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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI  
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

R 8915.





**THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS**  
OF  
**GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND**  
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER  
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

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ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,*  
*December 1857.*

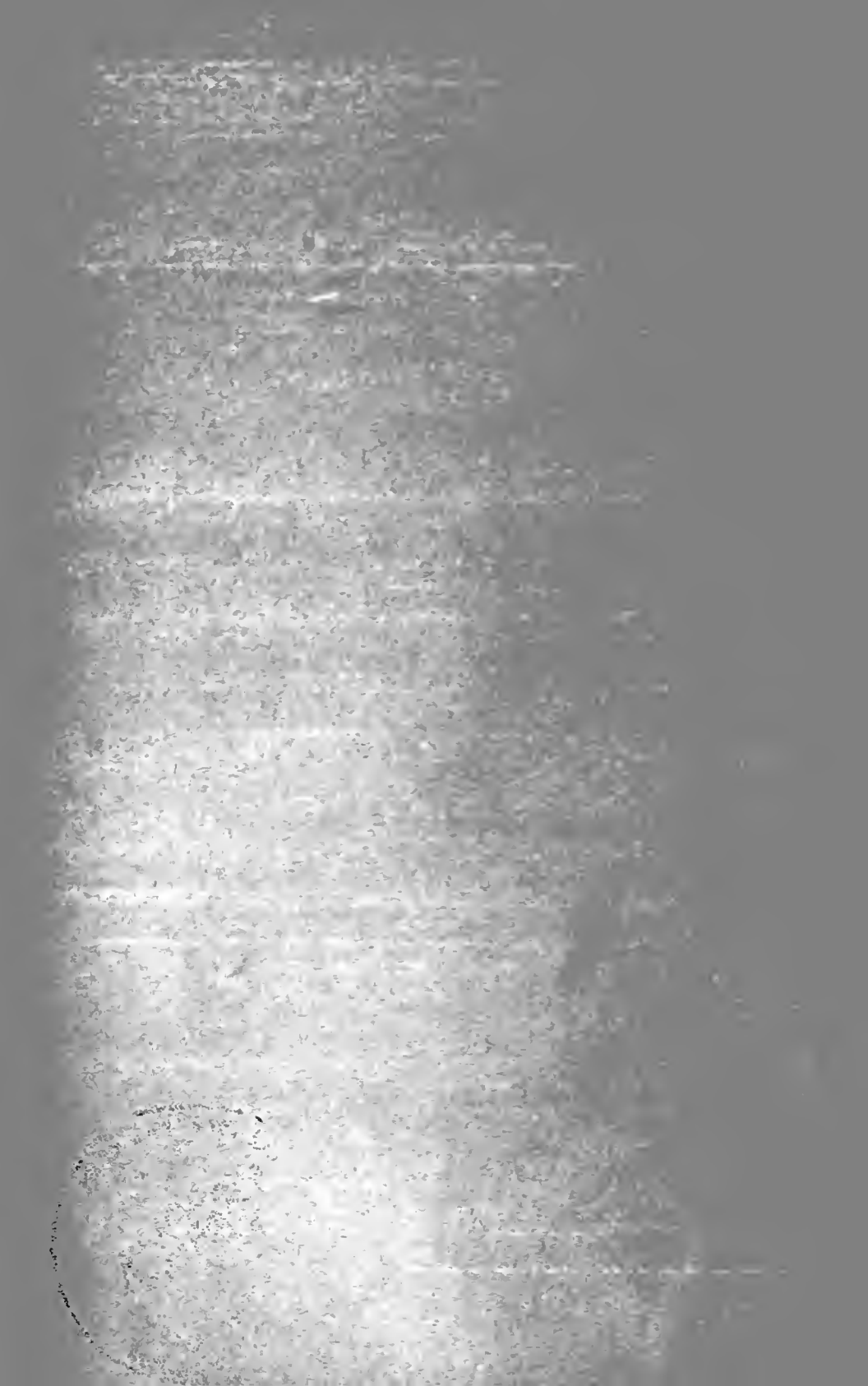
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HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM.

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CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS  
OF  
STEPHEN, HENRY II., AND RICHARD I.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING THE FIRST FOUR BOOKS

OF THE

HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM

OF

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH.

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS

BY

RICHARD HOWLETT,

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S  
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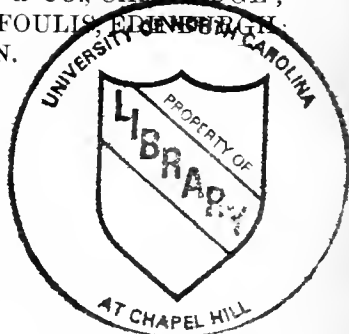
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## CONTENTS.

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	Page.
PREFACE - - - - -	ix-lvii
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS - - -	lviii
THE "HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM" OF WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH - - - - -	1
EPISTOLA AD ABBATEM RIEVALLIS - - -	3
PROEPIUM - - - - -	11
LIB. I. (A.D. 1066-1154) - - - - -	20
,, II. (A.D. 1154-1174) - - - - -	101
,, III. (A.D. 1175-1189) - - - - -	203
,, IV. (A.D. 1189-1194) - - - - -	293

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P R E F A C E .

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## P R E F A C E .

THE history of English affairs from the Conquest to A.D. 1198, written by William, canon of the Augustine Priory of St. Mary at Newburgh in Yorkshire, is the work of a man of unusual moral elevation, mental power, and eloquence, and though the treatise has taken a high place among mediæval histories rather on account of the valuable contemporary judgments on men and events which it contains than by reason of the absolute amount of original information it imparts, there is still much in it which is not to be found elsewhere, and all facts, so far as known to the author, are recorded with unswerving faithfulness. These points have commended and will still continue to commend it to those who desire to understand fully the life and ideas of the twelfth century.

Summary  
of Preface:  
Author-  
ship of the  
*Historia*  
*Rerum An-*  
*glicarum.*

The peculiar quality of the book, which is to a great degree a commentary, fits it to play the part of a collateral narrative running parallel with and completing the minor chronicles of the twelfth century. The work will thus, it is believed, be found at the same time to illustrate and form a complement to the shorter treatises which it is proposed to append in the succeeding volumes of this edition. These are the "Draco Normannicus" of Étienne de Rouen, which has never before been printed in England, the "Gesta Stephani," the short chronicle of Richard of Hexham, the account of the Battle of the Standard by St. Ailred of Rievaulx, the metrical chronicle of the wars of 1173-4 by Jordan Fantosme, and the chronicle of Richard of Devizes. All these fall reason-

ably well within the chronological limits of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, but it is further designed to add the interesting continuation of Newburgh's work which is contained in the Cottonian MS., Cleopatra A. 1. This has never yet been printed.

Such remarks as the present editor desires to offer as to the composition and merits of the "*Historia Rerum Anglicarum*" will be found in the preface which follows, but as the matter must in many places be treated in a technical and uninviting manner, it may be well to summarise for general purposes the points to which especial attention is directed, adding references to the particular pages of the preface in which they are treated at length.

Facts known as to the author's life.

The author's name is stated by Leland<sup>1</sup> to have been William Petit or Parvus, but there is some, though slight reason for thinking that it may have been William of Rufforth<sup>2</sup> and that "Parvus" was merely a soubriquet. He was born at Bridlington in 1136, was brought up from boyhood in Newburgh Priory, and died probably in 1198, not in 1208 as is usually asserted.<sup>3</sup>

The priory to which he belonged was an offshoot of the Augustinian house at Bridlington. It was first located at Hode and was afterwards moved to Newburgh, Hode remaining as a cell to the later foundation.<sup>4</sup>

The history was probably begun about the year 1196, the author being at the time in feeble health, and it was dedicated to Ernald abbot of Rievaulx. It is a composite work, the author having derived matter from other chroniclers to an extent which, it is believed, has not hitherto been recognised; his style of writing and his habit of recasting borrowed passages rendering it exceedingly difficult to detect his mode of building up his

<sup>1</sup> *Collectanea*, iv. 37.

<sup>2</sup> p. xix.

<sup>3</sup> p. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> p. xv.

history.<sup>1</sup> In the first three chapters of his book Newburgh leans upon Symeon of Durham;<sup>2</sup> for the whole of Stephen's reign he closely follows and occasionally falls into the actual words of Henry of Huntingdon.<sup>3</sup> The account of the rebellion of the younger Henry comes principally from Jordan Fantosme;<sup>4</sup> the history of the events leading up to the third crusade, and the facts of the crusade itself are largely taken from the *Itinerarium* of Richard the Canon.<sup>5</sup> Lastly there is reason to believe, from verbal and other coincidences between this chronicle and those of Ralph of Coggeshall and Roger Hoveden, that the account of Richard's captivity, and of French and German affairs intimately connected with it, is derived from the work of Anselm the king's chaplain, who is known not only to have narrated the facts of this episode to Coggeshall, but also to have penned an account of it which is now lost.<sup>6</sup>

Portions of his history copied from the works of Symeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, Jordan Fantosme, Richard of London, and probably from the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

Added to these unacknowledged sources of information are others of a minor character, such as the letters of Terric the Templar, and those of the Genoese to Pope Urban, which are not openly quoted, but are worked into the general fabric of the book.<sup>7</sup>

Minor sources of information.

It has been necessary to point out some errors of date and fact, but it has been of course no part of the editor's design to supply omissions.<sup>8</sup>

The history is to be found in four previous editions.

The present is founded on the Stowe manuscript[S.] which belonged to Newburgh Priory, and was written, to judge from the handwriting, not later than the year 1200. The Lambeth [L.], Cottonian [C.],<sup>9</sup> and [B.] Bodleian (Rawlinson) MSS. have also been fully collated

Manuscripts.

<sup>1</sup> p. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> p. xxv.

<sup>3</sup> p. xxvi.

<sup>4</sup> p. xxvi.

<sup>5</sup> p. xxvii.

<sup>6</sup> p. xxviii.

<sup>7</sup> p. xxxvi.

<sup>8</sup> p. xxxvi.

<sup>9</sup> Probably the actual copy used by Thomas Wykes.

as far as the end of book iv.,<sup>1</sup> and a fragment in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, containing the fourth and fifth books has been similarly used. This fragment has a special interest from the circumstance that it is linked by a spurious chapter to a hitherto unnoticed MS. of the early part of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi.*<sup>2</sup>

Four other MSS. of less account have also been consulted in places.

Various readings.

The result of this extended collation has been an inundation of various readings, often of a trivial character.<sup>3</sup> Many of these are from the Lambeth MS., the bulk of which had been collated before the Stowe MS. became available.<sup>4</sup> The heavy task of shifting the basis of the edition from one MS. to the other had to be faced, and when the work had been done it was thought better on the whole not to expunge the readings of the Lambeth copy, especially as there are lacunæ of many pages in extent in the Stowe copy which it has been necessary to supply from the Lambeth volume.

The state of Yorkshire after A.D. 1069.

When in Domesday Book the population was noted down in a dry business-like way, it was never intended to tell or to conceal the fact that fifteen years after the harrying of the shires in 1069 there were over four hundred Yorkshire manors so wasted that but forty-three human beings remained on the whole wide surface of them.<sup>5</sup> Some of the wretched survivors, we are told, were driven to

<sup>1</sup> The Bodleian (Rawlinson) MS., a 13th cent. copy, quoted as "B," has been altered by a 15th cent. hand. All the various readings refer to the *original state of the text* unless the contrary is noted.

<sup>2</sup> See p. xlvii.

<sup>3</sup> An endeavour has been made

to reduce the number by excluding specified words. See p. lvi.

<sup>4</sup> It became the property of the British Museum trustees in the summer of 1883.

<sup>5</sup> The entire population of the county as given in the survey was 8,055. That of Lincolnshire was 25,305.

cannibalism, and William of Malmesbury, writing about the year 1130, says that the land lay waste round York for a breadth of sixty miles "*usque ad hoc etiam tempus.*"

Though martyrs in no ecclesiastical sense, the blood of these miserable peasant victims proved in very truth to be the seed of the church. Their desolate lands must in such a stretch of years have become for the most part absolutely lost to the service of man. The paved roads by which ancient Rome had opened Britain to light and civilization, then doubtless once more played a part, allowing the stream of life to return to the deserted shire. Foremost in this peaceful warfare against desolation were communities of monks. Their modest buildings and clearings, succeeded by stately edifices and broader culture, formed outposts round which the peasantry could gather once more, and whence they could obtain that benevolent direction which is so true a boon to simple, half civilised men.

Monastic foundations lead the return of population to the wasted lands.

Newburgh tells us (p. 53) that under Stephen's short reign more monasteries were founded than during the hundred preceding years, and indeed, if we analyse a list of English monasteries we shall find that out of a total of about 698<sup>1</sup> dated foundations, 247 were built before Stephen, 115 during Stephen's nineteen years of turbulence, 113 during the 35 years of Henry, and 223 in later times. Descending in our analysis to counties<sup>2</sup> it is seen that one shire, which, if its semi-mountainous

Conventual foundations numerous under Stephen, especially in Yorkshire.

<sup>1</sup> This is only a rough total of dated foundations. I have preferred to found my calculations on an old list. The one used was published by James Moore, in 1798. It was based on the works of Tanner and Keith, and was revised by John Caley, and its sufficiency as a source of a rough comparative statement can therefore scarcely be in question.

I have added a few dates to Moore's list, and have struck out all establishments remaining undated.

<sup>2</sup> The ten at the head of the list are, Yorkshire, 68; Lincolnshire, 50; Norfolk, 37; Essex, 31; Suffolk, 29; Middlesex, 24; Kent, 23; Warwickshire, 23; Staffordshire, 21; Sussex, 21.

districts are subtracted, ceases perhaps to be the largest, heads the list with the surprising total of 68 houses. The next is the large fen county of Lincoln with 50, and passing only to the fourth of the series we at once reach totals that are less than half of the Yorkshire figures.

Looking closer still we must attribute 20 Yorkshire monasteries to early times, 20 to Stephen, 11 to the reign of Henry the Second, and 18 to the succeeding centuries. For Lincolnshire the same distribution would give the numbers 8, 19, 14 and 9. Thus it is a noteworthy fact, that monks joined if they did not lead the army which was to conquer waste, moorland, and fen, and that it was to desolate regions rather than to luxury and cultivation that these pioneers directed their steps.<sup>1</sup> Even in the case of Norfolk, then perhaps the richest of our counties,<sup>2</sup> we find St. Benedict's, the greatest monastery of the county, in the heart of the dreary district of the Broads.

The monks  
sought  
deserted  
places.

The posi-  
tion of  
Rievaulx,  
Byland,  
and New-  
burgh.

It seems probable then that following the direction in which the struggle for existence was least severe these communities tended to go where nature had left the land waste, or where Norman ravagers had left it bare, and it is with no intent to cast a slur upon the beneficence of founders that we also remark a tendency to make grants of waste and forest on a liberal scale. Our present interest centres on one particular group of these convents. A line scarcely six miles long, drawn in a south-easterly direction, passes through the great abbeys of Rievaulx and Byland, and its southern point touches the priory of Newburgh. The two northern belonged to the great Cistercian order, the third, and perhaps humbler establishment was an Augustinian priory, but there is much to

<sup>1</sup> See Newburgh's expression "*locus horroris*," applied to the site of Rievaulx.

<sup>2</sup> See Jordan Fantosme, l. 908, 9, the poem of John of St. Omer

(Cott. Titus A. xx.), and the fact that the Domesday population was 27,087 as against 17,434 for Devonshire.

show that notwithstanding the difference of order these houses were drawn together by common bonds of esteem and brotherhood. We have but to turn to the pages of the chronicle which follows in this volume to find that the work was undertaken at the request of Ernald Abbot of Rievaulx,<sup>1</sup> and that when Roger Abbot of Byland is mentioned as the authority for a statement, he is referred to in terms of the deepest respect and affection.<sup>2</sup> A circumstance too, which will be mentioned below, shows that Newburgh Priory received incidental benefit from the association.

The account of this house in the *Monasticon*<sup>3</sup> is bare Newburgh Priory. and unsatisfactory, and though in the body of the charters presented by that vast work there is incidental information to be gleaned which throws light on the origin of the priory, the facts are not indexed or brought together under the head of Newburgh, but are to be found among the documents appended to the history of Byland.<sup>4</sup>

The monasteries of that date frequently sent forth swarms to find and furnish new hives. Parties, usually of thirteen, went forth from some great house, and it was thus, or in some similar way, that Furness Abbey Bridlington the mother-house of became the mother house of Byland, and also, as it now appears, that Bridlington Priory became the parent of Newburgh. Newburgh.

The proof of this is to be found in the account of the foundation of Byland written by Philip, third abbot of that house.<sup>5</sup> The passage is as follows:—

“ Postea autem manentibus apud Bellamlandam abbate Rogero et monachis, idem abbas ad petitionem et instantiam domini Rogeri de Molbray et Sampsonis de Albaneio dedit locum de Hode, ubi prius habitare inceperant, quibusdam

p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. vi. p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> See below.

<sup>5</sup> *Monasticon*, Vol. v., p. 353.

“ canonicis qui venerant de Bridlington, qui nunc sunt de  
 “ Novoburgo, pro omnimodis decimis grangiæ de Wildon et  
 “ Cambe. Tali etiam compositione interveniente quod illi  
 “ canonici manerent apud Hode cum plenario conventu in-  
 “ perpetuum et ibidem viverent secundum regulam sancti  
 “ Augustini.”

Hode, a  
 cell to  
 Newburgh  
 Priory.

From a passage a little further on it appears that Sampson de Albany, a relation of Roger Mowbray, became himself a canon of Hode. The canons then apparently migrated to Newburgh, leaving behind a small community in what thus became their cell at Hode.<sup>1</sup>

It was after the conscientious refusal of the abbot of Byland to accept the *jus patronatus* over the churches of Thirsk, Honingham, and Kirby Moorhead, together with other possessions, that Mowbray transferred his generosity to the canons of Hode or Newburgh.

Position of  
 Newburgh  
 Priory.

The change from Hode to the final site near the village of Coxwold took place in 1145, the convent thus obtaining a pleasant abode under the shelter of the Hambleton Hills, among woods and close to a running stream. More than all this the house was on one of the ancient routes from York to the mouth of the Tees, the trackway which, running past Crayke Castle and thence close to Newburgh Priory and Coxwold, climbs the Hambleton Hills and proceeds at a considerable elevation and with a directness which perhaps tells of Roman origin<sup>2</sup> right onward to the mouth of Tees.

This position must have caused Newburgh Priory to be a frequent halting-place for travellers of all grades. It has frequently been said that the monasteries were

<sup>1</sup> In the parish of Sutton, five miles east of Thirsk. On the Ordnance Survey map it appears as Hood Grange. It was a partially wasted site, the manor having fallen in value from 3*l.* in the Confessor's time to 30*s.* at the date of Domes-

day. Newburgh cannot be identified with any certainty, but Easingwold, which is but four and a half miles distant, was reduced from a value of 32*l.* to 20*s.*

<sup>2</sup> Gill's "Vallis Eboracensis," p. 149.



the hostelries of early times, and Newburgh must by its position have played a considerable part in this way on the northern road. Much later than the times of which we write Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., travelling northwards to her marriage with James IV. of Scotland, rode from York to Newburgh, where she passed one night and thence set forth again for Edinburgh.

The house, though respectably endowed, was never perhaps a wealthy one. Henry VIII.'s commissioners set down its revenue at about 367*l.*, which of course would compare favourably with 238*l.* for Byland and 278*l.* for Rievaulx if we could place the least reliance on the truth and honesty of the assessors, but the facts may very well have been, and probably were, wholly the other way, for the abbot of Rievaulx was head of the Priors of Newburgh. Cistercian Order in England.

Scarcely anything seems to be known about the early occupants of the priory. Even the list of priors in the *Monasticon* begins so late as 1269, while Gill ("*Vallis Eboracensis*," p. 170), quoting from Torr's MSS., gives a list which is on the face of it incorrect. The earliest reliable information is given by Benedict of Peterborough, who says (i. 352) that in 1186 Bernard prior of Newburgh was one of those nominated for the King's selection with a view to filling the northern archiepiscopal see. Henry, who intended the position for Geoffrey, of course rejected all of the nominees, but the personal standing of the prior of Newburgh is for us sufficiently indicated by his being one of the number.

Little beyond the spacious kitchen of the present mansion remains of the ancient priory. Much is built up in the modern structure, but all architectural glory has disappeared, and all interest about the spot centres in the old Austin canon, whose celebrated history of his own times follows in the present volume.

Leland, on the authority of some words added to a MS. of Newburgh's Commentary on the Song of Personal history of

William of  
Newburgh.

Solomon,<sup>1</sup> formerly in the library of Queens' College Cambridge, tells us that William of Newburgh was born at Bridlington, and our author himself, when describing the phenomenal appearance of intermittent springs for which the neighbourhood of Wold Newton is noted even at the present day, speaks of them as being "in provincia . . . Deirorum, haud procul a loco natiuitatis meae,"<sup>2</sup> and proceeds to say that they were called in English "Gipse."<sup>3</sup> We have but to turn to a map of Yorkshire to see that a stream now called the "Gipsey Race" runs from Wold Newton into the sea close to Bridlington; and placing this circumstance by the side of the facts above noted as to the connexion between the Austin priories of Bridlington, Hode, and Newburgh, a reasonably good confirmation of Leland's information results. The date of our author's birth we know with some exactness, for he says that he was born in the first year of Stephen's reign,<sup>4</sup> and since, as we shall show, he everywhere follows Huntingdon's chronology for that reign, we may fix the date as 1136.

The  
author's  
name.

As to our author's name there has been some difference of opinion. Sometimes he appears to have been confused with the William of Rievaulx who, as John of Hexham asserts, died in 1146;<sup>5</sup> but if we turn to the history itself there seems reason for thinking that the name usually assigned to him is the right one. The occurrence of such expressions as "*mea parvitati*," "*ego servorum Christi minimus*,"<sup>6</sup> in the work of an

<sup>1</sup> The words are, "Gulielmus natus fuit in Bridlingtona, qui canonicus factus in Novoburgo ad petitionem Rogeri abbatis de Belland explanationem in Cantica Cantic: intra nnum annum scripsit et edidit." Collectanea, iv. 19.

<sup>2</sup> p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> The *y* in this word is hard.

<sup>4</sup> p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Hardy, Materials for Hist. of Engl., ii. 227-8.

<sup>6</sup> Of course these expressions of humility are common, e.g., the "*minores minimis sumus*" of the Franciscans, but when Newburgh speaks on p. 313 of the Jew *Benedictus* becoming *Maledictus*, and on p. 362 cannot resist a recurrence to S. Gregory's pun, we may suspect a deeper meaning.

author who shows some inclination to play on words seems, though the evidence is but slender, to point to the correctness of tradition in calling him *Parvus* or *Petit*; this was probably, however, only a nickname.

Vossius<sup>1</sup> says that William, a Cistercian monk of *Rusheford*, wrote a history and dedicated it to St. Ailred of Rievaulx. This, as Oudin (ii. 1123) shows, is the present history, but there is a point which makes the statement important.

The Bodleian MS. Rawl. B. 192 begins with the rubric "*Liber Sanctæ Mariæ Fratris Willelmi<sup>2</sup> monachi de Rufforth,*" and this ascription in a manuscript certainly written before the year 1300, coinciding with what Vossius tells us from some unknown source, cannot be passed over lightly.

The rubricator of this manuscript [B.] was singularly careless, and never scrupled to alter or mutilate the heading of a chapter, and we may therefore at least amend his title thus:—

*Liber Sanctæ Mariæ de [?], Chronicon Fratris [Willelmi] monachi de Rufforth.*

Now *Rufford* was a well known abbey in Nottinghamshire, while our author tells us that he lived at Newburgh from boyhood. Also he was not *monachus* but *canonicus*.

In the worst blundering there is often a grain of truth. Does not our grain possibly lie here in the word *Rufforth*? There is a village called Rufforth some five miles west of York. If our author's grandparents flying in 1069 before the Norman ravagers had migrated to Bridlington, their descendant, William of Rufforth, entering Newburgh Priory, might become known either as William of Newburgh or by his soubriquet of *Petit*, and our blundering rubricator, not knowing Rufforth, but like Vossius being well acquainted with Rufford Abbey,

<sup>1</sup> Hardy, Materials for Hist. of Engl., ii. p. 227.

R 8918.

<sup>2</sup> The word *Willelmi* has almost disappeared from the parchment.

b 4 +

would readily be misled by the similarity of the names, and would imagine that William of Rufforth meant William, *monk* of Rufforth.

He tells us that he was brought up from boyhood in Newburgh Priory. Probably starting as one of the children of the choir, and attracting notice by an early exhibition of the solid abilities and sober good sense which he certainly showed in later life, he won his way upwards and was admitted to full brotherhood through the recognition of his personal merits.

Assertion that he was once a candidate for the bishopric of S. Asaph.

The only further personal fact as to our author which comes or professes to come from an external source is contained in a passage in Dr. David Powel's preface to his edition of Ponticus Virunnus:—

“ Quoniam in annalibus nostris ante annos trecentos conscriptis, literis proditum invenio, istum Gulielmum (qui ibi Gwilym bâch, *i.e.* Gulielmus Parvus, dicitur) post mortem prædicti Galfridi Arthuri episcopi Elguensis, eum episcopatum ambivisse circa annum Domini 1165 atque repulsam passum, et a Davide principis Oeni filio male tractatum, inde causam maledicendi arripuisse, et postea malitiæ suæ virus universum in gentem Britannicam evomuisse, quod prudenti etiam lectori ex ejus scripti acrimonia et acerbitate facile patebit.”<sup>1</sup>

This was written in 1585, but Dr. Powel gives no clue to his 13th century authority, and he has so worded his scurrilous remarks as to leave some doubt as to whether the error apparent on the surface of the passage does not go deeper. Indeed Bishop Nicolson<sup>2</sup> has utterly misunderstood him. Taking, however, the meaning most favourable to Powel's reputation for accuracy, it appears from other sources that Geoffrey of Monmouth died in 1154 (when Newburgh was eighteen), that his successor, Bishop Richard, died in 1155, and that Bishop

<sup>1</sup> Humphrey Llyd of Denbigh (*Frag. Brit. Descript.*) speaks of Leland's defence of Geoffrey of Monmouth, “contra caninos rictus et vatinianum (*sic*) ordinem delirantis Urbinatis, et bene saginati Rhievallensis (*sic*) monachi magis

“in coquina quam in antiquorum historiis versati.” I do not remember any similar rancour against Giraldus de Barri, who joins Newburgh in speaking contemptuously of Geoffrey of Monmouth's legends.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibl. Historica*, ed. 2, p. 59.

Godfrey held the see from that date to 1175. Newburgh cannot therefore have been a candidate for the bishopric in 1165. Dr. Powel may have meant 1175, but why then does he merely say, "after the death of the aforesaid Geoffrey," when he means on the second succeeding vacancy in the see? In the next place, if Newburgh had been ill-treated by David, son of *Owen Prince of Wales*, the ill-usage must have occurred in or before 1169. After that date he would have dealt with David *Prince of Wales, son of Owen*. On such blundering testimony as this we cannot believe the story against a man whose modesty, sober judgment, and deep religious feeling are apparent on every page of his book.

What little remains to be known of Newburgh's personal history must be derived from his writings, and but scant details can there be found. One circumstance, which will be useful in considering a point to be brought forward later, may here be stated. He has not written a single sentence or given a single local fact or description which would lend support to the idea that he had ever travelled beyond the limits of Yorkshire and Durham.<sup>1</sup> All information clearly floated to him on the tide; he went to seek nothing. A negative statement of this kind of course cannot be proved by pointing out passages; the reference must be to the whole work, and to the conviction resulting in at least one mind which has considered that work attentively and with a view to the point in question.

The persons from whom he derived information are sometimes named, sometimes only vaguely referred to, as witnesses worthy of credit. Some aged person related to Newburgh, then no doubt a youth, the incident at the Conqueror's burial, thus confirming, if confirmation were needed, the accounts of Eadmer and Ordericus Vitalis. The blinded monk of Byland, once Bishop Wimund of

The author's entire life appears to have been passed within the limits of Yorkshire and Durham.

Personal sources of his historical information.

<sup>1</sup> Nothing in his account of the Welsh wars exhibits a trace of special knowledge of the country.

the Isles, detailed a story of rebellion and deeds of blood by sea and land on the coasts of Western Scotland which reads like a romance, but which, as it was confirmed by one of the strange adventurer's own followers, and is supported by the chroniclers of the day, may be regarded as reliable information as to a very dark passage in the annals of the North. A similar service is done by the chapter as to Raymond Trencavel, though the narrative, also derived from accounts brought to the author, is marred by such errors as a wrong name and a wrong location of the chief event.<sup>1</sup> Roger Abbot of Byland brings information as to Henry's penance at Canterbury; an Irish bishop contributes facts as to his own island; a canon of York, a personal friend of Archbishop William, refutes by word of mouth the horrible story of poisoning by the sacred chalice; and Symphorianus, the prelate's chaplain, adds his own verbal testimony in the same direction.<sup>2</sup> Crusaders and pilgrims brought their tales to the northern abbeys, and were, it is evident, eagerly questioned by at least one man who loved to ponder philosophically over the great events of the world outside his convent walls.

Two results may be expected from this mode of gathering: the first, vagueness; the second, error of date and detail. If the listener, moreover, be not inordinately sceptical, we must ultimately get from his pen a record of the half-conscious exaggerations of men who have told and retold their tales until they are exposed to the temptation of giving fresh point to them. Such apparently is the case as regards the narrative of the fall of Edessa, such and much more must assuredly be the case with the ghastly stories of corpses emerging from their graves by night and hunting down living men, which we find in the fifth book of this otherwise sober history.

<sup>1</sup> It did not occur in the cathedral of Béziers but in the church of St. Mary Magdalen. See p. 128, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Hoveden, i. 213, alludes to this in a few words, quoting from the Chron. de Mailros.

These matters however belong rather to the section in which it is proposed to deal with Newburgh's writings. Here it only remains for us to see what evidence as to the date of his death can be gathered. Cave asserts,<sup>1</sup> but gives no authority for his assertion, that William of Newburgh died in 1208 at the age of 72.

Probable dates of the composition of the work and of the author's death.

All the internal evidence of the "*Historia Rerum Anglicarum*" opposes this date, and certain points in the MSS. are strongly against it.

It will be necessary, at the risk of being tedious, to go closely into this matter, and at the same time into the question, intimately bound up with it, of the date at which the history was begun.

The facts will be perhaps most clearly appreciated if put in the form of a list.

1. The history breaks off very abruptly after mentioning the shower of red rain at Andely, which we know from Diceto took place on 8th May, 1198.
2. Newburgh did not know of the war in August 1198.<sup>2</sup>
3. The work was begun in or before 1196, for Roger abbot of Byland, who resigned in that year, is spoken of as still holding office when Newburgh was writing Chapter 15 of Book I.
4. Abbot Ernald of Rievaulx ceased to be abbot in 1199, and although the book was dedicated to him there is no presentation copy extant, nor does the fourteenth century catalogue of the Rievaulx library<sup>3</sup> mention one. If Newburgh had lived to complete and revise his work surely there would have been such a copy.
5. In his dedication he speaks of "*indultum misericorditer infirmitati mee otium.*" He was in ill health when he began the task; he says nothing as to advanced *age*.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Literaria*, i. p. 691.

<sup>2</sup> See also p. 395, note 6.

<sup>3</sup> Wright and Halliwell's "*Reliquiæ Antiquæ.*"

6. In writing a date in Arabic numerals such a blunder as 1208 for 1198 is almost impossible, but to write or print MCCVIII. for MCXCVIII. is very easy.
7. The copy of the work belonging to Newburgh Priory, written in a beautiful hand of the end of the twelfth century, contains a considerable number of errors, and in one place (p. 172, note 2,) actually presents an alternative reading, "novarum (vel " novorum) rerum (vel regun)." This speaks plainly of an original in a cursive hand, and tells us also that the author could no longer be consulted as to what he had intended to write.
8. There are three cases at least in which Newburgh promises to recur to a subject and does not do so.<sup>1</sup>
9. There are manifest errors and obscure passages in all the MSS., which speak of a badly written original, *e.g.*, "nec non est a quibus" (p. 116, note 6). These could not have escaped the eye of the author on a revision.<sup>2</sup>

These circumstances taken in connexion seem to indicate that the present work was begun in or before 1196, and that shortly after May 1198, William of Newburgh went to his rest, leaving his work unrevised.

If our author's opportunities had been full in proportion to his abilities, abbot Ernald could have prompted no fitter man to the task of writing a history of his own times. In the position occupied by either Benedict of Peterborough or Ralph de Dieeto, Newburgh might have produced a history not inferior in any respect to that of Matthew Paris. Many passages yield in force and elegance to the work of no writer of that age, and the whole is singularly free from mediævalisms. The author is perhaps a little fond of introducing rare words and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 404, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> In compressing a letter he is quoting (p. 268, note 6) he makes

a blunder which his sensitive ear would have been certain to detect on revision.

The author's learning and ability.



startling constructions, and frequently shows that his classical reading has been quite as much among poets as among prose writers. His quotations are from Virgil and Horace, but he has evidently read Cicero and Livy.<sup>1</sup> The works of St. Gregory and St. Augustine, and translations of Eusebius and Josephus were familiar to him; and coming to later times, and historical studies, he alludes to Gildas and to Beda, whom he imitated, and, though not by name, to Symeon of Durham and Richard the Canon. These names bring us to the question, How far was Newburgh an original writer?

Hitherto in all accounts which have been given of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, it has been treated as an entirely independent production. Close analysis, however, indicates that this idea must be greatly modified. Certainly, with perhaps the exception of the first two chapters, the whole of this history might have been derived from the testimony of living men; the author, that is if he had been from early manhood a collector of historical information, might have presented us with nearly every fact from personal narratives. That this, however, is not by any means what has happened is clear, although there is great difficulty in identifying borrowed matter in this chronicle, for whatever Newburgh has used he has recast and written down in his own words. Indeed if we chance to discover a few undoubtedly borrowed words we may reasonably suspect that very much more has been drawn from the same source.

Sources from which the history was in part compiled.

On turning to p. 22 of the present volume we find a brief sentence in which the actual words of Symeon of Durham are preserved. Thus we may assume that for

<sup>1</sup> He takes considerable liberties with speeches, as I shall have occasion to remark below. He puts a few words which are perhaps

adapted from Cicero into the mouth of the Jew who addresses the besiegers of York Castle (p. 321).

Sources from which the history was compiled. Henry of Huntingdon.

the first three chapters this author has been consulted. At the end of cap. 3., p. 30, on p. 34 at the end of cap. 5, and again on p. 48 at the beginning of cap. 13, we see the actual words of Henry of Huntingdon making their way up to the surface, and what is still more important, we have the archdeacon's chronology throughout the reign of Stephen. His authority is once only neglected, the result being a wrong date for the Battle of the Standard.

The framework for almost the whole of Book I. is Huntingdon's, but there are special chapters introduced which either amplify his rather bare outlines or introduce entirely new matter.<sup>1</sup>

Though very interesting, but little of this new material strictly belongs to English political history. We have special accounts of Geoffrey de Mandeville, of Robert Marmion, of the origin of several monastic foundations, and personal accounts of certain archbishops of York and Kings of Scotland. Added to these are singular chapters as to Bishop Wmund and Éon de l'Étoile, and two more filled with some of the stories to which Newburgh seems at first to have given an unwilling ear and afterwards full credence.

Jordan Fantosme.

For events from 1154 to 1173 we have a narrative not drawn from the work of any author whose writings have come down to us, but when we reach the latter year the account starts suddenly into an unwonted fulness. The reason of this is now plain. Our author had met with the metrical chronicle of Jordan Fantosme and had strengthened his own narrative with its picturesque details. A comparison of the episode of the messenger bearing to Henry the tidings of the capture of the Scottish king as told by Newburgh (p. 189), and by Fantosme (lines 1962 to 2040) will raise suspicions of a common origin for two versions of a story recorded by no

<sup>1</sup> p. 34, note 9.

other chronicler, which so wonderfully resemble each other.<sup>1</sup> On further comparison when both Newburgh and Fantosme are seen to confuse the separate invasions of East Anglia in 1173 and 1174, regarding them as *one*, and placing the sack of Norwich before the battle of Fornham St. Genevieve, the strange coincidence of error will be remarked as a stronger trace of relationship than many coincidences of truth.<sup>2</sup> Roger abbot of Byland contributed some facts, and Newburgh himself could not have been without definite memories of such stirring events, but when we notice the sudden lapse of the succeeding narrative we see that the fulness of the history for 1173 and 1174 must have had an extraneous cause.

Sources from which the history was compiled.

In the fourth book we come to another source from which our author has largely drawn in his account of the Crusades. The *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* of Richard the Canon has been read and summarised, by Newburgh.<sup>3</sup> If proof of this is required it may be obtained by reading the *Itinerarium* side by side with Book III., caps. 15-28, of the present work, remembering, while reading, the often-stated fact that Newburgh melts and recasts his information. These pages together with the opening words of cap. 15 of Book III. (see p. 249) and

Use made by Newburgh of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*.

<sup>1</sup> As has been already remarked p. xxv, note 1), Newburgh does not consider himself bound to keep to more than the substance of conversations, the form he appears to regard as of little moment.

<sup>2</sup> The final proof, always so difficult in Newburgh's case, is impossible when he adapts from a French poem.

<sup>3</sup> This circumstance had forced itself upon my notice before I had read p. lxi of Bishop Stubbs's preface to the *Itinerarium*. My own suspicions were first aroused by the

fact that both authors, after narrating the circumstances of Barbarossa's death, burst forth into the words of the 68th Psalm, "O abyssus multa . . . ." Bishop Stubbs cites the instance noticed in note 5, p. 249. I confess that the absence of verbal coincidences, where the sense is obviously borrowed, seems to me to favour the idea that the *Itinerarium* was originally composed in French. If read by Newburgh in that language such would be the result.

Sources from which the history was compiled.

the words referred to in note 8 on p. 329 will convince most readers. It will be well also to direct attention to the probabilities derivable from the fact that William, canon of St. Mary's, Newburgh, and Richard, canon of the Holy Trinity, London, were both Augustinians, and that, as Bishop Stubbs remarks, the Augustinian priories of this date had close relations.

Probable use made of the now lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

It may be necessary in the preface to the succeeding volume, in which it is proposed to print Book V. of the present history and other matter, to recur to the problem presented by the circumstance that there are coincidences traceable between the language and the facts in the present chronicle and those in the later part of Roger Hoveden's history.<sup>1</sup> That the phrases in the text and those recited in note 1 on p. 388 had a common origin there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. On p. 359 and 361 we find passages obviously derived from two of King Richard's letters which are given in full by Hoveden, and by no other contemporary chronicler.

Coincidences of language and facts with Hoveden.

Now it is certain from the general aspect of their work that Newburgh and Hoveden never borrowed from each other. Whence then came these similarities? All these passages have close reference to Richard and his crusade: Hoveden and Newburgh have a wealth of information on this subject, each one giving details that the other omits, but both concurring in a large body of facts. Had the facts been derived from letters Hoveden would have inserted the entire documents, for such is his custom. He has not done so, but has embodied passages just as he does with his transcripts from Benedict. Can we indicate no source from which all this material has been

<sup>1</sup> On pp. 305 and 306 we have two sayings of Richard's own, one as to selling London if he could find a purchaser, the other about Bishop Hugh of Durham. Each of these is given by Newburgh in practically the same words as those in which

Richard of Devizes, pp. 8 and 10, states them. In addition to this we find the puerility as to a truce between Richard and Saladin for "three years, three months, three weeks, three days, three hours," occurring also in Richard of Devizes.

derived? The man who noted down that which by the medium of the authors named we now possess must have been present with Richard when varied business was transacted, at moments when leisure allowed the King's tongue free speech and jest, during the dangers of the crusades, in the trying days of shipwreck and of wandering in Germany, and finally throughout the months of prison and anxious negotiation which preceded the return to England. In brief he must have been "*regis comes ubique intus et foris.*" We know that Anselm the chaplain shared these dangers and enjoyed these opportunities of converse with his royal master: we are certain too, for the writer known as John of Peterborough has told us so,<sup>1</sup> that Anselm penned an account of them, now unfortunately lost. Is it not then more than merely possible that imbedded in the chronicles of Newburgh and Hoveden we have passages from Anselm's work which appear in the pages of these two writers as otherwise inexplicable coincidences? The point has an interest which may perhaps excuse a careful examination of the evidence.

The original manuscript of Ralph of Coggeshall's chronicle (Cott. Vesp. D. X.) has something to tell which probably solves this problem. It is plainly a copy of the abbot's rough draft interlined and corrected by the author himself, two whole leaves, for instance, being introduced in places where the margins allowed too little room. All, or nearly all, of this imported matter relates to the third crusade, and there is much erasure and much writing on the margins of ff. 61 b. and 62. The two lines preceding the principal erasure on fo. 61 b. run

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<sup>1</sup> Chron. Johan. Abbatis S. Petri de Burgo (Sparke, *Hist. Anglic. Scriptt. Varii*, p. 90) "Ejus acta scripserunt dominus Milo abbas

" de Pynn, eleemosynarius regis,  
 " et Anselmus capelianus, regis  
 " comes ubique intus et foris."

Sources from which the history was compiled: the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

thus; "Paucis suorum secum retentis in quibus erant  
 "Baldewinus de Betun et magister Philippus clericus  
 "regis" et quidam fratres templi, qui omnes in partes  
 "Sclavoniæ . . ." In the margin attached by the  
 usual marks (") to the word *regis* are the words  
 "atque Anselmus capellanus qui hæc omnia nobis, ut  
 "vidit et audivit, retulit."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, then, we know that we are in possession of Anselm's own words so far as a verbal recital written down by an auditor can represent them. When Anselm comes to write his own history of events we must expect to find the same substance in different though equivalent words. If then we find that what Coggeshall gives us exists in Hoveden with merely verbal differences, may we not suppose that in the one case we have a reported conversation, in the other an extract from a written book? When we trace the same story to Newburgh's pages we must expect further alterations made with a view to style of narration.

What we know to be Anselm's narrative begins with four incidents of Richard's wandering, the second being the one in which Hugh the Merchant's page, showing too much gold at a money changer's stall, and exhibiting too many of the marks of a courtier, is caught and questioned, but is allowed to go free again. The story proceeds with the appearance of the same youth in the market with the King's gloves in his belt, and narrates his capture, torture, threatened death, and confession.<sup>2</sup> Newburgh compresses this so very much that we can only say that his account is not discordant with Coggeshall's summary of

<sup>1</sup> The author of Lambeth MS. 371, who abridges Coggeshall, breaks off for a moment, as Bishop Stubbs remarks, to call Anselm in his own words, "*gesto-*

"*rum regis assertor et testis.*"  
 (fo. 54, l. 17.)

<sup>2</sup> R. de Coggeshall (Rolls Ed. p. 56).

Anselm's tales,<sup>1</sup> but we can say more as to some sentences from Coggeshall a little further on (*fo. 63, b*)<sup>2</sup> :—

Sources from which the history was compiled: the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

“Rex in medio stans cum duce Austriæ, qui pro eo tunc plurimum lacrymabatur, contra singulas objectiones ita luculenter et argumentose peroravit ut omnibus admirationi ac venerationi haberetur . . . . surrexit imperator, et rege ad se accersito, osculatus est eum, deinceps blande leniterque cum eo colloquens.”

In Hoveden's account, iii. 199, we find these words :—

“Rex *libere et constanter* et ita intrepide respondit, quod non solum eum imperator gratia vel venia dignum, sed etiam laude iudicavit. Nam *inclinantem se regem erexit*, et suscepit in osculo pacis, et confœderavit eum sibi . . . . circumstante populo, et *in lacrymas ruente præ gaudio* . . . . Et tunc . . . . centum millia marcarum, *mediante duce Austriæ, pro sua liberatione promisit.*”

Turning now to Newburgh, p. 388, we find the following :—

Ille vero hilari fretus conscientia, *constanti et libera* responsione ita objecta diluit, ut imperator quoque non solum ad misericordiam verum etiam ad reverentiam ejus flecti videretur. Multis enim *præ gaudio in lacrimas* resolutis, *inclinatum regem* dignanter *erexit* nberiozem de cetero gratiam et profusiora solatia pollicens, re autem vera ingenti summæ, *mediante duce Austriæ*, ab ipso rege *pro sua liberatione* promissæ, sitibunde inhians.

It will be conceded at once that the identity between the portions of the last two passages printed in italics is not accidental. Most also will agree that the spirit, form, and substance of all three bespeak a common origin. If this be conceded it will be seen that the words of Newburgh and Hoveden are brought into direct relation with those which we know come from the lips of Anselm the chaplain. We have no reason to think that Coggeshall ceased at any point of his narration of Richard's troubles to draw from Anselm's information. It is improbable that he who could have obtained all from the

<sup>1</sup> “Quem tandem in suburbano quodam, indicio ut dicitur, cujusdam ex comitibus ejus, dum escas lautiores emeret, caute notati, et ad prodendum cuiquam peregrino

“ talia procuraret intentata morte  
“ coacti per immissos satellites  
“ captivavit.” Newburgh, p. 383.  
<sup>2</sup> R. de Coggeshall (Rolls Ed.) p. 59.

Sources from which the history was compiled: the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

best possible authority (and who in fact says of Anselm "hæc omnia nobis retulit") should have rested content with a part only of the thrilling tale; but that the abbot was summarising is clear from his obviously eclectic account of the captivity.

The above passage is on *fo. 63 b.* of Coggleshall's MS., and on *fo. 65 b.* we find an account of the death of Leopold of Austria, occupying about a page.

This is subjoined and contrasted with the corresponding passages from Newburgh (*lib. v. cap. viii.*). Hoveden's account (*iii. pp. 274-8*) is omitted as superfluous, for when compared with Newburgh's it is at once seen to be identical in substance and to abound in verbal coincidences of the most striking character.<sup>1</sup>

*R. de Coggleshall* (pp. 65, 66).

Terra ducis Austria a Cælestino papa anathemate innodata ob injuriam quam regi reparitanti dux ipse intulerat et ob retentionem obsidum, cœlitus etiam percussa est anno præcedenti, sterilitate scilicet, fame et peste. Danubius etiam in quadam parte terræ ejus plus solito inundans, inopinato evento decem millia hominum submersit. Sed quia in omnibus his plagis non est aversus furor ducis, immò adhuc plurimos obsides pro injusta redemptione regis accipiens, eosque in arcta custodia ponens, ad ultimum ipso divino judicio terribiliter percussus est, ipso

*W. de Novoburgo* (*lib. v. cap. viii.*).

Denique, ut dicitur, civitates terræ illius incertam prorsus causam habentibus incendiis conflagrarunt. Danubius fluvius maximus, tanquam ad ultionem egressus, adjacentia quaedam loca cum ingenti [Hoveden says *decem millia*]<sup>2</sup> hominum exitio occupavit. Æstate media tota illa regio, . . . ariditate deficiens, intempestive viroris sui gratia caruit. Semina frugum terræ mandata cum deberent erumpere, degenerarunt in vermes. Nobiliores quoque terræ illius tanquam effusa pestis morbus absumpsit. . . . Et quidem

<sup>1</sup> For example, Hoveden has, "Quod cum ipse fieri postularet, non est inventus qui voluntati ejus acquiesceret." "Accito camerario suo, et ad hoc coacto, dux ipse dolarium manu propria tibia apposuit, et ipse camerarius malleo vibrato vix trina percussione pedem obtruncavit: medici

"vero, appositis medicaminibus, cum cum in crastino visitarent . . ." The words in italics will be seen to be identical in Hoveden and Newburgh.

<sup>2</sup> Mediæval writers not drawing from the same source seldom agree as to numbers.



cum proceribus suis Natale Domini cum maxima pompa et gloria celebrante. Die siquidem Sancti Stephani cum lusum equitando pergeret, comitantibus sociis, equus, cui dux insidebat, mole nivis offensus corruit, sedentisque pedem cum tibia insanabiliter contrivit. Nam tibia cum pede protinus cum quadam nigredine intumescens, nullo medicorum cataplasmate sedari potuit, quin potius ignis, quem infernalem vocant, tumori admixtus, intolerabiliter eum cruciabat; quem cruciatum dux diutius ferre non valens, pedem a crure detruncari fecit, ipso dolabrum<sup>1</sup> interim tenente, ceteris omnibus præ nimio horrore et miserabilis domini sui miseratione hoc facere renuentibus. Sed nec sic doloris evasit cruciatus; nam statim femur cum reliquo corpore igne execrabili depascebatur. Tandem vero agnoscens impietatis culpam quam in regem et in obsides regis malitiose exercuerat, suadentibus episcopis, qui aderaut, obsides absolvit, et residuum pecuniæ de regis redemptione, quod nondum expenderat, se redditurum spondit, atque ecclesiasticæ censuræ se deinceps pariturum promisit. Unde episcopi cum in tauta calamitate constitutum in communionem receperunt atque ita vita decessit. Cujus corpus diutius inhumatum jacuit, eo quod filius ejus man-

a Romauo pontifice pro iis Sources  
quæ in eundem regem commi- from which  
serat anathemate innodatas, the history  
. . . derisit sententiam. . . was com-  
Sed . . . convocatis nobil- piled:  
libus terræ, Dominici Natalis lost work  
solemnitatem in multa osten- of Ansem  
tatioue et gloria celebrare voluit. . . the chap-  
. . . Cum enim in tain.  
natali beati Stephani jam pran-  
sus exisset, ut in campo cum  
suis militibus luderet, forte  
equus ejus decidens sessorem  
quoque dejecit, pedemque ejus  
ita comminuit ut ossa hiuc  
inde confracta, rupta cute, ex-  
terius prominere. Acciti mox  
medici, . . . adhibuere quæ  
expedire credebant. In cras-  
tino vero pes ita denigratus  
apparuit ut a medicis incidendus  
decerneretur. Quod cum  
ipse . . . fieri postularet,  
non est inventus, . . . qui  
hoc patraret. Tandem accitus  
cubicularius ejus, atque ad hoc  
coactus, dum ipse dux dola-  
brum manu propria tibie ap-  
poneret, malleo vibrato, vix  
trina percussione pedem ejus  
abscidit. Medici vero, apposi-  
tis medicaminibus, . . . in  
crastino . . . signis haud  
ambignis mortem esse in januis  
cogno[verunt], . . . Des-  
peratus igitur accitis episcopis,  
. . . a vinculo anathematis  
. . . petiit relaxari. Res-  
ponsum est . . . quod  
nullatenus posset absolvi nisi  
sub juratoria cautione quod  
super injuriis regi Anglorum  
illatis iudicio ecclesiæ staret,

<sup>1</sup> The words at this point agree very closely without being identical. Hoveden has *dolarium*.

Sources from which the history was compiled: the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

. . . Hac cautione . . . Tandem ab amicis compulsus, obsides absolvit et repatriandi licentiam concessit; qui cum maximo labore atque inedia lateuter ad propria sunt reversi.<sup>1</sup>

data patris exsequi nollet, præstita, absolutiois munus promeruit; moxque obsides regis Anglorum liberari præcepit. Verum cum . . . exspirasset, succedens filius, . . . ne ultima defuncti patris voluntas impleretur, adjunctis sibi quibusdam nobilibus, obstitit. Unde factum est per . . . cleri zelum ut tanti ducis corpus diebus aliquot inhumatum inobedienti filio maculam irrogaret. Qui tandem consternatus, memoratos obsides absolute relaxavit, eisque quatuor marcarum millia regi Anglorum reportanda contrahere voluit. At illi propter viarum pericula expediti repatriare maluerunt, et . . . revertentes suæ liberationis nuntii primi exstiterunt.

The opinion of Bishop Stubbs (in his edition of Hoveden, iii., 275, note 1,) confirms the assertion that here we certainly have Coggeshall, Newburgh, and Hoveden drawing from the same source. What was that source? The events were later than the captivity, but happened during the stay, or rather caused the termination of the stay of the hostages. Of the three named companions of Richard's wandering, Baldwin of Bethune, Philip, and Anselm, the first was we know one of the hostages left with Leopold of Austria. It is not unnatural to suppose that Anselm was left also, but even if he returned with Richard, he, as "*regis comes ubique intus et foris*," would have learned everything from Baldwin of Bethune, who at the end of 1194 made a journey to England to fetch the duke's niece and the princess of Cyprus, and then (Hoveden, iii. 275, 278,) learning when abroad about the duke's death brought the ladies back again to England.

Leaving Coggeshall and taking up Hoveden, we find on p. 214, of vol. iii. an account of the danger caused to Richard by the murder of the Bishop of Liège, and on p. 224 a version of the Ingeburga scandal, which took place during the year of Richard's imprisonment. These are virtually identical with Newburgh's accounts at pp. 368-70 and 396-8. The identity is palpable though mainly through the close correspondence of facts. Each of course has some points that the other omits, but the body of the account is in each case the same. Newburgh has with his usual skill avoided falling into the precise words of his original, but the following instance reveals the fact that he has copied.

Sources from which the history was compiled: the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

In Hoveden (iii. p. 215), we read :—

“Et hoc juraverunt in animam imperateris episcopi, duces, comites, et nobiles omnes qui interfuerunt . . .”

Newburgh (p. 398. l. 24), has :—

“Episcopi et duces eum universa nobilitate quæ aderat juraverunt in animam imperatoris . . .”

Each of these tales is of the kind we should expect to derive from a man placed in Anselm's position and from no one else, and, as we have already said, Hoveden's habit of giving letters and public documents *in extenso* bears strongly against any idea of the news having reached our authors in that shape.

Finally if our theory is correct we may expect to find that one chronicler has included some unique story which the other has not chosen to copy from Anselm's work. Such a story may be found in Newburgh (p. 405), where we are told of the treacherous attempt to seize Richard again after his release, at the very port of embarkation.

Newburgh, who never invents anything but the form of conversations, cannot have derived this from anyone who did not know the minutest details of Richard's adventures. He only of all historians tells it, and it is therefore unlikely to have been a public rumour, least of all

Sources from which the history was compiled: the lost work of Anselm the chaplain. one so common and widely spread as to have reached Newburgh Priory.

Thus we have clear correspondences of matter and language between the writings of Newburgh and of two other historians on points relating to Richard's adventures abroad. We positively know that one of those two drew his account from Anselm the chaplain, "*qui hæc omnia nobis ut vidit et audivit retulit*," and who was as "John of Peterborough" says, "*regis comes ubique intus et foris*." We know also that Anselm wrote a book on the events of the king's captivity, and we are assured that he was "*gestorum regis assertor et testis*,"<sup>1</sup> and the conclusion that Newburgh drew from that book seems therefore but natural and reasonable.

In various parts of Newburgh's work we detect public documents or "news letters" such as those from Terrie the Templar, the letter of Henry VI. to the King of France, and of the Genoese to Pope Urban, not quoted, but fused into the general mass of the history.<sup>2</sup> This fusion is a legitimate process and by no means detracts from the character of the work, but we must now consider the question of accuracy. Unfortunately in minor matters Newburgh is not unfrequently wrong. It will be admitted that for a history written for the most part in general terms the errors detailed below are rather numerous.<sup>3</sup> Others will be found to which attention has been called in foot-notes.

p. 29. The oaths of allegiance to Maud taken *after* her second marriage.

p. 33. The invasion of David of Scotland in 1136 repelled by force of arms.

Errors in the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*.

<sup>1</sup> Lambeth MS. 371, *fo.* 54, *l.* 17.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. H. C. Hamilton says that cap. xxv. of lib. ii. is a summary from FitzStephen. This is exceedingly probable, but I can unfortunately adduce no proof. Simi-

larly though St. Ailred, the famous abbot of Rievaulx, has probably been laid under contributions no sure signs can be quoted.

<sup>3</sup> The list only relates to the first four books.

- p. 34. The battle of the Standard in the fourth year of Stephen. Errors in  
the history.
- p. 59. The fall of Edessa due to the treachery of an enraged citizen.
- p. 92. Eleanor the *only* daughter of William X. of Guienne.
- p. 112. Geoffrey's rebellion [1156] said to follow the Welsh war of 1157.
- p. 121. The Toulouse expedition placed in 1160. William IX. of Aquitaine confused with William IV. of Toulouse.
- p. 133. The council of Oxford (1166) placed among the events of 1160.
- p. 126-8. Raymond Trencavel wrongly named, and an error as to the church in which he was murdered.
- p. 140. Becket is said never to have yielded assent to the constitutions of Clarendon.
- p. 146. Geoffrey married Constance of Brittany after her father's death.
- pp. 158-9. A confusion of the troubles caused by young Henry's marriage with those due to Breton affairs. The causes of the war of 1167 are alleged as the causes of the dispute which ended in 1161.
- p. 169. A wrong date for Henry's visit to Normandy in May 1172.
- p. 178. The two invasions of East Anglia (in 1173 and 1174) made into one in 1173.
- p. 198. No hostages given by William the Lion with the castles of Edinburgh, &c.
- p. 203. A wrong date for the arrival of Cardinal Hugo.
- p. 224. Andronicus described as uncle to Alexius II., and said to have married the intended bride of the latter.
- p. 235. A wrong date for the death of Archbishop Richard.

Errors in  
the history.

- p. 244. An error of eight years in the date of the capture of Naplous.
- p. 264. Bohemond said to have become Count of Tripoli after Raymond.
- p. 302. John related to his wife Hawisia in the fourth degree.
- p. 324. Richard sends messengers to Tancred to arrange for his entry into Messina. Some of them are killed, and the rest ejected. Richard then attacks the city.
- p. 327. Barbarossa took Thessalonica.
- p. 336. Arthur of Brittany stated to be a little more than five years old at a date before Longchamp's second expulsion.
- p. 344. The council at St. Paul's (8th Oct. 1191) placed after Longchamp's expulsion.
- p. 347. Richard married in Sicily.
- p. 351. Isaac Comnenus captured while hiding in a monastery.
- p. 368. The Ingeburga scandal (August 1193) is placed before Richard's capture (Dec. 1192), and Philip's proposal to marry the Count Palatine's daughter (in 1194) is made to follow immediately after the news of the imprisonment. (See pp. 368, and 384, 385.)

Other  
works  
attributed  
to William  
of New-  
burgh.

A few words must here be added as to other works assigned to Newburgh. We shall see (p. xlvi) that Ussher has attributed to him a treatise "*De rebus Terre Sanctæ*" which proves to be the early portion of the "*Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*." Pits does not include this, but gives the following list<sup>1</sup>:—

"*In Cantica Canticorum*," *Liber unus*: "Crebra  
"petitionis tuæ postulatio"<sup>2</sup>

"*De regibus Anglorum*," *libri duo*: "Primum os-  
"tendenda est origo causæ."

<sup>1</sup> De illustr. Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> Leland saw this in the library of Queens' Coll., Camb. See p. xviii, note 1.

*Commentariorum liber unus.*

*Sermonum liber unus.*

The last is in the Stowe and Lambeth MSS. and is printed in Hearne's edition, vol. iii. The theological books have not yet been identified.

This attribution of a book "*De regibus Anglorum*" beginning "*Primum ostendenda, &c.*" to our author now proves to be fallacious, for on *fo.* 97 *b.* of Cott. MS. Cleop. A. 1, a compilation mainly founded on Newburgh's real work, we find, after a blank page, the words "*Primum ostendenda est origo causæ qua Willelmus dux Normannorum Angliam appetiit.*"

Nine MSS. of Newburgh's chronicle are now extant. Sir T. Duffus Hardy enumerates eight, but he has omitted the Dublin MS. and one British Museum copy (Add. MS. 24, 981) and has included the Bodleian MS. 712 (2619), a mere compilation into which, however, large portions of Newburgh's work enter. Manu-  
scripts of  
New-  
burgh's  
history.

The complete list comprises the following, the letters subjoined being those by which they are quoted. The Groups  
into which  
they fall. grouping shows their relationships.

Group 1	{	Stowe, 857 . . . . .	(xii. cent.) (S).
		Lambeth, 73 . . . . .	(xiii. cent.) (L).
Group 2	{	Cott. Vesp. B. vi. . . . .	(xiii. cent.) (C).
Group 3	{	Bodl. Rawl. B. 192 . . . . .	(xiii. cent.) (B).
		Trin. Coll. Dubl., E. 4. 21	(xiv. cent.) (D).
		Br. Mus. Addit., 24,981 . . . . .	(xv. cent.) (A).
Group 4	{	C.C.C. Camb., cclxii. . . . .	(xiv. cent.) (G).
		Bodl. Digby 101 . . . . .	(xiv. cent.) (O).
		Bibl. Reg. 13 B. ix. . . . .	(xv. cent.) (R).

The author's original manuscript is not extant, but careful examination gives reason for thinking that S. C. and possibly B., the leading MSS. of groups 1, 2, and 3, were derived from it.<sup>1</sup> The origin of group 4 is not so certain.

<sup>1</sup> Such indications are to be seen for example in the readings given in the following notes:—1, p. 37; 3, p. 40; 7 and 8, p. 74; 4, p. 80; 11, p. 116; 1, p. 126; 2, p. 140. These instances could be indefinitely multiplied. The case of B., however, presents some difficulties.

Manu-  
scripts.  
MS. "S."

[S.] The Stowe MS. This MS., which has within the last year become once more available for study, is the one on which Hearne founded his edition of 1719. It is a beautifully written copy in a hand of the 12th cent., of small folio size, with double columns of 32 lines.<sup>1</sup> The hand perhaps changes once or twice, though the differences of style are very slight, so slight as to induce hesitation in pronouncing a definite opinion:

Unfortunately this copy has in two places<sup>2</sup> suffered mutilation, the missing leaves, comprising in all about 34 pages of print, being supplied by a modern transcript. On the first page of the history a 14th cent. hand has written the words *Liber S. Mariae de Novo Burgo*, and on the preceding fly-leaf we find a small table of contents:—

“Liber Sanctae Mariae de Novoburgo.

“In hoc volumine continentur hæc:—

“Historia Anglorum.

“Omelia super ‘Cum loqueretur Jesus ad turbas.’

“Sermo de Trinitate,

“Sermo de sancto Albano.”

There are various other mediæval notes. One remarks that the canon who wrote the book had seen S. Godric in his old age. Another, at the end, quotes Hoveden as to the date of the death of S. William of York. Perhaps the most interesting are some notes written with a style at the back of the last written page, for these almost obliterated lines may possibly be in the hand of William of Newburgh himself. They seem to be notes of two quotations which he actually uses in his work; the first, of which the words “in bello fortes fuerint,” are most easily legible, occurs on p. 11 at line 18, and is derived from Gildas; the second, “quantum cum habentur, tem-

<sup>1</sup> It contains very few errors. Most of these are misspellings, *fideris* (*faderis*), *loborabat*, &c. The point noticed on p. 172, note 2,

shows that it was, as might be expected, taken from the author's rough draft.

<sup>2</sup> The appendix is also defective.



“poralia hæret amor tantum cum subtrahuntur urit <sup>Manu-</sup>  
“dolor,” is used on p. 38, line 3, and is there stated to <sup>scripts.</sup>  
be from St. Gregory.

The volume once belonged to Sir Roger Twysden, and was bought “16 Aug. 1633, pretium 16s.” It then belonged to Sir Thomas Sebright, who lent it to Hearne. Later it passed into the Stowe collection, and then fell into the hands of the Lords Ashburnham, and did not become available for study until the summer of 1883.

[L.] The MS. No. 73 in the Archbishop’s library at <sup>MS. “L.”</sup>  
Lambeth is a handsome folio copy of the 13th century, written in double columns of 41 lines.<sup>1</sup> Newburgh’s history extends from fo. 1 to fo. 103 a., and is followed by a sermon on the text, “Cum loqueretur Jesus ad “turbas,” which is also found in the Stowe MS. Then, introduced by the words “*Tractatus ejusdem ad eundem super hunc versum, ‘Benedicamus Patrem et Filium cum Sancto Spiritu,’*” follows the “*Sermo de Trinitate*” complete.

Only a fragment of this sermon appears in S., and a large portion of the “*Sermo de S. Albano,*” complete in L., has in S. lost a considerable part of the beginning.

In the Lambeth copy the “Shepherd” of Hermas concludes the volume. This is not in S. From the words “*Tractatus ejusdem ad eundem,*” we may conclude that William of Newburgh wrote these sermons<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the following note at the end this copy appears to have belonged to the monks of Buildwas, Shropshire: — “Anno domini millesimo trecentesimo primo, contentione mota in capitulo generali apud Cistercium inter abbates de Savigniaeo et de Bildewas, de paternitate domus sanetæ Mariæ juxta Dubiliniam, idem capitulum

“cognita veritate, tandem diffinivit sic: ‘Filiationem abbatie beatæ Mariæ juxta Dubiliniam, auditis rationibus utriusque partis et diligentius examinatis, abbati de Bildewas adjudicat Capitulum Generale.’”

<sup>2</sup> See Hearne’s preface, p. x. note 1.

Manu-  
scripts.

and dedicated them, as well as his history, to abbot Ernald of Rievaulx.

There can be little doubt that L. is a copy taken direct from S. The reasons why it has nevertheless been quoted are these: (i.) At the time this edition was begun the Stowe MS. was not accessible, and before it became available the greater part of L. had been collated. (ii.) There are gaps amounting to many pages in S., and as L. thus remains as the basis of a small but yet not inconsiderable part of the edition, a full collation of it with S. in the other portions demonstrates its high authority for the passages in which it has to act as the foundation of the text.

MS. "C."

[C.] MS. Cotton, Vesp. B. VI. This is an early 13th century copy presenting the complete text, and is a most valuable manuscript. It is contained in a quarto volume written in double columns of 32 lines.

This volume includes a miscellaneous collection of treatises, Newburgh's History occupying ff. 111 to 182 b. There is on fo. 111 the following note: "Mr. Savell gave me this book in Trinitie terme, an<sup>o</sup>. Dni. 1569<sup>o</sup>." This identifies one of the copies referred to by Archbishop Ussher (Hearne's ed. p. 806).

Many peculiarities (see p. 80, note 4) tend to show that it is derived from the author's rough draft, which would on doubt be lent by the canons of Newburgh after their own fair copy had been taken. One special point which a careful examination of this copy has elicited may be noted here. On fo. 133, at the foot of the page and in a different hand from the text are the following notes:—

"Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>. CLXVIII<sup>o</sup>. obiit Matildis imperatrix et Bigodus Abbas noster, cui successit Edwardus.

"Anno Domini MCLXXVI. Impositum est silentium canonicis Sanctæ Frideswide apud Oxoniam a Gileberto Londoniensi episcopo et Rogero Wigornensi episcopo ex mandato papæ Alexandri iij. ne quam ulterius controversiam adver-

“ sus ecclesiam de Oseneia moverent a qua abjudicati fuerant  
 “ a . . . . ”<sup>1</sup> Manu-  
scripts.

On *fo.* 145 is a note :—

“ Anno Domini MCLXXXIII. obiit Edwardus abbas ij.  
 “ Oseneiæ, qui præfuit annis xvj. mense uno diebus x. Cui  
 “ successit Hugo de Bukyngham.”

There is thus no question that this MS. belonged to the Augustine canons of Osenei Abbey, and this fact, by explaining another circumstance, brings us as it were into the actual presence of another early chronicle.

Late in the 13th century Thomas Wykes was a canon of Osenei, and if we turn to his chronicle in the “*Annales Monastici*,”<sup>2</sup> we find that much of the earlier part of his work, necessarily for remoter times a compilation, consists of extracts from the treatise of William of Newburgh, like himself an Augustinian canon; indeed in his preliminary remarks<sup>3</sup> Wykes has the following passage :—

“ Venerabilis Beda, Willelmus de Newburge, Matthæus de Parys, et plerique prædecessores nostri historiographi famosissimi gesta Anglorum sufficienter conscripserunt, nihil memorabile relinquentes.”

It is hardly to be doubted then that the volume now among the Cottonian MSS. has been handled and perused by Thomas Wykes himself.

[B.] The MS. in the Bodleian Library catalogued as MS. “B.” Rawlinson B. 192 is a late 13th century copy in a cursive hand, and belongs to the group which includes the Dublin fragment and Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 24,981. It is a quarto of 95 leaves, written in double columns of about thirty-six lines and contains no other treatise. The book formerly belonged to Sir J. Jekyll. Several points show that like C. it was derived from an ill-written cursive original.

<sup>1</sup> Mutilated by the binder.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. The citations from Newburgh end on p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> p. 7.

Manu-  
scripts.

It is amusing to notice that no less than five distinct handwritings appear in the first five and a half columns. Four monks tried to decipher the original they were set to transcribe, each in succession failing, until at the sixth column the work was handed over to the quick, capable penman who carried it through to its close, and who concluded with the astonishing couplet,

Explicit, explicat: ludere scriptor cat.

Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo.

Ascription  
of the  
history to  
William of  
Rufforth.

The initial rubric reads "*Liber Sanctæ Mariæ, Fratris Willelmi<sup>1</sup> monachi de Rufforth.*"

The copyist was certainly a clever scribe, but his swift pen is too often guilty of imperfect and blundered words. Rarely did he stop to correct his errors, trusting to a revision no doubt, but scarcely to the particular one which actually took place,—about a hundred and twenty years later.

This revision has been the source of great perplexity in using the manuscript, but unless otherwise stated all various readings refer to the work of the original hand. The perverting copy must have been as corrupt as Addit. MS. 24,981 or more so, or the so-called corrector must have been guilty of conjectural emendations on a large scale. Happily he quickly grew tired of falsifying and mutilating, and the bulk of the MS., which is valuable, is but little injured. The text is not quite complete, certain chapters having been omitted, apparently being regarded as of little interest.<sup>2</sup>

MS. "D." [D.] The Dublin manuscript (MS. Trin. Coll. Dublin, E. 4. 21), a fragment containing the 4th and 5th books only, is for several reasons specially important: It is a small quarto, written for the most part in a clear 14th century hand, and is unusually free from contractions.

<sup>1</sup> The rubric at this point is so much rubbed that the word *Willelmi* can be little more than guessed at.

<sup>2</sup> These are: Lib. ii., 14, 15, 20, 21; lib. iii., 3, 21 (partially); lib. v. is complete.

The component parts of the volume as it now stands are (i.) a metrical version of the Psalms, with a few canticles; (ii.) a metrical treatise, "*De duodecim abusivis seculi*"; (iii.) the 4th and 5th books of Newburgh, extending from *fo.* 52 to *fo.* 155; (iv.) a spurious chapter annexed to Newburgh, written on *ff.* 155 and 156; and lastly, after a blank page (v.) a chronicle of the affairs of the Holy Land, which proves to be a fragment of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*. This, which will be further described below, extends from *fo.* 157 to *fo.* 176 *a.*, and is in a hand which appears nowhere else in the volume.

Manu-  
scripts.

MS. "D." contains part of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*.

The Newburgh manuscript belongs to the same group as A. and B. That it is not a transcript from the latter, however, is evident from several points; for instance, it contains (see p. 383, note 9) a small passage which B. accidentally omits. The group A. B. D. is the one which is represented by Picard's edition.

Turning to Hearne's edition, pp. 804-807, we find a copy of some notes by Archbishop Ussher as to the peculiarities of the MSS. which belonged to Savile, Bromley, and Josselin written in the copy which belonged to himself. We learn that the Savile<sup>1</sup> and Bromley MSS. contained the following chapters in excess of the archbishop's own copy:—Lib. iii. cap. 13; lib. iv. cap. 36; lib. v. chapters 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, and 33.<sup>2</sup> Josselin's MS. also contained these chapters, except 22, 23, and 33; but it had, and alone had, a chapter, "*De principis Salahadini et de visione camerarii regis Ierosolimorum*," following chapter 34.<sup>3</sup> Now

<sup>1</sup> This is now Cott. Vesp. B. vi., see p. xlii.

<sup>2</sup> The Corpus MS. [G.] also omits chapters 6 and 7 of Book V. So also R.

<sup>3</sup> The last genuine chapter of Newburgh (*De concordia*, &c.) and the spurious chapter are in a 14th century hand of very peculiar character.

Manu-  
scripts.

the Dublin MS. contains all the chapters named, except Nos. 22, 23, 24,<sup>1</sup> and 33, and alone of all existing MS. of Newburgh it presents the chapter, "*De principiis*." The archbishop further notes that the whole of the chapter except the story of the chamberlain's vision, "ex libro Gulielmi. Newbrigensis '*De rebus Terre Sanctæ*' desumptum est: qui in eodem Jo. Jossellini MS. exemplari, ejusdem Gulielmi Anglicæ Historiæ est subjectus." This treatise, "*De rebus Terre Sanctæ*," is in the Dublin MS, and in that alone, and therefore, despite the no doubt accidental discrepancy as to chapter 24 of book v. noted above, we may regard Josselin's MS. as identified with the Dublin copy.

The authorship of the early part of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* wrongly attributed to Newburgh.

The importance of this as regards our author has now to be shown. In the above quotation Ussher speaks of the treatise "*De rebus Terre Sanctæ*" as having been written by Newburgh, and in Sir T. Duffus Hardy's Catalogue of MSS. the matter is again mentioned.<sup>2</sup> The circumstance on which this statement is grounded is one which has in many other cases given rise to similarly fallacious attributions.

The chapter "*De principiis*" is written in the peculiar hand of the scribe who corrected errors in the Newburgh MS., and who wrote chapter 34 of book v. It furnishes an account of the rise of Saladin, and includes a vision respecting an eagle flying over the Christian army. As an addition to Newburgh's history this narrative is absurdly out of place, the chronicler having

<sup>1</sup> A difference not noted in Archbishop Ussher's collation of the chapters.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 116. In the same sentence it is erroneously stated that Josselin's MS. was used by Silvius for his edition of 1567. He

used a MS. of the G. O. R. group, omitting all the chapters which those MSS. do not contain, and admitting readings peculiar to them, e.g., *ferventibus* (note 1, p. 226). See also the clause on p. 300 (note 13): this is omitted by Silvius.

already recorded the death of Saladin (p. 381). This, however, is not the sole peculiarity, for the first part reappears verbatim on *fo.* 158 *b.*, and the second on *fo.* 59 *b.* of the MS. of the treatise "*De rebus Terræ Sanctæ.*" Here the contents of the chapter are in their due place, but on comparison with the "*Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*" it will be seen that we have in this MS. no work of Newburgh's, but a hitherto unknown copy of the treatise of Richard the Canon.

It begins on *fo.* 147 *a.* with the words :—

"Solet nonnunquam accidere ut res quantumlibet notas et  
"eximie gestas . . ."

Special features of the fragment of the *Itinerarium.*

and ends on *fo.* 176, col. 1, with a remarkable passage which occurs in no other extant manuscript :—

"Fidenter dicimus, quod in Domino obdormierit ejus vita  
"laudabilis et labem nesciens, ejus obitus non minus miraculosus  
"exstitit quam universoni exercitui nostro lugendus  
"libet paulisper digredi et vocitatem stilo succinctiore perstringere,  
"ut nec testis virtutibus nec longiore tractu brevitatis affectata  
"turbetur."<sup>1</sup>

This point is marked by note 2 on p. 124 of the Rolls edition of the *Itinerarium.* It should be observed that there is not a word in the MS. which indicates the authorship.

This is not the place to go further into the matter, but it is noteworthy that the treatise which was once attributed to Geoffrey de Vinesauf should now prove to have been also attributed to William of Newburgh. It is certain that Newburgh saw the *Itinerarium*, and transcribed some of its contents, and it is found juxtaposed with his history in the Dublin MS. Still more, a spurious chapter has been made to act as a link between

<sup>1</sup> This portion of the *Itinerarium* appears as an anonymous chronicle in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, pp. 1150-72. Bongars says "Ejus

"nobis copiam fecit Nicolaus Ser-  
"vinus Regius in Parl. Paris. ad-  
"vocatus."

Manu- the two works. But for all this the ascription is too  
scripts. absurd for argument.<sup>1</sup>

MS. "A." [A.] Brit. Mus. Addl. MS. 24,981. This, like R., is an utterly degraded 15th century copy, but it belongs to the group B. D., and like those MSS. omits some chapters. It was bought recently in Paris, and may have been used by Picard. There are few ornamentations, and the lines run across the entire page.

MS. "G." [G.] The manuscript in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is a small folio volume fairly written in double columns of forty lines, and apparently completed by a single scribe. The character of the handwriting leads to the belief that the transcript was made in the earlier half of the fourteenth century. There is no other treatise in the volume.

On examination, this MS. proves to belong to the class which contains Bodleian MS. Digby 101 and B.M. Bibl. Reg. 13. B. ix. It omits the twelve chapters<sup>2</sup> which are left out of the Antwerp edition of 1587, but there is the further peculiarity that in Book I, the chapters which in all editions are numbered 14 and 15 are found in the MS. after Cap. 17.

Even apart from these imperfections of the text, there is but little to be said in favour of this MS. It contains gross mistakes, and these, though not so numerous as in the utterly degraded 15th cent. copies in the British Museum, are still abundant enough to render the copy undesirable for collation.

It is perhaps worthy of remark that the following note printed by Hearne (p. 806) among extracts from Arch-

<sup>1</sup> No reader of Newburgh's work could entertain the idea. Obviously he had never travelled south of Humber.

<sup>2</sup> See p. lv., note 2. These have been supplied by a hand believed to

be that of Josselin, Archbishop Parker's secretary. The mode in which the new pages are introduced gives at first sight the erroneous idea that they are intended to complete a *mutilated* MS.



bishop Ussher's papers is written in the margin of Cap. Manu- 36., Lib. iv. in the Corpus MS. :— scripts.

“De hac expulsionē conqueritur Nigellus monachus  
“ Cantuar. in epistola ad Willielmum Eliensem.”

It would seem probable therefore that the Archbishop had had this copy in his hands.

Three chapters (1-3, Lib. iv.), have been collated with this copy, and a small number of selected readings from it are given at various points.

[O.] The Bodleian MS., Digby 161, referred to above, MS. “O.” classes with the Corpus MS., and Brit. Mus. Reg. 13 B. ix. It is a fairly written 14th cent. copy in small quarto. It has been referred to in places, but is not worth collating.

[R.] The British Museum MS., Reg. 13 B. ix. is a MS. “R.” large quarto written in double columns, and is one of those astounding productions of the 15th century, which tell eloquently of a lapse from the high purpose of the early monastic system. It is difficult to understand of what service this MS. could have been to its possessors, except as an exercise in the art of conjectural emendation. It is a degraded specimen of the G. and O. group, and omits the chapters which G. has neglected. Some of the decrees of the Lateran council are also omitted.

The omission of so many as twelve chapters from the G. O. R. group of MSS. raises the question whether we are to regard them as the representatives of a first edition put forward by the author, and the S., L., and C. groups as the revised work. Apart from the fact that in S., L., and C. the work ends abruptly there is much to negative the idea, and to show that these chapters were omitted by the deliberate choice of the transcribers:—

[i.] The A., B., D. group exhibits a considerably different series of omissions, one or all of these MSS. leaving out the chapters about the council of Tours, S. Godric, Ketell, the decrees of the third Lateran council, the epistle of Gregory, and the four chapters in the fifth book

Points  
tending to  
show that  
Newburgh  
did not  
issue a  
revised  
copy of his  
work.

as to corpses emerging from the grave. Reasons for all these omissions can be assigned. The canon law could be better read elsewhere; Reginald of Durham had written a better account of S. Godric; and the prodigious stories were neither important nor easily credible.

[ii.] The decrees of the third Lateran council, *wholly* omitted from B., are *partially* included in R. Plainly it was a weariness to write out that which would be more satisfactorily read in special treatises on the Canon Law.

[iii.] Though each group contributes desirable corrections of isolated words, only in two or three cases of obvious interpolation does any manuscript supply a supplementary fact, in no case the correction of an historical error.<sup>1</sup> The exceptions relate to the insertions of the names of persons too vaguely indicated in the text. A. for instance inserts "*nomine Adalem*" (p. 31, note 4).<sup>2</sup> These, however, are obvious interpolations from other sources of information.

New-  
burgh's  
character  
as a his-  
torian.

Having thus discussed the main points connected with Newburgh's chronicle, the general question of value and historical credibility remains for consideration. The authorities for the reigns of Stephen, Henry, and Richard, distribute themselves very unevenly. For Stephen we have the last portion of the Anglosaxon chronicle and Huntingdon, to whose account Newburgh adds some interesting matter. Then up to varying dates we have Ordericus Vitalis and the Hexham and Rievaulx histories, Malmesbury, the continuation of Florence of Worcester, and the "*Gesta Stephani*," but from 1154 to 1170 when the clear light of Benedict's chronicle shines across the path there is little, and that little of the most uncertain character.

<sup>1</sup> R. breaks away once into a refutation of Newburgh's views as to King Arthur. See note 4, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> C. inserts *Robert* in another place, p. 40, note 1.

Diceto, Gervase, and Hoveden deal with this period, but they are not really contemporary as actual recorders of events, though all lived through the period. Newburgh's character as a historian.

The "*Draco Normannicus*" of Étienne de Rouen also is contemporary, but it is a poem and is vague where precision would be peculiarly welcome. Unfortunately we are not yet in full possession of the "*Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*," though the specimens published exhibit similar faults. The poem, moreover, was not written till about 1230.<sup>1</sup>

Lastly, there is Newburgh, who was a lad of eighteen when this period commenced, and a man of thirty-four when it ended, and who, had he been in a favourable position, would doubtless have left us a luminous history.

His account of these years, "the darkest since the ninth century," is valuable through the scarcity of material for the period. When Benedict takes up the narrative, Newburgh's strong sense and discrimination, his righteous spirit, his eloquent pen, and his ideas in advance of the age still call for our respect and interest us in his story, though his vagueness frequently disappoints us. Of course he must be judged as a historian not as a chronicler, but then the standard must be all the more severe. When we see Benedict mistaking or misplacing, his isolated error does but rouse us to a sense of wonder at his general accuracy. When, however, our historian, our commentator and interpreter, errs in his *obiter dicta*, we hesitate to believe that his conclusions always rest on sound bases of fact.

---

<sup>1</sup> This poem gives decided support to the account given by Giraldus of the death illness of Henry II. It shows that *after* the treaty of Azay he went to Chinon, and that while there he lay for three days delirious, saying nothing that could be understood. (Lines 9091-4.)

En tel peine e en tel dolor  
Fu travalliez tresque al terz jor.  
Il parlout, mais nuls ne saveit  
Prou entendre ke il diseit.

It is therefore impossible, as he died on the 6th, that he could have concluded the treaty on July 4. See p. 278, note 4.

New-  
burgh's  
character  
as a his-  
torian.

Assuredly we can trust Newburgh to give us the general ideas of his time. If he is not always in possession of full details, as he sometimes frankly admits, he knows the results of which they are the invisible components, and which formed the public opinion of his day, and we may thus test and regulate the opinions we derive from the detailed and sometimes, though rarely, defective or contradictory utterances of such men as Benedict and Hoveden.

Newburgh's work, though now shown to have far less of the character of an original composition than has hitherto been supposed, is one which no modern historian can afford to ignore, but it should be referred to after other chronicles for the sake of supplemental facts and for general statements fresh from a keen philosophical mind. It would occupy too much space to indicate even a small proportion of the facts as to which Newburgh is the principal authority or as to which he greatly adds to our knowledge, but as mere specimens we may cite the accounts of Archbishop Ealdred, of the siege of Rouen in 1174, of the negotiation between Longchamp and William the Lion, of the outbreak against the Jews in the first year of Richard, and of the affair of William Longbeard. Others have been already casually mentioned. Even so late as the reign of Richard I. when the national records begin to increase in fulness and variety, and Richard of Devizes and the author of the *Itinerarium* vie with Hoveden in giving us information, we cannot dispense with Newburgh's testimony as to home events which, overshadowed by the stirring news pouring in from the East, are not presented to us by any chronicler with the clearness and abundance we could desire. Newburgh has been called a partisan of John, but surely by some one who never studied his work, for if we remember that we are reading the writings of a man who was never to hear either of the murder of Arthur or of the villanies of John's later years we shall be surprised by

merciless exposures of motives which were to lead to those deeds. Again, in his account of the Becket tragedy we are struck by the courageous independence of mind he shows. This impartiality is the more striking as we know that Becket on one occasion actively interfered on behalf of the canons of Newburgh, entreating Pope Alexander III. to save them from the oppressive action of Archbishop Roger of York.<sup>1</sup> In one special instance we may decide that Newburgh fails to help us to the real meaning of events. It is scarcely giving us a clue to the interpretation of Longchamp's acts to say, as Newburgh in effect does, that they were wholly due to a desire for personal aggrandisement.

Newburgh's character as a historian.

That the prelate was ambitious and overbearing is indubitable, but there was a real faithfulness to the King and a real endeavour to do what was best for the kingdom under conditions which were overwhelmingly difficult. Working for an absent master who plied him with demands for money, and who issued private instructions annulling public documents, Longchamp stood in an unenviable position bearing the blame of Richard's duplicity on the one hand, and striving on the other to hold secure against a powerful traitor a kingdom in which there were elements apparently capable of reproducing the hideous drama of Stephen's reign. All this we see and much more, and we cannot praise Newburgh as an interpreter at this interesting point. Similarly at an earlier period he inadequately explains for us the quarrels of Henry with his sons which fill so much of the years 1173-1189. Even the story of the celebrated interview at which Richard did homage to Philip in Henry's presence, is narrated, without a hint of underlying causes. Indeed, if our knowledge of Henry's reign were confined to what Newburgh has told us of it

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<sup>1</sup> Canon Robertson, *Mat. for Hist. of Becket*, v. 298.

New-  
burgh's  
character  
as a his-  
torian

we should never have heard of Rosamond Clifford, of the Princess Alais,<sup>1</sup> nor even of Eleanor's imprisonment.

A true delineation of policy and personal motives is, of course, essential to the classification of events. The public designs and even the private motives of a prince or powerful minister, when thoroughly revealed to us, cause detached incidents to fall into broad masses, and to become intelligible in their association as well as in their isolation. We can excuse Newburgh for not seeing how valuable posterity would have considered a detailed exposition of Henry's arrangements for the administration of justice, or an account of the industries of the twelfth century, but at a date when a king's private vices were political forces the leading facts as to the three unhappy women named above are necessary elements of a true history, and we marvel that we hear so little of them. It would be ungrateful for us, the living section of that posterity in whose service the sick canon spent his last days, to treat his nobly written pages with any approach to disrespect, but we must bend somewhat to the demand that all things should be shown in true perspective. That reverence should not exaggerate is now perhaps more loudly demanded than that criticism should not unduly diminish; still we must be cautious in both respects, and certainly in endeavouring to settle the rank among ancient historians which is to be allowed to any author no good will be done by general terms of praise. Not the worst tribute to William of Newburgh, who loved truth so well, must surely be a kindly but impartial analysis of his valuable work.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> If the omission of these two cases is attributed to modest reticence, it must be replied that the author could surely tell of a king that which he has told of Bishop Hugh of Durham (lib. v. cap. 11).

He only alludes in general terms to Henry's conjugal infidelity.

<sup>2</sup> We may observe the favourable judgment of several mediæval writers as shown by their founding their own histories upon the *His-*

The first edition of Newburgh's history was issued by Silvius, at Antwerp, 12mo., 1567. It omits many chapters<sup>1</sup> and contains a marvellous number of mistakes. It was printed from a manuscript allied to the G.O.R. group, but apparently not now extant. This edition was reprinted by Commeline in a collection of English chronicles (Heidelberg 1587). Antwerp Edition, 1567.  
Heidelberg reprint, 1587.

John Picard published an edition at Paris in 1610,<sup>2</sup> derived from a MS. of the A.B.D. type. A marginal note, p. 17, states that his manuscript adds the words "nomine Adalem" in cap. 4 of Lib. 1. The words occur in Br. M. Addl. MS. 24,981, but Picard has included readings from the Antwerp edition, and has thus rendered it difficult to be certain as to his copy.<sup>3</sup> Picard's edition, 1610.

This edition, though still not quite complete,<sup>4</sup> and though somewhat incorrect, is much better than the Antwerp volume, the editor having added some useful notes.

The first really complete edition was published by Thomas Hearne in 1719 (Oxford, 3 vols. 8vo.). The third volume contains a reprint of Picard's notes with Hearne's discursive additions, and includes the sermons attributed to Newburgh. This edition is mainly founded on the Stowe MS., the Lambeth copy being used where the former has lost pages. Hearne's edition, 1719.

*toria Rerum Anglicarum.* Thomas Wykes, Walter Hemingburgh, and John Brompton have more or less done this. So also have the anonymous compilers whose works are in Bodl. MS. 712, and Cott. MS. Cleop. A. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iii., 13 (though the title is duly included in the elenchus); ꝑib. iv. 36; lib. v., 6, 7, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 33. Cap. 3 of lib. iii. is deficient, omitting all after

the point noted on p. 214, note 7. The same chapter is defective in Picard's edition.

<sup>2</sup> I have not been able to see a copy which bears the date 1632.

<sup>3</sup> He says, "D. Rumetio in Senatu Parisiensi Advocato gratias age . . . Perhumane commodavit "vetus exemplar."

<sup>4</sup> Omitting the greater part of the decrees of the Third Lateran Council.

It is the fashion to decry Hearne's work; but so far as he has been able to use the best MS. he has made but very few blunders. For the remainder he has been compelled to trust to a friend's transcript, and there are several errors within the compass of a few pages.

Hamilton's  
edition,  
1856.

The fourth edition was published in 1856 by the English Historical Society, and was edited by Mr. Hans Claude Hamilton. The editor was evidently unable to get access to the Stowe MS, and he therefore founded his edition on the Lambeth copy, collating with Hearne's edition, the Cottonian MS. Vesp. B. VI., and with MS. Bibl. Reg. 13 B. IX.

This edition has been of the greatest service in the preparation of the present volumes.

The pre-  
sent edi-  
tion.

5. The present edition was also originally founded on the Lambeth MS. (L.), but the basis was shifted after the purchase of the Ashburnham MSS. to the Stowe copy (S.). The text has been fully collated also with the Cottonian MS. (C.), and one of the Oxford copies. (Rawl. B. 192).

The fourth and fifth books have also been collated with the Dublin fragment, and many readings from the other manuscripts have been included in the notes.

The collation with the two principal MSS., the Stowe and the Cottonian, has been the subject of special care, but the Rawlinson and Lambeth MSS. have been only once read.

Various  
readings :  
attempts to  
reduce  
their  
number.

In order to keep down as far as possible the rising flood of various readings, the following rules have been observed :—

1. Variations in the spelling of classical names are not recorded.

2. Errors in orthography are not noticed when it is clear what word was intended.



3. Variations in certain proper names (a full list of which is given at the foot of the present page) are not included.<sup>1</sup> Such variations as *Turci*, *Thurei*, *Turchi*, *Willelmus*, *Wilelmus*, *Guilelmus*, *Gulielmus*, &c. can have no interest.

The foregoing analytical statement as to the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* has already run to an unexpected length, and any remarks which it may seem desirable to offer as to the times in which and of which William of Newburgh wrote must be reserved for the second volume.

I have in conclusion to express my sincere thanks to my friend Mr. Walter Rye for much assistance of a varied character. Another friend, Mr. Newenham Travers, has given me ready help in revising the proof sheets.

RICHARD HOWLETT.

Bromley, Kent,  
June 1884.

<sup>1</sup> Wholly neglected :—

*Willelmus, Saracensi, Londonia, Scotti, Turci, Rothomagus, Wintonia, Salesbiriensis, Aquitania, Tholomaida.*

Frequently neglected :—

*Northumbria, Runulphus de*

*Glanville, Thomas, Leicestria, Flandrensis, Octavianus, Walenses, Arragones, Tiberias, Notingham, Guido, Cinomannensis, Baldewinus.*

Their derivatives are also excluded to the same extent.



## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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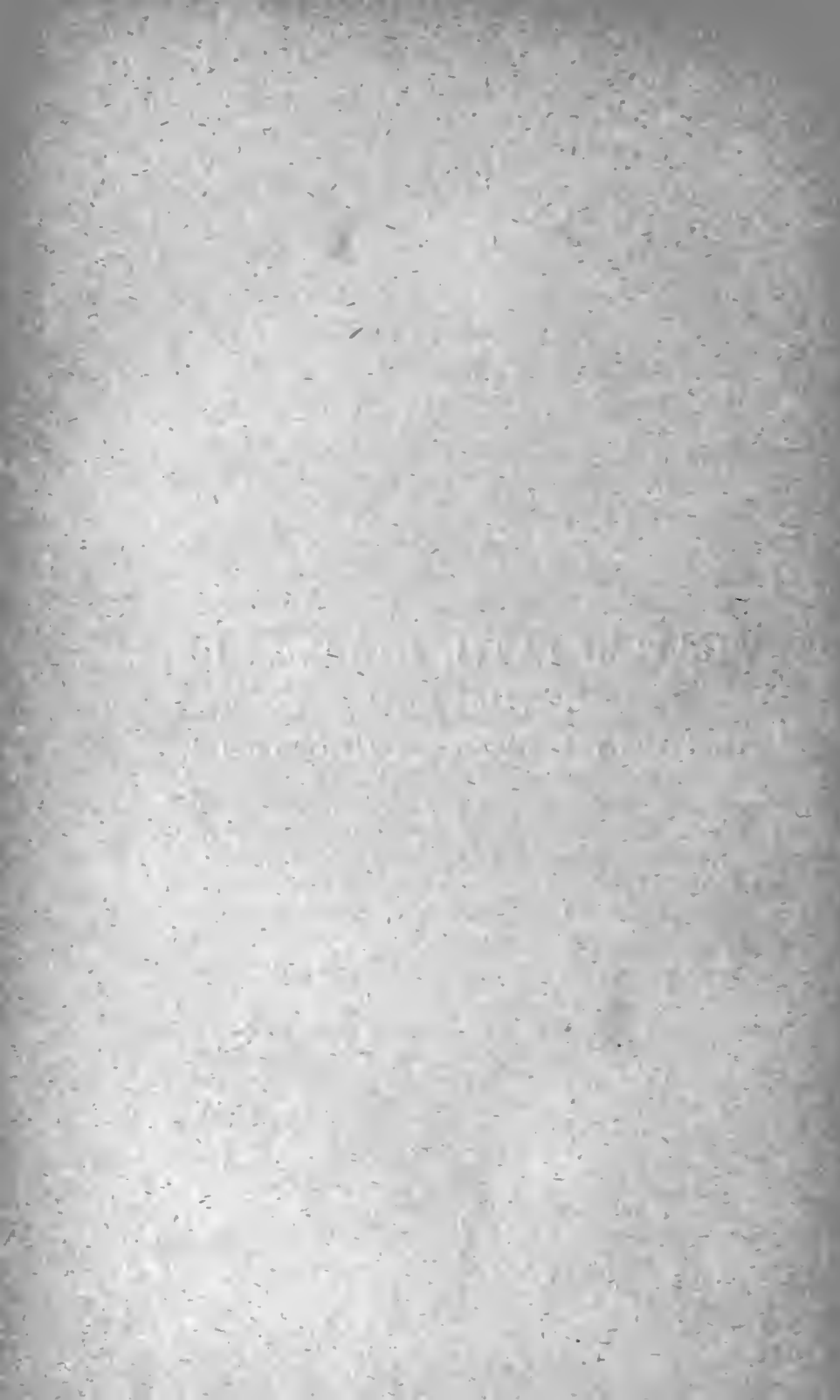
- p. 34, margin, *for* "York" *read* "Yorkshire."
- p. 116, note <sup>6</sup> { The letter *m* has dropped out of *notum* and the number of the note (<sup>6</sup>) has also disappeared.
- p. 120, note <sup>2</sup>, and }  
p. 136, note <sup>1</sup> } *for* "Labbé" *read* "Labbe."
- p. 131, margin opposite }  
Cap. XIII. and at the } *for* 1160 *read* 1166 (the authorities  
head of p. 132. } are given in note <sup>11</sup> on p. 134).
- p. 227, note <sup>3</sup>. Dele "S."
- p. 278, note <sup>4</sup> { The newly discovered "*Histoire de Guillaume le*  
" *Maréchal*" confirms Giraldus. See Preface  
to this volume, p. li, note <sup>1</sup>.
- p. 239 note <sup>8</sup> { The letters composing the name Barbarossa  
have become disarranged.



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WILLELMI PARVI, CANONICI DE  
NOVOBURGO,  
HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM.

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WILLELMI PARVI,  
CANONICI DE NOVOBURGO,  
HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM.

*Epistola*<sup>1</sup> *Willelmi viri religiosi, canonici de Novoburgo, prefationalis operis sequentis et apologetica ad Abbatem Rievallis.*<sup>2</sup>

Reverendo<sup>3</sup> patri et domino Ernaldo,<sup>4</sup> abbati Rievallis,<sup>5</sup> suus Willelmus,<sup>6</sup> servorum Christi minimus cum apparuerit Princeps pastorum immarcescibilem percipere gloriæ coronam. Literas sanctitatis vestre suscepti, quibus mihi studium et operam rerum memorabilium, quæ nostris temporibus copiosius provenerunt,<sup>7</sup> ad<sup>8</sup> notitiam cautelamque posterorum conscribendarum dignatur ingerere; cum ex illo venerabili filiorum vestrorum collegio plures vobis suppetant, qui hoc opus commodius valeant atque elegantius adimplere. Sed, ut video, pia prudentia vestra propriis filiis, circa observantiam militiæ regularis sudantibus, in hac parte ducens parcendum, indultum misericorditer infirmitati meæ otium non patitur esse otiosum. Et quidem vestræ circa me dignationi tanta sum devotione astrictus, ut, etiam si fortiora jubeatis, non audeam

Prefatory letter addressed to Ernald, abbot of Rievaulx.

<sup>1</sup> *Epistola*, &c., as above, L.S.; *Epistola Willelmi viri religiosi, canonici Noviburgi, ad Edelredum Abbatem Rievallis*, C.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> *Rievallis*, C.S.; *Rievallis*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *Reverendo*, C.L.S.; *reverentissimo*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Ernaldo*, L.S.; *Edelredo*, C.; *E.*, B.G.R. Ernald, abbot of Melrose, became abbot of Rievaulx

March 2, 1189, and resigned in 1199. Abbot Ailred (*Ethelredus* or *Ealredus*) died on the 12th of January, 1166.

<sup>5</sup> *Rievallis*, C.S.; *Rievallis*, L.; *Ryevallis*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *Willelmus*, L.S.; *W.*, A.B.C.R.

<sup>7</sup> *provenerunt*, B.C.S.; *pervenerunt*? L.

<sup>8</sup> *ad*, B.C.L.S.; *et ad*, R.

contraire. Nunc autem cum cauta discretio vestra, non altis scrutandis, mysticisque rimandis insistere, sed in narrationibus historicis præcipiat spatiari ad tempus, tanquam pro quadam ex facilitate operis recreatione ingenii, multo<sup>1</sup> magis excusandi mihi occasio tollitur. Itaque in<sup>2</sup> adjutorio Dei et Domini nostri, in cuius manu<sup>3</sup> sunt et nos et sermones nostri; fretus orationibus vestris, et sanctorum filiorum vestrorum, qui præcepto sanctitatis vestræ suas non contemnendas preces dignati sunt sociare, opus injunctum aggrediar; pauca sane, quæ ad rem pertinent, ante historiæ ingressum prælibans.

EXPLICIT EPISTOLA.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *multo*, B.C.L.S.; *tanto*, R.

<sup>2</sup> *in*, C.L.S.; erased from B.;  
om. A.

<sup>3</sup> *manu*, B.L.S.; *manus*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Explicit Epistola*, L.S.; om.  
A.B.C.

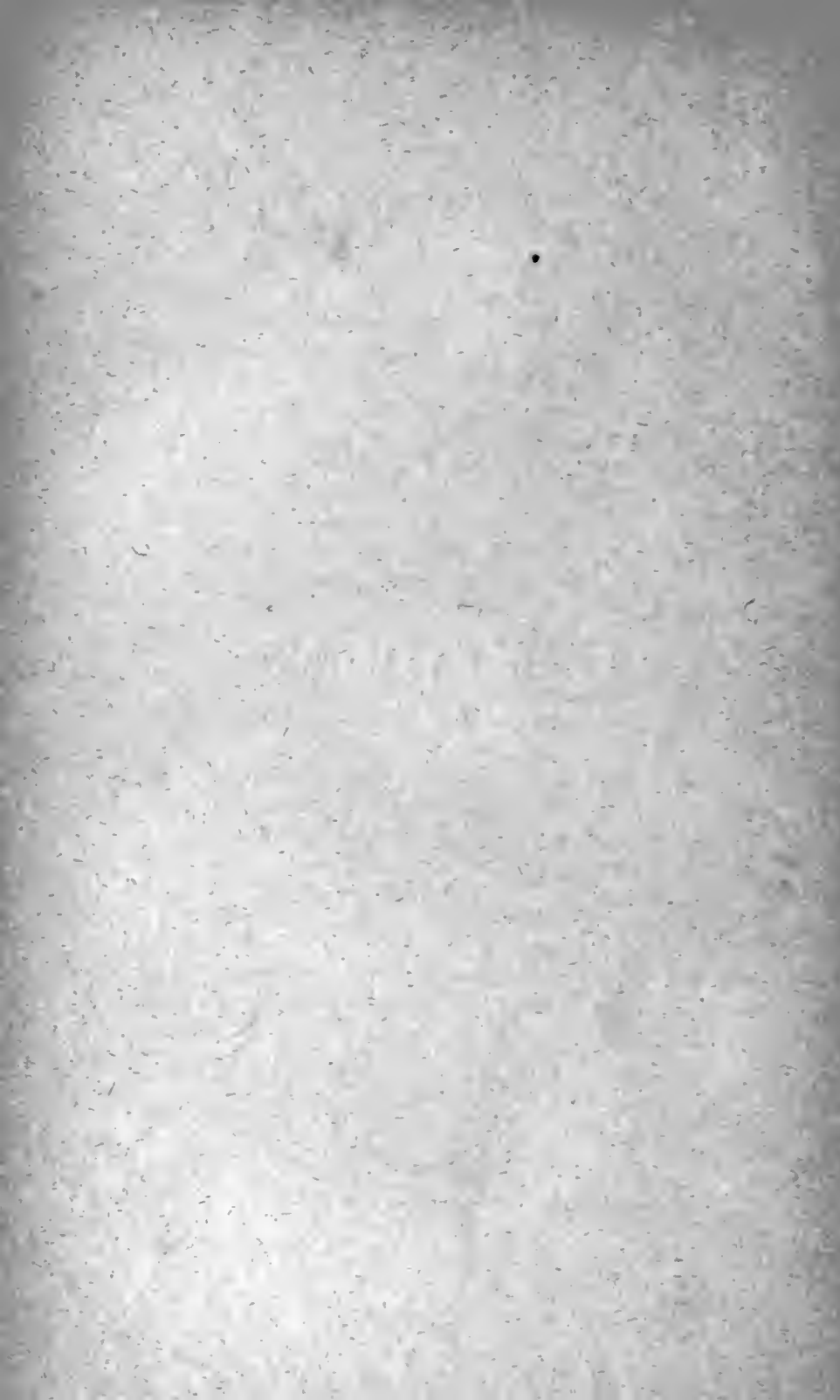


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**LIBER PRIMUS.**

A.D. 1066-1154.

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INCIPIUNT CAPITULA PRIMI LIBRI.<sup>1</sup>

Proemium sequentis historiae <sup>2</sup>	-	-	p. 11
Cap. 1. De Willelmo Notho, primo ex Normannis rege Anglorum	-	-	p. 20
Cap. 2. De Willelmo Rufo, <sup>3</sup> secundo ex Normannis rege Anglorum, et de expeditione Ierosolymitana	-	-	p. 23
Cap. 3. De Henrico, tertio ex Normannis rege Anglorum, et de quibusdam <sup>4</sup> quæ sub ejus regno contigerunt	-	-	p. 26
Cap. 4. Quomodo Stephanus contra jusjurandum invasit regnum Anglorum	-	-	p. 31
Cap. 5. Quod Stephanus fausta habuerit regni principia	-	-	p. 33
Cap. 6. De Rogerio Salesbiriensi <sup>5</sup> et Alexandro Lincolniensi episcopis, et quomodo capti sunt a rege Stephano	-	-	p. 35
Cap. 7. Quomodo Stephanus <sup>6</sup> regiam auctoritatem amiserit <sup>7</sup> cum Normannia	-	-	p. 38
Cap. 8. Quomodo rex Stephanus captus est apud <sup>8</sup> Lincolniam	-	-	p. 39
Cap. 9. Quomodo rex Stephanus liberatus est per captionem comitis Gloucestrensis	-	-	p. 41
Cap. 10. Quomodo imperatrix fugit de Oxenefordia, <sup>9</sup> et de concilio Lundoniensi	-	-	p. 42

<sup>1</sup> *Incipiunt . . . libri*, L.S.; om. C.; these words and the entire elenchus are omitted by A.B.R.

<sup>2</sup> *Proemium . . . historie*, L.S.; om. C.

<sup>3</sup> *Rufo*, L.S.; *Ruffo*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *quibusdam*, L.S., *quibusdam aliis*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *Salesbiriensi*, C.S.; *Salesbriensi*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Stephanus*, L.S.; *rex Stephanus*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *amiserit*, L.S.; *amisit*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *est apud*, L.S.; *est in bello apud*, C.

<sup>9</sup> *Oxenefordia*, L.S.; *Oxford*, C.

Cap. 11. De vita scelerata et condigno interitu Gaufridi de Magna Villa - - -	p. 44
Cap. 12. De Roberto Marmium et ejus interitu	p. 47
Cap. 13. De variis casibus regis Stephani -	p. 48
Cap. 14. De Thurstino <sup>1</sup> Eboracensi archiepi- scopo, et origine Rievallis <sup>2</sup> et Fontium	p. 49
Cap. 15. De origine Bellelandæ <sup>3</sup> - - -	p. 51
Cap. 16. De Gilleberto Sempingamensi, <sup>4</sup> et ordine quem instituit <sup>5</sup> - - -	p. 54
Cap. 17. Quomodo Willelmus Eboracensis non accepto pallio depositus sit, et quo- modo Henricus successerit <sup>6</sup> - - -	p. 55
Cap. 18. De causa expeditionis Ierosolymitanæ secundæ - - - - -	p. 57
Cap. 19. De errore Eudonis de Stella, et quo- modo periit - - - - -	p. 60
Cap. 20. Quomodo Conradus imperator et rex Lodovicus <sup>7</sup> exercitum duxerunt in orientem - - - - -	p. 65
Cap. 21. De Raimundo principe Antiocheno, et de <sup>8</sup> captione Ascalonæ - - -	p. 67
Cap. 22. De intestinis malis Angliæ sub rege Stephano - - - - -	p. 69
Cap. 23. De rege Scottorum David, et filio ejus, et filiis filii ejus - - -	p. 70
Cap. 24. De Wimundo episcopo, et inepisco- pali vita ejus, et quomodo excæ- catus est - - - - -	p. 73
Cap. 25. De Malcolm <sup>9</sup> Christianissimo rege Scottorum - - - - -	p. 76

<sup>1</sup> Thurstino, L.S.; Turstino, C.

<sup>2</sup> Rievallis, C.S.; Rievallis, L.

<sup>3</sup> Bellelandæ, L.S.; Bellondia,  
C.

<sup>4</sup> Gilleberto Sempingamensi, S.;  
Gilberto Sempringamensi, L.; Gil-  
berto Sempingomensi, C.

<sup>5</sup> instituit, L.S.; constituit, C.

<sup>6</sup> successerit, C.; successit, L.S.

<sup>7</sup> Lodovicus, S.; Lodowicus, C.L.

<sup>8</sup> de, L.S.; om. C.

<sup>9</sup> Malcolm, L.S.; Malcolono, C.

Cap. 26. De institutione Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, et restitutione Willelmi Eboracensis, et de morte ejus <sup>1</sup>	- p. 78
Cap. 27. De viridibus pueris	- p. 82
Cap. 28. De quibusdam prodigiis	- p. 84
Cap. 29. De successibus Henrici secundi <sup>2</sup> tem- pore ducatus sui	- p. 87
Cap. 30. De concordia inter regem Stephanum et ducem Henricum celebrata	- p. 90
Cap. 31. De divortio inter regem Francorum et uxorem ejus celebrato, et quo- modo ipsa nupserit futuro regi Anglorum	- p. 92
Cap. 32. De concilio Lundoniensi, et morte regis Stephani	- p. 94

*Expliciunt capitula.*<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *et . . . ejus, L.S.; om. C.*

<sup>2</sup> *secundi, L.S.; secundi in Anglia, C.*

<sup>3</sup> *C. omits these words.*



## INCIPIT LIBER PRIMUS.

### *Proœmium sequentis Historiæ.<sup>1</sup>*

Historiam gentis nostræ, id est,<sup>2</sup> Anglorum, venerabilis presbyter et monachus Beda conscripsit. Qui Early historians : Bede. nimirum, præsumpto altius exordio, ut ad id quod specialiter intendebat competentius accederet, etiam Britonum, qui nostræ insulæ primi incolæ fuisse noscuntur, celebriora subtili brevitæ gesta perstrinxit.

Habuit autem gens Britonum ante nostrum Bedam proprium historiographum Gildam, quod et Beda testatur, quædam ejus verba suis literis inserens : sicut Gildas. ipse probavi, cum ante annos aliquot in ejusdem Gildæ librum legendum incidissem. Cum enim sermone sit admodum impolitus atque insipidus, paucis eum vel transcribere vel habere curantibus, raro invenitur. Integritatis tamen<sup>3</sup> ejus non leve documentum est, quia Strict impartiality of Gildas. in veritate promendæ propriæ genti non pareit, et cum admodum parce bona de suis loquatur, multa in eis mala deplorat ; nec veretur, ut verum non taceat, Brito de Britonibus scribere, quod nec in bello fortes fuerint, nec in pace fideles. At contra quidam nostris temporibus, pro expiandis his Britonum maculis, scriptor emersit, ridicula de eisdem<sup>4</sup> figmenta contexens, eosque longe supra virtutem Macedonum et Romanorum impudenti vanitate attollens. The fictions put forward by Geofrey of Monmouth.

<sup>1</sup> *historiæ*, L.S. ; *operis*, C. The words are erased from B.

<sup>2</sup> *gentis . . . est*, C.G.L.R.S. ; om. A.B.

<sup>3</sup> *tamen*, B.C.R.S. ; *igitur tamen*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *eisdem*, B.C.R.S. ; *ejusdem*, L.

In rendering the false prophecies of Merlin into Latin Geoffrey added fables of his own invention.

Breton source of Geoffrey's fictions.

His manipulation of prophetic utterances according

Gaufridus<sup>1</sup> hic dictus est, agnomen habens Arturi,<sup>2</sup> pro eo quod fabulas de Arturo, ex priscis Britonum figmentis sumptas et ex proprio auctas, per superductum Latini sermonis colorem honesto historiae nomine palliavit: qui etiam majori ausu cujusdam Merlini divinationes fallacissimas, quibus utique de proprio plurimum adjecit, dum eas in Latinum transfunderet, tanquam authenticas et immobili veritate subnixas prophetias, vulgavit. Et hunc quidem<sup>3</sup> Merlinum patre incubo dæmone ex femina natum fabulatur, cui propterea tanquam patrissanti<sup>4</sup> excellentissimam atque latissimam tribuit præscientiam futurorum: cum profecto et veris rationibus et sacris literis doceamur dæmones, a luce Dei seclusos,<sup>5</sup> futura nequaquam contemplantando præscire: sed quosdam futuros eventus ex signis sibi quam nobis<sup>6</sup> notioribus, conjiciendo magis quam cognoscendo colligere. Denique in suis quamvis subtilioribus conjecturis sæpe falluntur et fallunt: cum tamen per divinationum præstigias<sup>7</sup> apud imperitos, quam utique<sup>8</sup> non habent, præscientiam sibi arrogant futurorum. Sane divinationum Merlini perspicua fallacia est in his quæ in regno Anglorum contigisse noscuntur post mortem prænominati Gaufridi, qui divinationum illarum nenias ex Britannico transtulit; quibus, ut non frustra creditur,<sup>9</sup> ex proprio figmento multum adjecit. Porro ad ea, quæ vel ante ipsum vel in diebus ejus evenerunt, taliter sua, quod utique facile poterat, temperavit figmenta, ut congruam possent interpretationem recipere. Præterea in libro suo, quem

<sup>1</sup> *Gaufridus*, B.C.L.S.; *Galfri-*  
*idus*, A.

<sup>2</sup> *Arturi*, C.L.S. *Arthuri*, A.B.

<sup>3</sup> *quidem*, B.L.S.; *quicquid*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *patrissanti*, B.C.L.S.; *patris*  
*sancti*, G.R.

<sup>5</sup> L. has *exclusos*.

<sup>6</sup> *nobis*, originally omitted from  
B.

<sup>7</sup> *præstigias*, A.B.L.S.; *præsti-*  
*gia*, C.R.

<sup>8</sup> *utique*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>9</sup> *creditur*, B.C.L.S.; *credatur*, R.



Britonum<sup>1</sup> historiam vocat, quam petulanter et quam<sup>2</sup> impudenter fere per omnia mentiatur, nemo nisi veterum historiarum ignarus, cum in librum illum<sup>3</sup> incidit, ambigere sinitur. Nam qui rerum gestarum<sup>4</sup> veritatem non didicit, fabularum vanitatem indiscrete admittit. Omitto quanta de gestis Britonum ante Julii Cæsaris imperium homo<sup>5</sup> ille confinxerit, vel ab aliis conficta tanquam authentica scripserit. Omitto quæcunque in laudibus Britonum contra fidem<sup>6</sup> historicæ veritatis deliravit, a tempore Julii Cæsaris, sub quo Britones ditionis Romanæ<sup>7</sup> esse cœperunt, usque ad tempus Honorii imperatoris, sub quo Romani a Britannia, propter urgentiora Reipublicæ negotia, sponte recesserunt.

to the facts of his time. Their fallacy shown by later events. In criticising Geoffrey's work Newburgh passes over pretended events previous to the end of the Roman occupation.

Certe Britones, Romanis recedentibus, sui juris effecti, immo ad suam perniciem sibi relictæ, Pictisque et Scottis ad prædam expositi, regem Vortigirnum<sup>8</sup> habuisse leguntur; a quo ad tuitionem regni invitati Saxones vel Angli, duce Hengisto, Britanniam venerunt; irruptiones barbaricas pro tempore depulerunt; postea vero explorata insulæ fertilitate, et indigenarum inertia, rupto fœdere, in ipsos, a quibus fuerant invitati, arma verterunt; quibus paulatim profligatis,<sup>9</sup> miseræ eorum reliquias, quæ nunc<sup>10</sup> Walenses vocantur, in viis<sup>11</sup> montibus et saltibus coarctarunt. Habueruntque<sup>12</sup> per seriem successionis reges fortissimos et late domi-

Bede's narrative of the coming of the Saxons.

The succession of Saxon kings

<sup>1</sup> Britonum, B.L.R.S.; Britonum, C.

<sup>2</sup> quam, B.C.L.R.S.; om. A.

<sup>3</sup> illum, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>4</sup> gestarum, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>5</sup> imperium homo, B.C.L.S.; imperium adventum homo, R.

<sup>6</sup> fidem, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>7</sup> Romanæ esse, B.C.L.S.; humana, omitting esse, R.

<sup>8</sup> Vortigirnum, L.R.S.; Vortegirnum, B.C.

<sup>9</sup> profligatis, B.L.S.; profugatis, C.

<sup>10</sup> nunc, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>11</sup> in viis, C.S.; in inviis, A.B.L.R.

<sup>12</sup> habueruntque, B.C.L.S.; habuerunt, R.

according to authentic history, both north and south of the Humber.

Events as told by Bede conflict with Geoffrey's narrative.

Geoffrey's mythical genealogy of Arthur.

nantes: e quibus fuere Ethelbertus, Hengisti pronepos, qui protenso a Gallico mari usque ad Humbrum<sup>1</sup> imperio, Iene<sup>2</sup> Christi jugum, Augustino prædicante, suscepit: Ailfridus<sup>3</sup> qui,<sup>4</sup> Nothanhumbranis<sup>5</sup> præsidens, Britones simul et Scottos vasta cæde perdomuit: Edwinus qui, Ailfrido succedens, Anglis simul et Britonibus præfuit: Oswaldus ejus successor, qui cunctis Britanniae populis imperavit. Hæc cum juxta historicam veritatem<sup>6</sup> a venerabili Beda expositam constet<sup>7</sup> esse rata; cuncta, quæ homo ille de Arturo<sup>8</sup> et ejus vel<sup>9</sup> successoribus vel, post Vortigirnum,<sup>10</sup> prædecessoribus<sup>11</sup> scribere curavit, partim ab ipso, partim et<sup>12</sup> ab aliis constat esse conficta; sive effrenata mentiendi libidine, sive etiam gratia placendi Britonibus, quorum plurimi tam bruti esse feruntur, ut adhuc Arturum tanquam venturum expectare dicantur, eumque<sup>13</sup> mortuum nec audire patiantur. Denique Vortigirno<sup>14</sup> facit succedere Annelium Ambrosium, devictis expulsisque Saxonibus, quos Vortigirnus<sup>14</sup> accersierat, in tota Britannia egregie imperantem; illique dat successorem Utherpendragon fratrem ejus,<sup>15</sup> non impari potentia gloriaque regnantem: plura de Merlino suo profusa mentiendi libertate interserens. Defuncto quoque Utherpen-

<sup>1</sup> *Humbrum*, B.L.S.; *Umbrum*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *Iene*, S.; - *Iene* with *et Iene* written above by another hand, L.; *Iene*, A.B.C. The word in the Vulgate is *suave*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ailfridus*, C.L.S.; *Aylfridus*, A.B.

<sup>4</sup> *qui*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> *Nothanhumbranis*, L.S.; *Northumbranis*, C.; *Northahumbranis*, B.R.

<sup>6</sup> *historicam veritatem*, B.L.S.; *historiam*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *constet*, B.L.S.; *constant*, C.R.

<sup>8</sup> *Arturo*, C.L.S.; *Arthuro*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *ejus vel*, B.C.S.; but *vel* expuncted in L.

<sup>10</sup> *Vortigirnum*, L.S.; *Wortigirnum*, C.; *Votegirnum*, B.

<sup>11</sup> *prædecessoribus*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>12</sup> *et*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>13</sup> *eumque . . . patiantur*, C.R.S.; om. B.L.

<sup>14</sup> Variations as in note 11.

<sup>15</sup> *ejus*, B.L.S.; *suum*, C.

dragon facit succedere Arturum filium<sup>1</sup> in regno Britanniae,<sup>2</sup> a Vortigirno<sup>3</sup> quartum; sicut noster Beda ponit Ethelbertum, Augustini susceptorem, in regno Anglorum ab Hengisto quartum. Itaque regnum Arturi et ingressus in Britanniam Augustini concurrere debuerunt.<sup>4</sup> Sed quantum mera historiae veritas hoc loco compositae<sup>5</sup> praediciet falsitati, vel lippienti mentis acie clare<sup>6</sup> videri potest. Ipsum autem<sup>7</sup> Arturum facit praeclearum et spectabilem super omnes homines, tantumque illum<sup>8</sup> in gestis vult esse, quantum sibi libuit fingere. Denique in primis facit cum de Anglis,<sup>9</sup> Pietis, et Scottis ad libitum triumphare: deinde<sup>10</sup> Hiberniam, Orchades, Gothiam, Noricam, Daciam, partim bello, partim etiam solo terrore nominis, ditioni suae subjugare. His quoque addit Islandiam,<sup>11</sup> quae ultima Thule<sup>12</sup> secundum quosdam dicitur; ut ad Britonem illum in veritate spectare videatur, quod Augusto Romano a poeta nobili adulatorie<sup>13</sup> dicitur:

. . . . tibi serviet<sup>14</sup> ultima Thule.<sup>15</sup>

Verg.  
Georg. I.  
30.

<sup>1</sup> *filium*, B.C.L.S.; *filium suum*, R.

<sup>2</sup> *Britanniae*, C.L.S.; *Bertanniae*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Vortigirno*, A.L.S.; *Vortegirno*, B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Between *debuerunt* and the paragraph which follows (*Sed . . . potest*), R. inserts "*non tamen sicut auctor istius voluminis rationatur (sic), quoniam Arturus coronatus est in regem anno D<sup>o</sup> (sic) xvj<sup>o</sup>. Sed vero Augustinus ingressus est in Britanniam anno gratiae (sic) Domini et dictus Arturus obiit Anno Domini xlij<sup>o</sup>, et sic Augustinus post mortem Arturi venit in Angliam anno*

*liij<sup>o</sup>, ut clare patet in Floribus Historiarum annis supradictis.*"

<sup>5</sup> *composita*, B.C.L.S.; *composito*, R.

<sup>6</sup> *clare*, B.C.L.S.; *dare*, R.

<sup>7</sup> *autem*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>8</sup> *illum*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>9</sup> *de Anglis*, C.L.S.; *Anglis*. B., *de Anglia*, R.

<sup>10</sup> *deinde*, B.C.L.S.; *denique*, R.

<sup>11</sup> *Islandiam*, L.S.; *Yslandiam*, C.; *Illandiam*, B.

<sup>12</sup> *ultima Tile*, B.C.L.S.; *ultima*, Tyle, G.R.

<sup>13</sup> *adulatorie*, L.S.; *adulatore*, A.B.C.

<sup>14</sup> Corrupt reading for *serviat*.

<sup>15</sup> B.C.L.S. as in note 12.

He then  
conquers  
Gaul.

Three  
arch-  
bishops  
said to  
have been  
present at  
his trium-  
phal feast,  
whereas  
the Britons  
never had  
any arch-  
bishop.

After slay-  
ing a  
giant he  
conquers  
the Roman  
empire,  
defeating  
the com-  
bined  
forces of  
all nations  
in a single  
battle.

Deinde facit eum bello pulsare Gallias,<sup>1</sup> et de ipsis in brevi subactis felicissime triumphare; quas Julius Cæsar cum summis periculis atque laboribus annis decem vix<sup>2</sup> potuit subjugare: scilicet, ut minimus digitus hujus Britonis grossior videatur lumbis magni Cæsaris. Post hæc<sup>3</sup> cum triumpho multiplici reducit eum in Britanniam, et facit eum cum subactis regibus et principibus festum celebrare famosissimum; præsentibus tribus Britonum archiepiscopis, scilicet Lundoniarum,<sup>4</sup> Urbis legionum,<sup>5</sup> Eboracæ<sup>6</sup>: cum ne unum quidem archiepiscopum unquam habuerunt<sup>7</sup> Britones. Primus enim Augustinus, accepto a Romano pontifice pallio; archiepiscopus in Britannia factus est. Barbaræ vero nationes Europæ, etiam<sup>8</sup> olim ad fidem Christi conversæ, contentæ episcopis, de pallii prærogativa non curabant. Denique Hibernienses, Norici,<sup>9</sup> Daci, Gothi, cum olim Christiani fuisse et episcopos habuisse noscantur,<sup>10</sup> nostris temporibus archiepiscopos habere cœperunt. Inde fabulator ille, ut suum Arturum ad summum evehat, facit eum Romanis bellum indicere; ante hoc bellum singulari certamine miræ magnitudinis gigantem prosternere; cum post Davida tempora de nullo gigante legatur. Consequenter, profusiori mentiendi licentia, facit adversus eum convenire cum Romanis, reges magnos orbis terrarum, scilicet, Græciæ, Africae, Hispaniæ, Parthorum, Medorum, Ituraeorum, Libyæ, Ægypti, Babylonæ, Bithy-

<sup>1</sup> Gallias, B.L.S.; Galliam, C.

<sup>2</sup> annis decem vix, B.L.S.; vix annis decem, C.

<sup>3</sup> hæc, B.L.S.; hoc?, C.

<sup>4</sup> Lundoniarum, L.S.; Londoniarum, B.C., but the MSS. throughout vary the vowel in the first syllable of this constantly recurring word too frequently to warrant the mention of their peculiarities.

<sup>5</sup> In S. above Urbis legionum arc

the words "id est Cestria" in an ancient hand.

<sup>6</sup> Eboracæ, B.C.S.; Eboraci, A., and, by correction, L.

<sup>7</sup> unquam habuerunt, A.S.; nunquam habuerunt, L., unquam habuerint, B.C.

<sup>8</sup> etiam, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>9</sup> Norici, C.L.S.; Nori, A.B.

<sup>10</sup> noscantur, B.L.S.; noscuntur; C.

niae, Phrygiae, Syriae,<sup>1</sup> Bœotiae, Cretae;<sup>2</sup> omnesque refert uno prælio ab illo devictos: cum Alexander ille Magnus et omnibus seculis clarus, per annos duodecim in quibusdam tantorum regnorum principibus superandis sudaverit. Profecto minimum digitum sui Arturi grossiorem facit dorso Alexandri Magni, præsertim eum, ante hanc victoriam<sup>3</sup> de tot magnis regibus, faciat eum commemorare suis in concione subactionem triginta regnorum, a se et illis jam factam. At<sup>4</sup> non inveniet fabulator noster tot regna in orbe nostro, præter regna memorata, quæ utique nondum ille subegerat. An alium orbem somniat infinita regna habentem, in quo ea contigerunt, quæ supra memoravit? Quippe in orbe nostro nunquam talia contigerunt. Quomodo enim<sup>5</sup> historiographi veteres, quibus ingenti curæ fuit nihil memorabile scribendo omittere, qui etiam mediocria memoriæ mandasse noseuntur, virum incomparabilem, ejusque acta supra modum insignia, silentio præterire potuerunt? Quomodo, inquam, vel nobiliorem Alexandro Magno Britonum monarcham Arturum, ejusque acta, vel parem nostro Esaie Britonum prophetam Merlinum, ejusque dicta, silentio suppresserunt? Quid enim minus in præscientia<sup>6</sup> duntaxat futurorum tribuit<sup>7</sup> suo Merlino, quam nos nostro Esaie: nisi quod ejus vaticiniis non audet inserere, "hæc dicit Dominus," et erubuit inserere, "hæc dicit diabolus;" quippe hoc debuit congruere vati, incubi dæmonis filio. Cum ergo nec tenuem de his veteres historici fecerint<sup>8</sup> mentionem,

The tale of his conquests is in excess of the number of the kingdoms of the world.

Has the minute care of ancient historians overlooked a conqueror greater than Alexander and a prophet equal to Isaiah?

<sup>1</sup> *Phrygia, Syria, C.L.S.*; om. A.B.

<sup>2</sup> Variations in the spelling of these and other classical proper names are omitted.

<sup>3</sup> *victoriam, L.R.S.*; *historiam, B.C.*

<sup>4</sup> *at, B.L.S.*; *an, C.*

<sup>5</sup> *enim, C.L.S.*; *etiam, A.B.*

<sup>6</sup> *præscientia, C.L.S.*; *præsentia, A.B.*

<sup>7</sup> *tribuit, A.B.C.*; om. L.S.

<sup>8</sup> *fecerint, B.S.*; *fecerunt, C.L.*

Geoffrey, yielding to Breton superstition, invented the story of the passing of Arthur to Avillion.

The pretended successors of Arthur.

Chroniclers after Bede.

liquet a mendacibus esse conficta quæcunque de Arturo atque Merlino, ad pascendam minus prudentium curiositatem, homo ille scribendo vulgavit. Et<sup>1</sup> notandum, quod eundem Arturum postea refert in bello letaliter vulneratum, regno disposito, ad curanda vulnera sua abiisse in illam, quam Britannicæ fingunt fabulæ, insulam Avallonis: propter metum Britonum non audens eum dicere mortuum, quem adhuc vere bruti Britones exspectant venturum. De successoribus vero Arturi pari<sup>2</sup> impudentia mentitur; tribuens eis usque ad septimam fere generationem Britannicæ monarchiam: faciensque eorum subregulos et ministros, quos venerabilis Beda fortissimos dicit fuisse reges Anglorum, universæ Britannicæ nobiliter imperantes. Ut ergo eidem Bedæ, de cujus sapientia et sinceritate dubitare fas non est, fides in omnibus habeatur; fabulator ille cum suis fabulis incunctanter ab omnibus respuatur. Sane post Bedam non defuere, qui ab ipso seriem temporum atque eventuum nostre insulæ ad nostram usque memoriam ducerent<sup>3</sup>; illi quidem minime comparandi<sup>4</sup>; pro religiosa tamen opera et fideli, quanquam minus diserta<sup>5</sup> narratione, laudandi. Nostris autem temporibus tanta et tam memorabilia contigerunt, ut modernorum negligentia culpanda merito censeatur, si literarum monumentis ad memoriam sempiternam mandata non fuerint. Et forte hoc opus ab aliquo, sive<sup>6</sup> aliquibus, jam vel<sup>7</sup> inchoatum est, vel patratum: sed tamen viri venerabiles, quibus mos gerendus est, hoc ipsum meæ<sup>8</sup> par-

<sup>1</sup> et, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>2</sup> pari, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>3</sup> ducerent, B.L.R.S.; duxerint, C.

<sup>4</sup> comparandi, B.L.S.; cooperandi, C.

<sup>5</sup> diserta, C.L.S.; deserta, A.B.

<sup>6</sup> sive, B.C.S.; sive ab, L.

<sup>7</sup> vel, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>8</sup> ipsum meæ, B.C.L.S.; ipsum et me, R.

vitati<sup>1</sup> dignantur injungere; ut et ego, quia cum divitibus non possum, saltem cum paupercula vidua aliquid de tenuitate mea mittam in gazophylacium Domini.

Quoniam vero Anglicanæ ordinem historiæ a quibusdam usque ad decessum regis Henrici primi novimus esse deductum; sumpto ab adventu Normannorum in Angliam exordio, media tempora succincte percurram; ut a successore ejusdem Henrici Stephano, cujus anno primo ego Willelmus servorum Christi minimus<sup>1</sup> et in Adam primo ad mortem sum natus, et in Secundo ad vitam renatus, narrationem, Deo volente, incipiam producere pleniorē.<sup>2</sup>

The author takes up the history at the point at which other chroniclers have stopped, beginning, after a brief preface, at the year of his own birth.

<sup>1</sup> The word *minimus* in the phrase "*Willelmus servorum Christi minimus*" at the beginning of the letter to Abbot Ernald (p. 3, l. 2), when taken in connexion with the word *parvitati* here and with the recurring phrase "*Willelmus &c.*"

below on l. 11, has the appearance of a play upon the author's reputed name *Parvus*. Another play on a name, *Benedictus* becoming *Maledictus*, occurs in cap. ix., lib. iv.

<sup>2</sup> C. has here "*Explicit proœmium. Incipit Liber primus.*"

## CAP. I.

*De Willelmo Notho, primo ex Normannis rege Anglorum.*

A.D. 1066. Anno a plenitudine temporis quo Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis, M<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>VI<sup>o</sup>, Guillelmus<sup>1</sup> cognomento Nothus, dux Normannorum, Haraldo<sup>2</sup> regi Anglorum, vel dominandi libidine, vel causā ulciscendi injurias, bellum intulit: quo Haraldo bellica sorte assumpto, Anglisque expugnatis atque subactis, ducatus Normanniæ regnum Angliæ sociavit. Cumque peracta victoria, tyranni nomen exhorrescens, et legitimi principis personam induere gestiens,<sup>3</sup> a Stigando, tunc temporis Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, in regem sollemniter consecrari deposceret; ille, viro, ut aiebat, eruento et alieni juris invasori, manus imponere nullatenus acquievit. Aldredus vero Eboracensis archiepiscopus, vir bonus et prudens, hoc munus implevit: acutius intelligens cedendum<sup>4</sup> esse temporis, et divinæ nequam resistendum ordinationi. Denique hoc modo hominem ferocissimum, spirantem adhuc minarum et cædis in populum, mitem reddidit; et religiosis pro conservanda publica, tuendaque ecclesiastica disciplina, sacramentis astrinxit. A quo postea loco patris ita colebatur, ut cum ille ceteris imperaret, ab eo sibi imperari æquanimitè sineret. Contigit aliquando eundem pontificem, in<sup>5</sup> quadam petitione a rege repulsam passum, iratum avertere scapulam recedentem, et maledictionem pro benedictione comminari. Cujus motum

The anxiety of Duke William to put on the appearance of a lawful sovereign. Coronation of William I. (December 25).

Archbishop Ealdred's discreet conduct gains him influence over the new king.

<sup>1</sup> *Guillelmus*, S.; *Gwillelmus*, B.D.; *Willelmus*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *Haraldo*, B.L.S.; *Araldo*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *gestiens*, A.C.L.S.; *gestans*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *cedendum*, B.C.S.; *eredendum*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *in*, B.L.S.; *a*, C.



ille non sustinens, ad pedes ejus procidit; veniam petiit; satisfactionem spondit. Cumque optimates qui aderant suaderent, ut regem prostratum erigeret: "Sinite," inquit, "illum jacere ad pedes Petri." Plane in hoc et quanta fuerit ferocissimi principis erga præsullem reverentia, et quanta ejusdem præsulis circa principem auctoritas atque fiducia, satis declaratum est. Porro idem rex a Stigando Cantuariensi, ut dictum est, irritatus, cum vitium ordinationis ejus et vitæ dedecora postea cognovisset, honestam de ipso voluit habere ultionem. Accersitus enim regiis literis<sup>1</sup> ad disponendam ecclesiam Anglicanam, Apostolicæ sedis legatus concilium in Anglia celebravit: in quo, Stigandi sceleribus patefactis, infructuosam arborem securis<sup>2</sup> canonicæ animadversionis succidit. Locum vero succisæ suscepit Lanfrancus, ex monacho Beccensi abbas Cadomensis, natione Longobardus; vir præter religiosæ vitæ meritum, in utraque literatura, seculari scilicet et divina, clarissimus. Aldredo quoque Eboracensi ad patres suos apposito Thomas successit. Guillelmus<sup>3</sup> autem, postquam regnum fortiter acquisitum per annos xxi. nobiliter tenuit, cum jam sub extrema sorte decumberet, tres filios designavit heredes. Et quidem Robertum primogenitum suum, quia paternæ pietati inofficiosus et rebellis exstiterat, ducatu Normanniæ contentum esse voluit. Sui vero nominis filio, in quo sibi melius complacebat, regnum Angliæ assignavit. Porro juniorem Henricum, cujus indolem propensius laudabat, multa summa donatum bene acturum prædixit.

Dormivit ergo cum patribus suis homo ab annis adolescentiæ armis acer, animo ingens, successu felix, A.D. 1066. Anecdote of the Conqueror and archbishop Ealdred. Proceed-ings against Stigand (April, 11, 1070). Election of Lanfranc (Aug. 29, 1070). Death of William I. (Sept. 9, 1087).

<sup>1</sup> enim regiis literis, C.L.S.; literis regis, B.; enim literis regis, A.

<sup>2</sup> securis, C.L.S.; securi, by erasure, B.; secure, A.

<sup>3</sup> Guillelmus, C.S.; Guillelmus, B.L.; These variations occur *passim*, and will not be further recorded. In one part S. has the form *Wilhelmus*.

A.D. 1087. *singulare nothorum decus: sepultusque est Cadomi in monasterio Protomartyris Stephani, quod ipse a fundamentis extruxerat, egregieque ditaverat. In ejus vero sepultura quiddam memorabile contigisse fideli narratione cognovi. Cum enim, expleta exsequiarum sollemnitate, corpus ejus in loco ad hoc præparato esset condendum; quidam accedens, omnipotentis Dei prætento terribiliter nomine, eum ibidem sepeliri prohibuit; "terra," inquit, "ista avito<sup>1</sup> mihi jure com-  
" petit; quam idem rex, dum monasterium construeret,  
" violenter mihi abstulit, nec unquam postea pro ea<sup>2</sup>  
" mihi satisfecit."* Obstupuere omnes qui aderant, judicio Dei, ad declarandam transitorie dominationis vanitatem, actum considerantes; ut princeps potentissimus, qui tam late dominatus fuerat vivus, locum corporis sui capacem sine querela non haberet mortuus. Denique<sup>3</sup> querela illa adeo movit omnes, ut prius illi cani vivo, tanquam meliori, ad votum satisfacerent; ac deinde circa leonem mortuum justa complerent.

Sane quod<sup>4</sup> idem Christianos innoxios hostiliter Christianus impetiit, et tanto sibi sanguine Christiano regnum paravit, quantæ apud homines gloriæ, tantæ etiam apud Deum noxæ fuit. Cujus rei argumentum est quod a testibus fide dignis accepimus. In loco siquidem ubi victi<sup>5</sup> Angli occubuerunt constructum est a victoribus monasterium nobile beati Martini de Bello nuncupatum; quod scilicet et ad homines æternus<sup>6</sup> foret<sup>7</sup> Normannicæ victoriæ titulus, et ad Deum propitiatio pro effusione tanti sanguinis Christiani. Denique in eodem<sup>8</sup> monasterio locus ille ubi Anglorum pro patria dimicantium maxima<sup>9</sup> strages facta est, si

Ris burial,  
and the  
claim of  
Ascelin  
Fitz-  
Arthur.

Founda-  
tion of  
Battle  
Abbey  
(1070-6).  
A spot  
within the  
Abbey

Sym.  
Dunelm.  
col. 211.  
l. 4.

Cf. Orde-  
ric. Vital.  
(Migne,  
554. B.)

<sup>1</sup> *avito*, B.C.L.S.; *antiquo*, with  
"alias, avito" in the margin, A.

<sup>2</sup> *pro ea*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>3</sup> *dénique*, B.L.S.; *deinde*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *quod*, C.L.S.; *quia*, A.B.

<sup>5</sup> *ubi victi*, C.L.S.; *ubi multi*, A.;  
*multi*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *aternus*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>7</sup> *foret*, A.C.L.S.; *faceret*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *eadem*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *maxima*, C.L.S.; *maxime*, A.B.

forte modico imbre maduerit, verum sanguinem et A.D. 1087. quasi recentem exsudat: ac si aperte per ipsam rei evidentiam dicatur, quod adhuc vox tanti<sup>1</sup> sanguinis Christiani clamet<sup>2</sup> ad Deum de terra, quæ aperuit os suum et suscepit eundem sanguinem<sup>3</sup> de manibus fratrum, id est, Christianorum.

## CAP. II.

*De Willelmo Rufo, secundo<sup>4</sup> ex Normannis rege Anglorum,<sup>5</sup> et de expeditione Ierosolymitana.*

Anno a plenitudine temporis quo Veritas de terra A.D. 1087. orta est, M<sup>o</sup>LXXX<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup>, Robertus primogenitus in ducatu Normanniæ, et Guillelmus, qui agnominatus est<sup>6</sup> Rufus,<sup>7</sup> in regno Angliæ, patri<sup>8</sup> defuncto succedere; ordine quidem præpostero, sed per ultimam, ut dictum est, patris<sup>9</sup> voluntatem commutato. Unde factum est, ut quibusdam optimatum Roberto propensioem, tanquam justo heredi et perperam exheredato, favorem præstantibus statumque regni turbantibus, Guillelmus in principio infirmius laboriosiusque imperaret,<sup>10</sup> et<sup>11</sup> ad conciliandos sibi animos subditorum modestior mitiorque appareret. At postquam, perdomitis hostibus et<sup>12</sup> fratre mollius agente, roboratum est regnum ejus, exaltatum est illico cor ejus, apparuitque,<sup>13</sup> succedentibus

miraculously exudes blood after rain.

Robert becomes Duke of Normandy, and William Rufus king of England.

William II. ruled mildly while his enemies remained unsubdued,

<sup>1</sup> vox tanti, C.L.S.; noxa tanti, B.

<sup>2</sup> Christiani clamet, C.L.S.; Christianorum clamat, A.B.

<sup>3</sup> sanguinem, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> Rufo, secundo, B.L.S.; Ruffo omitting secundo, C.

<sup>5</sup> Anglorum, B.L.S.; annorum, C.

<sup>6</sup> agnominatus est, L.S.; cognominatus est, C.; agnominatus, omitting est, A.B.

<sup>7</sup> Rufus, B.L.S.; Ruffus, C.

<sup>8</sup> patri, B.L.S.; patre, A.C.

<sup>9</sup> ut dictum est patris, L.S.; patris ut dictum est, B.C.

<sup>10</sup> imperaret, B.C.L.S.; imperaret suis, A.

<sup>11</sup> et, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>12</sup> for et C. has in.

<sup>13</sup> apparuitque, C.L.S.; apparuit, A.B.

A.D. 1087. prosperis, qualis apud se<sup>1</sup> latuisset dum premeretur adversis. Homo vecors et inconstans<sup>2</sup> in omnibus viis suis; Deo indevotus et ecclesiæ gravis; nuptiarum spernens,<sup>3</sup> et passim lasciviens; opes regni vanissima effusione exhauriens,<sup>4</sup> et eisdem deficientibus subditorum fortunas in hoc ipsum corradens. Homo typo immanissimæ superbiæ turgidus, et usque ad nauseam, vel etiam derisionem doctrinæ evangelicæ, temporalis gloriæ fœdissima voluptate absorptus. Frater vero<sup>5</sup> ejus senior Robertus, cui nimirum ordine naturali regni successio competeat, minus quidem clati et ferocis animi fuit; sed in minori administratione, scilicet ducatus Normannici, claruit quod regno amplissimo administrando nunquam idoneus fuerit. Qui tamen armis tantus fuit, ut in illa magna et famosa expeditione<sup>6</sup> Ierosolymitana, inter fortissimos totius orbis proceres clarissimæ militiæ titulis<sup>7</sup> fulserit.<sup>8</sup> Porro Hénricus frater junior laudabilem præferens<sup>9</sup> indolem, duris et infidis<sup>10</sup> fratribus militabat. De suo quippe nihil ei largientes, ea etiam quæ pater illi testamento reliquerat abstulerunt. Cumque fratri minimo<sup>11</sup> paulatim ad provectum tendenti inviderent; eorum ille insidias, in tuto se continens, prudenter eludebat.<sup>12</sup>

but afterwards oppressively.

Duke Robert's incapacity as a ruler.

His excellence as a warrior in the East.

Death of Lanfranc (May 21, 1089).

Circa hoc tempus Lanfranco Cantuariensi archiepiscopo viam universæ carnis ingresso, Anselmus abbas Beccensis successit, natione et ipse Longobardus, Lan-

<sup>1</sup> *apud se*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>2</sup> *inconstans*, C.L.S.; *constans*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *nuptiarum spernens*, B.L.S.; *nuptias spernens*, C.; *nuptiarum spernens copulas*, A.

<sup>4</sup> *exhauriens*, C.L.S.; *hauriens*, A.B.

<sup>5</sup> *vero*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>6</sup> *expeditione*, C.L.S.; *expectatione*, A.B.

<sup>7</sup> *titulis*, C.S.; *titulus*, L.; om. A.B.

<sup>8</sup> *fulserit*, C.L.S.; *fuerit*, A.; *fuserit*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *præferens*, B.C.S.; *proferens*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *infidis*, C.L.S.; *invidis*, A.; *vidis*, B.

<sup>11</sup> *minimo*, B.C.L.S.; *nimio*, R.

<sup>12</sup> *eludebat*, C.L.S.; *elidebat*, B.

franci olim discipulus, vir sanctus et excelsus in verbo gloriae. Eboracensis quoque ecclesiae praesulatum, Thoma defuncto, Gerardus suscepit.

A.D. 1093.  
Succession  
of Anselm  
(Dec. 4,  
1093).

Sane sub memorati regis principatu suscitavit Dominus spiritus Christianorum contra Sarracenos, occulto Dei judicio, longo jam tempore, tanquam jure hereditario, possidentes sanctuarium Dei, id est,<sup>1</sup> loca sacra, in quibus redemptio nostra celebrata est. Factus est ergo, per Urbani pontificis Romani et aliorum servorum Dei religiosam operam, magnus populi Christiani concursus. Fortissimi duces caractere Domini insigniti, et numerosissima stipati militia, expeditione laboriosissima orientis regna penetrantes, Nicaeam Bithyniae, Antiochiam Syriae, urbes amplissimas, et ad ultimum<sup>2</sup> Sanctam Civitatem, pio et felici sudore ceperunt: e quibus fuit Robertus dux Normanniae in primis clarus, qui niimirum, cum eidem expeditioni necessaria praepararet, et pecunia illi minus copiosa suppeteret, accepta a fratre Guillelmo summa non modica, Normanniam illi apposuit; sicque cum reliquis principibus Christianis laudabile iter arripiens, cunctis prospere gestis, post annos aliquot repatriavit.

The First  
Crusade  
(A.D.  
1095).

Capture of  
Jerusalem  
(July 15,  
1099).

Rex autem Guillelmus prolongans iniquitatem sibi, et in exitium<sup>3</sup> proprium contra stimulum calcitrans, venerabilem Anselmum cum modestia corripientem, et enormia, quae ab eo vel sub eo gerebantur, corrigere volentem, non pertulit; sed spoliatum rebus fere omnibus, tanquam regno contrarium, ab Anglia expulit. Verum dum in oriente a nostris proceribus fortiter atque feliciter ageretur, idem rex, propellentibus eum ad interitum malis suis, condignum effrenatae superbiae finem incurrit. Quippe in venatione sagitta proprii militis homo ferocissimus pro fera confossus interiit;

Death of  
William II.  
(August 2,  
1100).

<sup>1</sup> *id est*, C.L.S.; *et*, A.B.

<sup>2</sup> *ultimum*, B.C.S.; *ultimam*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *exitium*, B.L.S.; *exitum*, C.

A.D. 1100. completumque est in eo illud: "Vidi impium super-<sup>Ps. xxxvi.,</sup>  
 " exaltatum et elevatum<sup>1</sup> sicut cedros Libani, et <sup>35, 36.</sup>  
 " transivi et ecce non erat, quæsivi eum<sup>2</sup> et non est  
 " inventus locus ejus."

## CAP. III.

*De Henrico, tertio ex Normannis rege Anglorum, et  
 de quibusdam quæ sub ejus regno contigerunt.*

A.D. 1100. Anno a plenitudine temporis quo misit Deus filium  
 suum<sup>3</sup> in mundum M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>, regi Guillelmo infeliciter mor-  
 tuo frater<sup>4</sup> Henricus successit, filiorum quidem Guil-  
 lelmi Magni ordine nativitatis novissimus, sed præro-  
 gativa primus. Quippe, aliis in ducatu patris natis,  
 solus ipse ex eodem jam rege est ortus. Hac ratione  
 inducti, et præterea laudabili ejus indole illecti, ponti-  
 fices et proceres Angliæ fratrem Robertum in oriente  
 adhuc constitutum, quem ex ducatu non bene admi-  
 nistrato constabat regno administrando<sup>5</sup> fore minus ido-  
 neum, exspectandum minime censuerunt, eumque, quem  
 aptum esse regimini signis non fallacibus colligebant,  
 in regem sollemniter sublimarunt. Qui mox salubri  
 usus consilio venerabilem Anselmum ab exsilio revo-  
 cavit; pravas consuetudines, quæ sub fratre inoleve-  
 rant, abrogavit; pacis et æquitatis jura, quoad regi  
 novitio licebat, firmavit. Multa enim adhuc pro tem-  
 pore prudenter dissimulabat, ne rigore subito subditi  
 terrentur: caute prævidens post reditum fratris tu-  
 multus sibi publicos minime defuturos, quod et con-  
 tigit. Cum enim ille ex orientis partibus cum  
 uxore, quam sibi in via desponderat, reversus, Nor-

Henry I.  
 succeeds  
 to the  
 crown  
 (Aug 5).

Recall of  
 Anselm  
 from exile.

<sup>1</sup> et elevatum, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> eum, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>3</sup> suum, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>4</sup> frater, B.C.L.S.; frater suus,  
 R.

<sup>5</sup> C. has administrato.

manniam recepisset, instigantibus eum quibusdam Angliæ proceribus, quibus jam Henricus formidabilis esse cœperat, fratri bellum, nisi regnum sibi resignaret, indixit;<sup>1</sup> armatam classem in Angliam duxit, cui mox adjuncti sunt qui a fratre desciverant. Sed prudentia fraterna homo levis et inconstans delusus, infecto negotio Normanniam rediit, fratrique cum regno regnandi securitatem reliquit. Cumque per annos aliquot Normanniæ incubans eam sua<sup>2</sup> mollitie perderet, et improbi nullo publicæ<sup>3</sup> disciplinæ metu coerciti<sup>4</sup> libere grassarentur; invitatus a majoribus ejusdem provinciæ rex Henricus civili magis animo quam hostili affuit, et plurima ejus parte in deditionem recepta, tandem fratrem, fûsis ejus copiis apud Tenechebrai,<sup>5</sup> in bello cepit. Sic itaque vir magnus et magnorum in remotis mundi<sup>6</sup> partibus operum, fortunæ invidia proditus, in manus junioris fratris, quem olim irritaverat, incidit, et post tantam militiæ claritatem in fratris<sup>7</sup> quidem, sed tamen<sup>8</sup> minus fraterna custodia, inglorius reliquum vitæ suæ tempus exegit. Henricus autem regno Angliæ socians ducatum Normanniæ, sicut pater olim ducatu Normanniæ regnum sociaverat Angliæ, nomen celebre et grande adeptus est, juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in terra. Porro venerabilis<sup>9</sup> Anselmus Cantuariensis ex Gallicano exsilio ad propriam sedem regressus, et post annos aliquot viam universæ carnis ingressus, sortitus est nomen grande juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in cœlo. Successit ei Radulfus abbas Sagiensis, vir religiosus et prudens. Gerardo vero Eboracensi defuncto Thomas secundus<sup>10</sup> successit,

A:D. 1101.  
Duke Robert claims the crown and invades England (July 19, 1101).

Battle of Tinechebrai (Sept. 28, 1106), and capture of Duke Robert.

Death of Anselm (April 21, 1109).

Ralph, Abbot of Seez, becomes Arch-

<sup>1</sup> *indixit* in C. follows *bellum*.

<sup>2</sup> *sua*, B.L.S.; *sua*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *publica*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> *coerciti*, B.C.L.S.; *coarctati*, A.

<sup>5</sup> *Tenechebrai*, B.L.S.; *Tenechebrari*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *mundi*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>7</sup> *in fratris*, in light ink in margin of C.

<sup>8</sup> *tamen*, A.C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>9</sup> S. has *venerabis*.

<sup>10</sup> *secundus*, C.L.S.; *secundo*, A.B.

A.D. 1114. ætate quidem juvenis; sed gravitate et sinceritate  
 bishop of morum prædecessori suo valde dissimilis. Idem enim  
 Canterbury Gerardus homo quidem acutus et literatus fuisse dig-  
 bury noscitur; sed vita lubricus, in emungendis per inde-  
 (April 26, coras etiam occasiones subditorum marsupiiis callidus,  
 1114). et, ut plurimi asseverant, maleficiis etiam<sup>1</sup> assuetus,  
 Deo et hominibus invisus inventus est. Quod et ejus

Death of Gerard,  
 arch- bishop of York  
 (May 21, 1108).

His funeral and the indignities offered to the bier.

Thomas his successor.  
 (consecrated June 27, 1109).

Anecdote of Archbishop Thomas demonstrating his purity.

mors horrenda et post mortem corpori ejus negata pon-  
 tificium exsequiarum sollemnitatis declararunt. Quippe  
 apud Suthwellam<sup>2</sup> cum, pransus in horto juxta cubi-  
 culum, clericis prope spatiantibus, super<sup>3</sup> cervical sub  
 divo quiesceret, letali sopore dirigit. Corpus ejus raro  
 agmine Eboracam<sup>4</sup> delatum, neque clericis neque civi-  
 bus cum pompa exsequiali ex more occurrentibus, sed  
 pueris, ut dicitur, sandapilam<sup>5</sup> lapidantibus, extra  
 ecclesiam sine honore sepulture est traditum. Ille  
 autem qui ei successit, exemplo ejus territus, lavans-  
 que<sup>6</sup> manus suas in sanguine peccatoris, laudabiliter in  
 officio suo<sup>7</sup> conversatus est. Progressiores vero annos  
 non vidit, raptus, ut credo, ne malitia mutaret intel-  
 lectum ejus.<sup>8</sup> De quo nimirum rem memorabilem,  
 viro veracissimo referente, cognovi, quam non silebo.  
 Ægrotanti a medicis dictatum<sup>9</sup> est ut feminae pro  
 remedio misceretur, pronuntiantibus hoc solo morbum  
 fore curabilem. Instabant amici ut fieret; protestan-  
 tes Deum minime offensum iri,<sup>10</sup> dum hoc pure pro  
 remedio non pro voluptatis illecebra fieret.<sup>11</sup> Visus est  
 assentiri ne contristaret amicos. Femina decentis  
 formæ in secretum ejus intromittitur. Postea vero

<sup>1</sup> *ctiam*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> *Suthwellam*, C.L.S.; *Southwellam*, A.B.

<sup>3</sup> *super*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>4</sup> *Eboracam*, C.L.S.; *Eboracum*, A., and B. by erasure.

<sup>5</sup> L. has here the words "id est, "feretrum" interlined.

<sup>6</sup> *lavansque*, B.L.R.S.; *lavit*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *suo*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>8</sup> *ejus*, B.L.S.; *illius*, C.

<sup>9</sup> *dictatum*, B.L.R.S.; *dictum*, C.

<sup>10</sup> *offensurum iri*, C.L.S. and, originally, B.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Ric. Hagustald. (Twysden, col. 304.)



urinam inspicientibus medicis, assensio illa pro placandis amicis simulatoria fuisse declaratur. Objurgantibus ergo eum amicis, quod quasi semetipsum occideret, qui medicorum præcepto non pareret, "Silete," inquit, "nullus vestrum mihi ulterius verbi hujus virus insibilet; nam propter salutem carnis tandem morituræ immortale decus pudicitiae non amittam."

Huic ergo ex eadem ægritudine, ut creditur, feliciter mortuo, pro qua curanda Deum offendere noluit, Thurstinus<sup>1</sup> vir bonus et<sup>2</sup> prudens successit. Porro Radulfo Cantuariensi apposito ad patres suos, Guillelmus, qui regularium clericorum apud Chiechiam<sup>3</sup> prior exstiterat, cathedram ejus suscepit. Has fuisse novimus metropolitanorum successiones sub rege Henrico. Idem autem rex ex Matilda<sup>4</sup> religiosa regina geminam in sexu dispari suscepit<sup>5</sup> sobolem; et filiam<sup>6</sup> materni nominis jam nubilem Henrico imperatori Romano petenti despondit: filium vero aviti nominis, qui successor sperabatur, jam puberem sinister casus abstulit, cum turba nobilium juvenum marinis beluis escam datum. Et, quoniam Matildis regina jam obierat, procreandorum causa heredum rex filiam ducis Lotharingiæ<sup>7</sup> duxit uxorem, de qua tamen liberos non suscepit. Unde filiam, postquam imperator non relictis ex ea heredibus in fata concesserat,<sup>8</sup> ex Alemannia revocatam, illustri comiti Andegavensi Gaufrido despondit, ut vel nepotes ex ea successores haberet. Factoque concilio, eidem filiæ suæ et susceptis vel<sup>9</sup> suscipiendis ex ea nepotibus, ab episcopis, comitibus,

A.D. 1114.

Arch-bishop Thomas dies (Feb. 1114).

Succeeded by Thurstau (Oct. 19, 1119), and Ralph, Arch-bishop of Canterbury (dies Oct. 20, 1122), by William de Corbeil (Feb. 18, 1123).

Maud marries the emperor Henry V.

Henry marries Adalais of Louvain (Feb. 2, 1121).

Maud marries Geoffrey of Anjou (May 22, 1127).

She is received as heiress to the throne.

<sup>1</sup> *Thurstinus*, L.S.; *Thurstanus*, A.B.; *Turstanus*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *bonus et*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>3</sup> *Chiechiam*, B.L.S.; *Chichiam*, A.C.; *Chiechiam*, R. The Abbey of St. Osyth of Chiche, Essex.

<sup>4</sup> *Matilda*, L.S., but see the other form below; *Matilde*, A.B.C.

<sup>5</sup> *suscepit*, L.S.; *susceperat*, B.C.R.

<sup>6</sup> *filiam*, C.L.S.; *filiam quidem*, A.B.

<sup>7</sup> *Lotharingie*, C.L.S.; *Lotaringie*, A.B.

<sup>8</sup> *concesserat*, C.L.S.; *decesserat*, A., and, by late alteration, B.

<sup>9</sup> *vel*, B.L.S.; *et*, C. The oaths were taken *before* her second marriage.

A.D.  
1135-6.  
Death of  
Henry I.  
(Dec. 1,  
1135).  
His  
character.

baronibus, et omnibus qui alicujus videbantur esse momenti, regnum<sup>1</sup> Angliæ cum ducatu Normanniæ fecit jurari.<sup>2</sup> Regnavit autem in<sup>3</sup> multa felicitate et gloria annis xxxv. et mensibus aliquot<sup>4</sup>; quibus expletis, dormivit cum patribus suis. Homo multis quæ decerent principem bonis ornatus: quæ tamen<sup>5</sup> plurimum<sup>6</sup> denigrabat in<sup>7</sup> concupiscentia feminarum imitando petulantiam Salomonis. Feras quoque propter<sup>8</sup> venationis delicias plus justo diligens, in publicis animadversionibus<sup>9</sup> cervicidas ab homicidis parum discernibat. Corpus ejus, cerebro et intestinis ejectis, salitum coriisque insutum, a Normannia in Angliam delatum et, apud Radingum in monasterio, cujus ipse devotus fundator largusque ditator<sup>10</sup> exstiterat, sepultum est. Porro<sup>11</sup> homo ille<sup>12</sup> qui, pretio magno conductus, cerebrum ejus extraxerat, intolerantia fœtoris, ut dicitur, infectus atque extinctus est: sicque cum Elisei mortui corpus vivificaverit mortuum, illius jam mortui corpus mortificavit vivum.

His burial  
(Jan. 4,  
1136).

Henr.  
Hunt.  
lib. viii.  
§ 2.

<sup>1</sup> *regnum Angliæ*, A.B.C.R.; *regnum*, L.S.

<sup>2</sup> *jurari*, B.L.S.; *jurare*, C.

<sup>3</sup> in B.L.R.S.; *cum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> Thirty-five years and nearly four months.

<sup>5</sup> *quæ tamen*, C.L.S.; *qui, cum* originally, B.

<sup>6</sup> *plurimum*, B.L.R.S.; *multum*, C.

<sup>7</sup> in, C.L.S.; om. A., and B. by erasure.

<sup>8</sup> *propter*, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>9</sup> *animadversionibus*, C.L.S.; *adversionibus*, B.

<sup>10</sup> *ditator*, C.L.S.; *dotator*, A., and B. by late alteration.

<sup>11</sup> The words which follow as far as the end of the chapter seem to be nothing more than a recast of the following passage from Henry of Huntingdon:—"Unde et ipse qui magno pretio conductus securi caput ejus diffiderat, ut fœtidissimum cerebrum extraheret, . . . . mortuus tamen ea causa pretio male gavisus est. Hic est ultimus e multis quem rex Henricus occidit."

<sup>12</sup> *homo ille* in margin of S. in perhaps a somewhat later hand *ille*, omitting *homo*, A.B.C.L.

## CAP. IV.

*Quomodo Stephanus contra iurjurandum invasit regnum Anglorum.*<sup>1</sup>

Anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>XXXV<sup>o</sup>, defuncto sed A.D. 1135. nondum<sup>2</sup> sepulto clarissimo rege Anglorum et duce Normannorum Henrico, Stephanus comes Bononiensis,<sup>3</sup> ejus ex sorore nepos, regnum Anglorum invasit. Siquidem Stephanus major comes Blesensis, majoris Willelmi filiam memorabilem<sup>4</sup> feminam uxorem duxerat, et ex ea quatuor susceperat filios. Quo nimirum in partibus orientis defuncto, mater mirabilis primogenito, quod remissioris esset<sup>5</sup> ingenii et tanquam degener videretur, prudenter amoto, Teobaldum<sup>6</sup> filium in quo sibi bene complacebat, ad plenitudinem hereditatis provexit. Stephanum<sup>7</sup> adhuc impuberem regi avunculo nutriendum promovendumque direxit; quartum vero, id est, Henricum, ne soli seculo genuisse liberos<sup>8</sup> videretur, apud Cluniacum<sup>9</sup> tonsoravit. Processu temporis<sup>10</sup> rex Henricus unicum comitis Bononiensis<sup>11</sup> filiam, ad quam tota spectabat hereditas, nepoti Stephano copulavit; in Anglia quoque plurima collargiens. Fratri autem ejus Henrico Cluniacensi

Stephen's usurpation.  
Stephen of Blois and his children by Adela, daughter of William I.  
Death of Stephen of Blois in the Holy Land.  
His son Stephen married to Matilda, daughter of Eustace of Boulogne.  
Henry of Blois

<sup>1</sup> A. and B. here put the rubric which belongs to cap. v.

<sup>2</sup> sed nondum, C.L.S.; sedendum, B.

<sup>3</sup> Stephanus comes Bononiensis, A.B.C.R.; Stephanus Bononiensis, L.S.

<sup>4</sup> filiam memorabilem, B.C.L.S.; filiam, nomine Adalem, memorabilem, A. The 15th cent. hand in B. introduces the same words.

<sup>5</sup> esset, L.S.; omitted by A.B.C.R.

<sup>6</sup> Teobaldum, L.S.; Teobaldum, C.; Theobaldum, R. and, by alteration, B.

<sup>7</sup> Stephanum, B.C.L.S.; tertium id est Stephanum, A.

<sup>8</sup> liberos, B.L.R.S.; filios, C.

<sup>9</sup> Dunatum (sic), L.

<sup>10</sup> processu temporis, A.B.L.R.S.; processu vero temporis, C.

<sup>11</sup> Bononiensis, C.L.S.; Londinensis (sic), B.

A.D. 1135. monacho dedit abbatiam Glastoniensem, ac postmodum episcopatum adjecit Wintoniensem. Cum ergo, ut prædictum est, rex Henricus obiisset, idem Stephanus sacramenti, quod filiae ejus de conservanda fidelitate præstiterat, prævaricator regnum arripuit, annitentibus præsulibus atque principibus eodem sacramento astrictis. Denique Guillelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, qui primus juraverat, unxit cum in regem,<sup>1</sup> assistente et cooperante Rogerio Salesbiriensi episcopo, qui secundus juraverat, et juraturis singulis juramenti formam expresserat. Et archiepiscopus quidem, ejusdem, ut creditur, perjurii merito, ipso prævaricationis suae anno defecit. Episcopus vero post annos aliquot, ipso rege divinae<sup>2</sup> in illum ultionis ministro, miserabili exitu vitam finivit, ut plenius suo loco dicitur.<sup>3</sup> Forte tamen arbitrati sunt obsequium se præstare Deo, dum suo perjurio tanquam dispensatorio ecclesiae regnique profectibus melius providerent: eo quod in<sup>4</sup> defuncti principis moribus et actibus plura sibi merito displicuissent, quæ princeps mero ab eis creatus<sup>5</sup> beneficio, eorum, ut credebant, libenter emendaret consilio. Stephanus ergo ut contra jus humanum pariter et divinum, humanum scilicet, quia legitimus heres non erat, et divinum, id est violata jurisjurandi<sup>6</sup>

becomes  
(Nov. 17,  
1129)  
Bishop of  
Winches-  
ter.

Stephen  
seizes the  
crown.

William,  
Arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury, and  
Roger,  
Bishop of  
Salisbury,  
crown

Stephen  
(Dec. 26,  
1135).

The Arch-  
bishop dies  
within the  
year (Nov.  
21, 1136).

The Bishop  
of Salis-  
bury ends  
his life  
miserably.

<sup>1</sup> The date usually assigned for the coronation is that given in the margin, but the precise statements in two short contemporary chronicles printed by Dr. F. Liebermann (*Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen*, pp. 5 and 79), may be quoted. The first (*"Annal. Anglosax. breves"*) has the date 23 Dec. 1135, the second agrees with William of Malmesbury in supplying the date 22 December.

<sup>2</sup> The 15th century hand which

makes so many alterations in the early part of B. has altered this word to *divinitus*, a reading in which A. agrees.

<sup>3</sup> See W. Malmesb., *Hist. Nov.* (E. H. Soc. Ed. 692-3). The bishop professed to consider himself absolved from his oath to Henry.

<sup>4</sup> *in*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> *creatus*, C.L.S.; *creatus*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *fusjurandi* (sic), L.

religione, sublimaretur in regem, pactus est quæcunque præsules et proceres exigere voluerunt, quæ postea per ejus perfidiam in<sup>1</sup> irritum cuncta cesserunt.<sup>2</sup> Dei enim judicio bona minime venire debuerunt, propter quæ sapientes potentesque illi malum tam enorme faciendum decreverunt.

A.D. 1136.  
Stephen fails to fulfil his promises.

## CAP. V.

*Quod Stephanus frustra habuerit regni principia.*

Duos quidem priores regni sui annos rex Stephanus faustos habere visus est; rege Scottorum David, qui Northumbriam<sup>3</sup> trans fluvium Tinum<sup>4</sup> irruerat, magnis viribus repulso<sup>5</sup> et domito; Baldewino de Redveriiis, qui contra eum rebellare cœperat, expugnato atque in exilium acto; rebus quoque in Normannia fortiter et feliciter gestis. Anno vero tertio et quarto cœperunt contra perjurum et pactorum etiam, quæ in promotione sua fecerat, prævariatorem mala increcere; plurimi et fortissimi rebellare; ipse, jam exhaustis avunculi thesauris, minus posse et mollius agere. Initia malorum hæc. Cum ergo in australibus Angliæ partibus contra eos qui a se defecerant, et hostiliter agebant, casso labore sudaret, Scottorum redivivus furor erumpens Northumbriam crudelissima depopulatione<sup>6</sup> exinanitam obtinuit; et anne Tino<sup>7</sup> transmissio,

A.D. 1136-7.  
Prosperity of the first two years of Stephen's reign.  
In the third year evils began to spring up. While quelling rebels in

<sup>1</sup> *in*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> Malmesbury, (E. H. S. ed. p. 707) gives the charter.

<sup>3</sup> *Northumbriam*, C.S.; *Norhtumbriam*, B.; *Norhtumbriam*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *Tinum*, B.S.; *Tynum*, C.; *Ti* (the rest erased), L.

<sup>5</sup> This is here referred to as a

warlike repulse, but Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury represent the settlement as peaceably obtained by negotiation.

<sup>6</sup> *depopulatione*, B.L.R.S.; *spoliatione*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *Tino*, B.L.S.; *Tyno*, C.

A.D. 1138.

the south  
the Scots  
ravage the  
north.

Their de-  
predations  
carried as  
far as  
York.

Arch-  
bishop  
Thurstan  
summons  
the men of  
the pro-  
vince to  
battle.

The Battle  
of the  
Standard  
(22) Aug.

Council of  
London  
(Dec. 13).

neque sexui neque ætati parcens, usque ad fluvium<sup>1</sup> Tesam pervenit; non quidem ibi debacchandi sibi limitem statuens, sed totam Deirorum provinciam cum Eboraca civitate spe jam indubia possidens. Provinciales vero, cum nullum, vel a rege vel a Transhumbranis provinciis, sperarent<sup>2</sup> auxilium, bonæ memoriæ Thurstini<sup>3</sup> archiepiscopi monitis animati,<sup>4</sup> pro animabus suis, pro conjugibus et liberis pugnandum duxerunt, atque unanimiter conglobati contra multitudinem immanitate terribilem, non longe a flumine Tesa in campo steterunt: numero quidem longe impares; sed piæ justæque causæ fiducia multum præstantes. Denique Scotti mane castris incensis flumen transeunt,<sup>5</sup> et objectam paucitatem derisui habentes, audacter in pugnam ruunt. At non diu prælium tractum est, ubi nihil aut parum gladiis actum. Levis enim armaturæ homines, confodientibus eos eminus jaculis, mox terga dederunt, nostrisque cum victoria campum reliquerunt. Cæsa referuntur in illa vel pugna vel fuga Scottorum<sup>6</sup> multa millia, et rex<sup>7</sup> David, raro quidem milite sed multo dedecore comitatus, refugit in propria. Hoc<sup>8</sup> bellum, Deo propitio, adversus Scottos feliciter gestum est anno regis Stephani quarto,<sup>9</sup> mense Augusto. Et post menses aliquot

<sup>1</sup> *fluvium*, C.L.S.; *flumen*, A.B.

<sup>2</sup> *sperarent*, B.L.S.; *sperassent*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *Thurstini*, B.L.S.; *Turstani*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *animati*, B.L.S.; *anima* (by erasure), C.

<sup>5</sup> *transeunt*, B.L.R.S.; *transierunt*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *illa vel pugna vel fuga Scottorum*, B.L.R.S.; *illa pugna Scottorum*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *rex David raro quidem*, B.L.S.; *rex quidem David raro*, C.

<sup>8</sup> The passage which follows as

far as the end of the chapter bears a very strong resemblance to the following extract from Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. viii. § 9, end: Rolls' ed. p. 265). "Hoc bellum Augusti mense factum est. At in Adventu Domini concilium apud Lundoniam Albrius ecclesiæ Romanæ legatus et Hostiensis episcopus tenuit. Ibidem, adite rege Stephano, Theobaldus Abbas Beccensis Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus effectus est."

<sup>9</sup> Newburgh has here deserted

Albericus<sup>1</sup> Ostiensis<sup>2</sup> episcopus, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, concilium Landoniis celebravit, ubi Teobaldus<sup>3</sup> abbas Beccensis, rege connivente, cathedram ecclesiæ Cantuariensis suscepit.

A.D. 1138.  
Theobald, abbot of Bec, becomes Archbishop of Canterbury.

## CAP. VI.

*De Rogerio Salesbiriensi et Alexandro Lincolnensi episcopis, et<sup>4</sup> quomodo capti sunt a rege Stephano.*

Post hæc rex Oxenefordiae<sup>5</sup> constitutus, pessimis consiliis ita est depravatus, ut ecclesiasticorum virorum inhiando pecuniis, impias eis manus injiceret, et sacris non deferendo ordinibus, personæ regiæ inexpiabilem<sup>6</sup> nævum inureret.<sup>7</sup> Quippe Rogerium Salesbiriensem et Alexandrum Lincolnensem, nobilissimos et potentissimos tunc in<sup>8</sup> episcopis Anglorum, cum eos paulo ante ad se venientes hilari facie suscepisset, repente, tanquam personas vilissimas atrocium injuriarum reas, captos inclusit, aretavit, pecuniis et castellis nudavit.<sup>9</sup> Sane de hujus Rogerii primordiis atque progressibus, quoniam se præbet occasio, pauca di-

A.D. 1139.  
Stephen at Oxford (June 24).  
His treacherous seizure of the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln.  
Extorts from them their money and castles.

his guide, Henry of Huntingdon, who places the Battle of the Standard in Stephen's third year.

<sup>1</sup> Albericus, B.C.L.S.; Albertus, R.

<sup>2</sup> Ostiensis, C.; Hostiensis, A.B.L.S.

<sup>3</sup> Teobaldus, S.; Theobaldus, B.C.L.

<sup>4</sup> et, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> Oxenefordiae, L.S.; Oxenefordie, C.; Oxeneforthie, A.B.

<sup>6</sup> inexpiabilem, B.L.S.; inexpugnabilem, C.

<sup>7</sup> inureret, B.S.; inuemet, L.; incureret, C.

<sup>8</sup> potentissimos tunc in, B.L.S. potentissimos viros tunc in, C., potentissimos esse in, R.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Henry of Huntingdon (Rolls' ed. p. 265), W. of Malmsh. (E. H. S. ed. p. 716).

A.D. 1139.

Antecedents of  
Roger  
bishop of  
Salisbury.

cenda sunt; ut in fine ejus miserimo altitudo divini consideretur judicii. Idem sub regno Guillelmi junioris sacerdos admodum tenuis in quodam, ut dicitur, suburbano Cadomensi de officio vivebat. Eodem tempore Henricus junior fratri regi militans, casu ex itinere cum comitibus divertit ad ecclesiam in qua ille ministrabat, petiitque sibi celebrari sacra. Sacerdos vero<sup>1</sup> petitione suscepta, ad incipiendum promptus et ad finiendum succinetus, in utroque militibus sic placuit, ut dicerent tam aptum militibus reperiri non posse capellanum. Cumque regius ille juvenis diceret, "sequere me," non secus illi adhæsit quam Petrus olim Regi cœlesti idem dicenti. Petrus enim relicta navicula Regem regum; ille vero relicta ecclesia secutus est juvenem regium: factusque<sup>2</sup> illi et ejus militibus capellanus ad libitum, cæcus præstabat cæcis ducatum. Et cum esset fere illiteratus, innata tamen astutia ita callebat, ut domino suo in brevi carus existeret, et secretiora ejus negotia procuraret. Postquam autem idem dominus ejus regnum sortitus<sup>3</sup> est, eum, tanquam ante regnum et in regno bene de se meritum, ad Salesbiriensem provexit episcopatum: quin etiam illi, tanquam in multis<sup>4</sup> probato, fideli, et industrio, publicas administrationes commisit; ut esset non tantum in<sup>5</sup> ecclesia magnus, sed etiam in regno a rege secundus. Denique amplas exercendæ avaritiæ occasiones nactus, ex utroque officio, scilicet ecclesiastico et seculari, ingentes coacervavit divitias, non dispergendas dandasque pauperibus, sed vanissimis usibus applicandas. Duo enim nobilia sumptuosissimo opere castella, scilicet Divisas et Scireburnam, construxit; vanissime satagens ne<sup>6</sup> reciperent comparisonem in regno. Alexandro quoque nepoti suo, rege sibi nihil

Roger  
becomes  
Bishop of  
Salisbury  
(Aug. 11,  
1107).

Builds  
castles at  
Sherborne  
and De-  
vizes.

<sup>1</sup> vero, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>2</sup> factusque, B.L.S.; factus, C.

<sup>3</sup> sortitus, C.L.S.; secutus, B.

<sup>4</sup> multis, C.L.S.; militis, B.

<sup>5</sup> in, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> ne, C.L.S.; ut, B.; ut non, A.



negante, Lincolnensis ecclesiae sedem obtinuit; qui, cum esset cordis latissimi,<sup>1</sup> avunculū æmulans duo<sup>2</sup> et ipse non ignobilia expensis profusissimis castella exstruxit. Et, quoniam hujusmodi exstructio episcopalem honestatem minus decere videbatur, ad tollendam illius exstructionis invidiam et quasi expiandam maculam, totidem monasteria construens, collegiis religiosi implevit. Cum autem inclitus rex Henricus a singulis regni præsulibus atque proceribus de conservanda filiae suæ in successione regni fidelitate sacramentum<sup>3</sup> exigeret; memoratus Salesbiriensis idem sacramentum, uti<sup>4</sup> superius dictum est, non solum in propria persona hilariter præstitit, verum etiam<sup>5</sup> aliis præstituris, tanquam vir prudens et a rege secundus, ad nutum regium caute distinxit. Sed rege defuncto, qui ei tantæ in hoc seculo claritatis auctor exstiterat, circa legitimos ejus heredes infidus, ut Stephanum, sacramento illo æque astrictum, sibi alliceret, non solum non est veritus incurrere perjurium, verum etiam aliis insigne pejerandi præstruxit exemplum. Eidem quoque sublimato<sup>6</sup> in regem se talem exhibuit, ut obsequiorum gratia præclaram apud illum habere fiduciam videretur. Tantis ille beneficiis ingratus, et in ipsum episcopum, cujus opera nunquam episcopalia fuere, ultor divinitus ordinatus, eundem tanquam exigui hominem momenti, primo carcerali custodia, postmodum etiam<sup>7</sup> cibi inopia, et<sup>8</sup> nepotis ejus, qui cancellarius fuerat regius, intentato supplicio, ita coarctavit, ut duo illa præclara castella, in quibus thesauri ejus erant repositi, resignaret. Quo

A.D. 1139.

Obtains the bishopric of Lincoln for his nephew Alexander.

Bishop Roger was one of those who swore to receive the empress Maud as queen.

On Henry's death in order to gain Stephen's favour he violated his oath.

Stephen's ingratitude avenges the bishop's perjury.

<sup>1</sup> *latissimi*, B.L.S.; *latissimi* vel interlined above *clarissimi* in a contemporary hand, C.

<sup>2</sup> *duo et ipse non*, C.L.S.; *dudum*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *sacramentum*, B.L.S.; *sacramenta*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *uti*, C.L.S.; *ut*, A. and B., by late alteration.

<sup>5</sup> C. has *et* for *etiam*.

<sup>6</sup> *sublimato*, B.L.S.; *limato*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *etiam*, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>8</sup> C. has *etiam* for *et*.

A.D. 1139. facta claruit, ex vi doloris, quantum ejus cor infece-  
 rit mundani virus amoris. Nam juxta veracissimam  
 beati Gregorii sententiam, quantum cum habentur  
 temporalia hæret amor, tantum cum subtrahuntur  
 urit dolor. Denique grandævus episcopus ex eorum  
 amissione, in quorum extructione vel congestione  
 Deum vehementer offenderat, vi doloris absorptus,  
 atque in amentiam versus, ita ut indecentia<sup>1</sup> vel  
 faceret vel diceret, perspicuo Dei judicio vitam longo  
 tempore splendidissimam infelicissimo fine conclusit.<sup>2</sup>

Bishop  
 Roger dies  
 insane  
 (Dec. 4,  
 1139).

The bishop  
 of Lincoln  
 resigns his  
 castles and  
 regains  
 his liberty.

Alexander vero Lincolnensis; qui cum eo captus  
 fuerat, eisdem quibus ille modis ad resignandas mu-  
 nitiones quas extruxerat angariatus est; quibus resig-  
 natis, ægre relaxatus est; divinum circa se judicium,  
 si sapuit, venerans et saniora meditans. Sed nec ipsi  
 regi, quem virgam furoris Domini fuisse constat erga  
 memoratos episcopos, in prosperum cedebat, quod in-  
 stigante vel odio personarum, vel ambitu pecuniarum,  
 sacris minime ordinibus deferebat: idque sequentia  
 declarabunt.

## CAP. VII.

### *Quomodo Stephanus regiam auctoritatem amiserit cum Normannia.*

A.D. 1139. Paucis siquidem diebus elapsis, Matildis olim im-  
 peratrix, filia regis Henrici, in Angliam venit, et con-  
 templatione juramenti olim sibi de regno præstiti  
 multorum<sup>3</sup> procerum corda commovit, cum se jam  
 plurimi proprio instinctu contra regem Stephanum  
 erigere minime<sup>4</sup> formidarent. Itaque divisum est reg-

The em-  
 press  
 Maud  
 comes to  
 England.

<sup>1</sup> indecentia, B.L.S.; in dementia,  
 C.

<sup>2</sup> conclusit, B.L.R.S.; complevit,  
 C.

<sup>3</sup> multorum, B.L.S.; multorumque,  
 C.

<sup>4</sup> minime, A.C.L.S.; om. B.

num, quibusdam Stephano, quibusdam vero dietæ A.D. 1139. imperatrici favorem opemque præstantibus; et com-  
 Matth. xii. 5. pletum est illud Dominicum; "Omne regnum in se-  
 "divisum desolabitur." Ita enim per discursus ex-  
 cursusque hinc inde hostiles, rapinis et incendiis pau-  
 latim dilaniata atque attenuata est Anglia, ut ex  
 regno florentissimo infelicissimum videretur. Jam om-  
 nis regii nominis terror, jam omnis disciplinæ publicæ  
 vigor in ventum abierat; et sublato legum metu,  
 libido et licentia passibus æquis currebant. Malis  
 ergo quotidie crebrescentibus, jam versa erat in luctum  
 ecclesiæ cithara, et populus sub multiplici geme-  
 bat jactura.

The divi-  
 sion and  
 desolation  
 of the  
 kingdom.

Rebus in Anglia se ita habentibus, Andegavensis Geoffrey  
 comes Normanniam cum exercitu pervagatur; totam- of Anjou  
 que in brevi uxoris et filii nomine in suam potes- reduces  
 tatem traducit;<sup>1</sup> nemine se opponente qui ejus valeret Nor-  
 mandy  
 impetum sustinere. Cum rege quippe Francorum, (1135-45).  
 qui regi Stephano fœderatus videbatur, prudenter  
 colluserat, ne quid ab eo impedimenti pateretur, quo-  
 minus prosperaretur, in iis quæ intendebat.

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CAP. VIII.

*Quomodo rex Stephanus captus est in bello apud  
 Lincolniam.*

Sexto regni sui anno rex Stephanus castrum Lin- A.D. 1140.  
 colniense obsedit; quod Rannulfus<sup>2</sup> comes Cestrensis Stephen  
 dolo intraverat, et tenebat: protractaque est obsidio besieges  
 a diebus Natalis Domini usque ad Hypapanti<sup>3</sup> Do- Lincoln  
 mini. Idem autem comes ut obsidionem solveret, castle.

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<sup>1</sup> traducit, B.C.L.S.; traducto,  
 A.; redegit, R.

<sup>2</sup> Rannulfus, S; Raulfus, B.C.L.

<sup>3</sup> Ipupanti, A.B.C.L.; Ypapanti,  
 S.; the feast of the Purification  
 (2 Feb.).

A.D. 1141. Gloucestresem comitem,<sup>1</sup> regis Henrici filium nothum, suum vero socerum, aliosque fortissimos proceres cum ingentibus copiis secum adducens, regi, ni cederet, bellum denuntiavit. Rex vero, eorum adventu præcognito, vires undecunque contraxerat: et turmis extra urbem dispositis, ut exciperet venientes, prælium cum multa fiducia instruebat. Nam et ipse bellator erat robustissimus, et militum numero ampliore subnixus. Huc accedebat quod hostilis exercitus longo et hiemali itinere fatigatus, otio, quo recrearetur, quam prælio, quo periclitaretur, magis idoneus videbatur. Qui tamen numero quidem et<sup>2</sup> apparatu impar, sed solis animis præstans, eo quod sibi tam longe progresso a propriis nullum in hostium finibus videretur<sup>3</sup> esse locum effugii, constanter in bellum prorupit. Rex ipse cum sua turma amotis equis in pedes consistens, equitum turmas, ad dandos vel excipiendos primos belli ictus, in fronte disposuerat; quibus primo hostilis equitatus impressu victis atque in fugam actis, totum pondus prælii in regiam turmam versum est. Ibi quidem acerrime pugnatum est, rege ipso in primis fortiter agente; quo tandem capto et turma ejus profligata, victor exercitus urbem diripiendam ovans ingreditur, et captivus insignis dictæ imperatrici transmissus, apud Bristou<sup>4</sup> custodiæ mancipatur.

The siege lasts from Christmas till Robert earl of Gloucester marches to the relief.

The battle of Lincoln (Feb. 2, 1141).

Capture of Stephen and his imprisonment at Bristol.

<sup>1</sup> Gloucestresem comitem, B.L.S.; Glaucestresem comitem, R.; Gloucestriensem comitem Robertum, C.

<sup>2</sup> et, B.L.S.; etiam, C.

<sup>3</sup> videretur, L.; videretur altered to videret, but restored, S.; videret, B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Bristou, B.L.S.; Bristhou, C.

## CAP. IX.

*Quomodo rex Stephanus liberatus est per captivonem comitis Gloucestrensis.*<sup>1</sup>

Igitur regii casus infelicitate comperta, imperatrix A.D. 1141. ad summum evehitur, et fere totius regni favoribus honoratur. Verum stulta apparuit, postquam elevata est in sublime. Ita enim ex recenti felicitate successuum corde intumuit et verbis intonuit, ut intolerabili fastu<sup>2</sup> femineo optimatum contra se pendulos adhuc animos inflammaret. Cives quoque Londonienses, qui eam favorabiliter prius susceperant, expulerunt eam, superbiam ejus non ferentes. Unde indignata regem, qui judicio Dei in manus<sup>3</sup> ejus inciderat, et adhuc indulgentius custodiebatur, compedibus oneravit, eo ipso divini judicii severitatem circa eum molliens, et, ut postea claruit, liberationem ejus accelerans. Evolutis enim diebus paucis, cum avunculo suo rege Scottorum et fratre suo Roberto, turrin Wintoniensis episcopi obsidens, fortunæ inconstantiam et, effrenatæ superbiæ merito, prioris jacturam gloriæ experta est. Denique idem episcopus regis germanus, homo multæ in regno potentiæ, callidus et pecuniosus supra modum, Apostolicæ quoque sedis legatus in Anglia, ad solvendam obsidionem, ex Cantia, quam solam casus non flexerat regius, Guilelmum Ipresem cum regina, et ex aliis provinciis plurimos dominationis femineæ<sup>4</sup> fastu irritatos accersivit. Cumque jam immensas contraxisset copias, per dies aliquot uterque exercitus excubabat in castris, et præter eos qui ex castris egressi pro ostentatione virium<sup>5</sup> exercebantur, vacare videbatur. Sed

The cause of Maud is damaged by her arrogance.

The men of London receive her with favour, but afterwards drive her from the city (Midsummer, 1141). Stephen placed in fetters.

Maud lays siege to Winchester.

The Queen and William of Ypres approach, but encamp without fighting.

<sup>1</sup> *Gloucestrensis*, G.L.; *Glaucestrensis*, S.; *Claucestria* (sic), A.B.

<sup>2</sup> *fastu*, B.L.S.; *faustu*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *manus*, B.L.S.; *manu*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *femineæ*, B.C.; *femine*, L.S.

<sup>5</sup> *virium* (sic), S.; the same error was originally made in L. but was corrected.

A D. 1141 advenientes magnæ ex Lundoniis copiæ, ita eorum qui  
 The dictæ imperatrici adversabantur auxerunt exercitum,  
 Londoners arriving, ut ipsa jam impar ad pugnam, civitate Wintonia<sup>1</sup> re-  
 force the force the lieta et direptioni exposita, evadere curaret per fugam.  
 Empress to flee. Captus est in fuga illa Robertus frater ejus, comes  
 Capture of Gloucestreusis,<sup>2</sup> cum aliis plurimis. Porro David rex  
 the Earl of Scottorum, ne incideret in manus hostium, persequen-  
 Gloucester tes arte elusit,<sup>3</sup> et quibusdam eum caute deducuntibus  
 (Sept. 14). cum multo metu atque periculo ad propria rediit.  
 Stephen Sane insignium captivorum, scilicet regis et comitis,  
 and the Earl exchanged commutatio facta est, et, perseverantibus inimicitiiis,  
 (Nov. 1). aterque pro altero sibi et suis est redditus.

## CAP. X.

*Quomodo imperatrix fugit de Oxenfordia, et de concilio  
Lundoniensi.*

A. D. 1142. Cum ergo rex et imperatrix jugi discordia discepta-  
 — rent, quandoque partes æquabantur, quandoque vero  
 præstabat altera, fortunæ volubilitatem in brevi  
 Stephen's enim<sup>5</sup> anno rex Stephanus apud Wiltonam muni-  
 defeat at tionem construens, repentina hostium irruptione con-  
 Wilton. tritus, et plurimis suorum amissis, in fugam actus  
 Capture of est. Captus est ibidem dapifer regis Wilelmus,  
 William cognomento Martellus; qui mox pro sui corporis libe-  
 Martel. ratione nobile castellum Schireburnense<sup>6</sup> resignavit.  
 He sur- Eodem anno fortuna retrograda rex imperatricem in  
 renders Sherborne to the Oxenfordia<sup>7</sup> per menses aliquot obsidione conclusit.  
 Empress.

<sup>1</sup> *Wintona*, L.S.; *Wyntonía*, B; *Wintonia*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *Gloucestrensis*, B.S.; *Gloccs-*  
*tuensis*, L.; *Gloucestriensis*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *clisit*, A.B.L.R.S.; *illusit*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Sequenti anno*, this marks the  
year after the date (*sexto . . . anno*)  
at the beginning of cap. viii. and  
is therefore *septimo anno*. The

dates and all but the mere word-  
at this point are from Henry of  
Huntingdon (viii. § 20).

<sup>5</sup> *enim*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.; *autem*,  
R.

<sup>6</sup> *Schireburnense*, B.L.S.; *Schir-*  
*isburnense*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *Oxenfordia*, L.S.; *Oxenforthia*,  
B.; *Oxenefordia*, C.

Illa vero diutinæ obsidionis impatiens occasionem fugæ ex temporis qualitate nacta, noctis et nivis beneficio in veste alba Tamensim fluvium crassa glacie superstratum transiit: et hoc modo evadens in tutiora loca se recepit. Rex autem oppidum memoratum obtinuit. Hoc successu priorum eventuum dedecus quantulumcumque detergens,<sup>1</sup> post tanta divinæ vel districtionis vel miserationis experimenta, viris ecclesiasticis de cetero mitior visus est: et concilio, quod sequenti<sup>2</sup> anno Lundoniis ab Henrico Wintoniensi episcopo, Apostolicæ sedis legato, pro quiete et prærogativa ordinis clericalis, celebratum est, benigne interfuit, et favoris regii suffragium non negavit. Nam, quia tunc in Anglia malis incrementibus parum sacris deferebatur ordinibus, eratque fere in omnibus sicut populus sic sacerdos, in eodem concilio statutum est, ut quicumque in clericum vel in monachum violentas manus injiceret, excommunicatus sollemniter denuntiaretur, et ad Romanum pontificem absolvendus mitteretur.

Ipo anno<sup>3</sup> nondum finito Cantuariensis archiepiscopus super Wintoniensem episcopum ordinariam potestatem habens, et Wintoniensis<sup>4</sup> super Cantuariensem Romanæ legationis potestatem exercens, dum hæc duæ potestates se mutuo sibi<sup>5</sup> colliderent, ecclesiarum pace concussa, Romanum pontificem adierunt, et quæstionem tanto gratiorem<sup>6</sup> quanto ponderosiorum Romanis auribus intulerunt. Et alter

A.D. 1142.  
The Em-  
press  
besieged  
in Oxford  
(Sept.).  
Her es-  
cape, and  
the sur-  
render of  
Oxford  
(Dec. 20).  
A.D. 1143.  
Council of  
London.

Dispute  
between  
the arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury and  
the bishop  
of Win-  
chester,  
the papal  
legate.

<sup>1</sup> *detergens*, C.L.S.; *detergēs*, B.

<sup>2</sup> The date assigned by Sir H. Nicolas is Middleit 1142; "sequenti anno" here would mean 1143. Henry of Huntingdon says, "Octavo anno rex Stephanus interfuit concilio Lundoniæ in media Quadragesima." John of Hexham (Twysden, 272) confirms this date. Newburgh here, as elsewhere, follows Huntingdon's chronology.

<sup>3</sup> "ante Natale" in the eighth year of Stephen, Henry of Huntingdon says, adding, "mortuo jam Innocentio papa." Innocent II. died 24th September 1143.

<sup>4</sup> *Wintoniensi*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *sibi*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> *gratiorem*, B.L.R.S.; *graviorem*, C.

A.D. 1143. quidem in causa præstantior, neuter vero inexhausto sacco, reversus est.

## CAP. XI.

*De vita scelerata et condigno<sup>1</sup> interitu Gaufridi de Magna Villa.*

A.D. 1143. Eodem tempore rex Stephanus cepit Gaufridum<sup>2</sup> de Magna Villa in curia sua apud Sanctum Albanum: non quidem honeste et<sup>3</sup> secundum jus gentium, sed pro merito ejus, et metu; scilicet, quod expediret quam quod deceret plus attendens. Erat enim idem<sup>4</sup> Gaufridus homo audacissimus, et magnarum virium, simul et artium; præclaram illam arcem Londoniensem cum duabus aliis munitionibus non ignobilibus possidens, et subtili astutia ingentia moliens. Cum ergo propter hæc ipsi<sup>5</sup> esset regi<sup>6</sup> terribilis, acceptam ab eo injuriam rex caute dissimulabat, et tempus opportunum, quo se ulcisceretur, observabat. Injuria vero quam regi nequam ille intulerat talis erat.

Rex ante<sup>7</sup> annos aliquot episcopi, ut dictum est, Salesbiriensis thesauros adeptus, summa non modica regi Francorum Lodovico<sup>8</sup> transmissa, sororem<sup>9</sup> ejus Constantiam Eustachio filio suo desponderat; intendens affinitate tanti principis contra comitem Andegavensem ejusque filios successurum sibi filium robore; eratque hæc cum soerua sua regina Londoniis. Cumque regina ad alium forte vellet cum eadem nuru sua locum migrare, memoratus Gaufridus arci tunc

Eustace married to Constance sister of Louis VII. of France (A.D. 1140).

<sup>1</sup> *condigno*, C.L.S.; *indigno*, B.

<sup>2</sup> *Gaufridum*, B.L.S.; *Galfri-*  
*dum*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *et*, B.L.S.; *sed*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *idem*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> *ipsi*, B.L.S.; *ipse*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *regi*, B.C.S.; *regni*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *ante*, C.L.S. and by marginal correction, B.; *autem ante*, A.

<sup>8</sup> *Lodovico*, B.S.; *Lodowico*, L.; *Ludewico*, C.

<sup>9</sup> *sororem*, B.L.S.; *sororemque*, C.



præsidentis restitit; nuruque de manibus soerus pro viribus obnitentis abstracta atque retenta, illam cum ignominia abire permisit. Postea vero reposcenti, et justum motum,<sup>1</sup> pro tempore dissimulanti, regi socio insignem prædam ægre resignavit. Et videbatur hæc injuria oblivioni jam tradita; cum ecce, congregatis per edictum regium apud Sanctum Albanum proceribus, prædo ille inter ceteros affuit, quem rex, illico temporis opportunitatem nactus, justissimæ indignationis loris astrinxit; eique arcem Lundoniensem cum duobus reliquis quæ possidebat castellis extorsit. Munitionibus ergo nudatus, sed tamen relaxatus, homo ille quietis nescius, animo ingens, astu vix comparabiliter præditus, et supra modum sapiens ut faceret malum, collecta improborum manu, monasterium Rameseyense<sup>2</sup> invasit; nec veritus, expulsis monachis, locum tam celebrem et sanctum facere speluncam latronum, et sanctuarium Dei convertere in domicilium diaboli, crebris eruptionibus atque excursionibus vicinas infestavit provincias. Deinde sumpta ex successu fiducia, longius progrediens, regem Stephanum acerrimis fatigavit terruitque incursibus. Eo sic debacchante videbatur dormire Divinitas,<sup>3</sup> et non curare res humanas, vel etiam suas, id est, ecclesiasticas: dicebaturque a laborantibus piis, "Exsurge, quare obdormis Domine?" At postquam, ut ait Apostolus, sustinuit Deus in multa patientia vasa iræ apta in interitum, "excitatus est," ut ait propheta, "tanquam dormiens Dominus, et percussit inimicos suos in posteriora," id est, in fine, quorum anteriora felicia videbantur. Denique paulo ante impii illius interitum, sicut veraci

A.D. 1145.

The princess seized by Geoffrey and kept in the Tower of London.

Being surrendered the affair seems to be forgotten, but Geoffrey is afterwards seized at St. Alban's. He surrenders the Tower of London and other castles and turns freebooter.

Seizes Ramsey Abbey.

Ps. xliii.  
23.Rom. ix.  
22.Ps. lxxvii.  
66.

<sup>1</sup> *motum*, B.C.L.R.S.; Hearne prints *metum*.

<sup>2</sup> *Rameseyense*, L.S.; *Ramesayense*, B.; *Ramaseyense*, C.

<sup>3</sup> Either borrowed (with the important omission of *improbi*) from

Henry of Huntingdon's words "Quia igitur improbi dixerunt Deum dormire" (viii. § 22), or perhaps, though less probably, an allusion to the famous passage in the Anglo-Saxon (Peterborough) Chronicle.

A.D. 1143.

Portents  
seen in  
Ramsey  
Abbey  
during the  
occupation  
of the  
robbers.  
Geoffrey  
is struck  
by an  
arrow, and  
dies  
(August  
1144).

His lieu-  
tenants  
perish.  
One is  
killed by  
a fall from  
his horse;  
the other is  
miracu-  
lously  
drowned.

multorum relatione compertum est, parietes<sup>1</sup> ecclesie quam invaserat, et claustris adjacentis, verum sanguinem sudarunt; quo, ut postea claruit, significabatur et immanitas facinoris, et jam imminens iudicium ejusdem immanitatis. Verum, cum improbi in reprobum<sup>2</sup> sensum dati signo tam horribili minime terrentur, nequam ille castellum hostile oppugnans, inter consertas suorum catervas, vilissimi peditis sagitta in capite percussus est. Quo vulnuscule vir ferocissimus, quamvis illud primo derideret, post aliquot dies assumptus,<sup>3</sup> ecclesiastici anathematis vinculum, nunquam eo absolvendus, secum portavit ad inferos.

Duo etiam satellites ejus crudelissimi, quorum unus equitibus, alter peditibus præerat, diversis casibus interisse feruntur. Ille enim<sup>4</sup> equo decidens, eliso ad terram capite exeuussoque cerebro, exspiravit: alter vero Rainerus nomine, præcipuus ecclesiarum effractor atque incensor, cum uxore sua transfretans, iniquitatum suarum pondere, in medio mari, navim qua vehebatur fecit immobilem. Quod cum maximo nautis et aliis qui simul vehebantur esset stupori, antiquo exemplo jacta est sors, et cecidit sors super Rainerum. Et, ne forte hoc casu accidisse videretur, iterum et tertio sorte jacta et fideli inventa, iudicium Dei declaratum est. Itaque ne universi cum ipso et propter ipsum perirent, expositus est in scapha cum uxore<sup>5</sup> et pecunia male acquisita. Navis illico expedita est et cursu solito ferebatur. Scapha vero pondere peccatoris subsedit, fluctibusque absorpta est.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *parietes*, C.L.S.; *pariens* corrected in plummet to *parietes*, B.

<sup>2</sup> *reprobum*, B.L.R.S.; *improbum*, C.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *assumptus*.

<sup>4</sup> *enim*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>5</sup> *uxore*, C.L.S.; *uxore sua*, A.B.

<sup>6</sup> This chapter gives many more particulars than are to be found in Henry of Huntingdon, though in many passages traces of his wording appear.

## CAP. XII.

*De Roberto Marmiun<sup>1</sup> et ejus interitu.<sup>2</sup>*

Sane memorato invasori duo in Anglia consimiles A.D. 1144. fuisse noscuntur, Robertus scilicet, cognomento Marmiun,<sup>3</sup> qui expulsis monachis ecclesiam Coventrensem, et Wilelmus Albemarlensis,<sup>4</sup> qui exclusis regularibus clericis ecclesiam invasit et polluit Brelintoniensem.<sup>5</sup> Quorum alter, scilicet Robertus, divini pondere judicii contritus est: alter vero, id est, Wilelmus, clementiæ divini respectu compunctus, largis crebrisque elemosynis in pauperes expensis, et non ignobilium constructione monasteriorum expiavit excessum. Denique Robertus Marmiun homo bellicosus, ferocia, astutia, audacia, fere nulli suo tempore impar, cum, jam multis late debacchando successibus clarus, præclaram illam ecclesiam, exclusis servis Dei et intronissis satellitibus diaboli, profanasset; Cestrensem quoque comitem, cui specialiter adversabatur, crebris et magnis excursionibus fatigaret; eidem comiti cum ingentibus copiis adventanti insultaturus egressus est. Cumque in conspectu suorum pariter et hostium equo spumæo cum fastu nimio veheretur, suæ artis immemor, nam crebras, ut dicitur, in campo fossas fecerat, quibus hostes vel arcerentur vel impedirentur, judicio inquam Dei, suæ artis et operis immemor, incidit in foveam quam fecit; fractoque femore emergere non valens, a quodam ignobili hostilium partium satellite, cunctis hinc inde videntibus, capite truncatus est, eisdem<sup>6</sup> fere diebus quibus super præ-

The crimes of Robert Marmiun and William of Albemarle. They respectively expel the monks of Coventry and Bridlington.

Marmiun is killed by a soldier of the Earl of Chester's army.

Marmiun and de Maudevill die about

<sup>1</sup> *Marmiun*, B.C.L.; *Mamiun*, S.

<sup>2</sup> *interitu*, B.L.S.; corrected to *obitu*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *Marmiun*, B.L.; *Marmiun*, S.; *Marmiun*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Albemarlensis*, C.L.S.; *Albermarlensis*, A.B.

<sup>5</sup> *Brelintoniensem*, C.L.S.; *Bridlingtoniensem*, A. and, by 15th cent. alteration, B.

<sup>6</sup> *eisdem*, B.L.S.; *eidem*, C.

A.D. 1144. dicto Gaufrido iudicium Dei celebratum est; quod et<sup>1</sup>  
 the same in hujus interitu pro causa consimili claruit.<sup>2</sup> Ho-  
 time rum quidem exitio, et perspicuo circa illos Dei judi-  
 (August). cio prænominatus Albemarle<sup>3</sup> non est territus, quo-  
 William of minus post annos aliquot scelus consimile attentaret.  
 Albemarle Sed, ut dixi, misericordiam non iudicium de manu  
 ultimately reser-  
 repented. vatus, suscepit.<sup>3</sup>

## CAP. XIII.

*De variis casibus regis Stephani.*

A.D. 1144. Anno regis Stephani nono, qui illorum duorum  
 nequam interitu fuit insignis, idem rex castrum Lin-  
 Stephen colniense, quod comes Cestrensis obtinebat, obsedit. Ubi Henr. Hunt. viii. § 22.  
 besieges dum munitionem exstrueret, operariis subita hostium  
 Lincoln, irruptione præfocatis, confusus abcessit.<sup>4</sup> Verum anno  
 but re- sequenti hujus jacturæ maculam expiavit. Cum enim  
 treats beaten. comes Gloucestrensis<sup>5</sup> et ceteri partis adversæ muni-

A.D. 1145. tionem quantum sibi utilem, tantum etiam hostibus  
 nocituram, apud Ferendunum construxissent, rex cum  
 Stephen, sua militia et<sup>6</sup> Londoniensibus copiis ocius advolans,  
 assisted by the men of London, captures fortifications at Farringdon.  
 eadem munitione per dies aliquot fortiter oppugnata,  
 tandem cum ingenti et cruento labore potitus est.  
 Sic igitur circa partes alternabat fortuna, et quibus

<sup>1</sup> et, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of the succeeding chapter these events are said to have occurred in Stephen's ninth year.

<sup>3</sup> This chapter like the previous one adds much to the information given by Huntingdon.

<sup>4</sup> From the beginning of the chapter to this point Newburgh almost uses the words of Henry of

Huntingdon (viii. § 22). The following passage more particularly shows the similarity, "*quod vi obtinebat consul Cestrensis, construeret, operatores sui ab hostibus præfocati sunt, fere octoginta. Re igitur imperfecta rex confusus abcessit.*"

<sup>5</sup> Gloucestrensis, B.C.S.; Gloucestrensis, L.

<sup>6</sup> et, B.L.S.; om. C.

per secundos paulo ante successus arridebat, hos sinistris repente casibus eludebat. Veruntamen<sup>1</sup> hunc successum, quo videbatur anni præcedentis dedecus expiasset, anni sui undecimi fœdavit infamia. Cum enim Rannulfus<sup>2</sup> comes Cestrensis, pactis cum eo celebratis, fidelis jam illi et devotus effectus, apud Walingefordam<sup>3</sup> profusus eum juvisset auxiliis; ille post modicum eundem comitem, ad se pacifice et secure venientem, apud Norhamtonam<sup>4</sup> in curia sua, regię majestatis et honestatis immemor, hostiliter comprehendit, et castrum Lincolnense,<sup>5</sup> cum ceteris quę usurpasse videbatur, resignare coegit. Quo facto comes relaxatus regi perpes de cetero factus est inimicus.

A.D. 1146.

Stephen  
treacher-  
ously  
seizes  
the earl  
of Chester,  
who had  
become his  
ally.

The earl  
resigning  
Lincoln is  
released,  
and again  
becomes  
the king's  
enemy.

## CAP. XIV.

*De Turstino Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et origine  
Rievallis<sup>6</sup> et Fontium.*

A.D.  
1131-40.

Dum<sup>7</sup> in regno Anglię talia provenirent, sanctę recordationis Turstinus<sup>8</sup> Eboracensis archiepiscopus, post laudabilem annis plurimis administrationem officii, et præclara pietatis opera, cum jam fere expletum militię suę tempus esse sentiret, relicto honore et excusans ab onere, cum monachis Cluniacensibus apud Pontem-fractum ultimos vitę suę dies exegit, et appositus est ad<sup>9</sup> patres suos in senectute bona. Cujus, inter cetera bona quę operatus est, pio studio et religiosę industrię

Arch-  
bishop  
Thurstan  
resigning  
the see of  
York (21  
Jan. 1139)  
retires to  
the Clu-  
niacs of  
Pontefract.  
His death  
(Feb. 5,  
1140).

<sup>1</sup> *veruntamen*, B.L.R.S.; *verum*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *Rannulfus*, B.S.; *Ranulfus*, C.L.

<sup>3</sup> *Walingefordam*, L.S.; *Walingfordam*, B.; *Walinfordam*, C.; *Walynfordam*, R.

<sup>4</sup> *Norhamtonam*, C.L.S.; *Northamptonam*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *Lincolnense*, B.L.R.S.; *Lincolnie*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *Rievallis*, B.C.S.; *Rieallis*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *dum*, B.S.; *cum*, C.L.R.

<sup>8</sup> *Turstinus*, C.S.; *Thurstinus*, B.L.

<sup>9</sup> *ad*, B.L.S.; *apud*, C.

A.D. 1132.  
 The ori-  
 gin of  
 Fountains  
 Abbey.

potissimum attribuenda est fundatio atque provectio celeberrimi monasterii Fontanensis; ejus memorandi operis talis fuisse occasio perhibetur. Quidam Eboracensis cœnobii monachi, numero duodecim vel tredecim, ferventes spiritu, et scrupulosam habentes conscientiam, dum acutius inspicerent quod juxta traditiones, vel Cluniacenses vel alias consimiles, religiosam quidem vitam ducerent, sed beati Benedicti regulam, quam profitebantur, minus ad literam observarent, aliquid melius fortiusque acturi, nam<sup>1</sup> Cisterciensis ordinis, qui nuper esse cœperat, fama jam celebris erat, sumum monasterium reliquerunt. Quorum studium zelumque venerabilis Turstinus<sup>2</sup> amplexus, egressos paterne suscepit, maternæ pietatis sinu fovit, et in suis penetralibus pro tempore occultatos, donec eis, prout animo conceperat, provideret, tandem in loco pascuæ collocavit. Et vocatur locus ille, Fontes: ubi ex tunc et deinceps, tanquam de fontibus Salvatoris, tam multi

Joan. iv.  
14.

Rievaulx  
 founded by  
 Walter  
 Espee  
 (A.D.  
 1131).

Sane paulo ante a nobili viro Waltero Espee invitati, et a felicis memoriæ abbate Bernardo directi, monachi Clarevallenses in Eboracensem provinciam venerant, et in loco qui nunc dicitur Rievallis, tunc autem locus erat horroris, et vastæ solitudinis, mansionem acceperant, præfato viro tradente, et venerabili Turstino episcopalem<sup>3</sup> cum affectu paterno favorem præbente. Horum exemplo monachi illi Eboracenses incitati, atque ad arripienda fortiora animati, memorati abbatis, ejus memoria in benedictione est, magisterio se tradiderunt, et, distincti locis non animis, hi et illi arctam viam quæ ducit ad vitam paribus votis et studiis infatigabiliter currere cœperunt. Benedixitque eis<sup>4</sup> Dominus " benedictionibus<sup>5</sup> cœli desuper, benedictio-

<sup>1</sup> nan (sic), C.

<sup>2</sup> Turstinus, C.L.S.; Thurstinus, B.

<sup>3</sup> episcopalem, B.L.R.S.; the

word has been written in the margin of C. but has been erased.

<sup>4</sup> eis, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> Evidently quoted from memory.

Gen. xlix. 25. "nibus abyssi jacentis deorsum, benedictionibus überum A.D. 1181. —  
 "vellerumque"; ut non solum in Omnipotentis Dei  
 servitio copiosam multitudinem aggregarent, sed etiam  
 largioribus eleemosynis in pauperes dispergendis<sup>1</sup> suffi-  
 cerent. Quod autem Domino Christo tanquam apes  
 argumentosæ servierint,<sup>2</sup> ex fructibus eorum cognosci-  
 tur, numerosis<sup>3</sup> scilicet sanctorum collegiis, quæ ex se,  
 tanquam quædam rationalium apum examina, emiserunt,  
 et non solum per Anglicanas provincias verum etiam  
 in barbaras nationes sparserunt.

## CAP. XV.

*De origine Bellelandæ.*<sup>4</sup>

Quia vero duorum insignium monasteriorum nostræ,<sup>5</sup> A.D. 1134-48.  
 id est, Eboracensis provinciæ, scilicet Rievallis et  
 Fontium feci, ut decuit, mentionem, Bellalandæ<sup>4</sup> quo-  
 que originem debeo explicare, quæ ex loci propinqui-  
 tate mihi est notior; nam uno tantum milliaro<sup>6</sup> distat  
 a Neuburgensi<sup>7</sup> ecclesia, quæ me in Christo a puero  
 aluit. Ut autem paullo altius exordiar: in transmari-  
 nis partibus, sicut a majoribus accepi, tres memorabiles  
 viri uno tempore fuere, scilicet Robertus qui agnomi-  
 natur<sup>8</sup> de Arbusculo, Bernardus, et Vitalis. Hi non  
 ignobiliter eruditi et spiritu ferventes circuibant per  
 castella et vicos, seminantesque secundum Ysaïam  
 super omnes aquas, de conversione multorum fructus

Founda-  
 tion of  
 Byland  
 Abbey.

Newburgh  
 Priory.

Isaias,  
 xxxii. 20.

<sup>1</sup> *dispergendis*, C.L.S.; *Dei sper-  
 gendis* (sic), B.

<sup>2</sup> *servierint*, B.L.S.; *servierent*,  
 C.R.

<sup>3</sup> *innumerosis*, in C.

<sup>4</sup> The orthography of this word is  
 anomalous. *Bellamlandam* is found  
 in charters as the accusative case,  
 while in the present page *Bellelandæ*

and also *Bellalandæ* appear as the  
 genitive on the authority of B.C.L.S.

<sup>5</sup> C. has *scilicet nostræ, id est*.

<sup>6</sup> *tantum milliaro*, C.L.S.; *tamen  
 milliari*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *Neuburgensi*, L.S. and (?) B.;  
*Neburgensi*, C.; *Neubragensi*, R.

<sup>8</sup> *qui agnominatur*, B.L.S.; *qui  
 cognominatur*, C.; *cognominatus*,  
 omitting *qui*, R.

A.D.  
1134-18.

Founding  
of Font-  
evraud  
(1099)

Savigny  
(1105)

Roger  
abbot of  
Byland.

uberes colligebant: pio inter se placito constituto, quod Robertus quidem feminarum communi labore ad meliora conversarum<sup>1</sup> sollicitudinem gereret; Bernardus vero et Vitalis maribus propensius providerent. Robertus itaque famosissimum illud monasterium feminarum de Fonte Ebraudi<sup>2</sup> construxit, et regularibus disciplinis informavit; Bernardus vero apud Tirocinum et Vitalis apud Saviniacum, monachis regulariter institutis, suos quisque ab aliis per quasdam preceptorum proprietates distinxit. Cumque ex his tribus quasi radicibus servorum atque ancillarum Dei per diversas provincias religiosa germina pullularent, quidam Saviniacenses monachi Bellalandam nostram condiderunt<sup>3</sup>. Qui cum essent in initio<sup>4</sup> pauci et pauperes, locumque aptum querebant, ubi, Deo propitio, cum fructu aliquo habitarent; nobili viro Rogerio de Moubrai,<sup>5</sup> qui et Neuburgensem fundavit ecclesiam, donante, locum prius angustum acceperunt; deinde ad locum aliura, et de illo ad tertium, et de tertio ad quartum, sub eodem patrono, diversis ex<sup>6</sup> causis migrantes, iidem fixis tandem radicibus resederunt. Benedixitque eis Dominus, et de rebus angustis ad magnam jam amplitudinem pervenerunt sub patre Rogerio<sup>7</sup> mirandæ sinceritatis viro, qui adhuc superstes est, in senecta uberi, administrationis suæ annis circiter quinquaginta et septem expletis. Fuit autem monasterii hujus initium post venerabilis Turstini<sup>8</sup> decessum; memoratis duobus, scilicet<sup>9</sup> Rievallis<sup>10</sup> et

<sup>1</sup> *conversarum*, C.L.S.; *conversarum*, by 15th cent. alteration, B.

<sup>2</sup> *Fonte Ebraudi*, C.L.S.; *Ebraudi*, by 15th cent. alteration, omitting *Font*, B.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the account in the *Monasticon*, v, p. 343.

<sup>4</sup> *in initio*, B.C.L.S.; *numero*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *Moubrai*, B.L.S.; *Mubrai*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *ex*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>7</sup> *Rogerio*, B.C.S.; *Rogero*, L. He resigned in 1196, and died three years later.

<sup>8</sup> *Turstini*, C.S.; *Thurstini*, B.L.

<sup>9</sup> *scilicet*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>10</sup> *Rievallis*, C.L.S.; *Rucalis*, B.



Fontium, in bono jam<sup>1</sup> statu agentibus. Et quoniam ante annos jam plurimos Saviniacenses per cujusdam abbatis religiosam instantiam in ritus Clarevallenses transierunt; hæc tria monasteria per unitatem disciplinæ regularis, arctiori quoque animorum nexu coherent, et tanquam tria nostræ provinciæ lumina, sacræ religionis prærogativa refulgent. Quid autem sentiendum est de his et aliis locis religiosis, quæ<sup>2</sup> in diebus regis Stephani copiosius exstrui vel florere ceperunt, nisi quod castra Dei sunt hæc, in quibus, contra spiritualia nequitiae, Regis Christi excubant milites et exerecentur tirones? Eo quippe tempore, cum regiæ potentiae omnis jam vigor deperiisset, potentes regni, prout quisque poterat, vel ut suos tutarentur, vel ut alienos fines pervaderent, munitiones construebant. Malis ergo sic<sup>3</sup> pullulantibus atque abundantibus per mollitiem regis Stephani, vel potius per malitiam discordias semper nutrientis diaboli, superabundavit et gloriose eminuit sapiens et salubris provisio Regis Magni, qui nimirum tunc temporis solito propensius ad debellandum regem superbiae, quales Regem Pacificum decent munitiones sibi noscitur exstruxisse. Denique multo plura sub brevitate temporis, quo Stephanus regnavit, vel potius nomen regis obtinuit, quam centum retro annis servorum et ancillarum Dei monasteria initium in Anglia sumpsisse noscuntur.

AD  
1134-48.  
The Savinian  
merges in  
the Cluniac  
order  
(A.D.  
1148).  
More religious  
houses  
founded in  
the trou-  
bled reign  
of Stephen  
than dur-  
ing the  
hundred  
preceding  
years.

<sup>1</sup> *jam*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>2</sup> *quæ*, C.L.S.; *quæ*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *sic*, C.L.S.; om. B

## CAP. XVI.

*De Gilberto Sempingamensi,<sup>1</sup> et ordine quem instituit.*

A.D.1139?

The order  
of Gilbert  
of Sem-  
pringham.

Nec silentio prætereundus est venerabilis Gillebertus,<sup>2</sup> vir plane mirabilis, et in custodia feminarum gratiæ singularis; a quo etiam ordo Sempingamensis<sup>3</sup> sumpsit exordium, et cum celeri propectu celebrem statum.<sup>4</sup>

Hic<sup>5</sup> ab annis, ut dicitur, adolescentiæ propria nequaquam salute<sup>6</sup> contentus, sed lucrandarum Christo<sup>7</sup> animarum zelo ignitus, infirmiore sexum propensius cœpit æmulari Dei æmulatione; pio ausu sumpto ex propriæ castitatis conscientia, et gratiæ supernæ fiducia. Cumque cœptis ejus favor videretur arridere divinus, veritus ne forte in vacuum<sup>8</sup> curreret, aut cucurrisset, si erumpentem zelum moderatrix scientia non condiret; præsertim cum minus adhuc a majoribus institutus tam arduam sollicitudinem arripuisset; virum sapientiæ et sanctitatis titulis clarum, venerabilem scilicet<sup>9</sup> abbatem Clarevallensem Bernardum, adeundum putavit; cujus venerandis consiliis informatus, atque in suo proposito roboratus, tanto ferventius quanto confidentius piis cœptis insistere non cessavit.

Prosperatusque est in his quæ gerebat, et sicut de nobili patriarcha dicitur, "ibat proficiens atque suc-  
" crescens," donec magnus vehementer effectus est, tam in multitudine copiosa ad Omnipotentis Dei servitium

Gen. xxvi.  
13.

<sup>1</sup> The name stands thus in C.L.S.; B. has *Sempigamensi*; in R., a 15th cent. MS., the name is more familiarly written, *De Gilberto de Sempringham*. In the Pipe Rolls (2, 3, and 4 Hen. II.) are several entries as to *Gilbertus de Shimpingham* or *Shenpingham*.

<sup>2</sup> *Gillebertus*, S.; *Gilbertus*, B.C.L.

<sup>3</sup> *Sempingamensis*, C.L., *Sempigamensis*, B.S.

<sup>4</sup> *celebrem statum*, C.L.S.; *cel-*

*rem statum*, R.; *celebrem statuit*, B. by late alteration.

<sup>5</sup> *hic autem*, S., but *autem* expuneted.

<sup>6</sup> *propria nequaquam salute*, C.L.S.; B. omits *propria* but has *nequaquam sua salute* in plummet in the margin.

<sup>7</sup> *Christo*, B.L.R.S.; in *Christo*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *vacuum*, B.L.R.S.; *vanum*, C.

<sup>9</sup> *scilicet*, L.S.; *scilicet in*, B.; om. C.

aggregata, quam in adjectione rerum temporalium ad A.D. 1139?  
 necessaria subsidia corporum; juxta illud Dominicum: —

Math. vi.  
33.

“ Quærite primum regnum Dei, et justitiam ejus, et  
 “ hæc omnia adjicientur vobis. Denique servorum  
 Dei duo, et ancillarum Dei octo non ignobilia con-  
 struxit monasteria; quæ et numerosis replevit<sup>1</sup> col-  
 legiis, et juxta sibi datam<sup>2</sup> sapientiam regularibus  
 ornavit institutis. Et quidem circa servos Dei insti-  
 tuendos abundavit, sed longe superabundavit, indulta  
 ei divinitus gratia, in sollicitudine feminarum. Quippe  
 in hac parte meo judicio palmam tenet inter omnes  
 quos instituendis<sup>3</sup> regendisque feminis religiosam  
 operam impendisse cognovimus, et quidem ante annos  
 aliquot spiritualibus lucris onustus, jamque decrepitis  
 cœlestis sponsi paranymphus migravit ad Dominum.  
 Porro filiarum et filiarum ejus numerositas permanet,  
 potensque est in terra nostra semen ejus, et generatio  
 ejus benedicetur in seculum.

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CAP. XVII.

*Quomodo Willelmus Eboracensis non accepto pallio  
 depositus sit, et quomodo Henricus successerit.*<sup>4</sup>

Venerabili Turstino<sup>5</sup> defuncto, Eboracensis ecclesie  
 pontificatum suscepit Wilelmus ejusdem<sup>6</sup> ecclesie the-  
 saurarius; vir plane et secundum carnem nobilis, et  
 morum ingenua lenitate amabilis. Qui cum ad sedem

A.D.  
1143-7.

William,  
archbishop  
of York,  
deposed  
by pope  
Eugenius.

<sup>1</sup> *replevit*, B.I.S.; *implevit*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *datam*, B.C.S.; *data*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *instituendis*, B.L.R.S.; *instruen-  
dis*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *et . . . successerit*, L.S.; om.  
C.; in S. these words are placed in  
the margin of the *second* column,

remote from the rest of the rubric,  
which is in the *first* column. B. has  
the error *successerat*.

<sup>5</sup> *Turstino*, C.L.S.; *Thurstino*,  
A.B.

<sup>6</sup> *ejusdem*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

A. D. 1147. Apostolicam responsales illeceos pro petendo sollempni-  
 ter pallio direxisset, emergentibus adversariis et multa  
 contra eum proponentibus, negatum est. Jussusque  
 ad eandem sedem in propria persona accedere, et pro  
 semetipso tanquam etatem habens allegare, causis tan-  
 dem<sup>1</sup> ingravescentibus atque invalescentibus adversa-  
 riis, pie quoque memorie papa Eugenio contra eum,  
 sive per veritatem sive per surreptionem, implacabili-  
 ter irritato, depositus est. Reversusque in Angliam  
 secessit Wintoniam, ibique a consecratore suo Henrico  
 honorifice susceptus et splendide exhibitus est<sup>2</sup> fere  
 per decennium, vel excessus vel casus suos deplorans,  
 atque in silentio temporum mutationem expectans.

Journ. ix.  
21.

Stephen unwilling to receive the new archbishop.

The citizens of York refusing likewise to receive him, the city is placed under interdict.

Prince Eustace compels the infringement of the interdict.

An archdeacon killed by the new archbishop's opponents.

Eo sic amoto, cathedram Eboracensem Henricus abbas  
 Fontanensis<sup>3</sup> suscepit, annitente potissimum venerabili  
 Eugenio; qui ejus olim apud Clarevallem sub patre  
 Bernardo sodalis et condiscipulus fuerat, ejusque vitam,  
 mores et industriam optime noverat. Denique elec-  
 tioni ejus favorem promptissimum prebuit, et sollempni-  
 ter consecratum<sup>4</sup> pallii prerogativa insignivit. Quem  
 tamen reversum in Angliam rex Stephanus recipere  
 noluit, nisi prestita sibi juratoria cautione de fidelitate  
 servanda. Negato autem ei favore regio, nec  
 cives Eboracenses eum recipere voluerant, studia in  
 depositum presulem propensiora habentes. Interdicta<sup>5</sup>  
 ergo propter hanc pervicaciam civitate, et suspensis  
 ecclesie organis, adveniens Eustachius regis filius sacra  
 officia celebrari precepit, et preteritis terroribus non  
 cedentes civitate extrusit. Propinqui quoque depositi,  
 et proprio furore et regio favore feroces, cunctis qui  
 depositioni ejus consensisse videbantur erant infesti  
 atque terribiles, in tantum ut seniore archidiaconum,

<sup>1</sup> tandem, B.L.S.; tamen, C.R.

<sup>2</sup> est, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>3</sup> S. has *Fontanensis*.

<sup>4</sup> consecratum, B.C.L.S.; om. A.

<sup>5</sup> interdicta, C.L.S.; interdicti,

B.

qui forte in manus eorum inciderat, abscidere minime vererentur. Verum post annos aliquot rege placato cives Eboracensis proprium antistitem cum gaudio receperunt, sicque post diutinum discordiæ malum, illuxit desideratæ pacis serenum.

A.D. 1147.

After some years the quarrel subsides.

## CAP. XVIII.

*De causa expeditionis Ierosolymitane secunde.*

Anno regni sui duodecimo,<sup>1</sup> cum rex Stephanus extorta,<sup>2</sup> ut supra dictum est, de manibus comitis Cestrensis civitate Lincolnia potiretur, ibidem in celebritate Natalis Dominici sollemniter voluit coronari; vetustam superstitionem,<sup>3</sup> qua reges Anglorum eandem civitatem ingredi vetabantur, laudabiliter parvipendens. Denique incunctanter ingressus, nihil sinistri ominis,<sup>4</sup> sicut illa vanitas comminabatur, expertus est: sed regie coronationis sollemnibus adimpletis, post dies aliquot cum exultatione et superstitiosæ vanitatis derisione<sup>5</sup> egressus est.

A.D. 1146, Christmas.

Stephen, despising an ancient superstition, is crowned within Lincoln.

Eodem anno turba magna, quam dinumerare nemo poterat, ex omnibus populis et tribubus et linguis Christianis, sub<sup>6</sup> caractere crucifixi Domini, Ierosoly-

The Second Crusade (A.D. 1147).

<sup>1</sup> Both Newburgh and Huntingdon place the Lincoln coronation (at Christmas) and the beginning of the Second Crusade (1147) in the same year. From this it appears that their year, as in most English chronicles, began at Christmas, and therefore that the coronation took place in the *historical year* 1146. Gervase also gives Christmas 1117, that is, 25 Dec. 1146, as the date of the Lincoln ceremony.

<sup>2</sup> *extorta*, B.C.S.; *exorta*, L.

<sup>3</sup> See lib. ii. cap. ix. for the conduct of Henry II. in regard to this superstition. See also Matthew Paris *sub anno* 1200.

<sup>4</sup> *ominis*, L.S.; *criminis*, A.B.; *hominis*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *derisione*, B.C.S.; L. has had *laud derisione*, but the latter word is expuncted, and *deinde* is written in the margin.

<sup>6</sup> C. has *quæ sub*.

A.D. 1147. mitanum iter arripuit. Cujus celeberrimæ expeditionis talis fuisse causa perhibetur. Est Mesopotamiæ trans flumen magnum Euphraten civitas nobilis, quæ quidem vulgo Rohesia,<sup>1</sup> sed rectius et antiquo nomine

Edessa a famous centre of Eastern Christianity.

Story of the persecution under Valens.

Edissa, vocatur; a diebus Constantini Magni Christianæ religionis cultui dedita, et beatissimi Thomæ apostoli allatis ex India reliquiis inclita. Hujus civitatis tantus in fide Catholica fervor sub Valente imperatore Arriano fuisse memoratur, ut cum ab eodem missus advenisset præfectus, omnes qui ad Apostoli basilicam orandi studio convenirent gladio mactaturus, nullus domi resedissee referatur: sed omnes a minimo usque ad maximum, ut pro fidei veritate morentur, illic multo alacrius quam ad epulas concurrisse, in tantum, ut quaedam muliercula parvulum secum filium trahens, dum properat, se simul et sobolem pro Christo expositura ad victimam, irrumperet officium judicis illic cum terrore maximo properantis. Denique a multis retro annis, cum Sarraceni occulto Dei judicio supra modum in Christianos grassari permitti, captis civitatibus clarissimis, scilicet Alexandria, Antiochia, Jerusalem, Damasco, Ægyptum, Syriam, aliasque Orientis provincias in quibus Christus colebatur occupassent, atque in his omnibus Christianum nomen exterminassent, sola hæc civitas, propugnatrix non tantum murorum sed etiam finium suorum in medio hostium innumerabilium et ferocissimorum, invicta perseveravit usque ad tempus expeditionis Ierosolymitanæ prioris, qua Jerusalem et Antiochiam Christiani expugnatis obtinere Sarracenis. Tunc enim Turcis incursantibus laborantes Edisseni auxilium a nostro exercitu petierunt, et virum fortissimum Baldewinum,<sup>2</sup> fratrem illusterrimi ducis Godefridi,<sup>3</sup> primum Gallici generis duces accepere. Quo in regem Ierosolymitanum

Socrat. Schol. iv. 14.

After the irruption of the Saracens Edessa had remained as a bulwark of Christianity up to the time of the First Crusade.

Edessa then received Baldwin brother of Godfrey de Bouillon as

<sup>1</sup> Rohesia, B.C.S.; Rocsya, L.

<sup>2</sup> Baldewinum, C.L.S.; Balde-

wynum, B.

<sup>3</sup> Godefridi, B.L.S.; Godefredi,

C.

post fratrem Godefridum sublimatæ principatus Edissensis per alios strenue administratus est usque ad Jocelinum: ejus lubrici hominis petulantia atque libidine actum est, ut civitas, Christianæ religionis titulo fere per nongentos annos insignis, in manus Turcorum, et sacre fidei exterminium unius civis perfidi proditione traderetur. Is erat genere Armenius, ejusdem civitatis civis indigena: et jure hereditario habitabat in quadam turri muro conjuncta. Hujus filiam prænominatus civitatis princeps formæ captus illecebra vi abstraxit, et stupro polluit. Ille filiam dehonestatam dolens, et astute dissimulatam doloris magnitudinem ut de uno ulcisceretur, ad multarum perniciem trahens, nocte sacratissima<sup>1</sup> Dominicæ Nativitatis, cum sacre in ecclesiis more Christiano celebrarentur vigiliæ, invitatos pactis clandestinis Turcos intromisit in civitatem.<sup>2</sup> Qui nimirum Christianam sanguinem insatiabiliter<sup>3</sup> sitientes, irruerunt in populum secure in ecclesia excubantem; et archiepiscopum quidem, ut dicitur, altari assistentem mactarunt. Populum vero non resistentem, sed subiti casus stupore rigentem, gladio trucidarunt. Sic capta et in potestatem spurcissimæ gentis redacta est Edissa tantis retro temporibus<sup>4</sup> semper invicta, et antiqua<sup>5</sup> fidei Christianæ alumna. Latissimis quoque finibus ejus pertinaci hostium furore pervasis, et in eorum immundissimam possessionem cedentibus, Christianæ religionis cultus trans Euphraten funditus deletus est. Tanti mali fama exciti<sup>6</sup> Christiani nominis fortissimi prin-

AD 1147

prince, and prospered till the days of Jocelyn.

Jocelyn offering violence to the daughter of a citizen, Edissas, by him betrayed to the Saracens. (A. D. 1144)

<sup>1</sup> *sacratissima*, B. C. L. S.; *sacratissima*, R.

<sup>2</sup> William of Tyre (lib. xvi. c. 4) makes no reference to this story. He tells of the usual siege processes the walls were undermined and fell, and the city was taken by storm.

<sup>3</sup> *insatiabiliter*, B. C.; *insatiabiliter* (sic), L. S.

<sup>4</sup> S. originally had *annos* here, but now by correction reads *temporibus*.

<sup>5</sup> *antiqua*, C. L. R. S.; *antiqua*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *exciti*, B. C. S.; *excitati*, A. and, by alteration, L.

A.D. 1147. cipes, scilicet Conradus Italiae atque Germaniae<sup>1</sup> imperator, et Lodovicus<sup>2</sup> rex Francorum,<sup>3</sup> Dominicum characterem mente promptissima susceperunt, et cum eis multi nobiles populique<sup>4</sup> innumerabiles ex cunctis fere provinciis Christianis.

The emperor Conrad and king Louis take the cross.

## CAP. XIX.

*De errore Eudonis.<sup>5,6</sup> de Stella, et quomodo perit.*

A.D. 1148. Circa idem tempus Eugenius papa Romanus, ad sedis Apostolicæ regimen ex vitæ regularis districtione assumptus, ecclesiasticæ studio disciplinæ in Gallias veniens, generale concilium instituit Remis. In quodum<sup>7</sup> sederet cum omni frequentia episcoporum atque nobilium, oblatu est ei quidam vir pestifer, qui, spiritu plenus diabolico, præstigiali astutia tam multos seduxerat, ut fretus sequentium numero, per diversa loca formidabilis oberraret; ecclesiis maxime monasteriisque infestus. Diu itaque multumque<sup>8</sup> debacchatus, tandem<sup>9</sup> sapientia vincente malitiam a Remensi archiepiscopo captus est, et sancto concilio exhibitus. Eudo is dicebatur, natione Brito, agnomen habens de Stella; homo illiteratus et idiota, ludificatione dæmonum ita dementatus, ut quoniam<sup>10</sup> sermone Gallico Eun diceretur, ad suam personam pertinere crederet, quod in ecclesiasticis exorcismis dicitur, scilicet, "per Eum qui venturus est

Heresy of Éon de l'Étoile. He is condemned by the council of Rheims (held March 21, 1148).

Éon, a Breton by birth, wanders as a prophet with a horde of disciples.

<sup>1</sup> Germaniæ, C.S.; Germanæ, B. L.

<sup>2</sup> Lodovicus, B.S.; Lodowicus, C.L.

<sup>3</sup> Francorum, B.C.L.S.; Francia, R.

<sup>4</sup> populique, B.L.S.; pluresque, C.

<sup>5</sup> Eudonis, C.L.S.; Heudonis, B.

<sup>6</sup> Éon de l'Étoile, a gentleman of Loudéac, became a hermit in the forest of Brocéliande. He believed

himself to be in some way the successor of Merlin. Martin, *Hist. de France*, vol. iii. p. 458, ed. 1878.

<sup>7</sup> dum, B.L.R.S.; cum, C.

<sup>8</sup> multumque, C.L.S.; multum, A.B.

<sup>9</sup> tandem, B.L.S.; tandem de, C.; R. has tandem a Remensi archiepiscopo captus est, quia sapientia vincente malitiam et sancto Sc.

<sup>10</sup> quoniam, B.C.L.R.S.; quia, A.



“judicare vivos et mortuos, et seculum per ignem.” A.D. 1148.

Ita plane fatuus ut Eum et Euu<sup>1</sup> nesciret distinguere, sed supra modum stupenda cæcitate crederet se esse dominatorem et judicem vivorum et mortuorum. Eratque per diabolicas præstigias tam<sup>2</sup> potens ad capiendas simplicium animas ut, tanquam ex muscis arancarum opere irretitis, seductam sibi multitudinem aggregaret: quæ tota illum tanquam dominum dominorum individue sequeretur. Et interdum quidem mira velocitate per diversas provincias ferebatur;<sup>3</sup> interdum vero morabatur cum suis omnibus<sup>4</sup> in locis desertis et inviis, indeque instigante diabolo erumpibat improvisus, ecclesiarum maxime ac monasteriorum infestator. Accedebant ad eum plerumque<sup>5</sup> noti ejus et propinqui, erat enim non infimi generis; sive ut eum familiari ausu corripere, sive ut quomodo<sup>6</sup> se circa eum res haberet cautius explorarent. Videbatur autem esse circa eum ingens gloria, apparatus fastusque regius, et qui cum eo erant, sollicitudinis laborisque expertes, pretiose indui, splendide<sup>7</sup> epulari, et in summa lætitia agere videbantur: in tantum ut plerique, qui ad corripiendum eum venerant, conspecta ejus non vera sed fantastica gloria, corrumperentur. Fiebant enim hæc<sup>8</sup> fantastice per dæmones; a quibus scilicet misera illa multitudo, non veris et solidis, sed aeriis<sup>9</sup> potius cibis in locis desertis alebatur.<sup>10</sup> Nam, sicut postmodum<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Eum et Eum*, B.L.R.S.; *Eum et Eum*, C.; B. has the error *factum et Eum*, §c.

<sup>2</sup> *tam*, B.L.R.S.; *ita*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *ferebatur*, B.C., and L. after alteration from *ferabatur*; S, though the letter *a* is obscured, now reads *ferabatur*. This fact tends to show the relationship of the MSS.

<sup>4</sup> *omnibus*, C.L.S.; A., and B. by 15th cent. alteration, *sequacibus*.

<sup>5</sup> *plerumque*, C.L.S.; *plurimique*, A.B.

<sup>6</sup> *quomodo*, C.L.S.; om. B., but the 15th cent. hand supplies *qualiter*, and A. has the same word.

<sup>7</sup> *splendide*, B.L.R.S.; *splendissime*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *enim hæc*, L.S.; *enim inter fantastice*, A. and, doubtfully, B.; *enim sed*, R.; *autem hæc*, C.

<sup>9</sup> *aeriis*, C.L.S.; *aeris*, B.

<sup>10</sup> *alebatur*, C.L.S.; *alebantur*, A.B.

<sup>11</sup> *postmodum*, B.L.R.S.; *postea*, C.

A.D. 1148. per quosdam audivimus qui in ejus fuerant comitatu, coque sublato tanquam agentes penitentiam per orbem vagabantur, in promptu eis erant, quotiescunque volebant, panes, carnes, et pisces, et quique cibi lautiores. Verum quod<sup>1</sup> iidem cibi non solidi sed acrii fuerunt,<sup>2</sup> subministrantibus invisibiliter spiritibus aeris hujus, ad capiendas magis quam pascendas animas, hinc elucet,<sup>3</sup> quod quantamcunque ex cibis illis repletionem modico ructu exinanitio<sup>4</sup> sequebatur, tanta mox succedente esurie ut eisdem cibis illico repetere cogerentur. Quicumque autem forte ad eos accedens ex cibis eorum vel modicum gustasset, ex participatione mensæ dæmoniorum mente mutata<sup>5</sup> spurcissimæ multitudini continuo adhærebat; et quicumque ab eis aliquid in qualibet<sup>6</sup> specie accepisset, periculi expers non erat. Denique fertur quendam militem propinquum illius pestiferi accessisse ad eum, et simpliciter monuisse, ut, abjurata nefanda secta illa, per communionem Christianæ gratiæ proprio generi redderetur. Ille hominem astute suspendens, ostendit ei in<sup>7</sup> multiplici specie fantasticarum opum amplitudinem; ut blandiente visarum<sup>8</sup> rerum illecebra caperetur. "Propinquus," inquit, "noster es: "sume de nostro, quod et quantum vis." Verum homo prudens cum verba correptionis in ventum fudisset, exivit ut abiret. Amiger vero ejus conspectum miræ pulchritudinis accipitrem in propriam perniciem concupivit. Quo petito et accepto, dominum suum jam abeuntem cum lætitia sequebatur. Cui ille, "Abjice," inquit, "cito quod portas, non enim est avis, ut videtur, sed dæmon sic transformatus." Cujus verbi

Story of an esquire tempted by a demon in the shape of a hawk.

<sup>1</sup> quod, C.L.S.; quidem, A.B.

<sup>2</sup> fuerunt, A.B.C.; fuerint, L.S.

<sup>3</sup> elucet, B.C.S.; elucent (?), L.

<sup>4</sup> exinanitio, C.S.; exinanito, B.R.; exinanito altered to exinanito, L.

<sup>5</sup> mutata, C.L.S.; mutata est, B.

<sup>6</sup> qualibet, R.C. and, by correction from quolibet, L.; quolibet, S.

<sup>7</sup> in, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>8</sup> visarum, C.L.S.; multarum, A.; om. B.

veritas post modicum claruit. Cum enim insipiens<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1148. nollet audire monentem, primo conquestus<sup>2</sup> quod accipiter ille<sup>3</sup> unguibus sibi pugnū fortius stringeret, mox ab eodem per manū in aerem sublevatus deinceps<sup>4</sup> non comparuit. Sane cum pestifer ille per operationem Sathanæ<sup>5</sup> ita debaccharetur ut dictum est, sæpius a principibus ad vestigandum et persequendum eum exercitus frustra mittebatur; quaesitus enim non inveniebatur. Tandem vero fraudatus ope dæmonum,<sup>6</sup> cum non amplius per illum debacchari sinerentur, non enim amplius possunt quam a superioribus potestatibus justo Dei iudicio relaxantur, levi negotio a Remensi archiepiscopo comprehensus est; et populus quidem stolidus, qui eum sequebatur, dilapsus est. Porro discipuli, qui ei aretius adhærebant, ejusque cooperatores exstiterant, cum ipso<sup>7</sup> capti sunt. Cum ergo staret in conspectu concilii, interrogatus a summo pontifice quisnam esset, respondit: "Ego sum Eun,<sup>8</sup> qui venturus est "judicare vivos et mortuos, et seculum per ignem." Habebat autem<sup>9</sup> in manu sua baculum inusitatæ formæ, in superiori scilicet parte bifurcum. Interrogatus quid sibi vellet baculus ille; "Res," inquit, "grandis<sup>10</sup> "mysterii est. Quamdiu enim,<sup>11</sup> sicut nunc videtis, "duobus cælum capitibus suspicit,<sup>12</sup> duas orbis partes "Deus possidet, tertiam mihi partem cedens. Porro

Soldiers are sent in vain to capture Eon.

At last he is seized by the archbishop of Rheims.

His insane answering before the Council of Rheims.

<sup>1</sup> *insipiens ille*, but the latter word expuncted, S.

<sup>2</sup> *conquestus est*, but *est* expuncted S.

<sup>3</sup> *ille*, C.L.S.; *ille ut*, (?) B.

<sup>4</sup> *sublevatus deinceps*, B.L.R.S.; *sublevatur et sic deinceps*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *per . . . Sathanæ*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>6</sup> Bouquet (xiii. 98. note a.) somewhat unnecessarily points out the fabulous nature of the preceding stories, adding: "Quare Robertus

"de Monte in appendice ad chronicon Sigeberti Gemblacensis, anno 1147: 'de ejus incantationibus et 'phantasiis,' inquit, 'melius est 'silere quam loqui.'"

<sup>7</sup> *ipso*, C.L.S.; *eo*, A.B.

<sup>8</sup> *Eun*, B.L.S.; om. C.; *Euun*, R.

<sup>9</sup> *autem*, B.C.S.; *enim*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *res*, inquit, *grandis*, B.L.R.S.; *respondit, grandis*, C.

<sup>11</sup> *enim*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>12</sup> *suspicit*, L.R.S. and, by late alteration, B.; *suscipit*, C.

A.D. 1148. "si eadem duo superiora capita baculi humiliem<sup>1</sup>  
 " usque ad terram, et inferiorem ejus partem, quæ  
 " simplex est, erigam, ut cælum suspiciat, duabus  
 " mundi partibus mihi retentis, tertiam tantummodo  
 " partem Deo relinquam." Ad hæc risit universa<sup>2</sup>  
 synodus, derisitque<sup>3</sup> hominem tam profunde datum in  
 reprobum sensum. Jussus autem ex decreto concilii,  
 ne pestis iterum serperet, diligenter custodiri,<sup>4</sup> tempore  
 modico supervixit. Discipuli vero ejus quos magnis  
 insignierat<sup>5</sup> nominibus, alium scilicet vocans "Sapientiam,"  
 alium "Scientiam," alium "Judicium," et in  
 hunc modum ceteros; cum sanam doctrinam nulla ratione  
 recipere, sed potius obstinatissime de falsis<sup>6</sup>  
 gloriarentur vocabulis, in tantum, ut ille qui "Judici-  
 um" dicebatur,<sup>7</sup> suis detentoribus ultricem infelici  
 fiducia comminaretur sententiam; curiæ prius, et postea  
 ignibus traditi,<sup>8</sup> arderè potius quam ad vitam corrigi  
 maluerunt. Audivi a quodam venerabili viro, qui inter-  
 fuit dum hæc agerentur, quod audierit illum, qui  
 "Judicium" dicebatur, eum ad supplicium duceretur,  
 crebro dicentem, "Terra finde te;"<sup>9</sup> tanquam ad oris  
 ejus imperium terra aperienda esset, et devoratura,  
 sicut Dathan et Abiron, hostes ejus. Tanta vis semel  
 infixi cordibus erroris fuit.

He is con-  
 demned to  
 prison, but  
 lives only  
 a short-  
 time.

Severity  
 shown to  
 his fol-  
 lowers.

<sup>1</sup> *humiliem*, L.; *humilem* corrected to *humiliem*, S.; *humiliam*, B.; *humiliavero*, A.; *humilem*, C.R.

<sup>2</sup> B. has here probably had a different reading, but it has been obscured by late alterations.

<sup>3</sup> *derisitque*, C.L.S.; *derisit*, A.B.

<sup>4</sup> He was handed to the regent Suger for imprisonment.

<sup>5</sup> *insignierat*, C.L.S.; *insigniret*, A.B.

<sup>6</sup> *falsis*, C.L.S.; *suis*, A., and, by 15th cent. alteration, B.

<sup>7</sup> *dicebatur*, C.L.S.; *tradebatur*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *traditi*, B.L.R.S.; *tradi*, C.

<sup>9</sup> *finde te*, B.L.S.; *findite*, R.; *finde*, C.

## CAP. XX.

*Quomodo Conradus imperator et rex Lodovicus<sup>1</sup>  
exercitum duxerunt in Orientem.*

Anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup>, tantæ expeditio- A.D. 1147.  
nis explicito apparatu, uterque princeps iter arripuit, The Second Crusade.  
exercitu<sup>2</sup> bipartito. Imperator enim præcedebat itinere dierum aliquot, cum Italorum et Germanorum aliarum quoque gentium amplissimis copiis. Rex vero sequebatur, Francorum, Flandrensium, Normannorum, Britonum, Anglorum, Burgundionum, Provincialium, Aquitanorum equestri simul et pedestri agmine comitatus. Ingressi<sup>3</sup> Pannonias, illarum gentium rege placato, ut exercitui venalia non deessent, Danubium transierunt; et per Thracias, suppetente venalium copia, prospere usque ad urbem Constantinopolitanam The expedition reaches Constantinople.  
venerunt. Ibi fixis extra urbem tentoriis per dies aliquot exercitum recreantes, pactis tandem cum eisdem urbis imperatore celebratis, angustum illud fretum, quod brachium Sancti Georgii<sup>4</sup> dicitur, transierunt. Ingressique Asiam Minorem, The crusaders enter Asia Minor.  
cujus pars quædam Constantinopolitanæ ditionis est, partem vero reliquam soldanus Iconii possidet, Græci imperatoris perfidiam Perfidy of the emperor Manuel Comnenus.  
expertis sunt: cujus tamen nostri quibusdam excessibus motum incurrerant; cum et Omnipotentis Dei, superbe et indiscipline agendo, contra se iracundiam accendissent. Legimus olim<sup>5</sup> numerosissimum Domini exercitum unius hominis etiam occulte peccantis scelere ita inquinatum, et favore divino nudatum, ut enervis et languidus appareret.<sup>6</sup> Consultus Dominus respondit

<sup>1</sup> *Lodovicus*, B.S.; *Lodowicus*, C.L.

<sup>2</sup> *exercitu*, B.C.L.S.; *et exercitu*, R.

<sup>3</sup> *ingressi*, C.L.S.; *qui ingressi*, A., and B. by 15th cent. alteration.

<sup>4</sup> *Georgii*, B.C.S.; *Gregorii*, A.L.

<sup>5</sup> *olim*, B.C.L.S.; *enim olim*, R.

<sup>6</sup> *appareret*, B.L.R.S.; *videretur*, C.

A.D. 1148. populum anathemate esse pollutum, et adjecit: "Anathema in medio tui est, Israel: non poteris stare <sup>Jos. vii. 13.</sup> adversus hostes tuos, donec deleatur ex te qui hoc "contaminatus est scelere." Porro in nostro illo exercitu tanta, tam contra Christianam quam contra<sup>1</sup> castrensem etiam disciplinam, mala increverant, ut mirum non sit, quod eis tanquam pollutis et immundis favor nequaquam divinus arriserit. Castra enim a castratione luxuriæ dicuntur. At castra illa nostra casta<sup>2</sup> non erant: in quibus utique infelici quadam licentia multorum<sup>3</sup> spumabant libidines. Præsumentes quoque de multitudinē et instructu copiarum, atque ita carnem brachium suum superbe ponentes, in Domini<sup>4</sup> pro quo æmulari videbantur, misericordia atque potentia minus confidebant; declaratumque in eis est, quia<sup>5</sup> "Deus superbis resistit; humilibus autem<sup>6</sup> dat <sup>Jac. iv. 6.</sup> gratiam." Præterea in terra Christiani imperatoris, cum quo foedus percusserant, et quo jubente venalia illis abundabant, minus a rapinis temperabant. Immisit ergo eis infensus imperator hinc famem, inde hostem:<sup>7</sup> tanti sanguinis Christiani periculum Christianus minime perhorrescens. Denique venalibus prohibitis, cum pro victualibus congerendis propter hostium insidias nostri non valent excurrere, primo exercitus fame contabuit; deinde hostium exceptus insidiis, vel Turcorum gladios inebriavit, vel Christianæ statum libertatis ignominiosissimæ atque infelicissimæ servitutis sorte mutavit. Nec superbis et<sup>8</sup> immundis castigandis iræ defuere cœlestes, et plerumque,<sup>9</sup> ut dicitur, effusa desuper intempestivorum imbrum inundatio de

The army reduced to straits by the unfriendliness of the Greek emperor.

<sup>1</sup> Christianam quam contra, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>2</sup> casta, L.S.; castra, A.B.C.

<sup>3</sup> multorum, C.L.S.; multi, A., and, by alteration, B.

<sup>4</sup> Domini, B.L.S.; Deum, C.

<sup>5</sup> quia, this is the reading in A.B.C.L.S.R. See p. 76, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> autem, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>7</sup> hostem, B.L.R.S.; hostes, C.

<sup>8</sup> et, C.L.S.; atque, A.B.R.

<sup>9</sup> plerumque, C.L.S.; plurimique, B.

exercitu nostro plus minuit quam hostilis gladius devoravit. Itaque duorum exercituum maximorum<sup>1</sup> parte longe majori diversis casibus et<sup>2</sup> cladibus profligata, cum parte residua duo illi magni principes ægre exitium evadentes Ierosolymam venerunt: et nulla re memorabili facta, inglorii recesserunt.

A.D. 1148.  
The diminished host reaches Jerusalem and returns having effected little.

## CAP. XXI.

*De Raimundo principe Antiocheno, et captione  
Ascalonis*<sup>3</sup>

Illis ad propria cum ignominia<sup>4</sup> reversis, Sarraceni de necatæ vel captæ multitudinis Christianæ ingentibus spoliis ditati, facti sunt incliti. Denique, successu superbi et confidentia virium plus solito efferati, Christianis se finibus immerserunt, omne genus Christianum in orientis partibus abradere meditantés, atque hujus molitionis quasi fausta principia, interfecto<sup>5</sup> Raimundo Christianissimo Antiochiæ principe, prælibantes. Quippe hic fuerat Christiani nominis in oriente fortissimus propugnator, atque insignium gestorū titulis veteris in se Machabæi transfuderat gloriam. Memini me, cum essem adolescentulus, vidisse quendam venerabilem monachum ab orientis partibus cum magnis suffragiis venientem, qui ex ejusdem clarissimi principis olim militia fuerat. Hic inter plura, quæ de ipso memoranda referebat, eum ob insigne virtutis Turcis tam terribilem fuisse perhibebat, ut quotiens contra eum producturi essent exercitum, contra gladium ejus centum milites, et totidem contra ejus lanceam scriberent. Cum ergo, ut dixi, iidem hostes recentibus Christianorum cladibus alacres, fines Antiochenos so-

A.D. 1148-53.  
On the retreat of the crusaders the Saracens wax bolder. Character of Raymond prince of Antioch.

<sup>1</sup> *maximorum*, B.L.S.R.; *magnorum*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *et*, B.C.S.; *et in*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *Ascalonis*, C.S.; *Ascalona*, B. *Asscalonis*, L.

<sup>4</sup> S. has *ignonomia* (sic).

<sup>5</sup> *interfecta* in C.

A.D.  
1148-53.

Raymond  
rashly  
attacks the  
Saracens  
and is  
slain.

Baldwin of  
Jerusalem  
rescues  
Antioch.

Under  
Baldwin  
the Chris-  
tians begin  
to recover  
lost  
ground.

The Temp-  
les fortify  
Gaza.

Baldwin  
captures  
Ascalon.

lito ferocius incursarent, ille conventum non sustinens sufficientium copiarum, paulo inconsideratius ex virtutis conscientia cum paucis se dedit discrimini, oppresusque multitudine,<sup>1</sup> post fortia gesta non secus quam antiquus ille Machabæus occubuit. Cum autem hostes, erectis usque in cœlum animis, Antiochiam irrumperere cogitarent,<sup>2</sup> audito Christiani sideris occasu, magnanimus rex Ierosolymorum Balduinus<sup>3</sup> cum cruce Dominica et militia Templi ocior advolat, et hostium molitiones præveniens, attonitam<sup>4</sup> civitatem ingreditur. Hostes nihilominus irruunt,<sup>5</sup> et civitatem obsidione concludunt. Sed Qui superbis paulo ante restiterat, humilibus illis dedit uberem gratiam. Deo enim propitio paulatim respirantes atque invalescentes, hostes jam crebris successibus tumidos non solum obsidionem deserere, sed etiam finibus suis cum dedecore excedere compulerunt; viribusque paulatim crescentibus post modicum<sup>6</sup> hostium fines ingressi, eos, qui<sup>7</sup> paulo ante aliena invaserant, propria cum summo periculo tueri cœgerunt. Denique post annos aliquot militia Templi Gazam, antiquissimam Palestinæ civitatem olim dirutam, reparavit, et fertilissimos ejus fines obtinuit. Inclitus quoque rex Balduinus<sup>8</sup> Ascalonam, ejusdem provinciæ florentissimam atque munitissimam civitatem, que nunquam antea a<sup>9</sup> Christianis expugnari poterat, cum multa gloria expugnavit et cepit; sicque tota Palestina in jus et potestatem Christianorum redacta est.

<sup>1</sup> *multitudine*, B.L.S.; *in multitudine*, C.

<sup>2</sup> S. has *cogitaret*.

<sup>3</sup> *Baldwinus*, L.S.; *Baldwinus*, C.B.

<sup>4</sup> *attonitam*, E.C.L.S.; *Antiochiam*, R.

<sup>5</sup> C. has *ruunt*.

<sup>6</sup> *post modicum*, B.L.R.S.; *postmodum*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *eos, qui*, C.L.S.; *eosque*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *Baldwinus*, S.; *Baldwinus*, C.L.; *Baldwinus*, B.

<sup>9</sup> a, B.C.S.; om. L.



## CAP. XXII.

*De intestinis malis Angliæ sub rege Stephano.*

Interea dum circa nostros vel a nostris in oriente A.D. 1149. talia gererentur, Anglia intestinis malis exsanguis et saucia tabescebat. Et quidem de quodam tempore plebis antiquæ scriptum est: "In diebus illis non erat rex in Israel: sed unusquisque quod rectum sibi videbatur faciebat." At in Anglia sub rege Stephano pejus fiebat. Nam quia tunc impotens erat rex, et per regis impotentiam languida lex, quibusdam quod rectum sibi videbatur agentibus, multi quod insita ratione malum esse sciebant, sublato regis et legis metu, proclivius faciebant. Et primo quidem videbatur regnum Angliæ scissum esse in duo; quibusdam regi, quibusdam vero imperatrici faventibus. Non quod vel rex vel imperatrix suæ parti potenter imperaret; sed quod suorum bellicis quisque studiis pro tempore niteretur. Neuter enim in suos imperiose agere et disciplinæ vigorem exercere poterat: sed uterque suos, ne a se deficerent, nihil negando mulcebat. Sane inter partes, ut superius dictum est, diu multumque certatum est, alternante fortuna. Processu vero temporis inter eas, jam sæpius fortunæ infidelitatem expertas, remissiores motus esse cœpere: quod tamen<sup>1</sup> Angliæ non cessit in bonum. Illis quippe diutinæ concertationis pertæsis, et mollius agentibus, provinciales discordantium proceram motus efferbuere. Castella quippe<sup>2</sup> per singulas provincias studio partium crebra<sup>3</sup> surrexerant, erantque in Anglia quodammodo tot reges, vel potius tyranni, quot domini

Lamentable condition of England.

Neither king nor empress really ruled a faction, but each, fearing desertions, acted weakly.

When the efforts of the rivals slackened private wars among the nobles increased.

Judic.  
xvii. 6.

<sup>1</sup> tamen, B.L.S.; tantum, C.

<sup>2</sup> quippe, A.B.L.R.S.; C. alone

R 8918,

has the better reading *quoque*. See

"*illis quippe*" three lines above.

<sup>3</sup> crebra, B.L.S.; crebro, C.

A.D. 1149.

There were as many tyrants as lords of castles, each minting money and administering justice.

The king of Scots, ruling as far south as the Tees, kept that district in peace.

Prince Henry knighted by king David at Carlisle (May 22, 1149).

castellorum, habentes singuli percussuram proprii numismatis, et potestatem subditis, regio more, dicendi juris. Cumque ita singuli excellere quærent, ut quidam superiorem, quidam vel parem sustinere non possent, feralibus inter se odiis disceptantes, rapinis atque incendiis regiones clarissimas corruperunt, et in fertilissima olim patria fere omne robur panis absumpserunt.<sup>1</sup> Aquilonalis<sup>2</sup> vero regio, quæ in potestatem<sup>3</sup> David regis Scottorum usque ad flumen Tesyam<sup>4</sup> cesserat, per ejusdem regis industriam in pace agebat. Ad quem Henricus ex nepte ejus, id est, Matilde olim imperatrice, Andegavensis comitis filius, et Angliæ rex futurus, a matre missus jam pubes accessit: et ab eo apud Lugubaliam,<sup>5</sup> quæ vulgo Carleil dicitur, cingulum militare accepit, præstita prius, ut dicitur, cautione, quod nulla parte terrarum quæ in ejusdem regis<sup>6</sup> ex Anglia ditionem<sup>7</sup> transissent, ejus ullo tempore mutilaret heredes.

## CAP. XXIII.

*De rege Scottorum David et filio ejus, et filiis filii<sup>8</sup> ejus.*

A.D. 1152.

Scottish affairs.

Death of Henry son of David king of Scotland.

Iisdem temporibus juvenis clarissimus, et, quod in homine latas seculi vias ambulante invenire difficile est, cum morum suavitate, eorundem etiam sinceritate conspicuus, Henricus scilicet unicus memorati regis David filius, Northumbriæ<sup>9</sup> comes, et regni successor

<sup>1</sup> *absumpserunt*, B.C.S.; *assumpserunt*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *Aquilonalis*, C.S.; *Aquilonaris*, A.B.; *Aquilonis*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *potestatem*, B.L.S.; *poteestate*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Tesyam*, B.L.S.; *Thesiam*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *Lugubaliam*, C.L.R.S.; *Lugubaliam*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *regis*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>7</sup> C. has *ditione*.

<sup>8</sup> *fili*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>9</sup> *Northumbria*, L.S.; *Northumbria*, B.C., with other variations below.

speratus, cum ingenti Anglorum simul et Scottorum A.D. 1152. luctu morte immatura rebus excessit humanis, relictis ex conjuge, quæ Guarennensis fuerat comitis<sup>1</sup> filia, tribus filiis et totidem filiabus. Casus quidem acerbissimus viscera pii patris concussit, sed constantis animi pondus, erat enim vir bonus et sapiens, decentem doloris modum fecit, complexusque nepotes duos, nam tertium, ni fallor, gravida nondum mater<sup>2</sup> ediderat, filium in eis sibi<sup>3</sup> vivere reputans, consolationem recepit. Denique<sup>4</sup> post annos aliquot generale debitum soluturus, Malcolmum filii primogenitum adhuc impuberem regni successorem declaravit; fratri vero ejus Wilermo comitatum Northumbriæ assignavit. Et major quidem natu, tam morum similitudine quam corporis habitudine, patrissare magis; minor vero matrissare, id est, materni generis imaginem in vultu et moribus prætere, videbatur. Dormivit ergo rex Scottorum David cum patribus suis, vir magnus et gloriosus in seculo, nec minoris gloriæ in Christo. Nam sicut accepimus a fide dignis testibus, qui ejus vitam actusque noverunt, vir fuit religiosus et pius: vir multæ prudentiæ, summique moderaminis in administratione temporalium, et nihilominus magnæ devotionis in Deum; vir propter regni negotia ad divina nequaquam officia segnior, vel propter divina quibus insistebat officia ad negotia regni obtunsior. Post honorabiles nuptias et thorum immaculatum, ex quo illi unicus natus est filius, qui simillimis moribus patrem exprimeret, annis plurimis in cælibatu mansit.<sup>5</sup> In piis largitionibus tam profusus, ut præter copiosam dispersionem in pauperes, elemosynas illius

His three sons.

Malcolm the eldest, while still under age, succeeds his grandfather David;

William, the second son, becomes earl of Northumberland.

Death of David (May 24, 1153).

His character.

<sup>1</sup> comitis; B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> nondum mater, L.S.; mater nondum, B.C.<sup>re</sup>

<sup>3</sup> sibi, B.L.S.; igitur, C.

<sup>4</sup> Denique, B.L.S.; deinde, C.

<sup>5</sup> permansit, C.L.S.; remansit, A.B.

A.D. 1153. enarrent ab ipso fundatæ, ditatæ, ornatæ, multæ ec-  
 clesie sanctorum. Sane cum illi, quem Deus pronun-  
 tiat se invenisse virum secundum cor suum, cum titulo <sup>1 Reg. xiii. 14.</sup>  
 vocabuli in multis simillimus fuerit; in quodam etiam  
 non parvo, inter multa et præclara bona, excessu ab  
 ejus similitudine non recessit. Sicut enim ille post  
 multa virtutum insignia in adulterium simul et homicidium  
 in altero enervis, in altero nequam, incidit: ita  
 et iste alias quidem bonus et pius, Scottorum gentem  
 ex effrenata barbarie sanguinis avidam, et neque ætati  
 neque sexui, licet eo nolente et frustra prohibente,  
 parcituram, Anglorum immisit provincie, dum pro  
 nepte sua olim imperatrice, ejus justam, ut credebatur,  
 partem fovebat plus justo æmularetur. At sicut ille  
 per exuberantem Electoris sui gratiam vulnus illud, vel  
 potius vulnera, pia humilitate sanavit; ita etiam<sup>1</sup> iste  
 tanti excessus reatum dignis, ut credimus, penitentia  
 fructibus expiavit. Itaque non solum in executione  
 piorum operum, verum etiam in actione fructuosæ  
 penitentia, regiam antiqui David formam novus iste  
 David, rex non barbarus barbare gentis, implevit.  
 Notandum etiam quod sicut ille post penitentiam, ob  
 prioris peccati meritum divinitus castigatus est per  
 nequissimum filium; ita iste quoque, quamvis longe  
 mitius, per quendam pseudomonachum et episcopum.  
 Quem nimirum ego postmodum apud Bellalandam nos-  
 tram sæpius vidi, actusque ejus insolentissimos cum  
 casu dignissimo didici. Quæ utique silentio præteriri  
 non debent: ut cognoscant et posteri quomodo in  
 homine illo glorificatus sit, Qui superbis resistit, et Jac. iv. 6.  
 humilibus dat gratiam.

David's  
 reign  
 troubled  
 by Wi-  
 muel,  
 bi-shop of  
 the Isle:

## CAP. XXIV.

*De Wimundo episcopo,<sup>1</sup> et inepiscopali ejus vita, et<sup>2</sup>  
quomodo excecatus est.*

A.D.  
1109-51.

Idem obscurissimo<sup>3</sup> in Anglia loco natus, cum perceptis literarum rudimentis non haberet unde in scholis subsisteret, artis scriptoriæ sciolus, quibusdam<sup>4</sup> religiosi antiquarii officium pro toleranda<sup>5</sup> inopia impendebat. Deinde apud Furnesium tonsoratus et regularem vitam professus, cum nactus esset scripturarum copiam cum otio competenti, adjutus triplici bono, scilicet acri ingenio, illabili memoria, apto eloquio, ita in brevi profecit, ut magnæ spei esse videretur. Evolutis diebus in<sup>6</sup> insulam<sup>7</sup> Man cum fratribus missus, suavitate eloquii et jocunditate faciei, cum esset etiam<sup>8</sup> producto et robusto corpore, ita barbaris placuit ut ab eis in episcopum peteretur, et eorum quidem completum est desiderium. Mox ex successu intumuit, et grandia

Wimund's  
obscure  
origin and  
education.  
He became  
a monk in  
Furness  
Abbey.  
The in-  
habitants  
of the Isle  
of Man  
desired to  
have him  
as their  
bishop.

<sup>1</sup> The high colouring of this narrative seems to be the only reason for throwing doubt upon it, and there is much to support it in other chronicles. Newburgh obtained his information, see pp. 72 and 75, direct from Wimund himself and one of his followers, and the air of romance was no doubt caught from Wimund's magniloquence. He asserted that he was a son of Angus, the Maarmor of Moray, slain at Stracathro in 1130, and he appears to have been known as Malcolm McHeth. Somerled, thane of Argyle, supported him and gave him one of his daughters in marriage. One of Wimund's sons was with Somerled in that chief's subsequent incursions. See Chron. S. Crucis (Anglia Sacra, i. 161); Fordun, viii. 2; and Wendover

(Eng. Hist. Soc. ed., ii. 250). His consecration as bishop of the Isles is recorded by Stubbs (Chron. Pontif. Eccl. Ebor. Twysden, X. Scriptt., col. 1713).

<sup>2</sup> *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> As tending to show the relationship between L. and S., it may be noted that both spell this *obscurissimo*.

<sup>4</sup> *quibusdam*, B.L.S.; *quibus*, C.

<sup>5</sup> S. has here *tole[ra]nda*, but the letters between the brackets are expuncted, and the reading is therefore *tolenda* (*tollenda*). The date and authority of corrections by mere dots under certain letters are of course most uncertain. B.C. and L. read *toleranda*.

<sup>6</sup> *in*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>7</sup> *insulam*, C.L.S.; *insula*, A.B.

<sup>8</sup> *etiam*, B.L.S.; *et*, C.

A.D. 1109-51. moliri cepit. Nec contentus episcopalis dignitate officii, animo jam ambulabat<sup>1</sup> in magnis et mirabilibus super se; eratque ei cum corde vanissimo, os loquens ingentia. Denique congregans viros inopes et audaces, iudicium veritatis non veritus, proposuit se esse filium comitis Muravensis,<sup>2</sup> hereditate patrum suorum a rege Scottorum spoliatum, cordi sibi esse non solum jus suum prosequi,<sup>3</sup> sed etiam ulcisci injurias, illos se velle habere periculi et fortunæ consortes, rem quidem esse aliquanti laboris et periculi, sed magnæ claritatis, et plurimi emolumenti. Accensis ergo omnibus, atque in verba ejus jurantibus, per vicinas cepit insulas ferociter debacchari, eratque jam quasi Nembroth<sup>4</sup> robustus venator coram Domino, dedignatus juxta episcopalis officii debitum hominum esse piscator cum Petro. Augebatur indies satellitum copiis, inter quos nimirum ipse eminens fere ab humero et sursum, tanquam dux magnus omnium animos accendebat. Excurrebat in provincias<sup>5</sup> Scotiæ, rapinis et homicidiis cuncta exterminans. Cumque adversus eum regius exercitus mitteretur, in remotiores se saltus recipiens, vel in oceanum refugiens, omnem illum apparatus bellicum eludebat,<sup>6</sup> et, recedente exercitu, rursum ex locis abditis ad infestandas provincias erumpebat. Cum ergo in omnibus prosperaretur, essetque jam ipsi etiam regi terribilis, quidam episcopus vir simplicissimus ejus impetum mirabiliter<sup>7</sup> ad tempus repressit. Cui cum ille bellum denuntians exterminium minaretur, nisi vectigal penderet: "Voluntas," inquit, "Dei fiat,"<sup>8</sup> nam meo exemplo

Gen. x. 9.

Matth. iv. 19.

Proceeds to invade the mainland.

The king's army unable to force him to fight.

Is met and defeated by a certain bishop.

<sup>1</sup> ambulabat, B.L.S.; ambulavit, C.  
<sup>2</sup> Muravensis, A.B.L.S.; Mura-  
 viensis, C.

<sup>3</sup> prosequi, B.S.; persequi, C.L.

<sup>4</sup> S. and C. have *Membroth*.

<sup>5</sup> provincias, C.L.S.; provinciis,  
 A.B.

<sup>6</sup> eludebat, B.L.S.; illudebat, C.

<sup>7</sup> ejus impetum mirabiliter, L.S.;  
 mirabiliter ejus impetum, A.B.C.

<sup>8</sup> inquit, *Dei fiat*, L.S.; - *Dei*,  
 inquit, *fiat*, A.B.C. This taken in  
 connection with the similar coin-  
 cidence in note 7, becomes worthy  
 of notice in settling the relationship  
 of the MSS.

“nunquam aliquis episcopus alterius episcopi fiet<sup>1</sup> tributarius.” Cohortatus<sup>2</sup> ergo populum suum, illi cum furore venienti sola fide major, nam in ceteris longe impar, occurrit, et pro suorum animatione primum ipse belli dans ietum, jaetata securi modica, hostem in fronte gradientem Deo volente prostravit. Quo casu confortatus populus, in prædones fortiter irruit,<sup>3</sup> et eorum magna parte cæsa, ducem ferocissimum<sup>4</sup> enervitèr fugere compulit. Solebat autem hoc ipse postea inter amicos cum joeunditate narrare tanquam glorians, quod solus<sup>5</sup> eum Deus per simplicis episcopi fidem vincere potuisset. Ego quoque hoc ipsum, quodam<sup>6</sup> qui de numero satellitum ejus fuerat et cum ceteris qui evasere fugerat, referente cognovi. Resumptis autem viribus per insulas atque provincias Scotiae debacchabatur<sup>7</sup> ut prius. Quamobrem rex compulsus est placare prædonem, saniori plane usus consilio, ut cum hoste timido callidoque, cum quo fortiter agi non poterat, sapienter ageretur. Cedens ergo illi quandam provinciam cum monasterio Furnesiensi,<sup>8</sup> excursiones ejus interim suspendit. Cum autem per subditam provinciam tanquam rex vallante exercitu gloriose ferretur, ipsique monasterio, cujus monachus fuerat, supra modum gravis existeret, de consensu nobilium insidiati sunt ei quidam provinciales, qui ejus vel potentiam vel insolentiam exosam habebant. Nactique tempus opportunum, cum præmissam ad hospitium multitudinem lento pede et raro stipatus satellite sequeretur, comprehensum vinxerunt, utrumque illi oculum, quia uterque nequam erat, eruerunt, causamque virulenti germinis amputantes, eum pro pace regni

A.D.  
1109-51  
—

Making head again, the king of Scots is forced to offer him terms.

He is assigned a province which includes Furness Abbey.

Being seized by the country people he is mutilated and blinded.

<sup>1</sup> *fiet*, C.L.S.; *fiat*, A.B.

<sup>2</sup> *cohortatus*, C.L.S.; *coarctatus*, A.B.

<sup>3</sup> *irruit*, B.L.R.S.; *ruit*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *ferocissimum*, B.C.R.S.; *fortissimum*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *solus*, C.L.S.; *solum*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *quodam*, B.L.R.S.; *a quodam*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *debacchabatur*, C.L.S., and B. by late alteration; *debacchatus*, R.

<sup>8</sup> *Furnesiensi*, B.L.S.; *Furnesiensi*, C.

A.D.  
1109-51.

Ends his  
life in  
Byland  
Abbey.

Scottorum, non propter regnum cœlorum, castraverunt. Matth. Qui postea Bellalandam nostram venit, ibique annis <sup>xix. 12.</sup> plurimis usque ad obitum quietus permansit. Fertur tamen tunc etiam<sup>1</sup> dixisse, quia<sup>2</sup> si vel passeris oculum haberet, inimici ejus de actis<sup>3</sup> in eum minime exsultarent.

## CAP. XXV.

### *De Malcolmo<sup>4</sup> Christianissimo rege Scottorum.*

A.D. 1153.

Malcolm  
IV. be-  
comes king  
of Scot-  
land.

His cha-  
racter.

Memorato igitur Scottorum regi David, Malcolmus, major natu nepotum ejus ex filio, nondum pubes successit. Qui venerabilem avum in multis bonis exæquans, in quibusdam etiam gloriose superans, in medio nationis barbaræ et perversæ tanquam sidus cœleste refulsit.<sup>5</sup> Præventus enim a Deo in benedictionibus dulcedinis, ut a tenero superni amoris fervorem conciperet, in tota vita sua candore pudicitiae, titulo humilitatis et innocentiae, puritate conscientiae, morum suavitate pariter et gravitate ita excelluit, ut inter seculares, quibus solo habitu congruebat, monachus, et inter homines, quibus imperabat, terrenus quidam angelus videretur. Mira quidem hæc in rege, et rege gentis tam barbaræ, quam utique Deo cuncta opera ejus dirigente ita regebat, ut propter illa virtutum insignia barbaris non esset despectui, sed potius admirationi et amori: dum per

<sup>1</sup> In S. the order is *etiam tunc*, but the words are marked for transposition; L. has *tunc etiam tunc*, the last word being expuneted. B. omits *etiam*.

<sup>2</sup> *quia* in A.B.C.L.R.S.; the word is often found in mediæval Latin in place of *quod*. Compare the use

of the word in the Vulgate, Epist. Jacob. iv. 4, 5. See also other instances in the present chronicle, e.g. on pp. 66, 84, and 161.

<sup>3</sup> *actis*, B.L.R.S.; *actibus*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Malcolmo*, B.L.S.; *Malcolono*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *cœlestic refulsit*, C.L.S.; om. B.



regiam auctoritatem et severitatem<sup>1</sup> improbis et audacibus maximo esset terrori. Non tamen defuere, qui novis motibus intumescerent, vel<sup>2</sup> eum impetendum censerent, vel consueta illi<sup>3</sup> denegarent. Quos nimirum, Deo sibi manifeste cooperante, ita vel contrivit vel domuit, ut omnes deinceps formidarent molesti esse viro cum quo erat Deus. Sed nec defuere illi in<sup>4</sup> ingressu pubertatis quidam immissi a Sathana, qui, cum in seipsis castitatis jacturam pro nihilo ducerent, eum quoque ad carnalis experientiam voluptatis ausu improbo et virulentis suasionibus titillarent. Ille vero, jam sequi Agnum cupiens quocumque iret, sanctæ integritatis zelum toto pectore hæuserat, et thesaurum istum in carne fragili, tanquam in vase fictili, caute custodiendum, nullo quidem homine sed Deo tantum intus docente, sciebat, indecoras coævorum, vel etiam eorum quos loco magistrorum colebat,<sup>5</sup> suasiones primo contempsit, ac deinde, cum nondum quiescerent, voce et vultu cum quadam auctoritate ita repressit, ut eorum nullus de cetero talia illi auderet ingerere. At in his repulsus hostis stimulante invidia non quiescit, fortiores contra puerum Dei insidias struit. Matrem adornat, quæ illi virus occultum tanquam consilium maternæ pietatis insibilet, et non solum blandiendo alliciat, sed etiam imperiis urgeat; regem, non monachum esse moneat, ætati et corpori ejus amplexus puellares<sup>6</sup> maxime congruere doceat. Matris importunitate vinctus magis quam victus, assentiri visus est ne contristaret parentem. Læta illa cubantis jam filii lecto assistens, virginem speciosam et nobilem ad latus non obluetantis collocavit. Ille egredientibus consciis secretum nactus, et caritatis magis quam carnis igne succensus, illico surrexit, et cubile regium toto noctis spatio virgini cedens, opertus pallio in pavimento dormivit. Eo mane a cubiculariis

Story showing the young king's purity of morals.

Apocal.  
xiv. 4.

<sup>1</sup> *severitatem*, C.L.S.; *securitatem*, B.

<sup>2</sup> C. omits *vel*.

<sup>3</sup> *illi* B.L.S.; *ei*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *in*, B.L.R.S.; om. A.C.

<sup>5</sup> *indecoras . . colebat*, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>6</sup> *puellaris* in L. and S.

A.D. 1153. sic invento, et consecuto virginis testimonio, utriusque declarata est virginitas. Matrem postea, vel objurgare vel blandiri adjicientem, quadam constantis animi auctoritate compescuit, ut super hoc audendum ulterius non putaret. Dicant quod voluerint<sup>1</sup> veneratores<sup>2</sup> signorum, ex miris merita metientes, et ex sola signorum claritate sanctitatis titulum<sup>3</sup> tribuentes; plane ego illud<sup>4</sup> in rege juvenulo, sic impugnatæ sed inexpugnatæ integritatis, miraculum præferendum censéo non solum illuminationi cæcorum, sed etiam suscitationi mortuorum.<sup>5</sup>

## CAP. XXVI.

*De<sup>6</sup> institutione Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, et restitutione Wilelmi Eboracensis, et de morte ejus.*

Death of William de St. Barbe, bishop of Durham (Nov. 24, 1152). Succeeded by Hugh Puiset.

Ut autem a Scotia paululum regrediar: defuncto Wilelmo de Sancta Barbara Dunelmensi<sup>7</sup> episcopo viro religioso, Hugo Eboracensis ecclesiæ thesaurarius propter nobilitatem generis, erat enim propinquus regis Stephani, ad pontificatum Dunelmensis<sup>8</sup> ecclesiæ electus est, venerabili Henrico Eboracensi archiepiscopo, ad quem Dunelmensis<sup>8</sup> episcopi spectabat consecratio, plurimum obnitente, atque obtendente et minus canonicam electi ætatem, et minus probatam morum ejus gravitatem. Ascenderunt ergo majores

<sup>1</sup> voluerint, B.C.S.; voluerunt, L.

<sup>2</sup> veneratores, B.L.S.; venatores, C.

<sup>3</sup> titulum, B.L.R.S.; titulum illud, C., the latter word having been merely misplaced, see note 4.

<sup>4</sup> illud, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> It appears, however, from a grant made by Malcolm IV. to the Abbey of Kelso (*Char. Kelso*, fol.

16. b) that he had a natural son: "*præcipio etiam ut prædicta ecclesia de Innerlethan, in qua prima nocte corpus filii mei post obitum suum quievit,*" &c. . . . See Sir D. Dalrymple (Lord Hailes), "*Annals of Scotland,*" p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> B. omits the rubric.

<sup>7</sup> Dunelmensi, B.C.S.; Dulmensi, L.; Dunelnensi, B.

<sup>8</sup> In each place L. has *Dulmensis*.

ex electoribus cum ipso electo ad sedem Apostolicam A.D. 1153. pro negotio tam electionis quam consecrationis, jam dicto archiepiscopo pro se responsalem mittente, qui et electioni contraheret, et consecrationem impediret. Sed venerabili Eugenio, qui ejusdem archiepiscopi apud Clarevallem condiscipulus fuerat, ex hac luce paulo ante subtracto, invenerunt Anastasium sedi Apostolicæ præidentem. Tres quippe viri memorabiles, et in vita sua amicissimi, tempore illo decedentes, in morte quoque brevibus sunt intervallis separati, scilicet Eugenius papa Romanus, Bernardus Clarevallis abbas, Henricus Eboracensis archiepiscopus. E quibus Eugenio et Bernardo prius assumptis, Henricus e vestigio secutus est. Vulgato autem duorum transitu, tertio adhuc superstite, Wilelmus olim Eboracensis archiepiscopus, qui Wintoniæ<sup>1</sup> morabatur, spe recuperationis concepta, nam prior eum deposuerat, secundus ut deponeretur egerat, tertius deposito successerat, sedem Apostolicam celeriter adiit; iudicium non accusans, misericordiam humiliter postulavit. Et ecce certus ex Anglia de transitu Eboracensis archiepiscopi nuntius superveniens, verecundissimas ejus preces multum adjuvit. Et quidem Dunelmensis<sup>2</sup> electus, qui prior illuc venerat, a domino papa sollemniter consecratus, illius qui posterior advenerat pendente adhuc fortuna, discessit. Sed tandem et ipse, prioris iudicii rigore sublato, Apostolicæ mansuetudinis elementiam expertus est, miserante canos ejus papa cum cardinalibus, et satagente circa ejus negotium maxime quodam Gregorio magni nominis cardinali, homine facundissimo et profundissimæ astutiæ, atque animi vere Romani. Itaque in<sup>3</sup> integrum restitutus, et pallio, quod nunquam eatenus impetrare

Henry  
Arch-  
bishop of  
York ob-  
jects to  
consecrate  
him and  
both  
appel.  
Eugenius,  
the arch-  
bishop's  
comrade  
at Clair-  
vaux, hav-  
ing died,  
Anastasius  
(elected  
July 9,  
1153) is  
found to  
be on the  
papal  
throne.

William,  
who had  
been de-  
prived of  
the see of  
York by  
Eugenius,  
hearing of  
his death  
goes to  
Rome.  
While  
there news  
of Arch-  
bishop  
Henry's  
death  
(Oct. 14,  
1153) is  
received.

<sup>1</sup> Wintoniæ, B.C.S.; Wintoniam, chapter has *Dulmensis*, but here L. corrects the error.

<sup>2</sup> L. for the fourth time in this <sup>3</sup> *in*, C.L.S.; om. B.

A.D. 1153. poterat, insignitus, Sabbato sancto Wintoniam rediit, ibique celebrata sollemnitate Paschali, post Albas ad civitatem propriam properavit. Occurrerunt autem ei extra civitatem minus pacifice Robertus, Eboracensis ecclesiæ decanus, et Osbertus archidiaconus, qui, ut eum a desiderata sede arcerent, propositis capitulis adversus eum fortiter appellarunt. Ille nihilominus progrediens, sollemni<sup>1</sup> occurso et ingenti applausu a clero et populo susceptus est. Prænominati vero ejus<sup>2</sup> adversarii Theobaldum<sup>3</sup> Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, Apostolicas tunc in Anglia vices agentem, concite adeuntes, ejusdem favore et suffragiis utebantur. Porro ille receptam non multo post Albas Paschales ecclesiam decenti moderamine regens, et ingenua lenitate nulli onerosus existens, paucis post Pentecosten evolutis diebús febre corripitur, et rapitur<sup>4</sup> ex hac vita, ingenti tam clericis quam<sup>5</sup> laicis ex mitissimi pastoris occasu luctu relicto. Sane propter inopinatum ejus transitum a multis creditur veneno extinctus, asserentibus<sup>6</sup> eum ex sacro calice, per quendam ab<sup>7</sup> adversariis ejus<sup>8</sup> immisum vel pro eis æmulantem infecto,<sup>9</sup> potum mortiferum, quod dictu<sup>10</sup> horrendum est, cum potu vitæ hausisse. At hoc mera quorundam opinio est, quam tamen<sup>11</sup> petulanter velut perspicuam veritatem sparserunt in vul-

The bishop of Durham is consecrated (20 Dec. 1153).

Arch-bishop William is restored, and returning to Winchester on April 4, he proceeds to York, after April 11, 1154.

His death (June 8, 1154).

A rumour spreads that he died of poison in the sacred chalice.

<sup>1</sup> *sollemni*, B.L.S.; *et rapitur sollemni*, C. The words are caught up from the passage below, "*et rapitur ex hac vita.*"

<sup>2</sup> *ejus*, L.S.; om. A.B.C.

<sup>3</sup> *Theobaldum*, B.L.S.; *Theobaldum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *et rapitur*, B.L.S.; om. C., these words are perhaps too distant from the passage, which in C. (see note 1, above) stands, "*illi nihilominus progrediens [et rapitur] sollemni*," for the wrong placing to be due to error either of eye or

ear on the part of a scribe copying or being dictated to from a fairly written MS. Was C. derived from the author's rough draft?

<sup>5</sup> *quam*, C.L.S.; *tam*, A.B.

<sup>6</sup> *asserentibus*, B.L.R.S.; *asserentes*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *ab*, L.R.S.; om. B.; *ex*, A.C.

<sup>8</sup> *ejus*, C.; om. A.B.L.S.

<sup>9</sup> *infecto*, C.L.S.; *infectum*, A., and B. by late alteration.

<sup>10</sup> C. has *dictum*.

<sup>11</sup> *tamen*, B.L.S.; *cum*, C.

gus. Denique ego processu temporis, cum fama ista A.D. 1154  
 crebresceret, quendam virum magnum et grandævum, ---  
 Rievallis monasterii monachum, jam valetudinarium  
 et morti vicinum, qui eo tempore Eboracensis eccle-  
 siæ canonicus et memorato archiepiscopo familiaris  
 exstiterat, super hoc cum adjurationibus percunctan-  
 dum putavi. Qui constanter respondit, hoc esse  
 mendacissimum conceptæ a quibusdam opinionis com-  
 mentum: se quippe, cum scelus illud attentatum dicitur,  
 præsentem atque archiepiscopo assistentem fuisse; nullo  
 modo malignum quemquam inter circumstantes fidelissimos  
 ad aliquid tale<sup>1</sup> audendum irrepere potuisse. Illud quoque  
 falsum est quod dicunt eum amicis suadentibus antidotum  
 gustare noluisse, cum ab eis hostilis malitia in eum aliquid  
 ausa putaretur; et ad hoc suum vel opinabile vel commentum  
 firmandum ferunt<sup>2</sup> eum dixisse, quod cœlesti antidoto non  
 adjiceret humanum. Quod utique quia vir sapiens fuit,  
 et Deum non esse tentandum divina auctoritate edoctus,  
 nec dixisse nec egisse credendus<sup>3</sup> est. Ad hoc Simphorianum<sup>4</sup>  
 familiarem clericum ejus, qui in ejus obsequio non parvo  
 tempore fuerat, et ægrotanti devotus minister astiterat,  
 audivi dicentem, quod amicis suadentibus antidotum  
 sumpserit, quod utique vir sapiens fecisse credendus est.  
 Ab eodem quoque<sup>5</sup> audivi, amicos qui aderant ob hoc  
 maxime ad putandum quod mortiferum quid biberit fuisse  
 proclives, quia dentes ejus, qui candidi fuerant, in extremo  
 illo incommodo nigrescere cœperant. At hoc ridetur a  
 medicis, cum dentes hominis morituri<sup>6</sup> passim nigrescere  
 soleant. Porro Eboracensis archiepiscopi morte comperta,  
 Robertus decanus et Osbertus archidiacono

The author adduces personal testimony against the story.

<sup>1</sup> *tale*, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>2</sup> *ferunt*, B.C.L.S.; *fertur*, R.

<sup>3</sup> *credendus*, B.L.S.; *credendum*,

C.

<sup>4</sup> *Simphorianum*, C.L.S.; *Siphorianum*, originally, B.

<sup>5</sup> *quoque*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> *morituri*, B.C.S.; om. L.

A.D. 1154. nus, amittente et cooperante Cantuariensi archiepiscopo Apostolicæ sedis legato, Rogerium<sup>1</sup> ejusdem archidiaconum ad Eboracensis ecclesiæ cathedram elegerunt, magnisque<sup>2</sup> suffragiis atque terroribus Eboracense capitulum ad consentiendum induxerunt. Et de hoc quidem<sup>3</sup> plenius suo loco dicemus.

Roger de Pont l'Evêque succeeds him (consecrated Oct. 10, 1154).

## CAP. XXVII.

### *De viridibus pueris.*

Story of the green children.

Nec prætereundum videtur inauditum a seculis prodigium, quod sub rege Stephano in Anglia nescitur evenisse. Et quidem diu super hoc, cum tamen a multis prædicaretur, hæsitavi; remque vel nullius vel abditissimæ rationis in fidem recipere ridiculum mihi videbatur: donec tantorum et talium pondere testium ita sum obrutus, ut cogerer credere et mirari, quod nullis animi viribus possum<sup>4</sup> attingere vel rimari.

Vicus est in Estanglia quatuor vel quinque, ut dicitur, milliariis distans a nobili monasterio beati regis et martyris Edmundi.<sup>5</sup> Juxta quem vicum quædam antiquissimæ fossæ visuntur, quæ sermone Anglico *Wlfpittes*,<sup>6</sup> id est, luporum fossæ, dicuntur, et vico

<sup>1</sup> *Rogerium*, C.L.S.; *Rogeron*, B.

<sup>2</sup> *magnisque*, B.C.R.S.; *magnis* et, L.

<sup>3</sup> *quidem*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>4</sup> *possum*, B.L.S.; *possim*, A.C.

<sup>5</sup> *Edmundi*, B.L.S.; *Eadmundi*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *Wlfpittes*, B.L.S.; *Wfpittes*, C. Ralph of Coggeshall (Rolls' ed. p. 118) gives this story from the information furnished to him by Sir Richard de Calne, into whose house the children were received.

He apparently places it under the reign of Henry II., and introduces the tale with the words, "alind quoque mirum, priori non dissimile, in Sutfolke, contigit apud Sanctam Mariam de Wulpetes." The name of this place occurs three times in the chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond (Camden S. ed. pp. 35, 36, 46), as *Wlpit*. It is of course Woolpit, near Bury St. Edmunds.

cui adjacent suum nomen indulgent. Ex his fossis tempore messis, et occupatis circa frugum collectionem per agros messoribus, emergerunt duo pueri, masculus et femina, toto corpore virides, et coloris insoliti, ex incognita materia veste operti. Cumque per agrum attoniti oberrarent, comprehensi a messoribus ducti sunt in vicum, multisque confluentibus ad tantæ novitatis spectaculum, per dies aliquot tenti sunt cibi expertes. Cum ergo inedia jam pæne deficerent, nec tamen aliquid ciborum, qui offerebantur, attenderent, forte ex agro contigit fabas inferri, quas illico arripientes, legumen ipsum in thyrsis quæsierunt, et nihil in concavitate thyrsorum invenientes, amare fleverunt. Tunc quidam eorum<sup>1</sup> qui aderant, legumen ex corticibus erutum porrexit<sup>2</sup> eis, quod statim libenter<sup>3</sup> acceptum comederunt. Hoc cibo aliti sunt per menses aliquot, quousque usum panis noverunt. Denique colorem proprium, ciborum nostrorum prævalente natura, paulatim mutant, et similes nobis effecti, nostri quoque sermonis usum didicerunt. Visumque est prudentibus, ut sacri baptismatis perciperent sacramentum, quod et factum est. Sed puer, qui minor<sup>4</sup> natu videbatur, post baptismum brevi vivens tempore imatura morte decessit, sorore incolumi permanente, et nec in modico a nostri generis feminis discrepante. Quæ nimirum postea apud Lennam, ut dicitur, duxit maritum,<sup>5</sup> et ante annos paucos superstes esse dicebatur.<sup>6</sup> Sane cum jam nostræ usum loquelæ haberent, interrogati qui et unde essent, respondisse feruntur: "Homines de terra Sancti Martini, qui scilicet in terra nativitatis nostræ præcipuæ venerationi habentur." Consequenter interrogati, ubinam esset terra

A.D.  
1135-54.

<sup>1</sup> eorum, B.L.S.; illorum, C.  
<sup>2</sup> S. here, by correction from porrexit, reads porrexit.  
<sup>3</sup> libenter acceptum, B.L.S.;  
 acceptum libenter, C.

<sup>4</sup> minor, B.C.S.; prior, L; junior,  
 R.

<sup>5</sup> duxit maritum, B.C.L.S.

<sup>6</sup> dicebatur, B.L.R.S.; videbatur, C.

A.D.  
1135-54.

illa, et quomodo exinde huc advenissent; "Utrumque," inquit, "nescimus. Hoc tantum meminimus; quia<sup>1</sup> cum quodam die pecora patris nostri in agro pasceremus, sonitum quendam maguum audivimus, qualem nunc apud Sanctum Edmundum, cum signa concrepere dicuntur, audire solemus. Cumque in sonitum illum quem admirabamur animo intendemus, repente, tanquam in quodam mentis excessu positi, invenimus nos inter vos in agro ubi metabatis." Interrogati utrum ibidem vel in Christum crederetur, vel sol oriretur,<sup>2</sup> terram illam Christianam esse, et ecclesias habere dixerunt. "Sed sol," inquit, "apud nostrates non oritur: cujus radiis terra nostra minime illustratur, illius claritatis modulo contenta, quae apud vos solem vel<sup>3</sup> orientem praecedit vel sequitur occidentem. Porro terra quaedam lucida non longe a terra nostra aspicitur, anne largissimo utramque dirimente." Haec et multa alia, quae retexere longum est, curiose percunctantibus respondisse feruntur. Dicat quisque quod voluerit, et ratiocinetur de his ut poterit; me autem prodigiosum mirabilemque eventum exposuisse non piget.

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## CAP. XXVIII.

### *De quibusdam prodigiis.*<sup>4</sup>

Various  
marvels.

Alia quoque aequae mira et prodigiosa nostris temporibus contigerunt, ex quibus pauca retexam. Mira vero hujusmodi<sup>5</sup> dicimus, non tantum<sup>6</sup> propter rari-

<sup>1</sup> *quia*, B.C.L.S.; see note 2 on p. 76 as to the mediæval use of *quia* in place of *quod*.

<sup>2</sup> *oriretur*, A.C.L.S.; *orietur*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *vel*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>4</sup> *prodigiosis*, B.L.S.; *prodigiis*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *hujusmodi*, B.L.S.; *hujuscemodi*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *tantum* B.C.S.; om. L.



tatem, sed etiam quia occultam habent rationem. Dum in lapidicina quadam petra ingens ferramentis finderetur, apparere duo canes, capacem sui in eadem petra concavitatem replentes absque omni spiraculo. Videbantur autem esse ex eo canum genere quos leporarios vocant, sed vultu truces, odore graves, pilorum expertes. Et unus quidem eorum, ut dicitur, cito defecit: alterum vero stupendæ, ut aiunt, edacitatis Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus diebus plurimis in<sup>1</sup> deliciis habuit. Refertur<sup>2</sup> etiam quod in alia lapidicina, dum pro eruendis fabricæ necessariis lapidibus altius foderetur, repertus sit<sup>3</sup> lapis formosus duplex, id est, ex duobus subtili agglutinatione compactus lapidibus. Mirantibus operariis, episcopo, qui non longe aberat, exhibitus, designari jussus est ut innotesceret, si quid in eo lateret mysterii. Inventaque<sup>4</sup> est in ejus concavitate bestiola, quam bufonem vocant, catenulam auream circa collum habens. Cunctis ergo, qui aderant, tam inusitatæ rei stupore suspensis, præcepit episcopus iterum signari lapidem, et lapidicinæ altitudini redditum ruderibus in perpetuum operiri.

In provincia quoque Deirorum, haud procul a loco nativitatæ meæ, res mirabilis contigit, quam a puero cognovi. Est vicus aliquot a mari orientali<sup>5</sup> milliariis distans, juxta quem famosæ illæ aquæ, quas vulgo *Gipse*<sup>6</sup> vocant, numerosa scaturigine e terra prosiliunt, non quidem jugiter, sed annis interpositis, et, facto torrente non modico, per loca humiliora in mare labuntur; quæ quidem cum siccantur signum bonum est, nam earum fluxus futuræ famis incommodum non fallaciter portendere dicitur. Ex hoc vico rusticus

A.D.  
1135-54.

Two dogs found in a hollow in a block of stone.

In another quarry a joined stone is found to contain a toad with a gold chain round its neck.

Intermittent springs at a village in Yorkshire.

<sup>1</sup> in, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> refertur, B.L.R.S.; referunt, C.

<sup>3</sup> sit, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>4</sup> inventaque, B.L.S.; inventa, C.

<sup>5</sup> orientale, in B.

<sup>6</sup> The village of Wold Newton, eight miles from Bridlington, has

a large mere principally supplied by the "Gipseys,"—streams of water which appear after intervals of two or three years and disappear after two or three months (Allen, Hist. of county of York, vol. ii. p. 330).

A.D.  
1100-1135.

Legend  
about a  
rustic who  
interrupts  
a super-  
natural  
banquet  
and carries  
off a cup  
which be-  
comes the  
property of  
Henry I.

quidam ad salutandum amicum in proximo vico comorantem profectus, multa jam nocte minus sobrius remeabat. Et ecce, de proximo tumulo quem sæpius vidi, et duobus vel tribus stadiis a vico abest, voces cantantium, et quasi festive cõnivantium audivit. Miratus quinam in loco<sup>1</sup> illo sollempnibus gaudiis intempestæ noctis silentium rumpebant, hoc ipsum curiosius<sup>2</sup> inspicere voluit, vidensque in latere tumuli januam patentem, accessit et introscepit, viditque domum amplam, et luminosam, plenamque discumbentibus, tam viris quam feminis, tanquam ad sollempnes epulas. Unus autem ministrantium aspiciens stantem ad ostium, obtulit ei poculum. Quo ille accepto consulte noluit bibere, sed effuso contento et continente retento concitus abiit; factoque tumultu in convivio pro sublatione vasculi, et persequentibus eum convivis, pernicitate jumentum quo vehebatur evasit, et in vicium eum insigni se præda recepit. Denique hoc vasculum<sup>3</sup> inateria incognitæ, coloris insoliti, et formæ inusitatæ, Henrico seniori Anglorum regi pro magno munere oblatum est, ac deinde fratri reginæ, David scilicet regi Scottorum, contradictum, annis plurimis in thesauris Scotiæ servatum est: et ante annos aliquot, sicut veraci relatione cognovimus, Henrico secundo illud aspicere cupienti a rege<sup>4</sup> Scottorum Willelmo resignatum est.<sup>5</sup>

The  
author's  
remarks  
on the  
foregoing  
matters.

Hæc et hujusmodi incredibilia viderentur, nisi a dignis fide testibus contigisse probarentur. Si autem potuerunt Magi per incantationes, ut scriptum est, Ægyptiacas et arcana quædam,<sup>6</sup> operatione utique malorum angelorum, virgas convertere in dracones, et aquam in sanguinem, novas quoque ranas producere, quos tamen, ut ait Augustinus, creatores draconum vel ranarum

De Trin.,  
iii. 8.

<sup>1</sup> *in loco*, L.S.; *loco in*, A.C.B.

<sup>2</sup> *curiosius*, C.L.S.; *curiosus*, B.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Hamilton refers to the similar Scandinavian "Troll" story of the "Altar-cup in Aagerup"

quoted in Keightley's "Fairy Mythology," pp. 109-11.

<sup>4</sup> *a rege*, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>5</sup> *est*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> *quædam*, C.L.S.; *quidem*, A.; *quidam* originally in B

non dicimus, sicut nec agricolas segetum; aliud est enim, ex intimo et summo causarum cardine condere atque administrare creaturam, quod qui facit solus est creator<sup>1</sup> Deus, aliud autem pro distributis ab Illo<sup>2</sup> viribus et facultatibus aliquam operationem forinsecus admove, ut tunc vel tunc, sic vel sic exeat quod creatur, quod<sup>3</sup> non solum mali angeli, sed etiam mali homines possunt; si, inquam, mali angeli per<sup>4</sup> Magos, Deo permittente, ea potuere, non est mirum si<sup>5</sup> et illa, de quibus nunc quæritur, quadam angelicæ naturæ potentia, si a superiori potestate permittantur, partim præstigialiter et fantastice, ut illud in tumultu nocturnum convivium, partim etiam in<sup>6</sup> veritate, ut vel illos canes, vel bufonem illum cum cathenula<sup>7</sup> aurea, seu scyphum illum valeant exhibere, in quibus homines stupore inutili teneantur; qui nimirum mali angeli libentius faciunt, cum permittuntur, in quibus homines perniciose fallantur. Porro puerorum illorum viridium, qui de terra emersisse dicuntur, abstrusior ratio est, quam utique nostri sensus tenuitas non sufficit indagare.

A.D.  
1100-1154.

## CAP. XXIX.

*De successibus Henrici secundi in Angliâ tempore ducatus sui.*

A.D. 1149.

Ut autem jam ad seriem historicæ narrationis redeam, Henricus Matildis olim imperatricis ex<sup>8</sup> illustri Andegavensi comite filius, accepto, ut superius dictum

Prince Henry having been knighted returns to Anjou.

<sup>1</sup> *facit solus est creator*, L. and S., except that L. has *fecit*; *facit solus creator est Deus*, B.C.

<sup>2</sup> *illo*, B.L.S.; *eo*, C.

<sup>3</sup> The passage *quod . . . magos* is in B. (except as below) and in L. and S.; but in C. it runs *quod non solum mali angeli possunt si inquam per Magos*, the words *pos-*

*sunt si inquam* being in the margin. R. agrees in the main with S. here.

<sup>4</sup> *per*, C.L.S.; *om.* A.B.

<sup>5</sup> *si*, L.S.; *sed*, A.B.C.; A. and B. have *sed* for *si* also in the line above.

<sup>6</sup> *etiam in*, A.B.C.R.; *in*, L.S.

<sup>7</sup> *cathenula*, B.L.R.S.; *cathenu*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *ex*, B.L.S.; *et*, C.

A.D. 1151. est, a matris avunculo rege Scottorum cingulo militari, transfretavit, et venit ad patrem; eratque de cetero in obsequio ejus, prudentiæ et fortitudinis præclaram indolem præferens, et militaris gloriæ non tepidus æmulator existens. Post annos vero aliquot, patre in fata concedente, paterni juris plenitudinẽ, id est, Andegavensem simul et Cinomannensem<sup>1</sup> comitatum, et materni juris expeditam portionem, id est, Normanniæ ducatum, recepit. Nam regno Angliæ, quod ad jus æquo<sup>2</sup> spectabat maternum, rex Stephanus quamvis remisse et languide, ut superius expositum est, catenus incubabat. Itaque patri succedens, et patrem in brevi vel æquans vel etiam excedens, quocumque se vertisset, industrius strenuusque apparuit, ita ut jam illis formidabilis exsisteret, qui felicibus ejus initiis invadebant. Cumque in partibus transmarinis omnia illi quieta jam essent, regno Angliæ, quod jure sibi perspicuo competebat, fraudari non ulterius patiens, tam difficili et periculoso negotio animum intendit. Metuens autem ne qua post egressum suum in Normanniam fieret irruptio a rege Francorum, cujus rex Stephanus affinitate gaudebat, nam sororem ejus jampridem filio suo Eustachio uxorem acceperat, fines suos præsiidiis opportune dispositis cautius credidit muniendos. Unde factum est ut parvam secum manum in Angliam duceret, reputans terris transmarinis, quas quieto jam jure possidebat, parum esse consultum si copias abduceret<sup>3</sup> militares, necessaria sibi præsidia in Anglia minime defutura: si secus, certa incertis inconsulte postponi. Denique non amplius, ut dicitur, quam centum quadraginta equites et peditum tria millia in Angliam cum eo venerunt.

Geoffrey of Anjou dies. (Sept. 7, 1151) and is succeeded by Henry in all his possessions including Normandy.

Henry garrisons his Norman castles, and sails for England with his remaining small band of followers (Jan. 6, 1153).

<sup>1</sup> *Cinomannensem*, B.C.S.; *Cinomanne*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *æque*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> *abduceret*, S. by an evident alteration from *adduceret*; *adduceret*, B.C.L.

Adventu<sup>1</sup> ejus cognito, ferventibus ad eum animis A.D. 1153. convenerunt qui matri ejus ab initio faverant. Auctus illico ingentibus copiis, munitionem Malmesbiriensem, ubi regis Stephani presidium erat,<sup>2</sup> obsedit. Tunc idem rex convocatis celeriter qui a se non defecerant, cum Eustachio<sup>3</sup> filio, acerrimo juvene, ocius advolans, hostem ad praelium provocavit. At ille in castris se continens, et campi discrimen pro tempore consulte declinans, eo quod manum imparem habere videretur; hostili ferociae copiam pugnae non fecit. Rex vero cum neque hostem commode posset<sup>4</sup> impetere, neque prolixiores circa castra hostilia excubias agere tutum videretur, otiose recessit, et obsessa munitio in potestatem obsidentis concessit. Augebatur idem indies et militiae numeris et favoribus sociorum, deficientibus ad eum paulatim qui hostilium partium fuerant regni optimatibus; ita ut jam incrementis virium et felicitate successuum ducis gloria, sic enim vocabatur, adversarii nomen regium adumbraret. Stanfordiam cum instructo exercitu adiit; qua celeriter<sup>5</sup> expugnata et capta, munitionem quoque, ejecto presidio regio, post aliquot dies obtinuit. Audiens autem Gipeswic,<sup>6</sup> quae ad ejus se<sup>7</sup> partes transtulerat, obsideri a rege, ut hoste propulsato obsidionem solveret, ad Orientalium Anglorum provinciam cum exercitu properabat; sed, accepto post modicum<sup>8</sup> de ejusdem loci deditioe nuntio, divertit et irruit super Notingham,<sup>9</sup> quae sita est super fluvium Trentam. Qua mox expugnata atque opibus vacuata, recessit, oppugnandae

His mother's partisans flock to him.

He besieges Malmesbury.

The king hastens to the relief, but withdraws without a battle. Malmesbury is taken.

Prince Henry captures Stamford.

Ipswich, which had declared for him, being besieged he hastens thither, but news of its surrender

<sup>1</sup> Gervase supplies the date very precisely "in initio mensis Januarii, die scilicet Dominicæ Apparitionis." (Rolls' ed. p. 151).

<sup>2</sup> erat, B.L.S.; fuerat, C.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *Euchaëlio*.

<sup>4</sup> posset, B.L.R.S.; potuisset, C.

<sup>5</sup> celeriter, B.L.R.S.; celerius, by alteration, C.

<sup>6</sup> *Gipeswic*, L.S.; *Gipeswyck*, B.; *Gypeswic*, C.

<sup>7</sup> se, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>8</sup> post modicum, B.L.R.S.; postmodum, C.

<sup>9</sup> *Notingham*, C.L.S.; *Notingham*, B.

A.D. 1153. munitionis, quæ natura loci inexpugnabilis videbatur, operam inanem omittens. Inde ad alia conversus negotia, tanquam favore sibi arridente divino in omnibus prosperabatur.

—  
coming, he  
turns and  
captures  
Notting-  
ham.

## CAP. XXX.

*De concordia inter regem Stephanum et ducem  
Henricum celebrata.*

A.D. 1153. Dum hæc sub eventu pendulo inter regem et ducem altercatio traheretur, Eustachius ejusdem regis filius juvenis clarissimus immatura, secundum voluntatem Dei, morte decessit, magnam seminandæ inter principes pacis occasionem sui de medio ablatione relinquens. Eo quippe superstite partes concordia mediante componi atque uniri minime potuissent, tum propter juvenilem ejusdem acrimoniam, tum propter ejus præclaram quandam ex affinitate regis Francorum fiduciam. Utroque autem pacis impedimento per unius hominis mortem sublato, quod Deo propitio<sup>1</sup> provenisse creditur; eo quod jam super Angliam intestinis malis exsanguem et sauciam cogitaret cogitationes pacis et non afflictionis; viri pacifici de pace suadenda atque formanda propensius cogitare ceperunt.<sup>2</sup> Occasu quippe filii, qui successurus sperabatur, supra modum exulceratus pater, ad apparatus bellicos pigrius movebatur, et voces suadentium pacem solito patientius audiebat. Duce quoque prudentum consiliis<sup>3</sup> ad<sup>4</sup> hoc inclinato, ut honesto et solido fœderi postponeret casus ambiguos, placuit inter eos sollemne et salubre colloquium celebrari. Ubi amicis medi-

Death of  
Prince  
Eustace  
(Aug. 18).

Eustace  
and his  
wife, the  
principal  
obstacles  
to peace,  
being  
removed,  
negotia-  
tions com-  
mence.

Stephen  
and prince  
Henry  
hold a  
conference.

Jerem.  
xxix. 11.

<sup>1</sup> *propitio*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> *ceperunt*. B.L.S.; *ceperant*, C.

<sup>3</sup> L. has here *consilium*.

<sup>4</sup> *ad*, B.L.S.; *ab*, C.

antibus et circa bonum publicum pia et prudenti A.D. 1153.  
 provisione satagentibus, pax inter eos et<sup>1</sup> caute for-  
 mata, et solide firmata<sup>2</sup> est.<sup>3</sup> Decretumque est, ut  
 Stephanus de cetero tanquam princeps legitimus in-  
 tegre in Anglia cum gloria et honore regnaret; Hen-  
 ricus vero ei tanquam heres legitimus in regno suc-  
 cederet. Hanc pacis formam tanquam utilem et  
 honestam princeps uterque amplexus, abolitis omnibus  
 quæ<sup>4</sup> inter eos haecenus hostiliter acta fuerant, atque  
 omni simultate perpetuæ tradita sepulturæ, in mutuos,  
 multis præ gaudio lacrimantibus, se dederunt am-  
 plexus. Et rex quidem ducem adoptans in filium,  
 eum sollemniter successorem proprium declaravit.  
 Dux vero regem tanquam patrem et dominum in  
 conspectu omnium honoravit. Wilelmus autem regis  
 filius junior jubente patre duci hominum fecit; dux  
 quoque illi pactis interpositis satisfecit. Quibus Deo  
 propitio salubriter actis, rex Angliam et Anglia pacem  
 recepit. Annis enim jam plurimis fere nudo regis  
 nomine insignis, tunc recipere visus est hujus rei  
 nominis, et quasi tunc primo regnare cœpit: quia  
 tunc primo,<sup>5</sup> purgata invasionis tyrannicæ macula, legi-  
 timi principis justitiam induit. Dux autem in An-  
 glia post firmatæ pacis sollemnia modico tempore  
 commoratus, transfretare parabat, et rex cum Wilelmo  
 filio multisque aliis nobilibus celebri lætitia prose-  
 quebatur abeuntem. Cumque idem regius puer in  
 oculis patris equo, ut assolet, concitatus veheretur,  
 contigit equo cadente sessorem ad terram graviter  
 allidi, fractoque osse tibiæ resurgere impotens, patri  
 et omnibus qui aderant dolorem incussit. Reportatus  
 ergo est Cantuariam, ut ibi curaretur. Rex vero

Terms of  
 peace  
 settled  
 (Nov. 7).

Henry  
 returns to  
 Normandy  
 (after  
 Easter,  
 1154).  
 Accident  
 to Ste-  
 phen's son  
 William.

<sup>1</sup> *et*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> *et* . . . *firmata*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> This document is given by  
 Brompton (Twysden's Decem Scrip-  
 tores, col. 1037).

<sup>4</sup> *quæ*, B.L.S.; *quæ*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *regnare* . . . *primo*, B.C.S.; om.  
 L.

A.D. 1154. sinistro casu saucius, datis cum benedictione mandatis, ducem dimisit; qui feliciter transfretans circa ætatis initium ad propria cum gaudio remeavit.

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CAP. XXXI.

*De divortio inter regem Francorum et uxorem ejus celebrato, et quomodo ipsa nupserit futuro regi Anglorum.*<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1152. Iisdem fere diebus<sup>2</sup> inter Lodovicum<sup>3</sup> Francorum regem et Alienorem<sup>4</sup> reginam divortium celebratum est, quibusdam episcopis atque<sup>5</sup> proceribus consanguinitatem illorum sub testificatione jurisjurandi sollemniter allegantibus. Eadem sane regina, ducis Aquitanici soboles unica,<sup>6</sup> ante expeditionem Ierosolymitanam, de qua superius dictum est, memorato regi nupserat, suoque conjugio amplissimum illum ducatum Aquitanicæ regno Franciæ junxerat. Quæ nimirum ita sibi in principio juvenis animum formæ suæ venustate præstrictum devinxerat, ut illius famosissimæ<sup>7</sup> expeditionis iter arrepturus, dum uxorem juvenulam vehementius æmulatur, eam nequaquam domi esse relinquendam, sed secum ad prælia proficisci decerneret. Quod exemplum secuti multi alii nobiles uxores suas secum duxerunt: quibus cum cubiculariæ deesse non possent,

Divorce of Louis VII. from Eleanor of Aquitaine (March 18).

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<sup>1</sup> *et quomodo . . . Anglorum*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> A somewhat misleading expression. The events at the end of the last chapter happened in 1154, while the divorce was in March and Eleanor's second marriage in May 1152.

<sup>3</sup> *Lodovicum*, B.C.S.; *Lodowicum*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *Alienorem*, L.S.; *Alianorem*, B.C.

<sup>5</sup> *atque*, B.L.R.S.; *et*, C.

<sup>6</sup> Bouquet (vol. xiii. p. 101, note a) corrects this passage: "non unica patris soboles erat Alienora, quippe quæ sororem habebat Petronillam Radulpho Viroman-densi comiti nuptam."

<sup>7</sup> *famosissima*, B.C.S.; *formosissima*, L.



in castris illis Christianis, quæ casta esse oportebat, A.D. 1152. feminarum multitudo versabatur. Quod utique factum est exercitui nostro in scandalum, ut superius ostensum est. Cumque idem rex ab oriente una cum conjugē, non sine infecti negotii dedecore, ad propria fuisset reversus, amore pristino inter eos paulatim refrigescēte, causæ quoque discidii<sup>1</sup> succrescere cœperunt; illa maxime moribus regiis offensa, et causante se monacho non regi nupsisse. Dicitur etiam, quod in ipso regis Francorum conjugio ad ducis Normannici nuptias, suis magis moribus congruas, aspiraverit, atque ideo præoptaverit procuraveritque discidium. Itaque causis ingravescentibus, et illa quidem, ut dicitur, multum instante, illo vero vel non vel remissius obluetante, per ecclesiasticæ legis vigorem solutum est inter eos vinculum copulæ conjugalis. Porro illa soluta a lege viri, et habens potestatem cui vellet nubendi, duabus apud patrem filiabus relictis, quæ postea duobus illustrissimi comitis Teobaldi<sup>2</sup> filiis, Henrico scilicet et Teobaldo,<sup>2</sup> paterna provisione nupserunt, desideratis tandem potita est nuptiis.<sup>3</sup> Denique convenientes dux Normanniæ<sup>4</sup> et illa loco conducto, pactum conjugale<sup>5</sup> inierunt, minus quidem sollemniter ratione personarum, sed cautiore providentiâ, ne quid scilicet impedimenti pareret sollemnis præparatio nuptiarum. Mox ducatus Aquitaniæ, qui a finibus Andegavensium et Britonum ad Pyrenæos usque<sup>6</sup> montes, Galliam Hispaniamque dirimentes, extenditur,<sup>7</sup> Francorum se<sup>8</sup> ditioni paulatim<sup>9</sup> subducens ratione conjugis in ducis Normannici

Prince  
Henry is  
married to  
Eleanor  
(May,  
1152).

<sup>1</sup> *discidii*, L.S.; *discidiis*, C. and, originally, B.

<sup>2</sup> *Teobaldi*, and *Teobaldo*, S.; *Theobaldi*, &c., B.C.L.

<sup>3</sup> *est nuptiis*, C.L.S.; *est ducis Normanniæ nuptiis*, A.B.

<sup>4</sup> *dux Normanniæ*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>5</sup> *conjugale*, B.C.; *conjugalem*, L.S.

<sup>6</sup> *usque*, B.S.; *usque ad*, C. and L. originally.

<sup>7</sup> *extenditur*, C.L.S.; *paulatim extenditur*, A.B.

<sup>8</sup> *se*, C.L.S.; om. A. and, by erasure, B.

<sup>9</sup> *paulatim*, C.L.S.; here omitted by A.B. (see note 7.)

A.D. 1152. potestatem transivit; Francis quidem invidia tabescen-  
tibus, sed impedire non valentibus ejusdem ducis  
provectum.

CAP. XXXII.

*De concilio Lundoniensi, et morte regis Stephani.*

A.D. 1154. Interea rex Stephanus fastu regio fines Angliæ  
lustrans, et se tanquam regem novum ostentans, sus-  
cipiebatur ab omnibus et decenti magnificentia cole-  
batur, et incendebantur ante faciem ejus, et quodam-  
modo liquefebant sicut cera a facie ignis, munitiones  
adulteræ, quæ erant improborum receptacula et spe-  
luncæ latronum. Veniens autem in Eboracensem  
provinciam, quendam Philippum de Colevilla, qui  
munitionem suam apud Drax<sup>1</sup> incendere vel incen-  
dendam tradere jubebatur,<sup>2</sup> invenit rebellem; fretum  
scilicet ejusdem munitionis firmitate, et commilitonum  
suorum ingentibus animis, et copioso ciborum armo-  
rumque apparatu. Rex vero ex proximis provinciis  
exercitu convocato, munitionem objectu annium, sil-  
varum, atque paludum fere inaccessibilem obsidione  
conclusit, et fortiter expugnatam in brevi obtinuit.  
Erat autem tempus messis, et rex, in Eboraca civi-  
tate vel in adjacente provincia quæ volebat expletis,  
ad australes provincias remeabat, circa festivitatem  
beati archangeli Michaelis cum episcopis et nobilibus  
Angliæ concilium Lundoniis<sup>3</sup> celebraturus, tum pro  
regni negotiis, tum etiam<sup>4</sup> pro negotio vacantis  
ecclesiæ Eboracensis. Evocati ergo majores ejusdem

Stephen's  
royal pro-  
gress to  
the North.

Destruc-  
tion of the  
adulterine  
castles.

Philip de  
Coleville  
holds the  
castle of  
Draxe,  
but is  
speedily  
overcome.

The king  
returns  
southward  
towards  
Michael-  
mas.

Council at  
London.

<sup>1</sup> Drax, B.L.S.; Draxe, C.

<sup>2</sup> jubebatur, L.R.S.; videbatur, i. p. 158).

A.B.C.

<sup>3</sup> See Gervase of Canterbury (vol. i. p. 158).

<sup>4</sup> etiam, C.L.S.; om. B.

ecclesiæ cum abbatibus atque prioribus subjectæ provincie affluere; factoque in Rogerium<sup>1</sup> archidiaconum Cantuariensem decreto, eum a suo archiepiscopo, cujus efficaci astutia omne negotium electionis ejus processerat, rege<sup>2</sup> connivente, sollemniter petiere. Quem cum facile a volente impetrassent, licet eum idem<sup>3</sup> archiepiscopus tanquam precibus obstrictus<sup>4</sup> cedere videretur, vel potius vellet videri, alias quoque preces adjecere<sup>5</sup>; scilicet ut eum, non tanquam Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, sed tanquam Apostolicæ sedis legatus consecraret. Hoc quoque a volente non difficulter impetrato, consecratus est idem electus in ecclesia beati Petri apud Westmonasterium. Qui soluto concilio ad ecclesiam propriam properavit, et post suspensionis suæ sollemnia, rebus pro tempore dispositis, eundi ad sedem Apostolicam petendi pallii gratia, in propria persona iter arripuit. Rex vero post concilium in Cantia constitutus<sup>6</sup> morbo decubuit; quo ingravescente post dies paucos decessit mense Octobri, et sepultus est apud Faveresham in monasterio a se ante aliquot annos constructo, anno regni sui nonodecimo. Nuntium autem mortis ejus dux Normanniæ mature accepit, qui forte tunc castrum quoddam, quod ab eo desciverat, cum exercitu obsidebat. Cumque ab amicis moneretur relicta obsidione sub omni celeritate in Angliam transfretare, ne quid forte contra eum occasione moræ inimici veteres molirentur, mira justitiæ suæ confidentia respondit, illos nihil

A.D. 1154.

Roger de Pont l'Evêque elected Archbishop of York.

He is consecrated at Westminster (Oct. 10).

Stephen dies Oct. (25), and is buried at Faveresham.

The news reaches prince Henry while engaged in a siege.

<sup>1</sup> *Rogierum*, L.S.; *Rogerum*, B.C.

<sup>2</sup> *rege*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> *idem*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>4</sup> *obstrictus*, B.L.S.; *obstructus*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *adjecere*, B.L.S.; *adjacere*, C.

<sup>6</sup> Newburgh omits the fact mentioned by Huntingdon that Stephen

met the count of Flanders at Dover and died there. Gervase of Canterbury (i. 159) agrees: "mense Octobri rex iterum comiti Flandrensi apud Dovoriam occurrit, et cum eo colloquium habuit . . . et ibidem in curia monachorum decumbens diem clausit extremum" "octavo kalendas Novembris."

A.D. 1154. ausuros.<sup>1</sup> Et quamvis amici multum instarent, obsidionem solvere noluit, donec factum est de castro obsesso quod voluit; exspectante illum cum desideriiis Anglia,<sup>2</sup> et nulla interim in cunctis finibus ejus surgente procella. Et hujus quidem libri<sup>3</sup> iste sit<sup>4</sup> modus, ut a regno Henrici Secundi liber secundus<sup>5</sup> incipiat.

He waits to conclude operations before sailing for England.

*Explicit Liber Primus.*<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> nihil ausuros, B.L.S.; nil mihi ausuros, C.

<sup>2</sup> Anglia, B.L.S.; in Anglia, C.

<sup>3</sup> libri, C.L.S.; liber, B.

<sup>4</sup> sit, B.L.S.; est, C.

<sup>5</sup> secundus, B.C.S.; iste, L.

<sup>6</sup> A. and B. add, "et incipit secundus."

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LIBER SECUNDUS.

A.D. 1154-1174.

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INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI SECUNDI.<sup>1</sup>

Cap. 1.	De primordiis regni Henrici <sup>2</sup> secundi	p. 101
Cap. 2.	Quomodo rex Henricus secundus dominica regia ad pristinum revocavit statum - - - - -	p. 103
Cap. 3.	De situ castelli de Scartheburch <sup>3</sup> -	p. 104
Cap. 4.	De obsidione et deditione Brigiæ, <sup>4</sup> et quomodo rex Scottorum reddidit regi Anglorum aquilonaes Angliæ partes - - - - -	p. 105
Cap. 5.	De bello Walensium, et quomodo in gratiam regis venerunt <sup>5</sup> - - -	p. 106
Cap. 6.	Quomodo Nicholaus Anglicus factus est papa Romanus - - -	p. 109
Cap. 7.	Qua de causa Gaufridus regis frater descivit ab ipso, et quomodo reconciliatus est - - - - -	p. 112
Cap. 8.	De eversione Mediolani, et Magorum reliquiis - - - - -	p. 115
Cap. 9.	De schismate Romanæ ecclesiæ, et Papiensi concilio, et conventu Gallieano - - - - -	p. 117
Cap. 10.	De expeditione Tolosana, et de <sup>6</sup> illustri comite Bareinonensi <sup>7</sup> - - -	p. 121
Cap. 11.	De horrenda interfectione Wilelmi Trencheveil, et ultione ejus <sup>8</sup> -	p. 126
Cap. 12.	Quomodo reges, Francorum scilicet et Anglorum, dissidentes pacificati sunt	p. 130
Cap. 13.	De hæreticis Angliam ingressis, et quomodo exterminati sunt -	p. 131

<sup>1</sup> B. omits the whole elenchus.<sup>2</sup> *regni Henrici, L.S.; Henrici regis, C.*<sup>3</sup> *Scartheburch, L.S.; Scartchebuch, C.; Scacheburc, G.*<sup>4</sup> *Brigiæ, L.S.; Briggiæ, C.*<sup>5</sup> *venerunt, L.S.; redierunt, C.*<sup>6</sup> S. omits *de*.<sup>7</sup> *Bacinonensi, S.; Batinonensi, L.; Barconnensi, C.*<sup>8</sup> Some letters follow in C. which probably were intended to belong to the word *Barconnensi* on the line above.

Cap. 14. De concilio Turonis celebrato ab Alexandro papa	- - -	p. 135
Cap. 15. Decreta Turonensis concilii	- - -	p. 136
Cap. 16. De ira regis in venerabilem Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum <sup>1</sup>	- - -	p. 139
Cap. 17. De morte Octoviani, <sup>2</sup> et reditu Alexandri <sup>3</sup> in Italiam	- - -	p. 143
Cap. 18. De secunda expeditione Walensi, <sup>4</sup> et acquisitione Britanniae	- - -	p. 145
Cap. 19. De transitu piissimi regis Scottorum Malcolm <sup>5</sup>	- - -	p. 147
Cap. 20. De vita et transitu venerabilis heremitae Godrici	- - -	p. 149
Cap. 21. De quodam Ketello, et gratia divinitus illi collata	- - -	p. 151
Cap. 22. De diutina vacatione ecclesiae Lincolnensis	- - -	p. 154
Cap. 23. De duabus expeditionibus Amalrici regis Ierosolymitani in Ægyptum	- - -	p. 155
Cap. 24. De discordia et reconciliatione regis Francorum et regis Anglorum	- - -	p. 158
Cap. 25. De coronatione Henrici tertii, et interfecione beati Thomae	- - -	p. 160
Cap. 26. De expugnatione Hibernensium ab Anglis <sup>6</sup>	- - -	p. 165
Cap. 27. Quomodo Henricus tertius recessit a patre, et commovit contra eum regem Francorum et alios	- - -	p. 169
Cap. 28. Qualia contigerunt apud Albemariam, <sup>7</sup> et Castellum Novum, et Vernullum <sup>8</sup>	- - -	p. 172

<sup>1</sup> archiepiscopum, L.S.; archipræsulem, C.

<sup>2</sup> Octoviani, L.S.; Octaviani, C.

<sup>3</sup> Alexandri, L.S.; Alexandri papæ, C.

<sup>4</sup> Walensi, L.S.; Walensium, C.

<sup>5</sup> Malcolm, L.S.; Malcoloni, C.

<sup>6</sup> ab Anglis, C.S.; om. L.

<sup>7</sup> Albemariam, L.S.; Albemariam, C.

<sup>8</sup> Vernullum, L.S.; Vernulium, C.

Cap. 29. De iis qui capti sunt apud Dolum	-	p. 175
Cap. 30. De obsidione Leicestriae, et guerra regis Scottorum, et captione comitis Leicestrensis <sup>1</sup>	- - -	p. 177
Cap. 31. De David Scotto, et quibusdam aliis qui a rege defecerunt	- -	p. 180
Cap. 32. De adventu regis in Angliam, et qualia Scotti fecerunt in Anglia	-	p. 181
Cap. 33. De captione regis Scottorum	-	p. 183
Cap. 34. Qualia exercitui et terrae <sup>2</sup> regis Scottorum eo capto provenerunt	-	p. 186
Cap. 35. De memorabili humilitate regis Anglorum, et de eo quod consecutum est	-	p. 187
Cap. 36. De obsidione Rotomagi, et dolosa oppugnatione obsidentium	-	p. 190
Cap. 37. Quomodo rex Anglorum pacificavit Angliam, et liberavit Rotomagum	-	p. 194
Cap. 38. De concordia regum, et pace regnorum	-	p. 196

*Expliciunt capitula.*

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<sup>1</sup> *Leicestrensis*, L.S.; *Leicestria*, C. | <sup>2</sup> *exercitui et terrae*, L.S.; *in exercitu et terra*, C.

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## INCIPIT<sup>1</sup> LIBER SECUNDUS.

### CAP. I.

#### *De primordiis regni Henrici secundi.*

Anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>L<sup>o</sup>IV<sup>o</sup> Henricus, Henrici A.D. 1154.  
 majoris ex filia olim imperatrice nepos, post mortem regis Stephani a Normannia in Angliam veniens, hereditarium regnum suscepit, conclamatus ab omnibus, et consecratus mystica unctione in regem, concrepantibus per Angliam turbis, "Vivat rex." Prioris quippe regni, sub quo tot mala pullulaverant, infelicitatem experti, de novo principe meliora<sup>2</sup> sperabant, præsertim cum præclara illi prudentia atque constantia cum zelo justitiæ inesse viderentur, et magni principis jam<sup>3</sup> in ipsis suis primordiis præferret imaginem. Denique edicto præcepit, ut illi, qui ex gentibus exteris in Angliam sub rege Stephano prædæ-rum gratia tanquam ad militandum confluerant, et maxime Flandrenses, quorum magna tunc Angliæ incubabat multitudo, propriis regionibus redderentur, fatalem eis diem constituens, quem in Anglia sustinere certi foret discriminis. Quo edicto pavefacti, ita in brevi dilapsi sunt, ut quasi phantasmata in momento disparuisse viderentur, stupentibus plurimis quo-

Henry reaches England (Dec. 7).

He is crowned (Dec. 19).

Banishes Stephen's Brabanzons and other mercenaries, who quickly disappear from England.

<sup>1</sup> incipiunt in L.

<sup>2</sup> meliora, B.L.R.S.; meliorem, C. |

<sup>3</sup> principis jam, C.; jam principis,

A.B.L.S.

A.D. 1154.

Demolishes most of the castles erected since the reign of Henry I. Appoints justiciaries and enforces the laws with vigour.

Watches over the administration of justice.

modo repente evanissent.<sup>1</sup> Mox castella nova, quæ in diebus avi sui nequaquam exstiterant, complanari præcepit, præter pauca in locis opportunis sita, quæ vel ipse retinere, vel a pacificis ad regni munimen retineri voluit. Publicæ quoque disciplinæ in primis sollicitudinem<sup>2</sup> habuit; et ut legum vigor in Angliâ revivisceret, qui sub rege Stephano exstinctus sepultusque videbatur, cura propensiore satagit. Ordinatique in cunctis regni finibus juris et legum ministris, qui vel improborum audaciam coercerent, vel interpellantibus secundum causarum merita justitiam exhiberent, ipse vel in deliciis erat, vel majoribus negotiis regiam operam impendebat. Quotiens autem, iudicibus mollius indigniusve agentibus, provincialium querimoniis pulsabatur, provisionis regie remedium adhibebat: illorum competenter corrigens vel<sup>3</sup> negligentiam vel excessum. Talia novi principis initia fuere, gratulantibus quidem et laudantibus pacificis: mussitantibus vero et contremiscentibus improbis. Fugiebant lupi rapaces, vel mutabantur in oves; aut si non vere mutabantur, metu tamen legum innoxii cum ovibus morabantur. Conflabantur gladii in vomeres, Isaias, ii. 4. et lanceæ in falces, nullusque jam exercebatur ad prælium, sed omnes olim optatæ et nunc Deo propitio indultæ pacis, vel fovebantur otii, vel intendebant negotiis.

<sup>1</sup> See Chronicle of John of Ypres. "Anno Domini MCLIV. Stephanus Rex Angliæ moritur, cui successit Henricus junior . . . qui Flamingos odio persequens Willermum de Ipra cum eis expulit ab Angliâ." The chronicle proceeds to state that he ended his days

peacefully (*dans requiem temporibus suis*) in a monastery. Some of the Flemings were permitted to retire to Pembroke.

<sup>2</sup> *sollicitudinem*, C.L.S.; *solitudinem*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *vel*, B.L.S.; om. C.

## CAP. II.

*Quomodo rex<sup>1</sup> Henricus secundus dominica regia ad  
pristinum revocavit statum.*

Considerans autem rex,<sup>2</sup> quod regii redditus breves A.D. 1155. essent, qui avito tempore uberes fuerant, eo quod regia The king resumes dominica per molliem regis Stephani ad alios mul- crowns tosque dominos majori ex parte migrassent, præcepit lands ea cum omni integritate a quibuscunque detentoribus which resignari, et in jus statumque pristinum revocari. Et Stephen hi quidem, qui regis oppidis seu vicis hactenus incliti had granted fuerant, chartas, quas a rege Stephano vel extorserant away. vel obsequiis emerant, quibus tuti forent,<sup>3</sup> protulerunt. Sed quoniam chartæ invasoris juri legitimi principis præjudicium facere minime debuerunt, eisdem instrumentis tuti esse minime potuerunt. Itaque primo indignati, deinde conterriti et contristati,<sup>4</sup> ægre quidem, sed tamen integre, usurpata et diu tanquam solido jure detenta resignarunt. Cumque in cunctis<sup>5</sup> regni provinciis omnes usque ad unum, de quo post pauca dicitur, voluntati regie paruissent, rex Transhumbranas partes adiit, comitemque Albemarlensem Wilel- He also receives mum, qui ibidem sub Stephano rex verior fuerat,<sup>6</sup> de back re consimili eodem quo ceteros pondere auctoritatis from convenit. Ille diu hæsitans, multumque æstuans, tan- William dem corde saucius potestati succubuit, et quæcumque of Albe- ex regio dominico pluribus jam annis possederat, cum marle.

<sup>1</sup> *rex*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> *rex*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> *forent*, B.R.S.; *fuerant*, L., also C., which has *vel forent* written above.

<sup>4</sup> *contristati*, C.L.S.; *consternati*, A., and B. by 15th cent. alteration.

<sup>5</sup> *cunctis*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 105. This is the William of Albemarle of whom Newburgh speaks, pp. 47 and 48, as having expelled the canons of Bridlington. He fought bravely on Stephen's side at the battle of the Standard.

A.D. 1155. ingenti anxietate resignavit, maxime famosum illud et nobile castrum, quod dicitur Scartheburth,<sup>1</sup> ejus situm talem esse novimus.

Scarborough castle is resigned.

### CAP. III.

#### *De situ castelli de Scartheburth.*<sup>2</sup>

Description of Scarborough castle.

Rupes stupendæ altitudinis simul et amplitudinis, et præruptis fere ex omni parte scopulis inaccessa, mare irrumpit, quo tota ambitur, exceptis tanquam faucium quarundam<sup>3</sup> angustiis, quas aperit ad occidentem, habens in summo planitiem speciosam et herbidam, et spatiosam tanquam sexaginta jugerum et<sup>4</sup> eo amplius, fonticulum quoque aquæ vivæ ex saxo profluentem. In ipsis autem faucibus, ad quas sine labore non ascenditur, turris regia sita est; et sub eisdem faucibus urbis initium est in<sup>5</sup> austrum et aquilonem utrumque latus spargentis, frontem vero<sup>6</sup> ad occidentem habentis: et a fronte quidem proprio muro, ab oriente vero rupe castelli munitur; porro utrumque ejus latus mari alluitur. Sane hunc locum memoratus comes Wilelmus, cum in Eboracensi provincia plurimum posset, castro construendo idoneum contemplatus, sumptuoso<sup>7</sup> opere naturam juvans, totam rupis planitiem muro amplexus est, et turrim in faucium angustiis fabricavit; qua processu temporis collapsa, arcem magnam et præclaram rex ibidem ædificari præcepit.

Alterations made in the castle by William of Albemarle during his tenure of power in the North.

<sup>1</sup> Almost the same variations as in note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Scartheburth*, L.S.; *Scartheburc*, C.; *Scarburthe*, B.; *Scarburgh*, A.

<sup>3</sup> *quarundam*, C.; *quarundem* (sic), L.S.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> *et*, C.L.S.; *vel*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *in*, B.L.R.S.; *ad*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *vero*, B.C.S.; om. A.L.

<sup>7</sup> *sumptuoso*, B.L.R.S.; *sumptuosoque*, C.

CAP. IV.<sup>1</sup>

*De obsidione et deditioe Brigiae, et quomodo rex Scottorum reddidit regi Anglorum aquilonales Angliæ partes.*

Rex igitur, in eadem provincia rebus ad votum gestis, ad superiora Angliæ remeans, solum Hugonem de Mortuomari, virum fortem et nobilem, annis jam plurimis regio castro de Brigia<sup>2</sup> incubantem, offendit rebellem. Qui cum juberetur<sup>3</sup> propriis esse contentus, et reddere quæ de jure regio possidebat, pervicacissime renuit, seque, quibus potuit modis, ad resistendum præparavit. Sed quod superbia ejus et indignatio ejus esset plus quam fortitudo ejus, consequenter apparuit. Rex enim, celeriter exercitu congregato, Brigiam obsedit: quam post dies non multos fortiter oppugnatam in deditioem recipiens, ei, ejus cor paulo ante quasi cor leonis fuerat, humiliato et supplici veniam dedit. Regi quoque Scottorum, qui<sup>4</sup> aquilonales Angliæ regiones, scilicet Northumbriam, Cumbriam, Westmeriam,<sup>5</sup> nomine Mathildis<sup>6</sup> dictæ imperatricis et heredis ejus olim a David Scottorum rege acquisitas, tanquam jus proprium possidebat, mandare curavit, regem Angliæ tanta regni sui parte non debere fraudari, nec posse patienter mutilari, justum esse reddi quod suo fuisset nomine acquisitum.<sup>7</sup> Ille vero prudenter considerans regem Angliæ in hac parte cum potentia virium merito causæ præstare, quamvis posset obtendere juramentum quod avo suo David præstitisse dicebatur, cum ab eo cingulum acciperet militare, prænominatos

A.D. 1155.

Henry wrests Bridgenorth from Hugh Mortimer.

Malcolm IV. surrenders Northumberland, Cumber-land, and Westmoreland (A.D. 1157).

<sup>1</sup> There is no division in A. and B., chapters iii. and iv. forming one chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *Brigia*, C.L.S.; *Briggia*, A.B. Similiar variations below.

<sup>3</sup> *Qui cum juberetur*, B.L.S.: *cumque juberetur*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *qui*, B.L.S.; *qui ad*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *Westmeriam*, C.S.; *Westmeriam*, A.B.L.

<sup>6</sup> *Mathildis*, S.; *Matildis*, B.C.L.

<sup>7</sup> *Vide ante* pp. 103, 104 as to William of Albemarle, who held Yorkshire.

A.D. 1157. fines repetenti cum integritate restituit,<sup>1</sup> et ab eo vicissim comitatum Hundedunensem prisco sibi jure competentem recepit. His<sup>2</sup> ita compositis, Anglia in<sup>3</sup> cunctis finibus suo otio et securitate pro tempore fruebatur. Regis autem supra omnes qui hactenus in Anglia regnasse noscebantur latius dominantis, hoc est ab ultimis Scotiæ finibus ad montes usque Pyrenæos, in cunctis regionibus nomen celebre habebatur.

Henry  
regrants  
the earl-  
dom of  
Hunting-  
don to  
Malcolm.

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CAP. V.

*De bello Walensium,<sup>4</sup> et quomodo in gratiam regis redierunt.*

A.D. 1157. Verum non multis diebus elapsis, inter regem et Walenses, gentem inquietam et barbaram, discordia oritur, dum vel ille aliquid insolitum per potentiam ab eis exigeret, vel illi silvosis montibus vallibusque suis plus justo confisi, tanto principi per insolentiam<sup>5</sup> solita denegarent, sive etiam propter eorum inquietudinem et clandestinos in vicinos Anglorum fines excursus. Rex vero, immensis ex tota Anglia copiis congregatis, regionem Walliarum, qua facilius aditus videbatur, ingredi statuit. Porro illi convenientes, exuebant in terminis; et in planum progredi, vel aperto bello cum loricatis congregari, levis armaturæ homines caute declinantes, delitescere in silvis, et viarum angustias observabant.

War  
breaks out  
with the  
Welsh.

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante* p. 103. See also the *Rotuli Hundredorum*, pp. 426-9, as to the appendant possessions of the earldom in London.

<sup>2</sup> *his ita*, B.C.R.; *his*, L.S.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglia in*, C.L.S.; *in Angliā in*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Walensium*, C.L.S.; *Wallensium*, B., with similar variations four lines below. These events should follow those in cap. 7. See p. 112, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> *per insolentiam*, B.C.R.S.; *vel insolentia*, L.

Sane Walenses reliquiæ Britonum esse noscuntur, A.D. 1157. qui hujus insulæ, quæ nunc Anglia dicitur, olim Britannia dicebatur, incolæ primi fuere, ejusdemque nationis et linguæ esse probantur ejus et Britones transmarini. Cum autem gens Britonum a supervenientibus Anglorum populis exterminium pateretur, qui evadere potuerunt refugerunt in Wallias, contra irruptionem hostium naturæ beneficio tutas, ibique hæc natio perseverat usque in<sup>1</sup> præsentem diem. Regio quippe illa tractu protensiori<sup>2</sup> ad prospectum Hiberniæ super mare occidentale jacens, alio latere regionibus Angliæ jungitur, et fere tota vel oceano vel inviis saltibus aliisque<sup>3</sup> difficultatibus cingitur; ideoque difficillimos habet accessus, sive ingressus. Introrsus autem inextricabiles quosdam noscitur habere recessus, ita ut quam periculosum est potenti cuilibet eam cum exercitu ingredi, tam impossibile sit eam interius cum exercitu pervagari. Gignit autem pro sui natura homines moribus barbaros, audaces, et infidos, alieni sanguinis avidos, et proprii prodigos, rapinis semper inhiantes, et tanquam transfuso a natura odio genti Anglorum infestos. Habet quidem, pro eo quod saluosa est, uberrimas alendis pecoribus pascuas; sed plani parum habens, et frugum infecunda, alendis propriis non sufficit filiis sine invento ex vicinis Angliæ provinciis comæatu. Quem nimirum quoniam<sup>4</sup> sine beneficio vel permissu regis Anglorum habere non potest, ejusdem cogitur ditioni subjacere. Et si forte per latrociniales excursus, a quibus propter<sup>5</sup> effrenatam barbariem vix temperat, eum irritaverit, iram ejus diu non sustinens, cogitur eum placare.

Account of  
Wales and  
the Welsh.

Wales to  
a great  
extent  
dependent  
on food  
supplied  
from Eng-  
land, and  
thus easily  
brought to  
terms.

Igitur rex fines hostium, cum natura et malitia locorum multum luctando, ingrediens, infausta negotii initia habuit. Pars enim exercitus per loca silvosa et

Unfortu-  
nate  
opening  
of the war.

<sup>1</sup> *in*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> *protensiori*, B.L.S.; *propen-*  
*siori*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *aliisque*, B.C.S.; *aliis*, L

<sup>4</sup> *quoniam*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> *propter*, C.L.S.; *per*, B.

A.D. 1157. humida incautius gradiens, delitescantium juxta viam hostium excepta insidiis, periclitata est; ibique Eustachius, filius Johannis,<sup>1</sup> vir magnus et grandævus, atque inter primos Angliæ proceres divitiarum et sapientiæ titulis refulgens, cum Roberto de Curci æque nobili viro aliisque pluribus, interiit. Qui vero evasere periculum, regem, qui jam Deo propitio cruperat et in tuto consistebat, cum ceteris occubuisse putantes, ejusque interitum adventantibus adhuc et properantibus ad angustias ordinibus nuntiantes, non parvam exercitus partem, rumoris atrocitate attonitam, eneruiter fugere compulerunt; ita ut Henricus Essexensis, vir inter primos inclitus, et jure hereditario signifer regius, vexillo regio, ejus conspectu exercitus animandus erat, abjecto, fugæ se crederet, atque occurrentibus regem extinctum proclanaret. Ob quod delictum postea a quodam viro nobili, proditoris ei dedecus publice opponente, regii vigore judicii, duello addictus est, et ab eodem devictus. Quem tamen rex de misericordia judicio mortis subducens, apud Redingum<sup>2</sup> monachum fieri jussit, amplissimo autem patrimonio ejus fiscum auxit. Sed hoc postea.<sup>3</sup> Cum ergo rex ocius advolans turbatum exercitum proprio exhilarasset aspectu, resumptis illico animis et viribus, confusi ordines in ordinem coiere, seque adversus hostiles de cetero insidias cautius instruxere. Cumque rex hostes etiam a mari invadendos duceret, et classem non modicam præparari jussisset, legati hostium cum verbis pacificis affuerunt, moxque illorum reguli supplices ad eum venerunt. Qui cum, ob promerendam tanti prin-

Henry of Essex, the king's standard bearer, spreads a report that the king is killed.

He is afterwards (in 1163) beaten in a duel arising from this occurrence, and becomes a monk.

The king restores confidence.

<sup>1</sup> *filius Johannis*, L.S.; *Johannis filius*, B.C.

<sup>2</sup> *Redingum*, C.L.S.; *Reddingum*, B.

<sup>3</sup> A promise Newburgh does not fulfil. Another promise similarly unfulfilled (see p. 164, note 3.)

lends strength to the idea that this history never received a final revision. An interesting account of Henry de Essex is introduced as an episode into the chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond (Camden Soc. edit. p. 50).



cipis gratiam, quibusdam finium suorum munitionibus traditis, hominum illi cum<sup>1</sup> sacramentis præstitissent, pacis sereno post belli nubilum gratius arridente, exercitus ad propria cum gaudio reversus, et rex ad alia negotia sive delicias est conversus.

A.D. 1157.  
The preparation of an expedition by sea brings the Welsh to terms.

## CAP. VI.

*Quomodo Nicholaus<sup>2</sup> Anglicus factus est papa Romanus.<sup>3</sup>*

Sane anno primo regis Henrici secundi obiit Anastasius papa, successor Eugenii, cum fuisset pontifex anni unius. Cui successit Nicholaus Albanensis episcopus, mutans nomen cum omine, dictusque est Adrianus.<sup>4</sup> De quo dicendum est quomodo tanquam de pulvere elevatus sit, ut sederet in medio principum, et Apostolicæ teneret solium gloriæ. Is enim, natione Anglicus, patrem habuit clericum quendam non multæ facultatis, qui, relicto cum seculo impubere filio, apud Sanctum Albanum factus est monachus. Ille vero adolescentiam ingressus, cum propter inopiam scholis vacare non posset, idem monasterium quotidianæ stipis gratia frequentabat. Unde pater erubuit, verbisque mordacibus socordiam ejus increpitans, omni solatio destitutum cum gravi indignatione abegit.<sup>5</sup> Ille vero

A.D. 1154.  
Death of Pope Anastasius IV. (Dec. 2).

Nicholas Breakspere, Bishop of Albano, is elected Pope (Dec. 3), and takes the title of Adrian IV. The story of his life.

<sup>1</sup> cum, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholaus, B.S.; Nicholaus, L.C.

<sup>3</sup> Romanus, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> nomen . . . Adrianus, B.L.R.S.; nomen cum homine vel cognomine dictus Adrianus, C.

<sup>5</sup> Matthew Paris, "Vitæ viginti trium Sancti Albani Abbatum," (Wats' ed. 70, 71) has the following account in which the outline of

Adrian's early life is softened and his quarrel with his monks suppressed: "Hic Nicholaus . . . filius fuit cujusdam Roberti de Camera, qui honeste vivens in seculo literatus aliquantulum, habitum religionis in domo Sancti Albani suscepit: et filium suum memoratum Nicholaum, clericum et scholarem in claustrum attrahere volens, in terpellavit abbatem pro ipso, ut

A.D. 1154. sibi relictus, et forti necessitate aliquid audere coactus, Gallicanas adiit regiones, ingenue erubescens in Anglia vel fodere vel mendicare. Cumque in Francia minus prosperaretur, ad remotiora progrediens, trans Rhodanum<sup>1</sup> peregrinatus est in regione quæ Provincia dicitur. Est autem in illa regione monasterium nobile regularium clericorum, quod dicitur, Sancti Rufi,<sup>2</sup> ad quem locum ille veniens, et subsistendi occasionem ibidem inveniens, quibus potuit obsequiis eisdem se fratribus commendare curavit. Et quoniam erat corpore elegans, vultu jocundus, prudens in verbis, ad injuncta impiger,<sup>3</sup> placuit omnibus: rogatusque canonici ordinis suscipere habitum, annis plurimis ibidem resedit, regularis inter primos disciplinæ æmulator.<sup>4</sup> Cumque esset acris ingenii et linguæ expeditæ, frequenti et studiosa lectione ad scientiam atque eloquentiam multum profecit. Unde factum est ut abbate defuncto fratres eum concorditer atque sollempniter in patrem eligerent.<sup>5</sup> Quibus cum aliquamdiu præfuisset, poenitentia ducti atque indignati quod hominem peregrinum levassent<sup>6</sup> super capita sua, facti sunt ei de cetero<sup>7</sup> infidi atque infesti. Odiis itaque paulatim crudescens, ut jam graviter aspicerent in quo

Becomes  
Abbot of  
St. Rufus  
in Pro-  
vence.

“ eundem in monachum susciperet.  
“ Abbas autem concessit, si idoneus  
“ idem Nicholaus inveniretur. Sed  
“ examinatus, insufficientis reperi-  
“ est. Recesit igitur confusus Ni-  
“ cholaus, et abiens in Provinciam,  
“ in domo Sancti Rufi canonicus  
“ effectus est, qui postea meritis exi-  
“ gentibus, in eadem domo sortitus  
“ abbatis est dignitatem, et postea  
“ cum bene per aliquot annos vixis-  
“ set, et negotia domus prudenter  
“ pertractaret, Romam adiit pro  
“ quibusdam arduis suæ domus  
“ negotiis expediendis. Et cum  
“ ipsa in curia Romana efficaciter et

“ prudenter consummasset, famosus  
“ effectus est, &c.”

<sup>1</sup> The 15th cent. hand in B. has altered *Rodanum* to *Jordanum*. A. has the same absurd reading.

<sup>2</sup> *Rufi*, L.S.; *Ruffi*, B.C.

<sup>3</sup> *impiger*, C.L.S.; *piger*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *æmulator*, B.L.R.S.; *æmulator* *exsistens*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *eligerent*, B.L.S.; *elegerunt*, C.R.

<sup>6</sup> *levassent*, B.L.R.S.; *elegissent*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *de cetero*, B.L.R.S.; *om. C.*

sibi paulo ante tam bene complacuerat, tandem con- A.D. 1154.  
fectis et propositis contra eum capitulis ad sedem eum  
Apostolicam provocarunt. Piæ autem memoriæ Euge- The monks  
nius, qui tunc arcem pontificii tenebat, cum rebellium repenting  
filiorum contra patrem querelas audisset, et ejus pro of their  
se allegantis prudentiam modestiamque adverteret, paci choice  
inter eos reformandæ efficacem operam dedit,<sup>1</sup> multum appeal to  
que improperans<sup>2</sup> et sæpius inculcans utrique parti, the Pope  
ut partes esse desinerent et<sup>3</sup> unitatem spiritus in against  
vinculo pacis servarent, reconciliatos ad propria remisit. him.  
At non diu quievit nescia quietis malitia, grandius-  
que intonuit rediviva tempestas. Interpellatus est  
iterum idem venerabilis pontifex, cujus jam aures  
fratrum illorum querelis et susurriis tinniebant. Utri-  
que ergo parti pie et prudenter prospiciens: "Scio," The pope  
inquit, "fratres, ubi sedes sit Sathanæ: scio quid in settles a  
"vobis suscitet procellam istam. Ite, eligit vobis second  
"patrem, cum quo pacem habere possitis, vel potius appeal by  
"velitis; iste enim non erit vobis ulterius oneri."<sup>4</sup> permitting  
Itaque dimissis fratribus abbatem in beati Petri ob the choice  
sequio retinens, Albanensem ordinavit episcopum, ac of another  
non multo post, sumptis industriæ ejus experimentis, abbot, and  
in gentes ferocissimas Dacorum et Norrensiū<sup>5</sup> cum by ordain-  
plenitudine potestatis direxit legatum. Quo ille officio ing Nicho-  
in barbaris nationibus per annos aliquot sapienter et las bishop  
strenue administrato, Romam cum salute et gaudio of Albano.  
remeavit; susceptusque a summo pontifice et cardi- He is sent  
nalibus cum honore et gloria, evolutis diebus non as legate  
multis, Anastasio qui Eugenio successerat decedente,<sup>6</sup> to Scan-  
omnium in eum votis concurrentibus, Romanæ urbis dinavia.  
pontificatum suscepit, ex Nichoiao Adrianus. Qui Returning  
just before  
the death  
of Anasta-  
sius IV.  
he is on  
that event  
occurring  
chosen as  
pope.

<sup>1</sup> *efficacem operam dedit*, B.L.S.;  
*caritati operam dedit efficacem*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *improperans*, C.L.S.; *imperans*,  
B.R.

<sup>3</sup> *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> *iste . . . oneri*. This order is

adopted by B.L.S.; C. places  
*ulterius* before *non*.

<sup>5</sup> *Norrensiū*, C.L.S.; *Norensium*, A.B.

<sup>6</sup> *decedente*, C.L.S.; *descendente*,  
B.; *decidente*, L.

A.D. 1154 nimirum suorum non immemor rudimentorum, ob paternam maxime memoriam, beati martyris Albani ecclesiam et donariis honoravit, et perpetuis insignivit privilegiis.

The special favour shown by him to the Abbey of St. Albans

## CAP. VII.

*Qua de causa Gaufridus regis frater descendit<sup>1</sup> ab ipso, et quomodo reconciliatus est.*

A.D. 1156. Cum igitur<sup>2</sup> Anglia,<sup>3</sup> sedatis et subactis<sup>4</sup> Walensibus, in pace et securitate ageret, nuntiatum est regi fratrem suum Gaufridum tumultuari in partibus transmarinis<sup>5</sup>. Causa vero<sup>6</sup> motus fraterni hæc<sup>7</sup> erat. Ille comes Andegavensis ex Matilde olim imperatrice tres suscepit<sup>8</sup> liberos, Henricum, Gaufridum, Wilelmum. Cum ergo ad Henricum primogenitum paterni maternique juris spectaret integritas, idem comes provisionem reliquorum noluit in totum ex gratia fratris pendere, nesciens qualem ille<sup>10</sup> ad fratres foret habiturus affectum. Itaque in extremis agens, medio filiorum comitatum Andegavensem testamento ambiguo, "Cum Henricus," inquit, "plenitudinem obtinuerit juris materni, id est, Normanniam<sup>11</sup> cum Anglia, fratri Gaufrido jus paternum integre dimit-

The Welsh war being over Henry hears that Geoffrey is raising rebellion abroad. Arrangements made by the elder Geoffrey for the succession to his dominions

<sup>1</sup> *descendit*, B.L.S.; *descendit*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *igitur*, B.C.R.S.; *enim*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglia*, B.L.; *in Anglia*, but *in* expuncted, both in C. and S.

<sup>4</sup> *subactis*, B.L.R.S.; *sublatis*, C.

<sup>5</sup> Newburgh has here reversed the order of events.

<sup>6</sup> *vero*, B.L.S.; *enim*, C.; *om.* R.

<sup>7</sup> B. omits *hæc*.

<sup>8</sup> "Gaufridus anno 1152 cum Ludovico Francorum Rege jam conspiraverat, ut Henricum fratrem rebus suis cismarinis spoliaret, ut

<sup>9</sup> constat ex Andegav. et Gevasii "chronicis" (Bouquet, xiii 103, note). A circumstance which also cannot have been without its weight with Henry is the fact that Geoffrey was one of the suitors who waylaid Eleanor as she was returning to Poitou.

<sup>10</sup> "suscepit", B.L.R.S.; *suscepit*, C.

<sup>11</sup> C. has *illi*.

<sup>12</sup> *Normanniam*, B.C.S.; *Normanniam*, I

“tat. Interim vero idem<sup>1</sup> Gaufridus tribus castellis A.D. 1156.  
 “non ignobilibus, scilicet Chinone,<sup>2</sup> Leoduno, Mirabello,  
 “sit contentus.” Et quoniam Henricus tunc forte  
 aberat, mature affuturus, episcopos et nobiles, qui ade-  
 rant, adjuravit, ne corpus suum sepulture traderetur,  
 nisi prius præstito sacramento a filio, quod paternum  
 minime violaret testamentum. Denique illo mortuo,  
 ad celebrandas exsequias mox filius affuit, adjuratio-  
 nem illam paternam audivit; diu hæsitavit; tandem  
 conclamantibus omnibus, ne ad sempiternum et inex-  
 piabile dedecus corpus patris sinceret insepultum tabe  
 corrumpi, victus succubuit; et sacramentum, quod exi-  
 gebatur, non sine fletu præstitit. Sepulto patre testa-  
 mentum designatum est. Ille vero pro tempore dissi-  
 mulavit dolorem. Cum autem regnum esset adeptus,  
 Romano pontifici, ut dicitur, qua necessitate quod  
 nesciebat jurasset, intimare curavit. Et quoniam ex-  
 torta sacramenta vel vota non obligant, nisi forte ex  
 subsequenti consensu convalescant,<sup>3</sup> facilem, ut dicitur,  
 ab illo sacramento absolutionem impetravit. Ingesta  
 enim necessitas jurandi, sive vovendi, necessitatem  
 non ingerit quod juratum votumve est<sup>4</sup> adimplendi,  
 sed sola voluntatis<sup>5</sup> hanc necessitatem parit libertas.  
 Ea ratione tutus, nec paterni testamenti, nec proprii  
 juramenti<sup>6</sup> contemplatione, fratri satisfacere voluit.  
 Unde ille indignatus, tribus prænominatis castellis,  
 quæ pater ei<sup>7</sup> reliquerat, contra omnes, ut putabat,  
 casus munitis, vicinas turbabat provincias. Rex autem  
 exercitu prope congregato, Chinonem,<sup>8</sup> castellum sci-  
 Geoffrey, indignant at Henry's bad faith, begins to disturb his dominions.

<sup>1</sup> C. has *eidem*.

<sup>2</sup> *Chinone*, B.; *Schinone*, L.S.; *Chymone*, C.

<sup>3</sup> S. has *convalescat*.

<sup>4</sup> *est*, B.C.S.; *non est*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *voluntatis*, B.L.S.; *voluntas*, C.R.

<sup>6</sup> This word in L. is incomplete.

<sup>7</sup> *ei*, B.C.S.; *ejus ei*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *Chinonem*, B.L.S.; *Chynonem*, C. Bouquet (xiii. p. 103), has the note, “an. 1156 non solum Chinonem castellum, sed etiam Losdonum et Mirabellum fratri abstulit Henricus, ex iisdem chronicis.” (Andegav. et Gervas.)

A.D. 1156. licet sic dictum, quod tantæ erat firmitatis, ut in eo muniendo tuendoque natura et operatio humana concertare viderentur,<sup>1</sup> obsedit, et in brevi per ditionem<sup>2</sup> obtinuit. Fratri humiliato et supplici veniam dedit, castellisque nudato, ut occasionem superbiæ tolleret, terram planam concessit, ex qua fructuum utilitas proveniret. Cumque idem merore<sup>3</sup> contabesceret, et nunc fratris duritiam, nunc fortunæ cum gemitu accusaret invidiam; felicior eum subito exhilaravit eventus. Cives enim præclaræ urbis Nammetensis<sup>4</sup> certum, vel in quo sibi complaceret, dominum non habentes, ejus industria et strenuitate invitati eum sibi in verum certumque dominum elegerunt, atque accersito civitatem cum adjacente provincia tradiderunt. At non diu hac felicitate functum mors immatura sustulit,<sup>5</sup> moxque<sup>6</sup> eandem civitatem comes Richemundensis, qui tunc transmarinæ Britanniae magna ex parte præsidebat, tanquam verus possessor intravit. Quibus auditis rex, dato mandatò Richemundensem comitatum fisco applicari, illico ex Anglia Normanniam transfretavit, et civitatem Nammetensem<sup>7</sup> tanquam jure fraternæ successionis reposcens, eundem comitem magni apparatus terroribus ita præstrinxit atque infregit, ut vix tepide oblectari conatus, civitate resignata insistentem placaret.

Henry obtains the surrender of Chinon. Allows his brother a simple estate.

The citizens of Nantes invite Geoffrey to be their ruler.

His early death (A.D. 1158).

<sup>1</sup> *viderentur*, B.L.S.; *videntur*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *deditionem*, B.C.R.S.; *ditionem*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *merore*, B.L.R.S.; *de merore*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Nammetensis*, L.R.S.; *Nannetensis*, B.; *Nannatensis*, C.

<sup>5</sup> "Anno item 1156 vel 1157 ante Quadragesimam, Nanneten-

sem Ganfridus adeptus est comitatum, ex chronicis Britannicis, ejusque occasus ibidem anno 1158 illigatur." (Bouquet, xiii. 104, note. a.)

<sup>6</sup> *moxque*, C.L.S.; *mox*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *Nammetensem*, L.S.; *Nannatensem*, C.; *Nannantensem*, B.

## CAP. VIII.

*De subversione*<sup>1</sup> *Mediolani, et Magorum reliquiis.*

A.D.  
1160-2.

Iisdem fere temporibus Fredericus<sup>2</sup> Teutonicus atque Italicus imperator Mediolanum,<sup>3</sup> urbem opum viriumque suarum fiducia diu rebellem, expugnavit, cepit, evertit. Et quidem Longobardi gens inquieta et bellicosa, immoderatæ libertatis æmula, et tam numero urbium quam magnitudine virium superba, ante annos plurimos ab imperatore Romano magna ex parte desciverat: sed dum inter se amplissimæ civitates de prioratu disceptarent, atque aliæ aliis imperare cuperent, imperatorias contra se vires auxerunt. Denique Mediolanenses, opibus viribusque præcellentes, totius Longobardiæ affectabant imperium; jamque aliquot urbes subegerant, quasdam etiam rebelles everterant,<sup>4</sup> cum Papienses viribus quidem impares, sed tamen eorum imperium aspernantes, ad partes imperatorias se transtulerunt. Quorum exemplum secutæ urbes ceteræ, in fœdus imperatoris venerunt. Aggressurus ergo Mediolanenses,<sup>5</sup> defectu omnium sociorum remissius jam agentes, imperator vires imperii contrahebat. Illi quoque dominandi libidinem<sup>6</sup> in tuendæ libertatis constantiam convertentes, totis se<sup>7</sup> opibus adversus imperatorios impetus muniebant. Cumque suburbana demolirentur atque diruerent, ne tantum obsessis nociva quantum obsidentibus usui forent, eadem ratione monasterium quoque antiquum et nobile, et sanctorum insigne reliquiis extra mœnia destruentes, quicquid in eo sacrum reverendumque reperi-  
tum est, in urbem transtulerunt: trium præcipue

Capture and destruction of Milan by the emperor Frederick I.  
The cities of northern Italy throwing off the imperial yoke dispute as to precedence.  
The Milanese try to gain the leadership.  
Their struggles with Pavia.  
The Pavi-ans join the Emperor, who advances upon Milan.

<sup>1</sup> *subversione*, L.S.; *eversione*, A.B.C.

<sup>2</sup> *Fledericus* in B., and so originally in S.

<sup>3</sup> *Mediolanum*, B.L.R.S.; *Mediolanam*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *quasdam . . . . . everterant*, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>5</sup> *Mediolanenses*, C.L.S.; *Medolanenses*, B.

<sup>6</sup> C. has *libidinc*.

<sup>7</sup> *totis se*, C.L.S.; B. has *totisque*.

A.D.  
1160-2.

In destroy-  
ing, as a  
military  
precaution,  
the build-  
ings out-  
side the  
walls the  
relics of  
the Three  
Kings are  
discovered.

Descrip-  
tion of  
the bodies.

Magorum corpora, qui Salvatoris infantiam mysticis honorando muneribus; facti sunt ex gentibus primitiæ Deo et Agno. Et quidem thesaurus iste,<sup>1</sup> olim in ejusdem ecclesiæ secreto repositus, ipsos quoque monachos clericosque ibidem ministrantes latebat; sed cum usque ad fundamentum destrueretur ipsa ecclesiæ, ruptus et revelatus est cum manifestis indiciis, quibus declarabatur, quod viri illi, quorum memoria in benedictione est,<sup>2</sup> honorato et adorato Salvatore puero, in regionem suam reversi, etiam post passionis ejus triumphum superstites fuerint:<sup>3</sup> et, precepta prædicantibus Apostolis baptismi gratia, ad Ipsum quem in cunabulis olim honoraverant, ab Eodem in dextera Patris sedente honorandi, migraverint.<sup>4</sup> Nec non et<sup>5</sup> a quibus<sup>6</sup> personis sacræ illorum reliquiæ illuc delatæ, ibique repositæ fuerint.<sup>7</sup> Eadem vero reliquiæ ossibus et nervis compactæ cutem quoque aridam atque imputribilem superductam habebant, vi, ut putatur,<sup>8</sup> balsami, quo post mortem, gentili more, corpora eorum delibuta creduntur. Sed et aureus circulus<sup>9</sup> eadem, ut dicitur, corpora cum reperta sunt, ambebat, ut sibi mutuo cohærent.

Igitur obsessa est urbs Mediolanensis ab imperatore Frederico, ejus quantus exercitus fuerit eo ipso cognoscitur, quo Mediolanum potuit obsidere, urbem scilicet potentissimam, et de suorum numerositate atque ferocia filiorum in<sup>10</sup> immensum<sup>11</sup> gloriantem. Quæ nimirum post casus varios multiplicisque conflictus de-

Milan falls  
into the  
hands of  
Frederick  
(March 4,  
1162).

<sup>1</sup> *iste*, B.L.S.; *ille*, (?) C.

<sup>2</sup> *est*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> *fuerint*, A.B.R.S.; *fuerunt*, C.L.

<sup>4</sup> *migraverint*, A.B.C.R., and S. by alteration; *migraverunt*, I.

<sup>5</sup> *et*, B.L.S.; om. C.

*quibus*, A.B.L.R.S.; *quibusdam*, C. Picard's emendation, *nec notu*

*est a quibus*, overcomes the difficulty.

<sup>7</sup> *fuerint*, A.B.C.S.; *fuerunt*, I.

<sup>8</sup> *putatur*, B.L.S.; *putabatur*, C.R.

<sup>9</sup> *et aureus circulus . . . ambebat*, L.S.; in C. *circulus* follows, and in B. precedes *ambebat*. B. omits *et*.

<sup>10</sup> *in*, B.C.; om. L.R.S.

<sup>11</sup> *immensum*, B.C.; *immensium*, L.R.S., and C. originally.



ditioni addicta, incidit in manus hostiles. Victor A.D. 1162. imperator civitatem evertit; cives, quoniam se<sup>1</sup> dederant, non disperdidit sed dispersit; præclaras illas Magorum reliquias ibidem reconditas, Longobardis ægre ferentibus, in regnum Teutonicum transtulit, et thesauri hujus custodia civitatem Coloniam insignivit.

The bodies of the Three Kings are transferred to Cologne.

## CAP. IX.

*De schismate Romanæ ecclesie, et Papiensi concilio, et conventu<sup>2</sup> Gallicano.*

Illustris Anglorum rex Henricus anno regni sui quinto<sup>3</sup> apud Lincolniam sollemniter corona-

A.D.  
1158-61.

Deferring to an ancient superstition, Henry

<sup>1</sup> se, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *conventi*.

<sup>3</sup> It is necessary here to notice Newburgh's peculiar mode of reckoning. The following are the instances in which he joins the chronological year to what is apparently the "regnal year," in his account of Henry II. (the figures in brackets give the "regnal year" as usually computed):—

Lib. II.	22.	<i>quarto-decimo</i> :	1167
		(13th).	
	25.	<i>septimus decimus</i> :	
		1170 (16th).	
	26.	<i>octavus decimus</i> :	1171
		(17th).	
	27.	<i>vicesimus</i> :	1173
		(19th).	
Lib. III.	1.	<i>vicesimus secundus</i> :	
		(21st).	1175
	4.	<i>vicesimus septimus</i> :	
		(26th).	1180
	5.	<i>sequenti anno</i> (following <i>vicesimo septimo</i> ):	
		(27th).	1181
	7.	<i>tricesimus</i> : (29th)	1183.

R 8918.

Lib. III. 10. *tricesimus primus* :  
(30th) 1184.

In each of these cases the event dated fell outside the period 25th-31st December, so no confusion has arisen from the fact (see p. 57, note 1) that Newburgh, like many other chroniclers, began his year at Christmas. A glance at the above tabular statement will show that in Newburgh's mind either (i.) a portion of the period following Henry's recognition by all parties as heir to the throne (7 Nov. 1153) is, as Bouquet thinks (xiii. 105, note a), reckoned as his *first* regnal year—though a fact to be noted below conflicts with this assumption; or, more probably, (ii.) the two months from Stephen's death (25th Oct. 1154) are so viewed. This is confirmed by the fact that the death of pope Anastasius IV. (2 Dec. 1154) is said (lib. ii. cap. 5) to have happened in Henry's first year. Thus we must regard his "14th year" in this chronicle as

H 5 +

A.D. 1158. tus<sup>1</sup> est in Natali Dominico, non quidem intra mcenia, credo propter vetustam illam superstitionem, quam rex Stephanus, ut supra dictum est,<sup>2</sup> laudabiliter contempsit atque derisit, sed in vico suburbano.

is crowned outside the walls of Lincoln (Dec. 25, 1157).

Death of Pope Adrian IV. (Aug. 30, 1159).

The majority of the sacred college elects Roland Bandinelli as Alexander III. (Sept. 7, 1159).

Sequenti vero anno Adrianus papa naturæ debitum solvit; quo sublato, cardinales in summi pontificis electione discordes ecclesiam sciderunt, et dum in se mutuo partes sævirent, in orbe quoque terrarum vinculum ecclesiasticæ pacis ruperunt. Et quidem pars major saniorque in Rollandum,<sup>3</sup> ejusdem ecclesiæ cancellarium, virum religiosum et literatum,<sup>4</sup> concordans, eundem ritu canonico consecravit. Pars vero nonnulla, et fere nulla, in Octovianum<sup>5</sup> nobilem virum conveniens, eundem, divinum non verita judicium, execrationis elogio maculavit. Uterque in alterum excommunicationis et damnationis sententiam promul-

meaning not his 14th regnal year, but the 14th chronological year (beginning Dec. 25) in which he stood forth as king *de facto* as well as *de jure*. It appears therefore that our author is not confusing dates, but is reckoning correctly on a system to which the key is given above. At the end of Cap. 26, Lib. III., it is rightly enough stated that Henry died in the 35th year of his reign, but our author is here probably reckoning the total number of years and fractions of years of which the reign was composed. This is not inconsistent with the table given above, but it disposes of Bouquet's theory, according to which Newburgh would have been compelled to attribute a reign of nearly 36 years to Henry.

<sup>1</sup> According to Newburgh's peculiar reckoning Henry's 5th year extended from Dec. 25, 1157, to Dec. 24, 1158, and the succeeding year would therefore extend to

Dec. 24, 1159. His date thus agrees with the year of pope Adrian's death, a few lines further on ("Sequenti vero anno"), for this event certainly happened in 1159. Hoveden agrees with Newburgh as to *facts*, "Anno gratiæ 1158 . . . idem rex Henricus secundo fecit se coronari apud Lincolniam extra muros civitatis in Wikeford . . . Anno gratiæ 1159 . . . idem rex Henricus tertio fecit se et Alienor uxorem suam coronari in solennitate Paschali apud Wirecestre." R. de Diceto states that Henry was crowned at Worcester in 1158, and was never crowned again. The Pipe Roll (4 Hen. II.) p. 136 confirms 1157 as the Lincoln date.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Rollandum*, L.S.; *Rolandum*, B.C.

<sup>4</sup> *literatam*, C.L.S.; *litararum*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *Octovianum*, A.C.L.S.; *Octavianum*, B. These variations occur *passim*.

gavit; uterque partem suam ecclesiarum et nobilium personarum favoribus munire curavit. Ille Alexander dictus est, juxta causæ meritum victor futurus. Iste, nudo nomine et fallaci omine, Victor dictus est, victi dedecus habiturus. Poterat sane scissura illa cito resarciri; poterat multitudini paucitas cedere atque uniri, nisi Fredericus<sup>1</sup> imperator, veteri odio Alexandrum non ferens, partem Octoviani fovendamque modis omnibus suscepisset.<sup>2</sup> Denique suæ ditionis episcopos, scilicet Italicos et Teutonicos, præcepit Papiam convenire, tanquam ad discussionem et examen, cujusnam<sup>3</sup> partis merita præponderarent, re autem vera, ut Alexandri parte depressa, partem alteram approbantes, dicti Victoris præmaturam victoriam celebrarent. Partibus quoque mandavit, ut adessent, concilii suscepturæ decretum. Et dictus quidem Victor tanquam subiturus judicium affuit. Alexander vero præjudicium, quod ei sub nomine judicii parabatur, non solum caute, sed etiam libere recusavit. Itaque ex Teutonico simul et Italico regno, episcopi, imperiali jussione cum ingenti multitudine prælatorum inferioris<sup>4</sup> ordinis Papiæ congregati, in gratiam imperatoris, qui cum suis ducibus terribilis aderat, quæcunque causam Alexandri juvare poterant, cum pro eo nemo allegaret, vel silentio supprimentes, vel callide invertentes et corrumpentes; quod pro parte altera minus de veritate suppetebat, arte suppleverunt, et dictum Victorem, tanquam verum beati Petri successorem, sollemniter recipientes, in Alexandrum,

A.D. 1159.

The minority choose Octavian (Victor IV.).

The emperor Frederick I. supports the Antipope Victor.

Council of Pavia (Feb. 5, 1160).

The council, swayed by Barbarossa,

<sup>1</sup> B. has here *Fledericus*.

<sup>2</sup> Bonquet (xiii. 104, note *b*) quotes two passages from Dodechin, showing that Frederic feared that Roland, if elected pope, would excommunicate him for his repudiation of his legitimate wife and his marriage

with Agnes, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy.

<sup>3</sup> *cujusnam*, B.R., and, by correction, C. and S.; *cujusdam*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *inferioris*, B.L.S.; et *inferioris*, C.

A.D. 1160. <sup>decides</sup> <sup>against</sup> <sup>Alexander.</sup> tanquam in schismaticum et Deo rebellem, sententiam generali decreto tulerunt. Amplexus est imperator cum omni frequentia ducum et procerum acta concilii, pœnam non recipientibus comminatus. Illustres quoque Francorum et Anglorum reges modis omnibus sollicitare curavit, ut, ad perpetuandam amicitiam mutuam, sibi in hac parte concordēs existerent. Illi vero inflexi, sententia caute suspensa, donec rei tam scrupulosæ<sup>1</sup> plenius veritatem agnoscerent, celebrem et ipsi, ex utroque regno episcoporum et nobilium loco et tempore congruo, conventum fecerunt.<sup>2</sup> Aderant a parte Octoviani duo principales ejus complices, qui ejus fuerant electores, schismaticque auctores,<sup>3</sup> Guido<sup>4</sup> scilicet Cremensis et Johannes de Sancto Martino cardinales. Nam Imarus Tusculanus<sup>5</sup> episcopus, manus illi execrationis ausus imponere, jam exuerat hominem. Aderant et a parte domini Alexandri tres cardinales, scilicet<sup>6</sup> Henricus Pisanus, Johannes Neapolitanus, Willelmus Papiensis. Surgens igitur ille Cremensis in conspectu regum et præsulum, coram universa, quæ convenerat, multitudine cleri et populi pro parte sua, et contra adversam, totis ingenii atque facultatis viribus allegavit. Qui cum perorasset, surgens Willelmus Papiensis vir eloquentissimus, perspicuis rationibus objecta elisit; et fere quicquid ille<sup>7</sup> pro se dixerat in ipsum ita retorsit, ut propriis irritus captusque sermonibus videretur. Denique in illo altercationis mutue quasi duello totius ita negotii veritas claruit, ut neuter ulterius princeps cunctaretur,

Council of  
Toulouse,  
(A.D.  
1161 ?)

<sup>1</sup> *scrupulosæ*, B.C.R.S.; *scrupulosam*, L.

<sup>2</sup> See preface (p. xiv.) to Bouquet, vol. xiii. See also Labbé, vol. 21, cols. 1153-8. There were separate councils according to R. de Monte at Neuf Marché and Beauvais, apparently before the joint council at Toulouse. R. de Diceto

and Gervase place the acknowledgment by the two kings in 1160.

<sup>3</sup> *schismaticque auctores*, B.C.R.S.; om. L.

<sup>4</sup> *Guido*, B.L.S.; *Guydo*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *Ymarus Thusculanus*, in C.

<sup>6</sup> *scilicet et, C., et* perhaps intended to precede *Willelmus*.

<sup>7</sup> *ille*, C.L.S.; om. B.

repudiata parte Octoviani, dominum Alexandrum recipere, et cum regnis sibi subditis ei de cetero in iis quæ Dei sunt tanquam patri<sup>1</sup> parere. Prænominatis ergo schismaticis cum confusione et dedecore discedentibus, principes et pontifices nostri, lata sollemniter in schismaticos excommunicationis sententia, solverunt conventum. Interim dominus papa Alexander in terra regis Siciliae, cujus fideli favore fruebatur, tutus consistens, opportunitatem transeundi in Gallias præstolabatur. Parebatque ei, in iis quæ ad curam spectant<sup>2</sup> pastorem, totus orbis Latinus, exceptis provinciis Alemannicæ ditionis. Imperator enim ex privata simultate semel in reprobum<sup>3</sup> sensum datus, et vel a ratione vinci indecorum imperatoriae reputans majestati, multo tempore distulit palmam dare perspicuæ veritati.<sup>4</sup>

A.D.  
1161 (?)

## CAP. X.

*De expeditione Tolosana,<sup>5</sup> et de illustri comite  
Barcinonensi.*

Memorabilis rex Anglorum Henricus secundus, anno regni sui septimo,<sup>6</sup> in partes Gasconiae duxit exercitum: cujus famosæ expeditionis causa hæc erat. Comes Pictavensis, qui et dux<sup>7</sup> Aquitanus, avus scilicet Alianoris,<sup>8</sup> prius Francorum, postea vero Anglorum reginæ, cum esset in expensis profusior, et propriorum reddi-

A.D.  
1159-60.  
Henry's  
expedition  
against  
Toulouse,  
A.D. 1160  
(1159).

<sup>1</sup> *patri*, C.L.S.; *papa*, A.B.

<sup>2</sup> *spectant*, B.C.R.S.; *spectabant*,  
L.

<sup>3</sup> *reprobum*, B.C.R.S.; *improbum*,  
L.

<sup>4</sup> The sequel of this narrative is given in Lib. III. c. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Tolosana*, B.C.S.; *Tulosana*,  
L.

<sup>6</sup> *septimo*: (see p. 117, note 3) this would be 1160, but 1159 is no doubt the correct date.

<sup>7</sup> *dux*, B.L.S.; *dux erat*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *Alianoris*, B.C.L.S. William IX. of Aquitaine is here confused with William IV. of Toulouse, his father-in-law.

A.D.  
1159-60.

sumo quantalibet affluentia tanto voragini nequaquam sufficeret, accepta a comite Sancti Egidii, viro pecunioso, pecunia copiosa, nobilem illi cum pertinentiis civitatem Tolosam apposuerat,<sup>1</sup> atque in fata concedens, absolvendi appositi operam ad filium transierat. Qui nimirum in expensarum profusione patriissans, ipse quoque liberandi pignoris in heredes transfudit negotium. Reliquit autem unicam filiam heredem, que cum regi Francorum Lodovico<sup>2</sup> nupsisset, idem rex uxoris nomine Tolosam repetiit. Comes vero Sancti Egidii nihil quidem juris obtendens, sed tamen Tolosæ totus incumbens, tandem opportunitatem nactus, regem nuptiis germanæ placavit,<sup>3</sup> Constantiæ scilicet, Eustachio regis Stephani filio olim nuptæ, et post mortem

<sup>1</sup> See Bouquet (vol. xiii., p. 105, note b.) :—

Raimundus (inquit Willelmus Malmesb.) “Tolosam emit a gen-  
“mano, pluribus annis ante magni  
“motus viam profecto Ierosoly-  
“mam.” Hereditario præterea  
jure, seu ut vocant *substitutiois*,  
Guillelmo fratri eum successisse  
constat testimonio Bernardi S.  
Gemme Prioris, in libro tripartito  
de vita B. Roberti Casæ-Dei Abba-  
tis, cujus hæc sunt verba, Dist. 2  
cap. 10:—

“ . . . Raimundum prius appel-  
“latum Sancti Egidii comitem,  
“omni paterna hereditate carentem,  
“Casam-Dei scilicet ad limina B.  
“Roberti, socio uno associatum  
“advexit. Intrans proinde et ex-  
“cubans ante ejus sanctum sepul-  
“chrum, causam suæ necessitatis  
“ . . . depromens, summo mane,  
“missa celebrata, hominum B.  
“Rotberto fecit, . . . et comitatum  
“Tolosanæ urbis a nullo se habere  
“vel tenere nisi a B. Rotberto con-

“firmavit, si Deus per illum sibi  
“tradere disposuerit. Cujus de-  
“siderium non diu est dilatatum; nam  
“ut . . . fines . . . paternos atti-  
“git, proceres cuncti hominum  
“ei fecerunt, et . . . urbem Tolo-  
“sanam, cæterasque provincias  
“quæ paterno jure ei debebantur,  
“uno impetu substituerunt.”  
(an 1091.)

Si ergo pecuniam comiti Picta-  
viensi solvit, profecto id egit ut  
pacem ab eo redimeret, et eo pacto  
comitatum sibi assereret.

<sup>2</sup> *Lodovico, B.S. ; Lodovico, C.L.*  
*placavit, A.B.R., and S. by*  
*correction from placuit ; placuit,*  
*C.L. Bouquet (xiii. p. 105, note*  
*c.) says “Anno haud citius 1153*  
*“Constantiam regis Ludovici VII.*  
*“sororem duxit in uxorem Raimun-*  
*“dus, quippe quæ non prius Au-*  
*“gusto mense anni ejusdem priorum*  
*“maritum Eustachium amiserat.*  
*“Ruit proinde, aut certe mutat vche-*  
*“menter, tota hæc Neubrigensis de*  
*“Tolosanæ obsidionis a Ludovico*

ejus ad fratrem reversa. Verum cum postea celebrato inter regem Francorum et uxorem ejus divortio, eadem ad nuptias regis transisset Anglorum, mota est rursus quaestio super Tolosa justis heredibus resignanda. Memorato vero comite negante, et suae possessionis regem Francorum laudante auctorem, rex Anglorum, contracto ex universis terris suae ditionis exercitu, Gasconiae fines ingressus est. Invitati quoque<sup>1</sup> ab eo amici ut sequerentur vel occurrerent, ingentibus copiis auxerunt exercitum, praecipue comes Barcinonensis<sup>2</sup> vir magnus et potens, nec infra reges consistens. Sane hujus in regali magnificentia animum plusquam regalem paucis perstringere, quoniam se praebet occasio, operae pretium videtur.

A.D.  
1159-60

Details  
respecting  
the count  
of Barce-  
lona.

Illustris quidem rex Arragonum paulo ante nostram memoriam, cum haberet liberos, unum eorum pie devotio- nis instinctu Christo dicatum in monasterio tonsoravit, reliquos pro tempore successores designans. Verum, praemortuis qui successuri sperabantur,<sup>3</sup> contigit patrem humanis novissimum rebus excedere. Veriti autem optimates et populus ne forte, nepotibus de successione contenden- tibus, regnum discerperetur, prope convenientes, et venienti periculo occurrentes, regis filium claustro festinan- ter extractum sublimaverunt in regem. regnoque disposito, ad procreandos qui succederent liberos uxorem ducere compulerunt, necessitatis obtentu excusantes excessum,

Sancho  
Ramirez 1.  
of Aragon  
and his  
two elder  
sons  
dying  
without  
issue, the  
third son  
is called  
from the  
cloister  
to reign as  
Ramiro  
II.  
(A.D.  
1134.)

“ susceptae causis ac circumstantiis  
“ narratio.”

<sup>1</sup> *quoque*, B.C.R.S.; om. L.

<sup>2</sup> *Barcinonensis*, B.C.S.; *Barci-  
nonensis*, L.

<sup>3</sup> They did not die before him, but succeeded in due order to the throne. Both, however, dying without issue, the expedient described in the text was resorted to. Ramiro

marrying Agnes, daughter of Wil-  
liam IX, duke of Aquitaine, had a  
daughter Petronilla, betrothed in  
infancy to the count Raymond-  
Bérenger IV. of Barcelona, and  
married in 1151. Ramiro the Monk  
returned to his cowl while his  
daughter was still an infant, leaving  
the count as regent.

A.D.  
1159-60.

Ramiro II.  
(the  
Monk)  
retires  
again to  
the clois-  
ter (A.D.  
1137).

et necessitatem legi non esse subjectam allegantes. Denique nata est ei unica filia. Cumque regnum laudabili moderamine administrasset usque ad annos filiae nubiles, convocatis nobilibus, et coram se sollemniter apparentibus cum universa pæne militia ditionis suæ, taliter eos est allocutus. "Parcat mihi et vobis Omnipotens Deus, carissimi, factus sum enim<sup>1</sup> insipiens: vos me coegistis. Sed numquid qui cecidit non adijiciet ut resurgat? Numquid quod usurpavit infelix necessitas, quam esse dixistis exlegem,<sup>2</sup> eadem cessante, ratum esse debet quod usurpatum est contra legem? En ex me natam<sup>3</sup> regni habetis heredem. Provideantur huic puellæ honorabiles nuptiæ, et regno erit consultum. Redeat ergo monachus vester ad regulam, et sauciam de cetero sanet conscientiam." Reclamatum est ab omnibus: sed eum pium felixque propositum dissuaderi non posset, de consilio procerum juveni clarissimo, Barcinonensis<sup>4</sup> comitis filio, filiam despondit; regnoque illi cum filia tradito, vir memorabilis, præcipuusque mundi contemptor, pungentes conscientie stimulos ultra non passus, posita purpura cucullam reinduit, et regnum clauastro mutavit.<sup>5</sup> Quibus actis suasum est juveni, ut regni insignia, id est, coronam et purpuram, sollemniter sumeret, cum regnum haberet. Negavit se illè hoc facturum, ita allegans. "Cum nullus progenitorum meorum supra comitem fuerit, natura sum comes; qua<sup>6</sup> contentus, sicut non sum melior, ita nec excellentior esse volo quam patres mei. Ut ergo in me fortuna naturam non superet, nomen et insignia regis omitto. Porro ut in me etiam serviat fortuna naturæ, retento comitis nomine regni amplitudinem et potestatem

Count  
Raymond  
Bérenger  
IV. mar-  
rying the  
heiress  
of Aragon  
refuses the  
title of  
king.

<sup>1</sup> enim, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> exlegem, B.L.S.; ex lege, A.C.

<sup>3</sup> natam, C.L.S.; natura, B.

<sup>4</sup> Barcinonensis, B.C.L.S.; Bar-  
cionensis, B.

<sup>5</sup> regnum clauastro mutavit, B.;  
regnum clauastro mutuavit, C.; reg-  
num pro clauastro mutavit, L.; regno  
clauastro mutavit, S.

<sup>6</sup> qua, B.L.S.; quia, C.



“ non respuo. Huc accedit quod regia dignitate as-  
 “ sumpta nonnullis regibus in divitiis et gloria cede-  
 “ rem. At cum mihi regni sint opes cum potestate  
 “ regia, Barcinonensi comiti nullus in mundo comes  
 “ potest æquari.<sup>1</sup> Proinde malo esse comitum primus,  
 “ quam regum nec septimus.” Sic itaque vir mira-  
 bilis, nobili quodam regii honoris contemptu, vel alle-  
 gabat vel jocabatur, cum ab amicis excellentiam in-  
 duere regiam moneretur. Nec unquam vel rex vel  
 dux, sed comes tantum Barcinonensis<sup>2</sup> appellari voluit,  
 licet ducatum Provinciæ, id est, illius regionis qua  
 sic dicitur, et a Rhodano usque ad Italiæ fines exten-  
 ditur, cum regno Arragonum possideret. Porro ejus  
 filius post patris decessum, juxta materni prærogativam  
 generis, a Romano pontifice in regem est sollemniter<sup>3</sup>  
 consecratus. Pater vero tum propter amicitiam regis  
 Anglorum, tum quia comiti Sancti Egidii infestus  
 erat, cum immodicis gentis subditæ copiis, Tolosanæ,  
 ut dictum est, expeditioni interfuit. Guilelmus quoque  
 cognomento Trencheveil,<sup>4</sup> vir nobilis et potens, non-  
 nullarum civitatum et multorum dominus castellorum,  
 odio memorati comitis, in cujus manus, ut dicitur,  
 ante inciderat, et de quibus ægre, ac non nisi plurima  
 terrarum suarum parte mutilatus evaserat, cum quan-  
 tis poterat viribus regi Anglorum assistebat. Idem  
 vero comes, tanti exercitus impetum pertimescens, regis  
 Francorum, qui uxoris suæ germanus et filiorum  
 erat avunculus, auxilium imploravit. Qui zelando pro  
 nepotibus, festinus adveniens, cum aliquanta militia  
 Tolosam intravit. Quod cum innotuisset regi Anglo-  
 rum, personæ regis ibidem consistentis deferens, civi-  
 tatem oppugnare distulit,<sup>5</sup> et ad pervadendam provin-

A.D.  
 1159-60.  
 —

The count  
 of Barce-  
 lona acts  
 with the  
 king of  
 England  
 against the  
 count of  
 St. Gilles.

William  
 (Ray-  
 mond)  
 Trencavel  
 joins the  
 allies.

The count  
 of St.  
 Gilles  
 obtains  
 the as-  
 sistance of  
 the king  
 of France,  
 who enters  
 Toulouse  
 (July).

<sup>1</sup> æquari, B.L.S.; coaquari, C.

<sup>2</sup> Barcinonensis, C.L.S.; Barci-  
 nonensis, B.

<sup>3</sup> C. repeats *est* here.

<sup>4</sup> This should be “ Raimudus

Trencavel.” Bonquet states that he  
 was “ vicecomes Carcaïsonensis et  
 “ Biterrensis.”

<sup>5</sup> Cf. R. de Diceto (Rolls' ed. p.  
 303).

A.D.  
1159-60.  
Henry re-  
linquishes  
the siege,  
but takes  
Cahors.  
Returns to  
Normandy  
(Decem-  
ber).

ciam expugnandasque munitiones convertit exercitum. Caturcensem civitatem, quæ a se defecerat, et fines ejus cum numerosis<sup>1</sup> castellis deditione recepit, plurima quoque expugnavit et cepit. Quibus actis et memorato Guilelmo Trencheveil<sup>2</sup> munitionibus, quas illi sorte bellica comes Egidiensis<sup>3</sup> extorserat, redditis, Normanniam rediit.

## CAP. XI.

*De horrenda interfectione Willelmi Trencheveil<sup>4</sup> et de ultione ejus.*

A.D. 1167.  
Murder of  
Raymond  
Trencavel,  
viscount  
of Béziers  
and Car-  
cassonne  
(Oct. 15).

Sane quoniam de eodem Guillelmo incidenter facta est mentio, silendum non est quid in illum postea, exerescente supra modum malitia, sit a suis commissum, quam levis occasio piaculare peperit scandalum, et quam terribile subsecutum sit inauditæ ultionis exemplum. Res enim recentis memoriæ est, crebro certoque mihi comperta relatu. Idem vir nobilis et magnus, juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in illa terra, cum post Tolosanam, cui interfuit, expeditionem finibus suis per circuitum fortiter defensis in pace ageret, causa exstitit, ut nepoti incursu hostium laboranti subvenire deberet. Denique ipse cum manu non parva præcedens, præcepit ut reliquus exercitus sequeretur. Erumpens ergo ex subjectis urbibus, Bederensi scilicet<sup>5</sup> et Carcasumensi, juvenus non modica, armis animisque instructa, properabat. Contigit autem ut quidam Bederensis, numero fretus concivium, equiti cuidam non

While on  
an expedi-  
tion a  
citizen of

<sup>1</sup> *numerosis*, B.L.S.; *universis*, with *vel numerosis* in margin, C.

<sup>2</sup> *Trencheveil*, C.L.S.; *Trencheveil coadjutori suo*, by 15th cent. addition, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Egidiensis*, C.L.S.; *Egediensis*, A.B.

<sup>4</sup> *Trencheveil . . . ejus*, C.L.; *Trencheveil et ultione ejus*, S.; *Trencheila interfectione ejus* (sic), B. As to the events of this chapter compare "Chron. Ganfridi Vosiensis." (Bouquet xii, pp. 440, 441.)

<sup>5</sup> *scilicet*, B.L.S.; om. C.

ignobili simul procedenti petulanter injuriam faceret, equo ejus militari, quem<sup>1</sup> dextrarium vocant, ablato, et ferendis in via sarcinis deputato. Eques vero toto sibi ordine equestri adjuncto in presentia ducis acerrimam movit querelam, illatam injuriam tanquam minus damnosam, sed multum dedecorosam exaggerans. Dux vero<sup>2</sup> placare volens equites, constanter pronuntiantes quod protinus ab exercitu discederent, si Bederenses concivis sui impunitate gauderent, auctorem injuriæ conquerentium tradidit voluntati. Quem illi levi quidem<sup>3</sup> sed aliquantulum<sup>4</sup> indecora mulctatum pœna tanquam dehonstatum, et de cetero sine honore victurum dimiserunt. Unde vehementer indignata est civitas Bederensis, quasi unius civis<sup>5</sup> vel exiguum dedecus universitatem suam maculasset. Itaque universi cives domino suo ab expeditione reverso lacrimabiliter supplicarunt,<sup>6</sup> ut aliquo honesto et competenti modo subiectæ et devotæ sibi urbis dedecus aboleret. Ille, ut erat animi satis<sup>7</sup> civilis, elementer humiliterque respondit; seque id, quod necessitate placandi equites actum<sup>8</sup> fuisset, libenter emendaturum, et civibus optimis die certo, prout ipsi dictarent, sollemniter satisfacturum sponndit. Quam illi sponsonem amplexi, interim quieverunt. Statuto die sponsor eum amicis<sup>9</sup> et subiectis nobilibus affuit, et basilicam cathedralem ingressus, civium, quibus præsentem episcopo satisfaceret, præstolabatur adventum. Illi quoque furore callide dissimulato<sup>10</sup> mox affuere, loricas et sicas veste superducta tegentes. Procedensque in medium qui injuriam fecerat, et ignominiam reportarat; "Ecce ego," inquit,<sup>11</sup>

A.D. 1167.

Béziers misbehaves, and is suitably punished.

The citizens of Béziers ask that their disgrace may be removed.

Treneavel agrees to a meeting for reconciliation. The citizens come to the appointed place, the cathedral of Béziers, with concealed weapons.

<sup>1</sup> quem, A.B.L.S.; quoniam, (?) C.<sup>2</sup> vero, B.L.S.; autem, C.<sup>3</sup> quidem, C.L.S.; quidam, B.<sup>4</sup> C. has aliquantum.<sup>5</sup> C. omits civis.<sup>6</sup> supplicarunt, B.S.; supplicarent, L.; supplicat, C.<sup>7</sup> satis, L.S.; om. B.; jam satis, C., omitting animi.<sup>8</sup> actum, C.L.S.; factum, A.B.<sup>9</sup> amicis, B.S.; amicis suis, C.L.<sup>10</sup> dissimulato, C.L.S.; simulato, B.<sup>11</sup> ecce ego, inquit, L.S.; ecce, inquit, ego, A.B.C.

A.D. 1167. "homo infelix et vitæ pertæsus, eo quod mihi con-  
 tigerit cum dedecore vivere. Dicat nunc, si placet,  
 "dignatio tua, domine mi, utrum velit quod circa me  
 "actum est emendare; ut velim possimque vivere."  
 Tunc vir memorabilis satis civiliter et citra personam  
 dominantis; "Paratus sum," inquit, "super hoc præsen-  
 "tium procerum consilio civiumque arbitrio stare,  
 "sicut sponendi." Rursus ille; "Bene," inquit, "dice-  
 "res,<sup>1</sup> si alicujus exhibitione honoris a te nostra posset  
 "confusio compensari.<sup>2</sup> Nunc autem cum tu ea men-  
 "sura, qua mensus es nobis dedecus, non possis reme-  
 "tiri honorem; nostram non aliter quam tuo necesse  
 "est sanguine maculam expiari." Quo dicto, arma  
 cives nequissimi, quæ occuluerant<sup>3</sup> retexerunt, et im-  
 petu facto coram sacro altari, frustra se pæne usque  
 ad periculum proprium objectante episcopo,<sup>4</sup> dominum  
 proprium cum amicis et proceribus suis lanistæ crudel-  
 issimi peremerunt.<sup>5</sup> Quod cum esset omnibus per  
 circuitum gentibus in stuporem et sibilum, cunctis  
 factum detestantibus, et pestiferæ conspirationis collegio  
 merita imprecantibus,<sup>6</sup> finitimi principes, arbitantes ob-  
 sequium se præstare Deo, si gentem malignam abra-  
 derent, ad faciendam vindictam in nequissimos<sup>7</sup> junctis  
 se viribus præparabant. Illi quoque urbis suæ firmi-  
 tate confisi, quantis se poterant apparatus muniebant.  
 Ac primo quidem Romanus pontifex, tanti sceleris  
 atrocitate audita, scelestissimos illos ecclesiasticæ male-

The vis-  
 count is  
 nsulted  
 and slain  
 in the  
 cathedral.

The pope  
 places  
 Béziers

<sup>1</sup> bene, inquit, diceres, B.L.S.; "Trencavellus Dominica die in ecclesia S. Mariæ Magdalenaë a Bitterensibus est interfectus." By comparison with the *Necrologium* of Carcassonne and that of Cassan this passage gives the date Oct. 15, 1167.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *compensa*.

<sup>3</sup> *occuluerant*, B.L.S.; *occultaverant*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *episcopo*, B.C.R.S.; *domino episcopo*, L.

<sup>5</sup> Bouquet (xiii., p. 107, note b.) quotes "ex chronico Nemausensi" the following, "Anno MCLXVII.

"Trencavellus Dominica die in ecclesia S. Mariæ Magdalenaë a Bitterensibus est interfectus." By comparison with the *Necrologium* of Carcassonne and that of Cassan this passage gives the date Oct. 15, 1167.

<sup>6</sup> *imprecantibus*, B.L.S.; *inspiciantibus*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *nequissimos*, C.L.S.; *nequissimis*, B.

dictionis jaculo perculit, rex vero Arragonum<sup>1</sup> cum aliis principibus consequenter maledictam urbem obsedit. Cumque obsidio aliquamdiu traheretur, et obsidentibus, tum propter loci munimina, tum quia obsessis pro anima res erat, fere inextricabilis capiendæ urbis difficultas obsistere videretur; obsessores moræ prolixioris pertæsi, ne non aliquid ageretur, cum illis, quos expugnare non poterant, pacem fecerunt, eosque domino proprio, illius scilicet quem mactaverant filio,<sup>2</sup> pactis pro satisfactione paternæ necis intervenientibus, reconciliaverunt. Fœderibus ergo celebratis, soluta est obsidio, et bene actum videbatur. Quod utique divina, sicut postea claruit, ordinatione provenit, ut scilicet viribus inexpugnabiles congruam ad interitum acciperent talionem, qui dominum modestum et bonum artificiosa perfidia crudeliter trucidarant, et eodem illis modio<sup>3</sup> remetiretur a filio, quo ipsi prius patri mensi fuerant. Nam cum forte eidem filio postmodum joco vel serio impropertatum esset a quodam nobili, quod perfidis civibus extincti patris sanguinem vendidisset, ita est sauciatus hoc verbo, ut fidem servare perfidis indecorum reputans, doloris simul et pudoris urgentibus stimulis, festinam paternæ necis quocunque modo meditaretur ultionem. Mox illustri Arragonum regi mysterium conceptæ intentionis aperiens, accepit ab eo, tanquam in adjutorium contra comitem Egidiensem, non parvas gentis ferocissimæ copias.<sup>4</sup> Et præcurrens ad civitatem Bederensem fama prius arte dispersa, quod idem comes<sup>5</sup> irruptionem moliretur, civibus supplicavit, ut, quoniam regis Arragonum amicitia et<sup>6</sup> ope gaudebat, mox affuturis Arragonibus hospitium in transitu exhibentes, justæ commutationis modum,

A.D. 1167.

under interdict, and the king of Aragon besieges the city, but in vain.

The citizens agree to accept the son of Raymond as their ruler.

Their new viscount, smarting under a taunt, determines to avenge his father's death. (A.D. 1169.)

Aragonese soldiers are by artifice assembled in Béziers, and at a signal rise

<sup>1</sup> Arragonum, C.L.S.; Arroganum, B.

<sup>2</sup> quem mactaverant filio, A.B.C.; filio quem mactaverant, L.S.

<sup>3</sup> modio, B.L.S.; modo, C.

<sup>4</sup> parvas . . . . . copias, B.L.S.; parvam . . . . . copiam, C.

<sup>5</sup> comes, B.L.S.; comes ante, C.

<sup>6</sup> et, B.L.S.; vel, C.

A.D. 1169. and kill the citizens. victualia ministrando, servarent. Venientes ergo Arragones, non quidem simul ne essent terribiles, et eorum ingressus nequaquam pacificus videretur, sed pauci et pauci per dies aliquot, tandem omnes ingressi urbem repleverunt. Cumque per totam essent in hospitibus civitatem, repente ad signum ab arce datum, raptis armis impetum in proximos quosque cives fecerunt, totumque urbis populum furore insatiabili fere in momento peremerunt. Sic maledictus ille populus justa Dei ordinatione<sup>1</sup> mercedem, quam oportuit, perfidiae suae et crudelitatis accepit. Porro ministri ultionis pro mercede sui operis, habitationem, ut dicitur, acceperunt perfidorum caedibus civium expiatae civitatis. His explicitis, quoniam pro tempore memorabilia videbantur, ad susceptae historiae seriem redeamus.

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CAP. XII.

*Quomodo reges, Francorum scilicet<sup>2</sup> et Anglorum, dissidentes pacificati sunt.*

A.D. 1160-1. Peace with France (May, 1160). Igitur rex Anglorum Henricus secundus, ab expeditione Tolosana reversus, brevi quievit. Sequenti enim anno, qui fuit regni ejus octavus,<sup>3</sup> ira inter ipsum et regem Francorum tempore ejusdem expeditionis concepta, causis ingravescentibus, tandem quasi parta erupit, et subditarum quietem provinciarum motibus turbulentis corruptit. Denique immensis hinc inde exercitibus congregatis, in terrarum confiniis, castris e regione dispositis, uterque princeps cum suis copiis

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<sup>1</sup> *justa . . . ordinatione*, B.L.S.; *justa . . . ordinationem*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *scilicet*, B.L.S.; om. A.C.

<sup>3</sup> This according to Newbnrgh's reckoning (see p. 117, note 3) would be 1161. A treaty with France was made in May 1160, and confirmed

in the following October, according to R. de Monte, and the outbreak to which both authors refer, and which was caused by prince Henry's marriage (see p. 159), concluded with a truce about June 1161.

consistebat, quia et progredi periculosum, et retrogradari indecorum videbatur: paratiorque erat uterque vel princeps vel exercitus, propter bellici discriminis ambiguos exitus, proelium excipere quam inferre. Viri ergo pacifici hanc hæsitationem seminandæ pacis occasionem habentes, ne duorum zelus et superbia hominum strages innoxiorum parerent populorum, pie cauteque<sup>1</sup> sategerunt,<sup>2</sup> et quoniam sub clypeo, ut dici solet, melius plerumque procedit pacis negotium, principibus quod prius ne audire quidem sustinebant, sine magna difficultate persuasum est. Itaque pacificati sunt principes, et populi rediere in sua.

Sane eodem anno Theobaldus<sup>3</sup> Cantuariensis archiepiscopus decessit, cui Thomas, cancellarius regius, anno sequenti<sup>4</sup> successit.

A.D.  
1160-1.

Theobald  
Arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury dies  
(April 18,  
1161).  
He is suc-  
ceeded by  
Thomas  
Becket.

### CAP. XIII.

#### *De hæreticis Angliam ingressis,<sup>5</sup> et quomodo exterminati sunt.*

Iisdem diebus erronei quidam venerunt in Angliam, A.D. 1160. ex eorum, ut<sup>6</sup> creditur, genere quos vulgo Publicanos vocant. Hi nimirum olim ex Gasconia incerto auctore habentes originem, regionibus plurimis virus suæ perfidiæ infuderunt. Quippe in latissimis Galliæ, Hispaniæ, Italiæ, Germaniæque provinciis tam multi hæc peste infecti esse dicuntur, ut, secundum prophetam, multiplicati esse super numerum videantur. Denique cum a præsulibus ecclesiarum, et principibus provin-

A band of  
heretics  
come over  
to Eng-  
land.  
Account  
of the  
Publicani  
(Albigeu-  
ses).

Ps. iii. 1.

<sup>1</sup> *cauteque*, C.L.S.; *que*, om. B.

<sup>2</sup> A.B. and S. have *satagerunt*.

<sup>3</sup> *Theobaldus*, B.L.S.; *Theobaldus*, C.

<sup>4</sup> This would be the ninth year and therefore according to our au-

thor's mode of reckoning A.D. 1162, the correct date. Becket was consecrated June 3, 1162.

<sup>5</sup> *ingressis*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> *ut*, B.C.S.; om. L.

A.D. 1160.            ciarum in eos remissius agitur, egrediuntur de caveis suis vulpes nequissimæ, et prætenta specie pietatis, seducendo simplices, vineam Domini Sabaoth, tanto gravius quanto liberius, demoliuntur. Cum autem adversus eos igne Dei fidelium zelus succenditur, in suis foveis delitescunt, minusque sunt<sup>1</sup> noxii; sed tamen occultum spargendo virus nocere non desinunt. Homines rusticani et idiotæ, atque ideo ad rationem hebetes, peste vero illa semel hausta ita imbuti, ut ad omnem rigeant disciplinam, unde rarissime contingit eorum aliquem, cum e suis latebris proditi extrahuntur, ad pietatem converti. Sane ab hac et ab<sup>2</sup> aliis pestibus hæreticis immunis semper exstitit Anglia, cum in aliis mundi partibus tot pullulaverint hæreses. Et quidem hæc insula cum, propter incolentes Britones, Britannia diceretur, Pelagium in oriente hæresi-archam futurum ex se misit, ejusque in se processu temporis errorem admisit: ad cujus peremptionem Gallicanæ ecclesiæ pia provisio semel et iterum beatissimum direxit Germanum. At ubi hanc insulam expulsi Britonibus natio possedit Anglorum, ut non jam Britannia sed Anglia diceretur,<sup>3</sup> nullius unquam ex ea pestis hæreticæ virus ebullivit: sed nec in eam aliunde, usque ad tempora regis Henrici secundi, tanquam propagandum et dilatandum introivit. Tunc quoque, Deo propitio, pesti, quæ jam irreperat, ita est obviatum, ut de cetero hanc insulam ingredi vereretur. Erant autem, tam viri quam feminae, paulo amplius quam triginta, qui, dissimulato errore, quasi pacifice huc ingressi sunt, propagandæ pestis gratia, duce quodam Gerardo, in quem omnes tanquam præceptorem ac principem respiciebant. Nam solus erat aliquantulum literatus: ceteri vero sine literis et idi-

England had up to that date been free from heretics.

Britain had had its Pelagius, but England had ever been orthodox.

Thirty men and women from Germany, under one Gerard, come to England concealing

<sup>1</sup> sunt, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> ab, L.S.; cm. B.C.

<sup>3</sup> diceretur, B.L.S.; diferetur, (?)

C., perhaps diseretur for diceretur.



otæ, homines plane impolitî et rustici, nationis et linguæ Teutonicæ. Aliquamdiu in Anglia commorantes, unam tantum muliereculam venenatis circumventam susurriis, et quibusdam, ut dicitur, fascinatam præstigiis, suo cœtui aggregarunt. Non enim diu latere potuerunt, sed quibusdam curiose indagantibus quod peregrinæ essent sectæ, deprehensi, comprehensi, tentique<sup>1</sup> sunt in custodia publica. Rex vero nolens eos indiscussos vel dimittere vel punire, episcopale præcepit Oxoniæ concilium congregari. Ubi dum sollemniter de religione convenirentur: eo, qui literatus videbatur, suscipiente causam omnium, et loquente pro omnibus, Christianos se esse, et doctrinam Apostolicam venerari responderunt. Interrogati per ordinem de sacræ fidei articulis, de substantia quidem superni medici recta; de ejus vero remediis, quibus humanæ infirmitati mederi dignatur, id est, divinis sacramentis, perversa dixerunt; sacrum baptisma, eucharistiam, conjugium detestantes, atque unitati catholicæ, quam hæc divina imbuunt subsidia, ausu nefario derogantes. Cumque sumptis de scriptura sacra divinis urgerentur testimoniis, se quidem ut instituti erant credere, de fide vero sua disputare nolle responderunt. Moniti, ut pœnitentiam agerent, et corpori ecclesiæ unirentur, omnem consilii salubritatem spreverunt. Minas quoque pie prætentas, ut vel metu resipiscerent,<sup>2</sup> deriserunt, verbo illo Dominico abutentes: "Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum." Tunc episcopi,<sup>3</sup> ne virus hæreticum latius serperet præcavescentes, eosdem publice pronuntiatos hæreticos corporali disciplinæ subdendos catholico principi tradi-

A.D. 1166.

their opinions and intentions.

They make one convert.

They are seized and brought before the council of Oxford (1166).

On examination their heresy becomes apparent.

They refuse to abjure, and are condemned.

Matth. v.  
10.

<sup>1</sup> *tentique*, C.L.S.; *tenti*, A. and, by alteration, B.

<sup>2</sup> *resipiscerent*, C.L.S.; *respicerent*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *episcopi*, B.L.S.; *ipsi*, C.

A.D. 1166. derunt. Qui præcepit hæreticæ infamiæ characterem frontibus eorum inuri, et, spectante populo, virgis coercitos urbe expelli, districte prohibens ne quis eos vel hospitio recipere,<sup>1</sup> vel aliquo solatio confovere<sup>2</sup> præsumeret. Dicta sententia, ad poenam justissimam ducebantur gaudentes,<sup>3</sup> non lentis passibus præeunte magistro eorum et canente, "Beati eritis cum vos Matth. v. "oderint homines." In tantum deceptis a se menti-<sup>11.</sup> bus seductorius abutebatur spiritus. Illa quidem muliercula, quam in Anglia seduxerant, metu supplicii<sup>4</sup> discedens ab eis, errorem confessa reconciliationem meruit. Porro detestandum illud collegium, cauteriatis frontibus, justæ severitati subjacuit: eo qui<sup>5</sup> priuatum gerebat in eis, ob insigne magisterii, inustionis geminæ, id est, in<sup>6</sup> fronte et circa mentum, dedecus sustinente. Scissisque cingulo tenus vestibus publice caesi, et flagris resonantibus urbe ejecti, algoris intolerantia, hiems quippe erat, nemine vel exiguum<sup>7</sup> misericordiæ impendente,<sup>8</sup> misere interierunt.<sup>9</sup> Hujus severitatis pius rigor non solum a peste illa, quæ jam irrepererat, Angliæ regnum purgavit, verum etiam<sup>10</sup> ne ulterius irreperet, incusso hæreticis terrore, præcavit.<sup>11</sup>

Their  
convert  
deserts.

They are  
braided,  
and their  
clothes  
being cut  
away to  
the waist,  
they are  
driven  
forth and  
die of cold.

<sup>1</sup> *recipere*, C.L.S.; *respicere*, A.B.

<sup>2</sup> *confovere*, B.L.S.; *fovere*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *gaudentes*, C.L.S.; B., by 15th cent. alteration, *gradientes*.

<sup>4</sup> *supplicii*, C.L.S.; *supplicii*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *qui*, B.L.S.; *quod*, C., corrected in margin to *qui*.

<sup>6</sup> *in*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>7</sup> B. reads, by 15th cent. alteration, *exiguam*.

<sup>8</sup> *impendente*, C.L.S.; *gentilitate*, A.B.

<sup>9</sup> *interierunt*, C.L.S.; *interierint*, A.B.

<sup>10</sup> *etiam*, C.L.S.; *et*, B.; om. A.

<sup>11</sup> See R. de Coggeshall (Rolls ed., p. 122) as to these heretics. Cf. R. de Diceto (I. p. 318) under date 1166. The Annals of Tewkesbury, p. 49, confirm Diceto, and there is the additional fact that Henry was absent from England throughout the year 1160. This chapter is therefore misplaced.

CAP. XIV.<sup>1</sup>

*De concilio Turonis celebrato ab Alexandro papa.*

Eodem tempore Romanus pontifex Alexander de Apulia liquido itinere venit in Gallias. Cum enim illi, ut superius dictum est, præter terras Alemanni- cæ subditas potestati, totus, in his quæ Dei sunt, orbis pareret Latinus, vias tamen obsidentibus Octo- viani<sup>2</sup> satellitibus, et vel eum adeuntes, vel ab eo redeuntes, si qui forte inciderent, rebus omnibus spo- liatos carcerali quoque custodiæ mancipantibus, raris- simus ad illum poterat esse accessus, unde nec ipse poterat ut volebat et decebat fungi summo sacerdotio, et longius Apostolicæ brachium extendere potestatis. Hujus rei gratia mari se credens, et cum ingenti periculo provincias adiens occidentis, occurrentibus ei præsulibus et nobilibus regionum Gallicanæ ecclesiæ, multorum desideriis exspectatus advenit. Magni quo- que Francorum et Anglorum reges adventum ejus sollempni honorantes occursum, qualia regiam decebant magnificentiam, insigni exsuli hilariter obsequia præ- stiterunt. Principum itaque favore adjunctus, convoca- tis ecclesiarum pastoribus,<sup>3</sup> in octavis Pentecostes ge- nerale concilium cum multa gloria Turonis celebravit, anno ab incarnatione Domini<sup>4</sup> M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>. Hujus<sup>5</sup> autem concilii decreta nostræ duximus historiæ in- serenda.

A. D.  
1162-3.

Pope  
Alexander  
III. sails  
from  
Apulia to  
France  
(April  
1162).

Council of  
Tours,  
(May 19,  
1163).

<sup>1</sup> B. omits the whole of this chap- ter; A. has the whole of it written in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> As to the blockade see Jooclin

de Brakelond (Camden Soc. ed., p. 35).

<sup>3</sup> *pastoribus*, A. L. S.; *prælati*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Domini*, L. S.; *Verbi*, A. C.

<sup>5</sup> A. omits *hujus* . . . *inserenda*.

CAP. XV.<sup>1</sup>*Decreta Turonensis concilii.*

A.D. 1163.	“ Quoniam enormis quædam consuetudo in quibusdam
—	“ locis, contra sanctorum patrum institutiones, invaluit, ut
Priests	“ sub annuo pretio sacerdotes ad ecclesiarum regimen sta-
not to be	“ tuantur, ne id fiat modis omnibus prohibemus; quia dum
appointed	“ sacerdotium sub hujusmodi venalij mercede disponitur,
to benefices	“ ad æternæ retributionis præmium consideratio non ha-
for money.	“ betur.
No money	“ Non satis utiliter avaritia redarguitur in populo, si ab
to be re-	“ iis, qui in clero constituti videntur, et præcipuo qui
quired of	“ contempto seculo religiosorum nomen profitentur et regu-
persons	“ lam, modis omnibus non cavetur. Prohibemus igitur ne
entering	“ ab iis qui ad religionem transire voluerint, aliqua pecu-
religion.	“ nia requiratur; neve prioratus aut capellaniæ quælibet
Sale of	“ monachorum aut clericorum annua distractione vendan-
monastic	“ tur; neque ab eo, cui regimen ipsarum committitur, pro
offices	“ earum commissione nullum pretium exigatur. Hoc autem
forbidden.	“ Simoniacum esse, sanctorum patrum auctoritas manifeste
No fees to	“ declarat. Unde quisquis hoc de cetero præsumpserit at-
be exacted	“ tentare, partem se cum Simone non dubitet habiturum.
for burials,	“ Pro sepultura quoque, vel chrismatis et <sup>2</sup> olei sacri per-
baptisms,	“ ceptione, nulla cujusquam pretij venalitas intercedat, neque
or adminis-	“ sub obtentu alicujus consuetudinis reatum suum aliquis
tration of	“ tueatur: quia diuturnitas temporis non minuit peccata,
extreme	“ sed auget.
unction.	“ Quia in quibusdam episcopatibus decani vel archipres-
Deans and	“ byteri ad agendas vices episcoporum vel archidiaconorum,
certain	“ et terminandas causas ecclesiasticas sub annuo pretio sta-
others for-	“ tuantur, quod ad sacerdotum gravamen, et subversionem
bidden to	“ judiciorum non est dubium redundare: id ulterius fieri
become	“ districtius prohibemus. Quod qui fecerit, removeatur a
deputies of	“ clero. Episcopus quoque, qui hoc in sua diocesi susti-
bishops or	“ nuerit, et ecclesiastica judicia sua patitur dissimulatione
archdea-	“ perverti, canonica districtione plectatur.
cons for	
money.	

<sup>1</sup> A. and B. omit the whole of this chapter. Iabbé, vol. 21, cols. 1176-81, gives these canons somewhat differently, and arranges

them thus:—5, 6, 7, 1, 2, 4, 3, 8. He also includes two not recorded by Newburgh.

<sup>2</sup> et, L.R.S.; vel, C.

“ Majoribus ecclesiæ beneficiis in sua integritate manenti- A.D. 1163.  
 “ bus, indecorum nimis esse videtur, ut minores clericorum Subdivi-  
 “ præbendæ recipiant sectionem. Idcirco ut sicut in mag- sion of  
 “ nis, ita quoque in minimis membris suis firmam habeat præbends,  
 “ ecclesia unitatem, divisionem præbendarum aut dignita- &c. for-  
 “ tum<sup>1</sup> permutationem fieri prohibemus. bidden.

“ Plures clericorum et, quod mærentes dicimus, eorum Of monas-  
 “ quoque qui præsens seculum professione, votis, et habitu teries  
 “ reliquerunt, dum communes usuras manifestius damnatas holding  
 “ exhorrent, commodata pecunia indigentibus possessiones estates in  
 “ eorum in pignus accipiunt, et provenientes fructus<sup>2</sup> per- pledge  
 “ cipiant ultra sortem. Idcirco generalis concilii decrevit beyond the  
 “ auctoritas, ut nullus amodo constitutus in clero, vel hoc time of  
 “ vel aliud usuræ genus exercere præsumat; et si quis hac the satis-  
 “ tenus alicujus possessionem, data pecunia, sub hac specie faction of  
 “ in pignus accepit, si sortem suam deductis expensis de<sup>3</sup> the debt.  
 “ fructibus jam percepit, absolute possessionem restituat debi-  
 “ tori. Si autem aliquid minus habet, eo recepto possessio  
 “ libere ad dominum revertatur. Quod si post hujusmodi  
 “ constituta in clero quisquam existiterit, qui detestandis  
 “ usurarum lucris insistat, ecclesiastici officii periculum pa-  
 “ tiatur; nisi forte beneficium ecclesiæ fuerit, quod redi-  
 “ mendum ei hoc modo de manu laica videatur.

“ In partibus Tolosæ damnanda hæresis dudum emersit, Course  
 “ quæ more cancri paulatim se ad vicina loca diffundens, prescribed  
 “ per Gasconiam et alias provincias quamplurimos jam in to be taken  
 “ fecit; et dum in<sup>4</sup> modum serpentis infra suas revolu- with the  
 “ tiones abseonditur, quanto serpit oculentius, tanto gravius Albigen-  
 “ Dominicam vineam in simplicibus demolitur. Ude heresi-  
 “ scopos et omnes Domini sacerdotes in illis partibus com-  
 “ morantes invigilare præcipimus, et sub interdictione ana-  
 “ thematis prohibere, ne, ubi cogniti fuerint illius hæresis  
 “ sectatores, receptaculum quisquam eis in sua terra præ-  
 “ bere, aut præsidium<sup>5</sup> impertiri<sup>6</sup> præsumat: sed nec in  
 “ venditione et<sup>7</sup> emptione aliqua cum eis communitio ha-  
 “ beat, ut, solatio humanitatis amisso, ab errore via

<sup>1</sup> L. has *dignitatem*.

<sup>2</sup> *fructus*, C.; *fructibus*, L.S.

<sup>3</sup> *de*, C.S.; *ex*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *in*, L.S.; *om*. C.

<sup>5</sup> *præsidium*, L.R.S.; *præsidia*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *impertiri*, C.L.S.; the form generally used in mediæval Latin.

<sup>7</sup> *et*, L.R.S.; *vel*, C.

A.D. 1163. " suæ resipiscere compellantur. Quisquis autem contra hæc  
 " venire tentaverit, tanquam particeps iniquitatis eorum  
 " anathemate feriatur. Illi vero si deprehensi fuerint per  
 " catholicos principes custodiae mancipati, omnium bonorum  
 " amissione mulcentur. Et quoniam de diversis partibus  
 " in unum latibulum crebro conveniunt, et præter consen-  
 " sum erroris nullam cohabitandi causam habentes, in uno  
 " domicilio commorantur: talia conventicula et investigentur  
 " attentius, et si inventa fuerint, canonica severitate vetentur.

Tithe and  
 disposal of  
 benefices  
 not to be  
 granted  
 to laymen.

" Quamvis grave nimis, et divini animadversione iudicii  
 " dignum habeatur, quod laici quidam quod sacerdotum est  
 " in ecclesiasticis rebus usurpant: majorem tamen<sup>1</sup> incitat  
 " formidinem ac dolorem, quod fomitem sui erroris in ipso  
 " clero dicuntur aliquotiens invenire, dum quidam fratrum  
 " et coepiscoporum nostrorum aliorumque<sup>2</sup> prælatorum eccle-  
 " siæ decimas eis, et ecclesiarum dispositiones indulgent; et  
 " in devia eos mortis impellunt, qui prædicatione eorum ad  
 " vitæ viam fuerant revocandi, de quibus Dominus dicit per  
 " prophetam, 'peccata populi mei comedunt, et ad iniquitatem  
 " provocant animas eorum.' Unde statuimus, ut quisquis ali-  
 " cui laico in seculo remanenti ecclesiam decimamve concess-  
 " erit, a statu suo, tanquam arbor quæ inutiliter terram  
 " occupat, succidatur, et donec emendetur,<sup>3</sup> ruinæ suæ jaceat  
 " dolore prostratus.

Osee,  
 iv. 8.

Monks  
 forbidden  
 to leave  
 their con-  
 vents to  
 study law  
 or physic.

" Non magnopere antiqui hostis invidia infirma ecclesie  
 " membra præcipitare laborat; sed manum mittit ad desi-  
 " derabilia ejus, et electos quosque nititur supplantare, di-  
 " cente scriptura, 'escæ ejus electæ.' Multorum siquidem  
 " casum operari se reputat, ubi pretiosius aliquod membrum  
 " ecclesie sua fuerit calliditate detractum. Inde nimirum  
 " est quod se in angelum lucis more solito transfigurans,  
 " sub obtentu languentium fratrum consulendi corporibus, et  
 " ecclesiastica negotia fidelius pertractandi, regulares quos-  
 " dam ad legendas leges et confectiones physicas ponderan-  
 " das de claustris suis educit. Unde, ne sub hac occasione  
 " spirituales viri mundanis rursus actionibus involvantur,  
 " et in interioribus ex eo ipsi deficient, ex quo se alii  
 " putant in exterioribus providere, de præsentis concilii as-  
 " sensu statuimus, ut nullus omnino post votum religionis,  
 " post factam in aliquo religioso loco professionem, ad physi-

Job,  
 xxxix. 29.

<sup>1</sup> tamen, C.S.; om. L.

<sup>2</sup> aliorumque, C.S.; aliorum, L.

<sup>3</sup> emendet, C.L.S.

“ cam, legesve mundanas legendas permittatur exire. Si A.D. 1163.  
 “ vero exierit, et ad claustrum suum infra duorum mensium  
 “ spatium non redierit, sicut excommunicatus ab omnibus  
 “ evitetur, et in nulla causa, si patrocinium præstare voluerit,  
 “ audiatur. Reversus vero, in choro, in capitulo, in mensa,  
 “ et ceteris, ultimus fratrum semper existat, et, nisi ex mi-  
 “ sericordia forte Apostolicæ sedis, totius spem promotionis  
 “ amittat.”

## CAP. XVI.

*De ira regis in venerabilem Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum.*

Anno concilii ejusdem<sup>1</sup> nondum emenso, adversus A.D. 1163.  
 venerabilem Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, Quarrel  
 ira regis Anglorum excaudit, multorum et enormium between  
 malorum, quæ secuta noscuntur, infame principium. the king  
 and  
 Becket.

Sane idem Thomas Lundoniis oriundus, vir acris ingenii et competentis eloquii, vultu et moribus elegantis, in efficacia quoque rerum agendarum nulli secundus, in obsequio Teobaldi,<sup>2</sup> Cantuariensis archiepiscopi præcipuus fuerat, et ab eo archidiaconatum Cantuariensem, Rogerio<sup>3</sup> ad Eboracensis ecclesiæ pontificatum assumpto, acceperat. Cum autem Henricus secundus, defuncto Stephano, ut superius expositum est, regnum hereditarium suscepisset, virum coram regibus stare idoneum sibi deesse non passus, sublimitatis regiæ fecit cancellarium. Quo officio insignis, tam egregie seculo militavit, tanti apud principem amoris simul et honoris prærogativam obtinuit, ut conregnare videretur. Flux- Elected  
 erant ei anni aliquot in militia seculari, cum ecce<sup>4</sup> arch-  
 ecclesiasticæ militiæ ascribitur, et voluntate regia Can- bishop  
 (May 24,  
 1162).

<sup>1</sup> concilii ejusdem, L.S.; ejusdem concilii, A.B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Teobaldi, S.; Theobaldi, B.C.L.

<sup>3</sup> Rogerio, L.S.; Rogero, B.C.

<sup>4</sup> ecce, B.L.S.; etiam, C.

A.D. 1163. tuariensis ecclesiæ pontificatum sortitur. Mox tanti honoris quantum esset onus pia et sagaci consideratione permittens, habitu et moribus ita repente mutatur, ut quidam dicerent, "Digitus Dei<sup>1</sup> est hic:"<sup>2</sup> alii autem, Exod. viii. 19.  
Ps. lxxvi. 11. "Hæc mutatio dexteræ Excelsi." Secundo promotionis suæ anno concilio Turonensi interfuit: ubi,<sup>3</sup> ut dicitur, pontificatum, minus sincere et canonicè, id est, per operam manumque regiam, susceptum, pungentis conscientiæ stimulos non ferens, secreto in manus<sup>4</sup> domini papæ resignavit.<sup>5</sup> Qui factum approbans, pastorallem illi sarcinam ecclesiastica manu rursus imposuit, et in homine scrupuloso turbatæ conscientiæ læsionem sanavit. Regressis a concilio ad proprias sedes episcopis, regnum et sacerdotium in Anglia disceptare cœperunt, et facta est turbatio non modica super prærogativa ordinis clericalis. Regi quippe circa curam regni satagenti, et malefactores sine delectu<sup>6</sup> exterminari jubenti, a iudicibus intimatum est, quod multa contra disciplinam publicam, scilicet furta, rapinæ, homicidia, a clericis sæpius committerentur, ad quos scilicet laicæ non posset jurisdictionis vigor extendi. Denique ipso audiente declaratum dicitur, plusquam centum homicidia intra fines Angliæ a clericis sub regno ejus commissa. Quamobrem acri motu turbatus,<sup>7</sup> in spiritu vehementi contra malefactores clericos posuit leges, in quibus utique zelum justitiæ publicæ habuit, sed fervor immoderatier modum excessit. Sane hujus immoderationis regiæ nostri temperis episcopus tantum respicit culpa, quantum ab eis processit et

Is said to have resigned his office of archbishop into the hands of the pope when present at the Council of Tours (May, 1163), and to have received it again from his hands. The king insists on punishing criminous clerks by the common law. The author blames the manner rather than the matter of the king's decrees.

<sup>1</sup> *Dei*, B.C.R.; om. L.S.

<sup>2</sup> *hic*, as in the Vulgate, L.R. and, by correction, S.; *hoc*, A.B.C.

<sup>3</sup> *ubi*, B.L.R.S.; *ibi*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *manus*, by correction, L.; *manu*, B.C.S.

<sup>5</sup> Canon Robertson ("Life of Becket," p. 69) discusses this asser-

tion, saying, "If such a resignation ever took place, it was, as we shall see hereafter [p. 341] most probably at a later time," i.e. at Sens. <sup>6</sup> *delectu*, L.R.S.; *defectu*, C.; *dilectione*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *turbatus*, C.L.S.; *turbatus est*, A.B.



causa. Cum enim sacri præcipiant canones, clericos, non solum facinorosos, id est, gravioribus irretitos criminibus, verum etiam leviorum<sup>1</sup> criminum reos, degradari; et tot millia talium, tanquam innumeras inter pauca grana palcas, ecclesia Anglicana contineat; quantos a multis retro annis clericos in Anglia contigit officio privari? Nempe episcopi, dum defendendis magis clericorum libertatibus vel dignitatibus, quam eorum vitii corrigendis reseccandisque invigilant, arbitrantur obsequium se præstare Deo et ecclesiæ, si facinorosos clericos, quos, pro officii debito, canonicæ vigore censura coercere vel nolunt vel negligunt, contra publicam tueantur disciplinam. Unde clerici, qui, in sortem Domini vocati tanquam stellæ in firmamento cœli positæ, vita et verbo lucere deberent super terram, habentes per impunitatem agendi quodcumque libuerit licentiam et libertatem, neque Deum, cujus iudicium tardare videtur, neque homines potestatem habentes reverentur; cum et episcopalis circa eos sollicitudo sit languida, et seculari eos jurisdictioni sacri eximat ordinis prærogativa. Cum ergo memoratus princeps in paleas sacri ordinis, id est, facinorosos clericos vel discutiendos vel puniendos, nova quædam statuta fecisset; in quibus, ut dictum est, modum non tenuit; ita ea demum credit fore rata, si episcoporum essent consensu roborata. Convocatis ergo, ad eliciendum quocumque modo consensum, episcopis, ita omnes usque ad unum vel pellexit blanditiis vel infregit terroribus ut regiæ voluntati cedendum parendumque<sup>2</sup> putarent, et novarum legum illarum<sup>3</sup> conscriptioni propria sigilla apponerent. Usque ad unum dico,<sup>4</sup> nam solus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus flexus non est, sed ad omnem impulsu stetit

A.D. 1164.

How many recent clerical evil-doers have been deprived of their functions?

The bishops, concerned for the defence of church privileges, protect criminous clerks from the law.

Constitutions of Clarendon (Jan. 25, 1164).

Henry obtains the assent of all the bishops but one to his decrees.

Becket alone refuses, and

<sup>1</sup> *leviorum*, B.L.S.; *levium*, C.<sup>2</sup> *parendumque*, C.L.S.; *parendum*, A.B.<sup>3</sup> *illarum*, B.L.S.; *illorum*, C.<sup>4</sup> The weight of evidence is against Newburgh here, see Hist. Quadril. lib. i., cap. xxi.; and R. de Diceto (Twysden, col. 536).

A.D. 1164. immobilis. Tunc vero tanto vehementius regius in eum furor efferbuit, quanto ipse regali magnificentiæ ratione dati et accepti magis obnoxius videbatur. Unde rex cœpit ei gravis existere, occasionibus eum undecunque exquisitis pulsare, eorum, quæ olim in regno cancellarius fecerat, rationem<sup>1</sup> exposcere. Ille intrepida libertate respondit, se, expleta sæculari militia, ecclesiæ a principe cui militaverat absolute fuisse dimissum, nec debere in se per occasionem magis quam veritatem vetera replicari. Cumque in dies regii furoris causæ ingravescerent, eo die, quo plenius responsurus erat objectis, sollemne illud officium de beato Stephano, scilicet, "Sederunt principes, et adversum me loquebantur, et iniqui persecuti sunt me," jussit coram se in celebratione sacrificii sollemniter decantari. Mox curiam ingressus est, crucem argenteam ante se portari solitam manu propria bajulans, volentibusque<sup>2</sup> quibusdam episcoporum, qui aderant, ministerium portandæ ante metropolitanum proprium crucis suscipere, abnuit, nec alium in illo conventu publico crucis bajulum quantumcunque rogatus admisit. His tanquam excandescentis jam furoris fomitibus rege supra modum inflammato, sequenti nocte clam profugiens transfretavit; et susceptus honorifice a rege, nobilibus, episcopisque<sup>3</sup> Francorum, pro tempore ibidem consedit. Rex vero<sup>4</sup> Anglorum in absentem irrationabiliter sæviens, et plusquam deceret principem, effrenato furori indulgens, indecora satis et miserabili ultione omnem ejus propinquitatem Angliæ finibus exturbavit. Sane cum plerique soleant in iis, quos amant et laudant, affectu quidem propensiori, sed prudentia parciori, quicquid ab eis geritur approbare; plane ego<sup>5</sup> in viro illo venerabili,

rouses the king's fury.

Council of Northampton (Oct. 7). Henry begins to persecute Becket. Asks an account of his acts as chancellor.

Becket's reply.

Becket retreats to France (Nov. 2).

The king banishes Becket's family.

The author blames Becket's

<sup>1</sup> rationem, B.L.S.; item rationem, C.

<sup>2</sup> volentibusque, B.L.S.; volentibus, C.R.

<sup>3</sup> nobilibus episcopisque, B.L.S.; nobilibusque episcopis, C.

<sup>4</sup> vero, B.C.S.; quidem, L.

<sup>5</sup> C. has ergo.

ea, quæ ita ab ipso<sup>1</sup> acta sunt ut nulla exinde pro-  
 veniret utilitas, sed furor<sup>2</sup> tantum accenderetur regius, A.D. 1164.  
 ex quo tot mala postmodum pullulasse noseuntur,<sup>3</sup> laudanda nequaquam censuerim, licet ex laudabili zelo  
 processerint: sicut<sup>4</sup> nec in beatissimo Apostolorum  
 principe, arcem jam Apostolicæ perfectionis tenente, quod  
 gentes suo exemplo Judaizare coegit; in quo cum<sup>5</sup>  
 Doctor gentium reprehensibilem declarat fuisse, licet  
 eum constet laudabili hoc pietate fecisse.

useless  
 obstinacy,  
 albeit  
 arising  
 from  
 laudable  
 zeal.

## CAP. XVII.

*De morte Octoviani, et reditu<sup>6</sup> Alexandri pape in  
 Italiam.* A.D. 1164.

Alexandro papa post Turonense concilium in Galliis  
 commorante, Octovianus, qui Victor<sup>7</sup> est dictus, ex-  
 tremam sorte devictus, initi certaminis victoria caruit:  
 et nominis, quod tanquam pro omine a suis acceperat,  
 fallax præsagium non implevit. Tunc Johannes de  
 Sancto Martino, imperiali favore adjutus, Guidonem<sup>8</sup>  
 Cremensem collegam suum loco devicti Victoris insti-  
 tuit, ne victi viderentur. Alexander vero, annis ali-  
 quot in Galliis demoratus, repatriandi iter arripuit,  
 apud Montem-pessulanum transitum in Apuliam oppe-  
 riens<sup>9</sup> opportunum. Imperator vero non quiescens,  
 secretis, ut dicitur, literis, et promissis amplissimis  
 apud Willelmum ejusdem urbis dominum agere stu-

Death of  
 Victor IV.  
 (Octavian)  
 the anti-  
 pope  
 (April).  
 His suc-  
 cessor, the  
 antipope  
 Paschal  
 III., elect-  
 ed (April  
 22, 1164).  
 Pope  
 Alexander  
 III. re-  
 turns to  
 Italy  
 (A.D.  
 1165).

<sup>1</sup> *ipso*, B.L.S.; *eo*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *furor*, B.C.; *fervor*, L.R.S.

<sup>3</sup> An ancient hand has written in the margin of C. about this point "*Nota errorem.*"

<sup>4</sup> *sicut*, C.L.S.; *om.* B.

<sup>5</sup> *eum*, B.C.S.; *ei*, L.

<sup>6</sup> C. has *de reditu*.

<sup>7</sup> S. originally read *qui et Victor*, but *et* is expuncted.

<sup>8</sup> *Guidonem*, C.L.S.; *Gwidonem*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *opperiens*, C.L.S.; B. now reads *reperiens*, and A. agrees.

A.D. 1165. duit, ut proderet hospitem. At vir memorabilis integræ fidei est inventus, et insignem hospitem decentissime honoravit. Cumque cardinales cum multitudine virorum fortium, qui<sup>1</sup> Ierosolymam properabant, dromonem Hospitalis Ierosolymitani ingressi, dominum papam mox secuturum, jactis in alto mari anchoris, expectarent, contigit dromonem a prætereunte classe piratica infestari. Advehebatur pontifex ex triremi ingressurus dromonem: sed conspectis circa dromonem piratis, mox remis retortis in Magolonensem<sup>2</sup> se portum recepit. At viri virtutis qui erant in dromone tam viriliter restitere piratis, ut confuses nec illæsos abigerent.<sup>3</sup> Itaque dominum papam non ulterius cum periculo expectandum censentes, curso prospero fines regni Siculi attigerunt. Idem vero pontifex post dies aliquot in alia navi mari se credit, et secundis in Apuliam flatibus, nullo prorsus obsistente, transivit; susceptusque reverenter a rege Siculo et quotquot ejus<sup>4</sup> erant ditioni subjecti, cives quoque<sup>5</sup> Romanos cum optimatibus post modicum devotos et subditos habuit. Verum arcta erat via quæ ex<sup>6</sup> Transalpinis regionibus ad eum ducebat;<sup>7</sup> eo quod satellites vel imperatoris vel pseudo-papæ itinera sollicite observarent. Porro imperator, ecclesiasticæ pacis disruptor, pace et integritate diu non est gavisus imperii. Cum enim in Longobardos insolentius ageret, illi jugum Alemannicum non ferentes, in libertatem se pristinam receperunt, et restaurato a propriis civibus ex dispersione confluentibus, cum sociarum auxilio civitatum, Mediolano,<sup>8</sup> urbem quoque Alexandriam, ex nomine domini papæ, cui se devotos esse gaudebant, sic vocatam, apto loco ad excipiendos primos Alemannorum

Pope Alexander, in danger from pirates, retreats to Maguelonne (September).

He reaches Sicily and from thence goes to Apulia.

Restoration of Milan (A.D. 1167).

The building of Alessandria (A.D. 1168).

<sup>1</sup> C. has *quæ*.

<sup>2</sup> *Magolonensem*, B.C.L.S. See Bouquet (xv. 846) for Alexander's letter as to this. The Pisan ships made no attack.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *ambigerent*.

<sup>4</sup> *ejus*, om. B.

<sup>5</sup> *quoque*, B.L.R.S.; *vero*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *ex*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>7</sup> C. has *ducebant*.

<sup>8</sup> B. now reads *Mediolane*.

Italiam ingredientium impetus, condiderunt. Quam A.D. 1165. dum imperator in ipsis ejus primordiis obsidione cinxisset, expugnare non potuit: sed exercitu frustra fatigato discedens, hostium contra se fiduciam auxit.

## CAP. XVIII.

*De secunda expeditione Walensi, et de acquisitione Britannie.*

Anno quo papa Alexander, ut dictum est, relictis A.D. 1165. Gallis Apuliam remeavit, orta inter<sup>1</sup> regem Anglorum et Walenses<sup>2</sup> rediviva simultas, utrique parti res magni negotii fuit. Cum enim eadem gens effrenis et effera, rupto petulanter fœdere, obsidibusque, quos in fidem pactorum dederant, periculo expositis, vicinos<sup>3</sup> Anglorum fines turbarent; rex immenso tam ex regno quam ex transmarinis provinciis exercitu adunato, vi magna hostium fines ingressus est. Et quidem propter inextricabiles locorum difficultates non poterat longius progredi: sed tamen eorum frenatis exeursibus ita coarctavit inclusos, ut pacem meditari cogerebantur.

Rex vero, ex Wallis reducto exercitu, ad alia vocatus negotia, transfretavit, filiorum propensiori opera futuræ promotioni et ditationi prospiciens. Quippe ex Alianore<sup>4</sup> quondam Francorum regina susceptis quatuor filiis, Henricum natu majorem regni Angliei et ducatus Normannici, cum Andegavensi comitatu, successorem relinquere; Ricardum vero Aquitanie,<sup>5</sup> et

Second expedition against Wales.

Having forced the Welsh to sue for peace Henry turns his attention to the distribution

<sup>1</sup> *inter*, B.C.; *in*, S.L.

<sup>2</sup> *Walenses*, C.L.S.; *Wallenses*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *vicinos*, B.L.R.S.; *vicinosque*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Alianore*, B.L.S.; *Alienore*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *Aquitania*, B.L.S.; *Equitannia*, C.

A.D. 1164-71. Gaufridum Britanniae praeficere cogitabat: quartum, natu minimum, Johannem "Sine Terra" agnominans. Tres quoque ex eadem habens filias, unam regi Hispaniae, alteram vero Saxoniae<sup>1</sup> duci despondit: tertiam, nondum nubilem, regi Siciliae suo tempore comparem daturus. Verum quod de praeficiendo Britanniae filio cogitabat, artibus viribusque paulatim praeparabat, cum necdum suae Britanniam ditioni subjugasset. Jam tamen duos in eandem provinciam praeparatos habebat ingressus; civitatem scilicet Nammatensem et castrum Dolense. Contigit autem Conanum comitem Riche-mundensem, qui majori Britanniae parti dominabatur, in fata concedere, relicta ex sorore regis Scottorum herede unica filia. Quam rex innubilem impuberi filio<sup>2</sup> copulans, et<sup>3</sup> omne jus puellulae in propriam potestatem redegit.<sup>4</sup> Erant autem in Britannia quidam nobiles tantarum opum et virium, ut nullius unquam dignarentur subjacere dominio. His a multis retro annis dominandi libidine, atque impatientia serviendi hostiliter contententibus, praecleara olim regio ita dilacerata atque attenuata erat, ut in ea ex agris opulentissimis vastae solitudines viderentur. Cumque a potentioribus inferiores premerentur, regis Anglorum auxilium expetentes, ejus se ditioni spontanee subdiderunt. Quibus ille prompto animo et profusis opibus auxilium subministrans, ipsos quoque potentes, qui et magnitudine virium, et vix accessibilium natura locorum eatenus inexpugnabiles credebantur, subegit;<sup>5</sup> sicque in brevi Britannia tota potitus, turbato

of govern-  
ments  
among his  
sons.

Marriages  
proposed  
for his  
daughters.  
Henry's  
designs  
with re-  
gard to  
Brittany.

Turbulence  
of the  
Breton  
nobles.

<sup>1</sup> *Saxoniae*, C.L.S.; *Saxania*, B.

<sup>2</sup> *filio*, B.C.S.; *filio Galfrido*, L. by interlineation.

<sup>3</sup> *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> The order of events was this:— (i.) Henry's assistance given to Conan, 1164; (ii.) marriage of Constance with Geoffrey in 1166; (iii.) Conan's abdication, submission of

some of the nobles and intervention of Louis in 1167; (iv.) submission of remaining nobles, Henry's outrage on the Comte de Vanne's daughter, and renewed insurrection; and (v.) peace at the meeting of the kings and Becket (6 Jan. 1169).

<sup>5</sup> *subegit*, B.L.R.S.; *subjecit*, C.

ribus vel expulsis vel domitis, eam in cunctis finibus suis ita disposuit atque composuit, ut, populis in pace agentibus, deserta paulatim<sup>1</sup> in ubertatem verterentur. A.D.  
1164-71.

## CAP. XIX.

*De transitu piissimi regis Scottorum Malcolmi.<sup>2</sup>*

Circa hæc tempora Christianissimus rex Scottorum A.D. 1165.  
Malcolmus, cujus in præcedenti libro, prout decuit, Affairs of  
Scotland.  
fecimus mentionem, Christo vocante hominem exuens, Death of  
Malcolm  
angelis sociandus,<sup>3</sup> regnum non perdidit, sed mutavit. IV. (Dec.  
9).  
Hominem angelicæ sinceritatis inter homines, et tanquam terrenum quendam angelum, quo dignus non erat mundus, cœlestes angeli rapuerunt e mundo.  
Homo in ætate tenera mirandæ gravitatis, in regni fastigio atque deliciis stupendæ et sine exemplo puritatis, ex corpore virgineo raptus est ad Agnum, Virginis filium, secuturus Eum quocunque ierit.<sup>4</sup> Raptus His mar-  
vellous  
purity of  
life.  
est plane morte immatura, ne mirandam ejus innocentiam atque munditiam, eum regnantem juvenem tot in contrarium occasiones et incentiva impellerent, mutaret malitia temporum. Verum quia mirabili animæ inter virtutum insignia non deerant sordiusculæ ex regiis deliciis, quas tamen tolerabat magis quam amabat, contractæ; cœlitus emissa, non immissa, visitatio paterno eum verbere castigavit, et excoxit<sup>5</sup> ad purum. Quippe annis ante exitum aliquot ita elanguit, et præter alia incommoda gravissimis extremitatum, id

<sup>1</sup> paulatim in margin of C., and marked for insertion before verterentur.

<sup>2</sup> Malcolmi, C.L.S. Malcolme, A.B.

<sup>3</sup> sociandus, A.B.; sociandis, L.R.S.; sociandum, C. Heame prints sociandis.

<sup>4</sup> ierit, C.L.S.; erit, B.

<sup>5</sup> excoxit, B.C.S.; extorsit, L.

A.D. 1165. est, capitis et pedum, laboravit doloribus, ut quilibet peccator poenitens tantis videretur flagellationibus ad liquidum posse purgari. Unde manifestum est, puerum Dei, non tantum ad purgationem, verum etiam ad probationem et incrementa virtutum, vel augmenta meritorum, severitatem paterni verberis<sup>1</sup> fuisse expertum. Dormivit ergo cum patribus suis, et sepultus est apud Dunfermelin, locum scilicet in Scotia sic dictum, regum sepulturis insignem. Successit ei frater ejus Willelmus, fratre<sup>2</sup> quidem, ut videbatur, ad usum mundi aptior, sed in regni administratione fratre<sup>3</sup> felicior non futurus. Mundo quo frater simpliciter, ideoque pie et laudabiliter, uti voluit, non simpliciter ipse uti sed frui intendens, et fratris modum in temporali excellentia multum conatus transcendere, ejus tamen gloriam nunquam potuit vel in temporali felicitate æquare. Nuptiarum bono, cui frater pie sanctæque præposuit virginitatis optimum, multo quidem tempore uti, vel ad sobolem, vel pro remedio incontinentiæ distulit. Tandem vero salubrioris instinctu consilii de transmarinis eujusdam primarii filiam duxit uxorem: et de cetero non solum vixit correctius,<sup>4</sup> verum etiam regnavit felicius.

William  
the Lion  
succeeds.

<sup>1</sup> B. has *vbis*.

<sup>2</sup> *fratri*, B.C.L.S.

<sup>3</sup> *fratri*, B.C.L.S.

<sup>4</sup> *correctius*, B.L.S.; *correctus*,  
C.



CAP. XX.<sup>1</sup>*De vita et morte<sup>2</sup> venerabilis heremita Godrici.*

Eisdem fere temporibus venerabilis heremita God-  
 ricus de Finchala, loco scilicet solitario sic dicto, non  
 longe a civitate Dunelmensi super annem Wirum, A.D. 1170.  
 annis maturus et meritis, in Domino requievit. In Life of St.  
 quo plane cernere erat pium altumque Divinitatis Godric.  
 beneplacitum, ad confusionem nobilium et magnorum  
 ignobilia mundi et contemptibilia eligentis. Cum enim  
 idem esset rusticanus et idiota, nihilque sciens nisi  
 Christum Jesum<sup>3</sup> et hunc crucifixum, quod utique  
 quantumlibet obtusis et rudibus in fidei cunabulis  
 traditur, in ingressu adolescentiæ fervere cœpit spiritu,  
 totisque hausit ossibus ignem, quem Dōminus misit in  
 terram. Denique cœlibatum, quem<sup>4</sup> Deo gratum et  
 sublimis esse meriti forte didicerat, devote amplexus,  
 in cibo et potu, in verbo et gestu, homo simplicissimus  
 decentem cum gravitate servare modum studuit.  
 Velox ad audiendum, tardus autem ad loquendum, et  
 in ipsa locutione parcissimus. Flere cum flentibus  
 doctus; ridere autem cum ridentibus, et jocari cum  
 jocantibus nescius. Juvenis sepulchrum Dominicum in  
 multa paupertate, nudis incedendo pedibus, visitavit,  
 reversusque ad propria, locum aptum ubi Deo serviret  
 sollicite quæsit. Accepitque in somnis, sicut aiunt, ut  
 locum Finchala dictum quæreret, ibidem Deo volente  
 victurus. Quem tandem post multam lustrationem  
 inveniens, ibidem cum sorore pauperecula primum, et  
 ea defuncta solus multo tempore habitavit. Vitæ  
 autem ejus districtio fere supra humanum modum

<sup>1</sup> B. omits the whole of this chapter; A. has it. St. Godric was born at Walpole in Norfolk, and died May 21, 1170. His life by Reginald of Durham has been printed for the Surtees Society.

<sup>2</sup> *morte*, L.S.; *transitu*, C.; A. has a wrong rubric.

<sup>3</sup> *Jesum*, A.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>4</sup> *quem*, A.L.S.; *quoniam*, C.

A.D. 1170. fuisse perhibetur. Memoratus quidem locus silvosus est, sed modicam habet planitiem, quam ille fodiendo exercens, fructum ab ea<sup>1</sup> annuum, quo utenque sustentaretur, exigebat, et quantulamcunque poterat advenientibus exinde caritatem exhibebat. Sane Dunelmensi ecclesie mundissimae vitae merito commendatus, talem sancti collegii ibidem consistentis circa se providentiam meruit, ut senior monachus, ad hoc ipsum deputatus, crebro eum visitaret, tum pro instructione simplicitatis rusticae, tum etiam ut sacri participatione mysterii certis diebus muniretur. Diu quidem hostis antiquus hominem simplicissimum insidiando circumvenire tentavit; ubi autem insidias vidit minus procedere,<sup>2</sup> simplicitatem saltem<sup>3</sup> praestigiis curavit illudere. Sed vir Dei hostiles et caute vitavit insidias, et constanter sprexit derisitque praestigias, beatissimo maxime Johanne Baptista, quem specialiter diligebat, crebrius eum visitante, informante, et roborante. Hoc modo usque ad decrepitam vivens<sup>4</sup> aetatem; paucis ante mortem annis senilium defectu membrorum decubuit, et diebus plurimis quantulamcunque in moribundo corpore vitae reliquias modico lactis haustu servavit. Denique illis diebus videre eum et alloqui merui, in oratorio proprio juxta sacrum altare jugiter decubentem. Cumque toto fere corpore quodammodo praemortuus videretur, expedite tamen loquebatur, illa ori ejus familiaria verba, scilicet "Patrem et Filium" et Spiritum Sanctum," saepius replicans. In vultu autem ejus mira quaedam dignitas et decus insolitum visebatur. Transiit ergo senex et plenus dierum, idemque loci spatium ejus nunc tenet corpus, quo vel orans procumbere, vel aegrotus decumbere consueverat vivus.

The saint is regularly visited by the monks of Durham.

When on his death-bed is visited by the author.

St. Godric buried in his own hermitage.

<sup>1</sup> *ca*, A.L.S.; *eo*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *procedere*, A.L.S.; *procedere*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *simplicitatem saltem*, L.S.; *sim-*

*plicitates autem*, C.; A. has *simplicitati saltem*; R. omits *saltem*.

<sup>4</sup> *vivens*, A.L.R.S.; *veniens*, C.

CAP. XXI.<sup>1</sup>

*De quodam Ketello, et gratia divinitus illi collata.* A.D.

Fuit et alius quidam vir venerabilis<sup>2</sup> in nostra, id est, Eboracensi provincia, apud vicum Farnham dictum, nomine Ketellus. Homo quidem<sup>3</sup> rusticanus, sed innocentiae et simplicitatis merito singularem quandam a Domino gratiam consecutus. De quo sane plura memorabilia veracium mihi virorum innotuere relatu, e quibus pauca retexam. Idem, cum esset adolescens, quodam die jumento sedens domum revertebatur ex agro. Et ecce in via plana<sup>4</sup> jumentum tanquam in aliquod offendiculum impingens, in terram decidit, et sessorem dejecit. Qui exurgens vidit duos quasi Æthiopes parvulos sedentes in via, et corridentes. Intellexit esse dæmones non amplius permissos nocere, et gaudentes se vel modicum nocuisse. Accepitque tale donum a Deo, ut ab illa die et deinceps dæmones haberet conspicabiles, et quantumcunque latere cuperent, eum latere non possent. Intuebatur eos, ut homines vel in modico laderent oberrantes, et si forte vel modicum læsionis intulissent, exsultantes. Denique hujus sibi gratiæ conscius, cepit Deo devotus existere; orandi studio crebrius secretum captare; esu carniū et lineis abstinere; ecclesiam, quantum vacare<sup>5</sup> poterat, ita frequentare, ut ingredretur primus et ultimus egredretur. Cœlibatum amplexus de nuptiis non curavit, usque ad finem vitæ in obsequio positus cujusdam Adæ clerici de Farnham. Accepti numeris secretum tenuit, nec suas passim voluit revelare visiones, nisi forte sacerdoti tanquam confessionis mysterium, aut domino suo, sive alicui sapienti arctius

1154-70?

Legend of Ketell, a rustic of Farnham in Yorkshire, who was endowed with the power of seeing and conversing with devils.

<sup>1</sup> B. omits the whole of this chapter; A. retains it.

<sup>2</sup> *venerabilis*, L.R.S.; *memorabilis*, A.C.

<sup>3</sup> *quidem*, A.C.S.; *quidam*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *plana*, A.C.L.R.S.; Hearne prints *plane*.

<sup>5</sup> *vacare*, A.C.L.S.; om. R.

A.D. 1154-70? inquirenti. Stabat aliquando præ foribus domini sui circa solis occubitum, viditque decem dæmones, quorum unus major erat, et præesse ceteris videbatur, vicum ingressos. Cumque uno in loco subsisterent, et secum confabularentur, tanquam secreto deliberantes de agendis, major ille cœpit mittere binos per domos. Ipse autem cum uno fores, ubi stabat Ketellus, ingredi voluit. Tum ille, "In nomine," inquit, "Christi interdico vobis januæ hujus ingressum, et moram in vico isto: revocate socios vestros, et abite velociter." Paruere inviti, sacri nominis adjurationem non ferentes, et suas molitiones ab homine animadversas dolentes. Item vidit aliquando dæmones trans-euntes cum carro diligenter clauso, et audiebatur foris gemitus inclusorum; porro illi ridebant. Tum ille ad eos, nam solebat impavidus cum hujusmodi spiritibus miscere sermonem, "Quid est," inquit, "hoc?" Et illi, "Animas," inquiunt, "peccatrices deceptas captasque<sup>1</sup> a nobis ad loca pœnalia ducimus: illæ gemunt, et nos ridemus. Te quoque nobis tradi optamus, ut etiam super te, cum hostis noster sis, gratulantius rideamus." Tunc<sup>2</sup> ille, "Abite," inquit, "malignisimi; risus vester in luctum vertatur." Contigit autem eum<sup>3</sup> aliquando eorundem pæne hostium sævitiam experiri. Fessus ex agrario opere domum reversus, dum somno gravaretur, sacri se signaculi nequaquam impressione munivit. Dormienti loco solito soli astitere duo dæmones, sævi nimis atque terribiles, et excitatum apprehendentes; "Euge," inquiunt, "Ketelle, incidisti in manus nostras: infestos sentire habes, quos provocare minime timuisti, quorum mysteria totiens prodidisti." Ille subito casu attonitus, nomen Christi invocare et signare se voluit, nec valuit. Manus enim et lingua ejus tenebantur, ne sacri se vel

<sup>1</sup> *captasque*, L.S.; *raptasque*, C.; | <sup>2</sup> *Tunc*, L.S.; *tum*, A.C.  
<sup>3</sup> *eum*, A.L.S.; *cum*, C.

signi vel nominis munimine regio tueretur. "Noli," inquit, "Ketelle, frustra conari: manum linguam-  
 " que tuam ligavimus, ut nihil tibi adversum nos  
 " valeat suffragari." Cumque ita de illo triumphare viderentur, et malum, quod ei facere cogitabant, verbis minacibus atque insultatoriis prævenirent, repente juvenis splendidus bipennem manu ferens introiit, stansque in medio, bipenni molliter digito tacta sonitum ingentem dedit. Quo sonitu exterriti<sup>1</sup> dæmones, relicto de quo triumphare cœperant homine, diffugerunt. Tum<sup>2</sup> accedens juvenis, quem ejusdem hominis angelum fuisse credo; "Ketelle," inquit, "negligentia tua pæne te periclitari nunc fecit. Cave ne ulterius-  
 " te inveniant insidiantes tibi hostes inermem."

A.D.  
 1154-70?

Dicebat autem idem Ketellus esse quosdam dæmones magnos, robustos, et callidos, multumque nocivos si relaxentur a superiori potestate, quosdam vero parvos ac despicabiles, impotentes viribus et sensu hebetes, omnes tamen pro modulo suo infestos hominibus, multumque lætari, si vel parum illis molestiæ inferant. Vidisse se quosdam tales sedentes secus vias, et facientes offendicula transeuntibus, petulanterque ridentes, cum vel hominem vel jumentum ejus pedes atterere facerent, et maxime si homo, hoc ipsum jumento imputans, maledicto in jumentum calcaribusve sæviret. Porro si homo vel modice turbatus nomen ederet Salvatoris, ut est quorundam consuetudo valde laudabilis, tristes et confusi fugiebant. Aiebat quoque se aliquando<sup>3</sup> domum potationis ingressum vidisse hujusmodi dæmones in specie simiarum, singulos potatoribus singulis in scapula sedentes, illisque potantibus spuentes in phialas, hominumque vecordiam petulanti gestu et ludicris motibus iridentes. Cumque inter potandum preces ex more indicerentur, et nomen Sal-

<sup>1</sup> *exterriti*, A.L.S.; *territi*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *Tum*, A.C.S.; *tunc*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *aliquando*, A.L.R.S.; om. C.

A.D.  
1154-70 ?  
—

vatoris insonaret, exterriti exsiliabant, virtutem sacri nominis non ferentes, sed mox, residentibus ad phialas rusticis, rursus introibant sessionem priorem cum motibus solitis repetentes. Sane hic,<sup>1</sup> cui tanta divinitus collata est gratia in animadvertendis nequam spirituum actibus atque insidiis, annis vitæ suæ in multa innocentia et sinceritate expletis, dormivit in Domino, sepultusque est apud Farnham.<sup>2</sup>

CAP. XXII.

A.D.  
1167-82.  
—

*De diutina vacatione ecclesie Lincolnensis.*

Death of Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln (Jan. 26). The revenues of the see are seized by the king, and the bishopric remains vacant for nearly 17 years. A prophecy that it would never again be filled seems for a time to be true. Election of Geoffrey,

Anno regni Henrici secundi quartodecimo,<sup>3</sup> qui fuit a partu Virginis M<sup>US</sup>C<sup>US</sup>LX<sup>US</sup>VII<sup>US</sup>, mortuus est Robertus, ecclesie Lincolnensis antistes,<sup>4</sup> Alexandri successor; redactoque in fiscum episcopatu, vacavit pastorali providentia eadem ecclesia per annos fere decem et septem, id est, ab anno ejusdem regis quartodecimo usque ad tricesimum, ita ut aliquis in ea ulterius pontificaturus tepide crederetur; maxime propter verbum cujusdam conversi de Tama a decessu prænominati episcopi constanter pronuntiantis, nullum ulterius fore ecclesie Lincolnensis episcopum. Is enim, ut dicitur, cum propter religiosæ conversationis meritum, et multorum quæ similiter prædixerat eventum, spiritu prophetico pollere videretur, a pluribus in fidem receptum est, quod nec in ea re falleretur.<sup>5</sup> At hæc<sup>6</sup> post modicum fides mutare<sup>7</sup> visa est, Gaufrido, regis filio naturali, in gratiam ejusdem regis, ad memoratæ ecclesie pontificatum electo. Cum autem ille

<sup>1</sup> C. has *huic*.

<sup>2</sup> Farnham, L.S.; Farnham, C.; Farnham, A.

<sup>3</sup> See note 3, p. 117, as to Newburgh's reckoning.

<sup>4</sup> antistes, B.L.R.S.; episcopus, C.

<sup>5</sup> a . . . falleretur; this passage is in the margin of C., and has been partly cut away.

<sup>6</sup> At hæc, B.G.S.; ad hæc, L.

<sup>7</sup> mutare, B.C.L.S.; mutare, R.

amplissimis contentus redditibus, ut liberius vacaret deliciis, canonicæ consecrationis tempus protraheret, ovesque dominicas nesciens pascere, et doctus tondere, multo tempore Lincolnensi ecclesiæ sub electi nomine incubaret, memorati viri verbum in multorum animis ad fidem cœpit reserpere.<sup>1</sup> Quod utique post modicum fortius movit plurimos, cum rex pœnitentia ductus, quod delicatum juvenem, et tanti honoris apici minus congruentem, carnali affectu ita promovere voluisset, eo tandem ad refutandum jus et nomen electi prudenter inducto, episcopatum rursus in fiscum reduxisset. At illius vel prænuntiationis,<sup>2</sup> vel opinionis mendacium sequenti est tempore declaratum, ut suo loco narrabitur.

A.D.  
1167-82.

the king's  
natural  
son  
(A.D.  
1173).

Geoffrey  
resigns  
(Jan. 6,  
1182.)

## CAP. XXIII.

*De duabus expeditionibus Amalrici regis Ierosolymitani in Ægyptum.*

Circa idem tempus Amalricus rex Ierosolymorum invitatus a rege Babylonis, Christianam militiam duxit in Ægyptum, quæ nunc terra Babylonis vulgo<sup>3</sup> dicitur: non illius sane vetustissimæ Babylonis,<sup>4</sup> de qua scripturæ sacræ loquuntur, quæ<sup>5</sup> prima post diluvium in terra Chaldæorum a Nino<sup>6</sup> et Semiramide condita, plusquam mille annis orientis obtinuit principatum, et olim diruta, desertaque nunc dicitur; sed cujusdam Ægyptiæ civitatis, cui, ut legitur, Cambyses rex Persarum in subacta Ægypto a se conditæ nomen indidit

A.D.  
1164-7.

First expedition of Amalric, king of Jerusalem, into Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> *reserpere*, B.L.R.S.; *respicere*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *prænuntiationis*, C.L.S.; *prænuntiationis*, B.; Hearne prints *prænuntiationis*, but the word in the text is used by Tertullian in the sense of a prediction.

<sup>3</sup> *vulgo*, B.L.S.; *a vulgo*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *vulgo . . . Babylonis*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>5</sup> *quæ*, C.L.S.; *qui*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *a Nino*, B. has *avino*.

A.D.  
1164-7.

Noured-  
din's  
army under  
Shiracouh  
invades the  
territory of  
the Fatim-  
ite Caliph.

The vizir  
of the  
Fatimite  
Caliph  
solicits aid  
from the  
king of  
Jerusalem.

Expedition  
of Amalric  
to Egypt.

Babylonis.<sup>1</sup> Hujus autem expeditionis causa hæc fuit. Turci,<sup>2</sup> gens callida et bellicosa, sub rege Noradino regnum affectantes Ægypti, eo quod Ægyptii opulentia quidem clari, sed armis minus acres viderentur, duce Saracone, principe militiae ejusdem regis, viro in rebus bellicis experientissimo, clandestinum per extremos Christianorum fines transitum<sup>3</sup> arte moliti, Ægyptiis se provinciis immersere, captisque vel deditis in brevi civitatibus aliquot, regi Babylonis terribiles intolerabilesque fuere. Qui cum videret eos virtute Ægyptia arceri abigique<sup>4</sup> non posse, regis Christiani Sarracenus postulavit auxilium, multam de cetero devotionem cum certo et annuo pollicens vectigali. Mox ille, ut erat magnanimus, regno disposito, et parte militiae ad excipiendos Noradini impetus, si forte interim irrumperere niteretur, deputata, cum parte reliqua Christiani exercitus Ægyptum ingressus, junctis sibi regis Babylonici copiis, Saraconem cum Turcis in quadam civitate obsedit, et tandem coarctatos atque infractos Ægypti finibus expulit, concesso revertentibus<sup>5</sup> in terram suam transitu libero per fines Christianos. Dum hæc in Ægypto agerentur, Noradinus non quievit, et quietem simulans arte et dolis plus nocuit. Denique quendam<sup>6</sup> ex nostris laudatæ fidei et fortitudinis virum, cui urbis<sup>7</sup> nostræ hostium finibus oppositæ, quæ nunc Belinas<sup>8</sup> dicitur, olim Cæsarea Philippi dicebatur, cura et custodia commissa erat, auro corruptum ad suas partes traduxit: quo immitente<sup>9</sup> Turci latenter civitatem ingressi neminem quidem peremerunt, sed expulsis cum episcopo Christianis, novo urbem præsidio munierunt. Hujus casus adver-

<sup>1</sup> Now Cairo.

<sup>2</sup> *Turci*; B. has *Turri* here.

<sup>3</sup> *transitum* in C., interlined before *per extremos*.

<sup>4</sup> *abigique*, B.L.S.; *ambigique*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *revertentibus*, A.B.C.; om.

L.R.S.

<sup>6</sup> C. has *quandam*.

<sup>7</sup> *urbis*, C.L.S.; *urbi*, (?) B.

<sup>8</sup> *Belinas*, C.L.S.; *Bellinas*, B. (Panes).

<sup>9</sup> C. has *immitente*.



sitas regis ex Ægypto revertentis animum saucians, triumphantis gloriam denigravit. Post annos vero<sup>1</sup> aliquot Turcorum fortiores sævioresque copię non tam dominandi libidine, quam vindicandę repulsionis suę stimulis incitatae, duce rursus Saracone regni Ægyptii intima penetrarunt. Ad quorum ingressum Babylonici regis fiducia omnis elanguit, unde mox per legatos, verbis ad deprecandum compositis, Christiani regis opem solitam flagitavit. Qui mox, regno Second expedition of Amalric (A.D. 1166-7). cautius disposito, cum peditum equitumque ingentibus copiis Ægyptum ingressus, juncto sibi Ægyptio exercitu, Turcos aggredi statuit. Qui astute belli discrimen declinantes, in solitudines refugerunt. Persequentibus eos Christianis, Paschalis occurrit sollemnitas. Unde castris positus super fluvium clarissimum Nilum, sacratissimę diei cum gaudio sollemnia pegerunt. Cumque eis carnum pro ejusdem diei letitia modicus esset apparatus, de supernę provisionis beneficio res memorabilis contigit. Sicut enim ab ipsis accepimus qui interfuere, cum Christianus exercitus, in castris pro sacrę diei reverentia excubans, ministerio sacerdotum cibos sumpsisset cęlestes, repente grex maximus aprorum suumque silvestrium ex vicinis locis erumpens palustribus castra irrupit. Tum viri virtutis gladiis et lanceis pro venabulis usi quantos voluere non solum escę studio, sed etiam pro deliciis mactavere. Agentes ergo gratias insperati muneris Largitori, ejusdem gratissimę venationis tantam copiam habuere, ut ex illius diei reliquiis in cibos crastinos et diei tertię jumenta onerarent. Mane profecti persequendis hostibus insistebant. Verum cum pedestres copię lassarentur, rex, eisdem subsistere jussis, cum equitatu properabat. Quod ubi hostilis exercitus dux callidissimus comperit, occurrendum ei pœlioque decertandum putavit, certam sibi de ab-

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<sup>1</sup> vero, B.C.L.S. : om. R.

A.D. 1164-7.   
 Battle of   
 Babāin   
 (18 March,   
 1167).   
 Capture of   
 Alexan-   
 dria.

sentia pedestrium turmarum victoriam pollicens, eo quod ipse equitatu longe numerosiore præstaret. Itaque commissum est prælium atrox nimis et cruentum, quod ab hora diei septima protractum est usque in vesperum. Uterque exercitus, alacritate simul et numero minoratus, in castra se recepit, amne medio interlabente discreta, cujus vadum Christiani caute præoccupaverant ad transmeandum. Nocte vero rex principibus convocatis damna deplorat, majorem exercitus partem abesse causatus, docet bellum a fatigatis et sauciis non debere mane repeti, sed absque strepitu revertendum esse ad socios. Quod cum omnibus placuisset, nocte intempesta cum silentio per viam, qua venerant, abiere. Hoc ipsum et ab hostibus factum est, metu et cautela non dispari. Et<sup>1</sup> Turci quidem in Alexandriam se receperunt. Christianus vero equitatus pedestribus est copiis redditus. Rex autem refecto exercitu, auctusque viribus, obsedit Alexandriam; qua tandem post multarum experimenta difficultatum per deditionem potitus, Turcos iterum regno Babylonico expulit, et cum ingenti gloria ad propria remeavit.

## CAP. XXIV.

*De discordia et reconciliatione regis<sup>2</sup> Francorum et regis<sup>3</sup> Anglorum.*

A.D. 1169.

Peace with   
 France   
 (Jan. 6).   
 Cause of   
 the war   
 thus con-   
 cluded.

Anno regni Henrici secundi sextodecimo,<sup>4</sup> ipse et rex Francorum, cum jam diu scule fuissent<sup>5</sup> discordes, mediantibus viris pacificis, pacis iterum inter se jura firmanunt. Illius autem discordiæ causa hæc fuit.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *et*, L.S.; *sed*, C.; om. B.   
<sup>2</sup> *regis*, C.L.S.; *ejus regis*, B.   
<sup>3</sup> *regis*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 117, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> *fuissent*, B.L.R.S.; *essent*, C.

<sup>6</sup> An error, see p. 159, note 5.

Rege olim Stephano<sup>1</sup> tumultibus Anglicis occupato, comes Andegavensis invasit obtinuitque Normanniam, præter Gisorcium et duo alia quasi appendentia castella, quæ in potestatem regis Francorum cesserunt. Hanc juris Normannici diminutionem processu<sup>2</sup> temporis ejusdem comitis filius, rex scilicet Anglorum Henricus secundus, non patiens, arte magis quam viribus in hac parte vidit utendum. Denique per virum industrium, Thomam scilicet cancellarium suum, egit apud regem Francorum, ut filia ejus ex filia regis Hispanici, quæ nupserat ei post Alianorem, primogenito suo Henrico daretur in conjugem, munitionibus illis in dotem cedentibus, quæ tamen a Templariis tanquam in sequestro custodirentur,<sup>3</sup> donec pueri, qui nondum per ætatem nuptias contrahere poterant, suo tempore nuptialiter convenirent; rege Anglorum interim utriusque pueri habente custodiam. Verum idem rex aliquot annis elapsis productionis moræ impatiens, inter eosdem pueros nuptias celebravit præmaturas, et a Templariis castella recepit. Quamobrem sævientibus Francis, et ipsum quidem prævaricationis, Templarios vero prodicionis accusantibus, ad lites et bella ventum est. Sed crebris experimentis edocti ejusdem regis potentia vim inferri<sup>4</sup> non posse, ira paulatim deferrescente, tandem, pactis quibusdam mediantibus, acquieverunt ut fieret pax, et facta est pax; non quidem solida, sed temporalis, ut postea claruit.<sup>5</sup> Nempe memorati duo reges nunquam diu inter se quievisse noscuntur, populis hinc inde plecti assuetis quicquid illi per superbiam delirassent.

A.D. 1169.

To recover castles taken by the king of France from Stephen, Henry arranges that the French king's daughter, when of proper age, shall marry prince Henry, bringing the castles as dower. These meanwhile to be held by the Templars. King Henry unduly hastens the marriage (Nov. 2, 1160), and obtains the castles.

<sup>1</sup> *olim Stephano*, B.R.S.; *autem Stephano olim*, L., with *autem* doubtfully expuncted; *autem Stephano*, C.A., but C. introduces *olim* before *occupato*.

<sup>2</sup> *processu*, C.L.S.; *processi*, B.

<sup>3</sup> L. has *custodiretur*.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *vi inferre*.

<sup>5</sup> The discord arising from these events was ended for a time in 1161. The outburst of 1167, which concluded *anno . . . sextodecimo* (i.e. 1169) was connected with Breton affairs. See p. 146, note 4.

## CAP. XXV.

*De coronatione Henrici tertii, et interfectione beati Thomæ.*

A.D. 1170. Anno a partu Virginis M<sup>CC</sup>OLXX<sup>o</sup>, qui fuit regis  
 (June 14) Coronation of prince Henry by Roger archbishop of York, Becket being an exile in France.  
 Becket complains to the pope.  
 Reconciliation between the king and Becket (July 22).  
 Becket's return to Canterbury (Dec. 3) with secret letters from the pope.

Henrici secundi septimus-decimus,<sup>1</sup> idem rex Henricum<sup>2</sup> filium suum in ætate tenera fecit sollemniter consecrari et coronari in regem Lundoniis, per manum Rogerii Eboracensis archiepiscopi. Nam venerabilis Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, rege nondum placato, licet Romanus pontifex et rex Francorum plurimum circa reconciliationem ejus satagerent, adhuc in Galliis exsulabat. Qui cum factum audisset, pro ecclesia sua æmulans, Romano pontifici, cujus favore et suffragiis fovebatur, rem celeriter intimavit, idque in suum et ecclesiæ suæ præjudicium actum esse allegans, ad coercendos, tam Eboracensem, qui in aliena provincia hoc attentaverat, quam episcopos, qui præsentem assensum præbuerant, magnæ districtiois literas impetravit. Sane rex Anglorum, tempore modico post filii coronationem in Anglia commoratus, transfretavit. Cumque<sup>3</sup> crebris domini papæ monitis, atque importunis illustris Francorum<sup>4</sup> regis precibus pulsaretur, ut saltem jam<sup>5</sup> post septennium exsiliu insigni illi exsuli placari<sup>6</sup> dignaretur, tandem acquievit: et celebrata est inter eos sollemnis, et quanto scior tanto optatior gratiorque concordia. Rege igitur in transmarinis partibus consistente, idem archiepiscopus cum licentia et gratia regia ad ecclesiam propriam remeabat. Habebat autem penes se, rege inscio, literas domini papæ contra Eboracensem et reliquos episcopos, qui illi infaustissimæ coronationi interfuerant, impetratas, factæ jam con-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 117, note 3, as to Newburgh's peculiar reckoning.

<sup>2</sup> *Henricum*, B.L.S.; *Henricus*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *Cumque*, B.L.S.; *cum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *annorum* (sic), B.

<sup>5</sup> *jam*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> *placari*, B.L.S.; *placare*, C.

cordiæ irritatrices, et majoris iræ provocatrices futuras. A.D. 1170. Has in Angliam ad suspensionem episcoporum præmissas ipse<sup>1</sup> sequebatur, zelo justitiæ fervidus, utrum autem plene secundum scientiam<sup>2</sup> novit Deus. Nostræ enim parvitati nequaquam conceditur, de tanti viri actibus temere judicare. Puto tamen quod beatissimus papa Gregorius in molli adhuc teneraque regis concordia mitius egisset, et ea, quæ sine fidei Christianæ periculo tolerari potuissent, ratione temporis et compensatione pacis dissimulanda duxisset, juxta illud propheticum, "Prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia " tempus malum est." Itaque quod a venerabili pontifice tunc actum est nec laudandum esse judico, nec vituperare præsumo; sed dico quia<sup>3</sup> si vel modice in hujusmodi a sancto viro per zeli laudabilis paulo immoderatiorem impetum est excessum, hoc ipsum est sacræ, quæ consecuta noscitur, igne passionis excoctum. Ita quippe sancti viri vel amandi vel laudandi sunt a nobis, qui nos illis longe impares esse cognoscimus, ut tamen ea, in quibus homines vel forte fuerunt, vel fuisse noscuntur, nequaquam vel amemus, vel laudemus, sed ea tantum<sup>4</sup> in quibus eos sine scrupulo imitari debemus. Quis enim dicat eos in omnibus, quæ ab ipsis<sup>5</sup> fiunt, esse imitabiles, cum dicat apostolus Jacobus, "in multis offendimus omnes"? Non ergo in omnibus quæ faciunt, sed sapienter et caute debent laudari, ut sua Deo prærogativa servetur: in cujus utique laudibus nemo potest esse nimius, quantumcunque laudare conetur. Igitur episcopis pro memorato excessu, qui utinam pro tempore dissimulatus fuisset, ad instantiam venerabilis Thomæ, Apostolicæ sedis auctoritate ab omni episcopalis officii dignitate suspensus, rex quorundam querelis exasperatus infremuit,

The author's comments on the pope's action as regards the dispute.

The bishops are suspended. The king's anger and imprudent words.

Amos, v. 13.

Jac. iii. 2.

<sup>1</sup> *ipse*, B.L.S.; *ipso*, C.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *scientiam*.

<sup>3</sup> B.C.L. and S. have *quia*. See note 2 on p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> *tantum*, B.L.R.S.; *tamen*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *ipsis*, C.L.S.; *eis*, A., and, by

15 cent. alteration, B.

A.D. 1170. et turbatus est<sup>1</sup> supra modum, atque in ipso fervore  
 erumpentis furoris parum sui compos, ex abundantia  
 cordis turbidi eructavit verba non sana. Tunc qua-  
 tuor assistentium procerum, viri genere nobiles et  
 militiae actibus clari, æmulando pro domino temporali  
 inflammati ad facinus, mox egressi sunt a facie ejus,  
 et tanta velocitate transfretantes, ut quasi ad sollemnes  
 epulas festinare viderentur, concepti furoris stimulis  
 agitati, quinto Natalis Dominici die Cantuariam vene-  
 runt, et venerabilem archiepiscopum, religiosa lætitia  
 præclaræ sollemnitati intentum, ibidem invenerunt.  
 Ingressique<sup>2</sup> ad eum jam pransum et sedentem cum  
 viris honoratis, salutatione non præmissa, sed regii  
 nominis terrore prætento, jusserunt magis quam petie-  
 runt aut monuerunt, ut quoniam<sup>3</sup> episcoporum sus-  
 pensio, qui regiae<sup>4</sup> paruerant voluntati, in ipsius regis  
 contemptum et contumeliam redundaret, eandem  
 maturius relaxaret. Illo respondente, superioris sen-  
 tentiam a minori potestate convelli non posse, proinde  
 sua non interesse relaxare non a se sed a pontifice  
 Romano suspensos, voces sermonum grandium emitte-  
 bant. Quibus ille non territus, furentibus grand-  
 iterque<sup>5</sup> frementibus mira libertate atque fiducia  
 loquebatur. Unde magis accensi concite egressi sunt,  
 et sumptis armis, nam sine armis ingressi fue-  
 rant, ad atrocissimum se facinus cum ingenti strepitu  
 fremituque<sup>6</sup> præparabant. Suasum est venerando<sup>7</sup>  
 pontifici a suis, ut in sacram se basilicam recipiens,  
 inhumane sævientium rabiem declinaret. Cumque non  
 facile acquiesceret, paratus ad subeundum discrimen,  
 tandem irrupentibus atque urgentibus adversariis,  
 amica suorum violentia ad sacri loci munimina tra-

Four  
knights  
take up the  
quarrel and  
cross to  
England.

They  
demand  
of Becket  
the relaxa-  
tion of the  
suspension  
of the  
bishops.  
He  
refuses.

<sup>1</sup> est, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>2</sup> Ingressique, B.C.S.; ingressi,  
L.

<sup>3</sup> quoniam, B.L.S.; quam, C.

<sup>4</sup> regiae, B.C.L.S.; regis, R.

<sup>5</sup> granditerque, B.L.R.S.; grand-  
iter et, C.

<sup>6</sup> fremituque, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>7</sup> venerando, B.C.L.S.; venerabili,  
R.

hebatur. Canebantur a monachis Omnipotenti Deo A.D. 1170.  
 sollemniter laudes vespertinae, et ipse venerabile Christi  
 templum ingressus est, sacrificium vespertinum mox  
 futurus. Insecuti enim satellites diaboli neque sacri  
 ordinis, neque sacri vel loci vel temporis reverentiam,  
 ut Christiani, habuerunt, sed<sup>1</sup> sacerdotem magnum, The  
 stantem ad orationem ante venerandum altare, aggressi, murder of  
 in ipsis Christi natalitiis Christiani nequissimi gladiis Becket,  
 crudelissime peremerunt. Quo facto, tanquam trium- (Dec. 29).  
 phantes egressi, cum infelici lætitia abierunt. Repu- The four  
 tantes autem ne forte quod actum erat ei, pro quo æmu- knights  
 lati fuerant, displiceret, in aquilonaes<sup>2</sup> Angliæ partes retreat to  
 secesserunt, animum erga se principis plenius pro tem- the north  
 pore cognituri. Porro beati pontificis in conspectu of Eng-  
 Domini quam pretiosa mors fuerit, quantaque facino- land.  
 ris in eum commissi atrocitas ratione et<sup>3</sup> loci et tem-  
 poris et personæ, signorum sequentium frequentia  
 declaravit. Sane tanti piaculi fama in brevi per  
 omnes fere Latini orbis fines dispersa, illustrem An-  
 glorum regem infamavit, et præclaram ejus inter reges  
 Christianos gloriam ita<sup>4</sup> denigravit, ut, quoniam credi  
 vix poterat<sup>5</sup> illud absque ejus voluntate et mandato  
 fuisse attentatum, fere omnium imprecationibus<sup>6</sup> im-  
 peteretur, et publicis insectandus odiis censeretur.  
 Ipse quoque, audito quod a suis actum fuerat, intel- Henry's  
 ligens datam esse maculam in gloriam suam, et vix grief and  
 expiabilem sibi nævum inustum, ita doluit, ut diebus perplexity.  
 aliquot perhibeatur nihil gustasse. Sive autem parceret  
 homicidis illis, sive non, considerabat proclives  
 esse homines ad male sentiendum de eo. Nam si  
 parceret sceleratissimis, tanti mali ausum vel auctori-  
 tatem præstitisse videretur. Si vero in eis plecteret,

<sup>1</sup> *sed*, B.C.S.; *vel*, L.

<sup>2</sup> L. *has aquilonas*.

<sup>3</sup> *ratione et*, B.C.L.S.; *ratione*  
*piaculi et*, A.

<sup>4</sup> *ita*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>5</sup> *vix poterat*, B.C.S.; *non poterat*  
*vix*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *imprecationibus*, B.C.S.; *impe-*  
*trationibus*, L.

A.D. 1170. quod absque ejus mandato non attentasse putabantur, utrobique nequissimus diceretur.<sup>1</sup> Idcirco parcendum eis duxit, et tam famæ suæ quam illorum saluti prospiciens, sedi eos Apostolicæ ad suscipiendam sollemnem pœnitentiam præsentari præcepit. Quod et factum est. Nam stimulante conscientia Romam profecti, ad agendam pœnitentiam a summo pontifice Ierosolymam sunt directi, ubi annis aliquot indictum satisfactionis modum non segniter,<sup>2</sup> ut dicitur, exsequentes, vitam omnes finire. Sed hoc postea.<sup>3</sup> Tum vero idem rex, dum fere omnes in eum beati viri necem refunderent, et Francorum maxime principes, qui felicitatis ejus æmuli semper exstiterant, adversus eum, tanquam in verum certumque tantæ enormitatis auctorem, sedem Apostolicam instigare, responsales Romam direxit, ut precum verecundia ferventem invidiam temperarent. Qui cum Romam venissent, cunctis regem Anglorum execrantibus, ægre admissi sunt.<sup>4</sup> Constante vero allegantes, quod domini sui mandato sive consensu tantum facinus non fuisset commissum, tandem impetraverunt, ut a latere domini papæ legati in Gallias cum plenitudine potestatis mitterentur,<sup>5</sup> qui, re diligenter inquisita et cognita, eundem regem vel ad purgationem famæ suæmitterent, vel reum inventum censura ecclesiastica coercerent. Quod et factum est. Missi enim a sede Apostolica cardinales duo, venerabilis<sup>6</sup> scilicet Albertus, qui postea eidem sedi præfuit, et Theodinus, in Gallias venerunt: factoque in terra regis Anglorum

<sup>1</sup> *si vero . . . diceretur*, in margin at foot of page in C.

<sup>2</sup> *non segniter*, C.L.S.; *insigniter*, A.; *insegniter*, B.

<sup>3</sup> One of the promises which the author does not fulfil, see p. 108, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> See the account in the letter of the king's envoys given by Benedict

of Peterborough (Rolls' Edition, i. pp. 20-22).

<sup>5</sup> *cum . . . mitterentur*, B.L.S.; *mitterentur cum multitudine potestatis*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *venerabilis*, B.L.R.S.; *venerabiles*, C.



celebri conventu ecclesiasticorum virorum atque nobili- A.D. 1172.  
 lium, ejusdem principis humiliter ibidem apparentis, Council of  
 et constanter asserentis, quod sua neque voluntate Avranches  
 neque jussione illud, quo fama ejus gravabatur, con- (Sept. 28,  
 tingerit, et quod de nulla unquam re magis doluerit, 1172).  
 purgationem sollemniter susceperunt. Sane non nega- Henry's  
 vit homicidas illos ex aliquibus forte verbis ejus in- purgation  
 cautius prolatis occasionem ausumque tanti furoris and  
 sumpsisse, cum, de suspensione episcoporum accepto penancee.  
 nuntio, ira immoderatori absorptus minus sobrie lo-  
 queretur; "et propter hoc," inquit, "disciplinam non  
 "refugio Christianam: decernite quod placuerit, devote  
 "amplectar exsequarque decretum." Quo dicto, et  
 veste abjecta, juxta morem publice pœnitentium, nu-  
 dum se ecclesiasticæ submisit disciplinæ. Hæc tanti  
 principis humilitate delectati, et præ gaudio lacrimati  
 cardinales, collacrimantibus et Deum laudantibus plu-  
 rimis, confortata ejusdem principis conscientia, et fama  
 minus laborante, solverunt conventum. Successit au- Richard,  
 tem beato Thomæ in cathedra Cantuariensi Ricardus prior of  
 prior Doverensis. Becket.

## CAP. XXVI.

*De expugnatione Hiberniensium ab Anglis.*

Iisdem temporibus Angli sub specie militantium A.D. 1170.  
 Hiberniæ insulæ irrepserunt, eandem postea crescen- Invasion  
 tibus viribus invasuri, et partem ejus non modicam of Ireland.  
 armis subactam possessuri.

Est autem Hibernia, ut accepimus, inter insulas Description  
 secundæ a majori Britannia magnitudinis, sed eadem, of the  
 ut ait venerabilis Beda, serenitate et salubritate aeris island.  
 multo præstantior, egregie pabulosa atque piscosa, et  
 glebæ satis uberis, si non desit industria boni cultoris;

A.D. 1170. sed<sup>1</sup> populos habet moribus incultos et barbaros, legum et disciplinæ fere ignaros, in agriculturam<sup>2</sup> desides, et ideo lacte magis quam pane viventes. Hanc autem singularem præ cunctis regionibus habet a natura prærogativam et dotem, ut nullum gignat venenatum animal, nullum reptile noxium. Cujus utique<sup>3</sup> certa citaque mors est ad primum Hibernici aeris attactum, si forte aliunde advehatur. Porro quicquid inde advehitur,<sup>4</sup> contra venena valere probatum est. Sane hoc quoque de hac insula mirabile est, quod cum major Britannia, æque oceani insula, nec spatio longiori sejuncta, tantos bellorum casus experta sit,<sup>5</sup> totiens exteris gentibus præda fuerit, totiens externam dominationem incurret, expugnata et possessa primo a Romanis, deinde a Germanis, consequenter a Danis, postremo à Normannis; Hibernia, Romanis etiam Orchardum insularum dominantibus inaccessa, raro et tepide ab ulla unquam gente bello pulsata, nunquam expugnata<sup>6</sup> et subacta est, nunquam externæ<sup>7</sup> subjacuit ditioni, usque ad annum a partu Virginis millesimum centesimum septuagesimum primum, qui fuit regis Anglorum Henrici secundi octavus decimus.<sup>8</sup> Quod enim Britones dicunt, eandem insulam suo paruisse Arturo, fabulosum est, sicut et cetera quæ de ipso mentiendi libidine petulantia quorundam confinxit. Quomodo autem Hibernici, incidendo in potestatem regis Anglorum, longam et nunquam<sup>9</sup> a seculo interruptam, et quasi ingentam finierint li-

Ireland never under a foreign yoke until the year 1171.

<sup>1</sup> sed, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> agriculturam, L.S.; agricultura, B.C.

<sup>3</sup> utique, B.L.S.; itaque, R.

<sup>4</sup> inde advehitur in all the MSS. collated at this point (B.C.L.S.).

<sup>5</sup> An erroneous reading in C. is marked for omission, but the correction does not appear.

<sup>6</sup> The mutilation of the margin of C. ceases here to affect the text.

<sup>7</sup> externæ, B.L.S.; extraneæ, C.

<sup>8</sup> See note 3, p. 117.

<sup>9</sup> nunquam, C.L.S.; unquam, B. Newburgh fails to mention the bull granted by pope Adrian IV., in 1155, authorising the invasion of Ireland.

bertatem, expositu<sup>1</sup> facile est, cum res sit recentis A.D. 1170. memoriae. Denique mutandi status illi vel nationi vel regioni hae fuisse occasio traditur.

Hibernia, juxta priseum Angliæ morem, in plura se regna conscindens, et consueta reges habere plurimos, cisdem plerumque disceptantibus discernebatur; et quanto<sup>2</sup> externorum inexpertior erat bellorum, tanto interdum indigenis, tanquam propriis visceribus in mutuam cædem ruentibus, miserabilius eviscerabatur. Contigit autem quendam regum terræ illius a finitimis impetitum regibus coactari nimis, et, defectu virium, crudelitatem hostium pæne experiri. Inito ergo consilio, et misso festinanter in Angliam filio,<sup>3</sup> accersivit viros militares, et juventutem strenuam, spe lucri profusioris illectam. Quorum ope sublevatus, primo respirare, deinde roborari, postremo subactis hostibus triumphare cœpit. Nec suos adjutores abire passus est, sed tanta eos largitate donavit, ut, obliti populum suum et domos patrum suorum,<sup>4</sup> ibidem eligerent habitare. Cum autem ferocissimi totius Hiberniæ populi contra eundem regem indignari et tumultuari inciperent, quod gentem Anglicam Hiberniæ immisisset, illi metuentes paucitati suæ, accitis ex Anglia viris inopia laborantibus et lucri cupidis vires paulatim auxerunt; et quia nondum habebant principem, erantque adhuc tanquam oves non habentes pastorem, accersierunt<sup>5</sup> ex Anglia præficiendum sibi virum nobilem et potentem, comitem scilicet Ricardum. Qui nimirum cum esset magnanimus, et supra vires rei familiaris in expensarum effusione profusus, amplissimis redditibus exinanitis, et exhausto fere patrimonio, creditoribus erat supra modum obnoxius; atque ideo proclivius ad majora in-

Causes which led to the English expeditions.

The earl of Pembroke invited to command the English in Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> *expositu*, C.S.; *expositu* altered to *exponere*, B.L.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *quanto in*.

<sup>3</sup> Dermot came himself.

<sup>4</sup> *domos patrum suorum*, B.L.S.; *domum patris sui*, C.

<sup>5</sup> C. has a wrong word here, but the correction is torn away.

A.D. 1171. vitantibus acquievit. Armatorum ergo juvenum plurima validaque manu contracta in terra juris sui, classem transfretaturus in Hiberniam præparabat. Cumque jam solvere pararet, affuerunt qui ex parte regis transfretationem inhiherent. Ille vero nullius rei, quam in Anglia possidere videbatur,<sup>1</sup> remoratus affectu, nihilominus transfretavit, atque exspectantes socios optato lætificavit adventu. Junctis mox copiis aliquid audendum aggrediendumque ratus, quo in posterum barbaris foret terribilis, pervicaci impetu irruit super Divelinum, urbem maritimam, totius Hiberniæ metropolim, portuque celeberrimo in commerciis et com meatibus nostrarum æmulam Lundoniarum. Qua fortiter celeriterque expugnata et capta, plurimos etiam longius positos metu percussos in fœdus venire coegit. Insistebat finitimis pertinacius, priscam tueri nitentibus libertatem, munitiones locis opportunis construens, et dominationem paulatim protendens. Porro quantulamcunque<sup>2</sup> nationis barbaræ gratiam per affinitatem affectans, fœderati regis filiam uxorem accepit, et partem regni plurimam nomine dotis percepit. Cujus tam fausti successus cum regi innotuissent Anglorum, motus quod, eo non solum inconsulto sed etiam inhibente, rem tantam fuisset aggressus, et præclaræ acquisitionis gloriam illi potius, ut præcellenti, adscribendam in se convertisset, omne ejus in Anglia patrimonium fisco addixit, et, ne quod ex Anglia subsidium Hiberniæ inferretur, com meatus navium interdixit. Fortiora quoque comminans, in gratiam maturius redire compulit jam pæne regnantem. Itaque extorsit ei famosissimam civitatem Divelinum,<sup>3</sup> et cetera quæ<sup>4</sup> in acquisitione potiora videbantur: parte

The king forbids the expedition, but Richard de Clare disregards the prohibition.

Capture of Dublin (August, 1171).

The king confiscates de Clare's English estates, and stops supplies from England. De Clare gives up Dublin and other

<sup>1</sup> *videbatur* omitted from C., but there is a mark showing that a word was supplied in the now mutilated margin.

<sup>2</sup> *quantulamcunque*, B.C.S.; *quantulamcunque*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *Divelinum*, C.L.S.; *Divilinum*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *qua*, B.L.S.; *quo*, C.

vero reliqua cum patrimonio suo Anglico integre illi A.D. 1171. restituito, jussit esse contentum. Quibus actis, idem comes, qui paulo ante, exinanito prodige patrimonio, fere nihil aliud quam nudam nobilitatem habuerat, Hibernicis Anglicisque opibus inclitus, in multa felicitate<sup>1</sup> agebat, quam tamen post annos aliquot mors immatura corruptit. Plane hoc ipso declaratum est, quam vanum sit quod in homine illo ita evanuit: et quam fallax, quod eundem sibi incumbentem repente elabendo delusit. Ex Hibernicis manubiis, quibus multum inhiaverat, et pro quibus tam multum etiam cum periculo salutis sudaverat, nihil secum hinc abiens homo ille<sup>2</sup> portavit, sed laboriose periculoseque quæsitâ ingratâ relinquens heredibus, salubrem quoque multis ex suo occasu doctrinam reliquit. Rex autem Anglorum post modicum in Hiberniam cum ingenti militia transfretavit, reges insulæ, qui eatenus rebelles exstiterant, adventu ejus pavefactos sine sanguine subjugavit,<sup>3</sup> rebusque pro voto dispositis, eodem anno in Angliam cum salute et gaudio<sup>4</sup> remeavit.

conquests  
to Henry.

Death of  
earl  
Richard  
(1177).

King  
Henry  
lands in  
Ireland  
(Oct. 17).

## CAP. XXVII.

*Quomodo Henricus tertius recessit a patre, et commovit contra eum<sup>5</sup> regem Francorum et alios.<sup>6</sup>*

Anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>, qui fuit regis A.D. 1173. Henrici secundi vicesimus,<sup>7</sup> cum idem rex in Angliam reversus ex Hiberniæ,<sup>8</sup> in Normanniam post modicum transisset ex Anglia, facta est execrabilis et fœda dis-

The young  
king rebels  
against his  
father.

<sup>1</sup> *multa felicitate*, B.L.S.; *multis a felicitate*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *ille*, B.L.S.; *secum*, C., thus repeating the word.

<sup>3</sup> Benedict of Peterborough accepts the king of Connaught.

<sup>4</sup> *et gaudio*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>5</sup> *eum*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> *et alios*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 117, note 3.

<sup>8</sup> April 17; left for Normandy in May 1172, not 1173 as here implied.

A.D. 1173. sensio inter ipsum et filium ejus Henricum tertium, quem ante biennium, ut superius dictum est, in regem fecerat sollemniter consecrari. Cum enim idem crevisset, et pubes jam factus vellet cum sacramento et nomine rem sacramento et nominis obtinere, et patri saltem conregnare: cum solus, ut ei a quibusdam insurrabatur, de jure regnare deberet, quasi eo coronato regnum exspirasset paternum, indignans maxime expensas regie<sup>1</sup> faciendas sibi a patre parcius ministrari; contra patrem intumuit<sup>2</sup> atque infremuit, clamque ad socerum suum regem Francorum, patri tædium moliturus, profugit. A quo nimirum grate susceptus, non tam quia gener erat, quam quia a genitore desciverat, ejus se in omnibus consilio credidit. Francorum igitur virulentissimis adhortationibus animatus atque instigatus in patrem, quominus jus violaret naturæ, exemplo non est territus scelestissimi Absalonis. Pater vero filii aversione comperta, et quo<sup>3</sup> profugisset agnoscens, misit ad regem Francorum viros honoratos cum verbis pacificis, filium paterno jure reposecens; et si quid circa illum emendandum videretur, ejusdem se regis consilio mature emendaturum pollicens. Ad hæc ille, "Quis mihi," inquit,<sup>4</sup> "taliamandat?" "Rex," aiunt, "Anglorum." Et ille, "Falsum est," inquit, "rex Anglorum ecce adest, per vos mihi nil mandat. Si autem patrem hujus, olim Anglorum regem, etiamnunc regem appellatis, scitote, quia<sup>5</sup> rex ille<sup>6</sup> mortuus est. Porro quod adhuc pro rege se gerit, cum regnum<sup>7</sup> filio, mundo teste, resignaverit, mature emendabitur." Sic delusi responsales ad dominum suum redire. Mox idem Henricus junior, Francorum consilio, malum patri unde-

The young king's flight to Louis of France (March 8).

The king sends for his son.

<sup>1</sup> *regie*, B.L.S.; *regias*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *intumuit*, C.L.S.; *intimuit*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *quo*, B.L.S.; *quod*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Quis mihi, inquit*, L.S.; *Quis, inquit, mihi*, B.C.

<sup>5</sup> See note 2 on p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> *rex ille*, B.C.; *ille rex*, L.S.

<sup>7</sup> *regnum*, C.L.S.; *regno*, B.

cunq̄ue molicens, partes Aquitaniæ clam adit, et duos A.D. 1173. fratres impuberes ibidem cum matre consistentes, Ricardum scilicet et Gaufridum<sup>1</sup> sollicitatos, con-  
 vente, ut dicitur, matre, in Franciam secum traduxit. Alteri enim Aquitaniam, alteri Britanniam suo tem-  
 pore possidendas pater concesserat, et propterea per illum Aquitanos, per hunc vero Britones proclivius  
 suis partibus applicandos, Francis docentibus, intelli-  
 gebat. Comitem quoque Flandrensem, patris sui con-  
 sobrinum, virum magnarum virium, et innumeræ bel-  
 licosæque, cui præerat,<sup>2</sup> gentis fiducia in immensum  
 gloriantem, grandibus promissis illectum, amittente  
 rege Francorum, sibi adjunxit. Tunc multi po-  
 tentes et nobiles, tam in Anglia, quam in partibus  
 transmarinis, vel mero odio eatenus dissimulato im-  
 pulsī, vel vanissimis pollicitationibus sollicitati, a patre  
 ad filium paulatim cœperunt deficere, et ad motus se  
 bellicos modis omnibus præparare, comes scilicet Lei-  
 cestrensis, comes Cestrensis, Hugo Bigotus, Radulfus  
 de Fougeriis,<sup>3</sup> aliique complures amplitudine opum et  
 firmitate munitionum terribiles.<sup>4</sup> Multi etiam suis  
 rebus viribusque minus confidentes, ne nil agerent,  
 concedendo in Franciam hostilem animum declara-  
 runt. His accessit hostis truculentior rex Scottorum,  
 immites populos, et<sup>5</sup> neque sexui neque ætati parci-  
 turos, finibus immissurus Anglorum. Cum ergo tot  
 tantique<sup>6</sup> proceres a rege seniore descivissent,<sup>7</sup> omnes-  
 que contra eum tanquam pro anima una<sup>8</sup> gererent:  
 admodum pauci erant, qui ei fideliter et firmiter ad-

The young  
king wins  
over his  
brothers  
Richard  
and Geof-  
frey.

The count  
of Flanders  
joins the  
league  
against  
king  
Henry.

Disaffec-  
tion among  
the Eng-  
lish barons.

<sup>1</sup> *Gaufridum*, B.L.S.; *Galfridum*, C. had bribed them with fiefs (Bened. Petrob. i. 45).

<sup>2</sup> *præerat*, B.C.S.; *erat*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *Fougeriis*, C.L.S.; *Feugeriis*, by 15th cent. alteration, B.; *Foucheriis*, R.

<sup>5</sup> *et*, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>6</sup> *tantique*, C.L.S.; *tanti*, B.

<sup>7</sup> C. has *descivissent* (sic).

<sup>8</sup> *una gererent*, C.; *sua gererent*, S.; *sua gerentes*, L.; *sua gerent*, B.

<sup>4</sup> It appears that the young king

A.D. 1173. hæerent, ceteris circa cum pendule fluitantibus,<sup>1</sup> dum a regis junioris absorberi victoria scrupulosius formidarent. Tunc demum vidit rex senior, sic enim vulgo dicebatur, quam inconsulte, immo quam stulte egerit, præmature creando sibi successorem, minus attendens, quod novarum rerum<sup>2</sup> aucupatores regem proclivius sequerentur<sup>3</sup> juniorem. Turbatis ergo rebus anxius, dum hostes interni externique urgerent, iis<sup>4</sup> quoque, qui sibi adhærere videbantur, in gratiam filii remisius agentibus minus se credens, stipendiarias Briantionum copias, quas Rutas vocant, accersivit, eo quod de thesauris regiis, quibus in tali articulo parcendum non esset, pecunia copiosa suppeteret.

King Henry sees the folly of the premature coronation of his son.

Distrusting his nobles he hires Brabantians.

### CAP. XXVIII.

*Qualia contigerunt apud Albemariam et Castellum Novum, et Vernullium.*<sup>5</sup>

A.D. 1173. Igitur mense Junio, quando solent reges ad bella procedere, finitimi principes, contractis undecunque viribus, regem hostiliter aggrediuntur Anglorum, sub obtentu quidem quasi pro filio æmularentur contra patrem, qua nimirum æmulatione nil stultius, re autem vera proprii vel odii, ut rex Francorum, vel emolu-

Sieges of Aumâle, Châteauneuf, and Verneuill (June).

<sup>1</sup> *fluitantibus*, C.L.S.; *fluctantibus*, B.

<sup>2</sup> In L. and S. *novorum regum*, but above the word *novorum* is interlined, "vel a," and above *regum*, "vel r." By this it can hardly be intended that the text should run either *novorum regum* or *novarum rerum*. Probably the scribe was uncertain as to the reading of the author's manuscript. If alive, Newburgh would surely

have been consulted by the armarius, for S. was the Newburgh Priory copy. C.B.R. read *novorum regum*, but B. has *novarum rerum* in a 15 cent. hand in the margin.

<sup>3</sup> *sequerentur*, B.L.S.; *exsequerentur*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *iis*, C.L.S.; *hujus*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *et Vernullium*, S.; *et Vernullium*, C.; *et Vernullum*, L.; om. B.



menti, ut comes Flandrensis, negotium porrecta occasione agentes. Porro rex Anglorum ad excipiendos tantorum hostium impetus minus se poterat præparare propter suorum tumultus internos, quibus vehementissime angebatur. Cum ergo propter manum imparem irrupentibus non posset occurrere, munitiones tamen, quæ erant in terminis, dispersis præsidiiis cautius studuit munire. Itaque rex Francorum oppidum Vernullium, nullius rei necessariæ ad tolerandam obsidionem diutinam indigum,<sup>1</sup> circumfuso conclusit exercitu, non nisi capto eo vel dedito progressurus. Comes vero Flandrensis<sup>2</sup> cum suis copiis a parte Flandriæ<sup>2</sup> irruens, obsedit Albemariam, valido quidem inaniter fultam præsidio: eum ejusdem oppidi dominus, comes scilicet Albemariensis, circa seniores regem, ceu<sup>3</sup> multi alii, fluctuaret.<sup>4</sup> Qui nimirum pro eo quod oppidum minus oppugnatum cito expugnatum est, cum Flandrensi<sup>5</sup> creditus est comite colluisse. A quo captus cum omnibus quos illic rex causa præsidii miserat, alia quoque castella sua resignavit. Progrediensque Flandrensis<sup>5</sup> exercitus ad majora faustis animatus principiis, munitionem regiam, quæ Castellum-Novum dicitur,<sup>6</sup> per dies aliquot, adhibitis machinis, fortiter oppugnavit. Qua tandem dedita, comes tamen Flandrensis gavisus non est. Frater namque ejus Matheus, comes Bononiensis,<sup>7</sup> quo ille tanquam futuro successore gaudebat, qui de conjuge propria sobolem nequaquam susceperat aut sperabat, in ejusdem oppidi oppugnatione ictu sagittæ circa genu saucius, casu

A.D. 1173.

Henry  
garrisons  
bis fort-  
resses.King  
Lonis  
attacks  
Verneuil  
(about  
July 6).The count  
of Flanders  
besieges  
Aumale,and then  
attacks  
Château-  
neuf.His bro-  
ther Mat-  
thew,  
count of  
Boulogne,  
being  
killed, the  
count of  
Flanders  
withdraws  
from the  
war.<sup>1</sup> C. has *indiquit*.<sup>2</sup> *Flandrensis*, and (lower) *Flandria*, C.L.S.; *Flaundrensis*, *Flaundria*, B.<sup>3</sup> *ceu*, L.S.; *seu*, B.C.<sup>4</sup> *fluctuaret*, B.L. and, by correction, S.; *fluctuarent*, C.<sup>5</sup> *Flandrensi* and (lower) *Flan-**drensis*, C.L.S.; *Flaundrensi*, *Flaundrensis*, B.<sup>6</sup> R. de Diceto (Twysden, col. 571) calls the castle Drivencourt (Driencourt).<sup>7</sup> *Bononiensis*, B.S.; *Bounoniensis*, C.; *Boloniensis*, by alteration, L.

A.D. 1173. vulneris in pejus vergente decubuit, et post dies paucissimos inter curandum in fata concessit; fratri tantum ex suo interitu luctum relinquens, ut soluta mox expeditione lugubris ad propria remearet, sinistrum sibi eventum objectans atque imputans, qui regem consobrinum, a quo nunquam læsus, crebro autem beneficiis præventus exstiterat, causa nequissimi filii hostiliter impetendum duxisset. Quo comperto, considerans idem rex se jam bellicæ sollicitudinis parte dimidia pro tempore liberatum, adversus partem reliquam<sup>1</sup> propensiores mox sumpsit fiduciam. Convocatis ergo stipendiariis copiis, et quotquot eum in illo articulo non deserendum putabant, denunciavit regi Francorum, qui jam partem ætatis plurimam in prænominati oppidi obsidione consumpserat, eoque mature se potiturum sperabat, ut vel obsidionem desereret, vel ad diem certum discrimen sibi bellicum impendere minime dubitaret. Primum quidem Franci, natura feroces simul et arrogantes, præsertim cum numero et apparatu bellico præstare viderentur, denuntiatiorem derisere, id eum nullatenus ausurum arbitantes. Verum agnito, quod impavidus cum instructo adventaret exercitu, tunc primum suspicari potuere eum aliquid ausurum. Illico rex eorum, accitis festine optimatibus, tractare cum eis cœpit de bello. Missisque obviam regi Anglorum episcopo<sup>2</sup> et abbate, qui ab ore ejus acciperent utrum congressurus accederet, ipse interim pro tempore copias instruebat. Et ecce missi eidem regi occurrunt qui nescio quid ordinans, seseque cum multa confidentia ostentans, armatus cum paucis aliquot stadiorum spatio exercitum anteibat. Cui cum dicerent, regem Francorum velle certificari de prælio; vultu feroci et voce terribili, "Ite," in-

King Henry thus relieved from one source of danger concentrates against the king of France.

<sup>1</sup> reliquam, B.L.S.; aliquam, C.

<sup>2</sup> episcopo B.C.L.S.; uno episcopo, R.

quit, "dicite regi vestro, quia<sup>1</sup> ecce adsum;" cum- A.D. 1173.  
 que festinanter reversi, instantis jam de proximo  
 principis ferociam et obstinationem indicassent; con-  
 silium habuerunt rex et optimates Francorum,<sup>2</sup> ut pro  
 tempore cederent, et pugnaturi pro hereditate patrum  
 suorum impetum declinarent. Itaque castris relictis  
 cum tremendis illis copiis in Franciam refugerunt, The  
 French  
 army  
 retreats  
 before  
 Henry  
 (Aug. 9).  
 armati tamen et compositis ordinibus, ne fugere vide-  
 rentur. Sicque illi qui paulo ante ferocibus animis,  
 et grandium rugitu verborum leones videbantur, tan-  
 quam lepores cedendo fugiendoque repente inventi  
 sunt. Porro rex Anglorum indecora superborum hos-  
 tium fuga contentus, urgere et persequi noluit ab-  
 euntes,<sup>3</sup> sed, exercitu ad hostilium direptionem cas-  
 trorum<sup>4</sup> converso, oppidum cum sollemni lætitia suis,  
 qui<sup>5</sup> ibidem fortiter egerant, congratulaturus intravit.  
 Repertum est autem in castris frumenti et vini et  
 escarum plurimum, cum supellectile varia, quam ab-  
 euntes instantibus adversariis asportare non poterant.<sup>6</sup> Capture of  
 the French  
 camp.

## CAP. XXIX.

*De iis qui capti sunt apud Dolum.*<sup>7</sup>

Externis igitur hostibus, quorum maxima erat po- A.D. 1173.  
 tentia, rege scilicet Francorum et Flandrensi comite, Rebellion  
 in Brit-  
 tany.  
 Dei voluntate propulsatis, interni<sup>8</sup> minime quievire.  
 Quorum plurimi conducto<sup>9</sup> convenientes et conglobati

<sup>1</sup> B.C.L.S. read *quia*. See note 2 on p. 76 as to similar cases.

<sup>2</sup> *optimates Francorum*, B.L.S.; *optimates ejus scilicet Francorum*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *abemtes*, B.C.L.S.; *fugientes*, R.

<sup>4</sup> *castrorum*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>5</sup> *qui*, C.L.S.; *quia*, B. originally.

<sup>6</sup> Newburgh fails to state that King Louis carried away the citizens of Verneuil and burned their city (Bened. Pet. i. 54).

<sup>7</sup> *Dolum*, C.L.S.; *Doluam*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *interni*, B.L.S.; *interim*, C.

<sup>9</sup> *conducto*, B.L.S.; *conduite*, C.

A.D. 1173. Dolense oppidum obtinuerunt: quod juris quidem est Britannici, sed Normannicis collimitatur finibus. Quo audito Bribantiones regii mature affuerunt, et congressi cum eis, primo eorum multitudinem in oppidum refugere, mox etiam capto oppido in unius arcis angustias secedere compulerunt.<sup>1</sup> Quibus ita conclusis, res cum summa celeritate defertur ad regem Rotomagi consistentem. Ille cibi somnique oblitus, mutando vehicula, longa terrarum spatia transmeans, tam festinus affuit, ut volasse videretur. Cumque oppugnando<sup>2</sup> arci intenderet, conclusa multitudo angustias illas non ferens, misericordiam imploravit. Pactus ergo eis rex vitam cum integritate membrorum, arce dedita insignem illam captivitatem custodiae<sup>3</sup> mancipavit. Ibi quippe comes Cestrensis, et<sup>4</sup> Radulfus de Fougieriis,<sup>5</sup> alique nobiles fere centum, in manus regis, quem atrocissimis fuerant odiis insectati, Dei iudicio inciderunt. A quo nimirum multo clementius quam eorum meritis debebatur tractati,<sup>6</sup> pro tempore in vinculis quieverunt. Duo vero prænominati, qui clariore videbantur inter captivos, regi de fidelitate servanda satisfaciētes, relaxari meruerunt. In qua re procul dubio tanti principis in prævaticatores infidelissimos<sup>7</sup> hostesque atrocissimos clementia jure miranda laudandaque censetur.

The rebels seize Dol. The king's Brabantions after a battle (on Aug. 20) shut them up in the town. Henry hastens from Rouen.

The Earl of Chester and other rebels surrender. (Aug. 26).

<sup>1</sup> *compulerunt*, B.L.S.; *compulerint*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *oppugnando*, L.S.; *oppugnanda*, C.B.

<sup>3</sup> *insignem . . . custodiae*, B.C.S.; *insigne in illam custodiae captivitatem*, L.

<sup>4</sup> C. omits *et*.

<sup>5</sup> *de Fougieriis*, L.S.; *de Feugeriis*, B.C.

<sup>6</sup> *tractati*, C.L.S.; *tractari*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *infidelissimos*, C.S.; *infidelissimos*, B.L.

## CAP. XXX.

*De obsidione Leicestriæ,<sup>1</sup> et guerra regis Scottorum, et captione comitis Leicestrensis.<sup>2</sup>*

Dum<sup>3</sup> in transmarinis partibus a rege vel circa A.D. 1173. regem talia gererentur,<sup>4</sup> in Anglia quoque non dissimilia provenerunt. Cum enim comes Leicestrensis, Affairs in England during the king's absence. qui primus a rege defecerat, plurimos petulanti corrupisset exemplo, Ricardus de Lusci,<sup>5</sup> qui tunc Angliæ sub rege præerat, accepto a rege mandato, et exercitu prope convocado, Leicestriam obsedit: qua The Earl of Leicesters rebels. The justiciary de Luci besieges Leicester (about July 22), but leaves the castle untaken. The king of Scots besieges Carlisle, but retreats before an English army. dedita et incensa, oppugnationem castelli omittens, eo<sup>6</sup> quod ad<sup>7</sup> urgentiora negotia vocaretur, recessit. Porro rex Scottorum agnito quantum rex Anglorum in Normannia laboraret, cum gentis barbaræ et siti-entis sanguinem immanissimis copiis Anglorum fines ingressus civitatem Carduliensem obsidione circumdedit, totamque adjacentem provinciam cædibus et rapinis fœdavit. Comperto autem<sup>8</sup> quod ingens ex superiori Anglia exercitus adventaret, obsidionem reliquit, et post vastam provinciæ, quæ Northumbria dicitur, depopulationem, a facie procerum nostrorum in propria se recepit. Qui nimirum advenientes cum militaribus copiis annem Tuedam, quæ<sup>9</sup> regnum Anglicum Scotticumque disternit, transgressi, terræ hostilitationem nullo obsistente intulerunt. Sed mox fermentibus nuntiis ad superiora Angliæ revocantur: regis tamen hostis ferocia necessariis pro tempore induciis caute suspensa, cum eum callida nostrorum<sup>10</sup> Bad news caused de Luci to

<sup>1</sup> *Leicestriæ*, C.; *Lecestricæ*, B.L.S.

<sup>2</sup> *et captione . . . Leicestrensis*, L.S., and, with reading *Leicestriæ*, C.; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> *Dum*, L.R.S.; *cum*, B.C.

<sup>4</sup> *gererentur*, C.L.S.; *gerentur*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *de Lusci*, B.L.S.; *de Luci*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *eo*, B.L.S.; *coque* (?) C.

<sup>7</sup> *ad*, L.S.; *interliued*, C.; om. B.

<sup>8</sup> *autem*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>9</sup> *quæ*, B.C.L.S.

<sup>10</sup> *nostrorum*, C.L.S.; *errorum*, B.

A.D. 1173. dissimulatione laterent adhuc quæ nuntiabantur. Comes enim Leicestrensis<sup>1</sup> cum classe hostili ex Flandria apud Orientales Anglos applicuit, susceptusque a complice proprio, Hugone scilicet Bigoto, viro potente<sup>2</sup> et callido, ibidem aliquamdiu cum adducto consedit exercitu. Mox eodem Hugone duce et cooperatore idem exercitus irruens super civitatem Norwicensem, eandem præsidio vacuam et repentino terrore perstrictam minimo negotio effregit, ejusque opibus abrasis, præda onustus ad castra rediit.<sup>3</sup> Cumque eodem auctore atque incentore insignem vicum maritimum variis opibus refertum, qui dicitur Donewic,<sup>4</sup> similiter irrupturus accederet, habitatorum, qui se ad excipiendum hostilem impetum constanter præparabant, fiducia ter-ritus, et nihil adversus hujusmodi audendum ratus, vacuus recessit. Hugo vero ejusdem exercitus, quantum volebat, opera usus, denunciavit comiti Leicestrensi, ut copias peregrinas, quas adduxerat, ad terram et castella proprii juris traduceret. Qui nimirum diu

return southwards. The Earl of Leicester coming over with a fleet from Flanders is joined by Hugh Bigod. The sack of Norwich. The men of Dunwich successfully defy Earl Hugh.

<sup>1</sup> *Leicestrensis*, B.L.S.; *Leicestria*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *viro potente*, B.L.S.; *viro scilicet potente*, C.

<sup>3</sup> Newburgh here differs from Fantosme in putting the sack of Norwich before the attempt on Dunwich, but both agree in placing these events in the sequence which led up to the battle of Fornham. R. de Diceto says that Leicester landed on Sept. 29 at Walton. The Durham MS. of Fantosme (l. 820) gives the place as "*North Wales*." This perhaps comes near enough to "*Walton*" to be understood as a much confused version of the name. Haghenet was taken on Oct. 13th, 1173; and the battle of Fornham was fought on Oct. 17; the army

marching, as appears from Hoveden, from Framlingham to the encounter. The Lincoln MS. of Fantosme asserts that the Earl landed at *Arwelle* (Orwell). Diceto (vol. I. p. 381) states that a party of Flemings landing at *Airewell* on May 15, 1174, joined Earl Bigod, and captured Norwich on June 18. Benedict says this happened in 1174, while the warfare which ended with the capture of the Scotch king was in progress. The MSS. of Fantosme thus conflicting with each other, and Newburgh differing somewhat from both, the testimony of all three as regards Norwich must be set aside.

<sup>4</sup> *Donewic*, L.S.; *Donewick*, B.; *Donewich*, C.

multumque<sup>1</sup> hæsitans, eo quod per medios hostium fines, qui ejus dicebantur transitum observare, absque grandi non posset periculo Leicestriam transmeare; tandem confidens de numero et virtute sociorum, habebat enim equites circiter octoginta electos, et peditum fortium quatuor vel quinque millia; reputans etiam neminem sibi<sup>2</sup> obstitutum in via, eo quod in eis, qui regi favere videbantur, amicos haberet plurimos, constanter cum uxore et quodam nobili viro ex Francia, Hugone scilicet de Castello, totisque copiis iter arripuit. Regii autem proceres apud Sanctum Edmundum<sup>3</sup> cum copiosa militia observabant. Cumque<sup>4</sup> illi prope jam essent, instructum contra eos exercitum produxerunt. Porro illi neque ad dexteram neque ad sinistram declinare valentes, et necessitatem in alacritatem vertentes, turmis dispositis audacter processere. Commissum est itaque prælium grave,<sup>5</sup> his pro gloria, illis pro salute certantibus. Sed victoria concessit ad regios. Captusque est<sup>6</sup> comes cum conjuge, virilis animi femina, et memorato Hugone de Castello, et toto fere equitatu: peditum vero multitudo fere omnis interiit. Insignes captivi in Normanniam ad regem sunt missi, de ceteris quoque factum est quod voluit.

A.D. 1173.

The rebel forces try to march to Leicester.

The king's barons meet and defeat them at Fornham St. Genevieve (Oct. 17).

Capture of the Earl and Countess of Leicester.

<sup>1</sup> *multumque*, B.C.S.; *multum*, L.<sup>2</sup> *sibi*, C.L.S.; om. B.<sup>3</sup> *Edmundum*, B.C.S.; *Eadmundum*, L.<sup>4</sup> *cumque*, B.L.S.; *cum*, C.<sup>5</sup> The precise place is probably marked out by the "Seven Hills"

on the road between Thetford and Bury. Singular discoveries of skeletons have been made at Fornham.

<sup>6</sup> *est*, B.C.S.; om. L.

## CAP. XXXI.

*De David Scotto,<sup>1</sup> et quibusdam aliis qui a rege defecerunt.*

A.D. 1174. Sane cum illa filii contra patrem infilialis<sup>2</sup> vesania fere biennio debacchata<sup>3</sup> noscatur; primi anni insigniora gesta superiori sunt relatione digesta. Hieme quippe paulisper a bellicis tumultibus cessatum est in partibus transmarinis; in Anglia vero non ita. Viri enim, qui erant in munitionibus comitis Leicestrænsis, cum propter hoc, quod domino suo acciderat, aliquamdiu quievisset,<sup>4</sup> rursus efferati, et tanquam ad domini sui ultionem inflammati, aggregata sibi improborum multitudine, vicinas provincias excursionibus infestare cœperunt. Et, ut principem magni nominis habentes<sup>5</sup> fiducialius agerent, Hunteduniensem<sup>6</sup> comitem David, fratrem regis Scottorum, ducem sibi ac principem delegerunt. Quo tanquam feliciter debacchante, et prospere procedente ad plurima, comes quoque Ferrariensis,<sup>7</sup> et vir nobilis Rogerius de Moubrai<sup>8</sup> animum diu dissimulatum declarantes, post defectores ceteros abierunt: vixque sacris Quadragesimæ diebus concepti furoris impetum cohibentes, post sollemnitatem Paschalem ad ausus improbos proruperunt. Nec cessabat eo tempore rex junior optimates Anglorum, qui patri adhærere videbantur, per clandestinas literas vel promissionibus allicere, vel comminationibus pulsare: ut eos ad suas quocumque modo partes tradu-

Continuance of the rebellion in England.

The Earl of Leicester's men ravage the country round Leicester.

David Earl of Huntingdon, brother of the king of Scotland, becomes their leader.

Roger de Mowbray and others break out into rebellion after Easter (Mar. 24). The young king tampers with

<sup>1</sup> C. omits *Scotto*.

<sup>2</sup> *in filias* (?), B.

<sup>3</sup> *debaechata*, B.L.R.S.; *debaechare*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *quievisset*, B.L.S.; *quievisset*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *habentes*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> *Hunteduniensem*, L.S.; *Huntedoniensem*, B.; *Huntedunensem*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *Ferrariensis*, C.L.S.; *Ferrariensis*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *Moubrai*, B.L.S.; *Mubrai*, C.



ceret. Quamobrem tunc in Anglia pauci admodum A.D. 1174.  
nobiles fuisse traduntur, qui non circa regem vacilla-  
rent, ab eo pro<sup>1</sup> tempore defecturi, nisi maturius the loyalty  
eorum fuisset meditationibus obviatum. father's  
adherents.

## CAP. XXXII.

*De adventu regis in Angliam, et qualia<sup>2</sup> Scotti  
fecerunt in Anglia.*

Igitur secundo initæ contentionis<sup>3</sup> anno, rursum a A.D. 1174.  
magnis hostibus, scilicet rege Francorum, comite Flan-  
drensi, rege Scottorum, bellum adversus seniore An-  
glorum regem totis viribus instauratur. Et comes qui-  
dem Flandrensis, fraterni jam oblitus exitii, præ ambitu  
Anglicanæ provinciæ quæ Cantia dicitur, de qua scilicet  
regi juniori jam hominum fecerat, cum eodem in An-  
gliam transiturus transferendis copiis classem parabat.  
Rex vero Francorum contractum undecunque exercitum  
invasurus Normanniam instruebat. Quibus cognitis rex  
Anglorum senior, malens sibi fines suos transmarinos  
periclitari quam regnum, quos tamen caute credidit  
muniendos, prævidebat enim neminem in Anglia, se  
absente et<sup>4</sup> tanquam non exstante, illi, qui successurus  
expectabatur, obstiturum, præventis hostibus, cum ali-  
quanto<sup>5</sup> equitatu et una Bribantionum turma in  
Angliam mature advehitur.

Interea<sup>6</sup> rex Scottorum cum propriæ gentis infinita  
barbarie, atque accersitorum ex Flandria stipendia-

<sup>1</sup> *ab eo pro*, B.L.S.; *pro eo* with  
*ab* erased from before *eo*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *qualia*, B.L.S.; *qualiter*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *contentionis*, B.L.S.; *intentionis*,  
C.

<sup>4</sup> *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>5</sup> B. has *aliquanta*.

<sup>6</sup> The whole of the remainder of  
the chapter should be closely com-  
pared with the narrative of Jordan  
Fautosme (Surtees Soc.).

A.D. 1174. riorum equitum peditumque manu non modica, fines Anglorum ingressus, duas in Westmeria<sup>1</sup> munitiones regias, scilicet Burgum et Appelbi,<sup>2</sup> præoccupatas et sine præsiidiis inventas obtinuit: indeque digrediens, urbem iterum Carduliensem oppugnare statuit. Sed cautione a trepidis civibus præstita, quod ad diem certum civitatem illi traderent, nisi interim a rege Anglorum sufficiens sibi præsidium mitteretur, ad quandam munitionem super annum Tinum,<sup>3</sup> quæ<sup>4</sup> dicitur Prudehou,<sup>5</sup> oppugnandam convertit exercitum. Tunc accessit ad eum prædictus Rogerius de Moubrai<sup>6</sup> auxilium flagitans. Duabus<sup>7</sup> quippe munitionibus suis a Gaufrido regis Anglorum filio naturali, tunc Lincolnensi electo, fortiter expugnatis et captis, tertiam, Tresch vocatam,<sup>8</sup> cum periculo possidebat. Qui nimirum Rogerius<sup>9</sup> regi Scottorum, in Eboracensem provinciam irruptionem meditati, jampridem filii<sup>10</sup> primogenitum obsidem dederat, quod illi assisteret et pareret in omnibus; et ab eo vicissim sponsonem acceperat, quod in quacunque necessitate ejus nequaquam auxilio fraudaretur. Verum idem rex, cum per dies aliquot apud Prudehou casso et suis magis noxio fuisset labore sudatum, audiens Eboracensis provinciae contra se militiam excitari, Tino transmissio Northumbriae fines invasit. Corrosum est a Scottis, quibus nulla esca infamis, quicquid vel a canibus mandi potuit; et dum prædæ insisterent, jugulare senes, trucidare parvulos, eviscerare feminas,

England, capturing Brough and Appleby. The citizens of Carlisle give conditional promise of surrender (at Michaelmas). Attacks Prudhoe. Roger de Mowbray seeks aid against Geoffrey, the bishop elect of Lincoln.

The king of Scotland, abandoning the siege of Prudhoe, ravages Northumberland.

<sup>1</sup> Westmeria, C.S.; Westmaria, B.; Vestemeria, L.

<sup>2</sup> Appelbi, C.L.S.; Appilbi, B.

<sup>3</sup> Tinum, B.L.S.; Tynum, C.

<sup>4</sup> quæ, B.C.S.; qui, L.

<sup>5</sup> Prudchou, C.L.S.; Proudehou, B.; and similar variations below.

<sup>6</sup> Moubrai, B.L.S.; Mubrai, C.

<sup>7</sup> duabus, C.L.S.; duabusque, B.

<sup>8</sup> Tresch vocatam, S.; Tresch vocata, C.; Tresc(?) vocatam, B.; Thresch vocatam, L. Thirsk in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

<sup>9</sup> Rogerius, C.L.S.; Rogerus, B.

<sup>10</sup> filii, B.L.R.S.; filium, C.

et hujusmodi, quæ horrendum est et<sup>1</sup> dicere, genti inhumanae et feris plus efferae voluptas fuit. Immisso igitur miserabili provinciae immanissimorum praedonum exercitu, barbarisque inhumane debacchantibus, rex ipse, excubante circa se honestiori mitiorique stipatus militia, vacare videbatur, observabatque circa castellum firmissimum, Alnewich<sup>2</sup> nominatum, ne forte manus ex eo militaris erumpens circumquaque grassantes perturbaret praedones.

A.D. 1174.

The Scottish king watches Alnewick.

## CAP. XXXIII.

*De captione regis Scottorum.*<sup>3</sup>

Rebus se ita circa aquilonales Angliæ partes habentibus, Eboracensis provinciae regii proceres ingenue indignati, quod Scotti fines Anglicos infestarent, apud Castellum-Novum super fluvium Tinum cum equitatu valido convenerunt. Urgente quippe negotio, pedestres non poterant copias congregare. Venerunt autem illuc<sup>4</sup> sexta Sabbati, longo et laborioso itinere fatigati. Ibi sane cum in commune tractarent quid esset agendum, prudentiores allegarunt, multum jam esse actum, cum rex Scottorum adventu eorum præcognito longius recesserit; suæ hoc mediocritati pro tempore debere sufficere; sibi non esse tutum, nec regi Anglorum utile, ulterius progredi, ne forte paucitatem suam devorandam sicut escam panis infinitæ barbarorum multitudini exponere viderentur; sibi non esse plusquam quadringentos equites, in hostili vero<sup>5</sup> exercitu plusquam octoginta armatorum millia aestimari. Ad hæc ferventiores responderunt,<sup>6</sup> hostes nequissimos

A.D. 1174.

The barons of Yorkshire, preparing to resist the Scotch, assemble at Newcastle. (July 12).

They hesitate to advance.

<sup>1</sup> S. and R. alone have *et*.<sup>2</sup> *Alnewich*, C.L.S.; *Alnewick*, B.<sup>3</sup> This chapter should be read with Fantosme's narrative.<sup>4</sup> *illuc*, C.L.S.; om. B.<sup>5</sup> *vero*, B.C.S.; om. L.<sup>6</sup> *responderunt*, B.C.L.S.; *respondentes*, R.

A.D. 1174. modis omnibus esse impetendos, victoriam desperari non debere, quæ procul dubio justitiam sequeretur. Denique horum sententia prævalente, quia Deus sic voluit, ut voluntati magis divinæ, quam potentiæ prudentiæve humanæ, ascriberetur<sup>1</sup> eventus, viri virtutis, in quibus erant præcipui Robertus de Stutevilla,<sup>2</sup> Ranulfus de Glanvilla, Bernardus de Baliolo, Willelmus de Vescei,<sup>3</sup> nocturna requie paulisper recreati, summo mane progressi sunt tanta velocitate, tanquam propellente vi aliqua properantes, ut, quod armorum pondere gravatis minus tolerabile videbatur, ante horam quintam viginti quatuor millia passuum transmearent. Verum dum irent, tam densa, ut dicitur, eos operuit nebula, ut pæne nescirent quo irent. Tum<sup>4</sup> prudentiores periculosum iter causantes, certum sibi imminere discrimen allegarunt, nisi mox conversi redirent. Ad hoc Bernardus de Baliolo, vir nobilis atque magnanimus, "Recedat," inquit, "qui voluerit, ego autem etiamsi nullus sequatur procedam; et "perpetuam mihi maculam non inuram." Cum ergo procederent, subito evanescente nebula, castellum de Alnewic<sup>5</sup> præ oculis habentes, id sibi tutum fore receptaculum, si hostes urgerent, læti censuerunt. Et ecce rex Scottorum, cum turma equitum circiter sexaginta aut paulo amplius, haud<sup>6</sup> procul in campis patentibus tanquam securus, et nihil minus quam nostrorum irruptionem metuens, observabat, barbarorum multitudine<sup>7</sup> cum parte equitatus ad prædas late dispersa.<sup>8</sup> Qui nimirum nostris conspectis, primo quidem eos de suis a præda redeuntibus esse ratus est. Sed mox vexillis nostrorum caute notatis, tunc demum

Bolder counsels prevail, and they push forward.

d 30 m.  
castle & Alnewic

Enveloped in a mist they again hesitate, but at length continue their advance.

The mist lifting they find themselves close to the Scotch king and in sight of Alnewick castle.

<sup>1</sup> ascriberetur, B.C.S.; scriberetur, L.

<sup>2</sup> B. has Stotcvilla; C. has Stuti-villa.

<sup>3</sup> Vescei, B.C.S.; Wescei, L.

<sup>4</sup> tum, C.L.S.; cum, B.

<sup>5</sup> Alnewic, S.; Alnewyc, B.; Alnewick, C.L.

<sup>6</sup> haud, C.L.S.; aut, B.

<sup>7</sup> multitudine, B.L.S.; multitudinem, C.

<sup>8</sup> dispersa, B.L.S.; dispersam, C.

intellexit nostros jam ausos, quod ipsos nec suspicari potuit esse ausuros. Attamen non est territus, suo quippe tam vasto quamvis minus conglobato circumvallatus exercitu, conclusam illam paucitatem facile absorbendam esse a<sup>1</sup> circumfusa multitudine nec<sup>2</sup> ambigere dignabatur. Illico feroeiter arma concutiens, suosque verbo simul et exemplo accendens, "Modo," inquit, "apparebit quis miles esse noverit." Primusque in hostem, sequentibus ceteris, irruens, mox a nostris excipitur, atque interfecto dejectus equo, cum tota fere turma sua capitur. Nam et qui per fugam evadere potuere, eo capto fugam detrectantes, ut cum eo caperentur, in manus se hostium sponte dedere. Quidam etiam nobiles, qui forte tunc aberant, sed non longe erant, agnito quod acciderat, cursu mox rapidissimo affuere, atque in manus hostium ingerentes se potius quam incidentes, dominico communicare periculo honestum duxere. Porro Rogerius de Mowbrai,<sup>3</sup> qui ibidem tunc aderat, rege capto, elapsus evasit, refugitque in Scotiam. Nostri vero proceres nobilem cum gaudio praedam revehentes, Castellum-Novum, unde mane digressi fuerant, vespere rediere, eamque, ad dominum suum illustrem Anglorum regem opportune mittendam, apud Richemontem cautissime custodiri fecere. Gestum est hoc feliciter, Deo proposito, anno a plenitudine temporis quo Verbum caro factum est M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>IV<sup>o</sup>, tertio Idus Julii, die Sabati, et mox late vulgatum, atque in cunctis Anglorum provinciis grate susceptum est, campanis pro<sup>4</sup> sollemni laetitia concrepantibus.

King  
William  
spurring  
forward is  
unhorsed  
and taken.

Roger de  
Mowbray  
escapes to  
Scotland.

The king  
of Scot-  
land im-  
prisoned at  
Richmond.

The battle  
took place  
on July 13,  
1174.

<sup>1</sup> a, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> nec, C.L.S.; vero (?), B.

<sup>3</sup> Mowbrai, L.S.; Mowbray, B.;  
Mubrai, C.

<sup>4</sup> pro, B.L.S.; et, C.

## CAP. XXXIV.

*Qualia in exercitu et terra regis Scottorum, eo capto, provenerunt.*

A.D. 1174. Rege igitur Scottorum in manus hostium tradito, funestissimum quoque ejus exercitum perspicua Dei<sup>1</sup> non permisit ultio abire illæsum. Regis quippe captione comperta, barbari primo<sup>2</sup> attoniti a prædis destiterunt, mox, tanquam furiis agitati, ferrum contra hostes sumptum, jamque innoxio sanguine ebrum, in seipsos verterunt. Erat autem in eodem exercitu ingens Anglorum numerus, regni enim Scottici oppida et burgi ab Anglis habitari noscuntur. Occasione ergo temporis Scotti innatum, sed metu regio dissimulatum, in illos odium declarantes, quotquot incidebant<sup>3</sup> peremerunt, refugientibus in munitiones regias ceteris qui evadere potuerunt.

Their king being captured the Scotch quarrel among themselves.

The English in Scotland are assailed.

Quarrels of the sons of Fergus of Galloway (after July 13).

Erant etiam in illo exercitu duo fratres, Gilbertus scilicet<sup>4</sup> et Uctredus,<sup>5</sup> Galwadensis<sup>6</sup> provinciæ domini, cum gentis propriæ turma numerosa. Hi nimirum Fergusi, olim principis ejusdem provinciæ, filii fuerant, et patri in fata concedenti, rege Scottorum, qui illius terræ principalis est dominus, hereditatem inter eos dividente, successerant. Verum Gilbertus natu major, paterni juris integritate fraudatum se dolens, fratrem semper<sup>7</sup> in corde suo oderat, cum tamen concepti furoris impetum metus regius cohiberet. Capto autem rege, liberatus hoc metu, mox fratri nihil verenti manus iniecit, et non nece simplici, sed pro exsaturando execrabili odio excruciatum supplicii interfecit. Illico fines invadens fraternos,<sup>8</sup> barbaris in

<sup>1</sup> L. has *diei*.

<sup>2</sup> *primo*, B.L.R.S.; *qui primo*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *incidebant*, B.L.R.S.; *inciderunt*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *scilicet*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>5</sup> *Uctredus*, B.L.R.S.; *Uthredus*, C. Benedict calls him "con-

"sanguineus Henrici regis Angliae." He was son of an illegitimate daughter of Henry I.

<sup>6</sup> *Galwadensis*, B.L.R.S.; *Galwathensis*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *fratrem suum semper*, in C.

<sup>8</sup> B has *supernos*.

barbaros sævientibus, non modicam hominum stragem A.D. 1174.  
fecit. Erat autem fratri nefarie interempto filius,  
nomine Rollandus,<sup>1</sup> acer atque industrius adolescens,  
qui, paternis amicis cooperantibus, debacchanti patruo  
pro viribus resistebat. Eratque totum regnum Scotiæ Disturbed  
turbatum, Deo æquissime disponente, atque ea mensura state of the  
remetiente improbis, qua<sup>2</sup> ipsi mensi fuerant; scilicet, whole of  
ut qui paulo ante gentis innoxie quietem turbaverant, Scotland.  
et Anglorum sitierant sanguinem, ordine pulcherrimo  
a semetipsis recipere talionem.

## CAP. XXXV.

*De memorabili humilitate regis Anglorum, et de eo<sup>3</sup>  
quod consecutum est.<sup>4</sup>*

Jam venerat in Angliam a Normannia rex Henricus A.D. 1174.  
secundus, filio cum Flandrensibus copiis adventuro suæ On landing  
murum præsentie objecturus. Recordatus autem quan- from Nor-  
tum in ecclesiam Cantuariensem deliquisset, eandem mandy  
mox, ut applicuit, concite adiit, ad sepulchrum beati (July 8)  
pontificis Thomæ, fuis ubertim lacrimis, oravit. In- Henry pro-  
gressusque capitulum monachorum, prostratus humi<sup>5</sup> ceeded at  
humillime veniam postulavit, et propriæ petitionis once to the  
stantia, a cunctis per ordinem fratribus virgis est vir tomb of  
tantus corporaliter castigatus. Sequenti vero nocte cui- Becket.  
dam venerabili ejusdem ecclesiæ monacho seniori dictum His pen-  
est in somnis: "Noune vidisti<sup>6</sup> hodie humilitatis regiee nance (July  
tam grande miraculum? Scito quod in brevi quantum 12).  
hæc regia humilitas Regi regum placuerit, rerum, quæ Prophetic  
circa ipsum geruntur, exitus declarabit." Sane hoc dream of  
one of the  
monks of  
Canter-  
bury.

<sup>1</sup> *Rollandus*, C.L.S.; *Rolandus*,  
B.

<sup>2</sup> *qua*, B.L.S.; *quam*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *Deo*, in C.

<sup>4</sup> *et . . . est*, C. (with a variation)  
and L.S.; om. B.

<sup>5</sup> B. omits *lumi*.

<sup>6</sup> *vidisti*, B.C.S.; *vidistis*, L.

A.D. 1174. ipsum, viro reverentissimo<sup>1</sup> et sincerissimo, Rogerio scilicet abbate Bellelandensi,<sup>2</sup> referente, cognovi, quod utique sibi fideli innotuisse relatione dicebat, dum forte ipso tempore in Cantia moraretur. Denique, Ipse qui tangit montes et fumigant, illam montis fumigantis<sup>5</sup> devotionem quanti appenderit, insigni mox indicio claruit. Quippe ipsa die, atque ipsa, ut dicitur, hora,<sup>3</sup> qua mons ille Cantuarie fumigavit, hostem ejus immanissimum, scilicet regem Scottorum, in extremis Anglie finibus virtus divina pessumdedit; ut merces

Coincidence of time of capture of king of Scotland with time of Henry's penance at Canterbury.

Ps. cxliii.

<sup>1</sup> *reverentissimo* in all the MSS. (B.C.L.S.) collated at this point.

<sup>2</sup> *Bellelandensi*, C.L.S.; *Bellelandensi*, B.

<sup>3</sup> In the verification of this assertion much depends on the interpretation of the words *ante horam quintam* (p. 184). If they bear the meaning most ecclesiastics would attach to them (see for instance the hours assigned by Gervase for eclipses) then Newburgh is wrong by about seven hours. If Mr. Stevenson (*Church Historians*, vol. iv., pt. ii., p. 492,) may be followed in translating them "before five o'clock," there is no noticeable discrepancy. If, however, we are to take them as meaning *before the fifth hour of the march*, as Dr. Lingard and M. Francisque Michel would seem to do, the coincidence is similarly established. Taking first the events in the South it is clear that Henry reached Canterbury on July 12, and on that day (as Newburgh and Gervase agree) was scourged by the monks. Gervase proceeds to say that the king remained in the cathedral all night, that "post matutinas laudes" he made a tour of the altars and shrines, and that he then returned to the martyr's tomb in the crypt. Afterwards he heard mass. Supposing that Lauds had

finished by four (sunrise), the visit to the altars, with prayers no doubt at each, the return to the crypt, and the mass which followed would naturally occupy the time till half-past five or six o'clock. If we now turn to events in the North we find that Jordan Fantosme, who was present, states (line 1751) that Ranulph de Glanville's party started *in the night* — Newburgh says "summo mane," which so far north and in July may mean almost the same thing — and it appears (p. 184) that before five hours had elapsed they had ridden 24 miles. They then had nine miles to traverse, and if this occupied another hour and a half we may believe that, starting perhaps at midnight, they reached the point (now marked by a stone) where the capture took place a little after six o'clock. They then hid in a thicket, but emerged and attacked the king. All was so quickly over that it is no stretch of imagination to believe, after comparing the narratives of what happened at Canterbury and Alnwick, that the space of a single hour may have included both the capture of the king of Scots and the concluding acts of Henry's penitential devotions.



pii operis non consecuta ipsum opus, sed comitata A.D. 1174.  
potius videretur, nullusque super hoc ambigere sinere-  
tur.

Idem autem princeps Cantuaria digressus, Lundonias Henry goes to London, but sends his army against Hugh Bigod. properavit, et præmissis adversus Hugonem Bigotum Story of de Glanville's messenger bearing tidings of the capture of William the Lion. militaribus copiis, ipse, vena incisa, modicam ibidem moram fecit. Et ecce circa noctem mediam missus a Rannulfo de Glanvilla<sup>1</sup> cursor velocissimus ad januam pulsavit regiam. Increpatus a janitore et vigilibus<sup>2</sup> ut taceret, pulsavit instantius, dicens in ore suo bonum esse nuntium, quem modis omnibus oporteret ipsa nocte a rege audiri. Vicit tandem instantis improbitas,<sup>3</sup> præsertim cum bona nuntiaturus speraretur. Admissus<sup>4</sup> ergo intra januam, eodem modo<sup>5</sup> cubicularios quoque<sup>6</sup> vicit regios. Introductusque in cubiculum regium, audacter accessit ad lectum principis, et excitavit quiescentem. Qui expergefactus, "Quis," inquit, "es tu?" Et ille: "Puer," inquit, "sum Rannulfi de Glamvilla,<sup>7</sup> fidelis vestri, a quo missus celsitudini vestræ bonus venio nuntius." "Sanusne est," ait, "Rannulfus noster?" Et ille, "Valet," inquit, "idem dominus meus, et ecce hostem vestrum regem Scottorum captum tenet in vinculis apud Richemontem." Rex vero ad hoc<sup>8</sup> stupidus, "Dic," inquit, "adhuc." At ille iteravit verbum; "Habesne," ait, "litteras?" Mox ille protulit litteras signatas, rei gestæ seriem continentes. Quibus rex statim inspectis, stratu exsiliens, quibus potuit motibus Ei, qui facit mirabilia solus, piis madidas lacrimis gratias egit. Tunc familiares

<sup>1</sup> Rannulfo de Glanvilla, S.; Radulfo de Glanvilla, B.; Ranulfo de Glamvilla, C.; Ranulfo de Glanvilla, L.

<sup>2</sup> et vigilibus, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>3</sup> improbitas, C.L.S.; probitas, B.

<sup>4</sup> C. has amissus.

<sup>5</sup> modo, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> quoque, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>7</sup> See note 1.

<sup>8</sup> ad hoc, B.L.S.; adhuc, C.

A.D. 1174. festine accitos<sup>1</sup> consortes gaudii fecit.<sup>1</sup> Mane autem venerunt et alii cursores id ipsum nuntiantes, sed unus, id est,<sup>2</sup> qui primus advenerat,<sup>3</sup> bravium accepit.<sup>4</sup> Vulgatum est statim verbum bonum, populis sollemniter acclamantibus, et campanis per totas Lundonias concrepantibus.

Public rejoicings in London.

## CAP. XXXVI.

*De obsidione<sup>5</sup> Rothomagi, et dolosa oppugnatione<sup>6</sup> obsidentium.*

A.D. 1174. Interea rex Francorum cum tremendo exercitu Normanniam ab oriente ingressus, qua scilicet captis a comite Flandrensi. castellis patere videbatur, Rothomagum<sup>7</sup> ejusdem provinciae metropolim adiit et obsedit. Est autem Rothomagum<sup>7</sup> una ex clarissimis Europae civitatibus, sita super Sequanam,<sup>8</sup> fluvium maximum, per quam<sup>9</sup> eidem civitati multarum regionum commercia invehuntur, eodem flumine simul et objectu montium ita munita, ut ab uno exercitu ejus vix tertia pars valeat obsideri. Porro rex junior et Flandrensis comes cum in portu Morinorum,<sup>10</sup> unde brevissimus est in Angliam transitus, classe parata, vastissimis

The siege of Rouen by the king of France (July 22).

The young king and the count of Flanders

<sup>1</sup> *Tunc . . . fecit*, this sentence is in the margin of C. and has been mutilated.

<sup>2</sup> *id est*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> *advenerat*, B.L.S.; *venerat*, C.

<sup>4</sup> This story receives full confirmation from Jordan Fantosme (lines 1955 to 2040), indeed so close are the agreements between this chronicler and our author that it would seem probable that Newburgh had read Fantosme's poem.

<sup>5</sup> *Rothomagi*, B.L.S.; *Rothomagensi*, C.

<sup>6</sup> C. has *expugnatione*.

<sup>7</sup> *Rothomagum*, C.L.S.; *Rotomagum*, B.; O. has *Metro Rotomagum*.

<sup>8</sup> *Sequanam*, C.L.S.; *Sequenam*, B.; *Sequanam* altered to *Secanam*, O.

<sup>9</sup> B.C.L.O.S. have *quam*: see also the phrase near the end of cap. 34, Lib. iv. "*castellum Win-desoram qua, &c.*" In the present case Newburgh must have assumed license to follow Livy (i. 3, § 5) or some other exceptional classical instance.

<sup>10</sup> *Morinorum*, C.L.S.; *Marinorum*, B.

vallati copiis transfretandi opportunitatem captarent, A.D. 1174.  
 cognito quod rex senior jam in Anglia consisteret, abandon  
 eorum procul dubio ferociter impetum excepturus, idea of  
 transire in Angliam nequaquam sibi tutum duxerunt. invading  
 Itaque mutato consilio, et toto illo paratæ<sup>1</sup> jam clas- England.  
 sis apparatu irrita, quanti esset negotii Rothomagen- They join  
 sis obsidio, et quanti emolumenti ejusdem civitatis the attack  
 irruptio perpendentes, vastas illas atque terribiles co- on Rouen.  
 pias Rothomagum transtulerunt, et obsidentem exer-  
 citum in<sup>2</sup> immensum auxerunt. Verum cum tantus  
 esset exercitus, quantus in Europa ab annis retro  
 plurimis visus non est, ejusdem tamen urbis, propter Natural  
 accessus difficiles, partem vix tertiam potuit obsidere. strength of  
 Eratque per pontem fluminis liber vel ex regione in the posi-  
 urbem ingressus, vel ex urbe in regionem egressus,<sup>3</sup> tion of the  
 et inferebantur urbi abundanter quæcunque necessa- city.  
 ria, vidente cominus atque invidente<sup>4</sup> hostili exercitu.  
 Et forte<sup>5</sup> illa

Hor. Epist.  
2.

“ Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni

“ Majus tormentum : ”

cum viri animosi et fortes tota fere die cominus fac-  
 titari conspicerent, quod impedire non valentes, tam  
 anxie sustinerent. Paratis ad oppugnandam<sup>6</sup> civita- By a  
 tem machinis, totis viribus oppugnationi<sup>7</sup> insistitur, system of  
 trifariam ad negotium diviso exercitu, et die natu- reliefs the  
 rali per octonas<sup>8</sup> horas partito, ut alii aliis, recreati<sup>9</sup> besiegers  
 scilicet lassatis, per vices succederent, atque ita jurgi- render  
 continuous.

<sup>1</sup> In L. *parata* has been altered to *paratu* and then expuncted : the word is in B.C.O.S.

<sup>2</sup> *in*, C.L.O.S. ; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> *vel ex urbe . . . egressus*, B.C.S. ; this passage is in the margin of L., and is omitted from O.

<sup>4</sup> *atque invidente*, B.C.L.S. ; *et incidente*, O.

<sup>5</sup> *forte*, B.L.O.R.S. ; *fuit*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *Paratis ad oppugnandam*, A.C.L.S. ; *paratus ad pugnandam*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *oppugnationi*, B.L.O.S. ; *oppugnationibus*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *octonas*, C.S. ; *octavas*, B.L.O.

<sup>9</sup> *recreati*, B.C.L.S. ; *creati*, O.

A.D. 1174. ter oppugnantes, ne modico quidem diei-vel noctis spatio murorum defensores respirare permetterent. At id frustra provisum. Cives<sup>1</sup> enim huic molitioni arte et cautela consimili occurrentes,<sup>2</sup> ipsi quoque suum trifariam numerum diviserunt, hostibusque<sup>3</sup> oppugnationem<sup>4</sup> per successionem continuantibus distributione sui cautissima respondentes, contra laboris et lassitudinis intolerantiam, qua suffocandi credebantur, competens remedium habuerunt. Cumque per dies plurimos summa vi certaretur, et neque hi neque illi in aliquo remissius agerent, beati Laurentii dies natalitius supervenit. Rex autem Francorum, pro ejusdem præcipui martyris reverentia, quem specialiter<sup>5</sup> et devotius consueverat venerari, requiem ipso die civitati indultam jussit sollemniter præconari.<sup>6</sup> Quam gratiam eives grate amplexi, otio brevissimo jocundissime fruebantur. Juvenes et virgines, senes cum junioribus, tum pro diei<sup>7</sup> lætitia, tum etiam ad irritandum hostem, canoris in civitate vocibus concrepabant: turma vero militaris extra civitatem super ripam fluminis in conspectu hostium hastiludio exercebatur. Tum<sup>8</sup> comes Flandrensis,<sup>9</sup> ut dicitur, regem adiens, "Ecce," ait, "civitas pro qua jam<sup>10</sup> multum sudavimus, his intus choros ducentibus, et illis foris secrete ludentibus, sponte nobis offertur. Sumat ergo arma in silentio exercitus, scalisque repente muro admotis ante civitatem obtinebimus quam in civitatem regredi<sup>11</sup> valeant, qui extra civitatem pro irritatione nostra lusibus vacant." "Absit," inquit rex, "absit

The citizens make corresponding arrangements for the defence.

A truce on the feast of St. Lawrence is treacherously broken by the French (Aug. 10).

<sup>1</sup> *cives*, B.L.O.S.; *comes*, C.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *occurrens*.

<sup>3</sup> *hostibusque*, B.L.O.S.; *hostibus*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *oppugnationem*, C.L.O.S.; *compugnationem*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *specialiter*, B.L.O.S.; *specialius*, C.

<sup>6</sup> Benedict of Peterborough does

not mention this fact. His account of the siege is far less full.

<sup>7</sup> *dici*, B.C.O.S.; *Dci*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *tum*, B.L.O.S.; *tunc*, C.

<sup>9</sup> *Flandrensis*, C.L.O.S.; *Flandrensis*, B.

<sup>10</sup> *jam*, B.L.O.S.; om. C.R.

<sup>11</sup> *regredi*, C.L.O.S.; *ingredi*, B.

" a me honestatem regiam hac macula denigrare : A.D. 1174.  
 " nosti enim me pro reverentia beatissimi Laurentii  
 " diei hujus requiem indulsisse civitati." Tunc uni-  
 versis qui aderant proceribus familiari ausu mollitiem  
 improperantibus et dicentibus,

Æneid. ii.  
 390.

" . . . dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat ? "

tandem acquievit. Itaque non per vocem tubæ sive <sup>1</sup>  
 præconis, sed solis ducum susurriis exercitus in ten-  
 toriis ad irrumpendam præparabatur <sup>2</sup> civitatem. Con-  
 tigit autem eadem hora per voluntatem Dei in cujus-  
 dam intra civitatem ecclesie turri præcelsa, ex qua  
 nimirum pulsata campana vetustissima, sed mire so-  
 nora, signum civibus dari mos erat, ut hostibus irru-  
 entibus ad murum occurrerent, clericos quosdam nescio  
 quid <sup>3</sup> agendo relaxare animum. Quorum forte unus  
 per fenestram prospiciens, circumferensque <sup>4</sup> oculos per  
 exercitum in tentoriis excubantem, insolitum in cas-  
 tris silentium, tanquam arcani alicujus conscium, primo  
 miratus, mox clandestinum illum de loco altissimo  
 caute notatum <sup>5</sup> animadvertit apparatus. Cumque rem  
 sociis ostendisset, Ruuello, <sup>6</sup> sic enim campana illa <sup>7</sup>  
 dicebatur, pulsato, notissimum illico signum civitati  
 dederunt. Quo audito, totis viribus utrinque festina-  
 tum est. Nam et paratus jam exercitus castris erumpens, <sup>8</sup>  
 cum scalis tendebat <sup>9</sup> ad murum, et cives inopin-  
 atio stimulatî periculo, raptis <sup>10</sup> armis spiritu motu-  
 que fervido occurrere studuerunt. Illi quoque, qui  
 extra urbem exercebantur, mira celeritate affuerunt.

Certain  
 priests on  
 the watch  
 tower give  
 an alarm.

<sup>1</sup> sive, B.L.O.S.; neque, C.  
<sup>2</sup> ad irrumpendam præparabatur,  
 B.L.O.S.; præparabatur ad irrumpendam, C.

<sup>3</sup> quid, C.L.O.S.; quod, B.

<sup>4</sup> circumferensque, C.L.O.S.; circumferens, B.

<sup>5</sup> notatum, B.C.L.S.; vocatum, O.

<sup>6</sup> Ruuello, B.L.O.S.; Rimello, C.

Chéruel (Hist. de Rouen, I. p. 27)  
 calls this bell *La Rebol*.

<sup>7</sup> sic . . . illa, B.S.; C., omitting  
 enim; O., omitting illa; L. reads  
 sic campana.

<sup>8</sup> erumpens, B.L.O.S. irrumpens,  
 C.

<sup>9</sup> tendebat, B.L.O.S.; tendebant, C.

<sup>10</sup> raptis, B.L.O.S.; captis, C.

A.D. 1174. Jam hostes admotis muro scalis murum ascenderant, jam super murum voces quasi triumphantium personabant; cum ecce fortiter impetuntur et repelluntur a civibus. Conflictus super murum acerrimus geritur, jaculis vacantibus, arma et corpora colliduntur, multus utrinque sanguis effunditur. Tandem illi, qui superbe ascenderant sursum, præcipientes abiere retrorsum. Nox prælium diremit,<sup>1</sup> prævaricator exercitus, longe majori clade accepta<sup>2</sup> quam illata, confusus in castra rediit. Rex in Flandrensem comitem culpam refudit, sed personæ regię tam foedæ prævaricationis niacula plus adhæsit. Denique ab illo die et deinceps certum est, et obsessos fiducialius, et obsessores desperatius remissiusque<sup>3</sup> egisse.

The treacherous attack is defeated.

### CAP. XXXVII.

*Quomodo rex Anglorum<sup>4</sup> pacificavit Angliam, et liberavit Rothomagum.*

A.D. 1174. Interea rex Henricus senior in Anglia consistens, accersivit præpositos castellorum comitis Leicestrensis, quem secum ex Normannia vinctum adduxerat, et monuit pro salute domini sui eadem resignare castella, quibus provincias infestabant. Illi vero copiam loquendi cum domino suo postulantes, non impetrarunt: cumque se dicerent non aliter quam pro certa domini sui relaxatione voluntati regię parituros,<sup>5</sup> ille respondit: "Nihil super hac re vobiscum<sup>6</sup> paciscar, sed si feceritis quod<sup>7</sup> volo, bene actum erit." Et sacris, ut

King Henry summons the garrisons of the Earl of Leicester's castles to surrender.

<sup>1</sup> *diremit*, O., and S. by alteration; L. has *diremit* altered to *dirimit*; B. (by alteration) and C. read *dirimit*.

<sup>2</sup> *accepta*, C.L.O.S.; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> *remissiusque*, C.L.O.S.; *remissius*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Anglorum*, B.C.S.; *Anglia*, L.  
<sup>5</sup> *non impetrarunt . . . parituros*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>6</sup> *vobiscum*, C.; *vobis*, B.L.S.

<sup>7</sup> *quod*, B.L.S.; *quæ*, C.

dicitur, adhibitis, juravit dicens: "Sic me Deus adju- A.D. 1174.  
 "vet, et hæc sacra, quia comes Leicestrensis non gus-  
 "tabit quidquam, donec de castellis ejus fiat quod  
 "volo: vos autem<sup>1</sup> abite maturius." Tunc illi certum The castles  
 citumque<sup>2</sup> domino suo, si ulterius obsisterent, exitium are given  
 impendere videntes, munitiones illico resignarunt. Co- up (July  
 mes autem David, qui fuerat princeps eorum, relicto 31).  
 Huntedunensi castello, quod mox regi cessit, trepidus David Earl  
 in Scotiam concessit. His regiis successibus territi of Hunt-  
 Hugo Bigotus et comes Ferrariensis, ipsi<sup>3</sup> quoque, cau- ingdon  
 tionibus de pace et fidelitate præstitis, in foedus sponte retires to  
 venerunt. Rebus igitur in Anglia, Deo volente, ad Scotlaud.  
 votum dispositis, rex cum ingentibus copiis celeriter Hugh  
 transfretavit, ducens secum paulo ante sibi exhibitum Bigod and  
 regem Scottorum, comitemque Leicestrensem, aliosque Earl Fer-  
 captivos insignes. Populis autem per Normanniam ob rers make  
 celerem et felicem<sup>4</sup> ejus reditum exsultantibus, Rotho- peace with  
 magum in conspectu hostium pompaticè ingressus est. the king,  
 Hostes accepto ante dies paucos de captione regis who  
 Scottorum nuntio saucii, ejus quoque sunt repentino returns to  
 et triumphali ex Anglia reditu stupefacti. Attamen Normandy  
 in robore multitudinis innumeræ confidentes, in obsi- taking his  
 dione persistebant. Porro ipse Walensium<sup>5</sup> turmam principal  
 ex Anglia accitam per noctem latenter emisit, ut<sup>6</sup> Welsh prisoners  
 silvarum opacitate tecti, nam hoc genus hominum with him  
 agile et silvarum gnarum est,<sup>7</sup> locis opportunis obser- (Aug. 8).  
 varent qua tanto exercitui necessaria convehebantur. Enters  
 Hi nimirum captato tempore silvis erumpentes<sup>8</sup> com- Rouen  
 meatum invaserunt, equitibus, a quibus deducebatur, (Aug. 11).  
 in fugam actis, et toto illo apparatu pessumdato cum Henry's  
 Welsh  
 troops  
 intercept  
 the sup-  
 plies of the  
 Freuch  
 army  
 (Aug. 12).

<sup>1</sup> *autem*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *utrumque*.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *episcopi* in place of *ipsi*.

<sup>4</sup> *et felicem* is repeated in L. and also in C., but in the latter MS. the words are struck out.

<sup>5</sup> *ipse Walensium*, C.L.S.; *autem ipse Wallensium*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *ut*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>7</sup> *est*, B.L.S.; *cum*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *erumpentes*, B.L.S.; *irrumpen- tes*, C.

A.D. 1174. ingenti hominum et jumentorum exitio, in silvas se receperunt. Tunc vulgatum est silvas Walensibus<sup>1</sup> esse refertas, atque ita intercepto commeatu exercitus per biduum inedia laboravit. Hac necessitate soluta est obsidio, et principes, nullam aliam tanti laboris mercedem quam ignominiam reportantes, cum vasto illo exercitu abierunt, compositis tamen ordinibus ob repellendum periculum, si forte hostes a tergo urgerent. Ita quicquid in regem Anglorum ab hostibus malitiose agentibus vel concinnatum est, vel attentatum, Deo illi propitio, in ejus est gloriam commutatum.

The siege of Rouen abandoned (Aug. 14).

### CAP. XXXVIII.

#### *De concordia regum, et pace regnorum.*

A.D. 1174. Cum ergo eidem principi in omnibus, quæ ab ipso vel circa ipsum fiebant, propitia arrideret Divinitas, hostes ejus tot claris ejus<sup>2</sup> successibus territi et humiliati de pace tractare cœperunt: ipsis reformandæ pacis mediatoribus jam effectis, qui fuerant discordiæ præcipui incentores. Itaque celebri inter partes colloquio habito, exitialis ille rancor principum et inquietudo provinciarum pariter quieverunt. Comes Flan-  
drensis regi Anglorum restituit, quod de jure ejus bellicus ei<sup>3</sup> casus contulerat; fidelis de cetero amicitiae, sive hominii, supererogans cautionem. Ingratissimus quoque filius in gratiam patris rediit, non solum obedientiam et reverentiam de cetero filialem sub fidejussoria multorum cautione<sup>4</sup> pollicitus, verum etiam nova contra ingratos et suspectos filios cautela,

Peace with France. The young king and his brothers are reconciled to their father (Sept. 29).

The count of Flanders relinquishes his conquests.

<sup>1</sup> Walensibus, C.L.S.; Wallensibus, B.

<sup>2</sup> tot claris ejus, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>3</sup> ei, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> I. has cautio.



prudenter exacto et sollemniter præstito hominio, A.D. 1174. patri astrictus. Volebat enim pater, ut, qui fortissimum naturæ vinculum tanquam telam aranæ irreverenter diruperat, saltem jure civili vel gentium ad honestum et utile teneretur: et quoniam scriptum<sup>1</sup> est, "Funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur," naturæ violator in lege naturali circa patrem servanda, saltem contemplatione hominii et duplicis, id est, juratoriae simul et fidejussoriae cautionis, persisteret,<sup>2</sup> et caveret de cetero ne sibi a patre, non jam tantum patre, sed etiam domino, de jure diceretur, quod prævariatrici olim plebi a Domino dominorum per prophetam dictum est: "Si pater ego sum, ubi est honor meus? Et si Dominus ego sum, ubi est timor meus?" Fratres quoque impuberes, quos Francorum consilio patri sollicitatos subtraxerat, ad patrem reduxit; de quibus utique modica fuit quæstio, cum ætatis beneficio excusabiles viderentur. Præterea<sup>3</sup> ad instantiam regis Francorum, aliorumque qui aderant principum, idem illustris rex Anglorum comitem Leicestrensem reliquosque captivos, præter regem Scottorum, absolute relaxavit, et relaxatis bona honoresque restituit; in eundem quoque regem suo tempore prudenter simul et<sup>4</sup> elementer acturus. Processu vero temporis cum<sup>5</sup> eorum, quæ in se ab ingratis et infidis commissa fuerant, immemor videretur, muros Leicestrenses<sup>6</sup> repente subruï, et munitiones omnium qui a se defecerant complanari præcepit: præcavens scilicet in futurum, confringendo cornua superbiorum, ne quid simile occasione aliqua in posterum attentarent. Tandem vero etiam regem Scottorum pactis interpositis sub cautela

Release of the Earl of Leicester and other rebels.

The walls of Leicester are subsequently razed (A.D. 1176).

The king of Scotland released (Dec. 8).

<sup>1</sup> B. inserts *ut* before *scriptum*.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *præsisteret*.

<sup>3</sup> *præterea*, B.L.S.; *propterea*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *simul et*, B.L.S.; *simulque*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *cum*, B.C.S.; *cum vero*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Leicestrenses*, B.; *Leicestrensis*, C.L.S. R. de Diceto (i. 404) says this happened about December 1175.

A.D. 1175. obsidum<sup>1</sup> relaxavit.<sup>2</sup> Veniensque in Angliam, apud Eboracam metropolim eorundem celebrationem pactorum instituit. Quo<sup>3</sup> cum venisset optimatum suorum vallatus frequentia, prout condictum erat, occurrit ei rex Scottorum cum universis regni sui nobilibus. Qui omnes in ecclesia beatissimi Apostolorum principis regi Anglorum, tanquam principali domino, hominum cum ligiantia, id est, sollemni cautione standi cum eo et pro eo contra omnes homines, rege proprio præcipiente fecerunt. Ipse quoque rex<sup>4</sup> Scottorum coram universa multitudine nobilium utriusque regni regem Anglorum modis sollemnibus dominum suum, seque hominem et fidelem ejus declaravit; eique tria præcipua regni sui munimina, scilicet Rokesburg,<sup>5</sup> Berewic,<sup>6</sup> Castellum-puellarum, loco obsidum<sup>1</sup> tradidit. Quibus actis, optata populi pace fruebantur; et rex Anglorum tantorum operum atque successuum titulis clarus nominatus est usque ad fines terræ. Bellum<sup>7</sup> igitur plusquam civile inter patrem et filium, cum tanto multorum discrimine gestum, hunc finem accepit. Nostræ quoque historiæ liber secundus, hoc exposito, finem accipiat.

The castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Edinburgh are surrendered as pledges in lieu of hostages.

*Explicit liber secundus.*

<sup>1</sup> *obsidum*, B.C.S.; *obsidium*, L., both here and below.

<sup>2</sup> As to the convention of Falaise see Bened. Petrob. i. 96.

<sup>3</sup> *quo*, B.C.S.; *quod*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *Willelmus* is here interlined in L. by a different hand, apparently as an explanation.

<sup>5</sup> *Rokesburg*, C.L.S.; *Rokesburth*, B. Two more castles and many hostages were given.

<sup>6</sup> *Berewic*, C.S.; *Berewyck*, B.; *Berewich*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *Bellum . . . accipiat*, B.L.S.; C. omits the whole.

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**LIBER TERTIUS.**

A.D. 1175—1189.

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INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI TERTII.<sup>1</sup>

Cap. 1.	De Lundoniensi concilio, et contentione archiepiscoporum, et inundatione Hoilandiae <sup>2</sup> - - -	p. 203
Cap. 2.	De reconciliatione domini papæ et imperatoris - - -	p. 205
Cap. 3.	Decreta Lateranensis concilii -	p. 206
Cap. 4.	De morte regis Francorum, et de iis quæ apud Constantinopolim provenerant - - -	p. 223
Cap. 5.	De mutatione monetæ publicæ, et decessu Rogerii Eboracensis archiepiscopi - - -	p. 225
Cap. 6.	De Suero tyranno Norwegiæ -	p. 228
Cap. 7.	De morte regis Henrici tertii, et Gaufridi fratris ejus - -	p. 233
Cap. 8.	De morte Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, et institutione Lincolniensis episcopi - - -	p. 235
Cap. 9.	De expeditione contra Rollandum, <sup>3</sup> et quibusdam eventibus Hiberniæ -	p. 237
Cap. 10.	De adventu patriarchæ in Angliam, et morte regis Ierosolymorum, et regno filii ejus, et de Saladino -	p. 240
Cap. 11.	Quomodo victus est Saladinus a Christianis, et quomodo postea prævaluit - - -	p. 242
Cap. 12.	De causa adventus patriarchæ in Angliam - - -	p. 244
	Epistola domini papæ ad regem Anglorum <sup>4</sup> - - -	p. 245
Cap. 13.	Quomodo patriarcha, infecto negotio, repatriavit - - -	p. 247

<sup>1</sup> B. omits the entire elenchus.

<sup>2</sup> *Hoilandie*, L.S.; *Hoylandie*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *Rollandum*, L.S.; *Rolandum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Epistola . . . Anglorum* appears as a separate head in C.G.L. and S.; C. begins *De epistola*.

- Cap. 14. De discordia regum, atque induciis - p. 248
- Cap. 15. De prærogativa terræ Ierosolymitanæ, propter quam totiens devorat habitatores suos - - - p. 249
- Cap. 16. De Guidone rege Ierosolymorum - p. 255
- Cap. 17. De prælio, quo exercitus periiit Christianus, et captus est rex cum Sancta Cruce - - - p. 257
- Cap. 18. Quomodo Saladinus occupavit Terram Promissionis cum Sancta Civitate - p. 259
- Cap. 19. Quomodo Conradus Marchio munivit Tyrum, et de interitu comitis Tripolitani - - - - p. 262
- Cap. 20. De obsidione Tyri, et reditu regis de captione - - - - p. 264
- Cap. 21. De morte Urbani papæ, et institutione Gregorii - - - - p. 266
- Cap. 22. De transitu Gregorii papæ - - - p. 270
- Cap. 23. Quomodo Reges crucem acceperunt cum<sup>1</sup> nobilibus plurimis. Statuta regum in susceptione crucis - p. 271
- Cap. 24. De exactione<sup>2</sup> decimarum, et quomodo imperator cum suis crucem accepit - - - - p. 274
- Cap. 25. De rupto fœdere a rege Francorum, et consecuta morte regis Anglorum p. 276
- Cap. 26. De moribus regis Henrici - - - p. 280
- Cap. 27. De laboriosa et morosa obsidione Acræ - - - - p. 284
- Cap. 28. De morte Willelmi regis Siciliæ, et de malis quæ per illam<sup>3</sup> contigerunt<sup>4</sup> - - - - p. 285

*Expliciunt Capitula.*

<sup>1</sup> cum, C.; om. L.S.

<sup>2</sup> exactione, L.S.; actione, C.

<sup>3</sup> illam, L.S.; altered to illum in C.

<sup>4</sup> contigerunt, C.S.; attigerunt, L.

INCIPIT LIBER TERTIUS.<sup>1</sup>

## CAP. I.

*De Lundoniensi concilio, et contentione<sup>2</sup> archiepiscoporum, et inundatione Hoilandie.<sup>3</sup>*

Anno a plenitudine temporis quo Veritas de terra A.D. 1175. orta est M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>V<sup>o</sup>., qui fuit regis Henrici secundi vicesimus secundus,<sup>4</sup> provinciale concilium Lundoniis celebratum a Ricardo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Apostolicæ sedis legato, considentibus suffraganeis et aliarum ecclesiasticarum personarum cœtu copioso.

Sequenti vero anno<sup>5</sup> Hugo cardinalis, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, nescio quid ordinaturus venit in Angliam.<sup>6</sup> Qui cum totius Angliæ generale concilium celebraturus, favore adjutus regio, utriusque provinciæ, id est, Cantuariensis et Eboracensis, ecclesiasticas personas Lundonias convocasset, statuto concilii die, cum jam sumptis insignibus processurus esset, facta est contentio vehemens inter ipsos archiepiscopos de prioratu sessionis in concilio. Quippe illa Apostolica regula, "honore invicem prævenientes," a nostri temporis episcopis<sup>7</sup> ita est abrogata, ut, sollici-

Council in London (Westminster, May 18).

Arrival of a legate (Oct. 27, 1175). A second council in London (Westminster, March 14, 1176). The archbishops quarrel as to precedence.

Rom. xii.  
10.

<sup>1</sup> B. has "et incipit tertius."

<sup>2</sup> et contentione, B.L. and in the margin of S.; C. omits the words.

<sup>3</sup> et . . . Hoilandie, C.L.S.; om. B.; C. reads *Hoylandie*.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 117, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> This date (1176) is wrong. Bened. Petrob. places the landing before Nov. 1, 1175, and Gervase's dates agree. R. de Diceto gives Oct. 27, 1175. As regards the

date of the council Newburgh is right.

<sup>6</sup> Hugo Petri Leonis, cardinal deacon of S. Angelo: Gervase (i. 256-7) says that Henry procured this visit with a view to divorcing Eleanor. See R. de Diceto (i. 403-410) as to other matters.

<sup>7</sup> L. has *ipsis* in place of *episcopis*.

A.D.  
1175-6.

tudine pastorali postposita episcopi quanto perver-  
cicus tanto et<sup>1</sup> vanius<sup>2</sup> de excellentia litigent; et  
omnis fere episcopalis controversia circa honorum<sup>3</sup>  
prærogativas versetur. Denique Eboracensis maturius  
adveniens primam sedem præoccupavit, eandem sibi  
allegans competere ex antiquo beati Gregorii decreto,  
quo statutum noscitur, ut metropolitanorum Angliæ  
ipse prior habeatur, qui prius fuerit ordinatus. Can-  
tuariensis vero sollemniter posita præoccupatæ sedis  
querela, secundam sedem, tanquam passus præjudi-  
cium, recusavit. Mox subditis ejus ferocius pro ipso  
æmulantibus, simplex verborum contentio crevit in  
rixam. Eboracensis autem, quoniam pars adversa for-  
tior erat, loco præmature occupato cum contumelia  
deturbatus, cappam conscissam illatæ sibi violentiæ  
indicem legato exhibuit, et Cantuariensem cum qui-  
busdam ejus subditis ad sedem Apostolicam pro-  
vocavit. Metropolitanis igitur ita contendentibus,  
rebusque turbatis, concilium non celebratum sed dis-  
sipatum est, et qui tanquam ad concilium evocati  
convenerant redire in sua.

Their  
retainers  
fight.

The coun-  
cil is  
broken up.

The sea  
overflows  
part of  
Lincoln-  
shire, Jan.  
7, 1175?

Eodem sane anno, quo memoratus cardinalis venit  
in Angliam, oceanus, tanquam peccatis hominum irri-  
tatus, plus solito efferbuit, ruptisque in Hoilandia<sup>4</sup>  
repagulis olim contra tempestivos undarum impetus  
præparatis, eandem humilem planamque regionem  
septimo Idus Januarii<sup>5</sup> violentus irrupit; jumenta  
fere omnia, hominum vero multitudinem necavit, re-  
liquis ascensu<sup>6</sup> vel arborum vel domorum ægre salva-  
tis; et quasi post biduum furore satiato in semetip-  
sum rediit. Cujus nimirum idcirco supra modum fuit

Beda,  
Hist. Eccl.  
I. xxix.  
§ 73.

<sup>1</sup> *tanto et*, L.S.; *tantoque*, C.;  
*tanto*, B

<sup>2</sup> B. has *erronius*, by late altera-  
tion.

<sup>3</sup> *honorum* B.L.S.; *honorum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Hoilandia*, B.L.S.; *Hoylandia*,  
C.

<sup>5</sup> The Annals of Waverley state  
that this happened on Jan 12,  
1178.

<sup>6</sup> B., by alteration, reads *assensa*.



hominibus et jumentis exitialis irruptio, quia, tan- A.D. 1175.  
quam<sup>1</sup> fur eversor nocturnus adveniens, prævideri et  
præcaveri non potuit.

## CAP. II.

*De reconciliatione domini papæ et<sup>2</sup> imperatoris.* A.D. 1177.

Anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup>, pontificatus The em-  
autem domini papæ Alexandri anno xviii<sup>o</sup>, Frederici peror  
imperatoris in eundem venerabilem pontificem invete- Frederic I.  
rata rabies conquievit. Maledictus furor ejus, quia recognises  
autem Dominus, qui tangit montes et fumigant, ipsum pope Alex-  
enim et pertinacem domuit, et durum mollivit. Siqui- ander III.  
dem principalibus schismaticis judicio Dei absorptis,  
Octoviano scilicet, qui papatum prior invaserat, et  
Guidone<sup>3</sup> Cremensi, qui ejusdem vesaniæ successor<sup>4</sup>  
exstiterat, cum quidam Johannes Strumensis<sup>5</sup> tertius  
continuaret errorem, compunctus tandem imperator  
per viros sapientes et nobiles tractare cepit de pace.  
Itaque duo magni principes, sacerdotii scilicet atque  
imperii, sollemniter convenientes, Deo propitio in pa-  
trem et filium transierunt nono calendas Augusti: July 24.  
sicque ecclesia unita est, cunctis jam schismatis<sup>6</sup> auc-  
toribus atque fautoribus extinctis sive compunctis.  
Nam et ille, qui Octoviano et Guidoni<sup>3</sup> de medio  
factis, schismatici furoris continuator exstiterat, con-  
fusus et dejectus elanguit, cum favor circa eum impe-  
ratorius exspiravit. Quibus feliciter gestis, dominus  
papa, tanquam post tanti temporis scandala resarcite

Gen. xlix.  
7.  
Ps. cxliiii.  
5.

<sup>1</sup> *tanquam*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> *Guidone*, C.L.S.; *Gwidone*, B.  
and in the second instance *Guidoni*,  
L.S.; *Gwydoni*, B.; *Guydoni*, C.

<sup>4</sup> C., by correction, reads *succen-  
sor*.

<sup>5</sup> He was called Calixtus III.

<sup>6</sup> *schismatis*, B.; *schismaticis*,  
C.L.R.S.

A.D. 1179. unitatis gaudia sollemniter celebraturus, generale concilium anno pontificatus sui xx<sup>o</sup>, a partu autem Virginis anno M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>IX<sup>o</sup>,<sup>1</sup> quinto Idus Martii, Lateranis celebrandum<sup>2</sup> instituit; ad quod nimirum totius Latini orbis episcopos cum majoris loci abbatibus évocavit. Quod autem convocandi concilii intentio satis sincera non fuerit, Romanæ avaritiæ artificiosa provisio patefecit. Multi enim evocati,<sup>3</sup> quibus iter eundi ad concilium difficile vel intolerabile videbatur, interventu pecuniæ impudentius<sup>4</sup> turpiusque exactæ quam præstitæ, relaxari meruerunt. Sane hujus concilii decreta nostræ duximus historiæ inserenda.

The Third  
Lateran  
Council,  
March 11  
(5-19  
March).

### CAP. III.<sup>5</sup>

#### *Decreta Lateranensis concilii.*

A.D. 1179. “ Licet de vitanda discordia in electione Romani pontificis manifesta satis a prædecessoribus nostris instituta manaverint; quia sæpe post illam, per improbæ ambitionis audaciam, gravem passa est scissuram ecclesia, nos etiam ad hoc malum evitandum de consilio fratrum nostrorum, et sacri approbatione concilii aliquid decernimus.<sup>6</sup> adjungendum. Statuimus ergo, ut, si forte inimico hodie mine superseminante zizania, inter cardinales de substituto pontifice non potuerit esse plena concordia, et duobus partibus concordantibus, tertia pars concordare noluerit, aut sibi alium præsumpserit nominare; ille ab universa ecclesia recipiatur episcopus, qui a duobus partibus electus fuerit et receptus. Si quis autem de tertiæ partis nominatione confusus, quia rem non potest, nomen sibi episcopi usurpaverit; tam ipse quam qui eum receperint excommunicationi subjaceant, et totius sacri ordinis privatione

(March  
5-19.)  
Decrees of  
the Third  
Lateran  
Council.

In the  
election of  
popes a  
majority of  
not less  
than two  
thirds of  
the sacred  
college is  
essential.

Matth. xiii.  
25.

<sup>1</sup> B.L. and S. have M<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>IX<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *celebrandi*.

<sup>3</sup> *evocati*, B.L.S.; *vocati*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *impudentius*, C.L.S.; *impudicibus*, by 15th cent. alteration, B.

<sup>5</sup> B. omits this chapter. These canons differ as regards order and wording from those in Labbe (vol. xxii.) and Ben. Petr. (i. 222-238).

<sup>6</sup> C. has *decrevimus*.

“ mulcentur; ita ut viatici etiam eis nisi tantum in ultimis A.D. 1179.  
 “ communicatio denegetur; et nisi resipuerint cum Dathan et  
 “ Abiron, quos terra vivos absorbit, accipiant portionem.  
 “ Præterea si a paucioribus aliquis quam a duabus partibus  
 “ electus fuerit ad Apostolatus officium, nisi major assensus  
 “ et concordia intercesserit, nullatenus assumatur, et prædictæ  
 “ pœnæ subjaceat, si humiliter noluerit abstinere. Ex hoc  
 “ tamen nullum canonicis institutionibus et aliis ecclesiis  
 “ præjudicium generetur, in quibus majoris et sanioris par-  
 “ tis debet sententia prævalere, quia quod in eis dubium  
 “ venerit, superioris judicio poterit diffiniri: in Romana  
 “ vero curia et ecclesia speciale aliquid constituitur, quia  
 “ non potest ad superiorem recursus haberi.

“ Quod a prædecessore nostro felicis memoriæ Innocentio Ordina-  
 “ factum est innovantes: ordinationes ab Octoviano<sup>1</sup> et tions, &c.  
 “ Guidone hæresiarchis, necnon et Johanne Strumensi, qui performed  
 “ eos secutus est, factas, et ab ordinatis ab eis, irritas esse by the  
 “ censemus. Adjicientes etiam, ut qui dignitates ecclesiasticas antipopes  
 “ seu beneficia per prædictos schismaticos acceperunt, declared  
 “ carcant impetratis. Alienationes quoque seu invasiones, null.  
 “ quæ per eosdem schismaticos sive per laicos factæ sunt  
 “ de rebus ecclesiasticis, omni careant firmitate, et ad eccle-  
 “ siam, sine omni ejus onere, revertantur. Si quis contra-  
 “ ire<sup>2</sup> præsumperit, excommunicationi se noverit subjacere.  
 “ Illos autem, qui sponte juramentum de tenendo schismate  
 “ præstiterunt, a sacris ordinibus et dignitatibus decernimus  
 “ esse suspensos.

“ Cum in cunctis sacris ordinibus et ecclesiasticis mini- Rules res-  
 “ steriis et ætatis maturitas, et gravitas morum, et literarum pecting the  
 “ scientia sit attendenda et quærenda: multo fortius in age, elec-  
 “ episcopo hæc oportet inquiri, qui ad curam aliorum in tion, and  
 “ ipso debet ostendere qualiter alios oporteat in domo Do- consecra-  
 “ mini conversari. Ea propter, ne quod de quibusdam ex tion of  
 “ necessitate temporis factum est in exemplum trahatur a bishops.  
 “ posteris, præsentis decreto statuimus, ut nullus in episco-  
 “ pum eligatur, nisi qui jam tricesimum annum ætatis im-  
 “ plevit, et de legitimo sit matrimonio natus, qui etiam  
 “ vita et scientia commendabilis demonstratur. Cum autem  
 “ qui electus fuerit, et confirmationem electionis acceperit,

<sup>1</sup> Octoviano, C.L.S.

| <sup>2</sup> contraire, L.S.; *contrarie*, C.

A.D. 1179. " et ecclesiasticorum bonorum administrationem habuerit'  
 " decurso tempore de consecrandis episcopis a canonibus  
 " definito, is<sup>1</sup> ad quem spectant beneficia quæ habuerat.  
 " disponendi de illis liberam habeat facultatem.

Regula-  
 tions re-  
 specting  
 the clergy,  
 their age,  
 education,  
 benefices,  
 &c.

" Inferiora etiam ministeria, ut puta decanatus, archidiacono-  
 " natus, et alia quæ animarum curam habent annexam, nul-  
 " lus omnino suscipiat, sed nec parochialium ecclesiarum  
 " regimen, nisi qui jam vicesimum quintum annum ætatis  
 " attigerit, et qui scientia et moribus commendandus exsis-  
 " tat. Cum vero quis assumptus fuerit, si archidiaconus vel  
 " decanus et reliqui admoniti non fuerint, præfixo a canoni-  
 " bus tempore, in presbyteros ordinati; et ab illo removeantur<sup>2</sup>  
 " officio, et alii conferatur qui et velit et possit illud con-  
 " venienter implere. Nec prosit ei appellationis diffugium,  
 " si forte in transgressione constitutionis istius per appella-  
 " tionem voluerit se tueri. Hoc sane non solum de promo-  
 " vendis, sed de iis etiam qui jam promoti sunt, si canones  
 " non obstant, præcipimus observandum. Clerici sane si  
 " contra formam istam quenquam elegerint, et eligendi tunc  
 " potestate privatos, et ab ecclesiasticis beneficiis triennio  
 " noverint se esse suspensos. Dignum est enim, ut quos  
 " Dei timor a malo non revocat, ecclesiasticæ saltem coer-  
 " ceat severitas disciplinæ. Episcopus etiam, si aut fecerit  
 " contra hoc, aut senserit fieri, in conferendis prædictis offi-  
 " ciis potestatem suam amittat per<sup>3</sup> capitulum, aut per me-  
 " tropolitanum, etiamsi capitulum<sup>4</sup> concordare noluerit.

Against  
 supporters  
 of the Albi-  
 genses.

" Sicut ait beatus Leo papa, ' licet ecclesiastica disciplina,<sup>5</sup>  
 " sacerdotali contenta iudicio, cruentas effugiat ultiones,'  
 " catholicorum tamen principum constitutionibus adjuvatur,  
 " ut sæpe quærant homines salutare remedium, dum cor-  
 " porale super se metuunt iudicium vel supplicium evenire.  
 " Ea propter quia in Wasconia, Albigesio, et partibus Tolo-  
 " sanis,<sup>6</sup> et aliis locis ita hæreticorum, quos alii Catharos,  
 " alii Publicanos, alii Paterinos, alii aliis nominibus vocant,  
 " invaluit damanda perversitas, ut jam non in occulto,  
 " sicut alii, nequitiam suam exerceant, sed errorem suum  
 " publice manifestent, et ad consensum suum simplices  
 " attrahant et infirmos: eos, et defensores eorum, et recep-

<sup>1</sup> is, L.S.; his, C.

<sup>2</sup> removeantur in C.L.R.S.

<sup>3</sup> per, L.S.; si per, C.

<sup>4</sup> C. has capitulo.

<sup>5</sup> disciplina, C.S.; beneficia, L.

<sup>6</sup> Tolosanis, L.S.; Tholosanis, C.

“ tores, anathemati decernimus<sup>1</sup> subjacere, et sub anathemate A.D. 1179.  
 “ prohibemus, ne quis eos in domo vel in terra sua tenere —  
 “ vel fovere, vel negotiationem cum eis exercere præsumat.  
 “ Si autem in hoc peccato decesserint, nec sub privilegio-  
 “ rum nostrorum quibuscunque iudultorum obtentu, nec  
 “ sub alia quacunque occasione, aut oblatio pro eis fiat,  
 “ aut inter Christianos accipiant sepulturam.

“ De Brebantionibus et Arragonensibus, Navariis, Baseu- Those who  
 “ lis, et Coterellis, qui tantam in Christianos immanitatem hire Bra-  
 “ exercent, ut nec ecclesiis nec monasteriis deferant, nec bançons  
 “ viduis et pupillis, non pueris aut senibus, non cuilibet and other  
 “ parcant ætati aut sexui, sed more paganorum omnia per- mercenary  
 “ dant et vastent, similiter constituimus, ut ipsi, qui eos troops  
 “ conduxerint vel tenerint vel foverint, per regiones, should  
 “ quibus taliter debaceantur, in dominicis et aliis diebus be excom-  
 “ sollemnibus in ecclesiis excommunicati publice denunci- municated.  
 “ entur, et eadem omnino sententia et pœna cum prædictis  
 “ hæreticis habeantur astricti: nec ad communionem reci-  
 “ piantur ecclesiæ, nisi societate illa pestifera et hæresi  
 “ abjuratis.<sup>2</sup> Relaxatos autem se noverint a debito fide-  
 “ litatis, seu hominii, aut totius obsequii, donec in tanta  
 “ iniquitate permanserint, quicumque illis aliquo pacto te-  
 “ nentur annexi. Cunctis autem fidelibus in remissionem Mercen-  
 “ peccatorum injungimus, ut tantis cladibus se opponant, aries may  
 “ et contra eos armis tueantur populum Christianum. Con- be en-  
 “ fiscoentur quoque bona eorum, et liberum sit principibus slaves by  
 “ hujusmodi pestilentes homines subicere servituti. Qui rulers of  
 “ autem in pœnitentia vera ibi decesserint, et peccatorum states.  
 “ indulgentiam, et fructum mercedis æternæ se<sup>3</sup> non dubi-  
 “ tent habituros. Nos etiam<sup>4</sup> de misericordia Dei, et be-  
 “ atorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, Indul-  
 “ fidelibus Christianis, qui contra eos arma susceperint, et gences  
 “ ad episcoporum sive aliorum prælatorum consilium ad promised  
 “ eos decertaverint expugnandos, biennium de injuncta pœ- to those  
 “ nitentia relaxamus: aut si longiorem ibi moram habu- who under  
 “ erint, episcoporum discretioni, quibus hujus rei cura fuerit the direc-  
 “ injuncta, committimus, ut ad eorum arbitrium, secundum tion of  
 “ bishops

<sup>1</sup> decernimus, L.S.; decrevimus, C.R.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *abjurata*.

R 8918.

<sup>3</sup> se, C.S.; om. L.

<sup>4</sup> etiam, L.R.S.; autem, C.

A.D. 1179. " modum laboris, major eis indulgentia tribuatur. Illos  
 — " autem, qui admonitioni episcoporum, in hujusmodi parere  
 take up " contempserint, a perceptione corporis et sanguinis Domini  
 arms " contempserint, a perceptione corporis et sanguinis Domini  
 against " jubemus fieri alienos. Interim vero eos, qui ardore fidei  
 Braban- " ad expugnandum eos laborem istum assumpserint, sicut  
 çons, &c. " eos, qui sepulchrum Domini visitant, sub ecclesiæ defen-  
 sione recipimus; et ab universis inquietationibus, tam in  
 " rebus quam in personis, statuimus manere securos. Si  
 " vero quisquam interim eos molestare præsumpserit, per  
 " episcopum loci excommunicationis sententia feriat, et  
 " tam diu sententia ab omnibus observetur, donec et ablata  
 " reddantur, et de illatis injuriis congrue satisfiat.<sup>1</sup> Epi-  
 " scopi vero sive presbyteri, qui talibus fortiter non resti-  
 " terint, officii sui suspensione mulcentur, donec misericor-  
 " diam Apostolicæ sedis obtineant.

Against  
 oppressive  
 taxation  
 of the  
 clergy.

" Non minus pro illorum peccato qui faciunt, quam pro  
 " eorum<sup>2</sup> detrimento qui sustinent, grave nimis esse dig-  
 " noscitur, quod in diversis partibus mundi rectores et  
 " consules civitatum, necnon et alii qui potestatem habere  
 " videntur, tot ecclesiis onera frequenter imponunt, ita  
 " gravibus eas et crebris exactionibus premunt, ut deterio-  
 " ris conditionis sub eis factum sacerdotium videatur quam  
 " sub Pharaone fuerit, qui divinæ legis notitiam non ha-  
 " buit. Ille quidem, omnibus aliis servituti subactis, sacer-  
 " dotes suos et possessiones eorum in pristina libertate  
 " dimisit, et de publico eis alimoniam ministravit. Isti<sup>3</sup>  
 " vero universa fere onera sua imponunt ecclesiis, et tot  
 " angariis ipsas affligunt, ut illud eis, quod Jeremias de-  
 " plorat, competere videatur; 'Princeps provinciarum facta  
 " 'est sub tributo.' Sive fossata, seu expeditiones, sive  
 " alia quælibet sibi arbitrentur agenda, de bonis ecclesia-  
 " rum et clericorum pauperum Christi usibus deputatis  
 " cuncta volunt compleri. Jurisdictionem etiam et auctori-  
 " tatem episcoporum et aliorum<sup>4</sup> prælatorum ita evacuant,  
 " ut nil potestatis eis in suis videatur hominibus reman-  
 " sisse. Super quo dolendum est pro ecclesiis, dolendum  
 " nihilominus et pro ipsis qui timorem Dei et ecclesiastici  
 " ordinis reverentiam videntur penitus abjecisse. Quocirca

<sup>1</sup> *satisfiat*, L.R.S.; *satisfecerit*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *eorum*, L.S.; *illorum*, C.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *iste*.

<sup>4</sup> *aliorum*, L.S.; *aliorumque*,  
 (omitting *et*), C.

“ sub anathematis districtione severius prohibemus ne talia A.D. 1179.  
 “ de cetero attemptare præsumant, nisi episcopus vel clerus  
 “ tantam necessitatem et utilitatem inspexerint, ut absque  
 “ coactione ad relevandas<sup>1</sup> communes necessitates, ubi laico-  
 “ rum non suppetant facultates, subsidia per ecclesias exist-  
 “ timent conferenda. Si autem consules aut alii de cetero  
 “ ista commiserint, et commoniti desistere forte noluerint;  
 “ tam ipsi quam fautores eorum excommunicationi se nove-  
 “ rint subjacere: nec communioni fidelium reddantur, nisi  
 “ satisfactionem fecerint competentem pœnitentes.

“ Præterea quia in tantum quorundam laicorum processit Institution  
 “ audacia, ut, episcoporum auctoritate neglecta, clericos insti- of clerks  
 “ tuant in ecclesiis, et removeant etiam cum voluerint, pos- by laymen,  
 “ sessiones quoque atque alia ecclesiastica bona pro sua and other  
 “ plerumque voluntate distribuunt, et tam ecclesias ipsas, interfe- enees with  
 “ quam homines earum tallis et exactionibus gravari præ- the clergy  
 “ sumant, eos qui amodo ista commiserint anathemate de- prohibited.  
 “ cernimus feriendos. Presbyter autem sive clericus, qui  
 “ ecclesiam per laicos sine proprii episcopi auctoritate rece-  
 “ perit, communionem privetur, et si perstiterit, a ministerio  
 “ ecclesiastico et ordine deponatur.

“ Sane quia laici quidam ecclesiasticas personas et ipsos Laymen  
 “ etiam episcopos iudicio suo stare compellunt, eos, qui de forbidden  
 “ cetero id præsumperint, a communione fidelium decerni- to force  
 “ mus<sup>2</sup> segregandos. Prohibemus insuper, ne laici decimas clerics to  
 “ cum animarum suarum periculo detinentes, in<sup>3</sup> alios laicos abide by  
 “ possint aliquo modo transferre. Si vero receperint, et the deci- sions of  
 “ ecclesiæ non reddiderint, Christiana sepultura priventur. civil courts.

“ Quia in quibusdam locis fundatores ecclesiarum, aut Where  
 “ heredes eorum, potestate in qua eos ecclesia hucusque there are  
 “ sustinuit abutuntur; cum in ecclesia Dei unus debeat esse several  
 “ qui præsit, ipsi plures sine respectu subjectionis eligere patrons of  
 “ moliantur, et cum una ecclesia unus debeat esse rectoris, a benefice  
 “ pro sua dispensatione plures repræsentant: quocirca præ- the ma- jority must  
 “ senti decreto statuimus, ut si forte in plures partes funda- elect the  
 “ torum se vota diviserint,<sup>4</sup> ille præficiatur ecclesiæ, qui ma- priest.  
 “ joribus jுவatur meritis, et plurimum eligitur et probatur

<sup>1</sup> relevandas, R.S.; revelandas, C.L.  
<sup>2</sup> decernimus, L.S.; decrevimus, C.

<sup>3</sup> in, C.S.; ut, L.

<sup>4</sup> diviserint, L.S.; diviserunt, C.

A.D. 1179. " assensu. Si autem hoc<sup>1</sup> sine scandalo esse nequiverit,  
 — " ordinet antistes ecclesiam sicut melius eam, secundum  
 " Deum, viderit ordinandam. Id ipsum etiam faciat, si de  
 " jure patronatus quæstio emerit inter aliquos, et cui  
 " competat infra tres menses non fuerit diffinitum.

Excommu- " Ita quorundam animos occupat sæva cupiditas, ut cum  
 nication denounced " glorientur nomine Christiano, Sarracenis<sup>2</sup> arma, ferrum  
 against " et lignamina deferant galearum; et<sup>3</sup> pares aut etiam  
 those who " superiores in malitia fiant illis, dum ad impugnandos  
 sell arms " Christianos arma eis et necessaria subministrant. Sunt  
 to the " etiam qui pro sua cupiditate in galeis et piraticis Sarra-  
 Saracens " cenorum<sup>4</sup> navibus regimen et curam gubernationis exer-  
 or are " cent. Tales igitur ab ecclesiæ communione præscisos, et  
 guilty of " excommunicationi pro sua iniquitate subjectos, et rerum  
 piracy or " suarum per principes seculi catholicos et consules civita-  
 wrecking. " tum privatione mulctari, et capientium servos, si capti  
 " fuerint, fore censemus. Præcipimus autem, ut per eccle-  
 " sias maritimarum urbium crebra et sollemnis in eos fiat  
 " excommunicatio. Excommunicationis quoque pœnæ sub-  
 " dantur, qui Romanos aut alios Christianos pro negotia-  
 " tione vel aliis honestis causis navigio vectos, aut capere,  
 " aut rebus suis spoliare præsumunt. Illi etiam, qui  
 " Christianos naufragium patientes, quibus secundum re-  
 " gulam fidei auxilio esse tenentur, damnanda cupiditate  
 " rebus suis spoliare præsumunt, nisi ablata reddiderint,  
 " excommunicationi se noverint subjacere.

No pay- " Monachi non pretio recipiantur<sup>5</sup> in monasterio, non  
 ment to be " peculium permittantur habere, non singuli per villas et  
 exacted " oppida seu quascunque parochiales ponantur ecclesias; sed  
 from those " in majori conventu, aut cum aliquibus fratribus maneat,  
 who take " ne soli inter seculares homines spiritualium hostium con-  
 the cowl. " flictum expectent; Salomone dicente, 'Væ soli; quia  
 Monks for- " cum<sup>6</sup> ceciderit, non habet sublevantem.' Si quis autem  
 bidden to " exactus pro sua receptione aliquid dederit, ad sacros  
 have pri- " ordines non ascendat. Is autem qui eum receperit, officii  
 vate pro- " privatione mulctetur. Qui vero peculium habuerit, nisi ab  
 perty. " abbate fuerit ei pro injuncta administratione commissum,  
 They are " —  
 never to be " —  
 assigned to " —  
 posts outside their " —  
 convents. " —

Eccles. iv. 10.

<sup>1</sup> hoc, C.S.; om. L.

<sup>2</sup> L. has *Sarracenus*.

<sup>3</sup> et, L.S.; aut, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Sarracenum*, C.S.; *Sarracenum*, L.

<sup>5</sup> Imperfect (*repiantur*) in C.

<sup>6</sup> cum, L.R.S.; si, C.



“ a communione removeatur altaris, et qui in extremis eum A.D. 1179.  
 “ peculio inventus fuerit, nec oblatio pro eo fiat, nec inter ---  
 “ fratres recipiat sepulturam. Quod etiam de diversis re-  
 “ ligiosis præcipimus<sup>1</sup> observari. Abbas autem, qui ista  
 “ non curaverit, officii sui jacturam se noverit incursum.  
 “ Prioratus quoque, seu obedientiæ, pretii datione nulli Promotion  
 “ tradantur. Alioquin dantes et accipientes a ministerio in monas-  
 “ fiant ecclesiastico alieni.<sup>2</sup> Priores autem in conventuali- teries not  
 “ bus ecclesiis constituti, nisi pro manifesta et rationabili<sup>3</sup> to be pur-  
 “ causa, non mutantur; videlicet si dilapidatores fuerint, si chased.  
 “ incontiueuter vixerint, aut tale quid egerint, pro quo Priors, &c.  
 “ amovendi sint<sup>4</sup> merito, aut etiam pro necessitate majoris not to be  
 “ officii de consilio fratrum fuerint transferendi. changed.

1 Cor. xii.  
23.

“ Cum dicat apostolus Paulus abundantio rem honorem Lepor  
 “ membris infirmioribus<sup>5</sup> deferendum; e contra quidam quæ hospitals  
 “ sua sunt, non quæ Jesu Christi, quærentes, leprosos, qui to be pro-  
 “ cum sanis habitare non possunt, proprii non permittunt vided with  
 “ juvari ministerio sacerdotis. Quod quia procul a pietate priests; to  
 “ Christiana esse dignoscitur, de benignitate Apostolica be free  
 “ constituimus, ut ubicunque tot simul sub communi vita fuerint from tithes,  
 “ congregati, quod ecclesiam cum cœmeterio sibi constituere, &c.  
 “ et proprio valeant gaudere presbytero, sine contradictione  
 “ aliqua permittantur habere. Caveant tamen ut injuriosi  
 “ veteribus ecclesiis de jure parochiali nequaquam existant.  
 “ Quod enim pro pietate eis conceditur, ad aliorum injuriam  
 “ nolumus redundare. Statuimus etiam ut de hortis et  
 “ nutrimentis animalium suorum decimas tribuere non co-  
 “ gantur.

“ Judæi sive Sarraceni nec sub alendorum puerorum suo- Christians  
 “ rum obtentu, nec pro servitio vel aliqua alia qualibet not to  
 “ causa, Christiana mancipia in domibus suis permittantur dwell in  
 “ habere. Excommunicentur autem qui cum ipsis præsump- the houses  
 “ serint habitare. Testimonium autem Christianorum adver- of Jews or  
 “ sus Judæos in omnibus causis, cum illi adversus Chris- Saracens.  
 “ tianos testibus suis utantur, recipiendum<sup>6</sup> esse censemur. The testi-  
 “ et anathemate decernimus<sup>7</sup> feriendos, quicumque Judæos<sup>8</sup> mony of  
 “ Jews never  
 “ allowed  
 “ greater

<sup>1</sup> Imperfect (*preimus*) in L. and S.

<sup>2</sup> *alieni*, L.S.; *alienati*, C.

<sup>3</sup> Imperfect (*rationabi*) in S.

<sup>4</sup> *sint*, C.R.S.; *sunt*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *infirmioribus*, L.R.S.; *inferiori-*  
*bus*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *recipiendos* in C.L.R.S.

<sup>7</sup> *decernimus*, L.R.S.; *deercimus*,  
C.

<sup>8</sup> *Judaos*, in recent hand in L.

A.D. 1179. " Christianis in hac parte præferre præsumperint,<sup>1</sup> cum eos  
 weight " Christianis subiacere oporteat, et ab eis pro sola humani-  
 than that " tate foveri. Si qui præterea, Deo inspirante, ad fidem se  
 of Chris- " converterint Christianam, a possessionibus suis nullatenus  
 tians. " excludantur, cum melioris conditionis conversos ad fidem  
 Converts " esse oporteat, quam antequam fidem susceperint<sup>2</sup> habe-  
 to retain " bantur. Si autem secus factum fuerit, principibus seu  
 all their " potestatibus eorundem locorum sub pœna excommunicatio-  
 property. " nis injungimus, ut portionem hereditatis et bonorum suo-  
 " rum ex integro faciant eis exhiberi.

Against " Quia nonnulli modum avaritiæ non ponentes, et diver-  
 plurality of " sas dignitates ecclesiasticas, et plures ecclesias parochiales  
 benefices. " contra sanctorum canonum instituta nituntur acquirere;  
 " ita ut cum unum officium vix implere sufficiant, stipendia  
 " sibi vindicent plurimorum; ne id de cetero fiat districtius  
 " inhibemus. Cum igitur vel ecclesia vel ecclesiarum mini-  
 " sterium committi debuerit, talis ad hoc persona quærat,ur,  
 " qui residere in loco, et curam ejus per se ipsum valeat  
 " exercere. Quod si aliter actum fuerit, et qui receperit,  
 " quod contra sacros canones receperit, amittat; et qui dede-  
 " rit, largiendi potestate privetur. Et quia in tantum<sup>3</sup> jam  
 " quorundam processit ambitio, ut non duas vel tres, sed sex  
 " aut plures perhibeantur habere, cum nec duabus possint  
 " debitam provisionem impendere; per fratres<sup>4</sup> et coepiscopos  
 " nostros hoc emendari præcipimus, et de multitudine cano-  
 " nibus inimica, quæ dissolutionis materiam et vagationis in-  
 " ducit, et certum continet periculum animarum, eorum, qui  
 " in ecclesiis<sup>5</sup> deservire valeant, indigentiam<sup>6</sup> sublevari.<sup>7</sup>

Usurers to " Quia in omnibus fere locis ita crimen usurarum inva-  
 be excom- " luit, ut multis negotiis aliis prætermisissis, quasi licite usu-  
 municatod. " ras exercere valeant, et qualiter utriusque testamenti pagina  
 " condemnentur nequaquam attendant; constituimus, ut usu-  
 " rarii manifesti nec ad communionem admittantur altaris,  
 " nec Christianam, si in hoc peccato decesserint, habeant  
 " sepulturam, sed nec oblationem eorum quisquam recipiat.

<sup>1</sup> *præsumperint*, L.; *præsumpserit*, S.C.

<sup>2</sup> *suseperent*, L.S.; *acceperent* (sic), C.

<sup>3</sup> *in tantum*, L.S.; *in terra jam in tantum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *per fratres*, L.S.; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> *ecclesiis*, L.R.S.; *ecclesias*, C.

<sup>6</sup> C. has *indigentia*.

<sup>7</sup> R. omits all the remaining canons. Picard's edition likewise omits the rest.

“ Qui autem receperit, aut Christianæ eos tradiderit sepul- A.D. 1179.  
 “ turæ, et ea quæ accepit reddere compellatur, et,<sup>1</sup> donec  
 “ ad arbitrium sui episcopi satisfecerit, ab officii sui maneat  
 “ executione suspensus.

“ Cum in officiis caritatis primo loco illis videamur ob- Clerks not  
 “ noxii a quibus beneficium nos cognoscimus recepisse, e to alienate  
 “ contra quidam clerici cum ab ecclesiis suis multa bona the goods  
 “ perceperint, bona per ecclesias acquisita in alios transferre of benef-  
 “ præsumunt. Hoc igitur quia in antiquis canonibus consti- fices.  
 “ stat esse inhibendum, nos etiam nihilominus inhibemus.  
 “ Integritati itaque ecclesiæ providere volentes, sive intes-  
 “ tati decesserint sive aliis conferre voluerint, penes ecclesias  
 “ eadem bona præcipimus remanere.

“ Præterea, quoniam quidam in quibusdam partibus sub<sup>2</sup> Against the  
 “ pretio statuuntur qui decani vocantur, et pro certa pecu- simoniacal  
 “ niæ quantitate episcopalem jurisdictionem exercent; præ- appoint-  
 “ senti decreto statuimus, ut qui de cetero id præsumpserint ment of  
 “ officio suo priventur, et episcopus conferendi hoc officium deputies by  
 “ potestatem amittat. bishops.

“ Cum in cunctis ecclesiis quod pluribus et senioribus Numbers  
 “ fratribus visum fuerit<sup>3</sup> incunctanter debeat observari; and  
 “ grave nimis est et reprehensione dignissimum, quod per seniority  
 “ quasdam ecclesias pauci quandoque non tam de ratione must pre-  
 “ quam propria voluntate ordinationem multorum impediunt, vail in the  
 “ et ordinationem ecclesiasticam procedere non permittunt. ordering of  
 “ Quocirca præsentis decreto statuimus, ut nisi a paucioribus the internal  
 “ et inferioribus id<sup>4</sup> rationabile ostensum fuerit, appellatione affairs of  
 “ remota prævaleat semper, et suum consequatur effectum, churches.  
 “ quod a majoris et sanioris partis consiliis fuerit constitu-  
 “ tum. Nec constitutionem nostram impediat, si forte ali-  
 “ quis ad conservandam ecclesiæ suæ consuetudinem jura-  
 “ mento se dicat astrictum; non enim dicenda sunt juramenta,  
 “ sed perjurya potius, quæ extra utilitatem ecclesiasticam et  
 “ sanctorum patrum veniunt instituta. Si quis autem hujus-  
 “ modi consuetudines, quæ non ratione jvantur nec sacris  
 “ congruunt institutis, jurare præsumpserit, donec condignam  
 “ egerit penitentiam, a perceptione Dominici corporis alienus  
 “ existat.

<sup>1</sup> et, L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> C. omits *sub*.

<sup>3</sup> fuerit, L.S.; fuerint, C.

<sup>4</sup> Bened. Petrob. has “rationabile  
 “ aliquid fuerit ostensum.”

- A.D. 1179. “Innovamus itidem ut presbyteri, clerici, monachi, peregrini, conversi, mercatores, rustici, enntes et redeuntes, et in agricultura existentes, et animalia quibus arant, sive quibus ad agrum semina portant, continua securitate lætentur, nec quispiam<sup>1</sup> alicubi novas pedagionum<sup>2</sup> exactiones aut statutas de novo tenere aut veteres augere alio modo præsumat. Si quis enim contra hoc venerit, et commonitus non destiterit, donec satisfecerit communiōne carcat Christiana.
- Clerics, pilgrims, and others are not to be molested, nor burdened with new taxes.
- “Cum Apostolus se et<sup>3</sup> suos propriis manibus decreverit exhibendos, ut locum prædicandi auferret pseudo-apostolis, et illis quibus prædicabat non existeret onerosus; grave nimis et emendatione dignum esse dignoscitur, quod quidam fratrum et coepiscoporum nostrorum ita graves in procurationibus subditis suis existant, ut pro hujusmodi causa ipsa interdum ecclesiastica ornamenta subditi exponere cogantur, et longi temporis victum brevis hora consumat. Quocirca statuimus, quod archiepiscopi parochias visitantes pro diversitatibus provinciarum et facultatibus ecclesiarum xl. vel l. evectionum numerum, episcopi xxx. vel xx., cardinales vero ix. vel xv.<sup>4</sup> nequaquam excedant; archidiaconi vero v. aut vii., decani autem<sup>5</sup> constituti sub ipsis duobus equis contenti subsistant. Nec cum canibus venatoriis aut avibus proficiscantur, sed ita procedant ut nunquam quæ sua sunt sed quæ Jesu Christi querere videantur. Prohibemus igitur ne subditos suos taillias<sup>6</sup> et exactionibus gravare præsumant episcopi. Sustinemus autem pro multis necessitatibus quæ aliquotiens superveniunt, si manifesta et rationabilis causa exstiterit, ut cum caritate moderatum valeant ex illis auxilium postulare. Cum enim<sup>7</sup> dicat Apostolus, non debent filii thesaurizare<sup>2</sup> Cor. xii. parentibus, sed parentes filiis, multum longe a paterna<sup>14</sup> pietate videtur, si præpositi suis subditis graves existant, quos in cunctis necessitatibus pastoris debent more fovere. Archidiaconi vero sive decani nullas exactiones vel taillias<sup>8</sup> in presbyteros sive clericos exercere præsumant. Sane quod
- Bishops not to exact extravagant hospitality from the lower clergy. Limitation of equipage allowed to church dignitaries.

<sup>1</sup> *quispiam*, L.S.; *quisquam*, C.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. collated at this point (C.L. and S.) have the form *pedagionum* in place of *pedagiorum*.

<sup>3</sup> *et*, by correction, L.; *aut*, C.S.

<sup>4</sup> xv., L.S.; *undecim*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *autem*, L.S.; *aut*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *taillias*, L.S.; *in tallias*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *enim*, L.S.; *autem*, C.

<sup>8</sup> C. has *tallias*.

“ de prædicto numero erectionum secundum tolerantiam dic- A.D. 1179.  
 “ tum est, in illis locis poterit observari in quibus ampli-  
 “ ores sunt redditus et ecclesiasticæ facultates. In panpe-  
 “ rioribus autem locis tantam volumus teneri mensuram, ut  
 “ ex accessu majorum minores non debeant gravari, ne sub  
 “ tali indulgentia illi, qui paucioribus equis uti solebant,  
 “ plurimam sibi credant<sup>1</sup> potestatem indultam.

“ Nulla ecclesiastica beneficia, seu etiam ministeria vel No benefi-  
 “ ecclesia, alicui attribuantur<sup>2</sup> seu promittantur antequam ces to be  
 “ vacant; ne desiderare quis mortem proximi sui videatur, promised  
 “ in cujus locum et beneficium se crediderit successurum, or assigned  
 “ cum hoc etiam ipsorum gentilium legibus inveniat inhi- until  
 “ bitum. Turpe nimis est et divini plenum animadversione actually  
 “ judicii, si locum in ecclesia Dei futuræ successionis exspec- vacant.  
 “ tatione habeamus, quod ipsi etiam gentiles homines con-  
 “ demnare dicuntur. Cum autem prædictas ecclesias, seu Benefices  
 “ quælibet officia ecclesiastica vacare contigerit, vel etiam si to be filled  
 “ modo vacant, non diu mancant in suspensio, sed infra sex with due  
 “ menses personis quæ digne ministrare valeant conferantur. prompti-  
 “ Si autem episcopus, ubi ad eum spectat, sine rationabili tude.

“ causa distulerit conferre, per capitulum ordinetur. Quod  
 “ si ad capitulum ordinatio pertinerit, et infra præscriptum  
 “ terminum similiter hoc<sup>3</sup> non fecerit, episcopus secundum  
 “ Deum hoc cum religiosorum virorum consilio exsequatur.  
 “ Aut si forte omnes neglexerint, metropolitanus de ipsis,  
 “ secundum Deum, absque contradictione disponat.

“ Præterea, si episcopus sine certo titulo, de quo possit No one  
 “ necessaria<sup>4</sup> vitæ percipere, diaconem vel presbyterum or- to be  
 “ dinaverit, tamdiu ei necessaria vitæ subministret, donec in ordained  
 “ aliqua eidem ecclesia convenientia stipendia clericalis mili- without a  
 “ tiæ assignet; nisi forte talis fuerit, qui ordinatus exstiterit, title.  
 “ quod de sua vel paterna hereditate vel alia honesta  
 “ causa subsidium vitæ habere potuerit.

“ Cum in ecclesiæ corpore omnia debeant ex caritate trac- Money not  
 “ tati, et quod gratis receptum<sup>5</sup> est gratis impendi, horribile to be re-  
 “ nimis est quod in quibusdam ecclesiæ locis venalitas per- ceived for  
 “ hibetur locum habere: ita ut pro episcopis vel abbatibus installations,  
 “ seu quibuscumque personis ecclesiasticis ponendis in sede, inductions,  
 “ burials,

<sup>1</sup> *credant*, C.S.; *credent*, L.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *tribuantur*.

<sup>3</sup> *hoc*, C.S.; *hoc si*, by alteration, L.

<sup>4</sup> *necessaria*, L.S.; C. has *ecclē-  
 sia*.

<sup>5</sup> *receptum*, L.S.; *acceptum*, C.

- A.D. 1179. “ sive introducendis presbyteris in ecclesiam, sive pro sepulturis et exsequiis mortuorum, et benedictionibus numentium, seu aliis sacramentis ecclesiasticis, aliquid requiratur, et non possit ista percipere ille qui indiget nisi manum implere curaverit largitoris. Putant autem ex hoc plures sibi licere, quia legem de longa invaluisse consuetudine arbitrantur; non satis, quia cupiditate cæcati sunt, attendentes, quod tanto graviora sunt crimina quanto diutius infelicem animam tenuerint alligatam. Ne ergo hoc de cetero fiat, et vel personis ecclesiasticis deducendis ad sedem, vel sacerdotibus instituendis, aut sepeliendis mortuis, seu etiam benedicendis nubentibus, seu aliis sacramentis ecclesiasticis aliquid exigatur,<sup>1</sup> inhibemus. Si quis autem contravenire præsumperit, portionem cum Giczi se noverit habiturum, cujus factum exactione muneris ultione lepræ vindicatur.
- New burdens not to be laid upon churches nor the old augmented. Priests forbidden to retain females in their houses immorally. The punishment of grosser offences. Clerics not to haunt nunneries.
- “ Prohibemus insuper ne novi census ab episcopis vel abbatibus aliisque prælatis imponantur ecclesiis, nec veteres augeantur, nec partem reddituum suis usibus appropriare præsumant; sed libertatem, quam majores sibi servari desiderant, minoribus quoque suis bona voluntate conservent. Si quis autem aliter fecerit, irritam quod fecerit habebatur.
- “ Clerici in sacris ordinibus constituti, qui mulierculas in domibus suis sub incontinentiæ nota tenuerint,<sup>2</sup> aut abjiciant eas et continenter vivant, aut a beneficio ecclesiastico fiant alieni.
- “ Quicumque in<sup>3</sup> incontinentia illa quæ contra naturam est, propter quam venit ira Dei in filios diffidentiae, et quinque civitates igne consumpsit, depreheusi fuerint laborare; si clerici fuerint ejiciantur a clero, vel ad agendam poenitentiam in monasterio retrudantur; si laici, exemptioni subdantur, et a cœtu fidelium fiant penitus alieni.
- “ Monasteria præterea sauctimonialium si quisquam clericus sine manifesta et necessaria causa frequentare præsumperit, per episcopum arceatur; et si non destiterit, a beneficio ecclesiastico reddatur immunis.

<sup>1</sup> exigatur, L.S.; agatur, C.<sup>2</sup> tenuerint, L.S.; tenuerunt, C.<sup>3</sup> in, C.S.; om. L.

“ Quoniam ecclesia Dei, et in iis quæ spectant ad subsi- A.D. 1179.  
 “ dium corporis et in iis quæ ad perfectum veniunt animarum, —  
 “ indigentibus, sicut pia mater, providere tenetur; ne pau- School-  
 “ peribus, qui parentum opibus juvari non possunt, legendi masters  
 “ et proficiendi oportunitas subtrahatur, per unamquamque to be  
 “ cathedralem ecclesiam magistro, qui clericos ejusdem eccle- appointed,  
 “ siæ et pauperes scholares gratis doceat, competens aliquod or restored,  
 “ beneficium præbeatur, quo decentis necessitas sublevetur, in all  
 “ et discipulis via pateat ad doctrinam. In aliis quoque cathedral  
 “ ecclesiis restituatur, si retroactis temporibus aliquid in establish-  
 “ eis ad hoc fuerit deputatum. Pro licentia decendi nullus ments for  
 “ omnino pretium exigat, vel sub obtentu alicujus consue- tuition of  
 “ tudinis ab iis qui docent aliquid quærat, nec docere poor  
 “ quemquam, expetita licentia, qui sit idoneus interdicit. scholars.  
 “ Qui vero contra hoc venire præsumperit, ab ecclesiastico  
 “ beneficio fiat alienus. Dignum quidem esse videtur ut in  
 “ ecclesia Dei pretium laboris sui non habeat qui, cupiditate  
 “ animi, dum vendit docendi licentiam ecclesiasticum  
 “ perfectum nititur impedire.

“ Clerici in subdiaconatu et supra, et in minoribus quo- Clerks in  
 “ que ordinibus constituti, coram seculari iudice advocati in holy orders  
 “ negotiis secularibus fieri non præsumant, nisi propriam forbidden  
 “ vel ecclesiæ suæ causam fuerint prosecuti, et nisi forte to act as  
 “ pro miserabilibus personis quæ causas proprias adminis- legal advo-  
 “ trare non possunt. Sed nec procuraciones villarum aut cates or  
 “ jurisdictiones etiam seculares sub aliquibus principibus et to under-  
 “ secularibus viris, ut justitiiarii eorum fiant, clericorum quis- take secu-  
 “ quam exercere præsumat. Si quis autem adversus hoc lar offices.  
 “ venire tentaverit,<sup>1</sup> quia contra doctrinam Apostoli dicen-  
 “ tis, ‘ Nemo militans Deo implicet<sup>2</sup> se negotiis secularibus,’  
 “ seculariter agit, ab ecclesiastico ministerio fiat alienus, pro  
 “ eo quod officio clericali relicto et neglecto, fluctibus seculi,  
 “ ut potentibus placeat, se immergit. Districtius autem  
 “ decrevimus puniendum, si religiosorum quisquam aliquid<sup>3</sup>  
 “ prædictorum ausus fuerit attentare.

“ Felicis memoriæ papæ Innocentii et Eugenii prædeces- Tournam-  
 “ sorum nostrorum vestigiis inhærentes, detestabiles nundi- nents for-  
 “ nas quas vulgo torneamenta<sup>4</sup> vocant, in quibus milites bidden.

<sup>1</sup> *temptaverit*, C.S.; *temptaverat*,  
L.

<sup>2</sup> In the Vulgate *implicat*.

<sup>3</sup> *Benedict*; but the MSS. have  
*aliqua*.

<sup>4</sup> *torneamenta*: this form appears  
in C.L.S.

A.D. 1179. “ ex conducto venire solent ad ostentationem virium suarum,  
 “ et audacia temeraria congregiuntur, unde mortes hominum  
 “ et animarum pericula sæpeveniunt, fieri prohibemus.  
 “ Quod si quis eorum ibidem mortuus fuerit, quamvis ei  
 “ poscenti pœnitentia non negetur, ecclesiastica tamen  
 “ careat sepultura.

The Trace  
of God to  
be strictly  
observed.

“ Treugas a quinta feria post occasum solis usque ad se-  
 “ cundam feriam post ortum solis, et ab Adventu Domini  
 “ usque ad octabas Epiphaniæ, et a Septuagesima usque ad  
 “ octabas Paschæ, ab<sup>1</sup> omnibus inviolabiliter observari præ-  
 “ cipimus. Si quis autem treugam frangere tentaverit,  
 “ post tertiam commonitionem si non satisfecerit, episcopus  
 “ sans excommunicationis sententiam dictet, et scriptam vi-  
 “ cinis episcopis denuntiet. Episcoporum autem nullus ex-  
 “ communicatum in communionem<sup>2</sup> suscipiat, immo scripto  
 “ susceptam sententiam quisque confirmet. Si quis autem  
 “ hoc violare præsumperit, ordinis sui periculo subiaceat.  
 “ Et quoniam ‘funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur,’ præcipi-  
 “ mus ut episcopi ad solum Deum et salutem populi habentes  
 “ respectum, omni cupiditate seposita, ad pacem firmiter  
 “ tenendam mutuum sibi consilium et auxilium præbeant,  
 “ neque hoc vel amore vel odio prætermittant. Quod si quis  
 “ in hoc opere tepidus inventus fuerit, damnum propriæ  
 “ dignitatis incurrat.

Prelates  
must ad-  
monish  
before ex-  
communi-  
cating.

Appeals  
must not  
be inter-  
posed  
before the  
cause has  
really com-  
menced.

“ Reprehensibilis valde consuetudo in quibusdam partibus  
 “ inolevit, ut cum fratres et episcopi nostri seu archidia-  
 “ conii appellaturos quosdam in causis suis existimant, nulla  
 “ penitus admonitione præmissa, suspensionis seu excommuni-  
 “ cationis in eos sententiam ferant. Alii autem dum supe-  
 “ rioris sententiam et disciplinam reformidant, sine ullo  
 “ gravamine ante ingressum causæ appellationem obji-  
 “ unt; et ita ad defensionem suæ iniquitatis usurpant quod ad  
 “ præsidium innocentium dignoscitur institutum. Quocirca  
 “ ne iidem prælati valeant sine causa gravare subjectos, vel  
 “ subditi pro sola voluntate sub appellationis obtentu correc-  
 “ tionem valeant eludere prælatorum, præsentî decreto statui-  
 “ mus, ut nec prælati, nisi canonica summonitione præmissa,  
 “ suspensionis vel excommunicationis sententiam proferant  
 “ in subjectos, nisi talis fuerit culpa quæ ipsis suo genere

<sup>1</sup> *ab*, L.S.; *in*, C.

<sup>2</sup> Labbe; but the MSS. (C.L.S.) | read *communione*; so also Benedict  
(ii. 225).



“ suspensionis vel excommunicationis pœnam inducat; nec A.D. 1179.  
 “ subjecti contra disciplinam ecclesiasticam ante ingressum  
 “ causæ in vocem appellationis prorumpant. Si vero quis- A limit of  
 “ quam pro sua necessitate crediderit appellandum, compe- time to be  
 “ tens ei ad prosequendam appellationem terminus præfiga- assigned  
 “ tur; infra quem appellationem prosequi si forte neglexerit, for each  
 “ libere tunc episcopus auctoritate sua fruatur. Si autem in appeal.  
 “ quocunque negotio aliquis appellaverit, et eo qui appellatus Appellants  
 “ fuerit veniente, qui appellaverit venire neglexerit; si pro- who do not  
 “ prium quid habuerit, competentem illi recompensationem appear are  
 “ faciat expensarum, ut hoc saltem timore deterritus, in to be fined.  
 “ gravamen alterius facile quis non appellet. Præcipue Monks not  
 “ tamen in locis religiosis hoc præcipimus observari, ne to appeal  
 “ monachi sive quicumque religiosi cum pro aliquo excessu against the  
 “ fuerint corrigendi coram regulari prælato<sup>1</sup> et capituli sui<sup>2</sup> authority  
 “ disciplina, appellare præsumant,<sup>3</sup> sed humiliter ac devote of their  
 “ suscipiant quod pro salute sua fuerit eis injunctum. superior  
 “ and chap-  
 “ Cum et fovere sacram religionem plantatam,<sup>4</sup> et plantare ter.  
 “ fovendam modis omnibus debeamus, nunquam hoc melius  
 “ exsequemur,<sup>5</sup> quam si nutrire in ea quæ recta sunt, et cor-  
 “ rigere quæ profectum virtutis impediunt, commissa nobis a  
 “ Deo auctoritate curemus. Fratrum autem et coepiscopo-  
 “ rum nostrorum vehementi conquestione comperimus quod  
 “ fratres Templi et Hospitalis et alii quoque religiosæ pro- Canon  
 “ fessionis, indulta sibi ab Apostolica sede privilegia ex- directed  
 “ dentes, contra episcopalem auctoritatem multa præsumunt, against the  
 “ quæ et scandalum faciunt in populo Dei, et grave pariunt misuse of  
 “ periculum animarum. Proposuerunt enim quod ecclesias special  
 “ de manu laicorum recipiant, excommunicatos et interdictos privileges  
 “ ad ecclesiastica sacramenta et sepulturam admittant sine by the  
 “ decreto in ecclesiis suis præter eorum conscientias, et in- Templars  
 “ stituant et removeant sacerdotes; et fratribus eorum ad and Hospi-  
 “ elemosynas quærendas euntibus, cum indultum sit eis, ut tallers.

<sup>1</sup> *regulari prælato*, L.S.; *regula-  
 ribus prælatis*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *sui*, L.S.; om. C.

<sup>3</sup> *præsumant*, L.S.; *non præsu-  
 mant*, C. Benedict of Peterborough  
 gives the passage thus: “contra  
 “ regularem prælato sui et capituli

“ disciplinam appellare præsu-  
 “ mant,” and Labbe’s text agrees.

<sup>4</sup> *plantatam*, L.S.; *et plantatam*,  
 C.

<sup>5</sup> *exsequemur* as in Labbe (xxii.  
 221); but C.L.S. read *exsequimur*.

A.D. 1179. “ in eorum adventu semel in anno aperiantur ecclesiæ atque  
 “ divina in eis celebrentur officia, plures ex eis de una sive  
 “ de diversis domibus ad interdictum locum sæpius acce-  
 “ dentes, indulgentia privilegiorum nostrorum<sup>1</sup> in celebran-  
 “ dis officiis et sepeliendis mortuis abutantur, et tunc apud  
 “ interdictas ecclesias mortuos sepelire præsumant. Occasione  
 “ quoque fraternitatis, quam<sup>2</sup> in pluribus locis constituunt,  
 “ robur episcopalis auctoritatis enervent, dum contra eorum  
 “ sententiam, sub aliquorum privilegiorum obtentu, munire  
 “ cunctos intendunt qui ad eorum fraternitatem se voluerint  
 “ conferre. In his autem quibus tam de majorum consensu  
 “ vel consilio quam de minorum discretionem quorundam ex-  
 “ ceditur, et removenda ea in quibus excedunt,<sup>3</sup> et quæ dubi-  
 “ tationem faciunt decrevimus declaranda. Ecclesias sane et  
 “ decimas de manu laicorum, sine consensu episcoporum, tam  
 “ illos quam<sup>4</sup> quoscunque religiosos recipere prohibemus, di-  
 “ missis etiam illis, quas contra tenorem istum moderno tem-  
 “ pore receperunt. Excommunicatos et nominatim interdictos  
 “ tam ab illis quam ab omnibus aliis juxta episcoporum sen-  
 “ tentiam statuimus evitandos. In ecclesiis suis, quæ ad eos  
 “ pleno jure non pertinent, constituendos presbyteros episcopis  
 “ representent, ut eis quidem de plebis cura respondeant,  
 “ ipsis vero pro rebus temporalibus rationem exhibeant com-  
 “ petentem; institutos autem, inconsultis episcopis, non au-  
 “ deant removere. Si vero Templarii sive Hospitalarii ad  
 “ ecclesiam interdictam veniant, non nisi semel in anno ad  
 “ ecclesiasticum servitium admittantur, nec ulla ibi corpora  
 “ sepeliant mortuorum. De fraternitatibus autem hoc con-  
 “ stituimus, ut si non se prædictis fratribus omnino reddi-  
 “ derint, sed in proprietatibus suis duxerint remanendum,  
 “ propter hoc ab episcoporum sententia nullatenus eximan-  
 “ tur, sed potestatem suam in eos sicut in suos parochianos  
 “ exercent, cum pro suis excessibus fuerint corrigendi.  
 “ Quod autem de prædictis fratribus dictum est, ab aliis  
 “ quoque religiosis qui præsumptione sua episcoporum jura  
 “ præripiunt, et contra canonicas eorum sententias et teno-  
 “ rem privilegiorum nostrorum venire præsumunt, præcipi-

<sup>1</sup> nostrorum, L.S.; suorum, C.

<sup>2</sup> quam, C.; quas, S., and, by  
 alteration from quam, L.

<sup>3</sup> et removenda . . . . . excedunt:  
 this passage is mutilated in C.

<sup>4</sup> quam, C.S.; om. L.

“ mus observari. Si autem contra instituta hæc venerint, A.D. 1179.  
 “ ecclesiæ in quibus ista præsumperint subjaceant interdicto, —  
 “ et quod egerint irritum et vacuum habeatur.”

## CAP. IV.

*De morte regis Francorum, et de iis quæ<sup>1</sup> apud  
 Constantinopolim provenerunt.*

Anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>LXXX<sup>o</sup>, qui fuit Hen- A.D. 1180.  
 rici regis Anglorum vicesimus septimus,<sup>2</sup> et Lodovici<sup>3</sup> —  
 regis Francorum quadragesimus quartus, idem rex Louis VII.  
 Francorum hominem exiit. Homo<sup>4</sup> intepidæ devo- of France  
 tionis in Deum, et eximiæ lenitatis in subditos, sacro- (Sept. 18).  
 rum quoque ordinum præcipuus venerator; paulo His  
 autem simplicior quam deceret principem. Illius verbi character.  
 Apostolici, “Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia mala,”  
 1 Cor. xv. 23.  
 perspicuam in quibusdam actibus suis veritatem ex-  
 pressit. Quorundam quippe<sup>5</sup> procerum<sup>6</sup> de honesto  
 vel æquo minus curantium plus justo se credens con-  
 siliis, non levi plerumque macula mores egregios deni-  
 gravit: veluti quando causam nequam filii contra  
 patrem suscepit, et totis regni opibus hostem  
 naturæ adjuvit. Successit ei filius Philippus natus ei Succeeded  
 ex filia illustrissimi comitis Theobaldi,<sup>7</sup> quæ illi jam by his son  
 trigamo nupserat. Quippe post Alianorem, quæ, ut Philip  
 plenius suo loco dictum est,<sup>8</sup> relictis<sup>9</sup> illi duabus ex Augustus.  
 se filiabus, et<sup>10</sup> celebrato inter eos divortio, ad regis  
 Anglorum transierat nuptias, regii seminis ex Hispania

<sup>1</sup> quæ, C.L.S.; qui, B.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 117, note 3, as to the author's mode of reckoning.

<sup>3</sup> Lodovici, B.S.; Lodowici, C.L.

<sup>4</sup> homo, B.L.R.S.; ut homo, C.

<sup>5</sup> quippe, B.L.R.S.; quoque, C.

<sup>6</sup> procerum, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>7</sup> Theobaldi, B.L.S.; Theod-  
 baldi, C.

<sup>8</sup> Lib. I. cap. 31.

<sup>9</sup> relictis, B.L.S.; et relictis, C.

<sup>10</sup> trigamo . . . filiabus, et: this passage, except the words *trigamo nupserat*, omitted altogether, is in B. placed after the words *ex Hispania* below.

A.D. 1180. comparem duxerat; quæ, itidem relictis illi duabus ex se filiabus, quarum major in conjugio regis Anglorum Henrici junioris sine fructu sobolis fuisse dignoscitur, generali sorti subjacuit. Filiam quoque elegantis formæ tertia illi regina ediderat; cui nimirum qualia provenerint libet paucis exponere.

Death of  
Manuel  
Comnenus  
(Sept. 24,  
1180)  
and acces-  
sion of  
Alexius II.  
a minor.

Imperator Constantinopolitanus in fata concedens, filium impuberem sub tutela patruī successorem reliquit imperii, et ille quidem<sup>1</sup> purpuratus, pro ætate nutriebatur in deliciis. Porro tutor ejus, Andronicus nomine, interim administrabat imperium. Visum est Græcorum optimatibus ut filia<sup>2</sup> regis Francorum ad insignis pueri conjugium peteretur, quod et<sup>3</sup> factum est. Missi ergo in Franciam non ignobiles nuntii, susceptam, tradente patre, virginem nondum plene nubilem cum multo fastu Constantinopolim traduxerunt. Ubi vero, et illo jam pubere et illa nubili, imperatoriæ cœperunt nuptiæ præparari, Andronicus homo nequissimus et multæ potentiæ, utpote procurator imperii, sollicitatis et corruptis ministris palatii, imperatorem juvenulum, nepotem scilicet proprium,

A mar-  
riage is  
arranged  
for the  
young em-  
peror with  
Agnes  
daughter  
of Louis  
VII.

Alexius is  
murdered  
by order of  
Androni-  
cus (about  
Oct. 1183).

furatus de palatio in insulam quandam, ut dicitur, civitate inscia, per quosdam complices suos occulte necandum direxit. Mox sumpta purpura imperium occupavit; et ne quid ausis<sup>4</sup> sceleratissimis deesset, destinatum nepoti conjugium ad se, formæ captus illecebra, transtulit.<sup>5</sup> Cumque arrepto insolentissime abuteretur imperio, ab iis qui ejus vel execrabantur nequitiam vel aspernabantur potentiam contra se conjurari coegit. Quæ nimirum conjuratio adeo tandem invaluit, ut conjuratorum ingens jam numerus in spiritu fortitudinis palatium repente<sup>6</sup> irrumperet, et tyrannum ferocissimum solio deturbatum, justissimis

Androni-  
cus is  
murdered.  
(Sept. 12,  
1185).

<sup>1</sup> *quidem*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> C. and S. have *filiam*.

<sup>3</sup> *et*, B.L.S.; *etiam*, C.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *ausibus*.

<sup>5</sup> Wrong: Andronicus, *cousin* of

Manuel, was not regent at first. Later he was joined in the empire with Alexius II.; murdered him, and married his *widow*.

<sup>6</sup> *repente*, C.L.S.; om. B.

vinculis innodaret; et, ne vacaret imperium, novum A.D. 1185. illico principem creaverunt, ad ejus arbitrium scele- ratus ille suppliciiis exeruciatu interiit. Hoc modo filia regis Francorum in regno Græcorum optatis spe- ratisque fraudata nuptiis, et scelestissimi hominis con- tubernio maculata, honore etiam caruit.

## CAP. V.

*De mutatione monetæ publicæ, et decessu Eboracensis archiepiscopi.*

Anno regis Henrici secundi vicesimo septimo,<sup>1</sup> forma A.D. 1180. monetæ publicæ, a falsariis corruptæ, mutata est in Anglia; quod quidem ratione utilitatis publicæ pro New coin- age in England (Nov. 11). tempore erat necessarium, sed regni pauperibus et colonis nimis onerosum.<sup>2</sup>

Sequenti autem anno, qui fuit a partu Virginis A.D. 1181. M<sup>USC</sup>US octogesimus primus et pontificatus Alexandri papæ vicesimus tertius, generale debitum solvit idem venerabilis pontifex; cui successit Lucius. Death of pope Alexander III. (Aug. 30).

Eodem quoque anno decessit Rogerius Eboracensis archiepiscopus, homo literatus et eloquens, atque in commodis temporalibus prudentiæ pæne singularis. In officio quidem episcopali, hoc est, in cura animarum, minus sollicitus; in iis autem, quæ officio non Deus sed propter Deum mundus annexuit, conservandis et promovendis efficaciter studiosus. In bonis quippe temporalibus archiepiscopatum Eboracensem ita provexit, ut de augmentis reddituum vel amplitudine ædificiorum fere nullam successoribus suis curam reliquerit. Ocasiones quoque avaritiæ ita exercuit,<sup>3</sup> atque in his exercendis ita excelluit, ut raro aliquam prætermittere vel remissius agere videretur. Pro per- Death of Roger archbishop of York (Nov. 26). His character.

<sup>1</sup> See note 3 on p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Philip Aymari of Tonrs was the new moneyer. He was recalled

the same year. R. de Diceto (ii. p. 7).

<sup>3</sup> B., by alteration, has *exercuit*.

A.D. 1181. sonis spectabilibus, quibus tanquam quibusdam moni-  
libus Eboracensis olim refulsit ecclesia, titulavit im-  
berbes, et quosdam etiam agentes sub fernla, aptos  
magis pro aetate

“Ædificare casas, plostello<sup>1</sup> adjungere mures,  
“Ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longa,”

Hor. Sat.  
lib. ii. 3,  
247.

His hatred  
of monks,  
and

quam personas in ecclesia gerere magnatorum;<sup>2</sup> ut sci-  
licet usque ad annos viriles curam agens titulatorum,  
universa perciperet<sup>3</sup> commoda titulorum. Christianos  
philosophantes, id est, viros religiosos in tantum ex-  
horruit, ut dixisse feratur, felicitis memoriæ Turstinum<sup>4</sup>  
olim Eboracensem archiepiscopum nunquam gravius  
deliquisse, quam ædificando insigne illud Christianæ  
philosophiæ speculum, monasterium scilicet de Fontibus.  
Cumque hoc verbo quosdam qui aderant scandalizari  
conspiceret,<sup>5</sup> “Laici,” inquit, “estis, nec percipere po-  
“testis vim verbi.” Dicebat etiam<sup>6</sup> ecclesiasticum  
beneficium luxuriosis potius quam religiosis conferen-  
dum; quam plane regulam omni tempore suo sollicitè  
tenuit, et deteriorem fere in omnibus conditionem fecit  
religiosorum quam secularium clericorum. Porro in hac  
mira cæcitate, cum alias esset vir acutissimus, arbitra-  
batur obsequium<sup>7</sup> se præstare Deo; quod sic proba-  
tur:—Accessit ad eum extrema jam ægritudine de-  
cumbentem, et mature finiendum, quidam, mihi notis-  
simus,<sup>8</sup> cujusdam loci religiosi præpositus, vir bonus et

his prefer-  
ence for  
the secular  
clergy.

Anecdote  
as to his  
treatment  
of a cer-  
tain prior.

<sup>1</sup> C. has the mistake *plaustello*.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. collated at this point (B.C.L.S.) have the form *magnali* in place of *magnates*. See Ducange's Glossary.

<sup>3</sup> *perciperet*, B.L.S.; *reciperet*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Turstinum*, C.L.S.; *Thurstim-  
mum* (sic), B.

<sup>5</sup> *quosdam* . . . . *conspiceret*,  
B.C.L.S.; *scandalizarentur circum-  
stantes*, R.

<sup>6</sup> *etiam*, B.L.R.S.; *autem*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *obsequium*, C.L.S.; *officium*, B.

<sup>8</sup> See “Materials for the history  
“of Thomas Becket,” vol. v. pp.  
298–300, for a letter from Becket to  
pope Alexander, “for the monks of  
“Newburgh against the archbishop  
“of York.” Possibly the prior re-  
ferred to in the text was Bernard,  
prior of Newburgh. See Benedict,  
i. 352.

simplex, humiliter postulans ut pias bonorum virorum A.D. 1181  
collationes, quas sancti ejus prædecessores eidem loco  
divini amoris intuitu autentico scripto confirmaverant,  
ipse quoque sigilli proprii attestatione confirmare dig-  
naretur. Ad quod ille; "En," ait, "moriõr, et quia  
" Deum timeo, quod postulas, facere non præsumo."  
Tam solide apud se tenebat, nullis minus quam hujus-  
modi philosophantibus esse præstandum. Quod autem  
in vita sua tondendis magis quam pascendis ovibus<sup>1</sup>  
Dominicis intenderit, in<sup>2</sup> fine claruit. Quippe mori-  
turus decumbens, non pauca millia marcarum argenti  
pontifex, ævo gravis, in thesauris habebat, cum tot  
pauperes Christi inedia laborarent. Quibus cum jam  
ulterius incubare<sup>3</sup> non posset, partem aliquam disper-  
sit in pauperes, partem ecclesiis; partem etiam familia-  
ribus et propinquis, serus distributor legato dimisit.  
Verum cum jam obiisset, rex per officiales suos et in-  
venta diripuit, et non inventa ab iis quibus jam data  
erant, extorsit; dicens, thesauros a quocunque usque  
ad mortem repositos solius principis in bonis esse.  
Quod utique iudicio Dei actum est, ut ceteri terrean-  
tur exemplo, discantque thesaurizare sibi thesauros  
in celo, quo scilicet fur non irrepit, nec prædo  
irrupit.<sup>4</sup>

Leaves  
behind him  
great  
wealth,  
which the  
king seizes.

Matt. vi. 9.  
Luc. xii.  
38.

Circa Johannem quoque archidiaconum,<sup>5</sup> hominem  
callidum et pecuniosum, qui ejusdem archiepiscopi in  
omnibus consiliarius et cooperator exstiterat, iudicium  
Dei e vestigio claruit; qui nimirum die altero magis-  
trum secutus, pecunias suas regi dimisit. Sic igitur  
illi duo in vita individui, in morte quoque brevissimo  
sunt intervallo divisi.

John the  
archdeacon  
dying  
about the  
same time  
leaves his  
money to  
the king.

<sup>1</sup> *ovibus*, C.L.S.; *omnibus*, B.

<sup>2</sup> A complete quire is wanting here in S. The text breaks off after *intenderit in*, and resumes with *postmodum eo quod*, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> *incubare*, B.L.S.; *cubare*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *irrupit*, B.L.R.; *dirumpit*, C.

<sup>5</sup> Of Nottingham?, Le Neve, iii 150.

A.D. 1181. Decessit autem idem archiepiscopus, anno pontificatus sui xx<sup>o</sup>viii<sup>o</sup>; moxque archiepiscopatu in fiscum redacto, vacavit Eboracensis ecclesia annis decem.

## CAP. VI.

*De Suero Norwegiæ tyranno.*

A.D.  
1177-1194.

The career  
of Sverrir,  
and his  
establishment  
on  
the throne  
of Norway.

The  
course of  
succession  
had been  
that of the  
slayer to  
the slain.

Attempt to  
break the  
custom by  
ecclesiasti-

Eisdem temporibus famosissimus ille presbyter Sverrus<sup>1</sup> qui cognominatur<sup>2</sup> Birkebain,<sup>3</sup> in ea parte Germaniæ quæ Norwegia dicitur tyrannidem arripuit; et tempore non modico sub tyranni nomine debacchatus, tandem rege terræ illius extincto, tanquam legitime regnum obtinuit: aliis forte ejusdem terræ regibus non dissimilem exitum judicio Dei habiturus. Quippe, ut dicitur, a centum retro annis, et eo amplius, cum regum ibidem numerosa successio fuerit, nullus eorum senio aut morbo vitam finivit, sed omnes ferro<sup>4</sup> interiire; suis interfectoribus tanquam legitimis successoribus, regni fastigium relinquentes: ut scilicet omnes, qui tanto tempore ibidem imperasse noscuntur, illud quod scriptum est respicere videatur,<sup>5</sup> "Occidisti, <sup>1 Reg. xxi.</sup> 19. "insuper, et possedisti." Huic infami malo, per longam consuetudinem tanquam legis jam obtinenti vigorem, optimates terræ illius, paulo ante tyrannidem

<sup>1</sup> *Sverus, L.*; *Suerus, B.C.* His mother, Gunnhilda, asserted that she had been the concubine of Sigurd II., and that Sverrir was her son by him. After Sigurd's death she married a smith. Sverrir was brought up to the church, though it is doubtful whether he ever became a deacon, and it is certain that he never attained to priests orders.

<sup>2</sup> B. now reads *agnominatur.*

<sup>3</sup> *Birkebain, C.L.*; *Birkebain, B.* Properly *Birkebein*: Sverrir was so called because in his struggle for the crown he led a band of outlaws, whose shoes and clothing were so worn that they eked them out with birch bark bound round their feet and legs with birch twigs.

<sup>4</sup> *ferro, C.L.*; *ferre, B.*

<sup>5</sup> *videatur, B.L.*; *videantur, C.*



prænominati presbyteri, pio studio mederi volentes, regem novitium sollemniter unctione mystica consecrari et coronari decreverunt, scilicet, ut nemo de cetero auderet manum mittere in christum Domini. Quippe eatenus nullus unquam in gente illa ritu fuerat ecclesiastico consecratus in principem, sed quicumque tyrannice regem occiderat, eo ipso personam et potestatem regiam<sup>1</sup> induebat; suo quoque occisori eandem, post modicum, fortunam, inveteratæ consuetudinis lege,<sup>2</sup> relicturus. Quod nimirum, Christiana quadam simplicitate, a multis putatum est ideo facitari, quia nullus regum priorum regiae meruerat unctionis sollemnibus initiari. Itaque interfecto Hacone, qui rege Inge<sup>3</sup> a se perempto successerat, cum cuidam puero nomine Magni, ejusdem Inge nepoti, regni successio competere videretur, prudentes et nobiles regni decreto communi eundem puerum sollemniter in christum Domini consecrari, et diademate insigniri fecerunt. Quo facto sancitum sibi principem, et priscae consuetudinis dedecus abolitum, crediderunt. Verum cum idem Magnus, jam pubes factus, in multa strenuitate simul et felicitate per aliquot annos regnasset, cunctis jam aestimantibus contra tyrannicos turbines satis consultum, invidia diaboli, ad perturbandam Christianæ plebis quietem, memoratum presbyterum, tanquam vas proprium, incitavit. Qui cum in sacro ordine, quem in ecclesia acceperat, diuscule ministrasset, propensiore sui fiducia homo audacissimus atque acutissimus regnum cepit ambire. Mox lustrata omni regione, conceptæ molitionis negotium non segniter exsequens, spe<sup>4</sup> prædarum sollicitatam audacium atque improborum manum sibi validam artificiosissime aggregavit, atque inviis solitudinibus

A.D.  
1177-94.

cal consecration of  
new kings.

Magnus  
Erlingsson  
is consecrated (A.D.  
1164).

Rebellion  
of Sverrir.

<sup>1</sup> eo . . . regiam, B.L.; eo ipso ipse potestatem regiam et personam, C.

<sup>2</sup> lege, B.L.; lege quadam, C

<sup>3</sup> Inge, B.L.; Inse, C.

<sup>4</sup> spem, in C.

A.D.  
1177-94.

Sverrir  
defeats  
Magnus for  
the first  
time.

pro munitionibus utens, crebris irruptionibus regem irritavit. Cumque rex cum instructo persequeretur exercitu, ille arte fugam simulans, in quibusdam notis locorum angustiis substitit; ibique regias copias misere circumventas, atque eisdem angustiis impeditas, ita attrivit, ut rex ipse inter mortuorum strages delitescens, abeuntibus hostibus, ægre evaserit. Quo successu elatus, atque indies viribus auctior, classem quoque nactus est, cujus opportunitate in pluribus ejusdem regni debacchabatur<sup>1</sup> provinciis. Rex vero, reparatis viribus et classe instructa, adversus hostem perrexit. Quo ille cognito, fugam quoque tunc callide simulans, in infinitum refugit oceanum. Quod cum regi innotuisset, veram esse prædonis fugam credidit, seque cum classe in portum quendam recepit. Ubi cum exercitus, pro lætitia hostis expulsi, epulis exitiali securitate vacaret, sequenti nocte execrandus presbyter cum suis portum ingressus, ebriosque et somnolentos aggressus, minimo negotio, cum patre regis aliisque optimatibus fere universum delevit exercitum. Rex autem, aliis morientibus, clapsus, in quodam, ut dicitur, proximo virginum monasterio per dies aliquot latuit, frustra que quæsitus ab hostibus, Deo volente, evasit. Hac hostium infelicitate et clade tyrannus elatus, quanto cruentior tanto insolentior circumquaque tanquam triumphans ferebatur, immitem se dominum pressis misere provincialibus exhibens. Rex autem post latebram, luci et amicis redditus, cœpit paulatim vires reficere, auxilia undecunque contrahere, adversus hostiles se dolos cautius præparare, et tandem cum apparatu maximo perrexit in hostem. Quo mox ille<sup>2</sup> cognito, cum videret juvenem propter priores clades prudentius atque instructius agere, numero quoque navium et pondere virium præstare, ad maleficia se

Surprise  
and massacre  
of the  
king's  
army.

<sup>1</sup> debacchatur in B.

<sup>2</sup> illo in B.C.R.L.

convertit. Habebat enim secum quandam filiam diaboli, potentem in maleficiis, atque illi antiquæ merito comparandam, de qua nobilis ait poeta :

Verg. *Æn.*  
iv. 487-  
491.

Hæc se carminibus promittit solvere mentes,  
Quas velit; atque aliis diras immittere euras;  
Sistere aquam fluvii,<sup>1</sup> et sidera vertere retro;  
Nocturnosque<sup>2</sup> eiet<sup>3</sup> manes; mugire videbis  
Sub pedibus terram, et descendere montibus ornos.

A.D.  
1177-94.  
—  
Sverrir is met at sea by the fleet of Magnus, and fearing the result of a combat, betakes himself to witchcraft.

Denique hæc, ut dicitur, mira pestilentissimæ artis confidentia; ab amico quæsivit tyranno quomodo suos, qui jam præ oculis erant, hostes euperet<sup>4</sup> interire. Illo submersionem illorum eligente, repente, operatione diaboli, qui nimirum per angelicæ naturæ potentiam in elementis mundanis plurimum potest, eum a superiori sinitur potestate, tranquillum mare os suum aperiens, in conspectu hostium, majorem regiae classis partem absorbit. Quo viso, nefandus presbyter, "Eecce," ait, "socii, quam efficaciter elementa pugnant pro nobis; cavete ne forte evadant, quorum certum exitium pelagus vestræ virtuti reliquit, ne totum<sup>5</sup> fecisse videatur." Itaque regii exercitus pars reliqua, subito interitu sociorum attonita, facile est oppressa, et rex ipse interiit.<sup>6</sup> Quo sublato, in ditionem tyrannicam regnum tremefactum concessit. Qui, sacro ordine abjurato, et accepta in conjugem filia regis Gotorum,<sup>7</sup> ab archiepiscopo terræ illius solemniter coronari voluit.<sup>8</sup> Verum ille<sup>9</sup> eum esset vir

The greater part of the king's fleet is sunk by magical arts.

The remainder is overwhelmed and king Magnus perishes. (A.D. 1184).

<sup>1</sup> *fluvius*, C.L.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> C.L. and B. have *nocturnasque*

<sup>3</sup> *eiet*, B.L.; *sciet*, C.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *caperat*.

<sup>5</sup> *totum*, C.L.; *tutum*, B.

<sup>6</sup> This account is a fiction. In June 1184 Magnus attacked Sverrir with a far stronger fleet, in the Sognefjord, but the strategy of Sverrir defeated his rival with great slaughter. King Magnus

leapt overboard and was drowned, and Sverrir became sole king of Norway. He died in his bed March 9, 1202.

<sup>7</sup> *Gotorum*, B.L.; *Gottorum*, C.

<sup>8</sup> See Jocelin de Brakelond, p. 12. This was in 1180, before the death of Magnus, not after as would appear from the text.

<sup>9</sup> *ille*, B.L.; *ipse*, C.

A.D. 1177-94. magnus, et neque precibus neque minarum terroribus flecteretur ut caput execrabile sacra unctione perfunderet,<sup>1</sup> ab eodem patria pulsus est.

The archbishop (of Trondjem) refuses to crown Sverrir and is banished (A.D. 1180).

Two descendants of the former kings are defeated and slain.

Sverrir obtains consecration at the hands of a bishop (A.D. 1194).

Post annos aliquot surrexit de stirpe regum priorum acerrimus juvenis, nomine Johannes, confluentibus ad eum et roborantibus eum plurimis. Qui cum læta habuisset initia, ut jam ipsi esset tyranno terribilis, juvenili tandem calore inconsultius ad bellum prosiliens, infeliciter et præmature occubuit. Post hunc emerit alius de semine regio bonæ spei puer, cõpiosis adjutus<sup>2</sup> suffragiis. Verum et hic, in ipsa sacra dominica Palmarum, ante annos aliquot gravi prælio a tyranno oppressus, et cum suis adjutoribus funditus abrasus est. Sic virga illa furoris Domini, profligato vel eliminato fere<sup>3</sup> omni semine regio atque omni hoste indigena, magnus et tremendus, tandem per manum cujusdam episcopi, ad hoc intentata morte coacti, regium<sup>4</sup> cum mystica unctione diadema sortitus est, sub incerto diu prosperatæ<sup>5</sup> tyrannidis exitu ex<sup>6</sup> crebris successibus quasi securus. Titulus autem sigilli ejus talis fuisse dicitur: "*Suerus Rex magnus, ferus ut leo, mitis ut agnus.*" Clementiam quippe in subditos ostentabat, et ecclesiis sive monasteriis reverentiam exhibebat.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *perfunderet*, B.L.; *perfundere-tur*, C. Eystein, archbishop of Trondjem. He stayed at the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds for a considerable time. See Pipe Rolls for 27 and 28 Hen. II. (Norf. and Suff.).

<sup>2</sup> *adjutus*, C.L.; *adjutis*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *fere*, C.L.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> *regium*, B.C.R.; *regni* (?), the word being imperfectly altered from *regium*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *prosperatæ*, B.L.; *prosperitate*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *ex*, C.L.; *et*, B.

<sup>7</sup> Sverrir's Saga has been translated into Latin by S. Egilsson.

## CAP. VII.

*De morte regis Henrici tertii, et Gaufridi fratris  
ejus.*<sup>1</sup>

Anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>LXXX<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>, qui fuit tri- A.D. 1183.  
cesimus regis Anglorum<sup>2</sup> Henrici secundi, Henricus Death of the young king  
tertius, Anglorum rex junior, immatura morte deces- (June 11).  
sit. Plane immatura si ætatem respicias, sed multum  
sera si actus attendas. Fœdaverat enim adolescentiam His character and conduct towards his father.  
suam nævo inexpiabili, id est,<sup>3</sup> similitudine scelestis-  
simi Absalonis, ut superius expositum est. Juventum  
tem quoque ingressus, eandem adolescentiæ suæ noluit  
esse dissimilem; et prævaricator, non tantum naturæ,  
ut prius, verum etiam sollemnium pactorum, rebella-  
vit iterum contra patrem. Cujus rebellionis causa  
hæc fuit. Idem pater Ricardo filio in administrando  
ducatu Aquitannico suas vices commiserat; filio quo-  
que Gaufrido, jam puberi, plenitudinem juris uxorii,  
id est, Britanniam transmarinam, tradiderat; Henrico  
primogenito, sub expectatione successionis legitimæ,  
ad patris vel excubante vel pergente imperium. Ve- The young king and Geoffrey  
rum occasione cujusdam simultatis inter fratres exortæ, attack Richard (January).  
idem Henricus indignatus quod fratrem Ricardum pa-  
ter Aquitaniæ præfecisset, juncto sibi fratre Gau-  
frido comite Britannico et quibusdam proceribus Aquit-  
anicis, patrem motibus bellicis lacessivit. Pater  
vero, cum rebelles filios blandis delinire mandatis  
frustra tentasset, improbis eorum ausibus obviaturus,  
fines Aquitanicos cum exercitu ingressus est.<sup>4</sup> Mox, The young king or his deathbed desires to  
Dei judicio, Henricus junior febre, utriusque prævari-  
cationis ultrice, corripitur, omniumque animi, qui cum

<sup>1</sup> *fratris ejus*, C.L.; om. B.<sup>2</sup> *Anglorum*, B.L.; om. C.<sup>3</sup> *id est*, B.L.; om. C.<sup>4</sup> This is an inadequate summary

of the quarrel which began by Richard's refusal of homage to his brother. See Benedict i. 291-301.

A.D. 1183. see his father.

King Henry is dissuaded from going to see his son for fear of his treacherous adherents.

eo conspiraverant pariter elanguere. Cumque, ingravescente incommodo, desperaretur a medicis, tandem compunctus misit ad patrem, excessum humiliter confitens, et extremam gratiam a paterna pietate deprecans, ut morientem invisere dignaretur. Quibus auditis, paterna quidem concussa sunt viscera, sed amicis allegantibus non esse sibi tutum nequissimis conspiratoribus, qui circa filium erant, se credere, quamvis pium esset ægotantem filium visitare, prævalente formidine ad filium non perrexit; sed pro signo clementiæ et indultæ veniæ notum illi annulum, arram paternæ dilectionis, direxit. Quem ille susceptum deosculatus, assistente archiepiscopo Burdegalensi, vitam finivit. Funus ad patrem longo agmine deducebatur; cui mox pater pie occurrit, et Rothomagi sepeliendum Normanniam deferri præcepit.<sup>1</sup> Hunc finem habuit inquietus ille puer, ad<sup>2</sup> multorum quidem natus exitium; sed tamen hominibus adeo favorabilis et gratosus, quia ut scriptum est, "Stultorum infinitus" Eccles. i. 15.

"est numerus," ut etiam de mortuo præclara dicerentur. Denique post mortem ejus, quidam mentiendi libidine atque impudentissima vanitate, famam late sparserunt, quod ad sepulchrum ejus curationes fierent infirmorum,<sup>3</sup> scilicet ut vel causam contra patrem justam habuisse, vel finali pœnitentia Deo egregie placuisse, crederetur. Idem vero pater dolorem extincti filii ex hostis interitu temperans, fortiterque insistens conspiratoribus casu ducis attonitis, in brevi universos perdomuit, et Gaufridum filium in gratiam recepit. Qui tamen ingratus ad omne experimentum paterni affectus, hostilem, ut postea claruit, non exiit animum. Nam tempore modico<sup>4</sup> circa patrem pendulus

<sup>1</sup> The first burial was at Le Mans, the second on 22 July at Rouen.

<sup>2</sup> *ad*, C.L.; *et ad*, B.

<sup>3</sup> The story of the pretended miracles is given by Thomas Agnelus, whose account of them is printed

with Rad. de Coggeshale (Roll's edit. p. 267).

<sup>4</sup> The following events really belong to cap. 13. For details see Benedict, i. 307-50.

Bertrand of Agen?

False reports of miraculous cures at the young king's tomb are circulated.

Geoffrey is reconciled to his father,

et fluitans, Francorum autem, quos paternæ gloriæ A.D. 1186. amulos noverat, modis omnibus amicitiam captans, <sup>but rebels</sup> cum a patre Andegavensem comitatum obtinere non <sup>again.</sup> posset, super hoc rege Francorum inaniter satagente, eo quod Ricardus natu major id nulla ratione concederet, ad Francos se contulit, tanquam per illorum potentiam patri et fratri extorturus precum blanditiis non obtentum. Cumque, ad irritandum patrem, regi Francorum sedulo militans grandia moliretur, divini judicii pondere obrutus, molitiones suas Parisius cum vita finivit, ibique sepultus, patri quidem, cui minus officiosus exstiterat, modicum, Francis vero, quibus multum placuerat, ingentem luctum reliquit. Natus est ei, ex Britannici comitis filia unica, filius posthumus; cui cum rex avus nomen suum imponi jussisset, contradictum est a Britonibus, et sollempni acclamatione in sacro baptisinate Arturus est dictus. Sieque Britones, qui diu fabulosum dicuntur exspectasse Arturum, nunc sibi cum multa spe nutriunt verum, juxta opinionem quorundam, grandibus illis et famosis de Arturo fabulis prophetatum.

He dies at Paris (Aug. 19, 1186). Birth of his posthumous son prince Arthur (Mar. 29, 1187). The Bretons looking for the return of king Arthur see in Geoffrey's son the fulfilment of Merlin's prophecy.

## CAP. VIII.

*De morte Cantuariensis<sup>1</sup> archiepiscopi, et institutione  
Lincolniensis episcopi.*

Eodem sane anno quo Henricus tertius in fata concessit,<sup>2</sup> Ricardus quoque Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, venerabilis Thomæ successor, decessit. Homo quidem mediocriter literatus sed laudabiliter innoxius, et, ne

A.D.  
1183-5.

Death of Richard archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>1</sup> B. has *Cantuariensi*.

<sup>2</sup> Henry died June 11, 1183, and archbishop Richard on Feb. 17,

1184. Perhaps Newburgh means within the space of one year.

A.D.  
1183-5.

He is succeeded by Baldwin, bishop of Worcester.

Walter of Coutances is made bishop of Lincoln, 1183 (consecrated July 3),

but is shortly after translated to Rouen (Feb. 24, 1185).

ambularet in magnis, modulo suo prudenter contentus. Successit<sup>1</sup> ei Baldwinus,<sup>2</sup> ex abbate Fordensi Wigorniensis<sup>3</sup> episcopus, vir religiosus et literatus. Sed et Galterius<sup>4</sup> Constantiensis ipso anno<sup>5</sup> factus est ecclesie Lincolniensis antistes, cum vacasset eadem ecclesia annis fere decem et septem; sicque evacuata est<sup>6</sup> prophetia vel potius divinatio conversi Thamensis<sup>7</sup> de suo, non de Dei spiritu, prophetantis, quod Lincolniensis ecclesia pontificem ulterius non esset habitura. Quae divinatio, propter longam ejusdem ecclesie vacationem, plurimos adeo moverat, ut memoratus Galterius, accepto consecrationis munere, non sine grandi metu ad propriam sedem accederet. At non diu sedit<sup>8</sup> ibidem. Nempe post modicum electus ad archiepiscopatum Rothomagensem, formae venustioris blandiente illecebra, novae nuptae valedixit. In qua re pensandum est quantis momenti ambitus excellentiae, quantumque in homine etiam<sup>9</sup> pecuniae cupidissimo superet amorem pecuniae. Satis<sup>10</sup> quippe notum est quod quantum Rothomagensis ecclesia Lincolniensi praeminet majoritate dignitatis, tantum etiam cedit illi in temporalibus commodis. Homo tamen, qui episcopatum Lincolniensem propter amplissima commoda multum ambierat, maluit, eo relicto, ad minores divitias ascendere superius, quam, eo retento, cum majoribus divitiis sedere inferius. Et diu quidem haesitasse dicitur utrum eminentior an ditior esse eligeret, scrupulose secum deliberans; sed tandem

<sup>1</sup> The formal election by the monks of Canterbury took place on Dec. 16, 1184 (Bened. Petr.).

<sup>2</sup> *Baldwinus*, L.; *Baldewinus*, B.; *Baldiwinus*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *Wigorniensis*, C.L.; *Wigornensis*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Galterius*, B.L.; *Gauterius*, C. and below.

<sup>5</sup> Rightly placed under the year in which the young king died. Bishop Walter was consecrated by archbishop Richard.

<sup>6</sup> *est*, C.L.; om. B.

<sup>7</sup> *Thamensis*, L.; *Tamensis*, B.C.

<sup>8</sup> *sedit*, C.L.; *sedet*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *etiam*, B.L.; om. C.

<sup>10</sup> *satis*, B.C.; *satisque*, L.



ambitus loci celsioris de amore commodi largioris A.D. 1185.  
triumphavit. Illo autem translato, vacavit iterum ec-  
clesia Lincolnensis annis aliquot.

## CAP. IX.

*De expeditione contra Rollandum,<sup>1</sup> et quibusdam  
eventibus Hiberniæ.<sup>2</sup>*

Illustris rex Anglorum Henricus secundus, post mor- A.D. 1186.  
tem Henrici tertii, transvectus in Angliam,<sup>3</sup> in extremos  
regni fines adversus Rollandum<sup>1</sup> Galwadiæ principem  
duxit exercitum. Quippe idem Rollandus, mortuo Ronald of  
patruo Gilberto, qui, ut superius dictum est, capto a Galloway  
nostris rege Scottorum, fratrem Uctredum<sup>4</sup> nefarie refusing to  
peremerat, in filios ejus sorte bellica prævalens, totam divide his  
illam sibi provinciam vendicarat. Interpellatus ab eis province,  
rex Anglorum, Rollando mandavit ut hereditatem Henry  
paternam propriis redderet consobrinis; qui cum marches  
previsset mandatum, iratus rex, cum ingentibus equitum against  
et peditum copiis, partes illas adiit.<sup>5</sup> Ubi cum ex him, but  
Hibernia rumores gratissimos accepisset, exhilaratus pleased at  
nuntio, placabilior fuit. Itaque,<sup>6</sup> accepta satisfactione hearing  
a Rollando, exercitum mature reduxit. Ut autem good news  
illius nuntii qualitas melius intimetur, pauca de statu from Ire-  
Hiberniæ, quoniam se præbet occasio, prælibanda land grants  
sunt. him easy  
terms.

<sup>1</sup> *Rollandum*, L.; *Rolandum*, B.C. Similar variations below.

<sup>2</sup> *Hiberniæ*, C.L.; *Hiberniis*, B.

<sup>3</sup> This gives an erroneous idea. He stayed in England from 10 June 1184 to 16 April 1185, and came again on 27 April 1186.

<sup>4</sup> *Uctredum*, B.L.; *Hutredum*, C. See p. 186, as to this event.

<sup>5</sup> About August, for he learned de Lacy's death (killed in Ireland on 25 July) in the north, and was at Woodstock on 5 Sept.

<sup>6</sup> *itaque* B.L.; *ita*, C.

A.D. 1172-86. *Irish affairs after Henry's return to England (in April, 1172).* *John de Courci invades Ulster.* *Cardinal Vivian the papal legate had crossed from Scotland.* *He advises the Irish to resist, but they are defeated.* *Capture of Down (about Jan. 1177).* *Cardinal Vivian holds a council at Dublin (Mar. 13, 1177).*

Relatum est superius<sup>1</sup> quomodo comes Ricardus acquisitionem Hibernicam eidem regi coactus dimiserit; quam profecto rex, opportune transvectus in Hiberniam prout voluit ordinavit. Eo autem in Angliam reverso, præfecti militum ad subactæ provincie regiren ibidem ab eo relictæ, vel prædæ vel gloriæ avidi, commissos sibi fines paulatim dilatabant. E quibus unus, scilicet Johannes de Curci, juncta sibi peditum equitumque manu valida, illam Hiberniæ provinciam quæ a regno Scotiæ angusto freto sejungitur, et<sup>2</sup> Uluestiria nuncupatur, hostiliter invadendam putavit. Forte illuc venerat a Scotia Vivianus, vir eloquentissimus, Apostolicæ sedis legatus; susceptusque honorifice a rege et episcopis ejusdem provincie, in civitate maritima quæ Dunum vocatur pro tempore morabatur. Hostium autem adventu præcognito, Hibernienses\* consuluere legatum quidnam<sup>3</sup> in tali articulo esset agendum. Qui pugnandum esse pro patria dixit, et pugnaturis<sup>4</sup> cum obsecrationibus benedixit. Hoc modo animati, audacter in prælium ruerunt; sed, a loricatis et sagittariis facile oppressi, terga verterunt. Capta est igitur urbs<sup>5</sup> Dunensis. Porro legatus Romanus cum suis refugit in ecclesiam sanctorum reliquiis inclitam. Providerat enim<sup>6</sup> sibi homo prudens, et præ manibus habebat, regis Anglorum literas ad præfectos ejus Hibernicos; ut eorum tutus<sup>7</sup> suffragiis, legationis suæ inter barbaros munus inpleret. Hac auctoritate pacem et securitatem accipiens, Divilinum<sup>8</sup> migravit, et sub nomine vel domini papæ vel regis Anglorum fiducialiter agens, convocatis Hiberniæ præsulibus atque abbatibus, generale concilium celebravit. Verum cum

<sup>1</sup> Lib. II. cap. 27.<sup>2</sup> C. omits *et*.<sup>3</sup> B. has *quodnam*.<sup>4</sup> *pugnaturis*, B.C.; *pugnaturus*,

L.

<sup>5</sup> *urbs*, B.C.L.; *civitas*, R.<sup>6</sup> *enim*, C.L.; *autem*, B.<sup>7</sup> B. has *tutis*.<sup>8</sup> *Divilinum*, B.L.; *Divelinum*,

C.

in ecclesiis simplicitatis barbara liberius agere morem vellet Romanum, denuntiantibus præfectis regis ut vel abscederet vel secum militaret, auro Hibernico, quod multum sitierat, minus onustus, in Scotiam remeavit. Porro Johannes de Curci cum suis, qui Dunum et fines ejus ceperat, a regibus Hiberniæ postmodum frustra impugnatus, expugnata Ardemachia,<sup>1</sup> ubi esse dicitur prima sedes Hiberniæ propter honorem beati Patricii atque aliorum indigenarum sanctorum quorum ibidem sacre reliquie requiescunt, totam provinciam illam subegit. Hujus autem provincie homines præ cunctis Hiberniæ populis in celebratione Paschali eatenus superstitiosi<sup>2</sup> fuisse traduntur. Nam, sicut, quodam venerabili episcopo gentis illius referente, cognovi, arbitrabantur obsequium se præstare Deo dum per anni circulum furto et rapina congererent quod in Paschali sollempnitate profusissimis, tanquam ad honorem resurgentis Domini, absumeretur conviviis; eratque inter eos ingens concertatio ne forte quis ab alio immoderatissimis ferulorum præparationibus vel appositionibus vinceretur. Verum hanc superstitiosissimam consuetudinem cum statu libertatis propriæ debellati finierunt. Sane inter proceres regis Anglorum qui erant in Hibernia, Hugo de Lasci<sup>3</sup> præcipuus et præpollens habebatur: cui nimirum idem rex, post mortem strenuissimi comitis Ricardi, amplissimas ibidem possessiones contulerat, et suorum dominiorum<sup>4</sup> administrationem commiserat.<sup>5</sup> Ille vero in brevi ita dilatavit terminos<sup>6</sup> suos, et prosperatus auctusque est magnitudine opum et<sup>7</sup> viriæ, ut jam non solum hostibus verum etiam sociis, id est, aliis proceribus regis, esset terribilis;

A.D.  
1172-86.

He is forced by the king's lieutenants to quit Ireland. Armagh captured.

Ignorance of the Irish.

Hugh de Lacy becomes the king's lieutenant in Ireland after Richard de Clare.

<sup>1</sup> C. has *Artemagia*, by alteration from *arte magica*.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *superstitiose*.

<sup>3</sup> *Lasci*, C.L.; *Laci*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *dominiorum*, L., by correction; B. and C. have *dominiorum*.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Ben. Petr. I. 161-5, and Gir. Cambr. v. 347 (Rolls' ed.).

<sup>6</sup> *terminos*, B.L.; *fines*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *et*, C.L.; om. B.

A.D. 1172-86. *He appears to be aspiring to a crown. His disobedience to Henry's orders.* nam et his infestus erat, si forte minus parerent. Videbaturque sibi jam magis quam regi Anglorum regnum Hibernicum æmulari, in tantum ut diadema sibi regium<sup>1</sup> parasse diceretur. Quibus regi nuntiatis, evocatus ab eo, mandatum contempsit, et per hanc inobedientiam fidem fecit præsumptionis vulgatae.<sup>2</sup> Verum post modicum, tanquam pro rege Anglorum æmulante fortuna, cujusdam ex foederatis Hiberniensibus familiaris et domestici juvenis perfidiam expertus, occubuit. Cum enim spatiandi gratia in agrum ex munitione egressus, avulsusque a satellitibus fere quantum jactus est lapidis, forte se inclinasset, ut nescio quid designaret in terra, perfidus ille diu quæsitam occasionem nactum se gaudens, bipennem fortiter in caput ejus vibravit; quo abseiso et satellitibus ad ulciscendum frustra concurrentibus, beneficio silvæ proximæ et pernicitatis propriæ elapsus evasit. Hujus rei nuntius regem Anglorum in extremis regni finibus, ut dictum est, constitutum ingenti perfudit lætitia. Moxque res Hibernicæ cautiorem ab eo ordinationem suscepere.

*He is assassinated (July 25, 1186).*

## CAP. X.

A.D. 1184. *Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, comes to England to urge Henry to lead a new crusade.* *De adventu patriarchæ in Angliam, et morte regis Ierosolymorum, et regno filii ejus, et de Saladino.*<sup>3</sup> Anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup> LXXX<sup>o</sup>IV<sup>o</sup>, qui fuit Henrici regis secundi xxx<sup>us</sup> primus,<sup>4</sup> Ierosolymitanus patriarcha, causis urgentibus, ab Orientali missus ecclesia venit in Angliam. Ut autem hæ causæ melius clucescant, a tempore regis Amalrici,<sup>5</sup> quem superior

<sup>1</sup> *regium*, C.L.; *regnum* in B. Cf. Bened. Petr. i. 270 and Gir. Cambr. v. 353, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *vulgata*, B.L.; *vulgare*, C. He obeyed recalls in 1181 and 1184.

<sup>3</sup> *et regno . . . Saladino*, C.L.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> See note 3 on p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> B. has *Amalrice*.

sermo non tacuit, res Ierosolymitanas sub brevitate A.D. 1184. transcurramus.<sup>1</sup> Qui nimirum Amalricus,<sup>2</sup> post multa fortiter et feliciter gesta, hominem exuens, filio impuberi Baldwino regnum reliquit. Hic autem cum non parvæ spei esset, occulto Dei iudicio plaga lepræ percussus, regni tamen quoad vixit moderamina animi magis quam corporis viribus tenuit; et ut certus sibi successor propter inminentia terræ pericula non deesset, ex sororis nuptiis stirpis regniæ seriem currere voluit. Eodem tempore, mortuo Noradino rege Syriæ et Mesopotamiæ, qui populo Christiano post patrem Sanguinum virga furoris Domini fuerat, surrexit pro eo Saladinus,<sup>3</sup> non jam virga sed malleus. Hic Sarraconis nepos, qui Sarraco, ut superius dictum est, princeps militiæ Noradini exstiterat, illi defuncto in eodem principatu successit, homo astutiæ singularis et mille nocendi artibus instructus. Mortuo autem Noradino, uxoris ejus connubium appetivit, eaque tradente Damascum et fines ejus accepit. Cumque esset militiæ Turcorum gratissimus, vires artibus et artes viribus juvenis, exheredato Noradino filio, amplissimum regnum ejus obtinuit. Mox in Ægyptum arma transferens, absumptis<sup>4</sup> terræ illius principibus, locupletissimum arripuit regnum Babylonis; Lybia quoque atque Arabia potitus, nactus est nomen grande supra nomen aliorum magnorum qui sunt in terra. Denique, ut dicitur, octo regnis ditissimis præsidens, parum tamen a se actum putabat dum Christiani chaos<sup>5</sup> magno, id est, mari Mediterraneo, ab orbe Christiano seclusi, Jerusalem et Antiochiam, et maritimas Syriæ civitates possiderent. Totum ergo in ipsos latissimi imperii sui

Events in Palestine. Amalric left (A.D. 1173) the kingdom of Jerusalem to his son Baldwin IV., a minor, who became leprous. Death of Noradin (A.D. 1173), and rise of Saladin.

Saladin married the widow of Noradin, and setting aside the son of the latter obtained his kingdom.

Saladin turns his arms against the Christians.

<sup>1</sup> Thus in A.B.C.L.R.

<sup>2</sup> B. and C. have *Almaricus*.

<sup>3</sup> This account of Saladin is from the *Itinerarium*, i. 10.

R 8918.

<sup>4</sup> *absumptis*, B.L.; *assumptis*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *Chaos*, C.L.; *Cahos*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *id est*, B.L.; *idem*, C.

A.D. 1184. robur convertens, homo in seculari potentia sive astutia vix comparationem recipiens modis omnibus nitebatur devorare plebem Dei, sicut escam panis, et trophæum crucis<sup>1</sup> Christi avellere a partibus Orientis, ubi prius erectum est.

## CAP. XI.

*Quomodo victus est Saladinus a Christianis,<sup>2</sup> et quomodo postea prævaluit.*

A.D. 1177. Circa hos dies Philippus illustris Flandriæ comes, piæ devotionis instinctu,<sup>3</sup> cum numerosa militia terram Ierosolymitanam ingressus, contra Saladinum aliquid agere et fines voluit Christianos dilatare. Verum offensus a Templariis, ad terram Antiochenam, invitante principe, militiam Christianam traduxit, eoque cooperante, munitissimum oppidum Hareng nominatum, nihil ibidem acturus sed inglorius recessurus, obsedit. Audiens autem Saladinus, abducta militia terram Domini plus solito præsiidiis vacuatam, cum infinito exercitu repentinus irruit, nec moratus in terminis, tanquam possessurus eam intima ejus illico penetravit. Tunc princeps Christianus, lepram corporis animi virtute exorvans, quantulam pro tempore potuit militiam convocavit, et, proeliaturus non suum sed Domini prælium, hostium numeros non expavit. Itaque, præeunte vexillo Dominico, juxta Rama oppidum quod hostes obsederant, congressurus<sup>4</sup> cum eis, tremendas illas gentis spurcissimæ<sup>5</sup> copias, divino fretus auxilio, profligavit. Saladinus, fuga

<sup>1</sup> crucis, B.C.; om. L.

<sup>2</sup> victus . . . Christianis, B.C.L.; victus Saladinus, R.

<sup>3</sup> Benedict (i. 116) says, seeking to become king of Jerusalem.

<sup>4</sup> congressurus, C.L.; congressus, B.

<sup>5</sup> spurcissimæ, B.C.; spurcissimas, L.R.

Philip  
count of  
Flanders  
leads an  
expedition  
to the  
Holy Land  
(about  
May 1).  
He be-  
siegues  
Hareng  
(A.D.  
1177).  
Returns  
(Ocl.  
1178).  
Baldwin  
the Leper  
defeats  
Saladin at  
Ramlah,  
Nov. 25  
(A.D.  
1177).

elapsus, ægre evasit, cæsis de exercitu ejus multis millibus. Gestum est hoc prælium a Christianis, Christo propitio, feliciter, septimo calendas Decembris. Verum anno sequenti<sup>1</sup> propter peccata, quæ utique Divinitas, dum hic vivitur, minus in suis quam in alienis dissimulat, contra Christianum populum in Terra Sancta degentem et minus sancte viventem cœlestis ira excanduit. Cum enim Saladinus<sup>2</sup> ad expiandum præcedentis anni dedecus fines Christianos instructor terribiliorque invaderet, nostri quoque multo instructiores et numerosiores quam prius, atque ideo minus in Domino, dum de se præsumerent, confidentes, prælium illi in terminis intulerunt; ubi Deo resistente superbis, quibus antea humilibus dederat gratiam, magna virium Christianarum<sup>3</sup> contritio facta est, cæso non parvo militum<sup>4</sup> numero, cum magistro militiæ Templi et optimatibus plurimis.<sup>5</sup> Initium dolorum hoc. Nondum enim aversus erat furor Domini, sed adhuc manus ejus extenta. Denique postquam Cæsarea Philippi, quæ nunc Belinas dicitur, et erat quasi elavis finium Christianorum contra Damascum, inciderat, ut supradictum est, iu manus hostiles, Templarii tam suis quam emendicatis undecunque opibus, munitionem satis utilem ad Vadum Jacob exstruxerunt, ne hostes a parte ejusdem Cæsariæ in fines libere Christianos excurrebant. Surgebant indies<sup>5</sup> structuræ murorum et excubabat ibidem jugiter non parvus armatorum numerus, ne forte irruptione hostili impediretur opus. Diu quidem hoc cum livore et gemitu dissimulatum toleratumque est a Turcis, dum integræ essent vires Christianæ. Quas cum, clade paulo ante accepta, languidiores esse conspicerent, tempus nacti, muniti-

A.D. 1177.

A.D. 1178.  
The Christians suffer a defeat.

The Templars build a castle at Jacob's Ford (Oct. 1178).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bened. Petrob. (i. 130, note 10) as to the events of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *Christianarum*, by correction, L.; *Christianorum*, B.C.

<sup>3</sup> *militum*, B.; *militum*, C.L.

<sup>4</sup> *plurimis*, B.L.; *pluribus*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *indies*, B.C.; *in die*, L.

A.D. 1179. onem illam, armis virisque refertam, obsidione cinxerunt, atque, adhibitis machinis, fortiter oppugnare cœperunt. Congregatus est autem<sup>1</sup> exercitus Christianus apud Tiberiadem ut obsidionem solveret, at non ea alacritate qua solebat. Ibi optimates nostri de agendis tractantes, nequaquam sibi tutum esse censuerunt, absente cruce Dominica, cum numerosissimis hostibus cōgredi. Mittuntur Ierosolymam qui signum salutare exhibeant; at in ea mora expugnata est munitio. Qua celeriter eversa, Turci cum ingentibus spoliis abierunt. Capta est enim ibi magna vis armorum, et multus sanguis Christianus effusus. Nec multo post Saladinus, Christianos ex improvise fines aggressus, Neapolim, quæ olim Sichima dicebatur, captam evertit, et facta<sup>2</sup> hominum strage non modica, dum nostri convenirent, in propria se recepit.

The Christian forces assemble to succour the Templars, but wait for the True Cross, and the castle at Jacob's Ford is in the meanwhile stormed (April 1179). Saladin takes Neapolis (Sichem).

## CAP. XII.

*De causa adventus patriarche in Angliam.*<sup>3</sup>

A.D. 1184. Eo tempore rex Ierosolymorum, mortis beneficio liberatus a lepra, nepoti ex sorore, novenni puero, regnum reliquit. Qui cum esset unctus in regem, sub tutela comitis Tripolitani pro ætate nutriebatur; rerum vero summa penes eundem comitem potissimum esse videbatur. Cum<sup>4</sup> ergo res Ierosolymitanæ indies languerent, atque illud Salomonis, "Maledicta terra Eccles. x. 16. cujus rex puer est, et cujus principes mane comedunt," prudentes terræ illius crebra cogitatione versarent; generali providentia statutum est ut vir magnus, cujus cum quantitate negotii moveret auctoritas, Sanctæ scilicet Resurrectionis patriarcha, petendi con-

Death of Baldwin the Leper (16 March 1185). Baldwin V., a child of nine years, succeeds him.

Heraclius patriarch of Jerusa-

<sup>1</sup> autem, C.L.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> facta, B.L.; facta est, C. An error: Naplous was not taken till 1187.

<sup>3</sup> Angliam, C.L.; Anglia, B.

<sup>4</sup> Heraclius was sent (after 15 Sept. 1184) by Baldwin the Leper; not, as Newburgh seems to think, after his death. See R. de Diceto (ii. 27), and see p. 240. †



tra immanissimum hostem Saladinum auxilii gratia, ad Christianos principes in Europam mitteretur, et maxime ad illustrem Anglorum regem, cujus efficacior et promptior opera sperabatur. Idem igitur patriarcha post maris discrimina Romam veniens, et, juncta patriarchali auctoritate Apostolica processurus, hanc a papa Lucio ad regem Anglorum accepit epistolam:<sup>1</sup>

lem is sent to the West, and specially to England for aid.

*Epistola domini papæ ad<sup>2</sup> regem Anglorum.*

“Lucius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo filio Henrico illustri regi Anglorum, salutem, et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum incliti prædecessores tui præ ceteris terræ principibus armorum gloria et nobilitate animi longe retro claruerint, eosque fidelium populus in sua didicerit adversitate patronos; merito ad te, non tantum regni sed et<sup>4</sup> paternarum virtutum heredem, quadam securitate præsumpta, recurritur, ubi populo Christiano imminere periculum, immo exterminium, formidatur; ut per brachium regis magnitudinis membris Ejus impendatur præsidium, qui ut ad tantæ gloriæ et prælationis apicem pervenires sua pietate concessit, et te contra sui nominis impugnatores nefarios murum inexpugnabilem ordinavit. Proinde novit<sup>5</sup> serenitas tua, jam crebris et molestis super hoc pulsata querelis, qualiter terra Ierosolymitana, specialis hereditas Crucifixi, in qua nostræ salutis sunt præ-nuntiata mysteria, et ipsius rei exhibitioe completa, quam Ille, qui cuncta condidit in sortem suam, peculiari privilegio deputavit, perfidæ et spurcissimæ gentis attrita et circumvallata pressuris, nisi ei celeri remedio succurratur, pronam sit ad ruinam; et inde sustineat, quod absit, irrepabilem religio Christiana jaecturam. Ille enim Saladinus, sancti et tremendi Nominis immanissimus persecutor, ita spiritu furoris excanduit, et totius nequitiae suæ vires, ad internecionem populi fidelis exercet, ut nisi immani-

Letter of pope Lucius III. to king Henry.

<sup>1</sup> This letter is given also by Bened. Petr. (i. p. 332, 3.)

<sup>2</sup> *pape ad*, B.L.; *pape in Angliam ad*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *in*, C.L.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> *et*, C.L.; om. B.

<sup>5</sup> *novit*, B.C.R.; *noverit*, L. The letter as quoted by Benedict of Peterborough (Rolls' ed. vol. i. p. 332) has the reading *novit*.

A.D. 1184. " tatis ejus vehemens impetus quasi objectis obicibus reprimatur, certam spem fiduciamque concipiat, quod influat Job. xl. 18.  
 Letter of " Jordanis in os ejus, et terra aspersione vivifici sanguinis  
 pope " consecrata, spurcissimæ superstitionis ipsius contagio pol-  
 Lucius. " luatur; et quam gloriosi et nobiles prædecessores tui a  
 " dominio gentis incredulæ multis laboribus et periculis  
 " exemerunt, rursus nefando tyranni nequissimi dominio sub-  
 " jugetur.<sup>1</sup> Ob hanc itaque necessitatis, et imminētis do-  
 " loris instantiam, magnificentiam tuam Apostolicis literis  
 " duximus exhortandam, immo, dilatatis præcordiis, summa  
 " acclamatione pulsandam, quatenus ad honorem Ipsius respiciens,  
 " qui te constituit in sublime, et juxta magnorum  
 " qui sunt in terra nomen tibi contulit gloriosum, ad desolationem præfatæ terræ pietatis studio te convertas; et ut  
 " Ejus confusio in hac parte tollatur, qui pro te in terra  
 " ipsa voluit haberi<sup>2</sup> ludibrio, operam adhibeas efficacem,  
 " quatenus prædecessorum tuorum vestigia subsecutus, quam  
 " ipsi de principis tenebrarum faucibus eruerunt, in cultu  
 " magni Dei per tuam diligentiam, auxiliante Domino, conser-  
 " vetur. Eo autem curiosius celsitudinem tuam in tanta  
 " oppressionis angustia convenit laborare, quod terram ipsam  
 " regis intelligis præsidio destitutam; et totam spem defen-  
 " sionis<sup>3</sup> suæ ipsius proceres in tuæ magnitudinis patrocinio  
 " duxerunt collocandam. Quod inde clarius tua serenitas  
 " potest agnoscere, quod summos terræ illius et magnificos  
 " defensores, venerabilem fratrem nostrum E[raclium]<sup>4</sup> patriarcham,  
 " et dilectum filium magistrum<sup>5</sup> Hospitalis ad  
 " tuam excellentiam destinaverunt, ut ex ipsorum præsentia,  
 " considerata dignitate, perponderes quanta fuerit necessi-  
 " tatis angustia, pro qua eorum sustinent tamdiu carere præ-  
 " sidio, ut per ipsos facilius ad vota sua tuam devotionem  
 " inclinent. Viros igitur præfatos, tanquam ab ipso Domino  
 " tibi destinatos, benigne recipias, et debita caritate pertractes;  
 " eorumque postulationibus tanto facilius acquiescas,  
 " quanto suæ gravitatis et honestatis intuitu favor est eis et  
 " gratia exhibenda. Sane recolat prudentia tua, et sollicita

<sup>1</sup> *subjugetur*, B.L.; *subrogetur*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *haberi*, B.C.; *habere*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *defensionis*, B.L.; *in defensionis*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *E[raclium]*, the initial letter E. is alone supplied by the MSS. (A.B.C.L.R.)

<sup>5</sup> *magistrum*, B.C.; om. L. He died on the way, at Verona.

“ secum meditatione revolvat, promissionem illam, qua de A.D. 1184.  
 “ impendendo sæpedictæ terræ præsidio, tuam celsitudinem  
 “ obligasti; et ita in hac parte te<sup>1</sup> cautum et studiosum Letter of  
 “ exhibeas, ut te in tremendo iudicio tua conscientia non pope  
 “ accuset, et Ejus, qui non fallitur, districti iudicis interro- Locius.  
 “ gatio non condemnet. Valetc.”<sup>2</sup>

## CAP. XIII.

*Quomodo patriarcha, infecto negotio, repatriavit.*<sup>3</sup>

Venerabilis igitur patriarcha in Angliam veniens, A.D. 1185.  
 circa negotium propter quod venerat sollicitè satage- The pa-  
 bat. Eo, quo decebat, honore a rege susceptus, triarch  
 propriæ fatigationis causas aperuit; et ut in tam sanctam urges  
 accingeretur militiam, tanquam ordinatus a Deo votis- Henry to  
 que omnium exostulatus ad debellandam spurcissimi undertake  
 Saladini superbiam, cum dignæ auctoritatis pondere a crusade.  
 monuit. Rege salubria monita benigne admittente, et  
 responsum post competens deliberandi spatium polli-  
 cente, aliquantisper est in Anglia demoratus. Verum The king  
 cum ille certa et enormia regni proprii ex sua pere- excuses  
 grinatione pericula allegaret, et vice suæ præsentia himself,  
 ad sublevationem Orientalis ecclesiæ decentem pecuniæ but  
 modum promitteret; tandem inani<sup>4</sup> spei quam vene- promises  
 rat, in Galliam remeavit. Rex quoque ad transmarina money.  
 vocatus negotia transfretavit. Cumque inter ipsum et He crosses  
 regem Francorum exitialis discordiæ germina pullula- to Nor-  
 rent,<sup>5</sup> diabolo scilicet modis omnibus satagente ut mandy  
 Christiani principes, vires inter se Christianas ener- (April 16).  
 vantes, terræ et civitati, ex qua salus omnium fluxit, Discord  
 multiplices expositæ periculo minime subvenirent, vene- between  
 rabilis patriarcha, infecto negotio, repatriavit.<sup>6</sup> Henry and  
 Philip  
 Augustus.  
 The pa-  
 triarch  
 returns  
 (about  
 Aug. 1).

<sup>1</sup> te, B.L.; om. C.<sup>2</sup> Valetc, B.C.; om. L.<sup>3</sup> B. has *patriarcha in Angliam venit*; R. omits this chapter.<sup>4</sup> inani<sup>4</sup>, B.L.; *jam prani<sup>4</sup>*, C.<sup>5</sup> See Benedict, i. 343, 353, as

to the disputes about Margaret's dower, and then about the wardship of Geoffrey's children.

<sup>6</sup> Gir. Camb. (Hib. Exp. v. 360-3) gives details, and the patriarch's prophecy against Henry.

## CAP. XIV.

*De discordia regum atque induciis.*

A.D. 1187. Igitur ortum inter reges malum discordiæ multos involvit populos. Cùm enim unaquæque gens pro suo principe æmularetur, ita contra se mutuo animabantur et præparabantur, tanquam singuli vel proprium emolumentum seu<sup>1</sup> gloriam quærent, vel injurias proprias ulturi essent. Coieruntque<sup>2</sup> ex diversis hinc inde<sup>3</sup> provinciis, apud castrum quod Radulfi<sup>4</sup> dicitur, ferocissimo agitatæ<sup>5</sup> spiritu, armatorum multitudines, mira vesania regum suorum gloriæ vel potius superbiæ<sup>6</sup> sanguinem proprium libaturæ. Quid enim insanius quam pro inani nec sua sed alterius gloria ita<sup>7</sup> æmulari? et quid iniquius vel miserabilius quam pro unius hominis commodo, vel etiam fastu nudo, tot Christianorum millia periclitari? Cumque e<sup>8</sup> castris hinc inde oppositis per dies aliquot torvis se mutuo vultibus duo magni exercitus prospectarent, frustra circa vel pacem vel inducias satagentibus atque aerem tantum verberantibus viris pacificis, tandem fatalis et tremendus conserendi manus dies illuxit. Turmis ad pugnam dispositis, parum jam aberat a concursu mutuo, cum ecce! occultis magis, ut dicitur, ducum susurriis quam prolocutionibus publicis, indultæ in dies plurimos induciæ in utroque exercitu voce præconia declarantur. Plane vox<sup>9</sup> ista multo gratius insonuit auribus omnium, quam vox tubæ accendentis ad prælium. Gentes igitur quæ<sup>10</sup> paulo ante hostiliter fremebant, et populi qui prius meditabantur inania, vel

The kings of France and England assemble troops.

Their forces face each other at Châteaun-Roux.

The day of battle arrives, but the endeavours of the two kings' advisers avert the combat (June 23).

<sup>1</sup> seu, B.L.; sui, C.

<sup>2</sup> coieruntque, B.L.; conveneruntque, C.; cogeruntque, R.

<sup>3</sup> inde, B.L.; indeque, C.

<sup>4</sup> Philip besieged Richard and John in the castle. King Henry marched to the relief.

<sup>5</sup> agitata, B.L.; agitante, C.

<sup>6</sup> superbiæ, B.C.; om. L.

<sup>7</sup> ita, B.C.; om. L.

<sup>8</sup> e, C.; a, B.; de, L.

<sup>9</sup> vox, B.L.; et vox, C.

<sup>10</sup> quæ, B.L.; om. C.

potius insana, Deo propitio, cum incruento<sup>1</sup> gaudio A.D. 1187. abiere in sua. Rex autem Anglorum, dimisso exercitu, in transmarinis regionibus morabatur, firmandæ magis pacis quam suscitandi furoris bellici negotiis<sup>2</sup> deditus. Olim enim pro ætate bellorum pertæsus,<sup>3</sup> nulla jam libidine sed sola necessitate ad intentionem bellicam trahebatur.

## CAP. XV.

*De prærogativa terræ Ierosolymitanae, propter quam totiens devorat habitatores suos.*<sup>4</sup>

Itin. Reg.  
Ricardi,  
i. 6.

Anno a plenitudine temporis quo Verbum caro A.D. 1187.

factum est M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>LXXX<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup>, regnante in Alemannia Frederico, in Francia Philippo, in Anglia Henrico secundo, Urbano autem, qui Lucio successerat, sedi Apostolicæ præsidente, aggravata est manus Domini super terram Ierosolymitanam;<sup>5</sup> et secundum Jeremiam, plaga inimici percussit eam castigatione crudeli. Civitas Sancta, in qua invocatum est nomen Domini a diebus antiquis, in qua sacræ prophetiæ floruerunt, in qua redemptionis humanæ insignia micuerunt, ex qua salutis in omnem mundi latitudinem sacramenta fluxerunt, proh dolor! incidit in manus gentis profanæ et immundæ; terra sanctorum qui a seculo

1 Reg. v. 6.

Jerem.  
xxx. 14.

sunt prophetarum; terra Apostolorum, immo ipsius Domini et Salvatoris, quam scilicet incarnationis et nativitatis suæ mysterio initiavit; conversatione sua et prædicatione, signisque illustravit; passione sua et sepultura et resurrectione consecravit; ascensionis suæ triumpho et adventu Paracliti irradiavit; spur-

Gloomy prospects of the Christians in Palestine.

The author's reflections upon the fall of Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> *incruento*, C.L.; *ingenti*, B.

<sup>2</sup> *negotiis*, B.L.; *magis negotiis*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *Olim . . . pertæsus*, B.L.; C. has *dum enim . . . olim pertæsus*.

<sup>4</sup> *habitatores suos*, C.L.; om. B.

<sup>5</sup> Almost the words of the *Itinerarium*. The chapters as to the Crusades from this point are sel-

A.D. 1187. cissimus Saladinus occupavit, fidelium populis vacuavit, et, ab rasis Christianæ religionis insignibus, immundissimæ sectæ suæ sacrilegiis profanavit. Datumque est ei non solum os loquens ingentia, sed etiam brachium faciens grandia, adversus Dominum et adversus populum Christi ejus. Nam de eodem populo impletum est illud Jeremiæ immo Dominicum per os ejus, "Ejice<sup>1</sup> illos a facie mea; et egrediantur,<sup>2</sup> qui ad mortem, ad mortem; et qui ad gladium, ad gladium; et qui ad famem, ad famem; et qui ad captivitatem, ad captivitatem." Hujus autem miserabilis et famosi exterminii causam fuisse peccata plus solito inundantia nemo debet ambigere. Et quidem ab initio in omnibus quæ sub cælo sunt regionibus, patientius Divinitas peccata dissimulasse noseitur, quam in terra illa, quam utique gratia tantorum tanque insignium operum divinorum, quæ in ea mirabiliter patrata vel patranda fuere, quadam, ut ita dicam, privilegiali necessitate sanctam esse oportuit, aut non diu impunitam. Quippe hanc Deus elegit ab initio illius præclarissimæ dignationis suæ, quæ scilicet omnia divina longe autecellit opera, id est, suæ incarnationis et humanæ redemptionis, suo tempore nobilitandam miraculis. Horum sane in ea suo tempore patratorum gratia, singulare præ cunctis regionibus semper privilegium habuit, quod utique gratia eorundem jam patratorum cumulatus habere dignoseitur. Inde est quod scriptura sacra locis pluribus ejus prærogativam tam præclare commendat. Quod si vel<sup>3</sup> ad opum gloriam, vel ad fructuum<sup>4</sup> referas ubertatem, occurrit tibi verissima ratio, quod utique<sup>5</sup> in his plurimæ illi regiones æquentur, et quædam etiam præsent; nisi forte in iis quæ de<sup>6</sup>

Jerem.  
xv. 1, 2.

He attributes the failure of the Christians to their sins.

dom much more than summaries from that source.

<sup>1</sup> *ejice*, B.L.; *ejicite*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *ingrediantur*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *vel*, C.L.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> *fructuum*, C.L.; *fructum*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *utique*, L.; om. B.C.R.

<sup>6</sup> *de*, C.L.; om. B.

India memorantur vana sit fides. Ergo hoc solo A.D. 1187.  
 præ cunctis terris inclita, vel olim fuisse vel nunc  
 esse dignoscitur, quod in ea et olim patrandum erat  
 et nunc patratum esse constat, illud humanæ re-  
 demptionis tam magnum et tam mirabile sacramen-  
 tum. Nam si peculiari populo suo, id est, semini  
 Abrahæ, terrenam hereditatem Deus propter excellen-  
 tissimam fructuum fertilitatem largiri voluisset, in  
 India potius quam in Syria possessionem tribuisset.  
 Nunc autem, divina sua provisione, populo ad hoc  
 electo, ut ex eo humanæ redemptionis hostia suo  
 tempore suumeretur, terram illam in possessionem de-  
 dit, quam ab initio elegerat, ut in ea eadem reconci-  
 liatrix hostia lætaretur. Hujus rei gratia eandem  
 terram specialiter suam vocat: "Terra," inquit,  
 "non vendetur in perpetuum, quia mea est, et vos  
 "advenæ et coloni mei." Sane hujus terræ primi  
 post diluvium incolæ fuere Cananei et Amorrei,<sup>1</sup> et  
 cognati horum populi. Quos nimirum Dominus propter  
 mores flagitiosissimos suo tempore disperdendos  
 esse prævidens, adduxit illuc Abraham, generosæ  
 stirpis patrem futurum, de Ur Chaldeorum: "Semi-  
 "ni," inquit, "tuo dabo terram hanc." Porro ipsi  
 Abrahæ nec passum pedis, ut ait Apostolus, dedit  
 in ea: quia juxta vocem divinam, nondum completa  
 erant peccata Amorreorum; id est, non tantum  
 jam excreverant atque invaluerant, ut propter hæc a  
 Deo indulgenter magis quam rigide peccata pensata  
 iidem peccatores exterminari deberent. Itaque a Deo<sup>2</sup>  
 præscio et justo, non rigido, peccatorum completio  
 patienter est exspectata, et exterminatio peccantium  
 usque ad completionem peccatorum dilata. Idcirco

Levit. xxv.  
23.

Gen. xii. 7.

Act. Ap.  
vii. 5.

<sup>1</sup> *Amorrei*, C.L.: *Amorei*, B.  
with similar variations below, on  
this and the following page.

<sup>2</sup> *indulgenter* . . . a *Deo*, L., also

C. and R. (both with reading *pen-  
sante* for *pensata*); B. omits the  
passage.

A.D. 1187. Abraham illius terræ non est factus possessor sed advena: porro semen ejus, completis jam peccatis Amorreorum,<sup>1</sup> accepit in possessionem terram eorum; et ut eandem terram possideret, Deo largiente, eosdem exterminavit impios, Deo jubente. Num putamus hanc gentem peccatricem enormius peccasse quam gentes ceteras orbis terrarum, scilicet ut illæis ceteris sola exterminium pateretur? Certe orbem universum caligo erroris involverat; et nemo respectu divini judicii, quod utique nesciebat, vetabatur facere quod libebat. Non igitur gens illa ideo sola divini severitatem judicii experta est, quod ceteris gentibus sordidior fuerit; sed terram, clarissimis divinæ dignationis suo tempore nobilitandam miraculis, incolarum suorum tunc deformatam peccatis, eorundem incolarum exterminio expiari, et populo electo, id est, semini Abrahæ, sacræ fidei habenti<sup>2</sup> characterem, in hereditatem dari oportuit. Quamobrem eidem populo a Moyse in Deuteronomio dictum est: “Non propter justitias tuas Deut. ix. 5. ingredieris ut possideas terram istarum nationum; sed propter impietates suas, te introeunte, deletæ sunt, et ut impleret verbum suum Dominus, quod sub juramento pollicitus est patribus tuis Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob.” In Levitico quoque filiis Abrahæ divina voce dicitur: “Ne polluamini in omnibus quibus contaminatæ sunt gentes, quas ego ejiciam Levit. xviii. 24, 25, 28. ante conspectum vestrum: a quibus polluta est terra, cujus ego scelera visitabo, ut evomat habitatores suos. Cavete ergo ne et vos similiter evomat, cum paria feceritis, sicut evomuit gentem quæ fuit ante vos.”<sup>3</sup> Ceteræ vero regiones tale privilegium non habentes, non ita devorant vel evomunt habitatores suos, cum effusius peccatis<sup>4</sup> sorduerint, sicut illa,

The author proves from Holy Writ that those who have polluted the Land of Promise have always been swept away.

<sup>1</sup> Amorreorum, C.L.; Amoreorum, B.

<sup>2</sup> habenti, B.L.; habente, C.

<sup>3</sup> In Levitico quoque . . . ante

vos, C.L.R.; the whole of the passage (about seven lines) is omitted by B.

<sup>4</sup> peccatis, B.L.; peccata, C.



quæ et<sup>1</sup> ipsum semen Abrahæ, cui in hereditatem<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1187. data erat, eo quod eam suorum enormitate facinorum deformaret, postmodum juste evomuit. Et majorem quidem partem ejus,<sup>3</sup> id est, decem tribus, irrevocabiler extorres, duas vero tribus, id est, tribum Juda, de qua ipse Dominus secundum carnem nasciturus, et tribum Benjamin, quæ vas electionis editura erat, evomuit in<sup>4</sup> Babylonem, suo tempore revocandas.<sup>5</sup>

Luc. xix.  
44.

Quas tamen<sup>6</sup> postmodum, eo quod non cognoverint<sup>7</sup> tempus visitationis suæ,<sup>8</sup> sed detestabili vesania proprium peremerunt Redemptorem, eadem terra, jam in ea patratris divinis mysteriis inclita, severiori judicio nunquam<sup>9</sup> revocandas evomuit, Romanis imperatoribus Vespasiano et Tito divinæ animadversionis ministris. Exterminato autem carnali semine Abrahæ, quod

Matt. xi.  
24.

ita degenerabat ut ei a Domino diceretur, "Terræ Sodomorum remissius erit in die judicii quam vos," conculcatum est a gentibus sanctuarium Dei usque ad tempus religiosi Augusti Constantini Magni. Tunc enim Terra Sancta, pio ejusdem principis studio, a gentilium rituum sordibus emundata, data est in hereditatem et possessionem vero semini Abrahæ, id est, Christianis; a quibus et possessa est annis multis usque post tempora<sup>10</sup> beati Gregorii. Tandem enim et hos habitatores suos, cum divinam contra se iracundiam, peccatis excrescentibus, accendissent,<sup>11</sup> Terra Sancta, quæ ab eis maculabatur, devoravit sive evomuit, et contaminarunt eam Agareni habitatione sua spurcissima, usque ad annum a plenitudine temporis

The Holy Land was restored by Constantine to the Christians, the true seed of Abraham, but these becoming evil are in their turn cast forth by the Saracens.

<sup>1</sup> *et*, C.L.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> *hereditatem*, B.L.; *hereditate*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *ejus*, B.L.; *ejusdem*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *in*, C.L.; *usque in*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *suo . . . revocandas*, C.L.; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> The Stowe MS. resumes after

*quas tamen* with the words *postmodum eo quod*, see note on p. 227.

<sup>7</sup> *cognoverint*, L.R.S.; *cognoverunt*, B.; *cognovit*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *suæ*, B.C.R.S.; om. L.

<sup>9</sup> *nunquam*, C.L.S.; *unquam*, B.

<sup>10</sup> *tempora*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>11</sup> *accendissent*, B.C.S.; *accendissent*, L.

A.D. 1187. quo Verbum caro factum est millesimum nonagesimum nonum. Tunc enim Civitas Sancta, ut superius memoratum est, per militiam Christianam, ab Europæ partibus venientem, Agarenos habitatores evomuit, et impleta est etiam in hoc<sup>1</sup> illa prophetia Noë, "Dila- Gen. ix. " tet Deus Japheth, et habitet in tabernaculis Sem."<sup>27</sup>

Quippe de Sem gentes Asiæ, de Japheth vero ortæ sunt gentes Europæ. Japheth ergo quodammodo habitationem accepit in tabernaculis Sem quando homines Europæ, expulsis Agarenis, in provincia Asiæ Palæstina habitare cœperunt. Fuit autem habitatio filiorum Japheth in Terra Sancta annorum circiter lxxx<sup>tavii</sup>tem hoc est ab anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo nono usque ad annum millesimum centesimum octogesimum septimum. Tunc enim et ipsos, peccatis eorum invalescentibus, atque ideo Agarenis<sup>2</sup> prævalentibus, quod sine gemitu non dicimus, Terra Sancta more<sup>3</sup> suo evomuit. Erant<sup>4</sup> enim jam in Jerusalem et regno ejus, non ut olim, viri religiosi ex omni natione quæ sub cælo est, sed<sup>5</sup> ex omni gente Christiana facinorosi, luxuriosi, ebriosi, mimi, histriones, hoc genus omne in Terram Sanctam tanquam in sentinam<sup>6</sup> quandam<sup>7</sup> confluxerat, eamque obscœnis moribus et actibus inquinabat. Ipsius quoque terræ novi indigenæ, quos Pullanos vocabant, Sarracenorum infecti vicinia, non multum ab eis vel fide vel moribus discrepabant, atque inter Christianos et Sarracenos tanquam quidam neutri esse videbantur. Sic ergo terra Domini nostris temporibus ab advenis simul et indigenis inquinata, utrosque tandem judicio Dei evomuit, et nunc tolerat gentem immun- dissimam Agarenos usque ad tempus, procul dubio et hos devoratura cum Deus voluerit. Sane a<sup>8</sup> Chris-

The First  
Crusade  
casts out  
the un-  
believers.

The sins  
of the  
Christians  
again  
waxing  
gross, the  
Holy Land  
once more  
rejects  
them.

<sup>1</sup> hoc, B.C.S. ; om. L.

<sup>2</sup> Agarenis, B.C.S. ; Agarrenis,  
L.

<sup>3</sup> more, C.L.S. ; in ore, B.

<sup>4</sup> erant, C.L.S. ; erat, B.

<sup>5</sup> est, sed, B.L.S. ; sunt, et, C.

<sup>6</sup> sentinam, C.L.S. ; feminam, B.

<sup>7</sup> quandam, B.C.S. ; tanquam, L.

<sup>8</sup> sane a, B.L.S. ; sane cum a, C.

tianis recepta est sub papatu Urbani secundi, et recidit<sup>1</sup> in manus Agarenorum sub pontificatu Urbani tertii, lxxxvii<sup>tem</sup>, ut dictum est, annis interlapsis. Quomodo autem hoc contigerit, plenius exponendum est: non quidem propter presentes, quia res recentissimæ memoriæ est, et satis nota omnibus, sed ut ad<sup>2</sup> posteros insignium malorum nostri temporis non superflua notitia stili nostri ministerio transmittatur.

A.D. 1187

## CAP. XVI.

*De Guidone<sup>3</sup> Rege Ierosolymorum.*

Novennis igitur puer post avunculum in regno Ierosolymorum unctus in regem, paulo post rapitur ex<sup>4</sup> hac vita, infectus, ut putatur arte venenata tutoris proprii, comitis scilicet Tripolitani. Qui nimirum, cum esset vir magnus et potens, et propinquus regum priorum, aspirabat ad regnum, quod scilicet, sublato quem nutriebat puero, facile sibi cessurum sperabat. Verum patriarcha et pars optimatum terræ cum militia Templi et Hospitalis, matri extincti pueri, filiae scilicet illustrissimi regis Amalrici,<sup>5</sup> tanquam propinquiore et justiori heredi, regnum dederunt, indignum tamen matrimonium ejus causati:<sup>6</sup> nam tempore fratris regis voto proprio secundas contraxerat<sup>7</sup> nuptias cum homine peregrino, Guidone<sup>8</sup> scilicet quodam Pictavensi, qui a facie regis Anglorum Henrici secundi de Aquitania fugerat, et regi Ierosolymorum egregie militabat. Illa vero munitionibus urbibusque potita, Templariis cum patriarcha annitentibus, viro proprio diadema regium<sup>9</sup> tradidit.

A.D. 1187.

Affairs of the Holy Land. Death of the child Baldwin V. (about August 1186).

The daughter of Amalric assumes the government of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Dissensions caused by the elevation of her second husband, Guy of

<sup>1</sup> *recidit*, C.S.; *recedit*, B.L.<sup>2</sup> *ad*, B.C.S.; om. L.<sup>3</sup> *Guidone*, C.S.; *Gwidone*, B.L.<sup>4</sup> *ex*, B.C.L.R.S.; et *ex*, C.<sup>5</sup> *Amalrici*, C.L.S.; *Almarici*, B.<sup>6</sup> *causati*, B.; *causanti*, C.L.R.S.<sup>7</sup> *contraxerat*, C.L.S.; *contraxerit*, B.<sup>8</sup> *Guidone*, C.L.S.; *Gwidone*, B.<sup>9</sup> *regium*, L.R.S.; *regni*, B.; et *regnum*, C.

A.D. 1187. Unde supra modum indignati sunt optimates, nec æquanimiter pati potuere hominem peregrinum, et qui non esset de stirpe regum, levari super capita sua, cum de semine regio suppeterent, a quibus regnum, ut credebant, decentius et magnificentius regeretur. Eorum<sup>1</sup> quidem plurimi, dissimulata pavide vel callide ira, pro tempore siluere, et principi extraordinario spectatenus parere, sub exspectatione apti temporis quo a suis cervicibus jugum ejus excuterent. Verum comes Tripolitanus, quem ira fortior stimulabat, propriis vel viribus vel artibus fretus, manifeste obstitit, et jugum ejus vel fide suscipere cum ceteris recusavit. Cumque a regia potentia impeteretur fortiter, et subdi cogeretur propter virium propriarum insufficientiam, imploravit et facile impetravit auxilium Saladini, callide inter partes fovendo discordias vires frangere molientis Christianas.<sup>2</sup> Mox mense Maio a parte Tyberiadis, quam ipse tunc possidebat, immisit Turcorum copias finibus Christianis; qui congressi cum quadam parte militiæ Templi, facta nostrorum strage non modica,<sup>3</sup> onusti spoliis victores abiere. Verum non multo post idem comes simulatam, ut postea claruit, amicis mediantibus, cum rege pacem fecit; nam et ipse et fere universi terræ optimates ex multa indignatione occultum cum Saladino fœdus percusserant; cui etiam, ut dicitur, pacti fuerant quod regem Christianum in manus ejus traderent; quibus ipse vicissim pactus esse dicitur quod hoc facto non inquietaret eos, quominus liberam regni Ierosolymitani dispositionem haberent. Percusserant plane fœdus cum morte, et cum inferno fecerant pactum; per hoc putantes flagellum inundans, cum transiret per ceteros, super se non venturum. Verum consequentia docuerunt sacram illam in eis

Lusignan,  
to the  
throne.

Raymond  
of Tripoli  
seeks aid  
from  
Saladin  
against  
Guy.

Saladin  
invades  
the Chris-  
tian terri-  
tories.  
Defeat of  
the Tem-  
plars (at  
Nazareth,  
1 May).

<sup>1</sup> eorum, B.C.S.; eodem, L.

<sup>2</sup> The Count of Tripoli did what is here stated, but only as a temporary expedient. According to

Michaud he acted loyally after the defeat at Nazareth.

<sup>3</sup> modica, C.L.S.; parva, B.

<sup>4</sup> esse, C.L.S.; est, B.

Isaias  
xxviii. 18,  
19.

egregie prophetiam impletam: "Delebitur fœdus ves- A.D. 1187.  
trum cum morte, et pactum vestrum cum inferno non  
"stabit: flagellum inundans cum transierit eritis ei  
"in conculcationem, et sola vexatio dabit intel-  
"lectum."

## CAP. XVII.

*De prœlio quo exercitus perit Christianus, et captus<sup>2</sup>  
est<sup>3</sup> Rex cum Sancta Cruce.*

Igitur Saladinus, cum lxxx<sup>ta</sup> ut fertur millibus equi- A.D. 1187.  
tum et eo amplius, solito fiducialius fines Christianos  
ingressus, civitatem Tyberiadem mox irrupit, et mun- Affairs of  
itionem castrî, qua se domina loci cum militibus the Holy  
paucis receperat, oppugnavit.<sup>4</sup> Quibus rex cognitis, Land.  
cum summa celeritate Christianum undecunque besieges  
contraxit exercitum. Et quidem reges priores processuri Tiberias.  
ad prœlium, urbibus et castellis sufficientia munimina  
relinquebant, ne scilicet regnum ancipiti periculo ex- Guy of  
ponerent, si ejus ossa medullis propriis, id est, urbes Lusignan  
et castella necessariis præsidiis, vacuarent: inde est compels all  
quod cum sæpius fuerint ab hostibus prœlio superati, the male  
nunquam tamen usque ad regni exterminium periclitati population  
fuisse noscuntur. Rex autem ad Christiani regni to flock to  
excidium institutus a femina, ne ab<sup>5</sup> hoc tam grandi his stand-  
malo esset innocens femina, fortissimo præcepit edicto ard, leav-  
ut omnis populus quasi vir unus egrederetur ad pre- ing no  
lium, in tantum ut executores, a rege directi, cum sufficient  
sanis<sup>6</sup> ægros, tanquam ad absterrendum numero Sala- garrison in  
the cities.

<sup>1</sup> The author appears to quote from memory.

<sup>2</sup> *captus*, B.C.L.S.; *quomodo captus*, R.

<sup>3</sup> *est*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>4</sup> Captured, except the citadel, on July 3.

<sup>5</sup> *ab*, B.C.S.; *ad*, L.

<sup>6</sup> B. has *sanos*.

A.D. 1187. *dinum, exire compellerent. Itaque egressis omnibus ad victimam magis quam ad pugnam, cum pauci languidissimi cum mulieribus et parvulis in urbibus remanerent, ad unius proelii eventum totum præclarum illud regnum Ierosolymitanum pendebat. Comes autem Tripolitanus, cum esset exercitui Christiano prævius, tanquam gnarus locorum duxit<sup>1</sup> eum, de industria, ut creditur, in locum saxosum tantasque angustias, ut mox periclitari inciperet. Cumque hostes ita coarctatis undique imminerent, de procerum consilio statuit rex quocumque modo erumpere, et proelio cum hostibus decertare. Primis igitur ietibus militiæ Templi concessis, exercitum, prout oportuit, per turmas ad prælium ordinavit.<sup>2</sup> Templarii vero robustissimo in hostem impetu procurrentes, primarum hostilium turmarum condensitatem ruperunt, et earum vel stragem vel fugam fecerunt. Verum tunc demum nostrorum nefanda proditio et nefaria cum hoste collusio<sup>3</sup> claruit. Comes enim Tripolitanus ceterique optimates cum turmis suis, spreta dispositione regia, præclaram illam Templi militiam hostes fortiter proterentem, dum non sequerentur, periclitari fecere; atque ita Templarii consertissimis hostium cuneis, nullo sequente, immersi, illico vel victima vel præda fuere. Cumque exercitus noster in loco inaquoso æstu et siti deficeret, de castris<sup>4</sup> sex sceleratissimi milites ad Saladinum transfugerunt et, abjurata lege Christiana, nostrorum mysteria prodiderunt. Quibus agnitis, Saladinus nostros, quos locorum magis expugnabat malitia,<sup>5</sup> modis omnibus*

He thus stakes all on the event of one battle. Treachery of the count of Tripoli.

The battle of Hittin (July 3-5, 1187).

Cf. Epist. Januensis ad Urbanum, B. of Pct. ii. 11.

<sup>1</sup> *durit*, C.L.S.; *dixit*, B.

<sup>2</sup> Newburgh (see next chapter) says "infra octavas beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum."

<sup>3</sup> Michand, *Hist. des Croisades*, ii. p. 330, says "Aucun historien Mussulman ne partage cette opinion." Ibn-Alatir states that Raymond opposed the march to Tiberias.

<sup>4</sup> *castris*, C.L.S.; *castris nostris*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *malitia*, B.S.; *militia*, C.L.R.; the reading of S. and B. seems preferable, as four lines above Newburgh speaks of the hot and waterless spot to which the army had been led. These conditions plainly constituted the *malitia locorum*.

censuit impetendos. Qui cum pæne usque ad interne- A.D. 1187.  
cionem<sup>1</sup> cæderentur, rex tandem fugam arripuit; quem  
Tokedinus, Saladini nepos, persequens, cum cruce ligni Defeat of  
Dominici comprehendit. Cæsus est vel captivatus fere the Chris-  
totus exercitus Christianus; paucis fuga elapsis. Mili- tians and  
tes Templi et Hospitalis, quos in campo non voraverat capture of  
gladius, ab aliis segregatos captivis Saladinus coram se the True-  
decollari præcepit, atque hac<sup>2</sup> exoptatissima voluptate Cross and  
proprios pavit aspectus. In Reginaldum quoque de of the  
Castellione, virum Christianissimum, et tam armorum king of  
gloria quam animi nobilitate celeberrimum, qui princi- Jerusalem.  
patum olim Antiochenum strenue administravit,<sup>3</sup> et The Tem-  
tunc finibus in Arabia Christianis egregie præsidebat, plars are  
odium proprium tyrannus declaravit: quem scilicet massaered  
ferocissime interrogatum, et constantissime, prout after the  
tantum decebat virum, respondentem, manu propria truci- battle.  
davit,<sup>4</sup> voluptati suæ plurimum æstimans deperire si  
alius etiam coram se tam pretiosum effunderet sangui- The count  
nem. Comes autem Tripolitanus cum suis complicitibus of Tripoli  
fugit e prælio, Turcis eos, ut dicitur, nec attingere permitted  
curantibus.<sup>5</sup> to escape.

## CAP. XVIII.

*Quomodo Saladinus occupavit Terram Promissionis  
cum Sancta Civitate.*

Cum igitur victor exercitus cædibus satiatus, post A.D. 1187.  
bellum ad prædam conversus, ingentia peremptæ vel  
captivata<sup>6</sup> multitudinis spolia diripisset, tyrannus  
cruentissimus cum omnibus copiis florentissimam civi- Capture of  
tatem Tholomaidam, quæ nunc Acra dicitur adiit; Acre  
(July 9).

<sup>1</sup> *internecionem* (*internicionem*),  
B.C.S.; *interitionem*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *hac*, B.C.R.S.; om. L.

<sup>3</sup> *administravit*, L.S.; *adminis-  
traverat*, B.; *administrabat*, C.

<sup>4</sup> In anger at his breach of truce.

<sup>5</sup> Michaul refers to Marin's  
*Histoire de Saladin* for a discussion  
of this doubtful point.

<sup>6</sup> B. has *captivitate*.

A.D. 1187. — quam præsiidiis, ut supradictum est, vacuatam, et frustra imbelli vel ætati vel sexui creditam, illico obtinens, nova ex cædium<sup>1</sup> satietate clementia inventam in ea<sup>2</sup> multitudinem illæsam abire permisit. Tunc conversus ad reliquas urbes et oppida, omne robur terræ Ierosolymitanæ, præter ipsam Sanctam Civitatem et<sup>3</sup> Tyrum et Ascalonam,<sup>4</sup> minimo et incruento negotio in potestatem redegit. Nam quoniam universa urbium et castellorum præsidia unius prælii casus abraserat, in obtinendis præclaris et sola fame expugnabilibus<sup>5</sup> Christianorum munitionibus, nulla se fortunatissimo tyranno difficultas opposuit. Sanctam quoque Civitatem idem furoris divini malleus adiit. Patriarcham et populum metu languidum ad deditionem coegit,<sup>6</sup> vita et libertate indulta, ut titulo se clementiæ insigniret, armis et pecuniis nudatos dimisit. Civitatem pompaticè ingressus, ecclesias<sup>7</sup> spoliatas profanavit, formam vexilli Dominici ludibrio habitam et fustigatam confregit; templum vero Domini, quod et ipsis Sarracenis<sup>8</sup> semper venerabile fuerat, sollemniter aqua rosea, tanquam a Christianis sordibus expians, sacrilegis ritibus dicavit.<sup>9</sup> Sepulchri vero Dominici aliquantulam reverentiam habuit, quod, omni quidem aureo vel argenteo ornatu sublato, Syros illius terræ indigenas Christianos custodire præcepit, edictum adjiciens, ne quis alienus irreverenter accederet. Debilius quoque in famosissimo illo Hospitali beati<sup>10</sup> Johannis decum-

Surrender of Jerusalem (Oct. 3).

Saladin's moderation and humanity after the surrender.

Cf. Epist. frat. Terrici, Ben. Pet. ii. 41.

<sup>1</sup> *ex cædium*, B.C.S.; *excidium*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *inventam in ea*, C.L.S.; *inventam in eam*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> *Ascalonam*, C.L.S.; *Ascolonam*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *expugnabilibus*, B.L.S.; *inexpugnabilibus*, C.

<sup>6</sup> Newburgh gives the date of the surrender below as "circa solemnia

"beati archangeli Michaelis,"—about 29th Sept.

<sup>7</sup> *ecclesias*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>8</sup> *Sarracenis*, L.

<sup>9</sup> It seems probable from the wording of these passages and also from the items of information that Newburgh had before him the letters of Terrie the Templar as well as the *Itinerarium*.

<sup>10</sup> *beati*, B.C.L.S.; *sancti*, R.



bentium, sive humanitus sive pro gloria, misericordiam habuit, eorumque donec vel<sup>1</sup> morerentur vel convalescerent curam haberi voluit, quibusdam ex fratribus Hospitalariis hanc operam secure et libere exsequendam committens. Hæc Ierosolymis provenisse noscuntur, a diro illo prælio quo populus Christianus interiit, tribus fere mensibus elapsis. Quippe infra octavas beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum factum est illud Christianæ plebis excidium, et circa sollemnia beati archangeli Michaelis facta est deditio Sanctæ Civitatis. Ascalona quoque urbs nobilis, in quam post prælium, propter excellentem ejus firmitatem, multi confluerant, et armorum sive victualium copiam frustra congesserant, potestatem tyrannicam non evasit: quam scilicet infelicissimus ille rex Ierosolymorum, qui captus in prælio fuerat, pro sua liberatione resignavit.<sup>2</sup> Jamque sola urbium Palestinæ urbs insignis Tyrus dominationem aspernabatur hostilem, olim assueta summis resistere regibus. Nam, ut produnt historiæ, antiquum illum fortissimumque regem Nabugodonosor prius, et postea magnum illum Alexandrum, multo labore exercuit. Quæ nimirum ea facilitate qua urbes ceteræ in manus incidisset hostiles, nisi cælestis quædam provisio intentioni tyrannicæ obviasset, juxta illud Ysaïæ: "Quomodo si inveniat<sup>3</sup> tur granum in botro, et dicatur, ne dissipet illud quoniam benedictio<sup>3</sup> est: sic faciam propter servos meos, ut non disperdam totum." Plane Dominus propter servos suos, ut scilicet Christianis in terram illam venturis aptum non deesset receptaculum, totum, licet<sup>4</sup> et hoc exerescentia temporis nostri peccata exigent, dissipare vel disperdere noluit, sed urbem hanc, tanquam granum botri modicum, pro benedic-

A.D. 1187.

Ascalon is surrendered (4 Sept.) to purchase the liberty of Guy of Lusignan.

Tyre holds out.

Isaias, lxxv. 8.

<sup>1</sup> *vel*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> Terms were arranged, but Guy was not released until May 1188.

<sup>3</sup> *benedictio*, C.L.S.; *benedictione*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *licet*, B.L.S.; *scilicet*, C.

A.D. 1187. tione non modica Christianis servavit. Modum autem quo servata est, Christo propitio, satis notum præsentibus, nostra propter posteros non debet narratio præterire.

## CAP. XIX.

*Quomodo Conradus Marchio munivit<sup>1</sup> Tyrum, et de interitu Comitis Tripolitani.*

A.D. 1187. Marchio igitur de Monte-Ferrato, vir inter primos Romani imperii magnus et potens, Ierosolymam orandi studio venerat, terra possessionis propriæ filio Conrado commissa. Cumque ibidem pia devotione per dies<sup>2</sup> consisteret, et omnipotenti Deo in defensione Sanctæ Terræ propriis sumptibus sedulo<sup>3</sup> ministraret, in bello, quo eadem terra tradita est in manus impii, cum aliis nobilibus captus est ab Agarenis. Ipso tempore memoratus<sup>4</sup> junior marchio, et ipse oraturus patrique astiturus, cum agmine virorum fortium Ierosolymam properabat. Factum est autem die tertio post captam Tholomaidam, ubi naves Christianæ applicare consueverant, ut idem marchio eum suis appropians, ex alto pelago immutatam adverteret, et caute notaret faciem civitatis. Nam nec Christiana jam insignia, quæ mox abominatio hostilis abstulerat, ex templorum vel turrium fastigiis procul aspicientibus refulgebant, nec campanæ, uti mos fuerat peregrinis portui appropinquantibus,<sup>5</sup> concrepabant. Unde intellexit vir prudens eandem civitatem in manus incidisse hostiles. Flexo igitur cursu, Tyrum adiens ibidem applicuit;<sup>6</sup> invenitque omnes Tyrios inæstitudine at-

The marchis of Montferrat approaches Acre by sea.

July 12.

The city appearing to be in the hands

<sup>1</sup> B. has *munivit*.

<sup>2</sup> Some word (? *multos*) is wanting.

<sup>3</sup> *sedulo*; B.L.S.; *sedule*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *memoratus*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>5</sup> As in text, B.L.R.S.; *peregrinorum portui appropinquantium*, C.

<sup>6</sup> The events in the earlier part of this chapter precede, those in the latter part and in the next chapter succeed, the loss of Jerusalem.

que formidine ita attonitos, ut animis labefactis tyranno mox affuturo, exemplo Tholomensium, civitatem tradere cogitarent. Verum ad tanti hospitis ingressum, resumpto aliquantulum spiritu, cum ei miserabilem Christianorum cladem indicassent, ejus, tanquam ad tantillarum reliquiarum divinitus directi solatium, salubri se consilio crediderunt. Ille vero, cum esset prudens atque magnanimus, omnes a minimo usque ad maximum sacramento astrinxit quod ei omnium curam gerenti fideliter parerent in omnibus; sapienter allegans nihil agi posse nisi sub uno principe et provisoro cuncti essent unanimes. Quo facto, civitatem cooperantibus omnibus sollicitate municbat.<sup>1</sup> Sequenti die comes Tripolitanus et Reginaldus Sidonius quasi causa refugii<sup>2</sup> vel tuendæ urbis advenientes, cum fuissent intra mœnia cum paucis admissi, et frustra vel sollicitare populum vel arcem præoccupare niterentur, mature deprehensi ægre effugerunt,<sup>3</sup> suorum aliquot in urbe relictis, quos zelus marchionis, tanquam Christiani nominis manifestos proditores, suspensio damnavit. Cum autem memoratus comes et complices sui viderent<sup>4</sup> Saladinum; rupta fide pactorum, Ierosolymitano regno incumbere, idque, expulsis indigenis, populo proprio dividere in possessionem, tunc demum vexatione dante intellectum, intelligere potuere fœdus, quod cum morte percusserant, iudicio Dei deletum, et pactum quod cum inferno fecerant, eadem iudicii severitate<sup>5</sup> non stare, seque flagello inundanti et transeunti juste fieri in conculcationem. Idem<sup>6</sup> ergo comes, seram agens penitentiam, ad urbem propriam est reversus: et, ex doloris vehementia in amentiam versus, horrenda morte defecit.<sup>7</sup> Complices

A.D. 1187.

of the Saracens he sails to Tyre.

He assumes command of the city, and puts it into a state of defence.

The count of Tripoli enters the city with treacherous designs, but is driven away.

He dies insane,

Isaias,  
xxviii. 18,  
19.<sup>1</sup> *municbat*, B.L.S.; *municbant*, C.<sup>2</sup> Fugitives from Hittin.<sup>3</sup> *effugerunt*, B.L.S.; *fugerunt*, C.<sup>4</sup> *viderent*, B.L.S.; *viderant*, C.<sup>5</sup> *severitate*, C.L.S.; *securitate*, B.<sup>6</sup> *idem*, B.C.S.; *ideo*, L.<sup>7</sup> This is disputed; but R. de Diceto (col. 640) agrees, saying he died 15 days after the fall of Jerusalem.

A.D. 1187. quoque ejus, ut dicitur, non<sup>1</sup> morbus aut senium, sed  
 and is suc- confusionis et doloris intolerantia, de terra quam pro-  
 ceeded by diderant in brevi erasit: Cives autem Tripolitani  
 Bohemond matura propter dies malos deliberatione Boamuudum  
 (Ray- Antiocheni<sup>2</sup> principis filium, laudatæ fortitudinis et  
 mond). prudentiæ juvenem, dominum sibi delegerunt: sub  
 ejus regimine Tripolitana regio remissius noscitur  
 infestata a Turcis. Dicitur enim et creditur<sup>3</sup> Saladi-  
 nus, cum alias totis viribus debacchatus sit, Tripoli  
 et finibus ejus pepereisse, propter jusjurandum quod  
 fuerat inter ipsum et comitem Tripolitanum.

## CAP. XX.

*De obsidione Tyri, et reditu Regis de captione.*

A.D. Ierosolyma igitur ceterisque urbibus præter Tyrum  
 1187-8. celeri deditioe receptis, Saladinus eandem urbem  
 Siege of sub Conrado marchione fiducialiter agentem obsedit.<sup>4</sup>  
 Tyre. Quæ nimirum juxta fidem historiarum veterum olim  
 (Nov. 11 ? to Jan. 1, 1188). insula, nunc autem Alexandri Magni arte simul et  
 opere continens, tota fere mari<sup>5</sup> ambitur, portu gau-  
 dens tutissimo. Quapropter tyrannus, ne mare per-  
 vium esset obsessis, classe circa urbem disposita, modis  
 eam omnibus, qua parte maris non prætendit obicem,  
 studuit oppugnare. Marchio vero et sui, caventes ne  
 forte Italicarum<sup>6</sup> navium, quibus a Sicilia et Apulia  
 urbi subsidia inferebantur, interciperetur commeatus,  
 præparatis opportune navibus quas in proprio por-  
 tu habebant, navali prælio statuerunt cum hostili  
 classe configere. Quod et factum est, Deo propitio

<sup>1</sup> non, C.L.S.; in, B.

<sup>2</sup> Should be *Raymond* son of Bohemond III. of Antioch.

<sup>3</sup> *creditur*, B.C.S.; *creditorque* (?) L.

<sup>4</sup> This was the second attack. The first was shortly before the fall of Jerusalem. See *Itinerar.* i. 23: *rursus . . . expugnare contendit.*

<sup>5</sup> *mari*, B.C.; *mare*, L.S.

<sup>6</sup> *Ytaliarum*, B.

Cf. litt.  
frat. Ter-  
rii, Bened.  
Petrob. ii.  
P; 41.

et cæsa vel submersa multitudine hostium naves non-  
nullas ceperunt; ceteri vero, spectante Saladino, na-  
ves, ut evaderent, littoribus alliserunt. Quo casu ita  
est consternatus, ut incensis machinis et soluta obsi-  
dione discederet, nihil ulterius contra eandem urbem  
ausurus. In fines mox Antiochenos debacchantem  
convertens tyrannidem, principem Christianum in  
tantum attenuavit atque infregit, ut capta Laodicea  
reliquisque urbibus juris ejus, raram illi possessionem  
extra muros Antiochenos relinqueret. Ipsam quoque  
maximam civitatem ita coarctavit, ut ab exterritis  
civibus<sup>1</sup> pactum extorqueret, quod ad diem certum  
urbem resignarent nisi forte major ex Europa exer-  
citus superveniens id fieri prohiberet. Porro nostri  
apud Tyrum sub marchione prosperabantur et robo-  
rabantur indies, confluentibus ad eos plurimis ex<sup>2</sup>  
Christianis provinciis transmarinis. Rex quoque Si-  
ciliæ competens illis subsidium direxit. Unde factum  
est ut plerumque ad prædam longius excurrerent, re-  
busque fortiter et prospere gestis, onusti manubiis  
remearent. Et cum forte in præda captivus insigni-  
or marchioni obtigisset, eundem laudabili providen-  
tia patre<sup>3</sup> mutavit, qui, ut dictum est, captus in præ-  
lio maximo infeliciter apud hostes vivebat. Rex vero  
Ierosolymorum, modo superius memorato de captivi-  
tate reversus, nostris impedimento magis quam solati-  
o fuit.<sup>4</sup> Cum enim Tyrum, tanquam jus regium, a  
marchione reposeret, et marchio urbem, tanquam ab  
ipso, æque ut cetera, hostibus expositam, a se autem  
cum multo labore servatam, modis illi omnibus dene-  
garet, secessit Tripolim, et aggregatis sibi plurimis,  
marchioni erat infestus. Illis itaque hoc modo dis-

A.D.  
1187-8.

Saladin's  
fleet is  
beaten  
(Dec. 29).  
He aban-  
dons the  
siege and  
invades the  
territory of  
Antioch.

The mar-  
quis of  
Montferrat  
obtains his  
father's  
liberty by  
exchange  
of pri-  
soners.

Guy of  
Lusignan  
as king of  
Jerusalem  
claims  
Tyre, and  
being  
refused  
retires to  
Tripoli.

<sup>1</sup> B. has, for *exterritis civibus*,  
*exterritionibus*.

<sup>2</sup> ex, B.L.S.C.; om. R.

<sup>3</sup> *patre*, B.C.S.; *pro patre* by  
interlineation, L.

<sup>4</sup> Released in May 1188. Much  
of the information in this chapter  
comes from the *Itinerarium*, i. pp.  
23-26, and 60-62

A.D. 1187-8. ceptantibus, et aliis quidem pro isto aliis vero pro illo æmulantibus, res Christianæ in Syria minus procedebant. In qua re advertere est quam subtili astutia Saladinus, immo in Saladino diabolus, eundem regem, qui totius ab initio turbinis<sup>1</sup> et cladis occasio fuerat, de captivitate emiserit, Christianis proculdubio sub specie recti profectibus opponendum. Quod eum in illa disceptatione<sup>2</sup> ex parte claruerit, in iis certe quæ consecuta noscuntur magis claruit.

## CAP. XXI.

*De morte Urbani Papæ, et institutione Gregorii.*

A.D. 1187. Dum<sup>3</sup> in Oriente circa populum Christianum talia gererentur, Urbanus papa Romanus extremæ sorti subiacuit, et successit<sup>4</sup> ei venerabilis Albertus, ejusdem cancellarius,<sup>5</sup> dictusque<sup>6</sup> est Gregorius. Vir plane et sapientia et vitæ sinceritate conspicuus, æmulationem Dei habens in omnibus secundum scientiam, et superstitionum consuetudinum, quarum in ecclesia per quorundam rusticam simplicitatem, citra<sup>7</sup> scripturarum auctoritatem multitudo inolevit, reprehensor acerrimus; unde a quibusdam minus discretis putatus est turbato per nimiam abstinenciam cerebro delirare. Sane cum in Oriente illud Christianæ plebis exterminium atque irruptio Sanctæ Civitatis sub pontificatu Urbani contigerint, eidem tamen datum est tantæ infelicitatis fama minime sauciari. Rerum quippe infra octavas apostolorum Petri et Pauli infeliciter gestarum nuntii circa festivitatem beati Lucæ evangelistæ ad Apostolicam sedem venerunt, Urbano

A.D. 1187.

Death of  
pope  
Urban III.  
(Oct. 11).  
Accession  
of Gre-  
gory VIII.  
(Oct. 20).

July 6.

Oct. 18.

<sup>1</sup> L. has *turbidis*.<sup>2</sup> For *disceptatione* L. has the error *deceptatione*.<sup>3</sup> *Dum*, B.L.R.S.; *Cum*, C.<sup>4</sup> B. has *successi*.<sup>5</sup> *ejusdem cancellarius*, C.L.R.S.; *ejusdem sedis cancellarius*, B.<sup>6</sup> B. has *ductusque*.<sup>7</sup> *citra*, B.C.S.; *circa*, L.

paulo ante ex hac luce subtracto, et mature substituto Gregorio. Qui venerabilis pontifex, tristi nuntio percussus, ingemuit, et vi doloris anxius, tam enormem Christiani nominis jacturam inconsolabiliter deploravit. Aliquod tamen remedium adhibere, et tanto malo, ne latius serperet, pia provisione occurrere satagens, hanc illico in orbem Christianum direxit epistolam. A.D. 1187.

*Epistola Gregorii Papæ.<sup>1</sup>*

“ Gregorius,<sup>2</sup> servus servorum Dei, universis Christi fide- General  
 “ libus ad quos<sup>3</sup> literæ istæ pervenerint, salutem et Apo- epistle of  
 “ stolicam benedictionem. Audita tremendi severitato judicii pope Gre-  
 “ quam super terram Ierosolymitanam divina manus excrevit, as to the  
 “ tanto sumus nos et fratres nostri horrore confusi, tantis affairs of  
 “ afflicti doloribus, ut non facile nobis occurreret quid dicere the Holy  
 “ aut facere<sup>4</sup> deberemus, nisi quod Psalmista deplorat et dicit: Land, Oct.  
 “ ‘ Deus, venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam,’ et cetera. Ex 29, 1187.  
 Ps. lxxviii. “ ‘ Deus, venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam,’ et cetera. Ex  
 1. “ occasione quippe dissensionis, quæ suggestione diaboli facta  
 “ est nuper in terra, accessit Saladinus cum multitudine  
 “ armatorum ad partes illas, et occurrentibus rege et epi-  
 “ scopis, Templariis<sup>5</sup> et Hospitalariis, baronibus et militi-  
 “ bus cum populo terræ et cruce Dominica, per quam ex  
 “ memoria et fide passionis Christi qui pependit, et genus  
 “ humanum redemit in ea, certum sibi contra paganorum  
 “ incursus solebat esse tutamen, facta est congressio inter  
 “ eos, et, superata parte nostrorum, capta<sup>6</sup> est crux Domi-  
 “ nica, trucidati episcopi, captus est rex, et universi fere  
 “ aut occisi gladio aut hostilibus manibus deprehensi; ita  
 “ ut paucissimi per fugam dicantur elapsi; ipsi quoquo  
 “ Templarii et Hospitalarii in ejusdem sunt<sup>7</sup> oculis decol-  
 Jerem. ix. “ lati. Nos autem, licet cum propheta dicere habeamus,  
 1. “ ‘ Quis det oculis meis fontem lacrimarum, et plorabo die

<sup>1</sup> *Epistola . . . Papæ*, C.L.S.; om. B. A somewhat compressed copy. See Benedict, ii. 15-19.

<sup>2</sup> *Gregorius*, C.L.S.; *Gregorius episcopus*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *quos*, B.C.S.; *quod*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *facere*, B.L.S.; *quid facere*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *Templariis*, C.S. and B., omitting the *et* which follows; *et Templariis*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *capta*, B.L.S.; *et capta*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *sunt*, C.L.S.; om. B.

A.D. 1187. " ac nocte interfectos populi mei? ' non tamen adeo nos  
 " deiecere<sup>1</sup> debemus, ut in diffidentiam<sup>2</sup> decidamus et cre-  
 " damus Deum ita populo suo iratum ut quod, commu-  
 " nium<sup>3</sup> faciente multitudine peccatorum, fieri permisit  
 " iratus, non cito per misericordiam, pœnitentia placatus,  
 " allevet, et post lacrimationem, exultationem inducat.  
 " Quisquis sane in tanta<sup>4</sup> lugendi materia non luget,<sup>7</sup> non  
 " tantum fidei Christianæ sed ipsius etiam humanitatis  
 " videtur oblitus; cum ex ipsa periculi magnitudine ac  
 " feritate barbarica Christianorum sanguinem sitiento, ac  
 " totam suam in hoc apponente<sup>5</sup> virtutem, ut profauet<sup>6</sup>  
 " sancta et cultum Dei auferat de terra, quod nos tace-  
 " mus, discretus quisque valeat æstimare. Sane cum pro-  
 " phetæ prius, ac postmodum Apostoli laboraverint,<sup>7</sup> ut  
 " divinus cultus esset in terra illa, et ad omnia climata  
 " mundi ex ea deflueret;<sup>8</sup> immo, quod maximum et inef-  
 " fabile est, Deus, qui ibi voluit salutem operari, per se-  
 " ipsam ad hoc dignatus sit laborare, nec lingua dicere  
 " nec sensus cogitare potest quantum nobis et universo  
 " populo Christiano dolendum sit, quod nunc id<sup>9</sup> perpessa  
 " est terra illa, quod sub veteri populo legitur pertulisse.  
 " Nos autem credere non debemus quod ex injustitia feri-  
 " entis iudicis, sed iniquitate<sup>10</sup> potius populi delinquentis,  
 " ista provenerint.<sup>11</sup> Terra illa devoravit habitatores suos,  
 " et nec diu habere quietum statum, nec transgressores  
 " legis divinæ potuit retinere. Porro nos in tanta contri-  
 " tione terræ illius, non solum peccatum habitatorum ejus  
 " sed et nostrum et totius populi Christiani debemus atten-  
 " dere, ac vereri ne quod reliquum est terræ illius depereat,  
 " et in alias etiam potestas<sup>12</sup> infidelium desæviat regiones; cum  
 " ex omnibus partibus inter reges et principes, civitates et  
 " civitates, dissensiones audiamus et<sup>13</sup> scandala, et cum pro-

<sup>1</sup> B. has *decere*.

<sup>2</sup> *diffidentia*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *communivit*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *in tanta*, A.B.; *tanti*, C.L.O.S.

<sup>5</sup> *apponente*, B.C.L.S.; *ponente*, R.

<sup>6</sup> *prophanare*, B.C.L.O.B.S.: but this requires *valeant auferre de terra* in the next line, as in Benedict.

<sup>7</sup> *laboraverint*, C.L.S.; *laboraverunt*, B.

<sup>8</sup> C. has *defluerent*.

<sup>9</sup> *id*, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>10</sup> *iniquitate*, B.L.S.; *ex iniquitate*, C.

<sup>11</sup> *provenerint*, B.C.L.S.; *provenerunt*, R.

<sup>12</sup> *potestas*, B.L.S.; *potestates*, C.

<sup>13</sup> *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.



Osee, iv.  
1, 2.

Matt. vi.  
20.

pheta dicere valeamus: 'Non est veritas, non est scientia A.D. 1187.  
 " ' Dei in terra: furtum et mendacium, homicidium et adul-  
 " ' terium inundaverunt, et sanguis sanguinem tetigit.' Co-  
 " gitate itaque filii, qualiter transeant univēsa, et pariter  
 " transeatis et vos: et date vestra, date quoque vos ipsos,  
 " non in exterminium sed in conservationem <sup>1</sup> Ei a quo et  
 " vos <sup>2</sup> et vestra omnia recepistis; <sup>3</sup> nec dicimus dimittite, sed  
 " præmittite in cœleste horrenum quæ <sup>4</sup> habetis; et reponite  
 " apud Eum apud quem ærugo non demolitur aut tineæ,  
 " nec fures effodiunt aut furantur; laborantes ad recupera-  
 " tionem terræ illius, in qua pro salute nostra Veritas de  
 " terra orta est, et sustinere pro nobis crucis patibulum non  
 " despexit. Et exemplo vestro alios exhortamini, ut ad  
 " ponendas pro fratribus animas confortentur, et a vobis  
 " addiscant qualiter in obsequium Creatoris sui et personas  
 " et substantias suas impendant, recolentes non esse novum  
 " quod terra illa iudicio divino <sup>5</sup> percuitur; sed nec esse  
 " insolitum, ut flagellata et castigata misericordiam conse-  
 " quatur. Poterat quidem Dominus sola eam voluntate ser-  
 " vare, sed non habemus Ei dicere cur ita fecerit. Voluit  
 " enim forsitan experiri, et in notitiam ducere aliorum, si  
 " aliquis sit intelligens aut requirens Deum, qui oblatum  
 " sibi tempus pœnitentiæ hilariter amplectatur. et animam  
 " ponendo pro fratribus, consummetur in brevi et compleat  
 " tempora multa. Eis autem qui corde <sup>6</sup> contrito et humi-  
 " liato spiritu laborem itineris hujus assumpserint, et in  
 " pœnitentia peccatorum et fide recta decesserint, plenam  
 " suorum criminum indulgentiam et vitam pollicemur æter-  
 " nam. Sive autem supervixerint, sive mortui fuerint, de  
 " omnibus peccatis suis de quibus rectam confessionem fece-  
 " rint, impositæ satisfactionis relaxationem de omnipotentis  
 " Dei misericordia, et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate  
 " et nostra, se noverint habituros. Bona quoque, ex <sup>7</sup> quo <sup>8</sup>  
 " crucem acceperint, cum suis famulis sub sanctæ Romanæ  
 " ecclesiæ necnon et archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, <sup>9</sup> atque

<sup>1</sup> sed in conservationem, C.S.;  
sed in conversationem, B.; om. L.

<sup>2</sup> vos, C.L.S.; vos ipsos, B.

<sup>3</sup> et vestra omnia recepistis,  
B.R.S.; et ista omnia accepistis, C.;

vestra omnia recepistis, L.

<sup>4</sup> quæ, B.C.S.; quod, L.

<sup>5</sup> divino, B.L.S.; Dei, C.

<sup>6</sup> C. is probably intended to read  
corde.

<sup>7</sup> ex, C.L.R.S.; ipsorum ex, B.

<sup>8</sup> quo, C.L.S.; qua, B.

<sup>9</sup> episcoporum, B.C.S.; om. L.

A.D. 1187. " aliorum praelatorum ecclesie protectione consistant ; et  
 " nullam de iis quae in susceptione crucis<sup>1</sup> quiete possede-  
 " runt, donec de ipsorum<sup>2</sup> reditu vel obitu certissime cog-  
 " noseatur, sustineant<sup>3</sup> quaestionem ; sed bona eorum integra  
 " interim maneant<sup>4</sup> et quieta. Ad dandas quoque usuras,  
 " si tenentur alicui, reddere non cogantur. Nec eant in  
 " vestibus pretiosis et cum canibus sive avibus aut aliis quae  
 " ostentationi potius et lasciviae quam necessariis videantur  
 " usibus deservire, sed modesto apparatu et habitu, in quo  
 " poenitentiam potius agero quam inanem affectare gloriam  
 " videantur. Data Ferentinæ<sup>5</sup> iii<sup>to</sup> Calendas Novembris."

## CAP. XXII.

*De transitu Gregorii Papae.*

A.D. 1187. Hac<sup>6</sup> igitur epistola in orbem directa, idem reve-  
 rendus pontifex pie sollicitudinis instinctu Pisas con-  
 tendit, Pisanos et Januenses, jugi et inveterata dis-  
 cordia dissidentes, Deo auctore reconciliaturus, vel  
 ferales illas inimicitias protensoribus saltem induciis  
 suspensurus ; ut, sublatis vel ad tempus sepositis<sup>7</sup>  
 studiis partium, uterque populus, quorum et opes  
 amplissimae et vires erant terra marique<sup>8</sup> ingentes,  
 in Christianae expeditionis communiter accingeretur  
 negotium. Pisas ergo ingressus, primos Januensium  
 evocavit, et secundum datam sibi sapientiam, coope-  
 rante pontificali reverentia, feroces hinc inde animos  
 sedare curavit. Cumque per religiosam ejus operam  
 opus pacis procederet, jamque arripiendi melioris pro-  
 positi meditatione inveteratae illae ferocium populo-

Pope Gre-  
 gory in  
 view of the  
 projected  
 crusade  
 arranges  
 a peace  
 between  
 Genoa and  
 Pisa.

<sup>1</sup> crucis, C.L.S. ; sanctae crucis,  
 B.

<sup>2</sup> L. has eporum (episcoporum).

<sup>3</sup> sustineant, C.L.S. ; et sustineant,  
 B.

<sup>4</sup> maneant, B.L.S. ; permaneant,  
 C.

<sup>5</sup> At Ferrara, see Jaffé, Regesta  
 Pontif. The *æ* also is wrong.

<sup>6</sup> Hac, C.L.S. ; hanc, B.

<sup>7</sup> sepositis, B.S. ; repositis, C. ;  
 suppositis, L.

<sup>8</sup> terraque marique, in B.

rum languerent simultates, febre correptus, post A.D. 1187.  
 dies paucissimos apud Pisas valedixit huic mundo, He dies at  
 bonis pastoribus, ut de tali viro credi fas est, socian- Pisa (Dec.  
 dus in cœlo. Cui successit Clemens, ibidem electus 17).  
 et inthronizatus, qui jacta pacis semina pio studio Accession of Clement  
 fovit et ad fructum perduxit. III. (Dec.  
19).

## CAP. XXIII.

*Quomodo Reges crucem acceperunt cum nobilibus plurimis.<sup>1</sup>*

Sane tristis ille rumor rerum in Oriente male ges- A.D. 1187.  
 tarum orbem in brevi<sup>2</sup> pervagatus, omnium quidem The effects  
 Christianorum cordibus stuporem et horrorem invexit. of the bad  
 Multorum autem id ipsum tanquam præclara quæ- news from  
 dam exercendæ virtutis occasio ad æmulandum<sup>3</sup> ani- the East  
 mos crexit; e quibus Ricardus comes Pietavenis, upon the  
 regis Anglorum filius et successor futurus, nuntium Christian  
 forte hujuscemodi inclinato jam die accipiens, abs- world.  
 que ulla deliberatione laudabile propositum toto mox Prince  
 pectore combibit; et summo ut dicitur mane, in Richard  
 argumentum futuræ peregrinationis et expeditionis, takes the  
 characterem dominicum sollemniter accepit. Quo au- cross with-  
 dito pater siluit usque ad filii adventum.<sup>4</sup> Et cum out con-  
 adesset post dies aliquot, "Me," inquit, "inconsulto sulting his  
 " rem tam arduam arripere minime debuisti; pio father.  
 " tamen proposito tuo nequaquam<sup>5</sup> adversabor, sed  
 " ita illud prosequar ut a te egregie impleatur." Erat autem tempus hiemale, et nullus adhuc magnorum principum signum Domini acceperat; sed omnes circa hoc ancipites fluctuabant, cum tamen ad<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> cum . . . plurimis, C.L.S.; om. B.<sup>2</sup> in brevi, B.C.L.S.; om. R.<sup>3</sup> B. has æmulandam.<sup>4</sup> usque . . . adventum, C.L.S.;

quousque adventum filii, B.

<sup>5</sup> nequaquam, C.L.S.; nequam, B.<sup>6</sup> Hearne's emendation is adhuc.

A.D. 1188. hoc divini timoris stimulos assidue paterentur. Tandem vero archiepiscopus Tyrinus a partibus veniens Orientis et duriora nuntians, tam presentes quam etiam imminentes Orientalis ecclesiae miseriae ita in auribus publicis deploravit, ut duo magni reges Francorum et Anglorum tractandi gratia quidam facerent terrae Ierosolymitanæ ab hostibus liberandæ, ad sollempne colloquium in terrarum confiniis cum episcopis et procerum suorum frequentia convenirent. Et quidem paulo ante, uti<sup>1</sup> superius expositum est, hostiliter discordaverant, nec finierant inimicitias sed induciis ad tempus suspenderant; verum in illo colloquio dum religiosa intentione non sua sed quæ Christi sunt quærent, nulla vel admodum languida pristini rancoris irrepsit memoria, sed omni propter Christum similitate et quæstione ita consopita ut sepultam crederes,<sup>2</sup> paribus votis et studiis Christiano negotio intenderunt.<sup>3</sup> Itaque in multo devotionis fervore surgentes, signum Regis regum in ejus mox militiam accingendi per manum memorati archiepiscopi acceperunt, et non tantum sua, sed etiam seipsos eidem præclaræ<sup>4</sup> militiæ devoverunt. Quorum exemplum dux Burgundiæ, comes Flandriæ,<sup>5</sup> et<sup>6</sup> comes Campaniæ, cum aliis compluribus utriusque regni nobilibus atque ingenti virorum militarium numero, hilari devotione amplexi, ipsi quoque signo Domini proprios insignire humeros, seque pro Ipso laboribus periculisque exponere gloriosum duxerunt. Statuto mox tempore quo iter arriperent, ad necessariam provisionem et præparationem tanti itineris atque negotii de communi consilio ista sanxerunt, et redacta in scriptis episcoporum per omnes utriusque regni provincias direxerunt.

The archbishop of Tyre comes to Europe to solicit aid (Jan.).

Henry and Philip Augustus take the cross (13-Jan.).

<sup>1</sup> *uti*, C.L.S.; *ut*, B.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *credens*.

<sup>3</sup> *intenderent*, by correction, C.

<sup>4</sup> *præclaræ*, B.C.L.S.; *dare*, R.

<sup>5</sup> *Flandriæ*, in B.

<sup>6</sup> *et*, B.L.S.; om. C.

*Statuta regum in susceptione crucis.*

“ Ad audientiam Romanæ ecclesiæ totiusque Christianita- A.D. 1188.  
 “ tis pervenit rumor ille miserabilis de destructione terræ Ierosolymitanæ et captione Dominicæ crucis. Unde domi- Statutes  
 “ nus papa et ecclesia Romana volens huic miseræ subven- for regula-  
 “ nire, optimum remedium omnibus qui crucem acceperint tion of the  
 “ de consueta sedis Apostolicæ clementia ordinavit; videlicet crusading  
 “ quod a die quâ quislibet crucem acceperit, totius pœnæ armies.  
 “ sibi injunctæ habebit de peccatis suis de quibus pœniteus  
 “ fuerit et confessus, et similiter de<sup>1</sup> oblitis, relaxationem.<sup>2</sup>  
 “ Ordinante igitur providentia Dei, domini reges Franco- The Sala-  
 “ rum et Anglorum cum immensa multitudine archiepiscopo- din tithe to  
 “ rum, episcoporum, baronum utriusque terræ, crucem Domini be paid by  
 “ susceperunt: et de communi consilio statutum est quod all except  
 “ unusquisque, tam clericus quam laicus, decimam omnium those who  
 “ reddituum suorum unius anni et mobilium suorum, quæ have taken  
 “ nunc possidet, excepto blado istius anni, dabit ad subven- the cross.  
 “ tionem terræ Ierosolymitanæ; et de blado futuri anni  
 “ dabit similiter decimam. Excipiuntur libri et vestimenta,  
 “ et vestes et tota capella<sup>3</sup> clericorum et equitaturæ eorum,  
 “ et ornamenta ecclesiarum, et<sup>4</sup> similiter vestes et equi et  
 “ arma<sup>5</sup> militum, et lapides pretiosi utrorumque. Quicumque  
 “ autem clericus aut laicus crucem acceperit, nihil dabit;  
 “ et de hominibus terræ suæ decimam habebit, exceptis bur-  
 “ gensibus et rusticis, nisi assensu dominorum suorum crucem  
 “ acceperint. Omnibus ergo hanc decimam legitime reddenti-  
 “ bus de misericordia Dei confisi, medietatem pœnæ sibi  
 “ injunctæ condonamus, remissionem nihilominus facientes et  
 “ de decimis hucusque non legitime datis et de peccatis ob-  
 “ litis. Si autem de aliquo dubium fuerit, quod legitimam  
 “ decimam non dederit, per septem legales homines de vi-  
 “ neto ejus veritas inquiretur, et hæc<sup>6</sup> legitime fieri sub  
 “ anathematis vinculo præcipietur.  
 “ Statutum est etiam a dominis regibus, et ab<sup>7</sup> archiepi- Statute in  
 “ scopis et<sup>8</sup> episcopis et omnibus baronibus concessum, ut relief of  
 “ quicumque clericus vel<sup>9</sup> laicus crucem acceperit, si redditus crusaders  
 “ who are in  
 “ debt, &c.

<sup>1</sup> *de*, B.L.S.; om. C.<sup>2</sup> *relaxationem*, O.R.; not in B.C.  
L. or S.<sup>3</sup> *capella*, C.L.S.; om. B.<sup>4</sup> *et*, B.L.S.; om. C.<sup>5</sup> *arma*, B.C.L.S.; *armatura*, R.<sup>6</sup> *hec*, B.L.S.; *hoc*, C.<sup>7</sup> *ab*, B.L.S.; om. C.<sup>8</sup> *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.<sup>9</sup> *vel*, C.L.S.; *aut*, B.

A.D. 1188. " suos ante <sup>1</sup> invadiaverat, <sup>2</sup> exitus hujus anni integre habeat ;  
 " et transacto anno creditor redditus <sup>3</sup> rehebeat, ita quod  
 " fructus, quos inde perceperit, in solutionem debiti compu-  
 " tentur; usuris non currentibus super debitis ante crucem  
 " contractis, quamdiu debitor in peregrinatione crit. Omnes  
 " etiam tam clerici quam laici, qui in hac peregrinatione  
 " proficiscuntur, licite poterunt invadiare redditus suos, sive  
 " ecclesiasticos sive alios, usque ad tres annos: ita quod  
 " creditores, quicquid de debitoribus contingat, inde securi  
 " erunt. Sed et omnium eorum qui in hac peregrinatione  
 " decesserint, pecunia sua, quam <sup>4</sup> secum attulerant, ad sus-  
 " tentationem servientium <sup>5</sup> suorum, et auxilium terræ Iero-  
 " solymitanæ, et ad sustentationem pauperum, juxta consilium  
 " discretorum virorum, qui ad hoc statuentur, dividetur.

Prohibition  
of swear-  
ing, dicing,  
luxury in  
dress, &c.

" Statutum est etiam ut nullus enormiter juret; et quod  
 " nullus ad aleas vel ad decios ludat; et quod nullus vario,  
 " vel grisio, vel sabellinis, <sup>6</sup> vel escarletis utatur; et quod  
 " omnes tam clerici quam laici duobus ferculis ex empto  
 " sint <sup>7</sup> contenti; et quod nullus aliquam mulierem secum  
 " in peregrinatione ducat, nisi <sup>8</sup> lotricem peditem, de qua  
 " nulla <sup>9</sup> suspicio habeatur; et quod nullus habeat pannos  
 " decisos vel laceatos."

#### CAP. XXIV.

*De exactione <sup>10</sup> decimarum, et quomodo Imperator  
 cum suis <sup>11</sup> crucem accepit.*

A.D. 1188. Soluta ergo cœtu in quo reges, sumpto caractere  
 The kings  
separate Dominico, de assensu omnium qui aderant episcoporum  
 atque nobilium ista <sup>12</sup> decreverunt, illustris rex An-

<sup>1</sup> ante, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> invadiaverat, B.C.L.S.; inva-  
diaverit, R.

<sup>3</sup> creditor redditus, B.L.R.S.;  
creditor ejus, C.

<sup>4</sup> quam, C.L.S.; qua. B.

<sup>5</sup> servientium, B.C.S.; pauperum  
servientium, L.

<sup>6</sup> C. has sabellum.

<sup>7</sup> sicut in B. originally.

<sup>8</sup> nisi, C.L.S.; nec, B.

<sup>9</sup> B. has nullo.

<sup>10</sup> exactione, B.L.S.; exactionibus,  
C.

<sup>11</sup> cum suis, C.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>12</sup> ista, B.C.L.S.; ita, R.

glorum in proprium sub celeritate regnum transvectus,<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1188. celebrem loco opportuno conventum instituit; et ea quæ in partibus placuerant transmarinis, præsulum et procerum Angliæ favore promptissimo, roboravit. Tunc archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, episcopi Dunelmensis et Norwicensis, multique nobiles regni, regio accensi exemplo, signum sacrum sollemniter susceperunt; plures quidem mera devotione, quidam vero minus sincere, id est, vel regia jussione, vel ut se principi propensius commendarent, jussionem ejus præveniendam arbitantes. Neenon et multitudo copiosa clericorum et militum, burgensium et rusticorum, regis et nobilium in cunctis Angliæ finibus sequi curavit exemplum, cum et in provinciis eadem fierent Gallicanis. Exigebantur autem decimæ juxta formam præscriptam, tantæque peregrinationi sumptus necessarii studio per-  
vigili præparabantur.

to prepare  
for the  
crusade.  
Council of  
Gedding-  
ton  
(Feb. 11).

Fredericus quoque imperator Romanus<sup>2</sup> non diu passus est memoratis regibus in hac parte vel inde- votior vel segnior inveniri. Convocatis itaque primis imperii, ingentis animi propositum declaravit: ornans- que sollemniter signo Dominicæ humilitatis imperialis apicem majestatis, subditis ducibus et gentibus formam efficacissimam præbuit. Tantus enim repente ad sus-  
cipiendam pro Christo peregrinationem periculosissi-  
mam<sup>3</sup> in magnis ducibus et ferocissimis Germaniæ populis fidei et devotionis fervor incanduit, ut dicere fas esset, digitus Dei est hoc. Itaque fere cunctæ  
nominis Christiani provinciæ ad maturandum iter  
propositum immensis apparatus studiisque<sup>4</sup> ferve-  
bant.

The Em-  
peror Fre-  
derick I.  
takes the  
cross.

Exod. viii.  
19.

<sup>1</sup> B. by 15th cent. alteration reads *transmeans*.

<sup>2</sup> *Romanus*, B.C.S.; *idinanius* by alteration from *manus*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *periculosissimam*, B.C.L.S.; *periculosam*, R.

<sup>4</sup> *studiisque*, B.L.S.; *studiis*, C.

## CAP. XXV.

*De rupto fœdere a Rege Francorum, et consecuta morte Regis Anglorum.*

A.D. 1188. Verum ita fervente fidelium devotione principum et populorum, antiqui hœstis tam<sup>1</sup> bona initia corrumpere gestientis malitia non quievit. Cum enim illustris rex Anglorum in regno proprio quietus cōsisteret, et, prout tantum decebat principem, ad futuram expeditionem modis se omnibus prepararet; rex Francorum, nescio unde stimulatus,<sup>2</sup> rupta fide fœderis sollemniter inter ipsos sanciti usque ad reditum utriusque a partibus Orientis, et nulla signi Dominici, quod socialiter susceperant, reverentia habita, subito furore excanduit, et castrum nobile quod Radulfi dicitur, eratque possessio regis Anglorum, quorundam, ut dicitur, nequissimorum proditione improvisus<sup>3</sup> usurpator intravit. Quo successu clatus, mutato vel potius exsufflato expeditionis Ierosolymitanæ proposito, grandiora moliebatur. Quibus celeriter agnitis, rex Anglorum, suscepti pii propositi gratia, mitius agere studuit, et mature transfretaturus, viros honoratos cum verbis pacificis ad prævaricatorem præmisit. Verum<sup>4</sup> ille ad omne blandimentum inflexus et rigidus, effrenatiore superbia pestilentibus cœptis incubuit. Cumque rex Anglorum transfretasset, bonorum studio virorum ad colloquium sollemniter convenerunt<sup>5</sup> rex quidem Anglorum querelam rupti fœderis et illatæ sibi injuriæ positurus, rex vero Francorum tanquam de his rationem redditurus. At<sup>6</sup> sub hac quasi fiducia rectitudinis mysterium operabatur iniquitatis, uti ex eo

Sudden rupture of relations with France.

Philip Augustus enters Château-Roux (June 16).

Henry crosses to France (11 July).

Fruitless meeting of the two kings at Bons-Moulin.

<sup>1</sup> *tam*, C.L.S.; *cum*, B.

<sup>2</sup> See Bened. Petr., ii. 34. The count of Toulouse in revenge for a small offence from Richard maltreated some Poictevin merchants.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *ipsius*.

<sup>4</sup> *Verum*, B.L.S.; *vere*, C.

<sup>5</sup> The meeting at Gisors, 16 Aug., Henry's invasion towards Mantes, and the meetings at Gisors and Châtillon (Oct. 7) are omitted.

<sup>6</sup> *at*, B.L.S.; *ac*, C.



quod consecutum est dedit intelligi. Ricardus enim A.D. 1188. Pictavensis tunc comes, regis Anglorum filius, qui signum Domini, ut supradictum est, primus acceperat, Francorum, ut creditur,<sup>1</sup> astutia abstractus atque illectus, in ipso sollemni regum colloquio a patre deficientis, ad partes transivit hostiles. Quo casu consternatus pater, cum causæ malorum ingravescerent, verbis pacificis cum iis qui oderunt pacem aere inaniter<sup>2</sup> verberato discessit, nesciens penitus cui se crederet cum tam infilialem jam filium expertus esset.<sup>3</sup>

Illico bellum utrimque instruitur sed viribus animisque disparibus: idem enim Ricardus, quem pater ducatu Aquitanico præfecerat, parentem sibi militiam ad partes regis Francorum traduxit; plurimi quoque potentum Normanniæ et Andegaviæ, sive Britanniae, fide exsufflata, manifeste jam a patre deficientes ad filium, in ejus gratiam Francorum auxerunt exercitum. Unde factum est, ut regi Anglorum præter stipendiarios parciore assisteret numerus, et ipse quoque circa eum nutabundus. Itaque rex Francorum cum comite Pictavensi et infinitis copiis terram regis Anglorum nullo obsistente ingressus, ad urbem Cinomannensem, ubi idem rex cum suo exercitu morabatur, pertendit. Quo ille cognito, cum et instructu copiarum ad subeundum belli discrimen se longe imparem cerneret, et obsideri ab hostibus formidaret, incensa urbe et multa suppellectile abjecta, profugit, et ipse quidem in tutiora se loca recepit: porro exercitus, qui eum sequi videbatur, defluxit. Tunc Johannes filiorum ejus minimus, quem tenerrime diligebat, recessit ab eo, ne

Richard  
deserts to  
Philip  
during the  
colloquy.  
(Nov. 18).

A.D. 1189.  
Philip and  
Richard  
invade  
Henry's  
domains  
(after  
Jan. 13).

The king  
is deserted  
by most  
of his  
barons.

The king  
retreating  
from Le  
Mans the  
city is oc-  
cupied by  
the French  
(June 12  
1189).

Prince  
John turns  
traitor.

<sup>1</sup> *creditur*, B.L.S.; *credatur*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *pacem aere inaniter*, C.L.S.; *aere*, B.

<sup>3</sup> There were secretly diverse aims. Richard sought the barons' homage as heir, but only used Alais as a claim to Philip's help (Bened. ii. 50 and 160). There had been

a truce up to Jan. 13, and Diceto has two meetings post Pascha at la Ferté Bernard, where John was required to take the cross. Henry there, on June 4, (Hoveden) unmasked by offering to wed John to Alais and declare him his successor (Gervase i. 447).

A.D. 1189. fratribus dissimilis et minus frater videretur. Hostes autem urbe Cinomanensi cum arce potiti, urbem quoque Turonicam cum arce ejus, procurrente impetu expugnarunt; de obsidenda quoque urbe Andegavensi consequenter tractantes. Tot malis rex Anglorum anxius, et maxime ex junioris filii defectione animo<sup>1</sup> saucius, quem dum speciali amplecteretur affectu,<sup>2</sup> ejusque immoderatus promotioni intenderet,<sup>3</sup> seniore filium irritasse videbatur, vexatione dante intellectum, manum Domini contra se attendit extentam, eoque auctore ad castigationem malorum quæ fecerat tantam rerum mutationem repente circa se factam. Denique ex multa mœstitudine febrem accersivit; qua invalescente, post dies aliquot apud Chinonem vitam finivit.<sup>4</sup> Hunc finem habuit inclitus ille rex Henricus, inter reges orbis terrarum nominatissimus, et nulli eorum vel<sup>5</sup> amplitudine opum, vel felicitate successuum paulo ante secundus. Hostes vero, audito ejus incommodo, mitius agere cœperunt; et maturatis induciis bellum suspenderant, cum ecce clarissimi olim sideris occasus nuntiatur. Turbatus nuntio comes Pictavensis ingemit, et ad expiandum quod viventi patri minus officiosus exstiterat, in officio paterni funeris vel sero se filium comprobavit. Hostes quoque,<sup>6</sup> qui excellenti gloriæ ejus et virtuti semper inviderant, extinctum lamentasse et laudasse dicuntur; omniumque<sup>7</sup> sensibus expositum erat, quanta sit vanitas atque fallacia excellentiæ temporalis, cum illum, qui tantus paulo ante in orbe refulserat, tam miserabilis subito casus absumpsisset. Corpus ejus, prout ipse in extremis pia devotione dictaverat, ad illud famosum et nobile monasterium feminarum quod Fons-Ebraudi dicitur de-

Tours  
assaulted  
and  
captured  
(July 3).

King  
Henry dies  
at Chinon  
(July 6).

His death  
followed  
the ar-  
rangement  
of terms  
(July 4?).

Isaias,  
xxviii. 19.

<sup>1</sup> *animo*, B.C.S.; *anima*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *affectu*, C.L.S.; *effectu*, B.

<sup>3</sup> Newburgh seems here to confirm Gervase and Hoveden.

<sup>4</sup> Giraldus, perhaps the best authority as to these events, seems

(*De Instr. Princip.*, iii. 25) to place the treaty on Saturday, July 1, at Azay.

<sup>5</sup> *vel*, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>6</sup> *quoque*, B.C.S.; *vero*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *omniumque*, C.L.S.; *omnium*, B.

portatum, ibidem, præsentibus filiis, atque assistente nobilium multitudine, juxta magnificentiam regiam sepultum est. Idem<sup>1</sup> namque monasterium, celeberrimæ religionis titulo inclitum, specialiter vivus coluerat, et tantis prævenerat beneficiis ut in eo potissimum juxta meritum votumque proprium corpori suo locum requietionis sub expectatione finalis resurrectionis deberet accipere.

Silendum vero non arbitror quod a quodam venerabili viro audisse me memini asserente se id ipsum accepisse a quodam religioso ejusdem monasterii fratre ita narrante. Quædam nostræ congregationis persona laudabilis abundantiore regi Anglorum, tanquam præcipuo monasterii nostri patrono, affectum impendens, pro ejus salute omnipotenti Domino<sup>2</sup> propensius supplicabat: cumque desideraret nosse quæ, vel de misericordia vel de judicio Supremi Moderatoris, eidem essent regi eventura, ante tempus quo reges signum Dominicum susceperunt, tale a Domino de rege dilecto in somnis responsum accepit. "Signum meum super se levabit, sed in tormento tormentum portabit; nam<sup>3</sup> uterus uxoris suæ contra eum intumescet, et ad ultimam cum velatis velabitur."<sup>4</sup> Hujus nimirum responsi veritas declarata est in ejusdem principis devotione qua Dominicum sibi signum imposuit, et in iis quæ hanc ejus devotionem consecuta sunt, usque ad ejus inter velatas, prout superior narratio patefecit, sepulturam.

A.D. 1189.

He is buried at Fontevraud.

Dream of an Augustinian canon as to the king before he took the cross.

<sup>1</sup> B. originally read *id est*.

<sup>2</sup> *Domino*, B.R.S.; *Deo*, C.L.

<sup>3</sup> *nam*, B.L.S.; *jam*, C.R.

<sup>4</sup> This story is also narrated by Benedict (ii. p. 55), and Giraldus, *De Instr. Princip.*, iii. 9.

## CAP. XXVI.

*De moribus regis Henrici.*

A.D.  
1154-89.

Character  
of king  
Henry II.  
His con-  
jugal infi-  
delities.

He was  
severe  
in his  
adminis-  
tration of  
the forest  
laws,  
though  
milder  
than  
Henry I.  
Undue  
favour  
shown by  
him to the  
Jews.

His fiscal  
exactions  
not on the  
whole  
excessive.

Confisca-  
tion of  
revenues  
of vacant  
sees.

Sane idem rex et<sup>1</sup> pluribus quæ personam ornarent regiam fuisse noscitur virtutibus præditus, et quibusdam nihilominus vitiis obnoxius quæ Christianum principem plurimum dedecere. In libidinem præior, conjugalem modum excessit, formam quidem in hoc tenens avitam; sed tamen avo hujus intemperantiæ palmam reliquit. Regina pro tempore sufficienter usus ad sobolem, ea<sup>2</sup> desinente parere, sectando voluptatem spurios fecit. Venationis delicias æque ut avus plus justo diligens, in puniendis tamen positarum pro feriis legum transgressoribus, avo mitior fuit. Ille enim, ut suo loco dictum est, homicidarum et fericidarum in publicis animadversionibus nullam vel parvam esse distantiam voluit. Hic autem hujusmodi transgressores carcerali custodia sive exsilio ad tempus coercuit. Gentem perfidam et Christianis inimicam, Judæos scilicet fœnerantes, propter largiora quæ eorum percipiebat fœnerationibus commoda, plus justo fovit: in tantum ut in Christianos protervi et cervicosi existerent, plurimaque eis gravamina irrogarent. In exquirendis pecuniis paulo immoderatiores fuit: sed temporis sequentis supra modum excrescens malitia<sup>3</sup> justificavit cum in hæc parte, et decentem modum ab eo innuit esse servatum;<sup>4</sup> excepto eo, quod vacantes episcopatus, ut provenientia perciperet commoda, diu vacare voluit, et ecclesiasticis potius usibus applicanda<sup>5</sup> in fiscum redegit. Hoc tamen opus minus regium tali excusatione, ut dicitur, tueri nitebatur, "Nonne melius est ut pecuniæ istæ impendantur necessariis regni negotiis, quam in episcoporum absumentur

<sup>1</sup> et, B.L.S.; in, C.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *in* in place of *ea*.

<sup>3</sup> *malitia*, B.L.S.; *militia*, C.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *servatam*.

<sup>5</sup> B. has an imperfect word *ap-  
plica*.

“deliciis? nostri enim temporis præsules veterum in A.D.  
 “se formam minime exprimunt, sed circa officium 1154-89.  
 “remissi et languidi, totis mundum brachiis amplec- His saying  
 “tuntur.” Hæc dicens, infamem quidem notam nos- as to the  
 tris præsulibus inurebat, ad sui vero defensionem bishops of  
 inanem ratiunculam texebat. Sane in ecclesiam Lin- his time.  
 colniensem, quæ ob ampliora commoda vacasse diu-  
 tius noscitur, gravius deliquit; veruntamen ante sui  
 obitus annos aliquot ad<sup>1</sup> hoc ipsum expiandum delictum,  
 eidem ecclesiæ religiosi pastoris sollicitudinem  
 studuit providere.

Clarissimos ex Alianore regina filios habuit: sed, ut Shaueful  
 digesta superius relatio declaravit, in filiis clarissimis circum-  
 infelicissimus ipse<sup>2</sup> pater fuit. Quod utique Dei stances  
 iudicio ex duplicis causæ merito creditur accidisse.<sup>3</sup> of his  
 Eadem quippe regina regi Francorum olim conjuncta, marriage,  
 cum ejusdem pertasa copulæ ad illius nuptias aspira- and his  
 ret, causas quæsivit divortii: solutamque a lege prio- unhappy  
 ris viri, in facie ecclesiæ, quadam, ut ita dicam, illi- relations  
 cita licentia, ille mox suo accivit conjugio. Unde with his  
 factum est, Deo subtiliter cuncta librante, ut ex ea sons.  
 in propriam perniciem præclaram sobolem procrearet.  
 Justum quoque erat, ut qui filios nimis tenere dili-  
 gens pluribus nocuisse noscitur, dum filiorum plus  
 justo promotioni intenderet, eorum vel improbis mo-  
 tibus vel immaturis mortibus vapularet. Hoc autem The author  
 totum accidisse manifestum est, superni utique ex- traces  
 aminis ordinatione pulcherrima. Porro quia nondum, some of  
 ut credo, satis defleverat illius infelicissimæ obstina- the king's  
 tionis rigorem, quem adversus venerabilem archiepi- misfortunes  
 scopum Thomam habuerat, tanti principis tam incom- to incom-  
 plete  
 rabilem fuisse exitum arbitrator, ut dum ei Dominus repentance  
 in hac vita pia severitate non parceret, in alia illi of his  
 vita, sicut pium est credere, misericordiam præpararet. conduct to  
 Becket.

<sup>1</sup> *ad*, C.L.S.; *ab*, B.

<sup>2</sup> *ipse*, B.L.S.; *om.* C.

<sup>3</sup> Henry's misbehaviour with

Alais is not referred to. See Giraldus, *De Inst. Princip.*, 91, Ric. Divis., 26, and Benedict, ii. 160.

A.D.  
1154-89.

The king's  
love of  
peace and  
justice.

His care  
for the  
poor and  
defence-  
less.

He put  
down the  
savage  
custom of  
wrecking.

Before the  
Saladin  
tithe the  
king never  
imposed  
onerous  
taxes, nor  
taxed the  
clergy.

He sought  
peaceful  
solutions  
of difficul-  
ties.

Fuit enim in illo regni fastigio tuendæ et fovendæ pacis publicæ<sup>1</sup> studiosissimus: in<sup>2</sup> portundo gladio ad vindictam malefactorum, quietem vero bonorum, minister Dei multum idoneus: rerum et libertatum ecclesiasticarum, sicut post mortem ejus claruit, defensor et conservator præcipuus. Pupillorum, viduarum, pauperum, in suis præceptionibus multam curam habuit, et locis pluribus<sup>3</sup> insignes eleemosynas larga manu impendit. Viros religiosos specialiter honoravit:<sup>4</sup> et res eorum æquo cum suis dominicis jure conservari mandavit.<sup>5</sup> Antiquam atque inhumanam circa naufragos consuetudinem in ipsis regni sui initiis eximia pietate correxit: atque hujusmodi hominibus ab æquoreo discrimine liberatis, humanitatis officium exhiberi præcipiens, graves in eos pœnas sanxit qui forte illis in aliquo<sup>6</sup> molesti esse, vel de rebus eorum quippiam usurpare præsumerent. Nullum<sup>7</sup> grave regno Anglorum vel terris suis transmarinis onus unquam<sup>8</sup> imposuit, usque ad illam novissimam decimationem, causa expeditionis Ierosolymitanæ, quæ<sup>9</sup> nimirum decimatio in aliis æque fiebat regionibus. Tributum more aliorum principum sub cujuslibet necessitatis obtentu ecclesiis sive monasteriis nunquam indixit: quibus etiam ab<sup>10</sup> angariis et exactionibus publicis religioso studio immunitatem servavit. Discrimen sanguinis et mortes hominum exhorrescens, armis quidem cum aliter non potuit, sed libentius pecuniis cum potuit, pacem quærere studuit. His aliisque bonis personam ornans regiam, multis tamen, ad sola ejus mala oculos habentibus, gratus non fuit.

<sup>1</sup> L. has an imperfect word, *publicæ*.

<sup>2</sup> *in*, B.L.S.; *ut*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *pluribus*, B.L.R.S.; *plurimis*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *honoravit*, B.L.S.; *honorabat*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *mandavit*, B.C.L.S.; *præcepit*, R.

<sup>6</sup> *in aliquo*, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>7</sup> B. has *nullo*.

<sup>8</sup> *unquam*, C.L.S.; *nequam*(?), B.

<sup>9</sup> B. has *qui*.

<sup>10</sup> *ab*, B.L.S.; om. C.

Ingrati homines et conversi in arcum pravum, proprii mala principis<sup>1</sup> assidue carpebant; bona vero nec audire sustinebant: quibus utique sequentis temporis sola vexatio jam dedit intellectum. Quippe presentium malorum experientia, bonorum ejus induxit memoriam: atque hominem in diebus suis fere omnibus tam invisum, egregium et utilem fuisse principem declaravit. Salomonem quoque regem pacificum, qui populum Israeliticum ad summi honoris fastigium et præclaras divitias extulit, eidem tamen populo minus placuisse, verba illa ad filium ejus satis insinuant:

1 Reg. xii. 4. "Pater tuus aggravavit jugum nostrum: tu allevia jugum nostrum, et serviemus tibi." Porro quod idem filius conquerenti populo, puerili levitate comminando respondit, scilicet: "Minimus digitus meus grossior est lumbis patris mei. Pater meus aggravavit<sup>2</sup> jugum vestrum; ego addam jugo vestro. Pater meus cecidit vos flagellis, ego cædam vos scorpionibus." Quod, inquam, ab illo leviter dictum est, ad tempora nostra non leviter redundat, et nostris aptissime temporibus congruit: et tamen populus insipiens cum minori nunc querela scorpionibus cæditur quam ante annos aliquot flagellis cædebatur. Obiit autem illustris rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum et comes Andegavensium, Henricus secundus, anno regni sui xxx<sup>o</sup>vo, anno ex quo signum Domini suscepit<sup>3</sup> secundo, biennio Christianæ in oriente debellationis exacto.

A.D.  
1154-89.

His conduct displeas-ed some, but the contrast with the later administration declares his excellence as a ruler.

Isaias,  
xviii. 19.

1 Reg. xii.  
4.

2 Paralip.  
x. 11.

The difference between Henry and his son Richard similar to that between Solomon and Rehoboam.

<sup>1</sup> *principis*, C.L.S.; *principes*, B.

omits *meus* and has the imperfect word *aggravit*.

<sup>2</sup> *meus aggravavit*, B.C.S.; L.

<sup>3</sup> B. omits *suscepit*.

## CAP. XXVII.

*De laboriosa et morosa obsidione Acre.*

A.D. 1189. Sane cum juxta digestam superius narrationem memorati inter se reges contenderent, et foedus quod cum Christo paulo ante pepigerant minus observarent, licet ille excusabilis videatur qui a prosequendo pio proposito non voto est proprio sed vi externa deflexus: Fredericus imperator Romanus tantæ vecordiae jure succensens, eosdem non exspectandos censuit; sed filio seniori, quem regem Longobardorum constituerat, imperii cura commissa, cum filio Suevorum duce<sup>1</sup> per Pannonias Thraciasque iter facturus, tempore congruo peregrinationem arripuit, ducens secum maximas atque fortissimas Germanicarum gentium copias. De regno quoque Francorum Jacobus de Aveniis, vir fortis et nobilis, cum aliis plurimis necnon et ex<sup>2</sup> aliis regnis Christianis, armata manus non modica,<sup>3</sup> imperatore Latino propter Græci imperatoris perfidiam per subditas illi regiones morose transeunte, liquidi itineris compendio Tyrum venerunt: atque annitente<sup>4</sup> marchione, qui eidem urbi pro tempore præsidebat, cum Templariis et Hospitalariis Tholomaidam, quæ nunc Acre dicitur, valido fultam præsidio obsederunt. Et ne urbem a facie habentes,<sup>5</sup> hostilis exercitus impetu a tergo premerentur, vallum sibi firmissimum circumduxerunt. Saladinus vero mox cum infinitis Turcorum copiis affuit, fixisque circa vallum tentoriis, quotiens nostri urbem impetebant, Turci in

The Emperor Frederick I. begins his march towards the East (April 23).

James of Avesnes leads a French expedition by sea to Tyre.

Siege of Acre (begun Aug. 22).

<sup>1</sup> C. has *ducem*.

<sup>2</sup> *ex*, B.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>3</sup> *non modica*, C.L.S.; *immodica*,

B.

<sup>4</sup> *annitente*, B.L.S.; *annuente*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *habentes*, B.L.S.; *labentes*, C.



vallum<sup>1</sup> impetum faciebant. Unde factum est, ut A.D. 1189. cum summo nostrorum labore atque periculo diutius obsidio traheretur, dum et nostri maris beneficio subsidia caperent, et Turci virorum, armorum, et ciborum copia urbem, captata flatuum opportunitate, munirent. Quomodo autem eadem civitas tandem expugnata sit, postquam Christianum exercitum diu multumque exercuit, quæ minimo<sup>2</sup> negotio in manus hostiles inciderat, suo loco dicetur.

## CAP. XXVIII.

*De morte Willelmi Regis Siciliae, et de malis quae per illam<sup>3</sup> contigerunt.*

Eodem tempore aggravata est manus Domini super A.D. 1189. nostros in summis angustiis constitutos, praecipuum illis subtrahendo patronum, illustrem scilicet Siciliae regem et Apuliae ducem Guillelmum, cujus utique religiosa et potenti opera paupereculæ illæ Christianitatis in Syria reliquiae potissimum conservatae<sup>4</sup> noscuntur, quas profecto ab initio desolationis competentibus subsidiis sublevare curavit, cum nec a regnis remotioribus quicquam possent percipere, et Saladini ob recentem victoriam vehementius exanderet feritas.<sup>5</sup> Et quidem illius sublatio tolerabilis utcumque fuisset, nisi post eum exitialis de regni successione altercatio<sup>6</sup> emersisset, qua nimi-

Siege of Acre.

Death of William the Good king of Sicily (Nov. 16).

The Crusaders thereby lose much assistance in the way of provisions and stores.

<sup>1</sup> *impetebant* . . . *vallum*, B.C.S.; om. L.

<sup>2</sup> For *minimo* B. has *cruento*, in plummets.

<sup>3</sup> *illam*, C.L.S.; *illum*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *conscratae*, B.L.S.; *conservare*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *feritas*, C.L.S.; in B. the 15th

cent. hand has altered *veritas* to *severitas*.

<sup>6</sup> *altercatio*, B.L.S.; *alteratio*, C. William left his dominions to his aunt (on p. 286, *consobrino*) Constance, wife of Henry king of the Germans. Tancred was illegitimate son of William's uncle.

A.D. 1189. rum regiones clarissimæ ita turbatæ sunt et desolatæ, ut Christianis in Syria laborantibus nihil posset exinde solatii juxta morem pristinum ministrari. Hujus autem turbationis causa noscitur exstitisse, quod idem rex uxore ducta regis Anglorum filia, et ex ea sobole non suscepta, decessit. Porro ejus consobrina, cui eo mortuo regni competere videbatur hereditas, regi Longobardiæ, Teutonici imperatoris filio, nupserat. Verum Siculi Apulique, Alemannicam execrantes ditionem, virum nobilem<sup>1</sup> de stirpe regum priorum Tancredum cum favore sedis Apostolicæ regem sibi creaverunt. Unde motus<sup>2</sup> rex Longobardiæ bellum eis<sup>3</sup> indixit; et paulo post patre ex hac vita raptò, ut suo loco dicitur, ad apicem sublimatus imperii, Italicum atque Teutonicum furore implacabili immisit eis exercitum. Qualem autem hæc imperatoria expeditio exitum habuerit, alius exponendi locus erit.<sup>5</sup> Rerum igitur Sicularum Apularumque tanta turbatio Christianis in Oriente reliquis uberrimum consueti fructum præcidit auxilii. Et nostræ quidem historiæ librum hic tertium terminamus, ut in ea quartus cum regno illustris regis Ricardi liber incipiat.

Troubles  
in Sicily  
arising  
from dis-  
putes as  
to the  
succession.

*Explicit liber tertius.*

<sup>1</sup> Tancred, count of Lecce. He was king of Sicily 1189-1194.

<sup>2</sup> *motus*, B.C.R.S.; *mor*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *eis*, B.S.; *in eis*, C.; *ei*, L.

<sup>4</sup> B. has *quale*.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. v. cap. 7.

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LIBER QUARTUS.

A.D. 1189-1194.

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INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI QUARTI.<sup>1</sup>

Cap. 1.	De primordiis regis Ricardi, et de iis quæ in ejus coronatione contige- runt	- - - -	p. 293
Cap. 2.	De ordinatione vacantium ecclesiarum post coronationem regis Ricardi	-	p. 300
Cap. 3.	De affectu regis ad Johannem fratrem suum <sup>2</sup>	- - - -	p. 301
Cap. 4.	Quis successerit Rannulfo de Glam- villa <sup>3</sup> in procuratione regni	-	p. 302
Cap. 5.	Quæ fecerit rex in Anglia antequam transfretaret <sup>4</sup>	- - - -	p. 303
Cap. 6.	De quodam prodigio, quod eo tempore in aere visum est	- - - -	p. 307
Cap. 7.	Quid actum sit contra insolentiam Judæorum apud Linnam	- - - -	p. 308
Cap. 8.	Quid actum sit contra Judæos apud Stanfordiam; et de quadam super- stitutione populi	- - - -	p. 310
Cap. 9.	Quæ acta sint <sup>5</sup> contra Judæos Lin- colniæ et Eboracæ	- - - -	p. 312
Cap. 10.	De exitio Judæorum apud Eboracam	-	p. 317
Cap. 11.	De ira regis in interfectores Judæo- rum	- - - -	p. 323
Cap. 12.	Quomodo reges venerunt Siciliam, et quomodo rex Anglorum expugnavit Messanam	- - - -	p. 324

<sup>1</sup> B. and D. omit the entire  
elenchus.

<sup>2</sup> suum, C.S.; ejus, L.

<sup>3</sup> Rannulfo de Glamvilla, S.;  
Ranulfo de Glamvilla, C.L.

<sup>4</sup> transfretaret, L.S.; transfe-  
taverit, C.

<sup>5</sup> sint, C.S.; sant, L.

Cap. 13. De expeditione Teutonica, et morte inperatoris - - -	p. 326
Cap. 14. De insolentia et fastu cancellarii post regis profectionem - - -	p. 331
Cap. 15. Quare rex Rotomagensem archiepisco- pum de Sicilia miserit in Angliam	p. 336
Cap. 16. Qua occasione Johannes frater regis restiterit cancellario - - -	p. 337
Cap. 17. De captione Eboracensis archiepiscopi, et expulsionem cancellarii - - -	p. 339
Cap. 18. De ordinatione regni post expulsio- nem cancellarii, et de <sup>1</sup> molitionibus ejus irritis - - -	p. 344
Cap. 19. De processu regum a Sicilia, et impe- dimentis Christiani exercitus apud Aeram - - -	p. 346
Cap. 20. Quomodo rex Anglorum acquisivit insulam Cyprum - - -	p. 350
Cap. 21. Quibus ex causis reges dissidere cœperunt apud Aeram - - -	p. 352
Cap. 22. De expugnatione Acræ, et præmaturo <sup>2</sup> discessu <sup>3</sup> regis Francorum - - -	p. 356
Cap. 23. Quæ acta sint a nostris in Syria post discessum regis Francorum - - -	p. 359
Cap. 24. Quomodo Conradus marchio a sicariis interfectus est - - -	p. 363
Cap. 25. Quomodo rex Francorum necem mar- chionis refudit in regem Anglorum, et de conventu Parisiacensi - - -	p. 365
Cap. 26. Quomodo rex Francorum duxit soro- rem regis Dacorum, et quomodo repudiavit eam - - -	p. 368

<sup>1</sup> *de*, C.L.S.<sup>2</sup> *præmaturo*, C.S. : *præ mature*, L.<sup>3</sup> *discessu*, L.S. ; *decessu*, C.

- Cap. 27. Quomodo Eboracensis archiepiscopus  
præcipitavit sententiam excommu-  
nicationis in episcopum Dunelmien-  
sem - - - - p. 371
- Cap. 28. Cur minus actum sit a nostris in  
Oriente, et de repatriatione pere-  
grinorum - - - - p. 372
- Cap. 29. Quomodo rex Anglorum liberavit Jop-  
pen;<sup>1</sup> et de induciis Christianorum  
et Turcorum - - - - p. 376
- Cap. 30. Quod, Deo disponente, plus actum  
sit illa expeditione, pro superna  
quam terrena Jerusalem; et de  
morte Saladini - - - - p. 379
- Cap. 31. Quomodo rex Anglorum naufragium  
passus, et captus est a duce Austriæ p. 382
- Cap. 32. Quomodo rex Francorum, delusus a  
filio ducis Saxonie, speratis nup-  
tiis caruit - - - - p. 384
- Cap. 33. Quomodo rex Anglorum per ducem  
Austriæ devenit in custodiam<sup>2</sup> im-  
peratoris - - - - p. 386
- Cap. 34. Quomodo rex Francorum invasit Nor-  
manniam, et quomodo Johannes  
turbavit Angliam - - - - p. 389
- Cap. 35. Quomodo Hubertus Salesbiriensis epi-  
scopus factus est archiepiscopus  
Cantuariensis, et de ecclesia con-  
tradictionis - - - - p. 391
- Cap. 36. Quomodo Hugo Cestrensis episcopus  
destruxit monasterium Coventrense<sup>3</sup> p. 393
- Cap. 37. De nece Leodicensis episcopi, cujus  
occasione pæne periclitatus est rex  
Anglorum - - - - p. 396

<sup>1</sup> *Jopen* in C.L.S.<sup>2</sup> C. has *custodia*.<sup>3</sup> *Coventrense*: C.L.O.R. and S.  
have *Coventrensem*.

- Cap. 38. Quomodo afflicta sit Anglia per captivitatem<sup>1</sup> regiam - - - p. 399
- Cap. 39. De prodigio ruboris insoliti, ter in aere diversis temporibus apparentis p. 401
- Cap. 40. Quomodo rex Francorum, cum non posset impedire liberationem regis Anglorum, iterum invasit Normanniam - - - - - p. 402
- Cap. 41. Quomodo rex Anglorum, de captivitate relaxatus, applicuit in Anglia p. 404
- Cap. 42. Quomodo rex, pacificato regno, Wintoniæ coronatus est - - - p. 406

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA.

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<sup>1</sup> *captivitatem*, I.S.; *captionem*, C.

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INCIPIT LIBER QUARTUS.<sup>1</sup>CAP. I.<sup>2</sup>

*De primordiis regis Ricardi et de iis quæ in ejus coronatione contigerunt.*

Anno a plenitudine temporis quo Veritas de terra A.D. 1189.  
 orta est M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>LXXX<sup>o</sup>IX<sup>o</sup>, sedi Apostolicæ præsidente Cle-  
 mente, Henrico autem Frederici filio arcem Romani Accession  
 imperii tenente, et Francis imperante Philippo, Ri- of Richard  
 cardus, illustrissimi regis Anglorum Henrici secundi I.  
 filius, defuncto patri<sup>3</sup> successit. Hic patre sepulto,  
 hereditati mox transmarinæ incumbens, nobilium si- Is joyfully  
 mul et plebium sollemnibus votis gaudiisque exci- received in  
 pitur; rebusque trans mare mature dispositis, in England  
 Angliam, quæ ejus cum desideriis præstolabatur ad- (Aug. 13).  
 ventum, opportune transvehitur; cunctis ex ejus Release of  
 edicto custodiis per Angliam relaxatis, ut scilicet prisoners.<sup>4</sup>  
 ad introitum novi principis esset lætitia generalis.  
 Quippe æstuebant tunc carceres reorum multitudine,  
 sub expectatione vel discussionis vel supplicii: sed  
 eo regnum ingrediente pestes illæ carcerum per ejus  
 elementiam sunt egressæ, confidentius fortasse<sup>5</sup> de  
 cetero grassaturæ.<sup>6</sup> Statuto die unctionis regis, con-  
 venit Lundonias pæne universa regni nobilitas, de

<sup>1</sup> These words are not in D.

<sup>2</sup> As the Dublin MS. (containing Books IV. and V.) begins here, this point has been selected for the presentation of three chapters collated with all of the nine existing MSS. of the chronicle. The object of this extended collation is to show the relationship existing between certain of the manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> *patri*, A.B.C.D.G.L.R.S.; *patre*, O.

<sup>4</sup> *scilicet*, B.C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; *simul*, A.

<sup>5</sup> *fortasse*, A.B.D.G.L.O.R.S.; *om. C.*

<sup>6</sup> The release of prisoners was not quite so indiscriminate as it would appear from this. See the proclamation as given by Bened. Petrob. (Rolls' Ed. ii. 74). ¶

A.D. 1189. partibus quoque transmarinis copiosa virorum spectabilium multitudo. Ricardus igitur,<sup>1</sup> solus regum a seculo ita nominatus, Lundoniis est consecratus in regem, et sollemniter coronatus<sup>2</sup> a Balduino<sup>3</sup> Cantuariensi archiepiscopo tertio nonas Septembris; qui dies ex prisca gentili superstitione malus vel<sup>4</sup> Ægyptiacus<sup>5</sup> dicitur, tanquam<sup>6</sup> quodam Judaici eventus præsignio. Dies enim ille Judæis exitialis fuisse dignoscitur, et Ægyptiacus magis quam Anglieus; cum Anglia,<sup>7</sup> in qua sub rege priore felices, et incliti fuerant, repente illis in Ægyptum, ubi patres eorum dura perpassi sunt, Dei iudicio verteretur. Res quidem recentis memoriæ est, nullique ignota<sup>8</sup> præsentium; sed operæ pretium est pleniori relatu transmittere ad posterum tam perspicui circa gentem perfidam et blasphemam superni iudicii monumentum. Conveniant ad sollemnem Christiani principis unctionem ex eunctis Angliæ finibus non tantum nobiles Christiani verum etiam priini Judæorum. Caventes enim iidem hostes veritatis ne forte habita sub rege priore felicitas minus eis arrideret sub novo, ejus<sup>9</sup> decentissime honoranda primordia et favorem non dispari amplitudine munerum redimendum duxerunt. Verum ille vel<sup>10</sup> minus jam eos acceptans quam pater, vel nescio quid præcavens, superstitiosa quadam de consilio quorundam cautela, edicto, ut dicitur, interdixit eis ingressum vel ecclesiæ dum coronaretur, vel pa-

Coronation,  
Sept. 3.

The king forbids the Jews to be present at his coronation, but many

<sup>1</sup> *igitur*, A.B.C.D.G.L.R.S.; *vero*, O.

<sup>2</sup> *coronatus*, A.B.C.D.L.S.; *consecratus*, G.O.R.

<sup>3</sup> *Balduino*, D.G.R.S.; *Baldwyno*, A.; *Baldewino*, B.; *Baldiwino*, C.; *Baldwino*, O.L.

<sup>4</sup> *vel*, A.B.C.D.G.L.O.S.; om. R.

<sup>5</sup> See Dueange under "*dies*." The word for September is *coluit*, and the first letter of the first

syllable, being *third* in the alphabet, gives the day.

<sup>6</sup> *tanquam*, om. R.

<sup>7</sup> *Anglia*, A.B.C.D.L.S.; *Anglica*, R.G.; *Anglica* altered to *Anglia*, O.

<sup>8</sup> *ignota*, A.B.D.G.L.O.R.S.; *est ignota*, C. by interlineation.

<sup>9</sup> *ejus*, C.D.G.L.O.S.; *ejusdem*, A.B.; om. R.

<sup>10</sup> *vel*, A.B.D.G.L.O.R.S.; *cum*, C.

latii dum post coronationis sollempnia convivaretur.<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1189.  
 Expletis igitur missarum sollempniis, rex fulgens diademate cum pompa magna ad convivium intravit. Contigit autem, eo discumbente cum omni frequentia nobilium, populum circa palatium observantem tumultuari. Judæi siquidem turbis immixti, fores sic regias introibant. Unde indignatus, ut fertur, quidam Christianus, Judæum palma percussum ab ingressu januæ arcere curavit, regium objectans edictum. Quo exemplo plures accensi, Judæos cum contumelia repellent: factoque tumultu, indisciplina cum turbine turba accurrit; credentesque regem talia mandasse, tanquam freti auctoritate regia in multitudinem Judæorum ad fores regias observantium pariter irruerunt. Et primo quidem percutiebant pugno impie, mox vero vehementius efferati sustulerunt ligna et lapides. Porro Judæi fugam inierunt; in fuga nonnulli cæsi usque ad mortem, quidam etiam<sup>2</sup> protriti<sup>3</sup> perierunt. Venerant autem illuc cum ceteris duobus nobiles Judæi Eboracenses, Jocus scilicet et Benedictus; quorum prior evasit, sequens vero, dum plagis impositis segnius fugeret, comprehensus, ut mortem differret Christum coactus est confiteri, ductusque in ecclesiam illico baptizatus est. Interea rumor gratissimus, quod scilicet rex omnes Judæos exterminari jussisset, totas incredibili celeritate percurrit Londinias; moxque infinitus indisciplinatorum populus, tam ex ipsa civitate quam ex illis quos illuc ex provinciis plurimis unctionis regie sollempnitas traxerat, armatus accurrit, spirans prædaram<sup>4</sup> et cædis<sup>5</sup> in populum Dei judicio cunctis invisum. Porro cives Judæi, quo-

nevertheless congregate round the abbey gates.

A Jew attempting to enter is assaulted, and a riot ensues.

Some of the Jews are killed. Two of the leading Jews of York are present; one escapes, the other is wounded and is forced to accept baptism.

<sup>1</sup> *convivaret*, A. and, by erasure, B.; *dominaretur* (?), R.

<sup>2</sup> *etiam*, B.C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; om. A.

<sup>3</sup> *protriti*, A.B.D.L.R.S.; *perterriti* (?), C.; *proturriti* (?), O.

<sup>4</sup> *prædaram*, A.B.C.D.L.O.S.; *præclarum*, G.R. The *c* and *l* are of course the curve and the upright stroke of the letter *d*.

<sup>5</sup> R. has *sedis*.

A.D. 1189. rum multitudo Lūdoniis habitare dignoscitur, cum illis qui undecunque confluerant, in domos se proprias receperunt. Circumdantur a frementibus<sup>1</sup> populis fortiterque oppugnantur ab hora nona usque ad solis occasum eadem<sup>2</sup> domus; quæ, quoniam<sup>3</sup> propter fabricam firmiorem effringi non poterant, et<sup>4</sup> furentibus machinæ deerant, igne tectis immisso, horrendum cito colluxit incendium; quod et<sup>5</sup> laborantibus Judæis exitiale<sup>6</sup> fuit, et furentibus Christianis in nocturno opere lucis adiutorium præbuit. Nec solis Judæis specialiter in eos accensus<sup>7</sup> ignis nocuit, quia, discretionis nescius, nonnullas quoque proximas<sup>8</sup> Christianorum ædes corripuit.<sup>9</sup> Videres repente clarissima urbis loca flammis civilibus, tanquam hostilibus, miserabiliter<sup>10</sup> conflagrare.<sup>11</sup> Judæi vero<sup>12</sup> vel in propriis torrebantur ædibus, vel egredientes excipiebantur ensibus. Multum sanguinis in brevi fusum est. Verum cito satietatem<sup>13</sup> cædium<sup>14</sup> induxit fortius excandescens cupido prædarum,<sup>15</sup> vicitque avaritia crudelitatem. Denique omissis<sup>16</sup> cædibus, expilandis<sup>17</sup> ædibus et diripiendis opibus rabies avara incubuit. At hoc Chris-

The Jews are besieged in their houses, which are ultimately set on fire.

<sup>1</sup> *frementibus*, A.B.C.D.L.S.; *feruentibus*, G.O.R.

<sup>2</sup> *eadem*, B.C.D.G.L.O.S.; *eorundem*, A.; *eodem*, R.

<sup>3</sup> *quoniam*, C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>4</sup> *et*, C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; *et quia*, A. and, by correction, B.

<sup>5</sup> *et*, C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; om. A.B.

<sup>6</sup> Both G. and R. have *exeriali* (sic).

<sup>7</sup> *accensus*, A.B.C.D.L.O.S.; *accensus*, G.R.

<sup>8</sup> *proximas*, A.B.C.D.G.L.R.S.; *plurimas*, O.

<sup>9</sup> *corripuit*, A.B.C.[D.]L.R.S.; in D. a different hand writes *et corripuit* above; in O. there is an alternative reading noted in the margin, but it is bound in, and is

only legible as far as *corrup* . . . G. has *corripuit* (sic).

<sup>10</sup> *miserabiliter*, A.B.C.D.O.S.; *mirabiliter*, G.R.; corrected from *mirabiliter*, L.

<sup>11</sup> G.R. and L. have the imperfect word *conflagare*.

<sup>12</sup> *vero*, B.C.D.L.R.S.; *quoque*, O.; om. A.

<sup>13</sup> *satietatem*, A.B.C.D.L.O.S.; *saucietatem*, G.R.

<sup>14</sup> *cædium*, B.C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; om. A.

<sup>15</sup> R., and less certainly G., repeat the error *praclarum*. See p. 295, note 5.

<sup>16</sup> R. has *omissus*.

<sup>17</sup> O. has an alternative reading legible only as far as *expolia* . . . (for *erspiliandis*?).

tianos versa vice Christianis fecit infestos; dum alius A.D. 1189.  
alii quod forte rapuerat invideret,<sup>1</sup> et prædandi studio  
ne<sup>2</sup> amicis quidem et sociis impia æmulatrix avaritia  
parceret.<sup>3</sup>

Nuntiantur hæc regi festive in palatio<sup>4</sup> cum omni The king  
procerum frequentia convivanti; mittitur a latere ejus bears of  
Ranuulfus de Glanvilla, regni procurator, vir potens during the  
et prudens, cum aliis æque nobilibus, ut vel flecteret coronation  
vel frenaret audaces. At id<sup>5</sup> frustra. In tanto enim feast.  
tumultu<sup>6</sup> nullus eorum aut vocem auscultavit aut Ranulf de  
faciem honoravit, quin potius quidam indisciplinatiores<sup>7</sup> Glanville  
fremere adversus eos cœperunt, et ut maturius is sent  
recederent terribiliter denuntiaverunt. Illis igitur effrenatam rabiem consulte declinantibus, tanta licentia to stop  
quanta et audacia usque ad sequentis<sup>8</sup> dici horam the riot,  
secundam desævire prædantes, et tunc sæviendi but is  
magis satietas vel lassitudo quam vel ratio vel driven  
reverentia principis prædantium sedavit<sup>9</sup> furorem. back by  
Hoc eatenus inaudito<sup>10</sup> regie civitatis eventu, et threats.  
egregie inchoato perfidæ<sup>11</sup> gentis<sup>12</sup> exitio, et nova The author  
Christianorum contra inimicos crucis Christi fiducia, interprets  
insignitus est regni illustrissimi regis Ricardi dies these  
primus, plane non tantum juxta regulam<sup>13</sup> qua jubentur king's  
ambigua in melius potius quam in deterius derivari, mission as  
verum etiam juxta<sup>14</sup> significationem aptissimam against all  
infidels.

<sup>1</sup> O. has *invideret* altered to *invidet*.

<sup>2</sup> O. has *acc*.

<sup>3</sup> R. de Diceto, who assisted at the coronation, dismisses this affair in a few lines. He says (ii. 69) the attack was made *ab alienigenis* and at night, so the perpetrators could not be discovered—a courtier's excuse.

<sup>4</sup> O. omits *in palatio*.

<sup>5</sup> *istud* in R.

<sup>6</sup> *in tanto enim tumultu*, A.B.

D.L., and S. by marking for transposition; *in tumultu enim tanto*, C.G.O.R.

<sup>7</sup> C.L.O. and R. have the mistake *indisciplinatiores*.

<sup>8</sup> A. has *sequentes*.

<sup>9</sup> A. has *sedant*.

<sup>10</sup> L. has *mandato*.

<sup>11</sup> O. has *perfidie*.

<sup>12</sup> A. has *gentes*.

<sup>13</sup> *regulam*, A.B.C.D.L.O.S.; *regiam*, G.R.

<sup>14</sup> *juxta*, om. A.

A.D. 1189. Christianæ in diebus ejus promotionis præsaus.<sup>1</sup> Quid enim aptius portendit, si quid portendit,<sup>2</sup> quod regie consecrationis ejus diem pariter et locum blasphemæ gentis nobilitavit exitium,<sup>3</sup> quod in ipso regni ejus exordio hostes Christianæ fidei cœperunt juxta cum cadere et infirmari? Non ergo sic moveat quemquam vel urbis in quadam ejus parte incendium, vel insulsus ille fervor indisciplinatorum, quominus præclari eventus bonus fiat piusque interpret: cum et<sup>4</sup> hujusmodi supernæ moderationis ordini militent, impleatque Omnipotens<sup>5</sup> plerumque voluntatem suam valde bonam per hominum<sup>6</sup> etiam nequissimorum voluntatem et actionem valde pravam.

The anger and perplexity of the king.

Sane rex novus, cum esset ingentis animi et ferocis, indignatus, et dolens quod in suæ coronationis sollemniis regni que priuordiis sub ejus præsentia talia contigissent, æstuabat, anxius quidquam super his esset agendum. Tantam<sup>7</sup> quippe et sine exemplo majestatis regie læsionem dissimulare atque inultam dimittere, et regi nimis<sup>8</sup> indecorum<sup>9</sup> et regno quoque noxium videbatur; cum tantæ atrocitatis dissimulatio per impunitatis fiduciam improborum ad attentanda similia nutritura foret audaciam. Porro in infinitam reorum multitudinem censuræ regie vigorem exercere<sup>10</sup> prorsus<sup>11</sup> erat impossibile:<sup>12</sup> nam præter<sup>13</sup> nobiles cum rege convivantes,<sup>14</sup> quorum tantus erat numerus ut regii amplitudo palatii angusta videretur, fere totum

The obvious impossibility of punishing

<sup>1</sup> *præsagus*, A. B. D. G. L. R. S.; *præsagiis*, C. O.

<sup>2</sup> A. omits *si quid portendit*.

<sup>3</sup> O. has *exitum*.

<sup>4</sup> For *et* A. reads *enim*.

<sup>5</sup> *opus* in A.

<sup>6</sup> *om̄i* (? *omni*), R.; *om̄ium*, G.

<sup>7</sup> *tantam*, A. B. C. D. G. R. S.; *tanta*, L.; *tanquam*, O.

<sup>8</sup> *regi nimis*, C. D. G. L. O. R. S.; *regiminis*, A. B.

<sup>9</sup> *indecorum*, A. B. C. D. L. S.; *Judeorum*, G. O. R.

<sup>10</sup> Some (three) were hanged, *non propter Judæos*, but for destroying the houses of Christians, Hoveden, iii. 12.

<sup>11</sup> *psus* in G. and R.

<sup>12</sup> R. has *impossibilem*.

<sup>13</sup> *præter*, A. B. D. L. O. S.; *propter*, C. G. R.

<sup>14</sup> *convivantes*, B. C. D. G. L. O. R. S.; *comminantes*, A.

civitatis populum et fere totas nobilium familias, quæ cum ipsis nobilibus ad unctionis regie sollempnia venerant, odium Judæorum et prædarum<sup>1</sup> illecebra ad memorati operis patratiōnem contraxerant. Dissimulari ergo oportuit quod vindicari non potuit; Deo nimirum ordinante ut qui divinæ in perfidos et blasphemos ultionis ministri exstiterant, humano propter hoc judicio minime sisterentur. Superni quippe examinis ratio exigebat ut blasphemii illi, qui tempore superioris principis supra modum cervicosi et protervi in Christianos fuerant, in<sup>2</sup> successoris ejus primordiis humiliarentur.

Benedictus vero ille, qui, ut dictum est, lavacrum Christianum coactus<sup>3</sup> acceperat, corde quidem non credens ad justitiam sed inani tantum oris confessione aerem verberans, in crastino perductus ad principem, interrogatus est ab eo an esset<sup>4</sup> Christianus? Qui respondit se a Christianis baptizari coactum, sed animo semper fuisse Judæum, et talem se malle mori, cum jam non posset vivere,<sup>5</sup> plagis enim pridie acceptis urgebatur ad mortem. Ejectus ergo<sup>6</sup> a facie principis, Judæis est redditus apostata Christianus, factusque filius Gehennæ duplo quam prius, post dies paucos defecit, ad hoc tantum Christianus factus, ut apostata moreretur.<sup>7</sup> Princeps autem post cladem<sup>8</sup> Judæis pacem edicto sanavit;<sup>9</sup> quæ tamen, ut suo loco narrabitur, non diu sunt fructi, superno utique judicio exigente blasphemæ gentis superbiam severius castigari.

A.D. 1189.  
the crowd  
of offend-  
ers causes  
him to  
dissemble  
his resent-  
ment.

Fate of  
Benedict  
of York.

<sup>1</sup> *præclarum*, L.O.R. aud (?) G.  
<sup>2</sup> *in*, A.B.C.D.S.; *ut*, G.L.O.R.  
<sup>3</sup> *coactus*, C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; om. A.B.  
<sup>4</sup> *an esset*, A.B.C.D.L.O.S.; *autem esse*, R., and (?) G.  
<sup>5</sup> A. has *invenire*.  
<sup>6</sup> *ergo*, A.B.D.G.L.O.R.S.; *igitur*, C.

<sup>7</sup> Bened. Petrob. (ii. 83, 84) says

the Jew was baptised by the prior of St. Mary's, York, but seems to think that he lived. So good an authority being close at hand Newburgh probably is right. Hoveden (iii. 12) says he died at Northampton.

<sup>8</sup> For *cladem* O. has *vadem*.

<sup>9</sup> See Fœdera i. 51 (ed. 1816), under date March 22, 1190.

## CAP. II.

*De ordinatione vacantium ecclesiarum post coronationem regis Ricardi.<sup>1</sup>*

A.D. 1189. In primis<sup>2</sup> sane rex novus studium habuit ut quoniam plures in Anglia cathedrales vacabant<sup>3</sup> ecclesie, propriis ad ejus instantiam eadem<sup>4</sup> gauderent presulibus. Ricardus ergo Eliensis,<sup>5</sup> thesaurarius regius, sedem accepit Lundoniensem; Godefridus<sup>6</sup> Lucien-sis<sup>7</sup> cathedram Wintoniensem; Willelmus de Longo Campo, cancellarius regius, episcopatum Eliensem; Hubertus, Eboracensis decanus, ecclesiam Salesbirien-sem. Porro Gaufrido fratri suo, qui ad<sup>8</sup> Lincolnensem ecclesiam olim electus,<sup>9</sup> annis,<sup>10</sup> ut suo loco dictum est, plurimis eidem<sup>11</sup> ecclesie ad metenda<sup>12</sup> ejus carnalia incubaverat, et inde tandem amotus, cancellis regiis usque ad patris decessum prefuerat,<sup>13</sup> concessit rex metropolitanam sedem Eboracensem, cum jam vacasset annis ferme<sup>14</sup> decem. Cujus Gaufridi electionem talem fuisse cognovimus. Patre defuncto, novi ducis adhuc in Normannia constituti literae arte, ut dicitur, quorundam familiarium<sup>15</sup> ejusdem Gaufridi elicitae<sup>16</sup> ad capitulum Eboracense manarunt,<sup>17</sup> Gaufridum fratrem suum in archiepiscopum eligi postulantes, atque obsistentibus regii motus periculum comminantes. Quibus literis territi atque prestricti precentor<sup>18</sup> et

The king fills the vacant sees of London, Winchester, Ely, and Salisbury.

The king's natural brother Geoffrey appointed archbishop of York (Sept. 15).

Geoffrey is said to have obtained the see of York by fraudulent means.

<sup>1</sup> post . . . Ricardi, om. A.

<sup>2</sup> G. has *primus*.

<sup>3</sup> R. has *vocabant*.

<sup>4</sup> A. has *cedem* (sic).

<sup>5</sup> *Heliensis* in C.

<sup>6</sup> *Godefredus*, C.

<sup>7</sup> R. alone has *Lucensis*.

<sup>8</sup> C. omits *ad*.

<sup>9</sup> Altered to *electo* in R.

<sup>10</sup> A. has *anno*.

<sup>11</sup> A. has *ejusdem*.

<sup>12</sup> A. has *merenda*.

<sup>13</sup> et inde . . . *prefuerat*, A.B.C. D.L.S.; om. G.O.R.

<sup>14</sup> *ferme*, B.C.D.L.S.; *ferc*, A.G. O.R.

<sup>15</sup> A. B. and D. supply *familiarium* here; the word, a desirable one, is not in C.G.L.O.R. or S.

<sup>16</sup> C. has *illicite*.

<sup>17</sup> A. has *mandarunt*.

<sup>18</sup> This was Hamo.



ceteri qui aderant, nam decanus et plures alii<sup>1</sup> ab A.D. 1189. erant, ad solam futuri principis gratiam respicientes, memoratum Gaufridum sollempniter elegerunt. Verum He pays a sum of money for the king's consent. cum idem, sumpto diademate, regno præsideret paterno, eidem electioni succensuit, literisque illis quibus præstricti fuerant eligentes tanquam vel non suis vel certe surreptitiis derogans; pro necessitate tamen Ierosolymitanæ expeditionis<sup>2</sup> ingentis<sup>3</sup> summæ promissione<sup>4</sup> placatus, tandem assensum præbuit.<sup>5</sup> Qualia vero<sup>6</sup> circa eundem electum postmodum provenerunt,<sup>7</sup> suo loco exponetur.

## CAP. III.

*De affectu regis ad Johannem fratrem suum.*

Præterea circa Johannem fratrem<sup>8</sup> suum uterinum A.D. 1189. rex proprium egregie declaravit affectum. Nam præter paternæ in Hibernia acquisitionis plenitudinem, et comitatum in Normannia<sup>9</sup> Moritanensem, de quibus scilicet paternam donationem ratam habuit, in regno Anglorum tanta illi adjecit, ut quasi tetrarcha videretur. Denique Cornubiam, Devenesiram, Nottinghamesiram, Loncastrum<sup>10</sup> eum adiacente provincia, atque alia plurima<sup>11</sup> de regio dominico<sup>12</sup> contulit;

<sup>1</sup> A. has *etiam alii*; B. has *et alii*.

<sup>2</sup> R. has *expedi*.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *ingenti*.

<sup>4</sup> *provisione* in A.

<sup>5</sup> Benedict says (ii. 77) that the dean, Hubert Walter, supported by Eleanor, opposed Geoffrey's election. He was elected, however (10 Aug.), and appointed at Pipewell (Sept. 15). Hoveden (iii. 17) says Geoffrey objected to some promotions made at Pipewell, "unde rex iratus dis-  
" seisivit eum de archiepiscopatu."

The matter was smoothed over, for on Dec. 5 Hubert again appealed, but in vain. On Dec. 6 Geoffrey promised Richard 2,000 pounds, and the matter ended.

<sup>6</sup> *vero*, om. C.

<sup>7</sup> D. has *provenerunt*.

<sup>8</sup> D. omits *fratrem*.

<sup>9</sup> *in Normannia*, om. A.B.

<sup>10</sup> R. has *Lancastrum*.

<sup>11</sup> C. has *plura*.

<sup>12</sup> *dominico*, C.G.L.O.R.S.; *illi dominico*, A.B.D.

A.D. 1189. et nihilominus illi Gloucestrensis<sup>1</sup> comitis filiam, propriam scilicet in quarto gradu consobrinam,<sup>2</sup> cum integritate juris paterni, quod esse amplissimum noscitur, minus quidem legitima et plus justo fraterna<sup>3</sup> provisione, despondit. Verum hæc ejus in<sup>4</sup> fratrem immoderata atque improvida largitas, multa et<sup>5</sup> gravia mala sequenti tempore peperit, et profusum<sup>6</sup> largitorem<sup>7</sup> profunda pœnitudine<sup>8</sup> castigavit. Indulta enim Johanni tetrarchia fecit eum ambire monarchiam: unde et factus<sup>9</sup> est de cetero fratri infidus, et ad ultimum manifeste infestus: quod<sup>10</sup> nimirum plenius exponendi suum in ordine historiæ locum habebit.

The power placed in John's hands fed his ambition and led to his subsequent treacheries.

#### CAP. IV.

##### *Quis successerit Rannulfo de Glamvilla in procuratione regni.*

A.D. 1189. Erat autem idem adhuc regni procurator qui fuerat tempore regis prioris, Rannulfus scilicet de Glamvilla,<sup>11</sup> homo præclaræ prudentiæ. Qui cum esset grandævus, et videret a rege novitio multa minus consulte et provide actitari, hujus officii onere expediti voluit, ut ad Ierosolymitanam se profectionem, nam signum Domini sub rege Henrico susceperat,

Reasons which lead Rannulf de Glamville to retire from the office of justiciary (Sept.)

<sup>1</sup> A. and B. have *Cloucestrensis*.

<sup>2</sup> This is an error. Her grandfather Robert, first earl, was a natural son of Henry I. John was therefore related to her in the *third* degree as Benedict (ii. 78) states. The marriage took place on Aug. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *superna* in A. and B.

<sup>4</sup> *ejus in*, A.B.C.D.L.S.; *in ejus*, G.O.R.

<sup>5</sup> For *et* A. has *id est*.

<sup>6</sup> *profusus* in A. and B.

<sup>7</sup> O. has *largiorem*.

<sup>8</sup> *pœnitudine*, A.B.D.G.O.S., and C. by alteration; *plenitudine*, L.R.

<sup>9</sup> A. has *fatuus*.

<sup>10</sup> A. has *quid*.

<sup>11</sup> See R. Divis. (p. 7) as to fine and imprisonment inflicted on him.

commodius præpararet. Sollemniter ergo renuntians officio, minus legitimos habuit successores. Idem quippe officium Dunelmensi episcopo, nec obluetanti, a rege commissum est:<sup>1</sup> qui nimirum consultius<sup>2</sup> proprio contentus officio, divini juris multo decentius quam humani minister exstitisset; cum nemo possit utrique, prout dignum est, deservire, atque illud Dominicum ad Apostolos, "Non potestis Deo servire et "mammonæ," maxime successores Apostolorum respiciat. Si enim velit episcopus, ut cœlesti pariter et terreno regi placeat, ad utrumque se officium dividere, certe Rex cœlestis, qui sibi vult ex toto corde, tota anima, tota mente<sup>3</sup> serviri, ministrum<sup>4</sup> dimidium non approbat, non diligit, non acceptat. Quid<sup>5</sup> si episcopus nec saltem dimidius quæ Dei sunt et decent episcopum exsequatur, sed<sup>6</sup> vices suas indignis et remissis executoribus committat, ut terreno vel palatio vel foro totus deserviat? Nam nec terreni principis ratiocinia quisquam dimidius sufficienter administrat. Quamobrem memoratus pontifex, cum jam esset grandævus, officio sæculari suscepto, in australibus Angliæ partibus ad publica totus negotia residabat.

Matth. vi.  
24.

A.D. 1189.  
He is  
succeeded  
by Hugh  
bishop of  
Durham.

#### CAP. V.

*Quæ fecerit<sup>7</sup> rex in Angliâ antequam transfretaret.*

Tunc idem rex Anglorum, qui primus potentum, cum comes adhuc Pietavensis diceretur, Dominicum signum acceperat, circa Ierosolymitanam profectionem studiosius satagens, instante maxime rege Francorum

A.D. 1189.  
The king's  
preparations for  
the crusade.

<sup>1</sup> At the council of Pipewell.

<sup>2</sup> *consultius*, B.C.D.L.S.; *consultus*, O.

<sup>3</sup> *mente*, B.C.D.L.S.; *virtute*, O.

<sup>4</sup> *ministrum*, B.C.D.L.S.; et *ministrum*, O.

<sup>5</sup> *quid*, B.D.L.S.; *quod*, C.; *qui*, O.

<sup>6</sup> *sed*, C.D.L.S.; *si*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *fecerit*, C.D.L.S.; *fecit*, B

A.D. 1189. ut tempore congruo iter simul arriperent, et moram quam interposuerant apparatu propensiore purgarent, sumpus idoneos modis cœpit omnibus præparare. Neque enim thesauros patrios, et quæcunque pater specialiter ad illam profectioem congesserat, sufficere

His efforts  
to raise  
money.

Sells  
Roxburgh  
and Ber-  
wick to  
the king  
of Scots  
(Dec. 5).

Hugh  
bishop of  
Durham is  
induced  
to buy the  
earldom  
of North-  
umber-  
land.  
(Sept  
1189?).

judicavit; sed suam quoque industriam et operam in hoc ipso<sup>1</sup> expendens, citra patris vel in hoc consistere gloriam duxit inglorium.<sup>2</sup> Evocavit igitur mandatis urgentibus regem Scottorum, inveterata laborantem tristitia pro castellis, bellico, ut superius memoratum est, sibi casu ablatis, scilicet Rokesburg<sup>3</sup> et Berewich.<sup>4</sup> Nam tertium, quod dicitur Castellum Puellarum, sub rege Henrico receperat, cum conjugem ejus voluntate et consilio de partibus acciperet transmarinis. Veniens itaque ad regem Anglorum, pactus est ei decem millia marcas argenti pro resignatione castellorum; remeansque ad propria, eandem a subditis imminencia regie potestatis summam<sup>5</sup> corrasit: qua regi Anglorum soluta, cum multa lætitia castella recepit.<sup>6</sup> Dunelmensem quoque episcopum, quem pecuniosum esse credebatur, rex novus astute pellexit, ut emeret a se proprii episcopatus provinciam, essetque ejusdem provincie episcopus simul et comes, annexo episcopatu comitatu. Quod et factum est, quam excogitato astu principis ut pecunias episcopi tolleret, tam immoderato ambitu grandævi episcopi episcopatu, qui opulentissimus<sup>7</sup> noscitur, in illa ætate non contenti, nec reputantis illud propheticum, immo per<sup>8</sup> prophetam Dominicum, "Væ qui conjungitis domum ad domum, et Isaias v. 1.

<sup>1</sup> ipso, C.L.O.S.; ipsum, B.D.

<sup>2</sup> inglorium, B.C.D.L.S.; Anglo-  
rum, O.

<sup>3</sup> Rokesburg, D.O.S.; Rokesburth,  
B.; Rokesbure, C.; Rokesburgh,  
L.

<sup>4</sup> Berewich, C.S.; Berewych, B.;  
Berewic, D.; Berewikeh, L.; Bere-  
wike, O.

<sup>5</sup> B. has *summa*.

<sup>6</sup> Newburgh omits to mention  
the release from allegiance. (Ben.  
Petr. ii. 98).

<sup>7</sup> opulentissimus opulentissimo in  
C.

<sup>8</sup> per, B.C.D.L.S.; om. O.

" agrum agro copulatis ": ut comitatum ad episcopatum A.D. 1189. conjugere,<sup>1</sup> quod utique majus est non<sup>2</sup> curaret. Dedit ergo regi pro emendo comitatu quicquid pro Ierosolymitanæ profectionis apparatu congesserat, et quicquid insuper corradere poterat<sup>3</sup> de episcopatu. Et ipse quidem de hujusmodi mercimonio glorians jocabatur.<sup>4</sup> Rex vero facetias inde conficiens ita jocabatur, " De vetusto episcopo novitium comitem mirus modo se nudasset pecuniis, quas sacræ propter Christum peregrinationi devoverat, illud quoque consequenter studuit irritare, quod in sollemni crucis susceptione omnipotenti Domino<sup>5</sup> voverat. Cumque apud Romanum pontificem per nuntios non<sup>6</sup> diceret, " Comitatum emi, et ideo Ierosolymam proficisci non possum, " rōgo te habe me excusatum," quod quidem vere dixisset, sed potius fatiscentem causaretur ætatem, seque tam laboriosæ peregrinationi<sup>7</sup> minus sufficere allegaret, propriæ conscientiæ relictus, illico signum sacrum sollemni devotione susceptum irreverenter et infrunitè abjecit, et inventæ apud regem pretiosæ margaritæ, pro qua tanta dederat, possidendæ incubuit; quæ tamen uti nunc cernere est, non solida, sed pro rerum et temporum mutatione, brevis et perfunctoria possessio fuit.

Cf. R. Divis., p. 8.

Bishop Hugh of Durham gives up the crusade

Sane rex eadem arte, qua hujus episcopi<sup>8</sup> sacculos exhaussit, alios quoque plures pellexit, ut effusis pecuniis certatim dignitates sive libertates quaslibet, vel publica officia, vel ipsa etiam prædia regia compararent.<sup>9</sup> Distrahebat itaque propriâ mature profecturus, tanquam

The king sells offices, privileges, &c.

<sup>1</sup> C. has *jungere*.

<sup>2</sup> *est non*, B.C.D.L.S.; *est non*, but *non* expuncted, L.

<sup>3</sup> *poterat*, D.L.S.; *poterit*, B.; *potuit*, C. He gave 2,000 marks. See Pipe Roll, 2 Ric. 1.

<sup>4</sup> B. and D. have *jovalabatur*, a mediæval form.

<sup>5</sup> *Deo* in C. The pope gave Richard power to cancel vows in certain cases, R. Divis., p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *non*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.O.

<sup>7</sup> B. has *peregrinationem*.

<sup>8</sup> *episcopi*, B.D.L.S.; *ipse*, C.

<sup>9</sup> Hoveden (iii. 13) says this open sale began on Sept. 5.

A.D. 1189. *animum redeundi non habens. Cumque ab amicis propter hoc familiari ausu increparetur, respondiisse fertur, Avers*  
 ——— *that he*  
 would sell *“Lundonias quoque venderem, si emptorem idoneum*  
 London *“invenirem.” Denique in hac distractione desipere*  
 if he could *videbatur: eoque proclivius emebant plurimi quo nun-*  
 find a *quam repatriaturus credebatur. Præmaturo namque*  
 suitable *et immoderato usu armorum, quibus ab ingressu ado-*  
 purchaser. *lescentiæ plus justo indulserat, ita jam fractus et lan-*  
 His acts *guidus dicebatur, ut Orientalis labore expeditionis cito*  
 lead to a *absumendus videretur. Alii vero dicebant eum quar-*  
 belief that *tano incommodo, quo diu laboraverat, ita corruptum*  
 he does *et tabidum, ut diu non posset in illo maxime tam*  
 not expect *grandi labore subsistere; hujus rei<sup>1</sup> argumentum esse*  
 to return *indecentem quandam, quæ in eo apparebat, cum pal-*  
 from the *lore faciei membrorum corpulentiam. Aiebant etiam<sup>2</sup>*  
 crusade. *quidam, quod plusquam centum in corpore haberet*  
*usturas pro evaporanda<sup>3</sup> corruptione humorum.*

His  
astuteness  
shown by  
later  
events.  
The  
adminis-  
tration of  
the king-  
dom con-  
fided to  
William  
Long-  
champ,  
bishop of  
Ely.

Tales de rege per aures,<sup>4</sup> et fere per ora omnium volitabant rumores: quibus utique fidem dabant indiscretæ atque immoderatæ ejus vel donationes vel distractiones; et credebatur, tanquam cito se finientem intelligens, minus de regno curare, quod ita vel scinderet vel dissiparet. Verum quam subtili hæc astu vel fecerit vel finxerit, ut omnium qui pecuniosi videbantur sacculos exhauriret, postea claruit. Mensibus autem aliquot in Anglia demoratus, regni administratione cancellario suo, episcopo scilicet Eliensi, relicta, ante Dominici Natalis sollemnia Normanniam transfretavit. Succensebant ei fere omnes, quod rex nobilis peregre profecturus in regiones longinquas, minus sollemniter regnum proprium reliquerit: et remissio<sup>5</sup>rem<sup>5</sup> quam oportuit ejus curam, cum egredere-  
 tur, habuerit, et quod homini peregrino obscuri nomi-

<sup>1</sup> *rei, C.D.S.; re, B.; regi, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *C. has enim.*

<sup>3</sup> *B. has evaporandum.*

<sup>4</sup> *rege per aures, C.D.L.S.; rego (sic) aures, B.*

<sup>5</sup> *B. has remissionem.*

nis, et minus probatæ<sup>1</sup> vel fidei vel industriæ, absque consilio et voluntate optimatum, rerum summam crediderit. Utrum vero recte an secus in his regiæ fuerit ordinationi derogatum, sequentis est temporis eventibus declaratum.

A.D. 1189.  
The king sails for Normandy before Christmas (about Dec. 11).

## CAP. VI.

*De quodam prodigio, quod eo tempore in aere visum est.*

Nec silentio prætereundum<sup>2</sup> est stupendum nimis terribileque prodigium, quod circa hæc tempora<sup>3</sup> in Anglia visum est a multis, qui usque nunc sunt testes ejus ad eos qui non viderunt. Est super stratam publicam, qua Lundonias pergitur, vicus haud ignobilis Dunstapla nuncupatus: ibi dum forte quidam hora postmeridiana in cælum suspicerent, viderunt in sublimitate sereni<sup>4</sup> aeris formam vexilli Dominici lacteo candore conspicuam, et conjunctam ei formam hominis crucifixi, qualis in ecclesia ad memoriam Dominicæ passionis et devotionem<sup>5</sup> fidelium pingitur. Stabant autem stupefacti, fixis<sup>6</sup> rem mirabilem<sup>7</sup> oculis<sup>8</sup> intuentes. Quorum stuporem et erectos in cælum vultus plurimi, strata publica gradientes, mirati, ipsi quoque suspicere, et visa rei novitate pariter stupere cœperunt. Cum ergo terribilis hæc species diucule appareret, et curiose intuentium vultus animosque sus-

A.D. 1189?  
A crucifix is seen in the sky at Dunstable (Aug. 9, 1188).

<sup>1</sup> *probatæ*, B.D.L.S.; *probato* (?), C., omitting *vel fidei*.

<sup>2</sup> O. has *prætermittendum*.

<sup>3</sup> Benedict of Peterborough (ii. p. 47) gives this story with embellishments under date Aug. 9, 1188, and therefore in the previous reign: so also Contin. Flor. Wigorn., ii. 157.

<sup>4</sup> *sereni*, B.D.L.S.; *sere in*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *et devotionem*, C.L.S.; *devotionem*, B.; *devotionemque*, D.

<sup>6</sup> *fixis*, B.C.D.L.S.; *genibus fixis*, O.

<sup>7</sup> *mirabilem*, C.D.L.S.; *miserabilem*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *oculis*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. O.

A.D. 1189? penderet, visa est forma crucis ab Eo, qui affixus videbatur, recedere, ut medium aeris spatium inter utrumque notaretur, et paulo post res stupenda disparuit: sed causa stuporis sublata effectus remansit. Denique late vulgatum est<sup>1</sup> verbum istud, rei que prodigiosæ rumor et stupor pariter ecurrerunt. Interpretetur quisque ut voluerit signum mirabile, cuius utique didici simplex esse narrator, non etiam præsaus interpretis; quid enim Divinitas eo significare voluerit nescio.

## CAP. VII.

*Quid actum sit<sup>2</sup> contra insolentiam Judæorum apud Linnam.<sup>3</sup>*

A.D. 1190. Cum<sup>4</sup> igitur, ut supradictum est, illustris rex Anglorum Ricardus, regno ut volebat disposito, Normanniam transfretasset, sollemne cum rege Francorum colloquium habuit: ubi ambo inter se mutæ societatis jura firmantes, et germanam alterutrum compromittentes caritatem, Orientali se expeditioni cum viris nobilibus, qui signum Domini acceperant, fortius astrinxerunt, et tempus profectionis æstatem proximam statuerunt. Quibus sollemniter actis, uterque se princeps pro sua et negotii magnitudine preparabat.

Sane dum hæc in Galliis agerentur,<sup>5</sup> Christianorum adversus Judæos in Anglia zelus, Londoniis, ut dictum est, paulo ante accensus, vehementer excaudit; non quidem sincere, id est, causa fidei tantum, sed eorum vel æmulando felicitatem vel inhiando fortunis. Arbitrabantur audaces et cupidi obsequium se præstare Deo dum spoliarent vel perderent homines

<sup>1</sup> *est*, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

<sup>2</sup> *sit*, B.C.D.L.S.; *est*, O.

<sup>3</sup> *Linnam*, C.D.L.S.; *Linnam*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Cum*. C.; *Dum*, B.D.L.O.S.

<sup>5</sup> This expression, the date (Feb. 6) of the Norwich outbreak, and Newburgh's statement on lines 10 and 11 of p. 309, show that the Lynn events took place in January.

Conference between the kings of England and France to settle the date of starting for the East (Jan 13).

Fresh outbreak of popular rage against the Jews.



Christo rebelles; et agebant, sine ullo vel minimo A.D. 1190.  
conscientiæ scrupulo, hilari furore propriæ cupiditatis  
negotium: Dei quidem justitia talia minime appro-  
bante, sed decenter ordinante ut hoc modo gentis  
perfidæ coerceret<sup>1</sup> insolentiam, et linguas frenaret<sup>2</sup>  
blasphemias.

Apud urbem commeatu et commerciis nobilem quæ Massacre of Jews at Lynn Regis (January).  
Linna<sup>3</sup> dicitur, ubi ejusdem gentis plurimi habita-  
bant, et sua multitudine, et opum magnitudine, et tui-  
tione regia feroces, primus, ut accepimus, adversus eos  
motus est factus, occasione hujusmodi. Cum forte  
quidam ex eorum superstitione ad Christianam esset  
fidem conversus, ejus tanquam desertoris et prævari-  
catoris sanguinem sitientes, querebant opportunitatem  
malitiæ consummandæ, raptisque quodam die armis  
aggressi sunt transeuntem: porro ille in ecclesiam  
proximam se recepit. Nec<sup>4</sup> quievit sævientes, sed  
pervicaci furore et impetu eandem ecclesiam oppug-  
nare cœperunt, ut effractis foribus profugum ad pœ-  
nam extraherent. Ingens eorum qui erant in eadem:<sup>5</sup>  
ecclesia clamor attollitur. Christianum sonoris voci-  
bus auxilium flagitatur. Clamor et fama Christianum  
populum accendunt: qui cominus erant, ad clamorem,  
et qui eminus, ad famam armati accurrunt. Et loci  
quidem incolæ propter metum<sup>6</sup> regum remissius age-  
bant: porro peregrini juvenes, quorum illuc multitudo  
negotiandi gratia venerat,<sup>7</sup> superbos belligerantes for-  
tius<sup>8</sup> impetebant. Illi vero, dimissa oppugnatione  
ecclesiæ, cum Christianorum impetum ferre non pos-  
sent, fugam inierunt. Cæsis in fuga nonnullis, domus  
eorum expugnatæ atque expilatæ a Christianis, flam-

Foreign traders were foremost in the affair.

<sup>1</sup> *coerceret*, B.C.D.S.; *cocercerent*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *frenaret*, B.C.D.S.; *frenarent*, L.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *Lima*.

<sup>4</sup> *nec*, C.D.L.S.; *nam*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *eadem*, B.D.L.S.; *om.* C.O.R.

<sup>6</sup> *metum*, C.D.L.S.; *merum*, B.

<sup>7</sup> B. has *venerant*.

<sup>8</sup> *fortius*, B.D.L.S.; *fortiter*, C.

A.D. 1190. mis tandem ultricibus conflagrarunt, et eorundem<sup>1</sup> plurimi hostilem vel ignem vel gladium cruentarunt. Sequenti die superveniens quidam Judæus, insignis medicus, qui et artis et<sup>2</sup> modestiæ suæ gratia Christianis quoque familiaris atque honorabilis fuerat, eadem suorum paulo immoderatus deploravit, et quasi ultionem prophetans, spirantem adhuc furorem instigavit. Quem mox Christiani correptum, ultimam ibidem Judaicæ vesaniæ victimam fecerunt. Peregrini juvenes præda onusti repetitis navibus, ne quam forte a ministris regiis sustinerent quæstionem, celeriter abierunt. Loci vero incolæ, cum propter hoc discuterentur a regiis, in peregrinos, qui jam abierant, factum refuderunt.

A Jewish physician was the last man murdered.

### CAP. VIII.

*Quid actum sit<sup>3</sup> contra Judæos apud Stamfordam,<sup>4</sup>  
et de quadam superstitione populi.<sup>5</sup>*

A.D. 1190. Post hæc apud Stamfordiam<sup>6</sup> novi adversus Judæos turbinis motus surrexit. Cum enim ibidem Quadragesimali tempore<sup>7</sup> sollemnes nundinæ agerentur, juvenum, qui signum Dominicum Ierosolymam profecturi susceperant, ex diversis provinciis multitudo supervenit, indignans quod inimici crucis Christi ibidem habitantes tam multa possiderent, cum ipsi ad tanti itineris sumptus minus haberent, et ab<sup>8</sup> eis tanquam injustis possessoribus extorquendum duxerunt, quod susceptæ peregrinationis necessariis usibus applicarent.

Massacre of the Jews at Stamford begun by young men assembling for the Crusade (March 7).

<sup>1</sup> eorundem, B.D.L.S. ; eorum, C.

<sup>2</sup> et, C.D.L.S. ; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> sit, B.C.L.S. ; om. D.

<sup>4</sup> Stamfordam, D.S. ; Stannforth, B. ; Stamfordiam, C.L.

<sup>5</sup> et . . . populi, C.D.L.S. ; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> Stamfordiam, C.D.L.S. ; Stannforthiam, B.

<sup>7</sup> Diecto says " nonis Martii."

<sup>8</sup> ab, C.D.L.S. ; om. B.

Arbitrantes itaque<sup>1</sup> obsequium se præstare Christo<sup>2</sup> si A.D. 1190.  
 hostes ejus impeterent, quorum bonis inliabant, au-  
 daacter irruerunt in eos, nemine vel ex loci incolis  
 vel ex iis qui ad nundinas venerant tantis se  
 ausibus opponente,<sup>3</sup> nonnullis vero etiam cooperanti-  
 bus. Cæsi sunt aliquot ex Judæis, ceteri vero intra  
 castellum recepti ægre evaserunt. Expilatæ sunt do-  
 mus eorum, et magna vis pecuniæ capta. Prædones  
 cum sui operis emolumento abierunt, nullusque eorum  
 propter hoc studio disciplinæ publicæ sustinuit quæs-  
 tionem: quorum unus, Johannes nomine, audacissimus  
 juvenis Hamtonam<sup>4</sup> divertens, partem pecuniæ  
 suæ deposuit apud quendam, a quo etiam, ejusdem  
 pecuniæ ambitu, occulte necatus est, corpusque ejus<sup>5</sup>  
 per noctem extra urbem projectum. Quo invento, et  
 a quibusdam forte agnito, clandestinam iniit fugam  
 avarus homicida. Mox somniantibus vetulis atque  
 apparentibus ibidem fallacium signorum præstigiis,  
 martyris illi meritum et gloriam simplices tribuerunt,  
 sepulchrum ejus sollempnibus excubiis honorantes. Fa-  
 ma excitum<sup>6</sup> vulgus insipiens, primo ex locis finitimis  
 dehinc etiam ex diversis provinciis curiosa devotione  
 confluebat, nullusque novi martyris cupiens vel in-  
 tueri miracula vel promereri suffragia, ad sepulchrum  
 ejus vacuus veniebat. Ridebatur quidem hoc a pru-  
 dentibus, sed tamen gratum erat clericis<sup>7</sup> ex eadem  
 superstitione provenientium gratia commodorum. Res  
 defertur ad episcopum,<sup>8</sup> eximiæ virtutis virum: qui  
 accedens ad locum in spiritu fortitudinis, concinnata  
 studio simplicium et cupidorum falsi martyris insignia  
 profanavit, et superstitosam mortui hominis venera-

One of the  
 plunderers  
 is murder-  
 ed for the  
 sake of  
 his gains.

A report  
 of super-  
 natural  
 signs at  
 his tomb  
 gaining  
 credence,  
 he is  
 honoured  
 as a  
 martyr.

The bishop  
 of Lincoln  
 forbids  
 further  
 reverence  
 to be paid

<sup>1</sup> itaque, B.D.L.S.; namque, C.

<sup>2</sup> Christo, B.D.L.S.; Deo, C.O.R.

<sup>3</sup> opponente, C.D.L.S.; appo-  
 nente, B.

<sup>4</sup> Hamtonam, B.D.O.S.; Hamto-  
 niam, C.L. This means Northamp-  
 ton. See p. 408.

<sup>5</sup> est, corpusque ejus, B.D.L.S.;  
 et corpus ejus (est expuncted), C.

<sup>6</sup> excitum, B.C.D.S.; exitum, L.  
 excitatum, O.

<sup>7</sup> B. is doubtfully in accord.

<sup>8</sup> S. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln from  
 1186 to 1200.

A.D. 1190. tionem pontificali auctoritate sub anathematis inter-  
 to the positione inhibuit. Sic pia et efficaci opera boni  
 false pastoris tota illa exstincta est atque evanuit operatio  
 martyr. spiritus illusoris.

## CAP. IX.

*Quæ acta sint<sup>1</sup> contra Judæos Lincolnice et  
 Eboracæ.<sup>2</sup>*

A.D. 1190.

The  
 people of  
 Lincoln  
 also attack  
 the Jews  
 (March?).  
 Failure  
 of their  
 designs.

Lincolnienses vero audientes qualia circa Judæos  
 agerentur, occasionem nacti, et animati exemplis, ali-  
 quid audendum duxerunt, et conglobati in cohabi-  
 tantes Judæos motu subito exarserunt. Porro illi,  
 agnito suorum in locis diversis vel pavore vel exitio,  
 cautiores effecti, paucis discrimen expertis, in muni-  
 tionem regiam cum pecuniis mature secesserunt. Ita-  
 que non multa re acta, sed multa per officiales regios  
 quæstione subsecuta, inanis ille motus cito quievit.

A more  
 effective  
 attack is  
 made at  
 York  
 (about  
 March 9?).

Verum Eboracensibus non metus ferocissimi<sup>3</sup> prin-  
 cipis, non vigor legum, non ratio, non humanitas ob-  
 stitit, quominus cohabitantium perfidorum generali  
 exitio furorem proprium saturarent,<sup>4</sup> atque in sua  
 civitate totum illud genus abraderent. Quod nimi-  
 rum, quia valde memorabile est, pleniori ad posteros  
 oportet relatu transmitti. Eboracensium igitur Ju-  
 dæorum, ut supradictum est, primi fuere Benedictus  
 et Jocus, homines locupletissimi et late fœnerantes.  
 Ædificaverant autem in medio civitatis profusissimis  
 sumptibus domos amplissimas, regalibus conferendas

The two  
 leading  
 Jews of  
 York,  
 Joyce and  
 Benedict,  
 had built

<sup>1</sup> *quæ acta sint*, S.; *quid actum*, B.; *quæ acta sunt*, C.L.D.

<sup>2</sup> *Eboracæ*, B.D.L.S.; *Eboracensi*, C. Newburgh omits the massacres at Norwich (Feb. 6) and Bury St. Edmunds (March 18) mentioned by R. de Diceto. Two

waves of persecution spread from Lynn, one northwards, the other to the south-east. By intercalation we may get probable dates.

<sup>3</sup> *ferocissimi*, B.C.D.L.S.; *fortissimi*, O.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *saturaret*.

palatiis: ibique tanquam duo suæ gentis principes et Christianorum tyranni habitabant, cultu fastuque pæne regio procedentes, et duram in eos quos usuris oppresserant tyrannidem<sup>1</sup> exercentes. Qui cum essent Londoniis in sollemnitate unctionis regiæ, Benedictus, ut supra memoratum est, infelicissimum Dei judicio sortitus<sup>2</sup> exitum, Maledictus<sup>3</sup> apparuit; Joiceus vero ægre ad tempus subductus discrimini Eboracam rediit; et quoniam princeps post turbinem Londoniensem pro pace Judæorum legem posuerat, cum ceteris per Angliam Judæis juxta morem pristinum fiducialiter agebat. Rege vero postmodum in<sup>4</sup> partibus transmarinis constituto,<sup>5</sup> conjurarunt<sup>6</sup> adversus Judæos Eboracenses provinciales plurimi; eorum, cum ipsi egerent, opulentiam non ferentes, et sine ullo Christianæ conscientie scrupulo<sup>7</sup> perfidum sanguinem prædarum cupidine sitientes. His auctores ad audendum fuere<sup>8</sup> quidam nobiliores impiis sceleratoribus in multam summam debitores; quorum nonnulli, cum pro accepta pecunia prædia illis propria apposuissent, grandi inopia premebantur; quidam vero cautionibus propriis obligati, ad satisfaciendum regis sceleratoribus a fisci exactoribus urgebantur;<sup>9</sup> quidam etiam ex illis qui signum Dominicum<sup>10</sup> acceperant, jamque in procinetu Ierosolymitanæ protectionis erant, tanto facilius impelli potuere ut ex præda hostium Domini

A.D. 1190.

palatial residences.

The already mentioned fate of Benedict.

Joyce relying on the king's recent decree becomes bold once more.

After the king's departure a conspiracy is set on foot against the Jews of York.

Motives for the attack.

Men about to set out for the East were

<sup>1</sup> *tyrannidem*, B.D.L.S.; et *Christianorum tyrannidem*, C., having omitted *Christianorum* from its place in line 2.

<sup>2</sup> *sortitus*, B.D.L.S.; *sortitus est*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *Maledictus*, B.D.L.S.; et *Maledictus*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Rege . . . in*, B.C.D.L.S.; *Rex vero postmodum cum esset in*, O.R.

<sup>5</sup> *constituto*, B.C.D.L.S.; *constitutus*, O.R.

<sup>6</sup> *conjurarunt*, C.D.L.S.; *conjurarant*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *ullo . . . scrupulo*, B.C.D.S.; *ullo scrupulo conscientie*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *audendum fuere*, C.D.L.S.; *audiendum* (omitting *fuere*), B.; *audiendum fuere*, O.

<sup>9</sup> *jurgebantur* (?) in C.

<sup>10</sup> *Dominicum*, C.L.S.; *Domini*, B. D.

A.D. 1190. suscepti pro Domino itineris sumptus juvarent, quanto  
 specially  
 tempted to  
 plunder  
 the Jews.  
 A fire  
 diverting  
 the atten-  
 tion of the  
 people of  
 York, the  
 conspira-  
 tors attack  
 the house  
 of Bene-  
 dict's  
 widow and  
 sack it.

Joyce and  
 the other  
 Jews in  
 alarm  
 place their  
 treasures  
 in the  
 castle.

minus propter hoc questionem aliquam arrepto jam  
 itinere<sup>1</sup> formidarent. Cumque urbis pars non modica  
 nocte intempesta, vel fortuito vel potius, ut creditur,  
 a conjuratis immisso conflagravit<sup>3</sup> incendio, scilicet ut  
 occupatis circa aedes proprias propter ignis periculum  
 civibus, impedimentum non esset prædantibus, armata  
 conjuratorum manus domum dicti Benedicti Lun-  
 doniis, ut supra memoratum est, infeliciter mortui, in  
 qua uxor ejus et filii cum aliis pluribus habitabant,  
 vi<sup>4</sup> magna et ferramentis ad hoc præparatis irrupit,  
 caesisque omnibus qui in ea erant, ignem quoque<sup>5</sup>  
 tectis immisit. Et dum morose vires incendium su-  
 meret, corrasis opibus ardentem domum reliquere, et  
 in suum tenebrarum beneficio secretum onusti se re-  
 cepere prædones. Quo casu consternati Judæi, et  
 maxime clarior ceteris Joccus, arcis regiae custode  
 exorato et connivente, in eandem pecuniarum suarum  
 ingentia pondera tanquam gazas regias convexere, et  
 vigilantiores de cetero suimet cautelam habuere.  
 Post dies vero aliquot nocturni illi prædones cum ma-  
 jori fiducia atque ferocia redeunt, et, aggregatis sibi  
 plurimis, domum Jocci, constructionis magnitudine et  
 firmitate arces non ignobiles æmulantem,<sup>6</sup> fortiter op-  
 pugnantes, tandem captam expilatamque incendunt,  
 cunctis quos in ea sinister casus offenderat flamma  
 ferrove absumptis.<sup>7</sup> Joccus enim<sup>8</sup> paulo ante hoc  
 malum caute præsagiens, cum uxore et filiis in arcem  
 migraverat, similiter et ceteri Judæi, paucis ad victi-  
 mam foris remanentibus. Prædonibus autem cum

<sup>1</sup> For *itinere* C. has *utile*.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *fortuito*.

<sup>3</sup> *conflagravit*, C.L.S.; *conflagra-  
ret*, B.D.

<sup>4</sup> For *vi*, B. has *cum*.

<sup>5</sup> *ignem quoque*, B.D.L.S.; *ignem-  
que*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *æmulantem*, B.D.L.S.; *ejulan-  
tem*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *absumptis*, B.C.D.S.; *assump-  
tis*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *enim*, B.C.D.L.S.; *autem*, O.R.

tanti ausus emolumento dilapsis, facto mane, vulgus A.D. 1190.  
 promiscuum irruit, diripuitque in diversis speciebus et  
 multiplici supellectile prædonum ignisque reliquias.  
 Tunc demum qui Judæos prius invisos habuerant,  
 cum conjuratis, nullo publici vigoris respectu habito, All Jews  
 manifeste et profusa licentia in eos debacchari cœpe- found  
 runt, nec eorum substantiis jam contenti, cunctis ex- outside  
 tra arcem inventis aut sacri baptismatis aut extremi the castle  
 discriminis optionem dederunt. Denique baptizati non walls are  
 nulli, fecte se, ut mortem evaderent, Christianis aggre- given the  
 garunt: sine misericordia vero trucidati sunt qui option of  
 sacramentum vitæ vel fecte recipere detrectarunt. Dum baptism or  
 hæc agerentur, multitudo<sup>1</sup> quæ in arcem confugerat death.  
 in tuto agere videbatur. Porro arcis præpositus ad The warden  
 quoddam forte negotium egressus, cum regredi<sup>2</sup> vellet, of the  
 a multitudine intus excubante, incerta jam cui se cre- castle  
 deret, non est admissus, ne forte et ejus circa se fides having  
 nutaret,<sup>3</sup> et corruptus quos<sup>4</sup> tuendos susceperat hosti- gone out,  
 bus exponeret. Ille vero provinciæ præsidem, qui the Jews  
 forte tunc ob regia negotia cum frequentia provin- are afraid  
 cialium militum aderat, confestim<sup>5</sup> adiit, commissæ to let him  
 sibi arcis a Judæis fraudatum se custodia conqurens. return.  
 Indignatus præses<sup>6</sup> contra Judæos infremuit, illis Their  
 maxime, qui conjurationis auctores exstiterant, cum action is  
 inflammantibus, et meticulosam illam miserorum misunder-  
 telam superbam esse turris regiæ occupationem, atque stood, and  
 in domini regis injuriam hoc ipsum redundare, alle- the warden  
 gantibus. Cumque multi homines perfidos modis om- and sheriff  
 nibus impetendos arcemque illis regiam extorquendam call upon  
 decernerent,<sup>7</sup> jussit præses convocari populum arcem- the mob to  
 que oppugnari. Excurrit "irrevocabile verbum," plebis attack the  
 castle.

Horat. 1  
 Ep. xviii.  
 71.

<sup>1</sup> Benedict (ii. 107) says 500, without including children.

<sup>2</sup> *regredi*, B.D.L.S.; *ingredi*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *nutaret*, B.D.L.O.S.; *mutaret*, C.

<sup>4</sup> For *quos* C. has *quod*.

<sup>5</sup> *confestim*, B.C.D.L.S.; *statim*, O.R.

<sup>6</sup> John Marshall, Rot. Pip. 2 Ric. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *decernerent*, B.C.D. and S. by correction marked in light ink; *decerneret*, L.O.R.

A.D. 1190. Christianæ zelus accenditur,<sup>1</sup> immensæ armatorum tam ex urbe quam ex<sup>2</sup> provincia cirèa arcem glomerantur catervæ. Tum præses, jussionis pœnitentia stimulatus, frustra que conatus revocare sententiam, arcis oppugnationem voluit inhibere: sed accensos semel animos, quominus prosequerentur inceptum, nullo rationis vel auctoritatis pondere valuit cohibere. Sane urbis nobilitas et cives graviores, motus regii periculum formidantes, tantam vecordiam caute declinarunt. Porro omne genus opificum, atque universa juvenus urbana cum plurima provincialium turba, et militaribus viris non paucis, cum tanta alacritate aderat, instabatque cruento negotio, tanquam singuli proprium maximumque compendium quærerent. Clerici quoque plures non deerant, inter quos etiam quidam heremita ceteris ferventior videbatur.

The sheriff repents, but finds that he cannot control the mob.

A hermit incites the crowd against the Jews.

Par omnes zelus accenderat, arbitantes grande se obsequium præstare Deo, si gentem Christo rebellem abraderent; dum ad illud Davidicum, immo Dominicum, quod utique in persona Salvatoris dicitur, cæcato animo caligarent: “Deus ostendit mihi<sup>3</sup> super  
“ inimicos meos; ne occidas eos, nequando obliviscan-  
“ tur populi mei.” Quippe eadem Christianæ utilitatis ratione perfidus Judæus, Domini Christi<sup>4</sup> crucifixor, inter Christianos vivere sinitur, qua et forma crucis Dominicæ in Christi ecclesia pingitur,<sup>5</sup> ad continuandam scilicet cunctis fidelibus saluberrimam Dominicæ passionis memoriam, cum tamen in Judæo impiam execremur<sup>6</sup> actionem, in sacra vero forma illa divinam devotione debita veneremur dignationem: itaque Judæi

Psal. lvi. 12.

The author's reflections on the events under narration.

<sup>1</sup> *accenditur*, B.C.D.L.S.; *accenditus*, R.

<sup>2</sup> *ex*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> *mihî*, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

<sup>4</sup> *Christi*, C.D.L.S.; *nostrî*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *pingitur*, B.D.L.S.; *impingitur*,

C.

<sup>6</sup> *execremur*, B.C.D.L.O.R.; S. originally read *execremur*, but the word has been changed to *excernur* by what may possibly be the original hand.



inter Christianos debent quidem pro utilitate nostra A.D. 1190.  
vivere, sed pro sua iniquitate servire.<sup>1</sup> Porro Judæi Advantages given to Jews over Christians in the preceding reign.  
in Anglia sub rege Henrico secundo consistentes, ordine præpostero super Christianos felices et incliti fuerant, et ex multa felicitate impudentius tumendo contra Christum plurima Christianis gravamina irrogant: propterea diebus novi principis vitæ, quam de Christi habebant clementia, justo ejus judicio periculum pertulerunt, cujus tamen judicii ordine pulcherrimo<sup>2</sup> nequaquam excusantur qui motu incondito eladem illis intulerunt.

## CAP. X.

*De exitio Judæorum apud Eboracam.*

Igitur Judæi obsidebantur in turri regia; deerat- A.D. 1190,  
que obsessis sufficiens escarum apparatus, sola pro- (March).  
culdubio inedia mature expugnandis, etiamsi nemo The Jews within York castle defend themselves with stones.  
foris urgeret. Sed nec sufficientem, sive pro sui The hermit imprudently urging the attack is thus crushed.  
tutela sive ad hostes propulsandos, armaturam habebant; quos nimirum imminentes saxi<sup>3</sup> tantummodo interiori muro detractis arcebant. Oppugnatur turris fortiter per dies aliquot, et tandem paratæ admoventur machinæ. Urgebat opus funestum præ multis aliis memoratus ille ex canonico<sup>4</sup> Præmonstratensi heremita, qui fama excitus nuper in urbem venerat, arcemque oppugnantibus in veste alba sedulus<sup>5</sup> aderat, hostes Christi proterendos sæpius cum clamore valido repetens, et suæ quoque cooperationis exemplo bellatores accendens. Dicitur autem, quod diebus obsidionis processurus ad opus cruentum hostiam in-

<sup>1</sup> itaque *Judæi . . . . servire*,  
B.C.D.S.; om. L.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *pulcherrima*.

<sup>3</sup> *saxi*, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

<sup>4</sup> B. has *canonicæ*.

<sup>5</sup> *sedulus*, B.C.D.L.S.; *seclusus*.

R.

A.D. 1190. cruentam, erat enim sacerdos, mane immolaverit;<sup>1</sup> in tantum sibi cæcata mente persuaserat, quod et aliis persuadere nitebatur, religiosum scilicet esse negotium quod agebatur. Cumque admoverentur machinæ, ferventi animo cooperabatur pro viribus. Unde factum est, ut incautius muro appropians, saxum grande desuper veniens non caveret; denique conquassatus procubuit, et sublatus continuo exspiravit. Declaratumque est, quod ratione vel professionis vel ordinis, major in eo petulantis facti reatus exstiterit,<sup>2</sup> quem solum ex nostris ibidem infelicitè occumbere contigit.

Despair of  
the Jews.

One of the  
besieged, a  
learned  
Jew, ad-  
vises self-  
destruction.

Admotis itaque machinis certa erat turris<sup>3</sup> expugnatio; nec jam erat ambiguum horam obsessis imminere fatalem. Nocte vero sequenti quievè oppugnantes, vicinæ victoriæ certitudine hilares. Porro Judæi, sola jam desperatione fortes et rigidi, requiem minime habuere, tractantes inter se quid in tali articulo esset agendum. Erat autem ibi senior quidam, juxta<sup>4</sup> literam quæ occidit, famosissimus legis doctor, qui ad docendos Judæos Anglicanos, ut<sup>5</sup> dicitur, ex partibus venerat transmarinis. Hic erat<sup>6</sup> honorabilis omnibus, et tanquam uni ex prophetis obtemperabatur ei<sup>7</sup> ab omnibus. Cum ergo ab eo consilium pro tempore quæreretur,<sup>8</sup> respondit: "Deus, Eccles. viii. 4. Daniel iv. 35. cui dici non debet, 'Cur ita facis?' jubet nos pro lege sua mori modo. Et ecce mors nostra<sup>9</sup> in januis est, sicut videtis: nisi forte, quod absit, pro

<sup>1</sup> *immolaverit*, B.D.L.S.; *immolavit*, by alteration, C.

<sup>2</sup> The second mutilation occurs here in S., the text breaking off with the word *exstiterit* (in C. *exstiterat*) and resuming with *quam insignium*, see p. 325.

<sup>3</sup> *erat turris*, B.D.L.; *erat ejus turris*, C.

<sup>4</sup> B. omits *juxta*.

<sup>5</sup> *ut*, D.L.; *uti*, B.; *proul*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *erat*, B.C.D.; em. L.

<sup>7</sup> *ei*, B.D.L.; om. C.

<sup>8</sup> *quæreretur*, C.D.L.; *quæretur*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *mors nostra*, B.C.D.R.; *nostra mors*, I.

“ brevitate vitæ hujus sacram legem deserendam pu- A.D. 1190.  
 “ tetis, atque eligatis, quod bonis et virilibus ani- —  
 “ mis omni morte est durius, de misericordia scilicet  
 “ impiorum hostium cum summo dedecore apostatice  
 “ vivere. Cum ergo mortem gloriosam vitæ turpis-  
 “ simæ præponere debeamus, honestissimum plane  
 “ atque facillimum mortis genus eligendum est. Nam  
 “ si inciderimus in manus hostiles, pro eorum arbi-  
 “ trio cum ludibrio moriemur. Itaque vitam quam  
 “ nobis Creatôr dedit, cum eam Ipse<sup>1</sup> jam repetat,  
 “ propriis Illi manibus sponte et devote reddamus;  
 “ nec ad reddendum quod repetit, ministerium cru-  
 “ delitatis exspectemus hostilis. Hoc enim et multi  
 “ nostrorum in diversis tribulationibus<sup>2</sup> laudabiliter  
 “ fecisse noscuntur, formam nobis decentissimæ elec-  
 “ tionis præstruentes.” Hæc<sup>3</sup> cum dixisset, exitiale Some  
 consilium amplexi sunt plurimi:<sup>4</sup> quibusdam vero decide to  
 durus visus est hic sermo. Tunc senior, “ Quibus,” adopt his  
 inquit, “ consilium tam bonum piunque non placet, advice,  
 “ sedeant seorsum ab hoc sancto præcisi collegio; others to  
 “ nobis enim præ<sup>5</sup> caritate legis paternæ vita hæc trust to  
 “ temporalis jam viluit.” Secesserunt igitur plurimi, the mercy  
 hostium potius elementiam experiri<sup>6</sup> quam hoc modo of the  
 interire cum sociis eligentes. Mox ad arbitrium in- besiegers.  
 sanissimi senioris, ne suis opibus hostes ditarentur,  
 vestes pretiosas in conspectu omnium ignis absump-  
 sit;<sup>7</sup> vasa vero concupiscibilia et cetera quæ pote-

<sup>1</sup> *Ipse*, C.D.L.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> *tribulationibus*, C.U.; *olim tri-  
 bulationibus*, B.D.

<sup>3</sup> *hæc*, B.C.D.R.; *hoc*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *plurimi*, B.D.L.R.; *multi*, C.  
 The authority of the Stowe MS. is  
 unfortunately wanting. C., a manu-  
 script which preserves many words  
 which the writers of the others have  
 misread or neglected, here furnishes

*multi*, which the sense of the pas-  
 sage taken in connection with  
 “ *secesserunt igitur plurimi* ” a few  
 lines further on would seem to  
 approve as the better reading.

<sup>5</sup> For *præ* B. has *post*.

<sup>6</sup> *experiri*, B.D.L.; *experturi*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *absumpsit*. B.C.D.: *assumpsit*,  
 L.

A.D. 1190. rant<sup>1</sup> per ignem transire, artificiosa invidia pudenda repositione damnavit. Quibus actis, et igne tectis immisso qui in solidiori materia, dum res horrenda fieret, morosé nutrireretur, eorum quoque, qui ab eis vitæ amore secesserant, vitam correpturus, jugulos ad victimam præparabant. Dictante vero inveterato<sup>2</sup> Cf. Daniel, vii. 9, 13, 22. illo dierum malorum, ut viri quibus constantior esset animus propriis uxoribus atque pignoribus vitam adimerent, famosissimus ille Joceus Annæ uxori carissimæ culto præacuto guttur incidit, et propriis quoque filiis<sup>3</sup> non peperit. Cumque hoc et ab aliis viris factum esset, infelicissimus ille senior Joceum, eo quod esset honorabilior ceteris, jugulavit. Absumptis<sup>4</sup> mox omnibus una cum magistro erroris, immisso, ut dictum est, a morituris igne, interiora turris ardere cœperunt. Qui vero vitam elegerant, incendio a suis, ut et ipsi vel inviti commorentur, concinnato, prout poterant resistebant, quædam scilicet sibi turris defendentes extrema in quibus minime urerentur. Stupendus plane irrationalis ille rationalium<sup>5</sup> in semetipsos furor. Verum qui Josephi de Judaico bello legit historiam satis intelligit ab antiqua Judæorum superstitione, cum forte tristior casus incumberet, illam nostri temporis manasse vesaniam. Mane autem facto, cum populus frequens ad expugnandam arcem concurreret, miseræ illæ Judæorum reliquiæ stantes ad propugnacula nocturnam suorum cladem voce lacrimabili declararunt, et ad

The survivors offer to accept Christianity.

<sup>1</sup> *quæ poterant*, B.C.D.R.; *quæ non poterant* (by interlineation of *non*), L. The authority of the Stowe MS. is again wanting. It is evident however that the author meant to say that the Jews destroyed what fire would touch, but could only defile vessels of metal,

&c., which would pass through the flames unhurt.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *inveterate*.

<sup>3</sup> *filiis*, C.D.L.; *filiam*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *absumptis*, C.D.L.; *assumptis*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *rationalium*, B.C.D.L.; *irrationalium*, R.

oculata<sup>1</sup> tanti piaculi fidem exstincta cadavera<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1190.  
 muro devolventes, talia proclamarunt: "En corpora  
 " infelicium, qui mortem sibi furore nefario consci-  
 " verunt; et ut nos idem facere detrectantes, Chris-  
 " tianamque potius clementiam experiri volentes, vi-  
 " vos<sup>3</sup> incenderent,<sup>4</sup> ignem interioribus turris hujus<sup>5</sup>  
 " morientes immiserunt. Sed servavit nos Deus et  
 " a fratrum nostrorum vesania, et ab ignis periculo,  
 " ut a vobis ulterius in religione minime discrepe-  
 " mus. Vexatione enim dante intellectum, Christia-  
 " nam cognoscimus veritatem, et requirimus carita-  
 " tem; parati, quod a nobis soletis exigere, sacro  
 " baptisate ablui, et pristinis ritibus abdicatis, ec-  
 " clesie Christi uniri. Suscipite fratres ex<sup>6</sup> hosti-  
 " bus, ut una vobiscum in Christi fide et pace viva-  
 " mus." Talia illis<sup>7</sup> lacrimose loquentibus, nostrorum  
 plurimi et exstinctorum vesaniam cum ingenti stu-  
 pore horrebant, et cladi reliquos miserabantur: at  
 conjuratorum principes, e quibus erat quidam<sup>8</sup> Ri-  
 cardus, vero agnomine Mala-Bestia,<sup>9</sup> homo audacissi-  
 mus, nulla super miseris illis misericordia moveban-  
 tur. Mitia<sup>10</sup> tamen cum eis in dolo loquentes, et  
 speratam gratiam sub fidei<sup>11</sup> testificatione pollicentes,  
 ut egredi minime vererentur, mox ut egressi sunt,  
 hostiliter comprehensos, et<sup>12</sup> baptismum Christi con-  
 stanter postulantes, lanistae crudelissimi peremerunt.  
 Et de his quidem, quos ita plusquam belluina illa  
 confecit immanitas,<sup>13</sup> incunctanter dixerim, quia<sup>14</sup> si in

They are  
 deceived  
 with fair  
 words, and  
 are slain  
 as they  
 emerge  
 from the  
 castle.

<sup>1</sup> *oculata*, B.D.L.; *occultam*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *cadavera*, B.D.L.; *cadavera mortuorum*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *vivos*, C.D.L.; *ut nos*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *incenderent*, B.D.L.; *in esse cederent*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *hujus*, C.D.L.; *hujusmodi*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *ex*, B.C.D.R.; *pro*, L., by interlineation.

<sup>7</sup> *illis*, C.D.L.; *in illis*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *quidam*, B.D.L.; om. C.

<sup>9</sup> Richard Malebysse. The Chron. de Melsa, i. 251, gives the names of three other leaders.

<sup>10</sup> *mitia*, B.D.L.; *mitius*, C.

<sup>11</sup> *fidei*, B.D.L.; om. C.

<sup>12</sup> B. omits *et*.

<sup>13</sup> *immanitas*, B.D.L.; *humanitas*, C.

<sup>14</sup> See note 2, p. 76.

A.D. 1190. petitione sacri baptismatis fictio defuit, ejus nequam effectu fraudatos sanguis proprius baptizavit. Sive autem fecte sive non fecte sacrum petierunt<sup>1</sup> lavacrum, inexcusabilis est execranda illa crudelitas lanistarum. Quorum proculdubio primum scelus est, quod ordinatam potestatem non habentes, humanum, quasi aquam, sanguinem effundere præsumperunt: secundum, quod livore magis malitiæ quam zelo justitiæ sævierunt:<sup>2</sup> tertium, quod Christianam gratiam petentibus inviderunt: quartum, quod miseros ut egrederentur ad victimam mentiendo fefellerunt. Horrenda plane et fœda tunc rerum erat facies in urbe, et circa arcem passim jacentibus tot miserorum cadaveribus inhumatis. Cæde vero completa, conjurati continuo cathedralem ecclesiam adeuntes, monumenta debitorum, quibus Christiani premebantur, a Judæis fœeneratoribus regiis ibidem reposita, ab exteritis custodibus violenta instantia resignari fecerunt, et tam pro sua quam et<sup>3</sup> aliorum multorum liberatione eadem profanæ avaritiæ instrumenta in medio ecclesiæ flammis sollemnibus absumperunt. Quibus actis, illi ex conjuratis, qui signum Domini acceperant, ante omnem quæstionem iter propositum arripuerunt: ceteri vero in provincia sub quæstionis formidine remanserunt. Sane tempore Dominicæ passionis, pridie scilicet ante Dominicam Palmarum, tallia Eboracæ contigerunt.<sup>4</sup>

The author's remarks on the cruelty and treachery of the people of York towards the Jews.

Those of the crusaders who shared in the massacre disappear before any enquiry is set on foot. The massacre took place on March 17.

<sup>1</sup> *petierunt*, L. ; *petierint*, B.C.D.R.

<sup>2</sup> *sævierunt*, C.D.L. ; *servierunt*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *et*, B.C.D.L. ; *pro*, R.

<sup>4</sup> The Pipe Rolls for 2, 4, and 5 Ric. I. contain interesting entries as to matters connected with this affair.

## CAP. XI.

*De ira regis in interfectores Judæorum.*

Res Eboracæ acta mature trans mare defertur ad principem; qui Judæis, post motum Lundoniensem, Indignatur et fremit, tum pro læsione regiæ majestatis tum pro tam magna fisci jactura; fisco enim competit quidquid Judæi, quos fœneratores constat esse regios, in bonis habere videntur. Mox dato mandato ad Eliensem<sup>1</sup> episcopum, cancellarium scilicet regium et regni præpositum, ut tanti ausus patratio condigna plecteretur vindicta, idem episcopus, homo ferocis animi et gloriæ cupidus, circa Dominicæ Ascensionis<sup>2</sup> sollemnia Eboracam civitatem cum exercitu adiit, et formidissimam<sup>3</sup> civibus intulit questionem. Porro principales et famosi rerum gestarum anctores, relictis omnibus quæ habebant in provincia, a facie ejus transfugerunt in Scotiam. Civibus vero constanter proclamantibus, ea, de quibus invidiam sustinebant, suo neque voto neque consilio vel opere accidisse, neque per suam mediocritatem effrenatum indisciplinatae multitudinis impetum impediri potuisse, tandem cancellarius, mulcta pecuniaria<sup>4</sup> singulis juxta modum fortunarum imposita, satisfactionem, ne severius plecterentur, accepit.<sup>5</sup> Vulgus autem promiscuum et infinitum, cujus zelus inconditus dirum illud maxime pararat negotium, in judicium vocari aut discuti minime potuit. Itaque cancellarius, amoto illo qui provinciae administrationem habuerat,<sup>6</sup> cum non posset

A.D. 1190.  
The bishop of Ely is despatched to York, by the king's orders.

He reaches York with an armed force about May 3. Many of the ring-leaders retire to Scotland.

The citizens are compelled to pay a fine.

Long-champ displaces the sheriff.

<sup>1</sup> *Eliensem*, C.D.L.; *Iliensem*, B.

<sup>2</sup> Bened. Petrob. (ii. 108) gives the date merely as "post Pascha."

<sup>3</sup> *formidissimam*, L.; *fortissimam*, B.C.D.R.

<sup>4</sup> C. reads *pecunia* by alteration from *pecuniaria*.

<sup>5</sup> Pipe Roll, 5 Ric. I.: "Cives Eboraci reddunt computum de x. marcis pro babendis obsidibus suis qui fuerunt Norhantonie propter occisionem Judæorum."

<sup>6</sup> John Marshall. Osbert Long-champ took his place.

A.D. 1190. efficacius de jure mandatum exsequi regium, abiit in-  
 ——— cruentus; nec usque ad hunc diem pro illo Judæorum  
 exitio aliquis supplicio est addictus.

## CAP. XII.

*Quomodo reges venerunt Siciliam, et quomodo rex  
 Anglorum expugnavit Messaniam.*<sup>1</sup>

A D. 1190. Sequenti æstate, anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup> nona-  
 ——— gesimo, illustres Francorum et Anglorum reges iter  
 King Ierosolymitanæ profectionis ingressi, cum apparatu  
 Richard reaches congruo et exercitu copioso convenerunt Massiliam;<sup>2</sup>  
 reaches Marseilles. factaque ibidem mora necessaria, rex quidem Franco-  
 He sets sail rum autumnali tempore prior cum suis copiis secundis  
 (Aug. 7). flatibus navigavit Siciliam, rex vero Anglorum post  
 discessum regis Francorum diebus aliquot Massiliæ  
 demoratus, tandem classe soluta, cum parente sibi  
 exercitu mari se credidit, flabrisque aridentibus in  
 insulam eandem devenit. Verum qui prior advenerat,  
 Messanam urbem clarissimam,<sup>3</sup> cum gaudio exceptus  
 a civibus, ad hiemandum elegit; sequens vero, expo-  
 sitis copiis propter ejusdem urbis amplitudinem et  
 multimodam opportunitatem, ipse quoque ibidem so-  
 cialiter hiemare voluit. Cunque hujus rei gratia quos-  
 dam ex suis præmississet, cives unius ad se regis in-  
 gressu contenti, et duorum regum magnorum gravari  
 hospitio renuentes, præmissos a superveniente, paucis  
 eorum in tumultu extinctis, cum contumelia urbe  
 extruserunt.<sup>4</sup> Motus super hoc rex Anglorum, a Mes-

Reaches Messina (Sept. 23, 1190).  
 The people of Messina refuse to admit him, killing some of his messengers.

<sup>1</sup> *Messaniam*, L.; *Messanam*, B.D.; *Mesanam*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *Massiliam*, B.D.L.; *Marsiliam*, C. Similar variations below.

<sup>3</sup> *clarissimam*, B.D.L.R.; *præclaram*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *urbe extruserunt*, B.D.L.; *urbem extraxerunt*, C. This account is erroneous. Richard, who entered the city in state, was allotted quarters in the suburb. He first

(Hoveden, iii. 55) demanded the release of his sister Johanna and payment of her dowry, then took a castle and assigned it for her residence, and finally seized and fortified a monastery. After these acts, on Oct. 3, affrays began and Messina was ultimately stormed. See *Itin. Reg. Ric.*, i. 156-63, and *Ric. Divis.*, p. 18.



sanensibus utrum de illata injuria satisfacere digna- A.D. 1190.  
 rentur duxit quærendum. Illis vero, tam propriarum  
 conscientia<sup>1</sup> virium<sup>2</sup> quam insignium fiducia hospitem,  
 superbe detrectantibus satisfactionem, accensus est  
 princeps ferocissimus ad ultionem. Itaque armari co- King  
 pias urbemque oppugnari præcepit. Cumque in hoc Richard  
 opere suos non tantum urgeret imperio verum etiam storms  
 animaret exemplo, urbem, aliquamdiu a civibus simul Messina  
 et<sup>3</sup> Francis fortiter defensam, tandem potenter irrupit. (Oct. 4).  
 Quam<sup>4</sup> paucis suorum amissis victor ingressus, decen-  
 tem tamen in ultione modum tenuit, et motum animi  
 triumphalis gloriæ voluptate mollivit. Civium ergo  
 vel sera satisfactione et coacta devotione placatus,  
 frenavit impetum, et minas remisit. Moxque pro  
 reverentia regis Francorum urbe egressus, ejusdem illi  
 et suis libenter cessit hospitium: ipse vero<sup>5</sup> munitione  
 extra urbem constructa castrisque dispositis, ibidem  
 cum suis copiis in omni rerum copia hiemavit. Porro  
 rex Francorum urbis hospitæ irruptionem ad suam  
 trahens injuriam, et pro nihilo ducens indulti hospitii  
 gratiam, implacabilem contra regem Anglorum conce-  
 pit, totisque imbibit medullis rancorem: qui nimirum  
 occultatus pro tempore erupit suo tempore, claruitque  
 orbi terrarum, ut suo loco narrabitur. Sane regibus  
 in Sicilia hiemantibus, ex plurimis quoque regionibus  
 ingentia vernum tempus cum desiderio præstolantium  
 agmina in Dalmatia, Histria, Venetia, sub charactere  
 Dominico hiemabant.

<sup>1</sup> D. has *consciã*.

<sup>2</sup> The Stowe manuscript, which before this point has lost two leaves (see p. 318), resumes here with the words *quam insignium*.

<sup>3</sup> *et*, B.D.L.S.; *et a*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *quam*, B.D.L.R.S.; *quamvis*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *vero*, C.D.L.S.: om. B.

## CAP. XIII.

*De expeditione Teutonica, et morte imperatoris.*

A.D. 1189.

The emperor  
Frederick  
sets out  
for Palesti-  
ne  
(Apr. 23).

The emperor  
Isaac  
Angelus  
refuses a  
passage  
through  
his do-  
mains.

Interea Fredericus<sup>1</sup> imperator Teutonicus, qui anno præterito, hoc est a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>LXXX<sup>o</sup>IX<sup>o</sup>, cum filio Suevorum duce, et Germanicis copiis iter fuerat, ut superius dictum est, Ierosolymitanum ingressus, lento propter obstacula plurima gradu per superiores ducebat regiones exercitum. Prætergressus enim Pannonias, et progressus ad imperatoris Constantinopolitani provincias, cum ejusdem Christiani principis in negotio Christianissimo favorem optaret, eum paulo secus quam Saladinum invenit. Denique Græcus ille, nam Græci, cum sint Christiani, non secus inno plerumque etiam ferocius quam Sarracenos<sup>2</sup> abominari Latinos noscuntur, Græcus inquam ille, ut dicitur, post captam Ierosolymam, fœdus cum atrocissimo Christiani nominis hoste Saladino pepigerat, pollicens quod in terra vel mari ditionis suæ Latinorum in Syriam transitum inhiberet. Cumque imperator Latinus a Græco, Christianus scilicet a Christiano, per nuntios peteret quod olim Israel sub Moyse petierat a Seon rege Amorræo: "Obsecro te," iuquens, "ut <sup>Num. xxi. 22.</sup> transire mihi liceat per terram tuam: non declinabimus in agros et<sup>3</sup> vineas: via regia gradiemur, donec transeamus terminos tuos." Græcus ille impio regi in hac parte<sup>4</sup> simillimus, et Saladino quam Christo fidelior, concedere noluit ut Christianus exercitus simpliciter transiret per fines suos. Quamobrem Latinus imperator ad suos: "Hostem," inquit, "Christi Saladinum quærimus, et ecce par Saladino vel potius plusquam Saladinus hic, qui zelando pro Saladino,

<sup>1</sup> *Fledricus* (sic), B.D.<sup>2</sup> *Sarracenos*, D.L.S.; *Saracenos*, B.C.<sup>3</sup> *et*, B.D.L.S.; *neque*, C.<sup>4</sup> *in hac parte*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

“zelantibus pro Christo palam obsistit: in ipsum A.D. 1189.  
 “ergo arma contra Saladinum sumpta vertamus, ferro  
 “nobis viam aperientes cum aliter nequeamus.” Pla- Barbarossa  
determines  
to cut his  
way with  
the sword.  
 cuit hoc omnibus, ingressique hostiliter terram ditionis  
 Constantinopolitanae, Thessalonicam<sup>1</sup> urbem nobilissi- Capture of  
(Demo-  
tica ?)  
 mam fortiter expugnatam ceperunt: et redacta in  
 potestatem adjacente provincia, ibidem hiemandum  
 duxerunt. Sane Christianorum, qui arma sumpserant  
 contra Paganos, hunc motum et impetum contra Chris-  
 tianos, licet minus fraterne agentes, approbandum ne-  
 quaquam censuerim,<sup>2</sup> sicut nec illud, quod Christiani  
 Christianis<sup>3</sup> innoxium concedere transitum noluerunt.  
 Denique hoc antiquis, et<sup>4</sup> de lege sacra sumptis pro-  
 batur exemplis. Israeliticus sub Moyse populus in  
 transitus innoxii petitione a rege<sup>5</sup> Amorreo, ut dic-  
 tum est, repulsam passus, in eundem,<sup>6</sup> jubente Domino,  
 irruit, et terram ejus possedit. Hoc forte imperator  
 ille noster cum suis exemplum attendens, pro negato  
 transitu Græci imperatoris terram invasit, cum aliud  
 potius, ut credo, attendere debuisset. Scriptum quippe  
 est: “Misit nuntios Moyses ad regem Edom, qui  
 “dicerent: Hæc mandat frater tuus Israel. Obseera-  
 “mus ut nobis transire liceat per terram tuam. Non  
 “ibimus per agros, nec per vineas, sed gradiemur via  
 “publica, nec ad dexteram nec ad sinistram declinan-  
 “tes, donec transeamus terminos tuos. Cui respondit  
 “Edom: Non transibitis per me. Dixeruntque filii  
 “Israel: Per tritam gradiemur viam; et si biberimus  
 “aquas tuas, dabimus quod justum est: nulla erit  
 “in pretio difficultas, tantum velociter transeamus.  
 “At ille respondit, Non transibitis. Quamobrem di-

Num. xx.  
14-21.

<sup>1</sup> An error: the *Itinerary* (p. 47) says that from Philippopolis he approached (Nov. 22) and wintered in the deserted city of Adrianople. His son took Demotica (not Thessalonica). This and the concentration of forces (Feb.) brought Isaac to terms.

<sup>2</sup> *censuerim*, B.C.D.S; *censuerint*, L.

<sup>3</sup> B. has an obscure variation here, perhaps a redundant syllable.

<sup>4</sup> *et*, B.D.L.S.; *hoc et*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *a rege*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> *eundem*, C.D.L.S.; *eodem*, B.

A.D. 1190. "divertit ab eo Israel." Ecce filii Israel, sub magno propheta Moyse agentes, a fratribus suis filiis Esau in simplicis transitus modestissima petitione repulsam bis passi, nec tamen tanto excessu fraterno ad ultionem vel transitum ferro parandum impulsu, sapienter, et tanquam immemores injuriæ, ab ingratis fratribus diverterunt. Postea vero ab Amorræo, qui non erat de genere Abrahamæ, in re non dissimili unam passi tantum<sup>1</sup> repulsam, in ultionem justissimam, jubente et favente Domino, exarserunt. Consultius igitur imperator Christianus fecisset, si ab inofficioso sed tamen Christiano imperatore divertens, alium in Syriam transitum, licet cum multa laboris et sumptuum jactura, quæsisset: quod utique sequens declaravit eventus.

Isaac  
Angelus  
comes to  
terms, and  
the crusa-  
ders cross  
into Asia  
Minor  
(Mar. 23-  
28).

Videns autem Græcus imperator non parum<sup>2</sup> contra se actum a Latinis, et ex hoc tanquam modico ferocitæ eorum gustu duriora, nisi præcaveret, conjectans, fœdus cum imperatore nostro pepigit: et concesso transitu qui petebatur, de sumptibus quoque moræ, quam propter inhibitum fecerat<sup>3</sup> transitum, ei, dicente justitia, satisfecit. Itaque Latinus imperator cum exercitu per Constantinopolim transiens, fretum quod Brachium sancti Georgii<sup>4</sup> dicitur, prospere transmeavit, veniensque in Asiam Minorem, cujus pars quædam Constantinopolitanæ ditionis est, parti vero reliquæ soldanus Iconii præsidet, magnis actibus ipsi<sup>5</sup> soldano Turcisque jam erat terribilis. Unde idem soldanus, licet esset magnus et potens, arte tamen magis quam experientia virium imminentis impetum frangere studuit, de suscipienda, ut dicitur, Christianitate, simulatione callida cum eo agens, et pia simplicitate credulum per frequentes nuntios ambagibus longis sus-

<sup>1</sup> tantum, B.D.L.S.; tamen, C.

<sup>2</sup> non parum, R.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>3</sup> fecerat, B.D.L.S.; faceret, C.

<sup>4</sup> Georgii, B.C.D.S.; Gregorii,

L.R. The Dardanelles: the army did not approach Constantinople.

<sup>5</sup> ipsi, B.D.L.S.; Christi, C.

pendens. Cum ergo gentilis astutia suis præstigiis ita nostros deluderet, capta paulo ante amplissima civitate Iconio, et locupletissima præda direpta, Christianus exercitus, imperatoria provisione bipertitus, in castris excubabat amne medio interlabente discretis. Et<sup>1</sup> parte quidem exercitus filio Suevorum duci commissa, parti vero reliquæ ipse imperator sollicitudinem debitam impendebat,<sup>2</sup> cum repente virum tantæ claritatis, occulto Dei judicio, tristissimus, et quem nemo vereri poterat, mundo<sup>3</sup> casus ademit. Cum equo<sup>4</sup> sedens, filium visendi et alloquendi studio, cum paucis amnem vellet medium transneare, dissuasus a comitibus ne se vir tantus petulanter in amnem daret incognitum, extrema eum sorte urgente, non acquievit, sed imperialis oblitus gravitatis, in gurgitem, fallaci brevitate contemptibilem, equo stimulo prosiliens, intuentibus comitibus nec subvenire valentibus, in momento suffocatus interiit. Quidam autem dicunt<sup>5</sup> quod in æstu, refrigerii vel lavacri gratia, incautius in flumen descenderit, et subito ab aquis<sup>6</sup> imperialis reverentiæ nesciis<sup>7</sup> absorptus sit. Sed sive hoc verum sit sive illud, constat quod in illo flumine modico intraverunt aquæ usque ad animam ejus. O abyssus multa<sup>8</sup> judiciorum Dei! vir tantus, et<sup>9</sup> qui divino quodam fervore,<sup>10</sup> relictis deliciis opibusque imperii, mille se exposuerat propter Christum periculis, tam subito miseroque casu absumitur. Peccatum tamen ejus tantum et tale elucet, quod forte in<sup>11</sup> imperialibus non potuerit deliciis expiari, atque ideo oportuerit, ne æternaliter plecteretur, pia<sup>12</sup> Divinitatis provisione in

A.D. 1190.

Capture of  
Cogni  
(May 18).Barbarossa  
is drowned  
(June 10,  
1190).Ps. lxxviii. 1.  
Ps. xxxvi.  
16.<sup>1</sup> *et*, B.C.D.S.; *ex*, L.<sup>2</sup> C. has *impendebant*.<sup>3</sup> *mundo*, B.D.L.S.; *veteri* (?) *mundo*, C.<sup>4</sup> *cum enim equo*, B.<sup>5</sup> *dicunt*, B.C.L.S.; *dicit*, D.<sup>6</sup> *subito ab aquis*, C.L.S.; *sub ab aquis*, B.; *sub aquis*, D.<sup>7</sup> *nesciis* (?), D.<sup>8</sup> Quoted also in the *Itinerarium*, p. 54, with reference to Barbarossa's death.<sup>9</sup> *et*, C.D.L.S.; *ut*, B.<sup>10</sup> *fervore*, B.C.L.S.; *favore*, D.<sup>11</sup> For *in*, E. has *non*.<sup>12</sup> C. has *pæna*.

A.D. 1190. hac vita severius castigari. Siquidem nefarii schismatis sub venerabili papa Alexandro principalis fautor exstiterat, et pacis ecclesiasticæ per imperialem potentiam multo tempore perturbator. Tandem vero perspicue dans palmam veritati, minus tamen in deliciis palatii piaculare malum defleverat. Porro ne propter hoc gravia post mortem supplicia lueret, sed potius tam grande malum momentaneæ mortis casus acerbior perfecte dilueret, illa insigni devotione, qua propter Christum, relicto imperio, tantis se immersit periculis, actum credo.

The German expedition proceeds under his son Frederick V. duke of Swabia.

The bones of Barbarossa are carried with the army and are buried at Tyre.

Death of the duke of Swabia before Acre (Jan. 20, 1191).

Sane exercitus Christianus ita stupuit doluitque de raptu principis, ut, collapsis animis, matura immanissimorum præda hostium fore videretur. Verum, resumpto paulisper spiritu, loco extincti patris, præsentis Suevorum duci adhæsit et paruit. Qui, paterni corporis, quod post casus infelicissimi dies aliquot ægre inventum creptumque aquis dicitur, ossibus assumptis, in multo laborum et periculorum experimento cum exercitu progressus est. Denique tantus exercitus per viam longissimam paulatim<sup>1</sup> bellis morbisque confectus atque imminutus, ita tandem laboris intolerantia sumptuumque penuria elanguit atque defluxit, ut, nulla re memorabili facta, contemptibiles ex eo reliquiæ Palæstinam cum duce memorato venisse dicantur. Qui, paternis ossibus apud Tyrum cum decenti honore sepultis, militiæ Christianæ, quæ Acrem obsidebat, cum omni comitatu adjunctus, ibidem post modicum morbo defecit. Hunc finem occulto Dei judicio habuisse noscitur famosa illa Teutonici imperatoris expeditio.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> paulatim, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>2</sup> This chapter reads very much like a summary from memory of the account of Frederick's crusade

in the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (Rolls' ed. pp. 34-58). See also note 8 on p. 329.

## CAP. XIV.

*De insolentia et fastu cancellarii post regis  
projectionem.*

Reflectendus nunc ab Oriente in nostrum Occiden- A.D. 1190.  
tem videtur sermonis procursus, atque exponendum Affairs in  
qualis regni Anglici in regis absentia status exstiterit. England  
Idem rex, ut superius dictum est, ad Orientalem egre- during the  
diens expeditionem, Eliensi episcopo cancellario suo king's  
vices suas in administratione regni commiserat, cum absence.  
ejusdem regni ossibus, id est, munitionibus regiis. The bishop  
Qui episcopus, cum esset audaciæ astutiæque pæne of Ely  
singularis,<sup>1</sup> gravi summa Romam transmissa vices quo made  
que sedis Apostolicæ petiit, et tali intercessione facile adminis-  
impetravit. Quod<sup>2</sup> astute dissimulans, tanquam pro trator of  
regni negotiis convocavit episcopos et regni majores, the king-  
ingerensque incautis indultæ sibi legationis instrumen- dom  
tum, cum fastu sollemni sedis se Apostolicæ legatum (June 6).  
ostentavit, multis quidem ægre ferentibus, sed obsis- He ob-  
tere nequaquam valentibus. Denique ut<sup>3</sup> ad summum tains by  
evectus videretur, et tam regno quam ecclesiæ conspi- purchase  
cuius apparens, æmulantium oculis dolorem injiceret,<sup>4</sup> the office  
generale ex Anglia concilium, terrore maximo Lun- of papal  
doniis congregatum, quanto gloriosius tanto et<sup>5</sup> vanius legate  
celebravit, sub specie scilicet religionis et obtentu (June 5),  
quasi ecclesiasticæ utilitatis agens propriæ negotium and ex-  
vanitatis. Quod utique tanto fortius tutiusque<sup>6</sup> age- hibits the  
bat quanto metropolitanis non exstantibus<sup>7</sup> infirmio- proofs of  
rem contra se episcoporum æmulationem vel indigna- his new  
tionem videbat. Quippe sedes Eboracensis fere jam authority  
per decennium vacaverat, et novus ejusdem sedis elec- unexpect-  
tedly be-  
fore a  
general  
council in  
London  
(Oct. 13).  
The arch-  
bishops  
being  
vacant no  
check on  
his tyranny  
existed.

<sup>1</sup> B. has *singularisque*.<sup>2</sup> *quod*, C.D.L.S.; *quo*, B.<sup>3</sup> *ut*, C.D.L.S.; *cum*, B.<sup>4</sup> B. has *injicerent*.<sup>5</sup> *et*, B.D.L.S.; *om.* C.<sup>6</sup> *fortius tutiusque*, B.D.L.S.;  
*fortiusque*, C.<sup>7</sup> *exstantibus*, B.D.L.R.S.; *exsis-  
tentibus*, C.

A.D. 1190 — tus in transmarinis partibus constitutus, ipso impedi-  
 ente nondum canonicæ poterat consecrationis munus  
 promereri.<sup>1</sup> Porro Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, qui  
 juxta sedis propriæ prærogativam Apostolicis in An-  
 glia vicibus præditus, signum Domini sub rege Hen-  
 rico susceperat, et post coronationem regis Ricardi,  
 juxta devotionis suæ debitum, in partes abierat Ori-  
 entis, Tyrum deveniens, ante regum adventum ibidem  
 hominem exuit. Itaque homo ille, sublato omni ob-  
 staculo quominus ambularet in magnis et mirabilibus  
 super se, fretus duplici, id est,<sup>2</sup> Apostolica simul<sup>3</sup> et  
 regia, potestate, clero pariter et populo arrogantissime  
 præsidebat. Et sicut de quodam scriptum est, quod  
 utraque manu utebatur pro dextera,<sup>4</sup> sic et ille ad  
 faciliorem molitionum suarum efficaciam utraque po-  
 testate utebatur pro altera. Ad cogendos quippe vel  
 coercendos potentes laicos, si quid forte ex seculari  
 potentia minus poterat, Apostolicæ id ipsum potestatis  
 censura supplebat; si autem ex clero forte quisquam  
 voluntati ejus obsisteret, hunc proculdubio frustra pro  
 se secundum canones allegantem, seculari oppressum  
 potentia coercerat. Nec erat qui se absconderet<sup>5</sup> a  
 calore ejus, cum et secularis in eo virgam vel gladium  
 Apostolicæ potestatis timeret, et ecclesiasticus nulla se  
 ratione vel auctoritate contra imminentiam regiam  
 tueri valeret. Denique de potestate in immensum  
 glorians, ut et metropolitanæ ecclesiæ, quæ adhuc  
 ejus<sup>6</sup> videbantur aspernari excellentiam, experirentur  
 potentiam, ad utramque tremendus accessit; et primo  
 quidem ad Eboracensem, cujus infestissimus erat electo:  
 præmissoque cum terroribus ad clericos ejusdem eccle-  
 siæ mandato, ut sibi tanquam Apostolicæ sedis legato

His astute  
 use of his  
 double  
 authority.

His enmity  
 towards  
 the arch-  
 bishop  
 elect of  
 York.

<sup>1</sup> consecrationis munus promereri,  
 B.D.L.S.; ad consecrationis mu-  
 nus promoveri, C.

<sup>2</sup> id est, B.D.L.R.S.; idem, C.

<sup>3</sup> simul, C.D.L.S.; scilicet, B.

<sup>4</sup> R. Divis., p. 14, also applies this  
 quotation to Longchamp.

<sup>5</sup> B. has abscondit.

<sup>6</sup> ejus, B.D.L.S.; om. C.



sollemni more occurrerent,<sup>1</sup> cum illi adversus eum ap- A.D. 1190.  
pellendum duxissent, appellationi ad superiorem potes-  
tatem factæ non detulit; sed appellanti- bus optionem  
dedit ut aut jussa complerent, aut tanquam rei ma-  
jestatis in carcerem<sup>2</sup> regium truderentur. Territi ergo  
paruerunt: et ne mutire quidem ulterius contra eum  
audentes, tanquam triumphanti quantum voluit hono-  
ris et gloriæ dissimulata<sup>3</sup> tristitia impenderunt. Præ-  
centor vero ejusdem ecclesiæ paulo ante declinaverat,  
ut non videret quod absque animi tormento videre  
non posset. Quo ille comperto, sæviens in absentem  
tanquam in rebellem, motu implacabili per satellites  
proprios rebus cum omnibus spoliavit: deprædato quo- He confis-  
que<sup>4</sup> archiepiscopatu atque in fiscum redacto,<sup>5</sup> trium- cates the  
phator inclitus abiit; ac non multo post de Cantuari- temporalities of the  
ensibus, cum nemo illi jam auderet obsistere, non see of  
dissimiliter triumphavit. York.

Utramque ergo sedem metropolitanam habens sub-  
stratam,<sup>6</sup> utraque usus est ut voluit. Denique ipsum  
illo tempore in Anglia et plusquam<sup>7</sup> regem experti  
sunt laici, et plusquam summum<sup>8</sup> pontificem clerici;  
utrique vero tyrannum importabilem. Quippe dupli-  
cis occasione potestatis duplicem indutus tyrannum,<sup>9</sup> His pride,  
solis complicitibus et cooperantibus suis innoxius, ceteris extravagance and  
indifferenter non tantum pecuniarum ambitu verum tyranny.  
etiam dominandi voluptate erat infestus. Fastus ejus  
fere in omnibus plusquam regius erat. Orientalium  
more regum tanquam in expeditione jugiter positus,  
armatorum circa cubiculum suum habere exeubias

<sup>1</sup> *ocurrerent*, B.C.L.S.; *occur-  
rent*, D.

<sup>2</sup> B. and D. have *carcere*.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *dissimulatam*.

<sup>4</sup> *deprædato quoque*, B.D.L.S.;  
*deprædatoque*, C.

<sup>5</sup> Newburgh fails to see Richard's  
grasping hand in this.

<sup>6</sup> *substratam*, B.D.L.S.; *subtrac-  
tam*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *et plusquam*, B.D.L.S.; *id est*,  
C.

<sup>8</sup> *summum et plusquam suum*,  
C.

<sup>9</sup> *importabilem . . . tyrannum*,  
C.D.L.S.; om. B.

A.D. 1190. voluit. Procedebat<sup>1</sup> cum<sup>2</sup> mille equis et plerumque etiam numerosius. Legationis suæ nomine hospitia a cunctis per Angliam exegit monasteriis; et a minoribus quidem, quæ pondus hospitii ferre non poterant, certa, id est, octo vel quinque marcarum summa redimi hospitia censuit: majoribus vero incumberebat velut locusta. Eliensis quidem episcopatus redditus uberes esse noscuntur: sed quantus erat ipsorum modulus ad immoderatissimas præsentis expensas? Exhaustus ergo expensarum profluvio non solum ærarium regium verum etiam quicquid ex regno, monasteriis, ecclesiis, quacunque occasione sive per se sive etiam<sup>3</sup> per officiales proprios corradere poterat. Præfecerat enim provinciis singulis, perdendis<sup>4</sup> magis quam regendis, nequissimos avaritiæ suæ ministros, qui non clerico, non<sup>5</sup> laico, non<sup>5</sup> religioso parcerent vel deferrent, quominus cancellarii commodis inservirent; sic enim dicebatur, cum<sup>6</sup> esset episcopus; et episcopi quidem in illo nullum vel tepidum, cancellarii vero nomen per universam erat Angliam insigne atque terribile.<sup>7</sup> Provinciarum vero præfectos, quo provincialibus essent formidini, sub prætextu publicæ provisionis, tanquam ad arcendam vel coercendam latronum audaciam, voluit habere in ministerio oberrantes armatas immanium barbarorum catervas, a quibus utique passim et impune<sup>8</sup> debacchantibus innumeræ in pro-

His fiscal exactions.

He causes the sheriffs to retain bands of armed men in their service.

<sup>1</sup> *procedebat*, C.D.L.S.; *præcedebat*, B.

<sup>2</sup> *cum*, B.D.L.S.; *enim cum*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *etiam*, D.L.S.; om. B.C.

<sup>4</sup> L. has *perpendis*.

<sup>5</sup> *non*, C.D.L.S.; *nec*, B. in both places.

<sup>6</sup> *cum*, B.D.L.S.; *ut*, C.

<sup>7</sup> Arrogance appears to Newburgh the sole key to Longchamp's conduct, and he seems ignorant, not only of the oaths taken by John and Geoffrey, but of Richard's in-

structions, secret and open. Compare R. Divis., pp. 12, 27, 28. See especially § 18 and the latter part of § 17 on p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> For *impune* both B. and D. have *impucie*, corrected in the latter to *impune*. This and the fact that a passage (see note 9, p. 333) omitted from B. is included in D. tend to show that B. and D. are copied from a common original, but that D. (14th cent.) is not copied from B. (13th cent.)

vinciis enormitates et crudelitates patratæ esse nos- A.D. 1190.  
 euntur. Sane quoniam regni optimatibus, insolentiam  
 fastumque ejus execrantibus, parum se credere poterat,  
 propin quarum suarum connubiis plurimos sibi potentes  
 et nobiles devincire curavit. Quis enim nobilium eo  
 tempore uxorem non habens, vel filio suo sive<sup>1</sup> nepoti  
 uxorem accipere cupiens, oblatam sibi aliquam pro- Marries his  
 pinquarum cancellarii, quarum turbam idem hujus rei female  
 gratia ex Normannia in Angliam acciverat, obviis<sup>2</sup> relations  
 manibus non acciperet, nec præclaram affinitatem sub to English  
 spe magnæ promotionis optaret? Cum ergo hoc modo nobles.  
 astrinxisset sibi nobilium plurimos, ceteros vero vel  
 confregisset terroribus vel arte et<sup>3</sup> officiis delinisset,  
 solum tamen metuebat Johannem regis fratrem, ut- Prince  
 pote longe potentiorum ceteris et speratum regni suc- John alone  
 cessorem, si forte rex in illa tam laboriosa periculosa is dreaded  
 que peregrinatione deficeret: cujus utique reditus non by him.  
 solum incertus erat, sed etiam causis valde probabili-  
 bus desperatus. Denique, ne forte rege peregre mori-  
 ente et Johanne rite succedente, propria expiraret  
 potestas, arte, ut<sup>4</sup> dicitur, agendum putavit ut Jo-  
 hannes jam adultus non succederet, sed per successo-  
 rem tenerum longi sibi temporis potestatem pararet.  
 Duobus itaque fratribus suis ad regem Scottorum Secret  
 directis, petiit ut firmissimo sibi fœdere cohæreret<sup>5</sup> treaty  
 ad præficiendum regno Anglorum Arturum<sup>6</sup> Britonem between  
 ipsius<sup>7</sup> pronepotem,<sup>8</sup> si forte rex peregre in fata con- Long-  
 cederet, eo quod illi potissimum, nato scilicet ex Geo- champ and  
 frido fratre regis majore, successio regni competeret; the king of  
 protestans regem literis ex Massilia<sup>9</sup> sive Sicilia ad Scotland  
 in favour  
 of prince  
 Arthur.

<sup>1</sup> *sive*, C.D.S.; *vel*, L.; B. omits *non habens* . . . *uxorem*. One of Longcham's sisters, Richenda, married Matthew de Cleres, warden of Dover Castle, another married into the Devereux family.

<sup>2</sup> B. and D. have *obiciis*. The word in S. might easily be so read.

<sup>3</sup> *et*, C.D.L.S.; *vel*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *ut*, B.C.L.S.; *vel*, D.

<sup>5</sup> *cohæreret*, C.; *cohærent* with the *n* expuncted, L.; *cohærent*, D.S.; *coercerent*, B.

<sup>6</sup> C. has *Arturo*.

<sup>7</sup> *ipsius*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>8</sup> Should of course be *nepotem*.

<sup>9</sup> *Massilia*, B.D.L.S.; *Marsilia*. C.

A.D. 1190? se directis Arturum nepotem suum, si forte ipsum non reverti contingeret, regni successorem designasse, et ut illi, adhuc paulo amplius quam quinquenni,<sup>1</sup> regnum usque ad annos viriles servaretur mandasse. Hoc quidem mysterium inter duos illos potentes occultis tractatum susurriis non diu latuit Johannem. Qui conceptum rancorem subtili pro tempore cautela dissimulans, suæ parti quoscunque poterat prudenter allicere, artemque arte eludere studuit.

Prince  
John de-  
fects the  
negotia-  
tion.

#### CAP. XV.

*Quare rex Rothomagensem<sup>2</sup> archiepiscopum de Sicilia in Angliam<sup>3</sup> miserit.*

A.D. 1191. Dum<sup>4</sup> talia in Anglia per unius hominis ausus insolentissimos gererentur, regi in Sicilia hiemanti universa fidei multorum innotuere relatu. Qui mox Galterium Rothomagensem archiepiscopum, virum prudentem et modestum, qui cum ipso hiemabat, direxit in Angliam, eum regii auctoritate rescripti cancellario per omnia in<sup>5</sup> administranda rerum summa consortem et collegam adjungens: ac, ne quid in eadem administratione eo non pariter disponente fieret, distriete præcipiens.<sup>6</sup> Hugonem quoque<sup>7</sup> cognomento Bardulfum, virum prudentem et nobilem, misit cum eo, Eboracensi præficiendum provinciæ, in qua frater cancellarii ritu barbarico grassabatur. Verum idem cancellarius propensiore sui fiducia regia contempsit mandata, allegans optime sibi notam

The king  
sends the  
archbishop  
of Rouen  
to act as  
Long-  
champ's  
colleague  
(arrives  
April 27).

Hugh Bar-  
dulf is sent  
to super-  
sede the  
chancellor's  
brother as  
sheriff of  
York.

<sup>1</sup> This places the negotiation after 29th March 1192, but Longchamp's second expulsion was on April 3. *Quadrienni* might give about May or June 1191, a probable date. See p. 339, note 3. John is not recognised as heir by the second treaty.

<sup>2</sup> *Rotomagus* in B.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *Anglia*.

<sup>4</sup> *Dum*, B.D.L.S.; *dum autem*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *in*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>6</sup> Benedict, ii. 213, says he did not produce the letters till Oct. 8.

<sup>7</sup> *quoque*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

Æneid.  
x. 640.

esse principis mentem, cui<sup>1</sup> magis obtemperandum A.D. 1191.  
 esset quam "sine mente sonis," literis scilicet sur-  
 reptione elicitis.<sup>2</sup> Cumque memoratus archiepiscopus Long-  
 Cantuariam ire disponeret, vacantem ordinaturus ec- champ  
 clesiam prout a rege acceperat, cancellarius, ad eju- refuses to  
 dem jam sedis prerogativam aspirans,<sup>3</sup> hac eum cito recognise  
 sollicitudine exiit, maturam præsumptionis pœnitu- the autho-  
 dinem<sup>4</sup> si vel tentaret illuc contendere terribiliter rity of  
 comminatus. Itaque idem<sup>5</sup> Rothomagensis otiosus written  
 in Anglia morabatur. Cancellarius vero in regni orders in  
 administratione collegæ impatiens, singularis ferus contraven-  
 Angliam depasebatur. At non diu homo insolent- tion of the  
 tissimus quietam egit tyrannidem, malis adversus known  
 eum paulatim succrescentibus, auctore maxime<sup>6</sup> at- wishes of  
 que incentore fratre regis Johanne ob causam super- the king.  
 rius memoratam. Primi autem contra eum motus<sup>7</sup> The arch-  
 talis fuit occasio. bishop of  
 Rouen is  
 compelled  
 to remain  
 inactive.

## CAP. XVI.

*Qua occasione Johannes frater regis restiterit can-  
 cellario.*

A.D. 1191.

Gerardus de Camvilla, vir dives et nobilis, sum- Long-  
 ma non modica emerat a rege<sup>8</sup> castelli Lincolnensis champ eu-  
 custodiam, quæ uxori ejus jure hereditario competere deavours  
 videbatur, necnon et<sup>9</sup> adjacentis provinciæ præsidatum to remove  
 ad tempus certum. Rege autem in Orientali expedi- the warden  
 castle.

<sup>1</sup> *cui*, B.C.D.R.S.; *cui tamen*, L.<sup>2</sup> See Introduction to the Rotuli Curie Regis p. lxii. as to the superiority at this date of oral declarations over written instruments. Ric. Divis., p. 15, speaks of Richard's contradictory mandates.<sup>3</sup> See Jocelin de Brakelond, p. 38.

R 8918.

<sup>4</sup> *pœnitudinem*, B.D.R.S.; *pleni-  
 tudinem*, C.L.<sup>5</sup> *idem*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.<sup>6</sup> *maxime*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.<sup>7</sup> *Primi . . . motus*, B.D.L.S.;  
*primitus autem contra eum*, C.<sup>8</sup> *a rege*, B.C.L.S.; *arce*, D.<sup>9</sup> *et*, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

A.D. 1191. The war-  
den in-  
vokes the  
assistance  
of prince  
John. Loug-  
champ  
sends for  
merce-  
naries, but  
also at once  
besieges  
Lincoln  
castle. John seizes  
Notting-  
ham and  
Tickhill,  
and orders  
the chauce-  
llor to  
raise the  
siege.  
News of  
pope Cle-  
ment's  
death  
(April 10)  
arrives,  
and the  
chance-  
llor's  
legateship  
thus ex-  
pires. tione posito, cum fere nullus reditum ejus speraret,<sup>1</sup> cancellarius, fere universis per Angliam munitionibus regis in ejus potestate consistentibus, arcem quoque Lincolnensem ad suam ordinationem traducere voluit; nactusque occasionem, vel veram vel subornatam, prædicto Gerardo, præsidatu prius spoliato, arcem mox resignare præcepit. Ille vero, necessitate cogente, ad Johannem se contulit, ejusque favore fretus jussionem sprevit. Indignatus cancellarius, eandem arcem obsessurus, ex subjectis provinciis propere<sup>2</sup> cogit exercitum. Optimatum autem plurimos habens suspectos, et non frustra eos conjiciens pronioris esse studii ad Johannem, profusioribus sollicitatam stipendiis transmarinam accersit militiam. Cujus tamen adventum homo fervidus et moræ impatiens minime præstolatur; sed civitatem Lincolniam cum ingentibus copiis ingressus, arcem peryicaciter obsidet,<sup>3</sup> et<sup>4</sup> conficiendis cum festinatione machinis sumptuosum laborem impendit. Sane illo circa obsidionis negotium<sup>5</sup> occupato, Johannes cum suis<sup>6</sup> super munitiones regias, scilicet de Notingeham et Tikehil,<sup>7</sup> improvisus irruit, easque viris et victualibus parum munitas inveniens, bidui negotio comprehendit.<sup>8</sup> Tunc, crescente fiducia, superbo denunciavit obsessori ut vel soluta obsidione recederet, vel certe se ad excipiendum ejus in proximo impetum cautius præpararet. Sciens ille optimatum plurimos, qui secum esse videbantur, animo esse cum Johanne, confusus abscessit, et post dies paucos unum ex cornibus suis fractum esse, id est, legationis suæ officium per mortem Ro-

<sup>1</sup> B. has *spiraret*.

<sup>2</sup> *prope* in B.

<sup>3</sup> *obsidet*, B.D.L.S.; *obsedit*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *et*, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

<sup>5</sup> L. has *negotiiis*.

<sup>6</sup> *suis*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>7</sup> *Tikehil*, C.L.S.; *Tichehill*, B.; *Tichehil*, D.

<sup>8</sup> For sequel as to Camvill see Hoveden, iii. 242. He was a partisan of John. See Ric. Divis., p. 30.

mani pontificis exspirasse,<sup>1</sup> cognovit. His territus, amiciis mediantibus sollemne cum Johanne colloquium habuit, et quibus potuit conditionibus pacem cum eo fecit. Mox vero militiam illam quam accersire curaverat transmarinam in Anglia<sup>2</sup> applicuisse atque adventare cognoscens, resumpto spiritu resiliit a pactis, et protestatus est vel se vel Johannem ex Anglia propellendum, tantam scilicet regni latitudinem duobus tam grandibus, immo tam tumidis, significans non sufficere capiendis. Tandem tamen inter eos facta est pax<sup>3</sup> conditionibus novis: dum ille, sicut dicitur, Johanni satisfaceret, abjurata parte Arturi, et cautione præstita quod Johanni tanquam justo heredi munitiones regias redderet, si forte rex ab Orientis partibus non rediret. His actis, Johannes pro tempore quievit. Cancellarius vero, fastu agens solito, tyrannum non exiit. Solum enim tanquam alter Herodes metuebat Johannem, et audito eo multa faciebat, et quidem non libenter sed plane reverenter eum audiebat.

A.D. 1191.

First treaty with John (at Winchester April 25?)

Long-champ concludes a second truce with John (July 28?), promising to renounce the cause of Arthur.

## CAP. XVII.

*De captione Eboracensis archiepiscopi, et expulsiōne cancellarii.*

Interea Geofridus<sup>4</sup> Eboracensis electus in transmarinis partibus constitutus, ordine præpostero ante pontificalem consecrationem insigne metropolitani, id est pallium, a Romano pontifice petiit et accepit. Consecratio vero ejus post acceptionem pallii diuscule<sup>5</sup> dilata est, impediētibz eum<sup>6</sup> per objectiones varias

A.D. 1191

Geofrey, archbishop elect of York, receives the pallium before consecration

<sup>1</sup> B. originally had *exspirante*.<sup>2</sup> *Angliam* in L. R. Divis., p. 32, says Welsh mercenaries.<sup>3</sup> Canon Stubbs shows that Benedict, ii. 207, refers to a second siege, and that this second treaty (which

did not recognise John as heir) was on 28 July. See Hoveden, iii. 137.

<sup>4</sup> *Geofridus*, C.<sup>5</sup> *duscule*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.<sup>6</sup> *eum*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

A.D. 1191. adversariis plurimis, et maxime memorato cancellario. Veruntamen per instantiam clerici sui Symonis<sup>1</sup> Apuli, viri prudentis et literati, tandem invaluit; et impetrato Cœlestini papæ, qui Clementi successerat, ad archiepiscopum<sup>2</sup> Turonensem rescripto, ut ei, non obstante vel appellatione vel occasione qualibet, manus imponeret, Turonis sollemniter est consecratus anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo i<sup>o</sup>, mense Augusto. Quod ubi comperit principalis insectator ejus cancellarius, mox per satellites proprios Eboracensis archiepiscopi tyrannice possessiones invasit, et præter res immobiles, cetera improbus dilapidator vel potius depredator abrasit. Portus quoque caute custodiri præcipit, ne forte illi liber esset in<sup>3</sup> Angliam ingressus vel ad ecclesiam suam accessus. Ille vero nihilominus adveniens,<sup>4</sup> apud Doveram confidenter applicuit; sed majorem in terra quam in mari procellam invenit. Custos enim castri Doverensis, habens in conjugio germanam cancellarii, appulso progressum inhibuit, atque ejus ingressum citissimis cancellario nuntiis indicavit. Qui ferocis animi motum nequaquam dissimulans, præcepit cum rebus nudatum omnibus monasterio Doverensi, in quo interim morabatur, abstrahi, et in arce Doverensi custodiæ mancipari. Venientes ergo missi a tyranno satellites, vehicula et clitellas, et quæcunque ejus vel clericorum ejus erant, diripuerunt: eunque in ecclesia invenientes, nec personæ clarissimæ, nec sacrati<sup>5</sup> loci reverentiam habuerunt; sed a venerabili altari violenter avulsum, et ab ecclesia contumeliose extractum<sup>6</sup> una cum clericis suis castello intruserunt. Et ille quidem servabatur in carcere. Fama vero enormitatis hujus discurrens, et

He is consecrated at Tours, Aug. (18).

The chancellor endeavours to prevent Geoffrey from landing in England, but he nevertheless arrives (Sept. 14).

Geoffrey is robbed of his property and imprisoned in Dover castle.

<sup>1</sup> Symonis, D.L.S.; Simonis, B.C.

<sup>2</sup> archiepiscopatum in C.

<sup>3</sup> in, C.L.S.; vel in, B.D.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *veniens*. See R. Divis.,

pp. 15, 34. Geoffrey had sworn to absent himself for three years.

<sup>5</sup> *sacrati*, B.D.L.S.; *sacri*, C.R.

<sup>6</sup> C. has *abstractum*.



quasi graduens super pennas ventorum, in brevi Angliam replevit. Majores in cancellarium fremunt, minores eidem mala imprecantur, universi votis communibus tyrannum detestantur. Johannes maxime de fratris captivitate doluit; atque ad ejus non tantum liberationem sed etiam ultionem justissimo motu exarsit. Itaque festinanter congregatis ex omni terra conditionis suæ necnon et<sup>1</sup> ex regione Walliarum<sup>2</sup> ingentibus copiis properabat.<sup>3</sup> Cui mox accessere Wintoniensis episcopus et barones plurimi, comitesque nonnulli cum militia copiosa: nec defuere episcopi Bathensis et Cestrensis,<sup>4</sup> qui paulo ante principales cancellarii complices et fautores exstiterant, sed tyrannicis ejus moribus et immoderato fastu offensi, cum ceteris immo præ ceteris in eum tunc linguis simul et animis sæviebant. Cancellarius vero sera pœnitentia stimulatus, quod tantam contra se flammam petulanti ausu accenderit, præcepit captivum relaxari pontificem. Qui dimissus venit Lundonias, et illatæ dolorem injuriæ abundantioribus multorum affectibus atque officiis compensavit. At non sicut ejus captione præsulum procerumque zelus excitari, ita etiam ejus potuit relaxatione sedari. Semel enim accensi animi per hanc quasi satisfactionem nequaquam deferbuere, sed ad confringenda rhinocerotis illius<sup>5</sup> cornua omnium vota et studia laudabili constantia convenere.<sup>6</sup> Ille, cum esset animi robusti et rigidi, necessitatem ad alacritatem trahens, amicorum et militum peregrinorum stipavit se copiis, stetitque in campo non longe a Windesora,<sup>7</sup> hostes, si forte progrediendum putarent,

A.D. 1191.

John raises an army and is joined by many bishops and barons.

The chancellor, in alarm, releases Geoffrey (Sept. 26), but the movement against him proceeds.

Long-champ draws up his forces near Windsor.

<sup>1</sup> et, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> Walliarum, B.C.L.S.; Walliarum, D.

<sup>3</sup> properabat, B.D.L.R.S.; præparabat, C.

<sup>4</sup> Hugh Nunant, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, see p. 394.

<sup>5</sup> illius, B.D.L.S.; ejus, C.

<sup>6</sup> See John's letter (Diceto ii. 98) appointing a meeting at Loddon Bridge for Oct. 5. See R. Divis., p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> Windesora, C.L.S.; Wyndosora, B.; Windosora, D.

A.D. 1191. paratus excipere. Verum adventantis exercitus numero et fiducia territus retrogradari cœpit. Mox quibusdam potentibus, qui cum eo esse videbantur, transeuntibus ad partes Johannis, cum ei in vicina munitione regia, scilicet <sup>1</sup> Windesora, <sup>2</sup> tutum non deesset <sup>3</sup> receptaculum, turbatus inopsque consilii, instantibus a tergo hostibus, cum suis omnibus profugit Lundonias. Quas ingressus, civibus, quibus paulo ante terribilis fuerat, ne sibi in illo deessent articulo humiliter supplicavit: illi vero, prioris fastus et ferociæ ejus memores, Johanni potius <sup>4</sup> favorem præstiterunt. Itaque spe sua frustratus, quod solum poterat, a facie hostis imminentis in arcem se regiam cum omnibus suis recepit, quorum tantus erat numerus, ut in unius turris angustiis sua illis esset multo nocivior multitudo quam hostium foris frementium fortitudo. Æstuabat turris interius compressione multitudinis inclusæ, cito evomitura quos prodendos magis quam tuendos susceperat. Denique post unam noctem egressus ad Johannem et obsessores ceteros, ille, paulo ante rhinoceros sed jam homo, humili alloquio abeundi facultatem impetravit inclusis: ipse quoque arce resignata cum ceteris per Angliam munitionibus regiis, privatus et <sup>5</sup> inglorius Doveram ad virum sororis concessit. Cernere erat tunc hominem modo paulo ante non contentum humano, sed pæne cogitantem super astra cœli exaltare solium suum et ascendere super altitudinem nubium, dejectionis suæ dedecus ita pati ut illi animo nequaquam Siculi potuisse videantur invenire tyranni majus tormentum.

Hor. Epist.  
i. 2.

Some of his supporters deserting he flees to London, and shuts himself up in the Tower (Oct. 7).

Is unable to defend the Tower, and resigning the royal castles (Oct. 12) he retreats to Dover.

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, C.D.L.S.; simul, B.

<sup>2</sup> Windesora, C.D.S.; Wyndesora, B.; Wendesora, L.

<sup>3</sup> deesset, B.D.R.S.; altered from deesset to esset, L.; esset, C. The former must be the correct reading, as Windsor was in his hands at the time, though resigned a few days

later (Bened. Petrob., Rolls ed., Vol. II. p. 214). R. of Devizes, p. 37, says that Longchamp, through a mistake made by Henry Bisset, was misled into believing that John had gone to London.

<sup>4</sup> potius, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>5</sup> et, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

Isaias  
xxviii. 19.

Cumque ad ecclesiae propriae regimen episcopus deberet accedere, si sobrium vexatio dedisset intellectum, apud Doveram mora facta, tanquam in Anglia confusionem suam non ferens, vel certe liberius transmare pro ultione propria aliquid moliturus, transfretare voluit. Impediri autem metuens, miri acuminis, qua omne impedimentum eluderet, artem invenit. Olim enim animo et merito exutus episcopum, habitu quoque exuens, membris non tantum virilibus, more effeminatorum, sed etiam pontificalibus, quod a seculis non erat auditum, vestem ineptissime aptavit muliebrem, caputque et majorem faciei partem velut delicata muliercula peplo obvolutus, inter plurimos deambulabat in littore, laevo brachio telam lineam, tanquam venalem, ulnam vero manu dextera praeferens;<sup>1</sup> scilicet ut hac arte non observatus ab aliquo, navim cum ceteris transfretaturis<sup>2</sup> absque impedimento intraret. Verum a quodam forte agnitus proditusque, abstracto peplo, tanquam manifestus effeminatus ignominiose multumque<sup>3</sup> ineiscopaliter a concurrentibus est indisciplinatis pulsatus. Dehinc magistratui loci exhibitus servatusque est quousque sciretur quid super hoc decernerent regni potentes. Johannes quidem, agnito quod acciderat, hostili animo exsultavit, atque aliquid<sup>4</sup> in eum quo magis dehonestaretur sancire<sup>5</sup> voluit. At vero episcopi, justo rubore suffusi quod in persona episcopali tam foedares accidisset, vigore ecclesiastico ut dimitteretur egerunt. Dimissus ergo, et foris quantum poterat dissimulans<sup>6</sup> quo intus urebatur, transfretavit.

A.D. 1191.

Appears on the shore disguised as a woman, hoping thus to cross to France undetected (Oct. 18).

He is recognised and dragged before a magistrate.

Through the intervention of the bishops he is permitted to retire to France (Oct. 29).

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this account of Longchamp's humiliation is clearly derived from Hugh of Nunant's discreditable letter, which is given at length by Benedict of Peterborough (ii. 215).

<sup>2</sup> *transfretaturis*, B.C.D.L.S.; *transfretaturus*, R.

<sup>3</sup> *multumque*, B.D.L.S.; *vultumque*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *aliquid*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> L. has *sancire suffusi*, the latter word caught up from below.

<sup>6</sup> B. has *dissimulatis*.

## CAP. XVIII.

*De ordinatione regni post expulsionem cancellarii  
et de molitionibus ejus irritis.*<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1191.

A council of the bishops and barons held in London. The archbishop of Rouen made administrator of the kingdom.

Tyranno igitur qui regnum turbaverat propulsato, episcopi et optimates cum Johanne Lundoniis congregati de regni ordinatione tractare cœperunt. Et primo quidem ab omnibus regis Ricardi propter Christum peregrinantis fidelitate jurata, regni administrationem Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, quem ad hoc ipsum idem rex a Sicilia in Angliam miserat, decreto communi tradiderunt:<sup>2</sup> amotisque<sup>3</sup> ministris tyrannicis, provinciarum regimen melius ordinari voluerunt. Quibus actis, Anglia in cunctis finibus suis pacem recepit, et decenti sub novis cœpit rectoribus moderamine gubernari, malis plurimis, quæ sub tyranno pullulaverant atque viguerant, cum ipso pariter eliminatis, juxta illud Salomonis, "Ejice  
" derisorem, et exhibit cum eo jurgium, cessabunt-  
" que causæ et contumeliæ." Sane illi, quorum laudabili opera hæc regno Anglorum salus influxerat, molitionum illius hominis non ignari, quod scilicet regem etiam longissime positum concinnatis prævenire atque inflammare curaret mendaciis, integram rerum veritatem regi per literas significandam duxerunt, cum attestationibus signorum appendentium plurimorum. Præterea Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, cui rerum erat principaliter summa commissa, regnique episcopis visum est, vacanti primæ sedi, ad quam tyrannus aspiraverat et forte adhuc aspirabat, maturius, quo ejus spes frustraretur, providendum esse pastorem. Invitati igitur ad celebrandam ex

Prov. xxii.  
10.

The monks of Canterbury are summoned to elect an archbishop. They choose (Dec. 2) the bishop of Bath.

<sup>1</sup> *irritis*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> Benedict, ii. 213, and R. Divis., p. 38, say this was at a council in S. Paul's on Oct. 8, and therefore before Longchamp's expulsion. It

was then ("*tunc primum*") that Walter of Coutances produced his commission (Bened.).

<sup>3</sup> *amotisque*, B.C.D.R.S.; *amotis*, L.

more<sup>1</sup> futuri metropolitani electionem Cantuarienses, A.D. 1191. Bathensem<sup>2</sup> episcopum sollemniter elegerunt. Verum is<sup>3</sup> post modicum nondum<sup>4</sup> inthronizatus decessit, He dies shortly after (Dec. 26, 1191). moriendo resuscitavit. Qui nimirum in transmarinis positus, suam, tanquam ad domini regis propter Christum peregrinantis injuriam et dedecus, expulsionem, regni a Johanne invasionem, per nuntios in auribus domini papæ Cœlestini deploravit, redditisque sibi vicibus sedis Apostolicæ, quas sub papa Clemente habuerat, pro coercendo Johanne et revocando in pristinum statum<sup>5</sup> regni Anglici, rescriptum fortissimum impetravit. Verum idem restoratio, but the bishops reuder the mandate inoperative. Long-champ tries to bribe John. Returning to Dover (March 1192) he displays the insignia of legateship, but proceeds no further. Queen Eleanor holds a council in London.

sum, viribus caruit.<sup>6</sup> Videns ergo nihil a se agi posse<sup>7</sup> Johanne adverso, per clandestinos nuntios coluluit cum eo, ingentique summa illi vel præstita vel promissa, favorem ejus emeritus confidenter in Angliam venit.<sup>8</sup> Applicans autem apud Doveram, mox ut male sibi notum littus attigit, tanquam ad detergendum dedecus quod ibidem incurrerat, erectis suæ legationis insignibus gloriosus refulsit; non tamen progressus est, sed apud virum germanæ resedit donec agnosceret utrum eum metu vel regio vel Apostolico inclinati reciperent adversarii, cum jam placasset maximum omnium Johannem. Hujus rei gratia missis Lundonias nuntiis literisque ad reginam matrem regis, quæ nuper a Sicilia venerat, et tunc forte cum Rothomagensi et Eboracensi archiepiscopis et Johanne filio aliisque compluribus tam episcopis quam optimatibus Lundoniis

<sup>1</sup> *ex more*, B.D.L.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> *Bathensem*, C.L.S.; *Batensem*, B.D.; *Bathoniensem*, R.

<sup>3</sup> *is*, C.D.L.S.; *hiis*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *nondum*, B.D.L.S.; *dum is*, C. Gervase (i. 511) says that he was enthroned.

<sup>5</sup> *statum*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>6</sup> They refused to execute the maudate, Benedict, ii. 221-5; Hoveden, iii. 151.

<sup>7</sup> *posse*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>8</sup> Philip's negotiations with John (Bened., ii. 236-7; R. Divis., 56, 57) were proceeding about this time.

A.D. 1192. consistebat, secus quam sperabat invenit. Cum enim<sup>1</sup> Johannes collusionem quanta poterat cautela dissimulans, mollius tamen agendo deprehenderetur<sup>2</sup> atque objurgaretur a matre et ceteris, tandem flexus generali subscripsit decreto.<sup>3</sup> Itaque universi<sup>4</sup> cum regina, directis ad cancellarium viris honoratis, eum tanquam regni turbatorem hostemque publicum Angliæ finibus mature excedere cum<sup>5</sup> interminationibus præceperunt. Denique territus et confusus recessit, siluitque gemens usque ad tempus. Quia vero quales, rege peregrinante, res Angliæ fuerint, superiori narratione perstrinximus, nunc ad ejusdem peregrinantis acta, prout ab eis qui interfucere accepimus, explicanda veniamus.

Long-champ is directed to quit the realm.

He leaves (April 2).

## CAP. XIX.

### *De progressu regum a Sicilia, et impedimentis<sup>6</sup> Christiani exercitus apud Acram.<sup>7</sup>*

A.D. 1191.

Queen Eleanor's journey to conduct Berengère of Navarre, Richard's intended bride, to Sicily.

Igitur illustribus Francorum Anglorumque regibus in insula Sicilia sub expectatione vernæ expeditionis hiemantibus, regina Alianoris,<sup>8</sup> anilis oblita ætatis, nec reputans longitudinem seu difficultatem itineris aut rigorem temporis hiemalis, dum materno duceretur vel potius traheretur affectu, a finibus terræ Siciliam venit ad filium, secum adducens nupturam illi regis Navarrorum filiam, famosæ pulchritudinis et prudentiæ virginem. Et quidem tam ineptum<sup>9</sup> quam et inusitatum videbatur ut in præcinctu bellorum de volup-

<sup>1</sup> *Cum enim*, B.D.L.S.; *cumque*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *deprehenderetur*, B.D.L.S.; *ne deprehenderetur*, C.

<sup>3</sup> See Benediet ii. 239, also Hoveden, iii. 188. R. Divis. says, p. 58, that John received as a counter bribe from the justiciars a fine imposed on the chancellor.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *universis*.

<sup>5</sup> D. has *eum*.

<sup>6</sup> *impedimentis*, L.S.; *impedimento*, C.; *ipse dicatis* (sic), D.

<sup>7</sup> *et . . . Acram*, om. B.

<sup>8</sup> *Alianoris*, C.L.

<sup>9</sup> L. has *impetum*.

tate cogitaret, et quam uxorem duxisset mox secum ad prelia duceret, attamen hoc in regnante juvene non tantum utilitatis verum etiam salubritatis ratio honestabat. Nam et<sup>1</sup> in illo articulo sobolem quærere, cum filium qui succederet non haberet, utile fuit: cumque<sup>2</sup> esset pro ætate et usu deliciarum lubricus, bellorum propter Christum pericula subiturus, contra maximum fornicationis periculum competenti remedio, salubri usus<sup>3</sup> consilio, se munivit. Adductam ergo virginem duxit uxorem,<sup>4</sup> eandem per maris Martisque discrimina<sup>5</sup> secum ducturus<sup>6</sup> una cum nobili vidua, propria scilicet<sup>7</sup> germana, Guillelmi illustrissimi olim regis Siculorum<sup>8</sup> relicta; quæ nimirum præclari conjugii amplissimam in Sicilia sive Calabria dotis nomine habens mercedem, eadem dote regi Tancredo absolute vendita, ut fratrem regem sequeretur, ejus in immensum auxit<sup>9</sup> thesauros. Adest tandem<sup>10</sup> longis expectatus desiderii mensis Martius; tranquillatur mare, arridet cælum; Christianorum ingens numerus, qui relictis ante hiemem propriis, in diversis provinciis transiturus in Syriam hiemem egerat, cum sollempni lætitia et alacritate naves<sup>11</sup> ascendit. Memorati quoque reges cum suis copiis classem solvunt; rex Francorum spatio dierum aliquot regem Anglorum mox secuturum præcedens, et secundis flatibus circa octavas Paschæ in Syriam veniens, Christiano exercitui, civitatem Tholomaidam, ut superius dictum est, jam fere per biennium obsidenti, totis viribus jungitur. Hujus autem exercitus, tanto tempore sub divo excubantis ad tantum negotium, tam laudanda

Marriage  
of king  
Richard  
(May 12).

The ex-  
pedition  
sails,  
March  
1191.

The king  
of France  
reaches  
Acre about  
April 21.

<sup>1</sup> *et*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> *cumque*, B.C.L.S.; *cum*, D.

<sup>3</sup> *usus*, B.C.D.S.; *hujus*, L.

<sup>4</sup> The marriage took place at Limasol, in Cyprus, not before quitting Sicily, as would appear from the order of events in the text. Lent was the obstacle.

<sup>5</sup> *discrimina*, B.C.D.R.S.; *discrimen*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *ducturus*, B.D.L.S.; *perducturus*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *scilicet*, C.D.L.S.; *simul*, B.

<sup>8</sup> *Siculorum*, B.C.D.R.S.; *Siculi*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *auxit*, B.D.L.S.; *hausit*, C.

<sup>10</sup> C. has, by imperfect alteration, *tamen*.

<sup>11</sup> *naves*, B.C.D.L.S.; *navem*, R.

A.D. 1191. quam<sup>1</sup> miranda devotio est, et illa nullis casibus sive periculis, nullis incommodis sive laboribus lassata constantia, quominus hostes atrocissimos usque ad exterminium debitum coaretarent. Civitas olim a Christianis ad summam claritatem et præcipuum robor evecta, postquam in manus impiissimi Saladini quanto minori negotio tanto manifestiori Dei judicio incidit, per ejusdem tyranni providam et sumptuosissimam operam mœnia longe firmiora, et multiplex, tanquam primos Christianorum impetus expertura, munimen accepit. Universi ejus defensores electi, nullusque in ea remissus vel languidus; et si forte quemquam debilitari contigisset, mature mutabatur. Nam propter portum, quo urbi adjuncto potiebantur<sup>2</sup> Pagani, inhibere non poterant obsidentes Christiani quin, captata flatuum et temporum opportunitate, quæque necessaria civitati inferrentur. Fiebant autem ab obsessoribus diversi generis machinæ arte et sumptu inani: muris enim admotæ, incendebantur ab hostibus quodam ignis genere quem Græcum dicunt: denique hoc genus arte confectum miræ esse potentiæ dicitur, nec contrario cedere elemento. Cumque urbs abundaret subsidiis, gravi plerumque penuria noster exercitus laborabat; non enim poterant nostri ad agendas prædas et comportanda exercitui necessaria egredi in regionem, Turcorum jugiter haud procul<sup>3</sup> observante exercitu atque omnem illis inbibente excursus; sed marino tantummodo commeatu tantus Christianus exercitus alebatur: et cum forte parcius adveheretur subsidium, famis incommodo tabescebat. Tantus autem numerus per singulos dies vel inedia vel morbis absumebatur, ut exercitus ita sensim deficiens in brevi totus absumendus videretur. Veruntamen divina quadam providentia tantis et cotidianis defectibus nec in modico minuebatur

Difficulties  
attending  
the siege  
of Acre.

<sup>1</sup> quam, C.L.S.; quam et, B.D.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *patiebantur*.

<sup>3</sup> *procul*, B.D.L.R.S.; longe, C.



exercitus : nam et super illorum numerum qui ex labore A.D. 1191.  
 propter Christum suscepto ad æternam requiem per dies  
 singulos assumebantur, ex regionibus Christianis plures  
 accedebant, et assumendo emeritos, ita suum Christus  
 novo militum delectu reficiebat exercitum, ut assump-  
 tionem supplementa superarent. Præterea quædam Divisions  
 mala interna, auctore diabolo, quantum inter nostros in Chris-  
 serpebant tantum et hostem<sup>1</sup> juvabant. Guido enim tian army.  
 olim<sup>2</sup> rex Ierosolymorum et marchio de Monte-Ferrato, Contention  
 causa superius memorata dissidentes, ad exercitum between  
 venerant, atque in ipsa obsidione ita locis distincti ut Guy of  
 animis multam<sup>3</sup> post se turbam trahebant, dum poten- Lusignan  
 tum plurimi partes oppositas divisis prosequerentur and the  
 favoribus, in tantum ut religiosa Hospitalis Ierosoly- marquis of  
 mitani militia in duo collegia pro studio partium Montfer-  
 seissa videretur. Principibus itaque in diversa niten- rat.  
 tibus, exercitus minus agere poterat,<sup>4</sup> et Christianum Even the  
 lente negotium procedebat. Nonnullos quoque princi- Hospit-  
 pum nostrorum, ut dicitur, avaritiæ tabes infecerat, tallers are  
 clandestinis a Saladino pecuniis, cum plurimum split into  
 possent, ut remissius agerent, expugnatos. His igitur two fac-  
 causis propositum impredientibus, exercitus noster tions.  
 tempore circa urbem expugnandam<sup>5</sup> casso labore su- Some of  
 davit. Verum cum nova militia rex Francorum the crusa-  
 adveniens, fessorum auxit fiduciam, et de cetero fortius ders said  
 atque efficacius negotio instabatur. Denique idem to be in the  
 marchioni propensius favorem accommodans, atque eo pay of  
 qui regnum Christianum perdiderat, illum qui reliquias Saladin.  
 saltem parvas salvaverat eidem regno aptiorem pro- The arri-  
 nuntians, partem Guidonis pre tempore infirmavit. val of  
 Philip  
 Augustus  
 (April 20)  
 again in-  
 spires the  
 attack.  
 He favours  
 the Mont-  
 ferrat  
 party.

<sup>1</sup> *hostem*, B.C.D.S. ; *hostes*, L.<sup>2</sup> *olim*, C.D.L.S. ; om. B.<sup>3</sup> D. has *multa*.<sup>4</sup> *poterat*, B.D.L.S. ; *potuit*, C.<sup>5</sup> D. has *expugnatam*.

## CAP. XX.

A.D. 1191. *Quomodo rex Anglorum acquisivit insulam Cyprum.*

King Richard puts to sea (April 10).

Being forced by a storm to take refuge in Cyprus the crusaders are ill received by the emperor Isaac Comnenus.

He robs and imprisons those who arrive first. Richard landing his forces defeats and

Igitur rex Anglorum diebus aliquot post regis Francorum profectionem in Sicilia demoratus, tandem et ipse cum suis copiis et longe majori apparatu<sup>1</sup> non satis fidis se flatibus credit, habens in comitatu suo naves actuarias atque onerarias plurimas. Quippe in illo hiemali otio otiosus non fuerat;<sup>2</sup> sed congerendis necessariis exercitui subsidiis et conficiendis machinis bellicis tempus imbelles impenderat. Dei autem ordinatissima provisione, ut consequenter claruit, oborta tempestas fatigatam compulit classem Cyprum divertere, tanquam Christianorum incolarum fidei ac tuto colligendam hospitio atque officiis confovendam. Verum majorem in portu optato quam in mari turbato turbine offenderunt. Tyrannus enim qui eandem insulam sæva<sup>3</sup> dominatione annis jam plurimis presserat,<sup>4</sup> et imperatorium sibi in ea nomen usurparat, Christiani nominis hosti Saladino fœderatus, ipsique quam<sup>5</sup> Christo fidelior, licet Christianus diceretur, cum exercitu affuit, et primos fluctuum sævitia in portum coactos sævior ipse excipiens indigne tractavit, et bonis omnibus spoliatus, vix vita dignos<sup>6</sup> censuit; quosdam etiam redegit in carcerem inedia consumendos, regi mox affuturo non dissimilia ore tercrepo comminans. Quibus ille agnitis, justo ad ultionem zelo inflammatus, cum tota classe portum intravit. Excipitur a tyranno, et totis hinc<sup>7</sup> inde viribus conseritur proelium: at non diu Græca mollities impetum susti-

<sup>1</sup> longe . . . apparatu, C.D.L.S.; longi a majori paratu, B.

<sup>2</sup> fuerat, B.C.D.L.S.; fuit, R.

<sup>3</sup> sæva, B.C.L.S.; om. D.

<sup>4</sup> presserat, B.C.D.L.S.; oppreserat, R.

<sup>5</sup> quam, B.D.L.S.; jam, C.

<sup>6</sup> L. has indignos.

<sup>7</sup> totis hinc inde, C.D.L.S.; totius inde, B.

nuit Latinorum. Victus ergo tyrannus, dum tentaret fugere incidit in manus hostium, dispersoque exercitu ejus, civitas portui imminens<sup>1</sup> capta est. Rex quidem primo in tyrannum mitius agere voluit, et pro sua liberatione quicquid exigebatur pollicentem, celebratis cum eo pactis relaxavit. Verum ille, libertate reddita, prævaricator pactorum, malis prioribus perfidiam sociavit. Rex vero præmaturæ clementiæ pœnitens, investigare perfidum et persequi statuit. Ille vires resumere atque<sup>2</sup> exercitum cogere<sup>3</sup> frustra conatus, fugiebat a facie persequentis: quem tandem rex in<sup>4</sup> quodam monasterio delitescentem, prodentibus eum quibusdam insulanis quibus merito exosus erat, comprehendit, et vinculis justissimis innodavit. Vinciri autem jussus, dixisse fertur quod ferro vinctus cito deficeret. Ad quod rex, "Bene," ait, "loquitur, quia nobilis est, et mori eum nolumus: sed ut vivat innoxius argenteis astringatur catenis." Mox tota insula tyrannicis saucia moribus, sponte in ejusdem principis ditionem devotionemque concessit, cunctis illi urbibus et munitionibus necnon et opulentissimis tyranni thesauris cum unica ejus filia resignatis.<sup>5</sup> Quibus feliciter actis, per dies aliquot in regno novo cum victricibus copiis victoriam cum multa gloria celebrans, præclaras manubias ad Christianæ expeditionis subsidium sollicitus ordinabat. Non latuere ista Christianum exercitum qui Tholomaidam obsidebat, atque ejus cum desiderio præstolabatur accessum. Verum præclari successus audita felicitas, cui congratulandum non derogandum erat, necessariam ejus moram purgavit. Ipse vero paulo plus duobus mensibus in Cypro exactis, et rebus magnis spatio tam brevi patris, hilares copias in Syriam traduceudas ad naves revo-

A.D. 1191.

captures  
Isaac.Richard  
liberates  
but is  
forced to  
pursue and  
recapture  
him.

31 May.

The whole  
island  
submits.<sup>1</sup> B. omits *imminens*.<sup>2</sup> *atque*, B.D.L.S.; *et*, C.<sup>3</sup> *cogere* altered to *colligere*, D.<sup>4</sup> *in*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.<sup>5</sup> There are several errors here and above. A second battle was

lost and, after a pretended submission, Isaac fled, Nicosia surrendered, and Isaac's daughter fell into Richard's hands. This broke his spirit, and he left the fortress of Candaira to surrender.

A.D. 1191. cat. Ordinata igitur, prout voluit et decuit, insula, cunctisque rite dispositis, ardentibus quoque elementis, portu egreditur, rectoque cursu Tholomaidam<sup>1</sup> properans, trierem maximam onerariam eminus conspiciatur, quæ nimirum a Saladino missa, obsessis in Tholomaida multiplicis subsidii copiam deferebat. Quo ille comperto, jubet eam oppugnari. Verum cum non facile propter enormem posset<sup>2</sup> magnitudinem et virtutem defensorum, desuper tanquam ex arce pugnantium, expugnari,<sup>3</sup> rerum, quæ in ea erant, dispendio, expugnationis ejus compendium, rege volente, quaesitum est. Arte siquidem sub aquis perforata, mari per foramina latenter immisso pondere paulatim subsedit, et tandem cum omni onere demersa est in profundum. Et res quidem omnes cum parte hominum nonnulla periire; ceteri vero in naves prosiliendo hostiles, consulte hostibus quam fluctibus se credere maluere. Classis vero regia cum salute et gaudio attigit littus optatum.

King Richard resumes his voyage (June 5).

The erusaders sink a Saracen dromond (June 7).

They reach Acre.

## CAP. XXI.

A.D. 1191. *Quibus causis reges dissidere ceperunt*<sup>4</sup> *apud Acram.*

Illustris itaque rex Anglorum post Pentecosten<sup>5</sup> a Cypro digressus, paucis ante sollemnia beati Baptistæ Johannis diebus Tholomaidæ, quæ Acra vulgo nunc dicitur, cum universo comitatu suo applicuit, et a cunctis principibus omnique<sup>6</sup> exercitu tanto<sup>7</sup> susceptus est gaudio quanto prius desiderio fuerat expectatus.

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be a summary of the account in the *Itinerarium* (p. 205-9). Richard first steered for Tyre, but was refused admission.

<sup>2</sup> *posset*, B.D.L.R.S.; *populi*, C., putting *posset* before *expugnari*.

<sup>3</sup> *expugnari*, B.D.L.R.S.; *posset expugnari*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *desidere ceperint* in B.

<sup>5</sup> That is, after June 2, 1191.

<sup>6</sup> D. has *omnibus*.

<sup>7</sup> *tanto*, C.D.L.S.; *tantoque*, B.

Porro regem Francorum tanta ejus gloria jam urere A.D. 1191.  
 ceperat, et cordis sui aestus tabificos ægre dissimula- Acre  
 bat, eum se intueretur viribus et opibus longe impa- before  
 rem, illum vero propter virium opumque magnitudi- June 24.  
 nem et successuum claritatem excellentius eminere, et (June 8).  
 propensius coli ab exercitu, et ad ejus jam agenda The  
 omnia pendere arbitrium. Domine Jesu, seminator French  
 bone, nonne bonum semen seminasti in cordibus duo- king is  
 rum principum istorum tanquam in agro proprio? jealous of  
 Unde ergo ager iste tuus tam cito habuit zizania? <sup>1</sup> Richard's  
 Plane inimicus hoc fecit, inimicus humani generis, power and  
 plebis Christianæ tam pio studio invidens, et tantos renown.  
 pro Te susceptos labores cassare cupiens, bono semini  
 sanctæ devotionis, quod manus tua seminaverat <sup>2</sup> in  
 cordibus principum, ut opulentissima propter te regna  
 relinquerent et delicias regias summis propter te labo-  
 ribus atque periculis commutarent, superseminavit pes-  
 tifera zizania æmulationis et contentionis, quibus tam  
 bonum semen <sup>3</sup> et tam bona manu jactum infructuo-  
 sum atque inefficax redderetur, te quidem, Domine,  
 hoc ipsum juste permittente: sed permissionis hujus  
 ratio penes te est.

Cum igitur, ut dictum est, rex Anglorum a Cypro  
 triumphator inclitus ad obsidionem venisset, mox inter  
 ipsum et regem Francorum, quem ejus jam mordebat  
 felicitas, manifeste dissidendi seminaria, auctore Sathana,  
 provenerunt. Rex enim Francorum, ratione pacti inter He claims  
 eos peregrinationem ingressuros sollemniter habiti, quod a half of  
 scilicet omnem acquisitionem suam æquali inter se Cyprus.  
 sorte dividerent, medietatem acquisitionis Cypriæ <sup>4</sup>  
 tam in immobilibus quam et <sup>5</sup> mobilibus, tanquam  
 perspicuo sibi jure competentem, exigebat. Ad hoc

<sup>1</sup> *zizania*, B.D.L.R.S.; *zizanium*,  
C.

<sup>2</sup> *seminaverat*, B.C.L.S.; *semina-*  
*vit*, R.

<sup>3</sup> *semen*, B.C.D.R.S.; om. L.

<sup>4</sup> *Cypria*, B.C.D.S.; *Cypri*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *et*, D.L.S.; om. B.; *etiam*, C.

A.D. 1191. rex Anglorum respondebat, medietatem omnium quæ communibus acquirerent viribus illi ratione pacti competere; se propriis Cyprum viribus acquisisse; illum ea, in quibus nec modice laboravit, exigere non debere. Adjiciebat etiam, se et illum, cum peregrinationem arriperent, Sarracenos<sup>1</sup> solummodo aggrediendi, et ab eis quantum possent, Deo propitio, extorquendi, intentionem habuisse, et juxta hanc intentionem pactum de acquisitione dividenda constituisse.<sup>2</sup> Porro se Christianam insulam non ex intentione adisse, sed incidenter ad eam, causa ulciscendæ atrocis et adhuc flagrantis injuriæ, divertisse. Hoc modo illi duo altercabantur<sup>3</sup> potentes. Et rex quidem Anglorum patratæ acquisitionis consortium regi Francorum modis omnibus denegabat: rex vero Francorum regem Anglorum rupti foederis et pacti irriti arguebat. Alia quoque inter eos dissidendi causa emersit. Rex Francorum cum ad obsidionem prior venisset, partes, ut dictum est, Conradum marchionis contra Guidonem olim Ierosolymorum regem propensioribus juvabat favoribus. Et cum tandem rex Anglorum post factam in Cypro moram necessariam jam adesset, nisus est eum<sup>4</sup> ad suam rex Francorum sententiam trahere, allegans potiore esse paucularum saltem reliquiarum Christianæ regionis<sup>5</sup> salvatorem quam regni Christiani perditorem.<sup>6</sup> Rex vero Anglorum non acquievit, pronior in partem Guidonis, Aquitani scilicet hominis, cujus tota propinquitas sub rege agebat Anglorum. Denique allegans pro<sup>7</sup> eo, "Regnum," inquit, "Christianum perdidit, non "prodidit. Non enim illud sua vel nequitia vel

A second cause of dissension arises from the dispute between Conrad of Montferrat and Guy of Lusignan.

<sup>1</sup> Sarracenos, D.L.S.; Saracenos, B.C.

<sup>2</sup> constituisse, C.L.S.; constitisse, B.D.

<sup>3</sup> L. has altercantur.

<sup>4</sup> eum, B.C.D.S.; enim; L.

<sup>5</sup> regionis, B.D.L.S.; religionis, C.R.

<sup>6</sup> perditorem, B.D.L.R.S.; proditorem, C.

<sup>7</sup> pro eo, B.D.L.S.; postea pro eo, C.

“ negligentia sive ignavia hostibus prodidit, sed aliis A.D. 1191.  
 “ nequissime prodentibus, ipse inculpabilis perdidit,  
 “ proditus simul ipse perditusque cum regno, et a  
 “ suis quidem nequissime in manus hostium traditus,  
 “ Deo autem propitio liberatus. Ant ergo culpa ejus  
 “ in hac parte declaretur, aut ei, qua<sup>1</sup> nudari non  
 “ meruit, prærogativa servetur.” Ægre tulit rex Fran-  
 corum suam a rege Anglorum non approbari ac per  
 hoc et infirmari sententiam: et tunc quidem, cum  
 suum non posset sancire decretum, pro tempore siluit.  
 Porro hæc dissensio majoris vel<sup>2</sup> indignationis vel  
 odii fomitem ministravit. Cunque jam pars Guido-  
 nis per favorem regis Anglorum præstare videretur,  
 memoratus<sup>3</sup> marchio, ejusdem regis potentiam veritus,<sup>4</sup>  
 cum suis Tyrum rediit. Sane post accessum regis  
 Anglorum exercitus Christianus contra urbem obses-  
 sam invaluit, atque infra diem tricesimum tanti tem-  
 poris tantique sudoris negotium, ejusdem maxime  
 regis ferventi potentique opera, egregie consummavit.

<sup>1</sup> *qua*, C.D.R.S.; *quã*, L.;

*quam*, B.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *vel*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>3</sup> *memoratus*, B.C.D.L.S.; *præ-*  
*fatus*, R.

<sup>4</sup> For *veritus* D. has *virtus*.

## CAP. XXII.

*De expugnatione Acra, et præmaturo discessu regis Francorum.*<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1191. Igitur urbs insignis Tholomaida, quam nunc Acram dicunt, postquam obsidentes Christianos multo et diuturno<sup>2</sup> labore exercuit, tandem expugnata est anno a partu Virginis<sup>3</sup> M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo primo, quinto<sup>4</sup> idus Julii, anno ex quo in manus Turcorum inciderat quarto. Denique fortissimi propugnatores ejus, cum jam Christianorum machinis incenia cederent, cernebantque irruptionem instare hostilem, suimet,<sup>5</sup> quod solum poterant, providentiam habuerunt; pactique sunt principibus nostris pro vitæ suæ redemptione salutiferæ Crucis honorificam, hoc<sup>6</sup> est, cum mille et quingentis captivis Christianis, resignationem, necnon et pecuniam copiosam. Huic<sup>7</sup> suorum necessitati Saladinus, qui cum infinito<sup>8</sup> exercitu non longe aberat, et subvenire non poterat, auctoritatem præstitit, et ad hæc omnia persolvenda Christianis diem constituit. Itaque resignatam mox civitatem ingressus est<sup>9</sup> cum exsultatione et sollemni gratiarum actione exercitus Christianus. Armorum et variæ supellectilis ingens ibidem copia reperta est, escarum quoque plurimum, opumque nonnihil. Illi vero qui diu fortiter defensam ægre tandem resignaverant civitatem, sub expectatione diei a Saladino constituti servabantur. Tunc rex Francorum delicati sibi hominis tempore belli no-

Surrender of Acra, July 11.

The garrison, with Saladin's assent, agree to pay a ransom and to surrender the relics of the True Cross on a fixed day.

<sup>1</sup> B. omits *Francorum*.

<sup>2</sup> *diuturno*, B.C.D.S.; *diurno*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *a partu Virginis*, B.C.D.L.S.; *gratia*, R.

<sup>4</sup> *quinto*, B.C.D.R.S.; *vito*, L.

The date, according to most authorities, is 12th July.

<sup>5</sup> *suimet*, B.C.L.S.; *suimetque*, D.

<sup>6</sup> *hoc*, B.D.L.S.; *hæc*, C.

<sup>7</sup> For *huic* C. has *hunc*.

<sup>8</sup> *infinito*, B.C.L.S.; *infirmo*, D.

<sup>9</sup> *est*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.



tam inurens, aestus causando molestiam, et quod illius A.D. 1191. terræ<sup>1</sup> aerem sustinere non posset publice protestatus, repatriare disposuit; quod Christiano exercitui<sup>2</sup> multum displicuit, et foeda res visa est personæ tanti principis: præsertim cum plurimi aliter, et forte verius, ejus interpretarentur discessum. Quippe illustris Flandriæ comes Philippus, qui cum ceteris fidelibus Christo militaturus in Syriam venerat, paulo ante expugnationem civitatis ibidem<sup>3</sup> piæ militiæ munus expleverat. Et quoniam idem rex vacanti Flandriæ obtinendæ inhiare videbatur, ut honestam discessionis<sup>4</sup> causam prætexeret, peregrini aeris mendaciter causari molestiam credebatur. Dicitur etiam<sup>5</sup> quod regis Anglorum, cujus propter opes longe imparces non poterat æquare potentiam, non potuerit nisi oculis ægris et animo saucio specialem videre gloriam; præsertim cum illi potissimum quod jam actum erat ascriberetur, et ex hoc colligeret quicquid de cetero Christianis viribus in Orientis partibus<sup>6</sup> erat agendum, illi potius tanquam potentiore quam sibi ascribendum. Denique non omnino inscius quid de illo sentirent vel dicerent homines, nihilominus obstinato animo adornabat discessum. Rex autem Anglorum propter recentes discessionem de benevolentia ejus minus confidens, coram Richard requires him before leaving to swear not to molest England (July 29). Return of Philip Augustus.

Death of Philip count of Flanders (June 1).  
The French king having designs on Flanders seeks excuses for returning to France (July 22).

Richard requires him before leaving to swear not to molest England (July 29). Return of Philip Augustus.

Cf. Ric. Divis., p. 53.

<sup>1</sup> *terræ*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *exercitu*.

<sup>3</sup> *ibidem*, B.D.L.S.; *idem*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *discessionis*, C.D.L.S.; *dissentionis* (sic), B.

<sup>5</sup> *etiam*, B.D.L.S.; *autem*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *partibus*, C.L.S.; *partis*, B.D.

<sup>7</sup> A wrong date (*before* July 26).

See the mediæval use of *infra* for *intra*.

A.D. 1191. Francorum, rubore navem conscendit et abiit; et eorum quidem plurimi qui illi deesse noluere cum illo abiere.<sup>1</sup> Porro dux Burgundiæ,<sup>2</sup> comes Campaniæ, et quique nobiliores contemplatione suæ vel famæ vel conscientiæ, vel etiam ad abolendum proprii principis dedecus, in Terra Sancta pro tempore<sup>3</sup> et in sancta militia persistendum duxere. Quibus nimirum ille, ut dicitur, discessurus præcepit, ut marchioni assisterent; et, quotiens se incidens præberet occasio, regi adversarentur Anglorum. Quod utique postmodum, sive regii respectu mandati sive etiam propria petulantia sive malitia, fecisse noscuntur. Unde nimirum Christianum negotium minus prosperari potuit, dum a Christianis minus sincere minusque concorditer ageretur. Cumque idem rex digressus a Tholomaida prosperis flatibus venisset Italiam, Romanum pontificem adiit, absolvi a quodam juramento, quo se contra voluntatem suam asserebat astrictum, importune, ut dicitur,<sup>4</sup> postulavit. Suspendit ad breve callide postulantem vir altioris ingenii, moxque, supervenientibus a Syria quibusdam, integre rem edoctus: "Illud," inquit,<sup>5</sup> "juramentum, quod præstitisti regi Anglorum de pace " usque ad reditum suum conservanda, quam utique<sup>6</sup> " princeps Christianus absque juramento conservare " deberes, nullatenus relaxamus, sed tanquam honestum et utile approbantes, auctoritate Apostolica " roboramus." Itaque deprehensus in astutia sua, et obligatior quam venerat, inglorius repatriavit. Vulgatumque<sup>7</sup> est apud Francos per quosdam<sup>8</sup> concinna-

He reaches Italy (after Oct. 10) and seeks absolution from his oath to Richard. Pope Celestine III. refuses.

<sup>1</sup> *abiere*, B.D.L.S.; *adiere*, C.

<sup>2</sup> S. has *Bureundiæ*.

<sup>3</sup> *pro tempore*, B.C.D.R.S.; om. L.

<sup>4</sup> *ut dicitur*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>5</sup> *inquit*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>6</sup> D. has *utib;*.

<sup>7</sup> *Vulgatumque*, B.D.L.S.; *vulgatum*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *quosdam*, B.D.L.S.; *quodam*, C. See p. 366, note 1, as to that which follows.

tores mendacii, ad purgandum regis sui reditum, quod A.D. 1191.  
eum rex Anglorum, insidiosè et nequiter quærendo  
animam ejus,<sup>1</sup> præmature contra propositum suum  
redire compulerit.

## CAP. XXIII.

*Quæ acta sint*<sup>2</sup> *a nostris*<sup>3</sup> *in Syria*<sup>4</sup> *post discessum*  
*regis Francorum.*<sup>5</sup>

A.D. 1191.

Igitur rege Francorum, ut dictum est, a Syria The Eng-  
digressò, rex Anglorum in urbe capta fessum otio lish rest  
necessario recreabat exercitum, nec tamen in illo and pre-  
otio otiosus, circa reficienda, quæ machinis cesserant, pare for  
mcenia sollicitè satagebat. Affuit tandem dies a Sa- the coming  
ladino præfixus, quo sacri vexilli resignatio et compro- campaign.  
missa captivorum commutatio sperabatur. Verum ille failing to  
cum nostros inani exspectatione suspensos deluderet, keep his  
rex Anglorum,<sup>6</sup> justo ignitus zelo, captivorum, qui engagement  
urbe expugnata sub prætaxata pactorum forma serva- Richard  
bantur, nobilioribus provida consideratione retentis, massaeres  
duo circiter millia et sexcentos pactis a parte Sala- the garris-  
dini non stantibus,<sup>7</sup> decollari præcepit. Quo facto, son of  
Turcorum ingens in regem proprium indignatio effer- Acre  
ruit, quod electos juvenes, qui pro ipso fortissime (Aug. 20).  
usque ad proprium discrimen sudaverant, ingratus et The Sara-  
infidus exposuisset gladio devorandos. Denique eo- cens en-  
rum, quibus munitionum custodia credita erat,<sup>8</sup> dum raged at  
exemplum vererentur, ita labefacti et collapsi sunt Saladin's  
animi, ut tyrannus,<sup>9</sup> fere cunctis pro recenti exemplo ingratitude  
to his men  
refuse to  
defend his  
fortifica-  
tions.

Epp. Ri-  
cardi Reg.  
(Hoved. iii.  
129-33).

<sup>1</sup> *ejus*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.<sup>2</sup> *sint*, B.D.L.S.; *sunt*, C.<sup>3</sup> *a nostris*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.<sup>4</sup> *in Syria*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.<sup>5</sup> *Francorum*, B.C.D.L.S.; *Fran-  
corum a Siria*, R.<sup>6</sup> *Anglorum*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.<sup>7</sup> *stantibus*, B.C.D.L.S.; *obstan-  
tibus*, R.<sup>8</sup> *credita erat*, B.C.D.L.S.; *cre-  
debatur*, R.<sup>9</sup> For tyrannus B. has *curamus*.

A.D. 1191. excusantibus, non habens quibus ipsas munitiones crederet, easdem tanquam consilii inops everti decerneret. Evertentur ergo et deserebantur<sup>1</sup> indies per omnem provinciam munitiones nulla vi<sup>2</sup> nullis<sup>3</sup> expugnabiles machinis.

The Christian host diminishes. Some leave through lack of money, others from weariness or fear.

King Richard offers pay to those who need it and will stop.

He thus retains the duke of Austria and the count of Champagne.

Having restored the de-

Sane post regis Francorum digressum<sup>4</sup> exercitus Domini paulatim cœpit imminui. Eorum quippe qui ad<sup>5</sup> obsidionem Tholomaidæ priores confluerant multa millia, absumptis<sup>6</sup> opibus, dum sumptus ad persistendum minus suppeterent, necessitate magis quam voluntate repatriandum duxerunt: multi etiam<sup>7</sup> sumptibus abundantes, vel laborum tædio, vel periculorum metu, vel solo regis Francorum enervati exemplo, abierunt. Tunc rex Anglorum proprios thesauros aperiens, plurimos nobiles principesque<sup>8</sup> exercitus cum suis militiis, qui advectas secum opes mora productiori laudabiliter absumpserant,<sup>9</sup> et declarata inopia sua redire ad propria excusabiliter proponebant,<sup>10</sup> largis, ut in exercitu Domini persistenter, invitavit stipendiis: e quibus fuit ex imperio Teutonico dux Austriæ, qui postea tanti beneficii immemor, et cujusdam non magnæ injuriæ plus justo memor, sceleratas<sup>11</sup> repatrianti regi, cujus stipendiarius fuerat, manus injecit, ut suo loco monstrabitur: et dux<sup>12</sup> Campaniæ, qui eximiæ virtutis titulo Christianæ postmodum acquisitionis principatum promeruit, ut infra exponetur. Denique expugnata civitatis mœnibus instauratis, et sufficienter refecta

<sup>1</sup> et deserebantur, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

<sup>2</sup> nulla vi, B. is perhaps in accord, but the reading is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> B. has nullius.

<sup>4</sup> digressum, B.D.L.S.; discessum, C.

<sup>5</sup> B. has ab.

<sup>6</sup> absumptis, B.C.D.S.; assumptis, L.

<sup>7</sup> etiam, B.D.L.S.; enim, C.

<sup>8</sup> nobiles principesque, B.C.L.S.; nobilesque, D.

<sup>9</sup> absumpserant, B.C.D.S.; assumpserant, L.

<sup>10</sup> proponebant, B.C.D.L.S.; proposuerant, R.

<sup>11</sup> B. has sceleratos.

<sup>12</sup> Should of course be comes. Ric. Divis., pp. 50, 52, also speaks of Richard's bounty to these nobles.

multitudine, mense Septembri rex Anglorum, cui jam A.D. 1191. fere totus devote parebat exercitus, ad alias urbes fenees of maritimas progredi statuit. Procedebant ergo ordinate Acre, et caute<sup>1</sup> agmina Christiana. Porro infinitus Turco- Richard sets out rum exercitus, duce Saladino, æquis haud procul pas- along the coast, sibus gradiebatur, ancipitem quidem prælii eventum September (August) 1191. declinans, extremos vero nostrorum raptim aggrediens, et nonnulla re acta refugiens, ut est illud hominum Saladin's genus miræ astutiæ ad nocendum, nec minus arte army makes a quam viribus pugnare assuetum. Itaque exercitus parallel march. noster in multo laboris et periculi experimento per- venit Cæsaream, Christianis olim incolentibus metro- Arrival at polim inclitam, tunc vero hostili desolatione inanem Cæsarea (Aug. 31). et vacuam. Cumque ibidem modice respirasset, iter They reach propositum cum alacritate repetiit. Et<sup>2</sup> primo quidem Arsûf. agmine procedente,<sup>3</sup> jamque apud Assur<sup>4</sup> castra me- tante, Saladinus, captato tempore, agmen extremum Epp. Ric. Reg. (Hoved. iii. 129-133). totis aggressus est viribus. Idem autem agmen per quatuor mox turmas dispositum irruentis impetum fortiter excipiens, Deo propitio, ipsum cum tremendis suis copiis enerviter fugere compulit; tantaque eo die, Richard gains the hoc est, septimo idus Septembris, ibidem nobilium battle of Turcorum strages facta est quantam ab annis retro Arsûf. Sept. 7, 1191. quadraginta, ut fertur, uno die Saladinus expertus non fuerat. De nostris vero ibidem occubuit Jacobus James of de Aveniis,<sup>5</sup> vir plane optimus, et meritis præcellentibus univ- Avesnes is killed in the battle. erso exercitui Christiano carissimus: qui ejusdem exercitus præclara per annos aliquot columna His virtues and prowess. exstiterat, atque in proposito pie suscepto sincere et strenue perseverans, nec levem unquam maculam dederat in gloriam suam. Cujus profecto laudabili devotioni divino munere retributum est, ut in<sup>6</sup> omnipo-

<sup>1</sup> *et caute*, B.C.L.S.; om. D.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps traces of a work now lost. See p. 388 and p. 396, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> *procedente*, B.D.L.R.S.; *præcedente*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Assur*, B.C.L.S.; *Arsur*, D.

<sup>5</sup> *Aveniis*, L.S.; *Aveniis*, C.; *Duenniis*, B.; *Dueniis*, D.

<sup>6</sup> *in*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.R.

A.D. 1191. **tentis Dei obsequio gloriose occumberet, et mediante discrimine brevi, temporalem felicitatem, ut pium est credere, æterna. mutaret. Denique luxit vehementer cum omni exercitu rex Anglorum assumptum tanquam emeritum a Rege angelorum.<sup>1</sup> Indeque progressus usque Joppen,<sup>2</sup> incursione jampridem tyrannica Christianis vacuatam civibus<sup>3</sup> tunc vero derelictam et desolatam ab hostibus loci opportunitate conspecta, eandem<sup>4</sup> totis cœpit viribus instaurare. Audiens autem Saladinus quod Ascalonam oppugnare disponderet, eandem clarissimam civitatem, et Tholomaida, quæ longo tempore exercitum fatigaverat Christianum, multo firmiorem, subita eversione damnavit. Tantus eum post recentem suorum cladem Christianæ constantiæ terror invaserat, atque ita Turcorum animos eorum, qui apud Tholomaidam in manus Christianorum inciderant, recens exemplum præstrinxerat!<sup>5</sup> Urbes quoque reliquas et castella terræ illius, præter Sanctam Civitatem et munitiones paucissimas, complanavit, totamque provinciam, abrais bonis omnibus, inutilem hostibus<sup>6</sup> reddidit. Nec jam aliquid audendum putabat experientia virium,<sup>7</sup> sed nocebat insidiis, et incesanter abscondebatur tendiculas fraudium. Nostri quoque post tam læta<sup>8</sup> principia nihil jam magnum et memorabile agere poterant propter internum discordiæ malum quo languiebant. Principes enim non cohærebant, sed mordaci æmulatione dissentiebant ab invicem: nec poterant in commune<sup>9</sup> consulere, studiis in diversa nitentibus contraria decernentes. Denique Conradus, marchio et princeps famosissimæ firmissi-**

King Richard proceeds to Joppa (Sept. 10).

The fate of the garrison of Acre indirectly obliges Saladin to dismantle Ascalon, a stronger post even than Acre.

Saladin razes most of the fortified cities, and devastates the country.

He wages desultory warfare.

Factions among the crusaders.

<sup>1</sup> B. has *Anglorum*.

<sup>2</sup> *Joppen*, B.D.S.; *Jopen*, C.L.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *quibus* for *civibus*.

<sup>4</sup> *eandem*, B.D.L.S.; *tandem*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *præstrinxerat*, B.C.D.L.S.; *perstrinxerat*, R.

<sup>6</sup> *hostibus*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>7</sup> *aliquid . . . virium*, B.C.D.L.S.; *aliquid audendum putabat experimentum virium*, R.

<sup>8</sup> D. has *lætam*.

<sup>9</sup> *in commune*, B.D.L.R.S.; *communiter*, C.

mæque urbis Tyri, adjuncto sibi duce Burgundiæ et A.D. 1191. nobilibus Francorum cum subjectis copiis, regi adversabatur Anglorum æmulanti pro Guidone olim rege Ierosolymorum. Rex vero propter magnitudinem animi ac virium, quos forte per mansuetudinem unire sibi poterat, indignantis animi motibus exasperabat. Quia ergo in nostro exercitu non id ipsum dicebant omnes, sed schismata pullulabant, tantæ expeditionis jam stabat negotium et non procedebat.

## CAP. XXIV.

*Quomodo Conradus marchio a<sup>1</sup> sicariis interfectus est.*

Verum supradictorum duorum æmulorum quanto A.D. 1192. animosior tanto et vanior pro regno incerto contentio, postquam motus in exercitu Domini plurimos peperit, extremæ demum sortis beneficio conquievit. Regina quippe<sup>2</sup> Ierosolymorum, quæ, ut supra plenius dictum est, memorato Guidoni infelicissime nupserat, sera tandem morte deficiens,<sup>3</sup> illi ratione tantum regii conjugii de regno contendenti silentium indixit. Marchio quoque nefarie a sicariis interemptus,<sup>4</sup> regnum ambire cessavit. Incertum a<sup>5</sup> quo malignante immissi duo sicarii in ejus obsequio sub schemate militantium diuscule fuerant, patrandi vel cum proprio periculo sceleris opportunitatem jugiter observantes; qua inventa, clarissimum virum, solito paucioribus forte stipatum ministris, in medio propriæ civitatis, cum prope

The death of Sibylla leaves Guy of Lusignan without claim to the throne. Conrad of Montferrat is assassinated (April 28, 1192).

<sup>1</sup> a, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

<sup>2</sup> quippe, D.L.R.S.; quoque, B.C.

<sup>3</sup> She died before 21st Oct. 1190, Epp. Cantuar., 329.

<sup>4</sup> interemptus, B.C.D.L.S.; necatus est, R. He had been a few days before elected king, being the husband of Isabel, Sibylla's sister.

<sup>5</sup> a, C.L.S.; enim a, B.D.

A.D. 1192. tanquam noti assisterent, repente aggressi, clandestinis  
 ———  
 Account  
 of the "Old  
 Man of the  
 Mountain"  
 (the  
 sheikh of  
 Aljamoot)  
 and his  
 followers.

cultris extractis,<sup>1</sup> mactarunt. Fertur enim<sup>2</sup> esse in Oriente agens sub ditione<sup>3</sup> cujusdam<sup>4</sup> potentis Sarraceni,<sup>5</sup> quem Senem agnominant,<sup>6</sup> quoddam hominum genus adeo seductibile atque in propriam proclive perniciem, ut ab eodem, quem scilicet<sup>7</sup> loco prophetæ colunt, artificiosissimis fallacium pollicitationum præstigiis sollicitatum atque illectum, immortalia se post mortem commoda percepturos æstiment,<sup>8</sup> si illi imperanti usque ad mortem obtemperent. Qui nimirum cum forte a quolibet præpotente infestari metuit sive jam infestatur, ad ejus peremptionem subornatos ex illo genere emittit sicarios. Illi vero ad exitium, tanquam ad sollemne epulum, cum gaudio properantes, nihil aliud ambiunt vel explorant, nisi ut, arrepto tempore pro certa mandati impletionem, certo se discrimini<sup>9</sup> exponentes, designatum hostem commoriturum interimant.<sup>10</sup> Denique propter hoc maxime genus orientales principes provisorii se<sup>11</sup> custodia muniunt, et præter familiarissimos nullius<sup>12</sup> ad se, nisi propriis stipiatoribus mediis, patiuntur accessum. Verum quoniam iidem pestilentes plerumque, dum forte minus observarentur, ad necem clarissimorum virorum per medias custodias irruerunt, nullus magnorum qui sunt in terra tributum vel obsequium quodlibet a memorato<sup>13</sup> Sene per potentiam exigit, vel quietem ejus aliquatenus perturbare præsumit. Soli Templarii,

<sup>1</sup> *extractis*, B.C.L.S.; om. D.

<sup>2</sup> *enim*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>3</sup> L. has *ditione*.

<sup>4</sup> *cujusdam*, B.C.L.S.; om. D.

<sup>5</sup> *Sarraceni*, D.L.S.; *Saraceni*,

B.C.

<sup>6</sup> *agnominant*, B.C.D.L.S.; *cognominant*, R.

<sup>7</sup> *scilicet*, C.D.L.S.; *simul*, B.

<sup>8</sup> L. has *eminent*. Hearne's emendation is *existiment*.

<sup>9</sup> D. has *discrimine*.

<sup>10</sup> *interimant*, B.D.L.S.; *interimnant*, L.; C. reads *interimnant* (sic).

<sup>11</sup> In D. the passage *certa mandati . . . provisorii se* is affected by mutilation of the page.

<sup>12</sup> For *nullius*, L. has *nullus*.

<sup>13</sup> *emoratorie* (sic), B., for *a memorato*.



dum in Syria res Christianæ florent, tanquam mortis A.D. 1192. —  
 contemptores, ausi sunt eum impetere, et fœderatum ob-  
 sequia<sup>1</sup> coegerunt præstare. Sciebat enim parum actum  
 esse si forte per ministros proprios quemlibet magis-  
 trorum ejusdem<sup>2</sup> militiæ perderet; quæ<sup>3</sup> utique mox  
 alium sibi creans acrius pro extincti ultione sæviret.  
 Ex hoc sane funestissimorum satellitum genere fuisse  
 creduntur qui memoratum Tyri principem astu ausu-  
 que nefario peremerunt, commori non timentes. Com-  
 prehensi autem et subtiliter requisiti quo id auctore  
 vel incentore egissent, ad mortem prompti et hilares  
 nihil certum vel credibile<sup>4</sup> dixerunt. Itaque latet ad-  
 hue quis tanto viro necem fuerit hujusmodi machi-  
 natus.<sup>5</sup> Verum occasione recentis discordiæ qua dis-  
 ceptaverat cum rege Anglorum, præclives fuere plurimi  
 ad succendendum super hoc eidem regi; Francis  
 maxime illum infamantibus, qui pro marchione æmu-  
 lati fuerant, multamque illi de morte viri præclari in-  
 vidiam conflantibus per omnem fere orbem Latinum.<sup>6</sup>

Two of the  
 sheikh's  
 emissaries  
 are be-  
 lieved to  
 have slain  
 Conrad.

## CAP. XXV.

*Quomodo rex Francorum necem marchionis refudit  
 in regem Anglorum, et de conventu Parisiensi.*

Sane postquam percrebruit<sup>7</sup> apud regem Francorum A.D. 1192.  
 quod marchioni acciderat, de amici quidem indigno The  
 French  
 king's grief  
 at the news  
 exitu doluit; sed mox hunc dolorem suscepta cum  
 ingenti gaudio sugillandi regem Anglorum occasio

<sup>1</sup> *obsequia*, B.D.L.S.; *obsequium*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *ejusdem*, B.D.L.S.; *illius*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *quæ*, B.D.L.S.; *quem*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *vel credibile*, B.C.D.L.S.; om.  
 R.

<sup>5</sup> Newburgh still follows the  
*Itinerarium*, in some places almost

transcribing, in others adding a few  
 details, but more frequently omitting  
 much.

<sup>6</sup> The passage *multamque illi . . .  
 . . Latinum* in D. is affected by a  
 mutilation of the page.

<sup>7</sup> *percrebruit*, B.D.C.O.S.; *per-  
 crepuit*, L.

A.D. 1192. compensavit. Cumque in propriis esset finibus tam longe a Syria constitutus, illius in Oriente consistentis vel frustra timebat vel potius se, ad augendam invidiam, timere fingebat insidias; et tanquam ab eo subornati imminerent sicarii, præter morem majorum suorum non nisi armata vallatus custodia procedebat,<sup>1</sup> in<sup>2</sup> tantum ut quidam familiari ausu propius accedentes, non sine periculo hoc ausi<sup>3</sup> dicantur. Mirantibus hanc novitatem regiam plurimis, ut pro ea satisfaceret gentemque suam in regem Anglorum accenderet, præsulum procerumque suorum concilium Parisius convocavit. Ubi allegans contra eundem regem plurima tanquam certa, atque, inter cetera, quod virum illum nobilissimum nequissime<sup>4</sup> per diros satellites peremisset, literas quoque protulit a quibusdam potentibus sibi, ut dicebat, transmissas, quibus monebatur propensiolem suimet habere cautelam; sciens quod rex Anglorum insidiaturos animæ suæ ab Oriente jam direxisset sicarios. "Quamobrem," inquit, "nemo debet mirari, quod præter solitum diligentior rem mei ipsius curam habeam; quam tamen si reputatis vel indecentem vel superfluam, decernite<sup>5</sup> amovendam." Adjecit etiam, cordi sibi esse de manifesto<sup>6</sup> proditore proprias mature ulcisci injurias. Ad hæc<sup>7</sup> plurimi adulatorie responderunt, bonum honestumque esse et quod<sup>8</sup> pro cautela faciebat et quod pro ultione disponebat. Prudentiores<sup>9</sup> vero dixerunt: "Cautelam quidem tuam, rex, qua tibi contra incertos casus forte abundantius prospicis, non culpamus; præmaturæ vero ultionis propositum minime

of the death of Conrad of Montferrat. He employs the story to damage king Richard. Pretending to fear assassination he surrounds himself with guards. Summons a council at Paris and producing letters accuses Richard of designs against his life.

His counsellors dissuade him from a dishonourable

<sup>1</sup> Rigord (Bouquet, xvii. p. 37) confirms this assertion. R. Divis., pp. 74, 75, attributes the false rumour to the bishop of Beauvais.

<sup>2</sup> in, C.D.L.S.; et, B.

<sup>3</sup> ausi, C.D.S.; also B. and L. by correction from ausu; ausu, O.

<sup>4</sup> nequiter in R.

<sup>5</sup> decernite, C.L.S.; discernite, B.D.

<sup>6</sup> manifestato in C.

<sup>7</sup> hæc, B.D.L.O.S.; hoc, C.

<sup>8</sup> quod, C.D.L.O.S.; om. B.

<sup>9</sup> providentiores in C.

“ approbamus. Nam et si vera sint quæ de rege A.D. 1192.  
 “ Anglorum dicuntur, non tamen est petulanter et attack on  
 “ præpropere<sup>1</sup> agendum, sed respectu honesti<sup>2</sup> susti- England.  
 “ nendum, quousque ad propria revertatur qui propter  
 “ Christum peregrinari noscitur. Denique si rever-  
 “ sus vel objecta purgare potuerit,<sup>3</sup> vel de excessibus  
 “ satisfacere voluerit, bene actum erit; sin autem, ex-  
 “ petendæ ultionis, justitia comite, congruum tempus  
 “ erit. Quod si nostrum consilium minus placet, Ro-  
 “ manus pontifex, qui de<sup>4</sup> rebus modernorum pere-  
 “ grinantium quietem sub gravi censura sancivit,  
 “ super his consulatur, ejusque, ut dignum est, sen-  
 “ tentia exspectetur.” Hæc dicentes viri cordati et  
 sobriis rationibus astruentes, sævientis impetum ad  
 tempus frenarunt ne peregrinantis terras invaderet.  
 Quievit ergo ad modicum: non tamen in illo extorto  
 magis quam spontaneo otio desiit regi et regno<sup>5</sup> An-  
 glorum cruentum moliri negotium, veteres scilicet  
 Anglorum hostes Dacos ad mortuam olim querelam  
 artificiose suscitare conatus. Verum hæc tam maligna  
 molitio, Deo ordinante, Anglis non nocuit; auctorem  
 vero suum nævo<sup>6</sup> inexpiabili denigravit. Famosa res  
 est et propter claritatem personæ mundo notissima.

He ab-  
 stains from  
 open war,  
 but pre-  
 pares the  
 way for a  
 future  
 attack.

<sup>1</sup> *præpropere*, B.C.D.L.S.; *præ-  
mature*, R.

<sup>2</sup> *honesti*, B.C.D.L.S.; *honesto*, R.

<sup>3</sup> *potuerit*, B.D.L.S.; *poterit*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *de*, C.L.O.S.; *om.* B.D.

<sup>5</sup> *desiit regi et regno*, B.C.D.,  
and S., by transposition; *regno  
desiit et regi*, O.L. The only im-  
portance of this variation is its  
bearing on the connexion of the

MSS. In S. the original order  
was *desiit regno et regi*, but *regno*  
and *regi* have the usual marks of  
transposition (") over them, while  
the two *i*'s in *desiit* have hair  
strokes exactly imitating those  
marks. Hence perhaps the error  
into which the scribes of O. and L.  
have fallen.

<sup>6</sup> *nævo*, B.C.D.L.S.; *venevo*, R.

CAP. XXVI.<sup>1</sup>*Quomodo rex Francorum duxit sororem regis  
Dacorum, et quomodo repudiavit eam.*

A.D. 1193.

The king of France seeks the sister of Knut VI. of Denmark in marriage.

He asks as dowry the ancient claims of Denmark to England and the use of the Danish fores for a year.

The king of Denmark refuses, but

Igitur rex Francorum missis ad regem Dacorum viris honoratis, germanæ ejus laudatissimæ virginis nuptias sollemniter expetivit. Rex autem Dacorum magnifice legatos suscipiens, petitionem quoque, de optimatum suorum consilio, libenter amplexus est. "Et quid," inquit, "dominus vester vult sibi dari<sup>2</sup> dotis nomine?" Illi vero, prout in mandatis acceperant, "Antiquum," inquit, "jus regis Dacorum in regno Anglorum, et ad hoc assequendum classem exercitumque Daciæ anno uno."<sup>3</sup> Tum ille, "Rem," inquit, "difficilem postulat: veruntamen deliberabo an concedi debeat." Cumque super hoc regni sui<sup>4</sup> inclitos seorsum consuleret, responderunt: "Satis nobis negotii est contra paganam et<sup>5</sup> nostris vicinam finibus gentem Wandalorum. Illisne ergo dimissis, hostiliter aggrediemur<sup>6</sup> Anglorum gentem Christianam atque innoxiam, duplici nosmetipsos periculo immergentes? Nam si Anglos aggredimur, ferocissimis, qui juxta nos sunt, barbaris fines nostros exponimus. Porro Anglorum gens magna et valida opibusque famosa, propriæ vel saluti vel libertati contra omnem vim externam tuendæ sufficere creditur. Proinde aliud petat rex Francorum, si voluerit, dotis nomine: cum tu, rex, non debeas cum propriæ gentis periculo germanæ tuæ honorabiles nuptias providere." Placuit regi consilium sobrium, jussitque legatos aliud dicere, si quid haberent. Illi vero, exspirante petitione

<sup>1</sup> Should follow cap. 37. Newburgh obviously thinks this happened *before* the King's capture. See p. 385 where the proposal to Agnes immediately follows the news.

<sup>2</sup> L. has *dare*.

<sup>3</sup> Hoveden, iii. 224, and Gervase (i. 529) agree.

<sup>4</sup> *sui*, B.D.L.O.S.; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> *et*, B.D.L.S.; *etiam*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *aggredieremur* in C.

prima, decem marcarum argenti<sup>1</sup> millia petierunt. Ad hæc<sup>2</sup> rex magnanimus: "Rem," inquit, "rex Francorum a rege Dacorum nunc<sup>3</sup> petit pertenuem ratione negotii et personarum. Petitionem ejus grate suscepimus,<sup>4</sup> et votum mature implebimus." Tunc pactis initis, et<sup>5</sup> sacramento a legatis<sup>6</sup> præstito pro completionem pactorum, ornatam, ut decuit, cum summa postulata tradidit virginem, et de suis honoratos quosdam, qui prosequerentur eam usque in Franciam, una direxit. Rex autem Francorum occurrit ei Ambianis, ibique sollemniter nuptiali sibi fœdere copulatam, etiam thoro accivit. Verum post initi fœderis, ut dicitur, noctem unam, incertum unde offensus, abjecit eam:<sup>7</sup> rem plane faciens non tantum illicitam, sed etiam personæ regiæ multum indecoram. Causa sane pudendæ levitatis hujus<sup>8</sup> varie assignatur. Dicunt enim quidam, quod propter fetidum oris spiritum, alii, quod propter latentem<sup>9</sup> quandam fœditatem repudiaverit eam, vel quia non invenit eam virginem. Indignæ proculdubio causæ hujusmodi, atque ad<sup>10</sup> dirimendum conjugium Christianum invalidæ. Verum cum præcipitati repudiî causa sit incerta, incertum tamen non est eum qui fodit foveam incidisse in eam, illum scilicet, qui sub prætextu nuptiarum gentis innoxia et Christianæ sitiivit impie sanguinem, perspicuo Dei judicio ex ipsis nuptiis sempiterni dedecoris reportasse mercedem. Porro, ut infami operi honestæ speciei colorem superduceret, et vel ad homines, quod utique ad Deum non poterat, contracti matrimonii fœdus abrumperet,

A.D. 1193.

accedes to the alternative demand of a sum of money.

The marriage is celebrated, (Aug. 14) but Philip rejects his bride.

He obtains a

Eccl. x. 8.

<sup>1</sup> *argenti*, B.C.D.O., and L. by correction from *agenti*; *agenti*, S.

<sup>2</sup> *hæc*, C.L.O.S.; *hoc*, B.D.

<sup>3</sup> *nunc*, C.D.L.O.S.; *non*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *suscepimus* in C.

<sup>5</sup> For *initis, et*, B. has *nostris in*.

<sup>6</sup> For *a legatis*, B. has *allegatis*.

<sup>7</sup> *abjecit eam*, B.D.L.O.S.; *eam projecit*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *hujus*, B.D.L.O.S.; om. C.

<sup>9</sup> *latentem*, B.C.D.O.S.; om. L. Rigord (Bouquet, xvii. 38) merely says "quibusdam maleficiis per sortiaris impeditur."

<sup>10</sup> *ad*, B.D.L.O.S.; *in*, C.

A.D. 1193. Romano pontifici per responsales callidos insinuare curavit surreptione quadam se propriam duxisse affinem, postulans vinculo minus legitimo eximi. At ille delegavit iudices ex regno postulantis, forti tamen mandato astrictos, uti in hoc negotio juxta integritatem canonice procederent sanctionis. Qui nimirum suo regi plus justo propitii, affinitate per duorum pseudo-episcoporum, Beluacensis scilicet et Carnotensis, execrabile perjurium imaginarie approbata, divortium celebrarunt.<sup>1</sup> Et Beluacensis<sup>2</sup> quidem postea Dei judicio traditus in manus regis Anglorum, eundem<sup>3</sup> satis idoneum expertus est in severitate ultionis Dei ministrum. Carnotensis<sup>4</sup> vero, qui morum proluvie minus esse episcopus dicitur, Dei adhuc patientia sustinet, ut tarditatem pœnæ quantitate compenset. Sic itaque rex Francorum in facie ecclesiæ exosi connubii lege solutus, ad alias paulo post nuptias aspiravit; quibus tamē<sup>5</sup> potitus non est, ut suo loco dicitur.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The archbishop of Rheims presided over the council at Compiègne. The two bishops, Reginald of Chartres and Philip of Beauvais, with Robert count of Dreux and others, swore to the consanguinity. The pretence (or error) was that Ingeburga was related to Philip's first wife, Isabella. The flaw was that Charles le Bon, a true descendant of Sweyn the Great, left no posterity, and that his successor, Thierry d'Alsace, Isabella's grandfather, was in no way related to the Danish kings.

<sup>2</sup> *Beluacensis*, C.D.L.S.; *Belluacensis*, B.

<sup>3</sup> The passage "Qui nimirum suo

... Anglorum eundem" is entirely different in Picard's edition (Paris, 1610). MSS. A., B., and D. are in accord with the text, and it is difficult to understand whence Picard derived his version.

<sup>4</sup> *Carnotensis*, B.C.O.S.; *Carmotensis*, D.; *Carconensis*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *tamen*, C.D.L.O.S.; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> The opening words of the next chapter (*his diebus*) confirm the statement made in note 1, p. 368, and show that Newburgh wrongly supposed that the events of this chapter happened in 1192. Geoffrey's quarrel ended in October 1192.

## CAP. XXVII.

*Quomodo Eboracensis archiepiscopus præcipitavit sententiam excommunicationis in episcopum Dunelmensem.*

His diebus Geofridus archiepiscopus Eboracensis et Hugo episcopus Dunelmensis sua fortius, et remissius ea quæ sunt Christi, quærentes, cum multo et gravi scandalo disceptarunt.<sup>1</sup> Ille, ut præesset; iste, ne subesset; neuter vero, ut prodesset. Ita quippe in<sup>2</sup> diebus nostris pastorale decus evanuit, ut inter pastores ecclesiasticos admodum rarus inveniatur intelligens aut requirens Deum, dum fere omnes quæ sua sunt quærent. Et quidem paulo ante ejusdem Geofridi electi adhuc Eboracensis pendente fortuna, Clemens Romanus pontifex, intercedentibus obsequiis, eundem episcopum cum suis omnibus ab archiepiscopi Eboracensis jurisdictione exemerat.<sup>3</sup> Porro successor ejus Cælestinus Eboracensis ecclesiæ jura et dignitates redintegrans, eandem exemptionem cassavit. Geofridus itaque de mandato sedis Apostolicæ Turonis ordinatus, et ad sedem propriam cum metropolitani honore reversus, de memorato episcopo, quem ante ordinationem suam in festum expertus fuerat, triumphare cupiens, canonicam ab eo professionem instantè exegit.<sup>4</sup> Ad quam ex more præstandam cum ille nullatenus inclinaretur, sed appellationis se diffugio et quorundam enormium capitulorum objectu tueri niteretur: idem archiepiscopus excommunicationis in eum sententiam præpropere, et motu magis proprio quam prudentum consilio, promul-

A.D.  
1191-2.

Quarrel  
between  
Geoffrey  
archbishop  
of York  
and Hugh  
bishop of  
Durham.

Clement  
III. had  
exempted  
the bishop  
from the  
jurisdiction  
of the  
archbishop,  
but Celestine III.  
reversed  
the decree.  
Archbishop  
Geoffrey  
demanding  
a profession  
of  
canonical  
obedience  
from the  
bishop is  
refused.

He excommunicates him. (Dec. 1191).

Rom. iii.  
11.

<sup>1</sup> B. has *deceptarunt*.

<sup>2</sup> *in*, C.D.L.S.; *non*, B.

<sup>3</sup> Hoveden (ed. Stubbs, iii. 74) confirms this, under date 1190, but does not mention the reversal of the decree.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey first summoned Hugh before a synod at York fixed for

Sept. 30, 1191 (Hoveden, iii. 168). Events made this an impossible date for the archbishop (see p. 341), so he must have fixed it before his arrest on Sept. 18. Newburgh must allude to the citations after Geoffrey's return to York (about Nov. 1), Bened. ii. 225.

A.D. 1192. gavit. Verum sicut hic appellationem et objecta, ita ille sprevit risitque sententiam. Uterque mox ad sedem Apostolicam instructos responsales direxit; hic pro confirmanda, ille pro infirmanda evacuandaque sententia quæ lata fuerat. Et hic quidem cupiens experiri sinceritatem Romanam, vel potius sufficere iudicans quod profusioribus obsequiis pro negotio promotionis suæ paulo ante placasset Romanos, simpliciter postulavit; ille vero sagacius, prout a Romanis postulari oportuit, postulandum putavit: tantoque factus est in causa potior quanto et pollicendo ponderosior. Denique non solum pro eo est pronuntiatum quod<sup>1</sup> sententia illa non teneret,<sup>2</sup> verum etiam ei, sive pro acceptæ injuriæ consolatione sive etiam pro insolentis adversarii humiliatione, iudultum, ut illi tanquam metropolitano subesse ulterius non deberet.<sup>3</sup> Sic ergo exemptus a jurisdictione potestatis suspectæ, victoriam suam quanto gloriosius tanto et vanius ostentavit. Porro idem archiepiscopus post successus præclaros initium malorum<sup>4</sup> hoc habuit, uti sequentia declarabunt.

Both appeal to Rome, but the archbishop omits the usual bribes, and the cause is decided against him.

### CAP. XXVIII.

#### *Cur minus actum sit a nostris in Oriente, et de repatriatione peregrinorum.*<sup>5</sup>

A.D. 1192. Interea exercitus Christianus Regi regum in Oriente militans, in multo laborum et periculorum experimento agebat. Veruntamen Christianum negotium minus procedebat, tum propter dissensiones æmulationesque ducum, ut dictum est, tum propter difficultates plurimas, tanquam Deo minus propitio ob-

The dissensions of their leaders and Saladin's devastation of the land

<sup>1</sup> C. repeats *non solum* after *quod*.

<sup>2</sup> Celestine's letter is in Hoveden, iii. 170, its date is about Feb. 1192.

<sup>3</sup> Gervase (i. 513) says that at Northampton (Oct. 1192) "ad

"obedientiam sui metropolitani revocatus est."

<sup>4</sup> *malorum*, B.D.L.S.; *majorum*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *et de . . . peregrinorum*, om. B.



sistentes.<sup>1</sup> Decernebant quidam adeundam totisque <sup>A.D. 1192.</sup> oppugnandam<sup>2</sup> viribus Sanctam Civitatem, quam im- <sup>hinder the</sup> pii profanabant; aliis' vero hoc impossibile videbatur, <sup>progress of</sup> certis ex causis. Terra quippe, quae paulo ante fer- <sup>the crusa-</sup> tilissima fuerat et quasi omnimodae copiae<sup>3</sup> promptua- rium, maligna et callida Saladini provisione redacta erat in solitudinem, ne scilicet Christianus exercitus quantulumcunque ex ea subsidium caperet; unde<sup>4</sup> nec poterat a mari ad aliquod majus negotium longius progredi, cum solum ei mare navigiis necessaria mini- straret. Rex autem Anglorum exacta hieme in mon- <sup>Richard</sup> tanis, cum aliud non posset, urbes maritimas quas <sup>renews the</sup> Turci eversas reliquerant, et maxime Ascalonam,<sup>5</sup> summo <sup>defences of</sup> studio et profusis opibus instaurare<sup>6</sup> cœpit, carpentibus eum æmulis, et<sup>7</sup> rumores de illo pessimos per totum fere orbem<sup>8</sup> Christianum spargentibus: scilicet quod regem Francorum insidiis appetisset; quod Conradum marchionem virum Christianissimum nefarie per sicarios peremisisset; quod cum Saladino de prodicione Terræ Sanctæ nequissime<sup>9</sup> collusisset; atque ideo ad expugnandam Civitatem Sanctam accedere noluisset.<sup>10</sup> Porro ille cœptis insistens, præ animi magnitudine æmulantium maledicta et molimina contemnebat. Sane post memorati marchionis interitum, cum et<sup>11</sup> Guido quondam rex Ierosolymorum, qui cum eo contenderat, uxore sublata, solo jam regis nomine esset contentus, deliberavit rex Anglorum cum ducibus et nobilibus universis, cuinam fines Christianos

<sup>1</sup> B. has *obstiens*.

<sup>2</sup> *oppugnandam*, B.C.D.L.S.; *expugnandam*, R.

<sup>3</sup> *copiæ*, B.D.L.O.S.; om. C.

<sup>4</sup> *unde*, C.D.L.S.; *tantum*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *Ascalonam*, D.L.S.; *Ascolonam*, B.; *Ascalona*, C.; *Ascalonem*, O.

<sup>6</sup> *instaurare*, C.L.O.S.; *restaurare*, B.D.

<sup>7</sup> *et*, C.D.L.O.S.; om. B.

<sup>8</sup> For *orbem* B. and D. have *omnem*.

<sup>9</sup> *nequissime*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>10</sup> *noluisset*, B.D.L.S.; *voluisset*, C.O.

<sup>11</sup> *et*, B.D.L.S.; *etiam*, C.

A.D. 1192. crederent, mature ad propria reversuri. Et concordia decreto constituerunt principem Christianæ acquisitionis Henricum, illustrem Gallicanæ Campaniæ comitem, utriusque regis, Francorum scilicet et Anglorum, communem ex communi germana nepotem, tantis condignum avunculis. Quo facto, et novo principi integre traditis munitionibus Christianis, ordinatisque præsiidiis urbium, principes et populi, tanquam expleto militiæ tempore, cum jam sumptus ad moram deficerent, certatim repatriare coeperunt, anno ab expugnatione Tholomaidæ secundo, tempore autumnali. Veruntamen eorum<sup>1</sup> qui post Christianæ in Terra Sancta plebis excidium propter Christum peregrinati fuerant, nec<sup>2</sup> quarta pars ad propria rediit. Cum enim ex omni fere orbe Christiano infinita hominum millia ad illam peregrinationem sanctæ devotionis fervor accenderit,<sup>3</sup> vel morbus, vel gladius, vel inedia, vel laboris intolerantia partem longe majorem absumpsit.<sup>4</sup> In qua re consideranda est altitudo sapientiæ Dei de suorum, quos ad vitam præordinavit æternam, temporali vel salute vel felicitate minus curantis, et eorum clades temporales ad Supernæ Civitatis completionem subtili provisione derivantis. Non enim est dubium eos, qui relictâ patria atque omni necessitudine<sup>5</sup> carnali, tantis se laboribus, periculis, et cladibus propter Christum exponentes in hac laudabili devotione vitam temporalem<sup>6</sup> finire meruerunt, illis annumerandos de quibus dicitur, "Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur," cum non solum in Domino sed etiam pro Domino mortui esse probentur. Proinde fidenter<sup>7</sup> dixerim, quod multo clementius, superna cum illis pietas

Henry count of Champagne is elected king of Jerusalem.

The crusaders begin to return home in the autumn.

Not a quarter of the original number reaches home.

The author's reflections on the blessedness of a crusader's death.

Apoc. xiv. 13.

<sup>1</sup> eorum, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> nec, C.D.L.S.; ne, B.; viz, R.

<sup>3</sup> accenderit, B.C.D.L.S.; accenderet, R.

<sup>4</sup> absumpsit, B.C.D.L.S.; absumpsit, R.

<sup>5</sup> necessitudine, B.C.D.L.S.; celsitudine, R.

<sup>6</sup> temporalem, imperfect in B.

<sup>7</sup> fidenter, B.C.L.S.; fideliter, D.

egerit, multoque felicius illis contigerit,<sup>1</sup> qui in illa A.D. 1192. peregrinatione vitam terminantes, felici compendio ad æterna migrarunt, quam qui repatriantes cum sospitate corporali ad sordes pristinas remearunt. Quippe in eis quos ex illa peregrinatione ad propria reversos<sup>2</sup> cognovimus, etiam ad mores pristinos post tanta propter Christum<sup>3</sup> tolerata incommoda reversos videmus. Mirum quidem videtur quod Dominus suæ incarnationis, passionis,<sup>4</sup> resurrectionis, ascensionisque sacratissima loca a gente spurcissima occupari et<sup>5</sup> profanari permiserit. Verum divinæ permissionis hujus<sup>6</sup> tunc quidem occulta erat, nunc autem manifesta est<sup>7</sup> ratio. Quippe occasione illius tam dolendi pudendique casus<sup>8</sup> infinitis peccatoribus ad studium pietatis conversis, tanta piarum millia<sup>9</sup> animarum in quinquennali jam spatio ad æternam requiem superni Ordinatoris manus assumpsit, quanta per integritatem terrenæ Jerusalem, illa quæ sursum est Jerusalem,<sup>10</sup> quæ est mater nostra, ad suam completionem annis retro plurimis non suscepit. Ita ergo Rex noster attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponens omnia suaviter, et malis quoque hominum utens optime, dum terrenam suam Jerusalem et fines ejus propter peccata habitantium in manus hostium tradidit, cœlestis suæ Jerusalem uberiora subtiliter<sup>11</sup> lucra quæsivit.

<sup>1</sup> *multoque . . . contigerit*, B.C. D.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>2</sup> *reversos*, B.D.L.S.; *reversuros*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *Christum*, B.D.L.S.; *Deum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *passionis*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>5</sup> B. omits *et*.

<sup>6</sup> *hujus*, B.C.D.O.S.; erased from L.

<sup>7</sup> *est*, apparently accidentally erased from L.

<sup>8</sup> B. has *casibus*.

<sup>9</sup> For *millia*, B. has *militia*.

<sup>10</sup> *Jerusalem*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>11</sup> *subtiliter*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

## CAP. XXIX.

*Quomodo rex Anglorum liberavit Joppen,<sup>1</sup> et de<sup>2</sup>  
induciis Christianorum et Turcorum.<sup>3</sup>*

A.D. 1192. Sane repatriantibus ceteris præter eos qui ordinati erant ad præsidia urbium, nec illustri Anglorum regi, qui jam proprios in sumptibus diurnæ<sup>4</sup> militiæ thesauros exhauserat, productionis<sup>5</sup> moræ in Syria facultas fuit. Rebus ergo<sup>6</sup> dispositis, et datis nepoti, quem regni exigui principem relinquebat,<sup>7</sup> mandatis,<sup>8</sup> Cyprum cum suis rediit,<sup>9</sup> inde opportune profecturus.<sup>10</sup> Quibus agnitis, Saladinus super Joppen,<sup>11</sup> minus sufficienti munitam præsidio, cum exercitu irruit, eaque celeriter expugnata, et facta Christianorum strage non modica, reliquos in arce conclusos obsedit. Tum nostri eo modo quo poterant præcauentes, ne usque ad internicionem<sup>12</sup> reliquiæ delerentur, immanissimo tyranno pacti sunt deditionem<sup>13</sup> arcis ad diem certum, nisi forte Christianus superveniret exercitus. Et ille quidem nostrorum qui abierant reditum non metuens, quietus jam erat, tanquam incruento negotio arcem mature ingressurus. Rex autem Anglorum ubi sinistri eventus nuntium accepit, tristitia mox in virtutis materiam versa, cum omnibus quos eum non sequi pude-

The crusaders begin to disperse.

Saladin makes a sudden attack on Joppa (July 28).

Richard hastens to relieve the city.

<sup>1</sup> *Joppen*, D.L.S.; *Jopen*, B.C.

<sup>2</sup> *de*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>3</sup> *de . . . Turcorum*, C.D.L.S.; B. reads *de judiciis Christianorum*.

<sup>4</sup> *diurnæ*, B.C.D.O.S.; *diurna*, L.

<sup>5</sup> B. has *productoris*.

<sup>6</sup> *ergo*, B.C.D.O.S.; *vero*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *relinquebat*, B.C.L.O.S.; *dere- linquebat*, D.

<sup>8</sup> *mandatis*, B.C.D.O.S.; L. reads (by erasures and interlineation) *regni munitioibus*.

<sup>9</sup> This is a mistake. Richard had not returned to Cyprus. He travelled from Acre by sea to the relief of Joppa. Hence perhaps Newburgh's error. See Itin. Reg. Ric. (Lib. vi. p. 404, Rolls edit.)

<sup>10</sup> *profecturus*, C.D.L.O.S.; *pro- fecturus erat*, B.

<sup>11</sup> *Joppen*, D.S.; *Jopen*, B.C.L.

<sup>12</sup> *internicionem*, B.C.D.L.S.; *in- tcremptionem*, R.

<sup>13</sup> D. has *deditione*.

bat secundis flatibus Syriam celeriter rediit, Turcos A.D. 1192. inopinato ejus reditu impetuque<sup>1</sup> perterritos in fugam convertit: Qui rursus conglobati, fretique ingentibus numeris, eum in Joppe clausum<sup>2</sup> frustra conati sunt obsidere. Egressus quippe in spiritu fortitudinis, et<sup>3</sup> non solum optimi ducis verum etiam fortissimi militis implens officium, per dies aliquot cum eis in campo confluxit, et manu longe impari tremendas Turcorum copias tandem, Christo<sup>4</sup> propitio, ita protrivit, ut invictum ejus animum mirantes, et nihil contra eum ulterius audendum putantes, recederent.<sup>5</sup> Joppe igitur liberata, apud castellum quod dicitur Caiphas<sup>6</sup> diebus aliquot<sup>7</sup> ægrotavit. Quo audito Saladinus, ut dicitur, non tanquam de hoste debilitato exsultavit, sed tanquam de invictissimi principis incommodo doluit. Missisque ad eum nuntiis: "Scio," inquit, "quod in hac terra etiam sospes prolixior moram facere nequeas: te autem abeunte, quod a Christianis cum tanto labore acquisitum est, certo exponetur periculo, et mediocri negotio recidet<sup>8</sup> in manus meas. Veruntamen propter te, cujus egregiam magis virtutem veneror quam animum hostilem aversor, triennii inducias Christianis indulgeo. Ascalona tantum nec mihi nec illis sit, sed destruat<sup>9</sup>ur." Rex<sup>9</sup> autem licet ægre ferret urbem everti in cujus recenti instauratione sumptuosissimo frustra labore sudaverat, consilio tamen et desiderio patriarchæ et novi<sup>10</sup> principis, omniumque Christianorum terræ illius, inducias amplexus<sup>11</sup> est, respectu quidem<sup>12</sup> urbis evertendæ<sup>13</sup>

Battle of Joppa (Aug. 5).

Richard falls sick.

Saladin's admiration for

Richard prompts him to offer a truce. He stipulates only for the destruction of Ascalon.

<sup>1</sup> D. has *impetunque*.

<sup>2</sup> B. reads *Jope claustrum*.

<sup>3</sup> B. omits *et*.

*Christo*, B.C.D.L.S.; *Deo*, R.

<sup>5</sup> D. has *erederent* for *recede-*  
*rent*.

<sup>6</sup> *Caiphas*, B.D.L.O.S.; *Cayphas*, C.

<sup>7</sup> L. by alteration reads *aliquod*.

<sup>8</sup> *recidet*, C.D.L.S.; *recedet*, B.; *incidet*, O.R.

<sup>9</sup> *rex*, in B. *res*.

<sup>10</sup> For *novi*, B. originally read *non*.

<sup>11</sup> B. has *complexus*.

<sup>12</sup> *quidem*, B.D.L.O.S.; *tamen*, C.

<sup>13</sup> *evertendæ*, B.D.L.O.S.; *vertendæ*, C.

A.D. 1192

A truce for more than three years is concluded (Sept. 2, 1192). The Christians are allowed to visit the Holy Sepulchre.

Richard is advised not to visit Jerusalem. Hubert bishop of Salisbury goes there on his behalf.

Richard gives Cyprus to Guy of Lusignan, and promising to return

minus honestas, sed fortiori ratione multum necessarias. Itaque per operam regis<sup>1</sup> Anglorum, solis<sup>2</sup> culpandam æmulis, celebratæ firmatæque sunt inter Christianos in Palæstina consistentes et Turcos Saladino subditos induciæ a Paschali sollempnitate proxima in tres annos, tres menses, tres septimanas, tres dies, tres horas. Indultum quoque firmiterque statutum est a Saladino in gratiam regis Anglorum, ut Christiani toto induciarum tempore secure et libere sepulchrum Dominicum orandi studio visitarent, nihilque molestiæ a Sarracenis in accessu vel reditu patientes, expletis orationum sollempnibus cum fructu devotionis suæ Christianis se finibus redderent.<sup>3</sup> Quamobrem sancitis prout oportebat induciis, Christianorum ingens numerus ad Sanctam Civitatem contendit, et votis potitus cum longi satisfactione desiderii hilariter repatriavit. Et rex quidem qui unus pro decem millibus computabatur, dum propter casus ancepites de consilio sapientum propriæ cautius salutem prospiceret, minus satisfecit devotioni. At vero Hubertus Salesburiensis episcopus, qui ejus in illa expeditione comes individuus et fidus prudensque cooperator exstiterat, regiæ devotionis vicem implere curavit. Denique, ut dicitur, pro se et principe sepulchrum Principis principum visitans, fuso ibidem piarum profluvio lacrimarum<sup>4</sup> et sacra hostia immolata, suorum pariter et regionum compos votorum ad principem rediit. Quibus actis, idem rex repatriandi propositum declaravit, insulam Cyprum Guidoni, olim Ierosolymorum regi, viro strenuissimo, mæra liberalitate donavit. Dilecto nepoti, quem finibus Christianis præfecerat, suam, Christo propitio, reversionem circa induciarum

Cf. Contin.  
Chr. Flor.  
Wigorn.  
159.  
R. Divis.,  
73.

<sup>1</sup> B. reads *operam ejus regis*.

<sup>2</sup> For *solis*, B. reads, by 15th cent. alteration, *sed*.

<sup>3</sup> S. has *redderet*.

<sup>4</sup> *profluvio lacrimarum*, B.C.L.S.: om. D.

expletionem pollicitus, caractere Dominico, quo in- A.D. 1192.  
signitus advenerat, in argumentum propositæ rever- sêts saii  
sionis retento, infidis se flatibus credidit. for Europe  
(Oct. 9,  
1192).

## CAP. XXX.

*Quod Deo disponente plus actum sit illa expeditione  
pro superna quam terrena Jerusalem, et de morte  
Saladini.*<sup>1</sup>

Hunc<sup>2</sup> exitum occulto Dei iudicio habuit Christiana  
illa tam sumptuosa, laboriosa, periculosa<sup>3</sup> contra im- A.D.  
manissimum sacri et tremendi Nominis hostem Sala- 1189-92.  
dinum expeditio magnorum regum, inclitorum ducum, The  
innumerabilium populorum. Et quidem tantis sump- author's  
tibus, periculis, laboribus, pro recuperanda terrena reflections  
Jerusalem parum actum est, pro instauranda vero on the  
superna Jerusalem plurimum,<sup>4</sup> uti superius ostensum events of  
est. Deo enim melius quam humana erat intentio the Third  
disponente, tam multa Christianorum in suscepta pro Crusade.  
Christo tam laboriosa peregrinatione occumbentium  
millia,<sup>5</sup> quæ quidem secundum intentionem pro recu-  
peratione terrenæ Jerusalem frustra sudasse videntur,  
cum fructu pii laboris tanquam vivi lapides in illius  
quæ sursum est Jerusalem ædificium transierunt. Ve-  
runtamen sicut defectui temporum nostrorum, quibus  
utique abundante iniquitate refrigescit caritas, impu-  
tandum est quod loca sacra, in quibus redemptionis  
nostræ celebrata sunt sacramenta, tradita sunt in ma-  
nus impiorum: ita et<sup>6</sup> illud quod pro recuperatione  
eorundem locorum tantis laboribus et sumptibus Chris-  
tianum minus processit negotium. Itaque propter

<sup>1</sup> *et de . . . Saladini*, C.D.L.S.;  
om. B.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *Tunc*.

<sup>3</sup> *periculosa*, C.D.L.O.S.; *peri-  
culosaque*, B.; *et periculosa*, R.

<sup>4</sup> *plurimum*, B.D.L.O.S.; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> *millia*, B.D.L.O.S.; om. C.

<sup>6</sup> *et*, C.D.L.O.S.; om. B.

A.D. 1189-92. nostrorum defectum et dedecus temporum, oportet Civitatem<sup>1</sup> Sanctam conculcari et<sup>2</sup> profanari a gentibus usque ad tempus quod solus Deus novit. Nam suo tempore proculdubio juxta morem prisecum Terra Sancta spurcissimos evomet incolas; et forte per parcio- rem manum Christianam, ut virtus divina in negotio elarius eluceat. Unde veraciter a quodam fidei bellatore dictum est, "Facile est concludi multos in Machab. iii. 18. " manus paucorum, et non est differentia in conspectu " Dei liberare in multis aut in paucis." Quod utique declaratum est, cum unus persequeretur mille et duo fugarent decem millia; cum Gedeon amota multitudine per trecentos viros, qui aquas<sup>3</sup> lambuerant,<sup>4</sup> de Judic. vii. 6. innumerabilibus populis triumpharet. At non est tentandus Deus, ut Christiani, pro eo quod Dominum bonum potentemque habent, petulanter et inconsulte contra multos adversarios pauci prosiliant. Ita enim suos vult Deus in se confidere,<sup>5</sup> ut tamen non negligant prudenter et provide agere. Unde scriptum est quod sancti olim duces preliaturi prelia Domini, et futurae victoriae, ipso hanc pollicente, non ignari, ipso plerumque jubente<sup>6</sup> plerumque non<sup>7</sup> jubente, convocaverint multitudinem, nec se cum paucis vel honestum vel utile duxerunt<sup>8</sup> offerre discrimini; non utique ut Omnipotenti facilior esset per impetum multitudinis praestandae victoriae copia, sed quia illius saluberrimi praeepti, scilicet, "Non tentabis Dominum<sup>9</sup> Deum Deut. vi. 16. " tuum," homo<sup>10</sup> non debet esse negligens, et<sup>11</sup> quia Matth. iv. 7. melius est ut multi quam pauci Deo militent, non<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For *oportet Civitatem*, B. has *opportunitatem*.

<sup>2</sup> B. omits *et*.

<sup>3</sup> *aquas*, B.C.L.S.; *aquam*, R.

<sup>4</sup> *lambuerant*, B.L.S.; *lamberant*, C.; *labuerant* (sic), D.

<sup>5</sup> *confidere*, B.C.D.L.S.; *credere*, R.

<sup>6</sup> *plerumque jubente*, B.D.L.O.S.; om. C.

<sup>7</sup> *non*, C.L.S.; *etiam non*, B.D.

<sup>8</sup> *duxerunt*, C.L.O.S.; *duxerint*, B.D.

<sup>9</sup> B. omits *Dominum*.

<sup>10</sup> *homo*, B.C.L.O.S.; *et homo*, D.

<sup>11</sup> *et*, B.C.D.O.S.; *sed*, L.



planc ex suo numero Omnipotenti plus facultatis<sup>1</sup> allaturi, sed pro suo numero ab Eo qui sibi nil minuit quantislibet distribuatur, militiæ præmia percepturi.

A.D.  
1189-92.

Sane paulo post exercitus Christiani a Syria digressum, stillavit Dominus super populum suum misericordiæ modicum, tanquam arram quandam<sup>2</sup> gratiæ plenioris; virgam quippe furoris Domini et<sup>3</sup> formidabilem Christiani nominis malleum confregit Saladinum. Qui nimirum cum in multa lætitia et securitate ageret, tanquam elusa omni fortitudine magnorum regum Occidentis, repente incidit in manus Dei viventis; magnumque illud imperium, quod ex regnis opulentissimis homo non regii sanguinis sed astutiæ singularis arte simul et virtute<sup>4</sup> conflaverat, cum ingentiarum bellorumque materia delicatis heredibus<sup>5</sup> moriens dereliquit. Denique eo mortuo juxta numerum succedentium scissum est imperium ejus,<sup>6</sup> ipsisque inter se dissidentibus facta est summa confusio in domo ejus. Christiani vero sub principe Henrico in suis urbibus quiete commorantes, expletionem induciarum præstolabantur.

Death of  
Saladin,  
1193  
(March 4).

<sup>1</sup> *facultatis*, B.D.L.O.S.; *falsitatis*, C.

<sup>2</sup> D. has *quadam*.

<sup>3</sup> *et*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>4</sup> *sed astutiæ . . . . et virtute*, C.D.L.S., and B. with *scilicet* for

*simul*; O. has merely *sed astutiæ et virtute*.

<sup>5</sup> From *lætitiæ et securitate heredibus*, D. has lost many words by mutilation of the page.

<sup>6</sup> C. omits *ejus*.

## CAP. XXXI.

*Quomodo rex Anglorum naufragium passus, et captus est a duce Austriæ.*

A.D. 1192.

King Richard quits the Holy Land (Oct. 9).

Queen Bérengère reaches Sicily safely. Richard is wrecked on the Istrian coast, barely escaping with his life, and finds himself among enemies.

Mainhard II., count of Goritz, captures at Frisach

Igitur rex Anglorum a Syria digrediens, duabus reginis, sorore scilicet vidua et conjuge, cum omni fere familia præmissis, ipse cum paucis expeditionibus<sup>1</sup> agiliori navigio sequebatur. Impatientior quippe tædii, dum lentum et morosum latissimi aspernaretur pelagi transitum, tutiorem gravioris navigii, et suo pondere minus timentis spiritus procellarum, evectiorem recusavit, quod utique factum est illi in scandalum. Et quidem reginæ cum omni comitatu suo, lento sed prospero cursu Siciliam venientes, ibidem sub rege Tancredo in tuto pro tempore substitere.<sup>2</sup> Porro rex, navi qua vehebatur inclementioribus auris arrepta, tractus est ad partes Histriæ, atque inter Aquileiam et Venetiam naufragium passus, ægre cum paucis æquoreum discrimen evasit. Ubi propriam pro tempore propter casus incertos inter ceteros naufragos celans personam, didicit regem Anglorum hominibus regionis illius ob necem Conradi marchionis, quæ ipsi imputabatur, esse invisum, nec posse ibidem tutum<sup>3</sup> habere hospitium. Quamobrem imminens inani<sup>4</sup> studuit eludere<sup>5</sup> cautela periculum.<sup>6</sup> Nam cito percerebruit insignem naufragum latere vel oberrare in terra illa. Mox nobilibus simul et populo ad vestigandum<sup>7</sup> eum intentis, quidam comes, Mainardus nomine, ipso latenter per fugam elapso, octo de comitibus ejus comprehendit. Deinde in archiepiscopatu Salburgensi loco qui vocatur Frisarium,<sup>8</sup> sex de comitibus ejus a

Ep. Henr. Rom. Imp. ad Phil. reg. Fr.

Ep. Henr. (Hoveden, iii. 195).

<sup>1</sup> D. and O. have *expeditionibus*.

<sup>2</sup> *substitere*, C.D.L.S.; *subsistere*, B.O.

<sup>3</sup> *tutum*, B.D.L.O.S.; *tum tutum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> For *inani* B. reads *jam*.

<sup>5</sup> *eludere*, B.C.L.O.S.

<sup>6</sup> From *æquoreum discrimen* as far as *periculum* the text of D. has suffered by mutilation.

<sup>7</sup> *investigandum* in C.

<sup>8</sup> In Carinthia, a detached part of the see. *Frisorum* in Hoveden.

Ep. Henr. quodam Frederico<sup>1</sup> detentis, cum tribus tantum<sup>2</sup> comi- A.D. 1192.  
 tibus noctu ad partes Austriæ properavit. Humbol-  
 dus<sup>3</sup> vero dux Austriæ, qui, ut supradictum est, sti- some of  
 pendarius ejus in exercitu Domini fuerat, profusam Richard's  
 ejus circa se largitatem, cum egeret, expertus, oblitus com-  
 beneficii atque in<sup>4</sup> ultionem cujusdam læsionis exiguæ panions.  
 sæviens, magis<sup>5</sup> autem opum Anglicanarum homo ava-  
 rus et perfidus sitiens, cautissimos per omnes viarum  
 transitus et diverticula, ut insigni profugo evadendi  
 locus non esset, custodes disposuit; quem tandem in  
 suburbano quodam, indicio, ut dicitur, cujusdam ex  
 comitibus ejus, dum escas lautiores emeret, caute no-  
 tati, et ad prodendum cuiquam peregrino talia procu-  
 raret intentata<sup>6</sup> morte coacti, inventum per immissos<sup>7</sup>  
 satellites captivavit. Denique ingressi ad eum solli- Richard is  
 cite se occultantem directi a duce armati, "Ave,"<sup>8</sup> tracked  
 inquirunt, "rex Anglorum: frustra personam tuam and made  
 pal- prisoner  
 "lias, facies tua manifestum te facit." Cumque vir Dec. (20),  
 ingentis animi gladium arriperet: "Noli," inquirunt, 1192.  
 "rex, vel<sup>9</sup> timere vel temere agere, non enim mori-  
 "eris sed potius a morte servaberis in medio hostium  
 "tuorum, propinquorum scilicet Conradi marchionis,  
 "quærentium animam tuam: in quorum utique ma-  
 "nus si forte, etiam centum vitas<sup>10</sup> habens, incideres,  
 "ne una quidem earum salva tibi esse posset." Cap-  
 tus igitur rex nobilis a duce nequissimo anno a partu  
 Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo II<sup>o</sup>, mense Decembri, citra  
 decus regium in vinculis servabatur.

<sup>1</sup> *Flederico*, B.D. Frederick de Betesowe, Hoved. iii. 195.

<sup>2</sup> For *tantum* B. reads *tamen*.

<sup>3</sup> Should of course be Leopold, as in the emperor's letter to Philip from which this narrative is mainly taken. See Hoveden, iii. 195.

<sup>4</sup> *atque in*, B.D.L.O.S.; *atque in*, *regem in*, C.

<sup>5</sup> For *magis* C. has *magus*.

<sup>6</sup> B. has *in intenta*.

<sup>7</sup> *immissos*, C.D.L.O.S.; *præmissas*, B.

<sup>8</sup> For *armati*, "Ave," C. has *armati dua*.

<sup>9</sup> *vel*, D.L.O.S.; om. B.C.

<sup>10</sup> B. has *vitam*.

## CAP. XXXII.

*Quomodo rex Francorum, delusus a filio ducis  
Saxonice, speratis<sup>1</sup> nuptiis caruit.<sup>2</sup>*

A.D.  
1192-3.

The emperor  
Henry VI.  
sends tidings of  
Richard's  
capture to  
Philip of  
France,  
Dec. 28  
(1192).

Res mature defertur ad imperatorem Teutonicum, in Germaniæ tunc<sup>3</sup> partibus constitutum. Qui nimium vel imperialis vel etiam Christianæ negligens honestatis, et occasione captivi insignis diripiendis<sup>4</sup> plurimarum regionum opibus inhians, gavisus est valde. Moxque regem Francorum suæ lætitiæ fieri volens participem, gratissimum illi super aurum et topazion quinto kalendas Januarii a Renhenza<sup>5</sup> nuntium destinavit. Ille vero lætatus super infelicitate aliena, sicut qui invenit spolia multa, sinistra principis eventum ad frangendos subditorum animos mox late vulgavit, animumque hostilem declarans, ut perpetua captivi esset dejectio modis omnibus agendum putavit. Denique magnis pollicitationibus sollicitare atque allicere sibi curavit Johannem, captivi regis germanum, in Anglia, Hibernia, Normannia, multarum virium opumque virum. Quem profecto facile ad suas potuit partes traducere, jampridem quantum<sup>6</sup> regni fraterni, tantum et fraterni periculi cupidum. Accepto ergo idem in Anglia constitutus fraternæ captionis nuntio, illico transfretavit, et nutanti regno sperans se facile posse intrudi si Francorum sibi vires adjungeret, invito cum eis fœdere,<sup>7</sup> et fratris in periculo positi fidelitate exsufflata, ejus se hostem inverecun-

Ps. cxviii.  
162.

The king  
of France  
conspires  
(Jan. 1193)  
with prince  
John, who  
shows himself  
openly  
as his  
brother's  
enemy.

<sup>1</sup> *speratis*, D.L.O.S.; *scilicet quod paratis*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *speratis . . . caruit*, C.D.L.O.S.; om. B.

<sup>3</sup> *tunc*, B.D.O.S.; om. C.

<sup>4</sup> *diripiendis*, B.C.D.O.S.; *dirimendis*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *Renhenza*, B.D.L.O.S.; *Ren-*

*benza*, C. Hoveden reads *Rithincie*, which is not indentifiable. Newburgh is clearly right. *Renhenza* is Rhense or Rense between Coblenz and Mainz.

<sup>6</sup> B. omits *quantum*.

<sup>7</sup> A treaty is given in the *Fœdera*, i. 57. See also Hoveden, iii. 204.

dissime declaravit. Rex quoque Francorum impera- A.D. 1194.  
 torem Teutonicum, ad cujus fortuna<sup>1</sup> regis captivi Philip  
 pendebat arbitrium, affinitate sibi cupiens media de Augustus  
 vincere,<sup>2</sup> consobrinæ ejus, unicæ scilicet filiæ<sup>3</sup> Palatini proposes to  
 comitis, missis ad eum nuntiis, connubium expetivit. marry the  
 Petitionem imperator gratanter amplexus, ejus daughter of  
 plenitudinæ gratia comitem Palatinum, virum, ut dicitur, the count  
 in<sup>4</sup> imperio summæ post imperatorem amplitudinis, Palatine, a  
 accersivit. Nec latuit ea res matrem puellæ. Quæ relation of  
 unicam sobolem secreto conveniens: "Vis," ait, "ho- Her mother  
 "norabiles nuptias et thorum regium? Rex enim secretly  
 "Francorum te comparem postulat." Tum illa: "Au- marries  
 "divi," inquit, "a multis de rege hoc, quomodo fæda- her to  
 "verit atque abjecerit puellam nobilissimam, germa- Henry  
 "nam scilicet regis Dacorum, et vereor exemplum." son of the  
 Ad quam mater; "Et quis," ait, "in votis tuis est duke of  
 "potior?" Tum illa: "Si mea," inquit, "vota pros- Saxony  
 "perentur, ab eo certe cui me didici in annis infan- (A.D.  
 "tiæ desponsatam nunquam disjungar, Henrico scili- 1194).  
 "cet<sup>5</sup> ducis Saxonici filio." Et mater: "Confide,"  
 ait, "filia, quia per maternam operam formidato ex-  
 "empta exemplo, optato potieris connubio." Mox  
 eundem Henricum elegantissimum et strenuissimum  
 juvenem, regis Anglorum ex sorore nepotem, virago  
 mirabilis secretis literis accersivit. Qui festinus oc-  
 currit, et votis promptissime concurrentibus dilectam  
 virginem, tradente matre, accepit. Qua nimirum prop-  
 ter eventus ancipites accelerante negotium, illico ritu  
 sollemni celebratæ sunt nuptiæ, ut quos Deus jam  
 conjunxisset homo de cetero separare non posset. In-  
 terea novæ nuptiæ pater ab imperatore inductus ut  
 regiis filiam nuptiis honestaret, actæ rei repente  
 famam accepit. Imperator quoque rem audiens, cre-

Cf. *Annal.*  
*Stederburg,*  
*(Pertz, xvi.*  
*227).*

<sup>1</sup> For *fortuna* C. reads *fortunam*.

<sup>2</sup> B. is here incoherent, having  
*medi denuciare for medi devincire.*

<sup>3</sup> *filiæ*, C.D.L.S.; om. B. Agnes

daughter of Conrad of Hohenstau-  
 fen, brother of Barbarossa.

<sup>4</sup> *in*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> B. has *sinul* for *scilicet*.

A.D. 1194. densque hoc præter ejus conscientiam fieri minime potuisse, acri contra eum motu excaudit, et ad se vocatum mordaciter increpavit, tum quia juvenem oderat, tum quia factum erat aliter quam volebat. Ille vero stomachanti atque objurganti<sup>1</sup> satisfaciens: "Per salutem," inquit, "tuam, imperator, mea hoc neque voluntate neque conscientia<sup>2</sup> actum est;<sup>3</sup> sed conjugem meam, consobrinam tuam, contemplatione juramenti olim a me et illa, felicitis memoriæ patris tui imperio, duci Saxoniae præstiti, in absentia mea<sup>4</sup> credo patrasse, unde mihi tua celsitudo succenset." Tum<sup>5</sup> imperator: "Vade," ait, "et, nebulone illo expulso, rescinde quod actum est." Et ille: "Noli," inquit, "sic loqui, imperator; nam eo usque, ut dicatur, res processit, ut absque sempiterno unicæ filiae meæ dedecore rescindi non<sup>6</sup> possit." Reversus autem idem ad propria, genero blande locutus est, adoptansque eum in filium, filiam egregie dotavit. Sic ille qui propriam paulo ante cum dedecore<sup>7</sup> repudiaverat conjugem, optatis<sup>8</sup> speratisque, Dei judicio, caruit nuptiis.<sup>9</sup>

## CAP. XXXIII.

*Quomodo rex Anglorum per duce[m] Austriae devenit in custodiam imperatoris.*

A.D. 1193. Igitur illustris rex Anglorum a duce Austriae, qui paulo ante illi in Syria contra Turcos militaverat, tenebatur in vinculis. Imperator autem allegans regem non decere<sup>10</sup> teneri a duce, nec esse indecens si

The emperor of Germany obtains

<sup>1</sup> Imperfect, *objuranti*, C.

<sup>2</sup> D. has *conscientiam*.

<sup>3</sup> *est*, B.D.L.S.; *esse*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *in absentia mea*, B.C.D.L.S.; *absente me*, R.

<sup>5</sup> *tum*, C.D.L.S.; *tunc*, B.

<sup>6</sup> B. omits *non*.

<sup>7</sup> S. has *decere*.

<sup>8</sup> B. has *optans*.

<sup>9</sup> The later events of this chapter happened in 1194 (*Annal. Staden- ses*, Pertz, xvi. 352), and are therefore misplaced.

<sup>10</sup> B. has *dicere*.

ab imperatoria celsitudine decus regium teneretur,<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1193.  
 insignem ad se trahere curavit captivum. Et cum possession of king  
 negari non posset, a duce resignatum, in propriam Richard  
 avarus imperator traduxit custodiam, pactus tamen (Mar.23?)  
 duci competentem provenientis commodi portionem.  
 Sic ergo Christianus imperator avaritia depravatus,  
 memorato regi versus in Saladinum, novo atque inex-  
 piabili nœvo Romanum fœdavit imperium. A seculo  
 enim<sup>2</sup> non est auditum, quod aliquis Christianorum vel  
 regum vel imperatorum, quemlibet alium Christianum  
 a sancta militia redeuntem, et per suos fines simpli-  
 citer transeuntem, captivaverit principem. Verum

“Quid non mortalia pectora cogis

“Auri sacra fames?”

Imperator Romanus, proh pudor! præ commodi esurie  
 ad omne honestum, omne jus fasque oculos<sup>3</sup> clausit:  
 imperiale decus nescivit: alter esse Saladinus non  
 erubuit. Princeps autem Christianus, qui tam procul  
 a propriis contra Saladinum et Turcos Christo milita-  
 verat, ad propria pro tempore cum pio proposito re-  
 means, et in argumentum opportuna in Orientem<sup>4</sup>  
 regressionis characterem adhuc Dominicum portans, in  
 Alemannia<sup>5</sup> Turcos incurrit<sup>6</sup> pejores, et tanto amario-  
 rem quanto et avariorum Saladinum. Qui nimirum  
 avaritiam pallians, et quod fœdissime faciebat adum-  
 bratæ justitiæ colore obducens, illustrem captivum  
 concinnatis maculabat mendaciis, et gloriabatur volun-  
 tate Dei incidisse in manus suas plectendum severius  
 hostem imperii, et Terræ Sanctæ, in ejus medio Do-  
 minus salutem operatus est, proditorem. Denique circa  
 Dominicam Palmarum<sup>7</sup> sollemniter sibi præsentatum,  
 coram omni frequentia nobilium et populi, gravium

Richard  
 appears  
 before the  
 emperor  
 March 21.

<sup>1</sup> B. has the mistake *tenerentur*.

<sup>2</sup> For *enim* C. has *tamen*.

<sup>3</sup> D. has *oculis*.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *Oriente*.

<sup>5</sup> B. has *Almannia*.

<sup>6</sup> *incurrit*, B.C.D.L.S.; *invenit*,  
 R.

<sup>7</sup> Diceto (ii. 106) gives March 23  
 as the date of Richard's transfer to  
 the emperor.

A.D. 1193. objectu excessuum terrere tentavit. Ille vero hilari fretus conscientia, constanti et libera responsione ita objecta diluit, ut imperator quoque non solum ad misericordiam verum etiam ad reverentiam ejus flecti videretur. Multis enim præ gaudio in lacrimas resolutis, inclinatum regem dignanter erexit, uberiorem de cetero gratiam et profusiora solatia pollicens, re autem vera ingenti summæ, mediante duce Austriæ, ab ipso rege pro sua liberatione<sup>1</sup> promissæ, sitibunde inhians. Unde nec relaxandum duxit quem sic honorare voluit, nullum commodius judicans<sup>2</sup> pignus promissionis quam corpus promissoris. Sane jam visitabatur a plurimis vinctus insignis, et toto detentionis suæ tempore officiosissimam suorum experiebatur circa se caritatem. Venit autem ad eum Eliensis episcopus, principalis ab eo, ut supradictum est, cum ad Orientem tenderet regni procurator relictus, sed a potentibus regni propter mores insolentissimos Anglia jampridem extrusus; et non discedebat ab eo, negotia quidem ejus strenue administrans, sed de suis expulso-ribus regiis malum auribus insusurrans. Venerabilis quoque Hubertus Salesbiriensis episcopus, qui ejusdem regis in Syria comes individuus fuerat,<sup>3</sup> cum applicuisset in Sicilia, cognito quod ei acciderat, nam tanti principis casus indignissimus cito insonuit orbi terrarum, properavit ad eum: quem ille mox direxit in Angliam,<sup>4</sup> tum pro necessaria regni cura tum etiam pro maturando suæ redemptionis negotio. Quippe alium non habebat unanimum, de cujus fide, prudentia, et<sup>5</sup> sinceritate tam crebra in variis casibus experimenta sumpsisset.

He refutes the charges brought against him.

His ransom is arranged (Mar. 22).

He is visited by various friends. William Long-champ remains to transact business for him.

Richard sends Hubert bishop of Salisbury (April 20) to superintend the collection of the ransom.

Hoved. iii. 199.

<sup>1</sup> The resemblances to Hoveden (iii. 199) in the passage "Ille vero — liberatione" cannot be accidental. Sec in Hoveden (i.) rex libere, et constanter et ita intrepide respondit (ii.) nam inclinantem se regem erexit (iii.) in lacrymas

ruente præ gaudio (iv.) mediante duce Austriæ, pro sua liberatione.

<sup>2</sup> *judicans*, B.C.D.S.; *indicans*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *fuerat*, C.D.L.S.; *erat*, B.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *Anglia*.

<sup>5</sup> *et*, B.D.L.S.; *vel*, C.



## CAP. XXXIV.

*Quomodo rex Francorum invasit Normanniam, et quomodo Johannes turbavit Angliam.*

Rebus igitur ita se circa regem Anglorum habenti- A.D. 1193.  
bus, Philippus rex Francorum missis ad eum in Ale-  
manniam a latere suo viris honoratis, hominum,<sup>1</sup> quo  
sibi astrictus videbatur, sollemniter refutavit, bellum  
declares  
war  
against  
Richard  
while yet  
a prisoner.  
que vineto indicens, hostile propositum declaravit.  
Indecorum plane fœdumque visum est omnibus ho-  
mini vineto et sui penitus impoti bellum indicere,  
sed "malitia nocendi avida respectum<sup>2</sup> honesti non  
"habet." Displicere visa est imperatoriæ majestati  
regiæ personæ tanta indignitas, eique ut a vineti re-  
bus quiesceret, supplicandum putavit. Porro ille pro-  
missis ingentibus, et<sup>3</sup> vel cœquantibus<sup>4</sup> vel etiam  
He en-  
deavours  
to outbid  
the ransom,  
but the  
German  
princes  
frustrate  
his efforts.  
excedentibus summam a vineto promissam, impera-  
torem tentavit corrumpere, ut eundem sibi cautius  
Invades  
Normandy.  
custodiendum traderet, allegans mundum componi non  
Gisors is  
traitor-  
ously  
resigned to  
him  
(April 12).  
posse si tantus turbator<sup>5</sup> emergeret. Et imperatoris  
quidem animum minus solidum forte ad hoc pellicere  
potuit; sed potentes imperii vinetum ingenue mise-  
rantes, nefariæ molitioni obstitere. Ille vero, erum-  
pente malitia, quiescere nescius, congregato exercitu  
invasit Normanniam; moxque Gisorcium, castellum  
Gisors is  
traitor-  
ously  
resigned to  
him  
(April 12).  
nobile et munimentis abundans, cujusdam Gilleberti,<sup>6</sup>  
cujus modicæ fidei creditum fuerat, proditione recepit.  
Consequenter ad quædam alia versus castella, nemi-  
nem obsistentem invenit. Ita quippe indigna sors  
principis subditorum animos fregerat atque omnem in

<sup>1</sup> hominum, B.

<sup>2</sup> D. has *respectu*.

<sup>3</sup> et, D.L.S.; om. B.C.

<sup>4</sup> cœquantibus, C.L.S.; *æquan-*  
*tibus*, B.D.

<sup>5</sup> turbator, C.D.L.S.; *jugator*, B.

<sup>6</sup> Gilleberti, D.L.S.; *Gilberti*,  
B.C. Gilbert of Vacoecil, who  
also gave up Neaufle, Hoved., iii.  
206.

A.D. 1193. cis fiduciam enervarat,<sup>1</sup> ut tanquam oves non habentes pastorem, vel sponte manus darent vel a facie fugerent insequentis.<sup>2</sup> Cumque jam Albemariam,<sup>3</sup> Augum, atque alia castella plurima in ejus matura deditione potestatem transissent, metropolim Normanniæ Rothomagum cum exercitu adiit, atque ore terrefrepto cunctis sibi obstituris<sup>4</sup> intentans exitium,<sup>5</sup> urbem resignari præcepit. At comes Leicestrensis, regis Anglorum comes in Orientali expeditione<sup>6</sup> fidissimus, præcognito ejus adventu, paulo ante urbem ingressus, animos civium erexerat, atque ut contra hostem immanissimum viriliter agerent egregie roborarat. Ille vero urbe per dies aliquot frustra oppugnata, et jacitura majori accepta quam illata,<sup>7</sup> recessit, atque ad faciliora exercitum negotia revocans, munitiones nobiles Pasci et Iveri absque multa difficultate obtinuit. Tunc ad frenandum ejus pro tempore impetum, illi, qui res victi utcunque gerebant, inducias<sup>8</sup> ad tempus certum ingentis summæ<sup>9</sup> pactione redimendas duxerunt, et quatuor castella electa loco pignoris<sup>10</sup> traderunt.

Nec Johannes, ex regni ambitu hostis naturæ effectus, illis diebus a fratris infestatione quievit, regis Francorum in omnibus cooperatores effulgens. Quippe illo in finibus Normanniæ debacchante, hic fretus munitionibus regiis,<sup>11</sup> quas fratri in Oriente constituto dolose subtraxerat, catervis improborum undecunque contractis, Angliæ turbabat provincias, atque infinita

Gains Aumale and other castles without fighting, and summons Roueh to surrender.

The earl of Leicester defends the city, and the king gives up the attack (April 29).

Peace is arranged (July 9).

John's perfidy rouses the barons, who besiege Windsor.

<sup>1</sup> Cf Hoveden, iii. 206, 7.

<sup>2</sup> *insequentis*, C.L.S.; *insistentis*, B.D.

<sup>3</sup> C., by alteration, has *Albemaria*.

<sup>4</sup> *obstuturis*, B.C.D.L.S.; *restitutis*, R.

<sup>5</sup> R. has *excidium*.

<sup>6</sup> *Orientali expeditione*, B.C.D.L.S.; *Oriente*, R.

<sup>7</sup> *illata*, B.C.D.S.; *illa*, L.

<sup>8</sup> This treaty is given by Hoveden, iii. 217-20.

<sup>9</sup> *ingentis summa*, B.D.L.S.; *ingentissima*, C.

<sup>10</sup> In C., by imperfect alteration, the word stands *pingtoris*.

<sup>11</sup> *regiis*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

in caput perfidum maledicta congerebat. Regni autem A.D. 1193. optimates, fide integri animisque infracti, collecta manu valida, vecordissimi<sup>1</sup> juvenis nefariis se ausibus opposuerunt, et castellum Windesoram<sup>2</sup> quod<sup>3</sup> in ejus ditionem<sup>4</sup> inciderat, diu et fortiter oppugnantes, ad deditionem coegerunt. Nam cum Johannes videret suos, quibus subvenire non poterat, periclitari obsessos, pro eorum salute inducias ad tempus definitum<sup>5</sup> petiit, et castellum resignavit; quo facto transfretans,<sup>6</sup> ad regem Francorum se contulit.

Surrender  
of Windsor  
(April).

John quits  
England  
for France  
(July.)

## CAP. XXXV.

*Quomodo Hubertus Salesbiriensis episcopus factus est archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, et de ecclesia contradictionis.*<sup>7</sup>

Eodem tempore vinctus insignis salubri instinctu A.D. 1193. Cantuariensem ecclesiam vacare diutius noluit; nam venerabili Balduino, qui, ut superius dictum est, sub characterе dominico in Orientem profectus<sup>8</sup> Tyri decesserat, nullus adhuc in ejusdem ecclesie sollicitudine pastorali successerat.<sup>9</sup> Scripsit ergo rex de Alemannia episcopis ceterisque ad quos tantum spectabat negotium, ut primae sedis pro tempore providentiam habentes, metropolitani electionem maturarent. Nec propriae provisionis arbitrium tacuit, sed virum in quo sibi complacebat, utpote in multis probatum et pra-

By Rich-  
ard's  
desire the  
monks of  
Canterbury  
meet the  
bishops  
and elect  
Hubert  
bishop of  
Salisbury  
to the  
see of Can-  
terbury  
(May 30).

<sup>1</sup> B. has the error *recordissimi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Windsoram*, D.L.S.; *Wyndesoram*, B.; *Windosoram*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *quod*, R.; *quæ*, B.C.D.L.S.

<sup>4</sup> B. and C. have *ditione*.

<sup>5</sup> *definitum*, D.L.S.; *diffinitum*, a mediæval form, B.C. The truce was till November.

<sup>6</sup> *transfretans*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

Illoeden, iii. 217, says, receiving the celebrated message, "the devil "is let loose."

<sup>7</sup> *et de . . . contradictionis*, C.D. L.S.; om. B.

<sup>8</sup> *profectus*, B.D.L.S.; *profecto*, C.

<sup>9</sup> *nullus adhuc . . . successerat*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

A.D. 1193. clare agnitum, electuris commendabat.<sup>1</sup> Itaque Cantuarienses cum episcopis convenientes, approbata voluntate regia, Hubertum Salesbiriensem episcopum ad primæ sedis regimen concorditer et sollemniter elegerunt. Qui nimirum, postulato atque accepto a Romano pontifice pallio, inthronizatus, mox sumpto apud Meretonam<sup>2</sup> caonicae professionis habitu, religiosæ mentis propositum cultu exteriori declaravit. Cantuariensibus sane, quos prædecessoris sui fervor paulo indiscretior exulcerarat, salvo defuncti honore, molestus non fuit. Nempe idem Cantuariensibus, ut dicitur, monachis<sup>3</sup> plus justo infestus, proprium eligendi pontificem jus et prærogativam transferre ab eis voluit. Hujus rei gratia ecclesiam majoris ecclesiæ, in qua monachi ministrant, quasi æmulam Cantuariæ fabricare adorsus,<sup>4</sup> præbendas quoque clericorum ibidem instituit, ubi, videlicet, defuncto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, suffraganei convenirent, et simul<sup>5</sup> cum ejusdem loci clericis de successoris electione deliberarent. Cantuarienses vero monachi in suæ dignitatis præjudicium hoc fieri non ferentes, ingentis controversiæ turbinem suscitavunt, et priore proprio cum aliis pluribus emisso, sedem Apostolicam interpellarunt. Et archiepiscopus quidem favore regio fortior, subactis et protritit non sine bello et sanguine contradictoribus, urgebat opus; quod tamen postmodum adversariis per Apostolicæ sedis judicium et fortia mandata invalescentibus, coactus est intermittere. Denique tam fœda contentio<sup>6</sup> inter pastorem et oves proprias per annos aliquot cum multo scandalo tracta est, dum neutra pars cedendum putaret, et utraque palmam

Arch-  
bisop  
Hubert  
pacifies the  
monks of  
Canter-  
bury,  
whom  
Baldwin  
had en-  
deavoured  
to rob of  
the right  
of election  
to the  
primatial  
see.

Appeals  
had been  
made to  
Rome, but  
Baldwin's  
death  
ended the  
quarrel  
(Jan. 1186  
to 19 Nov.  
1190).

<sup>1</sup> *commendabat*, C.L.S.; *commendavit*, B.D.

<sup>2</sup> *Meretonam*, C.D.L.S.; *Mertonam*, B.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *monachus*.

<sup>4</sup> At Hackington, a suburb of

Canterbury. The chronicle of Ger-  
vase teems with information as to  
this lengthened quarrel.

<sup>5</sup> *et simul*, C.D.L.S.; *scilicet*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *contentia* (sic), B.

dare alteri ignominiosissimum judicaret. Quamobrem A.D. 1193. cum idem pontifex in hoc plane indiscretior, alias vero vir bonus, prudens,<sup>1</sup> et religiosus, in Oriente tam procul ab ecclesia propria defecisset, Cantuarienses paucioribus<sup>2</sup> eum lamentis plangentes, opus illud, quod totius dissensionis seminarium fuerat, jam pridem intermissum motu subito cum ingenti lætitia complanarunt.

CAP. XXXVI.<sup>3</sup>*Quomodo Hugo Cestrensis episcopus destruxit  
monasterium Coventrense.*

Mirandum sane est tantum virum, venerabilem dico Balduinum,<sup>4</sup> qui ex archidiacono Cisterciensis ordinis monachus, moxque abbas, et ex abbate Wigorniensis<sup>5</sup> episcopus, et ex suffraganeo metropolitanus, recipiens scilicet ab eo archiepiscopatum pro quo dimisit archidiaconatum: mirandum est, inquam, spectatæ<sup>6</sup> religionis virum, illud genus, canonicos scilicet seculares,<sup>7</sup> propagare voluisse, cum salubrem impendere operam, ut idem genus minus abundaret atque in genus religiosum transiret, magis eum videatur decuisse; quod utique olim sancti pontifices et principes in Anglia fecisse noscuntur. Quippe in præclaris ecclesiis, Cantuariensi scilicet et Wintoniensi,<sup>8</sup> seculares olim clerici ministrarunt: quibus nimirum religiosi illi, Dei nutu potestatem habentes, optionem dederunt ut vel

A.D.  
1189-93.The author  
blames  
archbishop  
Baldwin's  
preference  
for secular  
canons  
over  
monks.His predecessors had  
made

<sup>1</sup> *prudens*, B.C.D.R.S.; *et prudens*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *paucioribus*, B.D.L.S.; *paucioribus*, C.

<sup>3</sup> R. omits the whole of this chapter.

<sup>4</sup> *Balduinum*, D.L.S.; *Baldewinum*, B.; *Baldwinum*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *Wigorniensis*, C.L.S.; *Wigornensis*, B.D.

<sup>6</sup> *speetatæ*, B.C.L.S.; *spectare*, D.

<sup>7</sup> *seculares*, B.C.D.S.; *regulares*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *Wigorniensi*, with *Wintoniensi* in margin, C.

A.D.  
1189-93.

changes in  
the oppo-  
site direc-  
tion.

Hugh of,  
Nunant,  
bishop of  
Lichfield  
and  
Coventry,  
machinates  
against the  
monks of  
Coventry.

beneficia atque officia, quibus indigni censebantur, relinquerent, vel in sacræ religionis propositum laudabili<sup>1</sup> mutatione transirent. Quibus, dum salubriter cogerentur, vel cedentibus vel mutatis, decorem domus Dei usque in hodiernum diem religiosa melius collegia conservarunt. Religiosus ergo pontifex nostris temporibus illud genus propagare non debuit, cujus utique per salubrem conversionem minuendi occasio potius, cooperante Christo, quaerenda fuit. Verum Hugonis Nunantini, Cestrensis sive Coventrensis episcopi, flagrans adhuc maleficium longe præponderat, quod silentio prætereundum non est.

Coventrense<sup>2</sup> cœnobium a nobilibus olim Anglis pia devotione fundatum, ditatum, ornatum, per annos fere trecentos inter ecclesias Anglicanas enituit, et propter suam claritatem Cestrensis episcopi, ut et Coventrensis diceretur, multo tempore in multa pace sedes fuit. Hunc venerabilem locum cum quidam satelles diaboli, Robertus scilicet Marmiun, sub rege Stephano spoliatum profanasset, divinæ, ut suo loco dictum est, severitati subjaecit, atque idem locus ad suam, Deo auctore, claritatem mox rediens, usque ad præsentium fæcem temporum quietus permansit. Quippe ante annos aliquot memoratus Hugo Nunantinus<sup>3</sup> homo callidus, audax, inverecundus,<sup>4</sup> et ad ausus improbos literatura eloquentiaque instructus, cum forte occulto Ejus judicio "Qui facit hypochritam reg- Job. xxxiv. nare propter peccata populi," Cestrensem fuisset<sup>30</sup> episcopatum adeptus, modis omnibus moliri cœpit ut exclusis illius loci monachis, de rebus eorum suo distribuendas arbitrio præbendas faceret clericorum. Denique inter priorem et monachos discordias serens vel

<sup>1</sup> *laudabili*, B.D.L.S.; *bona*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *Coventrense*, B.C.L.S.; *Conventrense*, D., with similar spelling below.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *Nunatinus*.

<sup>4</sup> His letter as to William Long-

champ (Bened. Petrob. ii. p. 215) goes far towards justifying these epithets. See R. Divis., p. 9, respecting the personal violence offered to Nunant by the monks.

nutriens, cum in eadem ecclesia, astu nefario, pessimorum inquietudinum scandala suscitasset, occasione captata, manu armata expulit universos, tanquam manifestos atque incorrigibiles pacis ecclesiasticæ turbatores, reosque enormium criminum quibus<sup>1</sup> infamabat. Mox ad sedem Apostolicam instructos responsales direxit, monachos ecclesiæ Coventrensis, deserta religiosa militia, ad seculum relapsos insinuans, atque<sup>2</sup> ejusdem ecclesiæ pro arbitrio suo ordinandæ liberam postulans facultatem. Romanus vero pontifex sub cauta exspectatione, si forte aliquis ex parte monachorum adveniens in contrarium allegaret, per menses sex sententiam suspendit: quibus expletis, cum nullus pro monachis adesset, petentis episcopi voluntatem implevit. Quippe ut monachi tardius advenirent sumptuum<sup>3</sup> fecit inopia. Qui tamen vel sero advenientes, et violentæ expulsionis injuriam multo tempore deplorantes, prævalente episcopi vel potentia vel astutia sive pecunia, usque in hunc diem pro revocanda atque evacuanda semel per surreptionem elicit<sup>4</sup> et præmature lata, frustra laborasse noscuntur sententia. Nondum<sup>5</sup> enim ulla detestandi operis pro venit correctio;<sup>6</sup> sed monachis pro toleranda<sup>7</sup> inopia late dispersis, bona eorum ab eodem episcopo in præbendas<sup>8</sup> divisa seculares clerici, ipso<sup>9</sup> auctore, possi-

A.D.  
1189-93.

He first sows seeds of discord, and then on plea of scandal ousts the monks (Oct. 9, 1189).

The monks appeal too late to the pope.

They remain in exile from their convent.

<sup>1</sup> *quibus*, C.L.S.; *quibus eos*, B.D.

<sup>2</sup> *atque*, B.D.L.S.; *at*, C.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *sumptum*.

<sup>4</sup> *elicit*, B.D.L.S.; *illicita*, C.

<sup>5</sup> B. has *non*.

<sup>6</sup> This remark bears on the question of the date of the conclusion of our author's task. The last event which he chronicles (the red rain at Andely) occurred in May 1198. Not only did Nunant die in the previous March, but the monks of Coventry were actually restored on Jan. 11,

1198. These facts must ultimately have reached the author if living. Indeed it seems strange that news from Andely should have outstripped tidings from Coventry. There is no correction or note in S., the Newburgh Priory copy. As to the monks, see Gervase, i. 550, Hoveden, iii. 168, and Jocelin de Brakelond, p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> B. has *celeranda*.

<sup>8</sup> For *præbendas* L. has *præbenda*.

<sup>9</sup> *ipso*, B.C.L.S.; *episcopo*, D.

A.D. 1189-93. dent. Et ipse quidem in tanti ausus vel patratione vel defensione cooperatore pro tempore usus est Eliensi episcopo, qui sub nomine cancellarii regii eo tempore quasi regnare videbatur, cum eidem in arrepta tyrannide consiliarius et coadjutor petulanti vanitate exsisteret. Post modicum<sup>1</sup> vero solita levitate ab ipso deficiens, adversario ejus Johanni regis fratri adhæsit, eumque, ut dicitur, ad<sup>2</sup> rebellandum contra fratrem pestilentibus consiliis imbuat. Verum cum idem rex in Alemannia detentus visitaretur a suis, ipse quoque inter ceteros properavit ad eum, ut ejus circa se animum exploraret, seque dissimulatione callida ab infami, quæ illi inurebatur a plurimis, perfidiæ nota purgaret. Et cum principem adumbratæ<sup>3</sup> devotionis præstigiis non posset deludere, desperatâ ejus gratia ad propriam sedem reverti minus sibi tutum esse arbitrans, cauteriata comitante conscientia in Franciam concessit.

Hugh de Nunant availed himself of Long-champ's help in this affair, but afterwards became his enemy.

Bishop Hugh finds king Richard opposed to him, and retires to France.

### CAP. XXXVII.

*De nece Leodicensis episcopi, cujus occasione pæne periclitatus est rex Anglorum.*

A.D. 1193. Illustris igitur<sup>4</sup> rex Anglorum Ricardus servabatur in Alemannia: sed, placata imperatoris avaritia, matura ejus liberatio sperabatur. Contigit autem incidenti casu vacillare spem istam, et insignem periclitari captivum hoc modo.<sup>5</sup> Ducis Luvannensis<sup>6</sup> germano ad episcopatum Leodicensem electo, imperatori electio non placuit, verenti scilicet ne forte dux fortis facili

Richard's liberation imperilled by the death of the bishop of Liege. The brother of the duke of Louvain

<sup>1</sup> *post modicum*, B.D.L.S.; *post-modum*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *ad*, B.D.L.S.; *cum ad*, C.

<sup>3</sup> D. has *obumbrata*.

<sup>4</sup> *igitur*, B.D.L.S.; *ergo*, C.

<sup>5</sup> This chapter supplements Hoveden (iii. 214) but seems drawn from the same source. See p. 398, l. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Luvannensis*, D.L.S.; *Luvanensis*, B.; *Luviannensis*, C.



occasione contra imperium junctis sibi fraternis intumesceret viribus, Leodicensis enim episcopus numerosam habere militiam et magnarum esse virium noscitur. Cumque idem electus, imperatore obstante,<sup>1</sup> a proprio consecrari metropolitano non posset, nihilominus, impetrato<sup>2</sup> pontificis Romani mandato ad episcopos Franciæ ut ei manus imponerent, ordinatus est. Et metu quidem iratæ potestatis propriam sedem non adiit, sed motum ejus tempore lenitum iri<sup>3</sup> sperans, in Francia pro tempore demoratus<sup>4</sup> est. Indignatus autem imperator, in indignissimum scelus exarsit. Quippe ab eo, ut creditur, subornati quidam audaces, assumpta exsulum specie, eundem episcopum adiere, suamque apud eum de natali Alemanniæ solo expulsionem callide deplorantes, ita surripuere incauto, ut miseratione vanissima hostes teterrimos in propriam ascisceret clientelam. Illi vero patrandi facinoris oportunitatem astu pervigili observantes, quodam forte die spatiandi gratia cum paucissimis urbe egressum repente aggressi, cum uno clerico peremerunt, et, dum comites ejus in urbem refugerent, fuga elapsi evadere potuerunt. Ad<sup>5</sup> ducis quoque memorati astu consimili necem patrandam alii sicarii missi dicuntur, qui forte deprehensi, totius nequitie mysterium revelarunt. Denique propter hoc tam grande piaculum, Coloniensis et Magontiensis<sup>6</sup> archiepiscopi, duces quoque Saxonicus,<sup>7</sup> Luvannensis,<sup>8</sup> Lemburgensis,<sup>9</sup> alique<sup>10</sup> nobiles

A.D. 1193.

being elected bishop of Liège, the emperor Henry VI. fears their joint power and seeks their lives.

His assassins succeed in killing the bishop (Nov. 23, 1192), but those sent against the duke are caught and reveal the plot. A conspiracy of the nobles follows, and

<sup>1</sup> *obstante*, B.C.D.L.S.; *obstitente*, R.

<sup>2</sup> *impetrato*, B.C.D.S.; *imperato*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *lenitum iri*, B.C.L.S.; *lenituri*, D.

<sup>4</sup> *demoratus*, B.C.D.L.S.; *moratus*, R.

<sup>5</sup> B. has *at*.

<sup>6</sup> *Magontiensis*, B.D.L.S.; *Magociensis*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *Saxonicus . . . nobiles*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

<sup>8</sup> *Luvannensis*, B.D.L.S.; *Luviannensis*, C.

<sup>9</sup> *Lemburgensis*, B.D.L.S.; *Lenburgensis*, C.

<sup>10</sup> *alique*, B.D.L.S.; *alii quoque*, C.

A.D. 1193. plurimi animis efferati,<sup>1</sup> contra imperatorem conspirarunt. Hujus autem necessitatis articulo imperator constrictus, ut sibi Francorum vires adjungeret, cogitavit, rupta fide, tradere in manus<sup>2</sup> regis Francorum, nunquam relaxandæ mancipandum custodiæ, regem Anglorum, et propter hoc illius ad diem certum apud Vallem-Colorum<sup>3</sup> sollemne colloquium concepivit.<sup>4</sup> Verum hoc malignissimæ molitionis colloquium alio saluberrimo præventum et dissipatum est. Viris enim sapientibus et turbationi imperii et periculo regis Anglorum laudabili provisione occurrentibus, inter imperatorem et optimates proprios concordia, Deo propitio, celebrata, universa quæ inter partes emerserat malignandi occasio exspiravit. Post paucos autem<sup>5</sup> dies imperator ad locum ubi rex Anglorum servabatur veniens,<sup>6</sup> præsentibus et mediantibus episcopis, ducibus atque aliis dignitatibus plurimis, per dies aliquot cum eo colloquium habuit, et tandem in vigilia beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum omni, quæ<sup>7</sup> inter eos vertebatur, quæstione decisa, et summa redemptionis regiæ declarata, imperator regem de cetero honestius, id est, sine catena, servari<sup>8</sup> decrevit. Denique, jubente imperatore, episcopi et<sup>9</sup> duces cum universa nobilitate quæ aderat juraverunt in animam imperatoris certam regis liberationem post satisfactionem ejusdem summæ, id est, centum millium librarum argenti; cujus pars tertia duci Austriæ, qui eundem regem captivaverat, competere dicebatur.

forces him to look to France for aid.

He proposes to sacrifice Richard's liberty, but the efforts of peace-makers compose the quarrel in time to save the king.

The ransom is fixed, June 28 (29 ?), and Richard is freed from chains.

Hoved. iii. 215, l. 22.

<sup>1</sup> *efferati*, R.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *manu*.

<sup>3</sup> *Vallem-Colorum*, B.D.L.S.; *Vallem-Collorum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> Hoveden (iii., 212 and 214) says fixed in April for June 25. The object was to make peace between Philip and Richard. The latter fearing the consequences of the

quarrel as to the bishop arranged a reconciliation between the emperor and his nobles.

<sup>5</sup> *autem* dubiously, B.

<sup>6</sup> *veniens*, B.D.L.R.S.; *adveniens*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *quæ*, C.L.S.; *quæque*, B.D.

<sup>8</sup> B. has *servare*.

<sup>9</sup> *et episcopi et*, C.

## CAP. XXXVIII.

*Quomodo afflictata sit Anglia per captivitatem regiam.*<sup>1</sup>

Eodem tempore rex Anglorum, diutinæ<sup>2</sup> detentionis oppido pertæsus, procuratores regni Anglici cunctosque fideles et devotos suos, qui alicujus momenti esse videbantur, frequentibus commonebat mandatis uti redemptionis suæ pretium modis omnibus præparantes, liberationem suam maturarent. Urgebant ergo negotium in cunctis Angliæ finibus executores regii, nulli parcentes; nec ulla<sup>3</sup> erat distinctio clerici et laici, secularis et<sup>4</sup> religiosi, urbani et rustici, sed omnes indifferenter, vel juxta vires substantiæ suæ vel juxta reddituum quantitatem, indictum pro redemptione regia pecuniæ modum solvere cogebantur. Silebant et vacabant privilegia, prærogativæ, immunitates ecclesiarum et monasteriorum; omnis dignitas sive libertas oppilabat os suum: nec alicui licebat dicere, 'Tantus vel talis sum; habete me excusatum.' Cisterciensis quoque ordinis monachi, qui ab omni exactione regia hæctenus immunes exstiterant, tanto magis tunc onerati sunt, quanto minus antea publici oneris senserant. Quippe quod illis<sup>5</sup> in substantia præcipuum esse noscitur, et quod fere pro omni reddito ad usus sumptusque necessarios habere videntur,<sup>6</sup> lanam scilicet pecudum suarum, exacti coactique resignarunt. Putabatur quidem tanta pecuniarum coacervatio redemptionis regię summam excedere,<sup>7</sup> quam tamen non attigit cum universæ particulæ Lundoniis convenissent ad summam, quod accidisse creditur per fraudem executorum. De-

A.D. 1193.

Collection of the king's ransom.

Laymen and clergy without distinction are compelled to contribute.

Privileges and immunities being suspended, even the Cistercians are taxed.

The first harvest of taxation not producing the expected sum,

<sup>1</sup> *regiam*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *diutroque* (sic).

<sup>3</sup> D. has *nec nulla*.

<sup>4</sup> D. omits *et*.

<sup>5</sup> *illis*, B.D.L.S.; *illud*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *videntur*, B.D.L.S.; *viderentur*,

C.

<sup>7</sup> *excedere*, C.D.L.S.; *excederet*,

B.

A.D. 1193. nique propter hanc primæ collationis insufficientiam, ministri regii secundam tertiamque instaurant, quosque<sup>1</sup> locupletiores pecuniis spoliant, manifestum rapinarum dedecus honesto<sup>2</sup> redemptionis regię nomine<sup>3</sup> palliant. Postremo, ut nulla vacaret occasio, et residuum eruce locusta, residuum locustæ bruchus, ejusque residuum Joel i. 4. rubigo absumeret,<sup>4</sup> ad vasa sacra ventum est. Et quoniam ea in redemptionem quorumlibet fidelium captivorum expendi non tantum concessit verum etiam<sup>5</sup> monuit veneranda patrum discretio, multo fortius<sup>6</sup> eadem captivati principis redemptioni debere<sup>7</sup> proficere judicatum est.<sup>8</sup> Itaque per omnem regni Anglici latitudinem traduntur sacri calices exactoribus regiis, vel indulgenter, id est, paulo infra pondus, redimuntur.<sup>9</sup> Cumque jam<sup>10</sup> fere exinanita pecuniis<sup>11</sup> Anglia videretur, et lassatis executoribus regiis, exquirendi quoque pecunias occasiones languescerent, tota tamen<sup>12</sup> illa opum coacervatio, ut dicitur, ad<sup>13</sup> complendam regię redemptionis atque expensarum ejus summam minus sufficere potuit. Quamobrem prætaxatæ summæ parte majori ministris imperatoris appensa, rex consulte,<sup>14</sup> ne sua supra modum protraheretur relaxatio, pro parte reliqua imperatori per obsequia idoneos satisfecit.

The vessels of the altar are either given up or redeemed.

The sum still falling short of the ransom, it is arranged that hostages may be left for the balance.

<sup>1</sup> quosque, B.D.L.R.S.; tum quosque, C.

<sup>2</sup> honesto, B.C.D.R.S.; honeste, L.

<sup>3</sup> regię nomine, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>4</sup> absumeret, C.D.L.S.; adsumeret, B.

<sup>5</sup> For etiam B. has est.

<sup>6</sup> B. has fortis.

<sup>7</sup> debere, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>8</sup> judicatum est, D.L.S.; invocatum est, B.; judicandum est, C.

<sup>9</sup> See Jocelin de Brakelond, p. 34, as to Eleanor's redemption of the Bury St. Edmund's chalice.

<sup>10</sup> jam, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

<sup>11</sup> pecuniis, B.C.D.R.S.; altered to pecunie in L.

<sup>12</sup> tamen, C.D.L.S.; tam, B.

<sup>13</sup> For ad B. has ut.

<sup>14</sup> consulte, C.D.L.S.; consultor, B.

## CAP. XXXIX.

*De prodigio ruboris insoliti, ter in aere diversis temporibus apparentis.*

Ea tempestate per occasionem captionis regiae, Anglia sub multiplici, et quantam<sup>1</sup> prius nec vereri poterat, attritione gemebat; cujus mali<sup>2</sup> atrocitas recentibus, ut creditur, e caelo prodigiis claruit. Denique illius anni quo idem rex in manus hostium incidit, mense Januario, signum in caelo terribile vidimus, venturae proculdubio afflictionis nostrae praesagium.<sup>3</sup> Nam circa primam noctis vigiliam media inter boream et subsolanum caeli plaga ita rubuit ut quasi ardere videretur, cum nec<sup>4</sup> levi obduceretur nubecula, sed sidera clare micarent: eodem tamen rubore igneo et quasi albetibus lineis interciso ita infecta ut luce quadam sanguinea rutilarent. Cumque haec horribilis<sup>5</sup> species per cunctos Angliae fines duarum fere horarum spatio oculos animosque cum stupore intuentium tenuisset intentos, tandem paulatim evanescens, multa sui quaestione relicta, disparuit. Anni vero sequentis mense Febuario, cum jam rex Anglorum in Alemania teneretur, detentionis ejus nondum in Anglia rumore vulgato,<sup>6</sup> simillimum plaga caeli non mutata per universam Angliam signum emicuit, post mediam noctem, cum viri religiosi consuetis Domino laudibus concreparent; quos nimirum in diversis provinciis exhorrendi ruboris repercussione per fenestras vitreas ita territos novimus, ut plurimi casum incendii in aedificiis proximis<sup>7</sup> accidisse putantes, relicta psalmodia exsilirent, et, notato signo horribili, stupidi psalmodiae se redderent. Cumque iterati signi non<sup>8</sup> parva esset

A.D.  
1192-3.

Three appearances of the aurora borealis are regarded as portents. The first occurred in January 1192.

The second in February 1193 occurring at the hour of Lands, was supposed to be a conflagration.

<sup>1</sup> *quantam*, B.C.D.S.; *quanta*, L. by alteration.

<sup>2</sup> *mali*, C.D.L.S.; *male*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *praesagium*, B.D.S.; *praesagium*, C.L.

<sup>4</sup> *nec*, B.D.L.S.; *vero*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *horribilis*, B.C.D.S.; *horribiles*, L.

<sup>6</sup> It became known to John early in January (see p. 384, l. 20, 21, and Hoveden, iii. 204, l. 3, 4).

<sup>7</sup> *proximis*, B.C.D.S.; *plurimis*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *non*, C.D.L.S.; *in*, B.

A.D. 1192-3.  
The third appearance was on November 2, 1193.

quæstio, subito captionis regiae fama percrebruit. Eodem sane anno cum jam morosa esset in Alemannia regis detentio, et speraretur<sup>1</sup> matura ejus liberatio, quarto nonas Novembris, ante crepusculum matutinum idem ipsum signum in eadem cœli plaga tertio apprens, minus quidem jam illi assuetos intuituum animos terruit, sed quæstionem suspicionemque auxit portenti.

## CAP. XL.

*Quomodo rex Francorum, cum non posset impedire liberationem regis<sup>2</sup> Anglorum, iterum invasit Normanniam.<sup>3</sup>*

A.D. 1194.  
The day for king Richard's release is fixed (for Jan. 17).  
Philip and prince John try (January) to get the release postponed in order that they may have time to seize Richard's possessions.

Cum igitur illustris rex Anglorum Ricardus, redemptionis suæ majori parte, ut dictum est, avaro imperatori appensa, pro reliqua ex nobilibus, qui ad eum visitandum accesserant, exactum obsidum numerum tradidisset,<sup>4</sup> tandem post diutinam detentionem certus dies relaxationis ejus sollemniter designatus et præfixus est. Quod ubi innotuit regi Francorum atque hosti nature Johanni, desperantes se jam non<sup>5</sup> posse ad perpetuandam insignis captivi detentionem animum imperatoris corrumpere, modis omnibus<sup>6</sup> nisi<sup>7</sup> sunt eam saltem in annum sequentem protelare,<sup>8</sup> scilicet ut hoc spatio terras ditionis ejus,<sup>9</sup> nullo obsistente, libere occuparent, quo facto inanis foret ejus post annum regressus. Cum ergo pro hac re imperatori per nuntios supplicarent, et non imparem acceptæ a rege Anglorum pecuniæ summam promitterent, ille supra modum corruptibilis proprios super hoc<sup>10</sup> opti-

<sup>1</sup> *speraretur*, B.D.L.S.; *sperabatur*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *regis*, C.D.L.S.; *regi*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Normanniam* in D.

<sup>4</sup> *tradidisset*, B.D.L.S.; *tradidisse*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *non*, thus in C.L.S.; om. B.D.

<sup>6</sup> *omnibus*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>7</sup> *nisi*, the word in L. is doubtful.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Hoveden, iii. 229, lines 18, 19. The agreements between the two authors are still very close. See p. 405, note 1.

<sup>9</sup> *ejus*, B.C.D.L.S.; *sua*, R.

<sup>10</sup> *super hoc*, C.D.L.S.; *suos*, B.

mates consuluit. Qui nimirum imperatoriae levitati succensentes,<sup>1</sup> honestioris consilii pondere obstiterunt, dicentes: "Sufficit, domine imperator, hucusque fœdaturum esse indigna nobilissimi regis captione imperium, nec inexpiabilem imperiali maculam generes honestati." Itaque infecto<sup>2</sup> fœdissimæ molitionis negotio, nuntii redeuntes dominos suos animis saucios reddiderunt. Erat autem hiems, et tempus bello prorsus inhabile, nec tamen erga<sup>3</sup> regem captivum flagrantis poterant malitiæ studia defervere. Denique rex Francorum, Johanne cooperatore,<sup>4</sup> ruptis concinnata occasione induciis, quarum respectu modicum quievisse videbatur, iterum invasit Normanniam, et ferocissimorum olim indigenarum languentibus animis eo quod non haberent ducem nec præceptorem nec principem, civitatem Ebroicensem cum castellis plurimis minimo et incruento<sup>5</sup> fere negotio occupavit. Verum post multam debacchationem quasi lassatus, suspensa ad tempus, revocatis induciis, feritate quievit.

Sane nec in Anglia illis diebus pax fida vel tuta erat, cum et munitiones Johannis, gentem peccatricem et prædarum avidam continentes, provinciarum quietem turbarent, et provinciales, accepto ex Alemania regis mandato, earundem munitionum<sup>6</sup> oppugnationem atque obsidionem pararent.

Sane inter Eboracensem archiepiscopum et clerum proprium fœda illis diebus contentio vertebatur, nata quidem ex levi causa, tanquam ex scintillula<sup>7</sup> rognus ingens. Cujus initium, progressum atque exitum contextim<sup>8</sup> exponere commodior locus erit.<sup>9</sup>

A.D. 1194.

The princes of Germany persuade the emperor to keep faith with Richard (Feb. 2-4).

The king of France and prince John again invade Normandy.

They take Evreux, but after a time another truce is made.

The English barons begin (February) to reduce John's castles.

Quarrel between the archbishop of York and his clergy.

<sup>1</sup> See Hoveden, iii. 229.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *infecta*.

<sup>3</sup> *erga*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

<sup>4</sup> B. has *cooperatorie*; R. has *cooperante*.

<sup>5</sup> *incruento*, B.D.L.S.; *cruento*, C. As to Evreux see lib. v. cap. 2.

<sup>6</sup> B. has *munitionem*.

<sup>7</sup> *scintillula*, B.D.L.S.; *scintilla*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *contextim*, B.D.S.; C. and L. avoid the unusual word by the reading *contextum*.

<sup>9</sup> For *erit*, B. has *errore* (sic). This promise is one of those (see p. 108, note 5, and p. 164, note 3) which Newburgh does not fulfil. As to the quarrel see Hoveden iii. 222, under date 1193.

## CAP. XLI.

*Quomodo rex Anglorum de captivitate relaxatus applicuit in Anglia.<sup>1</sup>*

A.D. 1194.

King Richard is released in the month of January (Feb. 4?). He leaves the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Bath and many nobles as hostages. The emperor is said to have repented of the release and to have sent men to recapture king Richard.

Igitur rex Anglorum post Alemannicæ detentionis tædium, quod jam annum excesserat, mense tandem Januario sollemniter relaxatus est,<sup>2</sup> relictisque apud imperatorem loco obsidum Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, Batoniensi<sup>3</sup> episcopo, et nobilibus plurimis, sive pro expletione summæ nondum persolutæ sive etiam pro quorundam fide pactorum, portum qui Swina<sup>4</sup> dicitur adiit, inde in regnum proprium, Deo propitio, transiturus. Verum cum ibidem diuscule demorari cogereetur, sive necessarij apparatus gratia sive etiam propter flatus adversos, indultæ ei gratiæ, ut dicitur, imperatorem pœnituit, et relaxatum ad perpetuam revocare custodiam cogitavit. Nam sicut olim<sup>5</sup> Pharao et Ægyptii, quos Deus induraverat, pœnitentia ducti quod populum Dei, quem servitute oppresserant, tandem vel coacti dimisissent, dixerunt: "Quid volumus<sup>6</sup> facere ut dimitteremus Israel ne serviret nobis?" ita etiam perfidus ille imperator<sup>5</sup> et Alemanni cum regem Christianum, quem solaturnis turpis lucri gratia diutina custodia coarctarant,<sup>7</sup> sera tandem clementia relaxassent: "Quid," inquit, "fe-

<sup>1</sup> L. has *in Angliam*.

<sup>2</sup> Other authorities give Feb. 4 as the date.

<sup>3</sup> *Batoniensi*, B.D.L.S.; *Bathoniensi*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Swina*, B.C.L.S.; *Suina* with *Swina* in margin, D.

<sup>5</sup> R. compresses the passage *Nam sicut olim . . . non relaxandus in sceula* (p.405, l. 12) into "missisque satellitibus suis ut comprehenderent principem, 'Revoe-

"tur," inquit, "ad vincula non relaxanda in sceula."

<sup>6</sup> Neither Hoveden, Coggeshall, nor Richard the Canon has any reference to this story. In this and other places, notably those in which there are verbal coincidences with Hoveden and Coggeshall, Newburgh seems to draw on some work now lost, perhaps that of Anselm the chaplain.

<sup>7</sup> *coarctarant*, B.C.D.S.; *coarctarent*, L.



“ cimus, emittentes <sup>1</sup> ad orbis periculum tremendi ro-  
 “ boris et sævitiae singularis tyrannum? Et quidem  
 “ olium, elementis tradentibus, datus in manus nostras,  
 “ eisdem etiam nunc adversantibus, reditumque ad  
 “ propria negantibus, ejusdem <sup>2</sup> proculdubio sortis dis-  
 “ crimen exspectat. Ergo velociter revocetur ad vin-  
 “ cula, non relaxandus in secula.” Non latuit ne-  
 quissimæ molitionis susurrium quendam ejusdem forte  
 regis benivolum; qui tantæ malignitatis mysterium <sup>3</sup>  
 nihil tale suspicanti festino significans nuntio, cautum  
 eum reddidit, et ut se confestim navigio in portum <sup>4</sup>  
 daret, seque potius elementis quam infidis hominibus  
 crederet, amica sollicitudine monuit. Quod et <sup>5</sup> factum  
 est tam celeri quam et salubri cautela. Mox impe-  
 ratorii, ut dicitur, apparitores affuere, atque impo-  
 tentes nobilem prædam, in arido non inventam, <sup>6</sup> per  
 liquidum persequi, cum suæ frustrationis exsuscitatione  
 congrua ad præceptorem perfidum rediere. Qui sera  
 sibi pœnitentia imputans irregressibilis captivi elap-  
 sum, præcipitem motum in innoxios obsides <sup>7</sup> transtu-  
 lit, ac <sup>8</sup> prius apud se indulgentius liberiusque habitos  
 aretiori custodia castigavit. Porro regem Anglorum,  
 a facie hostilium satellitum refugientem in pelagus,  
 secundi flatus excipientes, et quasi satisfaciētes pro  
 eo quod illum anno præterito Alemannicæ immanitati  
 prodiderant, salvum atque incolumem cum omni comi-  
 tatu regno proprio reddiderunt. Applicans ergo apud  
 portum <sup>9</sup> Sandwicum <sup>10</sup> mense Martio, tempore Qua-

A.D. 1194.

Richard is warned of the treacherous design, and sails in time to evade his pursuers.

The emperor vents his anger at the failure on the hostages.

Richard reaches Sandwich, March (13).

<sup>1</sup> *emittentes*, B.D.L.S.; *remittentes*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *ejusdem*, C.D.L.S.; *ejusdemque*, B.

<sup>3</sup> C., by alteration, reads *ministerium*.

<sup>4</sup> *portum*, C.L.S.; *pontum*, B.D.

<sup>5</sup> *et*, B.D.L.S.; *etiam*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *inventam*, B.D.L.S.; *invectam*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *innoxios obsides*, B.D.L.S.; *in-*

*noxios pauperes obsides*, by correction, C.

<sup>8</sup> *ac*, B.D.L.S.; *at*, C.

<sup>9</sup> *portum*, D.; *pontum*, B.; *porticum*, C.L.S., a curious agreement of three of the best MSS. in favour of an absurd reading. R. has the same. The termination is clearly derived from *Sandicum* which follows in S.

<sup>10</sup> *Sandwicum*, C.; *Sandicum*, B.D.S.; *Santwicum*, L.

A.D. 1194. dragesimalis jejunii, tunc primum captivitate liberatum se credidit eum, navi egrediens, Anglicum solum calcavit.

## CAP. XLII.

*Quomodo rex, pacificato regno, Wintonia coronatus est.*

A.D. 1194. Diu expectatum et jam fere desperatum principis regressum Euro velocior fama vulgavit. Mox a provincialibus congratulatorio exceptus occurso, venit Landonias; quæ nimirum, adventu ejus præcognito, sumpserunt oleum gaudii pro luctu, et pallium laudis pro spiritu mœroris. Denique ad ingressum principis ita ornata<sup>1</sup> est facies amplissimæ civitatis ut Alemanni nobiles qui cum ipso venerant, et redemptione regia exinanitam bonis Angliam credebant, conspecta<sup>2</sup> opum magnitudine obstupescerent. Quorum unus in ipsa pompa sollempni, ut dicitur,<sup>3</sup> conversus ad principem: "Mira,"<sup>4</sup> inquit, "prudentia, o rex, callet gens tua, quæ te sibi<sup>5</sup> nunc reddito opum suarum claritatem secure ostentat, paulo ante paupertatis deploratrix dum nostri te imperatoris custodia detineret. Revera enim si has opes Anglicas ille præscire potuisset,<sup>6</sup> Angliam non facile posse exhauriri opibus credidisset, nec te nisi sub intoleranda redemptionis summa dimittendum duxisset." Sane regresso regi optimatum et procerum regni admodum pauci occurrerant, quia fere omnes de mandato regio circa oppugnandas munitiones Johannis justa necessitate occupati erant. Et quidem ante principis ad propria reditum, munitionem de Merleberle fortiter oppugnatam morosa<sup>7</sup> difficilique opera ceperant, tunc vero Notingham<sup>8</sup>

Rejoicings at the king's return.

The Germans in Richard's train are amazed at the wealth of London.

Few of the nobility met the king, most being absent besieging John's strongholds.

<sup>1</sup> ornata, B.D.L.S.; coronata, C.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *conspicua* ut.

<sup>3</sup> R. omits *ut dicitur*.

<sup>4</sup> R., in place of the passage *Mira . . . custodia detineret*, has the single word *dirit*.

<sup>5</sup> *sibi*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>6</sup> *ille præscire potuisset*, B.C.D.L.S.; *imperator præsciret*, R.

<sup>7</sup> *morosa*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>8</sup> *Notingham*, C.D.S.; *Notingham*, B.; *Nothingham*, L.

et Tikehil,<sup>1</sup> castella munitissima diverso<sup>2</sup> exercitu A.D. 1194. The barons had captured Marlborough before the king's return, and were attacking Nottingham and Tickhill. The king (Mar. 25) presses forward to Nottingham, and the garrison losing heart surrenders (Mar. 28).

obsidebant. Rex autem post recens captivitatis tedium, pausam et delicias aspernatus, mora exigua Londoniis facta, Notingeham<sup>3</sup> festinus contendit.<sup>4</sup> Est autem<sup>5</sup> idem castellum natura et manu ita munitum, ut sola inedia, si defensores idoneos habeat, expugnabile<sup>6</sup> videatur. Porro adversus hoc malum provisione sagaci habebat in annos plurimos reposita ciborum subsidia, armorum quoque et virorum fortium copiam. Verum cum rex, qui<sup>7</sup> a malevolis nunquam rediturus putabatur, repentinus adesset, ita illorum qui in munitione erant ejus inopinata praesentia perstricti<sup>8</sup> et quasi fascinati sunt animi, ut sicut fluit cera a facie ignis sic eorum omnis fiducia a facie quasi gigantis subito apparentis liquesceret, statimque de castris<sup>9</sup> inexpugnabilis, et nulla re necessaria ad tolerandam obsidionem diutinam indigentis, deditione enerves et languidi pertrectarent. Cumque apud ferocissimum principem honestam non possent gratiam invenire, pudendis conditionibus munitionem cum omni armatura, suppellectili atque<sup>10</sup> subsidio resignantes, sua quoque corpora pro declinanda severitate iudicii incertae atque inexpressae misericordiae tradiderunt. Qui Tickhill similarij surrenders.

autem in alia munitione erant, quae disparis esse firmitatis noseitur, paulo excusabilius in idem periculum et dedecus inciderunt. Itaque rex levi negotio firmissimas munitiones obtinuit, eisque qui se<sup>11</sup> dederant sub spe elementiae custodiae mancipatis, Johanni

<sup>1</sup> *Tikehil*, B.D.S.; *Tykehil*, C.; *Tikel*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *diverso*, C.L.S.; *diviso*, B.D.

<sup>3</sup> *Notingeham*, C.D.S.; *Notingham*, B.; *Nottingham*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *contendit*, B.D.L.S.; *conscendit*, by alteration, C.

<sup>5</sup> *autem*, B.C.L.S.; *ante*? D.

<sup>6</sup> *expugnabile*, B.D.L.S.; *inexpugnabile*, by alteration, C.

<sup>7</sup> *qui*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

<sup>8</sup> *perstricti*, C.D.L.S.; *praerstricti*, B.

<sup>9</sup> S. has *castra*.

<sup>10</sup> *suppellectili atque*, B.D.L.S.; *et suppellectili*, C.

<sup>11</sup> *se* perhaps omitted from C., but the reading is uncertain through alterations.

A.D. 1194. fratri suo, cui per immoderatam atque indiscretam largitatem cornua contra se dederat, ob enormem culpam ingratitude atque perfidiæ omne jus pristinum sollemni iudicio procerum abjudicavit. Sic ergo tanti<sup>1</sup> turbatoris, qui paulo ante regni Anglici tetrarcha esse videbatur, abrasa potentia, omnis<sup>2</sup> in Anglia motus hostilis<sup>3</sup> conquievit. His, Deo propitio, feliciter gestis, rex ad superiora remeans, sollemnitatem Paschalem Hamtonæ<sup>4</sup> in multa lætitia cum optimatum suorum frequentia celebravit; atque in octavis Paschæ Wintoniæ regni diademate fulgidus, detersa captivitatis ignominia, quasi rex novus apparuit. Et hujus quidem libri iste sit modus, qui, quartus in nostro opere, sumpsit exordium in illustrissimi regis Ricardi<sup>5</sup> coronatione prima, et, explicitis recentis memoriæ casibus, incisionis pausam nunc postulat in ejusdem regis coronatione secunda, anno regni sui quinto,<sup>6</sup> a partu autem Virginis, M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo quarto.

John is adjudged to be deprived of all his power.

The king holds his court at Northampton at Easter, April 10.

Is recrowned at Winchester, April 17.

*Explicit Liber Quartus.*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *tanti*, C.L.S.; *moti*, B.; *muti*, D.

<sup>2</sup> *omnis*, B.D.L.S.; *omnisque*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *hostilis*, B.C.D.S.; *hominis*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *Hamtonæ*, B.D.L.S.; *Hamtonia*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *Ricardi*, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

<sup>6</sup> Here Newburgh follows the usual reckoning, but see p. 117, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Quartus*, B.C.L.S.; om. D.

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## CONTENTS.

---

CALENDARS OF STATE PAPERS, &c.	. . . . .	Page
		3
CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES	. . . . .	9
PUBLICATIONS OF THE RECORD COMMISSIONERS, &c.	. . . . .	26
WORKS PUBLISHED IN PHOTOZINCOGRAPHY	. . . . .	29
<hr/>		
SCOTCH RECORD PUBLICATIONS	. . . . .	2
IRISH RECORD PUBLICATIONS	. . . . .	32

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# ENGLAND.

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The above Papers connected with the affairs of the Treasury comprise petitions, reports, and other documents relating to services rendered to the State, grants of money and pensions, appointments to offices, remissions of fines and duties, &c. They illustrate civil and military events, finance, the administration in Ireland and the Colonies, &c., and afford information nowhere else recorded.

CALENDAR OF THE CAREW PAPERS, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and WILLIAM BULLEN, Esq. 1867-1873.

Vol. I.—1515-1574.

Vol. II.—1575-1588.

Vol. III.—1589-1600.

Vol. IV.—1601-1603.

Vol. V.—Book of Howth; Miscellaneous.

Vol. VI.—1603-1624.

The Carew Papers relating to Ireland, in the Lambeth Library, are unique and of great importance to all students of Irish history.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* G. A. BERGENROTH. 1862-1868.

Vol. I.—HEN. VII.—1485-1509.

Vol. II.—HEN. VIII.—1509-1525.

Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II.

Mr. Bergenroth was engaged in compiling a Calendar of the Papers relating to England preserved in the archives of Simancas in Spain, and the corresponding portion removed from Simancas to Paris. Mr. Bergenroth also visited Madrid, and examined the Papers there, bearing on the reign of Henry VIII. The first volume contains the Spanish Papers of the reign of Henry VII.; the second volume, those of the first portion of the reign of Henry VIII. The Supplement contains new information relating to the private life of Queen Katharine of England; and to the projected marriage of Henry VII. with Queen Juana, widow of King Philip of Castile, and mother of the Emperor Charles V.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. 1873-1883.

Vol. III., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1525-1526.

Vol. III., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1527-1529.

Vol. IV., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1529-1530.

Vol. IV., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1531-1533.

Vol. IV., Part 2.—*continued*.—Hen. VIII.—1531-1533.

Upon the death of Mr. Bergenroth, Don Pascual de Gayangos was appointed to continue the Calendar of the Spanish State Papers. He has pursued a similar plan to that of his predecessor, but has been able to add much valuable matter from Brussels and Vienna, with which Mr. Bergenroth was unacquainted.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. 1864-1882.

Vol. I.—1202-1509.

Vol. II.—1509-1519.

Vol. III.—1520-1526.

Vol. IV.—1527-1533.

Vol. V.—1534-1554.

Vol. VI., Part I.—1555-1556.

Vol. VI., Part II.—1556-1557.

Mr. Rawdon Brown's researches have brought to light a number of valuable documents relating to various periods of English history; his contributions to historical literature are of the most interesting and important character.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FÆDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. I.—Will. I.—Edw. III.; 1066-1377. Vol. II.—Ric. II.—Chas. II.; 1377-1654. 1869-1873.

The "Fædera," or "Rymer's Fædera," is a collection of miscellaneous documents illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Charles II. Several editions of the "Fædera" have been published, and the present Syllabus was undertaken to make the contents of this great National Work more generally known.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS AND THE REV. J. S. BREWER TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Carte and Carew Papers in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries. 1864. *Price* 2s. 6d.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. 1866. *Price* 2s. 6d.

*In the Press.*

- SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH OF RYMER'S FÆDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. III.—Appendix and Index.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. IV.—1588-1590.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. Vol. VI., Part III.—1557-1558.
- CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS relating to IRELAND, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London. *Edited by* HENRY SAVAGE SWEETMAN, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland). Vol. V.—1302-1307.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XVIII.—1641-1643.
- CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. Vol. V., Part I.—1534-1536.
- CALENDAR OF HOME OFFICE PAPERS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* RICHARD ARTHUR ROBERTS, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. IV.—1773, &c.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. XI.—1657, &c.
- CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. Vol. VIII.—1535, Jan. to July.

*In Progress.*

- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. VII.—America and West Indies, 1669, &c. Vol. VIII.—East Indies, 1630, &c.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Vol. XII.—1577.
- CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. Vol. VI.—1720, &c.

## THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo. half-bound. *Price* 10s. each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's royal sanction, would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge; that the House therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He would be graciously pleased to give such directions as His Majesty, in His wisdom, might think fit, for the publication of a complete edition of the ancient historians of this realm, and assured His Majesty that whatever expense might be necessary for this purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. I.—*La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*. II.—*Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris*. III.—*Vita Ædunardi Regis qui apud Westminsterium requiescit*. Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., probably written in 1245, on the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA. Vol. I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. II.—*De Adventu Minorum*; re-edited, with additions. Chronicle of the Grey Friars. The ancient English version of the Rule of St. Francis. *Abbreviatio Statutorum*, 1451, &c. Edited by RICHARD HOWLETT, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1858, 1882.

The first volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It was the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed. The second volume contains materials found, since the first volume was published, among the MSS. of Sir Charles Isham, and in various libraries.

5. FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLIF CUM TRITICO. Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER, of WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. Edited by the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written the disputes of the school, men had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. THE BUIK OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND; OR, A METRICAL VERSION OF THE HISTORY OF HECTOR BOECE; BY WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. Edited by W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true; and the chronicle reflects the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. *JOHANNIS CAPGRAVE LIBER DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS.* Edited by the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three parts, each having a separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, from the accession of Henry I. in 1100, to 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world. Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for which period his work is of some value.

8. *HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS,* by THOMAS OF ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. Edited by CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. *EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS):* Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. Edited by F. S. HAYDON, Esq., B.A. 1858-1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. *MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia.* Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in the year 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest in connexion with the period are given in an appendix.

11. *MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH.* I.—*Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore.* II.—*Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti.* III.—*Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V.* Edited by CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici,

written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. *MUNIMENTA GILDHALLE LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati.* Vol. I., *Liber Albus.* Vol. II. (in Two Parts), *Liber Custumarum.* Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Normau Passages in *Liber Albus*, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859-1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. *CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES.* Edited by SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, not to be elsewhere obtained. Some curious facts are mentioned relative to the feuds in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heiorich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859-1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. *THE "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON.* Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiae.*"

16. *BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449-1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ.* Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. *BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales.* Edited by the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "*The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales,*" has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of



the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A COLLECTION OF ROYAL AND HISTORICAL LETTERS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. 1399-1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. THE REPRESSOR OF OVER MUCH BLAMING OF THE CLERGY. By REGINALD PECOCK, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. ANNALES CAMBRLE. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout, though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. David's, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V., VI., and VII. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Baraburgh, Yorkshire. 1861-1877.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. David's to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The *Topographia Hibernica* (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in 1183, the second in 1185-6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the *Topographia* of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The *Expugnatio Hibernica* was written about 1188 and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history. Vol. VI. contains the *Itinerarium Cambriæ* et *Descriptio Cambriæ*: and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh.

22. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861-1864.

These letters and papers are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Dépôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and other provinces of France acquired by Henry V. Here may be traced, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared for its final overthrow.

23. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. Edited and translated by BENJAMIN THORPE, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to 1154, is justly the boast of England; no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII., Vols. I. and II. Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1861-1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from them is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in

date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop

26. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066-1200. Vol. III.; 1200-1327. By Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862-1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which the original portions are distinguished from those which are mere compilations. When possible, the sources are indicated from which compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. Vol. I., 1216-1235. Vol. II., 1236-1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gaseony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.—1. THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272-1381: Vol. II., 1381-1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELowe ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMÆ WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIE PRÆCANTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793-1290: Vol. II., 1290-1349: Vol. III., 1349-1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SECVLO XV<sup>mo</sup> FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIE JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTÆ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSCRIPITUM: Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS, A JOHANNE WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS. 7. YPODIGMA NEUSTRIÆ A THOMÆ WALSINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1876.

In the 1st two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans, from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I., from the Cotton. MS. Faustina B. IX. in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219-231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cotton MS. Claudius E. II., fols. 306-331: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291-1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.; a short Chronicle Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with *Annales Regum Angliæ*, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: *Annals of Edward II.*, 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's *Annals*, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde, both from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum: with a Continuation, from the closing pages of Parker MS. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the *Annals*, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events during those periods.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V. The compiler has often substituted other authorities in place of those consulted in the preparation of his larger work.

29. CHRONICON ABBATIE EYESHAMENSIS, AUCTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EYESHAMIE ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABBATE, A FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM 1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1418. Edited by the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTORIALE DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLIÆ. Vol. I., 447-871. Vol. II., 872-1066. Edited by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863-1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355-1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Britannia*, in 1747.

31. YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST. Years 20-21, 21-22, 30-31, 32-33, and 33-35. Edited and translated by ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. YEAR BOOKS, 11-12 Edward III. Edited and translated by ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Esq., of the Middle

Temple, Barrister-at-Law; *continued by* LUKE OWEN PIKE, Esq., M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1883.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, and been held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of attention on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY 1449-1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendic, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conférences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham.* 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in 1450. Commencing with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ending with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The period embraced is less than two years.

33. HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRLE. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863-1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIE. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientie" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre, and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge 1864-1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the time, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting

not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. **ANNALES MONASTICI.** Vol. I.:—*Annales de Margan, 1066-1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066-1263; Annales de Burton, 1004-1263.* Vol. II.:—*Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519-1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1-1291.* Vol. III.:—*Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1-1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042-1432.* Vol. IV.:—*Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016-1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066-1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1-1377.* Vol. V.:—*Index and Glossary.* Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registry of the University, Cambridge. 1864-1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. **MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS.** From MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. Edited by the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. **CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST.** Vol. I.:—*ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI.* Vol. II.:—*EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSIS; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199.* Edited by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864-1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. **RECUEIL DES CHRONIQUES ET ANCIENNES HISTOIRES DE LA GRANT BRETAGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, PAR JEHAN DE WAURIN.** Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399-1422. Vol. III., 1422-1431. Edited by WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1864-1879.
40. **A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, BY JOHN DE WAURIN.** Albina to 688. (Translation

of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A.* 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471 after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Lonis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Elois.

41. *POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN*, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III., IV., V., VI., VII., and VIII. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865-1883.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicou was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. *LE LIVRE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVRE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE*. *Edited by* JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French. It is supposed that Peter of Ickham was the supposed author.

43. *CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406*. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Esq., Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866-1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. *MATTHÆI PARIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR*. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067-1253. *Edited by* Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of British Museum. 1866-1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed

the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. **LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455-1023.** Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by EDWARD EDWARDS, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. **CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1135; WITH A SUPPLEMENT, CONTAINING THE EVENTS FROM 1141 TO 1150.** Edited, with a Translation, by WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked, year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. **THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I.** Vols. I. and II. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1866-1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that he lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum," in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, down to the death of Henry III., and in the third a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. **THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, OF THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN.** Edited, with a Translation, by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from econtemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. **GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. THE CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169-1192, KNOWN UNDER THE NAME OF BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH.** Vols. I. and II. Edited by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.



This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. **MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD** (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academic Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. **CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDENE**. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868-1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (see No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work: it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. **WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE**. *Edited, from William of Malmesbury's Autograph MS., by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. **HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172-1320**. *Edited by* JOHN T. GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

54. **THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1014 to 1590**. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1871.

The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on the island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

55. **MONUMENTA JURIDICA. THE BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY, WITH APPENDICES**. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* SIR TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L. 1871-1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy, and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Prynne ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

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Domesday Survey is in two parts or volumes. The first, in folio, contains the counties of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Chester and Lancaster, Cornwall, Derby, Devon, Dorset, Gloucester, Hants, Hereford, Herts, Huntingdon, Kent, Leicester and Rutland, Lincoln, Middlesex, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Salop, Somerset, Stafford, Surrey, Sussex, Warwick, Wilts, Worcester, and York. The second volume, in quarto, contains the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

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\* For some reason left unexplained, many parts were left unsurveyed; Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, are not described in the survey; nor does Lancashire appear under its proper name; but Furness, and the northern part of Lancashire, as well as the south of Westmoreland, with a part of Cumberland, are included within the West Riding of Yorkshire. That part of Lancashire which lies between the Ribbie and Mersey, and which at the time of the survey comprehended 688 manors, is joined to Cheshire. Part of Rutland is described in the counties of Northampton and Lincoln.

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