissolvit et cassavit. Hinc est quod aliam ejusdem filiam filio suo Willelmo impubi vix dum adolescenti ³conjunxit. Hinc est quod hanc filiam suam (de qua incepimus loqui), post imperatorium thorum, ejusdem Fulconis filio nuptum collocavit, sicut sermo procedens dicere perget.

DE CONCILIO HABITO LONDON.

A. D. 1126.

Settlement
of the suc-
cession.

§ 2. Anno vicesimo septimo ⁴regni sui rex Henricus Angliam venit mense Septembri, adducens secum filiam suam. Proximo vero Natali Domini convocato apud Londoniam magno cleri et optimatum numero, uxori suæ, filiæ ducis Lovannensis, quam post obitum Matildis duxerat, comitatum Salopesbiriæ dedit: quam videlicet foeminam dolens non concipere, dum et perpetuo sterilem fore timeret, de successore regni merito anxius cogitabat. De qua re antea multum diuque ⁵considerato consilio, tunc in eodem concilio omnes totius Angliæ optimates, episcopos etiam et abbates, sacramento adegit et obstrinxit, ut, si ipse sine hærede masculo decederet, Matildem filiam suam quondam imperatricem incunctanter

¹ *Sponsalitia . . . cassavit.*] See § 419, p. 654, note ².

² *Videbatur.*] E.; dicebatur, S. C. D. L 2.

³ *Conjunct.*] See § 419, p. 652.

⁴ *Regni sui.*] S. C. D. E 2. L 2.; omitted in E 1.

⁵ *Considerato.*] E. L 2.; deliberato, S. C.; desiderato, D.

et sine ulla retractione dominam suscipere: præfatus quanto ¹incommodo patriæ fortuna Willelmum filium ²suum sibi surripuisset, cui jure regnum competeret: nunc superesse filiam, cui soli legitima debeatur successio, ab avo, avunculo, et patre regibus; ³a materno genere multis retro seculis. Siquidem ab Egbirto ⁴rege West-Saxonum, qui primus cæteros insulæ reges vel expulit vel subegit, ⁵anno Dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo, sub quatuordecim regibus, usque ad ejusdem incarnationis annum millesimum quadragesimum ⁶tertium, quo rex ⁷Edwardus in regnum sullimatus est. ⁸Nec unquam ejusdem regalis sanguinis linea defecit, nec in successione regni claudicavit. Porro ⁹Edwardus illius progeniei ultimus, idemque et præclarissimus, proneptem suam Margaritam ex fratre Edmundo Ireneside, Malcolmi regis Scottorum nuptiis copulavit; quorum ¹⁰filiam fuisse Matildem, hujus imperatricis matrem, constat.

DE SACRAMENTO QUOD PRIMATES ANGLIÆ
FECERUNT IMPERATRICI.

§ 3. Juraverunt ergo cuncti, quicumque in

The nobles
swear fealty
to the em-
press.

¹ *Incommodo.*] E.; damno, S. C. D. L 2.

² *Suum.*] S. C. D. E 2.; omitted in E 1. L 2.

³ *A materno.*] E. L 2.; et a materno, S. C. D.

⁴ *Rege.*] S. E. L 2.; omitted in C. D.

⁵ *Anno Dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo.*] The union of the kingdoms under Ecgberht did not take place for several years after his accession in 802. See sections 106, 107, pp. 147, et seq.

⁶ *Tertium.*] See note ⁶, p. 329.

⁷ *Edwardus.*] E.; Edwardus,

qui apud Westmonasterium jacet, S. C. D. L 2.

⁸ *Nec unquam . . . claudicavit.*] Malmesbury has here overlooked the reigns of Cnut and his sons.

⁹ *Edwardus . . . nuptiis copulavit.*] Margaret was married after the death of Edward the Confessor: it was her brother, Eadgar Aetheling, who, whilst an exile in Scotland, consented to her marriage with King Malcolm. (Sax. Chron. An. 1067.)

¹⁰ *Filiam . . . constat.*] E.; filia Matildis hujus imperatricis mater extitit, S. C. D. L 2.

eodem concilio alicujus ¹viderentur esse momenti; primo Willelmus Cantuarie archiepiscopus, mox cæteri episcopi, nec minus abbates. Laicorum primus juravit David rex Scotiæ, ejusdem imperatricis avunculus; tunc Stephanus comes Moritonii et Bononiæ, nepos Henrici regis ex sorore Adala: mox Robertus regis filius, quem ante regnum susceperat, et ²comitem Glocestræ fecerat; ³data ei in matrimonium Mabilia, spectabili et excellenti fœmina, domina tum viro morigera, tum etiam fœcunditate numerosæ et pulcherrimæ prolis beata. Notabile, ⁴ut dicitur, fuit certamen inter Robertum et Stephanum, dum æmula laude virtutum inter se contenderent quis eorum prior juraret; illo privilegium filii, isto dignitatem nepotis spectante. Ita obstrictis ⁵proceribus omnibus fide et sacramento, tunc quidem a quoque in sua discessum est. Post Pentecosten vero misit ⁶rex ⁷filiam in Normanniam, jubens eam per Rothomagensem archiepiscopum desponsari filio prædicti Fulconis, adolescenti magnæ nobilitatis et prædicandi roboris: nec distulit quin ipse quoque Normanniam navigaret, ⁸eosque matrimonio conjungeret. Quo facto, quodam vaticinio omnes prædicabant ut post mortem ejus a sacramento desciscerent. Ego Rogerium Salesbiriensem episcopum sæpe dicentem audivi, 'Solu-

A.D. 1127.

¹ *Viderentur.*] C. D. E. L 2.; videbantur, S.

² *Comitem Glocestræ.*] Robert was created earl of Gloucester in the year 1119. On the Pipe Roll 31 Hen. I, this entry occurs: 'Glocestrescire. Et comiti Gloec. xx. li. numero pro parte sua comitatus.'

³ *Data . . . beata.*] E.; omitted in S. C. D. G. K. L 2.

⁴ *Ut dicitur.*] E.; ut fertur, S. C. D. L 2.

⁵ *Proceribus.*] E.; omitted in S. C. D. L 2.

⁶ *Rex.*] S. C. D. E 2. L 2.; omitted in E 1.

⁷ *Filiam.*] E.; filiam suam, S. C. D. L 2.

⁸ *Eosque matrimonio conjungeret.*] The nuptials of Matilda with Geoffrey Plantagenet, afterwards earl of Anjou, were celebrated in the presence of her father in September 1127.

tum se ¹sacramento quod imperatrici fecerat : eo enim pacto se jurasse, ne rex præter consilium suum et cæterorum procerum filiam cuiquam nuptum daret extra regnum. Ejus matrimonii nullum auctorem, nullum fuisse conscium, nisi Robertum comitem Glocestræ, et Brianum filium comitis, et episcopum Luxoviensem.' Nec vero hæc iccirco dixerim quod credam vera fuisse verba hominis, qui se unicuique tempori pro volubilitate fortunæ accommodare nosset ; sed sicut verax historicus opinionem provincialium scriptis appono.

DE OBITU HONORII PAPÆ, ET DE CONTENTIONE
ELIGENDI APOSTOLICI.

§ 4. Reliquos annos vitæ et regni Henrici ^{Transactions till Henry's death.}
²regis breviter percensere libet ; ut nec rerum cognitione fraudentur posteri, nec his quæ minus ad hanc historiam pertinent prolixius immorari videar. ^{A.D. 1129.} ³Anno vicesimo octavo rediit in Angliam rex a Normannia. Anno vicesimo nono quiddam accidit in Anglia quod mirum videatur crinitis nostris, qui, obliti quid nati sunt, ⁴libenter se in

¹ *Sacramento.*] E.; a sacramento, S. C. D. L 2.

² *Regis.*] E.; omitted in S. C. D. L 2.

³ *Anno vicesimo octavo.*] Henry completed the twenty-eighth year of his reign 4th Aug. 1128 : but the Saxon Chronicle places his return from Normandy during the autumn of 1129.

⁴ *Libenter se in muliebris sexus habitum transformant.*] E.; in muliebris sexus habitum capillorum longitudine se ipsos transformant, S. C. D. L 2. — Ordericus Vitalis (Bouq. XII. 696) bears testimony to the excessive culture which the hair received

in that age, not less in England than in France. This extraordinary fashion, which was not confined to the laity, prevailed in England at various periods, and acts of council and royal edicts have been issued to restrain it. In the council held at London in 1102, over which Anselm presided, it was enacted, ' Ut criniti sic tondeantur ut pars aurium appareat, et oculi non tequantur.' See more on this subject in Eadmer, p. 81. In the twenty-first of Hen. III. the following order was made by that king : ' Rex Willelmo de Perecut salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus

muliebris sexus habitum transformant. Quidam provincialium militum, magno crinium luxu superbiens, conscientiaque stimulante perterritus, visus est sibi videre in somniis quasi aliquis eum capillorum suorum crinibus suffocaret; quare, somno excussus, quicquid superfuebat comarum cito abscidit. Cucurrit exemplum per Angliam, et (sicut recens poena mentem movere solet) omnes pene milites ad justum modum crines suos recidi æquanimiter tulerunt. Sed non diu stetit hæc sanctitas; vix enim anno elapso, cuncti, qui sibi curiales esse videbantur, in prius vitium reciderunt: longitudine capillorum cum fœminis certabant, et, ubi crines deficiunt, involucria quædam innodabant; obliti vel potius ignari sententiæ apostolicæ, ¹Vir si comam nutrierit, ignominia est illi.' Anno tricesimo rex Henricus transiit in Normanniam. Eo anno defuncto papa Honorio, magna contentione eligendi apostolici Romana fluctuavit ecclesia. Erant tunc in eadem urbe duo famosissimi cardinales, Gregorius diaconus sancti Angeli, et Petrus presbyter cardinalis, filius Leonis Romanorum principis: ambo literis et industria insignes; nec erat facile

A. D. 1130.

14 Feb.

Schism in
the church
of Rome.

et plenam potestatem vobis dedimus scindendi capillos clericorum nostrorum, qui sunt de hospitio nostro et familia nostra, longos crines habentium, et comas nutriuntium, et ad crocos capillorum suorum deponendos. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quatenus ad hoc modo debito diligenter intendatis; hujusmodi potestatem nostram vobis concessam taliter exequentes, circa prædictos capillos scindendos et crocos deponendos, ne ad capillos vestros scindendos forcipes apponere debeamus. Teste me ipso apud Clyve secundo die Septembris.

(Rot. Pat. 21 Hen. III. m. 8.)
'A memorable precedent,' says Prynne, 'fit to be imitated and put in execution in our effeminate degenerate age, more peccant in this kind than any former times, there being more false heads (if not hearts too) in England, and more long-haired ruffians, both of clergy, court, city, country, needing such a reformation and reform as this writ prescribes, than in any precedent age.'
(Prynne's Papal Usurp. tom. II. p. 479.)

¹Vir si comam nutrierit, ignominia est illi.] 1 Cor. XI. 14.

discernere populo quisnam eorum justius eligeretur a clero. Prævenit tamen pars quæ favebat Gregorio ut pontifex ordinatus vocaretur Innocentius : sparsus est etiam rumor in plebem quod adhuc Honorius spiraret, et ita fieri præciperet. Auctores fuerunt hujus ordinationis Willelmus Prænestinus episcopus, Mathæus Albanensis, Conradus Sabinensis, Johannes Hostiensis, Petrus Cremensis de titulo sancti Crisogoni, Haimericus cancellarius. At vero pars altera, sepulto jam Honorio, annitentibus fratribus Petri, locupletissimis Romanorum et potentissimis, eum electum et sacratum vocavit Anacletum. Maximus hujus ordinationis hortator et auctor Petrus Portuensis episcopus fuit : cujus epistolam si posuero, ea omnem controversiam aperiet, pronior tamen in Anacletum.

EPISTOLA PETRI PORTUENSIS DE EADEM CON-
TENTIONE.

§ 5. 'Petrus Portuensis episcopus, quatuor episcopis Willelmo Prænestino, Mathæo Albanensi, Conrado Sabinensi, Johanni Ostiensi. Quanta sit pro vobis tribulatio cordis mei, ille solus novit qui omnia novit : vobis quoque meis literis cognitum saltem jam ex parte fuisset, nisi ecclesiæ sententia et communis auctoritas prohiberet. De commendatione seu vituperatione personarum de quibus nunc sermonum varietas agitatur, non est hujus temporis judicare : est qui quærat et judicet. Si tamen quisquam præsto fuerit accusare, præsto erit et qui debeat respondere ; præsertim cum in vestro et meo, immo in totius ecclesiæ conspectu, uterque sapienter vixerit et honeste, et quæ officii sui erant plena hucusque exercuerit libertate. Abstinere vos potius convenit a sermonibus otiosis et verbis præ-

*Epistle of
Peter bishop
of Porto.*

cipationis: si de rumoribus agitur, longe se aliter habent res quam vestræ apud me literæ protestantur. Ad hæc, si verba quæ posuistis, si ordinis rationem attenditis, (ut, salva reverentia vestra, loquar,) factionem illam vestram qua confidentia, qua fronte, electionem vocare præsumitis? Cur illum vestrum dicitis ordinatum, cum prorsus in causa ejus ordo non fuerit? Siccine didicistis papam eligere? in angulo, in abscondito, in tenebrosis et umbra mortis? Si mortuo papæ vivum succedere ¹volebatis, cur mortuum vivere prædicabatis? multo melius erat mortuo humanitatem impendere, et sic de vivi solatio cogitare. Sed ecce! ²dum de mortuo solatium vivo requiritis, et vivum et mortuum pariter suffocastis. Postremo, nec vestrum, sicut nec meum, fuit eligere; sed potius electum a fratribus spernere vel approbare. Quod igitur, neglecto ordine, contempto canone, spreto etiam ipso a vobis condito anathemate, me inconsulto priore vestro, inconsultis etiam fratribus majoribus et prioribus, nec etiam vocatis aut expectatis, cum essetis novitii et in numero brevi paucissimi, facere præsumpsistis, pro infecto habendum esse, et nihil omnino existere, ex ipsa vestra æstimatione potestis advertere. Cito autem nobis Dominus affuit, et viam qua errori vestro contraire possemus ostendit; fratres siquidem vestri cardinales (quorum præcipua est in electione potestas) cum clero, universo expetente populo, cum honoratorum consensu, in luce, in manifesto, unanimes voto et desiderio, elegerunt dominum Petrum cardinalem in Romanum pontificem Anacletum. Hanc ego electionem canonicè celebra-

¹ Volebatis.] S. C. E.; voluistis, D.; voluistis vel volebatis, L2.

² Dum.] S. C. D. E2. L2.; omitted in E1.

tam conspexi, et auctore Deo confirmavi. Hunc ecclesia suscipit et veneratur: hunc per Dei gratiam episcopi, abbates, principes, capitanei, et barones, quidam per se ipsos, quidam per nuncios suos, videntibus nobis frequentant. Deprædationem illam et crudelitatem, quam prætenditis, non videmus. Quicumque ad eum pro responsis seu negotiis suis veniunt benigne suscipiuntur, benignius revertuntur. Redite, jam redite ad cor: nolite schisma in ecclesia facere; ad animarum subversionem nolite ulterius laborare: teneat vos timor ¹Dei, non pudor seculi. Nunquid qui dormit, non adjiciet ut resurgat? desistite jam mendaciis, in quibus impii spem suam ponere consuerunt. Dominus Tiburtius in scriptis suis cum ²juramento testificatus est, dicens quod ego diaconum sancti Angeli solum idoneum judicavi ad pontificatus ordinem. Videat ipse quid dixerit: ego in occulto locutus sum nihil; non est aliquis qui hoc verbum ab ore meo unquam audierit. Hæc fuit sententia mea semper, ut non nisi sepulto papa de successoris persona mentio haberetur. Unitatem ecclesiæ tenui, et tenebo: veritati et justitiæ adhærere curabo, confidenter sperans quia justitia et veritas liberabit me.' Sic prædictus Petrus ³Portuensis, Petro Leoni prior, scripsit. Nec vero pars altera cessabat quin et ipsum Petrum catulum leonis diceret, et fautores ejus factionis complices nominaret. Et illi quidem varia inter se dubiis de rebus agebant. Innocentius vero exclusus Roma, transscensis Alpius, ⁴Galliam contendit. Ibi ab

The sovereigns acknowledge Innocent.

¹ *Dei.*] E. L 2.; Domini, S. C. D.

² *Juramento.*] E.; sacramento, S. C. D. L 2.

³ *Portuensis, Petro Leoni.*] E.; Portuensis episcopus, in Petrum Leonis filium, S. C. D. L 2.

⁴ *Galliam.*] S. C. D. L 2.; Galliam, E.

omni citramontana ecclesia incunctanter susceptus est: quin etiam et rex Henricus, qui non leviter a sententia quam semel proposuisset dejici nosset, illi apud Carnotum ultro manus dedit; et apud Rothomagum non modo suis, sed et optimatum et etiam Judæorum, muneribus ¹eum dignatus est. Nec vero Innocentius, quamvis ab Anglorum et Francorum regibus, simul et ab imperatore Alemannorum, valde juvaretur, nunquam tamen quiete potiri potuit, quod Anacletus Romanæ sedem teneret ecclesiæ. At vero ²ipso Anacleto defuncto octavo præsumpti (ut dicebatur) sui episcopatus anno, dominus ³Innocentius inconcussa ad hoc tempus pace apostolica fruitur dignitate.

25 Jan.
A.D. 1138.

A.D. 1131.
Oath of
fealty to
Matilda renewed.

Consecration
of Louis VII.
of France.

§ 6. Anno tricesimo primo regni sui rediit ⁴rex in Angliam. Imperatrix quoque eodem anno ⁵natali solo adventum suum exhibuit; habitoque non parvo procerum conventu apud Northamptonam, priscam fidem apud eos qui dederant novavit, ab his qui non dederant accepit. ⁶Eodem anno Lodowicus rex Francorum, et in senium vergens et nimia corpulentia gravis, filium coronari jussit ut regni successorem: quo non multo post casu equi exanimato, alterum per manum pontificis ⁷Romani diademate insignivit. Is, ut ⁸ferunt, ab antiqua Francorum fortitudine non

¹ *Eum dignatus est.*] S. C. D. E 1. L 2.; eum suscipere dignatus est, E 2.

² *Ipsa.*] S. C. D. E 2. L 2.; omitted in E 1.

³ *Innocentius . . . dignitate.*] Pope Innocent died 24th Sept. 1143.

⁴ *Rex.*] E.; rex Henricus, S. C. D. L 2.

⁵ *Natali solo.*] S. C. D. E 1. L 2.; natali Angliæ solo, E 2.

⁶ *Eodem anno.*] Philippe, eld-

est son of Louis VI, was consecrated by command of his father on the 14th April 1129; but, meeting with an accidental death on the 13th Oct. 1131, the king, twelve days afterwards, caused his second son Louis to be crowned at Rheims by the Roman pontiff, Innocent II.

⁷ *Romani.*] S. C. D. L 2.; Remensis, E.

⁸ *Ferunt.*] S. C. D. E 1. L 2.; dicunt, E 2.

degenerans, etiam Aquitaniam juri suo per uxoris dotale foedus acquisivit; quam post Lodovicum, Karoli magni filium, in proprio dominatu Francorum reges non habuisse noscuntur.

DE LUE PECORUM.

§ 7. ¹Anno tricesimo primo regni Henrici in- A.D. 1132.
 festa lues domesticorum animalium totam pervagata est Angliam: plenæ porcorum haræ subito vacuabantur; integra boum præsepia repente destituebantur. Duravit sequentibus annis eadem pestis, ut nulla omnino totius regni villa, hujus miseræ immunis, alterius incommoda ridere posset. Tunc etiam contentio inter Bernardum episcopum Menevensem et Urbanum Landavensem de jure parochiarum, quas idem Urbanus illicite usurpaverat, æterno fine sopita est: tot enim ad curiam Romanam appellationibus, tot itinerum expensis, tot causidicorum conflictibus multis annis ventilata, tandem aliquando morte Urbani apud Romam soluta, vel potius decisa est; nam et apostolicus, æquitate rei perpensa, religioni et justitiæ Menevensis episcopi qua decebat sententia satisfacit. Eodem etiam anno Willelmus archiepiscopus Cantuariæ legationem in Angliam, Romanæ sedis indulgentiæ, personaliter impe-
 travit.

DE TRANSITU REGIS HENRICI ET DE MORTE EJUS. Henry's last

§ 8. ²Anno tricesimo secundo regni pridie voyage to
Normandy.
A.D. 1133.

¹ Anno tricesimo primo.] *Recitius* 'secundo.' See Hen. Huntingdon.

² Anno tricesimo secundo regni ... *acceperat.*] Although all the MSS. read 'tricesimo secundo,' yet it is evident from the context that it should be 'tricesimo ter-

tio;' the completion of Henry's thirty-third regnal year being on the 4th of August 1133. This and other passages show that Malmesbury reckoned Henry's reign to commence on the 5th of August, the day of his coronation, and not on the 2nd of that month, the day of his brother's death.

transacto, Henricus nonis Augusti (quo die quondam apud Westmonasterium coronæ culmen acceperat) Normanniam navigavit. Ultimus ille fatalisque regi transitus fuit. Mira tunc prorsus providentia Deitatis rebus allisit humanis, ut ¹eo die navem ascenderet, nunquam ²iterum reversurus, quo dudum coronatus fuerat, tam diu et tam feliciter regnaturus. Erant tunc (ut dixi) nonæ Augusti; et ³feria quarta prosecuta sunt elementa dolore suo extremum tanti principis transitum. Nam et ⁴sol ipsa die, hora sexta, tetra ferrugine (ut poetæ solent dicere) nitidum caput obtexit, mentes hominum ⁵defectione sua terens: et feria sexta proxima, primo mane, tantus terræ motus fuit ut penitus subsidere videretur, horrifico sono sub ⁶terra ante audito. Vidi ego et in eclipsi stellas circa solem; et in terræ motu parietem domus in qua sedebam, bifario impetu elevatum, tertio resedissee. Fuit ergo rex in Normannia ⁷triennio continuo, et tanto plus quantum est inter nonas Augusti, quo die (⁸dictum est) mare transivit, et kalendas Decembris, qua nocte decessit. Nec vero dubitandum, multa eum, quæ non immerito scribi deberent, in Normannia gessisse; sed consilium fuit præterire quæ ad nostram notitiam non integre pervenere. Opiniones reditus ejus in Angliam multæ; sive fato quodam, sive divina voluntate, omnes frustratæ. Regnavit ergo annis triginta quinque,

Henry's
death, 1 Dec.
A.D. 1135.

¹ *Eo.*] S. C. D. EI. L2.; eodem, E 2.

² *Iterum.*] E.; vivus, S. C. D. L2.

³ *Feria quarta.*] Wednesday, 2nd Aug. A.D. 1133.

⁴ *Sol ipsa die, hora sexta.*] The eclipse of the sun took place on the 2nd of August 1133, at mid-day.

⁵ *Defectione sua terens.*] E.; eclipsi sua concutiens, S. C. D. L2.

⁶ *Terra.*] E.; terris, S. C. D. L2.

⁷ *Triennio.*] Rectius 'biennio.'

⁸ *Dictum est.*] E.; ut dictum est, S. C. D. L2.

¹et a nonis Augusti usque ad kalendas Decembris; id est, mensibus quatuor, ²diebus quatuor minus. Apud ³Liuns exercitio venationis intentus, valetudine adversa correptus decubuit. Qua ⁴in deterius crescente, evocavit ad se ⁵Hugonem, quem primo ex priore de Lewis abbatem apud Radingas, mox Rothomagi archiepiscopum, fecerat; merito sibi, et hæredibus suis, pro tantis beneficiis obnoxium. Optimates rumor ⁶suæ ægritudinis celeriter contraxit. Affuit et Robertus filius ejus, comes Gloeestræ, qui, pro integritate fidei et virtutis eminentia, victuram in omne seculum memoriam sui nominatim promeruit. A quibus de successore interrogatus, filiæ omnem terram suam citra et ⁷ultra mare legitima et perenni successione adjudicavit; marito ejus subiratus, quod eum et minis et injuriis aliquantis irritaverat. Septimo incommodi die transacto, nocte jam intempesta naturæ cessit. Cujus magnanimos mores hic dicere supersedeo, quia ⁸in quinto libro regalium gestorum plenissime illos contexui: quam Christiane ⁹autem obierit, hæc subsequens epistola supradicti Rothomagensis archiepiscopi docebit.

EPISTOLA ROTHOMAGI ARCHIEPISCOPI DE OBITU
REGIS HENRICI.

§ 9. 'Domino et patri suo Innocentio papæ, servus Hugo Rothomagensis sacerdos, obedi-

Epistle of
Hugh arch-
bishop of
Rouen.

¹ Et.] S. C. D. E2. L2.; omitted in E1.

² Diebus quatuor minus.] S. C. D. L2.; diebus minus, E1.; diebus quinque plus, E2.—The calculation by lunar or calendar months reconciles the various readings.

³ Liuns.] E.; Leonas, S. D. L2.; Leonibus, C.

⁴ In deterius.] S. C. D. E1. L2.; evidentius, E2.

⁵ Hugonem.] Surnamed of Amiens.

⁶ Suæ.] E.; omitted in S.C.D. L2.

⁷ In quinto libro.] p. 640, et seq.

⁸ Autem.] E.; omitted in S. C. D. L2.

entiæ debitum. De domino meo rege, non sine dolore memorando, piæ paternitati vestræ notificandum duximus; qui, subita præventus ægritudine, nos, missis quam citissime legatis suis, ¹ægritudinis solatiis voluit interesse. Venimus ad ipsum, et cum ipso plenum mœroribus confecimus triduum. Prout ei dicebamus, ipse ore proprio sua fatebatur peccata, et manu propria pectus suum percutiebat, et malam voluntatem dimittebat. Consilio Dei, et nostro, et episcoporum, emendationem vitæ suæ observaturum sese promittebat. ²Sub ista promissione, eo firmiter annuente, pro nostro officio tertio eum et per triduum absolvimus. Crucem Domini adoravit; corpus et sanguinem Domini devote suscepit; eleemosynam suam disposuit, ita dicendo: "Solvantur debita mea, reddantur liberationes et solidatæ ³quibus debeo; reliqua indigentibus distribuantur." Utinam sic fecissent qui thesauros ejus 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 quievit: pacem det ei Deus, quia pacem dilexit!

QUOMODO CORPUS REGIS HENRICI EXINTERATUM
EST.

Henry's funeral.

§ 10. Hæc præfatus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus de fide regis Henrici morientis vere contestatus est. Funus regaliter curatum, proceribusque vicissim portantibus Rotomagum usque de-

¹ *Ægritudinis.*] E.; ægritudinis suæ, S. C. D. L2.

² *Sub ista promissione, eo firmiter annuente.*] E.; Sub ista ei firmiter annuente, D.; Sub ista pro-

missione, S.; Sub ipsa promissione ista ei firmiter annuente, C. L2.

³ *Quibus.*] E.; quæ, S. C. D. L2.

latum est. Illic in quodam recessu ecclesiæ majoris exinteratum est, ne diuturnitate corruptum nares assidentium vel astantium exacerbaret: reliquiæ interaneorum in cœnobio sanctæ Mariæ de Pratis juxta urbem humatæ; quod ipse, ut audio, a matre sua inchoatum, non paucis compendiis honoraverat. Corpus Cadomi servatum, quousque serenas auras paulo clementior hyems inveheret, quæ tum aspera inhorrebat.

DE STEPHANO REGE IN REGNUM PROMOTO.

§ 11. Interea Stephanus comes Moritonii et Bononiæ, nepos regis Henrici (ut supra dixi), qui post regem Scotiæ primus laicorum fidem suam imperatrici obstrinxerat, in Angliam per Witsand maturavit adventum. Imperatrix certis ex causis, simul et frater ejus Robertus comes Glocestræ, cum omnibus pene proceribus, redire in regnum distulerunt. Quædam ¹tamen castella in Normannia, inter quæ præcipuum Danfrontum, partibus hæredis se applicuere. Constat sane illo die quo Stephanus appulsus est Angliam, summo mane, contra naturam hyemis in regionibus nostris, terricrèpum sonum tonitru cum horrendo fulgure fuisse, ut paulo minus mundus solvi æstimaretur. Ille, ubi a Londoniensibus et Wintoniensibus in regem exceptus est, etiam Rogerum Salesbiriensem episcopum et Willelmum de Ponte Arcus, custodes thesaurorum regaliū, ad se transduxit. Ne tamen veritas celetur posteris, omnes ejus conatus irriti fuissent, nisi Henricus frater ejus, Wintoniensis episcopus, qui ²modo apostolicæ sedis legatus est in Anglia, placidum ei commodasset assen-

Stephen earl
of Mortain
comes to
England,

and is chosen
king.

¹ Tamen.] S. C. D. E 2. L 2.; | ² Modo.] S. E. L 2.; omitted
omitted in E 1. | in C. D.

sum; spe scilicet captus amplissima quod Stephanus avi sui Willelmi in regni moderamine mores servaret, præcipueque in ecclesiastici vigoris disciplina. Quapropter districto sacramento, quod a Stephano Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus exegit de libertate reddenda ecclesiæ et conservanda, episcopus Wintoniensis se mediatorem et vadem apposuit. Cujus sacramenti tenorem, postea scripto inditum, loco suo non prætermittam.

DE CORONATIONE REGIS STEPHANI, ET DE MORIBUS EJUS.

Stephen's
coronation,
22 Dec.
A.D. 1135.

§ 12. Coronatus est ergo in regem Stephanus Angliæ ¹undecimo kalendas Januarii, Dominica, tribus episcopis præsentibus, archiepiscopo, Wintoniensi, Salesbiriensi, nullis abbatibus, paucissimis optimatibus, vicesima secunda die post excessum avunculi, anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo centesimo tricesimo quinto. Vir quidem impiger sed ²minus prudens, armis strenuus, immodici animi ad quælibet ardua inchoanda, lenis et exorabilis hostibus, affabilis omnibus: cujus cum dulcedinem in promissis suspiceres, veritatem tamen dictorum et promissorum efficaciam desiderares; unde fratris consilium non multo post lapso tempore postponebat, cujus (ut dixi) auxilio munitus, et adversantes summovebat, et ad regnum ascenderat.

DE HUMATIONE REGIS HENRICI.

A D. 1136.
Henry's body
removed to
England.

§ 13. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis ³millesimo

¹ Undecimo kalendas Januarii.] The majority of contemporary writers state that Stephen's coronation took place on the 26th December.

² Minus prudens.] E.; prudens, L 2.; imprudens, S. C. D.

³ Millesimo centesimo tricesimo sexto, postea.] E. L 2.; millesimo centesimo tricesimo quinto, S. C. D.

centesimo tricesimo sexto, postea, regis Henrici corpus, lenibus flabris spirantibus, statim post Natale Domini impositum navi Angliam devectum est; et apud Radingense cœnobium, (quod et foris prædiorum magnitudine, et intus religiosorum monachorum ordine decoraverat,) præsentem regni successorem, humatum est. Postea vero rex Stephanus in Northanhumbriam paulo ante Quadragesimam contendit, ut David regem Scotiæ, qui diversa sentire dicebatur, conveniret: ¹nec vero difficulter ab eo quod voluit impetravit, quia et ille morum lenitate, et propiori jam senectute infractus, libenter in otium vel veræ vel simulatæ pacis concessit.

DE ADVENTU ROBERTI COMITIS GLOUCESTRÆ IN ANGLIAM.

§ 14. Eodem anno post Pascha Robertus comes Gloucestræ, cujus prudentiam rex Stephanus maxime verebatur, venit in Angliam. 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 videbat; si refragaretur, nihil sorori vel nepotibus profuturum, sibi certe immaniter nociturum, intelligebat. Habebat enim (ut supra tetigi) rex immensam vim thesaurorum, quos multis annis ²rex Henricus avunculus suus aggresserat; æstimabantur ³denarii, et hi exquisi-

Arrival and conduct of Robert earl of Gloucester.

¹ *Nec vero difficulter.*] E.; nec difficile, S. C. D. L 2.

² *Rex Henricus avunculus suus aggresserat.*] E.; avunculus aggresserat, S. C. D. L 2.

³ *Denarii, et hi exquisitissimi.*] The author of the Dialogus de Scaccario states that for some

time after the Norman Conquest there was very little money in specie in the realm, and that until the reign of Henry the First all rents and farms due to the king were rendered in provisions and necessaries for his household; but Henry I. ordered

tissimi, fere ad centum millia libras: erant et vasa tam aurea quam argentea magni ponderis et inæstimabilis pretii, et antiquorum regum, et Henrici potissimum, ¹prudencia congesta. Hanc copiam gazarum habenti auxiliares deesse non poterant; præsertim cum esset ipse in dando diffusus, et (quod minime principem decet) prodigus. Currebatur ad eum ab omnium generum militibus, et a levis armaturæ hominibus, maximeque ex Flandria et Brittainia. Erat genus hominum rapacissimum et violentissimum, qui nihil pensi haberent vel cœmeteria frangere vel ecclesias ²expoliare; religiosi quinetiam ordinis viros non solum equis proturbare, sed et in captionem abducere: non solum advenæ, sed etiam indigenæ milites, qui pacem regis Henrici odebant, quod sub ea tenui victu vitam transigebant. Hi omnes gratanter principi assenserant, quem levi negotio ad sua commoda inflectere possent, provincialium dispendio suas fortunas urgentes. Erat præterea Stephanus, cum esset comes, facilitate morum, et communionem jocandi, considendi, ³convescendi etiam cum infimis, amorem tantum demeritus quantum vix mente aliquis concipere queat: et jam omnes proceres Angliæ in ejus assensum pronis mentibus transierant. Erat ⁴igitur anxius prudentissimus comes ut illos delicti coargueret, et ad saniores sententiam præsentem colloquio revocaret; nam viribus obviare

the payments to be made in money: they were consequently made 'ad scalam' and 'ad pensum'; 'in numero,' or by tale; and 'per combustionem,' or melting, which latter mode was adopted to prevent payment being made in debased money: hence perhaps it was that Henry's money was of the best quality.

¹ Prudentia.] E.; magnanimitate, S. C. D. L 2.

² Expoliare.] E.; expilare, S. C. D. L 2.

³ Convescendi.] E. L 2.; consuescendi, S.; omitted in C. D.

⁴ Igitur.] E.; quidem, S. C. D. L 2.

nulla propter præfatas causas dabatur facultas: cui nimirum nec in Angliam venire liberum erat, nisi, quasi defectionis eorum particeps, mentis suæ arcanum ad tempus dissimularet. Itaque homagium regi fecit sub conditione quadam, scilicet, quamdiu ille dignitatem suam integre custodiret et sibi pacta servaret; spectato enim jamdudum regis ingenio, instabilitatem fidei ejus prævidebat.

DE SACRAMENTO QUOD REX STEPHANUS FECIT DE
SERVANDA JUSTITIA ET PRIVILEGIIS ET LEGIBUS
REGNI.

§ 15. Eodem anno, non multo post adventum comitis, juraverunt episcopi fidelitatem regi quamdiu ille libertatem ecclesiæ et vigorem disciplinæ conservaret. Ipse quoque juravit juxta tenorem scripti quod sic habetur in subditis: ‘Ego Stephanus, Dei gratia, assensu cleri et populi, in regem Angliæ electus, et a domino Wilhelmo archiepiscopo Cantuariæ et sanctæ ecclesiæ Romanæ legato consecratus, et ab Innocentio sanctæ Romanæ sedis pontifice postmodum confirmatus, respectu et amore Dei sanctam ecclesiam liberam esse concedo, et debitam reverentiam illi confirmo. Nihil me in ecclesia, vel in rebus ecclesiasticis, symoniace acturum vel permissurum esse promitto. Ecclesiasticarum personarum et omnium clericorum, et rerum eorum, justitiam et potestatem, et distributionem bonorum ecclesiasticorum, in manu episcoporum esse perhibeo et confirmo. Dignitates ecclesiarum privilegiis earum confirmatas, et consuetudines earum antiquo tenore habitas, inviolate manere ¹statuo et confirmo. Omnes ecclesiarum

Stephen's
charter.

¹ Statuo et confirmo.] E.; concedo et statuo, S. C. D. L. 2.

possessiones et tenuras, quas die illa habuerunt qua Willelmus rex avus meus fuit vivus et mortuus, sine omnium calumniantium reclamazione, eis liberas et absolutas esse concedo. Si quid vero de habitis aut possessis ante mortem regis, quibus modo careat, ecclesia deinceps repetierit, indulgentiæ et dispensationi meæ vel discutendum vel restituendum reservo. Quæcunque vero post mortem regis, liberalitate regum, largitione principum, oblatione vel comparatione vel qualibet transmutatione fidelium, collata sunt, confirmo pacem me et justitiam in omnibus facturum, et pro posse meo conservaturum, promitto. Forestas quas Willelmus rex avus meus, et Willelmus secundus avunculus meus, instituerunt et tenuerunt, mihi reservo: cæteras omnes, quas Henricus rex superaddidit, ecclesiis et regno quietas reddo et concedo. Si quis autem episcopus vel abbas, vel ¹ alius ecclesiasticus, ² ante mortem suam rationabiliter sua distribuerit, vel distribuenda statuerit, firmum manere concedo: si vero morte præoccupatus fuerit, pro salute animæ ejus ecclesiæ consilio eadem fiat distributio. Dum vero sedes propriis fuerint pastoribus vacuæ, et ipsæ et omnes earum possessi-

¹ *Alius ecclesiasticus.*] E.; alia ecclesiastica persona, *S. C. D. L. 2.*

² *Ante mortem.*] 'It had been the practice to seize to the king's use whatever property ecclesiastics left behind them. Henry of Huntingdon relates, that on the death of Gilbert the Universal, bishop of London, who was remarkable for his avarice, all his effects, and among the rest his boots crammed with gold

and silver, were conveyed to the exchequer. *Anglia Sacra*, II. 698. Sometimes even what had been distributed on a death-bed was reclaimed for the king. Vide G. Neub. III. 5.' (Sharpe, 563.)—This practice of seizing the property of ecclesiastics at their death seems subsequently to have settled down into a claim on the part of the king of the cup and palfrey of a deceased bishop, prior, and abbot. (See *Rot. Claus.* 39 Hen. III. m. 17, in dorso.)

ones in manu ¹ et custodia clericorum et proborum hominum ejusdem ecclesiæ committantur, donec pastor canonicè substituatur. Omnes exactiones, et mescheningas, et injustitias, sive per vicecomites vel per alios quoslibet male inductas, funditus extirpo. Bonas leges, et antiquas et justas consuetudines in murdris, et placitis, et aliis causis observabo, et observari præcipio et constituo. Apud Oxeneford, anno incarnationis Domini millesimo centesimo tricesimo sexto, regni mei primo.' A.D. 1136.

QUOD REX STEPHANUS OMNIA HÆC QUÆ JURAVERAT PERPERAM MUTAVIT.

§ 16. Nomina testium, qui multi fuerunt, apponere fastidio; quia pene omnia ita perperam mutavit, quasi ad hoc tantum jurasset ut prævaricatorem sacramenti se regno toti ostenderet. Liceat enim mihi, pace mansuetissimi hominis, verum non occulere; qui, si legitime regnum ingressus fuisset, et in eo administrando credulas aures malevolorum susurris non exhibuisset, parum ei profecto ad regiæ personæ decorem defuisset. Itaque sub eo aliquarum ecclesiarum thesauri direpti, possessiones terrarum laicis datæ; ecclesiæ clericorum alienis venditæ; episcopi capti, ² et res suas abalienare coacti; abbatia, vel amicorum gratia, vel relaxatione debitorum, indignis concessæ. Sed hæc non tam illi, quam consiliariis ejus, ascribenda puto; qui persuadebant ei, nunquam eum debere carere denariis dum monasteria essent referta thesauris.

Stephen's
subsequent
conduct.

¹ *Et custodia.*] S. C. D. E 2. | ² *Et.*] E. L 2.; vel, S. C. L 2.; omitted in E 1. | D.

DE TRANSITU REGIS STEPHANI ET ROBERTI COMITIS GLOECESTRÆ IN NORMANNIAM, ET DE INSIDIIS HABITIS A REGE IN COMITEM.

A.D. 1137.
The king
goes into
Normandy.

§ 17. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis ¹millesimo centesimo tricesimo septimo, rex, primo tempore Quadragesimæ, transiit mare. Comes etiam, pertentatis illorum et cognitis animis quos datæ fidei tenaciores esse noverat, dispositoque quid deinceps agendum decerneret, ²ipso die Paschæ mare ingressus, plenaque felicitate in terram evectus est. Nec multo post, malignitatem adversæ fortunæ paulo minus expertus est; rex enim eum, incentore quodam Willelmo de Ipse, insidiis interciperi conatus est. Comes autem eas per quendam insidiarum conscium præmunitus, paratos sibi evitavit dolos; et curia, quo sæpe invitabatur, aliquantis diebus abstinuit. Rex, consternatus animo quod insidiis parum profecisset, astutia agendum ratus, serenitate vultus et gratuita confessione magnitudinem culpæ attenuare studuit. Juravit tamen verbis pro placito comitis conceptis, se nunquam ulterius tanto scelere affuturum; et ut magis in gratiam reciperetur, manu archiepiscopi Hugonis Rothomagensis in manum Roberti missa, sacramentum solidavit. Et hæc quidem egit ille; sed nunquam plenam ei exhibuit amicitiam, cujus semper suspectam habebat potentiam: itaque coram ³comite pulchre jocundeque comitem ⁴illum appellans, retro maledicis verbis mordebat, et quibus poterat possessionibus vellicabat. Robertus quoque, arte artem eludens, occultabat fronte ani-

¹ *Millesimo centesimo tricesimo septimo.*] S. C. D. L 2.; millesimo centesimo tricesimo sexto, E.

² *Ippo.*] E. L 2.; ipse, S. C. D.

³ *Comite.*] S. C. D. L 2.; omitted in E.

⁴ *Illum.*] S. C. D. L 2.; omitted in E.

num; pacificeque regem in regnum redire dimit-
tens, ipse commodis suis in Normannia manens
intendit. Ita Stephano multis tumultibus in
Anglia impedito, et nunc super ¹hos, nunc super
alios irruente, ut merito illi quod de Ismahele
dictum est coaptari posset, 'quia manus om-
nium contra illum, et illius contra omnes,' Ro-
bertus toto anno illo securum in Normannia egit
otium. Rex prompte contra sibi resistentes
crebro (ut ferebatur) dicere solebat, 'Cum me in
regem elegerint, cur me destituunt? per nascen-
tiam Dei, nunquam rex dejectus appellabor!' Robertus, quasi positus in ²specula, rerum pro-
videbat exitum; et ne de juramento, quod sorori
fecerat, erga Deum et homines perfidiæ notaretur,
sedulo cogitabat.

QUOMODO ET QUIBUS DE CAUSIS ROBERTUS
COMES HOMAGIUM REGIS ABDICAVIT.

§ 18. Anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo A.D. 1138.
centesimo tricesimo octavo, intestinis dissidiis Troubles in
Anglia quatebatur; multi siquidem, quos nobi- England.
litas generis, vel magnitudo animi, vel potius vi-
ridioris ³ætatis audacia, ad illicita præcipitabat,
a rege, hi prædia, hi castella, postremo quæ-
cunque semel collibuisset, petere non verebantur;
quæ cum ille dare differret, excusata mutilatione
regni, vel quod eadem alii calumniarentur aut
etiam possiderent, illi continuo ira commoti cas-
tella contra eum obfirmabant, prædas ingentes
ex ejus terris agebant. Nec vero ille aliquorum
defectione frangebatur animo; sed modo hic,
modo illic subitus aderat, semperque suo magis
quam resistentium damno rem conficiebat: multis

¹ Hos.] E.; unos, S. C. D. L2. | ³ Ætatis.] S. C. D. E1. L2.;
² Specula.] S. C. D. E1. L2.; | animi vel ætatis, E2.
speculo, E2.

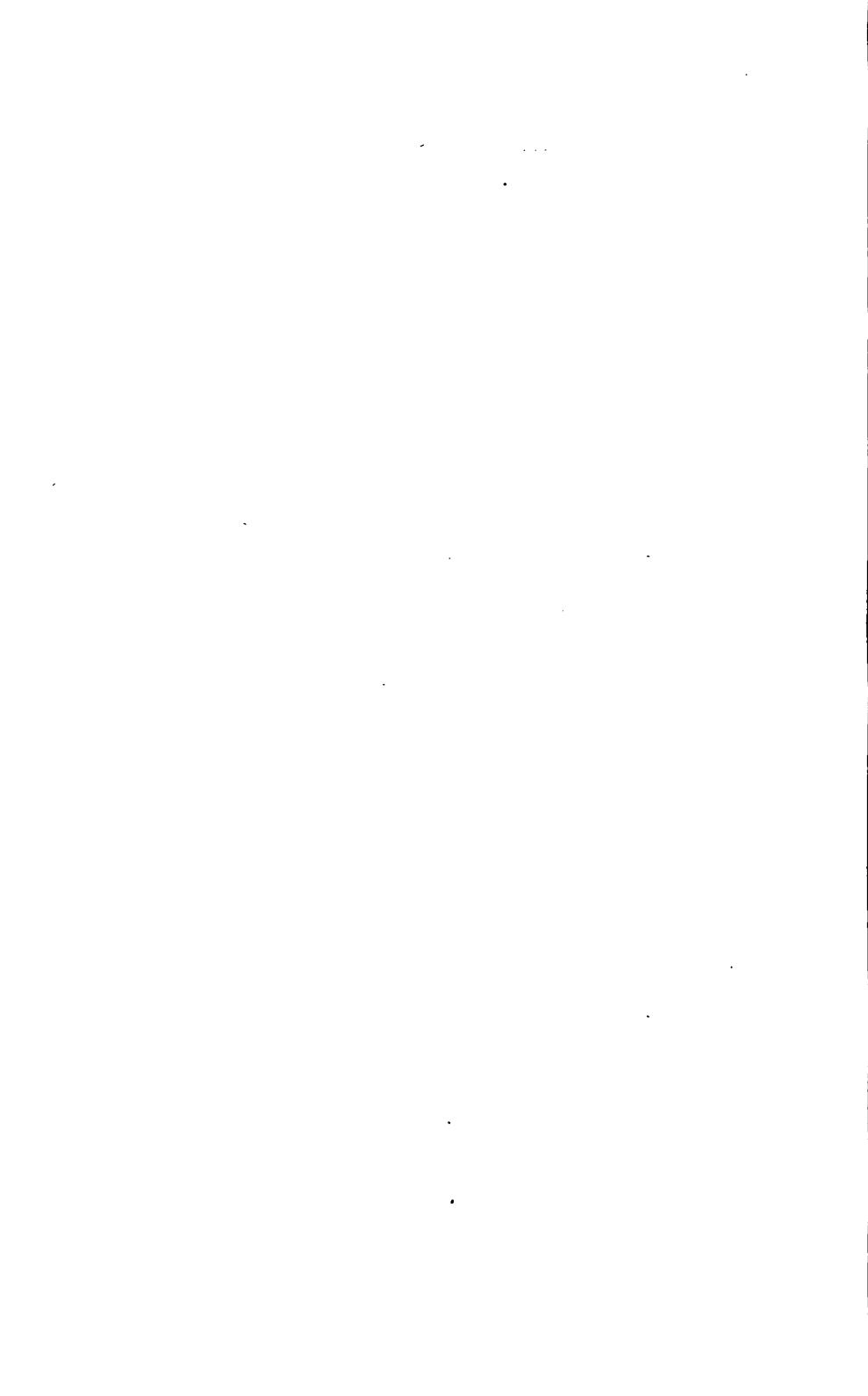
enim et magnis laboribus suis in cassum effusis, datis vel honoribus vel castellis, simulatam ad tempus pacem ab illis promerebat. Denique multos etiam comites, qui ante non fuerant, instituit; applicitis possessionibus et redditibus quæ proprio jure regi competebant. Erant illi avidiores ad petendum, et is profusior ad dandum; quia fama per Angliam volitabat, quod comes Gloeestræ Robertus, qui erat in Normannia, in proximo partes sororis foret adiuturus, rege tantummodo ante diffidato. Nec ¹fides rerum famæ levitatem destituit: celeriter enim post Pentecosten, missis a Normannia suis regi, morę majorum amicitiam et fidem interdixit, homagio etiam abdicato; rationem præferens quam id juste faceret, quia et rex illicite ad regnum aspiraverat, et omnem fidem sibi juratam neglexerat, ne dicam mentitus fuerat; ipsemet quin etiam contra legem egisset, qui, post sacramentum quod sorori dederat, alteri cui libet ea vivente se manus dare non erubisset. Animabant nimirum mentem ejus multorum religiosorum responsa, quos super negotio consuluerat: Nullo modo eum posse sine ignominia vitam præsentem transigere, vel mereri beatitudinem futuræ, si paternæ necessitudinis sacramentum irritum haberet. ²Ad hæc etiam apostolici decreti præ se tenorem ferebat, præcipientis ut sacramento, quod præsentem patre fecerat, obediens esset; cujus decreti paginam posteriori libello indicere curabo. Hæc vir ille, qui plena satietate literarum scientiam combiberat, magno fructu sibi fore in posterum sciebat. Cæterum, rex ægre ferens comitis magnanimitatem, omni-

¹ *Fides.*] E.; veritas, S. C. D. | ² *Ad hæc.*] E.; Adde quod, L 2. | S. C. D.; Addebant quod, L 2.

bus eum ¹ possessionibus in Anglia quibus poterat privavit, et quædam ejus castella complavit. Solum Bristowia remansit, ut non solum hostes expelleret, sed etiam crebris regem incursionibus fatigaret. Sed quia primum librum *Novellæ Historiæ* a reditu imperatricis (post mortem mariti) ad patrem hucusque protraxisse suffecerit, nunc secundum ordiemur, ab eo anno quo eadem virago in Angliam venit, jus suum contra Stephanum assertura.

EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMUS NOVELLÆ HISTORIÆ.

¹ *Possessionibus in Anglia quibus poterat privavit.] E. ; possessionibus in Anglia privavit, quantum in ipso fuit, S. C. D. L 2.*



WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

HISTORIÆ NOVELLÆ

LIBER SECUNDUS.

INCIPIIT LIBER SECUNDUS.



ANNO Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo centesimo tricesimo nono, venenum malitiæ, diu in animo regis Stephani nutritum, tandem erupit in publicum. Se-

A.D. 1139.
Stephen's
violent con-
duct.

rebantur in Anglia rumores jam jamque adventurum e Normannia comitem Robertum cum sorore; qua spe cum multi a rege non solum animo, sed et facto, deficerent, ¹ ipse dispendia sua multorum injuriis sarciebat. Plures etiam, pro sola suspitione diversarum contra se partium, in curia sua contra decus regium captos, et ad redditionem castellorum, et ad quascunque voluit conditiones, adduxit. Erant tunc duo in Anglia episcopi potentissimi, Rogerius Salesbiriensis, et nepos ejus ex fratre, Alexander Lindocoliensis. Alexander ad tutamen (ut dicebat) et dignitatem episcopii castellum de Niwewerche construxerat. Rogerius, qui ædificiorum constructione magnanimum se videri vellet, plura apud Scireburnam, et apud Divisas multum terrarum ædificiis amplexus, turritas moles erexerat. Apud Malmesbiriam in ipso

¹ *Ipse dispendia sua multorum injuriis sarciebat.* E.; ipse injurias suas multorum dispendiis sarciebat, S. D. L 2.

coemeterio, ab ecclesia principali vix jactu lapidis, castellum inchoaverat. Castellum Salesbiriae, quod¹ cum regii juris proprium esset, ab Henrico rege impetratum, muro cinctum custodiae suae attraxerat. His moti quidam potentes laici, qui se a clericis et opum congerie et municipiorum magnitudine superatum iri dolerent, caecum intra² pectora vulnus alebant invidiae. Itaque conceptas querimonias regi effundunt: Episcopos, oblitos ordinis, in castellis aedificandis insanire. Nulli dubium esse debere quin haec ad perniciem regis fierent omnia, dum illi, statim ut venisset imperatrix, cum traditione castellorum dominae occurrerent, paternorum scilicet beneficiorum memoria inducti. Praeveniendos ergo citius, et ad deditionem munitionum arctandos; alioquin regem seram poenitentiam acturum, cum in potestate hostium³ esse videret quae, si saperet, sibi apponere potuisset. Haec optimates saepius. Ille, quamvis eis nimio esset favore obnoxius, aliquandiu auribus suis blandientes dissimulavit audire; molliens dilationis amaritudinem, vel religionis in episcopis gratia, vel (quod magis opinor) suae detractionis invidia. Denique illorum, quae proceres suaserant, effectum non distulit cum primum volenti se occasio ingessit. Ea fuit hujusmodi.

DE CAPTIONE EPISCOPORUM.

Great council at Oxford, June 24.

§ 20. Apud Oxenefordum circa octavum kalendas Julii facto conventu magnatum, praedicti quoque pontifices advenerunt. Invitus valde Salesbiriensis hanc expeditionem incepit. Audivi⁴ etenim eum dicentem verba in hanc senten-

¹ Cum.] E.; omitted in S. D. L 2.

² Pectora.] E.; pectus, S. D. L 2.

³ Esse.] E.; omitted in S. D. L 2.

⁴ Etenim.] E.; omitted in S. D. L 2.

tiam: 'Per dominam meam sanctam Mariam (nescio quo pacto) reluctatur mens mea huic itineri! Hoc scio, quod ejus utilitatis ero in curia, cujus est equinus pullus in pugna.' Ita præsagebat animus mala futura. Tunc, quasi fortuna videretur ¹favere voluntati regis, concitatus est tumultus inter homines episcoporum et Alani comitis Britanniae pro vendicandis hospitibus: eventus miserabili, ut homines episcopi Salesbiriensis ²ecclesiae, mensae assidentes, semesis epulis ad pugnam prosilirent. Primo maledictis, mox gladiis res acta. ³Satellites Alani fugati, nepos ejus paulo minus occisus: victoria non incrementa episcopalibus cessit; multis sauciatis, uno etiam milite ⁴interfecto. Rex, ⁵occasione accepta, per antiquos incentores conveniri jussit episcopos ut curiae ⁶suae satisfacerent de hoc, quod homines eorum pacem ipsius exturbassent: modus satisfactionis foret, ut claves castellorum suorum quasi fidei vades traderent. Illos ad satisfaciendum paratos, sed de deditioe castellorum cunctantes, ne abirent arctius asservari præcepit. Ita Rogerium episcopum absque vinculis, ⁷cancelarium, qui nepos esse, vel plusquam nepos, ejusdem episcopi ferebatur, compeditum, duxit ad Divisas, ⁸si vel castellum recipere posset, multis et vix numerabilibus sumptibus, non (ut ipse

Seizure of
the bishops.

¹ Favere.] E.; famulari, S. D. L 2.

² Ecclesiae.] E.; omitted in S. D. L 2.

³ Satellites Alani fugati.] See postea, § 24, p. 721.

⁴ Interfecto.] E.; occiso, S. D. L 2.

⁵ Occasione accepta.] E.; occasionem aucupatus, S. D. L 2.

⁶ Suae.] S. D. E 2. L 2.; omitted in E 1.

⁷ Cancellarium.] In D. 'Alexandrum' is written over an erasure, but apparently in error. — Roger the chancellor of England was the son of Roger bishop of Salisbury, by Maud of Ramesbury, his concubine.

⁸ Si vel castellum recipere posset, multis.] E 1.; scilicet castellum multis, S. L 2.; secundum castellum multis, D.; E 2. reads 's.' for 'si vel.'

præsul dictabat) ad ornamentum, sed (ut se rei veritas habet) ad ecclesiæ detrimentum, ædificatum. In ipsa obsessione castella Salesbiria, Sciresburnia, Malmesbiria regi data: ipsæ Divisæ post triduum redditæ, cum sibi ultroneum jejunium episcopus indixisset, ut hæc angustia sua ¹animum episcopi Eliensis, qui eas occupaverat, flecteret. Nec ²Alexander episcopus Lindocoliensis obstinatius egit, redditione ³castellorum Niwerh et Esleford liberationem mercatus.

Different
opinions on
the subject.

§ 21. Hoc regis factum in diversas sententias solvit ora multorum. Quidam dicebant jure castellis alienatos episcopos videri, quæ præter scita canonum ædificassent: illos evangelistas pacis esse debere, non architectos domorum quæ auctoribus malefici forent refugium. Hæc amplioribus rationibus et sermonibus agebat Hugo archiepiscopus Rothomagi, quantum illa facundia poterat maximus regis propugnator. Alii contra, quorum partibus assistebat Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus, sedis apostolicæ in Anglia legatus, frater regis Stephani, ut ante dixi; quem nec fraterna necessitudo, nec periculi metus, a vero ⁴tunc exorbitare cogebat. Sic porro dicebat: 'Si episcopi tramitem justitiæ in aliquo transgredierentur, non esse regis, sed canonum judicium; sine publico et ecclesiastico concilio illos nulla possessione privari debuisse: regem id non ⁵rectitudinis zelo, sed commodi sui compendio fecisse; qui castella non ecclesiis, ex quarum

¹ *Animum.*] E.; animositatem, S. D. L 2. — The author of the *Gesta Stephani* states that the king ordered both bishops to be kept without food. One was confined in the crib of an ox-lodge, the other in a hovel. (Flor. Wigorn. Contin. A.D. 1138.)

² *Alexander.*] E.; omitted in S. D. L 2.

³ *Castellorum Niwerh et Esleford.*] E.; castelli, S. D. L 2.

⁴ *Tunc.*] E.; omitted in S. D. L 2.

⁵ *Rectitudinis zelo.*] E. L 2.; ex rectitudinis zelo, S. D.

sumptibus et in quarum terris constructa erant, reddiderit, sed laicis, eisdemque parum religiosis, contradiderit.' Ista vir ille tum privatim, tum etiam publice coram rege affirmans, ejusdemque aures de liberatione et restitutione pontificum appellans, omnem consumpsit operam, in nullo auditus: quapropter, vigorem canonum experientum ratus, concilio, quod quarto kalendas Septembris celebraturus erat Wintoniæ, fratrem incunctanter adesse præcepit. Aug. 29.

DE CONCILIO HABITO PRO CAPTIONE EPISCOPORUM.

§ 22. Dicto die omnes fere episcopi Angliæ, cum Thetbaldo archiepiscopo Cantuariæ qui Wilhelmo successerat, venerunt Wintoniam. Council at
Winchester. Archiepiscopus Eboracensis Turstinus pro valetudine qua gravabatur, vix enim animi viribus corpus regebat, cæteri vero pro guerra, literis absentiam suam excusarunt. Lectum est primo in concilio decretum Innocentii papæ, quo jam a kalendis Martii (si bene commemini) partes sollicitudinis suæ idem apostolicus domino episcopo Wintoniensi jure legationis in Anglia injunxerat. Exceptum id summo favore, quod, diurnitate temporis temperantiam suam ostendens episcopus, non se prærupta legatum promulgasset jactantia. Processit deinceps in concilio sermo ejusdem Latialiter, ad literatos habitus, de indignatione captionis episcoporum: quorum Salesbiriensis in camera curiæ, Lindocoliensis in diversorio suo intercepti essent; Heliensis, exemplum simile veritus, veloci profugio ad Divisas se calamitati emisisset. 'Scelus miserabile regem ab incentoribus ita fuisse seductum, ut hominibus suis, præsertim episcopis, in curiæ suæ pace manus injici jussisset. Adjecta esset regio dedecori cœlestis injuria, ut, sub obtentu culpæ pontificum, eccle-

Council at
Winchester.

sia possessionibus suis spoliarentur. Sibi regis contra Dei legem excessum tanto dolori esse, ut mallet se multo dispendio et corporis et rerum suarum affici, quam episcopalem celsitudinem tanta indignitate dejici. Quin etiam regem de emendatione peccati multotiens ¹commonitum; ²postremo concilii vocationem non abnuisse. Proinde archiepiscopus et cæteri consulerent in medium quid opus esset facto: se ad executionem consilii nec pro regis, qui sibi frater erat, amicitia, nec pro damno possessionum, nec etiam pro capitis periculo, defuturum.'

§ 23. Dum hæc ille sensim per amplificationem exponit, rex, causæ suæ non diffusus, comites in concilium misit, quærens cur vocatus esset. Responsum est a legato ex compendio: 'Non debere illum, qui se Christi fidei subjectum meminisset, indignari si a ministris Christi ad satisfactionem vocatus esset, tanti reatus conscius quantum nostra secula nusquam vidissent. 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 Franciæ, nec ipse comes Thetbaldus frater amborum (sapiens profecto vir et religiosus) ex ratione contraire posset, sed quod favorabiliter complecti deberent. Consulte vero in præsentiarum rex faceret, si vel rationem facti sui redderet, vel canonicum iudicium subiret. Ex debito etiam oportere ut ecclesiæ faveret, cujus sinu exceptus, non manu militum, in regnum promotus fuisset.' ³Cum dicto comites egressi,

¹ Commonitum.] E. L 2.; admonitum, S. D.

² Postremo.] E.; postremo tunc, S. D. L 2.

³ Cum.] E.; Sic cum, S. D. L 2.

nec multo post ¹cum responso reversi sunt. Comitabatur eos Albericus quidam de Ver, homo causarum varietatibus exercitatus. Is responsum regis retulit, et quantum potuit causam antistitis Rogerii (episcopus enim Alexander ²aberat, ³quem manutenuit) gravavit; modeste tamen, sine ulla verborum contumelia: quamvis quidam comitum, astantes juxta, crebro loquelam ejus interromperent, probra in episcopum jacentes.

Council at
Winchester.

§ 24. Hæc ergo fuit summa dictorum Alberici: 'Multis injuriis Rogerium episcopum affecisse regem Stephanum: rarissime ad ⁴curiam venisse quin homines sui, de ejus potentia præsumentes, seditiones movissent. Qui cum ⁵sæpe alias, tum nuper apud Oxenefordum fecissent impetum in homines et in ipsum nepotem comitis Alani; in homines etiam Hervei de Liuns, qui esset tantæ nobilitatis, tanti supercilii, ut nunquam regi Henrico petenti animum indulserit in Angliam venire. In injuriam ergo regis Stephani redundare, pro cujus amore venerit, quod ⁶ea tanta vis illata sit. Episcopum Lindocoliensem, ex veteri odio in Alanum, seditionis per homines suos auctorem fuisse. Episcopum Salesbiriensem inimicis regis clam favere, dissimulata interim pro tempore versutia: id regem ex multis indubitanter comperisse; eo-que potissimum, quod Rogerium de Mortemer, cum militibus regiis quos ⁷ducebat, in summo de Bristowiensibus metu, nec una nocte idem episcopus Malmesbiriæ manere dimisisset. Omnibus esse in ore, quod, statim ut imperatrix ve-

¹ *Cum responso.*] E.; proviso responso, S. D. L 2.

² *Aberat.*] E.; abierat, S. D. L 2.

³ *Quem manutenuit.*] E.; omitted in S. D. L 2.

⁴ *Curiam.*] E.; curiam regis, S. D. L 2.

⁵ *Sæpe.*] S. D. E 2. L 2.; omitted in E 1.

⁶ *Ea.*] E.; ei, S. D. L 2.

⁷ *Ducebat.*] E.; ductitabat, S. D. L 2.

Council at
Winchester

nisset, ille ad eam cum nepotibus et castellis se conferret. Rogerius itaque captus sit non ut episcopus, sed ut regis serviens, qui et procuraciones ejus administraret et solidatas acciperet. Castella non per violentiam rex eripuerit, sed episcopi ambo gratanter reddiderint, ut calumniam de tumultu quem in curia concitaverant evaderent. ¹Aliquantum pecuniarum rex in castellis invenerit, quæ ipsius legitime essent; quia eas tempore regis Henrici, avunculi et antecessoris sui, ex fisci regii redditibus Rogerius episcopus collegisset. Eis tamen, sicut et castellis, idem præsul pro timore commissorum in regem libens cesserit: inde non deesse testes regi. Ipsum proinde velle ut pacta inter se et episcopos rata permanerent.'

§ 25. Reclamatum est ab episcopo Rogerio contra sermones Alberici, quod nunquam regis Stephani minister fuisset, nec ipsius solidatas accepisset: minæ quinetiam ab animoso viro, et qui malis erubesceret frangi, prolatae, si justitiam de rebus sibi ablatis in illo concilio non invenisset, eam in audientia majoris curiæ quærendam. Leniter legatus, ut cætera: 'Omnia quæ dicuntur contra episcopos prius in concilio ecclesiastico et accusari et an vera essent decuisset inquiri, quam in indemnes contra canonum decreta sententiam proferri. Rex itaque faciat, quod etiam in forensibus judiciis legitimum est fieri, ut revestiat episcopos de rebus suis: alioquin jure gentium dissaisiti non placitabunt.'

§ 26. Dictis in hunc modum utrobique multis, causa petitu regis in posterum diem dilata; nec minus in crastinum, ad adventum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis postridie prolongata. Is ubi ve-

¹ *Aliquantum.*] E.; Aliquantulum, S. D. L 2.

nit., omnium suspensis animis quidnam afferret, Council at Winchester. dixit se concedere ut episcopi castella haberent si se jure habere debere per canones probare possent; quod quia non possent, extremæ improbitatis esse contra canones niti velle. ‘Et esto’ (inquit) ‘justum sit ut habeant: certe, quia suspectum est tempus, secundum morem aliarum gentium, optimates omnes claves munitionum suarum debent voluntati regis contradere, qui pro omnium pace debet militare. Ita omnis controversia episcoporum ¹infirmabitur: aut enim secundum canonum scita injustum est ut habeant castella; aut, si hoc ²ex indulgentia principali toleratur, ut tradant claves necessitati temporis debent cedere.’

§ 27. His prædictus ³subjecit causidicus Albericus: Significatum esse regi quod ‘murmurarent inter se pontifices, pararentque aliquos ex suis contra eum Romam mittere. ‘Et hoc’ (ait) ‘laudat vobis rex, ne quisquam vestrum præsumat facere; quia, si quis contra voluntatem suam et regni dignitatem ab Anglia quoquam iret, difficilis ei fortassis reditus foret. Ipse quinetiam, quia se gravari videt, ultro ad Romam appellat vos.’

§ 28. Hæc postquam rex, partim quasi laudando, partim minando, mandasset, intellectum est quo tenderet. Quapropter ita discessum est, ut nec ipse censuram canonum pati vellet, nec episcopi ⁵in eum exerere consultum ducerent: duplici ex causa, seu quia principem excommunicare sine apostolica conscientia temerarium

¹ *Infirmabitur.*] E.; infirmabatur, S. D. L 2.

² *Ex.*] E 1.; pro, S. D. E 2. L 2.

³ *Subjecit.*] E.; addidit, S. D. L 2.

⁴ *Murmurarent.*] E.; minarentur, S. D.; minitarent, L 2.

⁵ *In eum exerere consultum.*] E.; eum execrare consuetum, D.; eam consuetum exerere, S.; eum exerere consultum, L 2.

Council at
Winchester.

esset; seu quoniam audirent, quidam etiam viderent, gladios circa se nudari. Non enim jam ludicra erant verba, sed de vita et sanguine pene certabatur. Non omiserunt tamen legatus et archiepiscopus quin tenorem officii sui prosequerentur: suppliciter enim pedibus regis in cubiculo affusi, oraverunt ut misereretur ecclesiæ, misereretur animæ et famæ suæ, nec pateretur fieri dissidium inter regnum et sacerdotium. Ille dignanter assurgens, quamvis a se facti eorum amoliretur invidiam, malorum tamen præventus consiliis, nullam bonorum promissionum exhibuit efficaciam.

DE ADVENTU IMPERATRICIS ET ROBERTI COMITIS
IN ANGLIAM.

Sept. 1.

Sept. 30.
Earl Robert
arrives in
England
with the
empress.

§ 29. Kalendis Septembris solutum est concilium. Pridie vero kalendarum Octobrium comes Robertus, tandem nexus morarum eluctatus, cum sorore imperatrice invectus est Angliæ, fretus pietate Dei et fide legitimi sacramenti: cæterum, multo minore armorum apparatu quam quis alius tam periculosum bellum aggredi tentaret, non enim plusquam centum et quadraginta milites tunc secum adduxit. Testimonio veridicorum relatorum sermo meus nititur. Dicerem, nisi adulatio videretur, non imparem fuisse ¹illum Julio Cæsari duntaxat animo, quem Titus Livius commemorat quinque solum cohortes habuisse quando civile bellum inchoavit; cum quibus, ²inquiens, orbem terrarum adortus est. Quamvis iniqua comparatione Julius et Robertus conferantur: Julius enim, veræ fidei extorris, in fortuna sua (ut dicebat) et legionum virtute spem

¹ *Illum.*] E.; omitted in S. D. | ² *Inquiens.*] This word appears
L 2. | redundant.

reclinabat : Robertus, Christiana pietate insignis, in Sancti Spiritus et dominæ sanctæ Mariæ patrocinio totus pendulus erat. Ille in tota Gallia, et partim in Germania et Brittannia, fautores habens, omnem etiam Romanam plebem, excepto senatu, muneribus sibi devinxerat: iste, præter paucissimos qui fidei quondam juratæ non immemores erant in Anglia, optimates vel adversantes vel nihil adjuvantes expertus est. Appulit ergo Arundellum; ibique novercæ suæ, quam, amissa matre imperatricis (ut præfatus sum), Henricus rex quondam lecto copulaverat, tuta (ut putabat) custodia sororem interim delegavit. Ipse per tam confertam barbariem, vix dum (ut audiivi) duodecim militibus comitatus, Bristou contendit; occurrente sibi medio itineris Briano filio comitis ex Walengeford. Nec multo post cognovit sororem ex Arundello profectam; noverca enim fœminea levitate fidem, totiens etiam missis in Normanniam nunciis promissam, fefellerat. Dedit rex ¹porro imperatrici Wintoniensis episcopi Henrici et comitis Mellentensis Walleranni conductum; quem cuilibet, quamvis infestissimo inimico, negare laudabilium militum mos non est. Et Wallerannus quidem ultra Calnam tendere supersedit, episcopo in conductu perseverante. Contractis ergo comes celeriter copiis ad metas a rege datas advenit, sororemque ²ad Bristou tutior perduxit. Recepit illam postea in Glocestram Milo, qui castellum ejusdem urbis sub comite habebat tempore regis Henrici, dato ei homagio et fidelitatis sacramento: nam eadem civitas caput est sui comitatus.

¹ Porro.] E. ; ergo, S. D. | ² Ad Bristou tutior.] E. ; Bristowe ad tutiora, S. D. L 2.

QUOMODO REX CEPERAT MALMESBIRIAM, ET DE
OBSIDIONE TROHBRIGÆ.

Oct. 7.
Capture of
the castle of
Malmesbury.

Siege of
Trowbridge.

§ 30. ¹ Nonis Octobris Robertus quidam, filius Huberti, immanis ac barbarus, castellum Malmesbiriae, quod Rogerius episcopus infausto auspicio inchoaverat, furtim noctu ingressus, combustoque vico, quasi magno triumpho gloriatus est. Veruntamen ante quindecim dies lætitia excidit, a rege fugatus. Castellum præcepit rex interim asservari, quoad, pace data, posset destrui. Ipse vero rex, antequam Malmesbiriā venisset, quandam munitiunculam Milonis supernominati, Cernei nomine, occupaverat, ibique milites suos posuerat. Quapropter, sicut ² et ibi et Malmesbiriae, alias sibi successurum aestimans, castellum Hunfridi de Buhun, qui partibus imperatricis favebat, vocabulo Trobrigge, invasit, sed irritus abiit.

QUOMODO HEREFORD CESSIT IMPERATRICI.

Success of
the empress.

§ 31. Tota itaque regio circa Glocestram usque profundas Guallias, partim vi, partim benevolentia, pedetentim, residuis illius anni mensibus, se dominæ imperatrici applicuit. Aliquantum castellanorum, intra munitiones suas se contutantes, exitum rerum speculabantur. Civitas Hereford sine difficultate recepta: pauci milites, in castello animis obstinatis se includentes, a ³ foris obsessi. Appropinquavit rex si forte laborantibus opem aliquam comminisci posset; sed, frustratus voto, inglorius discessit: equitavit etiam juxta Bristou, superiusque contendens, villas quæ fuerunt in circuitu Dunestor combussit,

¹ Nonis Octobris ... abiit.] E.; the whole section is omitted in S. C. D. G. K. L 2. M. | ² Et ibi.] E 1. ; sibi, E 2. | ³ Foris.] S. D. E 1. L 2. ; foribus, E 2.

nihil omnino (in quantum valebat) reliquum faciens quod posset inimicis suis esui vel alicui usui esse.

DE OBITU ET MORIBUS ROGERII EPISCOPI
SALESBIRIÆ.

§ 32. Tertio idus Decembris Rogerius episcopus Salesbiriæ febrem quartanam, qua jamdudum quassabatur,¹ beneficio mortis evasit : dolore animi aiunt eum contraxisse valetudinem, utpote tantis et tam crebris a rege Stephano pulsatum incommodis. Eum mihi videtur Deus exemplum divitibus pro volubilitate rerum exhibuisse, ne sperent in incerto divitiarum ; quas quidam (ut ait ²apostolus) appetentes a fide naufragaverunt. Insinuatus est primo comiti Henrico, qui postmodum rex fuit, pro prudentia res domesticas administrandi, et luxum familiæ cohibendi. Fuit enim Henricus ante regnum in expensis parci animi et frugi, penuria scilicet rei familiaris astrictus, fratribus Willelmo et Roberto arroganter eum tractantibus. Cujus cognitis moribus, Rogerius ita eum tempore inopiæ demeruit, ut, cum ille solium regni ascendisset, nihil ei vel parum negaret quod ipse petendum putasset : largiri prædia, ecclesias, præbendas clericorum, abbatias integras monachorum, ipsum postremo regnum fidei ejus committere : cancellarium initio regni, nec multo post episcopum Salesbiriæ, fecit. Rogerius ergo agebat causas, ipse moderabatur expensas, ipse servabat gazas ; hoc quando rex erat in Anglia, hoc sine socio et teste quando (quod crebro et diu accidit) morabatur Normanniæ. Nec solum a rege, sed et ab optimatibus,

Death of
Roger bishop
of Salisbury.
Dec. 11.

¹ Beneficio.] *S. D. L 2.* ; a beneficio, *E.*

² Apostolus.] 1 Tim. 1. 19.

Roger bishop
of Salisbury.

ab his etiam quos felicitatis ejus invidia clam mordebat, maximeque a ministris et ¹tunc debitoribus regis, ei quæcunque pene cogitasset conferbantur. Si quid possessionibus ejus contiguum erat quod suis utilitatibus conduceret, continuo vel prece vel pretio, sin minus violentia, extorquebat. Ipse, singulari gloria (quantum nostra ætas reminisci potest) in domibus ædificandis, splendida per omnes possessiones suas construxit habitacula, in quibus solum tuendis successorum ejus frustra laborabit opera; sedem suam mirificis ornamentis et ædificiis, citra ullam expensarum parcimoniam, in immensum extulit. Erat prorsus mirum videre de homine illo, quanta eum in omni genere dignitatum opum sequebatur copia, et quasi ad manum affluebat: quantula illa gloria, (qua quid posset accidere majus?) quod duos nepotes, suæ educationis opera, honestæ literaturæ et industriæ viros, effecit episcopos; nec vero exilium episcopatum, sed Lindocoliensis et Heliensis, quibus opulentiores nescio si habeat Anglia. Sentiebat ipse quantum posset, et, aliquanto durius quam talem virum deceret, Divinitatis abutebatur indulgentia. Denique, sicut poeta quidam de ²quodam divite dicit,

‘³Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis;’

ita Rogerius abbatias in episcopatum, res episcopatus in abbatiam, alterare conatus est. Malmesbiriense et Abbadesbiriense, antiquissima cœnobium, (quantum in ipso fuit) episcopatu deleavit: Scireburnensem prioratum, qui proprius est episcopi Salesbiriensis, in abbatiam mutavit;

¹ *Tunc.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D.*
L. 2.

² *Quodam.*] *E.*; quolibet, *S. D.*
L. 2.

³ *Diruit . . . rotundis.*] Horat.
Epist. i. 1. 100.

abbatia de Hortuna proinde destructa et adjecta. Roger bishop of Salisbury. Hæc tempore regis Henrici, sub quo res ejus (ut dixi) magnis successibus floruerunt: sed enim sub Stephano ¹rege (sicut prædixi) retro sublapsæ sunt; nisi quod in initio regni ejus nepotibus suis, uni cancellariam, alteri thesaurariam, sibi burgum Malmesbiriæ impetravit, subinde rege familiaribus suis ingeminante, ‘Per nascentiam Dei! medietatem Angliæ darem ei, si peteret, donec tempus pertranseat: ante deficiet ipse in petendo, quam ego in dando.’ Posterioribus annis fortuna, nimium et ante diu ei blandita, ad extremum scorpiacea crudeliter hominem cauda percussit. Quale fuit illud, quod ante ora sua vidit homines bene de se meritos sauciari, familiarissimum ²militem obtruncari: postero die seipsum, (ut supra fatus sum,) et nepotes suos potentissimos episcopos, unum fugari, alterum teneri, tertium, dilectissimum sibi adolescentem, compedibus vinciri: post redditionem castellorum thesauros suos diripi, et se postmodum in concilio foedissimis convitiis proscindi: ad ultimum, cum apud Salesbiriæ pene anhelaret in exitum, quicquid residuum erat nummorum et vasorum, quod scilicet ad perficiendam ecclesiam super altare posuerat, se invito asportari. Extremum puto calamitatis, cujus etiam me miseret, quod, cum multis miser videretur, paucissimis erat miserabilis; tantum livoris et odii ex nimia potentia contraxerat, et immerito apud quosdam quos etiam honoribus auxerat.

DE INSTITUTIONE ABBATIARUM.

§ 33. Anno incarnati Verbi millesimo centesimo quadragesimo monachi abbatiarum quas Roge- A.D. 1140. John abbot of Malmesbury.

¹ Rege.] *E.*; omitted in *S. D.* | ² Militem.] *S. D. E2. L2.*;
L2. | militum, *E1.*

rius episcopus contra fas tenuerat, rege adito, antiqua privilegia et abbates habere meruerunt. Electus est in abbatem Malmesbiriæ a monachis, secundum tenorem privilegii quod beatus Aldelmus a Sergio papa jam ante quadringentos sexaginta et sex annos impetraverat, et a regibus West-Saxonum Ina, Merciorum Ethelredo, roborari fecerat, ejusdem loci monachus Johannes, vir benignitate morum et animi liberalitate apprime insignis. Probavit legatus causam, improbavit personam; nullo enim modo menti ejus persuaderi poterat regem præter dationem pecuniæ electioni consensisse. Et quidem aliquantum nummorum promissum fuerat, causa libertatis ecclesiæ, non electionis personæ. Itaque Johannes, quamvis immatura morte anno eodem præreptus fuerit, æternam tamen et laudabilem sui memoriam cunctis post se seculis dereliquit: nullus enim (vere fateor) ejus loci monachus tantæ magnanimitatis facto assisteret, nisi Johannes inchoasset. Itaque habeant successores ejus laudem si libertatem ecclesiæ tutati fuerint, ipse proculdubio eam a servitute vendicavit.

DE CONFUSIONE GUERRÆ PER ANGLIAM.

Distressed
state of the
country by
civil war.

§ 34. Totus annus ille asperitate guerræ inhorruit. Castella erant crebra per totam Angliam; quæque suas partes defendentia, imo (ut verius dicam) depopulantia. Milites castellorum abducebant ab agris et pecora et pecudes, nec ecclesiis nec cœmiteriis parcentes. ¹Vavassores, rusticos, quicumque pecuniosi putabantur, interceptantes, suppliciorum magnitudine ad quodvis promittendum cogebant. Domibus miserorum

¹ Vavassores ... cogebant.] E.; omitted in S. C. D. G. K. L 2.

ruricularum usque ad ¹stramen expilatis, ipsos
 vinctos incarcerabant; nec, nisi omnibus quæ-
 cunque habebant, et ²quocunque modo acquirere
 poterant, in redemptionem consumptis, dimitte-
 bant. Plures in ipsis tormentis quibus ad se red-
 imendum constringebantur dulces efflabant ani-
 mas, quod solum poterant, Deo miserias suas ap-
 plorantes. Et quidem, ex voluntate comitis, le-
 gatus cum episcopis omnes effractoires cœmite-
 riorum et violatores ecclesiarum, et qui sacri vel
 religiosi ordinis hominibus vel eorum famulis
 manus injecissent, multotiens excommunicavit;
 sed nihil propemodum hac profecit industria.
 Erat ergo videre calamitatem, Angliam, præcla-
 rissimam quondam pacis nutriculam, speciale do-
 micilium quietis, ad hoc miseriarum devolutam esse,
 ut nec etiam episcopi nec monachi de villa in
 villam tuto possent progredi. Sub Henrico rege
 multi alienigenarum, qui genialis humi ³inquietatio-
 nibus exagitabantur, Angliam adnavigabant, et
 sub ejus alis quietum otium agebant: sub Ste-
 phano plures ex Flandria et Britannia, rapto vi-
 vere assueti, spe magnarum prædarum Angliam
 involabant. Comes ⁴Glocestræ Robertus in-
 terea modeste se agere, nihil magis cavere quam
 ne vel parvo detrimento suorum vinceret. Mag-
 nates Anglorum, quos ad religionem jurisjurandi
 servandam flectere non posset, satis habebat in
 officio continere, ut qui nihil adjuvare vellent
 minus nocerent; secundum comicum, 'volens quod
 posset, dum non posset quod vellet.' Ubicum-
 que tamen commode fieri posse videbat, et militis

¹ Stramen.] E.; stratum, S. D. L 2.

² Quocunque modo.] E.; quæ-
 cunque quocunque modo, S. D. L 2.

³ Inquietationibus.] E. L 2.;
 turbellis, S. D.

⁴ Glocestræ Robertus.] E.;
 omitted in S. D. L 2.

et ducis probe officium exequabatur: denique munitiones, quæ potissimum partibus susceptis nocebant, strenue debellavit; ¹scilicet Harpetreu, quam rex Stephanus a quibusdam militibus comitis, antequam in Angliam venisset, ceperat; et alias multas, Sudleie, Cernei, quam rex, ut dixi, militibus suis impleverat; et castellum quod idem rex contra Valengeford obfirmaverat, solo complanavit. Fratrem etiam suum Reinaldum in tanta difficultate temporis comitem Cornubiæ creavit. Nec vero minor erat regi animus ad adenda quæ sibi competebant munia, qui nullam occasionem prætermittebat quo minus sæpe et adversarios propulsaret et sua defenderet; sed frustrabatur successibus, vergebantque in pejus omnia pro justitiæ penuria: jamque ²caritas annonæ paulatim crescebat; et pro falsitate difficultas ³enim monetæ tanta erat, ut interdum ex decem et eo amplius solidis vix duodecim denarii reciperentur. Ferebatur ipse rex pondus denariorum, quod fuerat tempore Henrici regis, alleviari jussisse; quia, exhausto prædecessoris sui immenso illo thesauro, tot militum expensis nequiret sufficere. Erant igitur Angliæ cuncta venalia; et jam non clam, sed palam, ecclesiæ et abbatia venum distrahebantur.

DE ECLIPSI SOLIS.

Eclipse of
the sun,
20th March,
A.D. 1140.

§ 35. Eo anno in Quadragesima, tertiodécimo kalendas Aprilis, hora nona, feria quarta, fuit eclipsis, per totam Angliam ut accepi. Apud nos certe, et apud omnes vicinos nostros, ita notabiliter solis deliquium fuit, ut homines (quod

¹ Scilicet Harpetreu . . . complanavit.] E.; omitted in S. C. D. G. K. L 2.

² Caritas.] S. E. L 2.; raritas, D.
³ Enim.] E.; omitted in S. D. L 2

tunc fere ubique accidit), ¹erat enim Quadragesima, mensis assidentes, ²primo antiquum chaos timerent; mox, re cognita, progredientes, stellas circa solem cernerent. Cogitatum et dictum est a multis, non falso, regem non perannaturum in regno ³sine dispendio.

DE CAPTIONE ROBERTI FILII HUBERTI.

§ 36. Sequenti hebdomada, ipso tempore Passionis, septimo kalendas Aprilis, ⁴præfatus barbarus Robertus filius Huberti, ad furta belli peridoneus, castellum de Divisis clanculo interceptit. Homo cunctorum quos nostri seculi memoria complectitur immanissimus, in Deum etiam blasphemus; ultro quippe gloriari solebat se interfuisse ubi ⁵quater viginti monachi pariter cum ecclesia concremati fuerint: idem se in Anglia factitaturum et Deum contristaturum deprædatione Wiltoniensis ecclesiæ, ⁶etiam subversione Malmesbiriensis, cum monachorum illius loci omnium cæde; id se muneris eis repensurum, quod regem ad nocumentum sui admisissent. Hoc enim illis imponebat, sed falso. Hisce auribus audivi, quod si quando captivos (quod quidem rarissime fuit) immunes absque tortionibus dimittebat, et gratiæ ipsi de Dei parte agebantur, audivi (inquam) eum respondisse, 'Nunquam mihi Deus grates sciat!' Captivos melle litos flagrantissimo sole nudos ⁷sub divo exponebat, muscas et

March 26.
Account of
Robert Fitz-
Hubert.

¹ *Erat enim Quadragesima.*] E.; omitted in S. D. L 2.

² *Primo.*] D.; primum, S. L 2.; omitted in E.

³ *Sine dispendio.*] E.; omitted in S. D. L 2.

⁴ *Præfatus barbarus Robertus filius Huberti.*] E.; Robertus

quidam, filius Huberti, immanis ac barbarus, et, S. D. L 2.

⁵ *Quater viginti.*] D. E. L 2.; viginti quatuor, S.

⁶ *Etiam.*] E 1.; jam, E 2.; et, S. D. L 2.

⁷ *Sub divo.*] S. D. L 2.; sub aere, E 2.; sub divo vel sub aere, E 1.

id genus animalia ad eos compungendum irritans. Jam vero nactus Divisas, jactare non dubitavit se totam regionem a Wintonia usque Londoniam per id castellum occupaturum, et ad tuitionem sui pro militibus Flandriam missurum. Hæc facere meditantem ultio cœlestis impedivit per ¹Johannem filium Gildeberti, magnæ versutiæ virum, qui apud Merleberge castellum habebat: ab eo siquidem vinculis innodatus, quia Divisas dominæ suæ imperatrici reddere detrectabat, ²patibulo appensus et exanimatus est. Miro circa sacrilegum Dei judicio concitato, ut non a rege cui adversabatur, sed ab illis quibus favere videbatur, exitium tam turpe meruerit. Mortis illius auctores digno attollendi præconio, qui tanta peste patriam liberarint, ac intestinum hostem tam juste damnarint.

DE CONVENTU LEGATI ET ARCHIEPISCOPI ET REGINÆ, ET ROBERTI COMITIS GLOUCESTRÆ, PRO FŒDERE PACIS AGENDO INTER REGEM ET IMPERATRICEM.

May 26.
Fruitless attempt at pacification.

§ 37. Eodem anno in Pentecoste resedit rex Londoniæ in Turri, episcopo tantummodo Sagensi præsentem: cæteri vel fastidierunt vel timerunt venire. Aliquanto post, mediante legato, colloquium indictum est inter imperatricem et regem, si forte Deo inspirante pax reformari posset. Conventum juxta Bathoniam: misso ex parte imperatricis Roberto fratre, et cæteris suis; ex parte regis, legato et archiepiscopo, simul et regina. Sed ³inaniter, inaniter inquam, triverunt et verba et tempora, infectaque pace discessum.

¹ Johannem filium Gildeberti.] *matus est.*] E.; more latronum E.; Johannem quendam, S. D. L 2. suspensus est, S. D. L 2.

² Patibulo appensus et exanimatus est.] D. E. L 2.; omitted in S.

Nec fuit ambarum partium æquum dissidium ; dum imperatrix, ad bonum pronior, ecclesiasticum non se vereri iudicium mandasset ; ¹et regii illud quam maxime nollent, dum dominari ad utilitates suas valerent. ²Proximo Septembri legatus, qui nosset officii sui potissimum interesse ut pax conveniret, pro ea restituenda laborem itineris transmarini aggressus, in Galliam navigare maturavit. Ibi a rege Franciæ et comite Thetbaldo, multisque religiosi ordinis personis, magno et sollicito tractatu de pace Angliæ habito, reversus est in fine ³pene Novembris ; salubria patriæ mandata referens, si esset qui verba factis apponeret. Et plane imperatrix et comes confestim ⁴consensere ; rex vero de die in diem producere, postremo in summa frustrari. Tum demum legatus se intra se continuit, rerum exitum, ut cæteri, speculaturus : quid enim attinet contra torrentem brachia tendere ? cum, laboribus non nisi odium quaerere, extremæ sit (ut quidam ait) dementiæ.

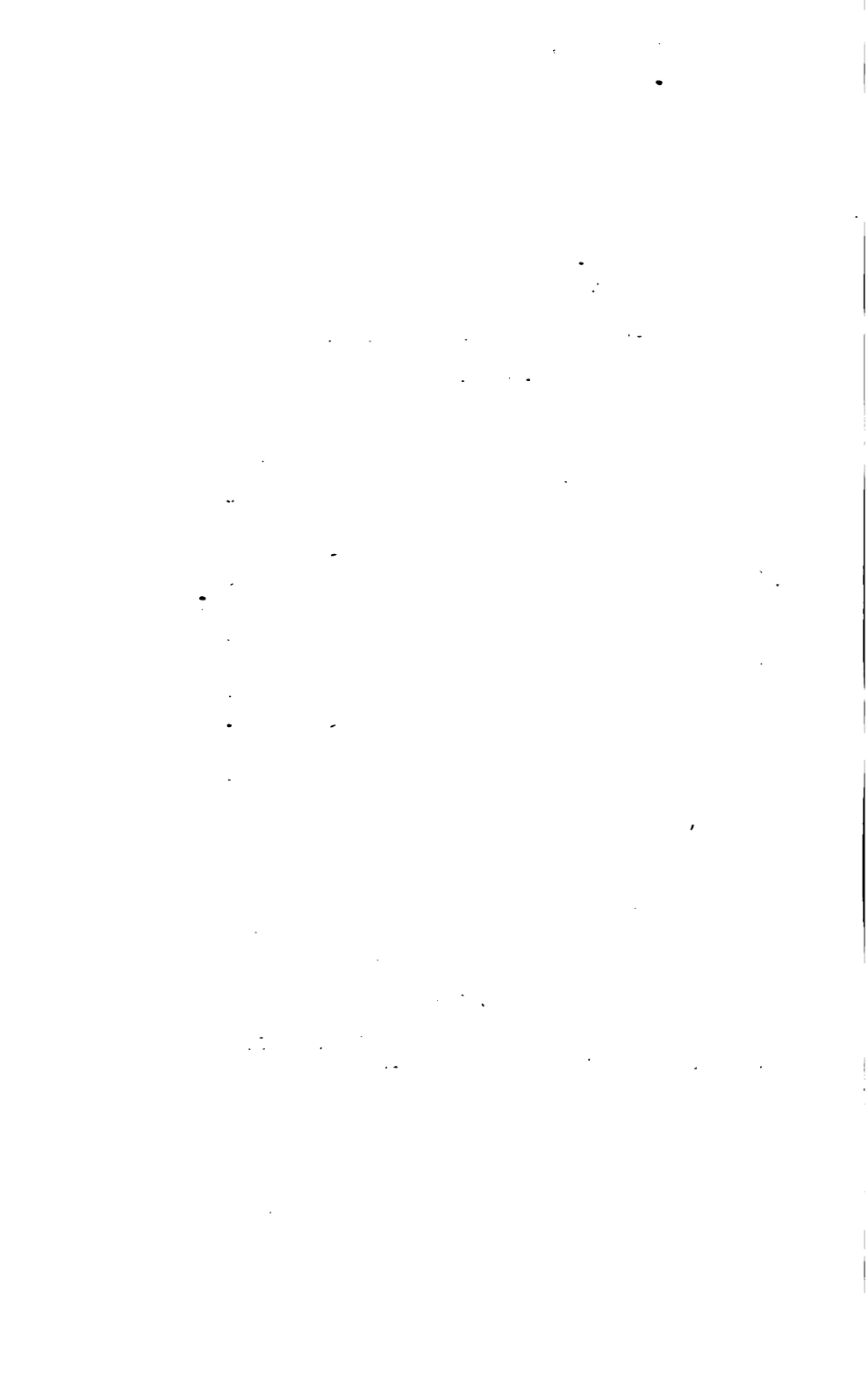
EXPLICIT LIBER SECUNDUS NOVELLÆ HISTORIÆ.

¹ *Et regii . . . valerent.*] E. ; et rex illud quam maxime caveret, consiliis illorum male credulus, qui nihil minus quam pacem vellent, dum ei dominari ad utilitates suas valerent, S. D. L 2.

² *Proximo.*] E. ; Postremo, S. D. L 2.

³ *Pene.*] S. D. E 2. L 2. ; omitted in E 1.

⁴ *Consensere.*] E 1. ; assensere, S. D. E 2. L 2.



WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

HISTORIÆ NOVELLÆ

LIBER TERTIUS.

LIBER TERTIUS.

QUOMODO REX VENERIT AD OBSIDIONEM LINDOCOLINAM.



REX Stephanus, ante Natale, a Lindocolina provincia pacifice abscesserat; comitemque Cestrensem et ejus fratrem honoribus ¹auxerat. Is comes filiam comitis Glocestrensis jamdudum a tempore regis Henrici duxerat. ²Burgenses interim Lindocolinæ civitatis, qui vellent apud regem grandem locare amicitiam, eum Londoniæ manentem per nuncios certiozem faciunt ambos fratres in castello ejusdem urbis securos resedissee: eos, nihil minus quam regis adventum opinantes, levi negotio posse circumveniri; se daturos operam ut quam occultissime rex castello potiatur. Ille, qui nullam occasionem ampliandæ potestatis omittere vellet, lætus eo contendit: ita fratres circumventi et obsessi sunt in ipsis Natalis Dominici feriis.

A. D. 1140.
25 Dec.

Siege of Lincoln.

¹ Auxerat.] Ranulph earl of Chester and his uterine brother William de Romare were the sons of Lucia countess of Lincoln.
² Burgenses.] E.; Cives, S. D. L 2.

Iniquum id visum multis, quia (sicut dixi) nulla suspicione rancoris ab eis ante festum abscesse-
 rat, nec modo more majorum amicitiam suam eis
 interdixerat, quod Diffidiare dicunt. Porro comes
 Cestrensis, quamvis ancipiti periculo involutus,
 probe tamen castelli angustias evasit: non de-
 finio qua versutia; sive consensu aliquorum ob-
 sidentium; sive, quia virtus deprehensa solet
 multis modis quærere, et plærunque invenire,
 consilium. Itaque non contentus sua solum li-
 beratione, de salute fratris et uxoris, quos in cas-
 tello reliquerat, sollicitus, animum partes versa-
 bat in omnes. Sanior sententia visa flagitare a
 socero auxilium, quamvis animos ejus jamdudum
 nonnullis ex causis offendisset, maxime quia in
 neutro latere fidus videretur esse. Misit ergo
 perpetuam per nuncios pactus fidelitatem impe-
 ratrici, si, respectu pietatis magis quam ullius
 sui meriti, periclitantes, qui in ipsis captionis
 faucibus tenebantur, eximeret injuriæ.

QUOMODO COMES GLOECSTRÆ ROBERTUS IERIT
 AD SUCCURRENDUM OBSESSIS.

March of the
 earl of Glou-
 ceater to its
 relief.

§ 39. Non habuit comes Gloecestræ difficiles
 aures, indignitatem rei non ferens; simul etiam
 pertæsus moræ, quia præclarissima patria causa
 duorum hominum intestinis rapinis et cædibus
 vexabatur, maluit (si Deus permisisset) rem in
 extremos deducere casus. Sperabat etiam di-
 vinum in incepto favorem, quia rex generum
 suum nullis ejus culpis injuriaverat, filiam ob-
 sidebat, ecclesiam beatæ Dei genitricis de Lindo-
 colino incastellaverat. Hæc quanti apud men-
 tem principis esse debebant? Nonne præstaret
 mori et gloriose occumbere, quam tam insignem
 contumeliam pati? Ulciscendi ergo causa Deum
 et sororem, simulque necessitudines suas libe-

randi, dedit se discrimini. Comitatus sunt eum impigre suæ fautores partis, quorum erat major exhæredatorum numerus, quos in martem accendebat rerum amissarum dolor et conscia virtus: quamvis toto itinere, quod protenditur a Glocestria in Lindocolinum, ipse callide intentionem dissimularet, quibusdam ambagibus totum exercitum præter paucissimos suspendens.

DE PUGNA COMITIS GLOECSTRÆ ET CAPTIONE
REGIS.

§ 40. Ventum ad supremum ipso die Purificationis beatissimæ Mariæ, ad flumen quod inter duos exercitus præterfluebat, Trenta nomine, quod et ortu suo, et pluviarum profluvio, tam magnum fuerat ut nullatenus vado transitum præberet. Tum demum et genero, qui cum manu valida occurrerat, et cæteris quos ductaverat, detegens animum, hoc sibi propositum jam dudum esse adjecit, quod nulla unquam necessitate terga verteret; vel moriendum vel capiendum esse, si non vicisset. Cunctis igitur bona spe ipsum implentibus, (mirabile auditu,) illico belli discrimen initurus, prædicti rapacitatem fluminis cum omnibus suis nando transgressus est. Tantus erat comiti ardor finem ¹malis imponere, ut mallet ultima experiri quam regni calamitatem ulterius protendi: nam et rex cum comitibus quamplurimis, et non inerti militum copia, bello se animose, intermissa obsidione, obtulerat. Tentare primo regii pro ludium pugnae facere, quod Justam vocant, quia tali periti erant arte: at ubi viderunt quod consulares, ut ita dictum sit, non lanceis eminens, sed gladiis cominus rem gererent, et infestis viribus vexillisque aciem regalem per-

A.D. 1141.
2 Feb.
Defeat and
capture of
Stephen.

¹ *Malis*] *S. D. L2.*; omitted in *E.*

rumperent, fuga sibi omnes ad unum comites consuluere; ¹sex enim cum rege comites bellum inierunt; plures barones, prædicandæ fidei et fortitudinis, qui regem nec in hac necessitate deserendum ducerent, capti. Rex ipse, quamvis ad se defensandum non ei defuisset animus, tandem a militibus comitis Gloeestræ circumquaque aggressus, ictu lapidis cujusdam, terræ procubuit; a quo autem id factum fuerit, ignoratur. Ita omnibus circa se vel captis vel fugatis, cedendum pro tempore, et teneri sustinuit. Prædicandus itaque comes Gloeestræ præcepit regem vivum et illæsum ²conservari, non passus etiam ullo exprobrationis convitiõ illum ³irretiri: et quem iratus modo impugnabat regno fastigiatum, placidus, ecce! protegit triumphatum; ut, compositis iræ et lætitiæ motibus, et consanguinitati impenderet humanitatem, et in captivo diadematis respiceret dignitatem. ⁴Vulgus vero burgensium Lindocolinorum multa parte obtruncatum est, justa ira illorum qui vicissent, nullo dolore illorum qui victi essent, quod ipsi principium et fomes istius mali fuissent.

QUOMODO REX IMPERATRICI PRÆSENTATUR.

The king is presented to the empress.

§ 41. Rex ⁵vero, juxta morem illius generis hominum quos captivos nominant, imperatrici a fratre præsentatus Gloeestræ: post etiam ad Bristou ductus, et ibi honorifice præter progrediendi facultatem servatus est primo. Succedenti ⁶enim tempore, propter insolentiam quo-

¹ *Sex enim cum rege comites bellum inierunt; plures barones.*] E.; pauci barones, S. D. L 2.

² *Conservari.*] E.; asservari, S. D.; reservari, L 2.

³ *Irretiri.*] E 1.; irritari, E 2.; proscindi, S. D. L 2.

⁴ *Vulgus vero burgensium Lindocolinorum.*] E.; Vulgus vero civium Lindocolinum, S. D. L 2.

⁵ *Vero.*] E. L 2.; omitted in S. D.

⁶ *Enim.*] E.; vero, S. D. L 2.

rundam palam et probrose dictitantium non ex-
pedire comiti ut regem secus ac ipsi vellent ser-
varet, simul et quia ipse ferebatur plus quam se-
mel, vel elusis vel delinitis custodibus, extra stat-
utam custodiam noctu præsertim inventus, an-
nulis ferreis innodatus est.

QUOMODO IMPERATRIX, INDUSTRIA COMITIS GLOE-
CESTRÆ, A LEGATO ET QUIBUSDAM EPISCOPIS
ET PRIMATIBUS WINTONIÆ RECEPТА SIT.

§ 42. Interim et imperatrix et comes apud le-
gatum fratrem ejus nunciis egerunt, ut ipsam,
tanquam regis Henrici filiam, et cui omnis An-
glia et Normannia jurata esset, incunctanter in
ecclesiam et regnum reciperet. Quarto decimo
kalendas Martii eo anno prima Dominica Qua-
dragesimæ fuit. Ita, mediantibus utrobique nun-
ciis, ad hoc res expedita, ut ad colloquium in pa-
tenti planitie camporum citra Wintoniam conve-
niretur. Ventum ergo Dominica tertia Quadra-
gesimæ, pluvioso et nebuloso die, quasi mœstam
causæ vicissitudinem Fata portenderent. Juravit
et affidavit imperatrix episcopo, quod omnia ma-
jora negotia in Anglia, præcipueque donationes
episcopatum et abbatiarum, ejus nutum specta-
rent, si eam ipse ¹ in sancta ecclesia in dominam
reciperet, et perpetuam ei fidelitatem teneret.
Idem juraverunt cum ea, et affidaverunt pro ea,
Robertus frater ejus comes de Gloecestra, et
Brianus filius comitis marchio de Walingeford,
et Milo de Gloecestra, postea comes de Hereford,
et nonnulli alii. Nec dubitavit imperatrix
in dominam Angliæ recipere, et ei cum
quibusdam suis affidare, quod, quamdiu ipsa pac-
tum non infringeret, ipse quoque fidem ei custo-

Negotiation
between the
empress and
the legate.

Feb. 16.

March 2.

¹ In.] S. D. ; cum, E. L2.

March 3. **diret.** Crastino, quod fuit quinto nonas Martii, honorifica facta processione recepta est in ecclesia episcopatus Wintoniæ; episcopo, eodemque legato, eam ducente in dextro latere, Bernardo vero de sancto David episcopo in sinistro. Afuerunt præterea episcopi, Alexander de Lindocolino, Robertus de Herefordo, Nigellus de Heli, Robertus de Bathonia: abbates etiam, Ingulfus de Abbenduna, Edwardus de Radinges, Petrus de Malmesbiria, Gilebertus de Glocestra, Rogerius de Theokesbiria, et nonnulli alii. Paucis post diebus Thetbaldus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus venit ad imperatricem apud ¹Wiltunam, invitatus a legato: distulit sane fidelitatem dominæ facere; inconsulto rege alias divertere, famæ personæque suæ indignum arbitratus. Itaque et ipse et plerique præsules, cum aliquantis laicis, permissi ad regem ire et colloqui, dignanterque impetrata venia ut in necessitatem temporis transirent, in sententiam legati ²concessere.

March 30. Pascha, quod tunc fuit tertio kalendas Aprilis, imperatrix apud Oxenefordum egit; a cæteris in sua discessum.

QUOMODO SOLEMNI CONCILIO IMPERATRICEM IN
DOMINAM ANGLIÆ CONFIRMAVERINT.

Council at
Winchester.
April 7.

§ 43. Feria secunda post octavas Paschæ, concilium archiepiscopi Cantuariæ Thedbaldi, et omnium episcoporum Angliæ, multorumque abbatum, legato præsidente, Wintoniæ ingenti apparatu inceptum. Si qui defuerunt, legatis et literis causas cur non venissent dederunt. ³Cujus concilii actioni, quia interfui, integram rerum ve-

¹ *Wiltunam.*] E.; some MSS. | read erroneously 'Wintoniam.'

² *Concessere.*] E1.; cessere, S. D. E 2. L 2.

³ *Cujus concilii.*] E 2. is defective from these words to 'legationi sua impedimenta,' § 70, p. 765.

ritatem posteris non negabo. Egregie quippe memini, ipsa die, post recitata scripta excusatoria quibus absentiam suam quidam tutati sunt, sevocavit in partem legatus episcopos, habuitque cum eis arcanum consilii sui; ¹ post mox abbates, postremo archidiaconi convocati. Ex consilio nihil processit in publicum; volutabatur tamen per omnium mentes et ora quid foret agendum.

QUOMODO LEGATUS DEBITAM ET LEGITIMAM SUCCESSIONEM IMPERATRICIS IN REGNUM COMMENDAVERIT.

§ 44. Feria tertia hoc fere sensu legati cucurrit April 8. The legate's speech. oratio: 'Dignatione papæ se vices ejus in Anglia tenere; ideoque per ejus auctoritatem clerum Angliæ ad hoc concilium congregatum, ut de pace patriæ, quæ grandi periculo naufragabatur, consuleretur in medium. Tempore regis Henrici avunculi sui singulare domicilium pacis in Anglia fuisse; ita ut, per vivacitatem, animositatem, industriam ejusdem præcellentissimi viri, non solum indigenæ, cujuscunque potentiæ vel dignitatis essent, nihil turbare auderent, sed etiam ejus exemplo finitimi quicunque reges et principes in otium et ipsi concederent, et subjectos vel invitarent vel ²compellerent. Qui videlicet rex, nonnullis ante obitum annis, filiæ suæ quondam imperatrici (quæ sola sibi proles ex desponsata quondam conjuge supererat) omne regnum Angliæ, simul et ducatum Normanniæ, jurari ab omnibus episcopis simulque baronibus fecerit, si successore masculino ex illa, quam ex Lotharingia duxerat, uxore careret. Et invidit (inquit) atrox fortuna præcellentissimo avunculo

¹ Post.] E.; omitted in S. D. | ² Compellerent.] E.; impellerent, S. D. L 2.

meo, ut sine masculino hærede in Normannia decederet. Itaque quia longum videbatur dominam expectare, quæ moras ad veniendum in Angliam nectebat, (in Normannia quippe residebat,) provisum est paci patriæ, et regnare permissus frater meus. Enimvero, quamvis ego vadem me apposuerim inter eum et Deum quod sanctam ecclesiam honoraret et exaltaret, et bonas leges manu teneret, malas vero abrogaret; piget meminisse, pudet narrare, qualem se in regno exhibuerit: quomodo in præsumptores nulla justitia¹ exercita, quomodo pax omnis statim ipso pene anno abolita; episcopi capti, et ad redditionem possessionum suarum coacti; abbatix venditæ, ecclesiæ thesauris depilatæ; consilia pravorum audita, bonorum vel suspensa vel omnino contempta. Scitis quotiens eum tum per me tum per episcopos, convenerim, concilio præsertim anno² prædicto ad hoc indicto, et nihil nisi odium acquisierim. Nec illud quenquam, qui recte pensare velit, latet, debere me fratrem meum mortalem diligere, sed causam Patris immortalis multo pluris facere. Itaque quia Deus iudicium suum de fratre meo exercuit, ut eum, me nesciente, in potestatem potentium incidere permetteret; ne regnum vacillet, si regnante careat, omnes vos pro jure legationis meæ huc convenire invitavi. Ventilata est hesterno die causa secreto coram majori parte cleri Angliæ, ad cujus³ jus potissimum spectat principem eligere, simulque ordinare. Invocata itaque primo, ut par est, in auxilium Divinitate, filiam pacifici regis, gloriosi regis, divitis regis, boni regis, et nostro tempore

¹ *Exercita.*] *E.*; exercitata, *S. D. L 2.*

² *Prædicto.*] *E.*; præterito, *S. D. L 2.*

³ *Jus.*] *S. D.*; omitted in *E.* and 'examen' in the margin.

incomparabilis, in Angliæ Normanniæque dominam eligimus, et ei fidem et manuteneamentum promittimus.’

QUOMODO LONDONIENSES IN CONCILIO.

§ 45. Cumque omnes præsentēs vel modeste acclamassent sententiæ, vel silentes non contradixissent, subiecit ¹legatus: ‘Londonienses (qui sunt quasi optimates, pro magnitudine civitatis, in Anglia) nunciis nostris convenimus, et conductum ut tuto veniant misimus, eosque confido non ultra hunc diem moraturos: bona venia usque cras sustineamus.’

The Londoners summoned to the council.

§ 46. Feria quarta venerunt Londonienses, et, in concilium introducti, causam suam eatenus egerunt ut dicerent, missos se a communionē quam vocant Londoniarum, non certamina sed preces ²offerre, ut dominus suus rex de captione liberaretur. Hoc omnes barones, qui in eorum communionem jamdudum recepti fuerant, summopere flagitare a domino legato, et ab archiepiscopo, simulque ab omni clero qui præsens erat. Responsum est eis a legato ubertim et splendide; et, quo minus fieret quod rogabant, eadem oratio quæ pridie habita. Adjectum quintiam, ‘Non decere ut Londonienses, qui præcipui habebantur in Anglia sicut proceres, illorum partes foverent qui dominum suum in bello reliquerant, quorum consilio idem sanctam ecclesiam exhonoraverat, qui postremo non ob aliud ipsis Londoniensibus favere videbantur nisi ut eos pecuniis emungerent.’

They arrive. April 9.

¹ *Legatus.*] E.; omitted in | ² *Offerre.*] E.; afferre, S. D. S. D. L2. | L2.

DE CLERICO REGINÆ.

§ 47. Interea surrexit quidam, cujus nomen, si bene memini, Christianus, reginæ (ut audivi) clericus, porrexitque chartam legato; qua ille sub silentio lecta, voce quantum potuit exaltata dixit non esse legitimam,¹ neque deberet in tanto, præsertimque sublimium et religiosarum personarum, conventu recitari. Præter cætera enim quæ reprehensibilia et notabilia erant scripta, testem appositum qui præterito anno, in eodem quo tunc sedebant capitulo, venerabiles episcopos maxima verborum affecerit contumelia. Ita illo tricante, clericus legationi suæ non defuit, sed præclara fiducia literas legit in audientia, quarum hæc erat summa: ‘Rogabat regina obnixè omnem clerum congregatum, et nuncupatim episcopum Wintoniæ fratrem domini sui, ut eundem dominum regno restituerent, quem iniqui viri, qui etiam homines sui essent, in vincula coniecissent.’ Huic suggestioni retulit legatus verba in eandem sententiam qua et Londoniensibus. Illi, communicato consilio, dixerunt se decretum concilii convicaneis suis relaturos, et favorem suum quantum possent præstituros. Feria quinta solutum est concilium, excommunicatis ante multis qui regiarum erant partium; nominatim Wilhelmo Martello, qui quondam pincerna regis Henrici, tunc dapifer Stephani. Iste immaniter ulceraverat legati animum, multis rebus ejus interceptis et subreptis.

The council
breaks up.
April 10.

QUOMODO IMPERATRIX A LONDONIENSIBUS
RECEPTA SIT.

Reception of
the empress
by the Lon-
doners.

§ 48. Itaque multæ fuit molis Londoniensium animos permulcere posse, ut, cum hæc statim

¹ Neque.] E.; ne quæ, S. D. L2.

post Pascha (ut dixi) fuerint actitata, vix paucis ante Nativitatem beati Johannis diebus imperatricem reciperent. Pleraque tunc pars Angliæ ¹dominatum ejus suspiciebat; frater ejus Robertus assiduus circa eam omnibus quibus decebat modis ejus gloriam exaltare, proceres benigne appellando, multa pollicendo, diversas partes vel terrendo, vel etiam per internuncios ad pacem sollicitando, jam jamque in omnibus partibus imperatrici faventibus justitiam, et patrias leges, et pacem reformando. Satisque constat quod, si ejus moderationi et sapientiæ a suis esset creditum, non tam sinistrum postea sensissent aleæ casum. Aderat et dominus legatus sedula, ut videbatur, fide imperatricis commodis præsto. Sed ecce, dum ipsa putaretur omni Anglia statim posse potiri, mutata omnia. Londonienses, semper suspecti, et intra se frementes, tunc in aperti odii vocem eruperunt; insidiis etiam (ut fertur) dominam ejusque comites appetiverunt. Quibus illi præcognitis et vitatis, sensim sine tumultu quadam militari disciplina urbe cesserunt. Comitati sunt imperatricem legatus, et rex Scotiæ David avunculus ejusdem viraginis, et frater ejus Robertus, in omnibus ut semper, sic et tunc, fortunarum sororis socius, et (ut de compendio dicam) partium ejus omnes ad unum incolumes. Londonienses, cognito eorum abscessu, in hospitia involant, quicquid rerum pro festinatione relictum erat abradentes.

DE DISCORDIA IMPERATRICES ET LEGATI.

§ 49. Nec multis post diebus surrexit similtas inter legatum et imperatricem, quem casum vere

Breach between the empress and the legate.

¹ *Dominatum ejus suspiciebat.*] *suscipiebat, S. D.; dignanter E 1.; dignanter dominatum ejus | dominatum ejus suspiciebat, L 2.*

possum dicere fomitem omnium malorum rursum in Anglia fuisse: quod ¹quatinus acciderit, expediam. Habebat rex Stephanus, Eustachium nomine, ex filia Eustachii comitis Bononiensis, susceptum filium. Rex enim Henricus, pater imperatricis, (ut altius repetam, ne veritas gestorum lateat posteros,) sororem uxoris suæ, matris istius dominæ, Mariam nomine, nuptum dederat prædicto comiti, quod esset is et amplis majoribus ortus, simulque prudentia et fortitudine juxta insignis. Ex Maria Eustachius nihil liberorum tulit præter filiam Matildem vocabulo. Hanc, patre defuncto, nubilem idem magnificentissimus rex Stephano nepoti legitimo matrimonio copulavit, et pariter Bononiensem comitatum industrie acquisivit; nam antea Moritoliensem in Normannia ex suo dederat. Hos comitatus nepoti suo quem nominavi, Eustachio, legatus jure dandos destinaverat dum pater in captione teneretur; imperatrice prorsus abnuente, incertum an aliis etiam promittente. Qua ille offensus injuria, multis diebus ab ejus abstinuit curia, et, quamvis sæpe revocaretur, negare perseveravit. Interea familiare apud Geldeford cum regina, fratris uxore, colloquium habuit, ejusque lachrymis et satisfactione infractus ad liberationem germani animum intendit; omnes etiam illius partis quos in concilio excommunicaverat, inconsultis episcopis, absolvit. Ferebantur et per Angliam ejus in imperatricem querelæ: quod eum capere voluerit; quod quicquid ei juraverat pro nihilo habuerit; omnes barones Angliæ fidem suam circa eam implisse, sed ipsam temerasse, quæ acquisitis uti modeste nesciret.

¹ Quatinus.] E.; qualiter, S. D. L2.

QUOMODO COMES GLOECESTRENSIS LEGATUM CON-
VENERIT CUM IMPERATRICE ET COADJUTORIBUS
SUIS.

§ 50. Ad hos motus, si posset, componendos comes Gloecastrensis non adeo denso comitatu Wintoniam contendit; sed re infecta ad Oxeneford rediit, ubi soror stativa mansione jamdudum se continuerat. Ipsa itaque, et ex his quæ continue audiebat et a fratre tunc cognovit, nihil legatum molle ad suas partes cogitare intelligens, Wintoniam cum quanto potuit apparatu venit. Illic intra castellum regium sine cunctatione recepta, bona forsitan mente per nuncios episcopum convenit, ut, quia ipsa præsens erat, non pigritaretur ad eam venire: ille, non integrum sibi fore arbitratus si veniret, ambiguo responso nuncios elusit, hoc ¹tamen verbo, 'Ego parabo me;' statimque propter omnes misit quos regi ²fauturos sciebat. Venerunt ergo fere omnes comites Angliæ; erant enim juvenes et leves, et qui mallent equitationum discursus quam pacem. Præterea plures illorum, confusi quia regem bellantem, ut superius dictum est, deseruerant, conventu illo fugæ suæ opprobrium lenire conabantur. Pauci vero cum imperatrice ³venerant: rex Scotiæ David, Robertus comes Gloecestræ, Milo de Hereford, et barones pauci; Reinulfus ⁴enim comes Cestriæ tarde et inutiliter advenit. Ut ergo magnam seriem rerum brevi verborum compendio explicem: a regina, et comitibus qui venerant, undique foras muros Wintoniæ observatæ sunt viæ, ne victualia impera-

The earl of Gloucester attempts to allay the commotions.

¹ *Tamen.*] E.; tantum, S. D. L 2.

² *Fauturos.*] E.; fautores, S. D. L 2.

³ *Venerant.*] E. L 2.; conveniant, S. D.

⁴ *Enim.*] S. D.; omitted in E. L 2.

Andover
burnt.

tricus fidelibus inferrentur; Andevera etiam vicus incensus. Ab occidente itaque raro et anguste importabantur necessaria, viatoribus nonnullis interceptis vel occisis, vel parte membrorum mutilatis: ab oriente vero toto tramite versus Londoniam constipabantur semitæ multitudine com meatum, episcopo et suis importandorum; ¹Gaufrido de Mandevilla, qui jam iterum auxilio eorum cesserat, antea enim post captionem regis imperatrici fidelitatem juraverat, et Londoniensibus maxime annitentibus, nihilque omnino quod possent prætermittentibus quo imperatricem contristarent. Wintonienses porro vel tacito ei favabant iudicio, memores fidei quam ei pacti fuerant cum inviti propemodum ab episcopo ad hoc adacti essent. Interea ex turre pontificis jaculatum incendium in domos burgensium (qui, ut dixi, proniores erant imperatricis felicitati quam episcopi) comprehendit et combussit abbatiam totam sanctimonialium intra urbem, simulque ²cœnobium quod dicitur Ad Hidam extra. Erat ibi imago crucifixi Domini magna mole auri et argenti, simulque gemmarum, ³dono Cnutonis quondam regis operosa devotione fabrefacta: hæc, igne tunc comprehensa et solo prostrata, post etiam jubente legato excrustata est. Inventæ plusquam quingentæ argenti marcæ, auri triginta, donativo militum profecere. Combusta est etiam abbatia sanctimonialium de Warewella a quodam Willelmo de Ipra, homine nefando, qui nec Deo nec hominibus reverentiam observaret, quod in ea quidam imperatricis fautores se con tutati essent.

Hide monas-
tery burnt.

Warewell
abbey burnt.

¹ Gaufrido de Mandevilla . . . | ² Cœnobium.] E.; cœnobium
juraverat.] E.; omitted in S. C. | monachorum, S. D. L 2.
D. K. L 2. | ³ Dono.] S. E. L 2.; ex dono,
D.

DE DISCESSU COMITIS GLOECESTRÆ A WINTONIA
ET CAPTIONE SUA.

§ 51. Comes ¹Glocestræ interea, quamvis quotidiano regionum prælio cum suis affligeretur, minusque quam cogitaret res ex sententia cederet, semper tamen ab incendio ecclesiarum temperandum putavit, quamvis in vicino 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 paravit. Itaque in primo agmine ut libere abiret sororem præmittens cum reliquis, ipse cum paucis qui auderent animis multos non timere, lente progrediebatur. Quapropter comitibus ²regiis confestim insecutis, dum et ipse fugere pudori et citra dignitatem suam æstimat, et solus ab omnibus præcipue impetitur, captus est. Cæteri cœptum iter, proceres præsertim, continuare; summaque cum festinatione Divisas pervenerunt. Sic a Wintonia die sanctæ Crucis Exaltationis, Sept. 14. quæ tunc habebatur in Dominica, discessum; cum illuc paucis ante Assumptionem beatæ Dei ³genitricis diebus ventum fuisset. Nonnullique miraculi exemplum et multorum materia sermonum fuit in Anglia, quod sicut rex Dominica in dominæ nostræ Purificatione, ⁴ita comes Dominica in vivificæ Crucis Exaltatione, unam eandemque sortem experti sunt. Illud vero percelebre magnificentumque fuit, quod pro isto eventu nemo comitem Glocestræ vel infractum mente, vel etiam

Retreat of the earl of Gloucester from Winchester.

Sept. 14.

Capture of the earl of Gloucester.

¹ *Glocestræ.*] E.; omitted in S. D. L 2.

³ *Genitricis.*] S. E. L 2.; genitricis Mariæ, D.

² *Regiis.*] E.; omitted in S. D. L 2.

⁴ *Ita comes Dominica in vivificæ Crucis Exaltatione.*] S. D. L 2.; omitted in E.

tristem vultu, viderit; ita conscientiam altæ nobilitatis spirabat, ne se fortunæ ludibrio subjiceret. Quamvis enim primo blanditiis invitatus, post etiam minis laceraretur, nunquam tamen inflexus est ut de liberatione sua præter ¹consensum sororis tractaretur. Ad ultimum eo modo res ventilata, ut æquis conditionibus et rex et ipse absolverentur; nullo pacto alio interveniente, nisi ut quisque partes suas pro posse, sicut ²et prius, tutaretur. Hæc ab Exaltatione sanctæ Crucis usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum plurimo verborum agmine sæpe versata, tunc demum debito fine conclusa; ea enim die rex eluctatus captionem. In eadem apud Bristou reginam suam et filium cum duobus magnatibus reliquit, vades liberandi comitis continuo cum festinato itinere rex Wintoniam venisset; ibi enim asservabatur comes, reductus a Rovecestra, quo prius abductus fuerat. Tertio die, mox ut rex Wintoniam venit, comes abscessit; dimisso ibi, quousque regina absolveretur, in ³eodem obsidatu filio suo Willelmo. Celeriter igitur permensa via, Bristou veniens reginam absolvit; cujus reditu Willelmus filius comitis ab obsidatu liberatur. Satis autem constat, toto tempore captionis, sequentibusque mensibus usque ad Natale, multis et magnis pollicitationibus sollicitatum ut a sorore descisceret, pluris semper pietatem germanitatis ⁴quam qualibet promissiones fecisse: nam et relictis rebus castellisque suis, quibus commode frui posset, circa germanam sedulo apud Oxeneford mansitabat; quo loco, ut præfatus sum, illa sedem sibi constituens, curiam fecerat.

The king
and the earl
mutually re-
leased.

¹ *Consensum.*] E.; conscientiam, S. D. L 2.

² *Et prius.*] E.; prius, S. L 2.; superius, D.

³ *Eodem.*] E. L 2.; eodem die, S. D.

⁴ *Quam qualibet.*] S. E. L 2.; quas qualibet, D.

DE CONCILIO QUO LEGATUS TENTAVIT LENIRE
CAUSAM RECEPTIONIS IMPERATRICIS IN DO-
MINAM.

§ 52. Interea legatus, immodici animi pontifex, qui quod semel proposuisset non ineffectum relinquere vellet, concilium pro jure legationis suæ apud Westmonasterium die octavarum sancti Andreæ coegit. Ejus concilii actionem non ita exacta fide pronuncio ut superioris, quia non interfui. Auditum est lectas in eo literas domini apostolici, quibus modeste legatum argueret quod liberare fratrem suum dissimulasset. Delicti tamen superioris gratiam facere; et magnopere cohortari, ut quocunque modo, vel ecclesiastico vel seculari, posset, ad germani liberationem accingeretur. Regem ipsum in concilium introisse, et apud sanctum conventum querimoniam deposuisse, quod homines sui et eum ceperint, et afflictione contumeliarum paulo minus extinxerint, qui justitiam eis nunquam negasset. Ipsum legatum magnis eloquentiæ viribus factorum suorum invidiam tentasse alleviare: ‘quod scilicet imperatricem non voluntate sed necessitate recepisset, quippe cum recenti adhuc fratris sui clade (omnibus comitibus vel fugatis, vel eventum rei suspecta mente præstolantibus,) ipsa cum suis muros Wintoniæ circumsonasset, ipsam quæcunque pepigerat ad ecclesiarum jus pertinentia obstinate fregisse. Quin etiam certis auctoribus ad se delatum eam et suos non solum dignitati suæ, sed et vitæ, struxisse insidias: cæterum, Deum pro sua clementia secus quam ipsa sperasset vertisse negotia, ut et ipse perniciem vitaret, et fratrem suum vinculis eximeret. Itaque jubere se de parte Dei et apostolici, ut regem, voluntate populi et assensu sedis apostolicæ inunctum, quan-

Council at
Westmin-
ster
Dec. 7.

The king
present at
the council.

The legate
attempts to
extenuate
the odium of
his conduct.

Commands
all men to
obey the
king.

tis possent viribus enixe juvarent; turbatores vero pacis, qui comitissæ Andegavensi faverent, ad excommunicationem vocandos, præter eam quæ Andegavorum domina esset.⁷

QUOMODO QUIDAM FAUTOR IMPERATRICIS LOCUTUS
FUIT PRO IMPERATRICE.

§ 53. Hæc ejus verba non dico quod ¹omnes gratis animis exceperint, certe nullus expugnavit; ²omnes clerici vel metu vel reverentia frænarunt ora. Unus fuit laicus, imperatricis nuncius, qui palam legato interdixit, ne, per fidem quam ei pactus fuerat, quicquam in illo concilio statueret quod ejus honori adversum foret: fidem ab eo ³hanc imperatrici factam, ne fratrem suum ullo auxilio ⁴juvaret, nisi forte viginti ⁵ei milites, nec plures, mitteret. Quod in Angliam ipsa venisset, frequentibus epistolis ejus factum: quod regem cepisset, quod in captione tenuisset, ipso potissimum connivente actum. ⁶Dixit hæc et alia pleraque magna verborum austeritate, nihil omnino legato blanditus: nec vero ullo sermonum pondere ille moveri potuit ut iram proderet, semel incepti (ut prius dixi) sui non segnis executor. Fuit ergo hic annus (cujus tragœdias compendio digessi) fatalis et pene perniciosus Angliæ; in quo, cum aliquo modo sibi ad libertatem respirandam putasset, rursum in ærumnam recidit, et, nisi Dei misericordia mature occurrat, diu hærebit.

A layman from the empress forbids the legate to ordain anything repugnant to her honour.

¹ Omnes.] E.; omnes clerici, S. D. L 2.

² Omnes clerici vel metu vel reverentia.] E.; omnes metu vel reverentia, D.; omnes vel metu vel reverentia, S. L 2.

³ Hanc.] S. D. L 2.; omitted in E.

⁴ Juvaret.] S. E. L 2.; adjuvaret, D.

⁵ Ei.] S. D. L 2.; omitted in E.

⁶ Dixit.] E.; Dixit nuncius, S. D. L 2.

RECAPITULATIO DE COMITE GLOECESTRÆ.

§ 54. Principia gestorum hujus anni, qui est incarnationis Dominicæ millesimus centesimus quadragesimus tertius, ex reliquis superioris anni successit animo resarcire; simulque summam rerum quæ de Roberto filio regis Henrici comite Gloeestræ sparsim dicta sunt, quasi in fasciculum collectam, lectoris æstimationi per recapitulationem proponere. Ipse quippe sicut primus ad partes sororis suæ juste defendendas initium suscepit, ita semper invicto animo in incepto gratis perseveravit: gratis dico, quia nonnulli fautorum ejus, vel, fortunam sequentes, cum ejus volubilitate mutantur, vel, multa jam emolumenta consecuti, spe ampliorum præmiorum pro justitia pugnant. Solus vel pene solus Robertus, in neutram partem pronior, nec spe compendii, nec dispendii timore, unquam flexus est, sicut ex sequentibus liquebit. Non ergo alicui, si hæc integre scribo, adulationis surrepat suspicio; nihil enim a me dabitur gratiæ, sed sola veritas historiæ sine ullo fuco mendacii posterorum producetur notitiæ.

A.D. 1143.
Recapitulation of the
earl of Gloucester's conduct.

§ 55. Dictum est de comite quo modo primus¹ omnium post David regem Scotiæ, præsentem patre Henrico, fidelitatem sorori suæ imperatrici de regno Angliæ et ducatu Normanniæ sacramento firmavit: nonnulla (ut dixi) contentione inter eum et Stephanum tunc Bononiæ comitem, postmodum Angliæ regem, quisnam prior sacramentum faceret; Roberto excellentiam filii, Stephano dignitatem nepotis, defendentibus.

§ 56. Dictum est etiam quam rationabiles eum

¹ *Omnium.*] E.; omnium primatum, *S. D. L2.* — Malmesbury, however, has before stated that Stephen preceded Robert in taking the oath to Matilda.

Recapitulation of the earl of Gloucester's conduct.

causæ a Decembri, quo pater defunctus est, usque post sequens Pascha, in Normannia continuerint, ne statim in Angliam veniens sororis injurias vindicaret. Postremo veniens, quam prudenti consilio et qua exceptione ad hominum regis se inclinaverit, et quam juste idem sequenti anno et deinceps abjecerit.

§ 57. Nec est prætermisus secundus ejus post mortem patris a Normannia in Angliam cum sorore adventus; in quam se sicut in quandam sylvam frementium belluarum immersit, Dei quidem gratia et animi confidentia fretus, sed vix centum et quadraginta militibus stipatus. Sed nec illud tacitum, quod in tanto motu bellorum, cum sollicitæ ubique prætenderentur excubiæ, cum solis duodecim militibus impigre ad Bristou venit; sorore interim apud Arundellum fida, ut putabat, custodia commissa. Qua prudentia et tunc sororem suam e mediis hostibus ad se receperit, et postmodum in omnibus pro posse provexerit; semper circa eam conversatus, ipsius commoda procurans, sua postponens, cum quidam abutentes ejus absentia terras ipsius undique vellirent. Ad postremum, qua necessitate adductus, ut generum suum, quem rex incluserat, periculo eximeret, bello gravi se dedit regemque ceperit. Sed tam felicem eventum captio¹ ejus apud Wintoniam, ut in superioris anni gestis perstrinxi, paulo minus² delinavit; quanquam ea captione non tam miserandum quam laudandum se ipse per Dei gratiam exhibuerit: cum enim videret regios comites ita obstinatos ad persequendum ut sine suorum detrimento res transigi nequiret, omnes quibus timebat, nominatimque

¹ *Ejus.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D.* | ² *Delinavit.*] *E.*; decoloravit, *S. D. L2.*

imperatricem, præmisit; quibus ¹prætergressis, Recapitulation of the earl of Gloucester's conduct. ut jam tuto possent evadere, ipse sensim equitans, ne similis fugæ profectio putaretur, admisit in se persequentium manus, amicorum liberationem impedimento suo mercatus. Jam vero in ipsa captione nemo eum (ut ante dixi) vel sensit dejectum animo, vel audivit humilem in verbo: adeo supra fortunam eminere videbatur, ut persecutores suos (nolo enim dicere hostes) ad reverentiam sui excitaret. Itaque regina, quæ licet meminisset virum suum ejus jussu fuisse comeditum, nihil ei unquam vinculorum inferri permisit, nec quicquam inhonestum de sua majestate præsumpsit: denique apud Rovecestram (illuc quippe ductus fuit) libere ad ecclesias infra castellum quo libebat ibat; et quibus libebat loquebatur, ipsa duntaxat regina præsentem: nam post profectionem ejus in turrim sub libera custodia ductus est, adeo præsentem et securo animo ut ab hominibus suis de Cantia accepta pecunia equos non parvi pretii compararet, qui ei post aliquanto tempore et usui et commodo fuere.

DE LIBERATIONE REGIS.

§ 58. Tentavere primo comites, et hi quorum intererat de talibus loqui, si forte regem et se sineret æquis conditionibus liberari. Hoc quamvis Mabilla comitissa præ desiderio viri sui ²dilecti statim amplexa nunciis acceptis esset, in ejus liberationem conjugali charitate propensior, ille profundiori consilio contradixit, regem et comitem non æqualis ponderis esse asseverans: cæterum, si permitterent omnes qui vel secum vel sui causa capti essent liberari, id se posse pati.

¹ *Prætergressis.*] E.; prægressis, | ² *Dilecti.*] E.; omitted in S.D. L 2.

Recapitulation of the earl of Gloucester's conduct.

Sed noluerunt assentiri comites, et alii qui regalium partium erant; regem quidem liberari cupientes, sed citra suas in pecuniæ amissione jacturas: nam et Gillebertus comes Willelmum de Salesbiria, Willelmus de Ipra Hunfridum de Bohun, et nonnulli alii quos potuerant, Wintoniæ ceperant, multis in eorum redemptione marcis inhiantes.

QUOMODO TENTATUM EST COMITEM GLOUCESTRÆ
POSSE INFLECTI IN PARTES REGIS.

§ 59. Itaque alia via comitem adorsi, promissis ingentibus, si forte possent, illicere cupiebant. Concederet, sorore dimissa, in partes regis, habiturus proinde totius terræ dominatum, ut ad ipsius arbitrium penderent omnia; essetque in sola corona rege inferior, cæteris omnibus pro velle principaturus. Repulit comes immensas promissiones memorabili responso, quod posteritas audiat et miretur volo: 'Non sum,' inquit, 'meus, sed alieni juris: cum meæ potestatis me videro, quicquid ratio de re quam allegatis dictaverit, facturum me respondeo.'

§ 60. Tum illi concitatiores et nonnihil moti, cum blanditiis nihil promoverent, minas intentare ceperunt, quod eum ultra mare in Bononiam mitterent, perpetuis vinculis usque ad mortem inno-dandum. Enimvero ille, minas sereno vultu dissolvens, nihil minus se timere protestatus est constanter et vere: confidebat enim in magnanimitate comitissæ, uxoris suæ ¹scilicet, et animositate suorum, qui statim regem in Hiberniam mitterent, si quid perperam in comitem factum audissent.

§ 61. Transiit in his mensis, tantæ molis erat

¹ Scilicet.] E.; omitted in S. D. L2.

liberari posse principes quos fortuna sua innex-
uisset catena. Tandem porro communicato con-
silio, quicunque imperatrici favebant, crebris le-
gationibus comitem conveniunt, ut quia non pos-
set quod vellet, secundum comici dictum, vellet
quod posset: pateretur ergo regem et se liberari
mutuis conditionibus; 'alioquin timemus,' aie-
bant, 'ne comites facti sui maximi et præcla-
rissimi, quo te ceperunt, erecti conscientia, unos
et unos ex nobis invadant, castella expugnent,
ipsam sororem tuam ¹obsidiant.'

Recapitulation of the
earl of Glou-
cester's con-
duct.

§ 62. Tum demum Robertus mollitus legato
et archiepiscopo assensit; ita tamen, ne quic-
quam castellorum vel terrarum redderetur quod
post regis captionem in jus imperatricis vel quo-
rumque fidelium ejus transierat. Illud sane
nullo potuit obtinere modo quatenus sui secum
liberarentur; offensis videlicet aliis, quod tantas
eorum promissiones de principatu totius regni,
quodam quasi fastu fastidians, repudiaverat. Et
quia maxime annitebantur ut, propter regiam dig-
nitatem, primo rex liberaretur, ²deinceps comes;
cum id ille dubitaret concedere, firmaverunt jure-
jurando legatus et archiepiscopus, quod, si rex
post liberationem suam detrectaret comitem libe-
rare, ipsi se in captionem comitis incunctanter
injicerent, quocunque ipsi libuisset abducendi.

§ 63. Nec adhuc quievit, sed, præter hæc, quo
sibi provideret sagax animus invenit: posset
nempe fieri ut rex, malorum, quod sæpe fit, præ-
ventus consilio, captionem fratris sui et archiepi-
scopi parvi duceret dummodo ipse liber in pluma
jaceret. Exegit ergo ab utroque sigillatim bre-
via et sigilla sua ad apostolicum in hunc sensum;

¹ *Obsidiant.*] E.; oppugnent, | ² *Deinceps.*] E.; deinde, S. D.
S. D. L 2. | L 2.

Recapitulation of the earl of Gloucester's conduct.

‘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 perventum foret, obnixè rogare (quod apostolicæ humanitatis esset sponte facere) ut et eos qui suffraganei ipsius erant, et comitem pariter, ab indebitis nexibus exueret;’ et quædam talia.

§ 64. Hæc scripta Robertus ab utrisque pontificibus recepta tuto loco deposuit; et Wintoniam cum eisdem, simulque magna baronum copia, venit. Rex quoque, ut in præteritis dictum est, non multo post eodem veniens, familiare colloquium cum comite communicavit: sed quamvis et ipse rex, et cuncti principes qui aderant, magno annisu satagerent comitem in sua vota traducere, ille, velut pelagi rupes immota resistens, omnes eorum conatus vel irritos fecit, vel rationabiliter compescuit: ‘Non esse rationis,’ dicens, ‘sed nec humanitatis, ut sororem suam desereret, cujus partes juste defendendas suscepisset: nullius commodi causa, nec tam regis odio quam sacramenti sui respectu, quod violare nefas esse ipsi quoque deberent attendere, præsertim cum ab apostolico sibi mandatum meminisset ut sacramento quod sorori, præsentè patre, fecerat, obedientiam exhiberet.’ Ita infecta pace ab utrisque discessum.

The author's reasons for not incorporating certain events with the transactions of the former year.

§ 65. Hæc ideo ¹sic in superioris anni gestis non apposui, quia clam conscientia mea erant: semper quippe horrore habui aliquid ad posteros transmittendum stylo committere, quod nescirem

¹ Sic.] E.; omitted in S. D. L2.

solida veritate subsistere. Ea porro, quæ de præsentī anno dicenda sunt, hoc habebunt principium.

TRACTATUS UT PRO COMITE ANDEGAVENSE
MITTERETUR.

§ 66. Utræque partes, imperatricis et regis, se Designs of the empress. cum quietis modestia egerunt a Natali usque ad Quadragesimam, magis sua custodire quam aliena incursare studentes: rex in superiores regiones abscessit, nescio quæ compositurus. Superveniens Quadragesima omnibus ¹vacaturam bellorum indixit; qua mediante, imperatrix cum suis ad Divisas venit, illic mysterium consilii ²cum suis habitura: quod tamen eatenus exiit in vulgus, ut sciretur omnibus fautoribus ³ejus complacitum quatenus pro comite Andegavensi mitteretur, qui conjugis et filiorum hæreditatem in Anglia jure defensitare deberet. Missi sunt ergo spectabiles viri, et qui merito tantæ rei curam exequerentur.

DE INFIRMITATE REGIS.

§ 67. Non multo post, in ipsis ⁴Paschalibus feriis, Indisposition of the king. regem, quædam (ut aiunt) dura meditantem, gravis incommodum morbi apud Northamptonam detinuit, adeo ut in tota propemodum Anglia sicut mortuus conclamaretur. Duravit improspera valetudo usque post Pentecosten; tunc enim sensim refusus salutis vigor eum in pedes erexit.

§ 68. Interim nuncii ex Andegavis redeuntes, iterato apud Divisas in ipsis octavis Pentecostes

¹ *Vacaturam.*] *Vacaturam vel* cessationem, *E.*; vacationem, *S.* *D.* *L. 2.*

² *Cum suis habitura.*] *E.*; sui habitura, *D.*; sui habitum, *S.* *L. 2.*

³ *Ejus.*] *E.* *L. 2.*; omitted in *S. D.*

⁴ *Paschalibus.*] *E.*; pene Paschalibus, *S. D. L. 2.*

coacto concilio, imperatrici et principibus audita reportant: 'Comitem Andegavensem legationibus procerum nonnulla ex parte favere; cæterum, solum ex omnibus comitem Glocestrensem¹ cognoscere, ejusque prudentiam ac fidem, magnanimitatem et industriam, probatam jam olim habuisse. Is si ad se transito mari adveniat, voluntati ejus se pro posse non defuturum; alioquin cæteros in eundo et redeundo frustra laborem consumpturos.'

QUOMODO COMES GLOCESTRÆ AD COMITEM
ANDEGAVENSEM IERIT.

The earl of
Gloucester
entreated to
go to the earl
of Anjou.

§ 69. Ita omnium audientium spebus erectis, ad comitem preces versæ, ut hunc laborem pro sororis et nepotum hæreditate dignaretur. Dissimulavit ille primo, difficilem rem prætendens: suspectum per confertissimos hostes iter citra et ultra mare; periculosum sorori, quam in absentia ejus alii ægre tuerentur, qui eam in captione sua pene reliquerant, rebus ipsi suis diffisi. Favens tandem omnium unanimi voluntati, obsides poposcit sigillatim ab his qui optimates videbantur, secum in Normanniam ducendos, vadesque futuros tam comiti Andegavensi² quam imperatrici, quod omnes junctis umbonibus ab ea, dum ipse abesset, injurias propulsarent,³ vicibus suis apud Oxeneford manentes. Acclamatum est sententiæ, datique obsides Normanniam ducendi.

QUOMODO COMES ANDEGAVENSIS AUXILIO COMITIS
GLOCESTRÆ DECEM CASTELLA IN NORMANNIA
CEPERIT.

His departure for
Normandy.

§ 70. Robertus ergo vafaciens sorori, ductis

¹ *Cognoscere.*] *E. L 2.*; re-
cognoscere, *S. D.*

² *Quam.*] *E. L 2.*; quam
etiam, *S. D.*

³ *Vicibus.*] *D. E. L 2.*; viri-
bus, *S.*

secum obsidibus, cum expeditis militibus per tuta hospitia ad Waram profectus est, quem vicum cum castello jamdudum commiserat filio suo primogenito Willelmo. Ibi aliquanto post festum sancti Johannis alto se per Dei gratiam committens, naves quas tunc habebat solvit. Quæ fere in medium mare delatæ, omnes præter duas tempestate coorta in diversa jactatæ; quædamque retro versæ, quædam ultra destinatum propulsæ sunt: duæ solummodo, in quarum una comes cum fidissimis erat, rectum cursum tenentes, in idoneam stationem appulerunt. Veniens itaque Cadomum, comitem Andegavensem per nuncios accersivit. Venit ille non aspernanter, sed auditæ legationi sua impedimenta, et ea multa, objecit: inter quæ, quod rebellionem multorum castellorum in Normannia detineretur quo minus in Angliam veniret. Ea res moras redeundi comiti Glocestrensi ultra placitum innexuit: nam ut Andegavensem omni occasione nudaret, cum eo decem castella expugnavit in Normannia, ¹quorum hæc sunt vocabula, Tenerchebrai, Seithilaret, Brichesart, ²Alani, Bastonborg, Triveres, Castel de Vira, Plaiseiz, Vilers, Moretoin. Sed propemodum nihil quantum ad legationem hac promovit industria; Andegavensis enim comes et alias occasiones, prioribus solutis, substituit, quibus in Angliam adventum excusaret suum. Magni sane loco beneficii filium suum ex imperatrice primogenitum avunculo concessit in Angliam deducendum, cujus intuitu proceres justis hæredis partes propugnare animarentur. Henricus vocatur puer, nomen avi referens: utinam felicitatem et potentiam quandoque relaturus.

¹ *Quorum . . . Moretoin.*] E.; | ² *Alani.*] E 1.; Alnai, E 2.
omitted in S. C. D. K. L 2.

QUOMODO REX CEPIT WARAM, ABSENTE COMITE.

The king
burns Ware-
ham,

and Oxford.

§ 71. Interea rex in Anglia, comitis absentiam aucupatus, subito ad Waram veniens, et ¹non bene munitum propugnatoribus offendens, ²succensa et deprædata villa, statim etiam castello potitus est. Nec eo contentus (qui fortunam sibi aspirare videret), tribus diebus ante festum sancti Michaelis inopinato casu Oxeneford civitatem concremavit, et castellum, in quo cum domesticis militibus imperatrix erat, obsedit; ita scilicet offirmato animo, ut nullius spe commodi, nullius timore detrimenti, discedendum pronunciatet, nisi castello reddito, et imperatrice in ditionem suam redacta. ³Mox igitur optimates quidem omnes imperatricis, confusi quia a domina sua præter statutum abfuerant, confertis cuneis ad Walengeford convenerunt, eo proposito ut regem bello impeterent si ipse in aperto campo martem experiri ⁴vellet, sed eum intra civitatem aggredi consilium non fuit, quam ita comes Gloeestræ fossatis munierat, ut inexpugnabilis præter per incendium videretur.

DE REDITU COMITIS GLOEESTRÆ IN ANGLIAM.

The earl of
Gloucester
lands at
Wareham.

§ 72. His rumoribus in ⁵Anglia disseminatis, comes ⁶Gloeestræ Robertus reditum maturavit. Trecentos itaque milites et aliquanto plures, quorum tamen numerus ad quadringentos non pervenit, navibus quinquaginta duabus imposuit;

¹ Non bene munitum.] E.; vacuum, S. D. K. L 2.

² Succensa et deprædata villa.] E.; succenso et deprædato vico, S. D. L 2.

³ Mox igitur optimates quidem omnes.] E.; Mox optimates omnes, S. D. L 2.

⁴ Vellet.] E.; voluisset, S. D. L 2.

⁵ Anglia.] E.; Normannia, S. D. L 2.

⁶ Gloeestræ.] E.; omitted in S. D. L 2.

his duas, quas redeundo in pelago expugnavit, adjunxit. Itaque piæ voluntati Deus ¹per gratiam sui egregie favit, ut nulla e tanto numero navium longius evagaretur; sed omnes, vel pariter junctis lateribus, vel leniter unæ ante alias progressæ, placida sulcarent maria. Nec vero violentia fluctuum navigia impetebat, sed quodam famulatu prosequabatur; sicut aspectus maris solet esse gratissimus, cum placidis allisa lapsibus alludit unda littoribus. In portum ergo Waram delatæ, ²comitem et omnes socios desiderii suorum felices carinæ restituere.

QUOMODO COMES GLOECSTRÆ REDITU SUO
WARAM CEPERIT.

§ 73. Cogitaverat primo ad Hamtunam appellere, ut dispendio ³burgensium simul et domini eorum injurias suas ulcisceretur; sed flexerunt ejus impetum precibus multis Vituli, qui arctissimarum necessitudinum parentes, quos apud Hamtunam habebant, ærumnis cæterorum involvi timerent. Genus hominum nauticorum est quos Vitulos vocant; qui quia fidi clientes comitis sunt, preces eorum non negligendas arbitratus, cœpto destitit; simul et honoratius visum, ut in locum de quo egressus fuerat revertetur, quod per violentiam amiserat vi recuperaturus. Statim ergo portu et vico in potestatem subactis, castellum obsedit, quod lectissimorum militum quos ibi rex locaverat munitione sua ⁴confirmarat animositatem, ne dicam contumaciam. At enim paulo post milites, machinis comitis labefactati et consternati, petierunt indu-

Certain mariners called Vituli.

The earl of Gloucester besieges Wareham.

¹ Per gratiam sui.] E.; per suam gratiam, S. D. L 2.
² Comitem.] E.; comites, S. D. L 2.

³ Burgensium.] E.; civium, S. D. L 2.
⁴ Confirmarat.] E.; confirmabat, S. D. L 2.

cias ut, sicut moris est illorum hominum, efflagitarent a rege suppetias; die dicta, si forte venire negaret, castellum reddituri. Id, spe regem ab obsidione sororis abducendi, acceptissimum comiti fuit, quamvis impatienti desiderio castelli habendi teneretur; qua putamus animi confidentia, ut, nullo ex Anglia fultus adhuc auxilio, cum trecentis et paulo plus militibus regem intrepidus operiretur, qui mille milites et eo amplius habere ferebatur; multi enim non tam imperatricis odio quam aviditate prædæ ad obsidendum convolaverant.

QUOMODO COMES GLOECSTRÆ CONGREGATO EXERCITU TETENDIT AD LIBERANDAM IMPERATRICEM.

The Isle of Portland and Lulleworth subdued.

§ 74. Veruntamen, cum relatum esset quod obsessis apud Waram a rege negaretur auxilium, ea scilicet obstinatione qua prædixi castellum recepit; eodemque impetu insulam Portland, quam incastellaverant, subegit; nec minus et tertium, cujus nomen Lulleworda,¹ quod Willelmi de Glastonia, cujusdam cubicularii, fuerat, qui nuper a fide imperatricis desciverat. Inde omnes fautores imperatricis ad Cirecestram convocavit, jam ingresso² adventu. Ibi igitur ad dominæ suæ succurrendum omnibus³ suis viribus conspirati, profectionem ad Oxenefordum meditabantur; infensis mentibus cum rege, nisi abscederet, præliatum iri. Enimvero jam progressis plausibile nuncium allatum est, egressam imperatricem ab obsesso castello Oxeneford, et apud

Escape of the empress from Oxford.

¹ Quod . . . desciverat.] E.; armis perdomuit, S. C. D. K. L 2.

² Adventu.] E.; domini adventu, S. D. L 2.

³ Suis.] E.; omitted in S. D.

⁴ Præliatum iri.] S. D. L 2.; præliaturum iri, E.

Wallengeford tuto manere. Illic ergo divertentes, ejusdem dominæ ¹suæ consilio, quia et milites qui ea exeunte remanserant, castello reddito, indemnes abierant, et sancti dies quiescere vel parum admonebant, bello abstinendum rati, ad sua quique sunt ²reversi.

EXPLICIT LIBER TERTIUS NOVELLÆ HISTORIÆ.

§ 75. Modum sane liberationis imperatricis grantanter apponerem, si pro certo compertum haberem. Est enim evidens Dei miraculum. Illud satis constat, quod, metu ³adventantis comitis, obsessoribus plurimis apud Oxeneford, quo quisque poterat, dilapsis, reliqui laxiores custodias et remissiores excubias fecere; magis, si ad bellum veniretur, saluti suæ solliciti, quam aliorum exitio infesti. ⁴Sed hæc in volumine sequenti, Deo volente, latius expedientur.

Conclusion.

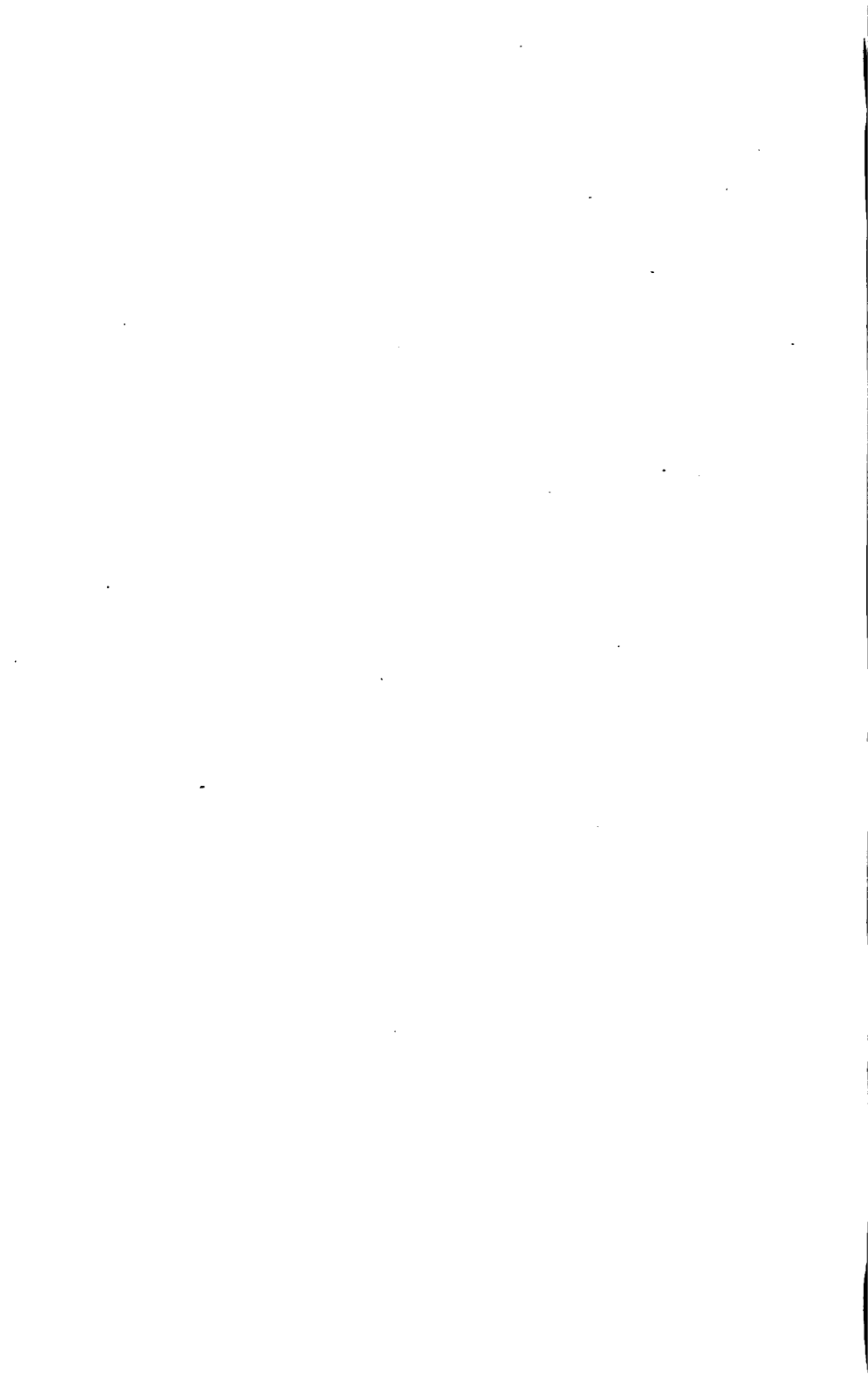
¹ *Suæ.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L 2.*

² *Reversi.*] The third book concludes here in *E.*; the other MSS. continue the work to the end without interruption.

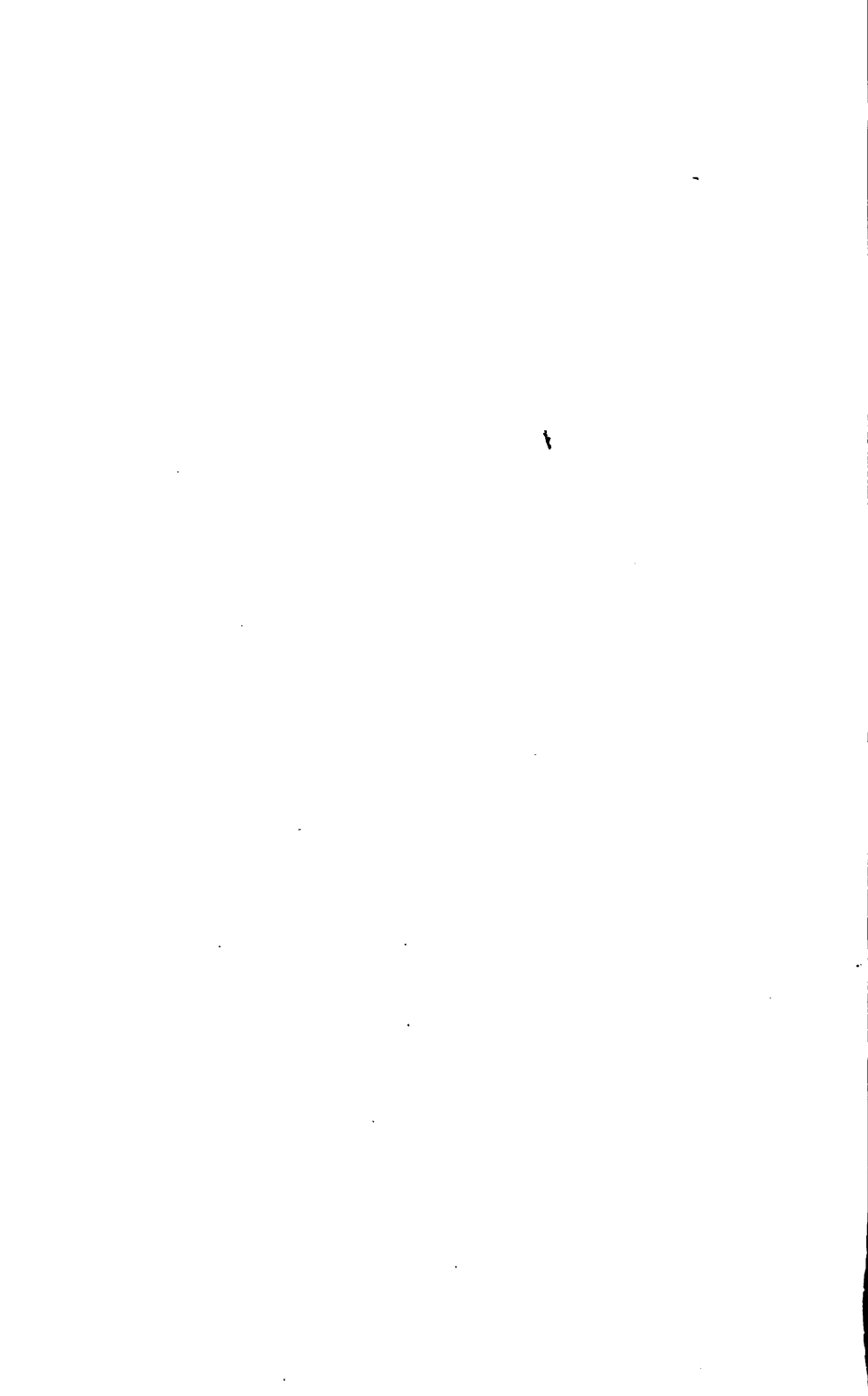
³ *Adventantis.*] *E.*; advententis, *S. D. L 2.*

⁴ *Sed hæc in volumine sequenti, Deo volente, latius expedientur.*] *E 1.* *E 2.* appears likewise to have ended here originally, the paragraph 'Qua re . . . accepero,' which in that MS. now follows the words 'exitio infesti,' being partly written over an era-

sure, in a later hand, and the sentence 'Sed . . . expedientur,' supposed to have been erased, subjoined after 'accepero.' *S. C. D. G. K. L 2.* read 'Qua re ab oppidanis animadversa, imperatrix cum solis quatuor militibus per posterulam egressa amnem transiit. Mox, ut nonnunquam, et fere semper, necessitas et remedium excogitat et audaciam subministrat, pede Abenduniam profecta, hinc ad Walingeford equo subvecta est. Quæ tamen latius persequi fert animus si unquam, dante Deo, ab his qui interfuere veritatem accepero.'



I N D E X.



INDEX

TO THE PRINCIPAL MATTERS AND NAMES OF PERSONS.

A.

Acca, daughter of Alla of Northumbria, and wife of Aethelfrith of Northumbria, 67.

Adela, third daughter of the Conqueror, married to Stephen earl of Blois, 456; had lately taken the veil, *ib.*

Adela, daughter of the duke of Louvain, second wife of Henry I, 651. 654; receives the county of Salop from her husband, 690; the empress Maud entrusted to her care by the earl of Gloucester, 725; she breaks her promise, and allows the empress to be sent after her brother, *ib.*

Adrian, abbot, his arrival in England, 21. 82; labours in promoting learning, 21.

Adolphus, son of Baldwin II. count of Flanders, by Aelfthryth daughter of Aelfred the Great, 193. 216.

Adultery common in Mercia, 113; punishment of in Old Saxony, *ib.*

Aegelberht, *see* Elberht.

Aegelnoth (the Good), archbishop of Canterbury, 308; his influence with Cnut, 313; seventh monk of Malmesbury who had been elevated to that see, 314.

Aegilberht, bishop of Wessex, 42. 76.

Aelfgâr deprived of his sight, 264, note¹.

Aelfgar, son of Leofric earl of Hereford, 339.

Aelfheah, archbishop of Canterbury, taken prisoner by the Danes, 265; refuses to distress his tenants for his ransom, *ib.*; his martyrdom, *ib.*;

his body translated from London to Canterbury, *ib.* 306.

Aelfheard, bishop of Elmham, 119.

Aelfletha, daughter of Earl Ethelwine, wife of Eadweard the Elder, 197.

Aelfred (the Great), grandson of Ecgberht, 133; consecrated prophetically by Leo IV, 152. 178.; is a commander in the battle of Aston, 176; retreats, after a tedious struggle with the Danes, to Athelney, 179; his vision there, 180; enters the enemy's camp in disguise, 181; falls suddenly on the Danes, and obtains a great victory, *ib.*; compels the survivors to become Christians, or to leave his kingdom, *ib.*; acts as a sponsor for Guthorm, *ib.*; marries his daughter Aethelflaed to the earl of Mercia, 184; his renewed struggles with the Danes, 185; his family, *ib.*; his beneficial institution of tithings and hundreds, 186; sends missions to Rome and India, 187; his religious foundations, *ib.*; translates Boetius 'De Consolatione,' and orders a version of Pope Gregory's 'Dialogues,' 189; his patronage of learning, 191; his expedient to economise time, 192; his appropriation of his revenues, *ib.*; his rigid justice, 193; marries his daughter Ethelswitha to the count of Flanders, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*; buried first in the cathedral of Winchester, but removed to the neighbouring New Minster, 194; story of his appearance after death, *ib.*

Aelfred, *see* Elfred.

- Aelfred, son of Aethelred, his exile in Normandy, 304; returns to England, on the death of Harold I, 321; is seized and deprived of sight, *ib.*; is confined in Ely monastery, and dies there, *ib.*
- Aelfric, archbishop of York, 308. 320. Aelfric appointed to command the West-Saxon fleet, 264; deserts to the Danes, *ib.*; is punished for his treason by the execution of his son, *ib.*
- Aelfthryth, or Elstrude, daughter of Aelfred the Great, 186. 193, note ¹, and wife of Baldwin earl of Flanders, 216.
- Aelfwald of Northumbria slain by his subjects, 104.
- Aelfwini, brother of Ecgfrið of Northumbria, killed, 110; see also 78, note ⁴.
- Aelli founds the kingdom of Sussex, 140, note ⁴.
- Aelwi, 112.
- Aelwin, son of Aethelweard, son of Aelfred the Great, 218.
- Aesc, son of Hengest, king of Kent, 16.
- Aescwini of Wessex, 45.
- Aethelard, archbishop of Canterbury, recovers his jurisdiction, 124, 125.
- Aethelbald of Wessex, his incest, 174; buried at Sherborne, *ib.*
- Aethelberht of Kent embraces Christianity, 17; his memorable reply to St. Augustine, 19; character of his laws, 17; his death, 18.
- Aethelberht son of Wihtraed, his reign in Kent, 24.
- Aethelberht of Northumbria banished, 104; restored, 105; murdered, *ib.*; Charlemagne's indignation against the murderers, 106.
- Aethelberht of East Anglia slain by Offa, 118. 136. 362.
- Aethelberht of Wessex reigns first in Kent, 174; obtains Wessex on his brother's death, *ib.*; repels the Danish pirates, 175; is buried at Sherborne, *ib.*
- Aethelflaed, daughter of Ceðluulf of Mercia, 364.
- Aethelflaed, daughter of King Aelfred, her marriage with Aethelred, 184. 210; founder, with her husband, of St. Peter's at Gloucester, 196; her heroic character, *ib.*; assists her royal brother in his government, *ib.*
- Aethelflaed, daughter of Eadweard the Elder, 197.
- Aethelfrith of Northumbria, 64; his victories, 65; expels Eadwini, 66; demands him of Reodwalde, 67; is attacked suddenly by the latter, and slain, *ib.*; escape of his children to Scotland, *ib.*
- Aethelgâr, archbishop of Canterbury, 314.
- Aethelgeofu, or Elgiva, daughter of Aelfred the Great, 186. 189.
- Aethelheard, archbishop of Canterbury, allusion to his clerical vestments, 115, 116; Alcuin's letter to him, 120; said to have been abbot of Malmesbury, 130.
- Aethelheard of Wessex, rebellion against, 55; his subsequent quiet reign, *ib.*
- Aethelhild, daughter of Eadweard the Elder, 197.
- Aetheling, its signification, 97.
- Aethelred of East Anglia, father of St. Aethelberht, 136.
- Aethelred, king, fights nine battles with the Danes in one year, 176; his piety and bravery at the battle of Aston, *ib.*; attempts of Mercia and Northumbria to shake off his yoke, 177; his death, 178.
- Aethelred II, 261; crowned by Dunstan, 262; besieges the bishop of Rochester, and takes a price for raising the siege, *ib.*; his ill-treatment of his wife, and his feuds with his father-in-law, 268; his kingdom ravaged by the Danes, 263; purchases an intermission of hostilities, *ib.*; is again compelled to pay tribute, 264; his indolence and indecision, 266; pays a third tribute to the Danes, 267; his general injustice, 268; takes refuge in London from the power of Sweyn, 290; flies thence to the Isle of Wight, 291; his speech there to an assembly of the prelates, *ib.*; sends his family to Normandy, and shortly follows them, 292; returns on the death of Sweyn, and drives Cnut out of England, 296; orders Sigeferth and Morcard to be put to death, 297; retires to London on the return of Cnut, 299; dies there, and is buried in St. Paul's, 300.

- Aethelric of Northumbria, wretched character of his reign, 64.
- Aethelstân, 204; elected and crowned king, 205; poetical account of his consecration, 210; trained early to the use of arms, *ib.*; educated by his aunt Aethelflæd and her husband, *ib.*; his succession opposed on the ground of illegitimacy, 205; popular account of his birth, 222; his erections of new, and benefactions to old monasteries, 206; marries his sister to Sihtric of Northumbria, *ib.*; annexes that kingdom to his own dominions, *ib.*; his conquests in Wales and Scotland, and re-appointment of the vanquished kings, *ib.*; gains the battle of Brunanburgh, 208; levels the Danish castle at York, 213; his person and manners, *ib.*; his annual tribute from the Welsh, 214; expels the Cornish men from Exeter, and fortifies the place, *ib.*; his alliances with foreign kings, 215; poetical account of his battle with Anlaf, 218; his charter to the monastery of Malmesbury, 220; his death, and funeral procession, 225.
- Aethelsuith, daughter of Earl Aethelred, and wife of Aelfred the Great, 185.
- Aethelsuith, daughter of Aelfred the Great, 185. 193, and note 1.
- Aethelulf, or Athulf, king, his character, 149; retains Wessex, but gives the rest of his dominions to his son Aethelstân, 150; assists Burgred with troops, and gives him his daughter in marriage, *ib.*; his conflicts with the Danes, *ib.*; his ministers, *ib.*; his grant to the clergy, 151. 170; his visit to Rome, 152; repairs the English School there, which had been burnt down, *ib.*; marries Judith, daughter of Charles le Chauve, 153; offence taken in consequence by his subjects, who oppose him on his return home, 168; his will, 170; his charter, *ib.*
- Aethelweard, son of Aelfred the Great, 185. 204.
- Aethelweard, son of Eadweard the Elder, 197. 205.
- Aethelwold, son of Aethelberht the Elder, brother of Aelfred, 195.
- Aethelwold, the confidant of King Eadgar, 252; murdered for his duplicity, 253.
- Aethelwold, bishop of Winchester, his munificence in founding monasteries, 238.
- Aethered, earl of Mercia, marries a daughter of King Aelfred, and is appointed governor of London, 184; founder, with his wife, of St. Peter's at Gloucester, 196; his death, 195.
- Aethilbald of Mercia, 111; his long and peaceful reign, 112; reproved by Archbishop Boniface for his bad example, *ib.*; his general charter to monasteries, 116; is slain by Beornraed, 112.
- Aethilred of Mercia, 73; his expedition into Kent, 110; repulses Egfrith of Northumbria, and kills his brother, *ib.* 78; pays the wergild of the latter, 110; abdicates, and becomes a monk, 74. 111.
- Aethilred, son of Penda of Mercia, 108.
- Aethilwealh of Sussex defeated by Caedwalla of Wessex, 46.
- Agatha, wife of Eadward son of Eadmund Ironside, 303.
- Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, 71. 77.
- Ailward, abbot of Glastonbury, profanes the corpse of King Eadgar when it was discovered, 255, and soon afterwards breaks his neck, 256.
- Aimar, bishop of Puy, takes the cross against the infidels in the council of Clermont, 532; marches with Count Raymond through Dalmatia, 534; their arrival at Constantinople, 535; does homage to the Greek emperor, 536; leads the third squadron in the sortie made from Antioch, 558; flight of the Turks at the sight of his standard, 559.
- Alan, earl of Brittany, 404.
- Alcuin educated at York, 93; removes to the French court, 94; his great learning, *ib.*; extracts from his letters, 93. 102. 105. 106. 127. 130.
- Alderia, William de, (godfather of Rufus,) is accused of treason, 501; is confessed by the bishop of Salisbury, and scourged through all the churches of the town, *ib.*; gives all his clothing to the poor, and goes naked to the gallows, *ib.*; his dying declaration of innocence, *ib.*
- Aldgitha, or Elfgiva, or Adela, daugh-

- ter of Eadweard the Elder, and wife of Eble, son of Rainulph count of Poitou, 168. 197, 198.
- Aldhelm, St. account of, 43; his works, 44. 49 *var. lect.*; made bishop, 49 *var. lect.*; his body found in the abbey of Malmesbury, and placed in a shrine there, 234; *see* Virginity.
- Aldred, archbishop of York, crowns William the Conqueror, 421.
- Aldulf, bishop of Lichfield, 119.
- Aldulf, or Ealdulf, of Northumbria, 206.
- Alexander, king of Scotland, 382; marries a natural daughter of the English king Henry, 627; translates the body of his father from Tinemouth to Dunfermline, 424.
- Alexius I, emperor of Constantinople, his country invaded by Robert Guiscard, 440; falls upon Bohemond during his father's absence, but is put to flight, *ib.*; procures Robert to be poisoned by his wife, 441; seizes Hugh the Great on his arrival with a slender retinue, 535; releases him on the arrival of the other Crusaders, *ib.*; examples of his bad faith, *ib.*; flatters the Christian leaders, and prevails upon them to do him homage, 536; receives privily the surrender of Nice when besieged by the Christians, and orders them to depart, 551; allows William of Poitiers and his army to fall into the hands of Solyman, 592; his territories again invaded by Bohemond for his ill-usage of pilgrims, 601; defeats the purpose of his expedition by bribing or poisoning his generals, *ib.*
- Alfæt, *see* Aethelstæn.
- Alfred, *see* Aelfred, Alhfrith.
- Alhfrith of Northumbria recalled from Ireland, and raised to the throne, 79; encroachments of the Picts on his territory, *ib.*
- Alhhred of Northumbria expelled from his kingdom, 104.
- Alla of Northumbria, 62; conversion of the English in his reign, 63.
- Almodis, countess of Thoulouse, character of, 602.
- Alphege, *see* Aelfheah.
- Alphonsus, king of Gallicia, 456. 461.
- Alric of Kent defeated by the Mercians, 24.
- Alric, bishop of Chichester, 473.
- Alstan, *see* Ealhstæn.
- Ambrasil, Robert de, *see* Arbreisel.
- Ambrosius, 'solus Romanorum superstes,' struggles against the Saxons, 14.
- Anaclete, his election as pope opposed by the supporters of Innocent II, 695; epistle of Peter bishop of Porto, a favourer of his claims, *ib.*; his rival acknowledged by the kings of France and England, and by the emperor of Germany, 697; keeps possession of the see until his death, 698.
- Angles and Saxons invited from Germany, 9; their arrival in England, 10, 11.
- Angles, history of, by Beda, 77. 80.
- Anglesey, the island of the Angles, 69.
- Angoulême, Gerard bishop of, reads the decision of the second Lateran council, annulling Paschal's grant to the emperor Henry V, 662; excommunicates William of Poitiers for his scandalous conduct, 671.
- Anjou, Foulques earl of, marries one of his daughters to Prince William of England, 634, and gives Maine as her dowry, 652; urges the prince to do homage to Louis VI. for Normandy, *ib.*; goes to the Holy Land, *ib.*; on his return, espouses the cause of William of Normandy against his uncle King Henry, and gives him Maine, and another daughter in marriage, 654; becomes king of Jerusalem, 690.
- Anjou, genealogy of the counts of, 400.
- Anlaf, son of Sihtric, rebels against Aethelstæn, 206; enters the king's camp in disguise, 207; attacks the king suddenly, but is routed and put to flight, 208. 212; poetical account of his battle with Aethelstæn, 218; is recalled from Ireland and chosen king by the Northumbrians, 225; surrenders to King Eadmund, and receives baptism, 226; rebels and is banished, *ib.*
- Anlaf, king of Norway, baptized, and engages to cease from infesting England, 264.
- Anna of East Anglia slain by Penda, 107. 135.
- Anschetil, a Norman noble, account of, 230.
- Anselm, archbishop, 2; his ineffectual

- efforts to restrain licentiousness in the reign of Rufus, 499; abandons England in consequence, *ib.*; his baggage contumeliously opened and ransacked before his departure, *ib.*; is recalled by Henry I, 619; letters to him from Pope Paschal on the subject of investitures, 646; is recalled from his second exile on the settlement of that question, 648; consecrates five bishops on one day, 649.
- Anselm, bishop of Lucca, afterwards Pope Alexander II, 410.
- Antioch, why so called, 553; its importance and celebrity, 554; is besieged by the Franks, *ib.* and taken, 556; battle of, 559.
- Aoxian, governor of Antioch, sends for aid to the Sultan, 554; is slain by a Syrian rustic in the storming of the city, 557; his head exposed to the derision of the Franks, *ib.*
- Arbreisel, Robert de, his great eloquence, 673; his foundation for nuns at Font-Evrault, *ib.*
- Architecture, new style of at Westminster, 385; in various places, 420; at Salisbury and Malmesbury, 637.
- Arnoul, son of Baldwin II. count of Flanders, by Aelfthryth, daughter of Aelfred the Great, 193.
- Arnulph, count of Flanders, slain with his guardian in an ambush laid by Robert le Frison, 432.
- Arques, William count of, rebels against his nephew, Duke William of Normandy, 397; is shut up in Arques, and starved into a surrender, *ib.*
- Arthur, king, his exploits, 14; vulgar notion in the time of the Conqueror, arising from the non-discovery of his tomb, that he would again appear, 466.
- Ascalon, battle of, 570.
- Ashdown, battle of, 301; church of built by King Cnut, who was present at its consecration, 306.
- Asia, its ancient fertility, 552; its sterile condition under the Turks, *ib.*
- Assandun, *see* Ashdown.
- Asser, of St. David's, made bishop of Sherborne by King Aelfred, 189; simplifies the Latin of Boetius prior to the king's translation of his work into Saxon, *ib.*
- Aston, battle of, 176.
- Athelmus, archbishop of Canterbury, 314.
- Athelstan, *see* Aethelstân.
- Augustine, St. his arrival in Britain, 17; *see* Goscelin.
- Aylnoth, *see* Aegelnth.
- Azotus, siege of, 588.

B.

Babylon in Egypt, built by Cambyses on the spot where Taphnis formerly stood, 569.

Badon, *see* Bannesdon.

Baieux, city of, burnt, 625.

Baldred of Kent driven from his kingdom by Ecgberht, 25. 147.

Baldwin I. (second king of Jerusalem), brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, enters upon the Crusade, 576; leaves the main army, and receives the surrender of Tarsus, *ib.*; is favourably received in Armenia and Mesopotamia, 577; assists the duke of Edessa, on condition of being made his heir, *ib.*; on the murder of the duke, succeeds to his power, 578; keeps the feast of the Nativity at Jerusalem, 579; on his return to Edessa, receives news of the capture of Bohemond, 580; marches to his rescue, but is disappointed by the retreat of the Turks, 581; receives intelligence of his brother's death, and of his own election as king, *ib.*; commits Edessa to his kinsman Baldwin, and advises the election of Tancred to supply the place of Bohemond, *ib.*; receives provisions at Tripoli, and is warned by the Turkish governor against an ambush, *ib.*; arrives at the place, and defeats the enemy by feigning flight, 582; receives contributions of provisions through the rest of his march, 584; is saluted king at Joppa, and escorted by its inhabitants to Jerusalem, *ib.*; marches against Ascalon, and pursues the inhabitants into the mountains, *ib.*; puts the Turks to death, but spares the Syrians, 585; marches towards Arabia, but returns on arriving near the desert, *ib.*; is crowned at Bethlehem on Christmas-day, 586; engages some newly-arrived Pisans and Genoese, and employs them against Azotus,

- 588 ; takes Cesarea by storm, 589 ; routs an army from Babylon, and kills their general, 590 ; destroys five hundred marauding Arabs, who had come to him through mistake, *ib.* ; arrives at Joppa, and corrects a rumour respecting his death, 591 ; his conquests along the coast, *ib.* ; his rout at Ramula, (or Rama, 425,) and narrow escape to Azotus, 594 ; sails thence to Joppa, and sends a messenger to Jerusalem, *ib.* ; is joined by a small force from that city, and drives the Turks from before Joppa, 595 ; notice of one other occasion on which he was put to flight, *ib.* ; marries the countess of Sicily, whom he afterwards neglects, 596 ; his death, and public funeral, 597 ; his character, *ib.*
- Baldwin II. receives the government of Edessa from his kinsman Baldwin I, 581 ; is appointed by him his successor, 597 ; adds Antioch to his kingdom, *ib.* ; is accused of avarice, *ib.* ; is carried off by the Turks, and not heard of for nearly a year, *ib.* ; is liberated by some of his knights in the disguise of merchants, 598 ; bestows Antioch and his daughter upon Bohemond son of Bohemond, 602.
- Baldwin II, count of Flanders, marries a daughter of King Aelfred, 193.
- Baldwin V. earl of Flanders, 319. 400.
- Baldwin (grandson of Robert le Frison) assists William earl of Mortain against his cousin King Henry I, 630 ; is severely wounded on the head, 433. 631 ; cause of his accelerated death, 631.
- Ballads, ancient historical, referred to, 222. 236. 466.
- Balso the Short, story of, 230.
- Banchor, extensive ruins of, 66 ; massacre of British monks there, *ib.*
- Bannesdon, siege of, 15.
- Bardulf, Hugh, 398.
- Battle abbey, founded by William I, 447.
- Battles : at Antioch, 559 ; Ascalon, 570 ; Ashdown, 301 ; Aston, 176 ; Bannesdon, 15 ; Bensington, 57 ; Brentford, 301 ; Brunanburgh, 207. 218 ; Cirencester, 29 ; Daegsastan, 65 ; Dol, 433 ; Ellandune, 147 ; Gerborai, 434 ; Hastings, 387. 414 ; Pen, 30 ; Penn and Gillingham, 300 ; Sceorstan, *ib.* ; Standford Bridge, 386 ; Tinchebrai, 625 ; Walesdunas, 393 ; Wirtgernesburg, 30 ; Wodnesdic, 28.
- Beaumont, Roger de, founder of a monastery at Preaux, 635 ; refuses the invitation of the Conqueror to come to England, being content with his paternal inheritance, *ib.*
- Beda, 2. 80 ; education of, 83 ; invited to Rome, 86 ; his learning, and holy life, 88 ; his last illness, 89 ; buried at Wearmouth, 91 ; his body translated to Durham, *ib.* ; his unworthy epitaph, 92 ; his eulogy by Alcuin, 102.
- Belesme, Robert de, eldest son of Roger de Montgomery, fortifies Bridgenorth and Arundel against King Henry I, 621 ; on receiving news of the reduction of Bridgenorth, surrenders Arundel, and obtains leave to go in exile to Normandy, 622 ; is accompanied by his brothers, Arnulph, and Roger surnamed of Poitiers, *ib.* ; joins William earl of Mortain, and recommences his hostility to the king, 623 ; makes his escape at the battle of Tinchebrai, 626 ; is subsequently taken by the king, and committed to prison for life, *ib.* ; his savage and deceitful character, and barbarity to his godson, *ib.*
- Benedict Biscop builds two monasteries at Wearmouth, 81 ; imports books, artificers, and rarities, 82 ; his great patience, *ib.*
- Benedict X, 341.
- Benignus, abbot, his epitaph, 38.
- Bensington, battle of, 57.
- Beorhtric of Wessex, his policy, 59 ; marries the daughter of Offa, *ib.* 127. 169 ; banishes Egberht, 59. 145 ; descent of Danish pirates in his reign, *ib.* ; is poisoned by his wife, 169.
- Beorn, earl, nephew of Earl Godwin, 342.
- Beorna of East Anglia, 136.
- Beornraed of Mercia slays his predecessor Aethilbald, 112 ; is himself slain by Offa, *ib.*
- Beornulf of Mercia expelled by Ecg-

- berht, and slain by the East Angles, 132, 148.
- Beorhuulf of Mercia expelled from his kingdom by the Danes, 133.
- Beregord, abbot of Glastonbury, 40.
- Berengar, the heresiarch of Tours, his opinions condemned in councils, and answered in writing by Lanfrank and others, 462; is compelled to recant, *ib.*; his subsequent sanctity, *ib.*; verses commending him, 463; his death, 465.
- Berfreid, a moveable wooden tower, used to raise besiegers to the level of the besieged upon their walls, 567; one used successfully against Jerusalem by the Crusaders, *ib.*
- Berhtwald, abbot, made archbishop of Canterbury, 41. 314.
- Bernard, bishop, 39.
- Bernard, founder and abbot of the monastery of Tiron, 673.
- Bernard, the monk who visited the Holy Land in the year 870, 562.
- Bernicia, kingdom of, 70. 75.
- Bernulf, *see* Beornuulf.
- Bertha, daughter of the king of France, and wife of Aethelberht king of Kent, 17.
- Bertrade, wife of Foulques IV. of Anjou, seduced from her husband by King Philip, 403; is married to him by the archbishop of Rouen, 632; takes the veil at Font-Evrault, and shortly after dies, *ib.*
- Bertram, natural son of Raymond the Crusader, married by his father to the niece of Matilda 'Marcisa,' 603; on his father's death, goes with a large army to take possession of his Syrian conquests, 606; besieges and takes Tripoli, *ib.*
- Bezants, money so called, 546.
- Bigot, Roger, one of the insurgents against William Rufus, ravages the neighbourhood of Norwich, 488; remains faithful to Henry I. when deserted by his other nobles, 620.
- Bishopricks, extinct or consolidated, 119; removal of, 118, 119; extent of, 140, 141; precedence of, 478, 479.
- Blegent, brother of Griffin king of Wales, 385.
- Blois, Theobald earl of, is, through the representations of Louis VI., denounced by the pope as rebellious to God, 633; urges the English prince William to do homage to the French king for Normandy, 652; his sister drowned at sea with the prince, 654.
- Blois, *see* Henry, Stephen.
- Blood, shower of, 103; fountain of, 506-7; physical effects of, 529.
- Bohemond I, son of Robert Guiscard, his generosity while a boy, 598; accompanies his father in his expedition against Alexius, *ib.*; is left by him in command, 440; is attacked by the emperor, whom he puts to flight, *ib.*; on his father's death, returns to Apulia, supports Pope Urban, and urges him to call the council of Clermont, 599; the secret reason assigned by some for this proceeding, 523; goes on the Crusade at the head of the Italians, 635; arrives at Constantinople before the other Crusaders, *ib.*; bribes a Turkish officer to permit the capture of Antioch, 556; scales the great tower, and storms the city, 557; leads the reserve in the great sortie made from the place, 559; is left behind as prince of Antioch, 560; proposes to Baldwin duke of Edessa that they should keep the Nativity at Jerusalem, 578; precedes him on the march, and awaits his arrival, *ib.*; their army joined by a force under Archbishop Daimbert, *ib.*; their sufferings on the march, and joyful reception by King Godfrey, 579; return of Bohemond to Antioch, 580; is taken prisoner by Danisman, *ib.*; is released on condition of preserving a perpetual peace with the Turks, 600; goes to France, and offers his silver fetters to St. Leonard, *ib.*; marries a daughter of the French king, and returns to Apulia, *ib.*; leads an army against Alexius for his ill-treatment of pilgrims, 601; his generals bribed or poisoned by the Greek, *ib.*; dies in Apulia, *ib.*; his character, *ib.*
- Bohemond II. (son of the preceding) receives Antioch from Baldwin II, and marries his daughter, 602.
- Bohun, Humphrey de, an adherent of the empress Maud, repulses King Stephen from Trowbridge, 726; becomes a prisoner of William d'Ipre, 760.

- Boniface, archbishop of Mayence, his admonitory letter to Aethilbald, 112; his epistle to Archbishop Cuthbert, 115.
- Boulogne, and Bouillon, *see* Baldwin, Godfrey, Eustace.
- Bourdin, Maurice, bishop of Braga, is excommunicated by Pope Paschal in the council of Benevento, 665; is placed by the emperor Henry V. in the papal chair, 666; flies from Rome on the approach of Pope Calixtus II, and is taken prisoner in Sutri, *ib.*; is sent to a penal monastery called the Den, 667.
- Bracelets, golden, exposed by Aelfred on highways, 187.
- Bretons, their great poverty, and readiness to be hired as mercenaries, 629; are occasionally so employed by Henry I. of England, *ib.*
- Brian, son of Robert earl of Gloucester, joins his father on his arrival to assert the claims of the empress, 725; is one of her sureties on her recognition by the legate, 743.
- Brigide, St. said to have visited Glastonbury, 37.
- Brihtwold, bishop of Wilton, his dream of Eadward the Confessor, 374.
- Britain under the Romans, 5; abandoned by them, 7; invaded by the Scots and Picts, *ib.*; succoured by the Romans, 8.
- Brithric, *see* Beorhtic.
- Britons, avarice and rapine of, 103.
- Britons, Western or Cornwallish, 214.
- Brittany given to Rollo by Charles with his daughter Gisle, 404.
- Brittany, Alan earl of, affray between his men and those of the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, in which his nephew was nearly killed, 717; *see* also Alan.
- Brunanburgh, battle of, 207; metrical description of, 218.
- Bruno, afterwards Leo IX, 329.
- Burgred of Mercia marries Ethelsuitha of Wessex, 133. 150; is expelled by the Danes, *ib.*; flies to Rome, *ib.*
- C.
- Caedwalla of Wessex, his energy, 46; defeats Aethilwealh of Sussex, *ib.*; ravages the Isle of Wight, *ib.*; obtains many victories in Kent, and avenges the death of his brother Mull, 22. 46; abdicates, and goes to Rome, 47; his baptism and death, *ib.*
- Caer Badon, *see* Bannesdon.
- Cæsar, Julius, subdues Britain, 5.
- Cæsarea, siege of, 588.
- Calixtus II, when archbishop of Vienne, was one of those who procured the annulling of Paschal's grant to the emperor Henry V, 661; elected pope by the Cisalpine church, 665; calls a council at Rheims, and deposes such as have received investiture from a lay hand, *ib.*; has an interview with Henry I, and is induced to change his opinion as to the king's conduct to his brother Robert, 634; flight of the anti-pope Bourdin on his approach to Rome, 666; the pope's letter to the French nation, detailing his capture of Bourdin, *ib.*; his reforms at Rome, and indulgence to the English pilgrims, 667; his letter to the emperor on the settlement of the question of investitures, 668.
- Calne, fall of the building upon the council sitting at, 258.
- Canons, secular, expelled Winchester, 239, 240; their attempt to recover their monasteries, 257.
- Canterbury, Ralph archbishop of, is the bearer, while abbot of Séez, of the keys of Bridgenorth to King Henry, 622; exhibits St. Cuthbert's body to the people, upon its second exhumation, 680.
- Canterbury, Theobald archbishop of, present in a council held at Winchester respecting King Stephen's treatment of the bishops, 719; sues to the king for mercy to the church, 724; scruples to do homage to the empress after the capture of the king, 744; obtains his permission to submit himself to the necessities of the time, *ib.*
- Canterbury, William archbishop of, is the first who takes the oath to admit the succession of the empress Maud, 692; is appointed legate in England, 699; assists at King Stephen's coronation, and receives his

- oath to restore and preserve the liberties of the church, 704.
- Canterbury, see of, attempt to remove it to Lichfield, 119; controversy with the see of York, 471.
- Canterbury, monastery of, founded, 19.
- Canterbury, city of, burnt, 24. 265; dreadful outrage at, 337, and note ¹.
- Canute, see Cnut.
- Capet, Hugh, how he became king of France, 201.
- Ceadwalla, a British king, slays Eanfrit of Bernicia and Oaric of Deira, 70; is joined by Penda of Mercia, 108; is slain by St. Osuuald, 70.
- Ceawlin of Wessex defeats Aethelberht and the Britons, 27; his domestic afflictions, *ib.*; is expelled from his kingdom, 28.
- Cecilia, eldest daughter of the Conqueror, the abbess at Caen during the composition of the 'Gesta,' 455.
- Cedwall, see Caedwalla.
- Celwulph, see Ceoluulf.
- Cenelm of Mercia assassinated by his sister, 132. 363.
- Centwini of Wessex, his success against the Britons, 45.
- Ceol of Wessex, 28.
- Ceolfrith, abbot, 77. 83; letter to, from Pope Sergius, 86; dies on his way to Rome, 83.
- Ceolraed of Mercia, his valour and premature death, 111.
- Ceols, vessels so called, described, 10. 26.
- Ceoluulf of Mercia expelled by Beornulf, 132.
- Ceoluulf, a minister of Burgred, appointed king of Mercia conditionally by the Danes, 133.
- Ceoluulf of Northumbria, his learning, 80; revises Beda's history, *ib.*; abdicates, and becomes a monk, 92.
- Ceoluulf of Wessex, 28.
- Cerdic, his arrival in Britain with his son Cynric, 26; overpowers the natives, and founds the kingdom of Wessex, *ib.*; bestows the Isle of Wight upon his nephew Wihtgar, *ib.*
- Charlemagne, his successful wars, 127; his letter to Offa, 128; his spear, 217.
- Charles le Chauve, king of France, 158.
- Charles le Gros, his remarkable vision, 160.
- Charles le Simple, king of France, husband of Eadgyfu, daughter of Eadweard the Elder, 166.
- Charles, son of Cnut IV, the ruling earl of Flanders when Malmesbury wrote his 'Gesta,' 432.
- Charters: Aethilbald's, 116; Aethelulf's, 170; Aethelstan's, 220; Eadmund's, 227; Eadgar's, 240. 247; Cnut's, 315; Stephen's, 707.
- Chartres, church of, 316.
- Cheolfrid, see Ceolfrith.
- Chester, ancient name of, 65. 236; reduced by Eadweard, 210.
- Chester, bishoprick of, translated to Coventry, 517.
- Chester, Ranulph earl of, (son-in-law of Robert earl of Gloucester,) is neutral in the quarrel between King Stephen and the empress, 740; his castle of Lincoln besieged by the king, 739; escapes thence, but leaves behind him his wife and brother, 740; solicits aid from his father-in-law, *ib.* who routs the besiegers and captures the king, 742; is dilatory in attending the empress at her conference with the legate, 751.
- Chester, Richard earl of, a ward of Henry I, his Norman possessions plundered by the earl of Mortain, 623; is, with his wife and brother, drowned in the company of Prince William, in returning from Normandy, 654.
- Chirch-seet, what, 312.
- Christiana, daughter of Eadward the Confessor, a nun at Romsey, 382.
- Christianity introduced into Kent, 17; into Mercia, 108-9.
- Cirencester, battle of, 29.
- Cissi, king of Sussex, 140, note ⁴.
- Cistercian order, origin and observances of the, see Harding.
- Clergy, vanity of their dresses condemned, 115. 415.
- Clermont, a council held at, in the presence of Urban II, to correct the abuses existing in Christendom, 523; the number of bishops and abbots present, *ib.*; the heads of their decrees enumerated, 524; a Crusade against the Turks recommended by the pope, 526; his speech received with enthusiasm,

- 532; dissolution of the council, *ib.*
- Clock, mechanical, 276.
- Clofesho, synod of, 116.
- Cnut elected king by the Danes, 296; forced to take refuge in his ships, *ib.*; his cruelty to his hostages before departing for Denmark, *ib.*; returns to England, and lays waste Kent and Wessex, *ib.*; marches to Northumbria, and puts to death Uhtred, 299; repulsed from London, 301; ravages Mercia, *ib.*; gains the battle of Ashdown, *ib.*; declines a single combat with Eadmund, 302; makes peace on receiving a moiety of the kingdom, *ib.*; on the death of Eadmund, expatriates his family, 303; punishes his murderers, 304; causes the traitor Eadric to be put to death, 305; marries the widow of King Aethelred, *ib.*; his policy towards the Saxons, 305; builds and repairs churches, 306; his conquests in Sweden and Norway, 307; his journey to Rome, 308; his letter thence to his subjects, *ib.*; suppresses an insurrection in Scotland, *ib.*; confirms the ancient laws, 313; his charter to Glastonbury abbey, 315; his munificence to foreign churches, 316; his death, 318; a magnificent crucifix, presented by him to Hide monastery, destroyed in a conflagration, 752.
- Cnut IV. sent twice by his father to invade England, 437; is thwarted by his venal leaders, *ib.*; marries the daughter of Robert le Frison, 432; prepares, with his assistance, for a third invasion, 437; is detained two years by adverse winds, and abandons his design, 438; ascribes his failure to the sorcery of the noble ladies, and lays intolerable burdens on their husbands, *ib.*; is murdered by the latter in a church, *ib.* 461; his reputed sanctity, 438.
- Cœnraed of Mercia abdicates, and goes to Rome, 111. 139.
- Coenred of Northumbria, 80.
- Cœnuulf of Mercia, his letter to Leo III, 120; the pope's reply, 124; restores the jurisdiction of Canterbury, 131; invades Kent, and captures Eadbyrht Præn, *ib.*; releases him, and makes Cuthred king, *ib.*; his death, 132.
- Comet, appearance of a, 257. 380. 506.
- Comteville, Herlouin de, marries the mother of the Conqueror, 456.
- Conan, a traitor to Robert II. of Normandy, 618; his custody granted by the duke to his brother Henry, *ib.*; he is led by Henry to the top of the tower at Rouen, and ironically told to look round upon his future possessions, *ib.*; upon obeying his directions, is suddenly seized by him and his companions, and precipitated into the Seine, *ib.*
- Conrad, son of the emperor Henry IV, made king of Lombardy by his father, 655; dies at Arezzo in Tuscany, 467. 655.
- Constance, second daughter of the Conqueror, and wife of the earl of Brittany, is poisoned by her subjects for her severity, 455.
- Constantine the Great exhausts Britain, 6; vision of, 546; is stated to be a native of Britain, 547, and note ²; his sword, 217.
- Constantine, king of the Scots, is vanquished, but reinstated, by Aethelstan, 206; joins Anlaf in his rebellion against the king, 207; is slain at Brunanburgh, 209.
- Constantine, abbot of St. Maximin, 275.
- Constantinople (Byzantium), how it changed its ancient name, 546; care of Constantine in embellishing the city, 547; its site, temperature, excessive population, and large circuit, 548; list of its emperors, 549, and of the saints who lie within its walls, 550.
- Constantinus elected emperor and slain, 6.
- Corbagnath, *see* Kerboga.
- Councils, notices of, at Clofesho, 116; Winchester, 257; Calne, *ib.*; Oxford, 297; Gloucester, 338; London, 338; Vercelli, 462; Clermont, 524; Rome, 661; Oxford, 716; Winchester, 719. 744; Westminster, 755.
- Court, licentiousness of Rufus's, 498. 500-1.
- Crida said to be the founder of the kingdom of Mercia, 107, note ¹.
- Crispin, William, 399.

Crucifix, said to have spoken, 258 ; celebrated one at Lucca, 492 ; at Winchester, 752.

Crusade, origin of, 522 ; general enthusiasm of Christendom on its promulgation by the pope, 532 ; unprecedented number of the Crusaders, 534 ; their departure for the Holy Land, *ib.* ; their arrival at Constantinople, 535 ; they besiege Nice, 536 ; are joined by Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois, 550 ; the place surrenders to the Greek emperor, who orders the Christian army to depart, 551 ; they march in two divisions for the sake of plunder and provender, *ib.* ; that under the command of Robert attacked by a vast army under Solyman, and put to flight, *ib.* ; the carnage stopped, and the Turks routed by the other division, *ib.* ; the army arrives before Antioch, 553 ; on perceiving its great strength, the leaders bind themselves by oath not to relax in their endeavours until they shall have taken it, 554 ; the governor sends his son to obtain aid from the Sultan, *ib.* ; the garrison, in revenge for the failure of their sorties, cut off the heads of the Syrian and Armenian citizens, and hurl them into the Christian camp, 555 ; extreme sufferings of the besiegers from famine, 556 ; the place taken by escalade, through the treacherous connivance of a Turkish officer, *ib.* ; arrival of the Sultan's army, which immediately besieges the Christians, 557 ; annoyances of the latter from the citadel, and their sufferings from famine, *ib.* ; they observe a three days' fast, chant litanies, and send Peter the Hermit to make terms with Kerboga, 558 ; he is received haughtily, and returns without an answer, *ib.* ; gallant sortie of the besieged, and total rout of the besiegers, *ib.* ; the Christians said to have been assisted visibly by St. George and St. Demetrius, 559 ; march of the army upon Jerusalem, 560 ; they arrive there at the time of harvest, 565 ; desperate resistance of the Turks, 567 ; the walls surmounted by means of a machine called a ' Berfreid,' 568 ; dreadful

slaughter of the besieged, *ib.* ; the bodies of the slain consumed by fire, *ib.* ; thanksgivings of the conquerors, *ib.* ; their forbearance from plundering, 569 ; Godfrey appointed king, *ib.* ; approach of an army from Babylon to besiege Jerusalem, and destroy the Holy Sepulchre, *ib.* ; the Christians advance to meet them, and take a great quantity of cattle near Ascalon, 570 ; they resolve to leave their booty in the fields, but are accompanied by the cattle, notwithstanding all their efforts to prevent them, *ib.* ; misgivings of the enemy at the sight of so apparently large an army, *ib.* ; they advance in two divisions, and endeavour to surround the Franks, 571 ; their centre broken by Robert, and their wings turned by the Lorraine horse, *ib.* ; great slaughter of the Turks, and immense booty taken by the Franks, *ib.* ; return home of a great portion of the Crusaders, *ib.* ; eulogy of Godfrey and Tancred, *ib.* ; excellent conduct of the whole Christian army, 572 ; the acts of Godfrey, *ib.* ; his death, 575 ; acts of Baldwin I, 576 ; arrival in the Holy Land of William of Poitiers, Stephen of Burgundy, and Hugh the brother of Raymond, and re-arrival of Hugh the Great and Stephen earl of Blois, 591 ; total defeat of the earl of Poitiers by Solyman, and death of Hugh the Great, 592 ; escape of the survivors to Antioch, *ib.* ; their subsequent successes, and arrival at Jerusalem, 593 ; return home of the earl of Poitiers, *ib.* ; fatal affair at Ramula, and narrow escape of King Baldwin, 593 ; arrival of the countess of Sicily, and her marriage with the king, 596 ; his death, 597 ; accession of Baldwin II, *ib.* ; his capture and detention by the Turks, *ib.* ; his rescue, 598.

Cuichelm, *see* Cynegils.

Cumberland assigned to Malcolm king of Scots, 226.

Cumbran murdered by Sigiberht king of Wessex, 57.

Cutha, death of, 27.

Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, Boniface's letter to him, 115.

Cuthbert, St. promotion of to a bishop-

- rick, 77-8; appears to Aelfred, 180; his incorruption, 359; second exhumation of his body, in the time of Henry I, 680.
- Cuthburga, sister of Ini of Wessex, her marriage with Alhfrith king of Northumbria being dissolved, becomes abbess of Winburn, 49, *var. lect.*
- Cuthgils, brother of Cynegils, 45.
- Cuthred of Kent, 25; made king of Kent by C6enuulf of Mercia, 131.
- Cuthred of Wessex, his charter to Glastonbury, 55; his victories over Aethilbald and the Britons, 56.
- Cyneburga, daughter of Penda, 108.
- Cynegils and Cuicelm reign jointly in Wessex, 28; their mutual affection, *ib.*; their wars with the Britons, and with Penda, *ib.*; attempt of Cuicelm to procure the assassination of Eadwine, 29; baptism of Cynegils, *ib.*; and of Cuicelm, 30; their deaths, *ib.*
- Cyneuulf of Wessex defeated by Offa, 57. 118; killed by conspirators, 58; buried at Winchester, 59.
- Cynwealh of Wessex renounces his faith, and repudiates his queen, 30; is dethroned by Penda, and flies to East Anglia, *ib.*; recovers his kingdom, and is reconciled to the church, *ib.*; his subsequent successes, *ib.*; builds St. Peter's, Winchester, 31; his munificence, 41; his death, 45.
- Cynric extends the kingdom of Wessex, 27; his death, *ib.*
- Cynuise, wife of Penda of Mercia, her children by him, 108.
- Cynuise, daughter of Penda, 108. 139.
- D.
- Daegsastan, battle of, 65.
- Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, arrives at Laodicea, and joins Baldwin and Bohemond, 578; is made patriarch of Jerusalem, 579; crowns Baldwin I, 586; brings the sacred fire at Easter from the church of the Holy Sepulchre, 587.
- Dancers and profane singers punished, 285.
- Danes invade England, 59. 148. 150. 263; ravages of, 106. 174. 176; defeat of, 181; they exact a tribute, 288; great massacre of, 268. 289; their cemetery at London, 320; characterized, 533.
- David (king of Scotland) youngest son of King Malcolm, alive when Malmesbury wrote his 'Gesta,' 382; revenges the murder of his brother Duncan, 627; is made an earl by his brother-in-law King Henry, and receives from him a noble lady in marriage, *ib.*; his personal politeness, and great endeavours to improve the rude habits of his subjects, *ib.*; is the first layman who takes the oath of fealty to his niece the empress Maud, 692; attends her to London, 749, and to her conference with the legate at Winchester, 751.
- David, archbishop of Menevia, his vision, 38.
- David, bishop of Bangor, his account of the emperor Henry V, 656.
- David, tower of, at Jerusalem, described, 566.
- Decennaries instituted, 186.
- Deira, a province of Northumbria, 63. 70; king of, 75.
- Deneberht, bishop of Worcester, 119.
- Denmark, genealogy of the kings of, 435.
- 'Dentatus,' Hamo, one of the insurgents against William of Normandy, 393; is slain in battle after having unhorsed the French king, 394; is buried honourably by the king on account of his bravery, *ib.*
- Desiderius, king of the Lombards, 99.
- Domesday-book alluded to, 434.
- Donald murders his nephew, King Duncan of Scotland, 627; is slain by his nephew, David, and the forces of William Rufus, *ib.*
- Donnonia (Devonshire), 140; laid waste, 264-5; king of, 40.
- Dress, extravagance of, 498.
- Drinking by pegs, account of, 237.
- Duncan, son of King Malcolm, receives knighthood from William Rufus, and is placed by him on the Scottish throne, 627; is murdered by his uncle Donald, *ib.*
- Dunstan, (St.) made abbot of Glastonbury by Eadmund, 227. 314; drags King Eadwy from the society of his proscribed wife, 234; is banished by that king, *ib.*; becomes archbishop of Canterbury, 237; his secular influence and religious merits, *ib.*;

- his sternness toward the rich, and kindness to the poor, *ib.*; his expedient to restrain drunkenness, *ib.*; high character of his disciples, 238; escapes unhurt amid the fall of the refectory at Calne, 256; crowns Aethelred, and foretells the miseries of his reign, 260; his death, 263.
- Durham, Ranulph bishop of, builds many new monasteries, 679; translates the body of St. Cuthbert, *ib.*
- E.
- Eadbald of Kent, his apostasy and incest, 18; rebellion against him, *ib.*; his repentance, *ib.*; his donations to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, 19; his death, 20.
- Eadberht of Kent, 23.
- Eadberht of Northumbria, 92, note ⁴; assists in re-establishing the archbishoprick of York, 93; abdicates, and becomes a monk, 104.
- Eadburh, daughter of Offa, married to Beorhtric of Wessex, 59. 127. 169; poisons her husband, and is expelled the kingdom, 169; her adventure with Charlemagne, *ib.*; is placed by him in a nunnery, but expelled thence, 170.
- Eadburh, St. daughter of Eadweard the Elder, 198; account of, 370.
- Eadbyrht Præn, of Kent, taken prisoner by the Mercians, 24; released, *ib.* 131.
- Eadgar, king, ascends the throne at the age of sixteen, 235; summons the tributary kings, and receives their fealty, 236; is rowed by them on the river Dee, *ib.*; great influx of foreigners to his court, and consequent corruption of the public morals, *ib.*; expels the secular clergy from Winchester, 240; his charter to Glastonbury abbey, *ib.*; that to the abbey of Malmesbury, 247; his vision, 248; his annual tribute of wolves' heads from Wales, 251; his diminutive person, and great strength, *ib.*; his challenge to the Scottish king, 252; vices of his youth, *ib.*; his children, 255; crowned at the age of thirty, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*; miracles at his tomb, *ib.*
- Eadgar Aetheling, demonstrations in his favour on the death of the Confessor, 408. 421; takes refuge in Scotland, 422; becomes discontented there, and makes his submission to the Conqueror, 424; is received honourably, but gradually falls into contempt, 425; an instance of his great simplicity, *ib.*; goes to Jerusalem with Robert son of Godwin, *ib.*; in returning is entertained honourably by the Greek and German emperors, *ib.*; arrives in England, and is living (when Malmesbury wrote his 'Gesta') a retired country life, *ib.*
- Eadgar, son of King Malcolm, 382; expelled Scotland by his uncle, 494; is established on the throne by William Rufus, *ib.* 627.
- Eadgaring, meaning of, 97.
- Eadgitha, daughter of Eadweard the Elder, wife of the emperor Otho the Great, 168. 197. 198.
- Eadgitha, daughter of King Eadgar by Wulfritha, 255.
- Eadgitha, daughter of Godwin, married to Eadward the Confessor, 333; her great learning and beauty, 334; on the king's rupture with her father, is deprived of her property, and placed in confinement, 339; suspected of adultery, 334; denies it upon oath, *ib.*; foretells the martyrdom of Walkerus, 452; is magnificently buried with her husband by the Conqueror, 454.
- Eadgiva, or Eadgyfu, daughter of Eadweard the Elder, and wife of Charles le Simple king of France, 166. 197. 198.
- Eadgiva, the third wife of Eadweard the Elder, 198.
- Eadgiva, daughter of Eadweard the Elder, and wife of Louis l'Aveugle, 198. 216.
- Eadhild, daughter of Eadweard the Elder, and wife of Hugh the Great, count of Paris, 197, 198. 216.
- Eadmer, his history, 2.
- Eadmund of East Anglia slain by Hinguar the Dane, 136. 177. 365.
- Eadmund the Elder suppresses a rebellion in Northumbria, 226; commits Cumberland to the government of the Scottish king, *ib.*; his charter to Glastonbury abbey, 227; is assassinated at a banquet, 229.
- Eadmund, son of King Eadgar, dies in the life-time of his father, 255.

- Eadmund Ironside marries the widow of Sigeferth, 298; obtains the earldom of her late husband, *ib.*; is prevented by Eadric from opposing the progress of Cnut, *ib.*; his plan to confirm the wavering towns, 299; flies to London to his father, *ib.*; on the death of the latter, is proclaimed king, 300; obtains two victories over the Danes, *ib.*; his conduct in the drawn battle at Sceorstan, *ib.*; returns, and drives the Danes from before London, *ib.*; is reconciled to Eadric, who dissuades him from pursuing the Danes, 301; loses the battle of Ashdown, *ib.*; challenges Cnut to single combat, which he declines, 302; divides the kingdom with him, *ib.*; his death, 303.
- Eadmund, son of Eadmund Ironside, 303, note 4.
- Eadmunding, meaning of, 97.
- Eadred, king, represses an insurrection in Northumbria, 232; imprisons Archbishop Wulstan for his connivance in the same, *ib.*; devotes himself to religion, *ib.*; his death, 233.
- Eadric Streona, earl of Mercia, his treacherous character, 267; causes the deaths of Sigeferth and Morcard, 297; prevents Eadmund Ironside from attacking Cnut, 298; deserts to the latter, 299; causes the flight of the Saxons by falsely proclaiming the death of the king, 300; makes his peace with him, and dissuades him from pursuing the Danes, 301; causes the flight of the Saxons at the battle of Ashdown, *ib.*; is said to have procured the assassination of the king, 303; instigates Cnut to banish Eadwi, *ib.*; is put to death by Cnut, 305.
- Eadsige, archbishop of Canterbury, crowns Eadward the Confessor, 333; resigns his see from illness, and appoints Abbot Seward thereto, *ib.*
- Eadward the Elder, his uninterrupted victories, 195; places garrisons throughout the country, and improves its military character, *ib.*; defeats and slays his cousin Aethelwold, *ib.*; is assisted in the government by his sister Aethelflaed, 196; his three wives, and their children, 197; is excommunicated by Pope Formosus, 203, and note 3; is reconciled to the holy see, 204; his death, *ib.*
- Eadward II. (the Martyr), raised to the throne by Dunstan and the other prelates, 256; opposed by his step-mother, 257; a great famine in his reign, *ib.*; retains the name of king, but abandons the government to Elfrida, 258; is assassinated by Elferie her attendant, 259; his ignoble burial at Wareham, *ib.*; miracles at his grave, *ib.*; his body honourably translated to Shaftesbury, 260.
- Eadward III. (the Confessor), his exile in Normandy, 304; raised to the throne by Earl Godwin, 332; is crowned by Eadsige, 333; marries the earl's daughter, *ib.*; his contumace, 334; invites Robert of Jumiéges and other Normans to England, *ib.*; quarrels with the earl, 336; banishes him and his sons, 339; is harassed by their piracies, *ib.*; is prevented by fog from attacking their fleet, 340; restores them, and banishes their Norman rivals, *ib.*; his character, 329, 373; his miracles, 375; his visions, 377, *et seq.*; bequeaths the crown to William of Normandy, 382; close, by his death, of the royal line of Wessex, 385.
- Eadward, son of Eadmund Ironside, 303.
- Eadward the Exile, nephew of the Confessor, comes to England, and dies, 382.
- Eadwi (? Eadmundus), son of Eadmund Ironside, 303.
- Eadwi, brother of Eadmund Ironside, banished by Cnut at the instigation of Eadric, 303.
- Eadwin, son of Eadward the Elder, 197; traduced to his brother Aethelstan, 223; is forced to sea in an open boat, 224; drowns himself in despair, *ib.*; compunction of the king, and his revenge on the false accuser, *ib.*
- Eadwin and Morcar (brothers, and earls of Northumbria) repulse Tosti from their province, 386; convey to London the booty taken at Stamford Bridge, 427; fail in their ambitious designs after the death of

- Harold, and return home, 421; annoy William by their predatory warfare, 427; are frequently captured and pardoned, *ib.*; are slain by their own followers, *ib.*
- Eādwin of Northumbria banished by Aethelfrith, 66; takes refuge with Reodwalde of East Anglia, 67; marries Ethelburga of Kent, 68; embraces Christianity, 69; his zeal in its propagation, *ib.*; his extensive influence, *ib.*; falls in battle, *ib.*
- Eadulf, bishop of Sinacester, 119.
- Eadwulf of East Anglia, 136.
- Eadwy, king, his petulant and licentious character, 233; marries within the prohibited degrees, *ib.*; compelled to repudiate his wife, 234; plunders the monasteries, and banishes the monks, *ib.*; drives Dunstan into Flanders, *ib.*; his death, 235.
- Ealhstān, bishop of Sherborne, sent by Ecgberht with his son Aethelwulf into Kent, 147; assists Aethelwulf against the Danes, 151; conspires against him, 168-9; his encroachment upon the monastery of Malmesbury, *ib.*
- Eanbald, archbishop of York, 93.
- Eānfrīð of Bernicia becomes apostate, 70; is slain by Ceadwalla, *ib.*
- Eanuulf, earl of Somerset, conspires against Aethelwulf, 168-9.
- Earconberht of Kent, happy character of his reign, 20; destroys the pagan temples, and ordains the observation of Lent, *ib.*
- Earduulf chosen to succeed Oswald of Northumbria, 106, note ¹; banished, *ib.*; restored, *ib.*
- Earthquakes, terrible, 604. 700.
- East Anglia, rise of the kingdom of, 133; becomes subject to the Danes, 136; is united to Wessex, 137; its extent, and episcopal sees, 141.
- Eathelwin, son of Aethelweard, son of Aelfred the Great, 218.
- Ebusa, *see* Oth.
- Ecgerht of Kent, cultivation of learning in his reign, 21.
- Ecgerht of Wessex banished by Beorhtic, 59. 145; takes refuge at the court of Offa, 145; is driven thence, and flies to France, 146; learns there the art of government, *ib.*; is recalled, and ascends the throne, *ib.*; note upon the date of his accession, 60, note ³; is victorious in Cornwall and Wales, 146; annexes Northumbria to his kingdom, 106; subdues the whole of Britain, 147; defeated by the Danes, 149; conquers a large army of Danes, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*
- Ecgerht, archbishop, restores the archbishoprick of York, and founds a noble library there, 93.
- Ecgerht, *see* Eadberht.
- Ecgrith of Mercia anointed during his father's life, 130; restores the church lands seized by the latter, *ib.*; his premature death, *ib.*
- Ecgrīð of Northumbria permits his queen to take the veil, 78; promotes Cuthbert to a bishoprick, *ib.*; expels Wilfrīð, *ib.*; ravages Ireland, *ib.*; loses Mercia, *ib.*; his fatal expedition against the Picts, 79.
- Ecgguini, bishop of Worcester, goes to Rome, 139.
- Eclipses: one of the sun in the reign of Henry I, 700; another in that of Stephen, 732.
- Edan, king of the Scots, 65.
- Edbald, *see* Eādbald.
- Edbert, *see* Eāberht, Eadbyrht.
- Eddulph (or Adolph), *see* Eadwulf.
- Edelwalk, *see* Aethilwealh.
- Edessa, in Mesopotamia, described, 577.
- Edgar, *see* Eadgar.
- Edith, *see* Eadgith.
- Edmund, on condition of receiving half the kingdom, consents to the murder of his brother Duncan by his uncle Donald, 628; is committed to prison for life, *ib.*; repents of his crime, and requests to be buried in his chains, *ib.*
- Edmund, *see* Eādmund.
- Edred, *see* Eadred.
- Edric of Kent loses his kingdom and his life, 22.
- Edward, son of Malcolm king of Scotland, 382. 424.
- Edward, *see* Eādweard.
- Edwin, *see* Eadwin, Eādwin.
- Edwy, *see* Eadwy.
- Egbert, *see* Eāberht, Ecgerht.
- Egelfleda the Fair, daughter of Duke Ordmer, and wife of King Eadgar, 255.
- Egfert, *see* Ecgrith.

- Egfrid, *see* Ecgfrith.
 Eglaf, king of Sweden, 307.
 Egic of East Anglia slain by Penda, 107. 135.
 Eguuina, mother of King Aethelstán, 197.
 Egwin, *see* Ecgwin.
 Eisc, *see* Aesc.
 Elberht or Aethelred, and Aegelberht, murdered, 21, note ⁶, 22, note ³. 361-2.
 Elcwald of East Anglia, 136.
 Eleutherius, pope, sends preachers of the Gospel into Britain, 31.
 Elfeg, *see* Aelfheah.
 Elfer destroys many monasteries in Mercia, 257; his repentance, 260; gives honourable burial to the body of Eadward II, *ib.*; his loathsome death, *ib.*
 Elfere murders King Eadward, 266.
 Elgiva, mother of Eadgar, her compassion and charity, 251; interprets her son's dream, *ib.*
 Elised, *see* Aethelfaed.
 Elfred, his enmity to Aethelstán, 205. 220. 223; is sent to Rome for his purgation, 220; perjures himself, falls senseless, and shortly dies, *ib.*
 Elfrida, or Elfthrida, daughter of Ordgar duke of Devonshire, becomes the wife of Aethelwold, whom she betrays, 253, and afterwards the wife of Eadgar, 255; on his death, opposes the succession of Eadward II, 257; procures his assassination, 259; her savage treatment of her son Aethelred for weeping at his brother's death, 261; her repentance and severe penance, 260.
 Elgiva, a daughter of King Aelfred, made abbess of his foundation at Shaftesbury, 186. 189.
 Ellandune, battle of, 147.
 Elmer, a monk of Malmesbury, breaks his legs in a mechanical attempt to fly, 380; his reason for his failure, *ib.*
 Elphege, *see* Aelfheah.
 Elwin, *see* Aelwin.
 Ely, bishop of, 718, 719. 728.
 Ely, monastery of, converted into a bishoprick by Henry I, 680.
 Emma, daughter of the king of Austraia, and wife of Eadbald king of Kent, 20.
 Emma Aelfgiva, wife of Aethelred of Wessex, ill-treated by her husband, 268; sent with her children to the court of her brother, 292; becomes a widow, 300, and is married to Cnut, 305; at his death, protected for a time by Godwin, 319; banished by Harold I, *ib.*; deprived of her property by her son Eadward, 331.
 England, neglect of learning in, 104; divisions of, geographical and ecclesiastical, 139—142; oppressed state of, after the Conquest, 381; its lamentable condition in the time of King Stephen, 730.
 English, their mode of expression, 44; their superstition, 194; vitiated by foreigners, 236; brief sketch of the various changes in their manners, 417.
 Eohric the Dane slain by the Angles, 136.
 Eormenburh, daughter of Eormenred, brother of Earconberht of Kent, 110. 369.
 Eormenred, brother of Earconberht of Kent, 110. 369.
 Eormenric, king of Kent, 16.
 Eorpwald of East Anglia slain by Richberht, 134.
 Ercombert, *see* Earconberht.
 Ercongota, daughter of Earconberht, takes the veil in France, 21. 368.
 Erik of Northumbria, 232. 304.
 Ermenhilda, St. daughter of Earconberht of Kent, and wife of Wulfheri of Mercia, 110. 368.
 Essex, rise of the kingdom of, 137; its fall, 139; its extent and bishoprick, 141.
 Estrida, *see* Ostdritha.
 Ethelbald, abbot of Winteburg, 275.
 Ethelbald, *see* Aethelbald.
 Ethelbert, *see* Aethelberht.
 Ethelburga, wife of Ini of Wessex, her stratagem to wean her husband from the world, 49, *var. lect.*
 Ethelburh, St. daughter of Anna of East Anglia, 368.
 Etheldrith, St. daughter of Anna of East Anglia, 368; her body found uncorrupted in the monastery at Ely, 680.
 Ethelfleda, daughter of Oswiu, abbess of Streaneshalch, 77.
 Ethelfleda, *see* Aethelfaed.
 Ethelfrid, *see* Aethelfrith.
 Ethelher of East Anglia is slain with Penda by Oswiu, 135.
 Ethelred, *see* Aethelred.
 Ethelric, *see* Aethelric.

- Ethelsin, bishop of Sherborne, 270.
 Ethelstan, *see* Aethelstân.
 Ethelswitha, daughter of King Aelfred, marries Baldwin count of Flanders, 193.
 Ethelwald of East Anglia, 135.
 Ethelward, or Elward, translates the Saxon Chronicle into Latin, 1, 2.
 Ethelwold, *see* Aethelwold.
 Ethelwulph, *see* Aetheluulf.
 Eugenius, king of the Cumbrians, 212.
 Euripus, or sea-flood, destroys many villages, 297.
 Eustace of Boulogne, father of Godfrey of Bouillon, and Baldwin I, kings of Jerusalem, visits Eadward the Confessor, 336; fray between his servants and the men of Dover, 337; its consequences to Godwin, *ib.*
 Eustace (son of King Stephen), the empress refuses him Mortain and Boulogne during the captivity of his father, 750; is one of the hostages for the liberation of the earl of Gloucester, 754.
 Exeter fortified and walled by Aethelstân, 214; its situation and opulence, *ib.*; burnt, 265; reduced by William I, 421.
- F.
- Famine ravages England, 267.
 Fire, sacred, miracle at Jerusalem, 562, 587.
 Fitz-Gilbert, John, governor of the castle of Marlborough, takes Robert Fitz-Hubert, a pretended adherent of the empress, and hangs him for refusing to surrender Devizes to his mistress, 734.
 Fitz-Hamon, Robert, remains faithful to Henry I. when deserted by the other nobles, 620; is wounded in the forehead in Normandy, and survives long in a state of mental derangement, 625; his splendid embellishment of the monastery at Tewkesbury, *ib.*; his daughter Mabil given by the king to his natural son, Robert earl of Gloucester, *ib.* note ¹, and 692.
 Fitz-Hubert, Robert, seizes the unfinished castle at Malmesbury, and burns the town, 726; is expelled thence by King Stephen, *ib.*; captures the castle at Devizes, and refuses to surrender it to the empress, 733; is taken prisoner, and hung, 734; his blasphemy and barbarity, 733.
 Fitz-Osberne, William, sent by William of Normandy to observe the motions of Geoffrey Martel, 396; advises William to invade England, 431; is blamed by him for his prodigality to military men, *ib.*; his leniency to military offenders, *ib.*; is appointed guardian with King Philip of the children of Baldwin of Flanders, *ib.*; goes thither to suppress an insurrection, 432; is surprised and slain with his reigning ward by Robert le Frison, *ib.*
 Flambard, Ralph, raised by Rufus to dignity from the lowest estate, 497; his rapacity and extortions, *ib.*; their demoralizing effects upon the nation, *ib.*; is imprisoned by Henry I, 619; escapes to Normandy, and incites Duke Robert to invade England, 620.
 Flanders, Baldwin earl of, (father-in-law of the Conqueror,) 432; aids William with advice and soldiers in his invasion of England, 629; is said to have received in return an annual pension of 300 marks, *ib.*; the payment continued to his son Baldwin, but withheld from Robert le Frison, 630.
 Flanders, Robert le Frison earl of, *see* Frison.
 Flanders, Robert earl of, (son of Robert le Frison,) obtains from Rufus the yearly pension of 300 marks, which had been discontinued to his father by William the Conqueror, 630; on his return from the Crusade, is refused it by Henry I, *ib.*
 Flanders, *see* Baldwin.
 Forest, New, *see* New Forest.
 Formosus, pope, in his pretended epistle, excommunicates Eadward the Elder for allowing many sees to remain vacant, 203.
 Foulques III. (of Anjou), his treachery to the earl of Maine, 401; compels his refractory son to a degrading submission, *ib.*; makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 402; severity of his self-imposed penance, *ib.*
 France, succession of the kings of, to

- Hugh Capet, 95—101; from Louis I. to Henry I, 153—168.
- Franks, origin of, 95; their high character, 146.
- Frea, wife of Woden, 11.
- French history, 95—101. 153—168. 201.
- Frideswide, St. church of at Oxford burnt, 297.
- Frison, Robert le, marries Gertrude widow of Florence duke of Friesland, 431. 573; supports the succession of his son-in-law Theodoric, 573; is expelled by Godfrey Bocard, who seizes the duchy, *ib.*; re-establishes his son-in-law, on the murder of Bocard, *ib.*; rescues the Flemings from the oppression of his nephew Arnulph and his mother, 432; surprises and kills Arnulph and his guardian William Fitz-Osborne, *ib.*; becomes earl of Flanders, *ib.*; irritates William by his ravages in Normandy, *ib.*; marries his daughter to Cnut IV. of Denmark, and gives his step-daughter to King Philip of France, *ib.*; goes in his old age to Jerusalem, 433; returns, and retires from the world, *ib.*; fate of his sons, *ib.*
- Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, his character and works, 316. 465.
- Fulcher of Chartres, chaplain of Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, 576.
- Fulde, monastery of, 325-6; terrific circumstance there, 326; contagious disease at, 471.
- G.
- Gauls, their mode of expression, 44.
- Gelasius II, pope, his letter to the French nation, detailing his contest with the emperor Henry V, 664; he is expelled by him from Rome, and dies at Cluni, 665.
- Geoffrey, *see* Martel.
- Geoffrey, bishop of Coutance, joins in Odo's conspiracy against William Rufus, 487; ravages, with his nephew Robert Mowbray, Bath, Berkeley, and part of Wiltshire, 488; is reconciled to the king, 490.
- Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II.), *see* Legends.
- Germain, St. bishop of Auxerre, 36; his miracles, 183.
- Germany, why so called, 10; various emigrations from, *ib.*
- Gildas said to have passed many years at Glastonbury, 33.
- Girth, or Gurth, the son of Godwin, 342; his prudence, 413.
- Gisle, or Giselle, daughter of Charles king of France, given in marriage to Rollo the Northman, 166. 405.
- Gislebert, Count, guardian of William of Normandy, 392; his fidelity to his young charge, *ib.*; is slain by his kinsman Ralph, *ib.*
- Glastonbury, history of the monastery of, 31—54; Malmesbury's history of, 50 *var. lect.*, 77; charters to, 227. 240. 315; misunderstanding between the abbot and his monks, 450; two of the monks killed, and several wounded, 451; the abbot banished by the Conqueror, *ib.*; but restored, after his death, on the payment of a sum of money, *ib.*
- Gloucester, Robert earl of, natural son of Henry I, and born before he ascended the throne, 692; is married by him to Mabil daughter of Robert Fitz-Hamon, 625, note 1, and receives from him the earldom of Gloucester, 692; takes an oath to admit the succession of his sister the empress Maud, *ib.*; is present at his father's death, 701; his perplexity on the seizure of the kingdom by Stephen, 705; arrives in England, and does him homage conditionally, 707; on Stephen's departure for Normandy, follows him thither after a short interval, 710; is warned of snares laid for him by the king, and refrains from going to court, *ib.*; the king, in shame at the discovery, swears, in terms proposed by Robert, never to attempt a similar act, *ib.*; the earl remains in Normandy, to watch the course of public events, 711; by the advice of many religious men, and by the precept of the pope, he openly espouses his sister's cause, and sends messengers to Stephen to revoke his homage, 712; all his possessions in England, excepting Bristol, confiscated by the king, 713; the earl arrives at Arundel with his sister and one hundred and forty followers, 725; leaves her there in the care of her step-

mother Adela, and marches towards Bristol with twelve knights, 725. 758; is joined midway by his son Brian, and receives news of his sister's departure from Arundel under a safe-conduct from the king, 725; awaits her at the limits prescribed in the conduct, and receives her from the bishop of Winchester, *ib.*; takes her with him to Bristol, and places her afterwards in the care of Milo at Gloucester, *ib.*; he endeavours to keep those neutral whom he cannot gain over to her cause, 731; he takes several strongholds from the king, and appoints his brother Reginald earl of Cornwall, 732; he marches to the rescue of his daughter when besieged in the castle of Lincoln by the king, 741; routs the besiegers, and makes the king prisoner, *ib.*; his kindness to his captive, and severity towards the traitorous citizens, 742; joins the empress in her oath respecting the liberties of the church, 743; on her breach with the legate, attends her to a conference with that prelate at Winchester, 751; communications by the roads being cut off by the royalists, and the houses of the citizens fired, he determines to leave the place, 753; sends the empress forward with the main body of the troops, and follows slowly with a small force to prevent their being pursued, *ib.*; is overtaken by the royalists, and made a prisoner, *ib.*; honourable character of his captivity at Rochester, 759; he resists both allurements and threats to induce him to consent to be exchanged on equal terms with the king, but at length gives way to the entreaties of his friends, 760; his precautions to guard against a breach of faith, 761; in an interview with the king, declares that his opposition is grounded only on a regard for his oath, 762; is allowed to depart, and liberates the queen from custody at Bristol, 754; goes to Caen to solicit aid from the husband of the empress, who excuses himself on account of the distracted state of his country, 765; he remains with him a short time, and assists him

in reducing ten castles, *ib.*; is again met with excuses, but receives from him his son Henry, to be conveyed by him to England, *ib.*; hastens his return, on hearing of the capture of Wareham, and his sister's danger in the castle at Oxford, 766; lands at Wareham, 767, and recovers the castle, 768; reduces the isle of Portland, and takes Lulleworth castle, *ib.*; assembles his adherents at Cirencester, and marches upon Oxford, *ib.*; on receiving news of his sister's escape to Wallingford, directs his course thither, 769; by the advice of the empress, the army is broken up, and the soldiers return to their several homes, *ib.*; enumeration of the attainments and good qualities of the earl, 682; the 'Historia Novella' written at his request by Malmesbury, 687, who also dedicated to him his 'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' *see* Dedication. Gloucester, Roger de, slain by a shot from a crossbow at the siege of Falaise, 625.

Gloucester, Serlo abbot of, so modifies the rule of his house, that while an invalid might subscribe to it, a robust man should not be able to despise it, 674; verses of Prior Godfrey in his commendation, *ib.*

Goda, daughter of King Aethelberht, 336.

Godfrey Bocard (husband of Matilda 'Marcisca') expels Robert le Frison and Theodoric from Friezeland, and seizes the duchy, 573; is slain treacherously by the Flemings, *ib.*

Godfrey of Bouillon, son of Eustace II. of Boulogne, 572; is descended through his mother Ida from Charlemagne, 534. 572; is encouraged by her to seek for the attainment of Lorraine, 573; enters the service of the emperor, and obtains it as his reward, *ib.*; attends him in his expedition against Rome, *ib.*; opens an entrance to his followers through a large window in the city walls, *ib.*; is seized with a quartan fever from drinking wine, while heated, 574; makes a vow to go to the Holy Land, and recovers his strength, *ib.*; sets out on his expedition with the Frisons, Lorrainers, Saxons, and neighbouring people, 534; ar-

- rives at Constantinople, 535; is induced to do homage to the emperor, 536; is present at the siege of Nice, *ib.*; fights two single combats with Turks during the siege of Antioch, and slays his adversaries, 574; kills also a lion which had attacked one of his soldiers, 575; leads the second squadron in the sortie made from the city, 558; is chosen king by the Christians on the capture of Jerusalem, 569; his eulogy, 571; is repulsed at Azotus, 588; return of his old malady, 575; his death, and burial beneath the rock of Golgotha, *ib.*; his pious reason for having refused coronation, 576.
- Godfrey, prior, *see* Winchester.
- Godiva, wife of Leofric earl of Hereford, 330.
- Godwin, earl, his conduct in the Swedish expedition, 307; protects Emma on the death of Cnut, 319; charged with having been a party to the execration of Aelfred, 321; compelled to deny it upon oath, *ib.*; his splendid offering to be restored to favour, *ib.*; on the death of Hardacnut, raises Eadward to the throne, 332; his daughter married to the king, 333; his quarrel with him, 336; is banished with his sons, 339; plunders the maritime towns, *ib.*; is prevented by fog from engaging with the royal fleet, 340; is reconciled to the king, *ib.*; procures the banishment of his Norman rivals, *ib.*; his wives and children, 342; Norman account of his death, 335.
- Gornay, Hugh de, 399.
- Goscelin, a monk of St. Bertin, visits many bishopricks and abbeys, and leaves monuments of his learning, 521; his great skill as a musician, and as a writer of the lives of saints, *ib.*; his vivid description of the 'Translation of St. Augustine,' 522.
- Goths, 10.
- Greek emperors, succession of, 549.
- Greeks, their mode of expression, 44.
- Gregory, St. projects the conversion of England, 63; is restrained from going personally by the affection of his fellow-citizens, 64.
- Gregory VI, pope, his measures to repress the assassins of Rome, 344; his vindication of his conduct, 346; miracle at his death, 351.
- Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), legendary account of, 441; raised to the papal chair, 444; excommunicates prelates who receive investiture from a lay hand, *ib.*; is deposed by the emperor Henry IV, 445; is reinstated by Robert Guiscard, 440; is again expelled from Rome, *ib.*; his death, and advice respecting his successor, 445; an anecdote of him and the emperor, *ib.*
- Grentemesnil, Hugh de, one of Odo's conspiracy against William Rufus, plunders the neighbourhood of Leicester, 488.
- Griffin, king of the Welsh, defeated and put to death, 330. 385.
- Grimbald invited to England by Aelfred, and made abbot of his New Minster at Winchester, 188. 192.
- Guader, or Waher, Ralph de, created earl of Norfolk and Suffolk by the Conqueror, 429; marries the daughter of William Fitz-Osborne, *ib.*; at his wedding feast induces many of the nobles to conspire against William, 430; is expelled the country by the royal officers, *ib.*; is followed by his wife, on her surrendering his castle, *ib.*
- Guimund, bishop of Aversa, his eloquence, 462.
- Guiscard, Robert, of Normandy, (surnamed Durand, 599,) his origin, 439; sets out with fifteen followers for Apulia, *ib.*; conquers the country, and becomes duke of Apulia and Calabria, *ib.*; makes his brothers, Richard, prince of Capua, and Roger, count of Sicily, *ib.*; gives Apulia to his son Roger, and crosses the Adriatic with his son Bohemond, *ib.*; obtains the surrender of Durazzo (Durachium) by a witty play upon his own surname and upon the name of the town, 599, and proceeds against the Greek emperor Alexius, 440; receives news of the deposition of Gregory VII, when he leaves Bohemond in command, and returns to Apulia, *ib.*; collects a force, and re-establishes the pope, *ib.*; is attacked by a Venetian fleet in returning to Greece,

- ib.*; sinks part, and puts the rest to flight, *ib.*; takes many cities from Alexius, *ib.*; is poisoned by his wife, at the instigation of the Greek, 441; his epitaph, *ib.*
- Gunhilda, sister of Sweyn, put to death with her husband and son in the great massacre of the Danes, 289.
- Gunhilda, daughter of Cnut, married to the emperor Henry III, 321; splendour of her departure from England, 322; accused of adultery, *ib.*; defended by a page, who kills her accuser, *ib.*; declines a reconciliation with her husband, and takes the veil, *ib.*
- Guthferth, son of Sihtric, flies to Scotland from King Aethelstán, 212; escapes thence with Turfrith, 213; fails in his siege of York, *ib.*; is reconciled to the king, *ib.*; resumes the life of a pirate, *ib.*
- Guthorm, the Dane, defeated by Aelfred, 181; is baptized, and appointed to the government of East Anglia and Northumbria, *ib.* 136; his tyranny and death, 182.
- Guy, son of Renaud I. of Burgundy, brought up from childhood with the Conqueror, 393; receives from him the castles of Brienne and Vernon, *ib.*; quarrels with him, and ravages Normandy, *ib.*; is attacked and routed by the king of France, *ib.*; flies to Brienne, 394; is driven thence by William, and takes refuge in Burgundy, *ib.*; is banished by the duke his brother for conspiring against him, *ib.*
- Guy, earl of Ponthieu, 384.
- H.
- Hair, English custom, in the reign of Henry I, of wearing it long, 693.
- Hampstead-Finch, fountain of blood there, 506.
- Harald Harfagra, of Norway, enters the Greek service in his youth, 436; violates a noble lady, and is exposed to a lion, which he strangles by main strength, *ib.*; is slain by Harold of England at the battle of Standford Bridge, 386. 436.
- Hardacnut chosen king by general consent, 319; his kind reception of his brother Eadward, 320; imposes an onerous tribute on the country, *ib.*; burns and plunders Worcester for killing two of his tax-gatherers, *ib.*; his indignation against those who had blinded his half-brother Aelfred, 321; marries his sister Gunhilda to the emperor Henry III, 321; his death, 320; indignities offered to his body, *ib.*
- Harding, an Englishman, (called also Stephen, 513,) brought up from boyhood as a monk at Sherborne, 511; travels to Scotland and France, and goes to Rome, 512; returns to Burgundy, and enters the monastery at Molesme, *ib.*; objects to some additions which had been made to the old monastic rule, *ib.*; the matter debated in several chapters, and referred to two learned monks for investigation, 513; on the refusal of the majority to relinquish the innovations, he secedes with the abbot and seventeen others, *ib.*; they arrive at Cisteaux, and build the famous monastery there, 514; severity of their rule, *ib.*; on the desertion of the abbot, and his return to Molesme, Harding is elected prior, 515; is afterwards raised to the rank of abbot, *ib.*; great increase of the order through his exertions, *ib.*; his great charity, and personal influence, *ib.*; high character of the Cistercians, 517.
- Harold, king of Norway, sends presents to Aethelstán, 215.
- Harold I. chosen king by the Danes and the citizens of London, 318; resisted by the Angles, *ib.*; banishes Queen Emma, 319; his death, *ib.*
- Harold, son of Godwin, kills Rees and Griffin, and reduces their territories, 330; is banished by Eadward, 339; is restored to favour, *ib.*; is driven across the sea by a storm, and loaded with chains, 383; is released by Duke William, 384; joins him in his Breton expedition, *ib.*; espouses his daughter, and swears to assist him in ascending the English throne, *ib.*; at the death of the Confessor, seizes the crown for himself, 385; his excuses for breaking his oath, 408; gains the battle of Standford Bridge, 386; receives news of the landing

- of William, 412; sends spies into the Norman camp, *ib.*; advice of his brother Guerth, 413; rejects the propositions of William, *ib.*; his conduct in the battle of Hastings, 416; his death, *ib.*; his body buried at Waltham, 420.
- Harold, son of Harold II. of England, accompanies Magnus of Norway in an expedition to invade England, 506.
- Hasting, a Danish chief, being defeated by Aelfred, ravages the coasts of France, 182.
- Hastings, battle of, 387. 414.
- Head, magical, formed by Gerbert, 283.
- Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, 6. 546.
- Helgrim, ambassador from Harold king of Norway to Aethelstân, 215.
- Helias de la Fleche excites commotions in Normandy, 503; Rufus's treatment of him, *ib.*
- Hengeat, his origin, 11; arrives in Britain, *ib.*; obtains Kent, 12; his son and nephew arrive at Orkney, *ib.* and settle in Northumbria, 13; his slaughter of the British nobles, 15; his death, 16.
- Henry I, born in England in the third year after the Conquest, 615; is, from being the only son royally born, more carefully instructed than the rest, *ib.*; permanent and useful character of his attainments, *ib.*; is knighted at Westminster by his father, 616; goes with him to Normandy, and is present at his death, *ib.*; receives his blessing, the inheritance of his mother, and a legacy of 3,000 marks, *ib.*; satisfies a knight who lays claim to the ground in which his father was to be buried, 461; through the influence of traducers, his affection to his brother Robert is returned by him with harshness, 616; is sent by him to Brittany, and deprived of his legacy in his absence, 617; makes no complaint on his return, *ib.*; his ill-treatment by both his brothers, *ib.*; seizes Avranches and some castles, and compels Robert to come to terms, *ib.*; assists him against Rufus on his invasion of Normandy, *ib.*; obtains the custody of one Conan, a traitor to Robert, and precipitates him into the Seine from the tower at Rouen, 618; his reason for his conduct, *ib.*, again experiences the ingratitude of Robert, who expels him from that town, *ib.*; resists Robert and Rufus in their attempts upon Maine, and is besieged by them at Mount St. Michael, 491; sends a message to Robert, to be permitted to obtain water, 493; goes to England with his brothers on the restoration of peace, *ib.*; is chosen king on the death of William Rufus, 618; puts a stop to the mal-practices introduced by Rufus and Ralph Flambard, 619; imprisons Flambard, and recalls Archbishop Anselm, *ib.*; is crowned at London, on the fourth day after his brother's death, *ib.*; the reason for this haste, *ib.*; marries Matilda, the orphan daughter of King Malcolm, *ib.*; gives his sister-in-law Mary in marriage to Eustace of Boulogne, 750; is deserted by most of the nobles on the return of Robert from the Crusade, 620; reproachful epithets bestowed by them upon him and his queen, *ib.*; assembles a large army to oppose the invasion of Robert, 621; is supported by Anselm and the clergy, and the whole of his Saxon subjects, *ib.*; goes personally through their ranks, and instructs them how to encounter the Normans, *ib.*; hostilities prevented through the mediation of the more prudent men, and a promise by the king of 3,000 marks to the duke, *ib.*; Henry refuses an annual pension to Robert of Flanders, which had been allowed him by William Rufus, 630; suppresses the rebellion of Robert de Belesme, and allows him to go into exile in Normandy, 622; refuses the earldom of Kent to his cousin William earl of Mortain, and proceeds against him at law for the recovery of some usurpations, 623; is annoyed by him and Robert de Belesme in Normandy, 623; summons his brother Robert to England, and reproves him for permitting their disorders, 624; on the complaint of the Normans, the exhortation of Pope Paschal, and at the instigation of Louis VI.

(632), he goes to Normandy to restore peace, 625; gains a victory over Duke Robert, the earl of Mortain, and Robert de Belesme at Tinchebrai on the fortieth anniversary of the Conquest, *ib.*; imprisons the earl of Mortain for life, 626, and commits his brother to honourable custody, 611; his severe laws, 626; gives his natural daughter in marriage to Alexander, the king of Scotland, 627; makes David (the younger son of King Malcolm, and the successor of Alexander,) an earl, and gives him a noble lady in marriage, *ib.*; plants a colony of Flemings between himself and the Welsh, 493. 628; is shot at with an arrow on his march against the Welsh, 628; represses their insurrection, and receives the children of their nobility as hostages, 629; his custom of hiring the Bretons as mercenaries, *ib.*; quarrels with Louis VI, in favour of Theobald earl of Blois, 633; restrains the ardour of his soldiers on the invasion of Normandy by Louis, *ib.*; defeats him in battle, and agrees to a peace, 634; marries his son William to a daughter of the earl of Anjou, and allows him to do homage to Louis for Normandy, *ib.*; in an interview with Calixtus, causes the pope to change his opinion with respect to his treatment of his brother Robert, *ib.*; causes the young sons of Robert de Meulant to dispute with the cardinals, 635; his great confidence in Roger bishop of Salisbury, whom he appoints administrator of public affairs, 637; devotion of the Irish kings to Henry, 638; he receives presents from Paul earl of Orkney, *ib.*; his menagerie at Woodstock, *ib.*; resort of foreigners to his kingdom, as to a haven of safety, 639; he is visited by Siward, king of Norway, on his way to the Holy Land, *ib.*; his abbey of Cluniac monks at Reading, 643; letter of Pope Paschal to him on the subject of investitures, 644; recalls Archbishop Anselm from his second exile, and agrees to surrender the contested right, 648; death of his wife Matilda, 651; loses his son

William in a shipwreck, 653; marries Adela, daughter of the duke of Louvain, in consequence of his heir's death, 651. 654; marriage of his daughter Matilda with the Emperor Henry V, 655; changes the monastery of Ely into a bishoprick, and recompenses the bishop of Lincoln for his loss, 680; while residing in Normandy, receives news of the emperor's death, and sends an embassy for his daughter, 689; refuses her in marriage to some princes of Lorraine and Lombardy, *ib.*; returns with her to England, 690; calls a great council at London, in which he grants the county of Salop to his queen, and binds the prelates and nobles to admit the succession of his daughter, *ib.*; sends the empress to Normandy, to be espoused to Geoffrey, son of Foulques of Anjou, and follows shortly after to assist at their marriage, 692; supports the claims of Pope Innocent against those of Anaclete, 698; on his return to England, and on the arrival of his daughter, causes the nobles to renew their oath in a great council at Northampton, *ib.*; a great murrain among cattle in the thirty-first year of his reign, 699; his last voyage to Normandy followed by an eclipse and an earthquake, 700; his last illness there, and death, after three years' residence, 701; leaves all his possessions to his daughter, *ib.*; letter of Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, describing his religious end, *ib.*; his funeral, 702; his body brought to England, and buried in his monastery at Reading, 705; his immense treasures, *ib.*; recapitulation of his character, 640; his life attempted but once during his whole reign, 642; his person and habits, *ib.*

Henry (afterwards Henry II.) son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and the empress Maud, sent by his father to England under the care of his uncle, the earl of Gloucester, 765.

Henry I. of France appointed supervisor of the guardian of William of Normandy, 392; confers knighthood on the young duke, 393; restores order in Normandy on the

- death of Duke Robert, *ib.*; is assisted by William against Geoffrey Martel, 394; advises the duke to be less reckless of his personal safety, *ib.*; contracts a coolness towards William, and assists his rebellious uncle, 397; invades Normandy, and is defeated in the battle of Mortemer, 398; makes peace, 399; again invades the country, and sustains a severe defeat, 400; his death, *ib.*
- Henry I, emperor, 168. 215.
- Henry III, emperor, marries the daughter of Cnut, 321; his warlike character, 322; legendary anecdotes respecting him, 323, *et seq.*; his epitaph, 328.
- Henry IV, emperor, is excommunicated by Gregory VII. for persisting in giving investitures, 440; deposes the pope, and appoints Gilbert in his place, *ib.*; flies, with the anti-pope, on the approach of Robert Guiscard, *ib.*; again deposes Gregory, *ib.*; is excommunicated by Pope Urban, 468; is compelled by his son to resign the empire, 467; favourable points in his character, 468.
- Henry V, the reigning emperor of Germany when Malmesbury wrote his 'Gesta,' 101. 467; deposes his father, Henry IV, *ib.*; marries Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England, 655; quarrels with Pope Paschal respecting investitures, *ib.*; his cause espoused by the Citramontane prelates, *ib.*; marches to Rome, and seizes the person of the pope, 656; extorts from him a surrender of the disputed privilege, *ib.*; his oath to the pope, 657; receives the sacrament from him, in confirmation of their amity, 658; description of his solemn coronation, *ib.*; Paschal's grant to him, 659; receives the Roman crown from the patricians, 661; Paschal's grant annulled by the second Lateran council, 662; leads another army against Rome, 663; hears of the pope's death, and accelerates his march, that he may place Maurice Bourdin in the vacant chair, 664; names of the emperor's Roman partisans, 665; he expels Gelasius II. from Rome, and leaves Bourdin there as pope, 666; in an epistle to Calixtus II. he surrenders the contested right, 669; his three expeditions into Italy, 670; his death, 689.
- Herbert, comte de Maine, 401.
- Herbert Losinga (abbot of Ramsay) buys the bishoprick of Thetford, 517; his corrupt practices, *ib.*; epigrams on his simony, *ib.*; repents, and goes to Rome, 518; resigns his crosier and ring, but is directed to resume them, *ib.*; returns to England, and removes his see to Norwich, *ib.*; endows a monastery there from his private purse, *ib.*; institutes a Cluniac monastery at Thetford, 519; is excommunicated by Pope Paschal for misrepresenting his expressions on the question of investitures, 646; is restored through the intercession of King Henry, 648.
- Hereford, Roger earl of, confined for life for his participation in the conspiracy of Ralph de Guader, his brother-in-law, 430.
- Hide, monastery of, at Winton, burnt, 752.
- 'Hierarchia' of Dionysius the Areopagite translated out of Greek into Latin by Johannes Scottus, 190.
- Hilda, 83; *see* Streneshalh.
- Hilbert of Mans, his verses on Berengar, 463.
- Hildebrand, *see* Gregory VII.
- Hinguar, or Inguar, the Dane, ravages Northumbria and East Anglia, and murders St. Eadmund, 136. 365.
- Hircanus digs gold from the sepulchre of David, 278.
- Hlôðberi of Kent, unhappy character of his reign, 21; dies of a wound, 22.
- Hors, his origin, 11; death of, 13.
- Hospital erected at Jerusalem by Charlemagne, 563.
- Hubba the Dane, brother of Hinguar, 365.
- Hugh the Great, count of Paris, marries Eadhild, daughter of Eadweard the Elder, 198. 216.
- Hugh the Great (brother of the French king) enters the service of the Conqueror, 439; arrives at Constantinople with a small retinue, and is made prisoner by Alexius, 535; is released on the arrival of the other

- Crusaders, *ib.*; is one of the leaders who rescue Robert's division from the army of Solyman, 551; is present in the great sortie made from Antioch, 558; returns to France, on the plea of indisposition, 559; again arrives with the earl of Poitiers, 592; is slain in a battle with Solyman, and his body buried at Tarsus, *ib.*
- Hugh, brother of Raymond the Crusader, slain by the Turks in the battle near Ramula, 594.
- Hugh of Chester assists in repulsing an attempted invasion by Magnus of Norway, 506.
- Hugh of Salop is slain in opposing an attempted invasion by Magnus of Norway, 506.
- Hugh, abbot of Cluni, 441. 507.
- Hunting, right of, restricted by William Rufus, 501.
- Hydromel, a drink so called, 323.
- I.
- Ida of Northumbria, 61. 70; his noble descent, pure morals, and bravery, 62.
- India, St. Thomas in, mission to, 187.
- Indract, St. his martyrdom near Glastonbury, 37.
- Ineswitrin, Glastonbury so called, 40.
- Inguar, *see* Hinguar.
- Ini of Wessex, his successes in Kent and Essex, 48; his laws, *ib.*; founds the monastery of Glastonbury, *ib.*; his charter to the same, 50; device of his queen to wean him from the world, 49, *var. lect.*; goes with her to Rome, 54; their deaths, *ib.*
- Innocent II. chosen pope by a portion of the Roman clergy, 695; his election opposed by the supporters of Anaclete, *ib.*; epistle of the bishop of Porto, explanatory of the controversy, *ib.*; he is acknowledged by the sovereigns, but does not obtain his chair until the death of his rival, 698; crowns Louis VII. at the request of his father, *ib.*
- Investiture of churches, Pope Paschal's epistle on, 644.
- Ipre, William d', incites King Stephen to entrap the earl of Gloucester in Normandy, 710; burns Warewell abbey in England, 752; makes Humphrey Bohun prisoner, 760.
- Ireland, its dependence on England for its merchandize, 638; poverty and squalid condition of its agrarian population, *ib.*
- Eric expelled the kingdom by Cnut, 299.
- Isembard, comte de Ponthieu, 398.
- J.
- Jaenberht, archbishop, his province of Canterbury curtailed by Offa, 119.
- Jerusalem, the different names by which it has been called, 561; extension of its limits by Adrian, *ib.*; is scantily supplied with water, *ib.*, 566; the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the temple called Solomon's, treated respectfully by the Turks, 562; enumeration of its patriarchs, and of remarkable events in their times, 563; the city besieged by the Christians, 565, and taken, 568; celebration of Christmas in, 579; penitential processions in, on Easter-eve, to procure the appearance of the sacred fire, 587.
- Jewish youth, anecdote of, 466.
- Jews of London, brought over from Rouen by the Conqueror, 500, note ¹; encouraged by William Rufus to hold an argument with the bishops, 500, and note ¹; they complain of unfair treatment in the controversy, 500.
- Johannes Scottus, his literary labours in France, 190; his arrival in England, *ib.*; his death and epitaph in the monastery of Malmesbury, *ib.*
- John XIII, pope, confirms Edgar's charter to Glastonbury abbey, 245; admonishes Aluric to abstain from persecuting that church, 246.
- John XV. (called XVI.) pope, mediates between Aethelred and Richard of Normandy, 269.
- John (a native of Touraine, 519), bishop of Wells, removes his see to Bath, 517; purchases the abbey there, 519; ill-treats the monks, and sequesters their lands, *ib.*; relaxes in his severity, and returns them a small portion of land, 520; makes improvements with respect

- to ornaments and books, as well as in the character of the monks, *ib.*; refuses, to the last, to restore the whole of their lands, *ib.*
- John the priest, 192.
- John, a monk of Malmesbury, procures the restitution of its privileges to his monastery, and is elected abbot, 730.
- Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, 173.
- Judith, daughter of Charles le Chauve king of France, and wife of King Aethelulf, 153. 168. 197; marries her step-son Aethelbald, 174; her death, *ib.*
- Judith, niece of the Conqueror, married to Earl Waltheof, 427.
- Judwall, king of the Welsh, 206. 251.
- Jutes, a German tribe, settled in Britain, 10, 11.
- K.
- Karilepho, William de, (bishop of Durham,) appointed by William Rufus to administer the public affairs, 486; joins in a conspiracy against the king, 487; on the suppression of the rebellion, is permitted by the king to make his escape, 490.
- Katigis, or Categrin, son of Wyrtegerne, death of, 13.
- Kenelm, *see* Cênelm.
- Kennet, *see* Kinad.
- Kenred, *see* Cœnraed, Coenred.
- Kent, kingdom of, 16; its conversion to Christianity, 17; annexed to Wessex, 25; its bishopricks, 140; ravaged by the Danes, 150. 175. 265.
- Kenulph, *see* Cœnuulf.
- Kenwall, or Kenwalk, *see* Cynewealh.
- Kerboga, prince of Mosul, sent by the Sultan to the relief of Antioch, 557; finds it occupied by the Franks, and besieges the place, *ib.*; disdains an answer to Peter the Hermit, 558; is slain by Robert of Normandy in a sortie from the city, 608.
- Kinad, king of Scots, assists in rowing Eadgar, 236; apologizes for speaking disrespectfully of him, 252.
- Kineard, brother of Sigiberht of Wessex, having been banished by Cynewulf, conspires against and murders him, 57; is overpowered and slain, 58; buried at Repton, 59.
- Kineswitha, *see* Cynuisse.
- Kinewulph, *see* Cynewulph.
- Kingils, *see* Cynegils.
- Knights among the Anglo-Saxons, 210 and note 4.
- L.
- Lademund, abbot of Glastonbury, 40^f
- Lamp, perpetual, 357.
- Lanfrank appointed abbot of St. Stephen's at Caen, 447; made archbishop of Canterbury, 450; his great knowledge and piety, 447; his strictness in ecclesiastical matters, *ib.* 450; his influence with the Conqueror, 450; advises the imprisonment of Odo as earl of Kent, 487; answers Berengar the heresiarch, 462; obtains precedence over the archbishop of York, 472; William Rufus knighted by him, 486, and crowned, *ib.*; his influence over the conduct of Rufus, 495.
- Lanzo, prior, *see* St. Pancras.
- Lateran council II. acts of, 661; names of the bishops present in, 663.
- Lawrence, archbishop of Canterbury, chastised by St. Peter, 18, note 6.
- Legends:
- Of Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II.), how he studied magic, 271; his disciples, 275; how he found the treasures of Octovian, 277.
- Of a party that went in search of the same treasures, 279.
- Of a young man transformed into the likeness of an ass, and how he recovered his own form, 282.
- Of Gerbert's speaking statue, and of its ambiguous responses, 283.
- Of a party that were compelled to dance incessantly for a year, 285.
- Of an ill-favoured but religious bishop, and of a profligate nun, 286.
- Respecting the emperor Henry III, 323, *et seq.*
- Of the witch of Berkeley, 351.
- Of a bridegroom, who, placing his ring upon the finger of a statue while he played at ball, thereby wedded an evil spirit, 354.
- Concerning the undecayed body of Pallas, son of Evander, 357.

- Of a monstrous double female, said to be indicative of the connexion between England and Normandy, 358.
- Of the two clerks of Nantes, 405.
- Concerning Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) 441.
- Of a simoniacal bishop, who could never name the Holy Ghost, 443.
- Respecting Berengar the heresiarch, 465.
- Of a man torn to pieces by mice, 468.
- Concerning the effects of a leopard's bite, 469.
- Of what happened to a parsimonious cellarer in the monastery of Fulde, 470.
- Leo III, Cöenuulf's letter to him, 120; his letter to Cöenuulf, 124.
- Leo IX, his character, 329.
- Leofa banished for his robberies by Eädmund, 228; intrudes upon a royal banquet, *ib.*; attacked personally by the king, whom he mortally wounds, 229; is cut to pieces by the attendants, *ib.*
- Leofric, earl of Hereford, a supporter of the king against Earl Godwin, 330; with his wife Godiva, builds many monasteries, *ib.*; present in a council at Gloucester, 338.
- Leofstan becomes mad, upon viewing the body of Eadmund the Martyr, 367.
- Leofwin, son of Godwin, 342.
- Letard, bishop, exemplary life of, 17.
- Leutherius, bishop of Wessex, 41; his grant of Malmesbury to St. Aldhelm, 43.
- Library at York, 93; at Jerusalem, 563.
- Libraries formerly attached to churches, 191; burnt by the Danes, *ib.*
- Lichfield made an archiepiscopal see, 119, 123.
- Lincoln, Alexander bishop of, (nephew of Roger bishop of Salisbury,) builds a castle at Newark for the protection of his see, 715; the nobles complain of it to the king, 716; is compelled, on account of a tumult committed by his servants, to surrender the keys of his castle, 718; is present in Winchester cathedral on the recognition of the empress, 744.
- Literature, pursuit of in England gone to decay, 191, 417.
- Llandaff, Urban bishop of, a long-pending controversy between him and Bishop Bernard of St. David's decided in favour of the latter, 699.
- Lombards, 10.
- London part of the kingdom of Essex, 137, 139; ravaged by the Danes, 150; granted by Aelfred to Earl Aethered, 184; besieged by the Danes, 264, 290, 301; citizens of, from a long intercourse with the Danes, adopt their customs, 318; cemetery of the Danes at, 320; dreadful tempest at, 505; Jews of, 500.
- Lothair, *see* Hlödheri.
- Louis l'Aveugle, king of Arles, marries Eadgiva, daughter of Eadweard the Elder, 198, 216.
- Louis VI. incites Henry of England to take Normandy from his brother Robert, 632; quarrels with him on account of Theobald of Blois, and procures the latter to be denounced as a rebel by the pope, 633; invades and ravages Normandy, *ib.*; is defeated by Henry, and agrees to a peace, 634; receives the homage of Prince William in respect of Normandy, *ib.*; causes his eldest son (Philip) to be crowned during his life, 698; on Philip's death, by a fall from his horse, procures his second son Louis to be crowned by the pope, *ib.*; was the reigning king of France when Malmesbury wrote his 'Gesta,' 101, 432.
- Louis VII. crowned by Innocent II. during the life of his father, 698; receives Aquitaine with his wife, and re-annexes it to the crown of France, 699.
- Lucius, king of Britain, sends to Rome for religious instructors, 31.
- Ludeca of Mercia, in his attempts to avenge his predecessor, is slain by the East Angles, 132, 148.
- Lullus, archbishop of Mayence, verses respecting, 117.
- Lyfing, archbishop of Canterbury, 288.
- Lyfing, abbot of Tavistock, afterwards bishop of Crediton, 308, 321.

M.

Mabil (daughter of Robert Fitz-Ha-

- mon) given in marriage by Henry I. to his natural son Robert earl of Gloucester, 692; is the mother of a numerous and beautiful family, *ib.*
- Macbeoth, king of Scotland, 330.
- Maccus, the pirate, 236.
- Magnus restores Norway to its independence, 435; invades Denmark, and expels Sweyn II, *ib.*; again defeats him on his return with a foreign force, 436.
- Magnus of Norway, with Harold son of Harold II. of England, conquers the Orkneys and other islands, 506; attempts to invade England through Anglesey, *ib.*; is repulsed by Hugh of Chester and Hugh of Salop, *ib.*
- Malcolm king of the Scots, Cumberland assigned to him, 226.
- Malcolm king of Cumbria, 236. 330.
- Malcolm II. king of Scotland, 308.
- Malcolm III, son of the king of Cumbria, raised by Earl Siward to the Scottish throne, 330; receives his brother-in-law Eadgar Aetheling, and the other English fugitives, and espouses his cause, 422; surrenders to the Conqueror, 424; treats for peace with Rufus through the mediation of Robert of Normandy, 424. 494; is slain treacherously (with one of his sons, 424) by the retainers of Robert Mowbray of Northumberland, 494; is buried at Tinemouth, 424; his body translated to Dunfermline by his son Alexander, *ib.*
- Malgerius, archbishop of Rouen, (uncle of the Conqueror,) his passion for field sports and the pleasures of the table, 447; the pall withheld from him by the pope for his unbecoming conduct, *ib.*; is reproved by William while yet a youth, and degraded, *ib.*; reason assigned by the prelate's partisans for the duke's conduct, 448.
- Malmesbury, William of, descended equally from the Saxon and Norman nations, 389; under the tuition of his father, becomes early addicted to books, 143; is instructed orally in logic, and studies medicine and ethics, *ib.*; purchases some foreign histories, and begins to inquire for those of his own country, *ib.*; begins to write, 144; his reasons for writing history, 1; disregards common reports, and affirms nothing but what is deserving of entire credit, 73; contemns popular traditions, and applies himself to the chronicles, 144; complains that they are meagre of information, *ib.*; solicits correction, and a communication of information, *ib.*; listening to the suggestions of those who thought it impossible to write a true history of contemporaries without suffering persecution, or being guilty of the meanness of flattery, he discontinues his labours at the close of the third book, but resumes them after a time with the intention of showing the futility of such an opinion, 483; his distinction between prodigality and liberality, 496; his strictures on the splendid ornaments and gorgeous apparel used in churches, 516; his reasons for dedicating his 'Gesta' to Robert earl of Gloucester, 681; writes the 'Historia Novella' at the request of the earl, 687; was personally present in a council at Winchester, 745; he refers to his history of Glastonbury, 50 *var. lect.*, 77.
- Malmesbury, monastery of, founded, 43; seized by Offa, 119; by Ealhstân, 151; its possessions restored, 130; monks expelled by Eadwy, 234; Eadgar's charter to, 247; seized by Roger bishop of Salisbury, 728; singular account of one of its monks, 380. -
- Malmesbury, Cuthbert abbot of, 130.
- Malmesbury, John abbot of, his character, 730.
- Mandeville, Geoffrey de, a partisan alternately of King Stephen and the empress, 752.
- Mantes, Walter de, 404.
- Mantes, city of, destroyed, 460.
- Margaret, sister of Eadgar Aetheling, and wife of Malcolm of Scotland, her great piety and charity, 382. 494; sanctity of three of her sons, 628.
- Maria, daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland, and wife of Eustace the younger, earl of Boulogne, 382.
- Marianus Scotus, his chronological labours disregarded by his contemporaries, 471.

- Martel, Charles, *see* Tudites.
- Martel, Geoffrey, (earl of Anjou,) his abject submission to his incensed father, 401 ; compels the counts of Poitiers and of Blois to cede part of their possessions, 395 ; seizes the Norman castle of Alençon, 396 ; his arrogance, *ib.* ; flies before Duke William, who seizes Domfront, 397 ; his death, 400.
- Martel, William, a household officer of King Stephen, excommunicated with other royalists in the council at Winchester, 748.
- Martin, St. of Tours, his body translated to the church of St. Germain in Auxerre, 183 ; controversy as to the respective merits of these saints, *ib.* ; his relics cure a leprous person, *ib.*
- Matilda 'Marcisa,' her Amazonian character, 467 ; supports Urban against Henry IV. and the anti-pope, 468.
- Matilda, wife of the Conqueror, founds the convent of the Holy Trinity at Caen, 448 ; coolness between her and William on account of their son Robert, 453 ; is buried in her nunnery at Caen, *ib.*
- Matilda (queen) daughter of King Malcolm, 382 ; her noble descent, but relative poverty, 620 ; is early educated in nunneries, 649 ; pretends to take the veil, that she may so escape her ignoble suitors, *ib.* ; obstacle raised on that account to her marriage with Henry I, 649 ; withdraws from his court, after giving birth to two children, 650 ; her great sanctity and self-mortifications, *ib.* ; her liberality to church choristers, *ib.* ; ill effects of her munificence, 651 ; her death, and burial at Westminster, *ib.*
- Matilda (the empress Maud), daughter of Henry I. of England, and married to the emperor Henry V, 655 ; her courage and piety, 670 ; at her husband's death, is sent for by her father to Normandy, 689 ; is said to have been reluctant to return, *ib.* ; is sought in marriage by several princes of Lorraine and Lombardy, *ib.* ; returns to England with her father, 690 ; her long line of royal ancestors, 691 ; receives an oath of fealty from the prelates and nobles, 692 ; is sent to Normandy to be married to Geoffrey, son of Foulques of Anjou, *ib.* ; returns again to England, and receives a renewal of the oath of fealty, 698 ; remains some time in Normandy after her father's death, 703 ; arrives at Arundel with her brother, the earl of Gloucester, and is left by him in the care of her step-mother Adela, 725 ; removes thence, under a safe-conduct from the king, to rejoin her brother, *ib.* ; is placed by him under the protection of Milo at Gloucester, *ib.* ; Hereford taken by her adherents, 726 ; on an attempt at pacification, she expresses her readiness to submit to the decision of the church, 735 ; capture of the king by her brother, 742 ; she makes oath to respect the liberties of the church, and is accepted by the legate as liege lady, 743 ; her solemn procession to the cathedral of Winchester, 744 ; is compelled to leave London by the adherents of Stephen, 749 ; refuses to give Mortain and Boulogne to the king's son Eustace, and breaks with the legate, 750 ; goes to the royal castle at Winchester, and commands the attendance of the legate, 751 ; on the insurrection of the royalists there, is sent by her brother to Devizes, 753 ; the earl goes over to her husband to request his aid, 765 ; during his absence, she is besieged by the king in the castle of Oxford, 766 ; escapes thence to Wallingford, 768 ; is joined there by her brother, and directs the disbanding of the army, 769.
- Matilda (queen), only child of Eustace of Boulogne, married to Stephen earl of Mortain, afterwards king of England, 750 ; on the capture of her husband, sends a clerk to the council at Winchester to pray for his release, 748 ; is visited by the legate at Guildford, and prevails upon him to espouse her husband's cause, 750 ; is one of the hostages for the earl of Gloucester, on his exchange for her husband, 754.
- Maurice, St. chief of the Theban legion, his banner, 217.
- Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, his deathbed vision, 448.

- Maximus assumes the empire, 6; his expedition to Gaul, and death, *ib.*
 Mellitus, first bishop of London, 137.
 Mercelin, son of Penda, 108.
 Mercia erected into a kingdom, 107; falls under the power of Oswið, 109; recovers its freedom, *ib.*; decline of the kingdom, 133; its extent and bishopricks, 141.
 Merefin, son of Merewald, 110.
 Merewald, son of Penda, 108. 110. 369.
 Meulant, Robert earl of, with his brother Henry, supports Henry I. against his brother Robert, 620; disputation of his sons with the Roman cardinals, 635; purchases the castle of Meulant from the king of France, *ib.*; high opinion entertained of his wisdom, 636; reforms the prevalent abuses in dress and at the table, *ib.*; sides with the king against the pope in the question of investitures, 649.
 Meulant, Walerand earl of, associated with the legate in the safe-conduct granted to the empress, 725.
 Mice, singular tales concerning, 468, 469.
 Milburga, daughter of Merewald, 110. 369.
 Mildritha, daughter of Merewald, 110. 369.
 Milgitha, daughter of Merewald, 110.
 Milo (afterwards earl of Hereford) is entrusted by the earl of Gloucester with the care of the empress, 725; his small fortress at Cerne seized by King Stephen, 726, and retaken by the earl of Gloucester, 732; is one of the sureties for the empress on her making oath before the legate, 743; is present at her conference with him at Winchester, 751.
 Miracles: Oswald's, 73; of pope Leo III, 100; of St. Martin, 183; St. Eadward, 259; of St. Magnus, 285; of Gregory VI, 351; of St. Aethelred or Elberht and Aegelberht, 361-2; of St. Cœnelm, 363; of St. Wistan, 364; of St. Eadmund, *ib.*; St. Milburga, 369; St. Eadburh, 370; St. Edgitha, 371; of Eadward the Confessor, 375.
 Money, debased state of, in the reign of King Stephen, 732.
 Montfort, Hugh de, 399.
 Montgomery, Roger de, sent to reconnoitre the position of Geoffrey Martel, 396.
 Montgomery, Roger de, joins in Odo's conspiracy against William Rufus, 487; ravages the county of Worcester, but is repulsed from the city by Bishop Wulstan, 488; returns to his obedience, 489.
 Morcard, a Danish noble, put to death by King Aethelred, 297.
 Morchar, son of Elgar, made earl of Northumbria, 343; defeated by the Danes, 386; his death, 427; *see* Eadwin.
 Mortain, William earl of, (son of Robert, brother of the Conqueror,) his early enmity to his cousin, King Henry, 623; is dissatisfied with Mortain and Cornwall, and demands Kent in addition, *ib.*; his request refused by the king, who proceeds against him for the recovery of some usurpations, *ib.*; he retires to Normandy, assaults some of the royal castles there, and plunders the possessions of Richard earl of Chester, a ward of the king, *ib.*; joins Robert de Belesme, and ravages Normandy, 624; is made prisoner at the battle of Tinchebrai, and imprisoned for life, 625; his character, 626.
 Mountain, perforated, tale of, 279.
 Mowbray, Robert, earl of Northumberland, a partaker with his uncle, Bishop Geoffrey of Coutance, in Odo's conspiracy against William Rufus, 487; Malcolm of Scotland is treacherously slain by his men, 424. 494; again quarrels with the king, and retires to his county, 501; is made prisoner by William, and confined for life, *ib.*
 Mull burnt to death by the men of Kent, 22. 47; his weregild, 48.
 Mull Aethelwald of Northumbria supplanted by Alhred, 104.
 Murrain, dreadful, 699.
- N.
- Necromancy, 281. 283.
 New Forest, its great extent, 455; depopulation occasioned for its formation, *ib.*; its fatality to the family of the Conqueror, *ib.*
 Nice, siege of, 550.
 Nicholas II, 341.

- Nicolas, the reigning monarch in Denmark when Malmesbury wrote his 'Gesta,' 438.
- Nidering, signification of, 489.
- Nigel, viscount of Constance, one of the disturbers of Normandy during the minority of William, 393; is compelled to make his submission, 394.
- Normandy granted to Rollo, 166.200; distracted state of, 624.
- Normandy :
 William I. duke of, 229.
 Richard I, 269.
 Richard II, 292.
 Robert I, 391.
 William II, *see* William (the Conqueror).
 Robert II, *see* Robert II.
- Normans subdue part of Gaul, 10. 198. 200; unjust preference of after the Conquest, 381; dislike to William II, 490.1; manners and customs of, 419.
- Northumberland, Robert earl of, *see* Mowbray.
- Northumbria, Saxons settle in, 13. 60; erected into a kingdom, 61; ravaged by the Danes, 106. 264. 289; annexed by Ecgerht to his kingdom, *ib.*; subdued by Aethelstan, 206; its extent and dioceses, 141.
- Norway conquered by Cnut, 307; regains its independence, 435; succession of the kings of, and brief notices of their acts, 436; Hasten and Siward reigning kings in when Malmesbury wrote his 'Gesta,' 437.
- Norwegian, singular courage of a, 386.
- Norwegians characterized, 533.
- O.
- Oaths, habitual, of Dunstan, 261; of the Conqueror, 459; of William Rufus, 493. 496. 500, note ¹. 503; of Henry I. 629; of Stephen, 711; of Roger bishop of Salisbury, 717.
- Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, separates Eadwy and Aelfgyfa, 234.
- Odo, archdeacon of Rheims, afterwards bishop of Ostia, afterwards Pope Urban II, 446; *see* Urban.
- Odo, brother of the Conqueror, made bishop of Baieux and earl of Kent by William, 456; becomes vice-regent of England on the death of William Fitz-Osborne, 457; amasses great treasures, and endeavours by bribery to gain the papal chair, *ib.*; great afflux to him of the military, in expectation of his going abroad, *ib.*; is in consequence imprisoned by William as 'earl of Kent,' and deprived of his treasures, *ib.*; is released at his brother's death, *ib.*; confirms Robert in the possession of Normandy, and returns to England, *ib.* 486; is restored to the earldom of Kent, 486; is dissatisfied at not being appointed to administer public affairs, *ib.*; forms a party in favour of Robert, 457. 486; plunders the royal treasures in Kent, wastes the lands of the archbishoprick, and carries his booty into Rochester, 487; is made prisoner in the castle of Pevensey, 489; is sent with some royalists to procure the surrender of Rochester, *ib.*; is rescued by his own party, and his companions are made prisoners, *ib.*; is again taken, and abjures the realm, 490; goes with Robert to the Holy Land, and dies during the siege of Antioch, 457.
- Offa of Essex goes to Rome with Coenraed, and receives the tonsure, 139.
- Offa of Mercia, ambiguous character of his reign, 118; overcomes Cynulf, 57. 118; entraps and kills Aethelberht of East Anglia, 118. 136; founds the monastery of St. Alban's, *ib.*; encroaches upon the jurisdiction of Canterbury, and converts Lichfield into an archiepiscopal see, 119; seizes the lands of many churches, *ib.*; gives his daughter to Beorhtric of Wessex, 127; friendly letter of Charlemagne to him, 128; said to have founded the English School at Rome, 153.
- Olaf, king of Norway, 307.
- Olaf or Olave, *see* Anlaf.
- Organ, hydraulic, account of, 276.
- Orkney, isles of, subdued by Magnus, 506.
- Orkney, Paul earl of, a subject of the king of Norway, sends frequent presents to King Henry I, 638.
- Orpwald, *see* Eorpwald.
- Osberht king of Northumbria, 178.
- Osberht, a patrician, 130.
- Osborne (precentor of Canterbury),

- author of a Life of St. Dunstan, 238 ; his skill in music, *ib.*
- Osecg a Danish king, slain at the battle of Aston, 177.
- Osfrid, ambassador from Harold king of Norway to Aethelstán, 215.
- Osraed of Northumbria, his sensuality, 80. 114 ; is slain by his kinsmen, 80.
- Osred of Northumbria expelled from his kingdom, 105.
- Osric of Deira, his apostacy, 70 ; is slain by Ceadwalla, *ib.*
- Osric of Northumbria, 80.
- Ostdriþa, or Ostgitha, sister of Ecgrifð of Northumbria, and wife of Aethelred, 73. 111.
- Osuuald, St. his flight to Scotland, 67 ; his return thence, and ascent of the Northumbrian throne, 70 ; routs and kills Ceadwalla, *ib.* ; acts as interpreter to Aidan, 71 ; his piety, 72 ; is slain by Penda, *ib.* ; his relics and miracles, 73. 360.
- Osuulf of Northumbria murdered, 104.
- Oswald chosen to succeed Aethelberht of Northumbria, 106, note ¹ ; and deposed, *ib.*
- Oswald, archbishop of York, discountenances the secular, and favours the regular clergy, 239.
- Oswine of Deira betrayed to Oswið, and slain, 75 ; his liberality and piety, 76.
- Oswið of Bernicia kills Oswine, 75, and obtains Deira, 76 ; his compunction, *ib.* ; slays Penda, *ib.* ; gains dominion over Mercia, *ib.*
- Oswy, *see* Oswið.
- Oth, son of Aesc, king of Kent, 16.
- Oth, brother of Hengest, and his son Ebusa, settle in Northumbria, 61.
- Otho the Great, 101.
- Otho, son of the emperor Otho, a pupil of Gerbert, 275.
- Ou, William de, failing to clear himself of treason by wager of battle, is mutilated and deprived of sight by order of William Rufus, 501.
- Oxford, councils at, 297. 716.
- P.
- Pallas, his body found at Rome, 357.
- Palling, a Danish nobleman, murdered, 289.
- Palms, the ensign of pilgrims, 580.
- Palumbus, priest of Rome, his skill in necromancy, 355 ; his strange death, 357.
- Paschal II, pope, his letter to Henry I. on the subject of investitures, 644 ; those to Archbishop Anselm, 646 ; his quarrel with the emperor Henry V. on the same subject, 655 ; is made prisoner by him, and compelled to surrender the disputed right, 656 ; receives the emperor's oath, 657, and administers to him the eucharist in testimony of reconciliation, 658 ; performs the ceremony of his coronation, 659 ; his grant to the emperor, *ib.* ; his profession of faith in the second Lateran council, 662 ; his grant to the emperor annulled by the council, *ib.* ; his death, 663.
- Paschasius, his story of the Host, 465.
- Patriarchs of Jerusalem, the succession of, 563.
- Patrick, St. said to have been buried at Glastonbury, 37.
- Paulinus, archbishop, 39 ; converts the Northumbrians, 68 ; driven from the see of York, and made bishop of Rochester, 93.
- Peada appointed to rule South Mercia, 108 ; betrayed by his wife, 109.
- Penda, 72-3 ; proclaims himself king of Mercia, 107 ; his incessant wars, *ib.* ; slays Eadwini and Osuuald of Northumbria, and Sigiberht, Egric, and Anna of East Anglia, *ib.* 135 ; expels Cynewealh of Wessex, 107 ; joins the British king Ceadwalla, 108 ; is vanquished and slain by Oswið, *ib.* 76 ; his children, 108.
- Perche, the Countess Le, (a natural daughter of Henry I, 653,) drowned with her brothers William and Richard in returning from Normandy, 654.
- Peter the Hermit sent by the Christians in Antioch to make terms with Kerboga, 558 ; the haughty conduct of the Turk, *ib.*
- Peterpenca, what, 152.
- Philip I. of France, 203. 319 ; makes peace with Robert le Frison, and receives his step-daughter in marriage, 432 ; repudiates her, and takes the wife of the count of Anjou, *ib.* ; is excommunicated by the pope, 632 ; divine offices suspended in the town where he dwelt,

- ib.* ; his irreverent ejaculation on hearing the bells ring on his departure, *ib.* ; is married to his mistress by the archbishop of Rouen, *ib.* ; his constant feuds with the Conqueror, 434 ; he is called by Robert of Normandy to assist him against William Rufus, 491 ; his opposition bought off by the gold of the latter, *ib.* ; takes the monastic habit at Fleury towards the close of his life, 632.
- Philip the Clerk, account of, 608.
- Plantagenet, Geoff. son of Foulques of Anjou, marries the empress Maud, 692 ; is visited by the earl of Gloucester, who requests his aid for the empress, 764 ; excuses himself, but sends his son Henry instead, 765.
- Pleigmund archbishop of Canterbury, 192.
- Poison, a test for, 601.
- Poitiers, earl of (William IV.), is forced by Geoffrey Martel to cede Bourdeaux and the adjacent towns, and to pay tribute for the rest of his possessions, 395.
- Poitiers, William VII. earl of, enters upon the Crusade, 591 ; arrives at Constantinople with a large army, 592 ; refuses homage to Alexius, 535. 592 ; is defeated with great slaughter by Solyman, 592 ; escapes to Antioch, and is hospitably received by Tancred, *ib.* ; keeps Easter at Jerusalem, and returns home, 593 ; gives himself up to all kinds of debauchery, 670 ; repudiates his own wife, and takes the wife of a certain viscount, 671, and note ¹ ; is excommunicated by the bishops of Angoulême and of Poitiers, *ib.* ; his irreverent answers to the prelates, *ib.* ; drives the bishop of Poitiers from his diocese, *ib.*
- Poitiers, Peter bishop of, excommunicates William of Poitiers for adultery, 671 ; is driven by him from his diocese, *ib.* ; metrical eulogy of the bishop, 672.
- Ponce succeeds his father Bertram in the government of Tripoli, and marries the widow of Tancred, 606.
- Pont de l'Arche, William de, (one of the keepers of the royal treasures,) on the death of Henry I, transfers his allegiance to King Stephen, 703.
- Porcupine, one at Woodstock described as a rarity, 638.
- Precedency, custom of, among the West Saxons, 169.
- Primacy of England, council to settle the dispute concerning, 474 ; extracts from ancient documents respecting, 472.
- Prodigy of the double woman, 358.
- Pyramids, ancient sepulchral, in the cemetery at Glastonbury, 35.
- Pythagoras, his double path, 271.

Q.

- Queen consort of the king of the West Saxons not allowed to sit on the throne, or to bear the title of Queen, 169.
- Quenburga, sister of Ini of Wessex, 49, *var. lect.*
- Quendrida assassinates her brother Cœnelm of Mercia, 132.
- Quicelm, *see* Cynegils.

R.

- Raegenald, son of Guthferth, 226.
- Ralph Flambard, *see* Flambard.
- Ralph, earl of Hereford, his cowardly conduct against the Welsh, 336.
- Ramula, description of, 560 ; besieged, 593.
- Ranulph, viscount of Baieux, one of the confederates against William of Normandy, 393 ; his defeat and submission, 394.
- Raymond (count of St. Giles and Thoulouse) receives Querci from his father, and increases his patrimony, 602 ; purchases Thoulouse from his brother, 603 ; his incontinent way of life, *ib.* ; marries his natural son Bertram to a niece of Matilda ' Marcisa,' *ib.* ; weds a daughter of the king of Taraçona, *ib.* ; in conjunction with the bishop of Cahors, urges Pope Urban to call the council at Clermont, *ib.* ; is the first layman who assumes the cross, and devotes the remainder of his life to the holy cause, 604 ; marches with Bishop Aimar at the head of the Goths, Gascons, and Pyrenean and Alpine mountaineers, 534 ; arrives at Constantinople, 535 ; refuses homage to Alexius, 536 ; is left in charge of Antioch during the great

- sortie made by the Franks, 559; is stationed opposite David's Tower at the siege of Jerusalem, 566; intercepts the fugitives from the city, and puts them to the sword, 568; accepts the surrender of five hundred Æthiops, and allows them to depart safely to Ascalon, *ib.*; receives the keys of Ascalon, on making oath not to deliver them to any other leader, 604; refuses them to the king of Jerusalem, *ib.* and returns them to the citizens, 605; leaves Jerusalem, and conquers Laodicea, *ib.*; while there, relieves the army of Baldwin on its march to Jerusalem, 578; returns to Constantino-ple, and cultivates the good graces of the emperor, 605; escapes, through his friendship, the misfortune of the earl of Poitiers, *ib.*; obtains the city of Tortosa, and makes a seven years' peace with the people of Tripoli, *ib.*; dies while preparing to proceed against them for an infraction of the truce, 606; his infant son sent home by the other chiefs, *ib.*
- Reading, Cluniac monastery founded at by Henry I, 643; great hospitality of the monks, *ib.*; Henry's body buried there, 705.
- Recula, sister of Aethelberht of Kent, 137.
- Redvers, Richard de, a supporter of Henry I, when deserted by his other nobles, 620.
- Redwald, *see* Reodwalde.
- Reginald, appointed earl of Cornwall by his brother, Robert earl of Gloucester, 732.
- Reiner, son of Reodwalde of East Anglia, slain by Aethelfrith of Northumbria, 67.
- Remarkable occurrences in the reign of the Conqueror, 452; in that of William Rufus, 504.
- Reodwalde of East Anglia, his extensive dominion, 134; slays Aethelfrith of Northumbria, *ib.*; his baptism and apostacy, *ib.*
- Rheims, archbishop of, 188.
- Richard, second son of the Conqueror, his premature death, 455.
- Richard, a natural son of Henry I, is drowned with Prince William in returning from Normandy, 654.
- Richard I. of Normandy, 269.
- Richard II. of Normandy, his great piety, 292; his adventure with the sacristan of Fescamp, 293; his successors, 294.
- Richelda, wife of Baldwin VI. earl of Flanders, 432.
- Riwal, brother of Griffin king of Wales, 385.
- Robert, king of France, a pupil of Gerbert, 275; his great charity to the poor, 317.
- Robert I. (of Normandy), father of the Conqueror, 304. 391; is said to have connived at his brother's death, 294; makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and leaves his son William in the guardianship of Count Gis-lebert, 392; dies in his return, and is buried at Nice in Bithynia, 295; his body removed thence by order of William, 460.
- Robert II. of Normandy, eldest son of the Conqueror, surnamed Curthorse — 'Curta Ocrea' — from his low stature, 607; refused Normandy by his father, 454. 607; endeavours to marry the daughter of an Italian marquess, 454; incites Philip of France against his father, *ib.*; wounds the latter in a battle near Gerborai, 434; loses England at his father's death, but obtains Normandy, 454; deprives Henry of his paternal legacy, and otherwise ill-treats him, 617; sends assistance to the rebels against William Rufus, 490; his duchy invaded by William, *ib.*; solicits aid from the king of France, *ib.*; makes peace with his brother on condition of his obtaining for him Maine, 491; they proceed together for that purpose, and are resisted by their brother Henry, *ib.*; they besiege Henry at Mount St. Michael, *ib.*; Robert's humanity to Henry during the extremities of the siege, 492; goes to England with both brothers on the restoration of peace, 493; mediates a peace between Malcolm and his brother William, 494; mortgages Normandy to William for 10,000 marks, 454. 500; goes on the Crusade with Robert of Flanders and Stephen of Blois, 536; mixed character of their followers, *ib.*; they meet Pope Urban at Lucca, *ib.* and

- receive his blessing, 545 ; arrive in Calabria, where Robert of Flanders leaves his associates, *ib.* ; they cross the sea in spring, and march to Constantinople, *ib.* ; their losses on the march, *ib.* ; they do homage to Alexius, and join the army before Nice, 550 ; Robert's division attacked on its march by Solyman, but rescued by Godfrey and his associates, 551 ; is one of the leaders in the sortie made from Antioch, 558, and kills the Turkish general Kerboga, 608 ; is present at the storming of Jerusalem, 568 ; forces the centre of the Turkish army in the battle of Ascalon, 571 ; refuses the crown of Jerusalem, 608 ; marries in Apulia as he returns home, 609 ; takes possession of his duchy, 454. 620 ; loses his wife while giving birth to his son William, 609 ; dissipates the sum given as her dowry, wherewith he was to have redeemed Normandy, *ib.* ; goes to England with the view of wresting the kingdom from Henry, *ib.* 621 ; is reconciled to his brother on his promise of a yearly pension of 3,000 marks, 609. 621 ; gives up his pension to the queen in the following year, 610. 621 ; becomes despised by the Normans for his easy disposition, 610 ; omits, through fear, to repress the disorders of the earl of Mortain and Robert de Belesme, 624 ; is summoned to England by Henry, and reproved for his indolence, *ib.* ; is despoiled by him of the greater part of Normandy, 610 ; is denied aid by the king of France and the earl of Flanders, 611 ; stakes his fortune on a battle, and is defeated and made prisoner at Tinchebrai, *ib.* 625 ; is committed to honourable custody for life by his brother Henry, 611.
- Robert of Jumiéges invited to England by the Confessor, 334 ; becomes archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.* ; his conduct oppositely described by historians, 335 ; anticipates his banishment, and appeals to Rome, 340 ; dies at Jumiéges on his return, *ib.*
- Robert, bishop of Chester, seizes the rich monastery at Coventry, 520, and removes his see thither, 517 ;
- plunders that church, and allows the roof to go to ruin, 521 ; reduces the diet of the monks, allows them to relax their rule, and confines their reading to the vulgar literature, *ib.* ; violates the canons by ordering his body to be buried at Coventry, instead of at his proper see, *ib.*
- Robert, comte d'Aux, 399.
- Robert earl of Mortain, brother of the Conqueror, his dulness of intellect, 456.
- Robert of Flanders (son of Robert le Frison) goes on the Crusade with Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois, 536 ; leaves his companions in Calabria, 545 ; refuses homage to Alexius, 550 ; is one of the leaders in the great sortie from Antioch, 558 ; is present at the taking of Jerusalem, 568 ; is slain in a tournament on his return, 433.
- Robert, son of Godwin, goes with Eadgar Aetheling to the Holy Land, 425 ; arrives there during the siege of Rama, *ib.* ; cuts a passage through the besiegers, and rescues King Baldwin, *ib.* ; is overpowered, and led in chains to Babylon, *ib.* ; refuses to renounce his faith, and is shot with arrows in the marketplace, *ib.*
- Roger, bp. of Salisbury, *see* Salisbury.
- Roger, son of Richard, succeeds Tancred as prince of Antioch, 601 ; is taken prisoner by the Turks, *ib.* ; strikes off the head of their leader, on his approaching to receive his sword, *ib.* ; is put to death by the bystanders, *ib.*
- Roger, son of Robert Guiscard, called 'Marsupium' by his father on account of his love of money, 598 ; receives Apulia from his father, 439. 598.
- Rolland, the song of, sung by William the Conqueror at the battle of Hastings, 415.
- Rollo the Northman, 166 ; his defeat at Chartres, 199 ; conquers Rouen and the adjacent towns, 200 ; is baptized, and obtains a footing in Normandy, *ib.* ; his indecorous conduct to the French king, 201.
- Romans assist the Britons, and finally quit the island, 7, 8 ; their mode of expression, 44.

- Rome, English School at, 152 ; mission to, 187 ; description of, 537 ; confined limits of the modern city, and wretched character of its inhabitants, *ib.* ; verses of Bishop Hilbert in its praise, *ib.* ; enumeration of its gates, and of the churches and saints lying in the vicinity of each, 539-544.
- Ross in Wales, Flemings settled at, 628.
- Rouen, Hugh archbishop of, raised to that dignity by Henry I, 701 ; attends the deathbed of the king, *ib.* ; his epistle to Pope Innocent, describing his religious end, *ib.* ; gives his hand to the earl of Gloucester as a pledge for the good faith of King Stephen, 710 ; excuses the king's conduct in seizing the castles of the bishops, 718 ; comes to England, and defends him before the council at Winchester, 723.
- Rouen, William archbishop of, marries Philip of France to his mistress the countess of Anjou, 632 ; is in consequence suspended for many years, *ib.* ; is restored through the influence of Archbishop Anselm, *ib.*
- S.
- Saeberht of Essex embraces Christianity, 137.
- St. David's, Bernard bishop of, a long-pending suit between him and Bishop Urban of Llandaff decided in his favour on the death of the latter, 699.
- St. Pancras at Lewes, Lanzo prior of, raises the character of his monastery, 674 ; minute account of his last illness and death, 675.
- Saints, Anglo-Saxon, particular notices of :
 Wihthburg, Aelfheah, and Cuthbert, 359.
 Oswald, king and martyr, 70-74. 360.
 Aethelred or Elberht, and Aegelberht, 361.
 Aethelberht, 362.
 Cœnelm, 363.
 Wistan, 364.
 Eadmund, king and martyr, 359. 364.
 Etheldrith, 359. 368 ; Ethelburh, Sexburh, Ercongota, Ermenhilda, and Werburh, 368.
- Mildritha and Milburga, 369.
 Eadburh, 370.
 Edgitha, 371.
- Saints, enumeration of, whose bodies lie at Rome, 539-544 ; of those buried at Constantinople, 550.
- Salisbury, Roger bishop of, (a privy councillor of Henry I.) was manager of the king's affairs before he came to the throne, 636 ; is from his diligence in his diocese appointed administrator of the kingdom, *ib.* ; refuses to undertake the office, until commanded by the archbishop and the pope, *ib.* ; his honest execution of his office during the king's long absences in Normandy, *ib.* ; his munificence and taste in ecclesiastical structures, *ib.* ; takes an oath to admit the succession of the empress Maud, 692 ; was heard frequently by Malmesbury to say, that he was released from his oath through an infraction of its conditions by the king, *ib.* ; transfers his allegiance to King Stephen, 703 ; is present at his coronation, 704 ; fortifies and builds castles, 715 ; jealousy of the nobles, who complain of him to the king, 716 ; fatal affray at Oxford between him and his nephew's servants and those of Alan earl of Brittany, 717 ; is forced by Stephen to surrender his castles, as a satisfaction for the infraction of his peace, *ib.* ; charges made against him in the council at Winchester by Aubrey de Vere, 721 ; his reply, 722 ; his death, 727 ; recapitulation of his principal acts, especially of his invasions of monastic property, *ib.*
- Salisbury, dreadful tempest at, 505 ; church rebuilt, 637.
- Saracens, their learning and divination, 271. 273 ; defeat of, near Ascalon, 589.
- Saxons invited over from Germany, 9 ; arrival of in Britain, 10 ; settle in the Isle of Thanet, 11 ; repulse the Scots, *ib.* ; arrival of in Northumbria, 60.
- Saxons, East, kingdom of, 137-139 ; its extent, 141.
- Saxons, West, kingdom of, 25-60 ; its extent, 140.
- School, English, at Rome, 220 ; said to have been founded by Offa

- of Mercia, 153; burnt down, 152; repaired by Aethelulf, *ib.*
- Schools instituted in East Anglia, 135.
- Scotland subdued by Cnut, 308.
- Scots defeated by the Angles, 11; characterized, 633; civilized by King David, 627.
- Scotus, Marianus, account of, 470.
- Scottus, *see* Johannes.
- Sea-flood, a great, 297.
- Seaxred and Sigeward of Essex expelled Mellitus, 137; are slain by the West-Saxons, 138.
- Sebbi, *see* Sigheri.
- Sebert, *see* Sæberht.
- Selraed, or Suaebrht, of Essex [*read* East Anglia], 139.
- Selsey, monastery of, anciently an episcopal see, 140; singular circumstance at, 361.
- Sergius, pope, baptizes Caedwalla of Wessex, 47; his letter to Abbot Ceolfrith, 86.
- Serlo, abbot, *see* Gloucester.
- Seven Sleepers, story of, 378.
- Severus dies in Britain, 5; his wall, 6.
- Sexburh of Wessex, her vigorous reign, 45.
- Sexburh, daughter of Anna of East Anglia, and wife of Earconberht of Kent, 368.
- Shaftesbury, sanctity and affability of the nuns of, 261.
- Ship, a magnificent one presented to Aethelstán, 215.
- Shoes with curved points, 498.
- Sidonius, bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, 183.
- Sigebert, *see* Sigiberht.
- Sigeferth, a noble Dane, put to death by King Aethelred, 297; his widow married by Eadmund Ironside, 298.
- Sigehard and Suaebræd reign jointly in Essex, 139.
- Sigeric, or Siríc, archbishop of Canterbury, advises buying off the Danes, 263.
- Sigeward, *see* Seaxred.
- Sighelm sent on an embassy to Rome and to St. Thomas in India, 187.
- Sigheri and Sebbi reign jointly in Essex, 138; Sebbi, on the death of his associate, abdicates, and becomes a monk, *ib.*
- Sigiberht of East Anglia, his exile and education in France, 134; establishes schools, 135; abdicates, and becomes a monk, *ib.*; is slain by Penda, 107. 135.
- Sigiberht of Essex (the Little), 138.
- Sigiberht II. (the Good) restores Christianity in Essex, 138; is slain by his neighbours, *ib.*
- Sigiberht of Wessex, his cruelty and indolence, 56; expelled the kingdom, 57; stabbed by a swineherd, *ib.*
- Sihtric of Northumbria marries a sister of King Aethelstán, 197. 206. 212; his death, 206.
- Simony, its extensive spread, 523.
- Siward, abbot of Abingdon, 333.
- Siward, earl, slays Macbeoth of Scotland, 330; raises Malcolm of Cumbria to the throne in his stead, *ib.*; is present in a council at Gloucester, 338.
- Siward, one of the reigning kings of Norway when Malmesbury wrote his 'Gesta,' 437; winters in England on his way to the Holy Land, and is lavish in his donations to the churches, 639; overawes the Balearic Isles on his way, *ib.*; loses one ship on the passage, *ib.*; arrives at Jerusalem, and subdues Tyre and Sidon, *ib.*; goes to Constantinople, and places an ornamented ship as a trophy on the top of the church of St. Sophia, 640; on a great mortality among his men, orders wine to be drunk sparingly, and diluted with water, *ib.*; adopts this precaution from observing the result of an experiment performed with it upon a pig's liver, which was confirmed by a dissection of a human body, *ib.*; his device to escape from the emperor, who wished to detain him, *ib.*
- Slaves, female, prostituted and sent to Denmark, 342; custom of selling, 418.
- Sleda, king of Essex, 137.
- Solyman, governor of Romania, routs a division of the Crusaders under Robert of Normandy, 551; destroys the army of William of Poitiers, and kills Hugh the Great, 592.
- Sow (the Vinea of the ancients), a machine used to protect a mining party, described, 566.
- Spear of Charlemagne, said to have been that of the centurion who

- pierced the side of Jesus Christ, 217.
- Standford Bridge, battle of, 386 ; gallant conduct of one of the invaders, *ib.*
- Statue in Campus Martius, 277.
- Statue, brazen, at Rome, 354.
- Steam, early application of the powers of, 276.
- Stephen (king), earl of Mortain and Boulogne, and nephew of Henry I, married to Matilda, only child of Eustace of Boulogne, 750 ; takes an oath of fealty to the empress Maud, 692 ; arrives in England shortly after the death of Henry, 703 ; is received as king by the people of London and Winchester, *ib.* ; gains over the keepers of the royal treasures, through the influence of his brother, Henry bishop of Winchester, *ib.* ; is crowned in the presence of but three bishops and a small portion of the nobility, 704 ; great afflux to him of military on account of his prodigality, 706 ; receives the conditional homage of the earl of Gloucester and of the clergy, 707 ; his oath to restore and preserve the liberties of the church, *ib.* ; the bishop of Winchester becomes his surety, 704 ; he breaks his oath in almost every particular, 709 ; goes to Normandy at the beginning of Lent, and is followed thither by the earl of Gloucester on Easter-day, 710 ; is induced by William d'Ipre to lay snares for the earl, *ib.* ; on the earl's avoiding the court, the king, in confusion, makes oath never again to be guilty of such an act, *ib.* ; he dissembles before the earl, but betrays him in his absence, *ib.* ; returns to England, and encounters many tumults, 711 ; purchases peace by bestowing possessions and creating dignities, 712 ; receives a message from the earl of Gloucester, revoking his homage, *ib.* ; his violence towards suspected persons, 715 ; receives complaints from the nobles against the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln for fortifying their castles, 716 ; takes advantage of an affray between their servants and those of Alan earl of Brittany, and compels them to surrender the keys of their fortresses, 717 ; conflicting opinions as to his conduct on this occasion, 718 ; he is summoned to defend himself before an ecclesiastical council at Winchester, 719 ; sends messengers thither to demand the reason of his summons, 720 ; his defence conducted by Aubrey de Vere, 721 ; procures the council to be adjourned until the arrival of the archbishop of Rouen, 722 ; threatens such of the prelates as should appeal to Rome, and overawes the council, 723 ; promises, at the supplication of his brother and the archbishop of Canterbury, that he will be merciful to the church, 724 ; on the arrival of the empress to assert her claims, gives her a safe-conduct to rejoin her brother, 725 ; seizes the castle of Malmesbury and a small fortress at Cerne, but fails in the siege of Trowbridge, 726 ; makes a fruitless attempt to relieve Hereford, scours the neighbourhood of Bristol, and lays waste the country around Dunster, *ib.* ; restores their privileges to those monasteries which had been deprived of them by the bishop of Salisbury, 730 ; dreadful ravages committed by his soldiers throughout the land, *ib.* ; distress from dearth of provisions and depreciation of the currency, 732 ; has a conference with the empress, but refuses to submit his claims to the decision of the church, 735 ; enters Lincoln, on the invitation of the citizens, and besieges the wife and brother of the earl of Chester in the castle, 739 ; arrival of the earl of Gloucester to their relief, who routs the besiegers, and makes the king a prisoner, 741 ; he is presented to the empress, 742 ; is taken to Bristol, and at first kept in honourable custody, but afterwards put into irons, *ib.* ; allows the archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates to make their submission to the empress, 744 ; he is exchanged for the earl of Gloucester, on his capture by the royalists, 754 ; enters the council at Westminster, and complains to the assembly of his previous ill-treatment, 755 ; the excuses of the legate, who commands all men to obey the king, *ib.* ; the king burns Wareham, and

- seizes the castle there, 766 ; burns also the city of Oxford, and besieges the empress in the castle, *ib.* ; on her escape from the place, he receives the submission of the garrison, and permits them to return home, 769.
- Stephen, earl of Blois, marries a daughter of the Conqueror, 456 ; goes to the Holy Land with Robert of Normandy, 536 ; returns home, 571 ; goes again, with the earl of Poitiers, 592 ; falls in the battle near Ramula, 593. 633.
- Stephen, earl of Burgundy, accompanies the earl of Poitiers in his expedition to the Holy Land, 592 ; falls in the unfortunate battle at Ramula, 593.
- Stephen, abbot of Cisteaux, *see* Harding.
- Stigand obtrudes himself unjustly upon the see of Canterbury, and continues to retain with it his see of Winchester, 340 ; bribes the anti-pope Benedict to send him a pall, 341 ; is degraded, and confined for life, *ib.* 449 ; his insatiable avarice, *ib.* ; laughs at the prophecy of the Confessor, 381.
- Stone, courses of, laid with singular correctness, 637.
- Streneshalh, or Streaneshalch (Whitby), Hilda and Ethelfleda abbesses of, 77.
- Suaebraed, *see* Sigehard.
- Sugar-cane (cannamel) chewed by the Crusaders to appease their hunger on their march to Jerusalem, 579.
- Sultan, meaning of, 555.
- Sussex, once a kingdom, 140.
- Sweyn of Denmark, his arrival at Sandwich, 289 ; his successful progress, *ib.* ; repulsed from London, 290 ; plunders the whole country, 295 ; his death, *ib.*
- Sweyn II. of Denmark expelled by Magnus of Norway, 435 ; returns with a foreign army, *ib.* ; suffers a great defeat, 436 ; recovers his kingdom on the death of Magnus, *ib.* ; sends fleets twice to invade England, 437 ; banishes his leaders for having been bribed by William I, *ib.*
- Sweyn, son of Godwin, banished to Flanders, 339 ; becomes a pirate, 342 ; is said, through compunction for the murder of his cousin Beorn, to have made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and to have been killed by the Saracens in his return, *ib.*
- Switehelm, *see* Suuithhelm.
- Suuithelm of Essex baptized by Cedd, 138.
- Suuithraed of Essex expelled by Egeberht, 139.
- Swithune, (St.) bishop of Winchester, an adviser of King Aethelulf, 151.
- Sword of Constantine the Great, 217.
- Sylvester II. *see* Legends.

T.

- Tancred, nephew of Bohemond I, leaves the army with a few companions, and visits Bethlehem, 560 ; they are attacked on their way to Jerusalem, and put their assailants to flight, 561 ; on the capture of the city, takes some valuables from Solomon's Temple, but repents, and makes restitution, 569 ; his eulogy, 571 ; obtains Laodicea on the departure of Raymond, 605 ; governs Antioch during the captivity of his uncle, 581 ; affords a refuge to the earl of Poitiers, 592 ; restores Antioch to his uncle, 600 ; marries a French princess, *ib.* ; succeeds his uncle as prince of Antioch, 601 ; his death, *ib.*
- Tewkesbury, monastery of, 625.
- Thanet, Isle of, appropriated to the Angles on their arrival, 11 ; a portion of granted for the purpose of building a monastery, 22.
- Theobald, count of Blois, compelled by Geoffrey Martel to renounce for ever the city of Tours, 395.
- Theodore, archbishop, arrives in England, 21 ; his learned character and labours, *ib.* ; his death, 41.
- Theodred, bishop of London, 366.
- Thetford, bishoprick of, translated to Norwich, 517.
- Thomas, archbishop of York, 476.
- Thorns, crown of, a part of presented to King Aethelstan, 217.
- Tidferht, bishop of Dunwich, 119.
- Time, division of by candle, 192.
- Tirel, Walter, one of the attendants of William Rufus to his last chase, 508 ; accidentally kills the king with an arrow, aimed at a passing

- stag, 509; mounts his horse, and effects his escape, *ib.*
- Tosti, son of Godwin, made earl of Northumbria, 343; expelled by the inhabitants, *ib.*; passes over into Flanders, *ib.*; returns to the Humber, and ravages the coast, 386; is repulsed by Earls Eadwin and Morcar, *ib.*; joins Harald Harfagra, and is slain with him at the battle of Standford Bridge, *ib.*; his body recognised by a wart between the shoulders, and buried at York, 426.
- Truce of God, 525.
- Tudites, or Martel, Charles, 98; his body carried off by evil spirits, 354.
- Turcil, or Turkill, the Dane, invites Sweyn of Denmark to England, 288; his expulsion and death, 305.
- Turfrith, his escape from the power of Aethelstán, 213; is drowned at sea, *ib.*
- Turks, their mode of fighting and natural temperament contrasted with those of Europeans, 529. 555; their mild rule over native Christians in the time of the monk Bernard, 563; their practice of swallowing money to escape the rapacity of the Franks, and expedients of the latter to cause its reproduction, 589 and note.
- U.
- Uhtred earl of Northumbria, 290. 299; defeated and put to death by Cnut, *ib.*
- Ulf, king of Sweden, 307.
- Ulfcytel, or Ulkill, earl of East Anglia, his bravery against the Danes, 267; falls at the battle of Ashdown, 302.
- Urban II, pope, 446; instigates the first Crusade, 522; his speech at the council of Clermont, 527; *see* Odo.
- V.
- Vallery, St. his body carried in procession to obtain a favourable wind, 411.
- Vandals, 10.
- Vere, Aubrey de, pleads the cause of King Stephen in the council at Winchester, and accuses the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, 721; reply of the bishop of Salisbury, 722.
- Victor, pope, falls dead at his first mass, the chalice (if it may be believed) being poisoned, 446.
- Vindelici, account of, 322.
- Virgin Mary, her shift brought from Constantinople, displayed as a banner, 199.
- Virginity, Aldhelm's commendation of, 44. 49 *var. lect.* 546.
- Visions: of Charles le Gros king of France, 160—166; of Aethelstán's mother, 222; of Eadgar, 248; of Eadward the Confessor, 377; of Constantine the Great, 546.
- Vortigern, *see* Wyrteorne.
- Vortimer, *see* Wortemer.
- W.
- Waher, or Guaders, *see* Guader.
- Wales pays tribute to Aethelstán, 214; reduced to a province, 330-1.
- Walkelin succeeds Stigand in the diocese of Winchester, 449; his good character, 450.
- Walker, prior of Malvern, 471.
- Walkerius, bishop of Durham and 'custos' of the county, 451; murdered by the Northumbrians for the oppressions of his officers, 452; his martyrdom foretold by the relict of the Confessor, *ib.*
- Waltheof, earl, (son of Siward,) one of the confederates at York against the Conqueror, 422; kills with his own hand many Normans in the battle there, 427; is, for his great strength, surnamed 'Digera,' *ib.*; surrenders to William on the destruction of his party, *ib.*; receives his niece Judith in marriage, and is admitted to his private friendship, *ib.*; joins in the conspiracy of Ralph de Guader, 428; is said to have gone to Normandy, and to have revealed it to the king, 430; is beheaded, after a long imprisonment, 428.
- Walwen, nephew of King Arthur, expelled, after a severe struggle, by Hengest and Hors, 466; discovery of his sepulchre in the time of the Conqueror, *ib.*
- Warwick, Henry earl of, a chief promoter of the election of Henry I. as king, 619; adheres to him when deserted by his other nobles, 620; his mild and peaceful character, 635.

- Wells, bishoprick of, translated to Bath, 517.
- Welsh subdued by Eadweard the Elder, 195; their kings, Dufnal, Giferth, Huual, Jacob, Judthil, row King Eadgar on the river Dee, 236; their kings Rees and Griffin subdued by Harold, 330. 385; the Welsh conquered by Henry I, 628; characterized, 533.
- Werburh, St. daughter of Wulfheri of Mercia, 110. 368.
- Werefrith, bishop of Worcester, translates Gregory's 'Dialogues' at the command of King Alfred, 189.
- Werenberht, bishop of Leicester, 119.
- Wessex, rise of the kingdom of, 25; its extent and bishopricks, 140; custom of precedency there, 169; genealogy of the kings of, 172.
- Whitby monastery anciently called Streneshalh, 77.
- Wibba, father of Penda of Mercia, 107.
- Wight, Isle of, given to Wihthgar, 26; converted to Christianity, 109.
- Wiglaf of Mercia is vanquished by Eogerht, and pays him tribute, 132. 148.
- Wihthburg, daughter of Anna of East Anglia, 359.
- Wihthgar, his honourable reign in the Isle of Wight, 27.
- Wihtraed of Kent restores peace to the kingdom, 23; his character and death, *ib.*
- Wilfrith, bishop of Hexham, 76; expelled from his see, 78.
- Wilfrith, *see* Werefrith.
- William of Normandy (son of Rollo), account of his assassination, 229.
- William duke of Normandy, afterwards king of England, (the Conqueror), opposite statements of his character by Norman and Saxon writers, 389; his birth, 391; is left by his father to the care of Count Gislebert, under the supervision of Henry I. of France, 392; troubles in Normandy on the news of his father's death, *ib.*; is knighted by the French king, who restores order in the duchy, 393; returns the favour by assisting him against Geoffrey Martel, 394; on the seizure, by Geoffrey, of his castle of Alençon, retaliates by seizing Domfront, 396; recovers Alençon, 397; suppresses the rebellion of his uncle the count of Arques, *ib.*; on a rupture with the king of France, gains the battle of Mortemer, and obtains peace, 399; is appointed by the Confessor his successor on the English throne, 382; orders the release of Harold from captivity, and receives him honourably, 384; takes him with him on his successful expedition against Brittany, *ib.*; receives his oath to assist him in the English succession, and accepts him as his son-in-law, *ib.*; on the death of Eadward asserts his claim, and expostulates in vain with Harold, 408; prepares for invasion, 409; refers his claim to the pope, and receives a consecrated banner, 410; arrives in England, 411; his fall on landing converted into a happy omen, *ib.*; his generous conduct to the spies of Harold, 412; his overtures rejected by the latter, 413; gains the battle of Hastings, 416; his conduct in the same, *ib.*; sends the body of Harold to his mother, 420; enters London in triumph, and is crowned by the archbishop of York, 421; reduces Exeter, *ib.*; destroys York, and desolates the surrounding country, 422; his liberality to Eadgar Aetheling, 425; his policy towards the disaffected English, *ib.*; his frequent pardons to Eadwin and Morcar, and sorrow at the news of their death, 427; is reconciled to Earl Waltheof, and gives him his niece Judith in marriage, *ib.*; orders the execution of the earl for treason, 428; increases in severity towards the English, *ib.*; repels an invasion of English exiles by means of an English army, *ib.*; deposes many native ecclesiastics, and commands that no more Englishmen shall be promoted, 429; blames William Fitz-Osborne for his military extravagance, 431; his duchy plundered by Robert le Frison, 432; retaliates by assisting Baldwin against his uncle Robert, 433; renders the Welsh tributary, *ib.*; sends an English expedition against Maine, *ib.*; suffers a great loss in Brittany, 434; refuses Normandy to his son Robert, 454. 607; his sarcasm on 'Robelinus,'

- 607; his feuds with King Philip, who is assisted by Robert, 434; is wounded in battle by Robert, *ib.*; takes a great census of the population, *ib.*; defeats two Danish invasions by bribing the leaders, 437; numbers Hugh the Great among his foreign mercenaries, 439; his private life and domestic habits, 446; St. Stephen's at Caen, and Battle abbey, founded by him, *ib.*; reason assigned for his foundation of the former, 448; allows the deposition of Stigand, 449; his respect for Lanfrank and Bishop Wulstan, 450; slanderous impugnement of his chastity, 453; coolness between him and the queen for her partiality to Robert, *ib.*; his great grief on her death, *ib.*; causes the relict of the Confessor to be magnificently interred, 454; his sons, *ib.*; his daughters, 455; orders the body of his father to be brought from Nice, 456; marries his mother to Herlouin de Comteville, *ib.*; his brothers by that marriage, *ib.*; imprisons Bishop Odo as 'earl of Kent,' and seizes his immense treasures, 457; his liberality to foreigners, *ib.*; impoverishes England by gifts of lands to Norman monasteries, *ib.*; description of his person, 458; his great state on the principal festivals, *ib.*; his love of money, *ib.*; coarse jest of King Philip respecting his obesity, 459; his bitter retort, and prompt vengeance, *ib.*; his last illness, 460; his testament and death, *ib.*; his burial at Caen interdicted by a claimant of the ground, 461; the claim satisfied by his son Henry, *ib.*; large alms given by Rufus on the occasion of his death, *ib.*.
- William II. (Rufus), born in Normandy before the Conquest, 485; his education, *ib.*; his military ardour, *ib.*; receives the kingdom from his dying father, and departs immediately to take possession of it, 486; is favourably received, and crowned by Lanfrank, *ib.*; releases his uncle Odo, and restores to him his earldom of Kent, *ib.*; a rebellion of the nobles excited against him by Odo, 487; calls the English to his aid, and promises a redress of their grievances, 488; withdraws Roger de Montgomery from the conspiracy by his subtle argument, *ib.*; takes Odo's castles of Tunbridge and Pevensey, and makes him prisoner in the latter, 489; sends a party with him to receive the surrender of Rochester, *ib.*; Odo rescued by the garrison, and the royalists captured, *ib.*; William besieges the place with an English force, *ib.*; takes it, and suppresses the rebellion, 490; succour sent from Normandy to the rebels intercepted and destroyed by his officers, *ib.*; he invades Normandy, and obtains some places through bribery, *ib.*; peace restored between the brothers on condition that William shall obtain Maine for Robert, 491; they proceed together for that purpose, *ib.*; are resisted by their brother Henry, whom they besiege at Mount St. Michael, *ib.*; instances of the king's magnanimity, *ib.* 502; reproves Robert for his ill-timed humanity, 493; makes peace, and returns to England with his brothers, *ib.*; is unfortunate in his expeditions against the Welsh and Scotch, *ib.*; his ill success ascribed to the character of the climate and the soil, *ib.*; peace restored with Malcolm through the mediation of Robert, 494; knights Duncan, a natural son of Malcolm, and makes him king at his father's death, 627; on the murder of Duncan by his uncle Donald, appoints Edgar king, *ib.*; close connection of William's virtues with his vices, 495; his haughtiness in public, and affability in private, *ib.*; an amusing instance of his prodigality, 496; extortions of Ralph Flanbard to supply his extravagance, 497; consequent prevalence of simony, impunity of rich offenders, and deprivation of the public morals, *ib.*; the Jews of London encouraged by him to hold a controversy with the bishops, 500; Robert mortgages Normandy to him for 10,000 marks, which he raises by a heavy tax on England, *ib.*; his answer to the complaints of the clergy, 501; severity of his forest laws, *ib.*; his severe punish-

- ment of some insurgent nobles, *ib* ; builds a large and sumptuous house in London, 504 ; minute description of his person, *ib* ; remarkable occurrences in his reign, *ib* ; prodigies preceding his death, 506 ; is persuaded by his friends against going to the forest, 508 ; changes his determination, and is accidentally shot with an arrow by Walter Tirel, 509 ; his body carried in a cart to Winchester, and buried in the cathedral, *ib* ; recapitulation of his character, 510.
- William, prince, son of King Henry I. by Matilda, 651 ; receives, when scarcely twelve years of age, the fealty of all the 'liberi homines' of England and Normandy, 652 ; marries a daughter of Foulques of Anjou, 634, and receives Maine as her dowry, 652 ; current opinion that the prophecy of the Confessor (381) would be fulfilled in his person, 652 ; does homage to Louis VI. for the duchy of Normandy, 634. 652 ; detailed account of the shipwreck in which he lost his life, 653.
- William, son of Robert II. of Normandy, his birth, 609 ; is supported by Baldwin of Flanders against his uncle Henry I, 623 ; marries a daughter of Foulques of Anjou, 654 ; the marriage dissolved through the influence of King Henry, 690 ; becomes earl of Flanders, *ib*.
- William, eldest son of Robert earl of Gloucester, is a hostage for Stephen's queen on his father's liberation from captivity, 754 ; is governor of his father's castle at Wareham, 765 ; the town burnt, and the castle taken by the king, 766 ; the place retaken by the earl of Gloucester, 768.
- William comte d'Arques, *see* Arques.
- Winchelcumb, dreadful tempest at, 504.
- Winchester, Henry bishop of, (brother of King Stephen,) espouses his brother's cause, and becomes a surety for him that he will restore and preserve the liberties of the church, 703 ; is present at his coronation, 704 ; is appointed legate by the pope, 719 ; reproves the king for seizing the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, and taking from them their castles, and summons him to defend his conduct in a council at Winchester, *ib* ; the legate's opening speech before the council, *ib* ; his reply to the nobles, sent to demand why the king was summoned, 720 ; he gives his opinion that the bishops must be re-invested with their property before they can lawfully plead, 722 ; on the dissolution of the council through the threats of the king, he endeavours to restore him to good-will towards the church, 724 ; conveys the empress to the earl of Gloucester under a safe-conduct from the king, 725 ; his fruitless endeavours to restore peace between his brother and the empress, 734 ; accepts the empress as liege lady on her making oath to respect the liberties of the church, 743 ; conducts her in solemn procession into the cathedral of Winchester, 744 ; calls a great council of the clergy at Winchester to confirm the election of the empress, *ib* ; his speech on the occasion, 746 ; requests the council to await the arrival of the men of London, 747 ; his reply to the request of the Londoners for the liberation of the king, *ib* ; refuses to allow a paper sent by Stephen's queen to be publicly read, 748 ; his reply to it when pertinaciously read by her messenger, *ib* ; excommunication of many royalists, especially of William Martel, who had greatly exasperated the legate, *ib* ; the legate breaks with the empress, in consequence of her refusing to allow Mortain and Boulogne to Eustace during the captivity of his father the king, 750 ; he visits Stephen's queen at Guildford, and absolves the excommunicated royalists, *ib* ; goes strongly attended to a conference with the empress at Winchester, 751 ; Andover, Hide monastery, and Warewell abbey burnt by his party, 752 ; swears to become a voluntary prisoner to the empress, if the king should refuse to liberate the earl of Gloucester, 761 ; on the liberation of the king, calls a council at Westminster, in which he excuses his former conduct towards

- him, and commands all men to obey him, 755; his great coolness when reproached by an adherent of the empress, 756.
- Winchester, Godfrey prior of, his learning and piety, 678; is the author of many books and familiar epistles, *ib.*; causes divine service to be more orderly performed, and sets an example of hospitality and humility, *ib.*; is bed-ridden for many years before his death, 679.
- Winchester, council respecting the secular clergy held at, 257; another to decide the controversy between King Stephen and the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, 719; a third, to confirm the reception of the empress as queen of England, 744.
- Winchester, church at, 31; Cnut's liberality to, 307.
- Winchester, city of, plundered by the Danes, 174.
- Window-glass, introduction of into England, 82.
- Wini, bishop, his simony in purchasing the see of London, 109.
- Wistan, St. son of Wimund, son of Wiglaf of Mercia, 364.
- Witch of Berkeley, 251.
- Witches, two, at Rome, 282.
- Withlaf, *see* Wiglaf.
- Wlfheard, bishop of Hereford, 119.
- Woden, account of, 11; his sons, 62.
- Wolves' heads, tribute of, paid to Eadgar, 251.
- Woodstock, the menagerie of King Henry at, 638.
- Worcester, insurrection at, 320.
- Worgrez, abbot of Glastonbury, 40.
- Wortemer, his conflicts with the Saxons, 13; his death, 14.
- Wulfheri of Mercia, his labours in the cause of Christianity, 109; takes the Isle of Wight from Wessex, and gives it to Aethilwealh of Sussex, *ib.*; sells the see of London to Wini, *ib.*; his family, 110.
- Wulnoth destroys Aethelred's fleet, 266.
- Wulnoth, son of Godwin, his captivity in Normandy, 342; sent back to England, and confined at Salisbury, *ib.*
- Wulpher, *see* Wulfheri.
- Wulstan, archbishop of York, confined by Eadred, 232.
- Wulstan, precentor of Winton, author of a Life of Bishop Aethelwold, 239, and of a book on the Harmony of Sounds, *ib.*
- Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, present in a council held respecting the primacy, 477; prevents the council from postponing the performance of religious service, 480; his speech through an interpreter favourably received, 481; his influence with the Conqueror, 450; repulses Roger de Montgomery from before Worcester, 488.
- Wyrtegeorne, his character, 8; marries the daughter of Hengeat, 12; treacherously seized at a banquet, 15; gives three provinces for his redemption, *ib.*

Y.

Yorick, *see* Eohric.

York, Gerard archbishop of, excommunicated by Pope Paschal for misrepresenting his expressions on the question of investitures, 646; is restored on the intercession of King Henry, 648.

York burnt by the Danes, 178; the castle levelled by Aethelstan, 213; destroyed, 422.

York, *see* of, its controversy with Canterbury, 471; with Worcester and Dorchester, 480.

Youths from England exposed to sale at Rome, 63.

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