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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI  
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.



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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.

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He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be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They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no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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Proemium in normannicū ditione

Ingem̄ virtus crescit fervore studendi  
fac studij nimio pressa labore iacet  
Hanc regit informat refocet moderator usus  
Ambat meror alta gloria fuerat amor  
meror nam leas quere meditatio mē  
distendi studij tristia corda fugit  
Stia dū sapiens claros estendit honores  
Stultus et clugius laudis honore caret  
Sic amor instigat studij sic fervor amatis  
Adgitat ad solū quod sibi dulce sapit

Fo. 123 (margin)

· x · x · x · d · j · a · n · i · s  
vastavit rullo  
gillias / a · n · s · m ·  
baptismū -

Fo. 158. b.

librum istum sup̄st̄ ex quod p̄mo antiquo libro quē m̄ gessit. g. m. m. R. 6.  
et erat ille lib̄ ut l̄do de ab. de. 8. 5.

Fo. 160

no plus reperi qm̄ expletor

MS. OTTOBON. 3081.

(Vatican)

R.H.

CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS

OF

STEPHEN, HENRY II. AND RICHARD I.

VOL. II.

I.—THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE “HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM”  
OF WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH.

II.—A CONTINUATION OF WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH’S HISTORY TO  
A D. 1298.

III.—THE “DRACO NORMANNICUS” OF ETIENNE DE ROUEN.

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS

BY

RICHARD HOWLETT,

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

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1858  
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P R E F A C E .

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## P R E F A C E.

IN the present volume the fifth and concluding book of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* of William Newburgh takes by right the first place, following in due sequence on the four books printed in the volume issued in 1884. To this is added an interesting continuation to the year 1298, compiled by a monk of Furness Abbey, and then follows the *Draco Normannicus*,<sup>1</sup> a work which has never been previously printed in this country. As the *Draco* seems to be known only to a small number of English readers, it may, perhaps, be pardonable to reverse the natural order of treatment, and to discuss first the points of interest and novelty presented by this curious poem, not omitting the almost romantic history of the unique MS. from which the present edition has been prepared.

Montfaucon, in his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*,<sup>2</sup> gave the title of a manuscript in the Vatican Library thus :—  
Anonymi Normannicus Draco, versus continent historiam Mathildis imperatricis Francorum, Anglorum, et Normannorum.

This MS., he said, was numbered 1267 in the library of Christina, queen of Sweden, then and now in the Vatican; but when, about the year 1810, Dom Brial<sup>3</sup>

The remainder of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* now printed with a continuation up to A.D. 1298.

The *Draco Normannicus*.

Preliminary account of the unique MS. of the *Draco Normannicus* now in the Vatican.

<sup>1</sup> The word *Draco* here of course means *standard*. For the way in which it is used by Ralph Coggeshall, see Roll's ed., p. 182. See also Ducange.

<sup>2</sup> i. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Académie Royale de Inscriptions : *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, tom. viii. part ii., p. 297.

and his *collaborateurs* desired to see the poem, the MS. was nowhere to be found. The curiosity of Dom Brial was further stimulated by the extracts from the work which he found in a MS. belonging to the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés;<sup>1</sup> but, although search was made on his behalf at the Vatican, the *Draco Normannicus* eluded all seekers. It is not wonderful that no one was able to find it, for the volume had passed into the library of baron Philip de Stosch, the English Resident at Florence, and having then in some mysterious way returned to the Vatican, had been classed under a different number in a different collection. How it returned is scarcely less a matter for conjecture than the way in which it originally escaped from custody. Probably it was stolen, sold to the baron, and then purchased at the sale of his library at Florence, in 1756.

This was not the first time the *Draco Normannicus* had been stolen, as we shall see when the appropriate place in this preface for a detailed description of the MS. is reached. It will be enough to state here, that it was restored to the Vatican; and, being placed among the MS. of cardinal Ottobuoni, thenceforward lay unrecognised under the number 3081. Whatever its full history, the MS., though safe in its hiding-place, had long been set down as lost, when, after a lapse of about a hundred and twenty years, its contents suddenly appeared in print.

Cardinal Angelo Mai had found it, but had not announced his discovery. He had transcribed it, however, and his transcript, found after his death<sup>2</sup> among his papers, was published in 1871 under the editorship of a Basilian monk, Father Joseph Cozza.<sup>3</sup> This edition

<sup>1</sup> Now MS. *Fonds Latin*, No. 11,889, in the Bibl. Nationale, Paris. The extracts extend from *fo.* 57 to *fo.* 95.

<sup>2</sup> He died in 1854.

<sup>3</sup> *Appendix ad opera edita ab Angelo Maio S.R.E. Presb. Card.*, Romæ, apud J. Spithoever, 1871. 4to.

is severely handled by Dr. Pauli;<sup>1</sup> and certainly the text, as presented, is not all that could be desired. There are, moreover, two omissions, one intentional, amounting to the loss of 50 lines, another unintentional, passing over an entire distich.

The MS. now to be seen in the Vatican Library is written on paper of early date, and the writing is of the 15th century—about, perhaps rather later than, the year 1450. The Roman editor complains of the difficulty of the handwriting, but, beyond the ordinary problem of dealing with words consisting of a series of similar strokes, there is seldom any ambiguity, and the penmanship is very fair, as may be seen by reference to the fac-simile<sup>2</sup> of the opening words of the poem prefixed to the present volume.

The general scope of the work may be best indicated by the list of topics which the author gives in the introductory verses. The list has this especial virtue, that it gives an idea of the extraordinary arrangement, or want of arrangement, of the materials the poet proposed to deal with.

Henry II. and his parents, the Norman settlers in Neustria, William the Conqueror, Stephen, Pepin, Charlemagne, Hugh Capet, and the papal schism of 1159; these and collateral topics are separately treated, with the natural result that startling transitions are frequent throughout. The poem furnishes an account of the death of the empress Maud, and winds up with details of the peace of the 6th of January, 1169. No more choice contribution to English history could perhaps have been made than an account of these years, had the poet been less diffuse, and less intent on turning

<sup>1</sup> "The Academy," 1 Sept., 1872.

<sup>2</sup> Not being able to have the MS. photographed, I first took a tracing in pencil, and afterwards completed it in ink. Minute care is not always

successful; but any one familiar with 15th century hands will be able to judge whether, or not, a particular style has been consistently imitated.

tricky verses. Fortunately it is impossible for the vainest and most shallow of mankind to write about the days in which he lived, without unintentionally telling much that is exceedingly valuable to after ages. This is the case with the anonymous author of the *Draco Normannicus*. Three-fourths of that which he wishes most to impress upon his readers is valueless; but the remainder, and the whole of his chance utterances, are deeply interesting. It is the duty of an editor to sift these matters for the benefit of his readers; but, before proceeding to the task, it is very desirable that the writer of the poem should be discovered, and that all that is known of him should be detailed. The acuteness of Dom Brial gave the original clue, which Dr. Fierville and the present editor have so far followed out that few probably will care to doubt that Etienne de Rouen is the poet, or at least the author, to whom we owe the *Draco*.

Attribution of the *Draco Normannicus* to Etienne de Rouen.

There is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris a MS. of the 12th century<sup>1</sup> containing numerous poems, which in many places proclaim themselves to be the work of Etienne de Rouen, a monk of Bec Herluin. Extracts from all of those which have any bearing on the question of the author's identity, or which have any other interest, are appended to the present volume. A casual perusal of them will shew that Etienne was no poet, but beyond question a facile perpetrator of the worst mannerisms, nay mechanisms, of mediæval versification. A monk requires no forgiveness for presenting us with Leonine hexameters, or rhymed verses of other types. The mediæval hymn-writers, as a body, need no apology other than the mere names of Bernard of Morlaix, and

<sup>1</sup> Probably in the author's own handwriting. It contains also Etienne's abbreviation of the Institutions of Quintilian, some extracts from Cicero, and other transcripts.

Thomas of Celano; but a man who carries on for more than thirty lines the vexatious trick shown in the following extract, has but one single accidental circumstance to plead in extenuation,—his hand can probably be detected anywhere :—

*Cedit et omne tibi, quod sese vivere sentit,  
Quod sub sole jacet, cedit et omne tibi.  
Cessit et iste tibi, quem carmen personat istud,  
Laus ejus fremit hic, cessit et iste tibi.*<sup>1</sup>

It would be wearisome to note all the peculiarities of his style. We must descend to Lord Macaulay's fourth-form schoolboy to find a parallel to Etienne de Rouen in the use of *hinc* and *jam*; but there is one word without which he is apparently at no time able to versify.

The word *jus* in all its significations, and with its useful inflections *jura*, *jure*, *juribus*, appears profusely in almost every piece. In the poems, for example, it occurs four times on p. 766, and on pp. 772 and 774, twice. In the *Draco* it is even more abundant, occurring on p. 721 seven times and on p. 595 six times. Indeed there is scarcely a page without it. The frequent use of *feritus*, *probitus*, and *polus* may be also noted as marked peculiarities common both to the writer of MS. *Fonds Latin* 14,146 and to the writer of the *Draco Normannicus*.

Next we may note that Etienne often substantially repeats his own verses.

The following instances are from his smaller poems :—

On p. 767 we have,

Eloquio Cicero, versibus ipse Maro.

On p. 773,

In prosa Cicero, versu Maro cederet illi.

On p. 778,

Nec prosa jam Ciceroni  
Cedit metrove Maroni.

---

<sup>1</sup> p. 774.

These cases will prepare us for the final and practically conclusive indication of authorship.<sup>1</sup> On p. 766 is a poem on Waleran, count of Meulan, which occurs among the other poems of Etienne de Rouen, in MS. *Fonds Latin* 14,146, and on the folio actually preceding the acrostic (p. 771) which declares the author's name.

Identical passages in the *Draco* and in Etienne de Rouen's acknowledged poems.

The opening lines of this poem are :—

Flos comitum, decus imperii, vis maxima belli,  
Militiæ splendor, sensus acutus obit.

Turning to the *Draco Normannicus*, p. 602, we find that lines 290 and 291, which refer to Geoffrey of Anjou, are as follows :—

Flos comitum, decus imperii, vis maxima belli,  
Militiæ splendor, sensus acutus obit.

Much more could be urged ; but this will be enough for all whom it is necessary to convince.<sup>2</sup>

The genuineness of the *Draco* has never, it is believed, been doubted. If the word *salutes*, on p. 743, l. 973, refers to the coins known as "saluts" a question of interpolation might be raised, but alternative meanings for the word are numerous.

Personal history of Etienne de Rouen.

Let us now see what little is known concerning our author. From poems printed in the Appendix to the present volume we learn that he was the son of a brother of Bernard, formerly a monk of Bec, who became abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel in 1134, and died on the 8th of May, 1149 ; also that Etienne, following

<sup>1</sup> The question of plagiarism, in all the circumstances of Etienne's position, can hardly be entertained.

<sup>2</sup> The foot-note on p. 595 was in type before I had read Dr. Ch. Fier-ville's papers on Etienne de Rouen in the "*Bulletin de la Société des*

*Antiquaires de Normandie*," tom. viii., pp. 54-78 and 421-443. Dr. Fierville, speaking of the identical couplets, says: "Enfin, il est une preuve que j'ai réservée pour la dernière : elle est concluante."

his uncle's example, entered Herluin's famous monastery. Abbot Bernard had in his own abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel another nephew, Guillaume de l'Arche, who is mentioned, Dr. Fierville says, in a charter of Guillaume de Boucey in favour of that abbey, and who was of course either the brother or cousin of our author.

The uncle and nephews were descended from a noble Norman family, as Etienne is careful to record. Of abbot Bernard he says:—

Hujus uterque parens præclaro stegmate nati,  
 Inter concives præmultis sunt venerati.  
 Hunc aluit puerum Normannia terra celebris,  
 Parisius fecit cæcis exire tenebris.<sup>1</sup>

Etienne de Rouen does not seem to have been of sufficient importance to be referred to in the *Chronicon Beccense*, and the single external reference to him probably now extant was obtained at Rome by the present editor. Cardinal Mai contented himself with the bare mention of the fact <sup>2</sup> that a list of the monks of Bec exists in the Vatican MS. Regin. 499. This on examination proves to be a complete matriculation list, parcelled out between the abbots by whom the various novices were received. The titles of those monks who rose to be abbots or bishops are given, but rarely any other details beyond the Christian name.

His name appears in the Matriculation List of the abbey of Bec Herluin.

Now Letard was abbot from 1139 to 1149, and Roger from that date to 1179, and thus when we consider the dates respecting Etienne's uncle, and also the approximate date of Etienne's death (about 1170), which we hope to establish below, it seems reasonable to think that he was admitted to the monastery either by Letard, or an earlier abbot.

<sup>1</sup> In stating the relationship between Etienne and abbot Bernard I have followed MM. Brial, Delisle, and Fierville; but I confess that I find the already somewhat ambiguous passage on p. 776 (lines 39 to

43) become still more doubtful in meaning when juxtaposed with lines 40 to 45 on p. 779.

<sup>2</sup> In his edition of the *Draco*, p. 51, note 2.

On examining the list of novices admitted by the third abbot (A.D. 1093-1124) we find that "Letardus " abbas vj." was his 25th novice, "Bernardus abbas" his 216th, Theobald archbishop of Canterbury his 269th. The fourth abbot, Boso (1124-1136), admitted 195<sup>1</sup> novices, his 109th admission being a "Stephanus." The fifth abbot, Theobald (1136-1138), entered 49 on his roll, none of them bearing the name of Stephen.

This brings us to Letard (Jan. 1139-July 1149), whose 48th novice, out of a total of 114, was "Stephanus."

The list runs thus :—

Willelmus.

BRI.

Rogierius.

Osbernus.

Walterius.

R.

Stephanus.

Goscelinus.<sup>2</sup>

Probable date at which the author entered the abbey of Bec.

Is there much reason to doubt that "BRI." above *Rogierius* means *Rogierius Brito*, and that "R." above *Stephanus*<sup>3</sup> means *Stephanus Rothomagensis*? If this be conceded, then, as Etienne was 47th among the 114 entered during 11½ years, it is probable that he joined in his abbot's fifth year, that is A.D. 1143, six years before his uncle's death. There is the previous *Stephanus* admitted about 1130 to be accounted for, but the letter "R." was probably intended as the distinguishing mark of a monk who, though he never obtained preferment, had made himself one of the minor celebrities of the abbey. If

<sup>1</sup> I only counted the names once, but, I think, with care sufficient to avoid serious error.

<sup>2</sup> A fuller list is given in the Appendix, pp. 780, 781. The number of novices admitted is astonishing.

Lay brothers would hardly be included.

<sup>3</sup> The connexion between these letters and the names *below* them is very clear in the MS.



he became a monk in 1143, and died in 1170, he probably fell by an early death, and the fact that he is only known to have reached deacons' orders<sup>1</sup> supports, though very weakly, this view. Certainly, when balancing probabilities, we must prefer the claims of "*Stephanus R.*" to "*Stephanus,*" for surely the uncertainty of human life leaves us no reason to say that he was the older rather than the younger of the two Stephens.

Etienne's minor poems were addressed either to the world at large, to his uncle Bernard, or to one of three correspondents, (i.) a brother poet, Gislebert, who probably lived at Rome; (ii.) a monk named Guy; and (iii.) a young man named Rudolf, a theological student at Rome, apparently expecting to enter the cloister in three years' time. This Rudolf seems to have formerly lived at Bec, and most probably was a relative of Etienne's, for the latter sends him money which he is to give to Gislebert to expend for him:—

Victum nam scribis inter quos degere scisti  
 Dant, tibi vestitum nos demus ut ante petisti.  
 En tibi transmitto nummos nimium rutilantes,  
 Hos precor accipias omnes te lætificantes,  
 Et Gisleberto tribuas, qui fit tibi papa,  
 Ex ipsis tibimet ematur ut optima capa.

Another sign of relationship may be detected in the personal admonitions the youth has presumed to give:—

Iracundum me scribis simul esse superbum,  
 Ut reor hæc vitia non norunt pectora nostra.

How long Etienne lived is uncertain. Unhappily the *Necrologium Beccense*, from which Du Monstier quotes,<sup>2</sup> is no longer to be traced, even by Dr. Potthast, so we

<sup>1</sup> See p. 776:—

Inspice quod Stephanus dicitur iste,  
 Levitæque gradum cernito ferre.

<sup>2</sup> *Neustria Pia*, p. 444.

must fall back on the internal evidence of the work itself.

We know from lines 171 and 172 of book III. (p. 717), that Etienne was writing that part of his poem about April 1168; and we know (pp. 755-757) that he lived to see the peace of January 1169. We are also certain from the tone of his utterances in the closing words on p. 757, and elsewhere, that he never knew of Becket's fate. Many of these passages would necessarily have been altered after the news of a death which even adverse partisans in the 12th century regarded as a martyrdom. Lastly, we have the fragmentary poem (pp. 761-3) taken, together with the *Draco*, "ex quodam parvo antiquo libro." This poem the monk who copied it notes as a fragment saying, "non plus reperi." His careful prior<sup>1</sup> adds "*in exemplari*," thus assuring us that he gave us all that was obtainable,—probably the last words which Etienne de Rouen wrote in the "little old book." This piece describes the stormy voyage from Normandy which landed Henry II. at Portsmouth, on March the 3rd, 1170. Benedict of Peterborough (i. 3, 4) gives the story very graphically; and, though his account differs a little from the poem, the identity of the event in each work is indisputable.<sup>2</sup>

On the 29th of December, 1170, Becket fell under the swords of his four assassins, and we thus get limiting dates between which there is very little doubt that Etienne de Rouen passed from the cloister to the grave. Perhaps his hands were folded over the staff which Henry gave him when he followed the king into Brittany to tell him of his mother's death. At least such was the custom, and clearly the writer's hope:

Probable  
date of  
Etienne de  
Rouen's  
death.

<sup>1</sup> See p. xciii.

<sup>2</sup> The fragment was, as we know, taken from the same ancient MS. as the *Draco*, and the style is

indistinguishable from Etienne's. In the absence of any reason to doubt his authorship, these two points may be deemed conclusive.

Nec tamen hic cassus ; baculo, dulcedine pleno,  
 Ditatur rediens, at monachilis erat.  
 Dulcior at multo quam pontificalis habetur,  
 Hic et ille simul consepeltur eis.<sup>1</sup>

We have alluded above to the way in which Etienne The literary aspect of overcame some of the difficulties of versification, but the poem. we have not spoken of the metrical errors which mar the *Draco Normannicus*.

A few of those in the first book are pointed out as the poem proceeds ; but to mark all would have been to encumber the pages with profitless foot-notes. The fact is that our author demands many startling concessions in these matters, requiring us to accept *philosophia*, *mērdies*, *mēror* (*meror*), *Darius*, and many similar blunders. Perhaps his largest draft on our charity is the line:—

Hunc per legatos princeps Constantinopolitanus.<sup>2</sup>

It ill becomes those in possession of modern appliances, whether for science or literature, to be hard on the mistakes of a twelfth-century monk, but, leaving his errors of prosody, we cannot but express wonder that a man of Etienne's extensive classical reading should show so little taste, introducing purely Greek words such as *doxa* and *polis*, archaic forms as *itiner* and *iteris*, and such puns<sup>3</sup> as his play on the words *Culixtus* and *calices* in lines 1437, S, on p. 646. It is curious too that Etienne's comrades, in a house which was a school of secular learning of the highest class, should not have kept him by friendly criticism from such a distich as,

Hæc pater Innocuus componit, judicat, urget,  
 Lites, facta, modum, fœdere, jure, fide.<sup>4</sup>

This must of course be read *Innocentius papa componit lites fœdere, &c.*, but when we have interpreted it

<sup>1</sup> p. 708.

<sup>2</sup> p. 726, l. 415.

<sup>3</sup> See also p. 711, ll. 3-8.

<sup>4</sup> p. 651, ll. 1556, 1557.

we find neither thought, beauty of sound, nor aptness of expression.

The historical aspect.

The historical aspect of the poem must now be considered, and our first duty is to indicate the sources from which the earlier details it contains were derived. It is by this process of sifting and washing that we reach the historian's golden grains—the new facts which his author records.

Large portions of the poem derived from Dudo of St. Quentin, William of Jumiéges, and Robert of Torigni's life of Henry I.

That Etienne used the chronicles of Dudo of St. Quentin, and William of Jumiéges is an assertion which scarcely requires support; but, if such a passage as the account of the siege of Luna by Hastings<sup>1</sup> (pp. 633-4) is not held to be sufficiently convincing, the words:—

. . . . Dani sumus, agminis hujus

Dux ego, . . . .<sup>2</sup>

and the line,

“North” Borcas, “man” homo, Danica lingua  
sapit.<sup>3</sup>

will assuredly on comparison with Dudo (Duchesne, p. 76 D.) and W. of Jumiéges (p. 218 B.) be found conclusive.

It is not here worth while to treat as distinct works the chronicles of Dudo of St. Quentin and William of Jumiéges, and the continuation of the latter as a life of Henry I. by R. of Torigni. For our present limited purpose we shall regard them simply as the *corpus historicum* which forms the early part of Duchesne's collection.

The history of the settlement of the Normans in Neustria not being of primary interest to English students, that portion of the *Draco* which deals with the matter<sup>4</sup> may be succinctly treated. Whether Dudo was an annalist or a fabulist is also a question we do

<sup>1</sup> I have followed Sir F. Palgrave's spelling of this name, using also his guidance in more important matters. See note <sup>1</sup> on p. xix.

<sup>2</sup> p. 625, l. 915.

<sup>3</sup> p. 631, l. 1052.

<sup>4</sup> p. 613, l. 575, to p. 638, l. 1240.

not intend to consider here.<sup>1</sup> Nine-tenths, nay more, of the 900 lines of the *Draco* which touch on early Norman History are simply transcribed into verse (with occasional errors) from William of Jumiéges, but there is a residue of considerable interest. From line 647 to line 898 (pp. 617-624) we have an account of Rollo's approach to, and occupation of, Rouen wholly different from that given by Duchesne's chroniclers, the Vedastine annalist, and by Wace.

Etienne tells us, that Rollo with a chosen band invaded France, and, beginning by burning Nantes, went on to devastate Brittany.

The *Draco* furnishes a new account of Rollo's capture of Rouen.

Returning laden with booty to his fleet, he approached Anjou. Here he was withstood by three leaders, apparently in one battle; but gaining the day he took Angers and burned it. Poitiers, Limoges, and Noyon were successively sacked, and then the wild band assailed Orleans. This fair city they burned; but, for some reason not stated, they spared the cathedral.<sup>2</sup> Then Rollo left his fleet on the Loire, and organising his force as a land army, fought a battle with the troops of the French king.<sup>3</sup> After that, taking again to the water, he entered the Seine,<sup>4</sup> landed, marched on Beauvais, and returned with the spoils of that city to his fleet.<sup>5</sup> Thence he pressed on to Rouen.

<sup>1</sup> This is written with a full knowledge of the contents of Mr. H. Howorth's paper in the *Archæologia*, xlv., pp. 235-250 (1880), Mr. Howorth does not mention the *Draco*.

<sup>2</sup> Thus far there are suspicious similarities to the story told by the chroniclers as to the ravages of Hastings; but there are touches, such as the mention of a battle against three leaders, and the circumstance of the sparing of Orleans

cathedral, which redeem the credit of Etienne's story as the independent narrative of a man who had sources of information now lost. The same cities were pillaged twice or thrice by the pirates, so the list of places sacked by different leaders may be very much alike and yet authentic.

<sup>3</sup> Erroneously stated to be *Carolus Simplex*.

<sup>4</sup> l. 763.

<sup>5</sup> l. 767.

With some of his followers he passed under the bridge,<sup>1</sup> which was manned by the citizens; but finding the ground unsuited to his plan of attack, he repassed and landed on the western meadows.<sup>2</sup> These, Etienne says, were up to his own times called by a name which bore record of that day of battle.<sup>3</sup> Rollo, perceiving that his fleet had obtained complete command of the river, was giving orders for a general attack when suddenly a band of young men sallied forth from the city.<sup>4</sup> The Norman leader at once saw an easy road to victory, and ordered his men gradually to hem in the citizens.<sup>5</sup> A separate combat was proceeding at the bridge,<sup>6</sup> no doubt as a diversion; but the main design of Rollo was now to turn the imprudent sally to the best account.

The furious attack of the Danes pressed back the citizen-soldiers; and then, before the gates could close on the fugitives, Rollo was inside the walls.<sup>7</sup> The news of his entrance caused resistance elsewhere to collapse, and Rollo found Rouen at his feet. His design was to conquer for occupation, not for destruction, and by his command no slaughter or plundering ensued. The city simply changed rulers from that day.

Immediately after this important event ensued, according to Etienne, the well-known parley with Ragnald and Hastings, the Danish count of Chartres, and in due sequence the battles which William of Jumiéges describes. To the words of the chronicler at this point Etienne adds but two touches; in one place we learn that in the second battle Rollo's men were posted on a height,<sup>8</sup> and in another<sup>9</sup> that Dudo's mysterious *piscator Sequanu* killed Ragnald as he was crossing to an island—possibly in the man's boat.

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<sup>1</sup> l. 827.

<sup>2</sup> l. 840.

<sup>3</sup> l. 846.

<sup>4</sup> l. 867.

<sup>5</sup> l. 871.

<sup>6</sup> l. 879.

<sup>7</sup> l. 883.

<sup>8</sup> l. 964.

<sup>9</sup> l. 989.

Here then we have definite additions to our knowledge of a very dark historic page. What was the source of this information? Was it Benoit de S. Maur's lost Latin Chronicle, or was it local tradition? Whatever origin we may suppose, we must admit that we have a clear and intelligible account which there is no valid reason for doubting.

A fourth source of information used by Etienne was of course the *Chronicon Beccense*. Robert of Torigni also employed this; but, until Dachery's text has been edited, and carefully compared with the Vatican MS. Reg. 499, it cannot be very safely used.<sup>1</sup> Still we are certain that Etienne drew from it, for, though he relates things which he saw with his own eyes, he obviously has referred for the following passage (see p. 716) to the chronicle then growing year by year in the *Bec scriptorium*:—

Anno quo moritur tria signa stupenda coruscant,

Portentum superum, sed latet istud adhuc.

Parisius juxta metuenda cometa refulsit,

Martius hanc fudit, belliger ipse deus.

Circulus æthereus solem circa radiavit

Maximus, hunc mensis Cæsaris ipse dedit.

Nocte sub umbrifera monstratur luna eruenta,

Septimus a Martis turbine mensis erat.

The *Chronicon Beccense* (Migne, tom. 150, col. 654) is the prose foundation of this:—

Nota quod anno obitus nobilissimæ Matildis imperatrici tria signa in cœlo visa sunt; nam mense Martio cometa in Gallia apparuit; mense Julio circulus æthereus circa solem resplenduit; mense postea Septembri media nocte, luna tota sanguinea diutius visa est, regibus Angliæ et Franciæ post Pascha sequens ad se invicem discordantibus.

A fifth work, mentioned as well as used in the poem, is Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Gesta Regum Britanniciæ*.  
References in the poem to

<sup>1</sup> I have not yet been able to see the edition in the series of the Soc. de l'Hist. de Normandie.

Geoffrey of Monmouth's fabulous history.

The prophecy of Merlin too is constantly quoted in the early part of the *Draco*. Queen Eleanor is everywhere the "aquila rupti foederis,"<sup>1</sup> her sons are the "catuli leonis";<sup>2</sup> but, as these allusions are sufficiently pointed out in foot-notes, they may here be passed over. Later in the poem, however, we have by a bold stretch of poetic license a correspondence between count Roland of Dinan, king Arthur, "qui tunc apud Antipodes degebat," and king Henry II. In the course of this correspondence, Arthur recites his exploits, and describes his battle with Lucius Hiberius.<sup>3</sup> The bulk of this is from Geoffrey of Monmouth, but not the whole; and the additions are curious. First, we have the introduction of Morgana (the "Morgan le Fay" of Malory) as the sister under whose care Arthur passes to Avallon; secondly, we have fully expressed ideas of the earthly immortality, and of the Return of Arthur; and thirdly, Arthur is presented to us, as M. Gaston Paris remarks, as an Armorican, rather than as a British king.

Peculiar treatment of the Arthurian legend.

That Arthur should exhibit anger at the acquisition of Armorica by a sovereign, who, though not a British monarch, ruled over Britain, might seem strange from the standpoint of Geoffrey of Monmouth; but, if Arthur were really a Breton king, swelled by fable first into a king of England, and then into a universal conqueror, it would be natural for him to be represented as showing such feelings. In these matters we have an interesting trace of the genuine Arthurian Legend from which Geoffrey of Monmouth undoubtedly drew very much. This, however, not being safely within the range of sober history, must be dismissed after remarking one further point of interest, which is, that Etienne after all has but a playful belief in his Arthur. When Henry reads

<sup>1</sup> p. 603, l. 297, &c.

<sup>2</sup> p. 607, l. 421, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Not *Tiberius*, as in Geoffrey.

Alured of Beverley writes *Hiberus*. M. Gaston Paris thinks *Hiberius* the true reading.



the threatening letter of the shadowy king, his remarks on it to his nobles are introduced by the line,

Subridens sociis, nil pavefactus, ait.

Again, Henry only answers for the sake of not letting the old king feel himself despised:—

Ne se contemni reputet, nunc scripta remittam,  
Mitior is forsan vi rationis erit.

As a monk of Bec, our author must have been personally acquainted with Robert of Torigni, better known and more generally referred to as Robertus de Monte; and that abbot Robert's chronicle should have been freely used by Etienne is natural and also obvious. As, however, in this case the separation of new facts from old is not so easy, the task must be deferred until we consider Etienne's delineation of his own times. We will, therefore, pass on to the other chroniclers whose materials can be detected in the poem.

Use made  
of Robert  
of Torigni's  
chronicle.

Eginhard's famous life of Charlemagne is one of these. The contrasted passages in note 3 on p. 664, will place this fact beyond dispute; and we may dismiss the matter by saying, that Etienne de Rouen has not ventured to insert any original information as to the Merovingian or Carlovingian sovereigns. Lastly, there remains a thread of what, looking backwards from modern days, we may call true French history.

Passages  
borrowed  
from Egin-  
hard's Life  
of Charle-  
magne.

This we have left till the last, as the reasoning by which we hope to demonstrate which particular chronicle Etienne chiefly used for this part of his poem, will lead to a substantial confirmation of many of the assertions already made.

Informa-  
tion as  
to the  
kings of  
France  
derived by  
Etienne de  
Rouen  
from the  
*Abbre-  
viatio Ges-  
torum  
Francie  
Regum.*

There is now extant a 12th century catalogue of the library of Bec, which may be read in one of the Abbé Migne's volumes.<sup>1</sup>

One entry in this list is as follows:—

"*In uno volumine, Historiæ Normannorum, lib. VII., vide-*

<sup>1</sup> Tom. 150, col. 776, &c.: from the Avranches MS. of R. of Torigni.

“ licet ab adventu Hastingsi in regnum Francorum us-  
 “ que ad mortem primi Henrici, regis Anglorum et  
 “ ducis Normannorum. *Item*, Vita Caroli Magni impe-  
 “ ratoris Romanorum et regis Francorum. *Item*, Vita  
 “ Alexandri Magni regis Macedonum. *Item*, epistola  
 “ ejusdem de situ Indiæ ad Aristotilem magistrum  
 “ suum. *Item*, Abbreviatio regum Franciæ gestorum  
 “ ab egressione eorum a Sicambria usque ad princi-  
 “ pium regni Ludovici junioris, regis Francorum.  
 “ *Item*, Historiarum de regibus majoris Britanniæ usque  
 “ ad adventum Anglorum in insulam, libri XII., in  
 “ quorum septimo continentur prophetiæ Merlini, non  
 “ Silvestris, sed alterius, id est, Merlini Ambrosii.  
 “ *Item*, exceptiones ex libro Gildæ Sapiientis historio-  
 “ graphi Britonum, quem composuit de vastatione gen-  
 “ tis suæ et de mirabilibus Britanniæ.”

The first item in this comprehensive MS. is plainly the chronicle of William of Jumiéges; the second is Eginhard's life of Charlemagne; the third may be the absurd history of Alexander written by Julius Valerius; the fourth is an anonymous chronicle we hope to identify; the fifth, Geoffrey of Monmouth's fabulous history; the sixth, no doubt Nennius.<sup>1</sup> Our anonymous chronicle, then, is an abbreviated history, from the early tribal times of the Franks to A.D. 1137.

In Bouquet's grand collection we find an "*Abbreviatio gestorum Franciæ regum ab origine regni ad annum Christi 1137.*" This seems as though it might be the chronicle we are seeking. Let us try the question of identity by a delicate test — community of error. On p. 650 of the *Draco*, l. 1536, Etienne tells us that at the time Philip, son of Louis le Gros, was killed in the streets of Paris, pope Innocent was holding a council *in that city*. Now, from Suger and other authorities, it is abundantly certain

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<sup>1</sup> Etienne makes the usual blunder, and refers to this as the work of Gildas. See p. 704, l. 1179.

that Innocent held the council at *Rheims*, and that he there anointed Louis le Jeune in the presence of the assembled prelates. Turning to the chronicle in Bouquet's edition (xii. 67), we read:—

Philippus vero, patre vivente, nuctus est in regem *civitate*<sup>1</sup> Remis; sed non multo post *urbe*<sup>1</sup> Parisius de equo corruens mortuus est, et in ecclesia S. Dionysii sepultus est. Item eodem anno unctus est frater ejus Ludovicus in regem in *urbe*<sup>1</sup> supradicta ab Innocentio papa II., cum ibi teneret consilium.

Another error, adopted by Etienne from the same source, is his statement that Hugh Capet reigned for eleven years. Here, then, we certainly have the origin of another considerable portion of the "*Draco*."

The "*Abbreviatio*" may also be referred to in Pertz, ix. pp. 395-406, where it is printed in full under the title, "*Historia Regum Francorum monasterii sancti Dionysii*,"<sup>2</sup> from a MS. at Brussels and another at Berne, collated with Bouquet's edition of MS. St. Victor 419.<sup>3</sup> We have, however, preferred to quote this chronicle under the name by which our author knew it.

Thus we have identified Etienne's principal storehouse of early mediæval history. He borrowed this book, it would seem, from the *armarius*, and kept it in his cell with Robert of Torigni's chronicle; and having close at hand the domestic chronicle of his own abbey, he com-

<sup>1</sup> The italics in these three places are mine, and are intended to indicate the probable source of Etienne's mistake. Had the chronicler written, "in *civitate* supradicta," the error would probably not have occurred.

<sup>2</sup> It begins thus: Anthenor et alii profugi ab excidio Troiæ, Asia pervagata, Frigeque rege facto et cum suis inter Macedones remanente, transactis Meothidis paludi-

bus, in finibus Pannoniæ ædificaverunt civitatem nomine Sicambriam.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards *St. Victor*. 287, a 15th cent. MS. It is observable that MS. Bibl. du Roi, No. 5997 (xiii. cent.), contains W. of Jumièges, Eginhard, and the "*Abbreviatio*." Other MSS. are Bibl. du Roi, 5999, 4937, 4938; Lugdunensis, Lat. No. 20; Bernensis, No. 90 (xii. cent.); and the Brussels MS.

piled from these materials by far the greater part of his poem.

Etienne's facts as to the Frankish sovereigns derived from the *Gesta Regum Francorum*.

To these authorities our author has, there is little doubt, added the *Gesta Regum Francorum*, which we find in the second volume of Bouquet's collection (p. 542, &c.). From this he assuredly derived much of the early traditional history of the Franks which we find in the poem at pp. 610-613 and on p. 673; but, as is not unfrequently the case, he has blundered in using his materials. He had at hand, as we know,<sup>1</sup> the *Historia Gregorii Turonensis de Gestis Francorum*, though he does not seem to have consulted it. This is not surprising, for a writer who alludes to Curtius,<sup>2</sup> but uses Julius Valerius, must have had an affectionate preference for unsound guides.

Miscellaneous sources of information: Lives of the Saints, and the writings of classical authors.

All then that can be traced to these works is borrowed matter, while most of the residue is original. Of course there are minor sources from which other facts have been taken. The story of the dispute between Lanfranc and Thomas of York, for example, comes from the letters of the great prelate, which were in a volume in the Bec library; and the facts as to the papal schism of 1159 were no doubt drawn from current documents similar to, if not the same as, those we see in Baronius. But these details were used with the advantage of much living knowledge. Then there are Abbo's life of St. Edmund the Martyr and other lives of saints, which every monk would have at hand; and if we add to these certain classical and semi-classical authors, Cæsar, Vegetius,<sup>3</sup> and others, we are in reasonably full possession of Etienne de Rouen's literary materials.

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of Bec Abbey Library, Migne, tom. 150, col. 777.

<sup>2</sup> p. 679, *l.* 517.

<sup>3</sup> The task of tracing out allusions to ancient history and classical

authors has been only partially undertaken; and, perhaps, might without failure in duty have been entirely neglected.

It would be wearisome to pursue the matter more closely, and we must therefore at once address ourselves to the task of showing what new lights our author gives us as to the events of his day.

Historical value of the *Draco Normannicus*.

It is our duty to fulfil the same task retrospectively with regard to William of Newburgh's history for the same period, and prospectively for the chronicle of Robert of Torigni,<sup>1</sup> and this duty unfortunately involves nothing less arduous than an attempt to compile a concordance of the chronicles of England from A.D. 1153 to the beginning of A.D. 1169, a period from which many prudent historians divert their readers' attention by writing exclusively about Thomas Becket.

Historical facts contributed by William of Newburgh, Etienne de Rouen, and R. of Torigni.

In the preface to a volume like the present, certain bare facts of history may be dryly given, but interpretation and philosophical treatment must be shunned. In dealing, too, with this period it is an editor's duty to indicate, but not discuss, constitutional points, and the present editor has also felt it incumbent on him to suppress, as far as possible, all mention of the martyred archbishop.

A sketch of a concordance of existing chronicles for the period A.D. 1153 to 1169.

Late in the year 1153 the unendurable strife which began in 1138 had come to an end. The church had proffered its assistance at a favourable moment, and had successfully mediated between the contending parties. The time was opportune, for the fiery spirit of Eustace had just passed from the scene of action; and with his death had disappeared two principal elements of the great contention—his own fiercely urged family claims, and the interests of the royal house of France. These interests were two-fold, including hopes of the elevation of a French princess to the throne of England, and no less earnest wishes for the humiliation of a rising prince,

A.D. 1153.

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<sup>1</sup> It is proposed to add R. of Torigni's chronicle to the series of twelfth century histories which I am at present editing.

A.D. 1153. who had already by war and policy mastered two-thirds of the sea-board of France. Peace was confirmed by a great council on the 7th of November 1153; and, on the 13th of the following January, prince William  
 ———  
 A.D. 1154. and the nobles of both parties swore fealty to Henry at Oxford, reserving their duty to Stephen for the remainder of his life. If we may trust Hoveden, Henry took up during the remainder of his stay in England the position of justiciary; and there is much in that monarch's later life to lead us to suppose that he had at some time seen the practical administrative side of the law to a greater extent than would be possible for a king, even at this early date. Very shortly after the oaths of fealty had been taken, Stephen and Henry met at Dunstable to treat further as to the affairs of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Much had been done by Stephen in the way of destroying the adulterine castles, yet not enough to please his designated successor.

A little of Stephen's old weakness here appears for the last time. He hesitated to act harshly towards his original adherents; and, contrary to agreement,<sup>2</sup> spared some of their strongholds. This seemed to Henry a reservation made with an eye to contingencies, and not the action of a man who intended to do right although warped by a fear of displeasing.<sup>3</sup>

The duke stated his views modestly; but, receiving a rebuff, wisely deferred the matter, for the sake of peace, to a more convenient season. The next fact that we have about Henry is, that, in company with the king, he was received, during the Lenten fast of 1154, by the clergy of Canterbury in solemn procession.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. Hunt., 290.

<sup>2</sup> R. de Torigni confirms Gervase as to destruction having been agreed on. It was not covenanted by the treaty as given in the *Fœdera*, i. 18,

from the *Lib. Rub. Scacc.*, but probably by a secret instrument.

<sup>3</sup> H. Hunt., 290, "vel versutia pareus."

<sup>4</sup> Gerv. i., 158.

From that city, still in company with the king, he <sup>A.D. 1154.</sup> went to Dover to meet count Thierry of Flanders and the countess Sibylla, his own aunt; and after the meeting both king and duke returned to Canterbury.

A conspiracy had, however, been hatching in the meantime—probably on the march. The Flemish mercenaries, whose trade was war, and who saw in treaties and the levelling of castles nothing else than a destruction of their chances of profit, had evidently whispered evil suggestions in the ear of the young prince fresh from swearing fealty to the duke of Normandy as his father's successor.<sup>1</sup>

The death of Henry had been decided on, when suddenly the plans of the conspirators were disturbed by an accident to their principal partisan—the one whom they no doubt regarded as their shield from that retribution which the essentially knightly king would surely have meted out to them. Riding over Barham Down, prince William's horse fell, breaking his rider's leg between knee and ancle.

In those days such an injury was not seldom the cause of death; and the conspirators must have reflected that, unless William lived, it would be but lost labour to slay his only possible substitute as heir to the crown. How Henry detected the plot does not appear.

Possibly the young prince, placed in such peril, gave the hint on which Henry acted. William was carried to Canterbury, and Henry went thither too, as to a recognised place of safety. As soon as he could, however, Henry left Canterbury and pressed on through Rochester to London, where he took ship for Normandy about the 4th of April,<sup>2</sup> nor did he ever see Stephen's face again.

There was much for him to do in Normandy, and he there tried the experiment, afterwards successfully

<sup>1</sup> Gerv. i., 158.  
u 13836.

| <sup>2</sup> R. of Torigni (Pertz, vi. 503).

A.D. 1154. repeated in England, of recovering demesne lands which  
 — had been wastefully granted away, in this case by his father, through the necessities of war. The grants were "temporary," abbot Robert tells us; but in this word we should read the apology of a personal friend for high-handed acts which could not be directly justified. No reasoning could show that Stephen's grants as well as those of Maud were invalid. Unquestionably the gifts of the empress could not be so viewed by her son, yet both classes alike were resumed by Henry on the plea of expediency. Certainly when we think of the iniquitous proceedings of Richard 40 years later, on his return from Palestine, we trace a common nature in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *leo justitie* and in his *caluli leonis*.

Having finished this work, Henry passed into Aquitaine and quelled an insurrection. Next we find him on the 24th of June, 1154, back at Rouen with his mother, confirming his friend Robert of Torigni in the abbaey of Mont-Saint-Michel. In the following August he concluded an arrangement with Louis VII. by which he recovered Vernon and Neufmarché in return for the sum of 2,000 marks. Then he appears to have fallen dangerously ill, but by the 1st of October to have recovered so far as to be able to march with an army, at the request of Louis, into the Vexin. There he made peace between his suzerain and Goscelin Crispin, and returning besieged for nearly 15 days the castle of Torigni, which Richard, son of the count of Vernon, held against him.

The stronghold had been surrendered,<sup>1</sup> and its commander had been taken into favour again, when Henry unexpectedly received information of the death of Stephen.

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<sup>1</sup> R. of Torigni, p. 503; *Chron. S. Albini Andegav.*, Bouquet, xii., 482.



That monarch, after bidding farewell to his destined successor, had at once pursued his covenanted task of restoring a state of order in the kingdom; and he appears to have had, though a brief, yet an almost uninterrupted course of success in his honest endeavours. The adulterine castles melted away before his face, William of Newburgh says, like wax before a fire; and thus, burning and destroying the strongholds of robbers, he worked his way north as far as Yorkshire. Here a sturdy baron, Philip of Colville, stood out in Drake castle against his now lawful lord, refusing to render the place up for destruction. The king cannot have made his royal progress with any considerable body of troops, for Newburgh tells us that, when he received the baron's refusal, he collected the forces of the county and stormed the castle. A.D. 1154.

The point is significant, for it shows how very soon after the peace of November 1153 Stephen held full possession of the moral, as well as of the material, forces of royalty.

It was harvest time, Newburgh says, and the king, having finished his work in Yorkshire, retired south in order to meet a great council of the realm summoned to assemble in London, at Michaelmas, to settle the affairs of the kingdom, and to arrange for the filling of the vacant see of York.

At this council, by the friendly collusion of Stephen and archbishop Theobald, Roger of Pont l'Évêque was chosen, and the primate further consented to perform the consecration of the northern metropolitan, not as archbishop, but in his separate capacity of papal legate.<sup>1</sup> A far more important step, simple as it must have seemed in the year 1154, was taken as a consequence

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<sup>1</sup> Newburgh, p. 95.

A.D. 1154. of the promotion. The archdeaconry of Canterbury was given to "Thomas of London."<sup>1</sup>

Death of  
King  
Stephen.

When the council broke up Stephen traversed Kent to meet once more the count of Flanders.<sup>2</sup> Immediately after the meeting the king fell ill, and died in the abbey of St. Martin at Dover, on the 25th of October. His body was laid beside those of his wife and son in the monastery which the brave queen had built at Faversham.

Previously, when a king died, and notably so when Stephen's predecessor passed away, his peace died with him, and a brief reign of terror ensued. In this case, if aught was attempted, the strength and wisdom of archbishop Theobald at once quelled the beginnings of mischief, for all the chroniclers are agreed in saying, that, during the five or six weeks which elapsed before Henry was able to cross the sea, the realm was perfectly tranquil, though full of soldiers and "Flemish wolves."

Why Henry should have remained so long away is a question the chroniclers answer variously. Newburgh, more reliable in general statements than in minute details, states that he was besieging a castle, whereas Gervase and Huntingdon agree more nearly with Robert of Torigni, whose knowledge on this point is more likely to be accurate. From these latter authorities it would appear that the siege of Torigni-sur-Vire was over before the great news arrived;<sup>3</sup> that Henry then

<sup>1</sup> Gervase, i., 159. Becket's biographers pretend that at this date Roger was his enemy. The action of Theobald here in the simultaneous promotion of the two men is worthy of notice. It is much more likely that the enmity began when both were archbishops, and arose

from the ancient rivalry of the sees of York and Canterbury. See the *Draco Norm.*, p. 744.

<sup>2</sup> Gerv., i., 159.

<sup>3</sup> The Black Book of the Chapter of Bayeux (n. 7 and 26) gives a charter of Henry: "coram me in exercitu Torignei."

held a conference with his mother and brothers, and with the bishops and barons of Normandy; and that, leaving his mother as regent, he proceeded to Barfleur. Here contrary winds detained him a whole month,<sup>1</sup> and it was not until the 8th of December, that, accompanied by his brothers and many nobles, and a large force, he succeeded, though his fleet was scattered, in landing close to the New Forest.<sup>2</sup>

The dates are a little discrepant at this point, for, while Robert of Torigni places the king's departure on the 25th of November, Gervase speaks of his arrival on the 8th of December, an impossibly long passage, even for stormy weather and contrary winds. He waited to collect his armed retinue, and then pressed on to the royal city of Winchester, meeting the nobles who flocked thither to proffer their fealty. Thence he naturally rode on to London. There, in the Confessor's abbey, he was unanimously elected king, and, together with his queen, was duly anointed by archbishop Theobald.

Robert of Torigni says that the coronation took place on Sunday the 20th, whereas Sunday fell on the 19th of December. Gervase and the Melrose chronicler agree in saying, on the Sunday before Christmas Day, the former adding, wrongly, that the ceremony took place on the 17th of December. Etienne de Rouen too is apparently under a wrong impression, though he perhaps<sup>3</sup> only means to say that Henry and Eleanor wore their crowns in London at Christmas-tide.

A brilliant throng was present at the ceremony. Among the most notable on abbot Robert's list are

<sup>1</sup> M. Delisle, in his edition of R. of Torigni, notes that during this detention Henry did justice in the case of the nuns of Ronceray d'Angers, "apud Barbiflodium . . . Illie enim iter suum parabat " ad transfretandum in Angliam,

" ad suscipiendam coronam." Bibl. Nat. Par., Collect. Housseau, V., n. 1773.

<sup>2</sup> Huntingdon says in the New Forest: Gervase gives Hostreham, but that is in Normandy.

<sup>3</sup> p. 605, l. 361.

A.D. 1154. the great prelates, Henry of Winchester and Hugh of Rouen; Arnulf, the eloquent bishop of Lisieux, and Thierry, count of Flanders, of whose friendly relations with Henry the accounts of the exchequer contain many evidences. Immediately after the coronation an important step was taken. By the advice of Theobald, "Thomas of London," who had only the year before been made archdeacon of Canterbury, became chancellor of the realm. Doubts have been bandied on this question; yet Gervase must have known the truth. Not only does the Pipe Roll for the year extending from September, 1155, to Michaelmas, 1156, give a curt, cold, irrefutable entry as to "Thomas cancellarius," but the chronicle of Battle abbey affords still better testimony on the point; for on p. 74 we find that the charters of Battle were discussed at Lambeth, in the Lent of 1155 by the archbishop, *the chancellor*, Hilary, bishop of Chichester, and others; and, on p. 96, we find bishop Hilary addressing the king, and referring to his own presence at the meeting in question "cum cancellario vestro domino Thoma."

An historical account of these years too easily degenerates into a biography of Becket. His is a name which must necessarily occur and recur in any sketch which could be offered; but here we must strive rather to avoid than to introduce his overbearing personality. Resuming our account then, we may observe, that either the eagerness of the Canterbury chronicler, or the exactness of his chronology, places the elevation of Becket between the coronation of the 19th of December, and the holding of the king's first court at Bermondsey on Christmas Day. Probably this was the case. If so it is likely, that at this parliament of the realm the new dignitary was officially recognised and installed in his high office. Peace, to be attained by various methods, and the ruined revenues of the crown, to be recruited by strenuous efforts,—these were the topics for discussion; and the

latter is one which alone would make it probable that A.D. 1154. a chancellor whom Henry could trust must have been appointed then and there.

He had other affairs on hand more pressing than even A.D. 1155. the collection of money. That could be delegated to an astute man of business; but there was work in view which, while it would incidentally help the royal revenues greatly, formed a needful preliminary to all other forms of reconstruction. Peace must be obtained by the sword. Curiously enough the pens of all the chroniclers fall first on the name of the old Flemish wolf, William of Ypres, marking his expulsion as almost the earliest idea of the new king. The career of this fierce forerunner of the Montreals and Hawkwoods of later days must tempt us to no digression, unless for a moment, to the touching scene of late repentance, when the old soldier of fortune laid aside his armour and found peace in the cloister. Not only did William of Ypres, in the double seclusion of the monastery and of total blindness, find peace himself; but, in the significant words of the chronicler of his native city, he gave peace to the times in which he lived by the withdrawal of his turbulent spirit.<sup>1</sup>

The rest of the savage hirelings either withdrew or settled down peacefully in the country, transformed from wolves into sheep, as Newburgh tells us.<sup>2</sup> A few were, it is said, utilised by the keen new ruler, who sent them to match other wolves in south-western Wales.<sup>3</sup> The castles of the robber barons, except a small number retained by the king, or given over by him to safe custodians, were razed. This destruction Henry supervised in person, as he passed through the west of England, and northwards as far as York. No doubt on this journey he began the resumption of the lands indiscriminately granted away from the crown to which

<sup>1</sup> He died in 1162.

<sup>2</sup> p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Powell's "Historie of Cambria," p. 205. I do not trace the

fact in his authority, John Castor's Chron. (Harl. 641), but the "*Brut*" and the Pipe Rolls strongly suggest it.

A.D. 1155. we have already alluded, and initiated a series of acts of restitution to families unjustly dispossessed. Alarmed by the royal progress, the criminal William Peverel fled to a monastery, and was tonsured; but, as Henry began to return southwards through Nottinghamshire, in February, the wretch, feeling uneasy even in the cloister, disappeared, leaving all his castles at the mercy of the king. While in Yorkshire Henry had received the submission of the great baron William of Albemarle, who, as Newburgh tells us, had been for many years more king than earl in the shire, and who now was compelled to surrender his great stronghold at Scarborough. In the midst of all this urgent business the welcome news came that queen Eleanor had given birth, in London, to a son, whom Theobald baptised by the name of Henry. The king summoned the barons of the realm to<sup>1</sup> London in Lent, and renewed the old laws and customs of the realm. At this council, too, he held a day of reckoning with those who boldly detained castles which he deemed to be within his own rights. Alarmed for his possessions, Roger of Hereford fled from the court to Gloucester, and listening to Hugh Mortimer and other traitors, both English and Welsh, fortified the city against the king. Happily a wiser counsellor was at hand in the person of his relative, Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford, and it was to the moral force of his prudent words that the earl submitted, on March 13.<sup>2</sup> The chief of the earl's evil counsellors was more obdurate, and Henry found himself obliged a little later to take Cleobury, Wigmore, and Bridgenorth<sup>3</sup> by siege. This was the only act of

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Monasterii de Bello*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Gervase is here followed. R. de Torigni represents this as happening after the council at Wallingford.

<sup>3</sup> At the siege of Bridgenorth Henry's life was saved by Hubert de Clare's self-sacrifice. *Contin. chron. Radulphi Nigri*, p. 170. Both Roger and Hugh were old allies of the empress.

war needed to put Henry in full possession of his rights A.D. 1155.  
on the English side of the Channel.

One of his first measures had been to appoint justiciaries, as Newburgh tells us, in all parts of the country. No doubt by these general words the chronicler means to intimate that, with Becket's active co-operation, he organised the almost combined system of justice and fiscal administration of which the first of an unbroken series of Pipe Rolls<sup>1</sup> is the still existent witness. This was, of course, not the work of a day, and though it must chronologically belong to the year 1155, we can only conjecture, from the characters of the two fellow-labourers, that it began early in the year.

After Easter, the precise day being April 10, a great council was held at Wallingford. There oaths were taken to secure the due hereditary rights of the infant princes, William and Henry, and there, according to Robert of Torigni, Roger of Gloucester made his peace with the king, probably as a formal public act, his virtual submission having occurred earlier in the year.

Here, too, the same chronicler places the traitorous conduct of Mortimer. In this he is confirmed by the Battle annalist (p. 75), who says that after the surrender of the rebels' fortresses the king summoned a great council for the 7th of July,<sup>2</sup> at Bridgenorth, and that there the rebel made his formal peace with his king.

There is now a space of about three months during which we lose the thread of events, but about Michaelmas we find Henry holding a council at Winchester, and consulting his nobles as to the conquest of Ireland, which he seems to have desired to give to his youngest brother William, no doubt on terms of homage.<sup>3</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> The Roll said to be the account for 31 Hen. I. is here set aside as doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> R. of Torigni assents to this date.

<sup>3</sup> R. of Tor., p. 505.

A.D. 1155. desisted, abbot Robert<sup>1</sup> tells us, for a time, as the project was displeasing to the empress; but the circumstance, little noticed as it is, may be found important in connexion with one of the most interesting points in the *Draco Normannicus*.<sup>2</sup>

We shall soon have to mention Henry's far different relations with his other brother, Geoffrey, but here we must note, as a sign of sincere brotherly affection for William, the circumstance that the king should have planned the conquest, going so far as to obtain, through John of Salisbury,<sup>3</sup> the pope's sanction<sup>4</sup> for the enterprise, and should have designed that his brother should have the solid advantages of it, he himself apparently retaining nothing more tangible than regal honours. Something further of significance happened at this council, for Henry of Blois, in whose city it had been held, sent a large sum of money over to France by the hands of the abbot of Clugny, and then secretly left the kingdom. In consequence of this act, king Henry ordered six<sup>5</sup> of the bishop's castles to be destroyed. That they were actually levelled about this time is certain, for an entry in the Pipe Roll (2 Hen. II.) relates to the work of destruction. The chronicle of Clugny<sup>6</sup> professes that the great prelate was invited by the abbot, and by letters from pope Adrian and king Louis. It appears that his wealth relieved the abbey from debt,<sup>7</sup> but no reliable hint of the reason of his flight is given.

At Christmas in this year<sup>8</sup> Henry held another great council in Westminster, and having settled his affairs,

<sup>1</sup> "Quod quia matri ejus imperatrici non placuit, intermissa est ad tempus illa expeditio."

<sup>2</sup> See p. 676.

<sup>3</sup> *Metalog.*, iv., 42.

<sup>4</sup> Diceto, i. 300, and Girald. Cambr., *De expugnatione Hib.*, ii. cap. v., give the Bull "*Laudabili-*

*ter.*" The former places it under the year 1154.

<sup>5</sup> *Annal. Wigorn.*, 380.

<sup>6</sup> Bouquet, xii. 315.

<sup>7</sup> See also *Chron. Gaufr. Vosiensis*, Bouquet, xii. p. 438.

<sup>8</sup> *Chron. Mon. de Bello*, p. 76.



he, on the 4th of January 1156, embarked at Dover A.D. 1156. and crossed to Witsand. On the 2nd of February he was at Rouen, and before the 9th he held a conference with Louis on the confines of Normandy. At this meeting, if we may trust Hoveden, whose date, however, is clearly wrong, king Henry did homage to Louis for all his continental dominions, perhaps in accordance with a conditional promise he had made by letter.<sup>1</sup> On his return to Rouen he received a visit from Thierry of Flanders and his countess, Sibylla of Anjou. Nothing appears as to the object of the visit; still the existence of most friendly terms is evidenced by many entries in the current Pipe Roll relating to gifts and lands in England belonging to Thierry, perhaps in right of his Angevin wife.<sup>2</sup>

It is of more importance that prince Geoffrey was present, and that, refusing Henry's offers, he left for Anjou, and was promptly followed by the king. These are the scanty words which Robert of Torigni's courtly spirit permitted his pen to record; but William of Newburgh affords us fuller explanations.<sup>3</sup> When the old count, Geoffrey of Anjou, was dying, he arranged that his son Henry should hold Normandy until he should obtain the English crown, and that, in the meanwhile, his second son, Geoffrey, should hold Chinon and two other castles. When, however, Henry should become king of England, Geoffrey should succeed him as duke of Normandy.

Henry was absent from his father's death-bed, but the clergy had been charged to obtain his assent on oath, and they did so by the familiar ecclesiastical device of deferring the burial of the father. When Henry obtained the crown he likewise obtained the pope's absolution from an oath sworn under duress; and Geoffrey, angered by this cruel injustice, retired to Chinon, and began to stir up rebellion. He had

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<sup>1</sup> Duchesne, iv. Ep., 58.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fœdera, i. 22.

<sup>3</sup> p. 113.

A.D. 1156. offered to surrender all fortresses, and to give hostages, if he might only have that which his father had bequeathed to him; but his offers were not accepted, and he went to the king of France to beg help.<sup>1</sup> Louis had been pacified by Henry's homage, and thus the war proceeded between the two brothers alone. Thomas, the chancellor, lending his aid to the king, Geoffrey's castles were reduced, and in July a reconciliation was effected on the terms that the prince should possess a simple estate and a pension.<sup>2</sup> He did not stay long in this condition of humiliation, for the citizens of Nantes, who about the 6th of January had dismissed their count, Hoel, accepted Geoffrey as their ruler before the 14th of February 1157.<sup>3</sup> Henry no doubt approved this step. At least he afterwards turned it to his own advantage, for, on Geoffrey's death, in 1158, he claimed and obtained the city as his brother's heir, forcing Conan, earl of Richmond, to give it up.<sup>4</sup> There is a story that Geoffrey had endeavoured to intercept and to marry Eleanor as she was returning to her own dominions immediately after her divorce. Certain it is that in June 1152 he conspired with prince Eustace and others against his elder brother. These circumstances fully explain the mutual grudges between Henry and Geoffrey, and show why Ireland was reserved for a loyal and affectionate brother, who appears to have been entirely ignored in his father's will.

We next find the king at Saumur shortly after the 29th of August,<sup>5</sup> and when still abroad, about November the 11th, he was visited by Hilary of Chichester. This may have been while he was at Limoges, for Richard of Poitou (Bouquet, xii. 417) tells us that, about November the 11th, Henry caused the walls of the city to be destroyed.<sup>6</sup> The chronicler adds that, having passed Christmas-tide at Bordeaux, and having made peace

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Joh. Sarisb.*, 128.

<sup>2</sup> The Chronicle of *St. Albini Andegav.* (Bouquet, xii. 482) asserts that Loudun was restored to him.

<sup>3</sup> *Chr. Britt.* (Bouquet, xii. 560).

<sup>4</sup> Newburgh, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> *Chr. M. de Bello*, 76.

<sup>6</sup> The *Chron. Gaufr. Vosiensis*

with his Gascon nobles, the king returned to England, A.D. 1156.  
and proceeded to reduce the Welsh to submission.

From the Pipe Roll we find that Henry received this year an embassy from Norway, perhaps the envoys whom Becket entertained; <sup>1</sup> that the queen's sister, Petronilla, and her illegitimate brothers, Joscelin and William of Poitou, received gifts from the English Exchequer; and that the town and castle of Bedford were traitorously held against the king.

After the 7th of April, in the year 1157, Henry crossed A.D. 1157.  
from Barfleur to Southampton, and passed on direct to London. The precise order of the events which followed is to some degree a matter for conjecture; still it is possible that geographical sequence may guide us aright. From London he went on to Richard de Luci's castle at Ongar, and when there arranged to meet the abbot of Battle at Bury St. Edmund's, expressing his intention of being crowned at that place. Thither, as the Pipe Roll tells us, his crown was carried; and there, on the 19th of May, he was crowned.<sup>2</sup> Again the abbot's cause was postponed till the king should reach Colechester, which he did on the 23rd of May, staying there until the 28th of the same month. He now, that is about the 24th of June, began to prepare his expedition into Wales, professedly to reconcile two Welsh princes, and summoned three knights where formerly two had been required. Leading this army across England, he next appears holding a council at Northampton, settling the affairs of the realm, and bringing an ecclesiastical dispute to an end on the 17th of July. From Northampton he pressed on to Chester, where

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(Bonquet, xii. 438) assigns this destruction to an earlier, though not a precise date. R. of Poitou says, "biennio postquam adeptus est regnum Angliæ."

<sup>1</sup> *Mat. Hist. Thom. Becket*, iii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Thierry of Flanders and his wife, Henry's aunt, left for Jerusalem on the 15th of May, 1157, leaving their son Philip and all

A.D. 1157. Malcolm, king of Scotland,<sup>1</sup> met him, and, "salvis  
 — " omnibus dignitatibus suis," became his man, surren-  
 dering the three northernmost counties of England, with  
 other possessions, including Lothian, which David, king  
 of Scots, had induced Henry to permit him to occupy  
 many years previously. William of Mortain and Hugh  
 Bigod were also forced to make sacrifices.

From Chester the passage of the army into Flint-  
 shire seems to follow naturally; and it was in the pass  
 of Consilt, in this county, that the unlucky reverse was  
 sustained which sullied the hard-earned honours of  
 Henry of Essex. The fortune of the day was, however,  
 restored by Henry's coolness. His good strategy in  
 planning a second invasion by sea brought the Welsh  
 "reguli"<sup>2</sup> to terms, and from this time there appear  
 entries on the Exchequer Rolls<sup>3</sup> as to king Owen's  
 hostages. Henry's true military instincts led him to  
 seize the opportunity for making a future inroad more  
 easy by cutting down forests and making roads, no  
 less than by building fortresses at Rhuddlan and Basing-  
 werk. On his return from Wales he appears to have spent  
 some time in the Peak and Nottinghamshire with  
 Malcolm.<sup>4</sup> This seems to show that Malcolm had been  
 with him in Wales.

In September the queen gave birth at Oxford<sup>5</sup> to  
 prince Richard; and in this year the royal pair lost  
 their first-born son, prince William. We learn the bare  
 facts that a new coinage was issued this year, and that  
 some moneyers were seized and punished,<sup>6</sup> but we are

their domains in Henry's care. Thierry returned in 1159, *Lamb. Waterlos.*

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Mailr.*, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Newburgh, 108.

<sup>3</sup> Pipe Roll, 4 H. 2. [Sept. 1157 to Sept. 1158]. The *Ann. de Mar- gan*, p. 15, say, "Facti sunt amici

" Henricus rex et Oweyn de Wallia."

<sup>4</sup> Pipe R., p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Contin. Flor. Wigorn.*, p. 137. Tradition says, in what is now Beaumont Street.

<sup>6</sup> *Ann. Winton.*, 56; *Ann. Wav.*, 238.

left to barren speculation as to the nature of Henry's A.D. 1157. communications with the king of Sweden, which are evidenced by the accounts of the Exchequer. We have also a letter of empty compliment from Henry to Barbarossa preserved in Muratori's collection (vi. 744), but it has no direct interest.

The last act of the year 1157 was the coronation at A.D. 1158. Wikeford outside the walls of Lincoln; but what happened in the early months of 1158 we do not know. A fourth and final coronation of king and queen took place on the 20th of April at Worcester; and then until the 24th of June the record is blank. On that day Henry knighted Stephen's son, William, at Carlisle; and he would have performed the same act for Malcolm of Scotland, had not some difference sprung up which caused them to part. It must have been while in this part of the kingdom that Henry made peace with Rhys, one of the Welsh princes, for the annals of Tewkesbury<sup>1</sup> speak in the same sentence of this peace, of Henry's crossing to the Continent, and also of the death of Geoffrey. Following partially the *Contin. Beccensis*<sup>2</sup> of Robert of Torigni's chronicle, we must say that Geoffrey died on the 26th of July, and was buried at Nantes; and that Henry, anxious to profit by his brother's death, crossed the sea on the 14th of August, and had an interview with Louis on the 22nd or 31st near Gisors. On this occasion the marriage of the infants Henry and Richard with Margaret and Alais<sup>3</sup> was arranged, the Vexin being given, as it were, into the hands of trustees during the nonage of the elder couple. This done, Henry went to Argentan, and there, on the 8th of September, summoned his Norman forces to assemble at Avranches by Michaelmas, to attack Conan, count of Brittany, if he should refuse to sur-

<sup>1</sup> p. 48. The *Contin. Beccen.* of R. of Torigni does the same.

<sup>2</sup> *Contin. Beccensis*, in Delisle's ed. of R. of Torigni, ii. p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> R. of Torigni, p. 507; R. Hoveden, i. 218.

A.D. 1158. render Nantes—a step which Henry's confiscation of his earldom of Richmond perhaps almost compelled him to take. In September, on Louis's invitation, Henry ventured to Paris, and was splendidly received; and on the following day the two kings returned together as far as Mantes, Henry taking the infant Margaret away with him into Normandy, and placing her in the care of Robert de Neufbourg. During this time the diplomatic talents of Becket had been employed in arranging that Henry might enter Brittany as seneschal<sup>1</sup> of France, and quell the existing disturbances between Conan and Eudo; and Gervase remarks the simplicity shown by the French king in assenting to such an arrangement. Conan, however, showed his prudence by attending Henry at Avranches on the 29th of September, and surrendering Nantes and the earldom of Maine. It might scarcely be just to say that he thus obtained a decision against Eudo.

After feasting with his friend and chronicler, the abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, Henry marked out a new fortress at Pontorson, and started with a body of troops to take possession of Nantes. From the 7th to the 10th of October apparently he was in Poitou, hard at work before Thouars. His immense army of course prevailed, and the walls were levelled; but the cause of offence is not known.<sup>2</sup> Then after a short interval Henry went to meet Louis coming from Le Mans, and the two monarchs bent their steps by Passy, Evreux, Neufbourg, and Bec, to Mont-Saint-Michel, this time on a religious errand. They reached the object of their pilgrimage on the 23rd of November, and were received by a procession of clergy and crowds of the common people. They returned to Avranches after mass, and Louis, loaded with costly gifts, was again conducted by way of Bayeux, Caen, and Rouen to the frontier.

<sup>1</sup> His office as count of Anjou.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron. S. Albini Andegav.* (Bouquet, xii. 482).

The friendship of the kings had a further and a final <sup>A.D. 1158.</sup> manifestation, for Louis used his good offices to induce Theobald of Blois and Rotrou, count of Perche, to surrender Amboise, Fréteval, Molines, and Bons-Moulins, Rotrou receiving the castle of Belesme on terms of homage. The year ended peacefully, Eleanor joining Henry at Cherbourg for the Christmas festival.

Among the miscellaneous events of the year we may note that, on the 23rd of September, the royal family was increased by another son, Geoffrey, and that the faithful evidence of the exchequer accounts tells us of embassies from the emperor of Germany and the king of Jerusalem. It was either in the February of this year or of the next that pope Adrian wrote to Louis to dissuade him from the project of a joint crusade with Henry against the Spanish Moors.<sup>1</sup>

The first event of the eventful year 1159 seems to have <sup>A.D. 1159.</sup> been a meeting at Blaye between Henry and Raymond, king, in everything but name, of Aragon. They arranged that prince Richard should in due time marry the Spanish princess, Petronilla, and become duke of Aquitaine, this being, of course, if Hoveden is right, a breach of the compact already made with Louis. That there was another stipulation we are sure, for from William of Newburgh<sup>2</sup> we know that Raymond was present in the ensuing war.

About the 25th of February Henry met his nobles at Poitiers to discuss the approaching expedition against Toulouse, the claims to which city, left it is said, in the hands of the count of Saint Gilles merely as an unredeemed pledge, had passed to Henry by right of his wife. On this occasion scutage was adopted as a

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<sup>1</sup> Ep. Adriani, 76, Duchesne, iv. | July, 1159, in which Raymond-  
<sup>2</sup> p. 125. M. Delisle (R. of Forig. | Béranger refers to the army he is  
p. 325) notes a charter, dated 14 | about to join.

A.D. 1159. commutation for personal service in the case of all except tenants *in capite*. This simple device has often been spoken of as a deeply laid scheme for the enervation and ultimate humiliation of the baronage. Probably the foresight of the deviser did not extend beyond the fact that an army for a lengthened campaign could be held together by wages far more easily than by the limited claims of feudal service. The actual effects of the new plan were certainly wider and deeper, but any consideration of them must be left to philosophical historians. Our present concern is with bare facts and their chronological sequence, not with their significance.

The count of Saint Gilles had married Constance, the French king's sister, and this connexion gave him confidence for the struggle. Louis, desiring peace, met Henry at Tours; but, failing to arrange the matter, the English king summoned his men to assemble at Poitiers on the 24th of June.<sup>1</sup> The levies were from England, Normandy, Le Mans, Anjou, Aquitaine, Gascony, and, notably, from Brittany. It is observable that though Henry held a vast sum in his hands and hired large bodies of troops, no Flemish mercenaries are mentioned. His rule was to use Welsh against the French, and Flemings and Aragonese<sup>2</sup> against the Welsh. While the preparations were in progress we find Henry spending three days, from the 21st to the 23rd of May, at Bec, returning from thence to Rouen. From the 6th to the 8th of June the kings were again in conference, both on the subject of the marriage treaty of their children and on the less satis-

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<sup>1</sup> This is according to the *Contin. Beccen.* of R. of Torigni. The other MSS. say towards the middle of Lent. That would be about April the 22nd. The chronicler, Richard of

Poiton (Bouquet xii. 417), states that the order for assembling went forth in the middle of Lent.

<sup>2</sup> See note<sup>5</sup> on p. lxxvii.



factory one of Toulouse. Certainly on the latter topic A.D. 1159. they came to no terms.

On the 16th of June Henry's great feudatory, Malcolm, sailed across with forty-five ships, was honourably received at Poitiers, and was knighted<sup>1</sup> on the 30th of June at Périgueux. A certain Welsh king, too, added his forces to those of Henry, but neither his name nor the date of his joining appears. The list of auxiliaries concludes with the name of a powerful noble, Raymond Trencavel, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne, who, according to Newburgh,<sup>2</sup> marched with the English king.

The vast army was in motion shortly after the 24th of June, and captured Cahors on its way. Nevertheless Louis still made efforts to obtain terms for his brother-in-law, and met Henry on the 6th of the following month. Failing in his diplomacy, Louis threw himself into Toulouse. The duration of operations, for there was no real siege, is uncertain. The *Continuatio Beccensis* of Robert of Torigni says that Henry had so much money that he might have provisioned the whole of his immense army until the feast of All Saints. Gervase, who clearly had the same information, but misunderstood it, says that Henry besieged Toulouse from the 24th of June to the feast of All Saints. Certainly, if we follow Robert of Torigni, we must understand that Henry took Cahors and occupied the greater part of the province of Toulouse, but hesitated to sit down before the capital. Etienne de Rouen drew much information from abbot Robert, but the great facts of 1159 must have been perfectly well known to a man writing in the year

<sup>1</sup> *Gaufr. Vosiensis*, Bouquet, xii., 439. The *Chron. de Mailros*, p. 76, says at Tours when returning. His brother William seems to have

been with him, *Jordan Fantosme*, l. 1259.

<sup>2</sup> p. 125.

A.D. 1159. 1168; and it is thus a valuable confirmation of the Norman chronicler to read in the *Draco Normannicus* that Henry held back from motives of fental respect. William of Newburgh,<sup>1</sup> too, whose narrative about this point has curious traces in suspicious consonance with abbot Robert's story, says that for the reason mentioned Henry deferred the siege, but took to ravaging the province. About this time he was found by Richard d'Anisty<sup>2</sup> at Auvillar, on the Garonne.

One outcome of these operations was the hostility of the king of France, who was destined to feel acutely the evil results of his own good acts. Count Theobald of Blois, whom he had reconciled to Henry, was despatched by the latter to act as leader in the war already begun on the Norman frontier; but Henry, bishop of Beauvais, and Robert of Dreux retaliated, and the attack degenerated into an obscure border warfare.

In September<sup>3</sup> Henry began his return journey. He not only fortified Cahors and entrusted it to Becket, but placed garrisons in other captured fortresses. These he left under the surveillance of Raymond of Barcelona, William of Montpellier, and Raymond Trencavel.

To Trencavel, Newburgh<sup>4</sup> tells us, he restored certain towns that the count of Saint Gilles had taken from him by arms. The remainder of the army, or more probably the bulk of the army, was dismissed; and Henry, taking his way through Userche in company with Malcolm, reached Limoges about the 29th of September.<sup>5</sup> It was on the road back that William of Boulogne, king Stephen's son, closed his life, and

<sup>1</sup> p. 125. Bernard Gui makes a similar statement: Becket advised an assault.

<sup>2</sup> Palgrave's "Commonwealth," ii. p. xv.

<sup>3</sup> R. of Torigni says October, but

Geoffrey de Vigeois has more detailed information as to the return.

<sup>4</sup> p. 126.

<sup>5</sup> *Gaufr. Vosiensis*, Bouquet, xii. 439.

Henry, ever watchful for opportunities, kept the pos- A.D. 1159.  
sessions of the childless earl.<sup>1</sup>

When again in Normandy Henry stirred actively the embers of the border warfare which count Theobald had left smouldering. He rebuilt Estrepagni, invaded the Beauvoisis in force, and almost completed the destruction of Gerberoi. Far worse than this was the arrangement by which, about the 11th of November, Simon, count of Evreux, admitted Henry's garrisons to Rochfort, Montfort, Epernon, and other strongholds, which flanked dangerously the direct communication between Paris and Orleans by way of Etampes. This move brought Louis to terms, and a truce was arranged, to last from December until the 22nd of May in the following year.

We must now make a short digression in favour of a subject to which we shall soon have to recur, remarking that on the 30th of August Henry lost his friend the English pope, Adrian IV. This was more than an ordinary loss, for on the 7th of September the conclave terminated in the appearance of rival popes. Roland, who was called Alexander III., had received a large majority of votes; but he, as his opponents allege, having refused the office, Octavian, known as pope Victor, was chosen in his stead. His own account of the matter, and also that of his opponent, is clearly set forth in the *Draco Normannicus* (pp. 724-753), with many interesting hints and a very stringent commentary on the iniquitous proceedings which had thus left the Church in a state of divided allegiance. The Italian side of the question, and the reprehensible conduct of Barbarossa, are no concern of ours; but the condition of affairs which resulted in archbishop Hugh of Rouen<sup>2</sup> openly and the bishops of Winchester and

<sup>1</sup> Hamo of Gloucester also succeeded, *Ch. Mair.* 168.

<sup>2</sup> *Draco Norm.*, Lib. iii., ll. 445

and 889. Fitzstephen (V.S. T. C. i. 194) asserts that Hugh of Rouen accepted Alexander.

A.D. 1159 Durham<sup>1</sup> secretly espousing the cause of Victor, and in the archbishop of York and the majority of the English clergy, including John of Salisbury, siding with Alexander III., is one which must have been fraught with political danger.

The traces of unchronicled events in this year derivable from the Pipe Roll are the mention of an embassy from Norway and some signs of the continued restlessness of the Welsh, such as the strengthening of Cairmerdin castle, and the payments to foreign mercenaries, "Coterells," who garrisoned Carlecoel.

The last facts which the Saint-Michel chronicler contributes here are, that Henry and Eleanor were at Falaise at Christmas-tide, and that the queen sailed for England after the festival. The Bec continuation of the abbot's chronicle adds some regulations issued by the king respecting the administration of the law in England.

A gleam of light is afforded by the same MS. as to the condition of England at this period, and it reveals a weak spot in the clumsy police system of the times. A previously unheard of species of robber began to infest the country. Dressed up as monks these men joined travellers, and when they reached the spot where their accomplices were in ambush they gave a signal and, turning on the deluded wayfarers, robbed and murdered them. Craftiness and organisation seem at this date to have paralysed local efforts even in London, as may be seen by Benedict of Peterborough's account of the twelfth-century "Mohocks" under the year 1177.<sup>2</sup>

A.D. 1160. The earliest known event of 1160 is the illness of the empress Maud, who appears to have been at this time and for the remainder of her days the private adviser of her royal son. Her influence is described

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<sup>1</sup> *Epp. Joh. Sarisb.* Ed. Giles, | <sup>2</sup> i. 155.  
i. 70.

as paramount by Etienne de Rouen,<sup>1</sup> who could not A.D. 1160.  
mislead us on this point through lack of knowledge.

The truce with king Louis, which would have expired on the 22nd of May in this year, was enlarged into a treaty of peace; former treaties were revived; and a reconciliation of all parties concerned in the recent strife was effected, for the time, no doubt, in all sincerity.<sup>2</sup>

About this time Henry arranged the marriage of his cousin Matthew of Flanders with Stephen's only surviving legitimate descendant, the abbess of Rumsey. The house of Flanders thus obtained full rights to the county of Boulogne, a circumstance which cannot have been pleasing to the French king.

In the month of July the question of the papal schism came forward for settlement, in so far, that is, as it concerned the two kingdoms. Henry assembled a great council at Neufmarché, Louis had a similar meeting at Beauvais, and archbishop Theobald held another in London, the result being that both nations espoused the cause of Alexander. There was also a joint council later, to which reference must now be made, because we are here encountered by one of the chronological problems of this difficult period. Was this conference the "council of Toulouse" which Labbe places in 1161? Probably it should be called the "second council of Beauvais," but let us examine the evidence, and first of all the evidence as to the date.

Two of Alexander's legates, Henry of Pisa and William of Pavia, who were present at the "council of Toulouse," had apparently entered the king's domains before the 2nd of November 1160;<sup>3</sup> but it was on that day that the deadly quarrel between the two kings began, and up to the autumn of 1161 there was open war; also

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<sup>1</sup> *Draco Norm.*, p. 708.

<sup>2</sup> R. of Torigni, p. 511.

<sup>3</sup> Diceto, i. 304.

A.D. 1160. there is no evidence that Henry journeyed from Fréteval in Beauce, where peace was made, to so distant a place as Toulouse.

The meeting must thus have been either before November 1160 or very late in 1161, if it happened in that year at all. Taking another point of view, it is certain that after the decision of the council of Pavia (Feb. 1160) Alexander would press for recognition; and in William of Newburgh's chronicle we actually find the narrative flow on from the assembly at Pavia to that at "Toulouse."<sup>1</sup> From Newburgh it appears that the two kings listened to a debate in which the cardinals Guido of Crema and John of St. Martin supported the cause of Victor against Henry of Pisa and William of Pavia, the two legates referred to above, who joined with John of Naples in successfully defending Alexander. Of this the *Draco Normannicus* affords confirmation. Referring obviously to this same council, Etienne says:—

Sed per legatos proprios hos prævenit alter,  
 Legistrisque favent rhetoricisque tubis.  
 Nam simul hi veniunt cum regibus, altus et ipse  
 Clerus adest, populi conflua turba venit:  
 Hinc Papiæ geniti Willelmi lingua perorat  
 Causam, qui fluvius eloquiiq; nitor.<sup>2</sup>

Taking all these circumstances in connexion with the assertion of Gervase and Diceto, that the two kings recognised Alexander as pope in 1160, we should have reason enough for rejecting Labbe's date; but we can do more when we read the circumstantial account of the council by Lambert de Waterloo,<sup>3</sup> who dates it "prope festum B. M. Magdalenæ" (July 22) in the year 1160. We can thus say with some confidence that the great

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<sup>1</sup> Newburgh, p. 120, does not name the place at which it was held; but the details he gives identify the council with the one described

by abbot Fastrade (Labbe, xxii. 1155). See note <sup>1</sup> on p. liii.

<sup>2</sup> p. 726, ll. 423 to 428.

<sup>3</sup> Bouquet, xiii. p. 518.

conference was held in the same year and month as the <sup>A.D. 1160.</sup> separate councils.

As regards place, we have it from Gerhohus Reicher-spergensis that the two kings met at *Touloūse*. Lambert de Waterloo says in "Belmaro." Any one acquainted with mediæval MSS. will assent to *Belviaro* as a probable reading of the name thus printed, and this is a near approach to *Belviaco*, Beauvais, where Louis had held his own national council. Again, Toulouse, as we have seen, would be a marvellously strange place in which to find king Henry the Second at this date. Probably, then, we shall be right in saying that the meeting was at Beauvais about the 22nd of July 1160.<sup>1</sup>

In September Eleanor, at the king's request, brought over her children, Henry and Matilda, from England; and in October the kings had a conference and confirmed the existing peace, the little prince doing homage to Louis for Normandy.

A few days after, on the 13th of November, Louis, who had been a widower but a very brief space, married again. Chagrin at this event caused Henry to precipitate the marriage of his son with the child Margaret, a step to which pope Alexander's emissaries, Henry of Pisa and William of Pavia, consented; and the ceremony having been performed on the 2nd of November at Neufbourg,<sup>2</sup> Henry received from the Templars,<sup>3</sup> in whose keeping they were, the strong castles of Gisors, Néaufle, and Châteauneuf. The French were justly incensed against Henry and the Templars;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Labbe, xxii., 1155, prints a letter (undated) from Fastrade, abbot of Clairvaux, giving an account of the discussion, from which it appears that the kings of England, France, and Spain were present. Labbe places all three of the meetings (at Neufmarché, Beauvais, and

"Toulouse") under 1161, giving no authority for his dates, two of which are clearly wrong. Martin, *Hist. de Fr.*, iv. 479, follows Labbe's errors.

<sup>2</sup> Diceto, i. 303.

<sup>3</sup> W. of Newburgh, p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> Hoveden, i. 218, gives their names.

A.D. 1162. About the 8th of April Alexander III., driven from Italy, sailed from Apulia to France, and landing near Montpellier was received with great honour. The author of the *Draco Normannicus* here makes a curious mistake, saying: "*transactis Alpibus . . . Gallica regna venit,*" (p. 740); but he narrates a further matter about which he must have had good information, viz., a systematic taxation of the clergy of the two nations enforced by the pope for the alleviation of his own needs.

Etienne quotes the bold opinion of archbishop Hugh of Rouen as to this proceeding:—

Dedignatur in his Rodomensis maximus Hugo,  
Dicit inauditum criminis esse genus.

A great famine and mortality, we may note, prevailed in the West about this time, but especially in Aquitaine.<sup>1</sup> About this time also Mohammed-ben-Mardenisch, the Mahometan prince of Valencia and Murcia, sent horses and camels to Henry, with presents of gold, silk, and precious wares, a curious evidence of the East in the heart of the West, which reminds us of the days of Charlemagne.

Louis had intended to hold a conference with the German emperor early in September,<sup>2</sup> but differences on the papal question prevented any meeting, and the French king about the end of the month<sup>2</sup> met Henry and pope Alexander at Chouzé-sur-Loire, where the two monarchs in rival humility led the pontiff on horseback to the tent prepared for him. The influence of Alexander was of course in favour of peace between his two great supporters, and it would thus have been

<sup>1</sup> R. of Torigni states (i.) that in the July of this year the King took John de Dol's castle from R. de Fougères; and (ii.) that there was a shower of blood at Retz. He repeats these statements with slight differences under the year 1164.

The witness of the MSS. seems rather in favour of the later date.

<sup>2</sup> M. Delisle (ed. of R. of Torigni, p. 341, note 5, and p. 342, note 1) gives the evidence for these dates. See Jaffé, 7222, and John of Peterborough, p. 79.



easy for Henry to leave, as he desired, for England. A.D. 1162.  
 Contrary winds, however, detained him, and he spent  
 Christmas-tide at Cherbourg with Eleanor.

The year thus ending concluded the first marked period of Henry's reign—the period of rising influence and consolidated power. All was to change quickly from this point--the point at which Becket became a Churchman in earnest. It is very remarkable to watch a man so capable as Henry repeating in different modes one essential form of mistake—creating for himself rivals whom he soon found it necessary to crush.

A single unnoticed entry in the Pipe Roll of this date will appear a text pregnant with meaning in this connexion, and will speak to us eloquently of the elevation which precedes a fall. It occurs in the Roll for 1161-62:—

Et in perdonis per breve Archiepiscopi Waltero filio Warini j. m.<sup>1</sup>

No such entry had ever before appeared in the Exchequer accounts, nor was the precedent followed for several years. The queen up to this time had alone been held competent to take the king's place in this important prerogative.

In January 1163 Henry, though ominous prophecies to A.D. 1163.  
 the contrary were current,<sup>2</sup> crossed safely to England, and was received by his nobles on the 25th of the same month at Southampton with great joy. The young prince Henry had been sent over a little earlier, and had received the homage of the nobles of England, as he had already received that of the nobles of Normandy. On the 3rd<sup>3</sup> and on 8th of March there were

<sup>1</sup> This does not seem to have been noticed by Madox. The first instance he cites of allowances made by writ or award of the Chief Justiciar, or other great officer, is from the Roll of the 12th Henry II., four years later than the case I have quoted. There are two other en-

tries on the Roll for 8th Hen. II. which show the perilous height to which Becket had climbed.

<sup>2</sup> Diceto, i. 308 ; Herb. Bo-ham, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Palgrave, " Commonwealth, " ii. xxii.

A.D. 1163. councils in London, and on Palm Sunday, March the 17th, Henry was present at a procession of the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury.

On the 31st of March Henry was at Windsor, and the quarrel which led to the judicial duel between Henry de Essex and Robert de Montfort there came under his consideration. The combat took place before the king at Reading, and resulted in the defeat of the former, who was by the king's clemency allowed to retire to Reading abbey. Details of this affair may be read in Jocelin de Brakelond's amusing pages.<sup>1</sup> When all was settled Henry went on to Wallingford, and, perhaps, to Woodstock.<sup>2</sup>

A second invasion of Wales was led by the king, probably about the month of June. Many entries in the Pipe Rolls for this and succeeding years show that Henry condescended to hire Flemish mercenaries<sup>3</sup> for use against the Welsh. He certainly did so on this expedition, which was directed against Rhys, and which entered Wales by sea from the coast of Glamorgan, penetrated into Caermarthenshire as far as Pencadair, and returned by way of Radnor.<sup>4</sup> Rhys made peace, however, so no blood was shed; and he came to England with Henry,<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Camden Soc., pp. 50-52. John of Salisbury (ed. Giles, cp. 145) tells us that de Montfort, as a preliminary, kept watch before the altar of St. Drausius at Soissons.

<sup>2</sup> These facts as to Henry's jourueyings are derived from the statement of that most patient of justice-seekers, Richard de Anesty, which is preserved in the Public Record Office, and has been printed by Sir F. Palgrave (Commonwealth, ii. p. xii.)

<sup>3</sup> Et Willelmo Cade C. li. ad adducend. servientes de Flandria.

In liberat. j. milit. et ccc. et

x. servient. Et Walens. de Blancmonasterio L. li. xiiij. s. et viij. d. In liberatione militum et servientium in exercitu de Wallia lxx. li. ix. s. j. d. These entries taken *separately* do not justify the expression used in the text. We know from the *Annal. Cambriae*, that Flemings were used to garrison the Welsh castles. Cf. *Contin. Chron. Rad. Nigri*, p. 170, *sub. ann.* 1165.

<sup>4</sup> Giraldus, *Itin. Camb.* (Rolls ed., vi. 137-8).

<sup>5</sup> *Annal. Cambriae* (Rolls ed., p. 49).

was present at Woodstock during the visit of Malcolm A.D. 1163.  
king of Scotland. The latter, after doing homage on the 1st of July at Woodstock to Henry and his eldest son, gave his younger brother and some young nobles as hostages for peace and for the castles which he wished Henry to hand over to him. He fell ill at Doncaster whether in coming or returning does not certainly appear; but Henry visited York this year, possibly to meet him. On this same occasion Henry and his son received the homage of Rhys, and of Owen, king of North Wales, as well as the homage of many of the Welsh nobles,<sup>1</sup> thus completing the circle of feudal obligations for the entirety of Henry's domains.

On the 19th of May, pope Alexander held a Council at Tours, at which Becket was present. This is one of the great themes of the chroniclers; and Newburgh presents us with the decrees of the Council at length.<sup>2</sup> Here, too, we derive a little information from William of Newburgh, and much from the *Draco Normannicus*, which is not elsewhere to be found. The former tells us of Becket's secret resignation of his archbishopric into the hands of pope Alexander, and of its restoration with the special sanction which this course implied. Canon Robertson expresses doubts as to this circumstance; but it cannot be said to be intrinsically improbable.<sup>3</sup> The most curious facts, however, are brought out by Etienne de Rouen. In the course of describing the preliminary sermons which were preached by pope Alexander, by William of Pavia, Henry of Pisa, Hugh of Rouen, and Roger of York, our versifier indulges in a spiteful couplet respecting Becket:—

Hic siliit Thomas, antistes Canturiensis  
Ut minus edoctus verba Latina loqui.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diceto, i. 311. As to Owen, see M.H.T.B. v., p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> Of course it *seems* like a con-

fused version of that which took place later at Sens.

<sup>4</sup> p. 744.

A.D. 1163. He nowhere treats the prelate fairly, but there is some reason to think that, while the insinuation of faulty scholarship may have been true, there was a personal peculiarity which perhaps kept Becket silent, as it has kept many others. Becket, one of the *Thomas Sagas*<sup>1</sup> tells us, had an impediment in his speech. Arnulf of Lisieux certainly had nothing of the kind, for the reverend assembly had literally to put a violent end to his discourse. Etienne says:—

Sed fluvius torrens, emergens fontis ab imo,  
Vix reprimi valuit vocibus atque manu.

Arnulf, in a letter preserved by Labbe,<sup>2</sup> says that he stopped because his audience could not hear him well enough. He would have been more ingenuous, as now appears, if he had said that this was through cries and clapping of hands. After this undignified episode, serious work began. Roger of York, said to have been an old foe of the primate, made, as we learn for the first time from the *Draco Normannicus*, a formal appeal against the superiority of the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, thus renewing the strife which Lanfranc believed himself to have fought out in 1070. Several days were absorbed in the tedious discussion, in which,

Se Dorobernensi Thomæ proponit ubique,  
Verbis, ingenio, culmine, sede, loco.<sup>3</sup>

The assembly was fairly wearied out, and the pope stopped the debate. By seating the two prelates in precisely equal positions,<sup>4</sup> he contrived to defer any decision, and was enabled to proceed to his own affairs and the excommunication of Octavian. Here, then, we have a clear and credible cause for the enmity between the English archbishops which the biographers of Becket

<sup>1</sup> More strictly one of the "Homiletic Abstracts." See *Thomas Saga Erkebyskups*, ii., p. lvii.

<sup>2</sup> xxii. col. 1167.

<sup>3</sup> p. 746.

<sup>4</sup> Diceto, i. 310, asserts that he put Thomas on his right, and Roger on his left, but says not a word as to the controversy.

allege began in a different way, and at a much earlier A.D. 1163. date.<sup>1</sup>

In another part of the *Draco*<sup>2</sup> we have other matters, belonging at the latest to the year 1163, which are important enough to warrant a detailed account. It was known before we possessed Etienne de Rouen's poem that Becket had opposed, on the ground of consanguinity, the marriage with the countess Warrenne, upon which William, the king's brother, had set his heart; and we knew, too, from Fitzstephen, that the murderer, Le Breton, had cried out, as he struck at Becket, "Take that for love of my lord William, the king's brother"; but the significance of all this appears to have been overlooked. We now have an interpretation, on the testimony of one who, well known as he was to the empress Maud, and living as he did at Bec, must certainly have known the truth. There was a general ill-feeling, Etienne tells us, between prince William and Becket<sup>3</sup>; and the primate declined to sanction the marriage. William in wrath crossed over to Normandy to his mother, who was then living at the monastery of Notre-Dame-des-Prés, close to Rouen. He acquainted her with the facts; and then, going to Bec, put himself under the care of the monks. Here the young prince fell ill and died,<sup>4</sup> leaving his body to Herluin's abbey. He was, notwithstanding his express desire, buried in S. Mary's, Rouen; and some monk of Bec was apparently so fortunate as to be favoured with a vision<sup>5</sup> in which the poor young prince bewailed the disregard shewn to his last wishes. The king, who, as we saw, had years before designed to conquer Ireland for his brother, grieved over his loss

<sup>1</sup> Grim, S. T. C., 10; Roger of Pontigny, 99. It is remarkable that R. of Torigni records nothing happening after May 19 in this year. His silences are instructive.

<sup>2</sup> p. 676.

<sup>3</sup> p. 676, l. 441.

<sup>4</sup> At Rouen, *R. of Torig.*

<sup>5</sup> p. 676, l. 451.

A.D. 1163. and openly attributed William's death to the cruel disappointment he had suffered at Becket's hands:—

Causatur p̄s̄sul, necis hujus causa notatur;  
Regia mens illi nota fit, inde timet.

Prince William died on the 30th of January 1164, so we may safely place the acute stage of this affair in 1163; how early in that year we cannot say, but certainly after July, as Becket, according to Gervase, returned about that time from Tours. Before this date there is not a fragment of evidence worthy of the name to show any disagreement between Becket and his master. One chronicler sees coolness of manner<sup>1</sup> where another sees cordiality.<sup>2</sup> A third sees dislike masked by cordiality.<sup>3</sup> All these wrote after the martyrdom, while Etienne de Rouen never knew of it, and consequently had no superinduced respect for Becket. Thus, though he writes with marvellous acerbity, we feel secure in the evidence of a man who knew the truth, and wrote for people who knew it as well as, or better than, he did himself. Could he dare to falsify the current facts of his day? Could he be so bold as to misrepresent in writing the currently-received opinions of the great house of Bec Herluin?<sup>4</sup> Prince William sickened and died at Bec, as we have seen, and his mother resided with, and was the patroness of those monks from the great abbey who dwelt at Notre-Dame-des-Prés, the cell to Bec Herluin which Henry her father had built.

Certainly then we have the truth: possibly we have revealed to us the head-spring of the Becket quarrel. A man in Becket's position has many foes, and many circumstances will happen in so complex a life which might be selected as causes for a king's anger. Here, however, we have one of a personally irritating charac-

<sup>1</sup> Diceto, i. 308.

<sup>2</sup> Herb. Bos., M. H. T. B. iii. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Anon. Lambeth, M. H. T. B. iv.

<sup>4</sup> Prose may be intended for posterity: poetry seeks early approbation, and so is read by an author's associates.

ter, the refusal to obtain, nay actual opposition to, the requisite dispensation for the marriage of the king's brother. This clearly would vex the empress as well as Henry himself. One notable ground of possible offence, the resignation of the chancellorship, preceded this affair, and others, particularly the actions of Becket at the Westminster council in October, occurred later; but up to the probable date<sup>1</sup> of Becket's malign behaviour to William there was no visible sign of the king's anger.

On the 1st of October in this year the council of Westminster was nominally held to settle the dispute as to precedence still raging between the two archbishops; but the king, suddenly changing the direction of the proceedings, assailed the unfortunate Becket.<sup>2</sup>

We must interpolate here the translation of St. Edward, which the Bermondsey annals date on the 13th of October 1164. Herbert of Bosham, too, says that the ceremony took place in the same year as the dedication of St. Mary's, Reading; but the Waverley, Winchester, and other chronicles place it under 1163. Certainly if the translation took place on the 13th of October 1164, Becket could not have been present, but his presence is indisputable, and on the 1st of October 1163 he was also indubitably in Westminster.

The biographers of the archbishop alone give us traces of the king's movements just at this time—the only secular facts recorded—and we see him moving to Northampton, and from thence to Gloucester, and going on to his favourite palace at Woodstock.<sup>3 4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The countess became a widow as early as the end of 1159, and it is reasonable to suppose that the advantages of the match were soon apparent. Nothing could be more natural than the supposition, though there is no evidence for it, that Becket was charged to settle the matter with the pope at Tours, in

May, and that he purposely failed in his duty.

<sup>2</sup> *Vit. S. Thom. Cant.* (Giles, ii. 251).

<sup>3</sup> R. of Pontigny, ed. Giles, pp. 117, 120, 122.

<sup>4</sup> Diceto, i. 311, notes a general inquest into tenures in this year.

A. D. 1164. The opening event of the year 1164 was the council of Clarendon. Its results are too famous to require notice in a sketch like the present, which only seeks to outline events comparatively little known. On the 30th of January prince William, as we have already seen, died at Bec; and the fact of his death being announced to the king after the enraging incidents at Clarendon, and being, as we know, connected in his mind with Becket's misconduct, the results must have been signally unfavourable to the archbishop, whom the king by this time had obviously made up his mind to humble by whatever means he could legally employ.

We hear of the king incidentally at Porchester and Woodstock,<sup>1</sup> and at Easter (April 12) in London.<sup>2</sup> About the 19th of April we find him at Reading, when Becket<sup>3</sup> dedicated the church of St. Mary. Probably a short time after this event the king's natural brother, earl Hamelin, married the countess of Warrenne; still the deadly enmity shown by Becket to the earl at Northampton may well have been aroused by general causes, plentiful at the time, and not by Hamelin's marriage.

Abbot Robert, who alone among the chroniclers is able at this date to write of anyone or anything but Becket, next records the death of the antipope, Victor, an event which was not without its effect on English history. If the abbot's arrangement of facts is here as carefully chronological as usual, we must place the Welsh revolt about July. Rhys was enraged by Henry's non-fulfilment of promises, and by Roger de Clare's favourable reception of the slayer of Rhys' own nephew. Accordingly he began by molesting the earl. Then the flame of insurrection spread, and the Welsh as one nation threw off the yoke,<sup>4</sup> infesting as usual the bor-

<sup>1</sup> R. Pont., S. T. C. i. 128; Fitz-Stephen, i. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Pipe R., 10 H. II., "ad conduc. archam thri. ad Pasca de Wint. ad

"Lund." Elsewhere, "ad Porchester."

<sup>3</sup> *Annal. Winton.*, p. 57; Herb. Bosham, 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Annal. Cambr.*, p. 49.



der counties of England.<sup>1</sup> Henry would seem to have A.D. 1164.  
deferred active measures in Wales, though he was at  
Gloucester and then at Worcester about this time,  
according to the Becket letters (v. 117), and the Pipe Roll,  
and was sending a stern reply to the rebels.

An incident in Brittany is noticed by Robert of  
Torigni which has considerable significance in relation  
to future events. Henry, appealed to by Conan to assist  
against Eudo and Ralph de Fougères, sent orders to his  
constable, Richard de Humez, who took possession of  
the castle of Combourg<sup>2</sup> for the king in the month of  
August, the fortress having until then been in the hands  
of Ralph de Fougères, who held it after the death of  
John de Dol.

Next we hear of Henry at Northampton on the 29th  
of September.<sup>3</sup> Here he held the famous council which,  
began on the 6th of October. At this meeting Henry  
issued notice to his feudatories to send him soldiers  
for the Welsh war of the coming year.<sup>4</sup> For the rest  
we are overwhelmed with Becket's history, to which  
subject Etienne de Rouen contributes a directly criminal  
charge:—

Annis is fuerat paucis a rege secundus,  
Regia dum recipit æra, reservat, habet.  
Terrarum census ratione rex sibi poscit  
Solvere, sed summam sufficit ille minus.

Quod latet in fundo recitet, quod prædia regis  
Detraxit, rapuit, dulcia quæque tulit.<sup>5</sup>

What the truth on this point was, who can say?  
Certainly Becket's costly mode of living, which his very  
foolish biographers colour perhaps too highly, would  
be in itself a cause of suspicion. In ranks of life  
far below those of kings and chancellors a master is

<sup>1</sup> Newburgh, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Ille-et-Vilaine, arrond. de Saint  
Malo.

<sup>3</sup> Pipe Roll, "ad portand. arcam

"thri. ad fest. Sci. Mich. . . . ad

"North."

<sup>4</sup> FitzStephen, M.H.T.B. iii. p.70.

<sup>5</sup> p. 741.

A.D. 1165. — accustomed to regard his servant's extravagance as a sign of doubtful honesty. Becket's plea of discharge, too, is a technical, not an essential, reply to accusations which Henry must surely have believed. Etienne's words show that the monks of Bec thought with their king on the point; and that Henry should have disbelieved the charge he made is scarcely an opinion to be entertained. Whatever the objective truth may have been, the subjective honesty of the angry king is scarcely in question. Becket, like his master, was one of pope Alexander's supporters, and Etienne, who shows himself the partisan of Victor,<sup>1</sup> might at an earlier date have been prejudiced by this circumstance; but, at the time at which he wrote, the antipope was dead, and Etienne apparently had only a formal respect for his impudent successors, Paschal and Calixtus.

From Fitzstephen (i. 242) it appears that Henry was at Marlborough on Christmas Eve transacting business.

A.D. 1165. — The earliest known event of the year 1165 is the king's journey to Normandy before Lent. He was at Mortemer on the 17th of February,<sup>2</sup> and his conference with Louis was held at Gisors on the 11th of April. This conference was brought about by the empress Maud through the mediation of the pope. On his return to Rouen his cousin, Philip of Flanders, paid him a visit, and he likewise received at Rouen<sup>3</sup> an embassy from the German emperor treating as to the schism, and asking that one of the king's daughters should be given

<sup>1</sup> p. 753. It should be noted that Hugh of Amiens, the archbishop of Rouen, who favoured Victor, died on the 10th or 11th of November 1164. His successor, Rotrou de Beaumont, who was translated from Evreux in the same year, supported Alexander.

<sup>2</sup> *Albericus Trium-Font.*, Bouquet, xiii., 708.

<sup>3</sup> Diceto asserts that they came to Westminster, but, from the words of R. of Torigni alone, it seems probable that they saw the king at Rouen. Archbishop Rotrou's words are decisive, "Nos quidem, cum Rothomagi essemus, et illic essent nuntii imperatoris, de illis audivimus," &c. *Mat. Hist. T.B. v.* 194-5.

to Henry of Bavaria, and another to the emperor's son, A.D. 1165.  
 then but a youth. Rainald, archbishop of Cologne, was the principal ambassador; and, according to R. of Torigni, the usual obligations were taken, and Henry sent a return embassy to Frederick to receive his oath and make the requisite arrangements.<sup>1</sup>

These or other envoys seem to have been present at Würzburg, and to have taken a dubious part in the recognition of the antipope Paschal on the 23rd of May; but Henry seems never to have wholly made up his mind to act against his conscience in the matter of the schism. His motives obviously were to secure his daughter's marriage and to frighten the pope into giving up the cause of Becket. The empress Mand and Rotrou of Rouen urged on him the necessity of denying Frederick's assertions as to his adhesion to Paschal.<sup>2</sup>

It is a curious feature of the times of which we write that the archbishop of Cologne was treated on this occasion as a schismatic, even by the justiciary, and that altars at which he had celebrated mass were thrown down.<sup>3</sup>

After this Henry sent for queen Eleanor, who crossed with her children, Richard and Matilda, and remained in Normandy, while Henry returned to prosecute the Welsh war with an army summoned from his dominions abroad as well as from those at home.<sup>4</sup> Again he received aid from Scotland, and again he made use of Flemish soldiers, and even of Aragonese mercenaries.<sup>5</sup>

His movements on this occasion are not clearly comprehensible. He went hastily to Rhuddlan, and after encamping there for three nights returned to England.<sup>6</sup> Then he advanced to Oswestry, and thence

<sup>1</sup> Mat. Hist. Thos. Becket, v. pp. 182-192, and i. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Mat. Hist. T.B., v. 194.

<sup>3</sup> Rad. Niger (ed. Caxton Soc.), p. 170; Diceto, i. 318.

<sup>4</sup> Newburgh, p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> Diceto, i. 318. Pipe Roll, 11 H. II. "Et pro instructionibus Arragunorum."

<sup>6</sup> Shrewsbury [?] T.B. v. 198.

A.D. 1165. to Corwen, where he faced the Welsh forces under Owen, Rhys, and several other *reguli*. No battle took place, but Henry moved to the woods of Ceiriogs, and onwards to Berwyn, where he encamped.<sup>1</sup> From this position rain and lack of supplies dislodged him; and irritated by failure and loss of men, Henry allowed himself the brutal satisfaction of maiming the poor children<sup>2</sup> who had been in his keeping as hostages. He then returned to Chester, and awaited ships which he expected from Dublin, evidently hoping, by a repetition of his former tactics, to take the Welsh in the rear; but the fleet was found insufficient, and the king retired<sup>3</sup> partially baffled. His efforts, nevertheless, were not wholly wasted, for it would appear from Newburgh's words<sup>4</sup> that he succeeded in restraining incursions and compelled the Welsh to think of peace.<sup>5</sup>

The latter success may have been achieved by the stoppage of food supplies from England, which Newburgh says were essential to the Welsh, and the cessation of which always brought them to terms.<sup>6</sup>

In October queen Eleanor gave birth to a daughter, Johanna, at Angers; and on the 9th of December Malcolm, the good king of Scotland, who had been a true ally to Henry, died, and was succeeded by William the Lion.

A.D. 1166. Following the arguments of Bishop Stubbs,<sup>7</sup> we must give an early place in 1166 to the council of Oxford, summoned to judge a band of about 30 unhappy "Publicani," who, headed by one Gerard, came over on a proselytising expedition from Germany to England.

<sup>1</sup> *Annal. Camb.*, 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ch. Mailr.*, 79. The *Brut y Tywysogion* gives their names.

<sup>3</sup> *Brut*, &c., p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> The *Contin. Rad. Nigri*, p. 170, says that the Welsh captured

Cardigan. Henry would appear, from one of the Becket letters, v. p. 198, to have claimed a victory. See, however, v. p. 224.

<sup>6</sup> p. 107.

<sup>7</sup> Preface to Benedict of Peterborough, p. lix.

The best account of their proceedings is that given by A.D. 1166. Newburgh,<sup>1</sup> who tells us that they made one convert, and that when they were seized and brought before the king she promptly deserted them. Henry probably found himself unequal to the task of dealing with offenders of this peculiar sort, and summoned a council of bishops to sit at Oxford and examine the prisoners. Their heresy was soon manifest, and they were handed back to the secular arm. The king ordered them to be branded and flogged, and to be driven forth. As he also forbade them to be assisted in any way, and caused their clothes to be pitilessly cut down to the waist, they perished miserably in that winter season. Walter Map says that they disappeared into Normandy, and he states their number at 16 only,<sup>2</sup> while Diceto merely says that they were branded and expelled from the kingdom. The Tewkesbury annals refer to them as belonging to the "*hæresis texentium*."

This strange business helps us to date the far more important "Assize of Clarendon," in the 21st article of which the wretched enthusiasts are mentioned in terms which show that they were not then known to have perished.<sup>3</sup> Thus the events were probably but a few days apart. We know from Newburgh that the council of Oxford was held in the winter, and from Diceto that the king crossed to Normandy about the 9th of March.<sup>4</sup> In this way we get rough limiting dates for the important legal changes which Henry introduced in this

<sup>1</sup> pp. 131-134. Though the council of Oxford is stated on pp. 133 and 134 to have been held in 1166, it will be noticed that the wrong date (1160) unfortunately remains on pp. 131 and 132. It will be seen by the position of Cap. XII. that the error originated with Newburgh himself.

<sup>2</sup> *De Nugis Cur.*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Newburgh evidently knew more about them than any other chronicler, and his assertion that they died is only too likely to be true.

<sup>4</sup> The Pipe R., 12 H. II., indicates a journey from Clarendon to Woodstock, Sarum, and Chippenham.

A.D. 1166. year. Their celebrity, however, excludes them from  
 — further mention in this preface.

Before he started for Normandy Henry, as Robert of Torigni states, had put the Welsh marches into a defensible state, and, leaving English affairs to his lieutenants, devoted himself to continental schemes. At Easter he was at Angers, and then we hear of him as holding two interviews with Louis as to the peace of the kingdoms. These took place at Le Mans on the 10th and 17th of May. We do not know particulars, but certainly there was nothing at this time that could be termed open war. Border forays and the weary strife about Toulouse were haply the subjects discussed. This latter was destined to continue, though we may reasonably understand only in a sub-acute form, for forty years in all. During this long period, as Newburgh<sup>1</sup> assures us, the question was a constant source of anxiety to the English monarchs, and was only finally set at rest when Richard, in 1196, gave his sister Johanna in marriage to Raymond VI.

At this interview the kings decided to tax their realms for five years for the relief of the Holy Land. The exactions were settled at twopence in the pound on treasure and rents for the first year, and a penny for the remainder of the term. Gervase<sup>2</sup> gives the decree, which was one applicable alike to clergy and laity.

We next see Henry in conference with his bishops at Chinon.<sup>3</sup> Then we hear of his taking possession of the castles of Alençon and Roche-Mabille with their appurtenances—another of those silent steps taken at intervals, and each time with a good show of reason and legality, by which Henry solidified his power both against his own barons and the French king. We have already seen an

<sup>1</sup> p. 491.

<sup>2</sup> i. 198.

| <sup>3</sup> *Joh. Sarisb.*, Epp. 144, 145,  
 | 168.

incident<sup>1</sup> of this same kind. The courtier Robert of Torigni, with no doubt conscious inconsistency, begins a sentence by saying that the count of Séz and his family granted the castles to Henry, and winds up with the remark that these nobles probably lost their possessions because of the evil customs they kept up.

We now come to a step long contemplated by the king, a beginning, as it proved, of far-reaching disaster.

The merits which have been perceived in Henry II. are mainly reducible to this, that he saw well how a rich country like England, kept quiet by a regular administration of its ancient laws, taxed on a settled plan, and allowed to form privileged centres of commercial activity, might be to him a secure basis of operations for his foreign schemes. He repressed the baronage, created a class of faithful crown-servants, and consulted with a fairly representative council before taking steps affecting his people. He trusted his humbler subjects, and was trusted by them, and if he had never had any children he would have appeared to us, as he certainly did to his contemporaries, a truly great monarch—in peace, pre-eminently a man of business; in war, a capable leader; but his vices, and his errors in dealing with his sons, produced results too wide and deep for his fame.

When he married a harlot, thirteen years his senior, for the sake of her possessions; when he first exalted a man like Becket far above the most powerful of his subjects, and then, in search of a vain hope, made him an archbishop; when he caused his son to be crowned in his lifetime; when he distributed governments among his brutal children, and allowed them to sport with human life in purposeless wars among themselves; when he senselessly forgave what should never have been for-

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<sup>1</sup> See p. lv, and compare the transfer of the custody of the Norman castles referred to on p. liv.

A.D. 1166. given, and allowed the criminals means for a repetition of their crimes; we can only say that he sowed the storm and reaped the whirlwind of his own marvellous folly.

Henry, as we have already seen, was possessed of Nantes in 1158, and had, as seneschal of France, interfered in Brittany; but in this year he chose to take special notice of the chronic disturbances in the duchy, and began to make ready for the final prosecution of his design. In this expedition he was joined by William, king of Scotland, who appears from the words of the chronicle of Melrose<sup>1</sup> to have followed him abroad, and to have given military assistance in the ensuing war. Ralph of Fougères, according to Diceto, was the leader of the rebellion, and had allied himself with the principal Breton nobles.<sup>2</sup> Against his castle, therefore, the king directed his efforts. This was in June, for on the 28th of that month we see Henry four leagues from the baron's castle of Fougères.<sup>3</sup> Ralph relied on help from France, but this was not given, and his defences were, after a contest lasting till the 14th of July,<sup>4</sup> utterly destroyed. Henry, having thus awed the turbulent nobles into submission, was able to awe Conan into compliance of another sort. The count's only daughter, Constance, was betrothed to Geoffrey, Henry's second son; and Conan resigned the duchy of Brittany, reserving only Guingamp. This done, the greater part of the nobles rendered homage to Henry at Thouars, and he passed on to take possession of his new province by occupying Rennes, its capital. Next he visited Com-

<sup>1</sup> p. 80. Cf. Pipe R., 12 H. II., "in passagio regis Scotiæ."

<sup>2</sup> *Joh. Sarisb.*, Ep. 176.

<sup>3</sup> *Mat. Hist. T. Becket*, v. 421. In this letter the settlement of a quarrel with the barons of Le Mans

is referred to: no facts as to the dispute are known.

<sup>4</sup> A charter in M. Delisle's ed. of *R. of Torigni*, ii. 265, is dated 13 July, 1166, "apud Fulgerias in exereitu."



bourg and Dol, both for the first time, though they had fallen into his hands in 1164; and, having done this, he passed by Mont-Saint-Michel, stopping apparently only to pray, and slept that night at Genest. There he was met by William, king of Scotland, and the bishop of Man, perhaps the Norwegian Reginald.<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1166.

A conference took place between Henry and William of Scotland at Caen, where, on some cause of difference arising, Henry burst into mad anger against Richard de Humez, who seemed to be taking William's side. If we may believe one of the Becket letters, his fury was so great that he gnawed the straw of his couch; but most probably this is a maliciously literal statement of a trivial every-day action. Of Henry's anger there need seldom be any question.

Next we find the king at Toques, conferring with the count of Flanders and agreeing, clearly as a compromise of claims on Mortain,<sup>2</sup> to give Matthew of Boulogne an annual pension of a thousand pounds. He would seem, however, to have broken faith in the following year.

From Toques Henry went to Rouen, and from thence to Caen. On November the 18th he met count Theobald at Tours, and promised him a pension of five hundred pounds; then on the following Sunday he had an interview with deputies from Poitou and the neighbouring provinces—evidently the prelude of the rebellion of 1168. After this the writer of the letter from which we quote states his belief that the king will be at Rouen in order to meet the count of Flanders on the 6th of December, and pay him the first sum due under the agreement with Matthew of Boulogne.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chr. Mailr.*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. li. and lxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Giles, *Sanct. Tho. Cant.*, iv.

pp. 185, 260-2. The claim came through the abbess of Rumsey.

A.D. 1166. The Christmas-tide of this year was spent by the king at Poitiers, prince Henry coming to him from England.<sup>1</sup>

Again we get a glimpse of enrolled legal proceedings in England, this time from the Pipe Roll (12 H. II.) :—

*Norf. et Suff.* Adam fil. Alur. redd. comp. de C.m. ut habeat recordum curiæ Regis de plac. inter ipsum et Agn. de Riburc.

A.D. 1167. Before the 22nd of February we find the king at Rouen, establishing a new abbot in the convent of St. Ouen; and then, at some time before the 9th of April, holding a conference with the count of St. Gilles at Grammont, no doubt on the Toulouse question, for Gervase<sup>2</sup> alludes to the war which ensued this year as due, among other causes, to this perennial source of discord. After the 9th of April Henry led an expedition into Auvergne to punish count William, not only for refusing to accept his decision as feudal superior in the dispute pending between the count and his nephew, but also for placing himself on the side of the French king. After these less direct quarrels with Louis, ensued a childish difference as to the transmission of the money collected for the king of Jerusalem. Another source of irritation, of course, was the accusing figure of the exiled archbishop, to whom, curiously enough, R. of Torigni does not allude in this part of his chronicle.

Etienne de Rouen knows no such caution. He proclaims the sinister efforts of Becket :—

Arma movet, cædes præparat, ore furit.

Aut sibi restituet rex Anglus pontificatum

Aut per bella, neces, auferet iste thronum.<sup>3</sup>

Nor is he less incisively explicit as to the prelate's personal character :—

At præsul, triplicis qui fraudis Symonis heres

Perfidus est, merito sedis ab arce ruit.

<sup>1</sup> To this year the *Contin. Rad. Nigri* (p. 171) assigns an attempt of Henry's to compile a feodary book for the realm. The *Chron. Petroburgensc.*, p. 3, has a different version. The aid for Matilda's

marriage was the object. See *Lib. Nig. Scacc.* The Pipe Roll, 12. H. II., notes gifts to certain Irishmen : a trace of Dermot's visit.

<sup>2</sup> i. 203.

<sup>3</sup> p. 677, l. 462.

Whatever the motives of Louis may have been, he approached the conference, which abbot Robert places in the Vexin and on the 4th of June, but Etienne more precisely assigns to Gisors,<sup>1</sup> ready to demand Henry's homage for his continental domains. Etienne gives Henry's views on this question in the form of an amusing, but imaginary, oration to his nobles, in which he ridicules the idea of the four princes carrying dishes, offering water and wiping the king's hands, and expresses an opinion that ill might befall the French king's throne if carried on four such wheels.

Henry's reply to Louis' demand, including a cautious stipulation that the kings should meet alone and in the open air, was carried by a bishop :—

Nunciat hæc regi jus pontificalis honoris.<sup>2</sup>

And thus it appears that no actual meeting of the two kings took place; for, on receiving the reply, Louis angrily returned to Henry his homage, and retired to make ready for war.<sup>3</sup>

Here, and further on, we have facts not previously known. We learn<sup>4</sup> that Louis retired with his army to Mantes, and there lay idle; and that Henry, spurred to action by his barons, left Gisors with an army of Normans and Welsh to attack Chaumont-en-Vexin. Abbot Robert says that this was in revenge for some border ravages between Mantes and Paey, and adds that Chaumont contained the treasures and stores gathered by Louis for the war. We now have an interesting account of the siege, or rather *coup-de-main*, from the pen of Etienne. From this it seems that Pierre de Courtenai, the French king's brother, was in command. Henry's plan of attack was simple, but sufficient. He sent his Welsh mercenaries to enter the town by swim-

<sup>1</sup> p. 677, l. 475.

<sup>2</sup> p. 680, l. 549.

<sup>3</sup> R. of Torigni merely says that

Louis' wish for peace was overborne by his nobles.

<sup>4</sup> p. 681, l. 586.

A.D. 1167. ming along the channel of the river, bidding them set fire to the buildings. In the meanwhile he went forward with his Norman force to assail the walls. The French confidently sallied out with their leader; but, being beaten, sought the shelter of the fortifications, only, however, to find the town already in flames behind them. The Normans entered and, capturing one of the leaders, count Thibaud,<sup>1</sup> drove the French through the burning streets to the citadel. Then the destruction of the stores took place. The corn was burnt, and the feet of the Welsh soldiers were bathed with wine. The fierce mercenaries pressed on to the citadel, and were about to assail it when the king, contented with his success, interfered, and the army marched back to Gisors. From thence Henry went to Vernon.<sup>2</sup>

We are now confronted with one of those strange incidents which cause us to pause and ask ourselves what, if these abnormal phenomena be true, becomes of certain canons of that science of destructive criticism, which at present is permitting us, as a matter of sufferance only, to hold a few of our cherished views of history?

The French king, then at Mantes, was transported with rage at the loss of his stores, and formed wild schemes for revenge; but Henry was visibly too strong at all points. Still his fury had to be appeased, and the count of Flanders actually came to request that Henry would permit some place in Normandy to be sacrificed to the impotent rage of the French monarch.<sup>3</sup> The empress Maud gave her advice to the same effect; and Andely was deliberately chosen as the victim. The inhabitants were carried away in boats. The French entered the silent town, and burned it to the ground. All this our monk tells us, and indeed reiterates, with

<sup>1</sup> Was this Theohald of Blois?

<sup>2</sup> *Draco*, p. 691, l. 847.

<sup>3</sup> There is a lacuna at this part of the *Draco* (p. 688); but the prose

summary of Cap. XIV., and the "altercatio" on pp. 690 to 695, together give the facts very clearly.

evident enjoyment of the absurdity of the position. The A.D. 1167.  
bare fact that Louis burned Andely was known before ;  
but, if we look at a good map of France, we see reason  
to believe what our versifier tells us.

Leaving, of course, a good garrison at Gisors, Henry had moved along the roads which cross the main way from Paris to Rouen at Thilliers, and had reached Vernon, effectually cutting by this movement the line of march by the road leading on the south side of the river to Pont-de-l'Arche and Rouen. Louis could thus only reach Andely either after a complete rout of the Normans under the walls of Vernon, or by taking to the northern bank of the river. In the latter case he would have had to pass the Epte with the garrison of Gisors on his right flank, and Henry's army defending the passage of the river and operating along the road through Tilly. A march of more than twenty miles in these circumstances cannot be spoken of seriously. If it occurred at all, it must have been permitted.

Certain other facts in Henry's history, which in isolation appear doubtful, lend to each other a remarkable support when placed side by side. We doubt whether any similar period of our annals would present us with four such striking, but incomprehensible,<sup>1</sup> incidents as those afforded by the thirty years preceding 1167. Within these few years permission was given to the beleaguered empress to leave Arundel and join her forces at Bristol; Stephen, in the midst of war, gave money to his enemy, Henry, to enable him to pay his mercenaries; in 1159 Henry, with the greatest army he had ever assembled, abstained from attacking Toulouse; and, lastly, in 1167, he literally marched away in order that Louis might burn Andely and some open towns and retire unmolested. The last of these incidents, as we have seen, is not only probable on purely military grounds,

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<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding the fluent explanations offered.

A.D. 1167. but is definitely asserted by a writer who must have known the truth. We might, therefore, regard it as fairly established, even if Hoveden did not tell us that Andely was burned *non resistente Henrico rege*.<sup>1</sup> Gasny and six other towns were given to the flames at the same time as Andely; and the chroniclers assert that on the march back no less than a thousand<sup>2</sup> Frenchmen perished through heat and thirst.<sup>3</sup>

About this time Matthew, count of Boulogne, angered by Henry's retention of money due to him, perhaps the pension by which his claims on Mortain had been recently compromised, and seeing Henry involved in war, prepared a flotilla of 600 vessels, and threatened a descent on the English coast. The mere attitude of the justiciar, Richard de Luci, it would seem, sufficed to turn this bold invader from his purpose.<sup>4</sup>

In August the kings swore to a truce, which was to last until the 31st of March 1168. This left Henry time for the affairs of Brittany, where, Etienne informs us, there was a rebellion.<sup>5</sup> Henry promptly reduced all the inhabitants to subjection, even the viscount of Léhon submitting when he saw on all hands fortresses falling or being surrendered.

This expedition furnishes our versifier with an opportunity for the somewhat theatrical effect to which we have already referred.<sup>6</sup> He represents count Roland,<sup>7</sup> who no doubt is the Roland de Dinan with whose name the Pipe Rolls render us familiar, writing to king Arthur, "*qui tunc apud antipodes degebat*," complaining of Henry's invasion. We cannot summarise the

<sup>1</sup> i. 282. Hoveden's date is, however, wrong.

<sup>2</sup> Diceto, i. 330.

<sup>3</sup> *Draco Norm.*, p. 690, ll. 819-822.

<sup>4</sup> Gervase, i. 203.

<sup>5</sup> The *Chron. S. Albini Andega-*

*vensis* (Bouquet xii. 482) says that Eudo, count of Brittany, the viscount of Thouars and others, with the help of the French King, rebelled against Henry.

<sup>6</sup> p. xxii.

<sup>7</sup> p. 696, l. 945.

foolish verbiage, but it opens with a curious hint which A.D. 1167. looks like an indirect statement of a fact:—

Naturalis habet probitas animusque virilis  
Ut prius indicat proelia, deinde gerat.<sup>1</sup>

Must we not infer a friendly reproof to Henry from words thus cunningly put by the monk into Arthur's mouth? Was Henry guilty of waging war without warning? It must have been so in the case of the Breton war, or the words, bold in any case, are more than senseless—indeed, are gratuitously impertinent.<sup>2</sup>

Etienne then represents Arthur as prophesying that Henry's enterprise will be brought to an end when he hears of his mother's death; and he thus introduces an important event, the decease of the empress Maud. This happened at the house of Notre-Dame-des-Prés, opposite Rouen, on the 10th of September, at 9 o'clock in the morning.<sup>3</sup> She had been ill in the previous year and, expecting to die, had spoken to Henry about her burial.<sup>4</sup> He remembered a former request made to her father in her illness after the birth of Geoffrey, and mentioned Bec. She replied that it was not a royal burial-place, but Henry overcame her objection by saying that Heaven alone was truly a royal abode, and that no pomp of burial could confer any blessing on the dead. It was Etienne himself who was chosen to break the news to Henry. Such, at least, is the inference we may safely draw from the only passage in which the author approaches poetic pathos.<sup>5</sup>

The king's sorrow was very great. His love and respect for her, as we have seen in the case of the proposed Irish expedition, gave her a real control over him.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 697, ll. 971-974.

<sup>2</sup> My impression is that Etienne intended to present his poem to the king.

<sup>3</sup> p. 711, l. 9.

<sup>4</sup> p. 714, l. 86.

<sup>5</sup> p. 708.

<sup>6</sup> He resisted Dermot's pleading in 1166, and it was not until after his mother's death that open interference began.

A D. 1167. Almost the last act of her life was an attempt to mediate between her son and Becket, and had she lived she might have thus altered greatly the course of events. In 1110,<sup>1</sup> when scarcely five years old,<sup>2</sup> she was given as a bride to the emperor Henry V., and was married and crowned as empress on 6th January 1114.<sup>3</sup> She was thus about 20 years old when she lost her first husband, 36 when she made her memorable escape from Oxford castle across the frozen Thames, and about 62 when she died. Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen and Arnulf of Lisieux headed the procession of monks by whom she was laid to rest before the high altar of the great church of Bec-Herluin.<sup>4</sup> Above her grave, Etienne tells us, was a *corona lucis* with seven lights, precisely such an one no doubt as that we now see above Charlemagne's grave at Aix-la-Chapelle, placed there about this same date by Barbarossa. Her property was given for pious uses, and Etienne supplies a list, most interesting to an antiquary, of the valuable gifts made on this occasion to the abbey of Bec.<sup>5</sup>

Of the remaining events of this year we know little or nothing. Queen Eleanor crossed to England with her daughter Matilda, who was then taken over to Germany by the earls of Arundel and Warrenne,<sup>6</sup> to be wedded to Henry, duke of Saxony and Bavaria.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Flor. Wigorn.*, ii., 60.

<sup>2</sup> R. de Monte's life of Henry I., which passes as the 8th book of W. of Jumiéges.

<sup>3</sup> *Flor. Wigorn.*, ii. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Draco Norm.*, p. 715. Her body, wrapped in a bull's hide, was found there in 1282. Bourget, *Hist. of Abbey of Bec*, p. 98. Her remains were again discovered in the ruins of the abbey in 1847. See *Revue de Rouen*, 1847, pp. 41, 604.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 758-760. See also *Chron. Gaufr. Vosiensis* (Bouquet xii. p.

441), and Robert of Torigni (Pertz vi., 516).

<sup>6</sup> Ralph Coggeshall's *Contin. Chr. Rad. Nigri*, p. 171.

<sup>7</sup> Gervase represents the archbishop *elect* of Cologne as coming over in 1167 to ask for the princess. The arrangement had been made in 1165. The Pipe Roll for 13 Hen. II. names the duke's *mutius*, Symon, and refers to the payment of the six ships hired at Southampton to take the princess to Germany. This shows that she crossed before Michaelmas 1167.



On the 24th of December John, the fourth of the A.D. 1168.  
 man-hunting brood, was born at Oxford. Henry himself was at Argentan at Christmas, holding a great court in his new hall. Possibly he had stayed there from the 26th of November, the day on which he had met William of Pavia and Otho, and had expressed his hope that he might never see any more cardinals.

The next event was an outbreak of war with France. The truce expired on March 31st, but it would seem as if its termination had been anticipated. The people of Poitou, enraged by Henry's curtailment of certain of their liberties,<sup>1</sup> were planning a rebellion. In this they were joined by the population of Aquitaine, perhaps suffering from the same grievance. It was no mere popular revolt, but was headed by the counts of La Marche, Angoulême, Lusignan, and other nobles; and an arrangement, confirmed by giving hostages, had been made with Louis. Henry, count of Champagne, Louis' brother-in-law, and Philip of Flanders had been at Soissons, zealously endeavouring to patch up a peace, the terms of which are given by John of Salisbury.<sup>2</sup> These included the marriage of Richard to Louis' daughter, but nothing was said as to Toulouse. Henry avoided meeting the two negotiators, but left the archbishop of Rouen and others to treat as to peace, and marched on Lusignan. He captured and garrisoned the castle, and having left the queen and Patrick, earl of Salisbury, with a sufficient force, proceeded to Normandy to hold a conference with Louis between Pacy and Le Mans.

John of Salisbury represents Henry as having asked for this meeting, and indeed he seemed eager to attend it. His object was partially defeated, however, for Louis refused to meet him at first, but on April the 7th Henry, in conference with certain French nobles, swore to make restitution to the Poitevins, and to observe the

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<sup>1</sup> Gervase, i. p. 205.

| <sup>2</sup> Epp. 244.

A.D. 1168. conditions of peace settled at Soissons. Louis, though so far appeased, withdrew the marriage arrangements, and said that the question of Toulouse might be submitted to the judgment of his court. He also arranged to meet Henry on May the 12th, and make peace on the bases indicated; but in the meantime the Poitevins made fresh complaints of insidious attacks pending the negotiations. They, however, confessed, or rather professed, that they had defeated Henry's army, and had unwillingly killed the earl of Salisbury. We know that the latter half of this assertion was hypocritical, and that the earl was basely murdered; but be this as it may, we should attach importance to John of Salisbury's opinion that Louis might repent of his peaceful intentions.<sup>1</sup> There is no proof, indeed, that he met Henry at all; John of Salisbury's letter speaks of the future only, and, whether the monarchs did or did not meet, it is certain that no agreement ensued.

Before we allude further to the history of this war, and before we touch on the Breton war, which began before the arrangement of a truce with France, we must consider the information which Gervase and Etienne afford us as to the important embassy from Germany, which both authors place during the preparations for the contest with France. This is the one of which the countess of Boulogne—once abbess of Rumsey—wrote to apprise Louis.

The duke of Saxony, lately become Henry's son-in-law, passed through Flanders<sup>2</sup> in company with the archbishop of Mainz,<sup>3</sup> the archbishop elect of Cologne, and the bishop of Liége, and met the English king in

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<sup>1</sup> See John of Salisbury, Ep. 244. Hoveden (i. 273) says that the earl was returning from a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. Henry's anger drove Guy to the Holy Land, where he became king

of Jerusalem, and ultimately king of Cyprus.

<sup>2</sup> *Draco Norm.*, p. 719, l. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Gervase, i. 205. The *Draco* only refers to two bishops.

Normandy. The object of this mission was two-fold, A.D. 1168.  
 first to offer material aid against Louis—going so far in  
 this direction as to offer to make the French crown an  
 imperial grant to the younger Henry;<sup>1</sup> and, secondly,  
 to induce Henry to separate himself ecclesiastically at  
 once from Becket and from Louis by accepting the anti-  
 pope Paschal.

There are inconsistencies in the two accounts at this  
 point; for while Etienne de Rouen, possibly an adherent  
 of Paschal, as he had been of Victor, does not name the  
 second design, Gervase represents the archbishop of  
 Mainz<sup>2</sup> as a partisan of Alexander in 1165. What  
 appears certain, for the Canterbury monks were present,  
 is that the king so far listened to Barbarossa's tempting  
 as to call an assembly of the clergy in London, in  
 which he tried, though unsuccessfully, to extort an oath  
 of obedience to the antipope Paschal.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps this was part of the secret design<sup>4</sup> which,  
 according to Etienne, Henry intimated to the German  
 envoys<sup>5</sup> at the further meeting which he had with them  
 at Rouen. He had declined the offer of armed assist-  
 ance, being apparently still unwilling to drive matters  
 against Louis too far, but this blow would strike Becket  
 more than Louis, rendering his deposition from the see  
 of Canterbury a certainty.

We must now return to the outbreak of war in Brit-  
 tany. Eudo, viscount of Porroët, having refused feudal  
 service, according to Robert of Torigni, but according to  
 John of Salisbury having received a horrible injury from

<sup>1</sup> *Draco Norm.*, 721, ll. 261, 262.

<sup>2</sup> i. p. 206. *M.H.T.B.* v. 159.

<sup>3</sup> This assembly was held only a  
 short time before Paschal's death,  
 which took place on 20 Sept. 1168.

<sup>4</sup> *Draco Norm.*, p. 724, ll. 355-  
 60.

<sup>5</sup> Robert of Torigni, a strict ad-

herent of pope Alexander, is here  
 instructive, as in the case of the  
 Becket quarrel, by his reticence.  
 He barely mentions the visit of duke  
 Henry and his return with presents,  
 and does not say a word as to any  
 negotiations.

A.D. 1168. Henry,<sup>1</sup> allied himself with Oliver and Roland of Dinan. Henry at once attacked Eudo's stronghold, Château Joseclin, and plundered his lands. Afterwards the king deprived him of Vannes and a portion of Cornouaille, and took the castle of Auray. Then Dinan and Hédé were given up, Tinténiaç was destroyed, and on June the 24th,<sup>2</sup> after some days' siege, Roland de Dinan's strong castle of Bécherel fell into Henry's power.

The next day, that is on June 25th,<sup>3</sup> the king committed some ravages at Léhon; but as he had to attend a conference with Louis, he deferred any attack on the strong castle, and, marching round Dinan, continued his ravages and laid waste the district round St. Malo.

On the 1st of July the kings and Becket<sup>4</sup> approached La Ferté-Bernard, but there Henry had ocular demonstration of the part Louis was playing. He saw before him not only the Breton nobles, headed by count Eudo, complaining of the hideous outrage on his daughter, but some also from Maine, and learned that there was a mutual compact between Louis and the malcontents, guarding each party against a separate peace.<sup>5</sup> Fruitless messages passed between the monarchs, and the war went on raging until about the 1st of December.

In the meantime Henry had compromised Matthew of Boulogne's claims on Mortain, and had entered into alliance with him. When, however, Matthew tried to march to Henry's assistance, count John of Ponthieu interfered, compelling him to travel by sea, but bringing down on his own head the effectual thunder of

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 246.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron. Britt.* (Bouquet, xii. p. 560.)

<sup>3</sup> *Chron. Britt.*, p. 560.

<sup>4</sup> John of Salisbury, Ep. 246.

<sup>5</sup> John of Salisbury (Ep. 246) gives details, but he includes messengers from the king of Scots, the

kings of Wales, and the Gascon nobles, offering alliance,—in fact a widespread conspiracy. But in Ep. 244 he represents Henry as arranging a marriage between the Scotch king's sister and the son of the marquis of Montferrat.

Henry's wrath. The ruins of forty villages in the district of Le Vimieü were the visible testimony of his punishment. A.D. 1168.

Perhaps it was while Henry was thus employed that Louis attacked and destroyed Chênebrun. Henry at once pursued him, and effected some captures among his men. Brezolles and Châteauneuf were next destroyed, and the lands of the count of Perche were devastated, but Robert of Torigni declares himself unable to remember all the ravages which Henry committed. This border warfare lulled as usual at Christmas, and Louis' nobles pressed on him, as Etienne tells us, the advisability of making peace.<sup>1</sup>

Henry passed Christmas-tide at Argentan, and met Louis on the 6th of January 1169, according to Robert of Torigni and Gervase, the latter chronicler giving Montmirail, near Chartres, as the place of congress. A.D. 1169.

Here we are met by discrepancies, due to the ceaseless theme of these weary years. In abbot Robert's case the disturbance in the series of events is of a purely negative character. He will not even name Becket, and gives us a halting story; while other writers deluge us, now with apparent truth, now with extravagant follies, but always with the sayings and doings of the martyred prelate. To attempt a concordance of these would be impossible, and it will therefore be better to confine ourselves to Robert of Torigni and the *Draco*.

From the former we learn only of one meeting, that at Montmirail, but Etienne tells us of two; the place of the first he omits, but the second was held at Poissy. At Montmirail it would seem that the kings agreed on general terms of peace, and that Henry's sons did homage for their provinces;<sup>2</sup> but nothing could be definitely settled without the presence of representatives from

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<sup>1</sup> *Draco Norm.*, p. 754, l. 1285, | <sup>2</sup> R. de Torigni, 518.  
&c.

A.D. 1169, Brittany and Poitou. They therefore named a day for completing their treaty and separated; the French king, however, took prince Henry with him to Paris, where he was honourably entertained. This act, Etienne informs us, was displeasing to the Normans, nor can the proud race have been gratified to learn that their young prince on the 2nd of February served at table as seneschal<sup>1</sup> of France. These circumstances enable us to narrow a little the period within which the second meeting occurred. As we have already said, Etienne places it at Poissy, Robert of Torigni at Saint-Germain-en-Laye; but as these places are not four miles apart, the discrepancy is trifling. The chorus of biographers places the meeting of Becket with the two kings at Montmirail,<sup>2</sup> but future historians of Becket must reckon with two suspicious facts. Robert of Torigni permits himself nothing but the bare mention of the Saint-Germain or Poissy congress; and, considering his excellent means of information, the inference is tolerably strong that there was business transacted which he does not choose to record. Etienne, always very much bolder, asserts the presence of Becket on the second and not on the first occasion. After alluding to the Bretons and Poitevins being joined in the peace, he states that it was agreed that young Henry when of age should rule Normandy, Geoffrey Anjou, and Richard Poitou, adding, rather cloudily, that Toulouse would fall to Richard's lot when he should become a knight, but that he and the count of St. Gilles would have to appear before the French

<sup>1</sup> As to the hereditary seneschalship of the counts of Anjou, see "Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou," p. 387-394.

<sup>2</sup> I have in note 1 on p. 676 referred to Montmirail as the generally accepted designation of the meeting place.

<sup>3</sup> John of Salisbury pretends that king Henry did homage to Louis on this occasion for Normandy, prince Henry for Anjou and Maine, and prince Richard for Poitou. He places these events at Montmirail. Ep. 284.

court about the matter, probably to arrange fitting terms A.D. 1169. of compensation. —

Then it appears that the French king and his nobles brought forward the archbishop of Canterbury, entreating favour for him.<sup>1</sup> Henry asked only to be treated as his ancestors had been treated by previous archbishops. Becket gave an unsatisfactory answer, containing the inevitable reservation, "*salvo jure*"; and then the king, citing the conduct of Lanfranc and Anselm, argued that what saints had done Becket might do. Upon this the French king swore by the three Magi<sup>2</sup> that the prelate had no further grounds for holding out, and that, as the French bishops obeyed their king's laws, so might Becket obey Henry's decrees. Thomas, however, was silent. He pondered over the king's words, but feared to return to his see.

Thus ends the story of the *Draco Normannicus*, and from what has been placed before the reader it is hoped that its value as a contribution to regal history has been made clear. We see that the poem furnishes facts hitherto unknown; that it gives an independent view of the great controversies of the day; that it lends support to statements hitherto without confirmation; and, finally, that it gives us an indirect assurance that no events of primary importance for the history of the years from 1153 to 1169 are absolutely lost.

## II.

The continuation of William of Newburgh's *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* up to 1298, which is printed on pp. 503-583, is derived mainly from the Cotton MS. Cleop. A. 1. The earlier part of this MS. is a worthless compilation from the usual sources; the middle portion

The continuation of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* to A.D. 1298.

<sup>1</sup> *Joh. Sarisb.* ep. 284; *Draco Norm.*, p. 756.

<sup>2</sup> Then newly found and transferred to Cologne.

is copied from William of Newburgh; and, from 1198, we have extracts from Hoveden as far as the year 1200. No events for 1201 are recorded, but in 1202 we find that the writer has taken up the Stanley abbey chronicle (MS. Bodl., Digby 11), and has copied it almost to its finish.

The  
Stanley  
abbey  
chronicle.

The  
Furness  
abbey  
chronicle.

The present edition is thus, in effect, the publication for the first time of the contents of two MSS. The earlier, the Stanley chronicle, is an ill-written 13th century MS., which shows every sign of contemporary composition; the latter, which from internal evidence was certainly compiled by a monk of Furness abbey, is, as would appear, an ignorantly written copy of the usual scrawled sheets, which used to hang up<sup>1</sup> in the scriptorium of almost every abbey to receive plummet notes of current events. These were written by an able hand, but the careless monks had obviously lost several sheets of memoranda, though to outward appearance the narrative flows on unbroken from 1275 to 1290.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the transcriber found it prudent not to mention the loss. No one checked his work, that is quite clear, and he put it aside as complete. Let us not be uncharitable to him, for probably the whole affair was a hasty performance of neglected duties, carried out under the pressure of the king's commands.<sup>3</sup> Edward had directed certain documents respecting the claimants to the Scotch crown to be entered in the chronicles of Furness and other abbeys; so if the abbot had no chronicle, or rather had but a neglected one, he must needs set a monk to fetch up arrears. This is very likely what happened, for the annalistic impetus only lasted for seven years more, that is, up to 1298.

<sup>1</sup> *Annal. Wigorn.*, 355.

<sup>2</sup> The monk put the date 1291, but the facts belong to 1290.

<sup>3</sup> As already stated, the monk

who made the original entries at Furness was a man of some capacity, but the transcriber was not.



There has been some difficulty in printing these MSS., for while large portions of the narrative up to 1270 are identical in both—the Furness chronicler having copied from his Stanley compeer—there are independent entries in each. The northern compiler adds the events of his neighbourhood, but does not think it worth while to transcribe facts only interesting to a Wiltshireman. Again, as the year 1241 is reached, the Furness writer amplifies and the Stanley chronicler grows brief, and after 1270 fails us altogether. In fact, from 1260 to 1298 the northern chronicle may be viewed as entirely original. It has thus been necessary to print the two chronicles as one for a long period, and then, as the southern one dies out, it has been thought best to place its attenuated contribution in the lower half of the page, leaving the upper part to the Furness annalist. All variations of reading and all omissions have been carefully recorded, and it would be possible for anyone, who might choose to do so, to construct from the edition now offered either the Furness or the Stanley chronicle, or both, as separate works. In other words, they are apparently fused together, but could be perfectly well separated by means of the information furnished by the marginal and foot-notes. It was impossible to print the matter borrowed from the Stanley chronicle in small type, as is usual in the Rolls Series, for this would have effectually concealed interesting facts as to the composition of the Stanley MS. itself.

On p. 507 will be seen in small type a passage identical with the Waverley annals,<sup>1</sup> whether copied from that source, or derived from a common original, cannot be said with any certainty.

The  
Waverley  
annals  
perhaps  
quoted.

Of much more interest is the discovery shown by small type on pp. 524 to 527, that the words of the Stanley annalist absolutely coincide in many places with

Quotations  
from a  
chronicle  
used by

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<sup>1</sup> *Annal. Waverl.*, p. 254.

Ralph of  
Cogges-  
shall.

the writings of Ralph of Coggeshall (Rolls ed., pp. 185 to 188). A minute comparison of the texts will show, by signs which could not easily be detailed, that neither writer has copied from the other, but that both have drawn from some lost chronicle. It may be that the Stanley chronicle owes to this unknown source the Bull of pope Honorius authorising the Translation of St. Thomas, which no other English chronicler has recorded.<sup>1</sup> However this may be, we are able now to say that Coggeshall, like most of his fellow chroniclers, was to some extent a compiler. The fact has hitherto been suspected on general grounds only, but no proof has been adduced.

Special  
features  
of the  
continua-  
tion of  
New-  
burgh's  
history.

The present preface has run to so great a length that it is impossible to do more here than to call attention to the principal contributions of this chronicle to our historical knowledge. There is much that is fresh in the account of John's cruelties and exactions, including some details as to Peter of Pontefract, and a summary of the story as to the wife of Eustace Fitz-John, which shows that Knighton, the 14th century chronicler, is right. Then follow interesting facts as to Louis' invasion in 1216-17, and the text of the Bull as to Becket's translation, already noticed. Later, up to the end of the annals, we find valuable notices of parliaments and grants of revenue to the king, and an entirely original account of affairs leading up to the battle of Lewes—giving us, on p. 544, a few interesting words quoted, it would seem, from the lost "Mise of Lewes." Then we find a few new details as to the battle of Evesham, and as to the local struggles which followed, including an incident, years later, concerning earl Ferrers. Finally, there are entries throughout as to the affairs of the Isle

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<sup>1</sup> p. 528. It is printed in the *Fadera* from Lupus, who took his copy, I believe, from Vatican MS. 1220.

of Man of much interest, and there are useful dates respecting ecclesiastical occurrences.<sup>1</sup>

### MANUSCRIPTS EMPLOYED.

Following the order of the previous portion of this preface, precedence will be given to an account of the unique MS. of the *Draco Normannicus*, and then the two MSS. from which the continuation of Newburgh is derived, will be described. The original sources of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* have been sufficiently placed before the reader in the preface to Vol. I., pp. xxxix. to xlix.

#### (I.)

The MS. Reg. 3081 in the Vatican Library, containing the *Draco Normannicus*, is written on paper in hands of the 15th century. The specimen given in fac-simile will perhaps incline readers to the opinion that the date of the transcript is a little later than 1450. The height of the page is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches, the width  $6\frac{1}{2}$ . The paper is of the strong coarse character familiar to collectors of the earliest printed books, and the paper mark in the portion of the volume<sup>2</sup> which contains the *Draco* is a form of pole-axe. The blade is a segment of a circle, about a quadrant, cut off by a straight chord. The handle is rather short and perfectly plain, and the blade is connected with its handle near to the top of the latter by a very short bar. The chord of the arc is next to and parallel with the handle. A very clear specimen of

Description of the MS. of the *Draco Normannicus* now in the Vatican Library.

Paper-mark.

<sup>1</sup> The present preface affords me no very suitable place for directing attention to Newburgh's story of Ketel (p. 151), as connected with the Purgatory Legends of the 12th century. Miss L. Toulmin-Smith has

kindly made me aware of Mr. Thomas Wright's views on this subject set forth in his essay on "St. Patrick's Purgatory."

<sup>2</sup> *Fo.* 106 to *fo.* 160.

this mark appears on *fo. 152*.<sup>1</sup> The binding of the volume is quite recent, but the ancient fly-leaves are preserved, and the inner margins of the pages have been repaired by the binder. Their former condition probably caused the entire loss of *fo. 128* and *fo. 139*.<sup>2</sup>

Hand-writing.

The poem was not transcribed by one hand. From *fo. 106* to *fo. 155* is the work of at least five different scribes, one of them being the writer who finishes the poem, and who adds the fragment as to Henry's voyage<sup>3</sup> as well as the extract from Merlin's prophecy, which occurs on *fo. 159*. He also winds up with the words, *non plus reperi*, shown in the fac-simile.<sup>4</sup>

Within the major divisions there are some variations of hand, but the points of demarcation are not always very definite, and the foot-notes on this subject are offered with some reservation.

The work of the annotator "M."

There was yet another hand concerned in the production of the MS. as it now appears. It may be permissible to theorise so far as to say that the copying was performed by various monks, and that the curious marginal notes, given in the present edition as foot-notes and distinguished by the letter "M.," are the work of their prior. His hand added "*in exemplari*" to the "*non plus reperi*" referred to above; and he it was who left us the task of interpreting the interesting note on *fo. 158 b.*:

*Libellum istum sumpsit ex quodam parvo antiquo libro, quem mihi concessit cum m. m. R. b., et erat ille liber, ut credo, de ab de b. h.*

Whether *cum m. m. R.* means *cum mansuetudine*, *magnister R.*, or *cum magna mansuetudine*, *R.*, must

<sup>1</sup> Not delineated in Sotheby's "Typography." In other parts of the volume anchors and winged dragons are frequent.

<sup>2</sup> I satisfied myself that these are

not accidentally misplaeed, but are actually missing.

<sup>3</sup> p. 760.

<sup>4</sup> See the fac-simile opposite the title-page of the present volume.

be left to the opinion of each reader ; so also must the suggestion that *R. b.* means *R. bibliothecarius*, but it is hardly open to doubt that the final letters convey the meaning, "de abbacia de Becco Helluini." It seems unlikely, too, that anyone but an abbot or prior would make a note in the first person on work done by other hands. It is the natural style of an official superior, not of a fellow monk, to say *sumpsi* when the labour implied by that word has been done vicariously. This same prior—we have elsewhere assigned him the title for convenience—wrote the list of ornaments given to the abbey of Bec by the empress Maud, which is found on *fo. 158 b.*

Dismissing the subject of handwriting, it is now desirable to describe briefly the general contents of the volume. Contents  
of the  
MS. Ottob.  
3081.

A 15th century hand has done this for us, on *fo. 1*, in a somewhat too summary way :—

In hoc papiro continentur aliquæ cronicæ Romanorum pontificum et Imperatorum ac regum Franciæ imperfecte, cum Dracone Normannico et epistolis quibusdam universitatis Parisius super materia unionis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ.

This does not meet modern requirements. We must therefore proceed to details<sup>1</sup> :—

*Fo. 2.* Extracts relating to Charlemagne.

3. Materials as to the lives of certain popes, which the compiler notes as "*scribenda in fine mee Martinianæ*" (a copy of this compilation is in Bibl. Nat. MS. Fonds Latin 11,889, *fo. 57*).

38. Notes respecting the kings of France, from Philip Augustus to Charles V. (also in MS. Fonds Latin 11,889, *fo. 87*).

45. A fragmentary genealogy of the kings of France (from Bernard Gui).

<sup>1</sup> Those items in this list which do not directly relate to the *Draco Normannicus* are taken from M. Léopold Delisle's "Notice sur vingt MSS. du Vatican," (Bibl.

de l'Ecole des Chartes, 1876, p. 470-527). My time at Rome was too limited to permit of careful investigation into matters not directly connected with my work.

49. Notes, in French, as to events in France from 1349 to about 1418.
- 71*b*. A short Latin poem, "*Quid ultra tibi facere.*"
72. Various recipes.
74. *Liber Alperici Calculatoris.*
99. Fragments of the Salic Law and the Capitularies (the compiler, M. Delisle says, refers on *fo.* 104 to a text of the Law he had seen at Saint-Denis).
106. The "*Draco Normannicus.*"
159. An extract from the prophecy of Merlin.
159. List of ornaments given by the empress Maud to the abbey of Bec.
- 159*b*. Fragment of a poem as to Henry II.
- 162*b*. A letter of pope Pius II., dated 10th November, 1463.
- 165 to 185*b*. Three letters from the University of Paris, one dated 6 June, 1394; a letter from the University of Cologne to that of Paris; a letter beginning "*paucis abhinc, pater beatissime, diebus exactis nobis in mentem venerat . . .*"

TWO MSS. of the *Draco Normannicus* are known to have existed: both probably belonged to the abbey of S. Victor, Paris.

M. Delisle records his conviction that the ancient pagination of the MS. is in the handwriting of one of the librarians of the abbey of Saint Victor at Paris, and he observes that the part of the first folio, which would, according to the custom of the abbey, have borne the usual anathema against anyone attempting to steal the volume, is now cut away.

These observations from one who is at once so well able to judge of such matters, and so familiar with the actual volumes which composed the St. Victor Library, must have great weight, as also should his statement that he sees a strong analogy between the contents and methods of compilation of MS. Fonds Latin 14,663 [*olim S. Victoris*], and of MS. Ottobon. 3081.

The present editor having examined MS. Fonds Latin 14,663, making a fac-simile of a few words from it, and having a few days afterwards, when in Rome, compared those words with the contents of MS. Ottobon. 3081, is able to say with some confidence that, although the analogy which M. Delisle traces is clear, it does not appear that any of the writers of the Vatican volume actually took part in the compilation of the Paris MS.

Another fact which M. Delisle brings to light is an entry in the early 16th century catalogue of the library of St. Victor, made by Claude de Grandrue, which now forms MS. Fonds Latin 14,767. This catalogue shows, under the press-mark BBB. 12, the following :—

Cronica Normanniæ in Gallico ab Hastingo, eorum duce, usque ad Annum Domini 1223, a folio 1 usque 40. Draco Normannicus, in metro, continens tres libros partialia. Prohemium, 41. Liber primus, 49. Secundus, 77. Tercius, 101. Propheciam Merliui de seniore Henrico et juniore, 122. Quædam alia, 123. *A. veult mourir. B. deficit ille timor, C. 124.*

Thus the abbey of St. Victor, on M. Delisle's supposition, once owned two copies of the *Draco*, for the number of folios specified in the above extract at once negatives any idea of the identity of "BBB. 12" with MS. Ottobon. 3081. The former has long since disappeared;<sup>1</sup> the latter, after strange vicissitudes, has reappeared.

Probably, like its duplicate and many other volumes, it was stolen from the monks of St. Victor, and fell, in 1647, certainly by honest purchase, into the hands of a new and distinguished possessor, who announces himself on *fo. 2* as "Alexander Pauli filius Petavii, Senator Parisiensis, Anno 1647."

The way in which it subsequently came into the hands of Christina, queen of Sweden, is shown by the following title on p. 61, Vol. I. of Montfaucon's *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum* (A.D. 1739):—

Catalogus Alphabeticus Manuscriptorum codicum qui extabant in Bibliotheca Alexandri Petavii, ac deinde divenditi, in Sueciam sunt transportati; nunc autem plurimâ parte asservantur Romæ in Bibliotheca Regiæ Sueciæ. 1660.

The MS. now in the Vatican perhaps, originally stolen from the monks of S. Victor.

It became the property of Alexander Petau in 1647, and from him passed to queen Christina of Sweden.

<sup>1</sup> Indeed is noted in the MS. | "par le P. Picard et ne s'est catalogue as having been stolen : | "point trouvé depuis."  
"Furto sublatum est. Noté perdu !

Some of queen Christina's MSS. were given to the Vatican Library in 1690. MS. Ottob. 3081, seen in the Vatican by Montfaucon about 1739.

After the death of the queen in Rome her MSS. came by succession<sup>1</sup> to the family of Ottobuoni. In the year 1690 pope Alexander VIII., as head of that family, placed 1,900 of them in one of the galleries of the Vatican. There our volume was seen about 1739 by Montfaucon, who, on p. 41 in Vol. I. of his great work, mentions it thus under the number 1267, in *Bibl. Reg. Suecicæ in Vaticana*:—

1267. Anonymi Gesta quorundam imperatorum Romanorum ac regum Francorum. Multa ibi sunt de Bonifacio VIII. Elperici Calculatoris Liber de Astrologia. Anonymi Normannicus Draco, versus continent Historiam Matildis imperatricis Francorum, Anglorum, et Normannorum; quædam ibi habentur de Synodis sub Victore et Alexandro II. (*sic*). Epistola Universitatis Parisiensis ad Carolum VI. super Schismate sedando, et unione Ecclesiæ. Ejusdem Universitatis ad Clementem VII., Papam et Collegium Cardinalium epistola. Studii Coloniensis ad Universitatem Parisiensem et Universitatis Parisiensis ad idem studium.

The MS. next appears in the library of baron Philip de Stosch, A.D. 1756.

There at the end of the 17th century it had been seen by the Benedictines, who took the extracts from it which are now at Paris in MS. Fonds Latin 11,889 (*fo.* 57 to *fo.* 95). It did not, however, stop there long, for it not only now contains a book-plate bearing the name and arms of "Philip de Stosch L. B.," but it also appears in the catalogue of that nobleman's books prepared for the sale of his library at Florence on 16th January 1756.<sup>2</sup>

The MS. is again deposited in the Vatican; but,

How the MS. returned to the Vatican is a matter for conjecture. Probably it did not return among the second and final gift of the MSS. of the Ottobuoni

<sup>1</sup> Edwards, "Hist. of Libraries."

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliotheca Stoschiana sive catalogus librorum bibliothecæ Philippi baron. de Stosch, quorum auctio habebitur Florentiæ die 16 Januarii 1756 et seqq. diebus: Lucæ, 1758 (sic). This reference*

is given by M. Delisle, who states that the *Draco* MS. occurs on p. 16 of the list of MSS., with shelf-mark A. XCII. The only Stosch catalogue at the Brit. Museum (126 a. 11) is dated 1759.



family, for this happened in 1746, and in 1756, as we have seen, baron Stosch owned it. All we are sure of is that when Dom Brial's friends at Rome searched for the volume, about 1810, it could not be found by the reference "Reg. 1267." Probably it was recognised and purchased at the baron's sale, and, through some pardonable confusion between queen Christina's MSS. and the later Ottobonian collection, the MS. found its way into its present resting place among the latter.

How long before 1854, the year in which he died, cardinal Mai knew of the existence of the poem is not certain, but Dr. Pauli writes :<sup>1</sup>—

"It appears that the MS. was not forthcoming when the late Record Commission sent emissaries to the continental libraries, though I happen to know that Dr. Pertz, much about the same time, obtained a copy with the purpose of printing it in the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*."

Thus we ascertain that, though a considerable number of years ago the MS. was known to have reappeared, there was a good deal of cautious reserve exhibited by Dr. Pauli, no less than by the persons of whom he seems a little inclined to complain. Be this as it may, all mystery disappeared when the poem was published under the editorship of Father Joseph Cozza in 1871.

Whether Cardinal Mai's transcript was badly written, or whether Father Cozza was prevented from comparing his proof sheets with this MS. "*scripturæ perdifficilis*," does not appear; but certainly Dr. Pauli's strictures are more just than courteous. The opening lines of the *Proœmium*, to the number of 50, are purposely omitted, two lines elsewhere have been accidentally overlooked, and misreadings and misprints abound. Still, whatever contempt Dr. Pauli shows for the edition and for the notes attached by Father Cozza, we must not here fail

being misplaced, un-availing search is made for it in 1810.

Cardinal Mai's discovery of the MS. became known a considerable time before 1854 to Dr. Pertz and Dr. Pauli, but was not revealed.

Cardinal Mai's edition of the "*Draco*," published in 1871.

<sup>1</sup> "The Academy," 1 Sept. 1872.

either to state that he has given many useful clues, or to thank him accordingly.

The appearance of the poem caused a considerable stir among French scholars, more particularly of course those who took a special interest in Normandy. Thus we find in the "Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Normandie," ii. p. 9, that M. Léopold Delisle, in 1875, advised the publication of the poem by the society, and it appears from the "Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes" for 1876 (pp. 470-527),<sup>1</sup> that M. Delisle, when in Rome, applied himself to the work of collation "assez rigoureusement pour n'avoir plus besoin de recourir au MS. unique du Vatican."

About the same time (31st March 1875, and 5th April 1877) Dr. Charles Fierville made the poems of Etienne de Rouen, including the *Draco Normannicus*, the subject of two interesting lectures delivered before the Sorbonne. These lectures, which are published in Vol. VIII. of the "Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie," have a literary rather than a historical bearing, but are nevertheless very valuable contributions to the elucidation of the subject before us. Lastly, about February 1884, appeared an edition of the *Draco Normannicus*, published at Rouen for the Société de l'Histoire de Normandie, by M. Henri Omont. This work includes the miscellaneous poems from MS. Fonds Lat. 14,146, and also some short specimens of Etienne's prose.<sup>2</sup>

It was, perhaps, prepared from M. Delisle's collation, for it is clearly founded on Cardinal Mai's work, omit-

French  
edition of  
the  
"Draco."

<sup>1</sup> On pp. 32-36 of M. Delisle's separate pamphlet entitled, "Notice sur vingt MSS. du Vatican," a copy of which that gentleman most kindly sent to me.

<sup>2</sup> It, however, omits the list of ornaments (see p. 758), and the

fragment of a poem as to Henry's crossing the sea in a storm (p. 760). The former is referred to in the *Draco* (p. 712, ll. 31, 32) as appended, and should therefore have been regarded as an integral part of the work.

ting the two lines which the cardinal omits,<sup>1</sup> and following him in such errors as *Nam primus* for *Dani sumus* (p. 625, l. 915). From internal evidence the work would appear to have been done by first reading a line in the printed copy and then comparing it with the MS., a course which seems to bring before us the overworked *savant* who was preparing the "*Notice sur Vingt MSS. du Vatican*"—a mine of learning in itself—rather than an editor revising a final edition.<sup>2</sup>

Another defect in this volume is the absence of preface, historical notes, and index. There is an "*Avis*" which imperfectly explains this circumstance, but though it shows that the editor is not to be blamed,<sup>3</sup> it by no means consoles the reader for the loss of introductory information essential for the appreciation of the poem. Very sincere thanks are still due from the present editor to M. Omont for the assistance his labours have afforded. A lost 12th-century MS. represented by a copy made in a 15th-century hand, and with the usual 15th-century carelessness,<sup>4</sup> offers a very serious problem to any one who desires to prepare a satisfactory edition, and it is possible that a critical reader may decide that more should have been done by the present editor as regards the emendation of obscure passages, though it is believed that nothing remains which could be a real stumbling-block to a student of history.

<sup>1</sup> p. 647, ll. 1489-90.

<sup>2</sup> The Ronen edition has eliminated about 230 of the errors which deface cardinal Mai's posthumous work, but my collation with the MS. at Rome discovered no less than 142 additional mistakes—wrong words or wrong inflections—and many minor errors and omissions. These are attributable to

the circumstances in which, as I believe, the French edition was prepared, but I have nothing except inference to guide me as to this.

<sup>3</sup> The impatience of the society seems to have caused the book to be prematurely issued.

<sup>4</sup> As exemplified by the two XV. cent. copies of Newburgh's history.

## II.

The continuation of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* now for the first time printed from MSS. Bodl., Digby 11, and Cott., Cleop. A. 1. MS. Bodl. Digby 11.

The continuation of William of Newburgh's celebrated history which is printed in the present volume (pp. 503 to 583) is derived, as has already been stated, from two MSS., one in the Bodleian Library (MS. Digby 11), the other in the British Museum (Cott. Cleop. A. 1). The former, Digby 11, is a small ill-written 13th cent. volume in poor condition. The pages measure about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , and the lines extend across the page. The book contains a treatise "De Angelis," the Itinerary of Odoric the Franciscan under the title, "De mirabilibus Indiæ," and several theological and philosophical tractates. The historical portion begins on *fo.* 149 and ends on *fo.* 187. The earlier part is a "Brut" chronicle, but on *fo.* 174*b.* begin the original annals which we have termed from internal evidence the "Stanley chronicle."

MS. Cott., Cleop. A. 1.

The Cottonian MS. Cleopatra A. 1., is an octavo volume written on parchment in 14th-century hands, and contains 212 leaves. The bulk of it, that is from *fo.* 1 to *fo.* 114*b.* and from *fo.* 174 to the end, is written in double columns each containing about 28 lines. The middle portion is in more than one hand and is very closely written, with 34 lines to the page. The reign of Henry I. concludes on *fo.* 114 *b.* towards the end of the second column, and a few of the opening words of the 23rd chapter of the 1st book of Newburgh's history—absurdly out of place—complete the page. The part already referred to as more closely written now begins with the 4th chapter of book I. of the "*Historia Rerum Anglicarum*," and the writer copies or summarises to the end of the work. The last words from Newburgh occur on *fo.* 172*b.*, col. 2, and the same hand proceeds with some passages borrowed from Hoveden to the end of *fo.* 173 *b.* Thence the hand which began the volume resumes with the words, "*de Glovernia eo quod fuerunt affines*," and finishes the chronicle on

fo. 207 b., at the end of the first column. Some historical notes as to the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III. conclude the MS. There is, on the fly-leaf at the beginning, the note: "*Cottonianæ Bibliothecæ donavit Jacobus Usseus Armachanus.*"

It is this MS. which has passed for a distinct work by William of Newburgh. This error was propagated by Pits, who gives (*De illustr. Angl. Scriptt.*, p. 270) a list of Newburgh's writings containing the item:—

"*De Regibus Anglorum, libri duo.*—Primum ostendenda est "origo causæ."

These opening words occur after a blank page on fo. 97 b. of the MS. we have just described.

The foregoing introduction being long and tedious, though unavoidably so, I must conclude by briefly offering my best thanks to Bishop Stubbs, Sir G. W. Dasent, Monsignor Ciccolini, Prefect of the Vatican Library, Mr. W. Bliss of Rome, Miss L. Toulmin-Smith, MM. Léopold Delisle, Gaston Paris, Ch. Fierville, and Henri Omont, to Mr. Newenham Travers, the Rev. S. S. Lewis of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and my old friend Mr. Walter Rye. By valuable suggestions or by kind assistance they have much lightened my labours.

I may, perhaps, take this opportunity of stating again that it is proposed to include the chronicle of Robert of Torigni in the series of twelfth-century treatises I am at present editing.

RICHARD HOWLETT.

Bromley, Kent,  
26th May, 1885.

## C O R R E C T I O N S .

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- p. 608, line 432, erase the comma *after* "Egidii."
- p. 660, line 30, *for* "esse" *read* "esse."
- p. 667, line 218, restore the comma which has fallen away from the end of the line.
- p. 669, margin opposite line 232, *for* "the" *read* "he."
- p. 688, line 769, *for* the full stop after "unum" *substitute* a comma.
- p. 701, line 1100, erase the comma *after* "Oritnr."
- p. 702, note <sup>1</sup>, *for* "hiuc" *read* "hinc."
- p. 742, note <sup>1</sup>, *for* "Turonibus" *read* "Turonis," the mediæval form of the locative, used even when the author writes *Turonim* as the accusative.
- p. 747, line 1107, restore comma *after* "Alamannis."
- p. 760, line 8, *for* "onogrifis" *read* "ovo grifis." *See* Glossary.

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LIBER QUINTUS.

A.D. 1194—1198.

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

- Cap. 1. Quæ acta sint<sup>2</sup> a rege in Anglia post coronationem suam antequam transfretaret - - - p. 415
- Cap. 2. Quæ acta sunt<sup>3</sup> inter regem Anglorum et inimicos ejus postquam transfretavit<sup>4</sup> - - - p. 418
- Cap. 3. De induciis inter reges statutis, et pace provinciarum præterquam ab exactionibus regiis - - - p. 420
- Cap. 4. Quomodo tironum exercitia tempore regis Ricardi in Anglia esse cœperunt - - - p. 422
- Cap. 5. De reditu Johannis ad fratrem - - - p. 423
- Cap. 6. Quomodo Stephanus quidam<sup>5</sup> a dæmone delusus est - - - p. 424
- Cap. 7. Quomodo ceciderit regnum Normanorum in Sicilia - - - p. 428
- Cap. 8. De horrenda morte ducis Austriæ - - - p. 431
- Cap. 9. Quid Dei ordinatione evenerit in pago Cenomannensi ad correctionem regis Anglorum - - - p. 434
- Cap. 10. De morte Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi - - - p. 436
- Cap. 11. De tribus spuris ejusdem episcopi; et quis ei successerit<sup>6</sup> - - - p. 440

<sup>1</sup> D. omits the elenchus.

<sup>2</sup> *sint*, S.; *sunt*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *sunt*, C.; *sint*, S.

<sup>4</sup> *transfretavit*, S.; *transfretaret*,

C.

<sup>5</sup> *quidam*, om. C.

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

- Cap. 12. Quomodo Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in Eboracensi ecclesia, nomine legati, celebravit concilium: et de lite quæ vertitur<sup>1</sup> inter Cantuariensem et Eboracensem de primatu<sup>2</sup> - - p. 442
- Cap. 13. De exercitu Sarracenorum qui ex Affrica Hispanias intravit - p. 445
- Cap. 14. De Macumeto<sup>3</sup> pseudo-propheta, et de lege quam per spiritum erroris introduxit; et quomodo<sup>4</sup> eadem lex plurimas gentes infecit - p. 447
- Cap. 15. De rediviva post expletionem induciarum guerra regum nostrorum - p. 455
- Cap. 16. Quomodo rex Anglorum de<sup>5</sup> nece marchionis purgatus sit per literas Senis Montani - - - p. 457
- Cap. 17. De bellico post inducias motu regum, et quomodo apud Isoudunum fœdus inierunt - - - p. 460
- Cap. 18. Quomodo principes fœdus initum declararunt, quod diu non stetit; et de motu Britannico - - p. 462
- Cap. 19. De improvisa morte abbatis Cadomensis<sup>6</sup> in Anglia - - p. 464
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- Cap. 22. De prodigio mortui post sepulturam oberrantis - - - - p. 474

<sup>1</sup> *vertitur*, S.; *vertebatur*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *prima* (sic) in C. and S.

<sup>3</sup> *Macumeto*, S.; *Macometo*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *quomodo*, om. C.S.

<sup>5</sup> C. has *ne*.

<sup>6</sup> C. reads *Cademensis*.

- Cap. 23. De re consimili, quæ accidit apud  
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- Cap. 24. De quibusdam prodigiis - - - p. 477
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- Cap. 26. De fame et peste per Angliam gras-  
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- Cap. 33. De re prodigiosa quæ accidit apud  
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- Cap. 34. De concordia<sup>4</sup> regis Ricardi et Ro-  
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prodigiosa quæ accidit apud An-  
delaicum<sup>5</sup> - - - - p. 499

*Expliciunt capitula.*

<sup>1</sup> *Heliensis* in C.

<sup>2</sup> *potius*, S.; om. C.

<sup>3</sup> *Tolosanum*, S.; *Tholosanum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *concordia*, S.; *discordia*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *apud Andelaicum*, S.; *ad An-*  
*derslaie*, C., on an erasure.



## INCIPIT LIBER<sup>1</sup> QUINTUS.

### CAP. I.

*Quæ acta sint<sup>2</sup> a rege in Angliã post coronationem suam antequam transfretaret.*

Rex igitur post coronationis suæ sollemnia tempore A.D. 1194. modico in Anglia demoratus, rerum<sup>3</sup> statum, tanquam The king tunc<sup>4</sup> primum rex factus, de novo curavit disponere; resumes the lands et fere quicquid illi placuisse videbatur in sui novi- which he tate prima, mutandum atque innovandum duxit in granted away be- secunda. Denique regnum, quod iter Orientale arrip- fore the turus, ut suo loco plenius dictum est, multifariam crusade. sciderat, ad integritatem satagens pristinam reformare,<sup>5</sup> quicquid ab illo tunc fuerat vel leviter datum, vel ponderose venundatum, sub nãmине repetiit commo- dati. Nec cuiquam fas erat ratione cujuslibet vel<sup>6</sup> pacti vel tituli vel instrumenti perfunctorium jus tueri, dum omnes magnitudinis regiæ mole premeren- tur, nec quisquam auderet ei dicere: "Nolo multa Job. xxiii. 6. "fortitudine contendas<sup>7</sup> mecum, nec magnitudinis "tuæ mole me premas." Astu<sup>8</sup> tamen mollius loque- batur, regiarum dicens possessionum emptoribus: "Non "decet vos sublimitati<sup>8</sup> regiæ fœnerari: si ergo sor- "tem vestram de fructibus rerumstrarum jam "percepistis, ea<sup>9</sup> contenti esse debetis; si quo minus,

<sup>1</sup> *liber*, om. B.D.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *sunt*.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *rectum*.

<sup>4</sup> *tunc*, B.D.R.S.; *nunc*, C.

<sup>5</sup> B. has *reformaret*.

<sup>6</sup> *vel*, B.D.R.S.; om. C.

<sup>7</sup> D. has *contendens*.

<sup>8</sup> B. has *nos sublimari*.

<sup>9</sup> *ea*, B.D.R.S.; *eo*, C.

A.D. 1194. "supplebo de proprio, omnem amputans occasionem  
 — "retentionis. Novit enim prudentia vestra rescrip-  
 "tum sedis Apostolicæ quo prohibeanini regi proprio  
 "sortem vestram excedendo fœnerari, mihi, suo tem-  
 "pore, si forte necesse sit, minime defuturum." De-  
 nique illi regiæ imminentiæ<sup>1</sup> metu attoniti, et tunc  
 demum artem intuentes qua eos in sumptus Ierosoly-  
 mitanæ profectionis nudarat<sup>2</sup> pecuniis, nec<sup>3</sup> levi qui-  
 dem quæstione habita de sorte minus percepta, uni-  
 versa resignarunt. Nam nec Dunelmensis episcopus,  
 qui comitatum Scottorum finibus proximum gravi  
 summa comparatum per aliquot jam annos possederat,  
 in hac parte præ ceteris privilegium habuit, sed comes  
 esse desinens, in simplicem episcopum rediit;<sup>4</sup> sicque  
 illi tanta opera et tanta pecunia perit, quæ utique  
 illi non perisset si piis aptata usibus in cœlestes  
 thesauros abisset. Qui nimirum animum<sup>5</sup> principis  
 minus sibi arridentis ex vultus mutatione coniectans,<sup>6</sup>  
 non expectata repetitione comitatum resignavit, nec  
 tamen, ut dicitur, commodis amplioribus insatiabiliter  
 inhiantem satis placavit. Præterea rex sive pro libe-  
 randis obsidibus<sup>7</sup> apud imperatorem relictis, sive etiam  
 in sumptus belli cum rege Francorum gerendi, tribu-  
 tum minus usitatum universo regno indixit, a singulis  
 scilicet carucatis terræ indifferenter geminatum soli-  
 dum exigens, vacantibus clericorum, religiosorum, et  
 quorumlibet aliorum privilegiis. Præsentibus quoque  
 ad congratulandum illi quibusdam majoribus Cisterci-  
 ensis ordinis abbatibus: "Devotionem," inquit,<sup>8</sup> "ves-  
 "tram et liberalitatem circa nos, qua potissimum sub-

Hugh de  
 Puiset,  
 bishop of  
 Durham,  
 loses the  
 earldom of  
 Northuu-  
 berlaud  
 which he  
 had pur-  
 chased.

A land tax  
 of two  
 shillings  
 on the  
 carucate  
 imposed on  
 clergy and  
 laity alike.

Richard  
 borrows  
 moneuy on  
 the wool  
 belonging  
 to the Cis-  
 tercians.

<sup>1</sup> *regiæ imminentiæ*, B.C.D.S.; R. has *regiæ imminente*.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *nudaret*.

<sup>3</sup> *ne*, D.

<sup>4</sup> From Hoveden (iii. 261) this

appears to have happened about July.

<sup>5</sup> *animum*, om. B.

<sup>6</sup> *connectam*, B.

<sup>7</sup> C. has *obsidiis*.

<sup>8</sup> *inquit*, om. B.

“stantiæ vestræ, id est, vellera oviumstrarum, A.D. 1194.  
 “redemptioni nostræ impendistis, ut dignum est, ap-  
 “probamus, et uberiorem suo tempore, si vita comes  
 “fuerit, rependere gratiam pro gratia ista<sup>1</sup> cogitamus.  
 “Ut autem vobis perpetuæ sinus gratiæ debitores,  
 “oportet ut adhuc semel vestrum ad nos declarantes  
 “affectum, lanam vestram anni præsentis nobis non  
 “gravemini commodare. Nam cum ab imperatore  
 “dimissi in multa paupertate ad propria tenderemus,  
 “confisi de vobis, urgentissima necessitate, a trans-  
 “marinis mercatoribus in usus necessarios ejusdem  
 “lanæ vestræ pretium sumpsimus, quod procul dubio  
 “ad scaccarium nostrum mensis Octobris probatæ  
 “caritati vestræ cum gratiarum actione reddemus.”  
 Hoc modo religiosos illos quasi blandiendo spolians,  
 clarissimis monasteriis egestatem insolitam irrogavit.  
 Rebus igitur in Anglia dispositis, et viro industrio,<sup>2</sup> Leaving  
 Cantuariensi scilicet<sup>3</sup> archiepiscopo, principali pro- arch-  
 curatore regni constituto, exercitu quoque Anglico, qui bishop  
 cum eo transfretaret, ordinato, descendit ad mare. Hubert as  
 Ubi accepto de transmarinis partibus nuntio, quod adminis-  
 Francorum copiæ irruptionem in Normanniam medi- trator of  
 tantes convenissent, cum gravi tædio transfretandi the king-  
 opportunitatem expectans, sæpiusque elementa incu- dom,  
 sans, tandem, auris ad votum spirantibus, transfretavit, Richard  
 susceptusque a suis cum gratulationibus, sua præsentia embarks  
 post longum torporem ad præclaram fiduciam animos with an  
 eorum erexit. Normandy  
 (May 12)

<sup>1</sup> *ista*, B.D.S.; om. C.

<sup>2</sup> D. has *industria*.

<sup>3</sup> *scilicet*, C.D.S.; om. B.

## CAP. II.

*Quæ acta sunt<sup>1</sup> inter regem Anglorum et inimicos  
ejus postquam transfretavit.*

A.D. 1194.

The king  
of France  
besieges  
Vernuil.

Soon after  
Richard's  
approach  
the French  
retreat  
(May 30).

Destruc-  
tion of  
Evreux  
(before  
July 4).

Interea rex Francorum Vernullium oppidum muni-  
tissimum, quod olim pater ejus incassum obsederat,  
cum infinitis copiis, paternæ in hac parte sortis heres  
futurus, obsedit. Rex autem Anglorum opportune suis  
in Normannia redditus, contracto paulatim exercitu,  
non longe a Vernullio,<sup>2</sup> apud castellum quod dicitur  
Aquila castra posuit. Cumque<sup>3</sup> per dies aliquot ibi-  
dem consedisset,<sup>4</sup> Francorum exercitus conserendi cum  
eo prælii discrimen declinans, postquam in oppugna-  
tione oppidi multo cassoque labore sudaverat, soluta  
obsidione recessit. Porro rex eorum, tanquam ad de-  
tergendum pudendæ recessionis dedecus, urbem Ebroi-  
censem,<sup>5</sup> quam prius spoliarat,<sup>6</sup> pervicaci furore evertit;  
nec celeberrimæ in illis regionibus ecclesiæ beati Tau-  
rini pepereit: cum enim eandem incendi jussisset, et  
nullus ex tanto exercitu, divini timoris intuitu, nefariæ  
jussionis executor existeret, ipse, ut dicitur, cum qui-  
busdam perditis<sup>7</sup> ex illo hominum genere quos Ribal-  
dos vocant ingressus, sacris ædibus ignem immisit.  
Denique, ut fertur, quod ex eadem ecclesia sublatum  
est, Carnotensi civitati illatum,<sup>8</sup> eidem clarissimæ<sup>9</sup>  
civitati quasi ignis fuit: quæ nimirum consequenter

<sup>1</sup> *sunt*, B.C.; *sint*, D.S.

<sup>2</sup> *Vernullio*, D.S.; *Vernulio*, B.C.

<sup>3</sup> *Cumque*, B.D.R.S.; *cum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> B. has *concedisset*.

<sup>5</sup> *Eboroiensem*, C. Diceto (ii. 115) says that, "*ne nil videretur egisse*," Philip went straight to Fontaines near Rouen, destroyed the castle and retired. Hoveden (iii. 255) states that Philip, after leaving Vernueil, agreed to

a conference at Pont de l'Arche, but instead of attending it went to Fontaines and attacked the castle. In the mean time Richard took Loches (June 13), and then ensued the destruction of Evreux.

<sup>6</sup> *spoliarat*, C.D.S.; *spoliavit*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *perditis*, B.D.S.; *perfidis*, C.

<sup>8</sup> *illatum . . . civitati*, C.D.S.; om.

B

<sup>9</sup> C. has *idem carissimæ*.



præne usque ad consumptionem fuit in combustionem et cibus ignis. Bellum igitur inter duos reges magnos, alternantibus circa partes, ut assolet, dextris sinistrisque casibus, gerebatur. Verum regis Anglorum, quem paulo ante et thesauris dura spoliabat captivitas et, occasione captivitatis, integritate finium suorum hostilis mutilarat immanitas, feliciores post tantam circa eum fortunæ malitiam successus fuere. Quippe in hoc bello nec unius passum pedis de terra possessionis suæ perdidit, et de munitionibus quæ illi<sup>1</sup> perierant castellum nobile, quod Luches dicitur, cum quibusdam aliis bellica sorte recepit.<sup>2</sup> Hostium quoque fines ingressus, nonnullis fortiter et prospere gestis, Vindocinum<sup>3</sup> veniens, ibidem per dies aliquot exercitum recreavit. Rex autem Francorum, cum eum hinc abisse putaret, non longe a Vindocino<sup>4</sup> castra locavit; sed hostis vicinitate<sup>5</sup> comperta, de nocte recessit.<sup>6</sup> Mane facta rex Anglorum abeuntem exercitum persecutus, regis fugientis plaustra et clitellas cum quibusdam arcanis et gaza multiplici variaque suppellectili comprehendit.

A.D. 1194.

Richard regains the castle of Loches (June 13).

He goes to Vendôme.

Sane ipso tempore infestabatur etiam<sup>7</sup> a quibusdam nequissimis desertoribus in Aquitania, Geofrido<sup>8</sup> scilicet Ranconensi<sup>9</sup> et comite Engolesmensi viris præpotentibus, et Francorum, a quibus in eum instigati erant, fiducia multum ferocibus.<sup>10</sup> Sed filius regis Navarorum, germanus Berengeriæ reginæ Anglorum, cum exercitu Aquitaniam ingressus, terra utriusque desertoris vastata, cum fortè paterni decensus nuntium accepisset succes-

Geoffrey of Rancon and the count of Angoulême head an outbreak in Aquitaine.

<sup>1</sup> *illi*, B.C.S.; *illis*, D.<sup>2</sup> The events noticed in note 5, p. 418, belong here.<sup>3</sup> This name here and below has been altered in B. to *Vendoucrum* and *Vendomo*.<sup>4</sup> D. has *Vindocio*.<sup>5</sup> *vicinitate*, B.D.S.; *in civitate*, C.<sup>6</sup> This was on July 5 (Hoveden, iii. 255, R. de Die., 674).<sup>7</sup> *etiam*, om. B.<sup>8</sup> *Geofrido*, B.; *Geodfrido*, C.<sup>9</sup> *Ranconiensi*, C.D.S.; B., by late alteration, *Xantonensi*, and below *Xantonensem*.<sup>10</sup> They were suppressed before 22 July. See Richard's letter of that date to Archbishop Hubert.

A.D. 1194. sionis gratia ad propria remeavit.<sup>1</sup> Cumque post modicum fatalis memoratum Ranconensem necessitas sustulisset, rex Anglorum cum exercitu superveniens famosissimum castrum ejus, quod dicitur Tailleburch,<sup>2</sup> matura deditione obtinuit, moxque impetum in alium desertorem convertens, civitatem Engolismam eruente celeritate expugnavit;<sup>3</sup> rege nimirum Francorum dum hæc fierent mollius agente, quem scilicet spe induciarum, de quibus inter eos jam tractabatur, astute suspenderat.

Capture  
of Angou-  
lême.

### CAP. III.

*De induciis inter reges statutis, et pace<sup>4</sup> provinci-  
arum præterquam ab<sup>5</sup> exactionibus regis.*

A.D. 1194. Anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo quarto, circa festivitatem principis Apostolorum quæ dicitur *Ad Vincula*, post multam conflictationem et casus varios, mediantibus honoratis, induciæ quas treugas vocant inter reges sancitæ sunt in annum: regi quidem Anglorum per captivitatem multum attenuato ad reparationem virium admodum utiles, licet, ut quibusdam videbatur, parum honestæ, cum intra fines jam breviores Normanniam possideret; sed præponderavit ratio utilitatis, et rebus cum<sup>6</sup> aliquantula etiam honestatis jactura oportuit consuli. Quo facto, modicam laborantes provinciæ pausam recepere.<sup>7</sup> Verum in illa in-

A truce  
for a year  
is con-  
cluded  
about  
August 1  
(July 23).

<sup>1</sup> This was Sancho the Strong. He was on his way to the siege of Loches when he received the news (Hoved. iii. 253). This would therefore have been before June 13. The date, however, usually assigned for the death of Sancho VI. is June 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Tailleburch*, C.D.S.; *Tailleburch*, B.

<sup>3</sup> "*In una vesperata*," and before July 22 (Hoved. iii. 257).

<sup>4</sup> *et pace*, B.D.S.; *et de pace*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *præterquam ab*, C.D.S.; *postquam*, B.

<sup>6</sup> *rebus cum*, C.R.S.; *rebus præsentibus cum*, B.D.

<sup>7</sup> *recepere*, B.D.S.; *ceperc*, C.

terpolatione malorum, exquirendarum ambitu pecu- A.D. 1194.  
 niarum vehementius excanduit in subditos avaritia  
 principum, dum cogitarent cogitationes magis belli  
 quam pacis, et ad futuros se motus modis omnibus  
 præpararent. Denique in hac re nulla vacavit<sup>1</sup> occasio,  
 et ubi forte occasio vel imaginaria defuit, mera tamen Fiscal ex-  
 per exactores regios ad extorquendum violentia non actions of  
 quievit; illis maxime onera insolita frustra causantibus, Richard  
 qui de superiorum religiosa indulgentia principum ab and Philip  
 omni exactione seculari immunes et liberi esse solebant, from  
 viri scilicet religiosi. Et memoratorum<sup>2</sup> quidem regum the church.  
 Christianissimi patres præcipui religiosorum patroni et  
 protectores fuisse noscuntur; filios vero minus in hac  
 parte patrissare dolemus. Et quidem rex Anglorum  
 propter inquietam adolescentiam in regni sui primordiis  
 plus formidabatur tanquam immitior princeps futurus.  
 Porro de rege Francorum ob patris memoriam et  
 ætatis teneræ mores innoxios in suis auspiciis meliora  
 sperabantur, atque omne hominum genus imprecabatur  
 illi<sup>3</sup> prospera. At cum a partibus Orientis, ut supra  
 memoratum est, ad propria remcasset, implacabili  
 odio regis Anglorum in virum alterum mutatus est,  
 et tanquam se de illo in propriis ulturus subditis, fere  
 omnibus, et maxime religiosis clericisque, gravis appa-  
 ruit. Rex vero Anglorum de captivitate reversus, Deo  
 propitio, mitior inventus est. Unde venerabilis Johan- Saying of  
 nes Lugdunensis archiepiscopus,<sup>4</sup> qui ipso forte tempore John of  
 in Angliam venerat, cum Lundoniis constitutus sederet Poitiers,  
 cum viris honoratis, et plurimi coram eo de proprii Arch-  
 principis duritia quererentur: "Nolite," inquit, "sic bishop of  
 " loqui: dico enim vobis, quia<sup>5</sup> rex vester in compara- Lyons, as  
 to the two  
 kings.

<sup>1</sup> C. has *vocavit*.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *rememoratorum*.

<sup>3</sup> *illi*, B.D.S.; *ei*, C.

<sup>4</sup> John of Poitiers, otherwise John Belesmeins. He had been treasurer of York in 1154, bishop of Poitiers 1162-1181, archbishop

of Lyons 1181-1194. Hoveden says he retired from his see and finished his days at Clairvaux. Diceto (ii. 120) says he visited Canterbury on September 8, 1194.

<sup>5</sup> See note 2, p. 76.

A.D. 1194. "tione regis Francorum heremita est." Et pauca de moribus<sup>1</sup> ejusdem regis subtexens, adjecit cum ætate proxime exacta ita propriis pepercisse thesauris, ut omnes sumptus belli, quod cum rege gerebat Anglorum, ab ecclesiis maximeque monasteriis extorqueret.

## CAP. IV.

*Quomodo tironum exercitia<sup>2</sup> tempore regis Ricardi esse in Anglia cœperunt.*

A.D. 1194. Currentibus igitur inter reges induciis, meditationes militares, id est, armorum exercitia, quæ<sup>3</sup> torneamenta vulgo dicuntur, in Anglia celebrari cœperunt, rege id decernente, et a singulis, qui exerceri vellent, indictæ<sup>4</sup> pecuniæ modulum exigente.<sup>5</sup> Nec movit hæc regia exactio alacritatem juvenum in arma flagrantium quominus flagrarent atque exercendi sollemniter convenirent. Sane hujusmodi, nullo interveniente odio, sed pro solo exercitio atque ostentatione virium concertatio militaris nunquam in Anglia fuisse noseitur nisi in diebus regis Stephani, cum per ejus indecentem mollietiam nullus esset publicæ vigor disciplinæ. Porro temporibus regum priorum, Henrici quoque secundi qui Stephano successit, tironum exercitiis in Anglia prorsus inhibitis, qui forte armorum affectantes gloriam exerceri volebant, transfretantes in terrarum exercebantur confiniis. Considerans igitur illustris<sup>6</sup> rex Ricardus Gallos in conflictibus tanto esse acriores<sup>7</sup>

The king re-introduces the practice of holding tournaments, and makes them at once a source of revenue and a means of training his knights.

<sup>1</sup> For *moribus* D. has *omnibus*.

<sup>2</sup> For *tironum exercitia*, B. has *tyrannum ex tertia* (sic).

<sup>3</sup> B. has *quod*.

<sup>4</sup> *indictæ*, C.R.S.; *indictum*, B.D.

<sup>5</sup> There was a regular scale. An earl paid 20 marks, a baron 10, a knight owning land 4, a knight without estates 2. Theobald Walter,

brother of the archbishop, was made collector of this revenue. The charter, dated 20th August 1194, is in the *Fœdera*, i. 65. See Hoveden, iii. 268.

<sup>6</sup> *illustris*, om. C., a marginal correction having been erased.

<sup>7</sup> *acriores*, B.D.S.; *atrociore*s, C.

quanto exercitatiores atque instructiores, sui quoque A.D. 1194.  
 regni milites in propriis finibus exerceri voluit, ut ex  
 bellorum sollempni præludio verorum<sup>1</sup> addicerent ar-  
 tem usumque bellorum, nec insultarent Galli Anglis  
 militibus tanquam rudibus et minus gnaris. Scien-  
 dum vero hujusmodi armorum exercitia tribus gene-  
 ralibus conciliis sub tribus<sup>2</sup> venerabilibus Romanis  
 pontificibus esse prohibita. Unde in concilio Latera-  
 nensi Alexander papa; "Felicis," inquit, "memoriæ  
 " papæ Innocentii et Eugenii prædecessorum nostro-  
 " rum vestigiis inhærentes, detestabiles nudinas, quas  
 " vulgo torneamenta vocant, in quibus milites ex  
 " conducto venire solent, et audacia temeraria con-  
 " grediuntur, unde mortes hominum et animarum  
 " pericula sæpe proveniunt, fieri prohibemus. Quod  
 " si quis eorum ibidem mortuus fuerit, quamvis ei  
 " poscenti pœnitentia non negetur, Christiana tamen  
 " careat sepultura."<sup>3</sup> Cum ergo sollempnem illum tiro-  
 num concursum tanta sub gravi censura vetet<sup>4</sup> auc-  
 toritas, fervor tamen juvenum, armorum vanissime  
 affectantium gloriam, gaudens favore principum pro-  
 batos habere tirones volentium, ecclesiasticæ provisio-  
 nis usque in præsens sprevit decretum.

Tourna-  
ments had  
been for-  
bidden by  
the church  
on several  
occasions.

## CAP. V.

*De reditu Johannis ad fratrem.*

Eodem tempore Johannes frater regis Anglorum A.D. 1194.  
 cum multo dedecore contra fratrem militabat regi  
 Francorum, a quo, scilicet dum frater in Alemannia<sup>5</sup>  
 teneretur, abstractus erat atque illectus, ut ruptis na-  
 turæ legibus fraternis hostibus jungeretur. Qui nimi-

Philip  
finding  
Prince  
John no  
longer use

<sup>1</sup> B. has *virorum*.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *tribus et*.

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. i. pp. 219, 220.

<sup>4</sup> *vetet*, C.D.S.; *vetat*, B.

<sup>5</sup> B. has *Almannia*.

A.D. 1194. rum dum plurimum potuit, regi Francorum honorabilis fuit; ubi vero captis munitionibus quas in Anglia patris vel fratris profusa largitione acceperat, tanquam nihil habens ad nocendum fratri, factus est impotens, sprexit eum rex Francorum, tanquam opera ejus non indigens. Ille autem videns fratrem non modo saluum ad propria remeasse verum etiam<sup>1</sup> bene prosperari, tandem dignatus est ei reconciliari. Itaque, mediante matre, supplex ad fratrem rediit, a quo satis fraterne susceptus, ei<sup>2</sup> de cetero contra regem Francorum fideliter et fortiter militavit, priores excessus novis officiis expians, et fraternam in se caritatem ad plenum reformans. Hugo quoque Nunantinus,<sup>3</sup> Cestrensis episcopus, vir inconstans in omnibus viis suis, qui a facie regis Anglorum, pungente mala conscientia, in Franciam fugerat, eundem regem non modica summa placavit: et<sup>4</sup> episcopatu suo recepto, regiis magis negotiis quam sollicitudinis pastoralis officiis de cetero inservire curavit.

ful, scorns his services.

Queen Eleanor reconciles her sons (May).

Hugh, bishop of Coventry, makes his peace with the king by gifts.

## CAP. VI.

*Quomodo Stephanus quidam<sup>5</sup> a demone delusus est.*

A.D. 1193.

Story as to Stephen, seneschal of Anjou.

Libet hoc loco commemorare quod<sup>6</sup> Stephano<sup>7</sup> procuratori Andegavis<sup>8</sup> contigisse fertur, paulo ante reditum ab Alemannia regis Anglorum. Idem enim

<sup>1</sup> etiam, C.D.S.; et, B.

<sup>2</sup> ei, C.D.S.; et, B.

<sup>3</sup> Nunantinus, C.S.; Nonantinus, B.D.

<sup>4</sup> et, B.C.S.; in, D.

<sup>5</sup> Quomodo . . . quidam, om. B.

<sup>6</sup> quid, C.

<sup>7</sup> Stephen de Marzai, otherwise de Turonis or de Turnham. This is the man whose zeal in setting fire to the suburbs of Le Maus increased Henry's difficulties by in-

volving the city in the conflagration. On Henry's death Richard had to get his father's treasure and castles from Stephen by violence, putting him in prison at Winchester and fining him heavily. Hoved. ii. 363; iii. 3.; Bened. ii. 67, 71; Ric. Divis., 6. He is mentioned in the Pipe Roll, 1 Ric. I., p. 8, and in the *Itinerarium*.

<sup>8</sup> Andegavis, B.C.S.; *Andegavia*, D.

A.D. 1193.

Stephanus ex statu mediocri ad tantæ administratio-  
 nis<sup>1</sup> culmen a rege Henrico sublevatus, ipso superstitè  
 prudentiam atque modestiam in suis actibus ostenta-  
 vit: filio quoque ejus, regi Ricardo, sic placuit, ut  
 eandem illi administrationem crederet peregre profec-  
 turus. Porro ille conjectans delicati corporis princi-  
 pem ex longissimæ et laboriosissimæ peregrinationis  
 magnis certisque periculis vel non vel difficillime posse  
 reverti, in diutina absentia ejus cœpit creditæ sibi  
 potestatis fines excedere, atque ambulare in magnis et  
 mirabilibus super se. Volens autem certissime dig-  
 noscere utrum idem princeps ad propria foret rever-  
 surus, suadente quodam familiari, quendam Toleti con-  
 sistentem in artibus curiosis famosum super hoc cre-  
 didit consulendum, habens divinationis pretium in  
 manibus. Ille vero assumens deludendum hominem  
 in locum secretum, caput illi quoddam adorandum  
 exhibuit: "Quære," inquit, "ab<sup>2</sup> hoc, sed pauca et  
 "breviter; nam ad multiloquium et ad plura non  
 "respondet." Tum ille: "Num," inquit, "visurus  
 "sum regem Ricardum?" Et respondit nequam spi-  
 ritus de capite: "Non." Et ille: "Quamdiu," inquit,  
 "durabit mihi administratio suscepta a regibus?"  
 Respondit spiritus: "Usque ad mortem tuam." Tertio  
 quæsivit ubi esset moriturus? Et responsum est: "In  
 "pluma." Nec licuit ei ulterius quærere: sed dimis-  
 sus a vate, lætus abscessit, concinmatam dæmonis fal-  
 laciam suo tempore experturus. Denique præcepit suis,  
 ut modis omnibus præcaverent ne quid sibi plumeum  
 occasione qualibet applicarent sive substernerent: hac  
 sibi cautela vitam longissimam pollicens, cum non es-  
 set moriturus nisi in pluma. Cœpit ergo de cetero  
 tanquam præsciis futurorum confidentius agere, con-  
 culcare subditos, et maxime quendam ex nobilibus,

He con-  
 sults a  
 wizard as  
 to the  
 probable  
 duration  
 of his  
 existing  
 powers.

<sup>1</sup> C. reads *ministratiois*.  
 u 13836.

| <sup>2</sup> B. has *ad*.

A.D. 1193. quem suspectum atque exosum habebat, urgere. Qui — viribus impar, in quandam munitionem suam fugit a facie insequentis.<sup>1</sup> Ille vero munitionem castris circumdedit, ut eam oppugnaret. Et cum forte circa eam cum paucis negligentius oberraret, qua parte facilius capi posset explorans, repente vir ille, quem ad audendum desperatio stimulabat, cum suis per posticam erumpens, raptum hostem, et quasi iudicio Dei in manus suas<sup>2</sup> traditum,<sup>3</sup> muris cum gaudio intulit, et frustra offerentem plurima pro anima sua crudeliter laniatum trucidavit. Munitione vero illa dicebatur Pluma: patuitque cavillatio spiritus illusoris prædicentis<sup>4</sup> quod infelix ille moriturus esset in pluma.<sup>5</sup>

Similar story as to pope Silvester II. (A.D. 1003).

Simile est quod olim contigisse noscitur Gereberto pseudo-papæ;<sup>6</sup> qui nimirum magicis sacrilegiis deditus, quæsit a capite æneo quando foret moriturus, et responsum est ei: "Quando debebis missam celebrare in Jerusalem." Credens itaque responsum vacillare non posse, et cogitans se nunquam visurum sanctam civitatem Jerusalem, cœpit vivere securus, tanquam nunquam moriturus vel saltem longissime victurus. Porro ignorabat a dæmone dignus illudi, Romæ esse ecclesiam Jerusalem<sup>7</sup> dictam, ubi Romanus pontifex singulis annis consuevit sacra mysteria sollemniter celebrare dominica qua canitur, '*Lætare*

<sup>1</sup> C. reads *subsequentis*.

<sup>2</sup> D. has *suos*.

<sup>3</sup> The passage from *traditum* to *trucidavit* is written in the margin of D. in the hand that wrote the spurious chapter which in that MS. follows cap. 34. See Preface to Vol. i. p. xlvi.

<sup>4</sup> *præcedentis* in C.

<sup>5</sup> This story, though absurd in many respects, supplies several details as to the life of a man who

must have played a considerable part during the king's absence. The fact of his re-appointment after being fined and imprisoned is a curious commentary on the very similar treatment of Ranulf de Glanville.

<sup>6</sup> This is Silvester II., who despite his magical arts cannot be described as *pseudo-papa*. He was pope 999–1003. This story perhaps comes from W. of Malmesb. (i.283).

<sup>7</sup> Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme.



*Jerusalem*.<sup>1</sup> Cum ergo et ipse pro tempore exigeretur debitum<sup>2</sup> consuetudinis, tandem vel sero fallacis responsi<sup>3</sup> exhorruit atque expertus est veritatem.

De Alberico<sup>4</sup> quoque comite quondam<sup>5</sup> Northanhimbrorum<sup>6</sup> simile narratur; qui cum esset magnus et potens, proprio statu non contentus ambiebat majora, et consulto dæmone per quendam nefariæ artis sectatorem, audivit quod Græciam esset habiturus. Denique relictis omnibus quæ habebat, partes adiens Orientis, Græciam ingressus est pro fide oraculi. Cumque in Græcia<sup>7</sup> multam incassum moram fecisset, et auditum forte esset a Græcis quod super eos regnaturus advenisset, nudatum bonis<sup>8</sup> omnibus de<sup>9</sup> finibus suis exturbarunt, vix animæ ejus parentes.<sup>10</sup> Post annos vero fessus laboribus et<sup>11</sup> ærumnis Northmanniam rediit, et benigne susceptus est pro agnitione veteri a rege Henrico: qui fesso volens in reliquum providere, viduam ei nobilem cum omni patrimonio suo despondit. Cui mulieri cum in sollempni benedictione a sacerdote diceretur: "Domina Græcia, complacet tibi in homine isto?" sic enim illa dicebatur; tunc demum ille agnovit astutiam spiritus illusoris, qui mentem cupidam in spem vanam erexerat, prædicendo quod Græciam esset habiturus.

A.D. 1193.

Story as to Alberic, earl of Northumberland (after A.D. 1080).

<sup>1</sup> In 1003 this day was March 8, but pope Silvester II. died on May 11. Malmesbury says, "ibi cantat missam papa tribus Dominicis quibus prætitulatur, *Statio ad Jerusalem*."

<sup>2</sup> D. has *debitam*.

<sup>3</sup> *responsis* in C.

<sup>4</sup> He preceded Robert de Mowbray as Earl of Northumberland, but seems to have been deprived for inefficiency. *Syn. Dunelm.* (Twysden, col. 205, l. 17).

<sup>5</sup> *quondam*, C.D.S.; om. B.

<sup>6</sup> *Northanhimbrorum*, D.S.; *Northanhimbrorum*, B.; *Northanhimbrorum*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *Græcia*, B.D.; *Graciam*, C.S.

<sup>8</sup> For *nudatum bonis*, B. has *auditum a bonis*.

<sup>9</sup> *de*, om. B.

<sup>10</sup> B. has *parentes*; in D. the word has been corrected from *parentes*.

<sup>11</sup> For *et C.* has *etiam*.

## CAP. VII.

*Quomodo ceciderit regnum Normannorum in Sicilia.*

A.D. 1194.

The  
emperor  
Henry VI.  
takes pos-  
session of  
the entire  
kingdom  
of Sicily.

Sicilian  
history  
from the  
time of  
Robert  
Guiscard.

Iisdem<sup>1</sup> diebus florentissimum Siciliæ regnum, quod a Wischardo<sup>2</sup> incipiens plus annis centum statum immobilem habuisse dignoscitur, casus magis malitia quam vi<sup>3</sup> externa expugnatum,<sup>4</sup> cum annexis provinciis, scilicet Campania, Apulia, <sup>5</sup> Calabria, in imperatoris Teutonici ditionem transivit. Quod ut competentiùs exponatur, narrationis exordium altius sumendum est.

Tempore igitur Willelmi senioris, qui debellavit gentem Anglorum, Wischardus,<sup>6</sup> medioeri loco ex Normannia oriundus, cum eidem regi militans minus proficeret et propriæ virtutis confidentia nesciret humili contentus esse fortuna, relicta patria cum paucis comitibus Apuliam profectus est. Cumque ibi præclare militaret, exemplo ejus incitati paulatim ad eum confluxere<sup>7</sup> ex gente ejus viri inopes, et commodis amplioribus inhiantes, factusque est<sup>8</sup> eorum princeps: illos quoque, quibus paulo ante militaverat, cum malignari<sup>9</sup> et fraudare inciperent, in brevi subjugavit; ususque procurrente fortuna, ita invaluit ut opulentissimis provinciis Apulia et Calabria in potestatem redactis, mira successuum felicitate regno quoque Siciliæ potiretur. Nec contentus hac gloria, Græciam hostiliter ingressus, imperatoris Constantinopolitani provincias occupavit: eundem bello congressum, fuis ejus copiis, inglorium fugere compulit.

<sup>1</sup> *iisdem*, S.; *his*, B.C.D.<sup>2</sup> *Wischardo*, S.; *Wiscardo*, B.C.D.<sup>3</sup> B. has *in* for *vi*.<sup>4</sup> C. has *pugnatum*.<sup>5</sup> B. and D. insert *et* before *Calabria*.<sup>6</sup> *Wischardus*, S.; *Wiscardus*, B.C.D.<sup>7</sup> B. has *confixere*.<sup>8</sup> *est*, C.S.; om. B.D.<sup>9</sup> D. alone has the form *malignare*.

Quo reparante bellum, et latissimi contrahente vires imperii, ille a Romano pontifice, qui ab imperatore Teutonico infestabatur, accepto mandato ut beati Petri ecclesie sub omni celeritate subveniret, reliquit in Græcia cum exercitu filium Boamundum,<sup>1</sup> ipse vero, assumpta parte militiae, conceitus in Italiam rediit. Factumque<sup>2</sup> est, supra modum ardentibus prosperis, ut una<sup>3</sup> die de utroque imperatore, felicitate non dispari triumpharet: de imperatore quidem Teutonico per semetipsum in Italia, de imperatore vero Constantinopolitano per filium in Græcia. Verum non multo post sollicitate ab eodem imperatore uxoris absumptus veneno,<sup>4</sup> quam vanum sit omne quod seculare est tantæ felicitatis infelici exitu declaravit. Reliquit autem filiis amplissimæ acquisitionis jus universum: qui et egregie post ipsum in multa felicitate et gloria imperasse noscuntur, Græcis Affrisque terribiles, imperatoribus quoque Teutonicis inaccessi. Denique eueurrit clarissimæ successione series usque ad Willelmum<sup>5</sup> Willelmi filium: qui cum illustrissimi regis Anglorum Henrici filiam duxisset uxorem, non susceptis ex ea liberis, immatura morte præreptus est. Cui successit arbitrio et electione optimatum Thancredus<sup>6</sup> nothus, eunetis Teutonicam aspernantibus ditionem, quippe Constantia defuncti regis amita, cui<sup>7</sup> eo defuncto jus successione competere videbatur, Henrico Frederici imperatoris Teutonici filio nupserrat, qui nimirum, patre, ut supra expositum est, in expeditione Orientali defuncto, imperatoriam successione

A.D. 1194.

Death of  
Robert  
Guiscard  
(July 17,  
1085).

Death of  
William  
the Good  
(16 Nov.  
1189).

<sup>1</sup> B. has *Roamundum*.

<sup>2</sup> *factumque*, C.S.; *factum*, B.D.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *uno*.

<sup>4</sup> This is doubted. Though stated by several English and French writers, William of Apulia and Romuald of Salerno say nothing about it. See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, vol. xviii. p. 199. The story above

as to the double victory is also erroneous.

<sup>5</sup> In the earlier part of S., whenever this name appears in full, the spelling is *Wilelmus*; here the more usual form occurs.

<sup>6</sup> *Thancredus*, S.; *Tancredus*, B.D.; *Tamcredus*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *cui* B.D.; *cum*, C.S.

A.D. 1194. legitima nactus potentiam, jus uxorium in imperium Teutonicum redigere studuit. Contractis igitur<sup>1</sup> imperii viribus, Campaniam Apuliamque invasit: civitates nonnullas cum castellis plurimis per deditionem obtinuit. Cumque inelitam in urbibus Neapolim consideret, exorta in castris pestilentia numerosissimi exercitus non modicam partem absumpsit: ipse vero cum reliquis ægre evasit. Interim vero uxor ejus, Salerniæ constituta, incidit in manus hostiles. Civibus quippe, ut dicitur, annitentibus superveniens classis Thancredi,<sup>2</sup> profligata manu militari, quæ ibidem reginæ assistebat, ipsam comprehensam<sup>3</sup> in Siciliam traduxit: verum a rege Thancredo honorifice tractata, marito quoque post modicum resignata est. Cumque idem imperator in Germaniam reversus secundam expeditionem in Apuliam pro abolenda priori macula meditaretur, et ex ærario proprio sumptus bellici minus suppeterent, occasione forte reperta ut futuræ expeditionis promoveret negotium, nævo inexpiabili fœdavit imperium. Imperatoriæ quippe honestatis oblitus, et ex imperatore Christiano alter Saladinus effectus, illustrem Anglorum regem, a partibus Orientis, ubi multum pro Christo sudaverat, ad propria simpliciter revertentem, uti supra plenius relatam est, instigante avaritia captivavit: sicque Anglia usque ad sacros calices pecuniis exinanita satis infames bello Apulico expensas paravit. Rege autem tandem relaxato, sed retentis ejus obsidibus, eo quod avaritiæ ignis exæstuans<sup>4</sup> in pectore inverecundo nondum diceret "Sufficit," infinitas ex omni imperio contraxit copias, hostium fines ingressurus. Verum ante irruptionem bellicam, contigit regem Thancredum cum filiis in fata concedere: nec jam aliquis

Death of  
Tancred  
(20th Feb.  
1194).

<sup>1</sup> C. has *itaque*.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout S. alone has the form *Thancredus*.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *apprehensam*.

<sup>4</sup> *exæstuans*, D.S.; *æstuans*, B.C.

supererat masculus ex semine regio qui vacanti præsumeret regno irrepere, præsertim cum imperiali potentia hereditaria conjugis ejus justitia jungeretur. Adveniens ergo cum exercitu imperator, nomine comparis<sup>1</sup> suæ haud<sup>2</sup> difficulter opulentissimas Apuliæ, Calabriæ, Siciliaeque<sup>3</sup> regiones obtinuit. Et ceteris quidem, ut dicitur, qui sub Thancredo obstiterant veniam dedit; cives vero Salernitanos percutiens castigatione crudeli, ipsam clarissimam civitatem evertit. Quod et victor olim Wischardus<sup>4</sup> ejusdem urbis fecisse civibus dicitur; hoc ipso eis palmam perfidiæ tribuens, et punitionis exemplo disciplinam in posterum sanciens. Sic igitur regnum nobilissimum, quod virili successione diu immobile steterat, per feminam heredem deficiens concidit, atque in provinciam Teutonici imperatoris transivit, anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup> C<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo quarto.

A.D. 1194.

## CAP. VIII.

*De horrenda morte ducis Austriae.*

Anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup> C<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo quinto ingresso, illustri Anglorum regi post gravium experimenta malorum favor cœpit arridere Divinus.<sup>5</sup> Cum enim plusquam viginti marcarum millia præparasset duci Austriae, cum multo periculo mature transmittenda, illi, quos eidem duci pro satisfactione summæ exactæ obsides dederat, repente affuere, habentes mel et lac sub lingua sua; hostem scilicet immanissimum divini pondere judicii obrutum nuntiantes, et pro fide nuntii seipsos cum gaudio ostentantes.

A.D. 1195.

Return  
of the  
hostages  
from  
Austria  
with news  
of duke  
Leopold's  
death.

<sup>1</sup> *compatri* (sic) in C.<sup>2</sup> B. has *aut*.<sup>3</sup> *que*, om. B.<sup>4</sup> *Wischardus*, S.; *Wischardus* B.D.C.<sup>5</sup> *divinus*, B.D.S.; *divinitus*, C.

A.D. 1195.

Warning  
portents  
preceding  
his death.

Referabant autem ejusdem potentis<sup>1</sup> terram ante<sup>2</sup> ejus interitum flagello multiplici ita divinitus fuisse attritam, ut ex his posset agnoscere, sibi quoque non lento jam pede appropinquare judicium nisi maturius faceret fructus dignos pœnitentiæ, homo tantorum reus malorum, quæ proculdubio in regnis Christianis provenisse noseuntur ex infelicissima illa captivitate regis Anglorum. Denique, ut dicitur, civitates terræ illius incertam prorsus causam habentibus incendiis conflagrarunt. Danubius fluvius maximus, tanquam ad ultionem egressus, adjacentia quædam loca cum ingenti hominum exitio occupavit. Æstate mediâ tota illa regio, innaturali atque insolita ariditate deficiens, intempestive viroris sui gratia caruit. Semina frugum terræ mandata, cum deberent erumpere, degenerarunt<sup>3</sup> in vermes. Nobiliores quoque terræ illius tanquam effusa pestis morbus absumpsit. Non terruerunt ista eor nequam et avarum quominus opibus Anglicanis inhiaret adhuc, cum plurima jam marearum millia a rege captivo sumpsisset. Et quidem a Romano pontifice pro iis,<sup>4</sup> quæ in eundem regem commiserat, anathemate innodatus, avaritia tamen fortius<sup>5</sup> perurgente superbe derisit sententiam. Jam posita erat divinæ animadversionis securis ad radicem male arboris. Sed quia scriptum est, "Contritionem præcedit superbia, et

Prov. xvi.  
18.

The duke  
is thrown  
from his  
horse and  
his foot is  
crushed,  
Dec. 26  
(1194).

"ante ruinam exaltatur spiritus," de insignis captivi quasi manubiis inclitus, convocatis nobilibus terræ, Dominici Natalis sollemnitatem in multa ostentatione et gloria celebrare voluit. Et die quidem primo gloriosus effulsit: in crastino vero gloriam Deo dedit. Cum enim in natali beati Stephani jam pransus exisset, ut in campo cum suis militibus luderet, forte equus ejus decidens sessorem quoque dejecit, pedemque ejus ita comminuit ut ossa hinc inde confRACTA, rupta cute,

<sup>1</sup> ejusdem potentis, B.D.S.; ejus  
potentes, C.

<sup>2</sup> B. has autem.

<sup>3</sup> D. has degenerant.

<sup>4</sup> his, B.D.

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

exterius prominerent. Acciti mox medici, tantæ læsi-  
 onis curandæ sollicitudinem habuere, atque adhibuere  
 quæ expedire credebant. In crastino vero pes ita deni-  
 gratus apparuit ut a medicis incidendus decerneretur.  
 Quod cum ipse præ vitæ amore fieri postularet, non  
 est inventus vel medicus, vel familiaris, vel filius, qui<sup>1</sup>  
 hoc patraret. Tandem accitus cubicularius ejus, atque  
 ad hoc coactus, dum ipse dux dolabrum manu propria  
 tibie apponeret, malleo vibrato, vix trina percussione  
 pedem ejus abscidit. Medici vero, appositis medica-  
 minibus, cum eum in crastino visitarent,<sup>2</sup> signis haud<sup>3</sup>  
 ambiguis mortem esse in januis cognoscentes, vultu et  
 voce dixerunt: "Dispone domui tuæ, quia morieris tu<sup>4</sup>  
 et non vives." Desperatus igitur accitis episcopis, qui  
 ad sollemnitatem invitati venerant, in conspectu opti-  
 matum a vinculo anathematis, quo eum Romanus inno-  
 daverat pontifex, petiit relaxari. Responsum est ab  
 universo clero, quod nullatenus posset absolvi nisi sub  
 juratoria cautione, quod super injuriis regi Anglorum  
 illatis judicio ecclesie staret; optimatibus quoque  
 pariter jurantibus, quod si forte judicium ecclesiasticum  
 per eum minus procederet, ipsi modis omnibus procu-  
 rarent ne quid ex iis<sup>5</sup> quæ statuerentur in iritum  
 cederet. Hac cautione sollemniter præstita, absolutio-  
 nis munus promeruit; moxque obsides regis Anglorum  
 liberari præcepit. Verum cum post modicum, ingrave-  
 scente molestia, exspirasset, succedens filius paternæ  
 quoque avaritiæ heres esse voluit; et ne ultima  
 defuncti patris voluntas impleretur, adjunctis sibi

A.D. 1195.

Isaias  
xxxviii. 1.

In view of  
 death the  
 duke  
 orders the  
 liberation  
 of the  
 English  
 hostages,  
 and he is  
 then ab-  
 solved.

<sup>1</sup> Hoveden (iii. 276, 277) has identical expressions here and below. Here he writes, "Quod eum ipse fieri postularet non est inventus qui."

<sup>2</sup> Hoveden's words here are: "medici vero, appositis medicaminibus, cum eum in crastino visitarent." The returning hos-

tages "in Angliam venientes narra-  
 verunt hæc omnia" (p. 277). As to the probable cause of these coincidences, see the Preface to Vol. i. pp. xxviii.-xxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *aut*.

<sup>4</sup> *tu*, B.D.S.; om. C.

<sup>5</sup> *his*, B.D.

A.D. 1195. quibusdam nobilibus obstitit. Unde factum est per laudabilem atque invictum 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 contradere voluit. At illi propter viarum pericula expediti repatriare maluerunt, et tanto velocius quanto et<sup>1</sup> alacrius revertentes suæ liberationis nuntii primi extiterunt. Gavisus rex nuntio, gratias egit Deo, et ex eo correctior vixisse perhibetur.

His son  
hesitates to  
carry out  
the release,  
but the  
clergy  
refuse to  
bury his  
father's  
corpse  
until he  
has com-  
plied.

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CAP. IX.

*Quid Dei ordinatione venerit in pago Cenomannensi ad correctionem regis Anglorum.*

A.D. 1195 ? Aliud quoque ipso tempore in pago Cenomannensi accidisse fertur, quod eundem regem non frustra ter-  
ritum suæ propensius salutis admonuit. Res pluribus nota est, quam nostræ simpliciter narrationi inserimus prout nobis viri venerabiles et fide digni tradidere, a Cenomannensi episcopo id ipsum se accepisse protestantes.

Story told  
by the  
bishop of  
Le Mans  
as to a man  
assailed by  
a devil.

Vir quidam ex ejusdem episcopi clientela, piæ devotionis instinctu, profectus Hispanias ad memoriam beati apostoli Jacobi, cum sospitate ad propria remearat. Qui post modicum calore fidei et devotionis fortius ignescens, longe laboriosiori peregrinatione sepulchrum invisere Dominicum voluit. Valedicens ergo suis, iter opportune arripuit; et cum forte solus graderetur, repente in ipsa via obstitit ei quidam enormi corpore et vultu terribili. Pavefactus homo, elevata manu, Christianam sumpsit armaturam. Ille

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<sup>1</sup> *et*, B.D.S.; om. C.



vero tanquam non reputans salutare signaculum: "Nequaquam," inquit, "hoc modo tueri te poteris, quin meus sis; porro si procidens adoraveris me, faciam te locupletem et inclitum valde." Ad hæc homo, pavorem fiducia superans, cum libertate respondit: "Liquet te esse partis sinistrae, sint tua tibi; nam mihi sufficit omnipotentis Dei largitio, quem solum adoro." Et ille: "Oportet," inquit, "te vel invitum aliquid habere de meo." Et proferens tanquam pallium subtilis materiae, jactavit super caput hominis, quod mox attactu igneo capillis exustis cutem quoque capitis<sup>1</sup> denigravit. Prosiliensque hostis, hominem periculo anxium per brachium apprehendit. Homo vero cum tanta perurgeret necessitas, sanctum Jacobum ex recentis obsequii conscientia fortiter inclamavit. Qui beatus Apostolus in specie<sup>2</sup> reverenda manifeste mox affuit, et potenti verbo invasorem improbum increpavit. Ut autem homo de manibus inimici furentis ereptus, tuto jam auditu perciperet, quorum, ut creditur, audiendorum gratia per voluntatem Dei articulum illum incidere: Apostolus ad nequam illum: "Dic," inquit, "quis sis, vel quid negotii habeas." Qui constrictus imperio: "Dæmon," inquit, "sum generi humano infestus, et mille nocendi artibus instructus. Ego enim grande illud scandalum et Christianæ possessionis jacturam in Oriente patravi: ego inter reges Christianos in Terra Promissionis, ut nil ab eis ageretur, nec prosperaretur opus Dei in manibus eorum, detestabilem discordiam seminavi; regem Anglorum a Syria digressum per ministrum nequitiae meae, ducem scilicet Austriae, captivavi, multimodam exinde malorum occasionem regnis Christianis concinnans; eundem quoque regem de captivitate ad propria revertentem comitatus, in partibus istis nunc consisto, cubili regio tanquam familiaris minister

A.D.  
1195?

The fiend claims to have destroyed the effects of the Third Crusade, and says that he has since beset king Richard.

<sup>1</sup> *capitis*, B.C.S.; om. D.

| <sup>2</sup> B. has *specm*.

A.D.  
1195?

“ frequenter assisto, et circa thesauros ejus apud  
“ Chinonem repositos pervigili cautela observo.” His  
dictis, malignus disparuit: Apostolus etiam,<sup>1</sup> confor-  
tato homine, in suæ se claritatis secretum recepit.  
Homo vero ad urbem Cenomannensem mature rever-  
sus, episcopo virisque prudentibus cuncta<sup>2</sup> per ordi-  
nem replicavit; in argumentum fidei caput depilatum,  
et brachium manus pestiferæ contactu ustulatum, nu-  
davit. Quibus actis, post dies aliquot propositum iter  
repetiit. Nec diu ista latuere regem Ricardum. Qui  
nimirum Ejus qui tangit montes et fumigant timore Ps. cxliii.  
compunctus, salubrioris instinctu consilii, cubiculum<sup>5</sup>  
suum, sicut accepimus, de cetero castius esse voluit,  
et de thesauris suis largiores indigentibus eleemosynas  
erogavit.

## CAP. X.<sup>1</sup>

### *De morte Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi.*<sup>3</sup>

A.D. 1195.

Death of  
Hugh de  
Puiset,  
bishop of  
Durham.

His diebus Hugo Dunelmensis<sup>4</sup> episcopus extrema  
sorto defecit, anno sacerdotii sui quadragesimo secundo.  
Et quidem electorum pontificum, quibus dignus non  
erat mundus, raros legimus tanto tempore officio func-  
tos: nostri autem temporis episcopis, quibus mundus  
non est crucifixus sed infixus, nescientibus cum pro-  
pheta dicere, “ Heu mihi quia incolatus meus pro- Ps. exix. 5.  
“ longatus est,” etiam productius in illa excellentia  
tempus breve videtur, tantusque hos, cum suas vel  
divitias vel delicias<sup>5</sup> deserere coguntur, torquet dolor,  
quantus illis dum affluerent<sup>6</sup> hæsit amor. Dicitur  
autem episcopus ille, nescio unde deceptus, dum in  
prosperis ageret, tam annosam sibi prophetasse æta-

His life  
and cha-  
racter.

<sup>1</sup> etiam, B.D.S.; antem, C.

<sup>2</sup> cuncta, B.C.S.; om. D.

<sup>3</sup> *Dunelmensis*, omitting *episcopi*,

B.

<sup>4</sup> *Dunlmensis*, B.

<sup>5</sup> vel *delicias*, B.R.S.; om. C.D.

<sup>6</sup> D. has *affluerant*. Newburgh  
again quotes from St. Gregory.  
See p. 38.

tem, ut audientibus plurimis pronuntiaret se,<sup>1</sup> oculis senio caligantibus, annos decem in cæcitate acturum. Quamobrem mundo secure incubans, extremis tandem ex improvise urgentibus, hujus sententiæ vel sero agnovit mendacium. Sane utrum in hoc aliquis eum quasi diviuando deluserit, an ipse abundans in sensu suo, ex consideratione bonæ valetudinis suæ, vitam<sup>2</sup> sibi longiorem pollicitus fuerit, incertum est.<sup>3</sup> Quippe usque ad septuagesimum annum quo decessit,<sup>4</sup> morbumque quo absumptus est, fere semper corpore indolentius, sospes, et vegetus vixisse perhibetur. Homo in terrenis disponendis prudentissimus, et sine multis literis eloquentissimus; pecuniarum sitientissimus; earumque scientissimus exquirendarum. Spirituali potentia sive excellentia episcopus non contentus, secularem ambivit; et multa ecclesiasticæ pecuniæ, religiosi potius usibus applicandæ, jactura, quæsivit sibi nomen grande juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in terra. Castellorum instructioni<sup>5</sup> atque insignium in locis plurimis ædificiorum fabricæ deditus, quo plus studuit ædificare in terra, eo remissius ædificare curavit in cælo. Hic nimirum ob solam generis nobilitatem ex seculari vitæ illecebris in ætate minus canonica ad episcopatum assumptus, studiosè implevit illud Salomonis; "Omnia quæ desideraverunt oculi mei non negavi eis; nec prohibui eor meum quin omni voluptate frueretur." Cumque opibus plerumque non pareeret, sed multo studio congesta, ne quid magnis animi sui conceptibus deperiret, indiscrete effunderet, alias tamen multo<sup>6</sup> plus erat congregans quam dispergens. Leprosi indulgentior, nobile illis xenodochium,<sup>7</sup> non longe a civitate Dunelmensi, profusa qui-

A.D. 1195.

He died in his 70th year.

His secular aims.

alip. I.  
i. 8.

les. ii.

He founded a leper's hos-

<sup>1</sup> C. omits *se*.<sup>2</sup> B. has *vita* and omits *sibi longiorem*.<sup>3</sup> *est*, B.D.S.; *sit*, C.<sup>4</sup> Hugh was therefore in his 26th year when consecrated.<sup>5</sup> B. and D. have *exstructioni*.<sup>6</sup> For *tamen multo*, B. has *cum multa*.<sup>7</sup> C. has *xenodochium*. The hospital was at Sherborne, near Durham.

A.D. 1195.  
 ———  
 pital near  
 Durham.

He had  
 taken the  
 cross at  
 the outset  
 of the  
 recent  
 crusade.  
 When  
 asked by  
 Richard to  
 assist in  
 the admini-  
 stration  
 of the  
 kingdom  
 he used the  
 money  
 saved for  
 the crusade  
 to buy the  
 earldom of  
 Northum-  
 berland.  
 The king  
 on his  
 return  
 forces him  
 to give up  
 the earl-  
 dom.  
 The bishop  
 offers  
 money for  
 his resto-  
 ration to  
 the dignity.

dem, sed tamen ex parte minus honesta largitione, construxit; alieni quippe juris non modicum huic devotioni per potentiam applicans, dum propria sufficienter impendere gravaretur. Sane cum post plebis Christianæ in Oriente excidium Christiani principes multusque populus characterem Dominicum suscepissent, ipse quoque ejusdem piæ devotionis consors esse voluit. Denique in capite jejunii signum Domini sollemniter sumpsit, et pro castigandis peccatis suis sub veste exteriori mollia cilicio mutavit, quo tamen diu usus non est. Porro ut abjiciendi etiam sacri characteris occasio non deesset, tepide rogatus a principe, publicæ administrationis sollicitudinem, ut suo loco plenius dictum est, minime recusavit, ac deinde ab eodem callide inductus, appensa illi universa pecunia quam in sumptus longissimæ peregrinationis congresserat, comitatum Northumbriæ comparavit. Quo facto, et rege in Orientem profecto, a sacro tandem<sup>1</sup> caractere humerum liberavit, ac geminato honori episcopus senior comesque novitius incubans, potentiam suam et gloriam usque ad ejusdem principis reditum magnifice ostentavit. Cum autem ejus de captivitate Alemannica in regnum regressi faciem minus sibi ardentem notasset, non aliter eum, quam resignato comitatu, quem gravi summa emerat, et spatio brevi possederat, placari posse credidit. Non tamen vel sic placare eum potuit, quem nimirum exactionibus importunis postmodum gravem sensit, credentem scilicet tanti episcopi sacculos non facile posse exhauriri, præsertim cum ille pro redimendo comitatu, quem olim frustra emerat, in multa quantitate pecuniam novam offerret. Proinde regi in partibus transmarinis constituto, et oblatam quidem pecuniam imminetia regia exigenti, non tamen comitatum reddenti, per responsales et munera supplicavit, ut vel mediante ipsa pe-

<sup>1</sup> C. reads, *in oriente profecto a sacro ordine tandem.*

cunia comitatum redderet vel non reddens ab exactione cessaret. Rex autem callide, ut olim, hominem palpans, literis reverentia plenis mandavit, ut oblatam<sup>1</sup> summam appensurus Lundonias accederet, et tanquam pater patriæ cum archiepiscopo Cantuariensi totius regni moderator de cetero resideret. Qua gratia exhilaratus episcopus in<sup>2</sup> multa lætitia eundi Lundonias iter arripuit; veniensque ad villam propriam, quæ dicitur Creic, dominica qua mos est sacerdotibus caput quadragesimalis jejunii sollempni esu carniū prævenire,<sup>3</sup> ibidem supra virtutem corporis senilis ingurgitavit se epulis, dum miser, cui nil sapit venter, per saporum<sup>4</sup> illecebram de numerositate ferculorum usque ad gravamen proprium suscipere cogereetur. Cumque per vomitum vitio crapulæ mederi voluisset, eo ipso afflictus est magis. Ab illo ergo die sensim deficiens, obstinato tamen animo progressus est itinere dierum aliquot usque<sup>5</sup> Doncastrum; nec ulterius, crescente incommodo, oblectari valens, itinere liquido circa primam dominicam Quadragesimæ delatus Houedennam<sup>6</sup> ibidem<sup>7</sup> decubuit. Et cum ingravescente molestia jam desperaretur, amicis qui aderant suadentibus, testamentum condidit, et pro tempore faciens fructus vel seræ pœnitentiæ, sensu quidem doloris modico, sicut fatebatur,<sup>8</sup> sed defectu paulatim serpente, et tandem prævalente, vitam finivit.<sup>9</sup> Illo autem mortuo, et epi-

A.D. 1195.

Richard evades the bargain, but requests the bishop to come to London, bringing the money, and offers to associate him in office with arch-bishop Hubert.

He reaches Howden about Feb. 20, and there makes his will.

His death (March 3).

<sup>1</sup> C. has *ablata*.

<sup>2</sup> C. for *in* has *et*.

<sup>3</sup> This would be "*Carnivora*" (Shrove Tuesday), the 15th Feb., and Hoveden (iii. 284) says that on Ash Wednesday (16th) he was at York excommunicating the dean's assailants, and that he was taken ill at Doncaster. From Crayke the bishop would naturally pass York in going south, and he was obviously not too ill to be merely present at the excommunication. Thence he slowly

went by land to Doncaster, and, getting worse, was taken by water to Howden about Feb. 20, and died March 3.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *saporem*.

<sup>5</sup> *usque*, B.D.S.; *usque ad*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *Houedennam*, C.D.S.; *Hovendennam*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *ibidem*, B.C.D.; *idem*, S.

<sup>8</sup> *sicut fatebatur*, C.R.S.; *sicut ipse fatebatur*, B.D.

<sup>9</sup> Hoveden supplies the exact date of his death (iii. 284).

A.D. 1195. scopatu illico per ministros regios in fiscum redacto, iidem omnia secreta ejus perscrutantes, quicquid reperi-  
 tum est regiis applicuere commodis. Sed nec ministri  
 et familiares ejus evasere quaestionem, qui nimirum  
 jussione regia tanquam subtractores bonorum ejus dis-  
 trictae discussioni addicti, pro viribus quisque sub-  
 stantiae suae satisfacere sunt compulsi.

The king  
 seizes on  
 the reve-  
 nues of the  
 see and  
 on the  
 bishop's  
 property.

## CAP XI.

*De tribus spuris ejusdem episcopi; et quis ei  
 successerit.*<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1195. Sane memoratus episcopus, dum adhuc Eboracensis  
 esset ecclesiae thesaurarius, paulo ante episcopatum,  
 diversis ex matribus tres spurios fuderat;<sup>2</sup> nec tamen  
 hoc vel ipsum divini respectu iudicii ab episcopatu  
 ambiendo deterruit, vel electionem ejus, quod et cano-  
 nes remissius et homines indiscretius agerent, impe-  
 dit. Ait enim beatus Gregorius scribens clero et  
 nobilibus civitatis Neapolis:

Hugh de  
 Puiset,  
 before  
 becoming  
 bishop of  
 Durham,  
 was the  
 father of  
 three (two)  
 sons.

“Johannem diaconum, qui ab altera parte electus est,  
 “parvulam habere filiam quorundam relatione cognovimus.  
 “Unde si rationem voluissent attendere, nec alii eum  
 “eligere nec ipse debnerat consentire; nam qua praesump-  
 “tione ad episcopatum audet accedere, qui adhuc longam  
 “sui corporis continentiam, filiola teste, convincitur non  
 “habere?”

S. Greg.  
 Epist.  
 Lib. x.  
 Ep. 62.

Si ergo iste propter unam filiulam ad episcopatum  
 non debuit aspirare vel eligi, multo minus ille propter  
 tres filiolos. Episcopatum tamen nactus, susceptam

<sup>1</sup> *ei successit*, D., and B. omit-  
 ting *ei*.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Stubbs, in his Preface  
 to Hoveden (iii. xxxiv., note 4),  
 quotes a charter of Henry de Puiset,  
 one of Hugh's sons, in which he

speaks of “Adelidis de Perei matris  
 “mære.” The second *son* men-  
 tioned below by Newburgh was  
 Hugh's *nephew* Bouchard, arch-  
 deacon of Durham.

quidem ante episcopatum sobolem per illecebram carnalis affectus studuit ad divitias et nomen grande provehere. Porro in episcopatu sobolem minime procreavit. Primogenitus<sup>1</sup> ejus nobiliori matre procreatus, secularē militiam plus amavit. Sequens<sup>2</sup> vero cum archidiaconatu Dunelmensi<sup>3</sup> ecclesias plurimas ad usum magis deliciarum quam utilitatem animarum paterna provisione possedit. Tertius autem, quem pater tenerius diligebat, multa ejus opera et impensa regis Francorum cancellarius, immatura morte paternum verberavit affectum.<sup>4</sup> Medius quoque filiorum a patre superstes sospesque relictus in multa felicitate terrena, a patris decessu mense sexto ejusdem felicitatis vanitatem atque fallaciam patrem sequendo probavit.<sup>5</sup>

Sane anno a morte ejusdem episcopi<sup>6</sup> expleto, et episcopatu per officiales regis multifariam spoliato, accepit eandem sedem nutu regio Philippus,<sup>7</sup> genere Aquitanus. Cum enim esset idem circa principem multo tempore sedulus, laborum particeps, et conscius secretorum, tanquam de se optime meritum præclare remunerari idem rex voluit. Ne autem sumere sibi honorem videretur, sed potius vocari a Deo tanquam Aaron, callide provisum est, atque intentato implacabili regis motu,<sup>8</sup> si quis refragandum duceret, electuris extortum ut præelectum regium eligerent, et veritatem electionis regiae celebri ecclesiasticæ electionis imagine adumbrarent. Solent enim plurimi qui per potentum

A.D. 1195.

Promotions procured for his sons.

Philip of Poitiers is elected bishop of Durham (Nov. 1195).

<sup>1</sup> B. has *Talis primogenitus*.

<sup>2</sup> This was his nephew Bouchard.

<sup>3</sup> *Dunelmensi*, B.D.

<sup>4</sup> Benedict (i. 241) says, respecting privileges granted to the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, that they were "ex dono Lodowici regis Francorum, per manum Hugonis de Puteaco, cancellarii sui, filii Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi."

n 13836.

<sup>5</sup> B. reads *probavit morte*, omitting *a morte* from the next line.

<sup>6</sup> *episcopi*, om. C.

<sup>7</sup> He was elected after the see had been vacant less than a year, viz., in November 1195 (Gervase, i. 530), and was consecrated at Rome on 20 April 1197 (Hoveden, iv. 18).

<sup>8</sup> B. has *et implacabili regis moto*.

A.D. 1195. operam ad ecclesiasticos honores aspirant, ut manifestæ intrusionis evitent elogium,<sup>1</sup> terroribus elicite electionis quasi honestam prætexere speciem. Id vero frustra, cum<sup>2</sup> dicat Apostolus: “Nolite errare. Deus  
 “ non irridetur. Quæ enim seminaverit homo hæc et  
 “ metet.” Galat. vi.  
7, 8.

## CAP. XII.

*Quomodo Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in Eboracensi ecclesia, nomine legati, celebravit<sup>3</sup> concilium: et de lite quæ vertitur inter Cantuariensem et Eboracensem de primatu.*

A.D. 1195.

Arch-  
 bishop  
 Hubert's  
 legatine  
 visitation  
 at York.

Defuncto igitur Dunelmensi episcopo, atque Eboracensi<sup>4</sup> archiepiscopo ad placandam regis iram, quæ adversus eum vehementer excanduerat, in transmarinis partibus constituto, Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et<sup>5</sup> vices non tantum regias in regni moderatione,<sup>6</sup> verum etiam Apostolicas in ecclesiastica ordinatione per totam habens Angliam, ostentaturus gloriam utriusque<sup>7</sup> potestatis, Eboracam metropolim adiit; prælatos totius provinciæ uti sollemniter sibi occurrerent atque assisterent, præmissa auctoritate, imperavit; suppresso pro tempore primatis nomine, ipsam ecclesiam metropolitanam nomine legati Apostolicæ sedis pompaticè ingressus, potestatem in ea magnam exercuit; et nullo obsistente vel reclamante, eo quod omnes vel terrore ejus perstricti vel metropolitanam proprio minus essent devoti, concilium magnifice celebravit.<sup>8</sup> Quibus actis, et seculari quoque pro tempore ibidem jurisdictione expleta, propriæ se provinciæ reddidit.

He holds a  
 council  
 (June  
 14-15).

<sup>1</sup> C. has *eloquium, terroribus illicitæ.*

<sup>2</sup> *cum*, B.C.R.S.; *dum*, D.

<sup>3</sup> B. omits the rest of the rubric.

<sup>4</sup> *Eboracensi*, om. C.

<sup>5</sup> *et*, om. C.

<sup>6</sup> *moderatione*, B.D.S.; *moderamine*, C.

<sup>7</sup> D. has *utrisque*.

<sup>8</sup> The decrees of this council are given in full by Hoveden (iii. 294-297).



Hic commemorandum puto qua vel ratione vel occasione duo metropolitani Anglorum per longa jam tempora de prioratu contenderint.<sup>1</sup> Eboracensis quidem perspicua se beati Gregorii auctoritate tuetur. Scribens enim Augustino Anglorum episcopo: Eboracensem, inquit, episcopum<sup>2</sup> "tuæ fraternitatis dispositioni"<sup>3</sup> volumus subjacere: post obitum vero "tuum, ita episcopis, quos ordinaverit, præsit, ut Lundeniensi episcopi nullo modo ditioni subjaceat." Et adjecit: "Sit vero inter Lundeniæ et Eboracæ episcopos in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut<sup>4</sup> ipse prior habeatur qui prius<sup>5</sup> fuerit ordinatus."<sup>6</sup> Cantuariensis vero episcopus, quem beatus Gregorius Lundeniensem vocat, asserit huic auctoritati posteriori tempore abrogatum: quando scilicet Romanus pontifex doctissimum virum Theodorum, ut venerabilis Beda refert, Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ordinavit episcopum; quem et<sup>7</sup> præfecit universis Angliæ episcopis tanquam primatem; cujus successores per multa tempora eadem prærogativa insignes fuisse noseuntur: unde constat eam non personæ sed ecclesiæ fuisse concessam. Respondetur a parte Eboracensis,<sup>8</sup> quod beatus sancivit Gregorius manifesti et solidi esse juris, quod nullo quidem tempore abrogatum: sed quodam tempore ratione ipsius temporis in usu non fuit, tanquam soporatum et suo tempore excitandum. Anglis siquidem nuper ad fidem Christi conversis, juxta veracis Bedæ historiam, rudes et indocti ex ipsa gente episcopi præesse cœperant: quibus necessario informandis

A.D. 1195.

Statement of the arguments as to the question of priority arising between the archbishops of Canterbury and York.

Beda, Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cap. 29.

<sup>1</sup> C. has *contenderent*. As to the early stages of this quarrel, see W. of Malmesb. *Gesta Pontif.* (Savile, p. 117).

<sup>2</sup> The passage in Beda begins, "quem tamen tuæ fraternitatis," though the words, "Eboracensem episcopum" sufficiently summarise the preceding passage.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *depositioni*.

<sup>4</sup> *ut*, B.D.S.; *quod*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *prius*, B.D.S.; *primus*, C.

<sup>6</sup> The quotation is correct, a merely verbal difference excepted.

<sup>7</sup> C. has *quemque et*.

<sup>8</sup> D. has *Eboracensi*.

A.D. 1195. Romanus pontifex pia providentia doctum præfecit<sup>1</sup> Theodorum, non quidem evacuans decretum beatissimi patris Gregorii, sed tantum consulens tempori.<sup>2</sup> Successores vero Theodori aut similiter tempori<sup>3</sup> consulendum duxerunt, aut temporibus melius se habentibus præsumptores fuerunt: cum Angli episcopi Eboracensi ecclesiæ præsidentes simplicitate quadam rustica de propriæ sedis prærogativa minus curarent, et usum quoque pallii a diebus Paulini episcopi per tempora multa negligerent. Ad hæc dicit Cantuariensis: quia et postquam usus pallii Eboracensi ecclesiæ est red-ditus, plures ejusdem ecclesiæ pontifices Cantuariensis ecclesiæ sive pontificis, tanquam proprii primatis jurisdictioni<sup>4</sup> subjacuisse noscuntur. Respondet<sup>5</sup> Eboracensis: quia sicut ratio necessitatis temporalis juri Eboracensis ecclesiæ, quod non perfunctorium sed solidum et perpetuum esse beatus Gregorius voluit, præjudicium generare non potuit, ita nec simplicitas sive negligentia antistitum ejusdem ecclesiæ. Denique ista de prioratu tam vana contentio Anglorum metropolitanos longo et sumptuoso labore exercuit. Vanissime autem uterque illorum se scribit totius Angliæ primatem, cum neuter habeat significatam hoc nomine potestatem. Inde est, quod memoratus Cantuariensis, ut susciperetur ab ecclesia Eboracensi tanquam Apostolicæ sedis legatus, supprimendum putavit nomen primatis: quod utique non simpliciter est suppressum, sed, cum aliter non posset suscipi, quod non tanquam primas adveniret expressum. Verum nec legationis suæ ratione facile suscipi potuisset, si clerus ejusdem ecclesiæ privilegio ante annos aliquot a sede Apostolica impetrato uti voluisset, quo scilicet a jurisdictione cujuslibet legati in Anglia instituti cum suo

<sup>1</sup> B. *has fecit.*

<sup>2</sup> *episcopi, B.*

<sup>3</sup> *temporis, C.*

<sup>4</sup> C. *has ejusdem ecclesiæ Cantuariensis pontifices tanquam proprii primatis sive pontificis jurisdictioni.*

<sup>5</sup> B. *has respondit.*

eximebatur pontifice. Quem nimirum, quoniam non A.D. 1195.  
frustra velut terribilem formidabat, pro ejus præroga-  
tiva tepide æmulandum duxit, et legato potius, quem  
amicum et patronum optabat, maluit subjici, quam  
illius non frenandam potentiam experiri.

## CAP. XIII.

*De exercitu Sarracenorum qui ex Affrica Hispanias intravit.*

Iisdem diebus, hoc est anno M<sup>o</sup>.C<sup>o</sup>. nonagesimo A.D. 1195.  
quinto a partu Virginis, Christianis adhuc regibus  
Francorum et Anglorum execrabilis in alterutrum <sup>Invasion of</sup>  
odii morbo laborantibus, atque ægre sustinentibus <sup>Spain by</sup>  
expletionem induciarum, quibus eorum vel ad modi- <sup>the Moors.</sup>  
cum malitia nocendi avida frenabatur, Sarracenorum  
ex Affrica tremendus exercitus, duce, ut dicitur,  
quodam suæ superstitionis pseudo-philosopho grandia  
pollicente, Hispanias intravit, junctusque Sarracenis  
indigenis, Christianis se finibus perniciosus immersit.  
Æmulantes quippe Affri Orientalium Sarracenorum  
ferventem adhuc fortunam, qui sub principe Saladino  
regnum Ierosolymitanum invaserant, et Christiani no-  
minis titulum ex Arabia funditus, ex Syria vero  
usque ad contemptibiles reliquias exturbarant,<sup>2</sup> eosque  
fortitudine et gloria æquare cupientes, vieinas gentes  
Christianas moliti sunt vel expellere vel delere, to-  
tasque spureissimæ sectæ suæ Hispanias applicare.  
Augebat autem eorum fiduciam, quod tempus eos  
juvare videretur, dissidentibus scilicet inter se fere  
totius Europæ principibus Christianis, atque ita circa  
nefarios cupiditatum suarum motus explendos intentis,  
ut tepide aliquis eorum pro fidei Christianæ vel pro-  
pagatione vel defensione in Hispaniam accingendus

<sup>1</sup> B. has *alterutri*.| <sup>2</sup> D. has *exturbarant*.

A.D. 1195. militiam crederetur. Itaque fretum<sup>1</sup> quod Affricam Hispaniamque disternat transmeantes, junctis sibi Hispanorum infidelium copiis cruenta et effreni audacia debacchabantur<sup>2</sup> in finibus Christianis. Nostri vero primo repentina infinitæ multitudinis irruptione attoniti, mox resumptis animis discrimen experiri bellicum statuerunt. Denique a regibus Christianis ejusdem terræ, quæ nimirum adeo spaciosa est ut extra partem sui non modicam, quæ a Sarracenis possidetur, quinque non ignobilibus regnis Christianis sit inclita, varia contra perfidos illos sorte pugnatum est. Et multum quidem utrinque sanguinis fusum est,<sup>3</sup> sed<sup>4</sup> tandem, Deo nostris propitio, hostilis exercitus plurima sui parte mutilatus, ad propria cum dedecore<sup>5</sup> rediit, minus forte de cetero de vana sui ducis philosophia præsumpturus. Sane rumor irruptionis hostilis late discurrrens, totamque in brevi percurrens Europam, atrociora muntiavit, populis Christianis alte<sup>6</sup> genentibus, et principes suos justa querela incusantibus,<sup>7</sup> qui non se zelo igniti divino grassanti<sup>8</sup> perfidiæ opponerent, sed, juxta Apostolum, mordendo et comedendo invicem consumerentur ab<sup>9</sup> invicem, atque ita bellando inter se vires attererent Christianas, quas utique contra hostes nominis Christiani integras oporteret servari; nec recenti terræ Ierosolymitanæ commonerentur exemplo, quæ utique nostris inter se dissidentibus in manus Agarenorum infelicissime noscitur incidisse. Minus enim animavit atque adjuvit contra nos hostem sacræ religionis Saladinum propriam fiducia vel potentia virium, quam nostrorum, qui Terram Sanctam regere videbantur, callide explorata discordia procerum. At hoc parum est veterum re-

Galat.  
v. 15.

<sup>1</sup> B. has *frem*.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *debet abantur* (sic).

<sup>3</sup> D. has *fusus est*.

<sup>4</sup> *sed*, om. C.

<sup>5</sup> C. has *decore*. Hoveden (iii. 302, 305) agrees with this account,

but compare Marlès, *Hist. des Arabes en Espagne*, ii. 433-5.

<sup>6</sup> *alte*, B.D.S.; *late*, C.

<sup>7</sup> C. has *accusantibus*.

<sup>8</sup> B. has *crassati*; D. *grassati*.

<sup>9</sup> *ab*, C.D.S.; *ad*, B.

spectu damnorum, quæ profecto ex nostrorum dis- A.D. 1195.  
cordiis robur enervantibus Christianum profluxisse Invasion of Spain by the Moors.  
noscuntur. Cum enim, florente olim republica Romana, tantus immo et latior esset orbis Christianus quam orbis Romanus, qui nimirum præter Europam clarissimas maximasque Asiæ provincias cum tota fere Africa intra suos limites cohibebat, intestinis Christianorum malis principum et populorum actum est, ut Agarenis, qui et Sarraceni dicuntur, invalescentibus, et secta<sup>1</sup> nefaria mundum replentibus, Christiana religio extra fines Europæ modicum possideret. Quintiam Europæ ex Africa prius infecta idem pestilentissimus error irrepsit, atque usque in hodiernum diem partem Hispaniarum non modicam maculavit. De origine autem hujus spurcissimæ sectæ, et quomodo in tantum invaluerit, ut tot gentes et regna corrumperet, propter eos, qui forte nesciunt, juxta majorum traditionem paucis perstringere libet.

## CAP. XIV.

*De Macometo<sup>2</sup> pseudo-propheta, et de lege quam per spiritum erroris introduxit, et<sup>3</sup> quomodo eadem lex plurimas gentes infecit.*

Post tempora beati papæ Gregorii cum Romanum A.D. 1195.  
imperium, quod olim ab oceano Britannico usque ad The origin and spread of Islamism (from A.D. 611).  
fines Persidis porrigebatur, tyrannicis motibus bellique<sup>4</sup> civilibus ita esset attritum, ut propriæ adversus gentes exterarum defensionem jam minus sufficeret, paganus Persarum exercitus in Christianos efferatus minimo<sup>5</sup> negotio quasdam orientales Romanæ ditionis et Chris-

<sup>1</sup> *et secta*, B.D.R.S.; *et cum secta*, C. by interlineation, the word *cum* being marked with the plummet in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> *Macometo*, D.S.; *Macomento*, B.; *Machometo*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *et . . . infecit*, om. B.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *bellicisque*.

<sup>5</sup> C. has *in minimo*.

A.D. 1195. tianæ religionis provincias milite vacuas occupavit. Secuta est e vestigio Ismaelitarum, qui proprie quidem Sarraceni sed verius Agareni dicuntur, pestis edacior, quæ nimirum juxta quod<sup>1</sup> scriptum est, "Re- Joel i. 4.  
 " siduum cruceæ comedit locusta," Christianas in Oriente reliquias fere usque ad internecionis<sup>2</sup> extremum persecuta est, agens sub principe Macometo<sup>3</sup> pseudo-propheta. Sane hic in adolescentia negotiandi gratia plurimas peragrans<sup>4</sup> regiones, crebra cum Christianis et Judæis conversatione, cum esset acer ingenio, utriusque religionis ritus cultusque addidit:<sup>5</sup> et ut ad explenda, quæ jam animo conceperat, nequissimorum sibi spirituum familiaritas et cooperatio non deesset,<sup>6</sup> magicis quoque artibus imbui curavit. Quibus instructus homo mire callidus et facundus, nationi se propriæ, nam Ismaelita erat, ausurus ingentia reddidit: similisque illi malæ bestię de Apocalypsi quæ habebat duo Apocal. xiii. 11.  
 cornua similia agni et loquebatur quasi draco, ut seduceret plurimos innocentię et simplicitatis mendaci<sup>7</sup> specie, pestilentium virus adumbrabat verborum. Denique snæ gentis dominam, quippe moris erat eam gentem regi a feminis,<sup>8</sup> ita verbis ad seducendum compositis et nefarię artis præstigiis dementavit, ut eum tanquam summum Dei prophetam coleret atque ejus nuptias exoptaret. Cujus conjugio nactus ejusdem gentis principatum, multo fortius populos seducebat, dum non tantum moverentur reverentia principis, verum etiam motum divinum se incursum crederent si summo Ejus prophetæ in aliquo remissius obtemperarent. Quippe in omnibus quæ seductis vel seducendis a se populis præcipiebat, personam tanquam loquentis in se Dei assumens, fallaci verorum imita-

<sup>1</sup> C. has quot.

<sup>2</sup> Imperfect in D., *ternicionis*.

<sup>3</sup> In C. *Machometo*. Other variations below are omitted.

<sup>4</sup> Blundered in D., *peragerens*.

<sup>5</sup> *addidit*, C.S.; *addicit*, B.; *didicit*, D.

<sup>6</sup> *decscet*, C.S.; *deessent*, B.D.

<sup>7</sup> *mendaci*, B.D.S.; *mendacii*, C.

<sup>8</sup> It is unnecessary to point out Newburgh's errors in the early part of this chapter.

Exod. vi.  
10.

tione prophetarum præmittebat, "Hæc dicit Dominus." A.D. 1195. Et quia in traditione sacræ legis scriptum esse novem-  
 rat, "Locutus est Dominus ad Moysen dicens," ut scilicet divinum non humanum esse intelligeretur quod  
 per hominem tradebatur, ipse quoque suis libris inscendendum putavit: "Locutus est Dominus ad Macometum prophetam suum<sup>1</sup> dicens," ut scilicet divinæ auctoritatis pondus habere crederetur quod ab eo seductorie finge-  
 batur. Cumque non tantum subditi verum etiam<sup>2</sup> alii plurimi ad eum sponte inclinati, ad ejus in omnibus penderent arbitrium, accensus libidine latius dominandi, sub prætextu propagandæ religionis, tanquam ex præcepto Dei, finitimas gentes bello aggressus est. Et Christianas quidem in Oriente provincias primo invasit: consequenter vero ad Persicæ ditioris terras arma convertit, arte et astu efficiens quod armis minus poterat. Ut autem in omnibus religiosus videretur, subactos populos, patriis<sup>3</sup> ritibus abdicatis, in suam superstitionem quocunque modo traducere studuit, paganis quidem quos subegerat idolatriam inhibens, Christianos vero usque ad sacri Nominis exterminium atterens. Hoc modo in Ægypto et Lybia, Mesopotamia et Syria, regnis clarissimis, aliisque provinciis Orientis, in quibus olim Christianæ religionis cultus excelluit, usque ad reliquias modicas, prævalentibus Agarenis, defecit. Cumque idem pestifer, dimissus a Deo, secundum desideria cordis sui iret prospere in adinventionibus<sup>4</sup> suis, et juxta formam novissimi antichristi dolus in manu ejus dirigeretur, excogitato per seductorem spiritum modo quo<sup>5</sup> seductionis virus diffusius spargeret, et seductos a se populos quibusdam quasi sacramentis concorporans fortius irretiret, novas vivendi leges novosque sacrorum ritus astuta

Personal  
history of  
Mahomet.

<sup>1</sup> suam (sic), B.

<sup>2</sup> etiam, om. C.

<sup>3</sup> D. has patris.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *adventionibus* (sic).

<sup>5</sup> modo quo, B.D.S.; quomodo, C.

A.D. 1195. vanitate composuit, et ut tanquam divinæ sanctiones<sup>1</sup> suo tanquam prophetico ministerio susciperentur artificiosissime procuravit. Camelum namque elegantis formæ in secretis suis a tenero nutritum, et solis ejus manibus assuetum, suspenso ad collum ejus sacrilego codice ante lucem emisit. Qui nimirum insolita libertate gaudens, atque omnium accedentium contactus refugiens, spatiabatur per campos. Fama mox nuntiat apparuisse camelum speciosissimum collo gerentem mysteria. Concurrit populus ad inusitatæ rei spectaculum; ad ipsum quoque nefariæ molitionis artificem res defertur. Egreditur tanquam visurus miraculum. Animal eminus conspecto nutritio, accurrit, et procumbens notissimas manus allambit. Acclamat populus clarere prophetæ meritum; rogat codicem sacris ejus manibus accipi, et quid in eo mysterii contineretur<sup>2</sup> aperiri. Quo aperto: "Ecce," ait, "hæc est lex scripta non atramento hominis, sed manu angelica, quam genti nostræ Deus omnipotens perpetuis servandam temporibus per hoc animal mittit de cælo. Hic liber docebit vos quomodo Deum colere, et quanta ab eo pro servata ejus lege sperare debeatis." Hoc modo sub nomine religionis sacrilega cordis sui commenta promulgans, diem quoque quo hæc facta sunt annis singulis statuit esse sollempnem, qui a Saracenis, ut accepimus, Festum Cameli dicitur,<sup>3</sup> atque unius mensis jejunio prævenitur. Sane quoniam Christianas pariter et Hebræas traditiones didicerat, ex utrisque nonnulla propriis figmentis inseruit, ne scilicet omnino inusitata prædicanti vel sancienti fides difficiliter haberetur. Nempe, ut Judæos mulceret, suillæ carnis esum inhibuit; et propter circumcisonem suæ gentis patriarcham Ismaelem, circumcisionis ritum admisit. Nostri quoque baptismatis quadam sacrilega imitatione, crebras in aqua singulorum tinctiones mem-

<sup>1</sup> C. has *sanctionis*.

<sup>2</sup> *continetur*, C.

<sup>3</sup> The "Day of the Camel" commemorates a victory on Nov. 4, 656.



Rom. xiii.  
13.

brorum quasi pro expiatione instituit. Illius Apostolicæ sententiæ, “Non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudiciis,” partem primam amplexus est et docuit: reliquam vero<sup>1</sup> grata lascivis indulgentia relaxavit. Cum enim esset ipse flagrantissimæ libidinis, ne aliter videretur facere quam docere, omnem suis impudicitiam carnalis voluptatis indulsit, impudenter mentiens Deum bonum pro talibus non irasci, atque hæc fœda pudendaque licentia animos sibi concilians gentis obscenæ. Gulosos vero atque ebriosos, orbi terrarum graves, abominatus sobrietatem docuit, ciborum delicias sugillavit, vini usum, præterquam paucis certisque diebus sollemnibus, interdixit. Inde est, quod cum Sarraceni in fluxu libidinum de sui, ut dictum est, seductoris indulgentia probentur esse spurcissimi; nostris, prohi dolor! in frugalitate superiores esse videntur, nobisque, prohi pudor! comessationum et ebrietatum sordes improperant. Denique malleus Christiani nominis Saladinus ante annos aliquot, cum, nostrorum mores explorans, audisset quod pluribus in prandio ferculis uterentur, dixisse fertur, “tales Terra Sancta indignos esse.” Unde constat, quod luxus nostrorum conspectus Agarenos, de frugalitate gloriantes, contra nos incitet animetque tanquam dicentes:<sup>2</sup> “Deus dereliquit crapulatos istos, persequamur et comprehendamus, quia non est qui eripiat.” De eodem autem Saladino rem memorabilem, quam a viro veraci audivi, paucis perstringam, quo elucescat quam argutus fuerit ad propriæ sectæ commendationem nostræ religionis sugillator. Præsentati sunt ei aliquando duo monachi Cisterciensis ordinis capti a Thureis prædonibus. Quos ex schemate inusitato intelligens esse de genere philosophantium Christianorum, per interpretem sciscitatus est, quinam essent et cujus conditionis vel professio-

A.D. 1195.

Personal  
history of  
Mahomet.

Saladin's  
observations on  
the luxury  
of the  
crusaders.

<sup>1</sup> C. reads *vero partem grata.* | <sup>2</sup> D. has *dicens.*

A.D. 1195.  
Anecdote  
respecting  
Saladin  
and two  
monks.

nis? Responderunt se esse monachos, regulam beati patris Benedicti professos. Ille de institutis ejusdem regulæ plura percunctatus, eum inter cetera de cælibatu eorum audisset, tandem quæsit an vinum biberent et carnibus vescerentur? Responderunt se omni tempore certum vini<sup>1</sup> modulum habere ad usum, esum vero carnium non nisi ratione necessitatis seu<sup>2</sup> infirmitatis admittere. Tunc jussit eos indulgentiori custodiæ mancipari, et per duas decentis formæ muliereulas, ad eorum ministerium deputatas, solas eis carnes cum potu aquæ ad vietum ministrari. Qui carnibus usi et aqua madentes, exemplo beati Job pepigerunt fœdus cum oculis suis, ut ne cogitarent quidem de turpitudine, sed, sobrietate comite, solliciti pudicitiaæ suæ custodes orationi vacabant. Quod ubi comperit Saladinus, carnes et aquam piscibus et vino jussit mutari. Et quidem si hoc eo animo fecisset quo a Salomone dictum est: "Date vinum his Prov. xxxi. 6, 7. qui amaro sunt animo; bibant et obliviscantur egetatis suæ:" benivole utiquè<sup>3</sup> actum esset. At insidiabatur callidus, ut simplicitatem arte deluderet, et ex hoc religioni calumniam concinnaret. Vinum ergo sumentes, dum, blandientibus<sup>4</sup> muliereulis,<sup>5</sup> tristitiam suam paulo indulgentiori haustu lenirent, illam Apostolicam regulam: "Modico vino utere propter stomachum tuum," minime tenuerunt. 1 Tim. v. 23. Nam quod stomacho sat est, hilaritati minus est. Ubi autem cum hilaritate honestatis irrepsit oblivio, Salomonica de vino sententiæ veritas claruit: quippe ingressum est blande, sed "in novissimo momordit ut coluber." De-nique inciderunt in feminas id ipsum molientes. Prov. xxiii. 32. Mane, digesto vino et reatu agnito, fleverunt amare, et, lacrimis madidi, producti sunt jubente molitionis artifice.

<sup>1</sup> For *omni . . . vini*, B. reads, *in certo tempore vini*.

<sup>2</sup> *seu*, S.; *sue*, B.D.R.; *sive* (originally *sue*), C.

<sup>3</sup> *utique*, B.D.S.; *quidem*, C.; om. R.

<sup>4</sup> B. has *blandienti*.

<sup>5</sup> *mulieribus* in C.

Quibus ait : “ Cur solito tristiores estis ? ” “ Quia,” A.D. 1195. inquit, “ peccavimus graviter vino absorpti.” Et Anecdote respecting Saladin and two monks. ille ; “ Cum carnibus,” inquit, “ vesceremini et aquam “ biberetis, propositum vestrum caute custodistis ; porro “ absque esu carniū vino madentes, regulæ vestræ “ et propositi vestri<sup>1</sup> prævaricatores inventi estis ; ex “ quo apparet quod ille vestræ philosophiæ auctor Be- “ nedictus minus sapiens fuerit, esum scilicet vobis “ carniū inhibens, quo animi status nequaquam tur- “ batur, et vini vobis usum relaxans, quo etiam inte- “ gerrimæ rationis vigor enervatur, quod tam recenti “ vestro probatis exemplo. An non ergo prudentior “ philosophus noster et legislator, qui nobis animi tur- “ batorum vini usum inhibuit, et semper innoxium car- “ niū esum indulsit ? Sed quid vobis est expiationis “ apud vestros cum propositum solvitis ? ”<sup>2</sup> Et illi, “ Pœnitentia,” inquit, “ et satisfactio, pro arbitrio “ senioris nostri.” “ Ergo,” inquit, “ non potestis apud “ nos expiari, redite ad vestros pro ritu vestro expi- “ andi.”<sup>3</sup> Dimisitque eos libere ad propria reversuros, homo inveterata peste imbutus, et ad sugillandum quod sapere non valebat argutus : ita quidem cum nostris illis visus est ludere, qui tamen magis studuit sanæ doctrinæ, cuius ignarus erat, illudere, cæca vanitate<sup>4</sup> carpens virum spiritu Dei plenum ; de quo ait beatus papa Gregorius, “ quod scripserit monachorum “ regulam discretione præcipuam, sermone luculentam.” Nam revera præcipuæ discretionis fuit, quod ad sacram militiam transeuntibus ciborum delicias, quæ animum molliunt<sup>5</sup> et resolvunt, curavit restringere, et, juxta formam Apostolicam, modicum vini usum, quo et caro infirma refocillatur et animus non gravatur, voluit relaxare.<sup>6</sup> Sane pestifera secta illa, quæ nimirum per

S. Gregor.  
Dialog.  
Lib. ii.  
cap. 36.

<sup>1</sup> *vestri*, om. C.

<sup>2</sup> *solvitis*, om. B.

<sup>3</sup> *expiandi*, B.C.S. ; *expiando*, D.

<sup>4</sup> *nativitate*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *molliant*, C.S. ; *emolliant*, B.D.

<sup>6</sup> C. has *relaxari*.

A.D. 1195. spiritum erroris et filium illum perditionis, ut dictum est, initium sumpsit, cum plurimas arte et armis auctoris sui provincias infecisset, post mortem tamen ejus, operatione Sathanæ, fortius invaluit, orbisque partem plurimam occupavit. Siquidem pestifer ille in fata vel sero concedens, reliquit discipulos artis et potentiæ successores. A quibus postea debellati potentissimi tunc omnium gentium Persæ, cum tota imperii sui latitudine in Arabum ditionem cesserunt, eorumque superstitionem, religionis se nomine, et pietatis se<sup>1</sup> specie adumbrantem, subacti seductique receperunt. Processu vero temporis Agareni, qui et Sarraceni, propagandæ suæ vel ditionis vel superstitionis causa alias orbis partes hostiliter adeuntes, Constantinopolim obsederunt; qua nimirum cum Græciæ Thraciæque provinciis ægre defensa, in Affricam transierunt, et amplissimas in ea Romanæ ditionis provincias, civilibus bellis exhaustas, haud<sup>2</sup> multo negotio ingressi potius quam aggressi, eas usque in hodiernum diem cum sacræ religionis exterminio possident. Nam a tempore Constantini Magni late in Affrica Christiani cultus jura viguerant, et fortissimi fidei nostræ propugnatores, gloriosus scilicet doctor martyrque Ciprianus, et clarissimum Christianæ vas sapientiæ Augustinus ibidem claruerant.<sup>3</sup> Nec tantis successibus contenta gens perfida, Hispaniam, quam ab Affrica medium non multæ latitudinis fretum disternit, pervicaci furore invadens, partem ejus non modicam occupavit, quam spurcissimæ sectæ applicitam possidet usque in præsens. Pyrenæos quoque montes, quibus Hispaniæ Galliæque dirimuntur, transgressa, Gallicam feritatem est aggressa, sperans<sup>4</sup> et moliens, procurrente fortuna, totam Europam, sicut et cetera, in suum jus erroremque convertere. At huic tam undoso mari omnipotens

<sup>1</sup> *se*, C.S.; om. B.D.

<sup>2</sup> *haud*, D.S.; *aut*, B.C.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *claruerat*.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *spectans*.

Ps. xxxv. Deus, "cujus judicia abyssus multa," cum voluit, po- A.D. 1195.  
 6. suit ostia et vectem,<sup>1</sup> et dixit,<sup>2</sup> "Hucusque venies, Saracen  
 Job conquests.  
 xxxviii. 11. "et non procedes amplius, et hic confringes tumentes  
 "fluctus tuos." Grassanti quippe vesaniæ regni Fran-  
 corum, deficiente Romano imperio, ad hoc ipsum paulo  
 ante præparati, impenetrabilem opposuit obicem, et non  
 processuri<sup>3</sup> amplius in Hispaniam sunt repulsi. Expo-  
 sito igitur quomodo Agarenorum nefanda<sup>4</sup> lues a par-  
 tibus Orientis Africæ atque Hispaniæ primo irrepserit,  
 quorum diebus nostris obscœna progenies, Orientalium  
 exemplo perfidorum, adversus Christianos in Hispania  
 consistentes novo motu incanduit, ad ordinem historiæ  
 redeamus.

## CAP. XV.

*De reliviva post expletionem induciarum guerra  
regum nostrorum.*

Igitur expleto<sup>5</sup> induciarum tempore, illustres Fran- A.D. 1195.  
 corum et Anglorum reges cum nulla ratione fœdera In July  
 pacis susceperent, licet utriusque regni majores semi- war breaks  
 nandæ paci plurimum studuissent, mense Julio totis out with  
 viribus bellum instaurant. Hujus autem tam infelicis France.  
 perviciaciæ causa hæc fuit, quod rex Francorum nullo  
 vel consilio vel honestatis respectu flectebatur, ut regi  
 Anglorum ea resignaret quæ de jure ejus, cum in  
 Alemannia teneretur, nullo jure gentium usurparat,  
 et eidem Anglorum regi cum tanta finium suorum

<sup>1</sup> D. has *vestem*.<sup>2</sup> For *et dixit*, C. reads *indixit*.<sup>3</sup> *processuri*, C.R.S.; *progressuri*, B.D.<sup>4</sup> *nefanda*, C.S.; *infanda*, B.D.<sup>5</sup> According to Hoveden and Rigord the truce was *broken* in July 1195, but it was only con-

cluded for a year from July 23, 1194, and a breach appears from other circumstances to have been provoked. Negotiations had been going on at a date after June 24 (Hoved. iii. 300), by which the emperor Henry VI. tried to induce Richard to attack the French.

A.D. 1195. mutilatione pacem facere indecorum videbatur. Pace igitur etiam in reliquum desperata, convenere cum suis copiis in vallem quæ Rullii<sup>1</sup> dicitur; quæ vallis non longe a Rothomago aberat, eratque de jure regis Anglorum, sed cum eundem fortuna Alemannica premeret, cum sua munitione inciderat, sicut et alia plurima, in manus regis Francorum. Cumque ibidem uterque exercitus sub meditatione pugnæ per dies aliquot exebaret in castris, intervallo modico atque anne interlabente discretis, visum est regi Francorum, munitione diruta, quod difficulter defendi posse videretur, recedere, viresque integras ad opportunioris pugnæ tempus servare. Itaque arci et mœnibus suffodiendis die noctuque instabat, adversæ interim partis impetum callide suspendens, tractando dolose de pace. Verum rex Anglorum ex repentina suffossæ arcis ruina dolum intelligens, ingenti animo turmas suas ordinabat ad pugnam. Porro Francorum exercitus non expectato pugnæ discrimine abiit, compositis tamen ordinibus, ut prudenter cedere non turpiter fugere videretur. Rex vero Anglorum cum suis copiis anne transmissis cedentibus insistendum non duxit; sed pro tempore incruenta<sup>2</sup> fortuna contentus, reformandæ<sup>3</sup> munitionis studium habuit. Sane rex Francorum, ut accepimus, in hoc bello nihil memorabile gessit. Regi vero Anglorum fortunæ hilarioris favor arrisit. Quippe per stipendiariam militiam, quam Rutas vocant, expugnato et capto Ysouduno<sup>4</sup> cum quibusdam aliis munitionibus, fines suos in Bituricensi provincia egregie dilatavit, Normanniæ damna compensans. Comitem quoque Alvernensem, qui pridem ab ipso desciverat, per eosdem stipendiarios captum,

The two armies meet at Vaudreuil.

The king of France negotiates, and meanwhile undermines the walls of Vaudreuil.

Richard detecting the fraud prepares for battle.

The French retreat.

Richard's mercenaries capture Issoudun and other castles.

<sup>1</sup> *Rullii*, in B.

<sup>2</sup> Hoveden (iii. 301) does not represent this advantage as having been gained altogether without fighting.

<sup>3</sup> In B. *reformandum*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ysouduno*, S.; *Isouduno*, B.; *Ysoudono*, C.; *Isouduno*, D. Rigord agrees, adding that a truce soon followed.

cum suis munitionibus<sup>1</sup> in potestatem redegit. Tunc studio bonorum virorum, cum vindemiales feriæ agerentur, et plurimi qui prius in arma flagraverant jam mollius urerentur, bimestres intervenere induciæ,<sup>2</sup> uti hoc spatio deliberaretur de ipsis induciis, vel in solidam pacem, Deo propitio, convertendis vel saltem in annos aliquot protelandis.

A.D. 1195.  
Conclusion of a truce about September.

## CAP. XVI.

*Quomodo<sup>3</sup> rex Anglorum de nece marchionis purgatus sit<sup>4</sup> per literas Senis Montani.*

His diebus ad Europæ principes epistolæ Senis Montani venerunt: sic enim non<sup>5</sup> pro ætate sed quasi pro sapientia et gravitate per successiones se<sup>6</sup> nuncupat<sup>7</sup> princeps cujusdam gentis Orientalis, quam Hansesisios<sup>8</sup> vocant. Cujus principis vel gentis supra plenius notitiam fecimus, cum interitum Conradi marchionis de Monte-Ferrato, qui ab eis interfectus creditur, exponeremus. Erant autem eadem epistolæ scriptæ literis Ebraicis, Græcis, et Latinis, erantque scriptæ non atramento, sed re multum inusitata, sanguine scilicet muricis, sicut ipsæ indicabant. Has nimirum se vidisse atque legisse vir fide dignus mihi protestatus est, cum regi Francorum Parisius constituto sollemniter fuissent oblatae, quarum continentia hæc erat:

Letter from the sheikh of Alamoot (the "Old Man of the Mountain"), as to the murder of Conrad of Montferrat.

<sup>1</sup> B. has *munitionibus*.

<sup>2</sup> Hoveden mentions no truce, but says that Richard's agreement with the emperor Henry VI. caused peace to be deferred until November 8. A truce may, however, be inferred from the surrender of Alais (iii. 303). The words *vindemiales feriæ* above give September as the

date of it. Rigord says it lasted till November.

<sup>3</sup> C. has "*de nece marchionis et quomodo . . . .*"

<sup>4</sup> *purgatus sit*, om. B.

<sup>5</sup> *non enim*, omitting *sic*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *se*, B.D.S.; *sic*, C.

<sup>7</sup> D. has *nuncupati*.

<sup>8</sup> *Hansesisios*, D.S.; *Hanscusios*, B.; *Hansesios*, C.

A.D. 1195. "Vetus<sup>1</sup> de Monte principibus et omni populo Christianæ religionis salutem. Quoniam audivimus illustri Anglorum regi Ricardo necem marchionis de Monte-Ferrato a<sup>2</sup> pluribus imputari, tanquam ejus machinatione ob quamdam inter eos exortam simultatem interfectus sit, cum uterque esset in Orientis partibus constitutus; nostræ honestatis interest ad purgandam ejusdem regis famam falsi criminis suspicione denigratam, hujus rei veritatem, quæ hæcenus penes nos latuit, declarare. Nolumus<sup>3</sup> alienujus innocentiam nostri operis occasione laborare, cum nulli immerito et insonti mali quippiam irrogemus, eos vero qui in nos deliquerint,<sup>4</sup> Deo auctore, non patimur<sup>5</sup> diu de illatis simplicitati nostræ injuriis gratulari. Significamus igitur universitati vestræ, Ipsum testantes per quem salvari speramus, quod nulla memorati regis machinatione marchio ille interfectus sit: qui profecto, pro eo quod in nos deliquerat, et admonitus emendare neglexerat, nostra voluntate et jussione per satellites nostros juste interiit. Consuetudinis quippe nostræ est eos, qui nobis vel amicis nostris in aliquo injuriosi exstiterint,<sup>6</sup> primo ut nobis satisfaciant<sup>7</sup> commonere; quod si contempserint, per ministros nostros, qui tanta nobis devotione obtemperant, ut se a Deo gloriose remunerandos esse non dubitent si mandatum nostrum exsequendo occumbant, severitatem ultionis expetere. Andivimus etiam de prænominato rege vulgatum, quod nos tanquam minus integros et constantes induxerit, ut de nostris aliquos regi Francorum insidiaturos emitteremus. Quod proculdubio falsum et vanissimæ suspicionis<sup>8</sup> commentum est; cum nec ipse, Deo teste, tale aliquid circa nos attentaverit, nec nos homini immerito malum moliri respectu honestatis nostræ sineremus. Bene valete."<sup>9</sup>

Has denique literas cum coram se sollemniter recitatas rex Francorum audisset, dixisse fertur regem

<sup>1</sup> B. has *versus*.

<sup>2</sup> For *Ferrato a*, D. reads *Ferato et*.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *nolumus enim alienjus*.

<sup>4</sup> B. has *dereliquerint*; C. reads *delinquant*.

<sup>5</sup> *patimur*, B.D.S.; *patiemur*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *exstiterint*, B.D.S.; *exstiterunt*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *satisfaciat* in C.

<sup>8</sup> B. has *suspiciens*.

<sup>9</sup> As to the two "*Vetus de Monte*" forgeries see 1st Rep. Rec. Commn. p. 131. From Philip's words which follow it seems probable that *this* letter was forged to further his wishes as to Johanna.



Anglorum de tam infami nota præclare purgatum ; A.D. 1195.  
 seque cum illo haud difficulter de cetero posse fœde-  
 rari, cum in eum nulla alia causa fortius quam con-  
 cepta suspicione de nece amicissimi marchionis exar-  
 serit. Hæc dicens causam subticuit, qua<sup>1</sup> nimirum  
 propensius eo tempore ad ineundum cum rege An-  
 glorum fœdus movebatur. Quippe, ut dicitur, ad  
 germanæ ejus, quæ<sup>2</sup> Siculi regis compar exstiterat, Philip  
seeks to  
marry  
Richard's  
sister  
Johanna,  
widow of  
the king of  
Sicily,  
but is  
rejected.  
 nuptias aspirabat, quibus tamen potitus non est ; plu-  
 res enim feminæ nobiles, recens Dacæ puellæ, cui post  
 unam initi fœderis noctem turpiter abjectæ cum multo  
 scandalo libellum repudii dederat, exemplum verentes,  
 ejus aspernabantur conjugium. Denique præter filiam  
 comitis palatini, de qua superius memoratum est, etiam  
 alterius nobilissimæ virginis de imperio Teutonico ex-  
 optatis expectatisque fraudatus est nuptiis hoc modo.  
 Cum eam alius vir potens expetisset, parentibus regiam  
 magis petitionem admittentibus, ad Franciam pompa-  
 tice ducebatur, transiensque per fines proci prioris,  
 ejus se manibus sponte injecit ; a quo volens retenta  
 et sollemniter ducta, regia vota delusit. Præterea rex  
 Dacorum, repudiata sororis dedecus ægre ferens, divor-  
 tium non rite celebratum, sed concinnatum mendaciter  
 in gratiam regis Francorum, per responsales idoneos  
 in audientia sedis Apostolicæ allegavit, et digesta præ-  
 cedentium temporum serie, astruens<sup>3</sup> reges Franco-  
 rum et Dacorum nulla se consanguinitate vel affinitate  
 contingere, de concinnato in fraudem divinæ sanctio-  
 nis divortio judicium fieri pertinaci instantia postula-  
 vit. Verum id frustra :<sup>4</sup> cum regis Francorum vel  
 metus vel gratia<sup>5</sup> plus valeret. Denique postmodum  
 idem rex absque omni vel divini timoris vel ecclesi-

He tries to  
marry  
another  
noble lady  
from Ger-  
many, but  
when  
actually on  
her way to  
Francee she  
weds a  
former  
lover.

The king  
of Den-  
mark urges  
the pope  
to take  
up Inge-  
burga's  
cause.

Philip ulti-  
mately  
marries  
again.

<sup>1</sup> D. has *quam*.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *qui*.

<sup>3</sup> *astruens*, B.D.; *se astruens*, C.S.

<sup>4</sup> The author evidently did not live to hear of the later proceedings

ending in the interdiction and Inge-  
burga's restoration.

<sup>5</sup> *vel gratia*, B.D.S.; *regis gratia*,  
C.

A.D. 1195. astici vigoris obstaculo, cujusdam dncis Teutonici filiam duxit uxorem: <sup>1</sup> si tamen uxorem, cum pellex potius fuisse videatur; et superducta magis quam ducta.

## CAP. XVII.

*De bellico post inducias motu regum, et quomodo apud Isoudunum <sup>2</sup> fœdus inierunt.*

A.D. 1195. Finitis igitur induciis cum corda regum ad concordiam facile emolliri posse crederetur, causis rursus ingravescentibus, eorum, instigante diabolo, redivivus furor excanduit, clanguitque omnis spes pacis. Erat autem hiems, et Dominici Natalis sollemnis <sup>3</sup> expectatio, quæ Adventus Domini dicitur, erat in januis. At neque rigor neque religio temporis quicquam adversum malitiam nocendi avidam valuit, rapinis, caedibus, incendiis populus atterebatur Christianus, poteratque apud Dominum dominorum de suis principibus justissime conqueri et dicere, "Quem tu percussisti

War between the kings of England and France is renewed, about Dec. 3.

A serious famine had now for three years afflicted almost the whole of Europe. Philip attacks Issoudun (in Nov.).

"persecuti sunt, et super dolorem vulnerum meorum <sup>4</sup> 17. "addiderunt." Eo namque tempore sub disciplina Domini desudabat, et "nondum aversus <sup>5</sup> erat furor <sup>Isaias v. 25.</sup> "Domini, sed adhuc manus ejus extenta." Denique famis validæ, quæ totam fere preinebat Europam, annus jam tertius <sup>6</sup> duobus præcedentibus gravior agebatur. <sup>7</sup> Cum ergo hinc inde hostilis immanitas debacchari cœpisset, rex Francorum, explorato quod rex Anglorum alias esset intentus, Isoudunum oppidum obsedit, sperans se eo expugnato potiturum, antequam hostis remotior posset occurrere: sed spe sua frustratus

<sup>1</sup> Rigord says in June 1196 (Bouquet xvii. p. 46, A.).

<sup>2</sup> *Isoudunum*, B.D.S.; *Ysoudunum*, C. here and below.

<sup>3</sup> In C. *sollemnis* is placed by error before *in januis*.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *corum*.

<sup>5</sup> C. has *aversus*.

<sup>6</sup> D. reads *ternus*.

<sup>7</sup> See as to this famine, pp. 463, 484, and 492. Also Hoved. iii. 290, and Rigord, p. 42. A.

est, invenit enim oppidum cibus armisque sufficienter A.D. 1195.  
 munitum.<sup>1</sup> Cumque muris imminens, ut defensoribus  
 terrorem incuteret, se non inde nisi expugnato oppido  
 discessurum petulanti vanitate juraret, viri virtutis  
 stantes super murum, clara fiducia, ut dicitur, non  
 sunt cunctati<sup>2</sup> jurare in contrarium. Fit per dies ali-  
 quot oppugnatio vehemens, sed oppugnantibus dam-  
 nosa magis. Interea rex Anglorum, accepto nuntio,  
 impiger advolat, jussas sequi copias cum expeditioribus  
 antecedens. Oppidum securus ingreditur, obsessore nec  
 saltem attentante illi prohibere ingressum, sed potius  
 adornante<sup>3</sup> discessum. Mox turmas ad pugnam<sup>4</sup> dis-  
 positas ingenti animo educit<sup>5</sup> in campum. Francis<sup>6</sup>  
 vero, quod se viribus impares cernerent, animi elan-  
 guere. Poterat sane dies illa longi certaminis decla-  
 rare victorem, nisi Francorum sibi prudentia cautius  
 prospexisset. Cum enim ad dimicandum minus suffi-  
 cerent, et fugam ingenue detrectarent, hostem quoque  
 ferocem, si forte vel cum fugæ dedecore tentarent eva-  
 dere, in propriis finibus a tergo urgentem vix pos-  
 sent effugere, dominum suum salubriori consilio im-  
 pulere ut vel in arcto<sup>7</sup> positus certo belli discrimine  
 declinato<sup>8</sup> honestam dignaretur pacem amplecti; qui  
 nimirum in sui exercitus, qui facies conversas tan-  
 quam recedens habebat, extremo agmine erat, quod  
 fortius cautiusque instructum erat contra faciem inse-  
 quentis. Porro rex Anglorum in fronte sui exercitus  
 gradiebatur. Cujus colloquium cum rex Francorum  
 per viros nobiles expetisset, sicut erant armati in equis  
 occurrerunt sibi mutuo inter duos exercitus modico  
 intervallo distantes, et colloqui exitum stando præ-

Richard enters the town.

The two armies are drawn up for battle.

The two kings meet and confer in the space between their armies.

<sup>1</sup> B. omits the whole passage, invenit . . . munitum.

<sup>2</sup> cunctati, C.D.S.; invitati, B.

<sup>3</sup> adornante, D.S.; adorante, B.; adornaie, C.

<sup>4</sup> R. has *pugnandum*.

<sup>5</sup> C. has *deducit*.

<sup>6</sup> C. has *Franci* by alteration.

<sup>7</sup> B. has *acto*.

<sup>8</sup> B. has *declinatam*, D. *declinata*.

A.D. 1195. stolantes. Itaque soli absque arbitris<sup>1</sup> diuscule collo-  
cuti, in conspectu utriusque exercitus capitibus exar-  
matis sese in mutuos dedere amplexus. Concordiam  
principum ingens ineruentorum<sup>2</sup> exercituum lætitia  
sequitur; pacis dulces nomen sonoris vocibus inculca-  
tur. Facta sunt hæc, Deo propitio, nonis<sup>3</sup> Decembris:  
et populi cum gaudio redire in sua, intentionem bel-  
licam ad pacis studia et Dominici Natalis in proximo  
celebranda sollemnia<sup>4</sup> convertentes. Principes vero  
formam pacis, quam inter se secreto statuerant,<sup>5</sup> apud  
se continebant,<sup>6</sup> suo tempore declarandam. Quippe  
non poterant, prout decebat, ad tantæ rei confirmatio-  
nem,<sup>7</sup> nisi jam expletis Natalis Dominici gaudiis, ite-  
rum sollemniter convenire.

A truce is  
verbally  
arranged,  
Dec. 5.

#### CAP. XVIII.

*Quomodo principes fœdus initum declararunt, quod  
diu non stetit, et de motu Britannico.*

A.D. 1196. Anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo sexto, jam  
ingressa mense Januario, iidem principes cum magna  
nobilitum frequentia in terrarum confiniis ad sollemne  
colloquium convenere; ubi declaratum est et consensu  
publico confirmatum quod inter se sub clypeo egerant.  
Rex enim Francorum resignavit regi Anglorum Ar-  
chas, Augum, Albemarlam,<sup>8</sup> Castellum Novum, et cetera  
quæ de jure ejus tempore Alemannicæ detentionis  
usurparat, excepto Gisortio cum quibusdam aliis cast-  
tellis, pro quibus, rege Anglorum connivente, retentis

Richard  
and Philip  
meet and  
settle a  
treaty of  
peace, Jan.  
Arques,  
En, Au-  
mâle, and  
Château-  
neuf, with  
other  
places

<sup>1</sup> B. has *arbitris*.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *cruentorum*.

<sup>3</sup> *nonas*, MSS.: Hoveden (iii. 305) says on Dec. 9 till 13 Jan. 1196. There are other slight differences in the two accounts.

<sup>4</sup> D. omits *sollemnia*.

<sup>5</sup> *statuerant*, B.D.S.; *constituerant*, C.

<sup>6</sup> C. omits *se continebant*.

<sup>7</sup> C. reads *rei in confirmationem*.

<sup>8</sup> Both B. and D. have *Alde-  
marlam*.

rex Francorum sponte remisit regi Anglorum quicquid de jure ejus sorte<sup>1</sup> bellica occuparat, scilicet burgum Turonense, beati Martini corpore insigne, Isoudunum<sup>2</sup> oppidum, aliasque sive in Bituricensi<sup>3</sup> sive in Alvernensi provincia munitiones plurimas. Statuta quoque poena prævaricatoris pactorum,<sup>4</sup> caute provisum est ne quod in posterum inter principes scandalum oriretur.<sup>5</sup> At omnis cautela minor fuit ad pacis propositum solidandum, uti post modicum claruit. Denique rex Francorum, poenitentia ductus, et succensens<sup>6</sup> suis qui pacis ei consilium dederant, ad rescindendam quam tenendam pacem proclivior fuit. Rex quoque Anglorum pro suorum finium vel modica mutilatione nulla compensatione contentus, irritandi regem Francorum ut pacem infringeret, ex ipsa, ut dicitur, præscriptæ pacis formula occasionem artemque invenit. Rursus ergo bellicæ intentionis inter principes rabies exarsit, cujus tamen motibus vel Quadragesimalis et Paschalis religio temporis, vel solito major et diuturnior inclementia aeris, vel fauces per provincias supra modum desævians obstitit, ut iidem principes amicis suadentibus refractum pro tempore furorem suspenderent, et tempus quo solent reges ad bella procedere, medianibus induciis, exspectarent. Acnebat autem regem Francorum ad experiendam iterum belli fortunam tumultuantium eo tempore contra regem Anglorum turbatio Britonum, qui puerulum sibi Arturum sub magno hujus nominis omine nutriebant.<sup>7</sup> Cum enim idem rex ejusdem nepotis sui tunc decennis usque ad annos legitimos tutelam exposceret, quo sibi Britanniam adversus casus externos arctius obligaret, primi Britonum

A.D. 1196.

captured by the French in the provinces of Bourges and

Auvergne, are resigned, but Gisors and some other castles are left in Philip's possession.

Unreality of the peace.

Disturbances in Brittany, caused by Richard's demands as to the guardianship of Arthur, render the French more prone to war.

<sup>1</sup> D. has *forte*.

<sup>2</sup> *Isoudunum*, S.; *Isandonum*, B.; *Ysoudunum*, C.; *Isodonum*, D.

<sup>3</sup> D. has *Bituricensi*.

<sup>4</sup> D. has *pastorum*.

<sup>5</sup> B. has *orietur*. As to this treaty see Diceto (Twysden, 686, 687). Rigord gives the date as Jan. 15 (Bouquet, xvii. 43, A.):

<sup>6</sup> B. has *successoribus*.

<sup>7</sup> C has *nutricbat*.

A.D. 1196. quadam magis suspicione quam cautela id ipsum non ferentes, et pro ipso puero fortiter æmulantes, cum eo a facie patrum imminentis ad interiora Britannicæ<sup>1</sup> secesserunt. Verum hujus Britannici tumultus progressus et exitus suo loco plenius exponetur.<sup>2</sup>

## CAP. XIX.

*De improvisa morte abbatis Cadomensis in Anglia.*

A.D. 1196. Ipso tempore rex Ricardus de partibus transmarinis misit in Angliam abbatem Cadomensem,<sup>3</sup> indulta ei potestate in iis quæ fisco competerent subtilius atque districtius exquirendis. Erat autem idem abbas mediciter quidem literatus, sed in temporalibus egregie prudens atque eloquens. Prudens, inquam, juxta illud, "Filius hujus seculi prudentiores sunt filiis lucis in generatione sua." Quippe ex claustrali disciplina assumptus ad monasterii regimen, cum juxta Apostolum, "Nemo militans Deo implicet se negotiis secularibus," actionem muneris secularis subterfugiendo lucis esse filius debuit: quam utique ambiendo et amplectendo, filium se<sup>4</sup> hujus seculi declaravit, dum vel minus attenderet, vel nollet intelligere, ut bene ageret, quantum peccatrix illa actio a professione monachi et abbatis officio discreparet. Denique frequentibus obsequiis nactus amicitiam principis, sub pretextu fidei et devotionis, ut dicitur, suggerendum ei putavit, fraude officialium regionum ærario ejus plurimum deperire:

The abbot of Caen is sent to make reforms in the English exchequer.

The abbot had persuaded Richard that his

<sup>1</sup> D. has *Britannica*.

<sup>2</sup> See cap. xxx.

<sup>3</sup> Robert 11th abbot of St. Stephen's, Caen, and an officer of the Norman Exchequer. See *Rolls of Norm. Exch.*, i. cli., eliv. Hoveden,

iv. 5, leaves a blank for his name, but says that Philip of Poitiers, elect of Durham, came as his colleague.

<sup>4</sup> *se hujus*, B.D.S.; *se esse hujus*, C.

Luc. xvi. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Tim. ii. 4.

qua nimirum deprehensa et castigata, absque omni provincialium gravamine duplicia posse fisco accedere. Quibus verbis princeps aurem libenter accommodans, rogavit eum hanc operam sumere, et potestate predictum in Angliam transfretare. Ille regiam vel petitionem vel jussionem devote amplexus, monasterii cura postposita, venit Lundonias, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, qui regni curam gerebat, et regiam voluntatem et suam in executione<sup>1</sup> voluntatis regiae potestatem intimavit. Quae nimirum licet idem Cantuariensis minus approbaret, refragandum tamen non duxit quo minus ille exsequeretur injunctum. Mandato igitur regio per universam Angliam discurrente uti provinciarum praesides ad diem certum Lundonias occurrerent, de administrationibus suis rationem coram memorato abbate reddituri, ipse interim gloriosus et potestatem ostentans Quadragesimali tempore sedit Lundoniis, Paschalia gaudia non visurus, nec cum eis quos evocaverat rationem post Pascha positurus, sed ante Pascha rationem superno Judici de propriis actibus redditurus, quanto paratior ad rationem cum aliis ponendam tanto imparatior<sup>2</sup> ad rationem pro se reddendam. Paucis quippe diebus elapsis postquam Angliam introiit,<sup>3</sup> de mundo exiit.<sup>4</sup> Porro illi qui introitum ejus expaverunt, exitum ejus non fleverunt.

A.D. 1196.

revenues were reduced to a half of the proper sum by peculation.

The sheriffs are summoned to appear in London on a fixed day.

The abbot dies before Easter.

<sup>1</sup> B. has *executionem*.

<sup>2</sup> B. omits the passage *ad rationem . . . imparatior*.

<sup>3</sup> *introiit*, B.D.S.; *intravit*, C.

<sup>4</sup> Hoveden, iv. 5, says he was taken ill when at table with the archbishop of Canterbury, and died a few days afterwards, on April 11.

## CAP. XX.

*De conjuratione Lundoniis facta per quendam Guillelmum,<sup>1</sup> et quomodo idem penas aulaciæ luit.*

A.D. 1196.

The sedition of William Fitz-Osbert, surnamed Longbeard, who was executed within a few days of the death of the abbot of Caen, and before Easter (21 April). Longbeard stood forth as the champion of the poor against unequal taxation.

Sane Lundoniis inter memorati abbatis exitum, et ejusdam, qui nuper emererat, grandia molientis exitium, pauci admodum fluxere dies. Neuter enim fatis urgentibus Paschalia gaudia vidit, dum sors extrema modico intervallo divideret, qui similitudine vel causæ vel propositi consonare videbantur. Abbas, enim, ut commoda regia cum quiete provincialium quæreret, fraudem atque effrenem avaritiam officialium regionum castigandam esse censebat.<sup>2</sup> Iste<sup>3</sup> vero, cum civis esset Lundoniensis,<sup>4</sup> sub obtentu quasi fidelitatis regiæ, causam se agere pauperum civium contra insolentiam divitum astruebat; fortiter allegans, nam faeundissimus erat, quod ad omne edictum regium divites, propriis fortunis parentes, pauperibus per potentiam omne onus imponerent, et ærarium<sup>5</sup> principis multa summa fraudarent. Hic nimirum Lundoniis oriundus Guillelmus dicebatur; agnomen habens a barba proluxa, quam ideo nutriebat ut hoc, quasi insigni,<sup>6</sup> in cœtu et concione<sup>7</sup> magis conspicuus appareret. Qui cum esset ingenio acer, mediocriter literatus, eloquens supra modum, innata quadam animi et morum petulantia nomen sibi grande facere volens, moliri nova et audere<sup>8</sup> ingentia cepit. Denique inhumana et impudens actio ejus in proprium germanum, signum est vesaniæ nequitæque ejus in ceteris. Erat enim ei frater senior,

<sup>1</sup> *Guillelmum cum barba*, D.; B. omits the remainder of the rubric.

<sup>2</sup> *censebat*, B.D.S.; *censuit*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *Iste*, B.D.S.; *ille*, C.

<sup>4</sup> C. reads *Lundoniæ*.

<sup>5</sup> *crantium* (sic), B.

<sup>6</sup> *insigni*, B.D.S.; C. regards the word as an adjective, and reads *insignis*.

<sup>7</sup> *concione*, C.S.; *cognitione*, B.; *concionem*, D.

<sup>8</sup> B. has *audire*.



civis<sup>1</sup> Lundeniensis: a quo, dum scholis vacaret, con- A.D. 1196.  
sueverat ad usus necessarios petere atque percipere  
solatia sumptuum. Cumque jam grandior atque in  
expensis profusior<sup>2</sup> ea sibi quereretur remissius mini-  
strari, quod precibus minus poterat, comminationum  
terroribus tentavit elicere. Ubi hoc frustra tentatum,  
eo quod frater circa domus suæ curam occupatus illi  
satisfacere<sup>3</sup> minus sufficeret,<sup>4</sup> tanquam in ultionem  
suam sæviens, exarsit in scelus. Post tanta quippe  
fratris beneficia fraterni sanguinis sitiens, prodicionis  
regiæ crimen illi opposuit. Aditoque principe,<sup>5</sup> cui se  
pridem vel arte vel obsequio commendarat, quod frater  
suus in animam ejus conjurasset coram eo proposuit,  
tanquam suam in hac re circa principem devotionem  
declarans, qui nec fratri pro fide ejus parceret. At<sup>6</sup>  
hoc derisum est a principe, inhumanissimi hominis  
malitiam forsitan exhorrente, et tanta nature injuria<sup>7</sup>  
jura pollui non sinente.<sup>8</sup> Hic nimirum, favore quo-  
rundam nactus in urbe locum aliquem inter magistra-  
tus, cœpit paulatim concipere dolorem et parere ini-  
quitatem. Quippe duobus magnis vitiis stimulantibus,  
superbia scilicet atque<sup>9</sup> invidia, quarum prima est ap-  
petitus excellentiæ propriæ, secunda vero odium feli-  
citatæ alienæ, quorundam civium sive optimatum, qui-

His denun-  
ciation of  
his brother  
for trea-  
sonable  
language.

He obtains  
a position  
in the  
magistracy  
of London.

Isaias,  
lix. 4.

<sup>1</sup> *civis*, C.D.R.S.; *ejus* in L., an erroneous reading which Hearne adopts.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *superior*.

<sup>3</sup> *satisfaceret* in D.

<sup>4</sup> D. omits *minus sufficeret*.

<sup>5</sup> He had been a crusader, and was one of those who claimed to have seen a vision of S. Thomas at sea (Ben. Petr. ii. 116). Probably he thus came under Richard's eye.

<sup>6</sup> B. has *ad*.

<sup>7</sup> D. has *in curia*.

<sup>8</sup> It is not impossible that he went to the king (he certainly crossed

over to see him once afterwards), and was by him referred to the law courts. The *Rotuli Curie Regis* for 6 Ric. I. "in crastino Sci. Ed-  
"mundi" (i. p. 69), show that on Nov. 21, 1194, he pursued his brother Richard FitzOshert for treasonable language. A "further day" was given him, on Dec. 21, for an appearance on the octaves of St. Hilary. The result, however, is not recorded. See also Diceto, ii. 143.

<sup>9</sup> B. omits *atque*.

A.D. 1196. bus se imparem esse cernebat, fortunas gloriamque non ferens, dum aspiraret ad grandia, sub prætextu justitiæ et pietatis in ausus impios conspiravit. Denique clandestina opera et venenatis susurriis apud plebem insolentiam divitum et potentum, per quam ipsi indigne tractarentur, sugillans, inopesque et mediocres ad immoderatæ libertatis et felicitatis amorem inflammans, adeo sollicitavit plurimos, et quibusdam quasi præstigiis<sup>1</sup> fascinatos ita sibi devinxit, ut ad ejus in omnibus nutum penderent, ipsi, tanquam omnium provisorii, quæcunque juberet, incunctanter in omnibus obtemperare parati. Facta est<sup>2</sup> igitur Lundoniis, tanquam zelo pauperum contra insolentias potentum, conjuratio valida. Fuisse autem fertur conjuratorum civium numerus, ascriptis,<sup>3</sup> ut postea claruit, penes ipsum nefariæ molitionis artificem nominibus singulorum, quinquaginta duo millia. Ferramentorum quoque ingens copia, ad effringendas<sup>4</sup> domos munitiores præparata, penes eundem rejacebat, quæ postea reperta malignissimæ machinationis argumentum fuit. Tanto itaque fretus consciorum numero, tanquam zelando pro plebe pauperum, et nihilominus sub prætextu regii commodi, cœpit in omni cœtu nobilibus in faciem resistere, quod eorum fraude fisco plurimum deperiret potenti eloquio allegare. Cumque propter<sup>5</sup> hoc contra eum indignarentur et fremerent, deploraturus apud principem, quod pro ejus fide potentum inimicitias atque calumnias pateretur, transfretandum putavit.<sup>6</sup> Reversusque ad suos, calliditate solita cœpit de cetero,

He raises a conspiracy against the richer citizens, enrolling 52,000 of the lower class as his supporters. He collects instruments for breaking into houses.

Longbeard crosses the sea to appeal to Richard against the enmity of the authorities.

<sup>1</sup> B. has *ostentigiis* (sic).

<sup>2</sup> est, B.C.D.; om. S.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *ascriptus*.

<sup>4</sup> C. reads *infringendas*.

<sup>5</sup> *cumque propter*, C.S.; *cumque illi propter*, B.D.

<sup>6</sup> Hoveden, iv. 5, 6, says, "et abiit ad regem trans mare, et

"impetravit ab eo pacem sibi et populo. Unde Hubertus . . . regis justitarius . . . in iram commotus, præcepit, ut . . . eaperetur." His journey is also represented by Newburgh as having been immediately followed by Hubert Walter's action.

tanquam regio favore subnixus, fiducialius agere, et proprios complices fortius animare. Cumque jam initæ conspirationis suspicio rumorque crebrescerent,<sup>1</sup> dominus Cantuariensis, cui principaliter regnum erat commissum,<sup>2</sup> non ulterius dissimulandum ratus, convocatam<sup>3</sup> plebem blande alloquitur, natos rumores replicat, ad omnem sinistram suspicionem tollendam obsides pro fide domino regi et pace<sup>4</sup> servanda dari monet. Blandiloquio ejus populus placatus obtemperat, obsides dantur. Nihilominus homo ille ceptis insistens, vallatus turbis pompaticè procedebat, conventus publicos auctoritate propria faciebat, regem se vel<sup>5</sup> salvatorem pauperum arroganter vocitans, et frenandam a se in brevi perfidorum insolentiam granditer intonans. Sane ex eo quod viri veracis<sup>6</sup> narratione didici, dicentis se ante dies aliquot concioni ejus interfuisse et concionantem<sup>7</sup> audisse, fastus sermonum ejus elucet. Sumpto enim vel themate vel testimonio de scripturis sacris, ita exorsus est: "Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus Salvatoris." Quod ad<sup>8</sup> se derivans: "Salvator," inquit, "pauperum ego sum. Vos pauperes duras divitum manus experti, haurite de fontibus meis aquas doctrinæ salutaris,<sup>9</sup> et hoc eum gaudio: quia venit tempus visitationis vestræ.<sup>10</sup> Ego enim dividam aquas ab aquis. Aquæ populi sunt. Dividam populum humilem et fidelem a populo superbo et perfido: dividam electos a reprobis, ut lucem a tenebris." Itaque cum datum illi esset os loquens ingentia, habensque cornua similia agni loqueretur ut draco, memoratus regni moderator de consilio procerum evocavit eum satisfactorum de objectis. Qui oppor-

A.D. 1196.

Archbishop Hubert takes hostages of the people, and thus secures the public peace.

A portion of one of Long-beard's addresses given on the authority of a person present on the occasion.

When summoned he appears guarded by a mob.

Isaias xii.  
3.

Apoenl.  
xiii. 11.

<sup>1</sup> C. reads *erebrescret*.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *remissum*.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *convocandam*.

<sup>4</sup> B. has *paci*.

<sup>5</sup> *vel*, om. B.

<sup>6</sup> B. has *veracis*.

<sup>7</sup> B. has *concinantem*.

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

<sup>9</sup> *salvatoris*, in C.

<sup>10</sup> B. has *nostræ*.

A.D. 1196. — tune affuit turbis ita vallatus, ut evocator ejus territus mollius ageret, et pro declinando periculo caute judicium protelaret. Explorato igitur per duos cives nobiles tempore quo inveniri posset sine turbis, præsertim jam cum populus propter periculum obsidum<sup>1</sup> quietius ageret, cum eisdem civibus ad capiendum eum armatam manum emisit. Quorum unum<sup>2</sup> propius insistentem ipse arrepta bipenni mactavit; alterum vero quidam ex assistentibus ei<sup>3</sup> trucidavit. Illico cum paucis suorum et<sup>4</sup> concubina inseparabiliter adhærente in vicinam ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ, quæ dicitur de Archis, confugit, eaque ad tempus non tanquam asylo sed tanquam castello tueri se voluit,<sup>5</sup> frustra sperans populum mature affuturum; qui nimirum etsi de ipsius periculo doluit, tamen vel respectu obsidum<sup>6</sup> vel metu loricatæ multitudinis ad ereptionem ejus non accurrit. Audito enim quod ecclesiam occupasset, milites eo copias<sup>7</sup> ex vicinis paulo ante provinciis accersitas<sup>8</sup> regni administrator direxit. Jussus ergo egredi et judicio sisti, ne locum orationis speluncam latronum facere videretur, conjuratorum accursum frustra expectare maluit, donec oppugnata<sup>9</sup> ecclesia igne et fumo cum suis egredi cogeretur.<sup>10</sup> Egredienti autem filius civis quem peremerat prior occurrens, in ultionem paterni sanguinis cultro illi ventrem dissecuit. Captus itaque et juri exhibitus, judicio Curie Regiæ prius equis distractus ac deinde patibulo appensus est

Two citizens are sent with an armed band to capture him when not thus guarded. He kills one of the citizens, and then with a few associates takes refuge in Bow Church.

The church is set on fire and Longbeard coming forth is stabbed by the son of the citizen he had killed. By sentence of

<sup>1</sup> C. has *obsidium*.

<sup>2</sup> Hoveden, iv. 6, gives the name, Geoffrey.

<sup>3</sup> *ei*, om. C.

<sup>4</sup> *et*, om. B.

<sup>5</sup> *voluit*, B.D.S.; *cæpit*, C.

<sup>6</sup> C. and D. have *obsidium*.

<sup>7</sup> B. has *militans copias*.

<sup>8</sup> B. has *accersitis*.

<sup>9</sup> B. has *oppugnatum*.

<sup>10</sup> Hoveden agrees with Newburgh here. Diceto (ii. 143) has the improbable story that Longbeard himself was the incendiary. The fact that an archbishop ordered a church to be set on fire caused a great stir (Hoved. v. 6), and the dean's courtier-like spirit refuses to charge the prelate with the deed.

cum sociis novem<sup>1</sup> qui illi deesse noluerant. Sic juxta A.D. 1196.  
 quod scriptum est: "Qui fodit foveam, incidet in eam; the Curia  
 " et qui dissipat sepem, mordebit eum coluber," Regis  
 tantorum incentor artifexque malorum dictante justitia Longbeard  
 periit, et nefariæ conspirationis cum suo auctore rabies and nine  
 exspiravit. Et illi quidem, quibus sanior cantiorque of his asso-  
 mens fuit, lætati sunt cum viderent vel audirent vin- ciates are  
 dictam, lavantes manus suas in sanguine peccatoris. executed  
 Porro conjurati et novarum aucupes rerum<sup>2</sup> exstinctum (April 6).  
 planxere<sup>3</sup> vehementer, disciplinæ publicæ circa  
 eum vigori derogantes, et regni provisorum tanquam  
 homicidam pro supplicio pestilentis et homicidæ lace-  
 rantes.<sup>4</sup>

## CAP. XXI.

*Quomodo vulgus voluerit<sup>5</sup> hominem illum tanquam  
 martyrem honorare, et quomodo error iste<sup>6</sup> ex-  
 stinctus sit.<sup>7</sup>*

Quantum autem homo ille audendo et moliendo A.D. 1196.  
 ingentia animos sibi conciliaverit improborum,<sup>8</sup> et —  
 quantum etiam sibi plebem devinxerit<sup>9</sup> tanquam pius The real  
 et providus pro ea æmulator, etiam post interitum extent of  
 ejus claruit. Quippe ut ab eo puniti per leges dede- Long-  
 cus conjuratoris abstergerent, et damnatores ejus im- beard's  
 pios comprobarent,<sup>10</sup> arte illi martyris nomen et gloriam following  
 death.

<sup>1</sup> Hoveden says eight, but the Ann. Winton-Waverley (Liebermann, p. 183) say nine. Gervase (i. 533) contributes the date, April 6.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase has some interest. See Vol. i. p. 172, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *plangere*.

<sup>4</sup> Hoveden (iv. 5) and even Diceto (ii. 143) testify to the unequal taxation of rich and poor at this date.

Matthew Paris, too, shows much sympathy with Longbeard.

<sup>5</sup> C. has *voluit*.

<sup>6</sup> *iste*, B.D.S.; *ille*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *exstinctus sit*, om. B.

<sup>8</sup> C. has *conciliaverat reproborum*.

<sup>9</sup> In D. this passage reads, *ingentia, animos sibi conciliaverit improborum, et quantum etiam sibi plebem conciliaverit improborum, et quantum etiam sibi plebem devinxerit*.

<sup>10</sup> S. has *comprobaret*.

A.D. 1196.

A priest related to Longbeard pretends that a miraculous cure has been wrought by a relic of the agitator.

A crowd always on the spot.

The enormities which Longbeard confessed before his

quæsierunt. Denique, ut fertur, quidam sacerdos propinquus<sup>1</sup> ejus catenam, qua vinctus fuerat, febricitanti superposuit, et salutem mox consecutam impudenti vanitate confinxit. Quo vulgato, populus insipiens hominem digna passum pro justitia et pietate occubuisse credidit, et tanquam martyrem venerari cœpit. Patibulum quo suspensus fuerat, ut in occultis honori haberetur, de loco supplicii furto nocturno sublatum est, terra quoque supposita, tanquam sanguine consecrata suspensi, veluti aliquod sacrum in usus curatio- num usque ad fossam non modicam per minutias a fatuis est abrasa. Fama mox late dispersa,<sup>2</sup> stulorum, "quorum," ut ait Salomon, "infinite est numerus,"<sup>3</sup> *Eccles. x. 8.* et curiosorum greges confluebant ad locum; quibus nimirum aggregabantur qui forte ex diversis Angliæ provinciis propriis pro negotiis Lundonias adventas- sent. Exeubabat itaque ibidem jugiter insulsa multi- tudo, quantum honoris defuncto impendens tantum etiam criminis illi per quem absumptus videbatur im- pingens. Tantumque invaluit error vanissimus, ut etiam prudentes,<sup>3</sup> tanquam fascinatos rumoribus, irre- tire potuisset, nisi ea, quæ de homine illo compererant, cautius ad memoriam reduxissent. Excepto enim eo quod paulo ante exitium, ut supra expositum est, ho- micidium perpetravit, quod utique vel solum ad hoc, ne pro martyre propter supplicium haberetur, cordato cuilibet sufficere debuisset, ipsius sub ipsa morte con- fessio eorum frontes qui talem sibi martyrem fecerunt, justo si haberent in corpore sanguinem, debuit rubore perfundere. Quippe, ut a viris fide dignis accepimus, in ipso supplicio quo absumptus est, cum a quibusdam moneretur vel sero humili peccatorum confessione dare gloriam Deo, confessus est se ecclesiam illam, quam a

<sup>1</sup> C. has *propinquis*.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *mox lata mox late dis- persa*.

<sup>3</sup> For *etiam prudentes* B. reads *imprudentes*.

facie insequentium cum propria concubina fuerat ingressus, in illa mora, quam ibidem sub inani expectatione auxilii fecit, semine polluisse: et quod longe majus est, ipsoque<sup>1</sup> dictu horrendum, cum jam hostes nullo subveniente irrumperent, negato Mariæ Filio quod eum non liberaret, diabolum ut vel ab ipso liberaretur invocasse. Inficiabantur quidem<sup>2</sup> hæc justificatores ejus, atque in præjudicium sui martyris maligne conficta dicebant. Porro hanc litem diremit fabricatæ vanitatis<sup>3</sup> in brevi occasus. Veritas quippe solida est et tempore convalescit, concinnata vero falsitas nil habet solidum sed in brevi evanescit. Igitur regni administrator, in sacerdotem illum, qui totius superstitionis caput exstiterat, digna<sup>4</sup> ecclesiasticæ severitatis<sup>5</sup> præeunte vindicta, armatorum globum emisit, qui et rusticam multitudinem fugarent, et si qui forte ibidem persistendum ducerent, comprehensos regio carceri manciparent. Armatam quoque in ipso loco custodiam jugiter observare præcepit, quæ non solum ad supplicationes adveniens vulgus arceret insulsum, verum etiam curiose divertentium inhiberet accessum. Cumque hoc per dies non multos fieret, tota illa concinnatæ superstitionis machina funditus concidit, et popularis opinio conquievit.

A.D. 1196.  
death  
would  
alone de-  
prive him  
of the title  
of martyr.

Arch-  
bishop  
Hubert  
punishes  
the priest  
who in-  
vented the  
story of  
miraculous  
cures, and  
canses the  
mob to be  
dispersed  
by a guard  
of soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> C. has *ipso quoque*.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *si* in plummet above  
*quidem*.

<sup>3</sup> *nativitatis*, B.

<sup>4</sup> C. reads *digna et*.

<sup>5</sup> Altered in plummet to *severitate* in B.

CAP. XXII.<sup>1</sup>*De prodigio mortui<sup>2</sup> post sepulturam oberrantis.*

A.D.  
1196.  
—  
Story of a  
corpse  
emerging  
from the  
grave,  
May 29.

His diebus in pago Bakingamensi<sup>3</sup> prodigiosa res accidit: quam prius a quibusdam ex parte, postea vero a venerabili archidiacono illius provinciae Stephano<sup>4</sup> plenius didici. Quidam in fata concedens, juxta morem, honesta uxoris et propinquorum cura, in vigilia Dominicæ Ascensionis sepulturæ est traditus. Sequenti vero nocte cubiculum uxoris quiescentis ingressus, excitatam non solum terruit verum etiam pæne obruit importabili sui pondere superjacto.<sup>5</sup> Altera quoque nocte attonitam pari modo afflixit. Territa periculo mulier adversus tertiæ noctis agonem et deinceps tuto se vigilum consortio munire insomnis ipsa curavit. Affuit tamen ille: sed pulsatus exclamationibus<sup>6</sup> vigilum, cum nocere non posset, abiit. Sic repulsus a conjuge, fratres proprios in eodem vico habitantes similiter fatigavit. Illi vero, juxta mulieris cautelæ exemplum, parati ad excepiendum repellendumque periculum, noctes cum suis ducebant<sup>7</sup> insomnes. Aderat tamen ille tanquam desiderans præoccupare somnolentos: sed repulsus sollicitudine et virtute vigilum, inter animalia quæ vel in domibus vel circa domos erant debacchabatur, quod ipsorum animalium efferatio et motus insoliti declarabant. Tunc amicis quoque et vicinis pari molestia gravis, eandem

<sup>1</sup> D. omits the whole of this chapter, which is, however, contained in B.C. and S.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *mortis*.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *Bakinghamensi*.

<sup>4</sup> Le Neve records allusions to this Stephen in 1192 and 1194 in the Contin. Hist. Croyland., p. 462.

This story shows him in office at a later date.

<sup>5</sup> B.C. and S. give this unusual form.

<sup>6</sup> *exclamationibus*, B.S.; *acclamationibus*, C.

<sup>7</sup> B. has *dicebant*.



omnibus necessitatem nocturnæ sollicitudinis ingerebat. Erantque jam in ipso vico per omnes domos vigiliæ generales, dum singuli ad improvisum essent ipsius accessum suspensi. Cumque aliquamdiu hoc modo solis fuisset noctibus debacchatus, luce quoque diurna oberrare cœpit, formidabilis quidem omnibus sed visibilis quibusdam. Plerumque enim<sup>1</sup> pluribus occurrens, uni tantum vel duobus conspicuus erat, cum tamen et ceteros ejus præsentia<sup>2</sup> non lateret. Pavefacti homines supra modum, consilium ab ecclesia quærendum duxerunt: remque integre ad memoratum archidiaconum conventui sacerdotum sollemniter præsentem cum questu lacrimabili detulerunt. Qui confestim venerabili episcopo Lincolnensi,<sup>3</sup> Londoniis tunc constituto, cuncta per ordinem scripto insinuans, ejus in re tam inusitata sententiam et auctoritatem merito censuit exspectandam. Episcopo vero stupente super hoc, et subtilem habente tractatum cum suis, fuere qui dicerent talia sæpius in Anglia contigisse, et crebris clarere exemplis quietem populo dari non posse nisi miserrimi hominis corpore effosso et concremato. Indecorum nimis atque indignum hoc visum est venerando pontifici: moxque cartulam absolutionis manu sua conscriptam archidiacono dirigens, ut quomodo illius hominis se corpus haberet oculata fide claresceret, sepulchrum ejus aperiri, et supposita pectori ejus eadem cartula, rursus claudi præcepit. Aperto ergo sepulchro, corpus ita inventum est sicut ibidem fuerat collocatum; pontificalis vero absolutionis cartula pectori ejus apposita, et clauso rursus sepulchro, nec oberrare deinceps visus est, nec alicui<sup>4</sup> molestiam vel terrorem inferre permissus.

A.D.  
1196.

Stephen arch-deacon of Buckingham refers the case to St. Hugh of Lincoln.

The bishop causes a scroll containing his absolution to be affixed to the breast of the corpse, which remains thereafter at rest.

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

<sup>2</sup> B. has *latentia*.

<sup>3</sup> The "Magna Vita" contains no reference to this story.

<sup>4</sup> B. has *aliqui*.

CAP. XXIII.<sup>1</sup>*De re consimili quæ accidit apud Berewic.<sup>2</sup>*

A.D. 1196. In aquilonalibus quoque Angliæ partibus aliud non dissimile et æque prodigiosum eodem tempore novimus accidisse. Est vicus nobilis ad ostium Tuidi<sup>3</sup> fluminis, qui Berewic dicitur, de jure regis Seottorum. Ibi quidam vir pecuniosus, sed pessimus, ut postea plenius claruit, post fata sepultus, operatione, ut creditur, Sathanæ, noctibus egrediebatur ex<sup>4</sup> tumulo, et canum cum ingenti latratu prosequente turba, huc illucque ferebatur, et multo cunctis accolis terrore incusso, ante<sup>5</sup> lucem tumulo reddebatur. Cumque hoc per dies fieret<sup>6</sup> plurimos, et nullus jam auderet post vesperum foris inveniri, dum omnes exitialis monstri formidarent occursum, quidnam agendum esset necessarium inter se majores simul et mediocres habuere tractatum, metuentes scilicet simpliciores ex ipsis, si forte negligentius ageretur, ab exanimi prodigio maturius sugillari: prudentiores vero caute reputantes ne forte, tardante remedio, ex<sup>7</sup> crebro pestiferi cadaveris circumactu<sup>8</sup> infectus corruptusque aer, morbos et mortes gigneret plurimorum: quod ntiq̄e præcavendum crebris in re consimili clarebat exemplis. Conduxerunt itaque decem juvenes audacia insignes qui corpus infandum<sup>9</sup> effoderent, et membratim exsectum<sup>10</sup> redigerent in combustionem et cibum ignis. Quod et factum est et cessavit quassatio. Nam et ipsum monstrum, dum circumferretur a Sathana, sicut dictum

At Berwick a corpse emerges from the grave and infests the neighbourhood.

Young men are hired to exhume and burn it.

<sup>1</sup> D. omits the whole of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *Berewic*, S.; *Berwick*, B., and below *Bercwyck*; *Berwich*, C., and *Berewich*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tuidi*, B.S.; *Tvedi*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *ex*, B.S.; *de*, C.

<sup>5</sup> C. alone reads, *incusso, incluso ante*.

<sup>6</sup> C. has *hæc per dies fierent*.

<sup>7</sup> *ex*, om. C.

<sup>8</sup> *circumactu*, B.; C.S. have *circuactu*.

<sup>9</sup> *infandum*, B.S.; *nefandum*, C.

<sup>10</sup> B. has *erectum*.

est, quibusdam forte obvium dixisse perhibetur, quod A.D. 1196.  
 eo incombusto populus requiem habiturus non esset.<sup>1</sup>  
 Eo ergo combusto data quidem videbatur populo re-  
 quies: sed exorta consequenter lues majorem illius  
 populi partem absumpsit. Nusquam enim alibi tam  
 dire desæviit,<sup>2</sup> cum in cunctis ipso tempore exstiterit  
 Angliæ finibus generalis, ut suo loco plenius expo-  
 netur.

## CAP. XXIV.

*De quibusdam prodigiis.*<sup>3</sup>

Sane quod mortuorum cadavera de sepulchris egre-  
 dientia nescio quo spiritu ad viventium vel terrorem Ante  
A.D. 1196.  
 vel perniciem circumferantur, et ad eadem sepulchra Other  
stories of  
corpses  
wandering  
by night.  
 sponte se illis aperientia revertantur, non facile in  
 fidem reciperetur nisi et crebra nostri temporis ex-  
 empla suppetere et testimonia abundarent. Mirum  
 plane si talia olim contingere, cum nihil tale in libris  
 veterum reperiatur, quibus utique ingens studium fuit  
 memorabilia quæque literis mandare. Cum enim quæ-  
 dam etiam modica conscribere nequaquam neglexerint,<sup>4</sup>  
 quomodo rem tanti stuporis simul et horroris, si forte  
 illo seculo contigit, suppressere potuere? Porro si  
 velim omnia hujusmodi scribere quæ nostris conti-  
 gisse<sup>5</sup> temporibus comperi, nimis operosum simul et  
 onerosum erit. Duo tantum<sup>6</sup> recentis memoriæ supra  
 memoratis annectere, et nostræ historiæ, quoniam se  
 præbet occasio, ad posterorum cautelam inserere libet.

<sup>1</sup> *habiturus non esset*, B.S. : *non  
haberet*, C.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *deseruit*.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *prodigiis*.

<sup>4</sup> *neglexerint*, B.D.S. ; *negligerent*,  
C.

<sup>5</sup> *contigisse*, B.D.S. ; *contingere*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *tantum*, B.D.S. : *tamen*, C.

Ante  
A.D. 1196.

A priest  
buried at  
Melrose  
Abbey  
wanders  
by night.

Ante annos aliquot cujusdam illustris feminae capellanus exuens hominem, apud nobile illud cœnobium quod Mailros<sup>1</sup> dicitur sepulturam accepit. Qui nimirum sacri ordinis, quo pollebat, in modico habens respectum, supra modum secularis exstiterat, et maxime quod divinorum confectorem sacramentorum denigrabat, adeo venatoriæ deditus vanitati ut infami elogio a plurimis *Hundeprest*, id est canum presbyter, diceretur. Et quidem hoc dum viveret vel ridebatur ab hominibus vel humanius pensabatur, post mortem vero ex eventu reatus ejus claruit. Noctibus siquidem tumulto exiens, in ipso quidem monasterio, obsistentibus habitantium sanctorum meritis, non poterat ququam terrere vel lædere. Porro extra monasterium oberrabat, et maxime circa cubiculum propriæ quondam dominæ cum ingenti fremitu et horrendo murmure ferebatur. Quod cum sæpius fieret, illa supra modum anxia, magnitudinem sui vel pavoris vel periculi venienti ad se pro causa monasterii cuidam ex fratribus intimavit, lacrimabiliter postulans uti solito impensiores pro ea tanquam in agone posita preces Domino funderentur, cujus anxietati frater ille, nam de sancto loci illius collegio crebris beneficiis optime merita videbatur, pie justeque condoluit, et citum remedium de misericordia Summi Provisoris spondidit. Reversusque<sup>2</sup> ad monasterium, alium sibi constantis æque animi fratrem et duos juvenes validos sociavit, cum quibus cœmeterium, ubi sepultus erat infelix ille presbyter, pervigil custodiret. Hi ergo quatuor, animis armisque instructi, mutuo tuti solatio pernoctabant in loco. Noctis jam medium fluxerat, et nihil monstri apparuit. Unde factum est, ut, relicto ibidem solo illo qui ceteros sibi aggregarat,<sup>3</sup> tres in proximam

Four  
armed  
monks  
watch the  
grave.

<sup>1</sup> The chronicle of Melrose does not allude to this.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *reversus quoque*.

<sup>3</sup> C. reads *aggregaret*.

ædem secederent, ut frigus nocturnum, quod causabantur,<sup>1</sup> igne levarent. Cum ergo solus ille in loco persisteret, aptum se tempus ut fiduciam hominis frangeret invenisse diabolus æstimans, illico vas proprium, quod solito diutius quievisse videbatur, excitavit. Quo eminus conspecto, ille pro eo quod solus erat primo dirigit: sed mox resumpta fiducia, cum locus non esset effugii, impetum pestis cum terribili murmure irruentis fortiter excipiens, bipennem, quam manu gestabat, alte corpori ejus infixit. Accepto illa<sup>2</sup> vulnere, sonore<sup>3</sup> ingemuit: et conversa, non segnius quam advenerat,<sup>4</sup> abiit, cum homo mirabilis fugientem a tergo urgeret, et sepulchrum proprium repetere cogeret: quod illi se ultro aperiens, suscipiensque hospitem a facie insequentis, eadem facilitate mox<sup>5</sup> clausum apparuit. Quibus actis, qui nocturni frigoris impatientes ad ignem secesserant vel sero accurrunt,<sup>6</sup> et auditis quæ acciderant ad effodiendum tollendumque de medio cadaver maledictum summo mane necessarii cooperatores fuerunt. Quod cum egesta humo<sup>7</sup> nudassent, ingens in eo vulnus quod acceperat, et cruoris plurimum, qui ex vulnere fluxerat, in sepulchro invenerunt. Sublatum igitur extra septa monasterii comburentes, cineres quoque disperserunt. Hæc nimirum prout a viris religiosis accepi, simplici narratione digessi.

Item aliud non dissimile sed perniciosius contigit apud castellum quod Anantis dicitur, prout accepi a sene religioso, qui clarus et potens in partibus illis exstiterat, et in sua hoc ipsum præsentia factum memorabat. Quidam vir malæ actionis metu vel legum vel hostium ex Eboracensi provincia ad dominum me-

Ante  
A.D. 1196.

Three  
retiring  
after mid-  
night the  
corpse  
assails the  
fourth, but,  
receiving a  
wound  
from a  
battle-axe,  
returns to  
the tomb.

The corpse  
is dug up  
and  
burned.

A worse  
case is told  
to the  
author by  
a monk.

<sup>1</sup> *causabantur*, B.D.; imperfect, *caubantur*, S.; *cavebant*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *illa*, B.D.S.; *illo*, C.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *sonorus ingemuit: et conversus*.

<sup>4</sup> *advenerat*, B.D.S.; *venerat*, C.

<sup>5</sup> C. reads *moxque*.

<sup>6</sup> *accurrunt*, C.S.; *accurrerunt*, B.D.

<sup>7</sup> B. has *homo*.

Ante  
A.D. 1196.

A refugee  
from York-  
shire dies  
unshriven,  
and his  
corpse  
cannot  
rest in the  
grave.

morati castelli,<sup>1</sup> cui notus erat, confugiens, ibidem resedit: et sortitus ministerium suis moribus aptum, augere magis proprias quam corrigere studuit pravitates. Uxorem duxit, in propriam sane perniciem, ut postea claruit. Audiens enim de ipsa quædam, spiritu zelotypiæ vexabatur. Cupiensque an vera essent dignoscere, finxit se longius iturum, nec rediturum nisi post dies aliquot. Reversus autem vespere, atque in cubiculum clanculo per ancillam consciam intromissus, super trabem cubiculi<sup>2</sup> uxoris imminentem latuit, oculis probaturus si quid ibidem contra thori<sup>3</sup> fidem ageretur. Vidensque uxorem cum vicino juvene fornicantem, præ ira immemor sui effectus decidit,<sup>4</sup> graviterque se juxta ipsos cubantes ad terram elisit. Et mœchus quidem exsilivit: uxor vero callide factum dissimulans, molliter erigere curavit jacentem. Ille ad se modice reversus, stuprum impropere, poenam committatur. At illa: "Signa," inquit, "te, domine mi: " aliena loqueris: quod non tibi sed morbo imputetur " quo teneris." Quassatus ergo ex casu et toto fere corpore stupidus, tanquam morbo decubuit. Quem vir memoratus, qui hæc mihi retulit, pietatis officio visitans, monuit eum de peccatis suis confessionem facere, et eucharistiam juxta morem sumere Christianum. Ille vero quid sibi accidisset, et quid uxor diceret, replicans, quod salubriter monebatur in crastinum distulit, crastinum in corpore non visurus. Nocte eni sequenti Christianæ expers gratiæ meritis malis urgentibus soporem morti sociavit. Et Christianam quidem sepulturam indignus accepit, quæ illi non profuit. Noctibus enim operatione Sathanæ de sepulchro egrediens, prosequente eum cum latratu horribili canum turba per plateas et circa domos oberrabat, cunctis

<sup>1</sup> castelli fugiens, C., omitting  
confugiens.

<sup>2</sup> cubiculi, C.S.; cubili, B.D.

<sup>3</sup> thori, om. C.

<sup>4</sup> decidit, D.S.; cecidit, C.

ostia obserantibus, nec exire præsumentibus ad aliquod negotium ab incipientibus tenebris usque ad ortum solis, ne quis forte oberranti monstro sugillandus occurreret.<sup>1</sup> Verum hæc cautela nil profuit. Nam tetri corporis circumactu infectus aer, haustu pestilenti universas morbis et mortibus domos replevit. Jamque vicus, qui populosus paulo ante fuerat, pæne exinanitus videbatur, dum eladi superstites, ne et ipsi morentur, ad partes alias commigrarent.<sup>2</sup> Hanc nimirum suæ desolationem parrochiæ dolens vir ille, ex cujus hæc ore accepi,<sup>3</sup> in sacra dominica, quæ Palmarum dicitur, viros sapientes et religiosos accersire studuit, qui in<sup>4</sup> tanto discrimine<sup>5</sup> salubre darent consilium, et consolatione vel modica miseris plebis reliquias recrearent. Facto igitur sermone ad populum, et rite expletis venerandæ diei sollempnibus, religiosos hospites cum ceteris honoratis qui aderant vocavit ad mensam. Quibus epulantibus, duo fratres juvenes, qui patrem elade illa amiseraunt, sese mutuo cohortantes, “Monstrum,” inquit, “istud patrem nostrum perdidit, et nos etiam cito disperdet si<sup>6</sup> negligamus. Agamus ergo aliquid virile, tum propriæ salutis cautela tum in ultionem necis paternæ. Non est qui impediat, cum et in domo sacerdotis convivium celebretur, et totus hic vicus sileat tanquam vacuus. Effodiamus pestem illam, et comburamus igni.” Arrepto itaque ligone satis retunso cœmiterium adeuntes fodere ceperunt. Cumque se altius fossuros esse crederent, repente cadaver non multa humo egesta nudaverunt, enormi corpulentia distentum, facie rubenti turgenti-que supra modum. Sudarium vero, quo obvolutum fuerat, conscissum penitus videbatur. Nec territi<sup>7</sup> juvenes, quos ira stimulabat, vulnus exanimi corpori

Ante  
A.D. 1196.

The corpse  
corrupts  
the air and  
causes a  
pestilence

Two young  
men dig it  
up, extract  
the heart,  
and then  
buried the  
whole.

<sup>1</sup> D. reads *occurret*.

<sup>2</sup> For *commigrarent*, B. reads  
*etiam migrarent*.

<sup>3</sup> *accepi*, B.D.S.; *suscepi*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *in*, om. C.

<sup>5</sup> C. has *discrimini*.

<sup>6</sup> B. has *sed*.

<sup>7</sup> B. has a doubtful word, *Penti*.

Ante  
A.D. 1196. intulerunt: ex quo tantus continuo sanguis effluxit ut  
intelligeretur sanguisuga fuisse multorum. Trahentes  
autem illud extra vicum, rogum celeriter construxerunt. Cumque unus ipsorum diceret, eadaver pestiferum ardere non posse nisi corde extracto, alius crebris ictibus retunsi ligonis latus aperuit, et manu injecta cor maledictum extraxit. Quo<sup>1</sup> minutatim discerpto et corpore jam ardente, nuntiatur<sup>2</sup> convivantibus quod gerebatur; et accurrentes, rei gestæ testes in reliquum esse potuerunt. Porro infernali illa belua sic deleta, pestilentia quoque quæ grassabatur<sup>3</sup> in populo conquivit, tanquam igne illo, qui dirum<sup>4</sup> cadaver absumpserat, aer jam esset purgatus, qui ejus fuerat pestilenti motu corruptus. His itaque expositis, ad historiæ ordinem redeamus.

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CAP. XXV.

*De signo quod visum est in celo, et de expugnatione quorundam castellorum.*

A.D. 1196. In octavis Pentecostes hora diei prima apparuere in  
coelo duo soles, sol scilicet verus atque alius tanquam  
ejus æmulus. Nec facile discerni poterat uter<sup>5</sup> illorum  
esset sol verus, nisi ex solito processu, alius vero paulo elevatior quasi sequi videbatur; malorum forte quæ subsecuta noscuntur præagas.<sup>6</sup> Quod signum oculis meis vidi cum aliis quibusdam, qui mecum erant. Cumque suspensi et stupidi diuscule stetissemus, rem tam inusitatam intuentes, repente, dum oculis tædio victi deflectimus, æmulus ille veri solis eva-

A.D. 1196.  
A par-  
helion  
appears on  
June 16.

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<sup>1</sup> C. has *qui*.

<sup>2</sup> *nuntiatur* altered by contemporary hand to *nuntiabatur*, D.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *crassabatur*.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *durum*.

<sup>5</sup> C. has *utrum*.

<sup>6</sup> *subsecuta noscuntur præagas*, B.D.S.; *subsecuta sunt noscitur præagiis*, C., *sunt* being in the margin.



nuit. Nec multo post<sup>1</sup> expleto induciarum tempore, quod laborantes populos modice recrearat, cruentus rursus principum furor excaudit. Totis in arma viribus ruit: igne ferroque florentes paulo ante provincie corrumpuntur. Et rex quidem Francorum cum suis copiis Albemerliam<sup>2</sup> obsedit; rex vero Anglorum castrum, quod Nonancurtis dicitur, sui quidem olim juris, sed a rege Francorum jam pridem occupatum. Quo mature potitus, propulsandi hostis et solvendae obsidionis operam sumere rogabatur a suis: sed dissimulavit, sive pugnam, quae supra modum cruenta foret, exhorrens, sive propensius de suorum, qui castellum obsessum egregie defendebant, virtute confidens. Conversus ergo ad depopulandos fines hostiles, sollicitate satagebat absque mutui sanguinis discrimine avertere obsessorem. Verum ille peryicaciter ceptis insistens, cum multo tandem sui exercitus sudore et sanguine castellum deditione obtinuit et evertit. Sane hoc damnum minus contristavit regem Anglorum, quod castelli clarioris receptio compensabat. Verum hoc non multo post sine sufficientibus forte munimentis inventum, recidit in manus regis Francorum.<sup>3</sup> Inimicitias igitur principum magis magisque crudescens, reformandae paci<sup>4</sup> a bonis et sapientibus inaniter studebatur, cum ipsi ad omne consilium pacis obsiderent. Nam sicut<sup>5</sup> scriptum est: "Furor illis secundum similitudinem aspidis surdae et obturantis aures suas, quae non exaudiet vocem incantantium." Quan-

A.D. 1196.

After the expiration of the truce war breaks out. Philip besieges Aumale, Richard recovers Nonancourt.

Philip takes Aumale.

Richard takes a castle, but loses it again.

Ps. lvii. 5,  
6.

<sup>1</sup> Gervase (i. 532) states that the truce was arranged to last till June 24, 1196, but Hoveden (iv. 4, 5) implies, rather by collocation of events than by direct statement, that the actual outbreak of war was earlier. Newburgh, in cap. xviii. (p. 463, l. 24), and more clearly here, gives June as the date. See cap. xxviii., lib. II. (p. 172), "mense Junio, quando solent reges

"ad bella procedere." Rigord agrees.

<sup>2</sup> *Albemerliam*, S.; *Albemarliam*, B.C.D.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Gameges (Hoved. iv. 5), but it belonged to Richard in 1198. Perhaps Newburgh merely refers to Nonancourt, which Rigord says Philip captured again.

<sup>4</sup> C. *has pacis*.

<sup>5</sup> *sicut*, B.C.S.; *ut*, D.

A.D. 1196. quam in his regis Anglorum jus proprium repetentis  
 The efforts of peace-makers are unavailing. causa potior, et ira proculdubio justior fuerit, ut supra ostensum est. Pace itaque desperata, cum nec<sup>1</sup> ille ad resignandum quod illicite occuparat, nec iste ad quiescendum nisi jure suo redintegrato ulla potuisset ratione induci, quantum inter se superbi principes fremebant tantum et miseræ plebes gemebant. Quicquid enim delirant reges, innoxie plectuntur plebes. Horat. Ep. i. 2, 14.

## CAP. XXVI.

*De fame et peste per Angliam grassante.*

A.D. 1196. Aggravata est etiam ipso tempore manus Domini  
 The horrors of pestilence and famine are added to those of war. super populum Christianum, vesaniæ scilicet principum vastanti provincias jungens famem et pestem, ut pæne illud in nobis propheticum completum<sup>2</sup> esse videatur: "Plaga inimici percussi te, castigatione cruci deli." Et quidem fames intempestivis edita imbribus, per annos jam<sup>3</sup> aliquot<sup>4</sup> Gallie Angliæque populos vehementer attriverat, sed regibus inter se<sup>5</sup> debacchantibus plus solito invaluit. Cumque vulgus pauperum passim<sup>6</sup> inedia deperiret,<sup>7</sup> secuta est e vestigio, tanquam ex pauperum mortibus acre corrupto, pestis sævissima, quæ et illis quibus alimenta abundabant minime parceret, et indigentibus longum famis cruciatum breviaret. In aliis sane regionibus quomodo illius se temporis res habuerint minus nobis constat; de Anglia vero quod scimus loquimur, et quæ vidimus eo tempore testamur. Serpebat effusa lues, uno tantum morbo, febre scilicet quæ acuta dicitur, per sin-

Jerem. xxx. 14.  
 1 Johan. iv. 14.

An epide-  
 mical  
 fever rages

<sup>1</sup> For *nec* D. reads *vero*.

<sup>2</sup> D. reads *completum*.

<sup>3</sup> *jam*, om. B.

<sup>4</sup> On p. 492 it is stated that 1197

was the fifth year of this famine. Rigord mentions it under 1195.

<sup>5</sup> *se*, om. B.D.

<sup>6</sup> *passim*, om. C.

<sup>7</sup> *deperiret*, B.D.S.; *deperisset*, C.

gulos dies tam multos corriprens tam multos conficiens,<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1196.  
 ut vix invenirentur<sup>2</sup> qui vel curam languidis vel se- in Engiand,  
 pulturam mortuis exhiberent.<sup>3</sup> Consuetus funeris appa- destroying  
 ratus cessabat: et quacunque hora diurna quis obiisset so many  
 mox matri terræ reddebatur, nisi cum forte aliquis that pits  
 nobilior vel ditior decessisset. In plerisque etiam locis are dug  
 receptui cadaverum fiebant fossæ non modicæ, cum for burials.  
 propter morientium multitudinem facultas non esset In the  
 singillatim singulos juxta morem humare. Cum ergo winter,  
 tam multi cotidie morerentur, etiam incolumes animo after  
 languebant, et vultu pallebant, et moribundis similes raging for  
 incedebant, tanquam continuo morituri. In solis<sup>4</sup> a- about six  
 tem monasteriis eadem labes minime grassabatur. months,  
 Quæ nimirum postquam per quinque vel sex fere the epidem-  
 menses passim desæviit, tandem, hiemali rigore con- ic abates.  
 sopita, quievit. Porro hac tam crudeli elade altercan- The war  
 tium<sup>5</sup> principum duriores animi fuere, qui in studio rages  
 belligerandi hiemem æstati et autumnno junxere. through  
 winter to  
 summer  
 and  
 autumn.

## CAP. XXVII.

*Quomodo Alemanni secundo signum Dominicum<sup>6</sup>  
 susceperunt.*

Sane rex Anglorum paulo ante obsides suos apud A.D. 1195.  
 Teutonicum imperatorem relictos absolute receperat, The em-  
 persoluta illi pactæ redemptionis summa. Quibus re- peror  
 ceptis, dixisse fertur a captivitate Alemannica tunc after the  
 primo sibi se redditum. Liberatus itaque ab exactore<sup>7</sup> release of  
 tam gravi, intentione<sup>8</sup> integra bellicis negotiis insiste- R'chard's  
 hostages  
 plans a  
 crusade.

<sup>1</sup> *tam multos corriprens . . .*  
*conficiens*: B.C.D.S. coneur in this  
 reading.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *inveniretur*.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *exhiberet*.

<sup>4</sup> *solis*, om. C.

<sup>5</sup> C. has *alternantium*.

<sup>6</sup> C. omits *Dominicum*.

<sup>7</sup> *exactione*, R.

<sup>8</sup> *tam . . . intentione*, om. B.

A.D. 1195. bat : de reversione in Syriam, cui se inde rediens devoverat, nihil vel tepide cogitans, non illi imputetur; necessitate siquidem, quam primo per imperatorem Teutonicum, ac deinde per regem Francorum patiebatur, apud sobrios iudices facile excusatur.<sup>1</sup> Porro idem imperator, ut quasi expiaret quod in Christianum principem ab Oriente revertentem tam foedæ<sup>2</sup> avaritiæ instinctu commiserat, et pecunias quibus Angliam nudaverat<sup>3</sup> piis<sup>4</sup> usibus applicaret, Orientalis ecclesiæ miserandis<sup>5</sup> reliquiis subvenire decrevit. Considerabat etiam per se actum quod duo illi magni reges, relictis quæ Christi sunt, sua tantum quærent, et feralibus in alterutrum odiis debacchando vires more tyrannico frangerent Christianas. Cupiens ergo hanc jacturam religiosa opera compensare, anno a partu sacræ Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>XC<sup>o</sup>V<sup>o</sup> circa sollemnitatem beati Andreæ apostoli, convocatis apud Gormaciam primis imperii ecclesiasticis pariter laicisque personis, et devotione propria cunctis declarata, ad æmulandum pro Christo sublimes exemplo provocavit plurimos. Denique sedente eo sollemniter in cathedrali ecclesia continuis octo diebus, et consedente, qui ad hoc ipsum venerat, Apostolicæ<sup>6</sup> sedis legato cum omni frequentia inclitorum: iis quoque qui sapientia, dignitate, et facundia præcallebant per dies singulos in auribus Christianæ multitudinis potenti eloquio declamantibus: tantus<sup>7</sup> fidei et devotionis in animis audientium fervor incanduit, ut fas esset dicere, "Digitus Dei est hoc." Magnis præsulibus et præclaris ducibus cum multitudine virorum fortium Dominicum characterem per dies singulos certatim sumentibus, ipse quoque imperator paratus fuit eodem signo cum ceteris insigniri. Verum hoc ab omnibus altiori consilio dissuasum est, allegantibus

The German nobles take the cross at Worms, about Nov. 30, 1195.

<sup>1</sup> apud . . . excusatur, om. B.

<sup>2</sup> D. alone has *fide*.

<sup>3</sup> nudaverat, C.D.S.; mandaverat, B.

<sup>4</sup> piis, B.D.S.; propriis, C.

<sup>5</sup> miserandis, om. C.

<sup>6</sup> B. has *Apostolicorum*.

<sup>7</sup> tantus, B.D.S.; tanta, C.

Christianæ expeditioni conducere,<sup>1</sup> ut in imperio ma- A.D. 1195.  
nens, de victualibus progressu exercitui pro tempore  
transmittendis propensiori cura satageret, et, cum res  
posceret, laborantibus supplementa militiæ mitteret.  
Itaque secunda in Syriam Germanicarum atque Itali-  
carum gentium expeditio totis viribus parabatur, cum  
reges nostri nil sanum aut sobrium meditantes, proprio  
tantum ad multorum discrimen indulgerent furori.

## CAP. XXVIII.

*De dissensione regis Ricardi et Rothomagensis  
archiepiscopi.*

His diebus orta est dissensio inter regem Ricardum A.D. 1196.  
et Galterium<sup>2</sup> Rothomagensem archiepiscopum: tanto  
fœdior<sup>3</sup> quanto majori prius videbantur amicitia co- Dispute  
between  
Richard  
and Walter  
arch-  
bishop of  
Rouen, the  
former  
having  
taken the  
isle of  
Andely,  
the prop-  
erty of the  
see of  
Rouen, for  
military  
purposes.  
hærere. Idem enim pontifex eidem principi et ante  
regnum et in regno devotus semper et fidelis<sup>4</sup> exstite-  
rat, ejusque sibi animum multis et præclaris obsequiis  
obligarat. Denique ipso Orientalem expeditionem in-  
grediente, domi pro officio residere non passus, ne illi  
vel ad tempus deesset, animo subeundi quaelibet cum  
eo discrimina usque in<sup>5</sup> Siciliam una progressus est.  
Rex vero ibidem<sup>6</sup> audiens tyrannicos mores Eliensis  
episcopi, cui regni custodiam regimenque crediderat,  
remisit eum in Angliam, datis memorato episcopo  
mandatis, ut eum in administratione regni per omnia  
collegam ascisceret. Verum ab homine singularem  
gloriam amante ad collegium non admissus, sustinuit

<sup>1</sup> C. has *condecere*.<sup>2</sup> *Galterium*, B.D.S.; *Gauterium*,  
C.<sup>3</sup> For *fœdior*, B. has *serior*.<sup>4</sup> *et fidelis*, om. B.<sup>5</sup> *in*, B.D.S.; *ad*, C.<sup>6</sup> *ibidem*, B.D.; *idem*, C.S.: a  
case in which the leading MSS. are  
almost certainly wrong.

A. D. 1196. siluitque ad tempus. Illo vero post modicum a regni nobilibus<sup>1</sup> fastum ejus non ferentibus fortiter debellato atque ignominiose expulso, voto et decreto generali susceptam<sup>2</sup> regni curam laudabili moderamine gessit. Cumque rex<sup>3</sup> post diutinam in Germania detentionem, pactis tandem cum imperatore celebratis, mature liberandus speraretur, devotum sibi præsulem accersendum putavit, eumque non invitum apud imperatorem pro summa non modica obsidem reliquit. Rege vero in regnum regresso, bellicisque intento negotiis, idem pontifex in gratiam ejus imperatori de<sup>4</sup> proprio, ut dicitur, satisfaciens, ad propria cum gloria remeavit. Verum princeps bellica quadam necessitate, quæ plerumque et amicis non parcit, minorem illi gratiam quam sperabat rependit: præsertim cum Eliensis episcopus ad auriculam principis frequenter pro officio positus, nam cancellarius erat regius, illi apud principem plurimum derogaret. Infestus quippe illi erat causa superius memorata. Exasperatus ergo pontifex propter quædam de jure ecclesiæ suæ a rege præsumpta, cum rex bellicam necessitatem obtendens nequaquam illi ad præsens satisfaceret, sed bellis cesantibus satisfactionem promitteret,<sup>5</sup> Apostolicæ sedis judicium appellavit, et suspensis in sua diocesi divinæ laudis organis, Romam contendit.<sup>6</sup> Responsales quoque regii e vestigio secuti,<sup>7</sup> in conspectu summi pontificis in faciem illi restitere:<sup>8</sup> ea quidem quæ ab eo contra regem proponebantur minime inficientes, sed necessitatem regiam verbis ad deprecandum compositis excusantes. Tunc summus pontifex actori<sup>9</sup>

The archbishop in anger appeals to Rome, and places Normandy under interdict.

<sup>1</sup> *nobilibus*, B.D.S.; *nobilioribus*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *susceptam*, D.S.; *suscepti*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *rex*, B.D.; om. C.S.

<sup>4</sup> *de*, om. C.

<sup>5</sup> B. has *promittere*.

<sup>6</sup> His letter given by Diceto, ii.

148-150, shows that he set out on Nov. 7, 1196.

<sup>7</sup> Chief among these was Longchamp: see following chapter.

<sup>8</sup> B. has *resistere*.

<sup>9</sup> C. has *actori*.

dixisse fertur: "Nota est orbi terrarum injusta regis A.D. 1196.  
 "Anglorum vel captivatio ab Oriente, ubi Christo  
 "militaverat, cum signo ejusdem militiæ revertentis,  
 "vel spoliatio, grave et diutinum sub catena Aleman-  
 "nica tædium patientis. Debuit ergo tua discretio  
 "pro tempore dissimulare, etiam si majora quam  
 "proponis ratione necessitatis bellicæ attentasset."  
 Hæc dicens, principi quidem tanquam fatigato in-  
 juriis et justum bellum gerenti morem gerere studuit;  
 pontificem vero alias delinitum atque placatum ad  
 propria remisit.

The pope  
excuses  
Richard,  
but sends  
the arch-  
bishop  
away satis-  
fied by  
other  
means.

## CAP. XXIX.

*De morte Eliensis episcopi, qui cancellarius potius  
meruit appellari.*

Sane inter eos quos idem rex pro sua causa Ro- A.D. 1197.  
mam profiscisci voluit, clariores fuisse videntur Elien-  
sis episcopus, qui et cancellarius regius, et Dunelmensis<sup>1</sup>  
electus,<sup>2</sup> qui Romam veniens, a summo pontifice  
ordinari meruit. Cancellarius vero a rege digressus  
morbo occubuit,<sup>3</sup> quo ingravescente post dies aliquot  
vitam finivit;<sup>4</sup> jam non coram Romano pontifice cau-  
sam regis Anglorum aeturus, sed ad tribunal Regis  
Angelorum pro seipso rationem redditurus. De hoc  
quidem episcopo, qui a paucis quidem episcopus ab  
omnibus vero cancellarius dicebatur, eo quod a tem-  
pore ordinationis suæ longe magis palatio quam ec-  
clesiæ militaret: de hujus, inquam, episcopi moribus  
et actibus, et qualia<sup>5</sup> circa illum propter intolerabi-

The king  
sends the  
bishop of  
Ely and the  
bishop-  
elect of  
Durham to  
plead his  
cause be-  
fore the  
pope.  
Death of  
Long-  
champ  
(Jan. 31).  
Character  
of William

<sup>1</sup> *Donelmensis*, in B. and D.

<sup>2</sup> Philip of Poitiers. William  
bishop of Lisieux was joined with  
them in the mission.

<sup>3</sup> *occubuit*, C.S.; *decubuit*, B.D.

<sup>4</sup> He died at Poitiers (Gervase,  
i. 543).

<sup>5</sup> D. has *qua*.

A.D. 1197. lem ejus fastum provenerint, cum ei memoratus princeps Orientalem peregrinationem ingressurus administrandam<sup>1</sup> in Anglia rerum summam credidisset, suo loco superius expositum est. Expulsus ergo ab Anglia, atque in Galliis pro tempore exsulans, cum eundem regem ab Oriente revertentem Alemannica teneri catena audisset, ocius eum visitare curavit, quo et suæ circa eum devotionis comprobaret fervorem, ejusque in posterum propensioem obsequiis merearetur favorem.

Assistens ergo vincto insigni toto tempore sortis indignæ, in multis ei necessarius exstitit: et si quid forte contra se pro rebus in Anglia turbatis animo principis sederat, novæ sedulitatis officiis abolevit. Mutata vero circa regem fortuna in Angliam cum ipso reversus, et rebus in Anglia compositis transfretantem ad bellum transmarinum secutus, cancellarii officio strenue fungebatur: sacerdotio vero ita, ut expers sollicitudinis et oneris pastoralis tantummodo ad honorem et commoda episcopus esse videretur, et nomine episcopi per nomen cancellarii adumbrato, a paucis episcopus diceretur. Denique principi bellum atrox et eruentum eum Francis gerenti per annos aliquot seculari magis quam episcopali industria collaborans, tandem, ut dictum est, morbo defecit. Lætata est Anglia in morte ejus, quia incubuerat timor ejus super illam. Cum enim et apud principem plurimum posset, et suæ olim ab Anglia ignominiosæ extrusionis homo ingentis animi immemor esse non posset: manifestum erat, quod terræ, quæ illum evomuerat tantquam humorem pestiferum, erebro machinaretur malum. Quem ergo Angliæ nobiles non frustra formidaverant vivum, parcius flere defunctum.

Long-champ, his pride and devotion to secular affairs.

His industry on behalf of Richard when in prison.

On his return Richard had reinstated him as chancellor.

His death the cause of rejoicing in England.

<sup>1</sup> *administrandam*, B.C.D.S.



## CAP. XXX.

*Quomodo finitum est bellum breve Britannicum, et  
quadragenarium Tholosanum.*<sup>1</sup>

His diebus Britones, qui a rege Anglorum jampri- A.D. 1197.  
dem desciverant, vasta finium suorum per cohortes  
regias depopulatione coerciti, in ejusdem regis fœdus  
et gratiam cum suo Arturo redire.<sup>2</sup> The Bre-  
tons are  
compelled  
to make  
peace.

Bellum quoque Tolosanum,<sup>3</sup> quod illustri Anglorum  
regi Henrico et filio ejus Ricardo res summi negotii  
fuerat, et per annos quadraginta vires multorum attri-  
verat populorum, eodem tempore, Deo propitio, exspi-  
ravit. Comes enim Sancti Egidii, pactis<sup>4</sup> cum rege  
Anglorum celebratis, sororem ejus, quæ olim regi Si-  
cilie nupserat, et eo præmature defuncto ad fratrem  
redierat, cum ingenti gloria conjugem duxit,<sup>5</sup> atque  
hoc modo inveteratum illud odium<sup>6</sup> conquievit. The 40  
years war  
with  
Toulouse  
is con-  
cluded  
by the  
marriage  
of Johanna,  
Richard's  
sister, to  
Raymond  
VI. (A.D.  
1196).  
Relieved  
thus of  
two wars,  
Richard  
turns with  
greater  
energy to  
the third—  
against  
Philip.

Itaque rex Anglorum, qui ad tria bella quasi trifari-  
am divisus erat,<sup>7</sup> atque ideo minus in singulis pote-  
rat, duobus finitis, Britonico<sup>8</sup> scilicet et Tolosano, ad<sup>9</sup>  
tertium, quod cum rege Francorum gerebat, integer  
redditus,<sup>10</sup> cœpit robustius agere et terribilior hostibus  
apparere. Certabatur autem utrimque totis viribus:  
tantusque erat debacchantium furor, ut nec sacris  
Quadragesimæ diebus deferrent, deprædationibus<sup>11</sup> at-  
que incendiis loca prius florentia corrumpentes, nec

<sup>1</sup> *Tolosanum*, B.D.

<sup>2</sup> Hoveden (iv. 19) dates this in 1197.

<sup>3</sup> *Tholosanum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *pactus*.

<sup>5</sup> Hoveden mentions this marriage under the year 1196. The *Ann. Winton.* (p. 64), *Ann. de Waverl.* (p. 250), and *Contin. Flor. Wigorn.* (ii. 161), assign the same date. Her son (Raymond VII.), accord-

ing to Hoveden (iv. 21) and other authorities, was born in July 1197. Newburgh only dates the marriage by collocation, but still in the clearest way. See "*eodem tempore*."

<sup>6</sup> *odium*, C.S.; *malum*, B.D.

<sup>7</sup> *erat*, B.C.D.S.

<sup>8</sup> altered to *Britannico*, D.

<sup>9</sup> *ad*, in plummet in C.

<sup>10</sup> B. has *reddit*.

<sup>11</sup> B. has *deprædatoribus*.

A.D. 1197. sacerdotibus Domini, si forte inciderent, secus quam popularibus parcendum ducentes. Sane tam longa tamque exitialis concertatio principum detrectantium concordiam poterat saltem per unius partis victoriam breviari, si convenire et congregari voluissent.<sup>1</sup> Verum hoc siquando alter eorum virium suarum fiducia voluit, alter ancipitem<sup>2</sup> formidans eventum caute declinavit. Denique nocendo alterutrum dum alter alterum<sup>3</sup> fatigando et lassando frangere studuit: uterque bellum sub exspectatione melioris fortunæ protrahere, quam per incerti victoris gloriam mature terminare maluit.

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CAP. XXXI.

*De captione episcopi Beluacensis.*

A.D. 1197. Annus a partu Virginis MUSCUS nonagesimus septimus vertebatur, et<sup>4</sup> furor principum minime defervebat, tanquam juvenis manum Domini iramque<sup>5</sup> ejus accumulans super populum Christianum. Nam famis validæ, quæ Galliæ Angliæque regiones vehementer angebat, annus jam quintus currebat. Sane rex Francorum, qui anno præcedenti fortius egisse videbatur, cœpit remissius agere, et fines proprios mollius tueri. Rex vero Anglorum paulatim augebatur viribus et prosperabatur magis. Denique vicum insignem, qui dicitur sancti Walarici,<sup>6</sup> repente aggressus, potenter effregit, portum commeatibus abundantem obtinuit, opes abstulit, munitionem evertit, præda onustus abiit.

The fury of the kings increases the horrors of the famine now running its fifth year.

Richard burns St. Valery (April 15).

<sup>1</sup> C. has *voluisset*.

<sup>2</sup> C. has *anticipem*.

<sup>3</sup> *alter alterutrum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> C. omits *vertebatur et*, and reads *anno M<sup>o</sup> C<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo VII<sup>o</sup>*.

<sup>5</sup> For *manum . . . iramque*, B. has *idem iram*.

<sup>6</sup> *Walarici*, C.S.; *Walerici*, B.D.

Nec multo post in pago Beluacensi castrum quod A.D. 1197.  
 Milliacum<sup>1</sup> dicitur per suos expugnavit, moxque the-  
 saurum reperit, id est, successum spe majorem. Belua- The bi-hop  
of Beau-  
vais, hear-  
ing that  
the castle  
of Milli is  
attacked,  
advances  
against  
Richard's  
troops, and  
is taken  
(May 19).  
 censis<sup>2</sup> enim episcopus, homo ferocis animi, et propin-  
 quitate regia inclitus, audiens Milliacum<sup>1</sup> oppugnari,  
 sumptis propere armis non suis, id est, militiæ secu-  
 laris non spiritualis, cum armata multitudine contra  
 hostes audacter egressus, et fortiter cum eis congressus,  
 bellicosus magis pontifex quam religiosus apparuit,  
 sed fortunam non recte culpavit. Nam judicio Dei  
 victus, captus,<sup>3</sup> et vinetus cum quibusdam aliis nobili-  
 bus, regi Anglorum, cui tam in Orientali expeditione  
 et Alemanniis vinculis quam regresso<sup>4</sup> ad propria,  
 supra modum infestus exstiterat, gratissimum munus  
 oblatum est. Cumque Rothomagi<sup>5</sup> vinetus servaretur, He is im-  
prisoned  
at Rouen.  
 duo, ut dicitur, ex familiaribus clericis ejus supplices  
 ad regem venerunt, postulantes gratiam, ut sibi lice-  
 ret domino suo in vinculis ministrare. Quibus ille,  
 "Vos," inquit, "judicate inter me et dominum ves-  
 trum. Ut enim quæ mihi vel intulit, vel molitus Richard's  
reply to the  
bishop's  
chaplain.  
 est mala, oblivioni tradantur usque ad unum: certe  
 ab Oriente rediens, et detentus ab imperatore Ro-  
 mano, respectu personæ regis mollius tractabar, et  
 cum decenti honore servabar. Superveniens autem  
 idem dominus vester vespere, ejus rei gratia vene-  
 rit, et apud imperatorem nocte quid egerit, expertus  
 sum mane. Aggravata est enim super me manus

<sup>1</sup> *Milliacum*, D.S.; *Miliacum*, B.C.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *Belluacensis*.

<sup>3</sup> Diceto (ii. 152), Gervase (i. 544), and the *Annual*. Winton., p. 65, agree with Newburgh in saying that the capture took place in 1197. Hoveden gives the date 1196, which is clearly wrong, but supplies a cir-

cumstantial account of the affair. Prince John and Mareadeus seem to have been plundering close to Beauvais, and the bishop was captured sallying out against them. After the capture Milli was taken by assault.

<sup>4</sup> D. has *regressio*.

<sup>5</sup> C. has *Rothomagensis*.

A.D. 1197. " imperatoris, tantoque mox oneratus sum ferro, quantum equus vel asinus ferre vix posset. Juste ergo decernite, qualem dominus vester habere custodiam debeat apud me, qui talem mihi fecit apud detentorem meum." Clerici vero ad hæc non habentes quid dicerent, frustrati abierunt.<sup>1</sup> Bellicosus itaque pontifex servabatur in vinculis, et tractabatur ab hostibus mitius forte quam meruerat, sed plane durius quam episcopum decebat. Interpellavit autem per suos Romanum pontificem, ut ecclesiastici vigoris instantia liberaretur de manibus detentoris. Idem vero summus pontifex prudenter considerans, quod rex Anglorum episcopum non prædicantem sed præliantem cepisset, et rigidum magis hostem quam pacificum præselem teneret in vinculis; ut vincetum relaxaret, illi molestus esse noluit, sed interpellanti sapienter et discrete respondit, improperans, quod secularem militiam ecclesiasticæ prætulisset, et pro baculo pastorali lanceam, pro mitra galeam, pro alba lorica, et clypeum pro stola sumpsisset, et gladium ferreum pro gladio Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, negansque se<sup>2</sup> pro eo victo imperaturum regi Anglorum, sed opportune supplicaturum pollicens. Vincetus itaque pontifex relaxationem suam citra regum concordiam desperabat: atque ideo pacem, quam prius incensor belli odebat, in illo vinculorum tædio jugi desiderio suspirabat.

The pope, reproving the bishop for his conduct, promises to request, not to direct his release.

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<sup>1</sup> *abierunt*, B.D.S.; *decesserunt*, | <sup>2</sup> In C. *se* occurs twice here, and  
C. | also after *vincto*.

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## CAP. XXXII.

*De defectione quorundam a rege Francorum, et qua occasione treuia<sup>1</sup> statuta est<sup>2</sup> inter ipsum et regem Anglorum.*

Eodem tempore defecerunt a rege Francorum quidam regni ejus potentes, illatis ab illo<sup>3</sup> injuriis irritati, et dominum durum causantes, junctique regi Anglorum vires ejus auxerunt, et ab eo vicissim robur acceperunt. E quibus comes Flandrensis, dolens se a rege Francorum juris sui hereditarii dimidia fere parte fraudatum, regis Anglorum pecuniis roboratus,<sup>4</sup> nobile oppidum, quod dicitur Duai, obsessum deditone recepit, quasdam etiam munitiones alias occupavit. Quibus successibus confortatus, crescente fiducia, civitatem Atrebatensem obsedit. Sane tunc reges tantquam ex industria mutuum devitantes occursum, locis diversis exercebantur. Et rex quidem Anglorum in pago Bituricensi munitiones aliquot expugnavit. Rex vero Francorum munitionem Dangu<sup>5</sup> nominatam, quæ ab ipso paulo ante defecerat, castris circumdedit. Quam mature dedita et eversa, memoratæ urbis obsidionem solvere festinavit. Obsessor autem adventu ejus præcognito obsidionem<sup>6</sup> deseruit, hostemque superbum ad persequendum cedendo accendens, dum a tergo incautius progressi, contractis annium pontibus, difficilem vel illi reditum<sup>7</sup> vel exercitui ejus commeatum facere studuit, arte quam<sup>8</sup> viribus plus effecit. Cumque

A.D. 1197.  
 Certain powerful nobles transfer their services to Richard. The count of Flanders receives money from Richard and fights on his side. The count takes Douai and besieges Arras. The kings avoid each other; Richard takes castles near Bourges, Philip captures Dangu. Philip hastens to relieve Arras.

<sup>1</sup> *treuia* has been altered in D. to *treuga*.

<sup>2</sup> C. reads, *et qua de causa statuta sunt treuia*. S. has *sunt* in place of *est*.

<sup>3</sup> *illo*, C.D.S.; *eo*, B.

<sup>4</sup> Hoveden (iv. 19) intimates that all were brought over by money. So does Rigord, who gives the treaty

with the count of Flanders (Bouquet, xvii. p. 46).

<sup>5</sup> *Dangu*, B.D.S.; C., by alteration in the text and by plummet marking in the margin, reads *Dagû*.

<sup>6</sup> C. reads *obsidionem ejus*.

<sup>7</sup> C. for *illi reditum* has *sibi tædium*.

<sup>8</sup> For *arte quam* C. reads *antequam*.

A.D. 1197. amicis mediautibus inter partes de pace tractaretur, oblatam comes pacem nec respuit, nec absolute amplexus est, obtendens se regi Anglorum sufficientem per obsides idoneos præstitisse atque ab eo vicissim accepisse cautionem, quod neuter eorum sine altero bellum pace mutaret. Pactis tamen<sup>1</sup> inter partes formatis<sup>2</sup> consensu regis Anglorum pro tempore sancendis,<sup>3</sup> rex Francorum ad propria rediit; comes vero cum festinatione adiit invitandum ad honestæ pacis consensum regem Anglorum. Itaque reges tantum jam pacis avidi quantum bellici laboris pertæsi, anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo vii<sup>o</sup>, mense Septembris, cum optimatibus suis atque omni frequentia subditorum ad sollemne in terminis colloquium conveniunt. Ubi de plena quidem pace minus actum est, eo quod animi principum a longa inveterati odii passione difficile sanarentur; sed treuiam<sup>4</sup> unius anni et quatuor mensium<sup>5</sup> tanquam arram futuræ<sup>6</sup> pacis inter se statui maluerunt, adjicientes in pactis, ut negotiantibus regiones essent perviæ, mutisque provinciæ gauderent solatiis: et ut captivi utrimque competenti et tolerabili redemptione relaxari mererentur. Soluta igitur conventu, militantibus facultas data est ad propria remeandi, et fessæ malis provinciæ pausam modicam cum magnis gratulationibus susceperunt.

By breaking down bridges the count of Flanders places the king of France in such difficulties that he offers peace. Richard permits Baldwin to arrange a truce. In September a truce for a year and four months is arranged.

<sup>1</sup> *tamen*. C.D.S.; *tantum*, B.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *formatas*.

<sup>3</sup> B. has *faciendas*.

<sup>4</sup> C. and D. have the form *treugam*.

<sup>5</sup> Hoveden (iv. 24) says for a year from the feast of St. Hilary (Jan. 13, 1198). According to Newburgh, a truce was made in Septem-

ber (on the 8th, as would appear from Gervase), and was to endure for 16 months. This agrees well with Hoveden. The truce (Hoveden, iv. 54) was only kept till after the harvest of August 1198. This Newburgh probably did not live to know.

<sup>6</sup> D. has *futureos*.

CAP. XXXIII.<sup>1</sup>*De re prodigiosa quæ accidit apud Maltonam.*<sup>2</sup>

His diebus mense Augusto in nostra,<sup>3</sup> id est, Eboracensi provincia super flumen Derewentum prodigiosa res accidit, quæ silentio prætereunda non est, sed nostræ inserenda<sup>4</sup> historiæ ad notitiam et cautelam posterorum.

Apud monasterium regularium clericorum, quod Maltone dicitur, coquendæ calci elibanus parabatur. Cumque jam, ut mcris est, a latere deorsum ignis immitteretur post solis occubitum, ejusdem loci præpositus cum quibusdam fratribus aderat, et ne tantus in irritum cederet apparatus, sollicite satagebat. Circa aliud vero latus erat fovea modica usui præparata, altitudinis non amplius quam sex vel septem pedum. In hanc sane unus fratrum dum urgendo opus circuiret, incautius per tenebras properans lapsus est. Et cum non statim exsurgeret, percunctante præposito an læsus esset, respondit, "Perii": quo dicto siluit in mortem;<sup>5</sup> mirantibus silentium ejus cunctis qui aderant, cujus mortem ne suspicari quidem poterant. Nam circumfusæ noctis tenebræ interiora foveæ abscondebant. Rogatus autem quidam ex astantibus descendere ad dignoscendum et renuntiandum quomodo se res haberet, descendit: moxque procumbens etiam ipse cum silentio in mortem obdormivit. Quo non renuntiante aliquid neque egrediente, alius nihilominus jusus descendere, eadem sorte mox absorptus est. Tunc stupor apprehendit omnes qui circumstabant: nec tamen adhuc quiescendum putantes, cautius explorandi gratia, tertium descendere monuerunt. Qui, ut dicitur, salutari signo se muniens, in<sup>6</sup> exitialem foveam de-

A.D. 1197.

An occurrence in the month of August at Malton Priory.

Some canons of Malton are killed by carbonic acid gas in a pit near a lime-kiln.

<sup>1</sup> D. omits the whole of this chapter.<sup>2</sup> B. has *Maltone*.<sup>3</sup> *in nostra*, in the margin of C.<sup>4</sup> B. has *inserendi*.<sup>5</sup> B. has *morte*.<sup>6</sup> *in*, om. C.

A.D. 1197. scendebat,<sup>1</sup> et confestim exclamans,<sup>2</sup> "Merior," inquit, "merior, extrahite me." Qui autem propius astabant, apprehensa summitate scalæ exiguæ per quam descendebat, hærentem scalæ simul cum ipsa scala extraxerunt. Tunica vero, qua induebatur, disrupta, et quasi violentis male attrectantium manibus conseissa videbatur. Sic ergo idem subtractus<sup>3</sup> exitio, sine voce et sensu diu semianimis jacuit, spumas<sup>4</sup> ore provolvens, deinde paulatim ad se rediens, elanguit per dies plurimos. Tunicam vero suam tanquam pestilentem horruit, nec ea etiam resarcita indui passus est.<sup>5</sup> Sane post exitium memorati fratris, et duorum juvenum qui cum eo occubuerant,<sup>6</sup> cum quidam sequenti luce ad eorum extrahenda corpora descendisset, nihil ibidem vel sensit horroris, vel mali expertus est; sed innoxie et cum omni fiducia exanimata<sup>7</sup> corpora de loco exitii elevavit. In quibus profecto nulla læsio apparebat, præterquam in oculis sinistris, qui eruenti et quassati videbantur, livorem circa se tanquam recentis percussuræ prætendentes. Hæc denique prout eorum qui vel interfuerunt, vel ab iis qui interfuerant audierunt, concordi narratione didici, literis mandare curavi; eventus plane, quem pro sua novitate cogor mirari, causam non valens<sup>8</sup> rimari.<sup>9</sup>

Some years before some men in East Anglia were similarly killed in a well.

Contigit autem ante annos aliquot apud Orientales Anglos in vico quodam tres viros operarios, dum studio incolarum puteum vetustum purgarent, et largioris aquæ desiderio e terræ visceribus producendæ altius foderent, subito exanimari; quo viso incolæ eundem puteum ruderibus impleverunt, et locum exitii<sup>10</sup> æternum exanimatis sepulchrum esse voluerunt. At istud

<sup>1</sup> *descendebat*, B.S.; *descendit*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *exclamans*, S.; *clamans*, B.; *exclamatus*, C.

<sup>3</sup> C. has *extractus*.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *spumans*.

<sup>5</sup> *passus est*, B.S.; *voluit*, C.

<sup>6</sup> B. has *occubuerunt*.

<sup>7</sup> B. has a doubtful word, apparently *exinnata*.

<sup>8</sup> For *non valens*, B. has  *nolens*.

<sup>9</sup> C. has *mirari*.

<sup>10</sup> *exitii*, B.S.; om. C.



non adeo mirum est, quia hinc probabiliter ratio reddi potest. Forte enim fundus putei habuit sive argenti vivi sive alterius rei noxiæ venam occultam; quæ, ut creditur, dum a fossoribus eam contigit aperiri, dirum et pestilentem spiritum exhalavit, qui omnem sensum præveniens in momento exstingueret fodientes.

A.D. 1197.

The author's ideas as to the explanation of this circumstance.

## CAP. XXXIV.

*De concordia regis Ricardi et Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, et de quodam prodigio.*<sup>1</sup>

Eodem<sup>2</sup> tempore illustris rex Ricardus et Galterius<sup>3</sup> Rothomagensis archiepiscopus post longam similitudinem modestiori studio veterem inter se amicitiam reformarunt, cum et pontifex in gratiam principis jure suo cederet, et princeps pontifici satisfaciens, pro iis quæ de jure Rothomagensis ecclesiæ, ratione necessitatis bellicæ usurpasse<sup>4</sup> videbatur, justam commutationem daret. Cum enim apud vicum, qui Andelaicus<sup>5</sup> dicitur, et<sup>6</sup> erat patrimonium Rothomagensis ecclesiæ, idem rex locum notasset castro pro tuitione Normanniæ super Sequanam flumen construendo aptissimum, timens ne forte idem locus ad hoc ipsum hostiliter occuparetur a rege Francorum, eundem duxit præoccupandum. Cœpit ergo ibidem, natura loci mirabiliter juvante<sup>7</sup> opus humanum, profusis ædificare sumptibus castrum firmissimum contra faciem regis Francorum, memorato

A.D. 1197.

King Richard and the archbishop of Rouen are reconciled.

Richard had taken possession of Andely for military purposes, although it belonged to the see of Rouen.

<sup>1</sup> In B. the rubric is, "*De rege Ricardo et Rotomagensi archiepiscopo*;" D. has, "*De concordia inter regem Ricardum et Rothomagensis archiepiscopum*." The hand changes in D. with this rubric, the MS. being finished by the scribe who wrote the spurious chapter referred to in the Preface to Vol. I., p. xlvi. This scribe made

corrections when necessary in the previous part of the MS.

<sup>2</sup> B. has *eo*.

<sup>3</sup> *Galterius*, B.S.; *Gauterius*, C.; *Galterus*, D.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *usurparc*.

<sup>5</sup> *Andelaicus*, C.S.; *Andeliacus*, B.D.

<sup>6</sup> *et*, B.D.S.; *quæ*, C.

<sup>7</sup> In plummet in the margin of C.

A.D. 1197. pontifice antiquum ecclesiæ suæ patrimonium hoc modo sibi præcipi<sup>1</sup> æquanimiter non ferente: Francis vero videntibus et irascentibus, et contra opus æmulum, quod impedire non poterant, frustra frementibus. Eundem autem archiepiscopum princeps postmodum digna compensatione placavit, vicum scilicet litigiosum famoso illo vico maritimo qui Depa dicitur ecclesiæ Rothomagensi commutans.<sup>2</sup> Quo facto, quanto meliori conscientia, tanto et hilariori fiducia et ferventiori studio operi deinceps inchoato insistens, quantum ex hoc muniminis propriis in reliquum finibus præparavit, tantum etiam ex hoc ipso hostilem ferociam exulceravit.

The archbishop agreed to receive the town of Dieppe in exchange.

A.D. 1198. Sane in loco illo, cum magna illa ædificatio fieret, rem prodigiosam contigisse ferunt. Nam sicut quidam non ignobiles, qui se interfuisse asserunt, protestantur, mense Maio paulo ante Dominicæ Ascensionis sollemnia,<sup>3</sup> cum rex adesset et opus urgeret, nam sæpius ad disponendum urgendumque opus aderat, et conspectum proficientis operis pro magna voluptate habebat, repente imber sanguine mixtus descendit, stupentibus cum ipso rege cunctis qui aderant: cum et in suis vestibus veri sanguinis guttas conspicerent, et rem tam insolitam malum portendere formidarent. Verum ex hoc idem rex<sup>4</sup> non est territus, quo minus operi promovendo intenderet, in quo sibi, ni fallor, ita complacerebat, ut etiam si angelus de cælo id<sup>5</sup> omitendum suaderet, anathema illi esset.

A portent observed at Andely.

A little before May 7, while the king was directing the operations of the builders there was a shower of blood.

<sup>1</sup> B. has *præcipi*.

<sup>2</sup> Diceto (ii. 153-6) gives the agreement, which, however, is dated Oct. 16, 1196, but that this is an error for 1197 is clear from the fact that it was given under the hand of Eustace, *bishop elect of Ely*. See also Hoveden, iv. pp. 16-19.

<sup>3</sup> This happened, according to Diceto (ii. 162), on May 8, 1198.

The continuation of Florence of Worcester (ii. 163) also assigns it to 1198. On the other hand, Newburgh's date, "*paulo ante Ascensionis sollemnia*," agrees with the Ascension Day of 1197 (May 15th), but not with the same day in 1198, when it fell on May 7.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *ex hoc rex hoc idem*.

<sup>5</sup> B. has *id est*.

CONTINUATIO  
CHRONICI WILLELMI DE NOVOBURGO  
AD ANNUM 1298.



CONTINUATIO  
CHRONICI WILLELMI DE NOVOBURGO

AD ANNUM 1298.<sup>1</sup>

[CAP. XXXV.]

Finitis induciis inclitus rex Ricardus in obsidione castelli de Caliz, quod Widomarius vicecomes de Ly-moges per homines suos tenuit, a quodam qui fuit in castello, nomine Bertramo de Gurdun, sagitta letaliter vulneratur. Cum autem de vita desperaret, rex dimisit Johanni fratri suo regimen Angliæ, et omnes alias terras suas; et fecit fieri prædicto Johanni fidelitates ab illis qui aderant, et præcepit quod traderentur illi castella sua. Ottoni vero nepoti suo tres partes thesauri sui<sup>2</sup> et baubella sua delegavit, et quartam partem thesauri sui præcepit servientibus suis et pauperibus erogari. Deinde vocato coram rege præfato Bertramo, dixit ei rex, "Quid tibi male feci? Quare me interemisti?" Cui ille audacter et quasi intrepidus respondit, "Tu interemisti patrem meum et duos fratres meos manu tua, et nunc me interimere voluisti. Sume ergo de me vindictam qualemcumque excogitaveris, quoniam niam non est mihi curæ dummodo interficiaris, quia tot et tanta mundo intulisti." Tunc præcepit rex eum dimitti liberum abire, et dari ei centum solidos sterlingo-

Richard besieging Chaluz is wounded by an arrow.  
His disposition of his kingdom and personal property.  
His slayer, Bertram de Gurdun, is brought before him.

Hoveden,  
iv. 83.

<sup>1</sup> From MS. Cott. Cleop. A. I.

<sup>2</sup> An erroneous excerpt. Hoveden says that he bequeathed the

*tres partes* to John, the *baubella* to Otho.

A.D. 1199. rum, dicens, "Remitto tibi mortem meam." Sed Mer-  
 — cadens ructarius,<sup>1</sup> nesciente rege, apprehendit eum et Hoveden,  
iv. 84.  
 tenuit, et post obitum regis excoxiatum suspendit.

Death of King Richard, April 6.      Obiit autem Ricardus rex anno a partu Virginis millesimo centesimo nonagesimo nono, anno regni sui decimo, viij<sup>o</sup> Idus Aprilis, feria tertia anto dominicam in Ramis Palmarum, undecimo die postquam vulneratus fuerat; et sepultus est ad pedes patris sui in loco qui dicitur Fons Ebraudi: de cujus morte quidam sic ait:—

Istius morte perimit fortuna Leonem.<sup>2</sup>  
 Proh dolor, in tanto funere mundus obit!

## DE JOHANNE REGE ANGLIÆ.

### CAPITULUM I.

Prince John is invested as Duke of Normandy, April 25.      Defuncto rege Ricardo, Johannes frater ejus dominica proxima sequente Pascha Domini, videlicet vij<sup>o</sup>. Hoveden,  
iv. 87.  
 Kalendas Maii, in festo sancti Marci Evangelistæ, apud Rothomagum accinctus est gladio ducatus Normanniæ in matrici ecclesia, per manus Walteri Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, Præfatus etiam archiepiscopus posuit in capite ducis circulum aureum habentem in summitate per circulum rosas aureas. Johannes quidem coram clero et populo juravit super reliquias sanctorum et super sacrosanctum evangelium, quod secundum ecclesiæ formam dignitates illius bona fide et sine malo ingenio servaret illasas, et rectam justitiam exerceat, et leges iniquas destrueret.

The nobles of Anjou, &c adhere to Arthur.      Interim principes<sup>3</sup> Andegaviæ,<sup>4</sup> Cinomanniæ, et Thuro-  
 niæ adhæsērunt Arturo comiti Britanniae, tanquam ligio Hoveden,  
iv. 86.  
 domino suo et heredi.

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. for *ructarius*.

<sup>2</sup> In Hoveden (iv. 84) the line is scarcely better:—

*In hujus morte perimit formica Leonem.*

<sup>3</sup> *princeps*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> *Antegavia*, MS.

## [CAP.] II.

Hoveden, Deinde Johannes dux Normanniæ in vigilia Ascensionis A.D. 1199.  
iv. 89. venit Lundonias. Congregatis igitur ibidem in adventu John enters London, May 26.  
suo, una cum Huberto Cantuariæ archiepiscopo, omni-  
bus magnatibus totius Angliæ, tam episcopis quam His coronation, May 27 (26).  
comitibus et baronibus, consecratus est ibidem et co-  
ronatus præfatus Johannes dux Normanniæ in regem  
Hoveden, Angliæ in ecclesia sancti Petri apud Westmonasterium die  
iv. 90. Ascensionis Domini, quinto<sup>1</sup> kalendas Junii, feria v.

Johannes rex statuit, quod nullum tonellum vini Picta-  
vensis venderetur carius quam pro viginti solidis, et nul-  
lum touellum<sup>2</sup> vini Andegavensis carius quam viginti iiij.  
solidis, vel pro duabus marcis ad amplius. Præterea  
Hoveden, statuit, quod nullum sextarium vini Pictavensis vendere-  
iv. 99. tur carius quam pro iiij. denariis, et nullum sextarium  
vini albi carius quam vj. denariis. Sed hæc assisa parvo  
tempore duravit, quia mercatores hanc assisam sustinere  
non potuerunt, et data est [eis]<sup>3</sup> licentia vendendi de vino  
rubeo sextarium pro vj. denariis et de vino albo pro octo  
denariis. Et sic repleta est terra potu et potatoribus. An assize of wines.

## [CAP.] III.

Anno a partu Virginis M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>, colloquio habito inter A.D. 1200.  
regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ in octabis sancti Jo- Meeting and arrangements between John and Philip [May 22].  
hannis Baptistæ.<sup>4</sup> rex Franciæ reddidit Johanni regi Angliæ  
civitatem Ebroicum, et totum comitatum, et omnia castella  
et civitates et prædia, quæ occupaverat per werram super  
Hoveden, regem Ricardum et super illum. Et Johannes rex sta-  
iv. 114, 115. tum inde devenit homo regis Franciæ, et in continenti dedit  
universa illa Lodovico filio prædicti regis Franciæ in mari-  
tadium cum Blanchia filia regis Castellæ, nepte sua ex

<sup>1</sup> Should of course be *sexto*, as in *Hoveden* and in the *Stanley chronicle*.

<sup>2</sup> *tonellum*, repeated.

<sup>3</sup> From the omission of *eis* it would seem probable that these extracts from *Hoveden* were taken

either from MS. *Claudius B. 7* or the *Trin. Coll. Cambridge MS.*

<sup>4</sup> *Hoveden* has discordant dates, the *first* of which is here given. See reasons stated in *Rolls Ed.* (iv. p. 114, note 6), for assigning *May 22* as the date.

A.D. 1200. sorore, et in crastino desponsavit eam præfatus Lodo-  
 vicus, et duxit eam secum in Galliam.  
 Arthur does homage to John for his possessions, but remains in the keeping of the king of France.  
 Arturus dux Britannia, ut dicitur, in præsentia regis Franciæ ibidem devenit [homo]<sup>1</sup> regis de Britannia et de aliis terris suis de consensu et voluntate regis Franciæ; sed, de contradictione<sup>2</sup> regis Johannis, remansit in custodia regis Francorum. Hoveden, iv. 115.

## [CAP.] IV.

John is divorced from Hawisia of Gloucester. He marries Isabella of Angoulême.  
 Eodem anno factum est divortium inter Johannem regem et Hannisam filiam Willelmi comitis de<sup>3</sup> Glovernia, eo quod fuerunt affines in tertio gradu consanguinitatis. Rex Johannes de consilio regis Franciæ duxit in uxorem Isabellam, filiam Almari comitis de Ongolismo, quam Hugo de Brun comes de Machia<sup>4</sup> cepit prius per verba de præsententi et ipsa eum; sed, quia ipsa nondum annos umbiles attigerat, noluit prædictus Hugo eam in facie ecclesiæ sibi copulari. Et Deo annuente facta est pax et finalis concordia inter Philippum regem Franciæ et Johannem regem Angliæ.<sup>5</sup> Hoveden, iv. 119.

A.D. 1201.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>1<sup>o</sup>.<sup>6</sup>ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>11<sup>o</sup>.<sup>7</sup>

A.D. 1202. Fulco filius Warini fugit ij<sup>o</sup> Nonas Julii in Abbatiam de<sup>8</sup> Stanleje in Wiltescira, et ibi obsessus est  
 On July 6  
 Falk Fitz-Warren

<sup>1</sup> Wanted to complete the sense.<sup>2</sup> Hoveden's word is *traditione*.<sup>3</sup> A new hand begins at the top of a page and continues to the end of F. The word *de* is repeated from the bottom of the previous page.<sup>4</sup> Hugh le Brun, count of La Marche.<sup>5</sup> The passage in S. (the Stanley Abbey Chronicle) immediately preceding the point at which the Furness chronicler begins to copy is as follows:—“MCC. Johannes rex dimisit uxorem suam, scilicet filiam Roberti comitis Glovernie, et aliam duxit et coronari fecit in reginam, videlicet filiam comitis

“Engolismi, Elizabeth nomine.

“Hoc anno obiit Hugo episcopus

“Lincolniensis xij. kalendas Decembris.”

<sup>6</sup> No events are recorded, although the date is inserted both in S. and F.<sup>7</sup> The Stanley Abbey Chronicle (MS. Bodl., Digby 11) is systematically copied from this point almost to its finish. The point at which the Furness writer begins to amplify so much as to become virtually an original chronicler will be noted later.<sup>8</sup> S. omits *de*.



cum sociis suis fere ab omni provincia et a multis aliis, qui illuc convenerant, xiiij. diebus. Sed in pace ecclesiæ salvus exivit, et reconciliatus est in anno sequenti.

Obiit Radulfus filius Stephani in die sancti Jacobi Apostoli<sup>1</sup>.

Eodem<sup>2</sup> anno obsessa est Alienor regina, mater Johannis regis, in castello quod dicitur Mirabell a Gaufrido de Lezmau et Hugoue cognomento le Brun, coadunata<sup>3</sup> multa et electa manu militum. In quorum auxilium misit rex Franciæ Arthurum filium comitis Britanniæ cum grandi exercitu. Quod audiens Johannes rex Angliæ in Normannia constitutus de nocto consurgens, et concito cursu illuc adveniens insperatus, circumfuso exercitu factaque congressione, solvit obsidionem.<sup>4</sup> Vi igitur occupans castellum, præmisso trino conflictu, in quo rex ipse strenuissime agens, cooperante Dei gratia, hostes universos comprehendit cum ceteris lxvij militibus, quorum multos in Angliam incarcerationis<sup>5</sup> misit. Quo audito rex Franciæ [ab] obsidione de Arches recessit.

Annales de Waverleia, p. 254.

A.D. 1202.

—  
takes  
refuge in  
Stanley  
Abbey.

Death of  
Ralph Fitz-  
Stephen,  
July 25.

Queen  
Eleanor  
besieged  
in the  
castle of  
Mirabel.

#### ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>.

Obiit regina Alienor.<sup>6</sup>

A.D. 1203.

—  
Death of  
Queen  
Eleanor  
(1204).

#### ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>.<sup>7</sup>

Hoc anno circa Pentecosten venit conventus novus cum proprio abbate de Cisterciis in Angliam ad locum qui vocatur Belli-locus,<sup>8</sup> quem eis dedit Johannes rex Angliæ cum aliis terris magnis.

A.D. 1204.

—  
Beaulieu  
Abbey  
founded by  
John.

<sup>1</sup> *Apostoli*, om. F.

<sup>2</sup> S. omits from *codem* to *de Arches recessit*—the entire quotation from the Waverley Annals.

<sup>3</sup> *coaduna*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> *absidionem*, MS., and *absidione* below.

<sup>5</sup> *inqua Vandos*, MS.

<sup>6</sup> She died in 1204, *Ann. Wav.*, 256. R. Coggeshall, 144.

<sup>7</sup> S. inserts no date here, and thus leaves the events under the previous date, 1203. This is an obvious error, as Normandy was lost in 1204.

<sup>8</sup> Thus for *Bellus-locus*, Beaulieu.

A.D. 1204. Eodem anno rex Francorum Philippus subjugavit sibi fere<sup>1</sup> totam Normanniam, nullo sibi penitus con-Normandy. tradicente.

A commu-  
nity of  
monks sent  
from Stan-  
ley Abbey  
to Ireland,  
July 23.

Hoc eodem<sup>2</sup> anno electus est conventus novus in Stanleya in<sup>3</sup> Wiltescira cum abbate proprio, scilicet venerabili viro Radulfo,<sup>4</sup> x. kalendas Augusti, et in Hyberniam missus in provinciam Ostricensem<sup>5</sup> ad locum qui vocatur<sup>6</sup> Sancti Salvatoris, quem dedit eis bonæ memoriæ vir Willelmus Marecallus<sup>7</sup> comes de Penbruc cum aliis terris plurimis.

[Exivit etiam hoc anno conventus novus de Whburne ad villam quæ vocatur Medmecham super Tainisiam. Eodem anno depositus est dominus N[icolaus] abbas Stanleyæ a capitulo Cistercii, eo quod duxit conventum in Hyberniam absque licentia capituli. Eodem anno revocatus est conventus de Medmecham, et abbas de Wuburn depositus est propter eandem causam.] [Stanley Chronicle only.]

A.D. 1205.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>V<sup>o</sup>.

Death of  
archbishop  
Hubert.

Petrus de la Roche factus est episcopus Wintoniæ. Obiit piæ memoriæ dominus<sup>8</sup> Hubertus Watier<sup>9</sup> archiepiscopus Cantuariensis.

[Dominus Thomas de Calestune, prior de Stanlega, factus est abbas ejusdem loci. Nicholaus quondam abbas de Stanlega factus est abbas de Bucfestre.<sup>10</sup> Dominus Willelmus, abbas de Quarraria,<sup>11</sup> dimisit abbatiam suam coram abbate Savigniaë in capitulo apud Stanlegam.] [Stanley Chronicle only.]

<sup>1</sup> fere, om. F.

<sup>2</sup> Hoc eodem, S.; eodem, F.

<sup>3</sup> in, om. F.

<sup>4</sup> Radulfo, S.; Radulpho, F. This variation recurs, and will not be noticed further.

<sup>5</sup> Ostricensis, MSS.

<sup>6</sup> vocatur, S.; dicitur, F.

<sup>7</sup> Marscallus, S.

<sup>8</sup> piæ memoriæ dominus, om. F.

<sup>9</sup> Wat, in F.

<sup>10</sup> Buckfestre, or Buckfastleigh Abbey, Devon.

<sup>11</sup> Quarr Abbey, in the Isle of Wight.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>VI<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1206.

Obiit Willelmus Blesensis episcopus Lincolniae. Jocelinus quidam clericus factus est episcopus Bathoniae.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>VII .

A.D. 1207.

Johannes rex Angliæ extorsit omnem tertiam<sup>1</sup> decimam partem mobilium et catallorum de tota Anglia, scilicet de episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, canonicis, clericis, laicis, divitibus, et de omni populo simul. Quietus tamen fuit ab hac exactione ordo Cisterciensis. Hoc<sup>2</sup> anno apud Romam electus est magister Stephanus de Langetune Anglicus ad archiepiscopatum Cantuarie, vir venerabilis et bonæ famæ, cardinalisque Romanæ ecclesiæ de sancto Grisogono,<sup>3</sup> et sacratus a domino Apostolico in die sanctæ Trinitatis, qui fuit illo anno xv. kalendas Julii. Unde indignatus rex in iram<sup>4</sup> conversus expulit omnes monachos sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuarie, et in exilium trusit, præter omnino debiles et ægrotos, qui non poterant exire, scilicet ix vel x, et ecclesiam illam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis [occupavit],<sup>5</sup> et tradidit in manus<sup>6</sup> laicorum.

John extorts a thirteenth from clergy and laity.

Election of Stephen Langton to the see of Canterbury.

His consecration, June 17.

Expulsion of the monks of the Holy Trinity, Canterbury.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1208.

Interdicta est universa Anglia [et]<sup>7</sup> Wallia ab "Isti sunt dies," scilicet, a x. kalendas Martii,<sup>8</sup> propter regem Angliæ Johannem, qui noluit recipere

The Interdict, March 23.

<sup>1</sup> A blank space, as though one word were omitted, F.; *tercimam* (sic) *decimam*, S.

<sup>2</sup> *Hoc*, S.; *codem*, F.

<sup>3</sup> *Grisogono*, MSS., for *Chryso-gono*.

<sup>4</sup> *ira*, MSS.

<sup>5</sup> Required to complete the sense.

<sup>6</sup> S. has *manibus*.

<sup>7</sup> *et* not in MSS.

<sup>8</sup> This should be *Aprilis*. The name of the introit gives 23 March (Passion Sunday), which is the true date. The year at this part of the chronicle seems to begin at Christmas.

A.D. 1208. supradictum archiepiscopum, et propter expulsionem monachorum de ecclesia sanctæ Trinitatis.

William de Brause driven from the kingdom. Willelmus de Brause<sup>1</sup> exheredatus est de omnibus terris et redditibus suis, quas habuit in Anglia et in Wallia. Qui fugit etiam<sup>2</sup> a facie regis Angliæ cum omni domo sua in Hiberniam.

A.D. 1209.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>IX<sup>o</sup>.

Hugh of Wells is made bishop of Lincoln.

Hugo archidiaconus Wellensis<sup>3</sup> factus est episcopus Lineolnensis.

Otho of Saxony elected emperor.

Otho de Saxonia, nepos regis Johannis Angliæ, creatus est imperator Alemannia, procurante et auxiliante ei in omnibus domino Apostolico Innocentio, qui et illum benedixit et coronavit apud Romanam.

A.D. 1210.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>X<sup>o</sup>.

Quarrel between the emperor and the pope.

Orta est discordia inter dominum Apostolicum Innocentium et Othonem<sup>4</sup> imperatorem, qui retribuit mala pro bonis.

Johannes rex Angliæ multa mala operatus est contra sanctam ecclesiam in regione sua: qui etiam<sup>5</sup> convocavit omnes abbates ordinis Cistercii, qui erant

John summons all the Cistercian abbots to York, and demands money from them.

in Anglia, apud Eboracum. Qui, cum venissent die nominato coram ipso, postulavit auxilium, scilicet ut pecuniam illi darent, a qua adjutus posset terram suam recuperare ac defendere. At illi omnes una voce responderunt, se pecuniam non habere in propria potestate, nec velle habere, sed custodes et dispensatores se esse eleemosynarum fidelium, quas illi pro salute animarum suarum et omnium antecessorum suorum ac liberorum Deo omnipotenti ac beatæ

The reply of the abbots.

<sup>1</sup> Brause in F.

<sup>2</sup> S. inserts *etiam* after *fugit*.

<sup>3</sup> Wellensis, S.; Wallensis, F.

Variouly designated Hugh Wallis, or Hugh of Wells.

<sup>4</sup> Ootonem, F.

<sup>5</sup> *etiam*, om. F.

Virgini Mariæ largiti sunt in usus monachorum et A.D. 1210. religiosorum, pauperumque ac debilium, pupillorum et orphanorum atque viduarum, et non in redditus regum vel stipendia militum. Unde rex in iram magnam et furorem conversus præcepit, ut omnes cartæ illorum ac libertates ab antecessoribus suis illis datas vel concessas in irritum haberentur, et quicumque vellet illis malum vel injuriam facere impune faceret. Unde plurimi eorum gravati sunt et angariati et afflicti. Præcepit etiam per literas suas vicecom-  
 itibus suis et justiciariis et forestariis, ut nullus eorum aliquod rectum vel justitiam illis teneret, ipse quoque per se et per alios bona eorum et pasturas ac terras, et ligna de forestis suis ad coquendos cibos illorum, et omnia alia aisiamenta, quæ pater illius eis dedit et carta sua confirmavit, illis abstulit.

John de-  
 prives  
 them of the  
 protection  
 of the law,  
 and takes  
 away their  
 privileges.

Post hæc adunavit exercitum suum et transfretavit in Hiberniam, ubi pro voluntate sua omnia prospera evenerunt. Nam Walterus de Laci<sup>1</sup> se et sua omnia ei reddidit, quod illum<sup>2</sup> postea pœnituit, quia illum prædictus rex abjurare omnia tenementa et terras et redditus, quas habebat in Hybernia, fecit, ipsumque postea et omnes suos de Anglia depulit. Hugonem vero<sup>3</sup> de Laci,<sup>4</sup> fratrem prædicti<sup>5</sup> Walteri, fugavit: insulam Man destruxit:<sup>6</sup> uxorem Willelmi de Brause<sup>7</sup> cum Willelmo filio et herede illorum, cum uxore sua et parvulo filio, cepit et in vinculis tenuit: uxorem vero Willelmi senioris, scilicet Matildem de Sancto Walerico<sup>8</sup> cum filio, apud castrum de Windlesores

John  
 crosses to  
 Ireland  
 with an  
 army.

He exiles  
 Walter and  
 Hugh de  
 Lacy.

Ravages  
 the Isle of  
 Man.

His cruel  
 treatment  
 of the  
 family of  
 William de  
 Braose.

<sup>1</sup> De Laci se, &c. read out to a careless scribe would appear in writing as *de Lay se*, as in F.

<sup>2</sup> *illi*, F.S.

<sup>3</sup> *vero*, om. F.

<sup>4</sup> *Laci*, S.; *Lay*, F.

<sup>5</sup> *prædicti*, S.; *dicti*, F.

<sup>6</sup> The Chronicle of Mau (Cott. Jul. A. vii.) confirms the date,

saying that a party under Fulco ravaged the island for 15 days.

<sup>7</sup> See *Fadera*, i. p. 107.

<sup>8</sup> The *Ann. Wav.*, p. 265, call her Matilda de la Haie, but agree as to date of her death. The *Ann. de Margan* agree with the text as regards her name.

A.D. 1210. fame et miseria peremit. Archiepiscopus [et]<sup>1</sup> episcopus omnes, exceptis episcopibus<sup>2</sup> Wintoniensi et Norwieensi, in manu sua tenuit, et abbatias nigras plures. Postquam rediit de Hybernia omnes abbatias ordinis Cistercii, quæ in terra sua erant, oppressit absque ulla misericordia, jussitque<sup>3</sup> ut pecuniam darent, alii plus alii minus, secundum voluntatem suam, et instinctu ejusdem clerici impii et iniqui, ut dicebatur, scilicet<sup>4</sup> Ricardi del<sup>5</sup> Mareis,<sup>6</sup> quem etiam deum suum nominare ante viros religiosos et seculares non timuit. Pecunia autem compacta fuit plusquam xxx millia marcarum, ut ferebatur: unde plurimæ abbatie destructæ sunt, et monachi atque conversi per totam provinciam dispersi sunt per civitates per<sup>7</sup> castella et villas, et in abbatibus nigris vel albis qui potuerunt, et cum canonicis regularibus sive secularibus vel sanctimonialibus<sup>8</sup> victualia postulantes. Judæos omnes miserabiliter traetavit, et omnia bona eorum abstulit, et plures diversis mortibus interemit. Abbatias nigras et prioratus, tam de monachis quam canonicis et sanctimonialibus, omnes fiseavit. De ecclesiis etiam parochianis et capellis<sup>9</sup> omnem tertiam partem redditus extorsit.

Seizure of ecclesiastical revenues.

The Cistercians oppressed at the instigation of Richard Marsh.

John's open blasphemy.

He robs the Jews.

#### ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XI<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1211.

Expedition against the Welsh.

Rex Johannes duxit exercitum suum<sup>10</sup> in Walliam.<sup>11</sup> Sed parum fecit de voluntate sua. Qui retraxit manum, ut iterum multiplicatus et vallatus et robor-

<sup>1</sup> *et* not in F. or S.

<sup>2</sup> *excepto episcopatu* in MSS.

<sup>3</sup> *jussitque*, S.

<sup>4</sup> *scilicet*, om. F.

<sup>5</sup> *del*, S.; *de*, F.

<sup>6</sup> Ricardus de Marisco. He was bishop of Durham 1217-1226. The Annals of Dunstable (p. 40) say that he was suspended and sent to Rome in 1212 for administering to

the king during the interdict. See also Matth. Paris, ii. 531, &c.

<sup>7</sup> *per*, S.; *et*, F.

<sup>8</sup> F. has *secularibus sive regalibus vel sanctis monialibus*.

<sup>9</sup> *et capellis*, S.; *ac capellanis*, F.

<sup>10</sup> *suum*, om. S.

<sup>11</sup> *Wallia*, in F. and S.

atus fortitudine militum [procederet].<sup>1</sup> Accessit ad A.D. 1211.  
 cos, et circumvenit, ita ut ascenderet, montem qui  
 vocatur Snaudoun.<sup>2</sup> Accepit homagium Lewelini<sup>3</sup> et  
 aliorum multorum, et obsides multos et terras magnas,  
 ubi castella plura firmavit cum custodibus, et ita  
 reversus est.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XII<sup>o</sup>

A.D. 1212.

Hoc anno repugnauerunt Wallenses<sup>4</sup> omnes, et The Welsh  
 jugum regis Angliæ projecerunt,<sup>5</sup> et omnia castella, rebel.  
 quæ rex fecerat præterito anno, in possessionem eorum  
 ceperunt, fregerunt, et combusserunt. Unde rex  
 Johannes iratus occidit obsides eorum. Qui etiam<sup>6</sup>  
 convocavit omnem exercitum suum, ut eos fortiter  
 debellaret.

Ordinem quoque Cisterciensem iterum valde afflixit John again  
 pro voluntate sua, scilicet ut servientes sibi scriberen- vexes the  
 tur a vicecomite, et manutenerent<sup>7</sup> ad iudicium regis Cister-  
 si quis adversus<sup>8</sup> eos haberet querelam. Iterum jussit cians.  
 ut<sup>9</sup> unaquæque<sup>10</sup> abbatia præpararet<sup>11</sup> sibi carectam  
 longam cum quinque equis optimis. Quibusdam vero  
 de magnis abbatibus præcepit, ut duas carectas præ-  
 pararent cum x. equis ad servitium suum cum perti-  
 nentiis suis vel<sup>12</sup> utensilibus. Itaque cum omnia John  
 parata essent,<sup>13</sup> et exercitus magnus valde et fortis hearing of  
 appropinquaret ad locum pugnae, et rex ipse esset a conspi-  
 apud Snotingeham,<sup>14</sup> subito exivit rumor verus an racy, shuts  
 falsus, quod homines regis illum vellent tradere in himself up  
 manus inimicorum,<sup>15</sup> unde rex valde exterritus se in Notting-  
 ham and  
 disperses  
 his army.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently wanted to complete the sense of this passage.

<sup>2</sup> *Snaudune*, S.

<sup>3</sup> *Neulini*, S.

<sup>4</sup> *Walenses*, S.

<sup>5</sup> *projecerunt*, S.; *perceperunt*, F.

<sup>6</sup> *etiam*, S.; *et*, F.

<sup>7</sup> This sentence is not intelligible. Perhaps *manuteneantur* is intended.

<sup>8</sup> *adversus*, S.; *versus*, F.

<sup>9</sup> *item jussit in*, F.

<sup>10</sup> *unaquaque*, MSS.

<sup>11</sup> *præparare*, F.

<sup>12</sup> *suis vel*, S.; *et*, F.

<sup>13</sup> *essent*, F.; *erant*, S.

<sup>14</sup> *Nottingham*, F.

<sup>15</sup> Letters came to him from the king of Scots and his own daughter, wife of Llewellyn. Wendover, iii. 239.

A.D. 1212. clausit in munitione apud Snotingeham<sup>1</sup> diebus plurimis. Præcepit autem ut omnis exercitus reverteretur unusquisque in patriam suam.

A.D. 1213.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>X<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>.

Peter of Pontefract prophesies against the king.

About April 14 a report spreads that the French are preparing to invade England.

John assembles an army and posts his men round the sea coast.

The earl of Salisbury destroys the French fleet.

Hoc anno<sup>2</sup> fuit quidam vir, Petrus nomine, de Pontefracto, qui multa prædixit, quæ postea probata sunt esse vera. Hic venit ad regem Johannem in sermone Domini dicens, "Dieo tibi quia<sup>3</sup> non eris rex " ultra diem Ascensionis Domini, nisi te emendaveris, " et satisfeceris ecclesiæ sanetæ, quam expugnas et " destruis." Quem rex capi fecit, et posuit in custodia. Circa Pascha exivit rumor per Angliam quod rex Francorum præpararet se, ut veniret in Angliam. Quem rex Angliæ nimis expavit et<sup>4</sup> extimuit, sed tamen consilio suorum præparavit se ad resistendum: unde factum est ut summonere faceret omnes qui illi servitium deberent, et possent arma ferre.<sup>5</sup> Sub nomine Culvert<sup>6</sup> congregati sunt ergo omnes, exercitus magnus valde et fortis, comites et barones, milites et rustici, senes et juvenes, fereque omnis populus simul. Qui dispositi sunt circa littus maris<sup>7</sup> exspectantes adventum adversariorum. Rex autem Francorum detentus est a comite Flandrorum.<sup>8</sup> Comes vero<sup>9</sup> Salesburiensis<sup>10</sup> audiens regem Francorum esse detentum, et navigium suum<sup>11</sup> circa littus maris ex alia parte exspectantem sine magna custodia, transfretavit cum viris electis, et valida manu cepit<sup>12</sup> plures naves magnas oneratas armis et victualibus,

<sup>1</sup> *Nottingham*, F.

<sup>2</sup> Wendover places the prophecy under 1212. Coggeshall (p. 167) says that Peter was hanged in 1213.

<sup>3</sup> *quia*, F.S. (sec. vol. i. p. 76, note 2).

<sup>4</sup> *et*, om. S.

<sup>5</sup> *ferre*, S.; *deferre*, F.

<sup>6</sup> *Culvert*, F. "Culvertagium."

Supposed to be equivalent to "nothing." See Matth. Paris *sub ann.* 1089, and Wendover, iii. 243, 245.

<sup>7</sup> *maris*, om. F.

<sup>8</sup> *Flandorum* (sic), S.

<sup>9</sup> *vero*, F.; *autem*, S.

<sup>10</sup> F. has *Malesburiensis*.

<sup>11</sup> *suum*, F.; *ejus*, S.

<sup>12</sup> *cepit*, S.; *cepitque*, F.



et plures de custodibus occidit, et sic reversus est. A.D. 1213.  
Rex autem Johannes gavisus est.<sup>1</sup>

Cum autem appropinquaret dies Ascensionis Domini, John  
expavit rex Johannes vehementer mortem. Putavit dreads the  
enim propter verbum<sup>2</sup> prophetæ sui, quod demones fulfilment  
venturi essent rapere illum et ducere<sup>3</sup> secum, vel rex of the  
Francorum veniret cito per mandatum domini papæ prophecy  
ad destruendum illum et regnum illius invadere: unde on May 23.  
coactus est timore Dei vel humano, eorum nuntiis He sur-  
domini papæ et comitibus et<sup>4</sup> baronibus, jurare pacem renders his  
sanctæ ecclesiæ, restaurationem ablatorum omnium pro crown into,  
voluntate domini papæ: et semetipsum deposuit, et the hands  
coronam regni tradidit in manus Romanorum, ita of the pope.  
tamen ut regnum Anglorum<sup>5</sup> teneret de domino Aposto-  
lico, reddendo inde<sup>6</sup> annuatim mille marcas argenti.

Tunc missum est pro domino S[tephano] archie- Stephen  
piscopo Cantuariensi<sup>7</sup> et aliis episcopis, qui in exsilio Langton  
erant, et redditi sunt illis<sup>8</sup> episcopatus eorum sine and the  
restauratione ablatorum. bishops are  
asked to  
return.

Rex autem ut vidit quod<sup>9</sup> dies Ascensionis Domini<sup>10</sup> The date  
jam præterisset, et se nihil mali pertulisse, pœnituit fixed by  
se talia promississe; sed comites et barones, qui cum the prophet  
ipso vel pro ipso juraverunt, noluerunt ei consentire; passes, and  
sed firmiter cum ecclesia et pro ecclesia steterunt,<sup>11</sup> John re-  
dicentes se cum illo nullo modo tenere si vellet pents of  
his conces-  
sions.  
amplius in malitia sua contra Deum vivere. At ille in Peter of  
iram et furorem<sup>12</sup> conversus jussit, ut propheta illius<sup>13</sup> Pontefraet  
occideretur. Qui suspensus apud Waram cum filio and his son  
mortuus est. are hanged  
at Ware-  
ham.

<sup>1</sup> The date of this victory is un-  
certain. This chronicle seems to  
place it between April 14 and May  
23 (Ascension Day).

<sup>2</sup> *verba*, S.

<sup>3</sup> Both MSS. have *ducerent*.

<sup>4</sup> *et*, om. S.

<sup>5</sup> *Anglorum*, om. F.

<sup>6</sup> *inde*, om. S.

<sup>7</sup> *Cantuariensi*, S.; om. F.

<sup>8</sup> *illis*, S.; om. F.

<sup>9</sup> *quod*, F.; *quia*, S.

<sup>10</sup> *Domini*, om. F.

<sup>11</sup> In F. this passage runs, *pro  
ecclesia vel cum ecclesia fecerunt*.

<sup>12</sup> *ira et furor*, MSS. Also on  
p. 511, l. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Thus in MSS. Cf. expression  
*propheta sui* above.

A.D. 1213. Eodem anno venit in Angliam Nicholaus,<sup>1</sup> legatus summi pontificis, missus ad reformandam pacem ecclesiæ.

Death of Geoffrey FitzPeter, the justiciary. Obiit G[aufridus] filius Petri, justiciarius Angliæ.<sup>2</sup> Cui successit<sup>3</sup> Petrus de Rupe episcopus Wintoniæ.

A.D. 1214.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>X<sup>o</sup>IIII<sup>o</sup>.

Hoc anno Johannes rex adunavit exercitum suum cum infinito thesauro, et transfretavit contra regem Francorum, si posset aliquo modo revocare terram suam, quam ei abstulerat. Separavit itaque rex Angliæ tres comites exercitus sui et cum eis exercitum magnum et fortem, ut debellarent<sup>4</sup> supradictum regem ex una parte. Ipse vero ex altera<sup>5</sup> parte erat cum infinita multitudine. Comites autem elatione decepti putaverunt se aliquid fortiter acturos, [et]<sup>6</sup> invaserunt exercitum regis Francorum in die dominica, scilicet in die sanctæ<sup>7</sup> Margarietæ virginis.<sup>8</sup> Cumque rex et omnis exercitus essent<sup>9</sup> in oratione constituti, et in missis audiendis fuissent occupati, audierunt subito clamorem utriusque exercitus. Qui statim accipientes arma sua contra eos viriliter venerunt. Dominus autem, qui novit superbos humiliare, et confidentes in audacia sua et in propria virtute ad nihilum deducere, tradidit illos tres comites in manus<sup>10</sup> regis Francorum cum omni exercitu suo, et capti sunt omnes, ita ut inter primam et nonam sedata esset omnis illa perturbatio, et facta est tranquillitas magna, et mirati sunt universi. Ferebatur quoque, quod Otho<sup>11</sup> imperator supervenit cum ducentis

The battle of Bouvines, July 20?

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas, bishop of Tusculum.  
<sup>2</sup> F. omits *Anglia*.  
<sup>3</sup> *Successit* written in plummet in the margin of F.  
<sup>4</sup> *debellaret*, MSS.  
<sup>5</sup> S. reads *alia*.  
<sup>6</sup> *et*, not in F. or S., but apparently needed.

<sup>7</sup> *Sancta* repeated in F.  
<sup>8</sup> The date should be July 27.  
<sup>9</sup> *essent*, om. F.  
<sup>10</sup> *manibus* in both MSS.  
<sup>11</sup> *cho*, F. with alteration, perhaps recent.

militibus, ut videret exercitum regis Galliae,<sup>1</sup> ignorans A.D. 1214.  
quod factum esset, mox vero, ut cognovit et didicit, —  
retraxit se cum tristitia magna<sup>2</sup> dicens, "Heu, cur  
tam cito et<sup>3</sup> velociter periit flos militiæ!"

Rex autem Angliæ, ut hæc audivit, contristatus est John in  
valde, recessitque ab eo omne consilium, et venit super despair  
eum timor et tremor et hebetudo mentis, nihilque seeks a  
amplius<sup>4</sup> ausus fuit rebellare<sup>5</sup> contra regem Galliae. truce for  
Unum tamen hominem cepit, Robertum comitem de five years,  
Drus, cognatum regis Galliae, et secum adduxit, and returns  
quo postea comes Salesbiriæ dimissus est a captivitate to Eng-  
sua. Et ita, acceptis induciis v. annorum per inter- land.  
nuntios, reversus est<sup>6</sup> in Angliam.

[Stanley  
Chronicle  
only.]

[Hoc anno perfectus est aquæductus de Lokeswelle  
versus abbatiam de Stanlegam in Wiltescira a dono  
Thomæ de Calestune, abbatis<sup>7</sup> ejusdem domus. Qui  
illud opus timide incepit, sed Deo et Domino Jesu  
Christo sibi auxiliante et beato Johanne evangelista,  
bene et optime complevit. Cujus memoria in bene-  
dictione sit in æternum. Amen.]

Eodem<sup>8</sup> anno cessavit interdictum, et pax ecclesie The inter-  
Anglicanæ utique<sup>9</sup> reddita est circa octabas Apostol- dict is  
orum Petri et Pauli. raised  
about  
July 6.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XXV<sup>o</sup> 10.

A.D. 1215.

Hoc anno convenerunt in unum archiepiscopi, Magna  
episcopi, comites, barones, milites, omnisque populus Carta.  
simul querimoniam facientes, quod omnia jura regni

<sup>1</sup> Faintly corrected in plummet  
from *Galli*, F.

<sup>2</sup> *magna*, in S. only.

<sup>3</sup> S. omits *cito et*.

<sup>4</sup> *amplius* in S. only.

<sup>5</sup> *rebellare*, F.; *revelare*, S.

<sup>6</sup> *internuntios, reversus est*, S.;  
*internuntios reversus*, F.

<sup>7</sup> *a dono Thoma de Calestune  
abbate, &c.* in MS.

<sup>8</sup> *Eodem*, F.; *hoc*, S.

<sup>9</sup> *utique*, in margin very faintly  
written in plummet, F.—a blank  
space in the text; *utemque*, S.

<sup>10</sup> Date imperfect in F.—by era-  
sure.

A.D.1215 consuetudinesque bonæ, quæ solebant esse antiquitus, perverterentur propter durtiam regis et crudelitatem alienorum perversorum hominum, quos rex amavit et constituit magistros et iudices et vicecomites et custodes castrorum suorum, parvipendens omnes naturales et liberos homines terræ suæ. Igitur convenerunt rogantes regem, ut carta sua illis confirmaret jura ecclesiæ et libertates suas, pacemque sicut fuit in diebus antiquorum regum bonorum, sicut ille promisit et juravit, et alii cum eo vel pro eo apud Rin super littus maris, quando expectavit adventum regis Francorum, sicut superius dictum est. At ille diu dissimulavit hoc facere. Archiepiscopus Cantuariæ S[tephanus] cum episcopis Angliæ vij., qui tunc erant cum comitibus et baronibus, et Londonienses, qui intellexerunt dolositatem ejus et fictitiam, retraxerunt se ab eo, et jam eum illo non fuerunt sicut esse solebant. Unde factum est quod rex expavit<sup>1</sup> eos, extimuit<sup>2</sup> valde, occultavitque se ab eis. Tandem audito consilio quorundam suorum, ut dicebatur, munivit se signaculo sanctæ crucis, magis timore quam amore Christi, nam sicut postmodum apparuit, nullam reverentiam Deo vel sanctæ ecclesiæ vel populo Anglicano in mente habuit; sed in destructionem illorum se et suos præparavit. Annuit tamen in dolo ut carta scriberetur, et confirmaretur. Quæ sic incipit:—<sup>3</sup>

Extracts  
from  
Magna  
Carta.

“Johannes Dei gratia etc. . . .<sup>1</sup> Sciatis nos intuitu  
“Dei et pro salute animæ nostræ et omnium ante-  
“cessorum et heredum nostrorum, ad honorem Dei et  
“exaltationem sanctæ ecclesiæ et emendationem regni  
“nostri, per consilium venerabilium patrum nostrorum”

<sup>1</sup> *pavit*, corrected in plummet to *expavit*, F.

<sup>2</sup> *extimuit*, S.; *et timuit*, F. The same phrase occurs above, p. 514.

<sup>3</sup> These irregular extracts from *Magna Carta*, being mixed up with interjected phrases, cannot conve-

niently be printed in small type. The passages which are in reasonably strict accord with the received text of the Charter are placed between inverted commas.

<sup>4</sup> There are no indications of omissions in the MS.

S[tephani] Cantuariæ et <sup>1</sup> H[enrici] Divellini <sup>2</sup> archiepiscoporū et ceterorū episcoporū Angliæ, qui tunc ibi fuerunt, id est septem, "et Magistri Pandulfi legati domini papæ, et fratris Emerici, magistri militiæ Templi in Anglia, et nobilium virorum Willelmi Marescalli comitis de Penbroc, Willelmi comitis de Salesburi,<sup>3</sup> Willelmi comitis de Warena . . . . et aliorum fidelium nostrorum. In primis concessisse nos Deo et hac præsentī carta nostra confirmasse, pro nobis et heredibus nostris inperpetuum, quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit, et habeat omnia jura sua integra, et libertates suas etc. . . . . Concessimus etiam <sup>4</sup> liberis hominibus omnibus regni nostri . . . . inperpetuum omnes libertates <sup>5</sup> subscriptas, habendas et tenendas, eis <sup>6</sup> et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris" et cetera plura, et multa quæ omnia justa et discreta et bona et rationabilia probata sunt. Promisit etiam in ipsa carta, quod amoveret "penitus de ballivis parentes Girardi de Atthiis,<sup>7</sup> quod de cetero nullam habeant ballivam in Anglia, Ingelardun de Cygoni, Andream, Petrum, [et] Gyonem de Chanceles"<sup>8</sup> et ceteros omnes. "Amovebimus de regno alienigenas, milites, balistarios, servientes, stipendiarios, qui venerunt cum equis et armis ad nocuumentum regni, etc. . . . . Data per manum nostram in prato quod vocatur<sup>9</sup> Runemedv<sup>10</sup> inter Windlesores<sup>11</sup> et Stanes, xv. die Junii anno regni nostri xvij<sup>o</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> *et, S.*; *om. F.*

<sup>2</sup> *Divellini, F.*; *Duvelini, S.*

<sup>3</sup> *Willelmi . . . Salesburi, om. F.*

<sup>4</sup> *etiam, S.*; *et, F.*

<sup>5</sup> In *F.* this passage has been partly repeated and blundered thus:—"libertates suas, etc. Concessimus etiam liberis hominibus omnibus regni nostri inperpetuum omnes libertates subscriptas habendas et tenendas eas [*sic*] et heredibus de nobis et heredibus

"nostris. Excepta [*sic*] plurima et multa quæ."

<sup>6</sup> *cas, F. and S.*

<sup>7</sup> *Atthius, F.* The name appears as *Athyes* in the received text of the Charter.

<sup>8</sup> *Chancel, F.*

<sup>9</sup> *vocetur, F. and S.*

<sup>10</sup> *Rounemedv, F.*

<sup>11</sup> *Windclesores, F.*

A.D. 1215. Juratum est ex utraque parte ad capitula singula et libertates concessas, sicut<sup>1</sup> præscriptas, fideliter observandas, testibus supradictis magnatibus et aliis multis.

Igitur rex Johannes ita promisit, ut dictum est, in dolo omnia: fecit scilicet cartam scribere, et confirmavit illam<sup>2</sup> sigillo suo, et juravit ipse, et magnates ejus cum illo, ut capitula singula sicut scripta sunt fideliter observarentur. Hæc<sup>3</sup> itaque omnia per omnes comitatus fecit jurare, ut custodirentur<sup>4</sup> fideliter. Sed cito se pœnituit, et retraxit se, dicens, ut nullo modo consentiret, quod xxv. barones essent inter ipsum et populum, qui æquitatem et jura et justitiam manutenerent, et reprehenderent illum si aliter fecisset quam<sup>5</sup> facere deberet. Consenserunt illi plures adulatores, ut dicebatur, scilicet Willelmus Marecallus comes de Penbroc et Willelmus comes Salesburie, et Willelmus Briwerre,<sup>6</sup> et multi alii alienigenæ, et milites et<sup>7</sup> balistarii et rutores, qui venerunt cum equis et armis ad nocumentum regni, quos ipse rex promisit expellere de regno. Hos posuit rex in castellis suis, et in munitionibus abscondit, in confusionem et destructionem sancte ecclesie et universi populi. Nam constituit illis diem in qua deberent exire in unaquaque provincia, unusquisque de loco in quo erant, ut vindicarent illum de adversariis suis.<sup>8</sup> Adversarii autem illius erant omnes qui justitiam et pacem regni volebant et amabant; et ecclesiam sanctam<sup>9</sup> honorabant. Igitur egressi sunt impii, sicut sibi præceptum erat, qui Deum ignorabant, et homines non reverebantur. Deprædati sunt oves et boves et cetera

John repudiates the charter, and is joined by a few nobles.

In lieu of expelling his mercenaries he lets them plunder the kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> sic, F.

<sup>2</sup> illam, om. F.

<sup>3</sup> hoc, F.

<sup>4</sup> custodirent, F.

<sup>5</sup> quam se facere, F.

<sup>6</sup> Bruerre, F.

<sup>7</sup> et, om. F.

<sup>8</sup> suis, om. F.

<sup>9</sup> sanctam, om. F.

animalia sicut illis placuit. Qui noluerunt redimere villas suas ad voluntatem illorum, illas combusserunt et in cineres redegerunt; homines capiebant et traxerunt ad caudas equorum suorum, et posuerunt in pœnis et tormentis et tribulationibus variis et magnis et inauditis, ita ut multos suspenderent, quod dicere pudor est, per genitalia donec deficerent, propter pecuniam, nam multi eorum defecerunt et obierunt antequam ab illis aliquid acciperent, quos mortuos, ut dicebatur, projecerunt in cloacis et in vilissimis locis. Ita [res]<sup>1</sup> se habuerunt toto anno et sequenti. Igitur misit rex et vocavit alios multos extra mare et citra et infra, congregavitque exercitum magnum, ut dicebatur, plusquam xv. millia hominum impiorum, qui Deum ignorabant et homines non reverebantur.

Adunatis<sup>2</sup> his circumdedit castellum Rofense<sup>3</sup> post festum Sancti Michaelis. Post fame<sup>4</sup> et miseria cepit illud, et multi barones et milites capti sunt, et captivi ducti usque ad castrum de Corf. Deinde post hæc abiit et circumvit totam Angliam usque ad fines Scotiae,<sup>5</sup> comburendo et devastando et diripiendo universa quæ ad comites et barones pertinebant, nullo sibi resistente vel contradicente, sed<sup>6</sup> præcipue terras Eustachii filii Johannis, quia ipse Eustachius posuit in lecto regis quandam communem mulierem, in loco uxoris suæ, cujus digitum rex confregit, putans illam fuisse uxorem Eustachii; terrasque illorum dedit et<sup>7</sup> distribuit sicut illi placuit.

Comites et barones mire patienter sustinuerunt rapinam bonorum suorum, tamen coacti sunt mittere ad

The barbarities committed by the king's souldiers.

After Sept. 29 John captures Rochester castle.

He then continues a devastating march as far as the borders of Scotland.

Story respecting the king and the supposed wife of Eustace FitzJohn.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently required. Why?

<sup>2</sup> *adunatis*, S.; *adjuratis*, F.

<sup>3</sup> *Rofensem*, F.S.

<sup>4</sup> *fames* . . . *illum*, F.

<sup>5</sup> *Scotia*, F.

<sup>6</sup> The passage *sed* . . . *uxorem Eustachii* is not in S. In F. it is

awkwardly inserted before instead of after *terrasque* . . . *placuit*. For the full story see Knighton (Twysden, col. 2422), who warrants it as to Eustace de Vesey.

<sup>7</sup> *et*, om. F.

A.D. 1215. regem Francorum communi consilio postulantes consilium et auxilium: qui compassus est oppressioni eorum nimis, itaque concessit ut filius ejus Lodowicus, si illi placeret, veniret cum illis in Angliam.

Walterus de Gray, qui fuit episcopus Wygorniaë, factus est archiepiscopus<sup>1</sup> Eboracensis in concilio apud Romam.

Lateran Council.  
The pope excommunicates the barons,  
Nov. 30.

Eodem anno celebratum est concilium apud Romam<sup>2</sup> Lateranense,<sup>3</sup> præsidente papa Innocentio iij<sup>o</sup>, a quo lata est sententia excommunicationis super barones adversarios<sup>4</sup> domini regis Johannis<sup>5</sup> die Sancti Andreaë apostoli.

The barons offer the kingdom to Louis, son of the king of France.

Et ipsi barones Lodowicum primogenitum filium Philippi regis Franciæ in regem sibi elegerunt. Et guerra generalis et tam inaudita est, ut patres insurgent in filios et filii<sup>6</sup> in patres, et perturbatio regni inaudita facta est.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XVI<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1216. Rex Johannes, iter faciens versus Scociam, sternere fecit castrum de Beauertz<sup>7</sup> et multa alia castra in partibus aquilonis, et in reditu suo cepit castrum de Ingeham<sup>8</sup> et de Colecestre; et galiotæ regis mirabilia fecerunt in mari, et maxima mala.

John marches northwards, ravaging the country.

John returns and proceeds to Canterbury.  
Cardinal Gualo arrives.

In Pascha post memoratus J[ohannes] rex accessit apud Cantuariam, quoniam multa<sup>9</sup> audiebat de adventu Lodowici. Et interea applicuit Gwales,<sup>10</sup> sedis Apostolicæ legatus. In brevi postea applicuit Lodo-

<sup>1</sup> episcopus, F.

<sup>2</sup> Eodem anno . . . Romam, om. F.

<sup>3</sup> Lateranensi, F.S.

<sup>4</sup> adversariorum, F.

<sup>5</sup> Johannis, om. F.

<sup>6</sup> filii, S.; sibi, F.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps Belvoir is meant.

<sup>8</sup> Ingeham, S.; Wigcham, F. Hedingham is intended. See Coggeshall, p. 180.

<sup>9</sup> F. reads *multa mala audiebat*.

<sup>10</sup> Gwales, F.



wicus in insula de Tanet,<sup>1</sup> et sic apud Londoniam A.D. 1216. veniens die Sanctorum Marcellini et Petri apud Sanctum Paulum a clero et populo civitatis cum processione susceptus est. Eodem die apud Westmonasterium veniens, a conventu illius ecclesiæ non est receptus, et hæc occasione et aliis causis mediantibus, ipse Lodowicus et barones Angliæ et Franciæ odium et furorem versus ipsam ecclesiam<sup>2</sup> suscitaverunt, et venientes quidam ex parte Lodowici in dictam ecclesiam, fractis ostiis thesaurariæ domini regis, asportaverunt quicquid in eadem invenerunt.

Eodem anno circa festum Sanctæ Mildredæ<sup>3</sup> virginis, scilicet mense Julii, obiit papa Innocentius iiius. Cui successit Honorius.

Et anno eodem die Sancti Lucae<sup>4</sup> evangelistæ obiit rex Johannes, veneno extinctus apud Swinesheived a quodam hospitali dictæ domus,<sup>5</sup> et sepultus est apud Wigorniam.

Hoc anno, die scilicet apostolorum Symonis et Judæ, coronatus est<sup>6</sup> primo in regem Angliæ Henricus filius Johannis apud Gloverniam, non de jure, quod locus sit regiæ consecrationis, sed de necessitate, quoniam regnum vacabat, nec potuit eum suis adire Westmonasterium, debitum et locum solitum<sup>7</sup> consecrationis, propter manifestam hostilitatis malitiam, quoniam inimici ejus Londoniam occupaverunt; sed, pace regni firmata, postea apud Westmonasterium coronatur, sicut in consequentibus subscribitur.<sup>8</sup>

Obiit Herebertus Sarum<sup>9</sup> episcopus.

A.D. 1216.

—  
Louislands and is received at St. Paul's on June 2. The monks of Westminster refuse to receive him. The treasury is robbed. Death of pope Innocent III., about July 13.

John dies on Oct. 18.

Henry III. is crowned at Gloucester on Oct. 28.

Death of Herbert, bishop of Salisbury [1217].

<sup>1</sup> *Cauec*, F.

<sup>2</sup> F. reads *in ipsa ecclesia*, and in the next line the MSS. have *in dicta ecclesia*.

<sup>3</sup> *Mildridæ*, S.

<sup>4</sup> Oct. 19, at Newark.

<sup>5</sup> This passage (*veneno . . . domus*) is not in S, the older MS., a point worthy of notice.

<sup>6</sup> *est*, om. S.

<sup>7</sup> *solitum*, om. F.

<sup>8</sup> *subscriberet*, F.

<sup>9</sup> *Herbertus Salesburicensis*, F. The bishop died on Feb. 6, 1217. Here the year beginning 26 March and ending 25 March seems to be adopted; but, on the other hand, see "*post Natale*," two lines below.

A.D. 1217.

Louis crossed to France after 25 Dec. (1216). Maury barons return to their allegiance. Louis returning besieges Dover. The battle of Lincoln. The count of Perche is killed. The battle took place on May 20. Louis quits the siege of Dover and retires on London. Defeat of the French fleet.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>X<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup>.

Lodowicus ab Anglia transfretavit in Franciam post Natale. Multi barones et milites ex parte Lodowici conversi sunt ad fidelitatem regis Henrici, et parati sunt ad obsidionem faciendam circa civitatem Londoniæ.

Chron. used by R. Coggeshall (p. 185).

Applicato<sup>1</sup> iterum Lodowico in Angliam, obsedit castrum de Doure,<sup>2</sup> et interim accedentes omnes barones Angliæ simul cum comite de Pertico<sup>3</sup> et pluribus aliis Franciæ apud Lincolniam, capti sunt per barones fautores domini regis Henrici. Et ipse comes de Pertico ibidem cum multis interfectus est: et ista accidebant sabbato in vigilia Sanctæ Trinitatis scilicet xij. kalendas<sup>4</sup> Junii. His auditis recessit Lodowicus ab obsidione de Doure. Deinde veniens Londoniam, maximam fecit moram in civitate, exspectans succursum Francorum. Tandem parato<sup>5</sup> maximo navigio, majores Franciæ barones [et]<sup>6</sup> milites iter aggressi sunt veniendi in Angliam cum multitudine armatorum copiosa et pecunia infinita in succursum Lodowici. Sed percussit Dominus capita bellatorum venientium ad dispergendum gentem Anglicanam. Et facti sunt hostes ejus<sup>7</sup> in prædam, et capti sunt, et captivi ducti sunt in captivitatem usque in castrum de Doure, et reduxit Dominus super quosdam aquas maris, et submersi sunt quasi plumbum in aquis vehementibus.<sup>8</sup> Auditis ergo<sup>9</sup> et factis pro ecclesia et gente Anglorum tot et

<sup>1</sup> *applicante*, F.

<sup>2</sup> *Doure*, S.; *Dovere*, F. This difference in spelling is constant, and will not be further noticed.

<sup>3</sup> *Portico*, F., with the same error below imperfectly corrected.

<sup>4</sup> *Kalendas*, om. F.

<sup>5</sup> *peracto* in both MSS.

<sup>6</sup> *et*, not in F. or S.

<sup>7</sup> *ejus*, om. F.

<sup>8</sup> On this and the three succeeding pages are many passages agreeing verbatim with Coggeshall (Rolls ed. pp. 185-8). On comparison it will be seen that this similarity is probably due to the use made by both authors of some chronicle which is now lost.

<sup>9</sup> *ergo*, om. F.

Chron. used by R. Coggeshall, (p. 186).

tantis miraculis, parati sunt omnes ex parte sanctæ ecclesiæ, et domini regis et regni, a minimo usque ad maximum in expeditionem ire contra alienigenas ad obsidionem<sup>1</sup> memoratæ civitatis Londoniæ; sed Dominus omnipotens, non in multitudine dimicans,<sup>2</sup> hostium contrivit multitudinem et fortitudinem, et dextera sua glorificata est in<sup>3</sup> populo suo.

Et pax ecclesiæ et regni Angliæ formata et facta est in vigilia Exaltationis Sanctæ Crucis inter<sup>4</sup> dominum H[enricum] regem Angliæ et Lodovicum, in præsentia domini Guuales,<sup>5</sup> tunc Apostolicæ sedis legati, præsentibus episcopis multis et aliis prælatis et omnibus Angliæ<sup>6</sup> majoribus, exceptis illis qui capti fuerant apud Lincolniam, et sic Pharaone triumphato et hostibus fugatis, veritas et pax in terra nostra orta est, et justitia de cœlo super populum suum prospexit.

A.D. 1217.  
—  
Peace with France, Sept. 13 (Sept. 11).

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>X<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1218.

Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ Wigornia<sup>7</sup> dedicata est, et corpus gloriosi confessoris Sancti Wlstanii translatum est uno et eodem die, scilicet vij. Idus Junii, præsentibus eidem ecclesiæ Silvestro episcopo, ejusdem ecclesiæ aliquando priore et monacho: et<sup>8</sup> paulo post apud Ramesciam<sup>9</sup> obiit memoratus S[ilvester] episcopus. Cui successit Willelmus de Bleis, archidiaconus de Bukingeham.<sup>10</sup>

Dedication of Worcester Cathedral, June 7.

<sup>1</sup> *ab obsidione*, F.<sup>2</sup> *demirans*, F.<sup>3</sup> *in*, om. F.<sup>4</sup> *inter*, S.; *in*, F.<sup>5</sup> *Gital*, F.<sup>6</sup> *Angliæ*, om. F.<sup>7</sup> *Wigornia*, om. F.<sup>8</sup> *et*, S.; *etiam*, F.<sup>9</sup> *Rameseram*, F.<sup>10</sup> *Bukingham*, F. This paragraph should be compared with the *Waverley Annals* (p. 289), which in several places seem to show traces of the chronicle used here and by R. de Coggeshall.

A.D. 1218. Apud Westmonasterium habebatur consilium maximum inter omnes episcopos et barones Angliæ de confirmatione regni. Chron. used by R. Coggeshall, (pp. 186, 187).

Council at Westminster. Dominus Gualcs legatus recessit ab Anglia versus Romam circa festum Sancti Andreae, et dominus Pandulfus successit eidem in legationem, et cito post festum Sancti Andreae venit Londoniam, et apud Sanctum Paulum receptus est.

Cardinal Gualo leaves about Nov. 30, and Pandulph arrives. Anno illo facta est obsidio circa civitatem Damietæ,<sup>1</sup> et motio maxima Anglicorum cruce signatorum facta est versus Jerusalem et versus civitatem illam.

Siege of Damietta. Et<sup>2</sup> eodem anno tunc primo rex Henricus proprium habuit sigillum.

A.D. 1219.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CCC<sup>o</sup>X<sup>o</sup>IX<sup>o</sup>.

Death of William Marshall.

Obiit Willelmus Marecallus senior apud Kaversham : cujus corpus honorifice receptum est a conventu de Radinges<sup>3</sup> cum processione sollempni, et in choro collocatum, donec missa pro eo celebrata esset.<sup>4</sup> Deinde Londoniam delatum est, et a conventu Westmonasteriensi receptum, et ibidem pro eo missa celebratur. Deinde transfertur ad Novum Templum, et in crastino ibidem sepelitur.

Council.

Eodem anno maxima consilia tractabantur inter barones Angliæ, mediante legato Pandulfo, de reformatione regni et pace inter eos servanda, et inter Leulinum<sup>5</sup> principem Norwalliæ et quosdam magnates Angliæ, et de marchia de perturbationibus sedandis.

Damietta is taken by the Crusaders about Nov. 6.

Eodem anno capitur<sup>6</sup> civitas Damietta a Christianis circa festum Sancti Leonardi.

<sup>1</sup> Thus in MSS.

<sup>2</sup> et, om. F.

<sup>3</sup> Redinges, F.

<sup>4</sup> S. has *celebrata* only.

<sup>5</sup> *Leulinum*, S.; *Lewelinum*, F.

<sup>6</sup> *capitur*, S.; *capta est*, F. The difference of tense here is worthy of note.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XXX<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1220.

Chron.  
used by R.  
Cogges-  
hall,  
(pp. 187,  
188).

Trægæ captæ sunt inter Philippum regem Franciæ et dominum Henricum regem Angliæ pro pace Pictaviæ, et sunt concessæ ab eodem Philippo usque in quatuor annos.

Træce with  
France for  
four years.

Dominus Pandulfus legatus et dominus H[enricus] rex Angliæ, cum domino S[tephano] Cantuariæ, et fere omnibus episcopis et comitibus et majoribus terræ, consilium et tractatum habuerunt de pace regni apud Westmonasterium.

Couneil.

Eodem anno, scilicet die Pentecostes, xvj. kalendas Junii, apud Westmonasterium a domino Stephano de Langetune Cantuariæ archiepiscopo, præsentibus Pandulfo sedis legato, et episcopis et abbatibus et majoribus Angliæ tunc ibi existentibus; a quo archiepiscopo inter sermonem factum populo prædicatur crucis signatio, et Sancti Hugonis episcopi Lincolnæ canonizatio, auctoritate Honorii papæ celebranda xv. kalendas Decembris.

Second  
coronation  
of Henry  
III., May  
17.

Hugh of  
Lincoln  
canonised;  
his festival  
appointed  
for Nov. 17.

[E]odem tempore, ad petitionem abbatis Westmonasterii, jacitur primus lapis fundamenti novi operis ejusdem loci a domino H[enrico] rege, præsentibus cum ipso domino R[icardo] episcopo Sarum, Huberto de Burgo, tunc justitiario Angliæ, et aliis episcopis et multis magnatibus ad coronationem ipsius tunc venientibus.

New founda-  
tion of  
West-  
minster  
Abbey.

Eodem anno, scilicet mense Julii in crastino octavarum Petri et Pauli, dominus Pandulfus legatus cum episcopis, abbatibus, et ceteris prælatis Angliæ, et dominus rex cum comitibus, baronibus, et magnatibus

Transla-  
tion of S.  
Thomas  
of Canter-  
bury: the  
bishops

<sup>1</sup> *Langetone*, F. This difference recurs, and will not be further noticed.

<sup>2</sup> *Pandulpho*, F. This also will not be further recorded. Both MSS. have *præsentibus*.

<sup>3</sup> *abbatis*, om. F.

<sup>4</sup> *domino*, om. F.

<sup>5</sup> S. has *Sarum*, F. has *Saresburiensi*. This difference will not be further noticed.

<sup>6</sup> F. reads, *et aliis militibus magnatibus*.

<sup>7</sup> S. has *octabis*.

A.D. 1220. suis ad transferendum corpus gloriosissimi Thomæ  
 Cantuarie archiepiscopi et martyris, ex mandato do-  
 mini papæ, et ad petitionem domini S[tephani] de  
 Langetune Cantuarie archiepiscopi Cantuariam conve-  
 nerunt, populus etiam utriusque sexus et ætatis in-  
 finitus, et non solum de Anglia, verum etiam de  
 Francia et de omnibus circumadjacentibus regionibus.  
 Tanta visa est ibidem multitudo hominum ut operi-  
 rent faciem terræ sicut locustæ. Tenor<sup>1</sup> autem man-  
 dati Apostolici erat in hunc modum:—

Bull of  
 pope Hono-  
 rius III.,  
 authorising  
 the trans-  
 lation of S.  
 Thomas.

“ Honorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis Christi  
 “ fidelibus, nobilibus et aliis, per Angliam constitutis, salu-  
 “ tem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Rex cœlestis dominus  
 “ Angelorum<sup>2</sup> regnum Angliæ ceteris altius nostris tempo-  
 “ ribus honoravit, et speciali quadam prærogativa decoris  
 “ gentem Anglicanam insignivit dum, mundo posito in  
 “ maligno et malitia hominum exerescente, virum sibi ex-  
 “ inde sine macula prælegit, qui non solum in tempore  
 “ iracundiæ reconciliatio factus est ut sacerdos, verum etiam  
 “ ad cœleste convivium invitatus, illum saporare meruit,  
 “ quem biberat Dominus, calicem passionis; et quia inven-  
 “ tus est dignus Deo coronavit eum gloria et honore, co-  
 “ ronam ipsius capiti superponens de lapide pretioso, ut sic  
 “ unus ex Anglis inter Angelos super opera manuum Do-  
 “ mini<sup>3</sup> constitutus, pro peccatis populorum omnium fieret  
 “ intercessor. Cantet igitur<sup>4</sup> novum Domino canticum Can-  
 “ tuariensis ecclesia, cujus aram suo purpuravit pretioso  
 “ sanguine martyr Thomas. Quinimmo civitas ipsa tota  
 “ Deo potest et debet in exultationis voce non immerito  
 “ jubulare, quæ cruore roseo sui martyris rubricata, pulchra  
 “ facta est, et apparuit speciosa. Unde diversarum multi-  
 “ tudine gentium ex omni fere, quæ<sup>5</sup> sub cœlo est, natione  
 “ celebritatem ipsius summo opere venerante, quodam quasi  
 “ felici præsagio eum videtur esse sortita vocabulum ex  
 “ eventu, ac si dicatur expresse Cantuaria, ‘cantis aræ,’

<sup>1</sup> F. has *tenorem*.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglorum* ? F.

<sup>3</sup> *Domini* expuncted and *Deum*  
 substituted in F.

<sup>4</sup> *igitur*, S.; *ergo*, F.

<sup>5</sup> *qui*, F.

“ vos, inquam, si <sup>1</sup> diligenter attenditis hunc <sup>2</sup> honorem, gra-  
 “ tiarum actiones assiduas, Largitori bonorum omnium ex-  
 “ solvetis. Cui vos ex impensæ benedictionis gratia terræ  
 “ vestræ potestis cognoscere debitores, ut ingratiitudinis evi-  
 “ tetis vitium et possitis devoti filii nuncupari.<sup>3</sup> Et quidem  
 “ si omni tempore puro corde benedicere ac honorare Do-  
 “ minum debeatis, ita tamen præcipue vos oportet <sup>4</sup> vestes  
 “ induere nuptiales, et cum jocunditate in laudes vestro  
 “ assurgere Creatori, cum venturæ festivitatis sollemnitas id <sup>5</sup>  
 “ exposcat. Sane venerabili fratre nostro Stephano Cantu-  
 “ ariæ archiepiscopo, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinali,  
 “ nuper accepimus intimante, quod idem volens ostendere  
 “ in effectu <sup>6</sup> quanto devotionis fervore martyris supradicti  
 “ memoriam veneretur, sacratissimum corpus ejus sublevare  
 “ proponit de terra, ipsumque translatum de terra honora-  
 “ bilius collocare, cum dignum sibi et condecens videatur  
 “ illum, quantum in eo est, exaltare in terra, quem in cælo  
 “ Dominus exaltavit. Nos igitur pium et laudabile archi-  
 “ episcopi memorati propositum acceptantes, universitatem  
 “ vestram monendam duximus, et exhortandam per Aposto-  
 “ lica vobis scripta mandantes, quatinus pacem mutuam et  
 “ concordiam in caritatis vinculo conservantes, conscientias  
 “ vestras cunctis perversitatibus expietis, et <sup>7</sup> sic vos in bonis  
 “ studeatis operibus exercere, ut cum dies ipsius sollemni-  
 “ tatis advenerit, in occurso vestri sanctissimi martyris et  
 “ patroni, ipsum possitis honorificentia debita venerari, quod  
 “ doceatis alios per exemplum, quantum esse debeat celebris  
 “ per diversa mundi climata præfati martyris memoria glo-  
 “ riosa. Data Laterani etc.” <sup>8</sup>

A.D. 1220.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini <sup>9</sup> MCC<sup>o</sup>XX<sup>o</sup> Nonas

<sup>1</sup> *si*, S.; om. F.

<sup>2</sup> *hunc*, S.; *habenti*, F.

<sup>3</sup> *nuptiari*, F.

<sup>4</sup> *oportet*, S.; *omnes*, F.

<sup>5</sup> *id*, S.; *idem*, F.

<sup>6</sup> *affectum*, F.; *effectum*, S.

<sup>7</sup> *et*, om. F.

<sup>8</sup> In the *Fœdera*, i. 153, not quoted

from a MS. source but from Lupus,  
 “ *Epp. Thomæ Cant. Arch.*,” p.  
 883, with date thus, “ *Data Late-*  
 “ *rani viii. kalendas Februarii*  
 “ *pontificatus nostri anno tertio*”  
 (1219).

<sup>9</sup> F. omits *ab . . . Domini*.

A.D. 1220.

The translation of S. Thomas is effected, July 7.

Julii translatum est corpus gloriosissimi pontificis et martyris Thomæ Cantuariæ archiepiscopi a domino Stephano de Langetune, tunc archiepiscopo, sub Henrico rege, filio regis Johannis, anno ejus iiiij<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1221.

Loss of Damietta.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XX<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>.

Damietta redditur Saracenis, et Crux Sancta Christianis.<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1222.

A comet appears.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XX<sup>o</sup>ii<sup>o</sup>.

Hoc anno visa est cometa magnos habens radios. Item visi sunt dracones, eadem die eadem hora, per diversas provincias.

A.D. 1223.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XX<sup>o</sup>iii<sup>o</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

A.D. 1224.

Siege of Bedford Castle.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XX<sup>o</sup>iiii<sup>o</sup>.

Obsedit Henricus rex castellum de<sup>3</sup> Bedeforde.

A.D. 1225.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XX<sup>o</sup>v<sup>o</sup>.<sup>4</sup>

Novæ leges datæ sunt in Anglia.

A.D. 1226.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XX<sup>o</sup>vi<sup>o</sup>.

Obiit Lodowicus rex Francorum.  
Item obiit Willelmus Lungespeie senior.

A.D. 1227.

Death of Pope Honorius III.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XX<sup>o</sup>vii<sup>o</sup>.

Obiit Honorius papa. Cui<sup>5</sup> successit Gregorius ix<sup>us</sup>.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. has the date but records no events.

<sup>2</sup> No events in either MS.

<sup>3</sup> S. omits *castellum de*.

<sup>4</sup> S. has the date, but records no events. A blank line is left for additions.

<sup>5</sup> S. omits *cui* and *ix<sup>us</sup>*.



	ANNO M <sup>o</sup> CC <sup>o</sup> XXVIII <sup>o</sup> .	A.D. 1228.
Obiit magister Stephanus de Langetune Cantuarie archiepiscopus.		Death of Arch-bishop Stephen Langton.
	ANNO M <sup>o</sup> CC <sup>o</sup> XX <sup>o</sup> IX <sup>o</sup> . <sup>1</sup>	A.D. 1229.
	ANNO M <sup>o</sup> CC <sup>o</sup> XXX <sup>o</sup> .	A.D. 1230.
Henricus rex transfretavit cum exercitu magno in Britanniam.		
Obiit comes Glovernie.		A.D. 1231.
	ANNO M <sup>o</sup> CC <sup>o</sup> XXX <sup>o</sup> I <sup>o</sup> .	Richard Arch-bishop of Caunterbury and William Marshall die.
Obiit Ricardus Cantuarie archiepiscopus. Item obiit Willelmus Marescallus: successit Ricardus frater ejus.		War against the Welsh.
Hoc anno mota est guerra in partibus Wallie, et constructum est a domino rege castrum Matildis.		
	ANNO M <sup>o</sup> CC <sup>o</sup> XXX <sup>o</sup> II <sup>o</sup> . <sup>1</sup>	A.D. 1232.
	ANNO M <sup>o</sup> CC <sup>o</sup> XXX <sup>o</sup> III <sup>o</sup> . <sup>2</sup>	A.D. 1233.
Electus est magister Edmundus <sup>3</sup> in archiepiscopus Cantuarie.		Death of Alan Basset.
Obiit Alanus Basset; et <sup>4</sup> hoc anno orta est guerra magna inter dominum regem et comitem Ricardum Marescallum et Gilebertum <sup>5</sup> Basset et Ricardum Siward, et terre eorum vastata, et castra eorum et domus subversa.		Gilbert Basset and others rebel.
Eodem anno, scilicet iij <sup>o</sup> kalendas Novembris, ductus fuit Hubertus de Burgo de Divisis usque Strugul. <sup>6</sup>		Oct. 30.

<sup>1</sup> Nothing recorded in either F. or S.

<sup>2</sup> F. has M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XX<sup>o</sup>iiij<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Eadmundus*, F. The true date for election as well as consecration seems to have been 1234. See the continuation of Gervase, ii. 130.

<sup>4</sup> *et*, om. S.

<sup>5</sup> *Gilbertum*, F.

<sup>6</sup> *Strugul*, S. The words *ductus fuit* give a wrong idea. He escaped from Devizes; took sanctuary; was dragged forth, but sent back again; then he escaped to Wales.

A.D. 1234.

Consecra-  
tion of  
Arch-  
bishop  
Edmund  
of Canter-  
bury,  
April 2.

A.D. 1235.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XXX<sup>o</sup>IIII<sup>o</sup>.

Consecratus est magister Edmundus in archiepi-  
scopum Cantuariæ dominica qua cantatur "*Latare*  
*Jerusalem.*"

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XXX<sup>o</sup>V<sup>o</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1236.

Henry  
marries  
Eleanor of  
Provence.

Elienor,<sup>2</sup> filia comitis Sancti Egidii, facta est<sup>3</sup> regina  
Angliæ.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XXX<sup>o</sup>VI<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1237.

Schools of  
the Cister-  
cian order  
at Paris  
instituted.

The legate  
Otho holds  
a council  
in London,  
Nov. 20.

Inceptæ sunt scholæ Cistertiensis ordinis apud [Furness  
Chron.  
only.]  
Parisium, in loco qui vocatur Chardenay.

Obiit J[ohannes] rex Ierosolymitanus.<sup>4</sup>

Eodem anno obiit<sup>5</sup> Ricardus Dunelmensis<sup>6</sup> episcopus.

Eodem anno celebratum est generale concilium  
Londoniæ, xij. kalendas Decembris, sub Ottone<sup>7</sup> legato.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XXX<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1238.

Death of  
Peter des  
Roches.

Obiit Petrus de Rupibus episcopus Wintoniæ.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XXX<sup>o</sup>IX<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1239.

Birth of  
Prince  
Edward.

Hoc anno fuit eclipsis solis iij. Nonas Junii, ab hora  
tertia usque ad horam<sup>8</sup> decimam. Item natus est  
Edwardus primogenitus Henrici regis.

<sup>1</sup> The date is not followed by any entry either in F. or S., though in S. the next entry is begun, by mistake, with the word *regina* on the line belonging to this year.

<sup>2</sup> *Alienor*, omitting the superfluous word *regina*, F. In S. the whole of this entry is an interpolation in light ink, but in the same hand.

<sup>3</sup> *est*, om. F.

<sup>4</sup> John de Brienne.

<sup>5</sup> S. omits everything under this year preceding the word *obiit*.

<sup>6</sup> *Dunobirensis*, F.

<sup>7</sup> *Octone*, F. The 19th, 21st, and 22nd of November were the days on which the Council sat.

<sup>8</sup> S. has *hora*.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1240.

Obiit sanctissimus pater Edmundus Cantuariæ archiepiscopus<sup>1</sup> in transmarinis partibus apud villam quæ dicitur Soysi, xij. kalendas Decembris.<sup>2</sup> Cujus corpus sanctissimum cum magno honore delatum est Pontiniacum,<sup>3</sup> ubi Dominus crebris illud<sup>4</sup> decorat miraculis.

Edmund  
archbishop  
of Canter-  
bury dies  
at Soissy,  
Nov. 20.

Eodem anno obiit Lewlinus princeps Walliæ.

Item hoc anno post festum Sanctæ Trinitatis nobilis vir Ricardus comes Cornubiæ iter arripuit versus Terram Sanctam, et cum eo Willelmus Lungespeye II<sup>5</sup> et multi magnates Angliæ. Et dominus rex Franciæ recepit<sup>6</sup> prædictum R[icardum] honorifice et socios suos, et deduxit per terram suam.

After June  
10 Richard  
Earl of  
Cornwall  
and other  
nobles set  
out for the  
Holy  
Land.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>I<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1241.

Hoc anno pridie nonas Octobris fuit eclipsis solis infra tertiam et nonam.<sup>7</sup>

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>II<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1242.

Hoc anno fuit eclipsis lunæ, viij. idus Martii.

Item<sup>8</sup> vij. idus Maii Henricus rex iter<sup>9</sup> arripuit cum exercitu versus Gasconiam.<sup>10</sup>

Henry  
crosses to  
Gascony,  
May 9.

<sup>1</sup> *episcopus*, F.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, iv. 73, gives the date Nov. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Pontiniaco*, MSS.

<sup>4</sup> *illud*, S.; *illum*, F.

<sup>5</sup> *Lungespeie*, F., with *Comes Sarisbiriensis* in margin in contemporary hand. S. alone adds the figures showing him to be the second earl of that name.

<sup>6</sup> *recepit*, om. F.

<sup>7</sup> F. omits this entry and the figures of the next year, thus placing the eclipse of the moon under 1241—a purely clerical error.

<sup>8</sup> *Item*. F. omits this word, and wrongly inserts the date 1243.

<sup>9</sup> *primo* is inserted in margin, by another hand in F.; S. omits.

<sup>10</sup> S. rightly places this under 1242.

Death of  
Hugh de  
Lacy (in  
1242).

Obiit Hugo de Lacy comes Ultonia.<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1244.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>IIII<sup>o</sup>.

Consecra-  
tion of  
bishops of  
Bath and  
London, in  
September.  
William  
Raleigh  
enthroned  
at Win-  
chester.

Magister Rogerus, quondam præcentor Sarum, con-  
secratus est in episcopum Bathoniensem, mense Sep-  
tembris.

Eodem mense dominus Fulco Basset<sup>2</sup> factus est  
episcopus Londonia.

Willelmus de Ralec intronizatus est Wintonia.

Herebertus filius Mathæi lapidibus obrutus est in  
Wallia, juxta abbatiam de Margan, in qua sepultus  
jacet.

A.D. 1245.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>V<sup>o</sup>.

Council of  
Lyons.

Lugduni celebrato generali concilio ab Innocentio  
papa iiii.<sup>to,3</sup> Fredericus imperator a regno pariter et  
imperio condemnatus est<sup>4</sup> fieri per omnem ecclesiam.<sup>5</sup>

A.D. 1246.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>VI<sup>o</sup>.

Earth-  
quake on  
Feb. 20.

Terræ motus factus est magnus et horribilis x<sup>o</sup>  
kalendas Martii.

A.D. 1247.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup>.

New con-  
vent at  
Stanley,  
Wilts.

Ingressus est conventus de Stanleze in Wiltescira [Stanley  
Chron.  
only.]  
novum monasterium.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Another hand in F. adds *Flues-  
tere*. Matthew Paris (iv. 232) says  
Ingh died in 1242. S. has no entry  
for 1243, omitting even the date.  
F. has no event which really be-  
longs to the year.

<sup>2</sup> In F. *Fullo Basset*.

<sup>3</sup> *ab . . . quarto*, om. S.

<sup>4</sup> S. omits all after *est*.

<sup>5</sup> Should probably read, *condem-  
natus est, et fere per omnem eccle-  
siam excommunicatus*.

<sup>6</sup> F. neglects this entry.

[Furness  
Chron.  
only.]

Claruerunt cotidie miracula multa apud Pontiniacum, St. Edmundi abbatiam scilicet ordinis Cistercii, de sancto Edmundo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, unde Innocentius papa instituit festum eius.

St. Edmund of Canterbury placed in the calendar.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1248.

Terræ motus accidit pridie ante vigiliam Natalis Domini.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Earthquake on Dec. 23 (1247).

[Stanley  
Chron.  
only.]

Eodem anno obiit piæ memoriæ dominus Robertus, ix<sup>us</sup> abbas Stanlegæ in Wiltescira, scilicet iij. Idus Aprilis.

Death of Robert abbot of Stanley, April 10.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>IX<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1249.

Rex Franciæ Lodowicus captus est a Saracenis in terra Egypti,<sup>3</sup> et Willelmus Lungespeie occisus est in Terra Sancta.

Deaths of William Longespée, William bishop of Winchester (in 1250), and of the king of Scotland, 1249.

Eodem anno obiit Willelmus de Ralee Episcopus Wintoniæ.<sup>4</sup>

[Furness  
Chron.  
only.]

Civitas Dameta capitur a Lodowico rege Franciæ. Obiit rex Scotiæ. Cui successit Alexander filius ejus, qui postea duxit Margaretam filiam regis Angliæ.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>L<sup>o</sup>.<sup>5</sup>

A.D. 1250.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>L<sup>o</sup>I<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1251.

Obiit Fredericus imperator, et H. comes de Arundel.<sup>6</sup>

Death of Frederick II. (in 1250).

<sup>1</sup> *pridie ante Natale, F.*

<sup>2</sup> F. omits all that follows under this year.

<sup>3</sup> These events belong to the following year.

<sup>4</sup> S. omits all that follows under this year.

<sup>5</sup> No entry under this date in

either F. or S., the events belonging to 1250 having been erroneously placed under 1249.

<sup>6</sup> *et . . . Arundel, om. S.* Hugh de Albini, earl of Arundel, died, according to M. Paris (iv. 243), on 7 May 1243. See *Ann. Theok.* p. 130.

A.D. 1252.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>L<sup>o</sup>II<sup>o</sup>.

Maxima siccitas<sup>1</sup> fuit. Frater Petrus de ordine  
Prædicatorum martirizatur apud Mediolanum.

William  
earl War-  
renne dies.

Obiit Willelmus comes Warenniæ.<sup>2</sup>

Eodem anno fuit Willelmus Abbas Furnensis apud  
Cistercium.<sup>3</sup>

A.D. 1253.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>L<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>.

Henry's  
second ex-  
pedition to  
Gascony.  
St. Richard  
bishop of  
Chichester  
and Robert  
Grosette of  
Lincoln  
die.

Henricus rex iter arripuit versus Gasconiam secundo,  
cum exercitu suo. Obiit piæ memoriæ venerabilis  
pater<sup>4</sup> Ricardus Cicestrensis episcopus. Item obiit  
magister Robertus Grossum-caput Lincolnæ episcopus.

Obiit<sup>5</sup> Blanca regina Franciæ.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>L<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1254.

Innocent  
IV. dies.  
Return of  
king  
Henry.  
Marriage  
of prince  
Edward.

Obiit Innocentius papa iiij<sup>us</sup>: successit Alexander  
iiij<sup>us</sup>.

Rediit Henricus rex de Gasconia.

Edwardus filius ejus duxit uxorem filiam regis  
Hispaniæ.<sup>6</sup> Et factus est dominus Hiberniæ.

A.D. 1255.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>L<sup>o</sup>V<sup>o</sup>.

Walter de  
Gray, arch-  
bishop of  
York, dies.

Obiit dominus<sup>7</sup> Walterus de Gray archiepiscopus  
Eboracensis.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. has only these two words under this date.

<sup>2</sup> M. Paris (iv. 12) states that he died 27 May 1240.

<sup>3</sup> *Cisterciensem*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> F. omits *piæ . . . pater*.

<sup>5</sup> S. omits this entry. Queen Blanche died Dec. 1, 1252.

<sup>6</sup> For *filiam . . . Hispaniæ*, S. reads *in Hispania*, and omits *Et . . . Hiberniæ*.

<sup>7</sup> *dominus*, om. F.

<sup>8</sup> *Cui successit Sewalus*, added by another hand, in F. The words are not in S.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>L<sup>o</sup>VI<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1256.

Eclipsis solis facta est<sup>1</sup> iij<sup>o</sup> kalendas Januarii ab hora tertia usque ad ix<sup>am</sup>.

Eclipse of the sun, 30 Dec.

Hoc anno obiit Willelmus de Eboraco Sarum episcopus, mense Februarii.<sup>2</sup>

(1255).  
Death of William

Eodem anno in xl<sup>a</sup> electus est magister Egidius de Brideport in episcopum Sarum, et statim post Pascha iter arripuit versus Romam.

bishop of Salisbury.

Eodem anno Ricardus comes Cornubiæ electus est imperator Alemanniæ.

Richard earl of Cornwall elected emperor.

Item eodem anno dominica proxima ante Purificationem,<sup>3</sup> scilicet ante auroram, fuit terræ motus et ventus maximus,<sup>4</sup> et pluvia abundanter a festo Omnium Sanctorum usque ad Pentecosten.

On Jan. 28 (1257) an earthquake.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>L<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1257.

Obiit Willelmus Lungespey<sup>5</sup> iii<sup>us</sup>, inter Circumcisionem et Epiphaniam.<sup>6</sup> Eodem anno consecratus est magister Egidius episcopus Sarum, xv. kalendas Aprilis,<sup>7</sup> et intronizatus est apud Sarum kalendis Aprilis, scilicet dominica in Ramis Palmarum.

Jan. 1-6 [1256].

Item<sup>8</sup> eodem anno post Pascha nobilis vir Ricardus comes Cornubiæ Alemanniam adiit, et portavit coronam die dominica proxima ante Ascensionem.<sup>9</sup> Et<sup>10</sup> eodem anno dedit arma Henrico filio suo.

Richard earl of Cornwall crowned in Germany.  
May 13.

<sup>1</sup> *Facta est*, om. S.

<sup>2</sup> 31 Jan. 1256 is the date given in the "Registrum Sacrum Eccl. Anglie."

<sup>3</sup> Imperfect, *Par'*, in F.

<sup>4</sup> *magnus*, F.

<sup>5</sup> *Longespeie*, F.

<sup>6</sup> F. omits these dates.

<sup>7</sup> The succeeding words of this u 13836.

entry are not in F. The date in the *Ann. Winton.*, p. 95, is March 11, 1256, the apparent error in the year in the text is due to the reckoning from March 26.

<sup>8</sup> *Item*, om. F.

<sup>9</sup> The date usually assigned is Ascension Day (May 17).

<sup>10</sup> *et*, om. F.

A.D. 1257.

Death of Sewall, archbishop of York. Slaughter of an English army in Wales on June 2, and death of Stephen Baucen.

Eodem<sup>1</sup> anno obiit Sewallus archiepiscopus Eboracensis. Cui successit Godefridus de Lodeham.<sup>2</sup>

Item eodem anno, die Sabbati proxima ante festum sanctæ<sup>3</sup> Trinitatis, fuit magna occisio militum in partibus Walliæ, et maxime Stephani Baucen:<sup>4</sup> et magna guerra orta est inter regem Angliæ et principem Walliæ.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>L<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1258.

Parliament held at Oxford about June 24.

Hoc anno fuit parliamentum omnium baronum et comitum totius Angliæ apud Oxoniam eum armis, pro jure suo et totius terræ contra voluntatem regis,<sup>5</sup> ad repugnandum dominum Willelmum de Valence, et Guidonem de Lisinum, et Aldemarum electum Wintoniæ, fratres regis,<sup>6</sup> et alios extraneos, per xv dies circa festum sancti Johannis Baptistæ.

[A.D. 1258.]

[ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>L<sup>o</sup>IX<sup>o</sup>.]

The Provisions of Oxford are the cause of the ensuing war. Council of Merton, June 6.

[Provisiones factæ sunt apud Oxoniam a rege H[enrico] et baronibus; quarum de causa guerra inter regem et barones [et]<sup>7</sup> multa mala contigerunt.]<sup>8</sup>

Eodem anno fuit concilium Bonifacii archiepiscopi et omnium suffraganeorum suorum apud Mertune,<sup>9</sup> scilicet die Jovis ante festum sancti Barnabæ, ad

<sup>1</sup> This entry, as far as *Lodeham*, is not in S.

<sup>2</sup> Wikes (p. 118) agrees with the text, but it is usually stated that Sewall de Bovill died in 1258, and that Godfrey Ludham succeeded him in the same year. See Stubbs, Reg. Sac. Ecl. Anglic., 43.

<sup>3</sup> *sanctæ*, om. F.

<sup>4</sup> *Baucen*, S.; *Bauten*, F.

<sup>5</sup> *contra . . . regis*, om. F.

<sup>6</sup> *regi*, F.

<sup>7</sup> The single letter *i* appears here in F., and is expuncted.

<sup>8</sup> F. inserts the date and this paragraph, thus erroneously placing the Provisions of Oxford under 1259. In S. a blank line follows the word *Baptista*, and then the text resumes with *Eodem anno fuit concilium Bonifacii*. The scribe of F. was thus misled, and has omitted the true events of the year 1259 altogether.

<sup>9</sup> *Merton*, F. This convocation at Merton was in 1258. See acts of the assembly at length in the *Annal. de Burton*, p. 411. &c.



quassandam decimam totius ecclesiæ Anglicanæ per Alexandrum papam concessam. [A.D. 1258.]

Eodem anno apparuit luna sanguineo rubore perfusa quasi dimidia hora, xiiij kalendas Junii in crepusculo, dehinc nigredine subsequente quasi hora integra, et sic ad lucem propriam reversa est. A portent on May 19.

Item eodem anno, die sancti Michaelis, dedicata est major ecclesia Sarum<sup>1</sup> in præsentia regis et reginæ per archiepiscopum Bonifacium Cantuariæ, procurante hoc et adjuvante magistro Egidio de Bridport, ejusdem ecclesiæ tunc episcopo.<sup>2</sup> Dedication of Salisbury cathedral, Sept. 29. [1258.]

A.D. 1260.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>.

Pœnituit regem Henricum eo quod consensisset provisionibus Oxoniæ, cœpitque a proposito resilire, et dictas provisiones pro posse suo quassare. The king repents of his assent to the Provisions of Oxford.

[Furness Chron. only.]

Obiit Walterus de Kyrkam Dunelmensis episcopus. Cui successit Robertus de Stichel prior de Finekale. Walter Kirkham, bishop of Durham, dies.

Eodem anno fuit hiems asperrima.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>I<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1261.

Obiit Alexander papa quartus, dissentientibusque cardinalibus, ecclesia Romana diu<sup>3</sup> vacavit. Tandem successit Urbanus. Death of Alexander IV. The papal chair remains vacant.

[Furness Chron. only.]

Item rumor Tartarorum multos terruit. Eodem anno fuit contentio magna inter regem Henricum et principes regni, scilicet comites et barones, causa provisionum Oxoniæ. Tronbles between the king and his barons.

<sup>1</sup> This was on Sept. 29, 1258 (Ann. Theokesb. 166). Fulk Bassett, who was present, died 20 May 1259.

<sup>2</sup> In S. there is a blank space amounting to two-thirds of *jo*. 185.

There are no entries until 1262, when the text is resumed in the same hand. In F. there is no break, but no events really belonging to 1259 are inserted.

<sup>3</sup> From May to August.

A.D. 1262.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>.

On the death of Giles Bridport, Walter de la Wile is elected bishop of Salisbury. Death of Richard earl of Gloucester.

Obiit Egidius episcopus Sarum ante Nativitatem Domini.<sup>1</sup>

Eodem anno electus est dominus Walterus de la Wile, succentor Sarum, in episcopum ejusdem ecclesiæ.<sup>2</sup>

Eodem anno abbas Guido Cystercii, vocatus ad Roman, fit cardinalis.

Obiit Ricardus comes Gloverniæ. Cui successit Gilbertus filius ejus. Post ejus obitum rex provisiones Oxoniæ omnino quassare nitebatur. [Furness Chron. only.]

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>.<sup>3</sup>

A.D. 1263.

The disputes respecting the Provisions of Oxford.

Post multa parlamenta inter regem et barones de provisionibus Oxoniæ, rege nullo modo acquiescente baronibus, facta est guerra manifesta. Causa totius discordiæ inter regem et barones hæc fuit, quod rex et omnes majores regni juraverunt se provisiones Oxoniæ in perpetuum servare. Rege vero consilio suorum propositum suum mutante, barones et comites viriliter perstiterunt. Ex parte baronum primus erat Simon de Monteforti comes Laycestriæ, qui sororem regis habuit uxorem, et Gilbertus comes Gloverniæ et Hugo le Despenser, qui tunc erat justitiarius, et alii multi. Plures autem erant cum rege. Quidam etiam nunc regi<sup>4</sup> nunc baronibus adhæserunt, ita ut nulli certum esset cum quo fideliter tenerent. Major pars cleri fuit cum<sup>5</sup> baronibus. Regina vero, quæ fomitem hujus discordiæ non modicum auxit, ut dicitur, clam fugere de regno voluit, sed Londonienses non latuit, qui quidem<sup>6</sup> cum baronibus tenebant. Conduxerunt autem eam per Tamensem, conviciis et in-

The queen flees to France, and on her way is insulted by the Londoners.

[Furness Chron. only.]

<sup>1</sup> F. omits this date.

<sup>2</sup> S. has nothing more under this year.

<sup>3</sup> S. has only a brief account of this year, beginning with the words, *Inceperunt barones* (see p. 541,

l. 14), and ending with *cassavit et irritavit* (l. 23).

<sup>4</sup> *rege*, with dubious correction, F. <sup>5</sup> *cum*, interlined by a different hand, F.

<sup>6</sup> Altered from *quidam*, F.

juriis turpiter eam dehonestantes: sicque opprobriis saturata secessit in Franciam ad sororem suam reginam Franciæ: totumque genus illud et omnes alienigenæ de terra egredi compulsi sunt. A.D. 1263.

[Furness  
Chron.  
only.]

Eodem tempore recessit ab Anglia Johannes Maunsel, cancellarius<sup>1</sup> clericus domini regis, immo magister, sine quo nihil fiebat in regno, mortuusque est in partibus transmarinis pauper.<sup>2</sup>

John  
Mansel,  
the clerk  
of the  
chancery,  
flees and  
dies in  
poverty  
abroad.

Barones siquidem elegerunt magis mori quam provisiones præscriptas in aliquo sinerent violari, utpote juramento astricti, unde facta est inter eos guerra manifesta: hinc indeque ex utraque parte fiebant quotidie deprædationes, incendia, occisiones hominum et incarcerationes, et alia multa enormia. Inceperunt<sup>3</sup> barones currere super fautores domini regis Henrici, qui fuerunt contra provisiones Oxoniæ, et obsederunt Matheum de Besilles<sup>4</sup> in castro Glovernæ, circa Pentecosten usque ad deditionem.<sup>5</sup>

[Furness  
and  
Stanley  
Chrono-  
nieles.]

The barons  
assail the  
king's par-  
tisans,  
besieging  
Matthias  
de Besilles  
in Glou-  
cester from  
about  
May 20.  
The king  
of France,  
acting as  
arbitrator,  
annuls the  
Provisions  
(Jan. 23,  
1264).

Eodem anno, circa festum Sancti Michaelis, dominus rex et alii barones habuerunt magnum colloquium ad invicem apud Londoniam super provisiones Oxoniæ, et demum posuerunt se in ordinatione regis Franciæ, et ipse Lodovicus omnes provisiones cassavit et irritavit.

[Furness  
Chron.  
only.]

Eodem anno obiit rex Norwagiæ.<sup>7</sup>

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1264.

Rex Henricus adunare fecit exercitum suum citra festum Annunciationis apud Oxoniam. Et inde venit

The king  
in arms at  
Oxford,  
before  
March 25.

<sup>1</sup> *cancellarius*, in margin in lighter ink and by a different hand, F.

<sup>2</sup> *pauper*, inserted by same hand as *cancellarius* above, F.

<sup>3</sup> In S. the account of events during 1263 begins with this paragraph. See p. 540, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> In F. *Basisilles*.

<sup>5</sup> *deditionem*, S.; *Dedicationem*, F., an important difference. See Rishanger, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Franciæ*, in another hand, in the margin of F.

<sup>7</sup> Haec V. died at Kirkwall, Orkney, Dec. 16.

A.D. 1263. apud Norhamtonam,<sup>1</sup> et ibidem<sup>2</sup> cepit Symonem de Monteforti juniorem cum aliis militibus quam plurimis. Et hoc contigit circa festum sancti Ambrosii, et dominus rex incarceravit predictum Symonem<sup>3</sup> in castro de Winlesore<sup>4</sup> usque ad bellum de Lewes.<sup>5</sup>

Simon de Montfort the younger captured, about April 4. Henry de Eyville resists to the death.

Quidam autem miles ex illis<sup>6</sup> quos invenit rex apud Norhamtonam eo tempore, scilicet Henricus de Eynil, senex quidem ætate, sed nobilis animo, qui maluit mori quam victus alligari, solus pro posse suo viriliter restitit, sed tandem undique vulneratus occubuit. Rex autem tali fortuna gavisus est<sup>7</sup> valde, unde quibusdam ad pacem regis venientibus partem ejus quotidie fortitudine et numero augmentabant. Cum igitur barones viderent se esse inferiores viribus, nec repugnare valentes contra dominum suum, miserunt legatos<sup>8</sup> rogantes ea quæ pacis sunt, primo per milites et nobiles, per episcopos et viros religiosos,

[Furness Chronicle.]

The battle of Lewes.

Eodem anno commissum est bellum gravissimum apud Lewes, pridie Idus Maii, inter dominum regem Henricum, dominum Edwardum primogenitum ejus, dominum Ricardum regem Alemanniæ, fratrem predicti regis, ex parte una, et dominum Symonem de Monteforti comitem Leycestriæ, qui sororem prædicti regis duxit in uxorem, et Gilebertum de Clare comitem Gloverniæ, et alios multos barones Angliæ, ex parte altera. In quo bello capti sunt dominus rex Henricus, dominus Ricardus rex Alemanniæ frater ejus, et

[Stanley Chronicle.]

<sup>1</sup> *Norhatun*, S.

<sup>2</sup> *ibidem*, S.; *ibi*, F.

<sup>3</sup> *Symonem*, om. F.

<sup>4</sup> *Windelsore*, F.

<sup>5</sup> *usque . . . Lewes*, om. F. The Furness chronieler, who has been scarcely more than a transcriber of the Stanley annals, now swells his narrative to such fulness that the few sentences he still borrows are scarcely worthy of indication.

What remains of S. appears at the foot of pp. 542-3, 546-7, and 556, 557, 558.

<sup>6</sup> *ex ill . . .* is in the margin, and part of the latter word has been cut away by the binder.

<sup>7</sup> *est*, interlined by another hand.

<sup>8</sup> The MS. has here *rei*, evidently an error for *regi*, but the word is marked for omission by points in light ink.

etiam obsecrantes si posset ullo modo aliter disponi A.D. 1263.  
 super præfatis provisionibus, pro quibus tota discordia. The barons  
 endeavour  
 to obtain  
 peace, but  
 the king's  
 advisers  
 foil their  
 efforts.  
 ista mota est, quatinus immunes essent a juramento  
 quo astricti fuerant. Tunc rex utique paci de facili  
 consensisset nisi sui obstitissent, qui pacem fieri no-  
 lentes, immo diem certum et locum constituentes,  
 bellum omnino baronibus remandaverunt.

Cum igitur inter eos nullo modo fieri posset con-  
 cordia, barones se et suos ante et retro cruce signantes  
 Domino commendaverunt. Igitur pridie Idus Maii, Battle of  
 Lewes,  
 May 14.  
 utrique, scilicet rex et barones, apud Lewes convene-  
 runt, ubi a mane usque ad noctem commissum est

[Furness  
 Chro-  
 nicle.]

inter eos bellum gravissimum. Erat enim ex utraque  
 parte exercitus armatorum et peditum magnus valde  
 et fortis. Congredientibus illis die illo iijor millia  
 quingenti quatuordecim homines occisi sunt, et multi  
 vulnerati evaserunt. Lundonienses vero præ timore  
 fugerunt, quos dominus Edwardus cum vexillariis vir-  
 iliter persequabatur, non modicum ex eis numerum  
 occidendo. Tandem igitur invalescente gravi prælio  
 contra regem et suos, rex, porrecto gladio, domino  
 G[ileberto] comiti G[overniæ] se reddidit, et alii multi.  
 Dominum regem Alemanniæ cepit dominus J[ohannes]  
 Giffardus.<sup>1</sup> Plures etiam ibidem fuerunt capti viri  
 magni et potentes, videlicet comes de Herford, Philip-

The king  
 and his  
 brother  
 surrender.

Names of  
 captured  
 nobles.

---

dominus Edwardus primogenitus regis Angliæ, do-  
 minus Ph. Basset, qui solus in campo viriliter stetit.  
 Fertur quod in eodem bello occisi sunt ex utraque  
 parte quatuor millia quingenti xiiij homines, et multi  
 vulnerati evaserunt.

[Stanley  
 Chro-  
 nicle.]

Eodem anno mense Julii apparuit stella, quæ dicitur  
 cometa. Matutinis horis oriebatur emittens ex se  
 radios versus austrum, et circa festum Michaelis  
 evanuit. A comet is  
 seen from  
 July to  
 September.

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<sup>1</sup> See Rishanger, p. 32, as to Giffard.

A.D. 1264. pus Basset, qui solus in campo viriliter usque ad noctem stetit,<sup>1</sup> Henricus de Percy, Robertus,<sup>2</sup> J[ohannes]

The king's half-brothers and others flee from the field and reach France.

Comyn, Robertus de Thatersale, Willelmus Bardulf cum filiis suis, Rogerus de Layburn, et alii quam plures.

Fugerunt etiam in illa die comes Warrenniæ, W[illelmus] de Valence, Guido de Lisignan, H[ugo] Bigot, et eorum sequaces Pavenesay, et postea statim mare

[Furness Chronicle.]

transierunt in Franciam. Rex Henricus dominum Edwardum primogenitum filium suum, et frater ejus Ricardus rex Alemanniæ Henricum primogenitum suum, obsides dederunt baronibus de provisionibus prædictis

The Mise of Lewes arranged in the night, 14-15 May.

servandis. Et ita nocte illa inter regem et nobiles suos<sup>3</sup> exstitit provisum et ordinatum, quod provisiones<sup>4</sup>

Oxonie stabunt ineconcusse, et si quid ex eis fuerit corrigendum, per quatuor nobiliores Angliæ, episcopos seu magnates, penitus corrigatur, et si dissentio aliqua fuerit inter quatuor prænotatos, ita quod nullo modo concordies fieri poterunt, tunc stabitur veredicto comitis Andegaviæ et ducis Burgundiæ, si major pars baronum ad hoc consentire voluerit.<sup>5</sup>

Most of those slain were of the lower ranks, and especially Scotchmen.

Siquidem ex parte baronum non fuerunt interfecti magnates nisi dominus W[illelmus] Blundel, ex parte domini regis nisi dominus W[illelmus] de Wilton quondam justiciarius. Ceteri qui ceciderunt in bello isto mediocres exstiterunt de vulgo et maxime de Scottis.<sup>6</sup>

Peace is proclaimed. Enormities perpetrated while the war was in progress. One incident is inserted as a specimen of these occurrences.

His ergo gestis, clamata est pax per totam Angliam per literas regis et baronum. Multa quidem et alia enormia tempore istius guerræ in diversis Angliæ locis evenerunt, quæ hic non inseruntur, tum propter ignorantiam tum propter incertitudinem, et etiam ob cavendam prolixitatem. Unum tamen inseremus quod eodem tempore in Spaldingmor contigit. Quidam

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stanley Chronicle as to Philip Basset. See also p. 562.

<sup>2</sup> No doubt *Robertus de Brus*.

<sup>3</sup> *sucs* is repeated.

<sup>4</sup> *providentia* in MS.

<sup>5</sup> This passage, from *si dissentio*,

reads like a quotation. Probably we have here actual words from the lost Mise of Lewes.

<sup>6</sup> Rishanger, pp. 33, 34, gives the name of one more on each side.

miles cum fuisset ex parte baronum, alii, qui erant ex parte regis, venerunt ad quoddam manerium dicti militis et ceperunt illud, et parcam ejus fregerunt, captisque quibusdam bestiis ceteras fugaverunt, ac universa bona, quæ in dicto manerio inventa sunt, destruxerunt et dissipaverunt. Quod cum illi relatum fuisset, alibi procul existente, continuo venit ibidem cum paucis, et invenit septem in manerio suo ex iis qui damnum sibi intulerant, quos in una domorum suarum clausos pariter cum domo combussit.

[Furness  
Chronicle.]

Talia quippe horribilia alibi per plures partes Angliæ contigerunt, discordiæque veteres inter vicinos renovatæ proruperunt<sup>1</sup> in medium, dum impune licere<sup>2</sup> videbatur cuilibet potentiori [spoliare]<sup>3</sup> atque opprimere debiliorem et inferiorem, eo quod communis esset guerra per universam provinciam. Unde pater adversus filium et filius contra patrem, frater in fratrem, et propinquus contra propinquum, diabolo machinante, insurrexit.

A.D. 1264.  
Private wars break out in many parts of England.

Interea mense Julii stella, quæ dicitur cometa, matutinis horis apparuit, emittens ex se radios versus austrum, et circa festum sancti Michaelis disparuit.<sup>4</sup>

A comet is seen from July to Michaelmas.

Eodem tempore gravis contentio fuit inter Cisterciensem et Claravallensem abbates, qua de causa capitulum generale abbatum illo anno sicut solitum fuit non tenebatur; quæ tamen discordia sequenti anno per ordinationem papæ Clementis penitus sopita est.

Quarrel between the abbots of Cîteaux and Clairvaux.

Obiit Godefridus de Lodeham archiepiscopus Eboracensis.

<sup>1</sup> *prorumperunt*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *littere*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> A word is wanted to complete the sense.

<sup>4</sup> This passage will be observed as occurring in the Stanley Chronicle (see p. 543), with slight verbal differences.

A.D. 1265.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>L<sup>o</sup>XV<sup>o</sup>.

The earl of Leicester soon after Easter proceeds from Hereford to Gloucester and remains till Aug. 1. The king is led about with the earl in honourable captivity. The earls Simon de Montfort and Gilbert de Clare quarrel. Prince Edward becoming free allies himself with de Clare.

Obiit Urbanus papa.<sup>1</sup> Ei successit Clemens. Hoc anno dominus Symon comes Laycestriæ iter arripuit versus Herefordiam cito post Pascha. Postea moram fecit apud Gloverniam, deinde apud Herefordiam usque ad *Vincula sancti Petri*. Tempore quidem illo rex erat ubique cum domino Symone comite Laycestriæ, sed quasi sub custodia. In magno tamen habebatur honore et reverentia. Postea vero orta est discordia inter comitem Laycestriæ et comitem Gloverniam, qua<sup>2</sup> invalescente, per augmentum mali facta est inimicitia manifesta, ita ut ab invicem discederent. Totaliter ergo alienavit se Gilbertus comes Gloverniam a domino Symone, reddens ei malum pro bono. Interim vero liberatus est dominus Edwardus de custodia comitis Leycestriæ, confederatique sunt statim ipse et comes Gloverniam ad invicem, et alii multi cum eis, ac plurimum roborata est pars eorum, ita ut hostibus suis essent impenetrabiles. Ex tunc querebant opportunitatem, qualiter comitem Laycestriæ cum

[Furness Chronicle.]

A.D. 1265.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>V<sup>o</sup>.

Hoc anno dominus Symon comes Leycestriæ iter arripuit versus Hereford cito post Pascha. Sed moram fecit apud Gloverniam, deinde apud Hereford usque ad *Vincula Sancti Petri*.

Et interim recessit Edwardus a custodia comitis Leycestriæ, et confederavit se Gileberto comiti Gloverniam, qui a domino Symone se alienavit, reddens ei malum pro bono. Et non multo post commissum est bellum crudelissimum apud Evesham, pridie nonas Augusti, inter dominum Edwardum, Gilebertum co-

The battle of Evesham.

[Stanley Chronicle.]

<sup>1</sup> Urban IV. died in 1264; his successor, Clement IV., was elected in this year.

<sup>2</sup> *quasi*, MS.



suis perderent. Igitur non multo post convenerunt A.D. 1265. utrique apud Evesham, videlicet dominus Edwardus cum comite Gloverniæ et Rogero de Mortimer cum exercitu magno valde et forti, et ex adverso dominus Symon de Monteforti cum Hugone Dispensario et Johanne filio Johannis et aliis multis. Fuitque inter eos pridie nonas Augusti in supradicto loco prælium crudelissimum, ubi dominus Symon de Monteforti et Henricus primogenitus ejus et Hugo Dispensarius, tunc Angliæ justitiarius, et alii multi nobiles et ignobiles, et maxime Wallenses, ex parte baronum ceciderunt et mortui sunt.

The battle of Evesham. Names of the leaders.

The battle takes place on Aug. 4.

[Furness  
Chronicle.]

Ex altera namque parte, scilicet cum domino Edwardo, erat multitudo maxima, fortis exercitus nobilis militiæ, et præcipue comes Gloverniæ cum potentia magna, cujus vexillum a longe videns comes Symon de Monteforti dixisse fertur, "Hic rubeus canis vorabit nos hodie." Rufus enim erat comes Gloverniæ,

De Montfort's saying respecting de Clare.

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mitem Gloverniæ, Rogerum de Mortemer, ex parte una, et dominum Symonem de Monteforti, Hugonem Dispensarium, Johannem filium Johannis, Humfridum de Boun juniorem, ex altera parte. Qui Humfridus, ut dicitur, cum appropinquasset [ad] locum pugnæ retraxit se. In quo bello cecidit dominus Symon de Monteforti, Hugo Dispensarius tunc justiciarius Angliæ, dominus Henricus primogenitus prædicti Symonis, et alii multi nobiles et ignobiles, et maxime Walenses. Et plures magnati capti sunt. Eodem die Symon de Monteforti junior venit cum magno equitatu versus Evesham ad succursum patris, sed tarde; cumque audivit eventum belli et mortem patris et fratris fugit cum magna tristitia usque ad castrum de Kenillewrpe.

[Stanley  
Chronicle.]

Eodem anno, post festum sancti Michaelis, applicuit Ottobonus sedis Apostolicæ legatus apud Douram una cum Alienora regina Angliæ.

A.D. 1265. et ideo dixit sic.<sup>1</sup> Et licet sciret ex altera parte plures esse quam secum et ferociores se, noluit tamen fugere, cum id optime posset, ad villam de Hevesham, quæ prope erat; sed suos viriliter animavit, et sic congressi sunt, et ceciderunt ipse et majores ex parte ejus. Plures etiam magnates capti sunt. Quidam autem ex iis, qui eidem conflictum istum ante cohererunt, venientes ad locum pugnae, cum tot ex adverso paratos ad proelium viderent, retraxerunt se, sicut Humfridus de Boun et alii multi.

Some who came to the field, seeing the superiority of the prince's army, withdrew.

De Montfort's body is dismembered, and the limbs are sent to different parts of the kingdom, but are in a marvellous way gathered together again.

Miracles at his tomb are secretly spoken about.

Cum igitur sic dominus Symon de Monteforti corruisset, hostes ejus plurimum letati sunt, et corpus ejus crudeliter considerunt in frusta,<sup>2</sup> mittentes omnia membra ejus per diversas partes Angliæ, ac dicentes eum infidelem esse, et omnem hanc seditionem movisse. Sed dicunt quidam universa membra ejus taliter sparsa mirabiliter in brevi coadunata esse ad invicem, et condita esse in loco ubi nunc habetur honorifice sepultus, scilicet apud abbatiam de Evesham;<sup>3</sup> fueruntque qui dicerent ad sepulchrum ejus multa fieri miracula, et in loco ubi occisus est fontem nunc esse amenissimum, et cunctis infirmantibus inde gustantibus saluberrimum. Sed non [ausus] est quisquam hujusmodi [aliquid]<sup>4</sup> propalare propter timorem regis et suorum.

Rex ergo, mortuo domino Symone de Monteforti, ad suos et priorem statum suum reversus est.

Simon de Montfort the younger arrives late on Evesham field, and learning

Eodem die Symon de Monteforti junior, filius dieti comitis Leycestriæ, venit cum magno equitatu versus Evesham ad succursum patris, sed tarde; cumque audiret eventum belli et mortem patris et fratris, cum magna tristitia fugit usque ad castrum de

<sup>1</sup> Rishanger, p. 46, says of the army of Edward and de Clare, "rubeo signo in braehiis ambabus cruce signati."

<sup>2</sup> *frustra*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> The head and hands were sent back to Evesham by Lady Mortimer.

<sup>4</sup> The sentence requires these words.

Kenilwrth,<sup>1</sup> ubi multi milites et nobiles fugientes ibidem cum eo se tenuerunt, et castrum victualibus et aliis munitionibus fortiter [præparaverunt],<sup>2</sup> ac se totaliter ad castri tuitionem armaverunt.

A.D. 1265.  
events flees  
to Kenil-  
worth.  
De Mont-  
fort's  
widow and  
son leave  
England.

Uxor autem dicti comitis Laycestriæ, post cædem mariti sui desolata atque confusa, noluit morari in Anglia; sed transtulit se ad partes transmarinas, et licet fuisset soror regis Angliæ, tamen quasi alienam reputavit eam rex propter odium mariti sui.

Similiter Symon de Monteforti junior, filius dicti comitis Leycestriæ, post multa pericula et plures angustias ab Anglia exsulavit.

Eodem anno obiit rex Manniæ,<sup>3</sup> post ejus mortem facta est [insula]<sup>4</sup> tributaria regi Scotiæ, qui pro ea singulis annis certam firmam solvit regi Norwagiæ. Cessaveruntque reges regnare in Mannia.

The king  
of Man  
dies.

Interea post festum sancti Michaelis applicuit Octobonus, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, apud Doverham, una cum Alienora regina Angliæ. Causa quidem adventus legati fuit, sicut ipse dixit, ut pacem inter regem et regnum reformaret. Monstratis igitur munimentis suis et causa adventus sui, honorifice susceptus est a rege. Regina vero ad statum prioris honoris et potestatis reversa est.

Arrival of  
the legate  
and return  
of the  
queen.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Chron. Stanl.* (p. 550).

<sup>2</sup> A word seems wanting in the MS., perhaps *præparaverunt*.

<sup>3</sup> Magnús Olaveson. The *Chron.* Manniæ says he died in 1265, and

that in 1266 the sovereignty of the island was made over to the king of Scots.

<sup>4</sup> *insula*, not in MS.

A.D. 1266.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>VI<sup>o</sup>.

De Montfort's adherents exiled.

Post mortem comitis Leycestrie omnes fautores ejus et qui ei adhaeserant exheredavit rex. Quidam autem exsulaverunt, quidam vero ad pacem regis venerunt, multa pecunia redimentes animas suas.

[Furness Chronicle.]

The army of the barons at Chesterfield is dispersed.

Exercitus baronum apud Cesterfeld<sup>1</sup> totaliter dissipatus est.

The king's disposal of the estates of de Montfort and the earl of Derby.

Deditque rex omnes terras, villas, et oppida, quae erant comitis Symonis, Edmundo filio suo, factusque est dominus Edmundus comes Leycestrie et comes de Ferrers et de Lancastria. Comitatum quippe de Ferrers dedit ei rex ob infidelitatem Roberti comitis de Ferrers, eo quod pluries vexillum et arma levaverat contra dominum<sup>2</sup> suum regem. Comitatum vero

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>VI<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1266.

Dedicata est ecclesia de Stanleye in Wiltesyre a domino Waltero de la Wile tunc Sarum episcopo. Cujus anima per misericordiam Dei in pace requiescat.<sup>3</sup> Dominus rex obsedit castrum de Kenillewrpe a festo sanctorum Johannis et Pauli usque ad xv. kalendas Januarii.

[Stanley Chronicle.]

Siege of Kenilworth.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1267.

Ventus magnus et validissimus qui prostravit ecclesias, domos, et tures et campanaria ecclesiarum.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Ferrers, earl of Derby, held the castle of Chesterfield, not as a partisan, but apparently as a robber baron. See more as to him on p. 564.

<sup>2</sup> *dominum* repeated.

<sup>3</sup> This passage is in the margin of S., in a different hand, attached by a mark †. Walter de la Wyle died 3 Jan. 1270, and the last entry, beyond a mere date (1271), belongs to the year 1270.

[Furness  
Chro-  
nicle.]

Lancastriae habuit dominus Edmundus ex dono regis A.D. 1266.  
patris sui.

Multi quidem ex iis, qui domino Symoni comiti Resistance in isles of Ely and Axholme.  
eohæserant, fugerant ad insulam de Elye;<sup>1</sup> quidam ad insulam de Axingholm, ibidem pugnantes pro animabus suis, quos multotiens per suos molestabat rex. Illos siquidem, qui erant in castro de Kenilewrthe, The siege of Kenilworth from June 26 to Dec. 18.  
obsedit rex a festo sanctorum Johannis et Pauli usque ad quintum decimum kalendas Januarii,<sup>2</sup> omnibus modis et machinis eastrum illud<sup>3</sup> destruere cupiens. Cumque illi, qui erant in castro, inopia victualium et multiplici defectu vexarentur, ac domus et ædificia quæ erant in eastro machinis regis prostrata corruerent, tandem promittenti<sup>4</sup> eisdem vitam et membra reddiderunt se et castrum domino regi. Quidam in castro vero inedia mortui sunt, sicque cotidie pars baronum deeremento minuebatur, necdum tamen habebatur ubique firma pax adhuc.

Verumtamen legatus Oetobonus, qui venerat a latere The legate Ottoboni at first endeavoured to make peace, but afterwards only sought to collect money.  
domini papæ directus, in initio adventus sui summopere studebat paci reformandæ, partem tamen regis fovebat, terribilem sententiam ferens contra omnes qui adversæ parti, scilicet baronum, faverent; sed postea statim ad prædam versus est, atque pecuniæ colligendæ prorsus inhiabat.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> LX<sup>o</sup> VIII<sup>o</sup>.[Stanley  
Chro-  
nicle.]

Obiit dominus Willelmus Chinnoc x<sup>us</sup> abbas Stan- A.D. 1268.  
legæ in Wiltescira, vj. kalendas Aprilis. Cujus memoria Death of William Chinnoc, abbot of Stanley, March 27.  
in benedictione sit in æternum. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> This belongs rather to the end of 1265.

<sup>2</sup> Rishanger, p. 59, is vague as to the actual surrender, but implies that it took place on Nov. 11. The

*Annal. Winton.* (p. 104) say about Dec. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *ibidem illud*, MS., but the former word is struck out.

<sup>4</sup> *promittente*, MS.

A.D. 1266. Item eodem anno obiit Jomina Senchia, uxor domini Ricardi regis Alemanniæ, quæ fuit filia comitis de Sancto Egidio. Comes quidem ille de Sancto Egideo tres habuit filias, quarum primam duxit rex Franciæ; secundam Henricus rex Angliæ; tertiam Ricardus rex Alemanniæ, frater dicti regis Henrici.

Death of Senchia, wife of Richard, king of the Romans. The daughters of the count of Provence. The abbot of Furness dies, March 27 (1267?).

Item eodem anno, vj.<sup>o</sup> kalendas Aprilis,<sup>1</sup> obiit piæ memoriæ dominus W. de Mideltona abbas Furnensis, qui domum suam strenue rexit xxx<sup>ta</sup> annis et amplius, obiitque senex et plenus dierum. Cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1267. In vigilia Ascensionis, scilicet die Sancti Urbani papæ et martyris, frater H. Brun, supprior Furnensis, unanimi voce et voluntate monachorum electus est et creatus in abbatem dictæ domus, præsentibus abbatibus de Cokessall, de Geravalle, de Sallay, de Caldra, auctoritate Saviniacensis abbatis illis commissa. Qui post modicum profectus est ad generale capitulum.

The sub-prior of Furness is elected abbot on May 25.

The legate first directs the Franciscans and Dominicans to preach a crusade.

Eodem [anno]<sup>2</sup> legatus, præmissus<sup>3</sup> per universam Angliam, direxit literas et auctoritates, injungens<sup>4</sup> Fratribus Minoribus et Prædicatoribus, ut ubique de cruce prædicarent, quod dum facerent pæne omnes ad crucem accipiendam convolaverunt. Similiter et ipse legatus de cruce frequenter prædicabat, remissiones peccatorum et indulgentias inenarrabiles promittens. Unde rex pietate tactus cruce signatus est cum liberis suis; sed elapso aliquantulo tempore, idem legatus, considerans se diu non posse moram facere in Anglia,

He then directs that as

<sup>1</sup> This entry is perhaps misplaced. The 27th of March would, according to the reckoning of the year in this chronicle, be the second day in a new year, either 1266 or 1267; but the entry which follows respect-

ing the election of a new abbot renders it probable that it should have been put under 1267.

<sup>2</sup> Not in MS.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in MS.

<sup>4</sup> *ingens*, MS.

iis, quibus prius mandavit ut de cruce prædicarent, directis literis, jam præcepit, ut omnes cruce signatos a voto absolverent, et crucem ab eis resumerent, solventibus singulis portionem pecuniæ secundum facultates suas pro voti redemptione, et qui pecuniam non haberent in cruce cum Domino remanentibus.<sup>1</sup> Imposuit etiam dictus legatus universis personis secularibus et religiosis et non exemptis exactiones et procuraciones pecuniarias, contradicentes quocumque excommunicans suspendit, aut interdicto supposuit. Habuit etiam generale concilium Londoniis<sup>2</sup> omnium prælatorum, religiosorum, et aliorum super articulis pluribus, qui omnes, nullo reclamante, quasi muti consentiebant<sup>3</sup> eidem, obligantes se ad omnia, quæcumque legatus voluerat.

Interea universi pæne, qui prius fuerant ex parte baronum, obligaverunt se in misericordia regis, quibus ad pacem satisfactione susceptis pecuniæ, cotidianis ruinis paci repugnantes infirmati sunt et ceciderunt. Sicque pace ubique confirmata, et per cartam regis roborata,<sup>4</sup> directi sunt a curia regis iustitiiarii itinerantes, scilicet Gilbertus de Prestune et Johannes Breton et alii plures, per universum regnum Angliæ, qui statim post Natale Domini venientes apud Eboracum ibidem fere per annum sedebant.

Eodem anno magister Walterus Giffardus consecratus est in archiepiscopum,<sup>5</sup> qui successerat Godefrido de Hudeham.<sup>6</sup> In primo adventu suo ad sedem metropolitanam suam<sup>7</sup> Eboracensem, scilicet in festivitate Omnium Sanctorum, maximum fecit læstum, ubi erant congregati legati cum suis et omnes nobiliores Angliæ: sed et abbas Furnesii, a capitulo rediens generali,

A.D. 1267.

many as possible shall redeem their vows by money. The legate plunders the clergy.

He holds a council, which obeys his directions.

The adherents of the barons are ruined by fines.

Justices itinerant.

Consecration of Walter Giffard, archbishop of York. His feast at York, Nov. 1. Benediction of the

<sup>1</sup> *remanente*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> The *Annal. Winton.*, p. 106, say in April 1268.

<sup>3</sup> *consentiebat*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> The letter *i* follows and is expuncted.

<sup>5</sup> The date of this event is said to have been Jan. 4, 1265. The Chron. Dover. (*fu.* 48) says in 1266, "citra " Natalem Domini."

<sup>6</sup> Should be *Ludeham*.

<sup>7</sup> *suæ*, MS.

A.D. 1267. dicto die ibidem a dicto archiepiscopo benedictionem  
 debita[m] suscepit.  
 new abbot of Furness. A high wind throws down churches, &c.

Eodem anno ventus magnus et validissimus fuit, qui prostravit ecclesias, domos, et turres, et campanaria ecclesiarum.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1268.

John of Exeter, bishop of [Winechester], dies.

About Ang. 15 prince Edmund passes through Furness towards St. Bees.

On Sept. 8 the king summons a Parliament at York.

Henry Percy marries the daughter of Earl Warrenne. A sufficient number not having assembled, the Parliament is summoned

Obiit Clemens papa.

Item obiit magister Johannes de Excestria episcopus Wygornia<sup>1</sup>, cui successit cancellarius regis magister Godefridus Giffard, frater germanus archiepiscopi Eboracensis.

Eodem tempore, circa Assumptionem gloriosæ Virginis, dominus Edmundus per montana de Furnesio transivit versus sanctam Begam.

In Nativitate vero ejusdem sanctæ Virginis tenuit rex parliamentum apud Eboracum, ubi sicut mandavit, convenerunt ipse et rex Scotiæ et reginæ utrorumque cum Edwardo et Edmundo et liberis suis. Et omnes fere nobiliores Angliæ, cum prælatis ecclesiasticis ibidem aderant, ut de regni utilitate tractarent. Sed, ut patuit in fine, summum negotium regis erat [emungere]<sup>2</sup> bursas præsentium.

Ibi etiam dicto tempore desponsavit Henricus de Percy filiam comitis de Warrenne. Sed cum ibidem plenarie non convenissent, omnes majores Angliæ se excusaverunt.<sup>3</sup> Jussit rex omnibus, qui affuerunt et qui absentes erant, ut essent Landoniis die sancti Edwardi acturi de negotiis regni. Quo tempore statuto cum venissent<sup>4</sup> archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, priores, et ceteri ecclesiarum rectores, cum comitibus,

<sup>1</sup> This should be *Wintonia*: *Ann. Winton.*, 106. He is otherwise called John Gervais.

<sup>2</sup> A blank in the MS., evidently

for a word the transcriber could not read, probably *emungere*.

<sup>3</sup> *excusaverant*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> *convenissent*, MS.



baronibus, militibus, et aliis personis innumeris, facta A.D. 1268.  
 prædicatione de cruce, jussit rex omnes non cruce sig- to meet in  
 natos crucem accipere. Postea pecuniarias exactiones London on  
 imposuit singulis. Exegit enim a beneficiatis decimas Oct. 13.  
 a laico tenemento, pro qualibet carucata xx. s., vel The king's  
 pro qualibet acra vj. *l.* Consulentibus principibus et demands.  
 fidelibus regni super his, petita sunt induciæ usque  
 ad terminum congruum, quo possit satisfieri regi, con-  
 cessitque rex inducias quibusdam usque ad Natale  
 Domini, aliis autem usque ad Pascha, aliis ultra. Cys-  
 tercienses quidem respondebant regi, dicentes se nihil  
 omnino facere posse de his, quæ petiit rex, sine gene-  
 rali capitulo, unde concessit eis rex respectum usque  
 ad tempus dicti capituli: sed tamen postea nihil ei  
 fecerunt de dicta exactione, unde regem eis molestum  
 habuerunt longo tempore.

Eodem anno, xiiiij. kalendas Octobris, orta est max- Violent  
 ima tempestas ventorum et pluviarum, et commotio- storm on  
 num aeris in terra marique, per quam multa mala Sept. 18.  
 evenerunt diversis partibus. Nam domus ceciderunt;  
 arbores eradicatæ sunt; segetes excussæ et putrefactæ  
 sunt; et jumenta plurima mortua sunt; navesque sub-  
 mersæ et fractæ perierunt. Erat illo anno hiems  
 aquosa et tempestuosa, pestilentiisque plena. Eodem Death of  
 anno obiit Johannes de Baylof.<sup>1</sup> Item obiit Henricus John  
 abbas de Bellalanda. Balliol.

Præterea in *Cena Domini*, videlicet die sancti March 21  
 Benedicti abbatis,<sup>2</sup> submersus est dominus Michael (1269).  
 de Furneys in sabulo de Leuene. Comederat enim  
 cum priore de Kertmel,<sup>3</sup> et cum jam temulentus  
 transire vellet cum familia sua ultra Leuene ad ma-

<sup>1</sup> So also on p. 579, for *Balliolo*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Cena Domini* in 1268 did  
 not fall on 21 March, but in 1269  
 it did. This entry shows that the

year in this part of the chronicle  
 is from 26th March in one year to  
 25th March in the next.

<sup>3</sup> *Kertiuel*, MS.

nerium suum de Aldingham, ceteris vix evadentibus, [Furness  
Chronicle.]  
ipse solus periit, nec unquam postea inventus est.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>IX<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1269. Eodem anno citavit rex omnes magnates Angliæ,  
The Trans- ut convenirent apud Westmonasterium Londoniis a  
lation of Edward festo sancti Edwardi. Quo cum venissent<sup>1</sup> dicto die  
the Confessor, cum magna gloria et sollemnitate translatus sanctus  
Oct. 13. Edwardus et positus est in feretrum novum, miro  
opere fabricatum, ac gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis  
ornatum, præsentibus archiepiscopis et episcopis et  
aliis de clero et populo innumerabilibus.

The king [of France] Eodem tempore rex [Franciæ],<sup>2</sup> Edwardus, et Edmundus et filii sui, et omnes fere nobiliores Angliæ,

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A.D. 1269.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>IX<sup>o</sup>.

A festo sancti Michaelis fere usque ad nativitatem sancti Johannis Baptistæ vicesima assisa domino regi concessa fuit per totam Angliam.

A.D. 1270.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>.

Obiit dominus Bonifacius archiepiscopus Cantuarie post Pascha in transmarinis partibus.

Eodem anno intravit conventus de Stanleye in [Stanley  
Chronicle.]  
Wiltescira novum refectorium, scilicet die beati Johannis Baptistæ.

Prince Edward leaves for the Holy Land,

Item eodem anno, circa festum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, dominus Edwardus primogenitus regis Henrici iter arripuit versus Terram Sanctam cum exercitu suo.

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<sup>1</sup> convenirent, MS.| <sup>2</sup> Franciæ, not in: MS.

[Furness  
Chro-  
nicle.]

sacramento astringerunt se ituros in Terram Sanctam A.D. 1269. anno sequenti. Rex siquidem cum exactionem anni preteriti totaliter ab omnibus perquirere non posset, and the English princes take the cross. a pluribus [vi eam]<sup>1</sup> extorsit. Item aliam exactionem imposuit universæ Angliæ: exegit enim ab universis sine exceptione vicesimum denarium, et statim direxit, The king exacts the twentieth penny. hujus rei causa,<sup>2</sup> ministros ubique literis suis munitos, qui, singulorum facultatibus æstimatis, omnes ad dictæ pecuniæ solutionem compellerent. Cysterciensiū quidem<sup>3</sup> facultates ut ceterorum æstimabantur; sed violentiam solvendi nemo fecit eisdem.

Item ecclesia Romana vacat<sup>4</sup> adhuc propter dissensionem cardinalium. Eodem tempore scilicet dominica in Ramis Palmarum rex Franciæ, disposito regno suo, cum familia et exercitu magno nimis, versus Terram Sanctam profectus est.<sup>5</sup> The papal chair is vacant. The king of France sets out for the East on April 6 (1270).

Item eodem anno Lodowicus rex Franciæ, una cum Johanne filio suo, obiit in itinere versus Terram Sanctam.

[Stanley  
Chro-  
nicle.]

Eodem anno, scilicet kalendis Octobris, fuit eclipsis lunæ valde horribilis, quia apparuit sanguineo rubore perfusa; deinde, nigredine subsequente, fuit fere tota cooperta dicta nigredine per spatium dimidiæ horæ; deinde crescendo paulatim ad lucem propriam reversa est. Eclipse of the moon, Oct. 1.

Item eodem anno rex, die sancti Edmundi archiepiscopi, convocare fecit xij. liberos homines fere de quolibet hundredo Wiltesiræ et in capitulo Sarum fidelitatem jurare Edwardo primogenito suo, et etiam Johanni de Windlesores primogenito dicti Edwardi. Representatives from the hundreds assemble to swear allegiance to Edward and his son,

<sup>1</sup> Should *perhaps* be *vi eam*. See *violentiam solvendi* on line 10. The MS. has *eī eū* (*cūm eum*) which is not sense.

<sup>2</sup> *causam*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> *quidam*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> As a pope was elected 1 Sept. 1271, a limiting date for the composition of this part of the chronicle is here supplied.

<sup>5</sup> *prosecutus est*, MS.

Nov. 16.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1270.

Prince  
Edward  
leaves for  
the East  
about  
July 22.

[Obiit]<sup>1</sup> Bonifacius archiepiscopus Cantuariæ post Pascha in transmarinis partibus. Eodem anno profectus est dominus Edwardus primogenitus regis Angliæ, versus Terram Sanctam, circa festum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, cum magna et nobili militia, ac reliquit custodes sui<sup>2</sup> regni Walterum Giffard archiepiscopum Eboracensem, et regem Alemanniæ Ricardum avunculum suum, Robertum Burnel cancellarium suum; in quorum etiam custodiam demisit<sup>3</sup> Johannem primogenitum suum, et sic cum magno comitatu profectus est.

[Furness  
Chro-  
nicle.]

Tunc etiam juraverunt dominus Edmundus et comes Gloucestræ sequenti Quadragesima se ituros post dominum Edwardum in Terram Sanctam.

Sedes autem Romana fere per triennium jam vacavit.

Death of  
Walter de  
la Wyle,  
bishop of  
Salisbury.  
Robert  
de Wick-  
hampton,  
his succe-  
sor, elected,  
Feb. 23  
(1271).

Henry, son  
of Richard  
king of the  
Romans,  
killed,  
about  
March 12.

Eodem modo fecerunt liberi per alios' comitatus Angliæ.

Item eodem anno in octabis sancti Johannis Evangelistæ obiit dominus Walterus de la Wile episcopus Sarum.

[Stanley  
Chro-  
nicle.]

Eodem anno, in crastino Sancti Petri in Cathedra,<sup>4</sup> electus est in episcopum Sarum magister Robertus de Wichamtune decanus ejusdem ecclesiæ.

Eodem anno, circa festum beati Gregorii, occisus est dominus Henricus filius domini Ricardi regis Alemanniæ in transmarinis partibus.

ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>JO.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. omits *obiit* and indicates no break between *partibus* and *eodem*.

<sup>2</sup> *suorum*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> *custodia dimisit*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> This entry clearly shows that the year of this chronicle begins on March 26 and ends on March 25.

<sup>5</sup> The Stauley Chronicle ends with this date.

[Furness  
Chronicle.]

Interea mortuus est rex Franciæ in terra paganorum, quæ dicitur Tunicia, prope Cartaginem, in itinere versus Terram Sanctam, obiitque cum eo Johannes filius suus. Cui successit primogenitus suus Philippus, [qui]<sup>1</sup> consilio totius exercitus statim post obitum patris coronatus est.

A.D. 1270.  
Death of the king of France at Tunis.  
Accession of Philip III.

Eo tempore facta est guerra magna in Hybernia inter Anglicos et Hybernicos, domino Jacobo de Anidhelay<sup>2</sup> justitiario Hyberniæ ducatum Anglicis præstante, cum domino Waltero de Burgo comite Wltoniæ et ceteris magnatibus Hyberniæ. Illo anno postea, scilicet kalendis Octobris, fuit eclipsis lunæ valde horribilis, quia apparuit sanguineo rubore perfusa; deinde nigredine subsequente, fuit fere tota cooperta dicta nigredine per spatium dimidiæ horæ; deinde crescente<sup>3</sup> paulatim ad lucem propriam reversa est.

Warfare in Ireland.

An eclipse of the moon on Oct. 1.

Item eodem anno rex, die sancti Edmundi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, convocare fecit xij. liberos homines fere de quolibet hundredo Wiltesiræ, et in capitulo Saresburie fidelitatem jurare Edwardo primogenito suo, et etiam Johanni de Windesor, primogenito domini Edwardi. Eodem modo fecerunt liberi per alios comitatus Angliæ.

On 16 Nov. representatives from Wiltshire swear fealty to prince Edward. A similar course taken in other counties.

In anno illo erat hiems asperrima et durissima.

Præterea in octavis sancti Johannis Evangelistæ obiit dominus Walterus de la Wike episcopus Saresburie.<sup>4</sup> Cui successit magister Robertus de Wichampstone, decanus ejusdem ecclesiæ.

Death of Walter de la Wyle, bishop of Salisbury, Jan. 3 [1271].

<sup>1</sup> qui, not in MS.

<sup>2</sup> See under year 1272.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in MS., imperfectly copying the Stanley chronicle. See p. 557.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Annal. Winton.* (p. 110) the date is 1271. The *Chron. Dover.*, f<sup>o</sup>. 49, says that the election of Robert of Wickhampton

took place in 1270. The events which follow here in the text all belong to 1271: hence it appears that the Furness monk is only following the 13th century custom by including events up to 25th March 1271 in his year 1270. Cf. *Contin. Flor. Wigorn.*, ii. p. 206.

A.D. 1270. Post Purificationem quidem Beatæ Mariæ dominus Edmundus, dispositis terris suis, profectus est post fratrem suum versus Terram Sanctam, secundum quod vovit et iuravit, magnatibus et militibus cum eo comitantibus.

After  
Feb. 2  
[1271]  
prince  
Edmund  
sets out for  
the East.  
Henry,  
son of  
Richard  
king of the  
Romans,  
is murdered  
at  
Viterbo  
about  
March 12  
[1271].

Interea dominus Henricus, filius Ricardi regis Alemanniae, veniens ad mare Græcum, causa infirmitatis licentiatu a domino Edwardo, rediit versus Angliam, cunq̄ue circa festum beati Gregorii venisset in partes Italiæ ad civitatem quæ dicitur Viterbi, præoccupatus est et interemptus a cognatis suis, scilicet Guidone et Symone de Monteforti, in ultionem patris sui, domini Symonis comitis Laycestriæ, qui occisus fuit in bello de Evesham in Anglia.

ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1271. Facta est magna fames per universam Angliam et maxime partibus occidentalibus. In Hibernia vero tres pestes invaluerunt, scilicet mortalitas, fames, et gladius: per guerram mortalem prævalentibus Hybernicis et Anglicis succumbentibus. Qui vero gladium et famem evadere potuerunt, peste mortalitatis præventi sunt, ita ut vivi mortuis sepeliendis vix sufficere valerent.

A famine  
in Eng-  
land.  
Pestilence,  
famine,  
and war in  
Ireland.

Eodem tempore archiepiscopus Dubliniæ<sup>1</sup> et Walterus de Burgo comes Ultoniæ<sup>2</sup> mortui sunt in Hybernia.

Item obiit magister Simon de Evesham archidiaconus Richemundiæ.

Death of  
John, son  
of prince  
Edward.

Item mortuus est Johannes domini Edwardi primogenitus.

Die siquidem Sancti Agapiti martyris facta sunt tonitrua et fulgura horribilia, qua tempestate unus puer et una vacca et duo vituli fulmine percussa perierunt simul in uno loco de Wanegia.

<sup>1</sup> *Fulco Basset*, in margin of MS. | <sup>2</sup> *Id est Vluester*, in margin of MS. in another hand.

Interim vero archidiaconus Laodicensis,<sup>1</sup> existens in villa de Acres in Terra Sancta cum domino Edwardo, electus est in papam : pro quo statim sollemnes nuntii diriguntur, ac postea, die sanctæ Scolasticæ virginis, prædictus electus consecratus est in summum pontificem, ac Gregorius decimus denominatus est. De quo Johannes episcopus Portuensis, Albus cardinalis, publice prædicando coram cardinalibus dixit:—

Fertur per saltum noster Theodaldus in altum :  
Invidia fratrum fit pater ille patrum.

In die vero sancti Mauricii mare intumescens terminos suos transgrediebatur valde, opera hominum laboriosa consumens subito, ac labores multos posteris indicens.

Eo tempore singulis abbatibus venientibus ad capitulum Cistercii dabantur decem marcæ, ex testamento domini Bonifacii archiepiscopi Cantuariensis anno præcedenti jam defuncti. Ubi convenerunt abbates anno illo quadringenti et amplius.

Postea vero, in crastino Purificationis beatæ Mariæ, venerunt justitiiarii itinerantes apud Lancastriam, ubi abbas Furnensis primus justitarius assignatus fuit; sed ipse procuravit se amoveri per literas domini regis; quod et factum est. Ceteri justitiiarii erant dominus Walterus de Elyun, Johannes de Egetona, Petrus de . . . bus, qui tamen<sup>2</sup> omnia faciebant cum consilio dicti abbatis.

Eodem anno vulneratus fuit dominus Edwardus<sup>3</sup> in Terra Sancta, in villa de Acres, a nuntio soldani ad hoc idem destinato, cum quodam cultello venenato. Primo quidem dictus nuntius habuit se ut histrio,

<sup>1</sup> Thibaud Visdomini, archidiaconus of Liège. The dates as given by Sir Harris Nicolas are : election, 1 Sept. 1271 ; consecration, 27 Jan. 1272

<sup>2</sup> The burning of the margin of the MS. renders the reading from *Petrus to tamen* doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> This was in 1272.

A.D. 1271. quousque tempus opportunum haberet perficiendi quod animo conceperat, et ad quod missus fuerat. Cum ergo quadam die solus solum inveniret dominum Edwardum, sedentem super lectum suum in camera sua, æstimans se de facili virum improvisum confundere, dicto cultello subito tota vi aggressus est ipsum, vulnerans bis vel ter in pectore et in scapulis priusquam dictus dominus Edwardus se posset erigere, eo quod nihil mali tunc speraret. Tandem erectus viriliter a pagano cultellum extorsit, ipsum proprio cultello mactans et excerebrans<sup>1</sup> antequam aliquis eidem venisset in auxilium: postea vero de vulneribus suis, licet cum magna difficultate, mirabiliter tamen et perfecte curatus est.

ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>II<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1272.

War in  
Ireland.

Prævaluit adhuc in Hybernia hostilis guerra, unde justitiarius, Jacobus scilicet de Andithelay, quadam die, belli magno infortunio, cecidit inter suos, et a suis ignoranter conculcatus est. Quibus fugientibus, cum invenissent Hibernici corpus ejus decapitaverunt eum, et membris detruncatis, corpus reliquerunt truncum.

Death of  
Richard,  
king of the  
Romans.

Eo tempore mortui sunt de curia domini regis Angliæ rex Alemanniæ Ricardus, Philippus Basset,<sup>2</sup> Walterus de Mertune cancellarius.<sup>3</sup>

June 26.

Postea vero die sanctorum Johannis et Pauli ad vigiliis<sup>4</sup> facta sunt tonitrua magna et terribiles coruscationes.

June 29.

Item in sequenti festo Apostolorum Petri et Pauli pæne per totam noctem erat terribilis tempestas in tonitruo et fulgure.

<sup>1</sup> The margin is burned away, and the measures taken to repair it have rendered the reading doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> The *Annal. Winton.*, p. 111, say in October 1271.

<sup>3</sup> The *Annal. Winton.*, p. 124, rightly say in 1277, an extraordinary discrepancy.

<sup>4</sup> The margin has suffered here.



Eo anno fuit æstas valde sicca, plenaque messis A.D. 1272.  
 circa festum sancti Petri ad Vincula; sed tempestas Aug. 1.  
 ventorum valde nociva erat in autumno sequenti,  
 excutiens fructus et blada.

Item obiit dominus Petrus de Brus.

Interea quidam maleficus, nomine Walterus Devias, Walter  
Devias, a  
freebooter,  
is caught  
and exe-  
cuted.  
 ducens exercitum aliquando equitum, quandoque pe-  
 ditum, et manifesta exercens latrocinia in villis, civi-  
 tatibus [et]<sup>1</sup> burgis, ac religiosis et aliis multis  
 infestus, tandem cum pluribus ex complicitibus suis  
 captus est et decollatus.

His gestis, celebris memoriæ rex Angliæ Henricus Death of  
King  
Henry III.,  
Nov. 16.  
 obiit, die sancti Edmundi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi,  
 in civitate sua Lundonia,<sup>2</sup> anno regni sui lvj. Qui fuit  
 optimus Dei cultor, ecclesiæ sanctæ et divinorum offi-  
 ciorum devotus zelator, clementissimus populi rector,  
 pacis æquitatisque<sup>3</sup> executor et amator. Regnavit  
 autem lv. annis et viginti diebus, fuitque in Anglia  
 omnibus diebus vitæ ejus abundantia pacis atque  
 lætitiæ. Conditusque est honorifice, sicut deceit talem  
 principem, apud Westmonasterium, die sancti Ed-  
 mundi regis et martyris, juxta sepulchrum sancti  
 Edwardi regis et confessoris, quem miro semper  
 affectu coluit, ac prædictos sanctos<sup>4</sup> præcipuo cultu  
 honoravit. Itaque senex et plenus dierum obiit, dies  
 suos complens in bono et annos suos in gloria, filiis  
 tunc longe a se in peregrinatione distantibus, dia-  
 dema regni cum regalibus disponere committens,  
 corpus terræ, spiritum Divinæ elementiæ reddidit.

Statim igitur postea convenerunt custodes regni et The  
bishops  
and barons  
meet and  
swear  
fealty to  
Edward,  
 magnates, scilicet archiepiscopus Eboracensis (nondum  
 habebat Cantuariensis ecclesia pastorem) et alii epi-  
 scopi, ac comites de Gloucestria, Cornubia, de Warennia,  
 et Robertus Burnel cancellarius domini Edwardi, et

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the MS. is, *in* |  
*villis, in civitatibus, burgis, &c.*

<sup>2</sup> At Bury St. Edmunds.

<sup>3</sup> The reading of the MS. is,  
*pacisque, æquitatis, &c.*

<sup>4</sup> *prædictis sanctis*, MS.

A.D. 1272. alii multi, clerici et laici, [qui], tactis sacrosanctis, juraverunt fidelitatem domino Edwardo, quod fideliter servarent regnum usque ad ejus adventum: moxque clamata est pax in nomine<sup>1</sup> suo, ac literis ejus

proclaiming the king's peace.

The queen goes to London.

Prince Edmund reaches England, Nov. 27. Edward in Rome during Lent (1273).

Robert earl Ferrers seizes and holds Chartley Castle, belonging to prince Edmund.

The earl surrenders.

Robert Kilwardby elected archbishop of Canterbury.

sigillo signatis per universam Angliam directis, sub periculo vitæ, membrorum, exheredationis. Cessavit curia de literis interim impetrandis et placitis. Regina vero recepit se in Turrem de<sup>2</sup> Lundoniis: interea dominus Edmundus, de Terra Sancta rediens, exstitit in Francia, ac in sequenti Adventu Domini prospere applicuit in Angliam. Dominus autem Edwardus in redeundo versus propria exstitit apud Romam in sequenti Quadragesima ad Stationes.<sup>3</sup>

Interim dominus Robertus comes de Ferre[r]s misit se in castrum de Chertelay, quod erat domini Edmundi: siquidem dominus Henricus omnes terras et oppida dicti comitis dedit Edmundo filio suo post bellum de Evesham, quia dictus comes repugnabat contra dominum suum regem. Igitur dictus comes, ejectis<sup>4</sup> hominibus domini Edmundi, se in dicto castro de Chertelay retinuit. Quibus auditis, dominus Edmundus cum exercitu suo castrum illud obsedit. Tandem comes obsidionem non ferens, se et castrum,<sup>5</sup> domino Edmundo reddidit, qui comitem honorifice [suscipiens]<sup>6</sup> vel castrum postea sicut prius possedit et tenuit.

Interea prior Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuarie,<sup>7</sup> electus in archiepiscopum, cassatus est in curia Romana, et quidam frater de ordine Prædicatorum, nomine Robertus de Kilwardby,<sup>8</sup> per collationem domini papæ

<sup>1</sup> morte, MS. ?

<sup>2</sup> The margin having been burned, the reading is uncertain. The form "turrem" seems to be used.

<sup>3</sup> As to this word see Dueange.

<sup>4</sup> erectis, MS.

<sup>5</sup> The MS. is charred about this point.

<sup>6</sup> The sentence is incomplete. Perhaps in the original memoranda *ille* stood where *vel* now stands.

<sup>7</sup> Adam Chillenden. *Contin. Gerv.*, ii. 253.

<sup>8</sup> Thus below. Here it is Kiluby.

substitutus est in archiepiscopum Cantuarie et con- A.D. 1272.  
secratus.<sup>1</sup>

Item obiit Guido cardinalis, quondam abbas Cys-  
tercii.

ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>.

Dominus Galfridus de Genevile, rediens a domino A.D. 1273.  
Edwardo, factus est custos totius Hyberniæ. ---

Interea dominus Edwardus rediens de Terra Sancta Geoffrey  
de Genevill  
venit in Franciam, ac<sup>2</sup> rex Franciæ apud Parisius made  
king's  
susecepit eum cum magno honore et gloria: ubi moram lieutenant  
of Ireland.  
aliquamdiu fecit. Postea vero profectus est ad . Edward's  
return  
. . . et sic<sup>3</sup> in Vasconiam terram suam, ad subju- from the  
gandum quosdam seditiosos et repugnantes sibi. Qui- crusade.

bus in brevi subjugatis, aliis crudeli morte premissis, incarcerationis aliis [vel] in exsilium<sup>4</sup> damnatis, circa partes illas hiemavit. Disposuit itaque venire in Angliam ad sequens<sup>5</sup> Pascha, sed orta est contentio gravis inter ipsum et quendam magnum de transmarinis partibus, nomine Gaston de Berne, ob cujus superbiam domandam ibidem moram traxit usque ad autumnum sequentem.

Stays to  
put down  
Gaston de  
Béarn.

Eo tempore abbas Furnesii prosecutus<sup>6</sup> est ad Cistercium per Normanniam et Saviniacum. Rediens autem in Furnesio laboravit febre quartana, qua poena<sup>7</sup> vexatus est ad mortem.

Eodem anno fuit Albus cardinalis dominus<sup>8</sup> J[ohannes] Portuensis episcopus ad capitulum Cystericii. Isto anno maxima fertilitate fructificabant arbores silvestres, abundabantque nuces et glandes fere per totum annum sequentem.

<sup>1</sup> consecratum, MS.

<sup>2</sup> at, MS.

<sup>3</sup> The margin of the text is burned away.

<sup>4</sup> in exsilio, MS. omitting vel.

<sup>5</sup> se ruens (sic), MS.

<sup>6</sup> Thus MS., probably for profectus.

<sup>7</sup> poene?

<sup>8</sup> The charred state of the margin renders the reading dubious.

ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>IIII<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1274. Celebratum est concilium generale apud Lugdunum, præsidente papa Gregorio decimo: ubi plures episcopi convenerunt de universis terris. De Anglia ibidem aderant archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et Eboracensis, et ceteri episcopi Angliæ fere universi.

Council of Lyons.

Suppression of smaller mendicant orders.

In eodem concilio quassabantur omnes ordines mendicantes præter Fratres Prædicatores et Minores, [ita] ut viginti duæ variæ religiones adinventæ cessarent, transferentes se ad alias religiones approbatas. Quidam tamen elegerunt mori magis in habitu suo, quod eisdem permissum est, ita tamen quod<sup>1</sup> nullus ad habitum eorum in posterum reciperetur.<sup>2</sup> Statutum est etiam in eodem concilio, ut per sex annos sequentes continuos decima daretur ab universis prælatis et viris ecclesiasticis de omnibus proventibus et redditibus suis ad subsidium Terræ Sanctæ, et ad idem negotium tanto tempore de universis et de omnibus laicis capitale denarium solveretur.

The prelates return from the council about Aug. 1.

The king returns about the same date.

Circa festum beati Petri ad Vincula redibant archiepiscopi et episcopi de concilio.

Eodem tempore dominus rex Edwardus, de peregrinatione Terræ Sanctæ rediens, applicuit prospere in<sup>3</sup> Angliam cum universis ad se pertinentibus, uxore et liberis et omnibus rebus suis, et perrexit ei obviam mater sua regina Alienora, et frater suus Edmundus, et plures comites et magnates Angliæ, quem cum maximo gaudio [et]<sup>4</sup> honore suscipientes deduxerunt ad sedem regni sui Lundoniis, ac postea, in dominica infra octabas Assumptionis gloriosæ Virginis, coronatus est apud Westmonasterium a fratre Roberto de Kyluardby archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, præsentibus rege Scotiæ Alexandro et uxore sua, sorore videlicet regis Edwardi, cum archiepiscopo Eboracensi et aliis

Coronation, Aug. 19.

<sup>1</sup> *tamen quod?* An alteration is burned away.

<sup>2</sup> *recipietur*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> *per*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> *et*, not in MS.

episcopis Angliæ, et omnibus fere comitibus et baronibus, et etiam quibusdam magnatibus de partibus transmarinis, et aliis multis, quorum non erat numerus. Qui omnes fidelitatem regi<sup>1</sup> jurabant. Nec fuit unquam tale festum in Anglia, ut dicitur, quale tunc agebatur in coronatione regis. A.D. 1274.

Ipsè quidem rex, sumpto diademate, justitiam ubique teneri jussit; omnino nulli parcendo, milites et magnos morte dignos suspendi præcepit; justiciariis, ballivis, vicecomitibus munera accipere prohibuit.

Tunc Robertus Burnel factus est cancellarius curiæ, qui prius existit cancellarius domini Edwardi.

Robert  
Burnell is  
appointed  
chancellor.

Interim archiepiscopus<sup>2</sup> Casselensis, rediens de concilio, venit ad capitulum Cystercii. Quo procurante revocata est paternitas abbatum Hybernæ ad antiquum statum, et sic itur in antiquam silvam.

Eo tempore domina et heres de Aumarle,<sup>3</sup> scilicet uxor domini Edmundi, sine liberis obiit.

Prince  
Edmund's  
wife dies.

Item obiit Robertus de Schehil<sup>4</sup> episcopus Dunelmensis, qui fuit prior de Fincal. Cui successit iterum in episcopatum, qui eidem successerat in prioratum, nomine Robertus de Alieland.

Robert de  
Insula  
succeeds  
Robert  
Stitchell

In tempore illo Reginaldus abbas de Fontibus in redeundo de capitulo generali mortuus est in partibus australibus, et delatus est ad domum suam.

as bishop  
of Durham.  
Death of  
Reginald,  
abbot of  
Fountains.

Interea missi sunt a rege Angliæ inquisitores per universos comitatus ad inquirendum de justiciariis, vicecomitibus, ballivis, et quibuscunque malefactoribus etiam injuriantibus.<sup>5</sup> Fueruntque apud Lancastriam die Sancti Edmundi regis et martyris, ubi multi de damnis et injuriis sibi illatis conquesti sunt.

A commis-  
sion of  
enquiry  
into the  
conduct of  
justices,  
sheriffs,  
&c. sits at  
Lancaster,  
Nov. 20.

<sup>1</sup> *regni*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *archiepiscopi*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> Aveline, daughter and heiress of William de Fortibus.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Stichell, formerly prior of Finchale, died 4 Aug. 1274, and was succeeded by Robert de Insula.

<sup>5</sup> See Pat. Roll 2 Edw. I. m. 6.

A.D. 1274. Eo tempore mortuus est Henricus, filius regis secundus. Adhuc superest<sup>1</sup> unus qui natus est ei in peregrinatione Ierosolimitana, qui vocatur Alfunsus.

Death of Prince Henry.  
Death of Margaret, queen of Scotland [1275].  
Richard, bishop of Man, buried at Furness Abbey, March 25 [1275?].

Item obiit Margareta regina Scotiæ.

Item [obiit]<sup>2</sup> Ricardus, episcopus Manniæ et Insularum,<sup>3</sup> et intumulatus fuit in abbatia de Furnesio, in die Annunciationis beatæ Virginis.

ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>V<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1275. Robertus Burnel cancellarius Angliæ factus est episcopus Bathoniæ.

A Parliament in London, April 21.

Igitur in octavis Paschæ rex Angliæ, coadunatis omnibus magnatibus terræ apud Londonias, statuit quasdam leges novas et utiles valde, et antiquas, quæ bonæ erant, renovavit, [et iussit omnes]<sup>4</sup> interesse apud Londoniam post festum sancti Michaelis, ut prædictæ leges confirmarentur, et super aliis negotiis tractaretur.

A second Parliament in London, after Sept. 29.

The pope sends to collect money for a crusade.

Interim constituti sunt a domino papa collectores decimarum per universam terram, nam decretum fuit anno [præterito]<sup>5</sup> in concilio generali apud Lugdunum, ut omnes ecclesiasticæ personæ, eujuscunque dignitatis, et etiam religiosi, exempti et non exempti, præter Cistercienses, de omnibus decimis, proventibus, redditibus, decimas fideliter sub pœna excommunicationis domino papæ per vj annos subsequentes, in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ, sine ulla contradictione solverent, et

<sup>1</sup> One of the expressions which mark the generally contemporary character of this chronicle. Compare *Ann. de Waverl.*, p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> *obiit*, om. MS. This event probably belongs to the *historical year* 1275.

<sup>3</sup> *Mannæ et insularum et intumulatus fuit*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> The sentence is incomplete without these or similar words.

<sup>5</sup> *præterito*, not in MS.

laici universaliter capitaleum denarium ad idem negotium tanto tempore darent. A.D. 1275.

Insuper mandavit papa universis prælatis et prædicatoribus, ut ubicunque de cruce prædicarent, et omnes cruce signarentur, vel aliquid secundum facultatem substantiæ suæ ad subsidium Terræ Sanctæ darent. Cistercienses vero pro suo ordine de prædictis decimis composuere, nec involuti sunt cum ceteris.

Interea abbas Furnensis, adiens regem Scotiæ, prosequabatur jus suum de electione episcopatus Manniæ. Rex autem Scotiæ curialiter abbatem suscipiens, et fallacibus promissionibus decipiens, subdole et fraudulenter mandavit præcise clero et populo Manniæ, sub gravi periculo, ne quenquam electum per abbatem et conventum Furnesii recipere auderent. Interim clerus et populus Manniæ, convenientes de electione episcopi, concorditer elegerunt dominum Gilbertum abbatem de Russin, quem rex Scotiæ contra canones quassavit, ac intrusit quendam magistrum, Marcum nomine, germanum ballivi Manniæ, statimque eundem, cum literis suis et literis extortis a clero et populo cum sigillis suis, destinavit usque ad Norwagiam, ad metropolitanum suum Nidrosiensem archiepiscopum, ut consecraretur. Sed quid inde factum sit nondum scitur.<sup>1</sup>

The abbot of Furness negotiates with the king of Scotland as to the right of electing the bishop of Man.

Alexander III. intrudes a candidate of his own, and sends him to the archbishop of Trondjem for consecration.

Eo anno dominus Edmundus, germanus regis Angliæ, profectus est ad partes transmarinas, ubi moram aliquamdiu traxit, duxitque uxorem, reginam scilicet Navariæ, rege videlicet Navariæ, marito suo, jam defuncto.

Prince Edmund marries the widow of the king of Navarre.

His gestis obiit Johannes<sup>2</sup> episcopus Portuensis, Albus cardinalis, qui murus exstitit impenetrabilis pro domo Domini, præcipue Cisterciensis ecclesiæ. Stetit namque in curia pæne lx. annis.

In mense vero Septembri, celebratione ordinum facta per Walterum archiepiscopum Eboracensem apud Al-

An ordination at Alverton in Sept.

<sup>1</sup> An evidence of contemporary composition.

<sup>2</sup> John of Toledo, bishop of Porto,

SS. Rufina and Secunda and Selva Candida. Moroni, *Dizion. Eccles.* liv. p. 227.

A.D. 1275. verton, prior Furnensis, cum multis monachis ad diversos ordines promovendis, exstitit ibidem.

Godfrey, a son of Magnus, the last king of Man, comes with ships to the island.

He is received as king.

The king of Scotland assembles a fleet for the invasion of the island.

A battle is fought and the Manx army defeated.

The Scotch plunder the Abbey of Russin, and slay

Eo tempore Godefridus filius Magni quondam regis Manniæ, non tamen legitimus, cum aliquantis navibus applicuit in Manniam. Rex autem Norwagiæ post mortem prædicti Magni, qui ultimo regnavit in Mannia<sup>1</sup> et in insulis ceteris, jam regi Scotiæ et heredibus suis Manniam cum insulis inperpetuum vendiderat. Godefridus igitur cum in Manniam venisset, quidam de populo, congaudentes de adventu ejus, susceperunt eum, quidam vero tergiversantes doluerunt; sed in brevi omnes sibi timore et amore subjugavit, qui tandem universaliter et unanimiter eum sibi principem statuerunt. Veniens igitur ad castrum cepit id,<sup>2</sup> nam fugerant custodes, ibidemque commorans disposuit de regno ad libitum suum. Audiens autem rex Scotiæ populum Manniæ in unum convenire cum Godredo, ipsumque ut regem dominari in terra, iratusque valde, congregari fecit de Galwagiæ et insulis plusquam naves nonaginta cum exercitu magno; fueruntque duces exercitus Johannes de Vescy, baro magnus de Anglia, Johannes Cumin justitiarius Walwagiæ, Alanus filius comitis, Alexander filius Johannis de Argayle, et Alanus filius Rotheri. Applicuerunt igitur in Manniam prædicti cum navibus et exercitibus suis ad destruendam insulam; sed et Mannenses, licet inferiores viribus et [armis], nunc parabant se ad defendendum. Commisso ergo prælio, Mannenses inermes et nudi, fundibulariis, balistariis, sagittariis, armatisque non valentes resistere, cum Godredo rege suo fugerunt, ac ceteri insequentes prostraverunt et occiderunt homines et jumenta, quotquot comprehendere potuerunt, loco vel sexui non parcentes. Godredus vero cum uxore sua et aliquantis ex suis evasit, fugiens in Walliam. Abbatiam quidem de Russin et monachos hostes prædicti spoliaverunt, et pæne nudos dimiserunt; omnesque nobiliores et capi-

<sup>1</sup> Manniam, MS.

| <sup>2</sup> cum, MS.



tanei, et etiam ceteri de populo, quorum nullus certum numerum novit, tempore illo miserabiliter corruerunt. Sicque demolita atque spoliata terra, recesserunt exercitus redeuntes ad propria.

A.D. 1275.

many of the inhabitants of the island.

Eo anno fuit magna fertilitas frumenti in Hybernia.

Interea rex Angliæ, mense Octobri, congregatis universis nobilioribus et prælatis regni, leges datas et habitas confirmavit, et quasdam addidit, ac inter alia statuit, ut usuræ cessarent, et Judæi et alii usurarii negotiando et terras colendo sibi providerent.

A Parliament in October.

Eodem anno ab universo clero et populo, nullis exceptis præter Cistercienses, concessa est regi quinta decima pars omnium bonorum mobilium per universam Angliam, nullo reclamante sed unanimiter consentiente,<sup>1</sup> statimque assignati sunt taxatores et collectores. Primusque terminus solvendæ statutus est ad Penthecosten anni sequentis, ita tamen ut nullus minus quam xv. solidos habens taxaretur.

A fifteenth is granted to the king.

Post Natale Domini abbas Furnensis cum primis abbatibus de ordine Cistercii profecti sunt ad regem apud Wintoniam, ubi regi compromiserunt pro universitate ordinis sui in Anglia mille libras, quam oblationem multum acceptavit rex, dimittens eos cum favore et honore, deditque eisdem duos largos terminos de solutione facienda. Primus vero terminus est<sup>2</sup> ad Natale Domini in anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>VI<sup>o</sup>; secundus vero terminus est in festo sancti Michaelis anno M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup>.

The Cistercians compound with the king for their share of the taxation.

Eo tempore obiit Gregorius papa x<sup>us</sup>, qui præfuit sedi fere annis v. Cui successit Petrus episcopus Hostiensis de ordine Prædicatorum, qui denominatus est Innocentius. Item obiit Johannes filius Johannis, unus ex primis consiliariis regis. His diebus dicebantur crebra fieri miracula ad tumbam beati Henrici regis. Et apud Houden erat frequens concursus popu-

Death of Gregory X. (Jan. 10, 1276).

Election of Innocent V.

Miracles at King Henry's tomb are reported.

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.

| <sup>2</sup> The tense is noteworthy.

A.D. 1275. lorum ob multa miracula quæ fiebant ibidem ad sepulchrum sancti Johannis, qui nuper obiit habens portionem quandam in ecclesia de Houeden. Theologus etiam fuit oriundus Londoniis, habebaturque despectus in vita sua. Referebatur etiam de eo quoddam mirabile factum per quod innotuit populo. Cum enim corpus ejus jaceret in feretro patenter in ecclesia, et cantaretur missa pro eo antequam humaretur, in elevatione Hostiæ ad missam et ipse defunctus manus suas versus corpus Domini elevavit, ut mos est, ac, dimissa Hostia, deposuit et ipse manus suas,<sup>1</sup> quo prius fuerunt.<sup>2</sup>

A miraele  
at How-  
den.

\* \* \* \*

ANNO GRATLE M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> NONAGESIMO.<sup>3</sup>

A.D. 1290. Dominus Johannes de Kirk[eby]<sup>4</sup> episcopus Eliensis et thesaurarius domini regis Edwardi principalis obiit. Cui successit in episcopatum magister W[illelmus] de Marchia, tunc thesaurarius de Garderoba prædicti regis. Eodem anno desponsata est domina Johanna de Acres, filia domini regis, G[ilberto] comiti Gloucestriciæ. Per lapsum vero temporis ejusdem anni nupsit quædam alia ejusdem regis filia filio ducis Brabanum.<sup>5</sup>

Marriage  
of two of  
the king's  
daughters.

<sup>1</sup> A somewhat similar story is told as to Simon de Montfort's hands. Cf. Tertull. *De Anima* § 51.

<sup>2</sup> The history for the year 1275 breaks off thus, but in the MS. itself there is no outward sign of incompleteness. There is no gap in the column, and no change of hand or difference in the colour of the ink. The scribe, obviously the same man, begins what he carelessly takes to be the entry for A.D. 1291 with a coloured capital, and continues

his work as though entirely unconscious of having passed over 14 years of the narrative.

<sup>3</sup> *nonagesimo primo* in the MS.; an obvious error, as the events which follow as far as p. 574 belong to 1290.

<sup>4</sup> *Kirk*, MS.

<sup>5</sup> John, son of the duke of Brabant, was married to Margaret, the king's daughter. *Anal. Waverl.*, p. 409.

Celebratis itaque utrarumque regis filiarum nuptiis et sollempniter peractis, citare fecit dominus rex omnes majores natu totius Angliæ, ut convenirent apud Westmonasterium ad parliamentum, in quo exegit quintam decimam omnium bonorum mobilium totius Angliæ, tam religiosorum quam secularium, quæ quidem sibi liberaliter est concessa, nullo reclamante. Concesserunt insuper eidem venerabiles patres Cantuariensis et Eboracensis archiepiscopi, ad ipsius instantiam, decimam universorum et singulorum beneficiatorum. Obtenta igitur petitione sua in præmissis, jussit duos milites constitui per singulos comitatus ad bona mobilia taxanda, et quintam decimam colligendam et recipiendam, et collectam ad scaccarium Westmonasterii ad duos anni terminos fideliter persolvendam, videlicet medietatem ad Pascha anno gratiæ M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo primo, et aliam medietatem ad festum sancti Michaelis ejusdem anni: qui<sup>1</sup> quidem milites taxatores bini per singulos comitatus constituti<sup>2</sup> universorum et singulorum bona mobilia taxari fecerunt, nihil intaxatum remittentes. Cistercienses autem ob duritiam taxantium et malitiam cum vulgo taxari præcavescentes, convocazione facta apud Wardoun, quatuor abbates provincie Cantuariensis, communi auctoritate munitos, secundum quod melius decreverint aut Deus eis inspiraverit, pro quinta decima communitatem ordinis tangente cum domino rege composituros, ad curiam transmiserunt. Qui cum eodem pro duabus millibus marcis pro communitate ordinis, tam monialium quam monachorum, composuerunt, ad quam summam quadripartite<sup>3</sup> æqualiter solvendam concessit eisdem quatuor largos terminos, videlicet Pascha in anno gratiæ M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo primo, et festum sancti Michaelis proximum sequens, et eosdem terminos in anno gratiæ

A.D. 1290.

A Parliament held at Westminster.

A fifteenth is granted to the king.

The Cistercians offer a composition, which is accepted by the king.

<sup>1</sup> quia, MS.<sup>2</sup> constitui, MS<sup>3</sup> quadripartiti, MS.

A.D. 1290. M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo ijo. Tertia quidem pars pecuniæ prædictæ, videlicet DCLXVI. marcæ viij. solidi et x. denarii, imposita fuit abbatibus et monialibus Eboracensis diœcesis, et decem libræ pro tertia parte expensarum dictorum abbatum cum rege componentium.

Death of  
queen  
Eleanor.

His itaque peractis, dominus rex cum familia sua et regina, nomine Alienora, cum sua familia profecti sunt versus partes boreales. Qui cum ad villam quæ dicitur Semertone in comitatu Lincolnia venissent, ac ibidem per aliquot dies perhendinassent, prædicta regina, gravi infortunitate præoccupata, diem clausit extremum; ejus corpus apud Westmonasterium sollemniter relatum, ibidem est sepultum.

Expulsion  
of the  
Jews.

Eodem quoque anno exsulati sunt omnes Judæi ab Anglia.

Arrival of  
a papal  
legate.

Eodem anno a sede Apostolica transmissus est quidam legatus in Angliam, nomine Bartholomæus Grassetan' episcopus, cum xj. equitaturis, se computato. Qui ex præcepto Apostolico quolibet die recepit duas

His extor-  
tions.  
At the  
king's re-  
quest he is  
withdrawn.

marcas pro expensis suis et familiæ suæ. A beneficiatis de Furnes quidem recepit duas marcas. Qui<sup>1</sup> legatus, ne regnum diutius oneraret, ad regis instantiam ad sedem Apostolicam revocatus est.

[ANNO M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XC<sup>o</sup>1<sup>o</sup>.]<sup>2</sup>

A.D. 1291. Consummatis igitur cum debita sollemnitate reginæ memoratæ exsequiis, rex Angliæ illustrissimus Edwardus partes regni sui iterato petiit boreales, et oppidum quod Norham nuncupatur usque ad perveniens, ibidem aliquot dies moram traxit. Ibi etiam omnes majores regni sui, cum equis et armis et magna multitudine peditum ab omnibus ejusdem finibus regio edicto adu-

<sup>1</sup> *quidam*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> This date is not in the MS. at this point, the scribe having joined

the events of 1290 and 1291, and prefixed the latter date. See note 2 on p. 572.

natorum, sibi assistere constituit; ibidem [in]<sup>1</sup> ecclesia A.D. 1291.  
 cum suis secretioribus consulens de negotiis regni  
 Scotiae, ejusdem etiam advocans majores natu, ut  
 ab eis sciscitaretur, quisnam regali sanguini propin-  
 quior haberetur regni illius gubernacula suscipere,  
 cum rex Alexander ultimus, jamdudum in fata dece-  
 dens, prolem de corpore suo non reliquisset, qui ei  
 hereditarie in<sup>2</sup> regnum succederet. Sedavit<sup>3</sup> etiam  
 rex Edwardus antedictus in adventu suo literis suis,  
 tam praeceptorii quam comminatorii, belualem quan-  
 dam gentis illius barbaricam; consuevit etenim Scoto-  
 rum rabies indisposita post cujuslibet sui principis  
 obitum per multum temporis alter in alterum vicissim<sup>4</sup>  
 odii tumorem [effundere], incendiis, homicidiis, ac rapi-  
 nis tyrannidem exercere. Continuo autem in adventu  
 regis ibidem reddita sunt ei a ministris regis Scotiae  
 defuncti claves omnium munitionum suarum, a qui-  
 bus ipse dominus rex Edwardus compotum postulavit,  
 tam de censu regio in obitu regis relicto quam de  
 pecunia exeunte ab omnibus terris et tenementis, quae  
 fuerunt ejusdem regis, a die quo in fata decessit.

Interea defuncta est et mater dicti regis Edwardi Queen  
 Alienora, quae apud Ambrisbiri in ultimis diebus suis Eleanor  
 cum monialibus ejusdem loci perhendingaverat. dies, and  
 Ad is buried  
 cujus corporis humationem rex Edwardus praedictus at West-  
 Londoniam rediit, et apud Westmonasterium corpus ejus minster.  
 cum debita sollemnitate humi commendare decrevit.  
 Quibus peractis, dictus rex Edwardus versus regnum After his  
 [Scotiae]<sup>5</sup> iterato direxit habenas, illucque perveniens ab mother's  
 omnibus magnatibus, militibus, et liberis eismarinae<sup>6</sup> funeral  
 Scotiae, qui prius de rege Scotiae tenementa sua in Edward  
 capite tenebant, homagia suscepit. Totamque terram returns to  
 the north.

<sup>1</sup> *in*, not in MS.

<sup>2</sup> *et*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> The MS., which is very corrupt at this point, reads *Sed ad*, and then leaves a short blank space before *etiam*.

<sup>4</sup> *vic*, MS. The sentence is incomplete without *effundere* or a similar word.

<sup>5</sup> *Scotiae*, not in MS.

<sup>6</sup> *eismarinis*, MS.

A.D. 1291. Scotiæ transmarinam sibi subjugavit custodiendam, cui etiam et ceteros statuit custodes sibi de exitibus responsuros. Statuit etiam ipsius regni summum custodem ac justiciarium totius regni illius, dominum Brianum filium Alani, procerem strenuum e finibus Richemundiae oriundum, et ibidem valde ab<sup>2</sup> antecessoribus egregiis opulenter feodatum. Protestatus est autem et antedictus dominus rex Edwardus, coram omni congregatione magnatum Angliæ et Scotiæ, se dominium jure obtenturum de quocunque regni Scotiæ diadema consequente. Interea accesserunt ad dictum regem Edwardum coram omni congregatione quidam magnates, tam regni Angliæ quam Scotiæ, jus ex sanguinis propinquitate in regno Scotiæ vendicantes, quorum nomina inferius in quadam litera regia a dicto domino rege abbati et conventui de Furneysio sollemniter destinata, patenterque signata, ibidemque residente patebunt, in hac forma:—

Formal  
submission  
of the  
claimants  
of the  
Scotch  
crown to  
king  
Edward.

“Edwardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hybernæ,  
“et dux Aquitaniæ, dilectis sibi in Christo Abbati et con-  
“ventui de Furneysio salutem. Mittimus vobis, sub sigillo  
“scaccarii nostri præsentibus appenso, transcripta quarun-  
“dam litterarum, quæ in thesaurario nostro resident, teno-  
“rem qui sequitur continentes:—

“A touz iceus qui ceste lettere verrunt ou horruunt,  
“Florence Counte de Hoyland, Roberd de Brus, seynur  
“de Valdenaunt, Jon Bailoil, seynur de Gawey, Jon de  
“Hastinges, seynur de Burguenni, Jon Comyn, seynur de  
“Badenough, Patrike de Dunbarre, counte de la Marche,  
“Jon de Vesey pur souz frer,<sup>3</sup> Nichol de Soulis, et Willam  
“de Ros, saluz en Den.

“Come nus entenduns aver drayt en la Reume de Es-  
“coce, e cel drait mustrer e chalanger e avertir deuant  
“celuy, qui plus de poer, jurisdiction, e reson eust de  
“trier nostre drayt, e le nobel prince, sir Edward, par  
“la grace de Deu ray de Engleterre, nus eit enfurmez  
“par bons et suffisaantes resuns, qui a luy apent, et auer

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the MS. is *veld*  
*ob.*

is given by Tyrrell, Hist. of Engl.,  
iii. pp. 64-66.

<sup>2</sup> A translation of these documents

<sup>3</sup> *pere*, Fœdera, i. 775.

“ dayt la souerene seynurie du dyt Reume de Escoce et A.D. 1291.  
 “ la conissance de oir, trier, et terminer nostre drayt;  
 “ Nus de nostre propre volunte, sauns nulle maner de  
 “ force ou destrece voluns, otriuoms, et grantoms de re-  
 “ ceuyer drayt deuant luy, come sov[er]ayn seynur de la  
 “ tere; et volom, ja le mains, et prometoms, que nus  
 “ auroms e tondrems ferme et estabel son fet, e qui celuy  
 “ empertera le Renme a qui [dreyt]<sup>1</sup> le durra deuant  
 “ luy. En testmoygne de cet chose nus avoms mis nos  
 “ seals a<sup>2</sup> cest escrit. Fet e done a Norham le Mardi  
 “ prochain apres le Ascensioun, le an de grace mcc. neu-  
 “ aunte primerain.

“ A tous iceus que ceste presente lettre verront ou  
 “ horrunt Florense, counte de Hoylande, Roberde de Brus,  
 “ seynur de Valdenaunt, Jon Bailoil, seynur de Gawey,  
 “ Jon de Hastings, seynur de Berguenny, Jon Comin,  
 “ seynur de Badenough, Patrike de Dunbarre, cunte de la  
 “ Marche, Jon de Vesey pur son frer,<sup>3</sup> Nichol de Soules  
 “ et William de Ros, saluz en Deu.

“ Com nus coms otrie e graunte de nostre bone volunte  
 “ et commun assent, sauns nulle destrece, a nobel priñce  
 “ Sir Edward par la grace de Deu ray de Engeltere, que  
 “ il com soverayn seynur de la terre de Escoce puise oir,  
 “ trier, et terminer nos chalanges et nos demandes, que  
 “ nos entendoms mustrer et aver pur nostre drayt en  
 “ Reume de Escoce, et drayt reseceuir deuant luy, com  
 “ souerayn seynur de la terre: prometom in<sup>4</sup> le mayns  
 “ que sun fet auroms ferme estabel, e que celuy euportera  
 “ le reume a qui drait le durra deuant luy. Mes pur ceo  
 “ que le auaudit ray de Engeltere ne puet teu maner de  
 “ conissance fere ne acomplir saunz jugement, ne juge-  
 “ ment ne dayt estre saunz execucion, ne execucion ne  
 “ puet il fer duement, saunz la possessioun e seysine de  
 “ mem la terre e des chasteus: nos voloms, otriuoms, et  
 “ grantoms que il com seuerayn seynur, a parfer les choses  
 “ auantditas, ayt la seysine de tot la tere e des chasteus  
 “ d’Escoce, taunt que drayt sayt fet et parforni as de-  
 “ maundanz: en teu maner, que auant ceo que il ait la

<sup>1</sup> *dreyt*, from Barth. Cotton, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> *et*, MS.; à, Barth. Cott., p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> *pere*, Fædera.

<sup>4</sup> *promettaunt ia*, Barth. Cott.

A.D. 1291. “ seysin avauntdit, face bone surete et suffisaunt as demaun-  
 “ dauuz, et a gardaynes, et a la commune du reume d’Es-  
 “ coce, a fer la reversion de mem le reume, et de chasteus  
 “ oucke tut la realte, dignite, seynnrie, franchises, cus-  
 “ tomes, draitures, leys, vsages, et possessions, e totes  
 “ maneres de apurtenaunces, en meme le estat qil estoit  
 “ quant la seysin luy fust bayle, e linere a celuy qe  
 “ drait enportera par jugement de la reante; sanire au  
 “ ray de Engelterre le homage de celuy qui serra ray.  
 “ Issint ke la reversionn sait fet dedens le deus moys  
 “ apres le jour qe le drayt serra trie et afferme. E qe  
 “ les issues de meme la tero en la meen tens receus,  
 “ sayent sauvement mis en depos e bengarde, par la mayn  
 “ le chaumberlayn d’Escoce qe ore est e de celuy qe serra  
 “ assigne a luy de par le rey de Engeltere et desouz lur  
 “ seals; sauve resonabel sustenaunz de la terre e de chas-  
 “ teus, et des ministris dn reaume. En testmoyngn de  
 “ ceste choses auaunt dites, nos avoms mis nos seals a  
 “ cest cscrit. Fet et done a Norham, le Mekerdy apres  
 “ le Ascensioun, le an de grace mcc. nonaunte primer.  
 “ Unde vobis mandamus, quod eadem faciatis in cronicis  
 “ vestris ad perpetuam<sup>1</sup> rei gestæ memoriam annotari.  
 “ Teste W. de Marchia thesaurario nostro apud West-  
 “ monasterium, nono die Julii, anno regni nostri decimo  
 “ nono. Per breve [de]<sup>2</sup> privato sigillo.”

Quibus jus in regnum prædictum ita vendicantibus,  
 dominus rex prædictus diem præfixit veniendi<sup>3</sup> scilicet  
 coram se et concilio suo, videlicet, festum Pente-  
 costes proximum sequens, anni scilicet regni sui xxiii,  
 apud Norham.

Burial of  
 the heart  
 of Queen  
 Eleanor.

Anno quidem præcedente convocati sunt omnes ab-  
 bates ordinis Cystercii Angliæ Lundoniis per præ-  
 ceptum domini regis Edwardi, ut assisterent huma-  
 nationi<sup>4</sup> cordis dominæ reginæ Alienoræ, matris scilicet  
 ejusdem domini regis Edwardi, et ad anniversarium  
 reginæ consortis ejusdem domini regis Edwardi. Cor

<sup>1</sup> *perpetue*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *de*, not in MS.

<sup>3</sup> *veri faciens*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> *humanationi*, MS.



autem prædictum depositum est apud Fratres Minores A.D. 1291.  
Londoniarum.

Eodem anno obtinuit dictus dominus rex Edwardus, ex collatione domini papæ, decimas omnium ecclesiarum tam secularium quam religiosorum Angliæ. Postea eodem anno missus est a sede Apostolica in regnum Angliæ episcopus Tripolitanus.

The pope grants Edward a tenth from ecclesiastical property. Arrival of a legate.

ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> NONAGESIMO SECUNDO.

Obiit papa Nicholaus die sancti Ambrosii; qui concessit domino regi Anglorum decimam omnium ecclesiarum et virorum religiosorum totius regni sui ad profectioem Terræ Sanctæ per sex annos continuos subsequentes.

A.D. 1292.  
Death of pope Nicholas IV., April 4.

Itineratio justiciariorum domini regis apud Lincastriam.

Item profectio domini regis Edwardi versus Scotiam ubi constituit regem ad festum sancti Andreæ apostoli dominum J[ohannem] de Bailloff.<sup>2</sup>

Edward decides in favour of John Baliol, Nov. 30.

Item civitas Carlocensis comburitur, et itineratio justiciariorum sedit hac de causa apud Appelby.

Burning of Carlisle.

Vacavit sedes Romana per biennium.

ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> NONAGESIMO TERTIO.

A.D. 1293.

Orta est discordia inter Normannos et Quinque Portus Angliæ.

Item itineratio justiciarii apud Eboracum, Hugo de Cressingham.

ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> NONAGESIMO QUARTO.

A.D. 1294.

Propter bonum pacis et concordie convenit inter regem Angliæ et regem Franciæ, quod ipse rex duce-

A marriage arranged between Edward and the sister of Philip IV.

<sup>1</sup> The "Taxation of Pope Nicholas." | <sup>2</sup> Sic MS. for *Bailiolo*. See also p. 555.

A.D. 1294.  
is suddenly  
broken off.  
The Eng-  
lish are  
expelled  
from  
France.  
An aid  
for war  
purposes.

ret sororem regis Franciæ in uxorem; sed dum ad hoc se rex Angliæ præpararet, subito et inopinante in curia regis Franciæ ab omnibus terris suis transmarinis, rupto fœdere, abjudicatus est, et omnes Angliei a regno Franciæ ejecti et eliminati præterquam a civitate Parisius. Hæc de causa media pars bonorum mobilium totius cleri, tam prælatorum quam religiosorum, insuper et decima pars mobilium bonorum laicorum, et sexta pars civium et burgensium per totam Angliam in auxilium domini regis concessa est.

Celestine  
V.  
Welsh  
rebellion,  
Sept. 28.

Cœlestinus papa successit Nicholao.

Eodem anno Gwalienses<sup>1</sup> irruerunt in Anglos in vigilia sancti Michaelis apud Karnarvan, ipsos de terra sua eicientes et interficientes; sed mox a domino rege Edwardo per manum validam repressi sunt: ubi rex moratus est per dimidium annum, ipsos subjugando et ad pacem suscipiendo.

Boniface  
VIII.

Bonifacius papa successit Cœlestino, qui seipsum deposuerat, et ad cellam suam redierat.

A.D. 1295.

ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> NONAGESIMO QUINTO.

Two cardinals come to treat for peace.  
Edward's reply.

Venerunt duo cardinales apud Londonias ad tractandum de pace inter duos reges prænominatos. Rex autem Angliæ rediens de Wallia prædictis cardinalibus apud Londonias breve dedit responsum, videlicet, quod pacem libenter voluit si terræ sibi injuste ablatae plenarie restituerentur, et transgressiones sibi factæ rationabiliter emendarentur, et hoc cum consilio et favore domini regis Alamaniæ cum quo fœdus inierat, quod sine ipso nullatenus pacem componeret. Prædicti vero cardinales, audito tali responso, eeleriter remeaverunt.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A contemporary hand adds in the margin, "erexerant sibi novum principem de nobiliori sanguine eorum, nomine [blank], hominem

"literatum et uxoratum, et irruerunt."

<sup>2</sup> They left in August.

Item decima pars bonorum mobilium totius cleri A.D. 1295.  
[tam presbyterorum]<sup>1</sup> quam prælatorum concessa est  
domino regi in auxilium.

Item dominus Edmundus,<sup>2</sup> frater domini regis, et Prince  
dominus H[enricus] de Lasci comes Lincolnæ cum Edmund  
exercitu non modico transfretaverunt in Vasconiam, crosses to  
Gascony.  
et dominus rex cum suis iter arripuit versus Scotiam, Edward  
ubi in primo introitu suo citra Pascha villam de Ber- takes  
wike vi et armis cepit, et pluribus interfectis, quos- Berwick.  
dam nobiles, scilicet tres comites et plures alios, per  
diversas partes Angliæ transmisit custodiendos.

ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> NONAGESIMO SEXTO.

A.D. 1296.

Cepit rex castrum de Dunbar, ubi quam plures Edward  
Scotorum interfecti sunt in bello, et etiam episcopus takes  
de Aberdene interfectus est, et paulo post rex Scotiæ Dunbar.  
cum multis nobilibus se reddidit, et deductus est  
apud Londoniam, et postea apud castrum de Wendes-  
hoveres positus est custodia. Villa de Berwike cir-  
cumvallata est magno fossato, et inhabitata ab An-  
glicis, Scotis penitus exclusis.

Dominus Johannes Comyn, comes de Boylan, cum John  
multitudine Scottorum in septimana Paschæ irruit in Comyn  
Angliam, et obsedit civitatem Karl[iolum] per triduum; attacks  
sed feminis defendentibus, nihil proficiens ad propria Carlisle,  
remeavit. about  
March 25.

Obiit Edmundus germanus domini regis in Was- Prince  
conia. Item dominus Johannes de Lascis. Et quintus Edmund  
denarius ab universo clero per totam Angliam petitur.<sup>3</sup> dies in  
Gascony.

<sup>1</sup> Not in MS., but apparently re-  
quisite.

<sup>2</sup> These events belong to the his-  
torical year 1296, but fall within

the civil year beginning on 25th  
March, the reckoning increasingly  
in vogue at this date.

<sup>3</sup> *petiit*, MS.

A.D. 1297. ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> NONAGESIMO SEPTIMO.

Kiug Edward crosses to Flanders, Aug. 21. xij. kalendas Septembris rex Edwardus, partim contra voluntatem comitum et magnatum, cum paucis transfretavit in Flandriam, et primo receptus est apud Briges et deinde apud Gaunt, ubi in utraque villa parabantur ei insidia; sed gratia Dei eum protegente libere semper illæsus permansit, et de adversariis suis triumphavit.

The Scotch ravage the north of England. Interim Scoti moverunt guerram, omnes Anglos de terra sua fugantes, et quos comprehendere potuerunt interficientes. Deinde cum magno exercitu venerunt in Angliam, scilicet in Northumberland illam devastantes, villas et maneria comburentes, et stragem magnam facientes fere usque ad Novum Castrum, scilicet per l. milliaria in longitudine et eo amplius in latitudine. Circa Natale Domini reversi sunt in terram suam cum præda<sup>1</sup> innumerabili vasorum, victualium, animalium, et jumentorum.

An aid granted. Item datus est domino Regi a clero quintus denarius de provincia Eboracensi, et de provincia Cantuariensi decimus denarius, et a laicis per totam Angliam nonus denarius.

The English invade Scotland, about Feb. 2. Item comites et barones circa festum Purificationis beate Mariæ cum exercitu adierunt Scotiam ad injuriam et damnum prædictum vindicandum, et castra quæ adhuc in manu regis erant defendendum et retinendum.

Obit dominus Gilbertus de Gaunt in mari, revertens de domino rege de Flandria, et sepultus est apud monasterium de Bardenaya.

Edward makes peace with the French, and returns March 13 (1298). Dominus rex Angliæ, acceptis induciis per triennium sub forma pacis cum domino rege Franciæ, circa mediam Quadragesimam, scilicet in crastino sancti Gregorii papæ, reversus est in Angliam, et applicuit apud Sandewiche in bona prosperitate.

<sup>1</sup> prædicta, MS.

Comites et barones Angliæ intrantes Scotiam mox A.D. 1297.  
 Scottis effugatis villam de Berwike intraverunt, —  
 ibidem commorantes, et voluntatem domini regis præ-  
 stolantes.

ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> NONAGESIMO VIII.<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1298.

Circa festum sancti Johannis Baptistæ rex Ed-  
 wardus adiit Scotiam cum exercitu, ubi tria millia  
 [hominum]<sup>1</sup> vel amplius præcesserunt exercitum fere  
 per x leucas, et in octavis sancti Johannis Baptistæ  
 præoccupati sunt a Scottis et præventi, et cecide-  
 runt ex illis in illa die septingenti viri vel amplius,  
 et ceteri fugerunt. Et paulo post, die videlicet sanctæ  
 Mariæ Magdalenæ, commissum est proelium inter  
 exercitum regis Angliæ et Scotos,<sup>2</sup> et ceciderunt ex  
 parte Scotorum quater viginti millia secundum æsti-  
 mationem minorem, secundum vero æstimationem  
 majorem C. millia. Reliqui Scoti et maxime equestres  
 conversi sunt in fugam. Ex parte vero Anglorum  
 cecidit magister Templariorum cum<sup>3</sup> aliis paucis.  
 Rex autem Edwardus cum ceteris magnatibus, relictis  
 in castris custodibus, cito post festum sancti Michaelis  
 reversi sunt<sup>4</sup> in Angliam.

About  
June 24  
the king  
invades  
Scotland.  
On July 1  
an ad-  
vanced  
guard of  
his army is  
defeated.  
Battle of  
Falkirk,  
July 22.

Eodem anno auxilium conceditur domino regi ad  
 guerram suam et terram Angliæ defendendam, quinta  
 pars<sup>5</sup> per duos annos, contra Scotos et impetum eorum,  
 ab archiepiscopo Eboracensi et ab omni clero ejusdem  
 provinciæ.<sup>6</sup>

King  
Edward re-  
turns after  
Sept. 29.

A fifth  
granted to  
the king.

<sup>1</sup> A small blank in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> *apud Faukirk* in the margin,  
written by a later hand.

<sup>3</sup> *et*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> Thus in MS.

<sup>5</sup> *quintam partem*, MS.

<sup>6</sup> The MS. ends abruptly near the  
foot of *fo.* 207*b.*, col. 1.



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STEPHANI ROTHOMAGENSIS  
MONACHI BECCENSIS  
POEMA,  
CUI TITULUS  
“DRACO NORMANNICUS.”

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PROÆMIUM.

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# PROŒMIUM

IN

## NORMANNICUM DRACONEM.

Ingenii virtus crescit fervore studendi,  
Ac studii nimio pressa labore jacet.  
Hanc regit, informat, refovet moderatio usus ;  
Turbat mæror, alit<sup>1</sup> gloria, servat amor :

The art  
and  
methods of  
poetry.

- 5 Mæror, nam lætos quærit meditatio jugis,  
Discendi studium tristia corda fugit :  
Gloria, dum sapiens claros conscendit honores,  
Stultius et elinguis laudis honore caret.  
Sic amor instigat studium, sic fervor amantis
- 10 Cogitat id solum, quod sibi dulce sapit.  
Instruit ingenium tum lectio, tum meditandi  
Usus consolidat callidiusque facit.  
Efficitur subtile quidem subtilia scrutans,  
Gnarus<sup>2</sup> in his solus mentis acumen habet.
- 15 Eloquio splendet, qui callet in arte loquendi,  
Si tamen assuetum servat in arte modum.  
Cogitet, inveniatur quid causæ postulet usus,  
Obviet adversis, quæ sibi justa probet,  
Distribuatque locis discretis quæque reperta :
- 20 Mollia stent mediis, cetera firmet onus.  
Sensibus inventis, adjungat dicta polita :  
Par servetur in his cura decorque modus.  
Nil prædicta valent memori, nisi pectore stringat,  
Thesaurus reseret credita jure sibi.

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<sup>1</sup> *alte* in MS.

| <sup>2</sup> *gnarus* originally, but corrected.

- 25 Callidus orator post hæc pronuntiet ore  
 Quam variis rebus mens sibi clara nitet.  
 Hac qui parte caret, perdit quod in arte laborat :  
 Respuit auditor quod sibi turpe sonat.  
 Judicium referens inventis, singula penset,
- 30 Quinque supradictos sumat ab arte modos.  
 Hæc servanda reor causam tractare volenti,  
 Servet et hæc metri lege poeta novus.  
 Insita carminibus veterum discernimus ista :  
 In causis redolent rethoricisque libris.
- 35 His sine lingua caret verbis ex arte politis, fo. 106 b.  
 Nititur hæc fari, turbida quæque refert.  
 Gnarus in arte modum tenet, ornat dicta, colores  
 Spargit, opus librat, singula verba notat.  
 Turbinis instar habens, indoctus turbida profert,
- 40 Miscet et involvit quicquid in ore<sup>1</sup> ruit.  
 Sensum, verba, modum, confundit, congerit, aufert,  
 Judicioque carens, dicere cuncta cupit.  
 Invenit, exornat, disponit conscius artis.  
 Hæc tria quid valeant judicat, idque regit.
- 45 Excolit ingenium, studium pro viribus arcet,  
 Plura legit, sensum ruminat, alta subit.  
 Cernere contendit quæ sit lux vera sophiæ :  
 Depellit tenebras, pectoris error abit.  
 Informatque fidem, spem firmat, mundat amorem ;
- 50 Scire suum vitæ consociare parat.  
 Utque sapit mores componit, roborat, æquat,  
 Sensu consilii, pondere, jure, modo.  
 Ingenii vires studiis enixius urget :  
 Carmine nunc resonat, nunc sibi prosa placet.
- 55 Dum moror in studiis, hæc mecum sæpe revolvens,  
 Ex propriis gazis edere pauca libet.  
 Henrici juvenis, præclari regis in armis,  
 Materiæ causam vita thronusque dedit.<sup>2</sup>

The sub-  
 jects of  
 which the  
 author  
 treats :

<sup>1</sup> Thus in MS.

<sup>2</sup> *Causa naturalis hujus libri et* | *de quo in eo determinatur, margin*  
 | of MS.

- Hic breviter tanti describo principis actus,  
 60 Tum de matre loquor, conjuge, prole, patre.  
 Aliq̄s aggredior Danorum scribere gesta,  
 Rollonisque ducis prælia celsa cano ;  
 Quis fuerit, qualis, quantus, quam nobilis armis,  
 Quæ sibi gens, socii, dicere cordis erit ;<sup>1</sup>  
 65 Quæ sit et unde, quibus ducibus gens Francige-  
 narum,  
 Quam sibi dux stravit Danicus ille, noto.  
 Hastingum refero, primus qui Danica bella  
 Francorum cuneis intulit atque faces.  
 Nec taceo quis rex Francorum sceptrâ regebat,  
 70 Ut sibi pax fieret, Rollo quid inde tulit.  
 Fœdere pro pacis datur huic Normannica tellus,  
 Tellus cui Britonum jungitur ; idque placet.  
 Inde duces claros recolo Normannigenarum,  
 Qui fuerint, quanti, quis sibi finis adest.  
 75 Insignisque ducis Willelmi prælia narro,  
 Anglos qui superat, dum diadema capit.  
 Natorum seriem, moresque, thronumque revolve :  
 Dividit his regnum, tuncque beatus obit.  
 Horum gesta canens, Henrici prælia magni  
 80 Laudibus eximiis acta referre volo :  
 Fratrem cum cuncis forti certamine cepit,  
 Francigenas acies tradidit ille fugæ.  
 Nec regis sileo raptum Stephani diadema,  
 Quod tamen armorum viribus ipse tulit.  
 85 [In]<sup>2</sup> numero regum fuerit successio qualis  
 Francigenis, ex quo Rollo subacta regit.  
 Nomina cum gestis horum distingo quibusdam,  
 Cum Normannigenis quis sibi pacis amor.  
 Nec Karolum sileo, Stephanus quem papa sacravit,  
 90 Cuique patrique suo Francica sceptrâ dedit.  
 Italiae medio quæ princeps gessit uterque  
 Viribus egregiis, hic duo bella fremunt.

the em-  
 press  
 Mand and  
 the house  
 of Anjou ;  
 Hastings,  
 Rollo, and  
 the settle-  
 ment of  
 the North-  
 men in  
 Neustria ;

William  
 the Con-  
 queror and  
 his descen-  
 dants ;

Stephen ;

Pepin and  
 Charle-  
 magne ;

<sup>1</sup> erat, MS.

| <sup>2</sup> In, not in MS.

Hugh  
Capet; the  
affairs of  
Henry II.;  
the schism  
of 1159  
through the  
election of  
two popes;  
death of  
the em-  
press  
Maud;  
the peace  
of 1169.

Horum progenies Hugonis traditione  
Qualiter a regno decedit, inde noto.  
95 Regibus his nostris quæ sit discordia pingo,  
Scribitur hinc regis filia nupta viro.  
Post geminos refero Papas, quos Roma creavit:  
Concilium geminum rhetoris ore cano.  
Carminis in<sup>1</sup> calcem mortem describo Mathildis:  
100 Ex gemino regum fœdere finis adest.

*Explicit Proœmium.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. reads *in*.

<sup>2</sup> At this point in the MS. follow all the headings of the chapters collected together, extending from the lower third of *fo.* 107 to the middle of *fo.* 112. That these should have been *also* annexed to their respective chapters appears likely from the fact that a few (six) at the beginning are so found in the margin of the MS. The signal advantage of distributing them, as Cardinal Mai and M. Omont have done, will be seen by referring to Lib. I. xxxi. and xxxii.,

and to Lib. II. xiii. and xiv. The only words which are on this plan omitted are the following: "*Incipiunt capitula libri primi.*" "*Expliciunt capitula libri primi.*" "*incipiunt capitula libri secundi.*" "*Expliciunt capitula libri secundi.*" "*incipiunt capitula libri tertii.*" These, however, are added in footnotes, and the paging of the MS. is marked in the margin at the point at which each fresh folio begins. These numbers are distinguished by square brackets thus, [*fo.* 107], from the paging of the poem.

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LIBER PRIMUS.

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## NORMANNICUS DRACO INCIPIT.

### CAP. I.

[fo. 107.]\*

*\*Generalis de hominum morte Præfatio.*

Non genus, aut virtus, non divitiæ vel honores  
 Aut mortem superant, aut superare valent.  
 Hoc natura trahit de primi jure parentis ;  
 Labitur hic pomo, quo perit omnis homo.<sup>1</sup>

The absolute sub-  
 jection of  
 the world  
 to death.

- 105 Rumphea flammigera Christi restincta cruore  
 Vertitur. Hinc homini jam polus ipse patet.  
 Pro meritis discretus honor cœlestia donat,  
 Exigit hoc vita sexus uterque sibi.  
 Non animam sexus distinguit: vir mulierque  
 110 Sunt anima similes, non ibi sexus inest.  
 In meritis solis discretio sola tenetur,  
 Sicque piis studiis vita beata datur.  
 Mors igitur dum scire facit quid quisque meretur,  
 Judiciï veri jus generale gerit,  
 fo. 112 b. 115 Huic requiem tribuit, dat et illi jure laborem:  
 Dispar vita fuit, nec locus unus erit.  
 Sic jus, sic ratio meritorum præmia pensat,  
 Singula sic librat, sicque creata regit.  
 Jus necis omnis homo metuit, tremit imperialis  
 120 Gloria, nam subicit invida quæque sibi.  
 Pontifici regem sociat, rhetorque sophistæ  
 Jungitur, indoctum cum sapiente rapit.  
 Omnia consumit proprii quæ juris habentur:  
 Quæque sibi nasci conspicit, illa terit.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare with these opening words lines 2-6 of the poem on Count Waleran, p. 766. See also lines 289 and 290 of the *Draco*, and lines 1 and 2 of the shorter piece; these are absolutely identical.

## CAP. II.

*De morte Mathildis imperatricis.*

- 125 Hæc floris speciem nostri gemmæque nitorem<sup>1</sup>  
 Stravit; flos cecidit; splendida gemma ruit.  
 Imperii splendor, decus orbis, laus mulierum  
 Mathildis subiit<sup>2</sup> corpore jura necis.  
 Spiritus ex meritis cœlesti sede locatus,
- 130 Credo quod æterna luce beatus erit.  
 Quæ duo semotis spatiis jam dissociata  
 Uniet æterni Judicis illa manus.  
 Quæ cum in propria renovabit climata mundi  
 Hanc gemina veste vestiet arte nova.
- 135 Immortalis enim duplici cum dote resurget  
 Æterni thalami conscia, mente, fide.

Death of  
the em-  
press  
Maud.

## CAP. III.

*Quod primi Henrici Anglorum regis et Mathildis  
 reginæ filia fuerit dicta Mathildis<sup>3</sup> imperatrix.*

- Hæc igitur regis Henrici splendida proles  
 Moribus et vita consonat ipsa patri.  
 Nobilis hanc peperit Mathildis regia conjux,
- 140 Splendor honestatis conjugique decus.  
 Nominis et fidei matri pia subditur heres,  
 Nata piæ matris servat et intrat iter.  
 Anglia resplendet exortu sideris hujus,  
 Quæ si non sidus, sideris instar habet.
- 145 Nam virtute prius, nunc famæ luce<sup>4</sup> coruscat,  
 In mundo<sup>5</sup> radiat lumine clara novo.

Birth and  
virtues of  
Maud.

<sup>1</sup> *vitorem* (sic), MS.

<sup>2</sup> *scilicet* anno 1167, M.

<sup>3</sup> *dicta Mathildis*, by a coeval  
hand, filling a lacuna on *fo.* 107.

<sup>4</sup> *lux* in MS.

<sup>5</sup> The spelling of the MS. here  
and in many places is *mondo*, a trace  
of the nationality of the scribes.

## CAP. IV.

*Quod Henricus imperator hanc in<sup>1</sup> conjugem accepit,  
ac diademate fecit eam Romæ coronari.*

Interea magnus Henricus in imperiali  
Culmine conspiciens jus dabat omne suis.

Hic Karoli proles Alamannica sceptrâ tenebat,

150 Mundi Roma caput subdita jura tulit.

Sideris hic nostri, fama volitante, decorem

Noseit, amat, quærit consociare sibi.

fo. 113.

Clarior ut claro sit sidere nititur, ardet

Conjugii specimen fretus amore patris.

R. de  
Monte,  
Pertz,  
vi. 483.

155 Ostro conspiciens, gemmis auroque nitentes

Legati veniunt, impèriique decus.

Terrarum fines penetrant, et in Anglica regna

Tendentes subeunt regia tecta viri.

Auribus in regis legatos imperiales

160 Affore quis retulit, narrat, adauget opes.

Curia completur comitum procerumque caterva,

Confluit atque simul militis ampla manus.

Assunt legati, dant imperialia jussa,

Applaudunt<sup>2</sup> proceres, rexque comesque favent.

165 Sicque puella decens Mathildis filia regis

Poscitur, accipitur, conjugioque datur.<sup>3</sup>

Ortu, divitiis, comitatu splendida, linquit

Stella solum patrium<sup>4</sup>: redditur atra dies.

Splendidus, fateor, nil protulit Anglica tellus

170 Ingenio, sensu, munere, mente, fide.

Regalis soboles Alamannica regna subintrat.

Hic aquilam vatis<sup>5</sup> nidificare vides.<sup>6</sup>

Suscipit Henricus sponsam, secumque coronat,

Hoc insigne decus maxima Roma dedit.

Her mar-  
riage to  
Henry V.  
emperor of  
Germany.

Embassy  
from Ger-  
many and  
arrange-  
ment of her  
marriage.

This union  
fulfils  
Merlin's  
prophecy.  
The imper-  
ial pair are  
crowned at  
Rome.

<sup>1</sup> The heading to this chapter on fo. 107 runs, *in conjugium accepit et secum in Roma diademate coronari fecit.*

<sup>2</sup> *applaudunt*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> *Scilicet anno 1110*, M.

<sup>4</sup> *patrum*, MS.

<sup>5</sup> *natis*, previous editions, but the reference is to Merlin.

<sup>6</sup> "Et aquila ejus super montem Aranium nidificabit," is the passage in Merlin's prophecy.

- 175 Pluribus hæc lustris, tanto condigna marito,  
 Vixit in imperii culmine cara suis.  
 Ut dominam proceres, ut matrem pauper amabat ;  
 Hos retinet caros, hos pietate fovet.  
 Quæ morum probitate nitens et gloria regni,  
 180 Lux sibi, lux populis ecclesiæque fuit.  
 Non diadema micans nec opes fecere superbam,  
 Sed magis urgebant ad pietatis opus.  
 Floruit imperium sub tanti floris honore,  
 Dum sibi Mathildem sensit honore parem.

## CAP. V.

*De morte ejusdem imperatoris, et de reditu<sup>1</sup> imperatricis in Normanniam.*

Death of  
 the em-  
 peror  
 Henry V.

- 185 Proh dolor ! in tanto dum culmine clara nitescit,  
 Evacuatur honos, gloria tota ruit.  
 Cessit enim fatis Henricus in imperiali  
 Præcellens solio, morteque pressus obit.  
 Hinc Alamannorum mæror, Romania tota  
 190 Turbine ceu venti turbida facta gemit.  
 Urbibus illatus rumor dum quæque pererrat, *fo. 113 b.*  
 Cuncta replet luctu, clade, dolore, metu.  
 Sic decus ille ducum, populi lux, splendor in  
 armis,  
 Solaris radius deficit igne suo.  
 195 Invida væ tibi mors ! Quid morsu singula stringis ?  
 Vasta lues tantis pæree nefanda viris.  
 Pareere sed nescis ; Parearum fila perurgent ;  
 Et quia non pareunt, parcere sæva nequis.  
 Nunc hos nunc illos subicis, nullumque refutas,  
 200 Quæque tui juris perspicias, illa trahis.  
 Imperialis honor tibi subditur, alta potestas  
 Corruit, inque tuum jus grave victa cadit.  
 Cur proceres tantos<sup>2</sup> tam parvo tempore sternis ?  
 Cum miser hinc rapitur, quis dolor esse queat ?

<sup>1</sup> On *fo. 107* the MS. reads *reditu* | <sup>2</sup> *tanti*, MS.  
*ipsius imperatricis.*

- 205 Cum vero<sup>1</sup> virtute vigens geminave peritus  
 Rerum notitia tollitur, inde dolor.  
 Ut domus obruitur cæsis fractisque eolumnis,  
 Sie ruit hic mundus, morte trahente pios.  
 Lumine eeu proprio Mathildis sie viduata
- 210 Deserit externum corpore corde solum.  
 Lux redit<sup>2</sup> in patriam, patrium se reddit<sup>3</sup> in  
 hortum The em-  
 press  
 returns to  
 England.  
 Flos nitidus, nobis undique spirat odor.  
 Hane pater excipiens, nativo germine gaudet,  
 Morte viri scita condolet, inde gemit.

R. de  
 Monte,  
 vi., 488.

## CAP. VI.

*Quod Gaufridus consul Andegavensis dictam<sup>4</sup> impe-  
 ratricem desponsavit, ex qua genuit Henricum  
 regem Anglorum.*

- 215 Flos juvenum, vis militiæ, consul probitatis,  
 Andegavensis apex hanc petit, ardet, amat.  
 Per se perque suos tum munere tum prece temp-  
 tat, She  
 marries  
 Geoffrey  
 of Anjou.  
 Temptat conjugii talis inire decus.  
 Consulis in tanti manibus datur<sup>5</sup> imperialis
- 220 Conjux, et soboles regia clara satis.  
 Si diadema micans, si purpura cultibus adsit,  
 Credas quod maneat gloria prima sibi.  
 His par nobilitas dum proles regis uterque,  
 Nulla magis tanto nubere digna viro.
- 225 Moribus et vitæ sanguis eoneordat et ætas,  
 In paribus pariter par honor atque genus.  
 Ex his rege satis generatur lucifer iste,<sup>6</sup>  
 Qui fremit in mundo viribus, ense,<sup>7</sup> throno. Birth of  
 Henry 11.

R. de  
 Monte,  
 vi., 488.

<sup>1</sup> *ac cum*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *Sc. anno 1125*, M.

<sup>3</sup> *redit*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> On *fo.* 107 the MS. reads, *can-  
 dcm imperatricem postmodum in  
 matrimonium sortitus sit, et ex ea  
 Hcnicum regem Anglorum genu-*

*erit.* This heading is the last which  
 appears in its place in the margin,  
 annexed to the verses.

<sup>5</sup> *Sc. anno 1127*, M.

<sup>6</sup> *Sc. Henricus, qui natus fuit  
 anno 1134*, M.

<sup>7</sup> *esse*, MS.

Gaudet uterque parens exorto pignore tanto, Jo. 114.  
 230 Nec minus in tali sidere gaudet avus.

## CAP. VII.

*De filiorum primi Henrici regis et ipsius morte,  
 et quod ei in imperium nepos ejus Stephanus  
 comes Moritoniensis successerit.*

The  
drowning  
of prince  
William.  
Merlin's  
prophecy  
of that  
event.

Hic Gallis bello superatis dum mare sulcat,

Qua vehitur proles, obruit unda ratem.

Æquoris in pisces catulos transire leonis<sup>1</sup>

Vates insonuit, sors miseranda nimis!

235 In nata<sup>2</sup> natoque suo spes sola relicta,

Cernitur ex uno substituisse duos.

Hic quantus fuerit vivens, in morte cometa

Præcinit innumeris irradiata comis.

Comparat hunc vates rugienti jure leoni,<sup>3</sup>

240 Tum quia magnaninus tum quia terror erat.<sup>4</sup>

Cujus et acta canit quasi jam transacta referret,

Inspicit hoc relegens mystica verba viri.

Defuncti cerebrum, cor, servat Neustria;<sup>5</sup> corpus

Anglia;<sup>6</sup> spiritui sit locus ipse polus.

245 Uniet unius<sup>7</sup> partes tres, trinus et unus,

Cernat ut unitus quod sibi constat idem.

Hujus in imperium<sup>8</sup> Stephanus successit in armis:

Egregius consul, regis et ipse nepos.

Huncque suosque novos natos horumque favorem

250 Sublimem fieri vatis in arte<sup>9</sup> vides.

A comet  
portends  
the death  
of Henry I.

The usur-  
pation of  
Stephen.

R. de  
Monte,  
vi., 486.

<sup>1</sup> Merlin's' prophecy: "Catuli  
" leonis in æquorcos pisces trans-  
" formabuntur."

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, *filia*, M., interlined above  
*nata*.

<sup>3</sup> "Succedet leo justitiæ ad cujus  
" rugitum Gallicanæ turres . . .  
" tremant," Merlin's prophecy.

<sup>4</sup> *errat*, MS.

<sup>5</sup> *Sc. in Prato*, M., interlined  
above *Neustria*.

<sup>6</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth's words  
are, "Væ tibi Neustria, quia cere-  
" brum leonis in te effundetur,  
" dilaceratisque membris a patrio  
" solo eliminabitur."

<sup>7</sup> *nimis*, MS.

<sup>8</sup> *imperio*, MS.

<sup>9</sup> *arce*, MS.

- Heres Henrico<sup>1</sup> nisi natæ natus et ipsa  
 Non erat, at<sup>2</sup> natus tempore parvus adhuc.  
 Sensibus, ingenio, studiis, animi<sup>3</sup> probitate,  
 Corpore dum crescit, crescit et ipse puer.  
 255 Lætatur genitor, se totum cernit in illo,<sup>4</sup>  
 Vultu, consiliis, moribus, ore, manu.  
 Hinc mater binos diverso tempore natos<sup>5</sup>  
 Concipit; hos simili nutrit amore pater,  
 Hi pariter parili servantur honore parentum,  
 260 His quia par sensus, par genus, atque decor.

Geoffrey  
and Wil-  
liam, sons  
of Maud.

## CAP. VIII.

*De adventu Gaufridi comitis Andegavensis in Nor-  
manniam cum exercitu,\* et quod Rothomagum  
cepit, Henricum filium suum ducem Norman-  
niæ fecit, postea Andegavim rediit, nec multo  
post hominem exiit.*

[fo. 107  
b.]\*

- Interea Gaufridus adest ceu fulmen ab alto;  
 Neustria concutitur<sup>6</sup> fulgure<sup>7</sup> tacta novo.  
 Improvisus enim, ceu venti turbine facto,  
 Turbat eam per se, per sua, perque suos.  
 fo. 114 b. 265 Cæsaris aggreditur galeatis viribus urbem,  
 Militis obsistit vis procerumque vigor.  
 Obvius armatis veniens exercitus urbis  
 Cæditur et cædit, pellitur, inde fugit.  
 Demum per gladios, per vim, per tela, per ignem  
 270 Nobilis urbs capitur, traditur arxque duci.  
 Dempsto sic capitis tanta virtute vigore,  
 Ex facili subicit cetera membra sibi.

Geoffrey  
of Anjou  
overruns  
Nor-  
mandy.

He takes  
Rouen,

<sup>1</sup> Qui decessit anno 1135, M.  
<sup>2</sup> at, thus in MS.  
<sup>3</sup> animis, MS.  
<sup>4</sup> illum, MS.  
<sup>5</sup> Sc. Gaufridum et Guillelmum, M.  
<sup>6</sup> Scilicet per spacium fere viij.  
 annorum et paulatim acquisivit

u 13836.

castra Normanniæ, et anno 1143  
 redditur sibi Rothomagum et sic pro  
 filio suo Henrico obtinet ducatum  
 Normanniæ, cui filio facto militi  
 anno 1149 reddidit ducatum tan-  
 quam suam hereditatem, M.  
<sup>7</sup> fulgore, MS.

Gallis devictis hanc Cæsar condidit urbem,<sup>1</sup>  
 Milite Romano complet et ornat eam.

275 Nuncupat hanc Rodomum, Romanis quod domus  
 extet,

Cæsaris hinc Burgus, Julia fitque Bona.<sup>2</sup>  
 Neustria tota simul superatur, cedit, obedit,  
 Consulis atque ducis viribus, arte, metu.

and makes  
 his son  
 Henry  
 duke of  
 Normandy.  
 Death of  
 Geoffrey  
 of Anjou.

Henricus dux efficitur sudore paterno:  
 280 Andegavim<sup>3</sup> remeat natus et ipse pater.  
 O violenta nimis, quid agis, mors, invida pestis?  
 Quid patriæ lumen tollere sæva cupis?  
 Rem morti similem quis demonstrare valebit?  
 Quæ polus aut oreus suscipit, ista necat.

285 Sublimes, humiles, fortes, castos, sapientes,  
 Obruit, extinguit, comprimit, arcet, habet.  
 Heu dolor! insignis consul valetudine pressus  
 Dum sibi succedunt prospera, fata<sup>4</sup> subit.<sup>5</sup>  
 Flos comitum, decus imperii, vis maxima belli,

290 Militiæ splendor, sensus acutus, obit.<sup>6</sup>  
 Nobilis successus juvenis resolutus ad astra,  
 Labitur, occumbit, deficit, exit, abit.  
 Spiritus ad requiem transfertur, nam Cenomannis  
 Inelyta præclari continet ossa viri.

His burial  
 at Le Mans.

<sup>1</sup> *Quis condidit urbem Rothomagum. Et prius dicebatur Rodomus, id est, Romanorum domus, sed nunc dicitur Rothomagum, M.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cæsaris Burgus et Julia Bona, M.*

<sup>3</sup> *Andegavi, MS.*

<sup>4</sup> *Obitus Gaufridi comitis Andegavensis, M.*

<sup>5</sup> *Sc. anno 1150, M.*

<sup>6</sup> This *complet* (*Flos . . . obit*) occurs *verbatim* in Étienne's "*Car-men de Wateranno*," forming the opening lines of the poem. See Appendix to the present volume, p. 766.



## CAP. IX.

*Quod Henricus dux Normanniæ et comes Andegavensis post mortem patris in conjugium accepit filiam comitis Pietavensis et ducis Aquitaniæ, Francorum quondam reginam, totumque comitatum et ducatum ipsius obtinuit; et quod contra Stephanum Anglorum regem in Angliam eum exercitu intravit. Et de Roberto Wischardi.<sup>1</sup> Et de morte Eustachii filii regis Stephani, et de pace inter regem et ducem, et de morte ipsius regis, et quod eodem anno in Natali Domini, presentibus episcopis et baronibus regni, apud Londoniam in regem sacratus sit ab archiepiscopo Cantuariensi Thebaldo, et eum regina diademate tunc primum insignitus.*

295 Dux igitur patrii successor juris et heres,

Matris ad imperium protegit omne solum.

Fœderis hinc aquilam rupti sibi fœderat: ipsam.<sup>2</sup>

Dux genuit, ejus gens Aquitana fuit.

Hinc duplicatur honor, geminatur honore ducatus,

300 Vis animi major quam suus omnis honos.

Consulis atque ducis dux consul honorat honorem,

Quo magis hic crescit culmine, crescit honos.

Hinc animi feritas, hinc militis anxia virtus,

Hæc trahit, hæc urget quo sua jura petat.

305 Natus ad imperium, sibi regnum quærit avitum,

Hoc cupit, hoc ardet subdere jure, manu.

Instruit inde rates, armatos colligit, instat

Viribus et ferro fortis ubique leo.

Navali strepitu mare suleans littora linquit,

310 Ut sibi fata favent, sie polus, aura canit.

Henry's marriage with the divorced queen.

He invades England.

fo. 115.

<sup>1</sup> Et . . . Wischardi, in margin | phey is, "deaurabit illud aquila  
in a coeval hand. | "rupti fœderis, et tertia nidifica-

<sup>2</sup> The passage in Merlin's pro- | "tione gaudebit." See also l. 395.

- Navibus egreditur galeatus, Julius alter,  
 Fretus militiæ viribus, ense fremit.  
 Fama volat Normannigenas cum turbine belli  
 Cum duce moliri vulnere, dampna, neees.
- The war-like deeds of the Normans. 315 Vi Normannigenum superabitur Anglica tellus,  
 Inviolata manent diva statuta sibi.  
 Belliger insignis Rollo Francos superavit,  
 Regia cui proles pars patriæque datur.  
 Hinc ferus et validus Willelmus surgit in armis,
- 320 Haraldum superat viribus, huncque necat.  
 Altius insurgens Normanni germinis ardor  
 Alpes transgreditur,<sup>1</sup> longius arma gerit.  
 Wischardus<sup>2</sup> vehemens Siculæ telluris in arces  
 Victrices aquilas inserit, hasque capit.
- The war in England in Stephen's reign. 325 Ut genus, ut virtus, ut honor, Normannica proles,  
 Contulit, instigat, quæritur,<sup>3</sup> alta petit.  
 Dux igitur noster, vallatus milite multo,  
 Anglica pervadit moenia, castra locat.  
 Hinc acies, hastas, enses, cuneos, grave bellum,
- 330 Ordinat, extollit, nudat, adauget, init.  
 Dum parat, accelerat, sumuntur vincere bella  
 Vires, rex Stephanus non minus arma capit.  
 Hinc natus, probitate vicens armisque peritus,  
 Colligit armatos undique; cuncta rapit.
- Prince Eustace, while devastating the country round Bury St. Edmunds, falls ill and dies. 335 Vastat cum sociis Edmundi prædia regis;  
 Cernere virtutem martyris ille nequit.  
 Percussus sentit quod vivat regia virtus;  
 Sternitur hic lecto, fata repente subit.

R. de  
 Monte,  
 vi. 503.  
 fo. 115 b.

<sup>1</sup> Scilicet Robertus Wiscardi cum fratribus, filiis Tancredi domini de Altavilla prope Constantias, nobilis militis, qui Robertus vi belli fuit dux Apuliæ et Calabriæ, et Rogerus ejus frater fuit comes Siciliæ eorumque posteritates dicta dominiã possederunt de patre in filium, vel eo circiter, usque ad Fredericum ij.

imperatorem, qui a dicto dominio per Ecclesiam fuit privatus in Lugdunensi concilio, presidente Innocentio iij. anno Domini M.CC.XLV. Margin.

<sup>2</sup> Robertus, interlined MS.

<sup>3</sup> quæritur, MS. The emendation quærit et spoils the pairing of the words ut genus—contulit, &c.

- Non rex, non proceres, non miles plangere cessat,  
 340 Hinc dolor, hinc luctus tristia corda replet.  
 Sic sua defendet martyr, vincit sine ferro,  
 Sicque duci nostro subvenit, immo suo.  
 Dux indefessus nunc hæc nunc occupat illa,  
 Vi ferri subicit fortia, quæque potest.
- 345 Ut valet obsistit comitum procerumque potestas,  
 Quisque sibi pavidus munit ubique sua.  
 Conflictus varios, eventus quosque referre  
 Non sinit hæc brevitatis, res vetat ampla nimis.  
 Pontificum procerumque metus pro pace laborans,
- 350 Impetrat hanc regi conditione dari.  
 Dum dolet ex nato, dum deflet, dum timet hos-  
 tem,  
 Heredem sibi rex annuit esse ducem.  
 Conditio tamen hæc: viventi sceptrum relinquit,  
 Et regi referat quod mare claudit ei.
- 355 Pactum firmatur cum concilio generali,  
 Rex, cætus procerum, cum duce fœdus init.  
 Ut jus divinum statuit, post tempore parvo  
 Rex obit, inde duces dant diadema duci.  
 Montibus instat aper, galeati transvolat umbram,<sup>1</sup>
- 360 Merlinus merulæ vocibus ista canit.  
 Conjuge cum clara primum diademate fulsit  
 Londoniæ qua Lux Cœlica nata die.

The ar-  
rangement  
between  
Stephen  
and  
Henry.

Death of  
Stephen.  
Further  
fulfilment  
of Merlin's  
prophecy.

Henry and  
Eleanor  
wear their  
crowns at  
Christmas  
in London.

## CAP. X.

*De morte Gaufridi et Willelmi, fratrum ejusdem regis.*

- Julius in terris Macedonis astat in armis,  
 Exprimit iste duos sensibus, ense, manu.
- 365 Nec minor eloquio, vi mentis, culmine morum,  
 Ortu, divitiis, nobilitate ducum.  
 Mundi pars minor huic, fidei sed luce refulget:  
 Hæc superatur ab his, hæc superavit eos.

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is again to Merlin's propheey: "Apri igitur dentibus | "accinctus cacumina montium et  
 "umbram galeati transecundet."

- Terror Francigenis, galeatus murus in armis,  
 370 Militiæ splendor, nobilitatis apex.  
 Summus ubique leo vi nulla cedere novit,  
 Fulguris instar habens hostibus ense fremit.  
 Obtinet<sup>1</sup> hic solus quod jam fuit ac genitoris fo. 116.  
 Pietavisque ducis, nec minor ipse tribus.
- 375 Unit tres unus, sic et tria perficit unum,  
 Una trium virtus, imperium fit idem.  
 Quidquid tres probitatis erant transivit in istum,  
 Cernitur in tanto vivere quisque trium.  
 Nomen avi retinens, par sensu, par feritate,
- 380 Hunc super excellit rebus, honore, throno.  
 Lux generis proprii toto resplenduit orbi,  
 Ex atavis hujus par sibi nemo fuit.  
 Hic Normannigenum rex et dux denus habetur;  
 Andegavis consul denus et ipse manet.
- 385 Perfecto numero, perfectæ vir probitatis,  
 Hos illosque simul claudere dignus erat.  
 Fratribus hic binis quasi muris jam galeatis  
 Cinctus, terror erat hostibus, arma suis.  
 Quis clypeos tales vallatos viribus, armis
- 390 Flecteret, hos unus si sociasset amor?  
 Ingenium speciale tribus sensusque politus,  
 Artibus hos dederat doctus et ipse pater.  
 O fortuna gravis, quid tantis floribus instas?  
 Matri sæva neces ingeris ante necem.
- 395 Tertia numquid erit rex nidificatio matris?<sup>2</sup>  
 Gaudeat, ut vates præcinit ille suus.  
 Gaudet in hoc solo: secuit duo splendida fila  
 Atropos, hinc flores perdidit ista duos.  
 Hunc regit, hunc sternunt,<sup>3</sup> nil sors sua, nil sua fata,
- 400 Immo Dei nutus hæc tenet, illa movet.

He was  
tenth duke  
of Nor-  
mandy and  
tenth count  
of Anjou.

Death of  
Geoffrey  
and Wil-  
liam, the  
king's  
brothers.

<sup>1</sup> Another hand takes up the work here, and also resumes after the passage ll. 553-570.

<sup>2</sup> For this passage from Merliu's prophecy see p. 603, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> M. Omont alters this to *sternit*, but surely *sors . . . regit, fata . . . sternunt* is correct. See many such lines as 329, 330 on p. 604.

Rex superest solus, solamen matris et heres,  
 Unica vis regni justitiæque vigor.  
 Consulis et regis rapiuntur bis duo nati,  
 Hosque duos stravit vis violenta necis.  
 405 Sic bis ternorum vires rediguntur ad unum,  
 Unus habet quidquid sex habuere simul.

## CAP. XI.

*De morte Willemi primogeniti filii regis ipsius, et  
 de aliis ejusdem filiiis, quidque de ipsis Merlinus  
 prophetaverit.*

In natos<sup>1</sup> vultum transfundit sponsa paternum:  
 Ex duce progenitus primus ad astra meat.  
 Forte sibi regnum reputaret regius heres  
 410 Ut manet hic regis natus, et ille ducis.<sup>2</sup>  
 Transtulit hunc Qui cuncta videt, dispensat, et  
 arcet,  
 Nam primogenitum dixerat esse suum.  
 Innocui corpus sed parvum virginis hujus  
 Ut tenet hæc proavi, clara Radingis habet.  
 415 Germine consimili<sup>3</sup> germani jam quasi stellæ  
 Resplendent patriæ, Neustria nostra nitet.  
 Hi timor, hi genitus Gallis, hi flamma futuri,  
 Clades, bella, dolor, damna, ruina, furor.  
 Ut balista jacet, muros aries quatit, isti  
 420 Obvia quæque terent, fulguris instar erunt.  
 Præcinit hinc vates, catulos dicitque regentis<sup>4</sup>  
 Evigilatuos, quos modo somnus habet.

Death of  
 his eldest  
 son, Wil-  
 liam, and  
 his burial  
 at Reading  
 (A.D.  
 1156).

Merlin's  
 prophecy  
 as to  
 Henry's  
 sons.

<sup>1</sup> *natis*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> W. of Newburgh says the same (Vol. I. p. 26) about Henry I.

<sup>3</sup> *cōsili*, MS. very clearly, but the previous editions read *consilii*.

<sup>4</sup> The remainder of this section is merely a versification of the words of Merlin's prophecy: "Evigila-

" bunt rugientes catuli et post-  
 " positis nemoribus intra mœnia  
 " civitatum venabuntur. Stragem  
 " non minimam . . . facient et lin-  
 " guas taurorum abscident. Colla  
 " rugientium onerabunt catenis, et  
 " avita tempora renovabunt "

Urbes venatum cum viribus ingredientur,  
 Postponentque nemus, ludus ubique procul.  
 425 Strages innumeras obstantibus hostibus addent,  
 Mutus erit taurus, lingua superba ruet.  
 Hique prement variis tumidorum colla catenis,  
 Stent ut avita sibi tempora lege pari.

## CAP. XII.

*De expeditione regis Henrici cum maximo exercitu ad  
 Tholosam, et quod<sup>1</sup> ingressum in eam regem Fran-  
 corum obsidere noluerit.*

The expedi-  
 tion  
 against  
 Toulouse.

Tunc, si non cessit, cedet Tholosa dolosa,  
 430 Irruet in Francos, hinc magis ille furor.  
 Extitit hæc quondam Pictavis subdita juri  
 Egidii, consul quam tenet arte, dolo.  
 Ars, dolus, inconstans Constantia<sup>2</sup> ni subiisset  
 Consulis ejusdem jura secunda thori.  
 435 Nam leo tunc noster magnis hanc viribus urbem  
 Impetiit, ratio dum sibi jusque favent.  
 Dum parat ut ferro, balistis, ariete crebro  
 Aut ruat aut cedat, nuntius inde volat,  
 Regem Francorum, clausum sapienter in urbem,  
 440 Tela parare, necesse, ut soror ipsa jubet.  
 Rex velut orator legiones convocat, adsunt  
 Et regni proceres militiæque duces.  
 Ut genus exposcit causæ deliberativum,<sup>3</sup>  
 Ponit, distribuit, utiliusque legit.  
 445 Orditur, narrat, confirmat, sieque refutat,  
 Claudit, et ex istis quatuor, illa regit.  
 An dominum regem clausum subvertat et urbem;  
 An vivum capiat, consul et ipsa ruat;  
 Urgeat an clausos muris ad deditionem;  
 450 Exspectet potius hanc sine rege capi.

Henry  
 hears that  
 the king of  
 France is  
 in Tou-  
 louse.

Henry  
 asks the  
 advice of  
 his nobles  
 as to  
 pressing  
 the siege.

<sup>1</sup> *dum*, in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond of St. Gilles married  
 Constance, sister of Louis VII.

<sup>3</sup> A flaw in the metre, as in many  
 other places.

Hisque peroratis bis binis, concionator  
 Epilogo stringit singula, cuncta ligat.  
 Consulit inde duces, quærit, deliberat; ex his  
 Quatuor, utilius quid sibi, quidve suis.

455 Quodlibet ex primis tribus his, vis militis audax  
 Expetit, hortatur, id feritate cupit.

Ingenium procerum simul experientia rerum  
 Ut quartum teneat consulit, illud agat.

Regibus Anglorum facinus miserabile, regem

460 Frangere Francorum, deditioe premi.<sup>1</sup>

Clausis parcendum, pietatem solvere victis,  
 Urbem ne repleat planctibus, igne, nece.

Consilio procerum rex regi pareit et urbi,  
 Pars patriæ fuerat jamque subacta sibi.

Out of deference to the French king, Henry relinquishes the attack.

fo. 117.

R. de Monte, vi. 510.

### CAP. XIII.

*De profectione ejusdem apud Walenses, Anglorum regnum latrociniiis et caedibus infestantes.*

465 Advolat hinc, Anglos repetit, Walensibus instat,<sup>2</sup>  
 Quos dolus, ars, feritas incitat, armat, alit.

Hos indignari socios sibi collaterales

Jungere, lætari sanguine, carmen ait.

Subdola gens, fallaxque nimis, sine jure, latenter

470 Occupat, incendit, diripit, audet, habet.

Hæc feritate leo quanto propellitur, arecet,

Instat et instigat, cedere victa nequit.

In bellis audax, nec stat truculentior usquam,

Nam bellando mori gloria summa sibi.

Henry invades Wales.

<sup>1</sup> William of Newburgh, p. 125, also gives this as the reason. So also Robertus de Monte (Pertz VI, p. 510), drawing perhaps from the same source. French historians (*e.g.*, Martin, iv. p. 468) regard it as a mere excuse.

<sup>2</sup> The poem gives the impression

that these events followed in close succession. The Toulouse expedition ended in 1160. Henry was abroad until Jan. 1163. He visited Normandy in the Lent of 1165, went against the Welsh in the same year, and returned to Normandy in the Lent of 1166.

- 475 Dum vastant, cædunt, prædantur, regia virtus  
 Obviat, impellit, proterit, hosque fugat.  
 Mortibus alternis desudans bellica virtus  
 Hos illos jaculis vulnerat, ense necat.  
 Sic sors, sic bellum, nunc hos, nunc obruit illos,  
 480 Dantque feruntque simul vulnera, tela,<sup>1</sup> neces.  
 Hostibus ad tempus rex tandem pacificatis,  
 Partibus in nostris æquore vectus adest.

Having made a temporary settlement of Welsh affairs, he returns to Normandy.

## CAP. XIV.

*De Francorum gente, quod a Troja in Thraciam venerint, urbem Sicambriam sibi fecerint, sed post longum tempus per Valentinianum imperatorem bellis plurimis afflicti in Germaniam transierint; Galliam totam occupaverint, nec inde postea ejici potuerint, ideoque Francos quasi feroces eos appellaverint:<sup>2</sup> qui postmodum, per Karolum magnum, Italie et Alamannie dominium obtinuerint, et post multa annorum curricula, tempore Karoli Simplicis Francorum regis, Dani cum exercitu in Franciam venerint.*

The origin of the Frankish race: its descent from the Trojans.

- Francorum feritas Danorum proelia rursus  
 Concitat, et regem cogit ad arma suum.  
 485 Horum jam totiens claros experta triumphos,  
 Hinc retulit nullum jus speciale sibi.  
 Hos glacialis hiems, borealis nutriit aura,  
 Frigore durati mollia quæque terunt.  
 Illos meridies<sup>3</sup> solari lumine torret,  
 490 Jure resolvendo corpora, mollit eos.  
 Gallorum vires stravit vis Cæsariana:  
 Francigenis nondum Gallia nota fuit.  
 Trojani belli Francos subversio fudit,  
 Thracia suscepit Danubiusque simul.

Gesta Reg. Francorum (Bouquet, ii., 542, 3).

<sup>1</sup> *dampna*, MS. originally, but the correction is by the original hand.

<sup>2</sup> *Romani* omitted?

<sup>3</sup> A metrical flaw. See lines 495, 497, 519, and many others.



- 495 Nobilis urbs fit ab his Sicambria, clara tri- Founding  
 umphis, of Sicam-  
 Divitiis, silvis, flumine, vite, situ.  
 Pluribus hæc annis vigit, Valentiniani  
 Tempus ad usque, sibi subdita, visque sibi.  
 Nativa feritate potens opibusque superba  
 Gest. Reg. 500 Tempnrit Romulidas, hisque tributa negat.  
 Franc.,  
 543, B. Strenuus hinc surgit Valentinianus in armis,  
 Troja progenitos viribus, ense petit.  
 Germinis antiqui memores, cuneis galeatis  
 Sicambri statuunt prælia, signa, duces.
- 505 Congressu vario variantur vulnera, strages :  
 Hic fugat, hic cedit, sternitur, isque ruit.  
 Sævit vis Teucrum, Romanis cedere nescit,  
 fo. 117 b. Gloria Romanos incitat, hosque movet.  
 Romulidas gnaros bellandi viribus arcent,  
 510 Pro patria pugnant viribus, arte, manu.  
 Afflictos demum Teucros, nec jam superatos,  
 Thracia transmittit, quo sua fata vocant.  
 Alpibus ascensis, tenet hos Germania, Rhenus.  
 Hinc Gallos superant; moenia, tecta locant.
- 515 Horrida bella gerunt, sibi subdunt ardua quæque :  
 Hos timet, hic cedit Gallica turba ducum.  
 Roma duces Teucrum, transcensis Alpibus, audit  
 Gallica regna sibi subdere, bella geri.  
 Sævit Roma ferox, furit hinc Valentinianus
- 520 Cæsar: quos domuit Roma tenere nequit?  
 Imperii virtus Romani Gallica tendit  
 Moenia, sic Teucris prælia sæva parat.  
 Montibus inde Jovis, tironibus undique lectis,  
 Labitur, armato milite cuncta replet.
- 525 Bellis præteritis Teucrum constantior ira  
 Omnibus id præfert, vincere sive mori.  
 Ordine bellorum legiones constituuntur,  
 Tollitur hinc clamor, personat inde tuba.  
 Aër densatur telorum turbine multo ;
- 530 Pectora, thoraces, lancea prona subit.
- Defeat of  
 the Franks  
 by the  
 Romans.

- Congeminant ictus, cassis mucrone cruento  
 Finditur, armorum fulmine bella sonant.  
 Romani numero, Teuceri superant feritate,  
 Sed numerum feritas detrahit, ense secat.
- 535 Obstinata fuit Trojanæ gloria prolis,  
 Nam subit exilium victa, vel ense necem.  
 Nil sibi jam medium circumspicit, omnia temptat,  
 Ut leo jam sævit, ut ferus instat aper.  
 Æstuat, obtruncat, prosternit, fulminat, ardet ;
- 540 Aut Teuceri vincent aut morientur ibi.  
 Sanguinis hinc rivi campos Rhenumque eruentant,  
 Horribilis strages undique cuncta tenet.  
 Ut furor hostilis reprimatur, tunc Jovis ales  
 Altius erigitur, sed fuit inde magis.
- 545 Irruit in signum, stat ibi Valentinianus,  
 Hic furor Hectoreus vivit et ense micat.  
 Hic Marchonirus, Sonno, Genebaldus in armis  
 Ceu tria fulmina stant, ac feritate pares.  
 Hosque duces Teucorum Sicambria magna refudit,
- 550 Hi belli rabies, hi probitatis honor.  
 Intendunt cuneos aquilam juxta penetrare  
 Cæsaris, hic vitæ summa necisque manet.  
 Scinditur<sup>1</sup> inde phalanx, via ferro facta patescit, fo. 118.  
 Romulidum virtus obstupefacta fuit.
- 555 Prælia turbantur, Teucorum vis<sup>2</sup> sævit et ira,  
 Diffugiunt acies non sine cæde tamen.  
 Admirans Teuceros Cæsar Valentinianus,  
 Dum superare nequit, jam superatus abit.  
 Nominat hos Francos veluti feritate feroces,<sup>3</sup>
- 560 Res tulit hoc nomen quod sibi Roma dedit.  
 Hinc jam Francorum crescit cum nomine virtus,  
 Et sibi Gallorum subdita regna facit,

Origin  
of the  
Frankish  
name.

<sup>1</sup> A third hand appears here, proceeding as far as line 570.

<sup>2</sup> *vix* imperfectly altered to *vis* MS.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently a misreading of the

“*Gesta Francorum Regum*” (Bouquet, ii., 542). Valentinian is there said to have given them the name after their victory over the Alani.

- Nec contenta suis, Romanos ipsa lacessit,  
 Ac mundi dominam jam facit esse suam.
- 565 Hæc Karolus magnus mira virtute peregit,  
 Primus et in Romam Francia signa tulit.  
 Francos, Romanos, Alamannos possidet unus;  
 Unica vis unum sic tria regna facit.
- Tempore post multo Karolus cognomine Simplex
- 570 Sceptra gerens Francis imperat, hosque regit.  
 Deliciis mollita suis, quæ viribus obsunt,  
 Perdiderat geminum Francia clara thronum.  
 Non jam Romanis regnabat, non Alamannis,  
 Unum quod fuerat cœperat esse duo.

Charle-  
magne's  
empire.

Its dissolu-  
tion under  
Charles le  
Simple.

## CAP. XV.

*De situ Daciae, et de Lobroco rege ejusdem provinciae, cujus filii Hinguar et Huga Angliam cum exercitu intraverint [et] vastaverint, regem Edmundo peremerint.<sup>1</sup> Et [quod] in tempore supradicti regis Lobroci, Hastingus, cum filio ipsius regis nomine Bier Costa-ferrea, cum exercitu Danorum Francia fines ingressus eandem vastaverit. Ad extremum, ut pacem eum Francis haberet, rex Francorum consilio<sup>2</sup> procerum comitatum Carnotensem eidem dedit.*

- 575 Examen nostrum tunc fundit<sup>3</sup> Dacia tellus;  
 Vi, probitate, manu, elarius esse nequit.  
 Continet hæc igitur magnas bis quatuor urbes;  
 Metropolis Londis,<sup>4</sup> quæ diadema tenet,  
 Regalis sedes et regem sola coronat:
- 580 Tellus dives, at hæc frigida vite caret.

Denmark  
pours forth  
the swarms  
of North-  
men.

<sup>1</sup> *peremerunt*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *concilio*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> *judit*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> Lund, in Sweden, between Land-  
skrona and Malmö. Formerly  
capital of the Danish kingdom.

- Saxoniaeque Comes hunc suscipit inde liquorem;  
 Partibus ex geminis cingitur ipsa mari.  
 Argenti puri numismata conficit ipsa,  
 Exundans opibus, stat sine monte quidem.
- Waldemar now reigns in Denmark, then it was ruled by Regner Lodhrok, whose son Biorn Ironsides went forth with Hastings. Rollo soon followed.
- 585 Pulchra situ, silvisque virens, portuque jocunda,  
 Piscibus exundat fluminis, inde maris.  
 Hæc geminis telis Francorum perculit urbes,  
 Nulla sibi fidei luxerat ante dies.  
 Insignita fide nunc Trino servit et Uni:
- 590 Waldamarius<sup>1</sup> ibi regia sceptrâ gerit.  
 Rex fuit hic magnus Lobroeus, tempore cujus  
 Advenit Hastings, sic simul ipse Bier. W.Gemet.,  
 216 D.
- Lobroci natus fuit hic. Hos Dacia misit.  
 Paulo post socios Rollo secutus adest.
- 595 Hingar et Huba simul Lobroci regia proles,  
 Viribus audaces, sunt probitate pares. fo. 118 b.
- Funus post patrium rex Hingar, fratre favente,  
 Arripit arma, rates instruit; unda favet.  
 Danorum primi gentes alias spoliarunt,
- 600 Exemplar sociis in feritate pari.  
 Appulit hæc classis Edmundi regis ad urbes,  
 Has vincit, spoliat, vi, feritate, manu.  
 Rex igitur regi mandat, nil tale verenti,  
 Ut tria perficiat vel sibi bella sciat.
- 605 Thesauros tribuat, diis libet, sceptrâ sub ipso  
 Amodo detineat, sicque redibit ovans.  
 Hinc lento sequitur gressu subcenturiatus,  
 Æstimat id velut est quod vetet ille tria.  
 Audit et incautum circumvenit; undique septus
- 610 Clauditur, hinc capitur, silva retentat eum.  
 Cæditur ille, caput capiti, Christo sociandus,  
 Martyris obsequiis hic celebrandus erat.  
 Hostis discedit. Regem dum turba requirit,  
 Invenit hic corpus, nec videt illa caput.
- Martyrdom of St. Edmund, king of the East Angles.

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<sup>1</sup> Waldemar the Great, king of Denmark, 1157-1182.

- 615 Longius in dumis illud projecerat hostis,  
 Nescius abscissum corpore posse loqui. His severed head speaks.  
 Flet, gemit, inquirens circumspicit, omnia lustrat,  
 "Her" proprio ritu regia lingua sonat.<sup>1</sup>  
 Curritur ad vocem notam, caput hic reperitur,  
 Abbo  
 Floriac.  
 Hist. Pass.  
 S. Edm. 620 Gaudet hic invento, condolet ille neci.  
 Pars sociæ parti sociatur, sic sepelitur,  
 Thesaurus latet hic, nil ibi vermis habet.  
 Tempore condigno transfertur, et integer extat, His body,  
 like that of  
 certain  
 other  
 saints,  
 remains  
 uncor-  
 rupted.
- Henry of  
 Hunting-  
 don, lib. ix. 625 Martyris Oswaldi regis caput arcet in ulnis  
 Cuthbertus similis integritate pari.  
 Sic Edeldridæ corpus manet inviolatum,  
 Ut fuit integra mens, sic viget alma caro.  
 Jure pari geminos invenit Mediolani
- Paulinus,  
 Vit. S.  
 Ambr. 630 Ambrosius, mirum! sanguinis unda recens.  
 Urbibus et villis incensis depopulatis,  
 Hingar cum sociis in sua jura redit.  
 Solibus hinc fuis multis, Hastings in alto  
 Navigat, et classis bellica multa nimis. Hastings  
 becomes  
 Count of  
 Chartres.
- fo. 119. 635 Danus et ipse ferox Francorum diruit urbes,  
 Carnotum superat, detinet, obstat, habet.  
 Suscipit hunc laticis fons vivus, crimina delet,  
 Pluribus hinc annis vixit, et astra petit.  
 Cum petiit<sup>2</sup> Francos octingentesimus unus  
 Hastings  
 came in  
 the year  
 851, and  
 remained  
 as foe or  
 as ruler 26  
 years.
- 640 Quinques et denus luminis annus erat.<sup>3</sup>  
 Francia ter senis bis binis quatuor annis<sup>4</sup>  
 Pertulit hunc<sup>5</sup> hostem primitus, inde ducem:<sup>6</sup>  
 Hujus tunc numeri fuerat penultimus annus,  
 Altera<sup>7</sup> cum classis bella secunda movet.

<sup>1</sup> "Caput martyris, quod non  
 " longius infra densitatem saltus  
 " abscondissent, . . . prorupit in  
 " vocem . . . et . . . respondebat  
 " designando locum patria lingua  
 " dicens, 'her, her, ber,' quod in-  
 " terpretatum Latinus sermo ex-  
 " primit, 'hic, hic, hic.'" Abbo  
 Floriacensis, *Hist. de Passione S.*

*Edmundi Reg. et Mart.* (Cott.  
 Tib., B. II. f. 13).

<sup>2</sup> *Sc. Hastings, M.*

<sup>3</sup> *Anno 851, M.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sc. 26 annis, M.*

<sup>5</sup> *Sc. Hastings, M.*

<sup>6</sup> *Id est comitem Carnotensem, M.*

<sup>7</sup> *Sc. Rotonis. Adventus Rolo-  
 nis, M.*

In 876, the last but one of these years, another fleet came.

645 Octies a Verbo centenus, sicque quaternus  
Septies et denus binus hic annus erat.<sup>1</sup>

W. Gemet.,  
227 C.

## CAP. XVI.

*De adventu Rollonis cum Danorum exercitu in regnum Francorum, vivente adhuc Hastingo comite Carnotensi, et de depopulatione eorum.*

The arrival  
of Rollo.

Turbine navali Danorum clara juvenus  
Hinc mare sulcando Francica regna petit.  
Hos prius Hastingus, post fulgur Rollo<sup>2</sup> tonantis  
650 Duxit, flos juvenum nobilitasque ducum.  
Nudatis gladiis Francos galeata juvenus  
Provocat, invadit, sauciat, hosque fugat.  
Urbes ingreditur, succendit, depopulatur;  
Obstantes subieit; cædibus, igne furit.

655 Quam variis bellis insignis fulserit, hujus  
Carminis et brevitatis, et locus ipse vetat.  
Summa rei, cursu navali cuncta pererrat,  
Inspicit, explorat, diripit, ambit opes.

He first  
burns  
Nantes and  
ravages  
Brittany;  
thence he  
goes to  
Angers;

660 Primitus exurit Nannetum, jamque Britannos  
Straverat. Arturus nesciit ista geri.  
Ad classem remeat spoliis opibusque refertam,<sup>3</sup>  
Andegavim tendit, bella eruenta parat.  
Armis ornatus variis exercitus ingens  
Classes linquit, init prælia, castra movet.

fights  
against  
three  
counts;

665 Excipiturque trium comitum bello triplicato,  
Quos timor univit, majus ut instet onus.  
Belli principio fuit his tam fervida virtus,  
Ut classi referat quos vigor ipse tulit.  
Inde sub aurora claris structis aciebus

burns  
Angers;

670 Hostes aggrediens, hos necat, hosque fugat.  
Andegavim captam Vulcano lambere tradit;  
Sublatis opibus, littora cara subit.

<sup>1</sup> Anno 876, M.

<sup>2</sup> Duño, W. of Jumièges, and  
Wace are silent as to the facts nar-

rated as far as l. 898, nor has Sir

F. Palgrave traced them elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> *referta*, MS.

- Hæc agit. Instigat vis cœlica gnara futuri ;  
 Crimina sic plebis judicat Ille parens.
- 675 Audit Pictavim populosam ferrea classis, sacks  
 Sperat opes, tendit carbasa, currit iter. Poictier
- Advenit hinc urbem ; castellis undique victis,  
 Irruit, obtruncat, diripit, ardet, abit.
- Lemovicas itidem simili feritate perurit ; burns  
 680 Post Noviomenses diruit, igne cremat. Limoges,  
 Ad classem remeat, molitur maxima, fidit Noyon,  
 Fatis : cuncta sibi prospera, triste nihil. and also
- Armis insignis Francos petit, Aurelianum Orleans,  
 Obsidet, incendit ; sola stat aula crucis. but spares  
 the cathedral.
- fo. 119 b.* 685 Undique<sup>1</sup> bellorum strepitu vallatur et armis,  
 Simplicem cum Karolo<sup>2</sup> Francia tota furit.  
 Sed simplex animus, pugnandi viribus impar,  
 Aut ruit aut cedit, dum feritate caret.
- Nuper in auxilium Rollonis classica virtus  
 690 Venerat a Danis fortis amica ducis.

## CAP. XVII.

*De bello inter Francos et exercitum Rollonis, in quo  
 Karolus a Rollone duce cum suis superatur.*

- Ligeris in ripis munita classe relicta, Rollo  
 In Karolum Rollo prælia, tela, movet. leaves his  
 Ordinât instructas legiones, cuncta recenset, fleet on  
 Arma, viros, cuneos, cornua, signa, duces. the Loire.
- 695 Stans coram cuneis armatus concionatur,  
 Et patria lingua commonet esse viros.  
 Demonstrativo generi subjecta perorat,  
 Francos vituperat, laudat ubique suos. He ad-  
 dresses his  
 men.

<sup>1</sup> There is a change of hand which | (A.D. 876) was only *king de jure*.  
 lasts through *fo. 119 b.* only. | His actual reign began in 899.

<sup>2</sup> Charles le Simple at this date

- Orditur, variis superatis gentibus armis  
 700 Plures regna sibi substituisse manu.  
 Narrat, qui Dani, quid quærant, curve laborent,  
 Quæ sibi spes, aut quid prælia tanta gerant.  
 Confirmat, Gallos ut Franci jam superarunt,  
 Sic sibi Francigenum subdere colla ducum.
- 705 Confutat, quod Francus ait sine diis sibi regnum  
 Quære, vel quod in hoc jus sibi majus inest.  
 Concludit, gentes alias Francosque petisse  
 Sedes, divitias; Danus at ista petit.  
 Hisque peroratis, legionum consonat ardor;
- 710 Gloria nexve sibi permanet iste dies.  
 Rex igitur bellique duces Franci galeati  
 Adversis cuneis hostibus arma parant.  
 Dissueti bellis et longa pace remissi,  
 Cum numero superent, par sibi fervor abest.
- 715 Bellorum virtus est, ut Vegetius inquit,  
 Militiæ probitas, non numerosa manus.  
 O mira feritate viros, mirique vigoris,  
 Tot cuneos tanta sic penetrare manu!  
 Bellica vis, animi feritas, sedisque cupido
- 720 Danorum cuneos edocet, urget, habet.  
 Horribilis sonitus hinc militis, inde tubarum,  
 Exoritur, Danus belliger ense fremit.  
 Arma volant, hinc scuta sonant, lorica calore  
 Mollior, et cassis seissa cruore madet.
- 725 Vulnura congeminat Danus, nam cautior armis *fo. 120.*  
 Ictu continuo vulnus adauget idem.  
 Instat Francigenum virtus, impellere classi  
 Hostiles cuneos; vanus at iste labor.  
 Hinc violenta phalanx Danorum perforat ense
- 730 Regales acies, cetera turba ruunt.  
 Quos reperit primos confodit, sævit et arcet,  
 Nulla quies ferri, cædibus arva calent,  
 Hic Karolus Simplex, non simplicitate coactus,  
 Barbaricis armis arva cruenta sinit.

The  
 French  
 sovereign  
 prepares to  
 resist.

*Veget. De  
 Re Milit.,  
 i. cap. 1.*

The North-  
 men are  
 every-  
 where  
 victorious  
 in the field.



- 735 Fuis tot Francis, Danos blasphematur eundo,  
 Hos missos ovibus judicat esse lupos.  
 Flens detestatur, prædones nuncupat, orat  
 Ut voret hos tellus, fulminet ipse Jovis.<sup>1</sup>  
 Martyrium tribuit patriam defendere nis;
- 740 Abstulerant Gallis hanc prius, idque silet.  
 Francos sic superat Danus, quos Roma nequivit:  
 His etiam quondam subdita Roma fuit.  
 Plausibus insultat Danus, spoliisque potitur,  
 Nobilis iste dies, gloria perpes ei.
- 745 Dicit Francorum cuneos nunc nosse quid armis  
 Danus possit, et his amodo notus erit.  
 Sese Romanis præfert, præfert Alamannis;  
 Vicerat hos Francus, hic superavit eum.  
 Vastat et incendit, rēdit ad navalia, rursus
- 750 Instruitur classis, non remanebit ibi.  
 Subdere delegit sibi claram Cæsaris urbem,  
 Hæc placet, hanc solam flumine vecta petit.  
 O violenta virum virtus! o classis alumna  
 Belli! Vis animi quæ fuit ista tibi?
- 755 Aut tibi per medios Francos victoria summa,  
 Aut reditus turpis, Cæsaris urbe cares.  
 Quid moror? horribilis vi, ferro, principe, classis  
 Dum Rodomum tendit, subdere cuncta cupit.  
 Rollo ferus claudi legionibus imperat urbes,
- 760 Irruit, occidit, concremat, inde rapit.  
 Francorum medio Danorum ferrea classis  
 Transvehitur. Virtus hoc agit alta virum.  
 Sequana læta vehit classem; nec clarior ulla  
 Milite, divitiis, ac probitate ducis.
- 765 Dum Rodomum pergat, Belvacum cernere gliscit,  
 Exit, abit, claudit, diripit, hincque redit.  
 Sic auro spoliis classis jam tota referta,  
 Vi sedem faciet, dum timor omnis abest.

The North-  
 men ad-  
 vance by  
 water on  
 Rouen.

They  
 plunder  
 Beauvais.

<sup>1</sup> Thus MS.

## CAP. XVIII.

[*fo. 108.*] \* *De\* adventu Rollonis cum navali praelio apud Rothomagum, et quomodo urbem intraverit, Francone archiepiscopo obviante pacemque petente.*

The advance of Rollo on Rouen.

770 Cæsaris urbs celebris Romano germine creta *fo. 120 b.*  
A Danis petitur; novit, et arma parat.

Urbs antiqua, potens, populosa, decora, jocunda,  
Divitiis pollens, nobilitate, situ.

Labitur hinc fluvius dulcis potuque salubris,  
Navigiis clarus, piscibus unda ferax.<sup>1</sup>

775 Desuper adveniens alius decurrit in urbem,  
Utilis, at primus undique grana molit.

Description of the city.

Hinc alius similis cursum deflectit ab Ortu.  
Deserit Occasum tertius, inde fluit.

780 Fons ortu dubius mediam transeurrit in urbem,  
Et duplici cives utilitate fovet.

Collibus et silvis hinc cingitur, inde nitescit  
Fructibus, et pratis stat speciosa satis.

Creescere vix patitur botryones<sup>2</sup> frigida tellus,  
Munere tam claro Francia servit ei.

785 Mœnia non recolo, turres portusque relinquo,  
Civibus atque locis aura salubris adest.

Urbs igitur florens sibi cernitur esse perennis,  
Dum semper variis affluit ipsa bonis.

Armari socios Rollo jubet, arduus instat.

790 Et classi breviter concionatur ita :

Rollo's speech to his followers.

" O socii magni, legionum flos specialis,

" Se fore quemque virum nunc meminisse decet.

" Quid variis bellis tantos superasse labores

" Proderit, optata sede earendo diu ?

Refers to Hastings' settlement

795 " En Hastings habet Carnotum, consulis arcem  
" Obtinet, et Franci jam sine cæde favent.

<sup>1</sup> *Recognitio villa (sic) Rothom.,* | <sup>2</sup> *Boterones, Mai; botones, Omont.*  
M. | The MS. clearly reads *botriones*.

- " Hic nostri primus generis navalia bella  
 " Francis intonuit, nos imitatur eum.  
 " Fallitur hinc Francus quod nos acciverit idem,  
 800 " Falso culpat eum, nescius ille fuit.  
 " Quinis jam lustris tanta probitate peractis,  
 " Summo cum sociis culmine degit adhuc.  
 " Nec minor in nobis feritas, par fervor ad arma,  
 " Spes eadem, virtus maxima, parque genus.  
 805 " Nobilis hæc tellus, dives, fecunda, decora,  
 " Hæc fessis requies; hic habitare libet.  
 " Hujus<sup>1</sup> opes et amor me dudum detinet urbis,  
 " Omnibus ex rebus commodus iste locus.  
 " Hic aliud belli genus est, nam cetera quæque  
 810 " Urere, prædari, sternere moris erat.  
 " His tribus amotis, urbem sedem faciamus,  
 " Subdita sit nobis, integra cuncta sibi.  
 " Armis obstantes armis pellamus in urbem,  
 " Cædibus haud<sup>2</sup> multis ingrediamur eam.  
 815 " Ariete, balistis, superentur Cæsaris arces,  
 " Implacidus civis sentiat ense necem.  
 " Substrata<sup>3</sup> nostris tam clara viribus urbe,  
 " Quarum vis minor est flectere colla licet."  
 Hinc silet, et clamor legionum fertur ad astra,  
 820 Consilium laudat cum probitate ducis.  
 Sol oritur, rutilus geminatur fulgor in armis,  
 Cum fluvio tellus irradiata nitet.  
 Imminet hinc urbi, clangorem Rollo tubarum  
 Imperat audiri, scuta parare jubet.  
 825 Ordinat inde rates; quæ vi præstantior, armis  
 Promptior existit, prima tenere facit.  
 Præcipit hinc alias ferro transmittere pontem,  
 Civibus ut fessis undique bella gerant.  
 Armis terribilis classis tunc cernitur urbi,  
 830 Exerit horribilem bucina multa sonum.

as Count of Chartres.

Hastings not only did not fetch him, but was unaware of his coming.

Let the city be spared for permanent occupation.

The attack on Rouen.

fo. 121.

<sup>1</sup> *Pro villa etc.*, M.

<sup>2</sup> *haut*, MS., a common medicinal form of *haud*. Cardinal Mai and M. Omont amend *ac*, but (see ll. 839, 891, 892) *haud* is, as a mere

question of emendation, the more probable reading, for Rollo is represented as desiring to spare bloodshed.

<sup>3</sup> *substracta*, MS.

Rollo's  
fleet passes  
the bridge,  
but he  
finds the  
ground  
unsuited  
to his  
operations.  
He desires  
to spare  
bloodshed.  
Repasses  
the bridge  
and lands  
on the  
western  
meadows.

- Armata cives densantur littora circum,  
 Mœnibus et ferro civis obumbrat opes.  
 Occupat hinc classis fluvium, pontemque subiutat.  
 Hic exire ratem nititur, ille vetat.
- 835 Jungitur urbs fluvio, nec belli stat locus ullus,  
 Mons tenet hinc Ortum, lambit et unda pedem.  
 Ni stragem faciat, vel ni succenderit urbem,  
 Occasum teneat, quo sibi prata virent.  
 Inspicit id Rollo, monet istos parcere civi,
- 840 Transvolat hinc pontem, florida prata capit.  
 Exilit hic legio, tellus tegitur galeatis,  
 Dux prior arma rapit, stat violenta phalanx.  
 Prospicit Occasum locus hic, parvus sed amœnus  
 Sub clivo residet fluminis, urbis amor.
- 845 Perpetuam tenet hic famam, quam Danica virtus  
 Contulit, et belli nomine prata nitent.<sup>1</sup>  
 Parce tuis, Rollo; legiones, parcite victis:  
 Cæsaris urbs florens amodo vestra manet.  
 Hanc vobis Jesus tribuit, cum credat in Illum;
- 850 Non Jovis<sup>2</sup> ipse, fidem cujus habetis adhuc.  
 Novit quid, quando, quibus, et per quos operetur:  
 Pervigil hic semper, mundus et iste suus.  
 Non sors, non fatum, non constellatio mundi  
 Res movet aut mutat, sed vigor ipse Dei.
- 855 Hujus jus patriæ vestrum vestrisque futurum  
 Sic statuit, sic vult, sic jubet Ille potens:  
 Abluet,<sup>3</sup> ut novit, puri vos unda lavaeri,  
 Inclyta progenies vestra perennis erit.  
 Ira, furor, Francos agitabit, tollere quærent
- 860 Belligeris Danis quod Deus ipse dabit.  
 Aut velit aut nolit, tenet hoc semperque tenebit:  
 Cum Teucris Dani vivere semper habent.  
 Dux igitur classem jam cernens obtinuisse  
 Flumen, in armatos undique bella movet.

<sup>1</sup> The meadow to the west was called the *Pré de la Bataille*. W. of Jumèges (234, B.) attributes this name to the battle of A.D. 932 against Riulf. This passage asserts an earlier origin.

<sup>2</sup> See l. 738.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. clearly reads *abluet ut novit*. This dissipates the difficulty felt by Cardinal Maï.

- 865 Perstrepsit urbs planctu, miles furit, obstat et arceat  
 Civis, et hostilis clamor ad astra volat.  
 Urbis vis juvenum gladiis accincta repente  
 Mœnibus egreditur, cum duce prata tenet.  
 Dux lætus sociis captam nunc asserit urbem,
- fo. 121 b. 870 Civibus ac sociis,<sup>1</sup> "Ingrediemur," ait.  
 Egressumque globum paulatim cingere jussit,  
 Undique conclusos agminis ense ferit.  
 Aut classem repetas, aut vincas, aut moriaris,  
 Dane ferox! Urbem scito sed esse tuam.
- 875 Nascitur hinc bellum: cives hic pellit in urbem,  
 Ut classem repetat cogitur ille suam.  
 Hic fugit, hic cedit, ruit hic, collabitur ille,  
 In chalybem gladius figitur, igne micat.  
 Ast aliud<sup>2</sup> bellum fit ubi pons jungitur urbi,
- 880 Hoc illoque loco Danus in arma furit.  
 Fessi jam cives quæ Rollo prata tenebat  
 Linquunt, arma tegunt qui periere nece.  
 Rollo furens urbem consertus civibus intrat,  
 Cives diffugiunt, planetus ubique sonat.
- 885 Terrent hæc alios pugnantes littore, cedunt,  
 Insequitur Danus, mœnia capta tenet.  
 Mueronem metuens civis consentit, obedit.  
 Arcibus hinc captis, Rollo subacta regit.<sup>3</sup>  
 Gazas multimodas Danus deportat in urbem,
- 890 Membra quies refovet; jam labor omnis abest.  
 Principis ex jussu combustum, depopulatum,  
 Cæsum nil fuerat, urbsque subacta tremit.  
 Omnibus ad votum rebus jam Rollo peractis,  
 Urbes contiguas occupat, implet, habet.
- 895 Castellis, villis superatis, cetera quæque  
 Distribuit sociis, urbibus hosque locat.

A body  
of the  
besieged  
makes a  
sally.

The North-  
men  
surround  
them by  
degrees.

Another  
fight pro-  
ceeds at  
the bridge.

Rollo,  
driving  
back the  
citizens  
who sallied  
out, enters  
the city  
with them.

He ab-  
stains from  
slaughter  
and burn-  
ing.  
Occupies  
the neigh-  
bouring  
cities, and  
distributes  
fiefs among

<sup>1</sup> *associis*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *De duplici bello per Rolonem contra villam Rothomagum antequam eam intraret*, M.

<sup>3</sup> This is a wholly different ac-

count of Rollo's occupation of Rouen from that which Dudo of St. Quentin and William of Jumièges supply. The *Roman de Rou* follows these chroniclers.

his fol-  
lowers.  
Bishop  
Franco en-  
gratiates  
himself  
with the  
invaders.

Obvius exierat præsul Franco galcatis,  
Reddidit hos mites pacificosque sibi.

## CAP. XIX.

*Quod postquam Rollo Rothomagum cepit, Karolus rex cum Francis concilium habuit. Hastingum Danum, Carnotensem comitem, ob lingue peritiam, cum Rainaldo Francorum dapifero et exercitu, ad colloquium Rollonis misit. Rollo cum suis castellum Archas<sup>1</sup> veniens, se a Francis nihil tenere [dixit]. Post colloquium ab ipsis lacessitus, Rollandum, non illum Karoli Magni duccem, cum aliqua exercitus parte peremit. Hastingus cum Rainaldo principe fugit; Rollo rediens Mellentum cum exercitu, venit ibique iterum Rainaldus cum exercitu Francorum: commissoque proelio, Rainaldum Rollo cum plurimis Francorum interemit. Hinc Parisius obsedit; sed Francis pacem petentibus, ab obsidione cum suis recessit.<sup>2</sup>*

Intonuit Francis captam jam Cæsaris urbem<sup>3</sup>  
900 Imperat his Rollo sedibus, urbsque favet.

Insanit Francus, Karolus fremit, accelerato  
Concilio, queritur quod sua Danus habet.

Hortatu procèrum princeps a rege secundus<sup>4</sup>  
Mittitur, Hastingo consule dante manum.

905 Hinc adeunt Danum, qui multo milite cinctus  
Obviat, et campos militis arma replent.

W. Gemet.,  
228.

Charles  
sends Rag-  
nald and  
Hastings  
against the  
Northmen.

<sup>1</sup> *Id est pontem Archa, M.*

<sup>2</sup> This goes beyond the matter contained in the poem itself: the raising of the siege is not mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> *Id est Rothomagum, M.*

<sup>4</sup> "Ragnoldus princeps totius Franciæ," Dudo, p. 76. Our author is crowding events together, misled by W. of Jumièges. The Vedastine Annals (see p. 627, note 2) supply the correcting date.

Nec minor his numerus, sed Francus viribus  
impar

Archis castra locant, undique cuncta timent.

Dux Raynaldus adest; Hastingsi lingua polita,  
910 Ut sociis Danis Dauica verba sonat.

Inquirit qui sint, quis dux, quæ causa laboris,  
Vel si Francigenis subdere colla velint:

Hastingsi nomen Dani si fama tulisset

Auribus, aut Christum si pietate colant.

915 His breviter Rollo: "Dani sumus,<sup>1</sup> agminis hujus

"Dux ego, summa rei subdere regna mihi.

"Nos non Francigenis subdemur, non alienis;

"Quidquid subjicimus jussio nostra tenet.

"Novimus Hastingsi famam, nam belliger armis

920 "Francigenum domitor, marcidus ecce jacet!

"Christum nescimus,<sup>2</sup> patriis diis thurificamus,

"Atque Creatori, qui sua cuncta regit."

Singula sic tangens, Francis jubet ista referri,

Nescius Hastingsi consulis esse sonum.

925 Ille redit, narrat, procerum furor æstuat, arma

Congregat, et Danos ense necare parat.

Aggere defosso vallari castra suorum

Rollo jubet, planam deserit inde viam.

Imperat armatis sedeant scutisque tegantur,

930 Hostibus ut pateat parvula tanta manus.<sup>3</sup>

The French encamp at Pont-de-l'Arche, and a parley ensues.

Rollo answers that he will not submit to the French king.

He knows only the name of Hastings.

Rollo entrenches and orders his men to lie close within the camp.

fo. 122.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. clearly reads, *Dani sumus*. The words in Dudo, too, are "Dani sumus, Dacia advecti huc" (76 D.). M. Omont seems to have followed Cardinal Mai in reading "*nam primus*."

<sup>2</sup> No question as to their religion is recorded: this is mere poetic license.

<sup>3</sup> This passage shows that the author did not here draw *directly* on Dudo of St. Quentin, but *indirectly* through William of Jumièges. Dudo (77 A.B.) merely says, "Daci vero "intrinsecus hinc et inde per plani-

"tium castris accubitarunt, atque "*scutis se cooperaverunt*," but a few lines further on, in describing the *second* battle (77 C.), he says, "Normanni autem se conglobantes "*strictim accubitaverunt se, ut par-*"*vissima putaretur summa eorum*." William of Jumièges (p. 228), in abridging Dudo, takes this phrase and adds it to the first, saying, in his account of the *first* battle, "*scutis se cooperaverunt, ut parvis-*"*sima putaretur summa eorum*." Etienne de Rouen has followed the error. See also p. 628, note 1.

Roland charges into the "street" of the camp, followed by Ragnald and Hastings. The Northmen spring up to attack. Roland falls. Ragnald and Hastings flee. Rollo on his way to Paris sacks Meulan.

Ragnald collects an army and returns for revenge. The Northmen are encamped by the river.

Paris had sent untrained youths. Rollo's host occupies high ground and charges down.

- Aggeris inde viam Rollandus, dux legionis,  
 Ingreditur: Dani dissimulando favent.  
 Raynaldus sequitur, Carnoti consule juncto;  
 Danos scuta tegunt, sed dolus arte latet.
- 935 Rollonis subito, protractis ensibus, agmen  
 Exilit, et Francos undique mucro ferit.  
 Rollandus, non ille potens qui sub<sup>1</sup> Pyrenæi  
 Collibus interiit, cæsus ab hoste ruit.  
 Tantam Francigenum stragem cum principe consul
- 940 Cernentes fugiunt, vix sua castra tenent.  
 His Rollo victis, navali turbine rursus  
 Parisius tendit, lætus ad arma volat.  
 Classis Mellentum veniens obtruncat et ardet,  
 Diripit, at tantos pellere nemo valet.
- 945 Francigenis iterum Danorum fulgur adesse  
 Dicitur, et Danis bella parantur item.  
 Victi jam totiens, Franci necdum superantur:  
 Quod casu fieret, vi superare volunt.  
 Præteritis cæsis cunctis, alii renovantur,
- 950 Raynaldus remeat belliger, ultor erit.  
 Dedecus iste fugæ simul et cædem legionis  
 Advenit ulcisci, ruminat alta nimis.  
 Fluminis ad ripas, quo Dani castra locarant  
 Advolat, excipitur Francigenumque phalanx.
- 955 Autumat is fluvium Danorum sanguine tingi,  
 Ut cruor exundans Cæsaris urbe meet.  
 Confligunt acies, virtus virtute gravatur,  
 Armorum strepitu littora muta sonant.  
 Ignaros belli juvenes Lutetia misit;
- 960 Hostis ad arma potens hos fugat hosque metit.  
 Res miseranda satis! colles hinc occupat hostis  
 Ut levius sternat quos cava vallis habet.  
 Grandinis instar adest legio, Rollo quasi fulgur  
 Collibus elapsus ense micante furit:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An s before *qui* has been marked out by a pen-stroke. This seems to have been read as *scu*, but the same thing happens on line 954. *Sub* (*sb*) certainly follows *qui*.

<sup>2</sup> The account of this battle is a paraphrase of the few words devoted to it by William of Jumièges (p. 229). There is nothing in his chronicle or in Dudo (77 C.) as to



- 965 Danorum cinctus euneis dux, fulgidus armis,  
 Quo Raynaldus adest prælia dira movet.  
 Præteritæ cædis memor et quam sit turpiter actus,<sup>1</sup>  
 Exserit hic Francus quidquid ad arma potest.  
 Præterea timidus ne Parisius potiatur,
- 970 Ietus continuos sustinet, isque refert.  
 Impetus hostilis, de collis vertice lapsus,  
 Ensibus obruncat quos tenet ima palus.  
 Jam roseus fluvius Francorum cæde liquescit,  
 Reque satis dura mergit ubique suos.
- fo. 122 b. 975 Danorum virtus, quæ Francis cedere nescit,  
 Obruit, impellit, vulnerat, hosque necat;  
 Quæ duce confisa, quasi sævo firma leone,  
 Devorat, extinguit, stragibus arva replet.  
 Se violenter agi, prostèrni viribus, ense,
- 980 Franci dum reputant, cedere quisque cupit.  
 Vincant sive neci succumbant, nam legiones  
 Vincere Danorum non suus ille labor.  
 Hic jam Francigenum Raynaldus dux legionum  
 Viribus et ferro totus ad arma ruit.
- 985 Sed cedunt socii, fugientes dum retinere  
 Nititur, hostilis surgit ad alta sonus.  
 Dux tandem fessus legionum Francigenarum  
 Cum reliquis cedens, Danica bella fugit.  
 Heu sors flenda nimis! dum tendit ut insula sese
- 990 Detineat, telo figitur atque perit.<sup>2</sup>  
 Comperit id Rollo, fugientes opprimit armis,  
 Parisius veniens obsidione premit.

The battle  
rages  
round  
Ragnald,  
who en-  
deavours  
to cover  
Paris.

The  
French  
yield and  
fly.

Ragnald  
crossing to  
an island  
is slain  
(Aug.  
885).

the Danes occupying heights and rushing down on the foe.

<sup>1</sup> Thus in MS. The metre also is faulty, but *sit* can scarcely be spared.

<sup>2</sup> A certain "*piscator Scquane*"

killed him, Dudo (77 C.). This passage shows that it was while crossing to an island, probably in the man's boat. The Vedastine Annals (Bouquet, viii. 84) date the event.

## CAP. XX.

*Quod post occisionem Rainaldi Francorum principis Karolus rex cum Francis Hastingsum pro adventu Danorum culpat, isque comitatum Carnotensem Thebaldo, cuidam Francorum principi, auro distrahit, Francorum regnum deserit. Karolus ad Rollonem, pro pacis fœdere, Franconem Rothomagensem archiepiscopum dirigit cum Francis. Hinc rex ad colloquium occurrens, in præsentia Danorum et Francorum, Normanniam, cum Britannia et Gisla filia sua, Rolloni dedit. Franco archiepiscopus cum Rollone et Roberto Francorum principe Rothomagum venit, Rollonem baptizavit, Robertus princeps eundem de fonte substulit, nomen suum ei imposuit, filium regis despondit.*

Francigenas victos, Raynaldum jamque percemptum  
W. Gemet.,  
228 D.

Audiit ut Karolus, flet populique gemunt.

995 Tutum nil Francis, ferus hostis victor ubique  
 Armis impavidus cuncta pavere facit.

Viribus elatus, comperto quidquid in armis  
 Francigenum valet ars, absque timore manet.

Hastingsus culpatur in his. Auro comitatum

1000 Thebaldo tribuit, sicque refertus abit.<sup>1</sup>

Rex, proceres, elerus, fessi, ceu nauta procellis,  
 Ecclesiæ navim jam titubare vident.

Hastings is  
 blamed by  
 the French.  
 He sells  
 Chartres,  
 and de-  
 parts.

<sup>1</sup> This proves that our author preferred the chronicle of W. of Jumièges. Dudo, who calls Hastings "incentor totius nequitia," does not mention the circumstance that, fearing a traitor's reward, he sold

Chartres to Thibaut and disappeared. It is noteworthy that W. of Jumièges places the sale between the two disastrous battles, not as here after the second. Thibaut was related to Rollo.

W. Gemet.,  
231.

Dirigitur Danis Franco,<sup>1</sup> Rollonis amicus,  
Præsul et is Rodomi, Francigenumque duces.

Bishop  
Franco is  
sent to  
negotiate.

1005 His mandat Karolus vel Francia tota salutem,  
Danica mirantur prælia, quidve petant :  
Si regni partem, si divitias et honores,  
Munere gratuito Francia prompta<sup>2</sup> dabit.

Jure sibi fidei divinæ consocientur,  
1010 Et puri laticis purificentur aquis.  
Bis ternas urbes tribuet, cum Cæsaris urbe,<sup>3</sup>  
Quæque favent istis cuncta redacta sibi.  
Prospicit hæc tellus Britones qua tendit ad Aus-  
trum ;

Rouen  
with six  
cities is  
offered to  
him.

Qua Boream cernit, cingitur ipsa mari.

1015 Anglos Occasu videt, Ortu Parisienses ;  
Andegavis sedet hinc, Flandria juncta manet.

Tali pro terra se nunquam pacificari  
Rollo refert, tellus adjiciatur adhuc :

He  
demands  
more land.

Flandria tota datur, Karolus quam solus habebat :

1020 Spernitur a Dano, tunc paludosa nimis.  
Offeriturque duci post tota Britannica tellus :  
Suscipit hanc, nam tunc hæc opulenta satis :

Rejeets  
Flanders,  
but accepts  
Brittany.

Gisla, puella decens, regalis florida proles  
Dano sponsa datur, Francia læta favet.

Gisla is  
given to  
him in  
marriage.

fo. 123. <sup>4</sup> 1025 Rollo redit Rodomum, legionibus undique septus :  
Dicere musa nequit, gloria quanta fuit.

<sup>1</sup> The author, neglecting the chroniclers, here takes a liberty with history beyond the limits even of poetic license. The death of Ragnald, the siege of Paris, and Hastings' sale of Chartres occurred in the year 885. The treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte, which now follows in the poem, was arranged in A.D. 911. Two regular sieges of Paris, beside many battles and events of the first importance, happened in these 26 years. Here the treaty is

spoken of as the direct result of the battle in which Ragnald fell, although the siege of Paris is alluded to in the last line of the preceding chapter. See, however, lines 1041-45, in which a truer idea of time appears. The interval, of course, includes the "chasm" (900-911), which is practically a period lost to history.

<sup>2</sup> MS. has *prompta*.

<sup>3</sup> *Nota situationem Normanniæ, etc., M.*

Rollo, with  
the French  
nobles,  
returns to  
Rouen.

Jure triumphali Rodomensem Danus in urbem  
Tendit, Francigenum quem comitatur apex,  
Princeps Robertus, proceres et filia regis ;  
1030 Regni nobilitas, pontificumque chorus.

Eecce dies clarus rutilat, fons rite sacratur ;  
Hinc miles, populus confluit, inde duces.

W. Gemet.,  
231 D.

Rollo is  
baptised,  
A.D. 912.

Dux igitur Danus vivis submergitur undis,  
Hic vetus ingreditur, sed novus exit homo.  
1035 Præsulis officio Rodomensis cuncta geruntur,  
Astant pontifices, clerus et omnis adest.  
Suscipit hunc de fonte sacro dux Francigenarum,  
Nomine de proprio nomen adaptat ei.  
Anni tunc novies centeni terque quaterni<sup>1</sup>  
1040 Transierant ex quo fit Deus altus homo.

#### CAP. XXI.

*Quod ante baptismum suum per XXXVI.<sup>2</sup> annos  
regnum Francorum Rollo vastaverit, exercitum  
suum baptizari fecerit, eumque per urbes et  
castella Normanniae diviserit, Northmannos quasi  
boreales homines vocaverit ; lingua enim Danica  
north boreas, man homo dicitur. Et de ipsius  
Rollonis morte, qui post baptismum annis quin-  
que vixit, cui successit Willdmus filius ejus.*

Rollo had  
ravaged  
France for  
36 years  
before his  
baptism.

Ter denis annis bis ternis ante lavaerum  
Francica<sup>3</sup> vastavit mœnia Rollo potens.<sup>4</sup>  
Perspicis hoc spatio verum quod tanta peregit  
Bella, quibus pretium Neustria tota datur.  
1045 Contulit ecclesiis octonis<sup>5</sup> Rollo diebus,  
In quibus albatur, munera multa nimis.  
Connubio stabili, Francis præsentibus, alto  
Sanguine sponsatur regia virgo duei.

His mar-  
riage to  
Gisla.

<sup>1</sup> Sc. anno ix<sup>c</sup>xii, M.

<sup>2</sup> This originally stood xxxiiij, but  
the annotator interlines, *alias xxxvj.*

<sup>3</sup> *Francica*, MS., clearly.

<sup>4</sup> xxxvi. annis vastavit Rollo  
*Gallias ante suum baptismum*, M.

<sup>5</sup> The chroniclers say *seven*.

- Francigenum proceres redeunt, dux jura gubernat, Fiefs  
 1050 Partitur sociis prædia, rura, nemus. granted to  
 Northmannos<sup>1</sup> vocat hos homines, quia sunt his fol-  
 Boreales: lowers.  
 "North" Boreas, "man" homo Danica lingua  
 W. Gemet., sapit.<sup>2</sup>  
 218 B.  
 Exprimit hinc nomen Northmannia clara tri-  
 umphis,  
 Nominis antiqui tempnit habere notam:  
 1055 Neustria<sup>3</sup> fertur et hæc nova Danis quod sit ad  
 Austrum;  
 Hos fudit Boreas, Austria terra tenet. Description  
 Urbes Francigenum ter binas detinet armis of  
 Danus, et in clara Cæsaris urbe sedet. Rollo's  
 Omitto narrare situm telluris amcenæ,<sup>4</sup> domains.  
 1060 Ne nimius videar, dum satis ipse notus.<sup>5</sup>  
 Villas et burgos sileo gazis opulentos,  
 Nec castella noto mcenibus alta suis:  
 Nobilibus parco silvis lustrisque ferarum.  
 Insignes fluvii tractibus arva rigant,  
 1065 Inque locis variis cognoscis surgere vites,  
 Fructiferis lignis undique terra micat.  
 Nec maris aut terræ fluviorum commeaturas  
 Dinumero, quibus hæc commoda multa trahit.  
 Tellus digna suis legionibus, inelyta bellis,  
 1070 Gazis, cive, situ, nobilitate, duce.  
 Jam ducis exemplo legiones dantur in undis:  
 W. Gemet., Hinc Northmannigenum crescit ad alta vigor.  
 233. Willelmo nato dux successore relicto,  
 Lustrum post lavacrum vixit et astra petit.<sup>6</sup> Five years  
 after his  
 baptism he  
 dies, leav-  
 ing his  
 dominions  
 to his son  
 William.

<sup>1</sup> unde dicitur Normannus, M.

<sup>2</sup> A mere versification of the words of the chronicler, "Northmanni autem dicuntur quia lingua eorum Boreas North vocatur, homo vero Man." W. of Jumièges, 218 B.

<sup>3</sup> Quare dicitur Neustria, M.

<sup>4</sup> Nota pro situatione terra Northmannicæ, M.

<sup>5</sup> Thus in MS.

<sup>6</sup> Scilicet anno ix<sup>c</sup>xvii., M. The chroniclers say five years after his abdication.

## CAP. XXII.

*De urbibus quas Rollo vel Hastings vastaverunt.*

Cities destroyed by either Hastings or Rollo:

Nantes,  
Rheims,  
Beauvais,  
Orleans,  
Chartres,  
Tours,  
Paris,  
Bayeux,  
Evreux,  
Rouen,  
Angers,  
Poitiers,  
Noyon,  
Clermont,  
Saintonge,  
Limoges,  
Angoulême,  
Bourges,  
and Périguenx.  
Hastings and Biorn Ironsides besieged Luna.

- 1075 Urbes quas Rollo succendit depopulando, *fo. 123 b.*  
 Vel prior Hastings, commemorare libet.  
 Non simul has omnes pessumdedit ille vel iste,  
 Rollo sed has, alias pereulit ille ferus.  
 Iste tamen quasdam vastavit quas prius ille,  
 1080 Argenti nimii copia causa fuit.  
 Ecclesias taceo claras, castella subacta,  
 Urbes commemoro, nomina sola quidem.  
 Nannetum, Renis, Belvaens, et Aurelianus,  
 Carnotum, Turonis, Parisiusque simul.  
 1085 Partibus in nostris<sup>1</sup> Bajocas, Ebroëcasque,  
 Hinc Rodomus, quam dux fortis uterque capit.<sup>2</sup>  
 Andegavis sociata manet, Pictavis et ipsa,  
 Sic Noviomum fert prælia, tela, rogam.  
 Nobilis Arvernus Vulcano traditur ipsi,  
 1090 Sanctonum simili cum feritate perit.  
 Lemovicas florens horum vastatur ab armis,  
 Engolisma ferox cedit, et ense caret.  
 Hinc Aquitanorum caput Avaricum superatur,  
 Cæsaris hic virtus obstupefacta fuit.  
 1095 Inde Petragoricum succensum depopulantur,  
 Tunc petitur Lunis, urbs populosa nimis.  
 Hanc Hastings et ipse Bierus Ferrea-costa,<sup>3</sup>  
 Lobroci soboles, obsidione premunt.  
 Dictus sic, matris quod talibus illitus herbis  
 1100 Exstitit, ut ferrum respuat ipsa caro.

<sup>1</sup> Nota "nostris," M.

<sup>2</sup> *Tam Hastings quam Rollo,*  
M.

<sup>3</sup> Dudo and W. of Jumièges only

name Hastings as present at the siege. This chapter embodies the list of cities destroyed by Hastings which the latter chronicler gives.

## CAP. XXIII.

*De civitate Lunis,<sup>1</sup> quam Hastingus Romam esse putans obsedit, se mortuum esse simulans intra- vit, delevit. Hinc Franciam rediens comes Carnotensis factus sit : Bier dominus ejus in Angliam profectus est cum exercitu,<sup>2</sup> ibique in pace post multa praelia vitam finivit, sua omnia sociis relinquens.*

W.Gemet.,  
220, 221.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>Cingitur interea Lunis,<sup>3</sup> quæ Roma putatur,<br/>Hostilibus signis clausa perire timet.<br/>Est tamen interius præsul cum consule, quorum<br/>Is dat consilium, protegit ille suos.</p> <p>1105 Captu difficilis, timet ingenio superari,<br/>Nam dolus et virtus hostibus arma duo.<br/>Hastingus simulat se mortis solvere jura,<br/>Decubat hic lecto, præsul ad ista venit.<br/>Prædicat huic normam fidei, tingitque lavacro :</p> <p>1110 Ha dolus ! ecce lupum pellis ovina tegit.<br/>Cinthia dum Phœbum sequitur mundoque co-<br/>ruscat,<br/>Pervigil ars vivit, nec dolus ipse silet.<br/>Horridus Hastingus lorica fulgidus astat,<br/>Substinet et galeam sic ocreasque gerit.</p> <p>1115 Sistitur in feretro,<sup>4</sup> gladio lateri sociato,<br/>Armantur socii, vestibus arma tegunt.<br/>Exoritur clamor legionum, littora deflent,<br/>Urbs fremit, audito consulis esse necem.<br/>Præsulis officio corpus defertur in urbem,</p> <p>1120 Circumstant cunei, consul et urbis adest.<br/>Confluit hinc populus, legionum Danica virtus,<br/>Hinc et inde simul planctus in alta sonat.</p> | <p>The siege<br/>of Lunua in<br/>Tuscany<br/>by Hast-<br/>ings, who<br/>believes<br/>that he is<br/>assailing<br/>Rome.</p> <p>Hastings<br/>feigns<br/>illness<br/>and seeks<br/>baptism.</p> <p>Pretending<br/>to be dead,<br/>he is car-<br/>ried into<br/>the city on<br/>a bier.</p> |
|--|--|

<sup>1</sup> *In Tuscia*, interlined by the annotator.

<sup>2</sup> *cum* is in different ink : *venit* is inserted after *exercitu*, but cancelled.

<sup>3</sup> This account is possibly taken direct from Dudo (pp. 64, 65).

<sup>4</sup> *feretrum*, MS.

- Hi dominum deflent, illi pietate moventur, fo. 124.  
 Paulo post pietas luctibus horror erit.
- 1125 Fertur in ecclesiam vivum funus galeatum,  
 Exequias præsul jam periturus init.  
 Exilit e feretro Danus præfulgidus armis,  
 Continuoque caput præsulis ense secat.  
 Urbis ibi consul simili<sup>1</sup> feritate necatur,  
 1130 Vestibus abjectis Danica tela micant.  
 Clari sternuntur proceres, cleroque perempto,  
 Divus et ipse locus fit theatrale forum.  
 Vertitur in populum strages, discurrit in urbem  
 Hostis, et ingressus mœnia cæde furit.
- Luna is 1135 Hinc pretii vestes, fulvum congestat et album,  
 sacked. Urbis delicias quærit, anhelat, habet.  
 Occupat, obtruncat, conscindit,<sup>2</sup> diripit, ardet,  
 Arces, indigenas, mœnia,<sup>3</sup> cuncta, domos.  
 Comperit ut Danus Romanis arcibus istas  
 1140 Non peperisse neces, æstuat atque gemit.  
 Nam dominam mundi se subdere semper amabat,  
 Quod Catilina ferox, Hannibal ipse nequit.  
 Congerit urbis opes, subductis navibus, alto  
 Mœnia respectat, fumat ubique rogos.
- 1145 Tale Jugurta ferns<sup>4</sup> voluisset cernere regnum,  
 Cum redit, et Romæ mœnia retro videt.  
 Audit Romuleam Danus fore longius urbem,  
 Arces in medio classica bella vetant.  
 Hinc redit. Hastingo vastanti Gallica regna  
 1150 Carnotum tribuit rex procerumque chorus.  
 Lobroci natus socia cum classe Bierus  
 Anglica regna petit, prælia clara gerit.<sup>5</sup>  
 Pluribus exactis annis, hic morte sopitur,  
 Et claris sociis munera multa sinit.
- Returning to France, Hastings becomes Count of Chartres. Biorn Ironsides goes to England.
- W. Gemet.,  
221, A.

<sup>1</sup> The previous editions read *pili*.  
 The MS. clearly reads *sili*.

<sup>2</sup> *cunscendit*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> The pairing of the words (*occu-*

*pat arces*, &c.) requires a comma here.

<sup>4</sup> Thus in MS.

<sup>5</sup> Not according to W. Gemet.



## CAP. XXIV.

*De bello inter Robertum principem Francorum, qui diadema ceperat, et Karolum regem apud Suesionem, in quo idem Robertus occiditur, et [quod] etiam idem rex rediens, apud Peronam<sup>1</sup> castrum a Herberto comite, cujus sororem<sup>2</sup> praedictus Robertus habebat in uxorem,<sup>3</sup> captus in carcere obierit; Ludovicus filius \* ejus ad Anglos fugerit; Rodolphus filius comitis Burgundiae rex factus annis decem vixerit; postea Ludovicus, ab Anglis rediens, regnum paternum acceperit.*

[fo.  
108 b.]\*

Abbrev.  
Gest. Fr.  
R. (Pertz,  
ix. 402).

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| 1155 | Interea Karolo Francorum bella parantur,<br>Dux Robertus in his efferus arma tenet.<br>Nam diadema capit, tumidus vi fidit et armis,<br>Ungitur in regem, subdita cuncta tremunt.<br>Exoritur bellum, nam clara Suessio vidit                        | Robert<br>duke of<br>France<br>seizes the<br>crown<br>(A.D.922).                               |
| 1160 | Regem jure novum tunc subiisse necem.<br>Cum redit hinc Karolus, Vermendensis sibi consul<br>Obviat Herbertus, nec videt ille dolum.<br>Parronam <sup>4</sup> castrum consul monet esse propinquum.<br>Rex divertit, et is carcere claudit eum.      | He falls in<br>battle at<br>Soissons.<br>The<br>treachery<br>of Herbert<br>of Ver-<br>mandois. |
| 1165 | Nam soror hujus erat quam rex Robertus habebat:<br>Ut dolor altus adest vindicat ille virum. <sup>5</sup><br>Rex captus-moritur. Post Ludovicus ad Anglos<br>Confugit, hic Karoli filius unus erat.<br>Filius inde ducis, quem dat Burgundia, regnum | Rodolph of<br>Burgundy<br>is crowned<br>but dies<br>(A.D.936).                                 |
| 1170 | Radolphus retinet, plebs proceresque favent.<br>Lustris hic binis sceptrum gerit ac tribus annis; <sup>6</sup><br>Ingreditur demum flebile mortis iter.<br>Filius en Karoli tunc Ludovicus ab Anglis<br>Advenit, et patrium jam diadema capit.       | Accession<br>of Louis<br>d'Outre-<br>mer.  |

fo. 124 b.

<sup>1</sup> Altered by a second hand.

<sup>2</sup> *Filiam* was first written.

<sup>3</sup> *in uxorem*, interlined by the annotator.

<sup>4</sup> Thus in MS. and the "Abbrev."  
A change of hand occurs here.

<sup>5</sup> *virum*, MS. clearly. Herbert avenged his sister's husband.

<sup>6</sup> *Sc. xij. annis*, M. This chapter is a mere versification of the *Abbrev. Gest. F. R.*, Pertz, ix. 402, ll. 30-50.

## CAP. XXV.

*Quod Willelmus dux Normannie, Rollonis filius, proditione Arnulphi comitis Flandrie, Francis fauentibus, peremptus sit, Ricardo filio<sup>1</sup> sibi succedente. Post<sup>2</sup> Ludovicus rex cum exercitu in Normanniam venit, occurritque Bernardus Danus cum Normannis apud Bajocas. Pueri Ricardi magister, Danus quidam, comitem Moritolii Herbertum,<sup>3</sup> cujus occasione dux Willelmus occisus fuerat, lancea percussit, occidit. Inde bello exorto, rex Ludovicus captus a Danis Rothomagum ducitur, in carcere ponitur; filio deinde obside dato cum duobus episcopis, rex liberatur. Filius ejus in carcere moritur, episcopi liberantur, rex eodem anno defungitur, sicque ducis Willelmi interitus vindicatur. Huic bello rex Ducie, qui paulo ante in Normanniam venerat in auxilium Normannorum, cum suis quos adduxerat, interfuit.*

Guillaume Longue-Epée is treacherously killed.

1175 Consul Arnulphi Flandrensis vis sibi subdit

Jura Moritolii,<sup>4</sup> condolet ipse comes;

Quod Northmannigenum captum virtute vel armis

Redditur Herberto,<sup>5</sup> cujus et ante fuit.

Arnulfus retinens clausum sub corde venenum,

1180 Tempus et optatum tendit habere locum.

Hinc ducis alloquium Willelmi temptat inire,

Mandat, conveniunt, dirimit unda duos.

W. Gemet.,  
237, D.

<sup>1</sup> Originally *filium*.

<sup>2</sup> *post* in MS.

<sup>3</sup> Re-written *Monsterolii Heluinum*.

<sup>4</sup> *Monterolii*, M.

<sup>5</sup> *Herluino*, is substituted. Here and above the annotator corrects

the mistake of the text. Montreuil was taken by Arnulph, but restored to *Herluin* by the aid of a Norman army. The account is substantially that given by Dudo (105 B.) and his abbreviator, Will. Gemet.

W. Gemet.,  
238.

Stant hinc inde duces, procerum stat cœtus  
utrimque,

Quærit amicitiam subdolos ille ducis.

1185 Annuit iste pius, petitur quo transeat undam,  
Flumine transmisso cœditur,<sup>1</sup> isque ruit.  
Hostes diffugiunt, Normannicus ingemit horror,  
Nam transire vetat fluminis unda latens.

Vexit cymba ducem, nam navis deerat omnis,

1190 Hæc revehit funus, funeris instat onus.  
Devehitur Rodomum, propria sepelitur in urbe,  
Rollonis patrium confovet ipse latus.

Iram Normanni retinent sub pectore diram,

Ricardum puerum substituuntque patri.

1195 Robore cum multo, ceu mortis consulis ultor,  
Ludovicus adest, Danica turma furit.

Consule sic dempto, Normannos pellere quærit,  
Ira sed instigat quos dolor urit, habet.

Hinc Normannigenum virtus occurrit, et ense

1200 Cineta ducis proprii condolet ipsa neci.  
Rex petit alloquium placidus Normannigenarum,  
Sed dolus anterior callida corda facit.

W. Gemet.,  
242, C.

Stare Moritolii comitem Normannicus ardor

Perspicit, initium mortis at iste ducis.

1205 Danus in hunc audax oculus deflectit, et hasta  
Transforat, in puncto spiritus hujus abit.

Nascitur hinc bellum, ducis ultor Danus in armis  
Sævitur, et in Francos prælia dira gerit.

Francigenum proceres funduntur, et undique  
sanguis

1210 Profluit, et campos corpora pulchra tegunt.  
Virtus Francigenum regem dum protegit, hostem  
Propellit gladiis, is tamen ense furit.

Sternuntur cunei, Francorum bellicus horror,  
Arva replet strages undique multa nimis.

He is suc-  
ceeded by  
his son  
Richard.

Herluin  
slain (A.D.  
945).

<sup>1</sup> *id est, occiditur Anno Domini IX<sup>c</sup>XLIII., M.*

- 1215 Vertitur in proceres et regem Danica virtus,  
 Hos obruncat, et hunc cum feritate petit.  
 Horrida vis belli! furit is pro rege, sed ille  
 Vel victum capiet, vel nece sternet cum.  
 Cæsis jam cuneis, quæ regis corpus obumbrant,  
 Capture of 1220 Rex capitur. Danis splendidus iste dies.  
 Louis d'Outre-mer. Diffugiunt Franci, mæror urget, nec locus armis,  
 Nam Normannigenum vis violenta viget.  
 Sic dux Willelmus, Rollonis splendida proles,  
 Cæsus Francigenis fit dolor atque lues.
- 1225 Ducitur a Danis rex Ludovicus in urbem  
 Cæsaris, et clausus carcere fata gemit. *fo. 125.*  
 Regis Francigenum Karoli fuit unica proles, *W.Gemet.,*  
 Deflet et hic patrium cum pietate thronum, *242, D.*  
 Qui Normannigenum cuneos dum sternere temptat,
- 1230 Regni pro solio carceris ima fovet.  
 Bajocasinae locus hic stat proximus urbi,  
 Quo Normannigenum perpetuatur honos.  
 Belliger hæc Danus Bernardus bella peregit,  
 Ricardique ducis fidus alumnus erat.
- 1235 Dacia tunc proprium transmiserat inelyta regem,  
 Qui Normannigenis præstitit ense manum.  
 Rex Ludovicus, Normannis pacificatus,<sup>1</sup> *W.Gemet.,*  
 Carcere dimissus jura paterna petit; *243, B.*  
 Qui, bellis pressus variis, hoc deficit anno:
- 1240 Carceris urgebat forsitan ille dolor.<sup>2, 3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *pacificatus*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> The heading of the chapter gives a better, but still incorrect account. Two bishops and the child Carloman were given as hostages

for Louis. The little prince died in prison in 945, his father in 954.

<sup>3</sup> There is a change of hand near this point.

## CAP. XXVI.

*Quod Ludovico defuncto Lotharius ejus<sup>1</sup> filius successit, qui moriens duos filios suos Ludovicum et Karolum [reliquit], quorum Ludovicus rex effectus paulo post obiit: cui Karolus, frater ejus, in regnum successit, qui ultimus ex Karoli Magni progenie regnum obtinuit. Contra quem Hugo Capet, Hugonis Magni Francorum principis filius, rebellavit, eumque prelio commisso intra Laudunum cepit et Aurelianis in carcere, ubi et defunctus est, misit; sicque usque in diem hanc a filiis Karoli Magni ad filios Hugonis Capet regnum Francie translatum est.*

Abbrev.  
Gest. Fr.  
Reg.  
(Pertz, ix.  
402, 403).

	Hinc patris imperium Lotharius inelytus armis Obtinet, et Danis terra subacta silet.	Death of Lothaire (A.D.986).
	Cedit et is fato, natis diadema relinquens, Unus post alium sceptrum paterna regit.	
1245	Nam Ludovicus regni diademate sumpto, Hoc Karolo fratri, <sup>2</sup> morte favente, sinit. Dux hinc Francigenum, qui Magnus dicitur Hugo, Fata subit, natis dans sua jura tribus.	Accession of Louis V.
1250	Primus in his Hugo, Capitis cognomen adeptus, Dux fit, et in regnum jura secunda tenet. Suscipit Othonem fratrem Burgundia. Parvo Tempore dux factus, morte sopitus obit. Occupat Henricus fraterni jura ducatus, Nam fratri soboles nulla futura fuit.	Death of Hugh the Great (A.D.956). Hugh Capet opposes Charles of Lorraine.
1255	Post contra Karolum dux nobilis Hugo rebellat, Contrahit armatam cum feritate manum, Intra Laudunum regem concludit et arcet, Is tamen egrediens hunc probitate fugat.	Siege of Laon.

<sup>1</sup> *ei*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> His *uncle* Charles, duke of Lower Lorraine, who claimed but never obtained the throne. He is, however, treated as king in the *Abbrev. Gest. Fr. Reg.*

Charles is  
imprisoned  
at Orleans.

- 1260 Laudunum remeat, jam castris hostis adustis,  
Hugo sed rediens irruit, huncque capit.<sup>1</sup>  
Rex Karolus captus concluditur Aurelianis,  
Carceris ima tenens, tristia fata subit.  
Præcelsi Karoli soboles decurrit in istum,  
Tam clari generis finis et iste fuit.

Abbrev.  
Gest. Fr.  
Reg., 403,  
ll. 35-40.

### CAP. XXVII.

*Quod anno ab incarnatione DCCCLXXXVII. Hugo Capet cum filio suo Roberto in reges Francorum Remis sacratī sunt. Et de Gerberto, ejusdem Roberti regis māgistro. Et de morte primi Ricardi Normannie ducis, et Ricardi secundi, et Ricardi tertii, cui frater ejus Robertus in ducatum successit; sed is Ierosolimam perrexit, rediens apud Nicæam obiit, Willelmo filio relicto, qui postea rex Angliæ extitit. Et de morte Hugonis Capet, Francorum regis, cui Robertus filius ejus successit, quo defuncto<sup>2</sup> [ filius ] ejus [ Henricus, et post eum ] Philippus regnum obtinuit.*

- 1265 Insigni primo Ricardo fata tenente,<sup>3</sup>  
Nomen, jus patrium filius<sup>4</sup> hujus habet.  
Tertius<sup>5</sup> inde subit, par nomine, viribus, ense,  
Sed vitæ spatium, non probitate minor.  
Jus tenet hinc fratris Robertus,<sup>6</sup> nam sine nato *Jo. 125 b.*  
1270 Fatis cedit, et is sanguine primus adest.  
Ad carnis tumulum Verbi mens hujus anhelat,  
Nicæam rediens hanc tumulatus habet.<sup>7</sup>  
Unicus hinc natus Willelmus rexque futurus,  
Dux Normannigenum parvulus extat adhuc.

<sup>1</sup> At Rheims in 991, by treachery.

<sup>2</sup> *quo defuncto, ejus unicus filius Philippus regnum obtinuit*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> *Sc. anno 996*, M.

<sup>4</sup> *Sc. Richardus ij., qui obiit 1026*, M.

<sup>5</sup> *Sc. Richardus ij.<sup>us</sup>, qui obiit anno 1028*, M.

<sup>6</sup> *Frater Ricardi ij.*, M.

<sup>7</sup> *Anno MXXXV.*, M.



## CAP. XXVIII.

*Quod hujusmodi temporibus cometa apparuit. Eodem anno dux Normannie Willelmus cum tribus millibus navibus, contra Haraldum regem Anglorum pugnaturus, Angliam intravit.*

A comet  
appears.

Hujus temporibus resplenduit ipsa cometa,  
Cujus ab igne novo Neustria clara nitet :

Abbrev.  
Gest. F. R.  
401.

1305 Nam super hanc rutilans crines detorquet in  
Anglos,

Mirantur populi, Gallia tota stupet.

Nam jubaris tanti nitor ardet quinque<sup>1</sup> diebus ;

Ut reor, hic quintus rex radiabat ei.

Navibus instructis exercitus, horridus armis,

1310 Transvolat hoc anno culmina salsa freti.

Dux Normannigenum, Willelmus fortis et audax,

Tantæ classis erat causa comesque simul.

Angligenum regnum proprium fore dicit, et armis

fo. 126.

Hunc sibi vel natis quærit habere thronum.

1315 Ut Normannigenas Haraldus novit adesse,

Contrahit in cuneos quidquid in arma valet.

Sic cum rege suo furit, æstuat Anglica virtus,

Ac Normannigenis subdere colla vetat.

Testatur superos, Willelmum mittet ad Orcum,

1320 Ut dum regna petit, dividat ense ducem.

Dux igitur socias armare jubet legiones.

Parturiet bellum nunc diadema sibi.

Hinc propriis armis validus vestitur et ipse,

Accidit huic omen, quod videt ipsa phalans

1325 Nam, dum loricam vestit, pervertit in ante

Quod retro fuerat, nescius ille rei.<sup>2</sup>

Jurat splendorem divinum prospera cuncta

Omine jam tali significata sibi :

Duke  
William  
invades  
England.

The omen  
of the  
reversed  
coat of  
mail.

<sup>1</sup> The "*Abbrev. Gest.*" says *ferè diebus quinque, magnum jubar emittens contra occidentem*. The rest of the chapter is from other sources.

<sup>2</sup> W. of Malmesb., ii., 415, mentions this incident, so do Will. Pict., 131, and Wacc, 12647.





- " Rollonis claros imitari certo labores,  
 1360 " Certent et socii laudis honore pares.  
 " Subdidit ille sibi summa feritate feroces,  
 " Angligenum nobis subdere sceptrā libet.  
 " Perspiciat miles quantæ probitatis in armis  
 " Sit diadema sibi præripuisse manu.  
 1365 " Nam ducis est probitas, tum militis inclyta  
       virtus  
       " Tum feritas animi consiliique vigor.  
 " Desint ista ; quid arma sibi fient nisi pondus ?  
 " Nam timidis ferrum turpe videtur onus.  
 " Turpius in Danis fateor nil accidit unquam,  
 1370 " Quam si tot cuneos Anglicus iste premat.  
 " Alpibus insonuit, Normannos Anglica regna  
       " Viribus et ferro subdere velle sibi.  
 " Horrida fama manet seu laudis sive pudoris :  
       " Vincere, laus ; vinci, pessimus horror erit.  
 1375 " Victi Francigenis erimus derisus et orbi :  
       " Vincimus ? his nostri splendida fama nitet.  
 " Navibus impelli, vanum ; nam cedere campo  
       " Danus nescit ; ibi stare, jacere, suum.  
 " Millibus Haraldus confidit, nos feritate.  
 1380 " Prælia non numero, sed probitate vigent.  
       " Testis adest Rollo, devictor tot eunctorum ;  
       " Innumeros stravit, nec sibi tanta manus.  
       " Non tamen est nobis legionum copia parva,  
       " Cum ter mille rates impleat ista phalanx.  
 1385 " Tot siquidem jussi fieri, nec defuit ulla :  
       " Splendidior classis bellica nulla fuit.  
       " Nam si Cæsaream classem bis Anglia sensit,  
       " Hujus maxima pars est tumulata freto.  
       " Sic et Alexandri Magni dum comprimit urbem,  
 1390 " Navibus instructis bellica turba fremit.  
       " Hinc ex urbe rates proprio cum rege feruntur ;  
       " Classi classis adest, is ferit, isque ruit.  
       " Rostris præcisis, cuneos dum suscipit unda,  
       " Multis cum sociis Cæsar et ipse natat.

Three  
thousand  
ships pre-  
pared for  
the inva-  
sion.

W. Gemet.,  
286.

- 1395 " Hujus dextra librum tenet, æquoris unda sinis-  
tram,  
" Ripas Cæsar habet, Romuleique duces.  
" Illius hic urbis rex mersus deficit undis;  
" Aurea quem thorax pandit, arena tenet.  
*fo. 127.* " Cæsaris hac oculis delata fertur in urbem,  
1400 " Inspicit hanc civis, mœnia clausa patent.  
" Jam bello superatus erat Pompeius, et hujus  
" Flet caput abscissum Julius ipse videns.  
" Sic fortuna rates dejecit principis orbis;  
" Nostras unda tumens cum pietate tulit.  
1405 " Pompeii similes pœnas dabit iste rebellis;  
" Perdit jure caput qui diadema rapit.  
" Hannibal, in luna cuneos disponere suetus,  
" Stravit Romulidas, sole micante sibi.  
" Ex horum digitis gemmas detraxit et aurum,  
1410 " Carthago modios tres tenet inde sibi.  
" Nocte sub hac acies simili probitate parentur,  
" Solis ab exortu Danica sistra canant.  
" Multis cum cuneis jam traditor ille propinquat,  
" Æstimat incautos tradere posse neci.  
1415 " Impetus hostilis magnus, reor, iste futurus;  
" Sed virtus tumidos calliditate premat.  
" Ictus sustineat clypeus lassosque repellat,  
" Congeminet fessis vulnera dextra recens.  
" Cautè pugnando mortis discrimina vitet,  
1420 " Qui vitare cupit turpia damna fugæ.  
" Belliger iste locus victores sive necatos  
" Nos tenet, at retro pellere nemo valet.  
" Utile quidquid erat, reor, hic jam concionatus,  
" Colligo cuncta tribus quæ retinere libet.  
1425 " Vis Normannigenum, spes regni, splendida fama,  
" Armis nos moveat, provocet, atque tegat."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some of the same topics of course appear in William's speech as given by Hen. of Hunt. (pp. 200-2), but the orations are essentially different.

## CAP. XXX.

\* *De bello inter Willelmum ducem Normannicæ et Haraldum Anglorum regem, in quo idem rex peremptus est.* [ *fo.* 109. ]\*

The battle  
of Hast-  
ings.

His dux finitis, Normannicus insonat ardor,  
Quisque sibi firmat vincere sive mori.

1430 Umbra sub terræ cuneos Haraldus anhelans

Ducit, ut incautum dissecet ense ducem.

Cernitur a Danis armorum splendor, et ipsius  
Auroræ radiis jam dolus ipse patet.<sup>1</sup>

Nec fuerat minor his astutia, Danus in armis  
Degit sub tenebris, excubiasque fovet.

1435 Luxerat Arcturus<sup>2</sup> obliquis splendidus astris,

Cum pullis Pliades imbribus arva rigant.

St. Calix-  
tus' day.

Nascitur inde dies Calixti morte notatus:

Danorum calices Anglia sæva bibet.

Trinis ordinibus dux ordinat hinc legiones,

1440 Instruit Haraldus cum feritate suos.

Hunc summus planeta diem genitorque deorum

Vidit; in hoc Danus prælia summa gerit.

Perdidit ille thronum, novus<sup>3</sup> hunc sibi vindicat  
armis;

Quem tenet Haraldus, fit thronus ecce ducis.

1445 Omnibus instructis legionibus, hora diei

Tertia fit, resonat clangor ubique tubæ.

Armorum studiis princeps insignis uterque,

*fo.* 127 *b.*

Strenuus in bellis Danus et Anglus erat.

Configunt acies, armorum perstreperit horror.

1450 Undique concertat vis violenta virum.

Straverat Haraldus Norwingos nuper, et armis

Fessus cum sociis est probitate minor.

Stat feritas animi legionibus inviolata,

Principe cum proprio vincere quisque cupit.

1455 Cessat telorum jactus, pharetris vacuatis, .

Hastas fert clypeus, cassis ab ense sonat.

Harold's  
men were  
weary  
through  
their re-  
cent fight  
with the  
Norwe-  
gians.

<sup>1</sup> An interpretation of the closing words of cap. xxxv. in W. Gemet. ?

<sup>2</sup> *Arturus*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> *novis* in MS.

- Cernitur horribilis tantarum vis acierum,  
 Incitat has feritas ingenitusque vigor.  
 His<sup>1</sup> furor augetur spe regni, divite censu:  
 1460 Hæc Anglus metuens sævit in arma ferus.  
 Certent pro patria, propellant cædibus hostes  
 Rex monet, et Danos viribus ipse petit.  
 Anglorum legio regem circumstat, et armis  
 Horrida bellorum fulmine clara micat.  
 1465 Hinc fessas acies dux, belli lege peritus,  
 Retro stare jubet, suggerit inde novas.  
 Hic Normannigenum virtus, furor ardet, in  
 Anglos  
 Sævitur, et in regem jam furibunda ruit.  
 Angligenum gladiis pelluntur, et ense resistunt,  
 1470 Cum strepitu strages arva cruenta tenet.  
 Quis furor hic fuerit, quis, quæso, dicere possit?  
 Quæ vis, quæ rabies, impetus, horror erat?  
 Regis pro vita, pro regno dissidet Anglus;  
 Hanc petit, hoc quærit Danus in arma furens.  
 1475 Regales acies, Anglis cæsis, penetrantur,  
 Is petitur solus qui diadema tulit.  
 Nam belli fieret finis jam rege perempto,  
 Militis at virtus ferrea claudit eum.  
 Non nisi per gladios capiatur sive necetur  
 1480 Ullum restat iter, prælia dira vetant.  
 Labitur a centro Phœbus, Neptunia regna  
 Dum petit, armatis jam sua terga dabat.  
 Hinc ducis et regis gladiis acies sociantur,  
 Quæ fuit hic probitas exitus ipse docet.  
 1485 Andax regalem dux perforat ipse phalangem:  
 Angligenum virtus, gloria tota furit.  
 Sed Normannorum vis, quæ Francos superavit,  
 Anglos nunc superat, deprimit, ense secat,  
 Nam ducis in vultu proprii regisque futuri  
 1490 Regem cum sociis confodit atque necat.<sup>2</sup>

Death of  
 Harold.

<sup>1</sup> *Is*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> These two lines, *Nam ducis* . . . | *necat*, are omitted by both Cardinal  
 Mai and M. Omont.

Principibus cæsis regis lateri sociatis,  
 Angli diffuginnt quo via quæque patet.  
 Sic catuli fugitant, cæso rugiente leone,  
 Linquitur a natis ursa subacta neci.

1495 Dum regem proceres<sup>1</sup> . . . . .

CAP. XXXI.

*De consecratione regis Willelmi. De abbate Cadomensi Lanfranco facto archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. De duabus abbatibus, quas idem rex apud Cadomum fecerat. Et de morte Philippi Francorum regis, cui successit Ludovicus filius ejus.*

. . . . .

CAP. XXXII.

*De morte Willelmi regis Anglorum, et de tribus filiis ejus; Willelmo, qui ei in regnum successit; Roberto, qui ducatum Normanniae tenuit; Henrico, qui postea rex Angliæ extitit. De morte ejusdem Willelmi regis, et etiam [quod] Henricus frater ejus imperium suscepit. Et de bello inter eundem Henricum et Robertum ducem Normannicæ, fratrem suum, in quo idem Robertus captus est, Henrico postea Normanniam obtinente.*

. . . . .

Dux redit, hostiles acies rex promovet, armis *fo.* 129.

Insequitur fratrem, transvolat inde fretum.

Subnixus cuneis, Bajocas obsidet urbem,

Irruit hostili more, subacta rapit.

1500 Hinc, Cadomo capto,<sup>2</sup> castellum prætitulatum<sup>3</sup>

Cingit et oppugnat, nec tamen ipse capit.

Siege and capture of Bayeux.

Siege of Tinchebrai.

W. Gemet.,  
 (R. de Monte)  
 298.

<sup>1</sup> These are the catch-words at the bottom of *fo.* 127 *b.* *fo.* 128 of the MS. is missing, and about 100 verses are thus lost.

<sup>2</sup> By bribery, Hen. Hunt, p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> *Sc. Tenechbray, M.*

- Namque Moritolii cum consule,<sup>1</sup> ejus et illud  
 Tunc erat, adveniens dux ferus arva tenet.  
 Cum sibi multa manus, rege is<sup>2</sup> violentior extat,  
 1505 Ac numero superat, spes ubi summa sibi.  
 Instructas acies frater disponit uterque ;  
 Qui diadema tulit fortior esse cupit.  
 Nam contra dominum fratrem si praevalet ense, Battle of  
 Vis ibi non juris sed probitatis adest. Tinche-  
 brai.
- 1510 Jus petit ut natu major sceptrum moderetur,  
 At ferri probitas vertere jura potest.  
 Rex igitur proceresque sui, structis aciebus,  
 Concertant numero, vi, fertate, manu.  
 Consertoque gravi bello paucisque peremptis,  
 1515 Dux fortis capitur, consul<sup>3</sup> et ipse simul.  
 Quo primum steterant, fissis cuneis, capiuntur,  
 Dedignatur enim quis resilire retro.  
 Eventus belli varios, discrimina pugnae,  
 Perspicit ut captos, rex memorando redit.
- 1520 Subditur interea regi Normannia tota,  
 Hosque sibi socios Anglica regna petit.  
 Custodire jubet tantos, sed libera vincla<sup>4</sup>  
 Talibus indulget, deliciisque fovet.  
 Jam comites, jam pontifices, clerus, populusque  
 1525 Regis neene ducis jura verenda tremunt.  
 Milleui seni centeni terminus anni<sup>5</sup>  
 Fluxerat, et fratrum Neustria bella videt.  
 Hoc anno radians jam luxerat ipsa cometes,  
 Fratrum bella canit, tristia fata ducis.

<sup>1</sup> Sc. Roberto. Hic Robertus fuit frater uterinus Guillelmi regis et ducis, qui Angliam conquistavit, interlined by the annotator.

<sup>2</sup> regis. MS.

<sup>3</sup> Normannia sc. Robertus Moritoni, interlined by the annotator.

<sup>4</sup> Malmesbury (Gest. Reg. 611)

says, "in libera tentus est cas-  
 "todia." R. de Monte in his con-  
 tinuation of W. of Jumièges (298  
 D.) also says "libera custodia,"  
 but in his chronicle, "carceralibus  
 "ingessit tenebris" (Pertz, vi. 482).

<sup>5</sup> Sc. anno MCVI., fuit bellum præ-  
 dictum apud Tinchebray, M.

Duke  
 Robert is  
 kept in  
 honourable  
 captivity.

This war  
 happened  
 in the year  
 1106.





- Ut jus jure docet, pro causa quisque laborat,  
 1555 Partem nempe suam firmat, adauget, init.  
 Hæc pater Innocuus componit, judicat, urget,  
 Lites, facta, modum, fœdere, jure, fide.  
 Hujus Apostolici manibus rex inde sacratur  
 Ludovicus, honor maximus iste throni.

Louis le  
 Jeue  
 crowned  
 by pope  
 Innocent.

## CAP. XXXIV.

*De morte Roberti ducis Normanniæ, et de filio ejus  
 Willelmo, cui Ludovicus senior comitatum Flan-  
 driæ cum sorore uxoris suæ dederat, mortuo  
 comite Flandriæ sine herede.*

- 1560 Dux<sup>1</sup> Normannorum moritur<sup>2</sup> sub carcere fratris :  
 Natu major erat nec feritate minor.  
 Nobilis hinc natus, miles præfulgidus armis,  
 Fata patris metuit, Francigenasque petit.  
 Hunc Ludovicus clarus pietate retentat,  
 1565 Condolet is juvenis casibus atque patris.  
 O natura ferox ! Hic fratrem comprimit armis,  
 Sicque nepos, patruum dum timet arma, fugit.  
 Pellitur a patruo, sed suscipit hunc alienus :  
 O pietas ! patruus hic erit atque pater.  
 1570 Consul Flandrensis Karolus, dum perstat in æde  
 Sacra, confoditur, sicque peremptus obit.  
 Parcere dum propriis dominis sic Flandria novit,  
 Cernitur innatæ fraudis habere dolum.  
 Jus sicut proprium, dum nullus consulis heres,  
 1575 Ludovicus habet quicquid et ipse comes.  
 Francigenum proceres, Flandrensis et ordinis alta  
 Nobilitas assunt, natus et ipse ducis.  
 Curia sollemni Francorum culmine splendet,  
 Willelmo juveni Flandria tota datur.

William  
 Clito, son  
 of Robert  
 duke of  
 Normandy.

Charles  
 count of  
 Flanders,  
 having left  
 no heirs,  
 Louis VI.  
 gives his  
 domains to  
 William  
 Clito.

R. de  
 Monte,  
 vi. 488.

<sup>1</sup> *Sc. Robertus*, interlined by the | <sup>2</sup> *Sc. anno MCCCXXXIII, M.*  
 annotator.

- 1580 Filius iste ducis Roberti, Danica proles,  
 Militiæ fulgor, Martis alumnus erat.  
 Insignis probitas Francos illexit amore,  
 Aptius hæc nihil est jungere corda sibi.  
 Armorum feritas, virtutis gloria quanta
- 1585 Hujus erat, testis permanet altus honor.  
 Hoc insigne tulit quod vix sibi quilibet armis  
 Jungitur, horrorem dum timet ille viri;  
 Thoraces, clipeos vibrans dum perforat hasta  
 Vel ruit ille, vel hæc sanguine tacta madet.
- 1590 Armis indutus radiat murus galeatus, *fo. 130.*  
 Hunc, dum scandit equum, pellere nemo potest.  
 Laus fuit ista sibi quod dum ruit, ille vel ille  
 Consulis arma fugit, dum timet ense necem.  
 Quo fit ut ignotis ludens spatietur in armis :
- 1595 Nota viri tanti quilibet arma fugit.  
 Largitur comiti propriam regina sororem, *W. Gemet.,*  
 Fœdere legali consociatur ei. *(R. de*  
 Hinc rex, hinc proceres, hinc gaudet Flandria tota, *Monte),*  
 Virtus sic aliis sic sibi clara nitet. *299, B.*
- 1600 Invisus propriis, fit carus sic alienis :  
 Quos pellunt alii, Francia ditat, habet.  
 Pervenit ad patrum tam splendida fama nepotis,  
 Æstuat ac metuit perdere jura ducis.  
 Quis tumor est animi, rerum quæ cæca cupido ?
- 1605 Cuncta tenere sibi, perdere, sicque mori !

## CAP. XXXV.

*De bello inter Ludovicum seniores, juncto sibi Wilhelmo comite Flandrensi, et Henricum regem Anglorum.*

Cum Ludovico consul parat arma, cohortes :  
 Hos ambos metuens Neustria tota furit.  
 Cum natis Henricus adest, legit undique vires,  
 Assunt et Britones regis ad arma sui.

- 1610 Hos cum Normannis possedit Rollo subactos,  
 Quos sibi perpetuo Francia larga dedit.  
 Sed fera gens animo cervicem flectere nescit,  
 Ni Normannigenum vis violenta premat.  
 Horrida bellorum virtus utrimque paratur;
- 1615 Loricæ radiis solis et arva nitent.  
 Armati reges radiant ut fulmina cœli,  
 Vallati cuneis arma tremenda tegunt.  
 Instructos armis cuneos rex jungit uterque,  
 Ensibus arma sonant, ferrea turba fremit.
- 1620 Tres Britonum primas acies Flandrensis abegit,  
 Ex Normannigenis quarta repente subit.  
 Willelmus regis soboles, dux agminis hujus,  
 Ut leo cum sociis sævit et ense furit.  
 Francigenum virtus, Flandrensis gloria gentis
- 1625 Exerit hic quicquid viribus ipsa valet.  
 Impetus horrendus Francorum turbat et arcet  
 Vim Normannigenum, sed furit illa magis.  
 Præteritas acies cum Francis Flandria vicit,  
 Æstimat et Danos subdere posse sibi.
- 1630 Spes illos reparat, Danus succenditur ira ;  
 Spem fugat ira potens, spes ruit, ira viget.  
 Scinditur hinc acies Flandrensis, Francus in  
 armis  
 Sanguine jam madidus Danica bella fugit.  
 Horrisonus fragor arva replet, ceu turbine belli,
- 1635 Flandria cum Francis tota repente ruat.  
 Franci Flandrenses ut equos agitare periti,  
 Pondera sic belli vix pede ferre valent.  
 Hi, Normannorum bello campoque relicto,  
 Vitant, dum fugiunt, vulnera sæva necis.
- f. 130 b.* 1640 Rex Normannigenas laudat cum consule claro ;  
 Quod superatur ab his laus sibi summa manet.  
 Laus est Francigenis a Danis jam superari,  
 Contigit hoc solito, semper et illud erit.  
 Nam sibi nulla fuit gens belli pondere nota,
- 1645 Cujus tot variis sit superata modis.

R. de Monte  
 (Hen.  
 Hunt.),  
 vi. 486.

Battle of  
 Breuille  
 (A.D.  
 1119).

## CAP. XXXVI.

*Quod post predictum bellum, ubi rex Francorum cum comite Flandriae superatus erat, dum rex Anglorum Henricus in Angliam transit, filii ejus Willelmus et Ricardus cum multis naufragio perierunt, Merlino id antea prophetizante. Et de morte comitis Flandriae.<sup>1</sup>*

Cum natis a Marte redit rex belliger audax;  
 Flandria, Francigenæ jam sua jura petunt.  
 Neustria Normannis remanet cum laude triumphi,  
 Claris cum spoliis Danica turba redit.

1650 Sic dum ventus adest, dum silvas concutit altas,  
 Radix fixa manet, robora turbo quatit,  
 Gallorum turres rugitum<sup>2</sup> jure leonis

Quod timeant, vates præcinit ille novus.

At leo cum binis catulis dum tendit ad Anglos,

Drowning  
 of Prince  
 William  
 (A.D.  
 1120).

1655 Piscibus hos<sup>3</sup> linoquit, quos vorat unda freti.

Angligeni regni scit cursum diva potestas;

Quanta sit hæc, vates cœlicus ille canit.

Præteritis signis præterendit vera futura,

Et sacri radiis flaminis ista videt.

1660 Regni totius summam describit, et ipsa

Saxonicae gentis prælia primo refert.

Præcinit hinc regno quidquid videt esse futurum.

Stringens cuncta brevi, terminat arcæ poli.

Ni jam prætereat, nescis quid vaticinetur;

1665 Dum transacta vides, credere cuncta licet.

Ignotus David est, ignotus sic Ysaïas,

Jam transacta canunt, et tibi tecta patent.

Filius inde ducis Roberti, consulis arcem

Flandria cui tribuit, vivere desit ibi.

<sup>1</sup> Here in the MS. occur the words: *expliciant capitula libri primi, incipiunt capitula libri secundi.*

<sup>2</sup> A flaw in the metre. See p. 600, note 3, for Merlin's words.

<sup>3</sup> *hoc*, MS.

- 1670 Astans cum sociis castello, vulnere parvo  
 Læditur in dextra, nilque doloris inest.  
 Hoc minimum negligit, sed parvo jure neglecto  
 Crescit et inflatur quod putat esse nihil.  
 Igneus ingreditur<sup>1</sup> in parvo vulnere<sup>2</sup> morbus,
- 1675 Ut dextram reseceat physicus<sup>1</sup> ipse jubet.  
 Vel totus vivet, vel totus jam morietur,  
 Nulla cohæret ei pars sine parte sui.  
 Sic cedit fati, Hector sic deficit alter,  
 Non probus, at probitas; non ferus, immo leo.
- 1680 Terminus hic Verbi centenus bis duodenus  
 Millenusque simul necne quaternus erat.

Death of  
 William  
 Clito in  
 1128.

R. de  
 Monte,  
 vi. 489.

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<sup>1</sup> These metrical errors are the last which will be pointed out. | <sup>2</sup> Thus in MS.

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LIBER SECUNDUS.

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## INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS.

### CAP. I.

*De adventu Henrici regis ab Anglia; tuncque cometa apparuit, isque paulo post apud Castrum Leonum obiit, corpore ipsius apud Radingensem abbatiam suam delato.*

		Inde cometa micat, rex tunc Henricus ab Anglis	
		Advolat, ulterius non rediturus adest.	Appearance of a comet.
		Efferus iste leo Castellum jure Leonum	
		Advenit, et procerum confluit ampla manus. <sup>1</sup>	Henry returns from England.
fo. 131.	5	Isque cibo sumptas murænas semper amavit, Ambrosii dictum nesciit iste reor. <sup>2</sup>	
		Murænam repetens ad ripam sibilat anguis,	Dies from the effects of eating lampreys.
		Amplexus ineunt, illaque fœta redit;	
		Sicque venenato proles ex fœdere nata	
10		Pestiferum multis contulit ipsa cibum, Et licet expressum purgetur ab igne venenum, Omne venenosum qui timet, ille sapit. Inscius hanc comedens moritur vel debilitatur, Dulcia dum sumit cruda venena cibo.	
15		Ultimus ista cibum deflendi jure leonis Extat, et hic causa dicitur esse necis. Rex humeris procerum defunctus fertur in urbem <sup>3</sup> Cæsaris, et planctus horridus arva tenet.	

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Mai marks here a lacuna of 100 verses. The ancient paging of the MS., however, shows that there is nothing wanting.

<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Mai's edition has the

note, "In Physiologo, qui est liber "spurius."

<sup>3</sup> *Sc. anno MCXXXV. obiit Henricus primus, M.*

- Rumor ut hoc prodit, prædonum turba resurgit,  
 20 Justitiæ trames, hoc moriente, ruit.  
 Quantus erat vivens, jus mortis concinit hujus,  
 Judice sublato, fraus, dolus ecce viget.  
 Hujus corpus habet, quam condidit, ipsa Radingis,  
 Ecclesiam Prati<sup>1</sup> cor cerebrunque fovet.  
 25 Horrendus turbo mortem præcesserat hujus:  
 Horrida fana volat, turbida cuncta facit.  
 Millenis annis decies denos sociabis  
 Septem lustra simul, cum subit iste polum.<sup>2</sup>  
 Cum frater capitur, senis regnaverat annis,  
 30 Post totidem lustris se videt esse dueem.  
 Heres nata<sup>3</sup> sibi pro natis sola relicta,  
 Consulis Andegavis nobilis uxor erat.  
 Parvulus huic natus<sup>4</sup> dux, consul, rexque futurus,  
 Temnitur a Stephano,<sup>5</sup> qui diadema capit,  
 35 Quique nepos regis, consul præclarus in armis,  
 Angligenas subicit, cuncta silere facit.  
 Ternis hic lustris regnat eum quatuor annis,  
 Henricus junior splendet in arce throni.<sup>6</sup>

Reading  
has his  
body, Des  
Prés his  
heart and  
brain.  
He died in  
1135.

The usur-  
pation of  
Stephen  
lasted 19  
years.

R. de  
Monte,  
vi. 491.

<sup>1</sup> On an erasure.

<sup>2</sup> M<sup>CXXXV</sup>., M.

<sup>3</sup> *Id est filia Matildis nomine*, M.

<sup>4</sup> *nomine Henricus*, M.

<sup>5</sup> *Stephanus, qui regnum Anglia occupaverat, decessit Anno Domini mcliiij. et regnum rediit ad Henricum filium Matildis*, M.

<sup>6</sup> *comite Bononie*, M.

## CAP. II.

*De morte comitis Pictavensis, et de filia ejus, quam Ludovicus junior in conjugium cum comitatu, patre Ludovico vivente, accepit. Et de ecclesia Pisseii, quam Beccenses monachi ad se pertinere dicunt.<sup>1</sup> Quodque propter propinquitatem generis Ludovicus junior Francorum rex uxorem suam dimisit, ipsaque postea Henrico duci Normannia regique Anglorum nupsit.*

Abbrev.  
Gest. Fr.  
Reg.  
(Pertz,  
ix. 406).

- Hujus regis avi mortem mors Pictaviensis  
40 Consulis insequitur, alter ut annus adest.  
Unica<sup>2</sup> sola sibi fuit heres jure ducatus,  
Nam Raymundus abest frater et ipse ducis.  
Dum tumulum petit is, fit princeps Antiochensis,  
Ulterius patrium nec videt iste solum.  
45 Hinc Ludovicus neptem sibi copulat hujus,  
Et dux efficitur dum pater ipse viget.  
Deserit hoc anno vitam rex Francicus iste,  
Parisius luget, funera martyr habet.  
Hic breviter refero factum, quod displicet, hujus,  
50 Tum quia natus adest, tum quia culpa gravis.  
Novit et hoc natus, et culpam fama retractat;  
Filius hanc reprimat, culpa repente ruet.  
Nobilis ecclesiam structuræ nobile castrum  
Passeium<sup>3</sup> servat, clarus et ipse locus.  
fo. 131 b. 55 Hanc cum præbendis pater hujus contulit olim  
Ecclesiæ Becci; clerus ad ista dolet.  
Artis quicquid habet simul excitat, urget, et urit,  
Officio, lingua, munere cuncta ligat.  
Rhetor, causidicus, regis flectuntur ad aures,  
60 Flexerat hos aurum, flectere corda potens.  
Ariete ceu erebro pulsatur rex; tamen hujus  
Mens inflexibilis, inviolata manet.

Death of  
William X.  
of Aquit-  
taine  
(in 1137).  
Eleanor,  
marries  
Louis le  
Jeune  
(2 Aug.  
1137).  
Death of  
Louis VI.  
(1 Aug.  
1137).  
The author  
records an  
injustice  
done by  
Louis VI.  
which may  
be re-  
dressed by  
his son,  
Louis VII.  
King  
Philip had  
given the  
church of  
Poissy to  
the monks  
of Bec.  
The secular  
clergy  
hired ad-  
vocates to  
plead their  
cause be-  
fore the  
king.

<sup>1</sup> *ad se—dicunt*, interlined by the annotator.

<sup>2</sup> The "*Abbrev. Gest. F. R.*"

errs. She had a sister named Petronilla.

<sup>3</sup> Might be read *Pesseium*.

- Quid latet in fundo scit, novit ubi dolor angit,  
 Dirimit in puncto quod parat arte dolus.  
 The king confirmed his gift. 65 Donum confirmat, causæque ligamina solvit,  
 The clergy awaited his death and then re-  
 newed their suit. 70 Actor quæ replicat terminat iste brevi.  
 Clericus ecclesia se perspicit ut spoliatum,  
 Regia jura timens, vulnere jure tumet.  
 Optat et expectat Fatorum fila secari,  
 70 Terminus hic regis si tamen esse queat.  
 Nec spe frustratur; nam multis deinde diebus  
 Exactis moritur; clericus ipse favet.  
 Hinc causam renovat, queritur se non spoliatum  
 Æqua lance, sibi curia testis erit.  
 75 Se vi regali pulsum, nec jure coactum,  
 Romæ judicium nec licuisse<sup>1</sup> peti.  
 They used bribery. Testibus id geminis, Albino necne Rufino,  
 Comprobat, hi fratres causidicique simul.  
 Tullius eloquii fons, ipse Salustius acer  
 80 Istis congregiendi tunc sine voce foret.  
 Curia clara nitet quæ nunquam subditur istis:  
 Subdita, fit vilis, nam sine jure manet.  
 Reges, pontifices, proceres, vis comprimit horum,  
 Bella, neces, urbes, excitat, auget,<sup>2</sup> habet.  
 85 Subdolos Albinus rhetor, linguaque politus  
 Centies obtulerat quatuor ipse libras.<sup>3</sup>  
 Causa ligatur in his, latet hic facundia tota,  
 Hic solus superat, prævalet, ore ligat.  
 Sic regem, proceres, ars hujus cingit et artat,  
 90 Ac in velle suum regia corda trahit.  
 Their unlawful arts prevailing, King Louis VI. ordered the monks to be expelled. Hinc Ludovicus monachos expellere jussit;  
 Sic patris hic animæ consulit, immo suæ!  
 Inde per Albinum præbendas clerus adeptas  
 Dividit has natis conjugibusque suis.  
 95 Hicque preces fletus fundunt pro funere regis,  
 Nam monachus pulsus desiit ista quidem.

<sup>1</sup> *licius se*, MS.<sup>2</sup> *auget*, MS.<sup>3</sup> *libros*, MS.

Regum Francigenum donum primum fuit illud  
Ecclesie Becci, finis et iste manet.

Ex horum donis id solum Beccus habebat,

100 Abstulit Albinus quod niger ille tenet.

Ludovicus obit, cujus jam filius, heres

Nominis et regni, jus regit omne patris.

Ungitur hic, annis centum, sex, mille peractis,

Sexies et quinis additus unus erit.

105 Sic rex Francigenum, sic dux Acquitanicus extat,

Uxor et ipsa simul jam diadema gerit.

Esse sed hanc regis testatur fama propinquar,

Hosque sibi jungi cœlica jura vetant.

Hinc proceres, hinc pontifices, hinc turba susurrat,

110 Auribus amborum funditur inde sonus.

Connubium tantum solvi concedit uterque :

Amplexus varios quærere quemque licet.

Hinc consanguinitas horum juratur utrimque :

Inde solum patrium libera stella petit.

115 Comparat hanc avium<sup>1</sup> reginæ providus ille,

Sic aquilam rupti fœderis<sup>2</sup> ore canit.

Hanc sibi reginam prospexerat ille futuram,

Hujus nam geminum fert diadema caput.

Copulat hanc sibi dux, consul simul, ipse ducatum<sup>3</sup>

120 Occupat ; amborum sic triplicatur honos.

Conclusos triplici Gallos tenet iste ducatu,

Elatos Britones associare libet.

Louis VI.  
died, and  
his son,  
who reigns,  
was a-  
pointed in  
1137.

Louis VII.  
was once  
also Duke  
of Aquit-  
taine.

His di-  
vorce from  
Eleanor on  
ground of  
consan-  
guinity.

The refer-  
ence to this  
event in  
Merlin's  
prophecy.

Eleanor  
marries  
Henry  
duke of  
Normandy.

<sup>1</sup> Altered by erasure.

<sup>2</sup> See note 2, p. 603, for the pas-  
sage from Geoffrey of Monmouth.

<sup>3</sup> *Normannie* interlined by the  
annotator above *dux* ; *Andegavie*  
above *consul* ; *scilicet Pictavie*  
attached in margin to *ducatum*.

## CAP. III.

*Quod anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLIV., Henricus dux Normannie in regem Anglorum unctus sit, et de discordiis inter ipsum et Ludovicum Francorum regem; ubi ad designandum quod comes Andegavensis\* et Pictaviensis Francorum [fo. 109 b.]\* regi subiciantur, de Hilderico rege Francorum, qui ultimus ex prosapia Dagoberti regnavit, et de Pipino Francorum duce pauca narrantur.*

Henry duke of Normandy becomes king of England in 1154.

Fourteen years later he repudiates his fealty to Louis.

The Merovingians: Dagobert and his successors, the "Rois Fai-néants."

- Dux binus, consul geminus, rex Anglicus idem,  
Soluta tanta regit, continet, arcet, habet.
- 125 Invida corda movet, quod solus, quod specialis  
Terris, divitiis, conjugis, prole, throno.  
Annis a Verbo transactis mille quaternis  
Quindecies denis, is diadema tulit.<sup>1</sup>  
Bis septem socias,<sup>2</sup> regis cum Francigenarum
- 130 Respuit iste thronum, temnit habere jugum.  
Quod quid sit paucis referam, proluxa notabo,  
Regalemque viam, vera loquendo, sequar.  
Inter Francigenum reges fulsit Dagobertus  
Nobilitate, throno, viribus, ense, fide.
- 135 Hujus progenies multo proluxior ævo  
Tempore diverso Gallica scepra gerit.  
Ultimus ex istis Francorum fert diadema  
Childericus, at is segnis et hebes erat.  
Nomine regali solo contentus<sup>3</sup> ab armis
- 140 Abstinet, et metuit prelia, tela, necem.

<sup>1</sup> meliij., M.

<sup>2</sup> melxviiij., M. See l. 424.

<sup>3</sup> The following disconnected passages from Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni* (Pertz, ii. 413) may be compared with the several lines of this poem mentioned in connexion with each: — (i.) *regis tantum*

*nomine contentus*, cf. l. 140 of the "Draco;" (ii.) *erine profuso*, l. 157; (iii.) *legatos undecunque venientes audiret, eisque abentibus responsa, que erat edoctus vel etiam jussus . . . redderet*, ll. 159–161; (iv.) *quod et præfectus aule . . . exhibebat*, l. 161.

Einhard.  
Vit. Kar.  
Magn.  
(Pertz,  
ii. 443).

- Pensa puellis dans, imitatur Sardanapallum,  
In thalamis degit, carceris ima fugit.  
Ostro purpureus, gemmis resplendet et auro :  
Thoraces, galeæ, pondera dura sibi.<sup>1</sup>
- 145 Sub divo residens, glaciem fremitusque borinos<sup>2</sup>  
Vitat, id armatis gloria sæpe fuit.  
Otia dum sequitur satrinam carpit in hortis ;  
Sertum de violis colligit atque rosis.  
Hostiles nescit cuneos impellere, silvis
- 150 Saltus horret, in his cornua densque vigent.  
Nam cervos, capreas, et apros pro dente timendos,  
Dum mortem metuit, non fugat, immo fugit.  
Cum colat hic Christum, Bacchus sibi semper  
amicus,  
Qui Cereris socius cõrda calore movet.
- 155 Indulgens dapibus, dum cor premit ipse Falerno, The de-  
Philosophus summum credit id esse bonum. baucherics  
Intonsus barba residens, cum crine refuso, of Chil-  
deric III.
- fo. 132 b. Hac in parte sui Scoticus esse cupit.  
Legatos recipit sic regum ;<sup>3</sup> quod sibi jussum
- 160 Edoctumve fuit, talibus ipse refert.  
Quod parat atque jubet, tribuit præpositus aulae,<sup>4</sup>  
Id solum pavidus suscipit, audet, habet.  
Dux tunc Francigenum, Pipinus splendidus armis, Pepin car-  
Regni jura fovet, rege favente tamen. ries on all  
165 Deliciis variis rex affluit, ille labores affairs of  
Et curas patitur, murus et arma suis. state.

<sup>1</sup> The annotator writes : *Nota mores et statum Childerici regis Francorum.*

<sup>2</sup> *borinos*, MS., employing the less usual form of *r* and attaching it to the *o*. The annotator explains by repeating the word above.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence, with the rest of the three lines in which it stands, is obviously taken from the passage from Einhard's *Vita Car. Magni*, quoted in note 3 on p. 664.

<sup>4</sup> *id est major domus*, M.

## CAP. IV.

*De adventu Stephani pape in Franciam, et de concilio quod ibi habuit, ubi Hildericum Francorum regem diademate privavit, monachum fecit, et Pipinum et Karolum reges sacravit.*

Pope Stephen III. comes to France.

Interea<sup>1</sup> Stephanus, præsul tunc urbis et orbis,  
Alpibus emensis, Francica regna venit.

Abbrev.  
Gest. Fr.  
Reg.  
(Pertz,  
ix. 399).

Eloquio nitidus, præclarus religione,  
170 Filius atque Petri dignus honore, fide  
Corripit hunc valitudo gravis metuitque resolvi,  
Pontificis Græci perstat in æde sacra.<sup>2</sup>

He falls ill at St. Denis.

St. Denis in a vision tells him that if he will found altars to SS. Peter and Paul he will recover.

Stephen recovers.

Obsecrat hic, jam martyr adest, ejusque magister  
Paulus et almifluus tertius ipse Petrus.

175 Amodo sanus erit, fatur Dionysius ipse,  
Sed sociis binis ara sacretur ibi.

Visa refert, altare sacrat, sanusque resurgit,  
Sedis Apostolicæ munera digna sinit.<sup>3</sup>

Cum propria palla claves deponit ibidem,

180 In signum fidei, nominis, atque rei.  
Incolumis redit hinc, docet ecclesiastica jura,  
Fracta ligat, curat vulnera, sana fovet.

He decides to settle the affairs of France.

Nobilis, antiqui, famosi, divitis audit  
Dedecus imperii Francigenique throni,

185 Regalis splendor, bellorum gloria, regni  
Nobilitas, virtus annihilata ruit.

Hinc regni proceres, et pontificalis honoris  
Personas sociat, clerus honoris adest.

Gloria Francigenum Pipinus, nobilitatis

The nobles of France, with Pepin

190 Dux specialis, ibi clarus honore micat.  
Ipsa ducis soboles Karolus, lux Francigenarum,  
Affuit atque patris assidet ipse latus.

<sup>1</sup> *Interra*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *Sc. Sancti Dionysii*, interlined above *Græci* by the annotator.

<sup>3</sup> *Pallam et claves sedis Apostolicæ dedit Papa Stephanus monasterio Sancti Dionysii*, M.



- Ex horum radiis astrorum curia fulget,  
 Gloria regalis quisque futurus erat.  
 195 Præsul caudicus, dudum Ciceronis alumnus,  
 Causarum triplicem noverat esse modum.  
 Nam quis personam demonstrat laude colendam,  
 Digne pro meritis vituperatve suis.  
 Quid fieri possit deliberat ille vel ille,  
 200 Utile pertemptat, quærit honesta sibi.  
 Quæritur hinc etiam sententia judicialis,  
 Legibus ut cautum, plectitur ipse reus.  
 Horum sub primo causam dum conspicit esse,  
 Multa ligans paucis, papa perorat ita.

and his son  
 Charles,  
 assemble  
 in the pre-  
 sence of  
 the pope.

## CAP. V.

*Oratio ejusdem Stephani papæ super hoc in concilio.*

- fo. 133. 205 " Usus habet, natura docet, ratione tenetur,  
 " Doctior in nautis ut regat ipse ratem.  
 " Vires corporeæ nautæ rediguntur ad artem,  
 " Quæ duo se mutuo consociata tenent.  
 " Nam sine virtutis vi cassa peritia constat,  
 210 " Virtus arte carens firma manere nequit.  
 " Indoctus sine vi, dum fluctus frangere nescit  
 " Nec valet, et clavum deserit atque ratem.  
 " Syrtibus et scopulis navis contracta, repulsa,  
 " Fissis jam tabulis, undique cedit aquis.  
 215 " Navita sic stolidus nescit discrimina ponti,  
 " Sed sibi commissos obruit unda freti.  
 " Cæsareæ classis pars olim sic ruit undis  
 " Dum maris Angligeni littora cæca subit  
 " Ferratasque sudes ibi cautus fixerat hostis,  
 220 " Ignarus negligit navita mortis iter.  
 " Currum sic auriga regens, dum flectere nescit,  
 " Se, sua confringit, labitur, isque perit,  
 " Solaris currus Phaëthon dum rexit habenas,  
 " Inscius artis erat, terra perusta dolet.

Speech  
 of pope  
 Stephen  
 before the  
 assembled  
 nobles.

He urges  
 the need  
 of strong  
 hands at  
 the helm  
 of the  
 state.

- 225 " Solis justitiæ currum, qui vivus habetur,  
 " Quilibet indoctus dum regit, ille ruit.  
 " Sic sensus, virtus in præsule, rege petuntur,  
 " Quis sine nec populis nec sibi digna vident.  
 " Si caret his præsul, si rex, vilescit honoris
- 230 " Et locus et meritum, subdita turba gemit.  
 " Desidiæ, ventri, pastoribus ecce subactis,  
 " Morsibus ipse lupi grex sine lege patet.  
 " Sic nunc Francigeni defecit gloria regni,  
 " Regia majestas jam sine rege ruit.
- The de-  
 baucheries  
 of the Me-  
 rovingians  
 were bring-  
 ing the  
 French  
 into con-  
 tempt in  
 Italy.
- 235 " Undique fama volat, ciet omnes, transvolat  
 Alpes,  
 " Auribus Italicis turpior esse nequit.  
 " Francorum probitas jam fit derisus ubique,  
 " Barbaricis telis jure subaeta tremit.  
 " Desidis hoc regis levitas et inertia fecit,
- 240 " Luxus, non gravitas, non vigor, immo sopor.  
 " Corporis enervat vires, sensumque resolvit  
 " Luxuries, cultus ventris, amorque sui.  
 " Rex igitur vester nimio se stringit amore,  
 " Dum tria, quæ dixi, nocte dieque colit,
- 245 " Rem populi negligit; regis retinet nisi nomen;  
 " Indignusque manet sceptrâ tenere throni.  
 " Nam sicut regni rex dignus honorat honorem,  
 " Est stolidi regis sic inhonorus honos.  
 " Parvum magnanimis præclarum reddit honorem,
- 250 " Inscius et stultus maxima parva facit.  
 " Si docto confertur honos, plus doctus honori 6. 133 b.  
 " Luminis impendit, quam sibi clarus honos.  
 " Indoctus vitæ tenebris obscurat honorem,  
 " Ex stulti meritis deficit altus honos.
- 255 " Hoc in rege gemo, dum penso pondus honoris,  
 " Quod sic pro viciis unctio cassa manet.  
 " Incurrit pœnam contempto chrismate sancto,  
 " Si sceleris labem junxerit ipse sacro.  
 Romanae sedis tenet hoc antiqua potestas,
- 260 " Reges, pontifices, ut removeere queat.
- Stephen  
 asserts the  
 ancient

- " Insuper ipsa novos reges et pontificatus,  
 " Quo nunquam fuerant, sistere jure potest.  
 " Sedis ego Petri, licet hoc indignus honore,  
 " Jus, claves, teneo, qualiter ipse videt.  
 265 " Claves sunt verax discretio, firma potestas;  
 " Quid liget et solvat, hæc videt, illa potest.  
 " Clavibus his geminis vix quilibet esse videtur  
 " Præditus, alternis dum sibi desit opus.  
 " Pontificum pauci discreti, sed tamen omnis  
 270 " Id ligat, id solvit quod sibi jure placet.  
 " Discretis ovibus non suppetit ipsa potestas,  
 " Si tamen hæc assit, clavis utraque viget.  
 " Antistes cæcus dissolvere sive ligare  
 " Nescit; et inde sibi mors manet atque suis.  
 275 " Sedis Apostolicæ, cum Petri clavibus, heres,  
 " Francigenum regnum clavibus hisce rego.  
 " Hujus enim regni, constat sententia nostra,  
 " Providus et fortis ut diadema gerat.  
 " Segnis et invalidus rex, quem ligat ipsa voluptas,  
 280 " Ut decet, hunc solvit curia nostra throno.  
 " Otia sectetur, quæ diligit, in paradiso  
 " Claustris tonsus, ovis pascua vera petat.  
 " Sicque voluptati turpi succedat honesta,  
 " Et requiem requies<sup>1</sup> pellat amore boni.  
 285 " Sic clavus clavum,<sup>2</sup> dictamnus<sup>3</sup> tela repellit,  
 " Verax religio crimina pellit ita.  
 " Antidotum felix, quod mentis vulnera sanat,  
 " Carni mors animæ ne sociata gemat.  
 " Clari pontifices, proceres, regalis honoris,  
 290 " Nostra simul præsens curia, clerus adest.  
 " Ex his Francigenum ducibus qui fortior armis,  
 " Sensu callidior, Francica sceptrata regat.  
 " Nunc igitur nostrum sententia sit generalis:  
 " Vox eadem cunctis, consonet omnis idem.

power of  
the see of  
Rome to  
place and  
displace  
kings and  
bishops.

Stephen  
deposes  
Childeric  
III. and  
directs  
that the  
shall be-  
come a  
monk.

<sup>1</sup> *reque*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *clavus clavum* substituted for  
*Danus Danum*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> *ditamnus*, MS. A plant sup-  
posed to cure wounds.

He gives  
Pepin to  
the French  
as their  
king.

- 295 " Filius hic noster Pipinus splendidus armis,<sup>1</sup>  
 " Consilio magnus, rex erit, idque volo.<sup>2</sup>  
 " Cum Karolo nato vobis hunc dono sacratum, fo. 134.  
 " Quorum Francigenum gloria jura ferat.  
 " His diadema datur a nobis jure perenni,  
 300 " Regia progenies jura paterna regat.  
 " Obtestor superos ne quis, diademate sumpto,  
 " Tantorum sobolem pellat ab arce throni.  
 " Hi sceptro digni, quos fulcit bellica virtus,  
 " Exacuit sensus, consiliumque regit,  
 305 " Quos vitæ probitas, et castus splendor honestat,  
 " Justificat virtus, temperat atque docet."

## CAP. VI.

*Quod Stephanus papa Pipinum Francorum regem, cum filio ejus Karolo Magno [et] exercitu, secum in Italiam contra Haistulfum Langobardorum regem duxit; bello commisso, Haistulfus fugiens intra Papiam includitur, obsidibus deinde datis et urbibus quas abstulerat redditis, a Pipino et Stephano papa in concordiam recipitur. Pipino cum exercitu reverso, Haistulfus fulminis ictu pereuntur. Stephanus papa Desiderio duci Langobardorum diadema tradit. Quodque Stephano mortuo Adrianus papa successit.*

- Ista peroratus Stephanus, lux pontificalis,  
 Dignus Apostolici dicitur esse loci.  
 Laudatur virtus animi, constantia verbi,  
 310 Judicium regi, consiliumque duci.  
 Audacem virtus fecit, constantia firmum;  
 Hac fit rex monachus, sceptrum dat illa duci.

<sup>1</sup> Pipinus fit rex Francorum, M.

<sup>2</sup> This was two years after Pepin's real accession (March, 752). Pope

Zacharias had assented to the step, and St. Boniface had anointed the new king.

Factus ovis Christi rex tonsus tendit ad astra; Childeric  
 Ungitur hinc Karolus, ejus et ipse pater. is sent to  
 the clois-  
 ter; Pepin  
 and his son  
 Charles are  
 anointed.

Abbrev.  
 Gest. Fr.  
 Reg.  
 (Pertz,  
 ix. 399).

315 Francia lætatur, Pipino sceptrā tenente,  
 Huic natoque suo Gallica turba favet.  
 Rex Langobardus Haistulfus vindicat armis  
 Itala jura sibi, plebs proceresque gemunt.  
 Claras Italiae devincit et occupat urbes,

320 Juris Apostolici prædia cuncta rapit.  
 Pipinum Stephanus movet, urget ut arma capessat, Pepin  
 Haistulfum superans, Itala sceptrā ferat. succours  
 Rome,  
 Transvolat hinc Alpes Stephanus; rex, Francica defeating  
 Astolph,  
 virtus, king of the  
 Lombards.  
 Quæ sibi bella volunt, rex sibi quisque parat.

325 Inde die facto solaris splendor ab armis  
 Emicat, hostilis stat geminata phalanx.  
 Insurgunt acies, belli furor undique multus,  
 Qui quantus fuerit, terminus ipse docet.  
 Nam rex Pipinus cuneos dum perforat hostis,

330 Italicis campis sanguine, cæde furit.  
 Instat et obruncat rex Langobardus, at ense  
 Exerit horrendum Francus, et ille fugit.  
 Ingressus Papiam Francorum cingitur armis,  
 Obsessus metuit tela cruenta, necem.

335 Compulsusque modis variis ad deditiōem,  
 Reddere capta refert, si sibi vita datur.  
 Sic a Francigenis et papa jure receptus,  
 Urbes restituit, prædia capta sinit.

Abbrev.  
 Gest. F. R.  
 400.

Inde sequens cervos, percussus fulguris ictu,  
 340 Ignibus ecclesias qui dedit, igne calet.  
 Hinc Desiderius, dux Langobardus in armis  
 Strenuus, a Stephano suscipit alta throni.

Astolph  
 dies by  
 lightning.

fo. 134 b.

Post Stephano Stephanus sociatur carne solutus,  
 Martyrio dispar, major honore sacro.

345 Romulei cleri jus eligit hinc Adrianum,  
 Hic Stephanum sequitur moribus, ore, fide. Election  
 of pope  
 Adrian I.

## CAP. VII.

*De morte Pipini regis Francorum, cui, regno diviso, Karolus et Karlomannus<sup>1</sup> successerunt. Sed Karlomanno<sup>1</sup> post duos annos defuncto, Karolus, qui postea Magnus dictus est, monarchiam regni obtinuit, Alemanniam, Saxoniam, Italiam sibi subiecit, Desiderium Langobardorum regem bello superavit, clausum intra Papiam cepit, apud S. Dionysium misit, monachum eum ibi fieri jussit, filium ejus Adalgisum a finibus Italie discedere fecit. Et de terris quas idem Karolus tenuit. Quodque defunctus aromatibus conditus est, et apud Aquisgranum sepultus, filio ejus Ludovico monarchiam totius imperii paterni obtinente. Quodque paulatim Francorum reges regnum Italie et Alemannicæ, aliarumque provinciarum, quas Karolus habuit, inertia amiserint.*

Death of  
Pepin  
(A.D.768).

Dudum Pipinus, rediens cum laude triumphi,  
Liquerat Italici culmina celsa soli.

Qui, tribus emensis lustris, diadema reliquit;

350 Martyr corpus habet, Parisiusque dolet.

Charle-  
magne and  
Carloman  
succeed  
him.

Hunc nati Karolus Karlomannusque sequuntur,  
Culmine, consiliis, viribus ambo pares.

Quorum posterior binis post deficit annis,

In Karolo solo spes manet ipsa throni.

Death of  
Carloman.

355 Nec spes falsa fuit, cum solus Francigenarum  
Regum flos, speculum, sensibus, ense fuit.

Præteritos superans, obscurat posteriores,

Ex his nemo sibi par probitate, throno.

Ampliat imperium præ cunctis, viribus, armis:

Charle-  
magne's  
conquests.

360 Auctum, desidia posteriore ruit.

Hic Alamannorum cervices subdidit altas,

Pressit Saxonie colla superba jugo.

<sup>1</sup> *Karlomagnus* and *Karlomagno* respectively, MS.

- Italiae stravit vires, sibi quæque subegit,  
 In domina mundi tunc diadema tulit.
- 365 Hinc Langobardum regem superavit, et ipsum  
 In Papia clausum, vi, probitate capit.  
 Hujus ab Italia sobolem tunc depulit armis;  
 Clarus Adalgisus Francica signa fugit.
- 370 Sic Desiderius captus traducitur Alpes,  
 Italianam linquit Parisiusque venit.  
 Jusserat ut Karolus, Dionysius<sup>1</sup> excipit<sup>2</sup> istum,  
 Stropha sibi statim callida<sup>3</sup> facta fuit.  
 Ex propriis regi fit flava corona capillis,  
 Italici regni qui diadema tulit.
- 375 Purpura regalis fit ei jam pulla cuculla,  
 Pulmentum similat regius ille cibus,  
 Italiae fines claustro metitur in areto,  
 Vertitur in requiem bellicus ille labor.
- 380 Hymnisonos cantus mutat clangore tubarum,  
 Daviticam citharam regia sacra sonat,  
 Pro sceptro baculus jam fessos sustinet artus;  
 Hinc moritur, cultus regius omnis abest.  
 Martyris altaris tenet hunc pars dextera<sup>4</sup>: dextræ  
 Judicis ipsius consocietur ovis.
- 385 Langobardorum regem sic vicit, abegit,  
 Claustravit Karolus; illeque finit ita.  
 Sic Langobardos, sic Romam, sic Alamannos  
 Perdomuit, cepit, subdidit ille ferus.  
 Sic sibi Saxoniae gens Pictavisque superba,
- 390 Andegavisque potens subdita semper erat.  
 Flandria servivit, timuit Burgundia sceptrum,  
 Lotharingia fert jura verenda ducis:  
 Neustria tunc eadem quæ Francia jussa ferebat,  
 Sic Britonum cervix flexa tributa dabat.

Einhardi  
 Vit. Kar.  
 Mag.  
 (Pertz,  
 ii. 446).

Abbrev.  
 Gest. Fr.  
 Reg.  
 (Pertz,  
 ix. 400).

fo. 135.

The Lombard king  
 Didier  
 and his son  
 driven  
 from Italy.

Didier  
 is tonsured  
 at St.  
 Denis.

He dies,  
 and is  
 buried on  
 the right  
 of the altar  
 at St.  
 Denis.

Extension  
 of Charle-  
 magne's  
 empire.

<sup>1</sup> It is stated that Didier was confined first at Liège and afterwards in the Abbey of Corbey, not at St. Denis.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *suscipit*, but altered by the first hand.

<sup>3</sup> *calida*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> "In sinistra parte monasterii." *Abbrev. Gest. Fr. Reg.*, 400.

- 395 Hæc summus Karolus tenuit, virtute subegit,  
 Hæc soboli linquens, ut reor, astra petit.  
 Corpus Aquisgranum servat, quod myrrha per-  
 unxit,  
 Balsama vina tenent ardua membra viri.  
 Bis septenus erat octingentesimus annus,  
 400 Cum Deitas carnis tegmine clausa fuit.  
 Post Ludovicus triplices compeccit habenas,  
 Dum patrii juris suscipit ipse decus.  
 Cum sibi subjectis servit Maguncia, Roma,  
 Parisius; triplicem sic regit ille thronum.  
 405 Regni sic triplicis primas dum continet urbes,  
 Ex tribus his unum jam diadema facit.  
 Posterior soboles in partes dividit unum,  
 Pars minor a toto deficit ipsa suo.  
 Sic Alamannorum, sic perdunt Romulidarum,  
 Gradual  
 dissolution  
 of Charle-  
 magne's  
 empire. 410 Francigeni reges subdita jura sibi.  
 Gloria paulatim regni sic deficit hujus,  
 Ut sibi subjectis vix dare jura queat.  
 Jamque duces regni tot reges esse videntur;  
 Rex facit, ille jubet; quod vetat, iste sinit.

Hedies and  
 is buried  
 at Aix-la-  
 Chapelle  
 in 814.

Louis-le-  
 Débon-  
 naire.



## CAP. VIII.

*De colloquio quod inter Ludovicum Francorum regem et Henricum regem Anglorum extitit, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXVIII., apud Gisorsium, presentibus episcopis et principibus utriusque regni, Toma archiepiscopo Cantuariensi ab Anglorum rege jam discordante et in parte Francorum regis assistente. Quodque regibus his in diversis ab invicem locis separatis, rex Francorum per proceres regni mandat, ut ex ducatu Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ et Andegavensi comitatu, rex Anglorum quod justum est servitium Francorum regi et ducibus persolvat.*

415 Anno milleno centeno bisque quaterno<sup>1</sup>

Cum decies seno Francia bella movet.

Tertia pars regni Karoli sibi sola relicta

A se vix regitur, vix sibi tota favet.

Maximus Anglorum rex hic et fulguris instar

420 Henricus juvenis nititur esse suus.

Francigeni juris comitatus necne ducatus

Bis binos retinens, jam facit esse suos.

Temnit Francigenis audacia subdere colla,

Indomitusque leo respuit omne jugum.

425 Hinc Ludovicus cum Francis surgit in ira<sup>2</sup>:

Perdit membra throni, dum tenet ipse caput.

Sic cæsis membris, capitis vis debilitatur,

Parva fit, hoc læso, corporis ipsa salus.

Regis ad alloquium nostri rex Francicus ille

430 Milite vallatus convenit atque duce.

More sibi sueto, cuneis stipatus et armis,

Advolat Anglorum rex procerumque cohors.

War  
between  
Henry II.  
and Louis  
VII. in  
1168  
[1167].

Henry is  
too proud  
to remain  
a vassal of  
France.

The two  
kings, each  
with an  
army, ap-  
proach the  
place of  
confer-  
ence.

<sup>1</sup> MCLXVIII., M. erroneously. The date in the text is also wrong, not only according to R. de Monte (vi. 516), but also on the author's own

showing, for his series of events leads up to the death of Matilda, an event he rightly places under 1167.

<sup>2</sup> in iram, MS.

- Pontificumque chorus præsens, vis religionis  
 Ut sibi præscribit, pacis amœna petit.
- Becket is present with hostile intent. 435 Exul adest Thomas antistes Canturiensis,<sup>1</sup>  
 Fœdera perturbat, prœlia sola cupit.  
 Ut dolor amissi compellit pontificatus,  
 Tela quibus pacem dirimat ore gerit.
- 440 Hinc Dorobernensis præsulis alta tenet, *f. 135 b.*  
 Hic regis fratrem pertæsum semper habebat,  
 Ne consul foret hic, obuius ille fuit:  
 Cum nata comitis comitem Warena tulisset,<sup>2</sup>  
 Nobilis hic,<sup>3</sup> præsul ni nocuisset ei.<sup>3</sup>
- 445 Ira permotus, nunquam rediturus, ab Anglis  
 Advenit is, matri nunciat ista piæ.  
 Hinc Beccum veniens fratrum se tradit amori,  
 Heu, juvenis clarus quam cito fata subit!  
 Paulo post Rodomi morbo grassante gravatur.
- 450 Diffidunt medici, jus subit ille necis.  
 Corpus habet Rodomus, dolet hinc, ut visio dixit,  
 Nam Becci monachis se moriendo dedit.  
 Fratrem rex plangit, putat hunc ex sanguine  
 mixto  
 Iræ præteritæ sic subiisse necem.
- Henry's grief at his brother's death. He blames Becket. 455 Causatur præsul, necis hujus causa notatur;  
 Regia mens illi nota fit, inde timet.

<sup>1</sup> Thus from a man writing at the time and near the place we learn that Becket was present at Gisors as well as at Montmirail.

<sup>2</sup> The Countess Warrenne became a widow in 1160. William, the third son of the empress, who is here referred to, seems to have been left (Newburgh, pp. 112, 113) without provision, and the chroniclers generally are very silent as to him. (See *Revue de l'Anjou*, 1853.) He appears in the Pipe Rolls as receiving large sums, and R. de Monte

(vi. 513) mentions that he died at Rouen, 30 Jan. 1164, and was buried in the church of St. Mary. Under the same year R. de Monte says, "Hamelinus, naturalis frater Henrici, duxit comitissam de Gwarrenna, relictam Willermi comitis Moritonii." Six years later, according to Fitzstephen (*Mat. Hist. T. B.* iii. 142), one of Becket's murderers accompanied a stroke with the words, "Hoc habeas pro amore domini mei Willelmi fratris regis."

<sup>3</sup> *his . . . emm*, MS.

- Transvolat hinc<sup>1</sup> pontum, papam petit, exulat idem,  
Francigeni regni mœnia cara tenet.  
Se queritur pulsum, sed Roma pulsus et ille
- 460 Nec sibi nec pulsus tutus adesse potest.  
Italiam redit hic, colit is nunc Francica rura,  
Arma movet, cædes præparat, ore furit.  
Aut sibi restituet rex Anglus pontificatum,  
Aut per bella, neces, auferet iste thronum.
- 465 Nolit sive velit, rex vivet tempore longo,  
Et senio canus tendet ad alta poli:  
Hunc incorruptum servabunt balsama pura,  
Totus splendidior sole perennis erit.  
Natos conspiciet præclaros viribus, armis:
- 470 Hi jaculaturi fulmina, tela, faces.  
At præsul, triplicis quæ fraudis Symonis heres  
Perfidus est, merito sedis ab arce ruit:  
Vellitur, arescit, moritur plantatio falsa,  
Planta Patris cœli vivida semper erit.
- 475 Rex igitur Gallus, tendens Gisortia<sup>2</sup> rura,  
Angligeni regis proxima castra venit.  
Francigeni juris terras, quas detinet ille,  
Is petit, aut solvat debita jura sibi.
- Quid sibi Danorum dux debeat aut Aquitanus
- 480 Novit, et Andegavus Pictaviusque comes.  
Cum tantos teneat bis binos solus honores,  
Serviat ut Francis, est sibi summus honos.  
Prædecessorum teneatur norma suorum;  
Francis servierant, serviat iste simul.
- fo. 136. 485 Jus ratioque tenent regi quod serviat illi,  
Imperii cujus talia membra tenet.  
Regi per regni proceres hæc mandat; at ille,  
Regem se recolens, efferus ista refert.

Becket is living as an exile in France and is stirring up war against Henry. The author prophesies that Henry will nevertheless live long.

Becket is heir to the sins of Simon Magus.

The king of France approaches Gisors.

He demands Henry's allegiance.

<sup>1</sup> *hunc*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> From this it appears that the conference was held near Gisors.

R. de Monte merely says "in the "Vexin."

## CAP. IX.

\**Oratio Henrici regis*<sup>1</sup> *coram proceribus suis, res-* [fo. 110.]\*  
*pondens regis Francorum mandatis.*

Henry's  
speech to  
his nobles.

- 400 Anglorum diadema gerit ; se subdere regi,  
Tum ducibus propriis tum sibi turpe manet.  
Regibus Angligenis proprium, ni bellica virtus  
Hos premat, alterius se dare nolle jugo.  
Par sibi stat probitas, par virtus, parque potestas,  
Ut mens, utque manus, ut docet ipse thronus.
- 495 A Normannigenis ducibus Franci superantur,  
Extorquetur ab his Neustria tota simul.  
Angligenas<sup>2</sup> vincunt, et totum nobile regnum  
Tantorum subiecit vis violenta sibi.  
Reges sic facti, nullis virtute minores,
- 500 Viribus, ense simul seque suosque tegunt.  
Cædes, bella, faces patiuntur nec subiguntur,  
Clarior inno micat vis<sup>3</sup> probitasque throni.  
Inque vicem referunt cædes, incendia, prædas ;  
Aut sibi pax, aut vi colla superba prement.
- 505 Vi patria regnum patrium patriosque ducatus  
Contra Francigenas semper ubique tenent.  
Divitiis, ortu, regno, virtute, vel armis  
Francigenum regi se canit esse parem.  
Hique pares cuneis certent, aut corpore solo,
- 510 Major ut ex paribus fulminet ense suo.  
Par diadema sibi fiet pro viribus impar,  
Ex geminis sceptris vis minor una duum :  
Natos regales bis binos crescere cedat  
Annis, ingenio, viribus, ense, manu.

<sup>1</sup> This heading at first ran, "*Oratio Henrici regis quam tunc ad milites suos habuit*," &c., but the erroneous words, derived from the head-

ing of the next chapter but one, are expuncted.

<sup>2</sup> *Angligenos*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> May be read *vis* or *jus*.

- 515 Bellica gesta legant, aut verbis hæc doceantur,  
 Testa recens<sup>1</sup> potet<sup>2</sup> bella futura sibi.  
 Curtius his Macedo, Vigetius arma peroret,  
 Cumque Suetonio Cæsaris acta canant.  
 Hinc sibi narrentur vires virtutis avitæ,  
 520 Bella quibus quantis viribus ipsa gerant.  
 Audax vis mentis nutritur talibus escis,  
 Cautior in bellis ista tenendo manet.  
 His disciplinis imbutos cum dabit ætas,  
 Natos constituet pro probitate duces.  
 525 Regi Francigenum subjecti tunc sua jura  
 Viribus obtineant obsequioque suo.  
 Offerat hic lympham, mantilia præbeat iste,  
 Tergeat ablutas nobilis ille manus;  
 Regi sic proprio cum discum deferat alter,  
 530 Alter conficiat pocula digna sibi.<sup>3</sup>  
 Curia Francorum bis binis splendeat astris,  
 Horum rex, proceres, subdita colla premant.  
 Obsequio multo pro terra quisque laboret,  
 Sic vis ipsa throni Francigenæque volunt.  
 535 Quatuor hisque rotis solium regale feratur,  
 Sed ruet id forsitan si grave fiat onus.  
 Flumine bis bino Francorum prata rigentur,  
 Sed solet alluvio multa domare solum.  
 Rex, si fata sinant, servabit more parentum  
 540 Se, solii culmen, subdita cuncta sibi.  
 Regis Francigenum discum scyphumque refutat,  
 Curia suspecti iudicis extat ibi.  
 Rollonis natuu scit traditione peremptum;  
 Anterior casus posteriora docet.  
 545 Redditur astutus discernens facta priorum,  
 Multa per exemplum quisque cavere potest.  
 Regi rex fari veniet sub climate nudo;  
 Quod peraget regi, nil nisi regis erit.

fo. 136 b.

Mindful  
of ancient  
treachery  
he will  
confer with  
the king of  
France  
alone.

<sup>1</sup> Hor. *Ep.* i. 2. 69, 70.

<sup>2</sup> *portet* ?

<sup>3</sup> Prince Henry somewhat later,

| i.e., on 2 Feb. 1169 (R. de Monte,  
| vi. 518), actually waited at table as  
| steward of France.

## CAP. X.

*Quod responso Anglorum regis audito, in quo mandatum miserat se Francis nil persolvere, nisi quod regia dignitatis foret, Francorum rex hominum suum eidem regi reddidit: quod ille recipiens, cum discordia uterque cum suis discedit, castella sua quisque eorum munit. Rex postea Anglorum armatus, cum armatorum agmine militum, Calmontem, Francorum regis castellum, petit. Francorum acies armatu de castello prosiliens audacter regi et Normannis ceterisque armatis obviam procedit.*

Hearing Henry's reply, the king of France returns to him his fealty and orders him to quit the kingdom (4 June 1167).

- Nunciat hæc regi jus pontificalis honoris:<sup>1</sup>  
 550 Regnum Francigenum quod ruat ille refert,  
 Ut sibi consilium dietat, vel comprimit ira,  
 Regem nunc hominem denegat esse suum.  
 Præcipit a regno discedere, castra relinquat,  
 Cis mare ne maneat consulit, immo jubet.  
 555 Audit ut iste ferus dominum quod se negat ille,  
 Servum se Domini commonet esse poli.  
 Haud mare transibit, sed terras viribus armis  
 Defendet proprias, jus reget omne suum.  
 Nil habet ex Francis, dudum sibi quisque  
 parentum,  
 560 Uxor et ipsa dedit quicquid in orbe tenet.  
 Tollere qui tentat sibi per vim jura paterna,  
 Is metuat patrii perdere jura throni.  
 Regum colloquium sub verbis solvitur istis,  
 Quos procerum virtus pacificare nequit.  
 565 In sua discedunt, incendia, bella parantur,  
 Castellisque suis undique quisque timet.  
 Milite, farre, mero, dapibus murisque vel armis  
 Regum quisque suos cingit, adimplet, alit.

The colloquy breaks up with threats on each side.

<sup>1</sup> Thus no direct personal colloquy took place.

- Anglus rex igitur, firmatis undique marchis,  
 570 Urbibus, et castris, bella futura cavet.  
 Ex propriis terris lectas legit ille cohortes ;  
 Has sibi consocians, tutus ubique manet.  
 Expendat quantum jam nullus dinumeraret,  
 Nam numero numerus, ut reor, ipse caret.
- 575 Thesauros aperit, nil clarius extat honore,  
 Argentum superat gloria celsa throni.  
 Ut sibi subjectæ vallentur ab hostibus urbes  
 Præstolatur, et his subdita castra simul.  
 Cum Northmannigenis a regno Francigenarum
- 580 Hunc vis vel ratio pellere nulla potest.  
 Attamen obsessis castellis efferus ipse  
 Cum sociis aderit, viribus, ense, nece.  
 fo. 137. Sed vis Francigenum cupit, ardet, nec tamen audet,  
 Ut castella ducis obsidione premat.
- 585 Hi cum rege suo cedunt epulisque jocisque,  
 Hosque Medunta tenet, Bacchus<sup>1</sup> et ipse fovet.  
 Ille sub arma madet, quem thorax fulgida cingit,  
 Cum cuneis multis firmat ubique sua.  
 Arguitur cum nil a Francis is patiatur,
- 590 Cur acies tantæ, cur sibi tanta manus ?  
 Cur impensarum non saltem pondus abhorret,  
 Quas cum Francigenis orbis et ipse stupet ?  
 Aut socios spargens hos in castella remittat,  
 Aut solii tanti culmine digna gerat.
- 595 His rex impulsus Gisortia mœnia linquit,  
 Agminis ex armis sol magis ipse nitet.  
 Ex Normannigenis, Walensibus, agmine juncto,  
 Hunc equitem ducit, currit at ille pedes.  
 Calmontem, clarum castrum, petit inde, quod armis,
- 600 Milite, valle, situ, divitiisque veget.  
 Regius hic frater, Francorum gloria tota,  
 Militiæ virtus nobilitasque manet.

Castles are  
provi-  
sioned and  
prepared  
for war.

The  
French  
army lies  
idle at  
Mantes.

Henry  
leaves  
Gisors  
with a  
force of  
Normans  
and Welsh,  
going  
towards  
Chaumont.  
The  
brother of  
the French

<sup>1</sup> Bacus, MS.

- king is in  
the castle.
- Henry  
orders the  
Welsh to  
attack the  
castle by  
the channel  
of the  
river.
- The Nor-  
mans ap-  
proach the  
walls and  
the French  
make a  
sally.
- 605 Angligeni regis timor istos associavit,  
Ut vis tanta virum regia castra premat.  
Armis irradians, pedetentim proximat ille,  
Præcedit, sequitur quem geminata phalanx.  
Imperat armatis Walensibus ingrediantur  
Castellum, fluvii quo fluit unda liquens.  
Hinc cum Northmannis ad castræ mœnia tendit,
- 610 Cernitur ipsa phalanx, dum tenet arva soli.  
Armatur virtus, Francorum gloria regni  
Cum strepitu portis exilit, arva tenet.  
Occurrit cunctis regalibus, arva coruscant,  
Advolat hinc Danus, Francus at inde venit.
- 615 Tam claras acies dum rex procedere portis  
Inspicit, admirans personat ista suis :

## CAP. XI.

*Oratio Henrici regis, quam tunc ad milites suos  
habuit.*

- Henry's  
speech  
to his  
soldiers.
- 620 " Gloria nulla quidem constat, quod fortis et audax  
" In fragiles, timidos, prælia clara movet.  
" Fortis dum superat fortes, id gloria, virtus,  
" Fortibus ex geminis fortior ipse micat.<sup>1</sup>  
" Militiæ virtus hæc est, et laus probitatis,  
" Horribiles acies vi superare, manu.  
" En vis Francigenum properat Calmontis ab arce,  
" Inque loco regis frater et ejus adest.
- The  
brother of  
the French  
king is  
with the  
force  
issuing  
from  
Chaumont.
- 625 " Quanta sibi virtus animi, spes quanta triumphæ,  
" Vultibus in nostris impetus ipse docet.  
" Occurrunt nobis, vim temnunt obsidionis,  
" Angligenum regem se superare putant.  
" Laus sibi virtutis debetur jure perenni,  
630 " Quod Northmannigenas pellere retro volunt,  
" Hoc regum<sup>2</sup> potuit nemo nullæque cohortes,  
" Gens invincibilis vincere cuncta solet.

<sup>1</sup> *nutat*, MS.| <sup>2</sup> *regnum*, MS.



*fo. 137 b.*

- " Hi forsán numero superant, superant probitate,  
 " Quæ tamen his probitas, cernet utraque pha-  
 " laux.  
 635 " Advolat hic Petrus<sup>1</sup> sibi fortis, rexque secundus,  
 " Tertius is fiet quem vigil ille videt.  
 " Adsunt Warlandi, Merlonibus associantur,  
 " Pisseii virtus fœdere juncta venit.  
 " Francigenum vis terna micat, triplicisque phalangis  
 640 " Hi flos, lux, speculum, pectore, mente, manu.  
 " Francorum proceres numero vel nobilitate  
 " Se Northmannigenis notificare solent.  
 " Nil valet in bellis jactantia nobilitatis :  
 " Degener omnis erit, qui timet atque fugit.  
 645 " Nobilis is solus qui viribus opprimit hostem,  
 " Qui sibi, qui sociis vis clypeusque manet.  
 " Rollonis virtus Northmannica jura reliquit<sup>2</sup>  
 " Nobis, progenies ipsius ecce sumus :  
 " Quod tanta probitate suis quæsivit et armis,  
 650 " Francorum feritas tollere nempe cupit,  
 " Vis Northmannigenum tantis sudoribus olim  
 " Abstulit hæc, tenuit, possidet, obstat, habet.  
 " Proh dolor ! id quanti censebitur esse pudoris,  
 " Si requies perdat quod labor ipse dedit ?  
 655 " Immo non requies, sed turpis inertia, Francis  
 " Serviat ut Danus, par feritate, manu.  
 " Non par, at major. Nam quos sibi subdidit armis,  
 " Cum terris propriis, temnit habere pares.  
 " Hi tamen, hi tanti rapient castella vel urbes,  
 660 " Quas patrium nobis jus dedit ? Absit idem.  
 " Non castrum nostrum, non urbes ingredientur,  
 " Forsitan agnoscent jam sua nostra fore.  
 " Aut horum fusas acies linquamus in arvis,  
 " Aut cogamus eos carpere jura fugæ.  
 665 " Ignibus et ferro castelli nobilis hujus  
 " Ante suos vultus dejiciantur opes.

Reminds  
his men of  
Rollo's  
deeds.

Intends to  
destroy  
Chaumont

<sup>1</sup> Pierre de Courtenai, fourth son of Louis VI.

<sup>2</sup> *relinquit*, MS.

before the  
face of the  
enemy.

- “ Hoc<sup>1</sup> Normannigenum sibi fiet pignus amoris,  
“ Per medias flammās dum sibi cursus erit.  
“ Terra negetur eis, armis claudantur in arce,<sup>2</sup>  
670 “ Hæc duo linquantur, murus et ipse rogas.  
“ Francigenæ torres teneant, cœlumque favillas,  
“ Fama solum lustret, laus tamen iste labor.  
“ Prologus hic belli, præludia talia scribat ;  
“ Major erit, fateor, bellicus ipse liber.”

## CAP. XII.

*De conflictu apud Calmontem inter Henricum regem, junctis sibi Normannis, et duces Franciæ cum cuneis suis ; quodque Walenses<sup>3</sup> ex jussu regis per fluvium castellum ingressi, ignem immittunt. Franci Normannorum impetum ferre non valentes, regique terga dantes, per medios castelli ignes in turrem sese receperunt, Thebaldo quodam Francorum principe in introitu capto.*

The attack  
on Chau-  
mont  
(about  
July 1167).

- 675 Dixit, et armatis legionibus undique cinctus  
Francos aggreditur, obstat et ipsa phalanx.  
Audax hæc animis, bellorum lege perita,  
Se tegit, et Danos vi penetrare cupit.  
Sic venatorum turbis leo pressus in ipsas  
680 Nititur, et sudat tradere cuncta neci ;  
Aut refugit tandem laqueos aut stringitur arte,  
Jusque suum perdens, desinit esse suus.

The  
French  
forces at  
tack the  
besiegers.

- Haud aliter regis cuneos compellit et arcet  
Francigenum virtus ; stat tamen ille ferus.  
685 Obliquos validus sic murus sustinet ictus  
Arietis, at fortis permanet ipse lapis.  
Hostilis feritas Danorum pariete firmo  
Tentato resilit, cornua fracta cadunt.  
Hic vis Francigenum, fratris cum rege, sub armis  
690 Sudat, et in Danos tota repente ruit.  
Regem si superet, sibi gloria lausque perennis ;  
Nulla sibi luxit clarior ante dies.

fo. 138.

<sup>1</sup> hæc, MS.  
<sup>2</sup> arcem, MS.

<sup>3</sup> Valenses, MS.

- Hoc petit, explorat, contendit, anhelat, et audet,  
 Armis, militibus, mente, furore, manu.
- 695 Normannos similis tum vis tum gloria tangit:  
 Vis sibi, si vincunt, gloria regis erit.  
 Seque suosque premi rex non tulit; ut tulit ardor,  
 In medias acies irruit ipse leo.  
 Vis Normannigenum, proprii ducis arma sequendo,
- 700 Militiæ turmis firmat et ambit eum.  
 Gens ducibus propriis fidissima, tutior armis  
 Nulla fuit, nam vi cedere retro nequit.<sup>1</sup>  
 Hæc variis bellis totiens pulsata, parentum  
 Vincendi proprium jus sibi servat idem.
- 705 Historicis campis lectoris mens spatietur,  
 Nusquam perspicit hos expetiisse<sup>2</sup> fugam.  
 Dedecus armatos fugiendi jus probitatis  
 Non patitur, mavult ferre pericla necis.  
 Regia vis sævit, sævit Normannicus horror,
- 710 Virtus Francigenum cedit ad arma ducis.  
 Nam nec ferre valens Normannos, nec superare,  
 Inde capi metuit, vitat et inde necem.  
 Quod reliquum fuit, hostiles acies fugiendo  
 Calmontem repetit, sed duo mira videt.
- 715 Cum Normannigenis a tergo rex galeatus  
 Insequitur, castrum pascitur ipse rogas.  
 Tranarant fluvium Walenses, mœnibus ipsis  
 Vulcanum dederant, depopulantur opes.  
 Clamor prosequitur fugientes, clamor ubique,
- 720 Cum gemitu planctus aëris ampla replet.  
 Innatus vigor et levitas Walensibus arma  
 Suggest, implentur quæque furore, rogo.  
 At rex Angligenum per flammas ire coegit  
 Francorum cuneos, nec modus ipse fugæ.

The  
 French are  
 beaten  
 back to  
 the fortifi-  
 cations.  
 The Welsh  
 meanwhile  
 swim the  
 river and  
 set fire to  
 Chaumont.

The  
 French are  
 driven  
 through  
 the burn-  
 ing town.

<sup>1</sup> *Nota fidelitatem et constantiam et audaciam Normannorum, et quod nunquam reperitur ipsos a bello fugisse, M. Truly Étienne de Rouen*

has omitted all notice of the battle of Chartres, and passes over other defeats sustained by the Northmen.  
<sup>2</sup> *experiisse* (sic), MS.

- 725 Prævenit hic socios, alium præoccupat ille,  
 Ingreditur castrum rexque sui que simul.  
 Hi fugiunt, castrum subeunt, rapiuntur in arcem,  
 Rex aciesque suæ moenia clausa tenent.  
 Cum strepitu portas ingresso rege, Tebaldus  
 730 Dux cunei capitur, sistitur ante ducem.  
 Rex dux subridens, captum nunc asserit ; ille  
 Belli sic varios commonet esse modos.  
 Quem fidei propriæ rex credens, laudat, honorat, *fo. 138 b.*  
 Tum quia perstiterat, tum quia solus erat.  
 735 Nobile castellum sic captum, depopulatum,  
 Gloria fit Danis, Francigenisque dolor.  
 Sic flos militiæ Francorum, frater et ipse  
 Regis, cum cuneis clausus in arce gemit.  
 Præda ditatus Walensis tendit ad arcem,  
 740 Ignibus et ferro solvere clausa cupit.  
 Parcere sed victis, confusio quos sua clausit,  
 Rex jubet, armatos detinet ipse retro.  
 Hinc rediens Normannigenum vim laudat et arma,  
 Francorum probitas senserat ista duo.  
 745 Egressis cuneis, Vulcanus sævit, et audax  
 Æolus e contra prælia firma gerit.  
 Impellunt sese mutuo per tecta per aulas,  
 Bella Ceres<sup>1</sup> sentit, pæne perusta gemit.  
 Paupineas Bacchus dum perdit et ipse coronas,  
 750 Walenses pedites abluit unda dei,  
 Vulcani varias transmittit Juno favillas,  
 Æthereo fratri flava Diana jubet.  
 Hæc magni Martis rabies violenta peregit,  
 Imperio solo numina tanta movet.  
 755 Omnibus exustis, dum moenia sola relinquit,  
 Francigenas pandit quam sit ad arma potens.

The king enters the town and the French take to the citadel.  
 Count Thibaud is taken.

The king's brother is shut up in the castle.

Henry holds his troops back from the assault.

The destruction of Chaumont is completed.

<sup>1</sup> R. de Monte (Pertz, vi. p. 516) shows the importance of the capture of this town, for he says that

Louis had deposited in it his treasure and stores for the prosecution of the war.

## CAP. XIII.

*Quod hæc Ludovicus rex Francorum audiens cum Francis ira movetur, Gisortium vel Rothomagum deliberant obsidendum. Quodque olim Otho Alamannorum imperator, cum Ludovico Francorum rege et Arnulfo Flandrensi comite, hanc urbem simul post mortem Willelmi filii Rollonis obsederunt. Othonis imperatoris nepos cum Alamannis per fluminis<sup>1</sup> pontem ingressus, cum repentino civium tumultu excipitur, et cum suis super ipsum pontem trucidatur. Arnulfus comes Flandrensis, cujus consilio imperator et rex adveniant, nocte eadem cum suis fuga elabitur. Otho id cognoscens, necemque nepotis et suorum deflens, urbemque considerans captu difficilem, cum Ludovico Francorum rege et toto exercitu, ab obsidione discedit.*

Exhinc cum sociis Gisortia mœnia tendit:

Miles uti sudat, pondere spumat equus!

Castro successo, Francis virtute fugatis,

760 Urbes et patriam fama volando replet.

Ludovicus ut hæc, comitum procerumque caterva,

Comperit, Angligenum regis ad arma stupent.

Horrent tam subito subversum nobile castrum,

Divitiis pollens, mœnibus atque situ.

765 Horrida vis, quæ tanta die subvertit in uno,

Quod vix obsidio debuit areta quidem!

Tam clari sceleris pondus dum concipit ægre,

Rex procerumque furor totus ad arma ruit.

Henry  
marches  
back to  
Gisors.

<sup>1</sup> The annotator writes in the margin, "*Dudo ponit quod hoc fuit super pontem portæ Belvacensis.*" This appears in the text of the heading of the chapter in Cardinal Mai's

edition, and Dr. R. Pauli ("The Academy," No. 55) has thus been misled into believing that the author refers by name to Dudo of St. Quentin.

- Ardua Francigenum virtus glomeratur in unum.
- 770 Hancque Medunta tenens, congerit arma, faces.  
 The rage of the French at the news.  
 Regis castellum rex binis his superavit,  
 Pro feritate pari præparat ista duo.  
 Nam sibi multimodum ferri genus, ignis adurens,  
 Ut Normannigenas opprimat ense, rogo.
- 775 Paceium totum, Gisortia tecta peruret:  
 They determine to attack Gisors and Pacy.  
 Hæc Normannigenum proxima castra sibi.  
 Murmurat at frustra subvertere Cæsaris urbem,  
 Ut caput extinctum languida membra gerat.  
 Sed sibi concludit nisus audacia falsa,
- 780 Noscit<sup>1</sup> ab antiquo quis sit in urbe vigor.<sup>2 3</sup>  
 . . . . .

## CAP. XIV.

*Quod post Calmontem combustum, regis et Francorum iram consul Flandrensis prospiciens, colloquium Anglorum regis petit, iracundiam regis et Francorum intimat, rogat ut aliquid in terra sua exuri permittat, quo sic eorum ira conquiescat, idque Mathildis imperatrix filio mandat. Rex Andeleium exuri permittens, burgensibus, ut villam vacuam linquant et inde recedant, mandat.*  
 . . . . .

Louis requires to be pacified by burning a Norman town. [Andely], an open town belonging to

Fulmina sacra Jovis qui fabricat, auxilietur, fo. 140.  
 Cum Zephyro Boreas fulmen ad astra ferant.  
 Sit licet hic burgus sine muris, est tamen ista  
 Francigenum probitas, ignis ut igne ruat.  
 785 Ignis castelli burgi superetur ab igne,  
 Est hic pontificis, regis et illud erat.

<sup>1</sup> nescit, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Fo. 139, containing about 100 lines, is missing.

<sup>3</sup> Nota de fortitudine villæ Rothomagi, quæ aliquando simul ob-

essa fuit ab imperatore, a rege Francorum, et a comite Flandrensi in eadem die; et interempto nepote imperatoris, omnes recesserunt, nec aliud facere potuerunt, M.

Pontifici reddat metuit quod solvere regi :  
 Armis iste caret, tela sed ille gerit.

the arch-  
 bishop of  
 Rouen, is  
 chosen.

## CAP. XV.

*Quod Ludovicus rex Franciæ Andeleium armatus  
 cum exercitu petit,\* villam eandem ecclesiæ Ro-  
 thomagensis, sine murorum objectu, vacuam ab  
 hominibus reperit, ignem in vindictam<sup>1</sup> nobilis  
 castri sui Calmontis supponit, multique in itinere  
 tam homines quam equi vi caloris sunt extincti ;  
 sieque ira satiata, postea cum rege Anglorum  
 pacem fecit.*

[*fo.*  
 100 b.]\*

Consulis acceptis verbis, rex Francicus armis  
 790 Induitur, collo reliquiasque gerit :

Tutior incedit divino Nomine fretus,  
 Vallatus variis ossibus ipse sacris.

Corpus pontificis, quem pertulit Ariopagus,  
 Quod secum tulerit fama tremenda refert.

Louis, pro-  
 tected by  
 relics, ad-  
 vances on  
 Andely.

795 Is præsul, cæsus capitali jure, premissus  
 Francigenas forsitan cerneret ense rui.

Arca Dei quondam capitur, ruit Israel ipse ;  
 Exemplo simili non timet iste capi.

Armatur virtus Francorum, gloria regni,

800 Villas ignis habet quo suus<sup>2</sup> extat iter.

Hic Audoenus villas sex perdit et unam,  
 Has urj patitur Nigasiique Vadum.

Ista futura sciens, rex tunc Andeleienses

Linquant ut vacuas præcipit ipse domos.

805 Naves conscendunt, sua gestant, longius astant ;  
 Sublatis opibus stat vacuata domus.

Assunt Francigenæ, bellum cum pariete nudo  
 Ignibus et ferro cum feritate gerunt.

Quilibet hoc prædo potuit, potuit puer unus,

810 In vacuam villam stramina ferre, faces.

Hinc Franci redeunt, tanta probitate peracta,  
 Ecclesiæ Rodomi villa perusta manet.

St. Ouen  
 loses thus  
 seven  
 towns with  
 Gasny.

Henry bids  
 the people  
 of Andely  
 vacate the  
 town.

The  
 French  
 enter and  
 burn the  
 deserted  
 houses.

R. de  
 Monte,  
 vi. 516.

*vindicta*, MS.

| <sup>2</sup> Thus in MS.

- Præclari castris fuit hæc vindicta perusti,  
Ista tamen Francis gloria nulla fuit.
- 815 Dum venit hincque redit rex et vis Francigenarum,  
Torrui hos Phœbus, Sirius ipse simul. R. de  
Monte,  
vi. 516.  
Æthereus fomes, vis<sup>1</sup> solis tanta perussit,  
Ut pudeat peditum commemorare sitim.  
Horrida namque sitis homines extinxit equosque,
- 820 Reddit ægros potus turbidus, immo lues.  
Ex morbo subeunt mortem per castra per urbes,  
Talis et in Francos ultio diva fuit.  
Inclyta Mathildis,<sup>2</sup> si jam translata fuisset,  
Stragibus ex multis, heu dolor, ille dies!
- 825 Cernens quod natus sibi solus et unicus esset,  
Ne bellum gereret præcipit, idque monet.  
Infidos animos, casus varios docet esse.  
Si ruit is, periit matris et omne genus.  
Regibus ambobus pro tempore pacificatis,
- 830 Discedunt acies, et sua quisque petit.

The French army suffers from the heat and from disease.

The empress Maud advised her son to permit the destruction.

### CAP. XVI.

*Altercatio inter Normannum et Francum pro Andeleio burgo Rothomagensis archiepiscopi a toto Francorum exercitu combusto, et Calmonte nobili Francorum castello, muris et aqua cincto, uno Normannorum et regis impetu destructo.*

#### *Francus.*<sup>3</sup>

Jactitat id Francus quod burgum diruit igne  
Clarum divitiis, culmine, plebe, situ.

Dispute between a Norman

<sup>1</sup> *ac solis*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Hoveden, i. 282, under the year 1169, says, "Lodowicus . . . com-  
"bussit Andely . . . non resistente  
"Henrico rege Angliæ, in vin-  
"dictam Calvi Montis, . . . quod  
"prædictus rex Angliæ anno præ-  
"cedenti combusserat per Walenses  
"suos." These dates are negatived  
by the joint testimony of R. de

Monte (vi. 516) and Étienne de Rouen, who here speaks of the empress Maud as alive.

<sup>3</sup> The annotator puts *Fr.* and *Nor.* The scribe intended to mark the alternations by capitals, which are indicated by small letters in the usual way, but not inserted. The annotator adds, *Altercatio regis Francorum et ducis Normanniæ.*



*Normannus.*

Sed nec divitias rapuit, plebem nec abegit,  
 Stat situs, exussit culmina sola soli.  
 835 Deerat hic murus, munimen defuit arcis,  
 Urere sic villam nil prohibitatis erat.

and a  
 French-  
 man re-  
 specting  
 the de-  
 struction of  
 Chaumont  
 and An-  
 dely.

*Francus.*

At Normannigenum vis murus debuit esse,  
 Arx galeata suis rex procerumque vigor.

*Normannus.*

Horridus hic armis, animi feritate tremendus,  
 840 Noluit, at potuit, sternere cæde, rogo.  
 Consilium procerum fuit hoc et jussio matris,  
 Quod castrum tulerat, villa perusta ferat.

Henry had  
 permitted  
 the de-  
 struction of  
 Andely on  
 the advice  
 of his  
 mother and  
 his nobles.

*Francus.*

Quid sibi consilii, quid mater jusserit, ille  
 Solus habet, burgum Francus in igne tenet.

*Normannus.*

845 Gloria nulla fuit, villas quod Francus adussit  
 Sic vacuas, immo dedecus istud erit.  
 At si Vernonem,<sup>1</sup> ubi rex tunc deguit, igni  
 Traderet, id virtus, gloria, lausque foret.

It would  
 have been  
 a triumph  
 for the  
 French to  
 have taken  
 Vernon,  
 where  
 Henry  
 then was.

*Francus.*

Deguit, at vidit galeatas ipse phalanges  
 850 Francigenum terras urere sæpe suas.

*Normannus.*

Nequaquam vidit, sed villas urere cessit,  
 Ut sic Francigenum desinat ipse dolor.

<sup>1</sup> This and other passages about this point furnish distinct additions to the excellent Itinerary of Henry

II. which Bishop Stubbs prefixes to Bened. Petrob. (vol. ii.).

Matris erat Christi burgus, sic ecclesiarum  
Prædia, Danorum jus tamen illud erat.

*Francus.*

855 At timor invasit regem Danosque superbos,  
Gloria Francorum dum sibi tota venit.

*Normannus.*

Culpatur regis pietas, quod Francigenarum  
Non stravit cuneos, quos necat arcta sitis.  
O si turba recens Danum cum rege volasset,  
860 Horrida quam strages tingeret arva soli!

*Francus.*

Tingeret. At Franci posebant nil nisi bellum,  
Ipsa sitis fuerat Danicus ille cruor.

*Normannus.*

Why did  
not the  
French at-  
tack Paey  
if they  
desired to  
fight?

Cur non Paceium cinxit, si bella volebat?  
Namque Medunta prope, planus et ipse locus.  
865 Sterneret hic acies Danorum Francica virtus;  
Sanguine profuso, cederet ipsa sitis.

*Francus.*

Danorum terras intravit bellica virtus  
Francigenum, belli spes sibi sola quidem.

*Normannus.*

Regis avus bello Francos regemque fugavit,  
870 Flandrensis fugit consul et ipse simul.  
Cum Ludovico repetebat jura paterna,  
Flandria cum Francis hic tremefacta fuit.

*Francus.*

Bellorum casu nunc is nunc ille fugatur,  
Vivere quæ servat nobilis illa fuga.

*Normannus.*

875 Coram Francigenis, Flandrensibus inelyta virtus  
 Perstitit, haud casu, sed probitate sui.  
 Jure pari metuunt a Danis nunc superari,  
 Quos feritas armat, cum sibi tanta manus.

*Francus.*

Franci nec numero superantur nec probitate ;  
 880 Normannis numerus stat probitasque minor.

*Normannus.**fo. 141.*

[S]i numero superat, numerus numeretur ab ense,  
 Detrahat ut probitas quæ probitate tument.  
 Cum decies quinos Tideus solus superavit,  
 Pandit quod numerus sit probitate minor.

*Francus.*

885 Militiæ probitas Francorum fortis et audax  
 Exstitit, id notum semper ubique fuit.

*Normannus.*

Quid notum? quibus? at sibimet. Rollo quid in  
 armis?  
 Quæ tulit? aut primum Neustria cujus erat?  
 Hanc quotiens repetunt, fortes victique recedunt,  
 890 Ut timidus Danus clarior ense micet.

*Francus.*

Quidquid prætendat Normannus, quidquid anhelet,  
 At Francis minor est nobilitate, manu.

*Normannus.*

Exul is a Troja quem Tyndaris ipsa fugavit,  
 Præferet ha! Danis et genus atque manum.

- 895 Huic genus a Troja succensa, depopulata,  
 Dacia, terra potens, hos tulit hosque dedit.  
 Huic manus alta quidem, major sed Danus in  
 armis  
 Quidquid habet Francus<sup>1</sup> abstulit, idque tenet.

*Francus.*

- Iste tenet summo tamen hoc sudore, labore,  
 900 At cum deliciis Francus ubique manet.

*Normannus.*

- In thalamis vivat : Danis sudorque laborque !  
 Virtus vi capitur, desidiaque ruit.  
 Armis assuetus, levius fert pondera belli,  
 Deliciis mollis protinus arma fugit.  
 905 Gloria Rollonis num major quam labor ipse ?  
 Calmontis labor hic gloria perpes erit.

*Francus.*

- Ussit quod castrum, quod paucos depulit armis,  
 Angligenum regi gloria parva fuit.

*Normannus.*

- The  
 French  
 sallying  
 from  
 Chaumont  
 were  
 beaten  
 back. They  
 could not  
 prevent the  
 burning of  
 the place.
- 910 Immo maxima, nam procerum vis Francigenarum  
 Exilit e castro, sicque fugata redit.  
 Castrenses nequeunt castro succurrere : flammis  
 Uritur, ac hostes depopulantur opes.  
 Hic Francus vacuas sine muris comparet aedes,  
 Nam collata duo certius ipsa nitent.  
 915 Castrum divitiis præclarum, mœnibus, arce,  
 Plenum militia, nobilitate, ruit.

*Francus.*

- Impietas hæe, non probitas ; Danus sceleratus,  
 Walensis zabulus, rex sine mente fuit,

---

<sup>1</sup> *Francis*, MS.

Nil Francus meruit, sed nec rex religiosus,  
920 Ut sua sic vastet, destruat ille ferus.

*Normannus.*

Rex ferus Anglorum, nulli probitate secundus,  
Ut pacem pariat, talia bella gerit.

Complanare viam natis desiderat armis,  
Obvia cuncta teret, robora caesa ruent.

925 Regnantis catulos timet, horret Francica virtus,  
Ne diadema sibi quærerere cæde velint.

Primitus id tentat quod conerat ora leonis,  
Ut catuli parvi jam sine patre ruant.

Nam quis vi propria superaret quinque leones?

930 Cum sibi par feritas, par genus atque vigor.

*fo. 141 b.* Hinc rex Angligenum, dux hinc Normannigenarum,

Andegavis consul belliger inde sedet;

Hinc consul Britonum, cum consule Pictaviensi,

Undique Francorum moenia clausa tenent.

935 Sic leo cum catulis Francorum diruat urbes,

Talibus ac tantis sunt duo regna parum.

Perlegat et memoret Francus Normannigenarum

Gesta, quibus virtus Danica clara micat.

Se Normannigenis tunc sentiet esse minorem,

940 Ac proprii metuet perdere jura throni.

CAP. XVII.

*Quod post hæc Henricus rex contra quosdam Britonum principes sibi rebelles cum valida manu pergit.*

R. de  
Monte,  
vi. 516.

Interea Britonum quosdam rex Anglicus armis  
Appetit, et domitos in sua stare jubet.

Dumque moratur ibi, terit hostes, opprimit, arcet,

Diffugiunt Britones per vada perque nemus.

Henry  
quells a re-  
bellion in  
Brittany  
(Sept.  
1167).

945 Arturi dapifer, Rollandus,<sup>1</sup> consul et idem  
Tunc Britonum, regi dirigit ista suo.

## CAP. XVIII.

*Epistola Rollandi, cujusdam comitis Britonum, ad Arturum olim Britannicæ regem missa, qui tunc apud antipodes degebat, insinuans quod Henricus Angliæ rex terras ejus invaserat, quare vel ipse in auxilium suorum veniret, vel legiones armatas citius transmitteret.*

Letter of  
Roland [of  
Dinan?] asking  
king Arthur to  
return or  
send an  
army.

“ Arturo regi trino Rollandus.<sup>1</sup> In armis  
“ Effertus Henricus pellit ad arma tuos.  
“ Providus ergo tuis, quorum tu solus habebis  
950 “ Et rex et dominus, auxiliare cito.  
“ Aut per te venias, aut mittas huc legiones,  
“ Aut juveni manda bella necemque. Vale.”  
Hæc legit Arturus, frendet, furit, æstuat ira,  
Rollandoque suo scripta remittit ita :

## CAP. XIX.

*Epistola Arturi ad prædictum Rollandum. Et quod super his cum toto exercitu suo apud antipodes Arturus colloquium habuit.*

Letter  
of king  
Arthur to  
Roland.

955 “ Arturus Rollando. Magnus ventus in auras  
“ Solvitur, et renuit tollere flabra diu.  
“ Impetus Henrici mihi notus, nil timeatur;  
“ Audiet a Rodomo tristia: mater obit.  
“ Cloto colum, Lachesis filum tenet, attrahit,  
“ occat  
960 “ Atropos, et vitam deserit illa quidem.

Let the  
Bretons  
not fear,  
Henry

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Roland de Dinan, whose castle of Becherel Henry subsequently took, and whose lands he

likewise devastated. See R. de Monte (Pertz, vi. 517).

- “ Desinet hic Britones, nec quibit ferre dolorem, will have tidings of his  
 “ Nam nihil in mundo carius extat ei. mother’s death and will desist.  
 “ Attamen huic nostros apices mihi mittere dig-  
 “ num,  
 “ Ut sciat Arturum, deserat atque meos. Arthur will  
 965 “ Si vero juvenis tantus despexerit ista, neverthe-  
 “ Lucius ut sensit, perferet iste. Vale.” less write  
 Hinc vocat Arturus socios, regique superbo, to Henry.  
 Ut Britones linquat, mandat et ista legat.

## CAP. XX.

*Epistola Arturi regis Britonum ad Henricum regem Anglorum, in qua bellum ei indicit, nisi Britanniam reliquerit, ubi commemorat quod rex Britonum, rex Anglorum, rex Francorum fuerit; ubi etiam bellum describit quod contra Lucium Hiberium<sup>1</sup> Romanum principem et totum Italice exercitum in Francia gessit, eundem Lucium peremit; deinde contra Modredum nepotem suum, qui Angliam invaserat, aliud bellum habuit in quo ipsum interfecit, ibique vulneratus sit; sed herbis futulibus perunctus adhuc vivit.*

- “ Arturus magnus, fatorum lege perennis,  
 970 “ Henrico juveni, quod meruisse putat. Letter of king Arthur to Henry II.  
 “ Naturalis habet probitas animusque virilis  
 “ Ut prius indicat prælia, deinde gerat.  
 “ Dedignatur enim prosternere more latronum,  
 “ Quorum stat sceleris fraude necare dolo.  
 975 “ Provocat, ostentat pro viribus arma, cohortes,  
 “ Quæ sibi bellica vis; pacificare<sup>2</sup> studet.  
 “ Talis Alexandri virtus, et Cæsaris ardor,  
 “ Usus et iste mihi semper ad arma fuit.  
 “ Conflictus varios habui, laudisque triumphos  
 980 “ Viribus armatis semper ubique tuli.

<sup>1</sup> Thus MS. with Breton authority | <sup>2</sup> *palificare* (sic), MS.  
 Alfred of Beverley wrote *Hiberus*.

His glory  
eclipsed  
the fame  
of all  
previous  
rulers.

- “ Substravi Britones armis, Anglosque subegi, fo. 142.  
 “ Francorum domui turgida colla jugo.  
 “ Sic triplicis regni diademata tunc tria gessi  
 “ Solus, in his terris par mihi nemo fuit.  
 985 “ Frustra te jaetas opibus, virtute vel armis,  
 “ Hos super excello, quos simul orbis habet.  
 “ Non mihi magnus rex Assyrius æquiparetur,  
 “ Primus qui populos subdidit ense sibi.  
 “ Sed nec Chaldaeus Judaica mœnia sternens,  
 990 “ Plebes tam validas pellere sede valens.  
 “ Nec Maedo, mundi dominus,<sup>1</sup> quem solque so-  
 rorque  
 “ Arboris infusi lumine jure canunt.<sup>2</sup>  
 “ Nee radians armis, quem primum pertulit Anglus,  
 “ Romulidum virtus ingeniique decus.  
 995 “ Nee pius hic ejus genuit Colecestria matrem,<sup>3</sup>  
 “ Abluit a lepra quem sacer ille latex.  
 “ Nee deus ille dueum, qui solus Francigenarum  
 “ Arces Romuleas subdidit ense sibi.  
 “ Nec tuus hic Rollo, domuit qui Francica colla,  
 1000 “ Nee dux Angligenum qui diadema capit.  
 “ Horum quis virtute sua reges superavit  
 “ Tot tantosque simul quot mea sola manus ?  
 “ Galliea regna mihi subjeci: Roma furore  
 “ Concutitur, mandat bella nefanda, neces.  
 1005 “ Ut sibi restituam terras hortatur, ab Anglis  
 “ Tunc sub jure meo dura tributa petit.

<sup>1</sup> *dominum*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> As to the oracular reply of the trees to Alexander, Cardinal Mai refers to Julius Valerius (“*Res Geste Alexandri Macedonis translata ex Æsopo Græco*”), ed. Mai, *Anct. Class.* T. vii. Lib. iii. § 25: “*Oriente sole marem illam arborem . . . loquacem fieri, et consultantibus tertio respondere. Idem vero nocturnis*

“*boris atque lunaribus arborem feminam,*” &c. There are other mediæval histories of Alexander from which the allusions here and below may have been derived, as the Cardinal says, but Valerius is probably the author used by Étienne de Ronen.

<sup>3</sup> The empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great.



- " Quæ duo contemnens, verbis brevibus duo  
 mando :  
 " Romam nec timeo, debeo nilque sibi.  
 " Responso tali furit arduus ille senatus,  
 1010 " Imperiumque suum deperiisse gemit.  
 " Lucius Hiberius,<sup>1</sup> consul præclarus in armis,  
 " Eligitur, vires Romuleæque simul.  
 " Romulidis ducibus tot vel tantis aciebus  
 " Præparat ex arvis<sup>2</sup> quicquid ad arma satis.  
 1015 " Cum sibi subjectis terris Romania tota  
 " Convenit, armorum Cæsaris ipsa memor.  
 " Hanc sequitur mundus, ceu torrens turbidus,  
 Alpes  
 " Transvolat, Arturum vis galeata petit.  
 " Græcia, vis, sensus, decus omne philosophiæ,  
 1020 " Cum ducibus, cuneis, tota superba venit.  
 " Linguarum mater, properat Babylonica virtus,  
 " Nescit quid sibimet barbarus ille sonet.  
 " Sic Ægyptus adest, olim fons astrologiæ,  
 " Nec videt in stellis tristia bella sibi.  
 1025 " Media, cum Persis, magicas non consulit artes,  
 " Ut casus varios ante notare queat.  
 " Africa, Jugurthæ bellis famosa, dolosos  
 " Dirigit huc Numidas, nec sibi fraude pares.  
 " Libya cum Syris, Hispania, Parthia, Creta  
 1030 " Conveniunt, magnis viribus arma parant.  
*fb. 142 b.* " Bithyniæ virtus, simul ipsa Bœotia tota  
 " Cum Phrygiis tentat tradere cuncta neci.  
 " Gentibus his tantis tam fortibus associatis,  
 " Regum quisque suam dirigit, arcet, habet.  
 1035 " Ne tibi mendosus videar, reagens mea gesta,  
 " Horum cum populis nomina scripta vides.  
 " Bis septem fuerant, aberat sed Spiritus ille  
 " Qui pacata regit pacificosque facit.

The assembling of the forces of the South against Arthur.

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 697.

| <sup>2</sup> *Exarium*, MS.

- " Arturum properant propriis constringere loris,  
 1040 " Sed licium Sanson<sup>1</sup> rumpit, et inde furit.  
 " Quid moror? Arturus cum mundo præliaturus  
 " Per mare per syrtes advolat, arma parat.  
 " Hunc sequitur Britonum rutilans exercitus armis;  
 " Nobilis Anglorum juncta phalanga venit.  
 1045 " Walia pone subit, ruit hinc Hibernia tota,  
 " Gens utraque nitens tunc feritate pari.  
 " Scotica sic virtus, simul et Norwegia tellus  
 " Congerit armatos, nec probitate minor.  
 " Gallia prædives, gens Saxonie violenta,  
 1050 " Dacia Northmannis clara, repente ruunt.  
 " His fretus cuneis regum comitumque catervis,  
 " Hostibus Arturus præparat arma, neces.  
 " Augustidunum veniens, exercitus alter  
 " Horrida castra locat, Lucius ipse simul.  
 1055 " Arturus mandat propriis discedere terris  
 " Romulidas : si non, bella eruenta ciet.  
 " Lucius audaces Britones pedibusque fugaces  
 " Asserit, arma suis viribus esse minas.  
 " Andit Arturus ; præclaras ipse phalanges  
 1060 " Ordinat, ac hostis castra locata petit.  
 " Occupat hinc vallem, qua transitus est legionum,  
 " Per medias acies hic<sup>2</sup> sibi restat iter.  
 " Aut via Romanis jam ferro facta patescat,  
 " Aut eadem vallis larga sepulera dabit.  
 1065 " Lucius Arturum cognoscens præripuisse  
 " Valles, hinc metuit, consulit inde duces.  
 " Hostilis numerus Romanis sit licet impar,  
 " Arturi probitas omnibus horror erat.  
 " Dissuadent bellum tum reges tumque cohortes,  
 1070 " Romani referunt id scelus esse fugæ.  
 " Se bellis doctos, numero, virtute priores,  
 " Paucos et stolidos stragibus esse datos.

Arthur  
 assembles  
 his forces  
 from Bri-  
 tain, Gaul,  
 Saxony,  
 and the  
 North.

<sup>1</sup> St. Samson, bishop of Dol.

| <sup>2</sup> *his*, MS.

- " Crastina lux oritur, Romanos gloria belli,  
 " At Britones patriæ jus feritasque tenet.  
 1075 " Insonat hinc tellus clamoribus, inde phalanges  
 " Concurrunt, ruit hæc, ensibus illa furit.  
 " Cautius armatas acies rex ipse locarat,  
 " Ordine confuso Lucius ipse venit.  
 " Bello consumpto magna sub parte diei,  
 1080 " Innumeras strages horrida vallis habet.  
 " Partim jam cæsis, partim fessis aciebus,  
 " Junguntur Britones Romuleusque furor.  
 " Hinc orientalis virtus, simul imperialis,  
 " Gloria Romulidum consociata venit.  
 1085 " Occidue gentis feritas, Britonesque superbi  
 " Stant hinc, Cornubiæ vatis aperque simul.<sup>1</sup>  
 " Partibus alterutris furit hostis, comprimit, arcet,  
 " Obruït, impellit, qui probitate viget.  
 " In reges, proceres, descendit bellicus ardor.  
 1090 " Quæ fuit hic rabies, mens memorare fugit.  
 " Hic jam non peditum sed regum maxima virtus  
 " Sternitur et sternit, dum fugit ipsa fugat.  
 " Jusserat in latebris fore de legionibus unam  
 " Rex ferus, ut sociis afforet ipsa recens.  
 1095 " Elevat Arturus signum; tunc ipsa repente  
 " Advolat, ut cavea prosilit ipse leo.  
 " Claudiocestrensis consul, dux agminis hujus,  
 " Collibus elapsus, fulminis instar adest.  
 " A tergo venit is, nam vultus torserat in se<sup>2</sup>  
 1100 " Rex. Oritur, cædes<sup>3</sup> jam miseranda satis.  
 " Cum Gallis Britones concludunt ense phalanges  
 " Romuleas; proceres undique cæde ruunt.  
 " Fulminat Arturus, Britonum furit ardor et ira,  
 " Obstat Romulidum vis procerumque manus.  
 1105 " Horrida bellorum facies, cruor undique manat,  
 " Corpora dissectis artubus alta jacent.

The battle  
between  
Arthur  
and Lucius  
Hiberius.

Jo. 143.

<sup>1</sup> "Aper etenim Cornubiæ suc-  
" cursum præstabit," Merlin.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in MS.

<sup>3</sup> *sedes*, MS.

- " Cladibus his tantis jam parcere rex cupiebat,  
 " Sed furit horrendus Lucius ense, manu.  
 " Hunc<sup>1</sup> igitur virtus regalis cingit et urget,  
 1110 " Cum ducibus propriis sævit et ipse iugis.  
 " Sic Macedo stagnum dum cingit, turba leonum<sup>2</sup>  
 " In gladios, hastas, irruit atque ruit,  
 " Quem Britonum virtus gladio superare nequibat,  
 " Transforat hunc hasta, sic ruit ille leo.  
 1115 " Romani fugiunt, reges proceresque fugantur,  
 " Hos magis ipse dolor quam metus ille fugat,  
 " Prostrati corpus proceres utrique laborant  
 " Ut rapiant; at rex prævalet idque tenet.  
 " Diffugiunt alii tum per castella, per urbes,  
 1120 " Hos saltus retinet, hos vada cæca necant.  
 " Separat Arturus sociorum corpora cæsa,  
 " Sarcophagis donat per sacra deinde loca.  
 " Cetera per campos tumulari iussit, honori  
 " Romulidum elemens consulit, immo suo.  
 1125 " Præcipit afferri tunc corpus principis, illud  
 " Romulidis mittit, mandat et ista simul.  
 " " Arturus Romæ. Petiisti, sume tributum,<sup>3</sup>  
 " " Immo tributa, tuis præmia digna minis.  
 " " Arturum superare cupis, sed te superavit.  
 1130 " " Accipe quæ mitto, nobile corpus habes.  
 " " Cetera terra tegit, numerabis quot sibi desint.  
 " " Nam meus hos mucro dinumerare nequit.  
 " " Te Constantinus possedit, mater et ejus;  
 " " Protulit hos ambos Anglia nostra potens.  
 1135 " " Hos imitans, armis Anglorum jura reposeco, *fo. 142 b.*  
 " " Angligeni regni qui diadema gero.  
 " " Si mihi subdaris patientius, ipsa valeto,  
 " " Si non, horrisonis viribus arma paro.

Arthur  
 sends the  
 body of  
 Lucius  
 Hiberius to  
 Rome as  
 his tribute.

<sup>1</sup> *Hiuc*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> See Julius Valerius, III. § 19  
 (see note 2, p. 698), "cum subito  
 " conspicamur . . . bestias quasdam  
 " ad ripam stagui potus gratia con-

" tendentes . . . leones supra mag-  
 " nitudinem taurorum," &c.

<sup>3</sup> "Corpus quoque Lucii ad sena-  
 " tum deferre, mandavitque non  
 " debere aliud tributum ex Britan-  
 " nia reddi."—Galf. Monemut.

- “ ‘ Hostibus hinc cæsis Arturus et inde fugatis,  
 1140 “ ‘ Ut Romam capiat, præparat, instat iter.’  
 “ Perfidus ecce nepos regis Modredus, in armis     The  
   “ Strenuus, Anglorum tunc diadema rapit.     treachery  
   “ Huic rex reginam, regnum commiserat, altos     of Modred.  
   “ Romulidum cuncos dum necat atque fugat.  
 1145 “ Qui commissa duo proprium jus efficit. Audit  
   “ Arturus, tumidum<sup>1</sup> transvolat inde fretum.  
   “ Excipit Arturum cum magnis viribus ille ;  
   “ Innumeris cæsis, perfidus ipse fugit.  
   “ Nil tamen a cœpto<sup>2</sup> desistens, arma resumit,  
 1150 “ Restaurat cuneos, prælia sæva movet.  
   “ Advolat Arturus, legiones ordinat ; audax  
   “ Modredus simili eum feritate venit.  
   “ Cum sexagenis hic millibus arma capessit,  
   “ Ut patruus major vi numeroque fuit.  
 1155 “ Devorat hic hostes aper audax Cornubiensis ;  
   “ Fuis innumeris, perfidus ille ruit.  
   “ Se patruo noscit sic traditor ille minorem ;  
   “ Principe prostrato, perfida turba fugit.  
   “ Rex Constantino cognato scepra relinquit,  
 1160 “ Modredi geminos depulit iste ferus.<sup>3</sup>  
   “ Saucius Arturus petit herbas inde sororis,     Arthur  
   “ Avallonis eas insula sacra tenet.     passes to  
   “ Suscipit hic fratrem Morganis nympha peren-     Avallon to  
   nis,<sup>4</sup>     the care of  
   “ Curat, alit, refovet, perpetuumque facit.     his sister,  
   “ Traditur antipodum sibi jus ; fatatus, inermis,     the nymph  
   “ Belliger assistit, prælia nulla timet.     Morgana.  
   “ Sic hemispherium regit inferius, nitet armis,  
   “ Altera pars mundi dimidiata sibi.

<sup>1</sup> *tumidus*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *Accepto*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> The author here follows Geoffrey of Monmouth.

<sup>4</sup> This is a variation of the Arthurian legend from Breton sources.

According to Geoffrey, Arthur's sister Anna was married to Lot of Londonia. He nowhere refers either to Morgan le Fay, to Arthur's life "apud Antipodes," or to the possibility of his return.

- Arthur  
 refers  
 Henry to  
 Geoffrey of  
 Monmouth  
 and, [Nenni-  
 us] for a  
 further  
 account of  
 his deeds.
- 1170 " Hoc nec Alexandri potuit, nec Caesaris ardor,  
 " Ut superum tellus sic sua jura ferat.  
 " Antipodes hujus fatalia jura tremiseunt;  
 " Inferior mundus subditus extat ei.  
 " Evolat ad superos, quandoque recurrit ad ima;  
 " Ut sua jura petunt, degit ubique potens.
- 1175 " Quis fuit Arturus vel quis sit, cernis. At ista  
 " Non jactando loquor, sed tibi pando sacra.  
 " Plenius hæc qui scire cupit, mea gesta revolvat,  
 " Quæ Monemutensis vera loquendo canit:  
 " Dinumerat mea bella liber Gildæ sapientis<sup>1</sup>  
 1180 " Cum duodena refert, maxima sola notat.  
 " Quot mea sola manus prostraverit in duodeno,  
 " Non mea, sed Gildæ lucida verba sonant:  
 " Ter decies deni, ter centum, ter duodeni,  
 " Centies et bini, quatuor adde simul.
- 1185 " Impetus hos unus Arturi misit ad Oreum,  
 " In bello timidis fabula talis erit.  
 " Proelia priseorum numera, lege, cerne, recense; *ib.* 144.  
 " Quod tua sint ludus, protinus ipse vides.  
 " Regum<sup>2</sup> Francigenum cum regibus Angli-  
 genarum
- 1190 " Splendida bella seio, risus at inde meis.  
 " Nunc igitur mando, Britonum castella relinque,  
 " Respuit alterius gens mea ferre jugum.  
 " Nuper ab antipodum pro te tellure recessi,  
 " Per Cycladas veniens proelia multa tuli.
- Threatens  
 to return  
 with an  
 army if  
 Henry  
 does not  
 cease to  
 molest the  
 Bretons.
- 1195 " Indos cum Parthis, itiner<sup>3</sup> nostrum prohibentes,  
 " In campis Arabum fudimus, hosque tegunt.  
 " Nam fatata cohors, at impenetrabilis armis,  
 " Quælibet obtruncat, pervia cuncta facit.

<sup>1</sup> Nennius, not Gildas, is intended.

<sup>2</sup> *Regnum*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> The author ventures on this

(Cf. Plaut. *Merc.* 5, 2, 72) as the aecensative, and on *iteris* (line 1286) as the genitive on still more archaic authority.

- " Sic ferus Æacides, si corporis inviolata  
 1200 " Pars sibi quoque foret, degeret ipse diu.  
 " En mea classis adest, sed classis tota perennis  
 " Littoribus notis appulit, arma gerit.  
 " Quod mea jura tenes simul et rex Francige-  
 narum,  
 " Hoc innatus amor fert pietasque mea.  
 1205 " Id quare patiar, tam longo tempore farer ?  
 " Sed mihi nota quidem cœlica fata vetant.  
 " Bellis antipodum pacatis atque sopitis,  
 " Apparebo ferus, orbis et ipse fremet.  
 " Mundanæ molis tunc nobis climata cedent,  
 1210 " Imperium nostrum terra subacta tremet.  
 " Ne tamen id videas, te jussis supprime nostris,  
 " Ut tibi vel natis regna quieta sinam.  
 " Ipse quidem silvas, fessas refovens legiones,  
 " Incolo Cornubiæ, proxima castra loco.  
 1215 " Si mea jussa times et amas, et pronus obedis,  
 " Jam valeas; si non, nuntio bella tibi."

## CAP. XXI.

*Quod rex Henricus epistolam Arturi coram proceribus suis in silva Britonum legi fecerit, quidque de ea dixerit.*

Rex Anglus legit hæc, Britonum quem silva tenebat.

Subridens sociis, nil pavefactus, ait:

- " Magnus Alexander Darii dum scire laborat<sup>1</sup>  
 1220 " Quæ vis, quæ probitas, ut peregrinus abit.  
 " Obviat hinc regi rex pauper solus: at ille  
 " Quærit, Alexander si sibi notus erat?

Henry reads the letter of Arthur before his nobles.

<sup>1</sup> Again we have a story which | Valerius, II. § 26. See note 2 on  
could have been drawn from Julius | p. 698.

- “ ‘ Est mihi notus,’ ait rex, ‘ audax, clarus in  
 “ ‘ armis,  
 “ ‘ Idem philosophus ac probitatis apex.’  
 1225 “ Porrigit hinc apices proprios plenosque mina-  
 “ rum;  
 “ Mandat ut ille ferus rura paterna petat.  
 “ Orat Alexandro deferri; jurat et ille  
 “ Ipsius in manibus scripta futura fore.  
 “ Hinc socios repetit pauper peregrinus et hostis,  
 1230 “ Solvitur in risum tunc proceresque sui.  
 “ Ordinat hinc acies, bellorum jure peritus,  
 “ Tota quibus tellus pæne subacta fuit.  
 “ Indicit bellum Dario, multisque peremptis,  
 “ Per silvas Darius dum fugit, ense ruit.  
 1235 “ Arturi Darium præsens feritas imitatur,  
 “ Nos terrere cupit carmine necne minis.  
 “ Romulidas stravit, nec possumus inficiari, *fo. 144 b.*  
 “ Inque locis istis par sibi nemo fuit.  
 “ Rex Britonum, rex Anglus erat, rex Francicus  
 “ idem,  
 1240 “ Scimus plura quidem subdita regna sibi.  
 “ Antipodum sibi jura favent, fessæ legionis  
 “ Corpora nunc refovet, castra propinqua locat.  
 “ In silvis Darius percussus morte sopitur,  
 “ Is forsani simili jure perire cupit.  
 1245 “ Lazarus ille necis subiit bis jura tremenda,  
 “ Ni sibi fata darent, posset et iste mori.  
 “ Ut Britones linguam, quos dant Normannica  
 “ jura  
 “ Mandat; si renuo, bella parantur, ait.  
 “ Ne se contemni reputet, nunc scripta remittam,  
 1250 “ Mitior is forsani vi rationis erit.”



## CAP. XXII.

*Epistola ejusdem Henrici regis ad eundem Arturum, quodque Britanniam sub ejus imperio tenere velit.*

- “ Arturo magno, fatorum lege perenni,  
 “ Henricus juvenis, cum feritate modum.  
 “ Actus cum verbis moderari, dum sapientis  
 “ Sit proprium, nostrum pignus id esse volo.  
 1255 “ Nobilis Arturi probitas laudatur ubique :  
 “ Novi quod fuerit fulgur ad arma potens.  
 “ Hunc, cum vivat adhuc fato, qui provocat armis  
 “ Perdet jura throni, corruet ille simul.  
 “ Comperit hoc dudum, Romani gloria regni ;  
 1260 “ Lūcius Arturi tristia bella tulit.  
 “ Talia bella ferat qui pacis fœdera vitat,  
 “ Nostrum velle manet, nolleque semper idem.  
 “ Neustria Rollonis fuit, atque Britannia tota ;  
 “ Has a Francigenis federe pacis habet.  
 1265 “ Heres juris ego gemini ; quod jure reposco,  
 “ Dat genus et ratio, lex favet, immo jubet.  
 “ Ut linquam Britones mandas iratus ; at ira  
 “ Fit furor insipiens, dum ratione caret.  
 “ Gens tua ferre jugum cavet, at Normanni-  
 genarum  
 1270 “ Pertulit et perfert hoc graviusque feret.  
 “ Qui contra stimulum pugnat, bis pungitur ille,  
 “ Quod vitat patitur, durius illud habet.  
 “ Fama volat, Mathildis obit, lux imperialis,  
 “ Unicus hujus ego ; fata tulere duos.  
 1275 “ En quia mandasti, quia confert fama dolorem,  
 “ Ut tuus fert animus, amodo cedo tuis.  
 “ Cedo sed ad tempus ; nam tota Britannica tellus  
 “ Tum mihi tum natis est referenda meis.  
 “ Hanc sub jure tuo, sub pace tua teneamus ;  
 1280 “ Jus tibi, pax nobis, totaque terra simul.  
 “ Hæc quia concedis, valeat tua vita perennis,  
 “ Nam mea sub Christi jure perennis erit.”

King  
Henry's  
reply to  
Arthur.

Henry  
claims  
Brittany  
as Rollo's  
successor.

The death,  
however,  
of the  
empress  
and respect  
for king  
Arthur  
decide him  
to yield  
for the  
moment.  
He offers  
to hold  
Brittany  
under the  
suzerainty  
of Arthur.

## CAP. XXIII.

*De nuntio mortis imperatricis, matris regis, quodque tunc Arturo rex obtemperans a Britannia recesserit.*<sup>1</sup>

- Death of the empress Maud.      Interea Mathildis obit, regi que repente  
Beccensis monachus<sup>2</sup> mittitur, exit, abit.
- A monk of Bee well known to Henry is despatched with the tidings, and is rewarded with a staff.      1285 Is regi notus, tum carus tumque fidelis,  
Hinc magis est iteris<sup>3</sup> dulcior ipse labor.  
Nec tamen hic cassus; baculo, dulcedine pleno, *fo.* 145.  
Ditatur rediens, at monachilis erat.  
Dulcior at multo quam pontificalis habetur,  
1290 Hic et ille simul consepeltitur eis.  
Si bene quid meruit, datur huic sceptrum pro-  
bitatis;  
Si male, de proprio verbera dura feret.  
Corpore nudatus, pastorum spiritus exit,  
Hujus judicium ferrea virga regit.
- The king's deep grief.      1295 Intimat hinc regi monachus quod mater obisset.  
Ultra credibilem flet, gemit, ille modum.  
Nec mirum; sibi nil in mundo carius ipsa,  
Nani diadema dedit, mater et ejus erat.  
Testatus pater hinc, ut matrem semper amaret  
1300 Jussit, obediret consiliisque suis.
- His filial obediencie to the empress.      Hinc memor, imperio matris tria subdidit iste,  
Se, proprius actus, imperiumque simul.  
Jam duo conqueritur, quod vim sibi consiliorum,  
Pro se pauperibus munera multa dabat.
- 1305 Consilio proprio datur is; nam, matre remota,  
Anchora cen navim, deserit illa virum.  
Militiæ studiis pressus, stipendia multis  
Distribuit; pastor pauperis esse nequit.

<sup>1</sup> Here occur the words: *Expli-  
ciant capitula libri secundi. In-  
cipiunt capitula libri tertii.*

<sup>2</sup> As Dr. Pauli remarks, this is almost certainly the author himself.

<sup>3</sup> *Iteris*, thus in MS., with some archaic authority. See l. 1195.

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LIBER TERTIUS.

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## INCIPIT LIBER TERTIUS.

### CAP. I.

[*fo. 111.*]\* *De Mathildis imperatricis obitu, quodque anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXVII. apud Rothomagum defuncta sit, decima die mensis Septembris, die dominica, tertio ipsius diei<sup>1</sup> hora, Henrico rege ejusdem\* filio tunc in Britannia morante; quodque antea ut apud Becum tumultaretur eidem concessit, idque olim, de partu Gaufridi filii sui infirmata, apud Rothomagum a patre impetraverat.<sup>2</sup>*

- Anno milleno, ter bino, tum simul uno,  
Sedecies deno,<sup>3</sup> magna Mathildis obit.  
Stella die solis rapitur sub sole diei :  
Sol verus simili surgit in orbe die.
- 5 Rectius hanc solem quam stellam forte vocarem,  
Nam similis soli quisque futurus erit.  
Solum sola regens natum, binisque carebat  
Quos solos habuit, quos dedit ipsa solo.
- 10 Tertia solis erat, cum tali parte diei  
Spiritus ille venit, spiritus hujus abit.  
Decalogi jussum tenuit tum mente vel actu,  
Septembris decima cessit et ipsa die.  
Cumque dies Phœbus cum Virgine bis duodeno  
Splenduit, æternum cœpit habere diem.
- 15 Justitiæ solem videat cum Virgine sacra,  
Sic et apostolicum propheticumque chorum.

The em-  
press died  
A.D. 1167.

She died at  
the third  
hour of the  
day on  
Sunday the  
10th of  
September.

<sup>1</sup> *die*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *impetraverit*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. reads, *sex decies deno*  
by the interlineation, perhaps by the  
annotator, of the letter *x*.

- Infirmitate diu, paulatim deficiebat,  
 Subtrahitur vitæ vividus ille vigor.  
 Corpus, tum senio tum febribus attenuatum,  
 Spiritus ut linquit, claustra beata petit.  
 Ex meritis credi licet hoc, nam semper egenos  
 Fovit, et ecclesiis munera multa dedit.  
 Hujus præ cunctis beneficia larga recensent  
 Beccenses monachi, cujus et ossa tenent.
- 20 She died worn with age and fevers.
- 25 Her love for the monks of Bee.  
 Ut natos proprios hos solos semper amavit,  
 Unus ut ex illis sic erat inter eos.  
 Gaufridum pariens, premitur validudine forti;<sup>1</sup>  
 Primus et in natis hic moriturus erat.
- 30 Her illness after the birth of Geoffrey, and her request then in case of death to be buried at Bee.  
 Dissolvi metuens, Becco petiit sepeliri,  
 Tunc Rodomi degens annuit ista pater.  
 Quæ Becco dederit tunc temporis enumerabo,  
 Carmine finito,<sup>2</sup> singula vera loquar.  
 Subnectam breviter post mortem quæ dedit ejus  
 Ipsius ex rebus filius ipse suus.
- 35 Her gifts to the church.  
 Quæ vero monachis aut ecclesiæ faciendæ  
 Contulit in censu, noscere nemo potest.  
 Hinc igitur natus postquam diademate fulsit,  
 Cum Becci monachis vivere dulces fuit.  
 Pluribus hæc lustris Pratensis cella refulsit;  
 40 Prati flos moritur, stella serena ruit.
- Her long residence at the monastery of S. M. des Prés.
- R. de Monte, vi. 491.

<sup>1</sup> The information here is from R. de Monte: the remainder of the chapter is principally from the same source.

<sup>2</sup> *Scilicet in fine lujus libri, ubi in prosa enumerantur, sed prius poni-*

*tur quedam prophetia Merlini de sciore Henrico et juniore etc., M.* These gifts are detailed on *fo.* 159 of the MS., and the list is printed on pp. 758-760.

## CAP. II.

*De situ ecclesie prioratus<sup>1</sup> Prati et loci ipsius ubi defuncta fuit, et de laude ipsius imperatricis, quodque rex eidem dixerit, ut apud Beccum sepeliretur; quodque Beccum delata ab archiepiscopo Rothomagensi Rotrodo et Arnulfo Lexoviensi episcopo, pluribusque abbatibus et proceribus, tradita sit sepulture positaque honorifice sub corona ante majus altare ecclesie.*

- |    |  |              |
|----|--|--------------|
|    | Stat Rodomum juxta locus hic, qui nomine Prati     | Situation of |
|    | Censetur, monachis congruus ipse satis.            | the monas-   |
|    | Meridiem spectat, septentrionalis in urbem         | tery of      |
|    | Flat Boreas, flumen dirimit ista duo.              | Notre-       |
|    |  | Dame-        |
|    |  | des-Prés.    |
| 45 | Alluit hinc Pratum crescentis fluminis unda,       |              |
|    | Nominis inde sui vim locus ipse trahit.            |              |
|    | Nobilis hic cellam structuræ condit, adornat       | Henry I.     |
|    | Henricus senior, ditat honore pari.                | founded it   |
|    | Hic Becci monachos degentes semper amavit,         | as a cell    |
|    |  | to Bec.      |
| 50 | Auxit divitiis, prædia plura dedit.                |              |
|    | Sumptibus ex propriis proprias hic construit ædes, | Near the     |
|    | Incolit has, Rodomum cum venit, ipse leo.          | same place   |
|    | Splendidus iste locus rebus vel religione,         | he built a   |
|    | Silvis ac fluvio, portubus, urbe, situ.            | magnifi-     |
|    |  | cent palace  |
| 55 | Silva propinqua manens parcum demittit in am-      | which he     |
|    | nem,   | occupied     |
|    |  | when at      |
|    | Urbis in obtutu <sup>2</sup> floridus ipse micat.  | Rouen.       |
|    | Huncque feris variis rex præsens nobilitavit,      |              |
|    | Huic partem nemoris consociare libet.              |              |
|    | Ejus in extremis, regalis qua via transit,         |              |
| 60 | Hujus regis opus, regia clara nitet.               |              |
|    | Sit qualis paries prospexit quisque viator,        |              |
|    | At varios vultus interiora latent.                 |              |
|    | Regia picta nitet, auro testudo refulget,          | The paint-   |
|    | Inscius artis adest, obstupefactus abit.           | ings and     |
|    |  | ornamen-     |
|    |  | tation of    |
|    |  | the palace.  |

<sup>1</sup> prioratus, interlined by the annotator. | <sup>2</sup> obtutus, MS.

- 65 Hanc juxta Pratum residet, quo flos mulierum,  
 Flos patriæ nostræ, clara Mathildis obit.  
 Flore suo Pratum vacuatur, floris odorem  
 Tellus nostra sapit, spirat ubique novus.  
 Magnus floris odor: quod conjunx imperialis,  
 70 Filia quod regis, regia mater erat.  
 Major: quod prudens, quod religionis amatrix,  
 Quod fons consilii cum pietate fuit;  
 Quod refovens inopes, monachorum quod pia  
 mater,  
 Perfugium miseris, pacis amica simul.<sup>1</sup>
- 75 Maximus: in studiis dum vivit talibus exit; *ib.* 146.  
 Ut pia vita fuit, finis et ipse bonus.  
 Ipsa, prius nævum pandens quem contulit ævum,  
 Linqvens cuncta soli, transit ad alta poli.<sup>2</sup>  
 Floris odor, quod magna, potens quod religiosa,  
 80 Quod vitæ pia mors consociata fuit.  
 Hac igitur tali tam clara morte sopita,  
 Urbis præsul adest, clerus et ipse simul.  
 Assunt abbates, proceres, populique caterva  
 Confluit, exequiis omnis habetur honos.
- The clergy and people attend her funeral.  
 In the previous year at her request Henry chose a place for her burial. He named  
 85 Anno præterito gravis hanc valetudo gravavit;  
 Eligat ut tumuli jus sibi natus, ait.  
 Is Beccum memorat, sepeliri quo cupit olim,  
 Hunc fore regalem denegat illa locum.  
 "Solus regalis locus est solus," intulit ille,  
 90 "Gloria nec tumuli membra beata facit."  
 O verbum dignum prolatum regis ab ore!  
 Culmine regali regia digna fides!  
 Sollicitus curat quo spiritus hujus abiret,  
 Assiduæque precis providet ipse locum.
- In the previous year at her request Henry chose a place for her burial. He named Becc: she said it was not a royal burial place. Henry's reply. She thereupon gave assent.  
 95 Ut ratione capax vim perspicit ipsa loquentis,  
 Dat monachis caris corporis ossa sui.

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Mai wrongly supposes  
 a lacuna here in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> The author breaks into a Leo-  
 nine couplet.



- Virginis eximiæ clara sepelitur in aula,  
 Hac rutilat Becci splendidus ipse locus.<sup>1</sup>  
 Altaris facies pro corporis imperialis
- 100 Fulget honore, parem percipit illa vicem.  
 Sed superexcellit collatus splendor honoris,  
 Hic sibi sit quantus spiritus ipse sapit.  
 Quidquid ibi sancti, quicquid consistit honesti,  
 Hujus erit meritum, dum polus ima petit.
- 105 Tradidit hanc tumulo Rotrodus, tunc Rodo- Rotrou  
 mensis archbishop  
 of Rouen  
 and Arnulf  
 of Lisioux,  
 with the  
 monks of  
 Bee, are  
 present at  
 the grave.
- Præsul, et abbatum conflua turba simul.  
 Affuit Arnulfus antistes Lexoviensis,  
 Ingenii virtus eloquique nitor :  
 Præterea clerus, proceres, cœtus popularis,
- 110 Grexque pius fratrum, quos sibi junxit amor.  
 Permanet in terris hinc gloria tanta sepulcri,  
 Major et in cœlis gloria perpes ei.  
 At pretii magni stat desuper ampla corona,  
 Jure coronatam clara corona tegit.
- 115 Candelabri radii septenis, lampadibusque  
 Cum totidem, tumuli condecoratur honos.  
 Septiformis inest animæ jam Spiritus ille,  
 Jam radios veri luminis ipsa videt.  
 Christi pura caro, sanguis tractatur ad aram,
- 120 Quæ tumulo coram mystica semper adest ;  
 Visque sacrificii divini transit in illam ;  
 Id meruit, cujus munere digna fides.  
 Obtulit ecclesiæ se totam Virginis almæ,  
 Corpus habens, animam diluit ipsa prece.
- fo. 116 b. 125 Diluit et Christi vivacis sanguinis unda,  
 Unda sibi præsens, tergere cuncta potens.  
 Quis numeret quotiens celebrabitur Hostia vitæ,  
 Vel celebratur ibi, cujus et ipsa comes ?
- The *corona lucis* above her grave.
- She lies before the altar.

<sup>1</sup> Hoveden, i. 253, is thus in error when he says, "Matilda . . . sepulta est apud Rothomagum in abbacia" | "quæ dicitur Sancta Maria de Pratis." She lived, however, and died there.

- Haurit quotidie cœlestis dona cruoris,  
 130 Ut purgata diu mundior astra petat.  
 Cum monachis caris radianti carne resurget,  
 Quorum jam meritis associata manet.  
 Sicque stola gemina, dono redimita perenni,  
 Juncta Deo vitæ, vita perennis erit.  
 135 Gloria sit qualis cœli vel quanta videbit,  
 Quid Deus aut quid sit angelus aut quid  
 homo.  
 Quæ causæ rerum, vel mundi quæ sit origo,  
 Quam natura potens, quam variata manet.  
 Angelus aut homo quid peccarunt, curve creati,  
 140 Post mundum quid erit, cur Deus extat homo.

## CAP. III.

*Quod eodem anno obitus ejus tria signa in cœlo  
 visa sint: nam mense Martio cometa in Gallia  
 resplenduit; mense deinde Julio circulus athe-  
 reus circa solem maximus apparuit; mense  
 postea Septembris, media nocte, luna tota san-  
 guinea diutius visa est, regibus post Paschu  
 prateritum a se invicem jam discordantibus.*

Three por-  
 tents were  
 seen in  
 the year in  
 which the  
 empress  
 died: in  
 March a  
 comet, in  
 July a  
 circle  
 round  
 the sun,  
 and in  
 September  
 the moon  
 appeared  
 red.

- Anno quo moritur tria signa stupenda coruseant,  
 Portentum superum, sed latet istud adhuc.  
 Parisius juxta metuenda cometa refulsit,  
 Martius hanc fudit, belliger ipse deus.  
 145 Circulus æthereus solem circa radiavit  
 Maximus, hunc mensis Cæsaris ipse dedit.  
 Nocte sub umbrifera monstratur luna cruenta,  
 Septimus a Martis turbine mensis erat.<sup>1</sup>  
 Horum perspexi medium, multis sociatis:  
 150 Cetera bina ferunt cum gravitate viri,

Chron.  
 Beccense,  
 654.

<sup>1</sup> The preceding lines seem to be | *Chron. Beccense* (Migne, Patr. Cur.  
 a versification of a passage in the | Comp. 150, 654).

Tum monachi plures, tum elerus Parisiensis,

Quorum nota fides religioque manet.

Hæc tria quid signent, scit rerum pervigil Auctor,

Nam genus humanum cuncta futura latent,

155 Bella, fames, pestes, tempestatesque futuras,

Principis aut mortem talia signa eanunt,

Sive novi regis præcellentis diadema,

Præsulis insignis vel speciale decus.

Hæc diversa quidem, non unum sed tria signant,

160 Quæ tamen hæc extent dicere nemo valet.

Jura novi regni forsant canit ipsa cometes,

Luna rubens belli tristia fata refert.

Solaris cyclus, alicujus splendor honoris

Cælitus emissus, qui sit in orbe novus.

165 Hæc sic conjicio, nam talia sæpe relegi;

Quæ tamen ista tegant, posteriora doceant.

Cælica signa latent, donec videantur in actu,

Actus habet quidnam significare velint.

Præteritis signis succedunt significata;

170 Cur micuit signum, res patefacta monet.

Ut reor, instat in his præsens discordia<sup>1</sup> regum;

Sed quis erit rerum terminus, ecce latet.

Ut retuli, September habet eum morte Mathildem,

Pascha sequens cernit tela parare, faces.

147. 175 Conveniunt iterum tum reges Francus et Anglus,

Tum proceres, elerus, militiaeque vigor.

Ut sibi subdatur, rex ut sibi serviat Anglus

More patris, Francus rex petit, immo jubet.

The comet may portend a new king; the blood hue of the moon, war; the solar circle, some celestial visitation.

The author thinks that the present differences between the two kings are denoted. In Sept. the empress died, and the Easter [of

<sup>1</sup>This expression, together with the words, "*Pascha sequens cernit "tela parare"*" (l. 174), settles two points of some importance: (i.) that this portion of the poem was composed about April 1168, Easter in that year being at the end of March; and (ii.) that the date, February 1168, in the heading to

Cap. XVI. of Lib. III. is merely a clerical error for February 1169. The peace there alluded to was arranged, according to R. de Monte (Pertz, vi. p. 518), on 6 Jan. 1169, and the author here (l. 172) says he does not, in or about April 1168, know what will be the issue of the strife.

1168] sees  
prepara-  
tions for  
war.

- Denegat ille ferus ulli se subdere regum,  
 180 Impar nec cuneis par diadema nitet.  
 Regum colloquium tali finitur in ira,  
 Militiæ virtus confluit, arma capit.  
 Francorum probitas consueto more minatur,  
 Dux Normannigenum ferrea claustra facit.  
 185 Armatis cuneis cingit castella vel urbes,  
 Has penetrare parans; Francia clausa gemit.  
 Nam pax turpis ei, Normannica nec superare  
 Castra valet, feritas permanet ipsa ducis.  
 Fœdera velle sui fient, nec serviet ulli;  
 190 Exerat en Francus quicquid ubique valet.

## CAP. IV.

*De adventu nunciorum imperatoris Alemannie in Normanniam, Saxonie scilicet duce,<sup>1</sup> ejusdem imperatoris nepote generoque regis Angliæ, cum duobus episcopis et comitatu multo. Quodque imperator regi mandaverit, ne cum rege Francorum, nisi ad honorem suum fœdus pacis iniret: auxilium suum, ex quo mandaret, paratum sibi omnino sciret: proque filia ejus, quam prædicto duci nepoti suo in conjugium dederat, maximas gratias reddidit; quidque rex eisdem nunciis responderit.*

The em-  
peror  
Frederick  
I. sends  
his nephew,  
the  
duke of  
Saxony, on  
an embassy  
to Henry,  
A.D. 1168.

- Dirigit interea proceres princeps Alamannus  
 Angligenum regi pontificesque suos.<sup>2</sup>  
 Hos dux Saxonie ducit, dux splendidus armis,  
 Terris, divitiis, milite, mente, manu.  
 195 Principis isque nepos tanti, nitor imperialis  
 Culminis; ast alius non minor ejus honor.

<sup>1</sup> *duce, nepote, &c.*, thus in MS.

<sup>2</sup> The word *interea* in this couplet (the last date mentioned (*l.* 174) being Easter 1168) shows that the

author places this embassy in 1168. R. de Monte (Pertz, *Scriptores*, vi. p. 517) agrees.

- Nam gener is<sup>1</sup> regis : natam<sup>2</sup> sibi copulat hujus, He is the  
 Connubio<sup>3</sup> tanto clarior ecce micat. king's son-  
 in-law.
- Duxerat hanc comitum majestas pontificumque,  
 200 Cum quantis opibus dicere nullus habet.  
 Aurum quis numeret, argenti copia quanta ;  
 Vasorum species mens memorare nequit.  
 Quam varii generis, pretii, quot regia virgo  
 Ornamenta tulit, scribere nemo valet.
- 205 Gloria regalis cum sponsæ tanta fuisset,  
 Saxonicus sponsus splendet honore pari.  
 Virgo duci sociata nitet facieque decora,  
 Nobilis hæc animo, sic patre, matre, viro.  
 Hanc gens Saxoniam dominam se gaudet habere,
- 210 Illustrat patriam splendida stella suam.  
 Plus patriæ confert fulgoris, laudis, honoris,  
 Quam sibi Saxonici culminis altus honos.  
 Hæc alti generis, speciosa, futuraque mater,  
 Hoc triplici nexu nectit amore virum.
- 215 Dux igitur tantus, transmissus ab imperiali  
 Culmine, quo regem cerneret, ecce venit.  
 Milite vallatur multo, proceres comitantur ;  
 Nolit sive velit, Flandria præstat iter.  
 Attamen hunc consul Flandrensis ducit, honorat,
- 220 Per proprias terras, regis amore quidem.  
 Suscipit hunc, belli fomes, Normannica tellus  
 Conjugis ob meritum, fœdera pacis habet.  
 Obviat huic Anglorum rex, simul oscula libat,  
 Affuit Angligeni gloria multa throni.

The count  
of Flanders  
grants him  
a passage  
and re-  
ceives him  
honour-  
ably.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. reads *generis*. Dr. Pauli ("The Academy" Vol. III., p. 336, 1st Sept. 1872), is mistaken in saying this chapter refers to "the embassy sent by the emperor Frederick I. (1165), the "betrothal of Henry the Lion," &c. Duke Henry is here probably,

and in l. 225 definitely, referred to as already the king's son in-law.

<sup>2</sup> *Nomine Matildem. Hæc filia Henrici II. regis Angliæ, nupta fuit Henrico, duci Saxoniam et Bavarie; ex quorum matrimonio natus fuit Otho, qui fuit imperator, M.*

<sup>3</sup> *Conubio, MS.*

- King Henry treats him, as his daughter's husband and as imperial ambassador, with especial honour. Duke Henry presents gifts and the imperial demands. The emperor charges king Henry not to resume the position of vassal to the French crown. If the king wishes he will himself come with an army and dethrone Louis, who is the heir of Hugh Capet, not of Charlemagne.
- 225 Huic, quia vir natæ, legatus et imperialis  
 Principis atque nepos, solvitur omnis honos,  
 Agminibusque suis defertur quidquid honoris,  
 Urbibus hos infert rex procerumque chorus.  
 Hos secum retinens, ut honorus honorat honoros,
- 230 Dignus honorari, dignior ipse throno.  
 Hos socios ducit tum per castella, per urbes,  
 Hique stupent regis gloria quanta manet.  
 Hinc regi pandit dux imperialia jussa,  
 Munera tunc profert, ardua scripta simul.
- 235 Mandat ne regi Francorum subiciatur,  
 Cum sibi par virtus, par honor atque thronus :  
 Non par at major, patrios si jure triumphos  
 Inspicit, ac proprii culmina tanta throni.  
 Fœdera si pacis incat, conservet honorem
- 240 Tum sibi tum natis consulibusque suis.  
 Imperium natis nitatur pacificare,  
 Desidis est regis subdere colla jugo.  
 Si jubet, armatas validas mittet legiones  
 Ditatas opibus, proelia ferre scias.
- 245 Si mavult, isdem veniet simul imperialis  
 Gloria, sic regem pellet ab arce throni.  
 Hugonis fuit hic, Karoli non ipsius heres,  
 Heredes Karoli depulit ille dolo.  
 Ejus progenies regni pellatur ab arce ;
- 250 Ut sibi par ratio, jus sibi constet idem.  
 Translatum regnum transferri jure valebit ;  
 Bellica vis tollat quod tulit ipse dolus.  
 Ecclesiam turbans, populi vastator et ustor,  
 Nec sibi nec regno proficit, immo nocet.
- 255 Regis nomen habet, reges non destruat<sup>1</sup> ergo :  
 Destructor patriæ sedis ab arce ruat.  
 Heredem Karoli se fatur, Francigenarum  
 Viribus imperii quærit habere thronum.  
 Jus Karoli jus ejus erit, perquiret ubique
- 260 Quod lex, quod ratio, quod sibi jura dabunt.

fo. 147 b.

<sup>1</sup> regnis non destruit, MS.

- Angligeni regis natum diademate Franco  
 Donabit, thronus hic nobilis hujus erit,  
 Rem tantam peraget vis regis et imperialis,  
 Hoc sua fata volunt, idque cometa canit.  
 265 Indolis egregiæ juvenis, probitasque futurus,  
 Francigenum regno cum patre jura dabit.  
 Ut pax in terris sub regum sorte duorum  
 Floreat, is pater est, filius isque patris.  
 Nominibus solis naturæ jura notantur,  
 270 Arctius his vinclum non habet ipsa sibi.  
 Nata pro regis, regali proque sorore,  
 Imperii munus reddet utrisque novum.  
 Natam regis habet, qui regis natus habetur,  
 Heredes duo sunt, sunt duo regna sibi.  
*fo.* 148. 275 Præterea grates reddit quod filia tanti  
 Principis est tanto consociata duci.  
 In patrum transit quidquid fit jure nepoti,  
 Est patruī totus ipse nepotis honos.  
 Lætatur regis tanti præventus amore,  
 280 Cum sibi sufficiat reddere posse vicem.  
 Si tempus dederit, referet par pignus amoris,  
 Nec minor accipiens quam fuit ipse dator.  
 Firmus amicitiae trames, nec morte tenorem  
 Perdit, et in vita fidus ubique manet.  
 285 In regem tantum vis imperialis amoris  
 Talis erit, factis idque probare licet.  
 Cum duce Saxoniae proceres transmittit, ut ipsi  
 Regis velle sciant consiliique modum.  
 Imperii virtus ad regis velle parata,  
 290 Principe cum proprio, si jubet, ecce venit.  
 Francorum regnum sic armis pacificabit,  
 Ut securus iter quisque viator eat;  
 Ut nova jura novi regis cum pace noventur,  
 Prælia sedentur, sit novus ipse thronus.  
 295 His hilaris factus rex infert: "Imperialis  
 " Est mihi gratus amor, utilis isque meis.

He offers to grant France to Henry's heir.

Expresses satisfaction at the family alliance subsisting between himself and Henry.

Repeats his offer to come personally in arms.

- King  
Henry's  
reply to  
Frederick.  
His grati-  
tude for  
the good-  
will shown  
to him.
- 300 " Gratus nam cunctis et regi constat honorus;  
" Utilis in bellis fortis adesse potest.  
" Contra Francigenas tumidos quod prælia man-  
" dat,  
" Principis affectus, is mihi nempe placet.  
" Colla superborum reprimantur, pacificentur  
" Tum plebs tum proceres imperiumque simul.  
" At Normannigenum sibi sufficit ardua virtus,  
" Audax Francigenum prælia nulla timet.
- The forces  
of Nor-  
mandy,  
Brittany,  
&c., with  
those of  
England,  
suffice  
against the  
French.
- 305 " Quidquid ad arma potest Francorum vis galeata  
" Monstravit, rediit, jam sua rura fovet,  
" Dacia sola fuit, Francorum moenia stravit,  
" Horum tunc patriæ pars sibi magna datur.  
" Nunc sociis Anglis, quos dudum subdidit armis,  
310 " Non ruinar at major viribus, ense, viget.  
" Quid Britones memorem, Pictavos, Andegavenses,  
" Quos sibi consocians, Neustria clara nitet?  
" Francigenum feritas his frustra bella minatur:  
" Copia verborum stat sibi, visque minor.
- 315 " Angligeni regis tot terras tollere virtus  
" Nulla valet, frustra Francia tela parat.  
" Nec Normannigenum capiet castella vel urbes,  
" Nec sibi rex Anglus serviet. Ecce dolor!  
" Pax sibi nulla manet, vi pacis fœdus honestum,
- 320 " Gloria Normannis sit proprioque duci.  
" Quod princeps tantus mandat diadema daturum  
" Se nostro juveni, gaudeo, spesque manet.  
" Vis cœli valet hoc, vis regis et imperialis,  
" Nam transferre thronum diva statuta solent.
- 325 " Quod grates solvit quia regia virgo nepoti *fo. 148 b.*  
" Juncta suo fulget, fit mihi magnus honos:  
" Connubio natæ mihi jungitur imperialis  
" Gloria, bellica vis, hostibus ipse timor.  
" Quæ tria tum mihi tum natis sunt splendor  
" honoris,
- 330 " Tum proprio regno consulibusque meis.
- Recognises  
the honour  
which Fre-  
derick's  
gratitude  
pays him.



- " Velle meum pax firma meis ; mihi tradita jura  
 " Defendam patria vi propriaque manu. Henry's  
 " Principis adventus, horrendus cæde futurus, confidence  
 " Quod mando foveat tempus ad usque suuu. of the  
 struggle.  
 335 " Regum consilium præceps virtute carebit,  
 " Consilii magni res manet ipsa diu. Has a  
 " Mens mea quid gestet, sileo ; tamen imperiali secret  
 " Cordi cordis erunt omnia nota mei. design in  
 " Hostis molitur mihi, natis tollere sceptrum. answer  
 to the  
 340 " Molior ast aliquid ; quid sit id, ecce latet." schemes  
 of king  
 Louis.

## CAP. V.

*Quod dux et episcopi regem admirantes, post colloquium eum maximis honoribus Rothomagum a rege mittuntur. Rex paulo post eos insecutus eisdem consilium suum intimavit, magnoque honore exhilaratos, muneribus ditatos, inter quæ vasa aurea et argentea præclari operis et magni pretii multa eisdem contulit ; sicque ad imperatorem, consilio suo eis nudato, latos remisit.*

- His rex prolatis, mirantur dux proceresque  
 Sensum, verba, modum, consiliumque viri,  
 Quantas fundat opes, quam multo milite fulget,  
 Nobilitas quanti culminis extet ei.  
 345 Hinc Rodomum veniens dux regia tecta subintrat,  
 Egregique loci traditur aula sibi.  
 Regis id hospitium,<sup>1</sup> patulus quod lucus adumbrat,  
 Flumine cum pratis, nobilis urbe, situ,  
 Interius radians auro, varioque colore  
 350 Oblectans animos, visibus aula placet.  
 Redditur interea Rodomo præsentia regis,  
 Dux Alamannus adest, colloquiumque serunt.  
 Adsunt pontifices bini, quos imperialis  
 Gloria transmisit, regia verba notant.
- Duke  
 Henry  
 is led to  
 Rouen,  
 and is  
 lodged in  
 the palace.  
  
 A second  
 conference  
 takes place  
 between  
 the king  
 and the

Chron.  
Beccense,  
654.

<sup>1</sup> See the description of this palace Lib. III. ll. 51-64.

- duke and two bishops. Henry reveals his plans for the emperor's information.
- 355 Quid velit his pandit, denudat consiliorum  
 Jura, modum, summam, nil tacet ipse tribus.  
 Quæ secreto refert, hæc imperialibus ipsi  
 Auribus infundant, cuncta notentur ei.  
 Dux sociique sui, ditati munere multo,  
 360 In patriam redeunt, regia jussa ferunt,

## CAP. VI.

*De papa defuncto, post quem duo apud Romam in loco ipsius a diversis partibus cum schismate diguntur, Rollandus scilicet cancellarius et Otovianus cardinalis, sicque per violentiam contra totius ecclesie unitatem et pacem, contra jus canonicum, contra \* Petri dignitatem in cujus* <sup>[fo. 111 b.]\*</sup> *sede non est recipiendus nisi unus, ambo in Roma consecrantur; quodque olim simile schisma contigerit,<sup>1</sup> unusque tunc illorum duorum schismaticorum a Rogero duce Apulie<sup>2</sup> et Sicilie receptus eundem duem in regem saeravit; quodque Rollandus, qui jam Alexander<sup>3</sup> dicebatur, legatos suos in Galliam miserit, a regibus et episcopis receptus sit, legatos secutus in Galliam venerit. Alter qui prius Otovianus, post Victor dictus est, ab ecclesia transmarina et tota Italia receptus erat,<sup>4</sup> in Alemanniam venit.*

The ancient forwardness of Rome.

- Constat ab antiquo quod Roma tumentia colla  
 Semper habet, Remi prodit ut ipse cruor.  
 Bellorum nutrix peperit sibi prælia, reges  
 Hos proprios stravit, tradidit hosque fugæ.  
 365 Binos sæpe duces hujus discordia fecit,  
 Qui sibi, qui mundo bella necesque gerant.  
 Tempore sic nostro, sub tantis regibus istis,  
 Exit ab antiquis sedibus ipse tumor.

<sup>1</sup> *contingerit*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *Apuleie*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> The annotator interlines iij.

<sup>4</sup> Thus in MS.

- Ipsum consequitur præsens dissensio regum,  
 370 Hujus ceu fuerit Roma superba caput.  
 Nam clerum, populos dum pacis jura tenerent,  
 Schismatis initium fit prior ipsa suis.  
 Cessit Apostolicus fatis, pandensque tumorem  
 Pontifices binos procreat ipsa sibi.
- 375 Antiqui nævum retinens elata tumoris,  
 Nec sibi nec populis providet, immo nocet.  
 Olim sic orbis dominatum perdidit ipsa,  
 Vix sibi jam vivit, linquitur ecce sibi.  
 Schismate consimili turpavit climata mundi,
- 380 Cum prius Apuliæ dux diadema tulit.  
 A duce Rogero tunc alter papa receptus,<sup>1</sup>  
 Quo sibi dux faveat, hunc prius ipse sacrat.  
 Sic papæ gemini fabricantur tempore nostro,  
 Turpius in terris schisma fuisse nequit.
- 385 Victor, Rollandus, sub Petri sede locantur,  
 Hi duo divisi, Petrus at unus erat.  
 Unum vel nullum Petri tenet ipsa cathedra,  
 Nam tumidos binos arcta tenere nequit.  
 Respuit ipsa duos, unus nam sufficit orbi;
- 390 Respuat hos orbis, unus ut esse queat.  
 Binos nulla polis recipit, nisi turgida Roma,  
 Talis in exemplo qualis et ipsa latet.  
 Fratribus ex geminis quod traxit semper habebit;  
 Discors Roma fuit, semper et illud erit.
- 395 Horum quos retuli, papa migrante, secundus  
 Eligitur, summum respuit ille gradum.<sup>2</sup>  
 Traditur hinc alii jus pontificalis honoris;  
 Suscipit hic fasces, alter ad ista dolet.

The Romans elect two popes after the death of Adrian IV.

Victor (Octavian) and Roland are chosen by factions (7 Sept. 1159).

One was elected but refused the office, which was then given to another.

<sup>1</sup> Scilicet Petrus Leonis scismaticus, qui Rogerum comitem Siciliæ, nepotem Roberti Guiscardii, socra- vit in regem Siciliæ, cum ipsius partem foveret, M.

<sup>2</sup> Baronius, xix. p. 131, quoting from a MS. in the Vatican, says, "electum suum Alexandrum fugi- entem, excusantem, insuper et

"omnino reluctantem papali manto, "Deo favente, induerunt." From other documents given by Baronius it appears that Victor's party claimed 9 cardinals as against 14 for Alexander. Only four sign the account of Victor's consecration. Two of these joined his party after the election.

He who  
was first  
chosen  
400 now seeks  
that which  
he then  
rejected.

Per se perque suos repetit quod respuit ante,  
Eligit hunc iterum pars violenta sibi;  
Hoc sine cæde tamen, nam pars utraque, superba  
Quamvis erat, metuit bella movere pari.  
Romulidum sensus sic pacis fœdera turbat,  
Proh dolor! initium schismatis inde venit.

Roland  
becomes  
Alexander,  
Octavian  
takes the  
name of  
Victor.

405 Præsulibus binis mutantur nomina prisca,  
Ut mos Romulidum sorsque sacrata dedit.  
Nomen Alexandri Rollandus possidet; alter  
Victoris: gemino nomine quisque nitet.  
Interea mittit legatos præsul uterque,  
410 Orbis regna sibi subdere quisque cupit.

The Ita-  
lians, with  
the eastern  
emperor  
and the  
rulers of  
Jerusalem,  
Germany,  
Saxony,  
and Den-  
mark,  
accept  
Victor.

Jam duo non unus disponunt culmina Petri;  
Heres unus erit; si duo, Petrus abest.  
Italiæ partes sibi vindicat Otovianus,  
Ex geminis præsul extitit iste prior.  
415 Hunc per legatos princeps Constantinopolitanus  
Suscipit, et tellus subdita tota sibi.  
Rexque sacri tumuli custos,<sup>1</sup> cum milite saero,  
Plebibus adjunctis, servit, obedit ei.  
Cum clero, populis, favet huic<sup>2</sup> princeps Alaman-  
nus

The kings  
of France  
and Eng-  
land would  
have ac-  
cepted him  
if Alex-  
ander's  
faction had  
not antici-  
pated him.  
William of  
Pavia per-  
suades the  
English

420 Dux quoque Saxoniae, Dacia tota simul.  
Francus et Anglus ei reges cum plebe favissent,<sup>3</sup>  
Noscere si possent<sup>4</sup> ordinis ante modum.  
Sed per legatos proprios hos prævenit alter,  
Legistrisque favent rhetoricisque tubis.  
425 Nam simul hi veniunt cum regibus, altus et ipse  
Clerus adest, populi conflua turba venit:  
Hinc Papiæ geniti Willelmi lingua perorat  
Causam, qui fluvius eloquiique nitor.  
Arte vel ingenio reges circumvenit, omnes  
430 Vi linguæ superans in sua vota trahit.

fo. 149 b.

<sup>1</sup> The king advised neutrality, but the majority of the council at Nazareth in 1160 condemned Octavian.

<sup>2</sup> hinc, MS.

<sup>3</sup> *Contrarium tamen effectus rei*

*probavit; nam Alexander fuit verus papa, et alter reputatus est scismaticus, M.*

<sup>4</sup> *posset, MS.*

- Primus Apostolicum Rollandum nominat altus  
 Francigenum clerus, rex procerumque chorus.  
 Cui tanti cedunt, cedit rex Angligenarum,  
 Cedunt et comites pontificesque sui.
- 435 Suscipitur clarus Rollandus papa, secundus  
 Victor respuitur, sit licet ipse prior.  
 Schismaticique duo terrarum regna capessunt,  
 Quod lex, quod ratio, quod Deus ipse vetat.  
 Hic successores jam perspicias imperiales
- 440 Pompeii similes Cæsaris atque feri.  
 Ecclesiæ monstrum geminum caput extulit orbi,  
 Hoc fugiens vitet vivere quisque cupit.  
 Consensu facili multis illabitur error,  
 Nam radice fides frivola sæpe caret.
- 445 Defuit alloquio regum præsul Rodomensis  
 Hugo, vir sapiens, religione potens.  
 Quæ super his Romæ fuerat dissensio novit,  
 Quis prior electus sive sacratus erat.  
 Reges causatur tanta levitate favisse
- 450 Romulidis, rerum dum latet ipse modus.  
 Ex his schismaticis nam se deponeret alter,  
 Ecclesiæ virtus si repulisset eos,  
 Hinc et Apostolici discordia prava sileret,  
 Sic proprii sceleris esset et ipsa memor.
- 455 Italia pulsus Rollandus transvolat Alpes,  
 Quo via tuta fuit, Gallica regna venit.  
 A clero, populis, et regibus ille receptus,  
 Discernit, statuit, solvit, et ultro ligat.  
 Est notum multis Romanos semper avaros<sup>1</sup>;
- 460 Manat ab antiquo criminis ipsa nota.  
 Nobilis historicus manet inde Sallustius index,  
 Naturæ generis testis hic ipse sui.  
 Relliquias igitur Albini necne Rufini<sup>2</sup>  
 Quærere Roma venit, colligit, urget eas.
- 465 Legatos mittit, dispersas cogit in unum,  
 Ut tantas rapiat, fit sibi nulla quies.

and French  
to accept  
Alexander.

Hugh arch-  
bishop of  
Rouen,  
who knew  
the truth,  
was absent  
from the  
council.

Alexander  
driven  
from Italy  
passes the  
Alps into  
France.

He eagerly  
collects  
money.

<sup>1</sup> Sallust, *Jugurtha*, c. 81.

<sup>2</sup> The annotator interlines: *id est argenti, id est auri.*

Victor proceeds to Germany. The Germans knew that Victor had taken what Alexander at first refused. This was unknown to the kings of England and France.

- Alter Apostolicus res gestas audiit hujus,  
 Romam deserit hic Italicumque solum:  
 Alpibus emensis, petit hinc Alamannica rura,  
 470 Stipatus sociis rhetorieisque viris.  
 Suscipit hunc princeps Alamannus et imperialis  
 Gloria, tum proceres, clerus et ipse simul.  
 His notum fuerat quod primitus iste sacratus,  
 Primus obedivit, dignior unde manet,  
 475 Nam post suscepit quod primum respuit alter;  
 Id latuit Gallos Angligenasque<sup>1</sup> duces.

## CAP. VII.

*Epistola Victoris papæ ad Alexandrum papam.*

Victor's letter to Alexander.

- Victor præterea Rollando mandat: "Inanes  
 " Pontificis fastus te subiisse vides.  
 " Post me Romani jus raptum pontificatus,  
 480 " Non jus, immo nefas, omnibus esse liquet.  
 " Cum sociis sceleris per vim conscendere tentas  
 " Culmen Apostolicum, stultus at iste labor.  
 " Sponsam tu Christi perverso schismate turbas,  
 " Dividis in binas; una sed ipsa manet.  
 He charges Alexander with being the origin of the schism. 485 " Proh dolor! initium tu schismatis esse notaris,  
 " Qui pacis fueras hactenus ipse jure  
 " Romani scriptor juris, custosque sigilli,  
 " Pacis fœdus eras pluribus absque dolo.  
 " Rixæ pone modum, mundus nos conspicit ambos,  
 490 " Ecclesiæ parens, pareito quæso tibi.  
 " Officium primus suscepi pontificalis  
 " Culminis; hoc nosti, novit et orbis idem.  
 " Usurpas igitur nomen, quod ferre nequibus:  
 " Convenit hoc juri. Solus id ipse fero.  
 Offers, if he will submit, to grant to him his former position. 495 " Deponens ergo quod captas nomen inane,  
 " In pacem rediens subditus esto mihi.  
 " Gratia prima tibi reddetur honorque sigilli,  
 " Reddeturque tuus<sup>2</sup> pristinus ipse gradus.

<sup>1</sup> Angligenasque, MS.

| <sup>2</sup> tuis, MS.

- " Hujus consilium pacti si forte refutas,  
 500 " En aliud promam; quodlibet ipse tene.  
 " Ecclesiae matris, quae nobis subditur, ambo  
 " Jus subeamus, ut hinc terminus esse queat.  
 " Causam pertractans, ex nobis ipsa duobus  
 " Papam constituat, quem velit esse sibi.  
 505 " Terminus is litis, hic finis schismatis extat:  
 " Istud si renuis, jure fugandus eris.  
 " Nil vigor Anglorum regis, nil Gallicus ardor,  
 " Quos sibi substravit Cæsar, adesse valent.  
 " Horum cum sociis cupiens et fœdus et aurum,  
 510 " Prævenis hos semper callidus, arte, dolis.  
 " Hos in schisma tuum seductos Roma repellit,  
 " Sic tibi sic illis omnia jura negat.  
 " Seu mihi vita datur, seu mortem fata perurgent,  
 " Subdita non fiet maxima Roma tibi.  
 515 " Niteris Italiae dominatum tollere Romam,  
 " Si potes id, princeps Itala rura sinet.  
 " In Roma diadema gerit princeps Alamannus,  
 " Hoc auferre valens, tu mihi papa manes.  
 " In te sed rediens, errorem quæso revolve,  
 520 " Et mihi subjectus desere cœpta doli."

as papal  
chancellor.

Offers as  
an alterna-  
tive to sub-  
mit the  
case to the  
Church.

Alexander  
cannot  
possess  
Rome  
without  
imperial  
consent.

## CAP. VIII.

*Epistola Alexandri papæ ad Victorem papam.*

- Ista legens præsul Rollandus fertur in iram;  
 Ostentat sociis, mandat et ista simul:  
 " Naturalis inest animis mortalibus ardor,  
 " Ut sibi subdatur quamlibet altus honos.  
 525 " Clarior ut sit homo, perquirat opes et honores,  
 " His sine vilior est; novit, et illa fugit.<sup>1</sup>  
 " Sic laudes quæris per mundi elimata. Romæ  
 " Præsul si fueris, dives, honorus eris.  
 " Me prius elegit Romani cura senatus,  
 530 " Distulit ad tempus mens mea ferre gradum.

The reply  
of Alex-  
ander to  
Victor.

He was first  
elected but  
for a time  
put off ac-  
ceptance  
of promo-  
tion.

fo. 150 b.

<sup>1</sup> Thus MS., but query read *petit*.

Victor seized the opportunity and was elected by his own faction. Alexander's election was not annulled; Rome consecrated him, though he was unwilling.

Refuses to submit to either of Victor's alternatives.

- “ Tu super hæc audax fautorum jure tuorum  
 “ Eligeris, Petri scandis et ipse thronum.  
 “ In me prima manet constans electio sacra,  
 “ Et licet invitum me sibi Roma sacrat.  
 535 “ Schismate sub tali Romæ sic ambo sacrati,  
 “ Ecclesiæ risus nos sumus, unde dolor!  
 “ Nobile sic monstrum pestis Romana creavit,<sup>1</sup>  
 “ Corpus idem geminum cœpit habere caput.  
 “ Princeps tu sceleris, et opes cupiens et honores,  
 540 “ Dum tibi Romanos subdere semper amas.  
 “ Elatus tanti generis prætendis honorem,  
 “ Subditur en tibi nunc imperialis honor.  
 “ Pontificis fastus tu solus surripuisti,  
 “ Per te scissa dolet sponsa sacrata Dei.  
 545 “ Rixæ tu caput es, turbator pacis, et auctor  
 “ Litis, et ecclesiæ scandala cuncta foves.  
 “ Præteritos mihi necne meis promittis honores,  
 “ Ut subdamur ei, qui sibi papa manet.  
 “ Si non ecclesiæ subeamus jus generale,  
 550 “ Hæc duo proponis, optio sicque datur.  
 “ Dum Romanus ego præsul, dum cuncta gu-  
 “ berno,  
 “ Quis mihi quisve meis major honoris honos?  
 “ Orbis judicium generale subire recuso,  
 “ Nullus enim papam subdere jure potest.  
 555 “ Lex mihi nulla potest imponi, dum super  
 “ omnes  
 “ Solus ego, judex me minor omnis erit.  
 “ Opponis reges ut nobilitate nitentes  
 “ Viribus atque thronis, sic et amore Dei.  
 “ Papam Romanum, propria sic sede repulsum,  
 560 “ Horum me pietas sustinet, ornat, alit,  
 “ Aurum non cupio, contentus vestibus, esu:  
 “ Exul<sup>2</sup> pro patria Galliea, rura colo.  
 “ Ne reges tantos involveret hic tuus error,  
 “ Hos petii, caros semper habere volo.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. can be read *cœavit*.

<sup>2</sup> *et* is faintly inserted here in MS., but it disturbs the metre.



- 565 " Anglos cum Gallis a schismate jure retraxi,  
 " Sedis Apostolicæ qui pia jura tremunt.  
 " Italicos fines tibi subdis, sic Alamannos,  
 " Imperii virtus cedit et ipsa tibi.  
 " Hæc auferre volens jus papam constituendi,
- 570 " Per se pontificem te sibi falso sacrat.  
 " Me sibi subjectum non sentiet imperialis  
 " Ira, nec audacis præsulis ipse tumor.
- " Exul ero. Quid tunc? patriam conscendere cæli  
 " Pauper si potero, dives honorus ero.
- 575 " Nunc igitur veniam poscens me pronus honora,  
 " Ut secleris tanti sit sibi noxa data."

Demands  
 Victor's  
 submis-  
 sion.

## CAP. IX.

*De concilio quod post hæc Victor papa tenuit, præ-  
 sentibus episcopis, abbatibus, [et] principibus Italiae  
 et Alemannia, presente etiam imperatore.*

fo. 151.

- Victor Alexandri dum verba tumentia legit,  
 Legistris sociis intimat illa suis:  
 " Fastu verborum Rollandus," ait, " superare  
 580 " Nititur, at rerum constat adesse diem.  
 " Sentiat elatus quod jam tumor ipse meretur,  
 " Amodo me papam noscat ut esse suum,"  
 Hunc Alamannorum Maguncia<sup>1</sup> tunc retinebat,  
 Urbs celebris regni metropolisque sui.
- 585 Sub Karolo Magno resplenduit ista sophiæ  
 Principibus, princeps nam fuit ille sophus.  
 Interea summum statuens Victor celebrare  
 Concilium, quis sit notificare studet.  
 Convocat Italiæ partes, Alamannica tellus
- 590 Confluit, insignes Saxoniceque viri.  
 Abbates clari, simul ordo pontificalis,  
 Clerus adest multus, plebis et ampla phalanx.  
 Affuit et princeps Alamannus et Italus idem,  
 Jungitur huic omnis imperialis honor.

Victor as-  
 sembles a  
 council at  
 Maintz  
 (Pavia?).

The Italian  
 and Ger-  
 man  
 bishops  
 attend to  
 the number  
 of 300, with

<sup>1</sup> See Baronius xix.150, Newburgh, | Pavia in 1160, and Lodi in 1161.  
 p. 119. Victor's councils were at | The Synod of Maintz was in 1159.

- twice as  
many  
abbots.
- 595 Curia personis Romana suis revirescit,  
Schisma tamen quasdam sciderat inde sibi.  
Astant personæ trecentæ pontificales,  
Abbatum numerus sed duplicatus erat.  
Tantis personis et tot simul associatis,
- 600 Clarior ex illis cernitur esse locus.  
Splendidus orator Romanus papa perorat  
Primus, et ex Trino Numine sermo fuit.  
Post Incarnati vim solvit Coloniensis  
Præsul, et ingenio clarus et ore simul.
- Victor and  
the arch-  
bishop of  
Cologne  
preach  
before the  
council.
- 605 Hic Rabani magni sedem qui pontificalem  
Obtinet, angelicum dividit ipse chorum.  
Sic alii tractant sermones ore polito,  
Causæ post resonant Romulidumque tubæ.  
Pluribus in causis consumptis ante diebus,
- The coun-  
cil hears  
various  
causes, and  
last of all  
that re-  
specting  
the schism.
- 610 Ultima Rollandi causa notanda subit ;  
Hanc in concilio facundus papa perorat,  
Attonitis cunctis Tullius alter ait :

## CAP. X.

*Causa quam pro schismate Victor papa in concilio tractavit.*

- Victor's  
speech  
before the  
council.
- 615 " Maxima causarum, quam totus prospicit orbis,  
" Hoc in concilio disutienda venit.  
" Nulla mihi gravior constat nec fertior ulla,  
" Nam totum fidei continet ista modum.  
" Præsens Italiæ princeps procerumque caterva,  
" Pontifices summi, clerus et altus adest.  
" Judicium, ratio, non fallitur ordinis hujus,
- 620 " Quod doctrina fovet, quam tenet ipsa fides.  
" Hic oratores resident legisque periti,  
" Tantum concilium nulla sophia latet.  
" Nominis ecclesiæ Christum dominum caput esse,  
" Sic caput est Christi summus et ipse Deus.
- 625 " Constat et Ecclesiam Christi fore corpus, ut unum  
" Jam duo sint, sponsus sponsaque juncta simul.

- fo. 151 b.
- “ Unus ut unitam sibi copulet inviolatam,  
 “ Virgo sponsa Dei, Virgoque sponsus ei.  
 “ Hæc in carne manens, in terris est peregrina,  
 630 “ Donec ad æternam transeat ipsa domum ;  
 “ A Christo Petrus quam primus jure recepit,  
 “ Ut doceat, servet, nutriat atque regat :  
 “ Pascat eam pastu triplici, verbo, prece, factis,  
 “ Ut trinum recolens noverit, oret, agat.  
 635 “ Clavibus ecclesie ditatur Petrus ab Ipso,  
 “ Discretorque potens solvit et ipse ligat.  
 “ Discernit quis sit solvendus sive ligandus,  
 “ Solvere quemque potens atque ligare simul.  
 “ Clemens has recipit, Petri successor et heres,  
 640 “ Linquit Apostolicis has simul ipse viris.  
 “ Tradidit has nobis jus pontificalis honoris,  
 “ Jus canonum sacrum, moris et ipse vigor.  
 “ Sim licet indignus sedem conscendere Petri,  
 “ Sum tamen in tanto culmine solus ego.  
 645 “ Nam si Rollandus a sese papa vocatur,  
 “ Intrusor tamen est, papa nec esse potest.  
 “ Istum tam tumidum caput hujus schismatis esse,  
 “ Concilium præsens, orbis et ipse videt.  
 “ Culmen Apostolici sprexit prius ille laboris,  
 650 “ Tantum ne fragili<sup>1</sup> pectore ferret onus.  
 “ Nec tamen hunc clerus nec nobilis ille senatus  
 “ Elegit, sed amor schismatis atque dolus.  
 “ Me post electum sibi cleri consecrat ordo,  
 “ Præsens tunc populus necne senatus erat.  
 655 “ Ut mos Romanus fert papam constituendi,  
 “ Ut decreta jubent, sic fuit ordo rei.  
 “ Romulidum clerus præsens est ordinis hujus  
 “ Auctor, et is novit me sibi vera loqui.  
 “ Jam cætus præsens id novit, noseat et orbis,  
 660 “ Schismatis ut tanti corruat ipse reus.  
 “ Sic in Apostolica me papa sede locato,  
 “ Rollandi socius jam<sup>2</sup> sibi quisque pavet ;

Asserts  
 that his  
 consecra-  
 tion was  
 alone re-  
 gular and  
 according  
 to the De-  
 cretals.

<sup>1</sup> *Fragilis*, MS. by alteration.

<sup>2</sup> *nam*, MS.

- " Eligit hunc alias violentia schismatis ejus,  
 " Contra jus canonum suscepit ille gradum.  
 665 " Toto sic hominum Dominique timore rejecto,  
 " Callidus intrusor spargit ubique dolos.  
 " Turbat jura poli, sic orbis clinata turbat,  
 " Turbida cuncta facit turbidus ipse magis.  
 Few clergy  
 but many  
 senators  
 were  
 sharers in  
 the schism. 670 " Ex clero paucos, plures ex jure senatus  
 " Hujus participes schismatis esse scio.  
 " Dissimilis tamen hos spes impulit atque voluntas,  
 " Romulidis semper quæ solet esse comes.  
 " Imperiale jugum Romanos temere semper  
 " Historias relegens noseere quisque potest.  
 675 " Hic residet magnus, ut cernitis, imperialis  
 " Princeps, semper erit subdita Roma sibi.  
 " Romani proceres Alamannica jura tremiseunt, *fo. 152.*  
 " Se Karoli proli subdere constat onus.  
 The Ro-  
 man nobles  
 dislike  
 subjection  
 to the  
 German  
 emperor.  
 The rights  
 of empire  
 were given  
 to Pepin  
 by pope  
 Stephen. 680 " Insignis Stephanus Romanus præsul honorem  
 " Pipino dedit hunc, sic Karoloque suo.  
 " Hos etenim binos in reges ipse sacravit ;  
 " Italiam duxit. Cur, breviare libet.  
 " Urbes Italiæ rex Langobardus adurit  
 " Hastulfus, Stephanus præstat ad arma minus.  
 685 " Transmeat hic Alpes, Gallos petit, invenit horum  
 " Regem desidiæ nexibus esse datum.  
 " Concilio facto, diademate privat inertem ;  
 " Pipinum, Karolum, tollit in arce<sup>1</sup> throni.  
 The depo-  
 sition of  
 Childeric  
 III.: sub-  
 stitution of  
 Pepin. 690 " Principibus tantis Stephanus sibi consociatis,  
 " Italiam rediens maxima bella parat.  
 " Hosque secutus erat radians exercitus omnis  
 " Francigenum, Latium turbida fama replet.  
 Assistance  
 given by  
 Pepin and  
 Charle-  
 magne  
 against the  
 Lombard  
 kings. 695 " Exoritur bellum Langobardique fugantur,  
 " In Papiam fugiens rex sua fata gemit.  
 " Obsidibusque datis, acceptis urbibus, illi  
 " Vita datur, sed post fulmine tactus obit.  
 " Extitit hæc Karoli Magni vis bellica prima,  
 " Huic quamvis fuerit vis sociata patris.

Abbrev.  
 Gest. Fr.  
 Reg.  
 (Pertz,  
 ix. 400).

<sup>1</sup> Thus MS.

- " Nec minor ille fuit, cum fata patrem rapuissent,  
 700 " Sed magis enituit gloria clara viri.  
 " Insurgens alius rex Langobardus in armis,  
 " Vastat et incendit; quæ cupit, illa rapit.  
 " Obviat huic iterum Karolus feritate priori,  
 " At belli rabies undique multa furit.  
 705 " Pluribus hic cæsis Langobardisque fugatis,  
 " Rex Karolum fugiens quo prior ille venit.  
 " Obsessus capitur, captus transmittitur Alpes,  
 " Parisius veniens jam monachatur ibi.  
 " Sic Desiderius post Hastulfum superatur,  
 710 " Italiam Karolus tunc facit esse suam.  
 " Post hæc ingreditur Romam cum laude triumphi,  
 " Inclyta Romulidum vis stupefacta tremit.  
 " Successit Stephano, qui suscipit hunc, Adrianus;  
 " Imperialis ei purpura jure<sup>1</sup> datur.  
 715 " In Roma Karolum diademate papa coronat,  
 " Francigenum nulli tantus adhæsit honos.  
 " Francicus en princeps Alamannicus Italicusque,  
 " Sic tria sceptrata regit, sufficit ipse tribus.  
 " Hujus sed soboles partitur jam tria jura:  
 720 " Hic<sup>2</sup> unum retinens, cessit abesse duo.  
 " Proles sed Karoli rex Francicus arte dolisque  
 " Hugonis capitur; sic perit ipse thronus.  
 " Est hujus generis septenus<sup>3</sup> Gallicus iste,  
 " Rollandi socius schismatis atque doli.  
 fo. 152 b. 725 " Altera progenies Karoli, duo regna gubernans,  
 " Vixit in imperii culmine, vivit adhuc.  
 " Ex generis tanti præclaro stemmate surgit  
 " Maximus hic princeps, flos procerumque decus:  
 " Tollere jura patrum cui nititur Italiamque  
 730 " Clarus Alexander, schismate bella gerens.  
 " Se Porum superare putat, ceu gemuca<sup>4</sup> vitis  
 " Atque columnarum sit sibi præda data.  
 " Persarum Medosque duces Dariumque potentem,  
 " Hos superabit, et hunc transferet ense neci.

Astolfus  
 and Desi-  
 derius  
 being  
 driven out,  
 Charle-  
 magne  
 made  
 Italy his  
 own.  
 Pope  
 Adrian  
 crowns  
 Charle-  
 magne in  
 Rome.

Charle-  
 magne's  
 descendant  
 who held  
 France, the  
 third part  
 of his em-  
 pire, gave  
 way to  
 usurpers  
 the seventh  
 of whom is  
 the sup-  
 porter of  
 Alex-  
 ander; but  
 the heir of  
 Charle-  
 magne still  
 holds two  
 kingdoms

<sup>1</sup> jura, MS.

<sup>2</sup> hæc, MS.

<sup>3</sup> Including Hugh (ob. 1026).

<sup>4</sup> gemuca, MS.

- and re-  
mains  
emperor.
- 735 " At si Rollandus Karolum superare valebit,  
" Istud inauditum nec polus ipse feret.  
" Sed Karoli sensum, virtutem, continet heres  
" Ejus, et his binis Itala scepra reget.  
" Post caput abscissum vis corporis adnihilatur :
- The em-  
pire would  
lose its  
head by the  
surrender  
of Rome,  
and the  
city will  
therefore  
be kept.
- 740 " Arboris est radix cæsa ? ruina gravis.  
" Si caput Italiæ Romam princeps Alanannus  
" Rollando tribuit, cetera membra sinat.  
" Sic radice carens jam virtus imperialis  
" Corruet, arboreus defluet ille decor.
- 745 " Nolit sive velit Rollandus necne senatus,  
" Progeniem Karoli subdita Roma feret.  
" Hæc caput imperii nomen gerit imperiale,  
" Italiæ princeps sic caput hujus erit.
- The senate  
of Rome  
shared in  
the schism,  
desiring to  
cast off the  
imperial  
rule.
- 750 " Schismatis hujus erat consors pars ipsa senatus,  
" Pellere jam cupiens imperiale jugum.  
" Sed legatorum Rollandi fit dolus alter ;  
" Qui qualis fuerit, terminus ipse canit.  
" Hujus pauper erat sociorum perfida turba,  
" Hoc sibi prælato crescere sperat opes.
- Alexander  
and his  
court are  
greedy for  
the wealth  
of France  
and Eng-  
land.
- 755 " Ut spes lixa manet, transgressis Alpibus, altas  
" Francigenum gazas Angligenumque petit.  
" Sic instans ovibus sociatur turba luporum,  
" Pastorum tamen est obvius ipse vigor.  
" Explorans igitur quis sit pastoribus error,  
760 " Quæ via, quis somnus, callida quæque videt.  
" Si cautos, fortes, sapientes, perspicit istos,  
" Linqvit ovile, sibi prospicit, ire cavet.  
" Hos errore leves, faciles ad devia duci,  
" Sive premi somno, si scit, ovile subit.
- 765 " Diripit, extinguit, laceratque, faucemque sitimque  
" Sanguine, carne, cibati ; sic satiata redit.  
" Haud aliter Gallos Rollandi turba subintrat,  
" Pastores subicit primitus ipsa sibi.  
" Reges hosque simul per quelibet avia ducit,
- 770 " Possidet hos somnus, devius error habet.  
" Quæ sibi firma fides, ubi sensus pervigil horum  
" Credere tam leviter, cum latet ordo, modus ?

- ‘ Reges præclaros, rectores ecclesiarum,  
 “ Schismatis auctores in sua vota tenent.
- 775 “ Quodlibet hi fingunt, quævis mendacia suadent,  
 “ Rhetoricis vinclis torpida corda ligant.
- fo. 153. “ Me subversorem cœli confundere jura  
 “ Dicunt, ecclesiæ schismatis esse caput.
- “ Pro noxa reputant me principis esse propinquum,<sup>1</sup> The oppo-  
 780 “ Per vim, per gladios obtinuisse gradum. site faction  
 “ Me voluisse putant Alamannis tradere Romam, Victor is  
 “ Urbs tamen est horum principis, idque sciunt. related to  
 “ Papa suus sanctus, simplex ac nobilis exul the em-  
 “ Me fugit, armatum persequor ipse virum. peror, that  
 785 “ Quod prius oblatum despexit pontificatum, he obtained  
 “ Quod me Roma sacrat primitus, ecce silent. promotion  
 “ Quod libuit, suasit tunc Willelmus Papiensis, by vio-  
 “ Legister validus causidicusque potens; lence, and  
 “ Henricus sibi Pisanus sociatur et Otho; that he  
 790 “ Scinditur a tribus his unica trina fides. would be-  
 “ Gallia sic cedit, consentit et Anglicus ordo, tray Rome  
 “ Pastores rapiunt in sua vota lupi. to the  
 “ Rejicitur Victor, Rollandus papa vocatur, Germans.  
 “ Sic fraus necne scelus arsque lupina valet. William  
 795 “ Hinc caulas ovium, pastoribus undique victis, of Pavia,  
 “ Intrat quisque lupus, quod valet ipse rapit. Henry of  
 “ Asciscunt socios, prædantur ovilia Christi; Pisa, and  
 “ Hinc ovibus mæror, risus at inde sibi. Otho are  
 “ Aurea vasa petunt, argentea quæque reponunt, the origi-  
 800 “ Serica vestis eis plus pretiosa placet. nators of  
 “ Fercula non refero tantarum deliciarum, the schism.  
 “ Pocula diversis inficiata<sup>2</sup> modis. Alexander’s  
 “ Felix quisque sibi cum sese proluit auro; extortions  
 “ Vinum si superat, vir sibi quisque manet. and luxury.
- 805 “ Nec memorare libet fastus varios equitandi,  
 “ Cum Romæ fuit his vix geminatus equus.

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 740.

<sup>2</sup> A confusion of form between *inficio* (or *conficio*?) and *infitor*. See also *l.* 839.

- " Mulus adulterium naturæ clarior extat,  
 " Hunc sedet<sup>1</sup> huncque trahit, dum sibi sessor  
 " abest.
- 810 " Hos in equis cernens rectores ecclesiarum,  
 " Raptores ovium nuncupat atque lupos.  
 " Spumat equus, Gallorum gazas Alpibus infert,  
 " Velleribus claris totus onustus abit.  
 " Abstulit intrusor jam Cæsaris iste labores,  
 " Roma caret Gallis Angligenisque suis.
- Alexander 815 " Sic præclara duo Rollandus regna subegit,  
 has ob- " Ecclesie partes sicque tyrannus habet.  
 tained an  
 ascendancy  
 over  
 France and  
 England. " Schismate corruptum damnat sententia Petri :  
 " Binos en gladios Christus adesse jubet  
 " Ecclesie. Gladius regalis furta, rapinas  
 Luc. xxii.  
 38.-
- 820 " Punit, bella gerit, quæque necanda necat :  
 " Pontificis gladius anathemate percutit, urit,  
 " Cauterio sanat, morbida, fœda secat.  
 " Hic ferit, occidit, ligat ; hic confortat et unguat ;  
 " Exerit hic leges, hic pietate fovet.
- 825 " Arida membra secat, putrefacta resolvit et aufert,  
 " Ne sanies serpens vivida quæque terat.  
 " Membris corruptis jam tetrum sentit odorem  
 " Orbis, et ex isto schismate manat odor.
- 830 " Alpes transgressus, legatos jamque secutus,  
 " En Rollandus adest, Francia servit ei,  
 " Reges, pontifices, seductos jam sibi stravit,  
 " Fert in schisma suum quos sociare valet. fo. 153 b.
- 835 " Sic duo propono : vel papæ se mihi subdat,  
 " Orbis judicium vel subeamus idem.  
 " Hæc duo contemnens, rescripta tumentia mittit ;  
 " Deditur enim flectere colla mihi.
- Refers to 840 " Sic errore suo jam plebes inficiavit,  
 the letters  
 and offer  
 of submis-  
 sion to the  
 judgment  
 of the  
 Church. " Jam duo regna sibi subdidit. Unde dolor !

<sup>1</sup> Thus in MS. Cf. original reading of l. 1379 on p. 737.



- “ Concilium præsens super hoc decernat, ut auctor  
 “ Schismatis, ecclesia pulsus, ab arce ruat.  
 “ Cum sibi subjectis anathemate percutiatur,  
 “ Jam gladii Petri prodeat ipse vigor.”

## CAP. XI.

*Quod post causam peroratam, Alexander cum omnibus qui eum receperant episcopis, abbatibus, principibus, et populis, anathematizatur.*

- 845 Hisque peroratis attollitur Othovianus,  
 Dignus Apostolico culmine papa manet.  
 Prædicat hunc ordo cum p̄ncipe pontificalis,  
 Regni tum proceres conciliumque simul.  
 Rollandum statuunt anathemate percutiendum,
- 850 Fautoresque suos conditione pari.  
 Exurgunt igitur cum papa maximus ordo  
 Pontificum, clerus nobilis ipse simul.  
 Tum breviter Victor: “Cum cancellarius esset  
 “ Rollandus, subiit papa secreta necis.
- 855 “ Is post eligitur, sed respuit hunc sibi Roma,  
 “ Me rapit atque sacrat pontificemque vocat.  
 “ Hinc dolor exurgit, repetit quod tempserat  
 “ audax,  
 “ Fautorum studio se sacrat, immo necat.  
 “ Sic oritur pestis, sic orbem schismate turbat,
- 860 “ Dividit ecclesiam, pars sibi multa favet.  
 “ Nec mihi se subicit, nec iudicium generalis  
 “ Ecclesiæ patitur, sed tumor instat adhuc.  
 “ Hunc igitur sociosque suos anathemate damnat  
 “ Concilium præsens, orbis et ipse simul.
- 865 “ Hos etiam [socios]<sup>1</sup> simul excommunicat omnes,  
 “ Quos huic jungit amor schismatis atque  
 “ scelus.”
- Concilium tantum sub verbis solvitur istis:  
 Concilii tanti finis et iste fuit.

The council decides to anathematize Alexander and his faction.

Victor pronounces sentence, and the council breaks up.

<sup>1</sup> The line is defective in the MS.

## CAP. XII.

*De adventu Alexandri pape in Galliam. Quodque a regibus receptus census ab ecclesiis exegerit. Quodque Hugo Rothomagensis archiepiscopus hoc inauditum esse dixerit. Quodque ad curiam pape Alexandri Thomas archiepiscopus Cantuariensis venerit, quidve ei Alexander pro causa, qua inter ipsum et Anglorum regem erat, responderit.*

- Alexander 870 *Præsul Alexander, transactis Alpibus, esse crosses into France.* Se referens papam, Gallica regna venit.  
 Quos retuli sursum, legatos regibus istis  
 Miserat, ut sese pro pietate ferant.  
 Expulsus patria, licet exul præsul habetur:  
 Italianam virtus imperialis habet.
- He was an 875 *exile from Italy, which was under the emperor.* Hæc papam statuit, qui noscitur esse propinquus  
 Principis,<sup>1</sup> ut per eum subdita Roma tremat.  
 Hunc tenet, hunc pellit princeps, sed amore, sed  
 armis:  
 Possidet is Roman, præsul at inde fugit.  
 Excipitur gaudens a tantis regibus exul,
- Alexander 880 *collects money from the domains of the French and English kings. Arch-bishop Hugh of Rouen denounces the conduct of the pope. Theobald* Horum terra sibi pervia sive suis.  
 Regum, pontificum, cleri, collaudat amorem,  
 Exilium patriam conspicit esse sibi.  
 Expensis<sup>2</sup> igitur, quæ secum detulit, ille *fo. 154.*  
 Ecclesias statuit munera ferre sibi.
- 885 *Omnia indicit quot libras ipse requirit.*  
 Ut census referant mittit ubique suos.  
 Francos, Normannos, Pietavos, Andegavenses,  
 Anglos, quæque jubet ferre tributa facit.  
 Deditur in his Rodomensis maximus Hugo,
- 890 *Dicit inauditum criminis esse genus.*  
 Libera sponsa subit census, pretium generale,  
 Raptores patitur, quos decet esse patres.  
 Angligenum primas et præsul Cantuariensis,  
 Deditus exequiis jam Theobaldus erat.

<sup>1</sup> See also *ll.* 779 and 1195. Octavian de Monticello was of the family of the Counts of Frascati. He had held the post of legate in Germany.

<sup>2</sup> The passage *ll.* 883-93 is in a different hand.

- 895 Beccensis prior hic, post abbas extitit annis  
 Binis, magnanimus, dives et esse sciens.  
 Is matrem regis cum natis semper amavit,  
 Semper obedivit, subditus hisque fuit.  
 Hic Stephani regis natum quo jure sacraret
- 900 Cogitur, id temnit, vix fugit inde necem.  
 Mathildis nato conservabat diadema,  
 Fata trahunt illos, hunc citus ille sacrat.  
 Tangitur hic morbo, vitam cum corpore claudit ;  
 Eligit hinc Thomam regius ille vigor.
- 905 Cancellarius is regalis nominis alti  
 Pontificis sedem suscipit atque gradum.  
 Præsul Alexandro cum rubro dirigit album,  
 Pallam tum recipit qua ferat ipse jugum.  
 Annis is fuerat paucis a rege secundus,
- 910 Regia dum recipit æra, reservat, habet.  
 Terrarum census ratione rex sibi poscit  
 Solvere, sed summam sufficit ille minus.  
 Inter utrosque diu tractatis inde querelis,  
 Se minus is purgans æquora sulcat, abit.
- 915 Narrat Apostolico, Senonis quem clara tenebat,  
 Quis sit, quæ tulcrit, quæ sibi causa viæ.  
 Quælibet in regem clarum mendacia fingit,  
 Se cathedra pulsum, vix fugiisse necem.  
 Quod latet in fundo recitet, quod prædia regis
- 920 Detraxit, rapuit, dulcia quæque tulit.  
 Papa refert : "Frater, cernis quod sede repulsus  
 " Exilium patior, tristia bella fero.  
 " Nec mihi sive meis valeo nunc auxiliari,  
 " Et tibi quid possum, cum tua causa gravis ?
- 925 " Casibus ex nostris pendere te licuisset,  
 " Ut quantum deceat regia jussa feras.  
 " Me princeps sequitur, me depulit Otovianus :  
 " Exulibus qualem deferet exul opem ?  
 " Te velut ex nihilo rex transtulit hunc ad ho-  
 " norem ;
- 930 " Huic a te fieri debuit omnis honos.

once abbot  
of Bee had  
died (A.D.  
1160).

He was  
always a  
supporter  
of Maud  
and re-  
fused to  
crown  
Eustace.  
On his  
death the  
king chose  
Thomas  
his chan-  
cellor, who  
obtained  
the pallium  
from Alex-  
ander by a  
bribe.  
He re-  
ceived the  
revenues  
of the  
kingdom  
and kept  
back part,  
hence a  
quarrel  
with the  
king.  
He goes  
to the pope  
at Sens.  
His com-  
plaints and  
his silence  
as to pecu-  
lations.  
Alexander  
advises  
submission  
to the king.

- fo. 154 b.*
- “ Te placidum regi tanto si semper haberes,  
 “ Donasset levius, si qua querela foret.  
 “ At contra procerum regis quoque temnis amorem;  
 “ Ense carens, istos te superare putas ?  
 935 “ Incassum sudaret homo decreta teneri  
 “ Ecclesiae, virtus regia cuncta terit.  
 “ Investituram sibi vindicat ecclesiarum,  
 “ Clerus vel monachi nil ibi juris habent.  
 “ Ecclesiae causas ad se transferre laborant,  
 940 “ Ad laicos clerus cogitur ire viros.  
 “ Ecclesiae vires regum violentia fregit,  
 “ Hos statuunt, quosdam pellere dulces sibi.  
 “ Ergo quid nobis nisi flendo, dolendo, cavendo ?  
 “ Nunc hoc nunc aliud dissimulare licet.  
 945 “ Unde tibi, frater, patienter ferre necesse est  
 “ Exilium, nobis quod fore cernis idem.  
 “ Nobiscum maneat, nam pacificabitur ira  
 “ Regis, et ecclesiae schismata tanta ruent.”

Alexander  
 advises  
 Thomas to  
 dissemble  
 his opposi-  
 tion to  
 the king.

### CAP. XIII.

*De concilio quod Alexander Remis<sup>1</sup> tenuit, presentibus episcopis [et] abbatibus Francie et Anglia, quodque de primatu Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et archiepiscopi Eboracensis ibi causa ventilata sit. Quodque eam Alexander terminare non volens, eos altrinsecus sedere fecerit.*

- The coun-  
 cil held by  
 Alexander  
 at Tours  
 (May 19,  
 1163).
- Interea mediis in partibus intonat orbis,  
 950 Quod sibi concilium praesul uterque parat.  
 Concilii finis modus extitit Ottoviani,  
 Qualis praeterito carmine musa canit.  
 Quantus Alexandri fuerit, nunc ipsa docebit,  
 Tempus idem vidit, qualis et iste fuit.  
 955 Orbem turbari Romano schismate tanto  
 Cernit Alexander, tentat adesse modum.

<sup>1</sup> This should be *Turonibus*: see l. 975.

- Se papam meminit, simul ecclesiastica jura  
 Pertractare cupit, pellere schisma novum.  
 Antiquos reparare status, legesque recentes  
 960 Condere Romanus præsul ubique valet.  
 Partibus in cunctis quod quidquam juris habebat  
 Mittit, pontifices quosque venire jubet.  
 Anglica nobilitas, undis transvecta marinis,  
 Advolat, argenti copia multa simul.  
 965 Curia pontificis gaudet fulgere metallis :  
 Albo jure rubrum carius extat ei.  
 Pontificum cœtus transmittit Gallica tellus,  
 Fastu multiplici semita quæque scatet.  
 Nec minus abbatum multorum pompa relucet,  
 970 Par opibus, cleri nobilitate minor.  
 Concilio proceres claros rex mittit uterque ;  
 Quæ statuantur ibi, noscere quisque cupit.  
 Munus uterque dedit. Sunt hujus mille salutes,  
 Illius ex gemmis aurea cappa fuit.  
 975 Inelyta Gallorum Turonis resplenduit istis  
 Sideribus, papam solis ad instar habet.  
 Mundi nulla polis illuxit clarius unquam,  
 Reges si geminos ipsa vidisset ibi.  
 Clara ministeriis divis, hos suscipit aula :  
 980 Clarior hoc cœtu nullus in orbe fuit.<sup>1</sup>  
 Sedecies deni baculi stant pontificales,  
 Metropolitanæ sex simul atque duo ;  
 Abbatum numerus centeni ter duodeni,  
 Sic decies septem, septies atque duo.<sup>2</sup>  
 985 Hinc proceres clerusque simul numeroque carentes :  
 Principibus tantis aula repleta micat.  
 Primus Alexander, Romano more politus,  
 Incipit, eloquium fluminis instar adest ;  
 Dicta David pandens, sanctos quod congregat illi  
 990 Summo, multiplici verba tenore regit.  
 Willelmus sequitur, verbis radians, Papiensis ;  
 Attulit is causam præsulis ante sui.

The Eng-  
 lish pre-  
 lates come  
 bringing  
 money.

A hundred  
 and sixty  
 bishops,  
 8 arch-  
 bishops,  
 and 220  
 abbots are  
 present.

Alexander,  
 William of  
 Pavia, and  
 Henry of  
 Pisa speak  
 in order,

<sup>1</sup> A change of hand.

| <sup>2</sup> Other authorities differ.

- then the arch-bishops of Rouen and York.
- Becket is silent.
- Arnulf of Lisieux becomes irrepressibly eloquent.
- The question of priority between the sees of Canterbury and York is discussed. Roger of York urges his earlier election and consecration. The similar dispute between Lanfranc and Thomas of York.
- Post hunc Henrici Pisani sermo coruscet,  
Rhetoricis clarus floribus atque locis.
- 995 Hinc Rodomi<sup>1</sup> præsul loquitur, post Eboracensis,  
Metropolitanis extitit iste locus.
- Hic siluit Thomas antistes Canturiensis,  
Ut minus edoctus verba Latina loqui.
- Cessit Apostolicus Arnulfo Lexoviensi
- 1000 Concilium verbis irradiare suis:  
Sed fluvius torrens emergens fontis ab imo  
Vix reprimi valuit vocibus atque manu.<sup>2</sup>  
Pro fidei norma sic actis ante diebus,  
Quis foret ostendit quilibet ore potens.
- 1005 Hos post sermones causarum turba subintrat:  
Hic Digesta sonant, Codicis atque vigor.  
Orditur causam præsul post Eboracensis;  
Contra quem geritur Canturiensis adest.
- A puero doctus studiis legisque peritus,
- 1010 Concilio coram tres tenet inde dies.  
Ingenio clarum se conspicit, ore politum,  
Solutus Apostolicus jam sibi præsul erit.  
Primates regni se iudicat esse debere,  
Ut prior electus necne sacratus ibi.
- 1015 Causæ consimilis fuerat dissensio pridem,  
Quam sibi Lanfrancus subdidit atque suis.  
Tempserat huic subdi Thomas tunc Eboracensis,  
Cum par divitiis par et honore foret.
- Romulidum præsul legatos mittit ad Anglos:
- 1020 Res venit in medium, discutiturque modus.  
Willelmi<sup>3</sup> magni fuit hic præsentia regis,<sup>4</sup>  
Anglia quem tremuit, cujus et arma tulit.

<sup>1</sup> *Rodoni*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Card. Mai notes that Arnulf's letter is extant, in which he says he stopped because his audience could not hear him well enough. Labbe, xxi. 1167, prints the sermon.

<sup>3</sup> *Willelmi*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> William of Malmesbury (*De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, Savile (1596), 117, l. 23) gives the details as to this dispute, together with the documents. Étienne de Rouen, as we know, had at hand Lanfranc's letters from which Malmesbury drew.

- Affluit eloquio Thomas, panditque tenorem  
 Causæ rhetoricis<sup>1</sup> arduus ipse modis.
- 1025 Gregorii dicit decretis ista teneri,  
 Augustinus ita suscipit acta sibi.  
 At Lanfrancus ad hæc respondens ora resolvit,  
 Italici fontis profuit unda nitens:<sup>2</sup>
- fo. 155 b.* “ Constat Gregorium de præsulis Eboracensis  
 1030 “ Nil scripsisse loco, culmine, sede, gradu.  
 “ Summus Apostolicus fuit Augustinus in Anglos,  
 “ Insula tota sibi subdita semper erat.  
 “ Pontifices, clerus, proceres, regesque favebant,  
 “ Solus erat primas, subdita cuncta regens.
- 1035 “ Has doctor gentis nobis transmisit habenas,  
 “ Possidet has sedes ipsius, arcet, habet.  
 “ Has et ego canonum collato jure recepi,  
 “ In tanti residens præsulis ecce throno.  
 “ Integra jura mihi solventur pontificalis
- 1040 “ Culminis, antiquo tradita jure meis.  
 “ His qui succedent<sup>3</sup> mihi nil minuetur honoris,  
 Transmittam fateor firma statuta sibi.  
 “ Fallitur hic Thomas, nil attinet Eboracensi  
 “ Quod loquitur, causam Londoniensis habet.<sup>4</sup>
- 1045 “ Isto de solo papæ rescripta leguntur,  
 “ De quo nulla mihi quæstio mota fuit.  
 “ Metropolis sedes hæc dudum desiit esse,  
 “ Desiit et pallam mittere Roma sibi.  
 “ Thomæ palla nitens est hujus causa tumoris ;
- 1050 “ Par erit aut major, si sibi forte licet.

Thomas of  
 York cites  
 the decree  
 of Gregory  
 (at the  
 synod of  
 Winches-  
 ter, A.D.  
 1070).  
 Lanfranc  
 replies.

Gregory  
 spoke of  
 London,  
 which  
 ceased to  
 be a met-  
 ropolitan  
 see.

<sup>1</sup> *rheticus*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> The hand changes here.

<sup>3</sup> *susedent*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> The passage (Beda, I. xxix.) is,  
 “ Sit vero inter Landoniensis et  
 “ Eboracensis civitatis episcopos  
 “ in posterum honoris ista dis-  
 “ tinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur,  
 “ qui prius fuerit ordinatus.” Lan-  
 franc’s account of what passed, as

given by Malmesbury from the  
 primate’s letters (*De Gest. Pontif’*  
 Savile, 118), is “ Quam scrip-  
 “ turam (*i.e.*, Bede’s words given  
 “ above) cum in rem nihil facere  
 “ concordi sententia cuncti pro-  
 “ tinus definissent, pro eo quod  
 “ nec ego Landoniensis episcopus  
 “ essem . . . vertit se ad alia egena  
 “ atque infirma argumenta.”

- Augustine confers the right of priority on his successors.
- 1055 “ At sedis primæ jus permanet inviolatum,  
 “ Nulla superponi qualibet arte valet.  
 “ Gentis Apostolicus sibi sedem contulit istam,  
 “ Augustinus in hac degere semper habet.”  
 Ex his Lanfranci constans oratio, causam  
 Obtinet, assensu conciliumque favet.  
 Hæc renovare volens Rogerius Eboracensis  
 Turbine verborum cuncta sonare facit.  
 Se Dorobernensi Thomæ præponit ubique
- Roger of York prolongs the dispute through many days.
- 1060 Verbis, ingenio, culmine, sede, lcco.  
 Causam pertractans, hanc tantis viribus auxit,  
 Judicis ut papæ mens stupefacta foret.  
 Pluribus absumptis hæc pertractata diebus,  
 Tandem fine suo clauditur, hocque modo
- The pope stops the discussion, seating the disputants in similar positions so that neither shall be prejudiced. The council then considers the question of the schism.
- 1065 Terminat hanc præsul Romanus; dividit ambos;  
 Partibus alternis hos residere jubet.  
 Opponit sibimet, ne major quilibet extet,  
 Sedibus æquales sunt in honore pares.  
 Dum sibi causa gravis voluit supponere neutrum.
- 1070 Ne præjudicium quis pateretur ibi.  
 Causa diu dilata venit nunc Octoviani:  
 Concilii tanti finis et ipsa fuit.  
 Omnibus intentis in tanto pondere rerum,  
 Summus Alexander papa perorat ita:—

## CAP. XIV.

*Causa quam pro schismate, quod inter se et Victorem papam erat, coram omni concilio Alexander tractavit.*

- Speech of pope Alexander.
- 1075 “ Juris Apostolici ratio perpendit, ut orbi  
 “ Provideat, causas dirimat atque regat.  
 “ Ex tantis rebus sibi maxima quæque reservat,  
 “ Ut per se statuât quid velit ordo rei.  
 “ Orbis causa gravis famam porrexit ubique,
- 1080 “ Major in instanti tempore nulla fuit.



- " Concilium super hoc mandavit nostra potestas,  
 " Paruit en nobis gloria tanta patrum.  
 " Grates innumeras refero sapientibus orbis,  
 " Cœlicus hic mecum quos sociavit amor.  
 fo. 146. 1085 " Gaudeo personas tot cernens pontificales,  
 " Quorum consilio mundus et ipse viget.  
 " Nulla scienda latent tot fontes philosophiæ,  
 " Singula vera vident, lucida cuncta sibi.  
 " Nos igitur, stellis tam claris irradiati,  
 1090 " Limite directo cernere cuncta licet.  
 " Vobis id notum, Romanæ gloria laudis  
 " Quanta fuit, quæ vis ipsius urbis erat.  
 " Romulus hanc struxit, paulatim crevit ad alta,  
 " Climata per mundi regia signa tulit.  
 1095 " Italiam sternens armis servire cœgit,  
 " Urbes contiguas subdidit ense sibi.  
 " Hos populos terrore premens, alios sibi curvans,  
 " Virtutis propriæ longius arma dedit.  
 " Sic armis, feritate, manu, bellisque superba  
 1100 " Nominis invidiam sparsit ubique sui.  
 " Hac virtute nitens, ad Cæsaris usque trium- The rise of  
the Roman  
empire.  
 " phos  
 " Clara venit, tanto clarior ipsa viro.  
 " Clarus hic eloquio, sensu, virtute, triumphis,  
 " Clarior in mundi climate nemo fuit.  
 1105 " Militiæ probitas, decus orbis, luxque sophiæ,  
 " Regum sol radians, fulgaris instar habens.  
 " Gallos substravit, Britones jungens Alamannis  
 " Sudor in his quantus ipsius acta sonant.  
 " Romulidum nemo tantos præsumperat ausus,  
 1110 " Quod nullus valuit, belliger unus agit.  
 " Is Romam rediens poscit de more triumphum,  
 " Urbs negat, invidiam gloria tanta tulit.  
 " Pompeius magnus, Scipio, totusque senatus  
 " Prælia contempnit Cæsaris atque faces.  
 1115 " Cæsar ut hæc audit, sensit sibi bella parari,  
 " Senserat id dudum, dissimulare sciens.

- " Italiae claram Ravennam pervenit urbem,  
 " Undique stant proceres militiaeque duces.  
 " Magnas Italiae post idem continet urbes,  
 1120 " Pompeius simili pro feritate furit.  
 " Bello conflato, vincuntur Pompeiani,  
 " Pompeius fugiens littora tuta cupit,  
 " Exul Alexandri Magni contendit ad urbem,  
 " Sed prius occisus tristia fata subit.  
 1125 " Lentulus hinc consul sub carceris ima necatur,  
 " Mergitur hinc Scipio, se necat ipse Cato.  
 " Sic cum Petreio sese rex Juba peremit,  
 " Cæditur Afranius Pompeiusque minor.<sup>1</sup>  
 " Cæsar sic princeps effectus et urbis et orbis,  
 1130 " Imperium solus cum probitate regit.  
 " Nascitur imperii Romani splendor ab isto,  
 " Romulidæ laudis Cæsar origo fuit.  
 " Præcellens sequitur majestas imperialis,  
 " Digni laude viri, vi, probitate, throno.  
 1135 " Splenduit in tantis personis gloria mundi,  
 " In nullis aliis celsior ipsa fuit.  
 " Cum ducibus tantis Romam devinxerat error, *fo. 156 b.*  
 " Donec in extremo tempore vita venit.  
 " Quæ fidei lumen toto dum spargit in orbe,  
 1140 " Paulatim subicit regia colla sibi.  
 " Principibus victis, superatur gloria mundi,  
 " Religio crescit, perfidus error abit.  
 " Sic Lapis abscissus celso de Virginis alvo Dan. ii. 34.  
 " In pedibus statuam perentit, illa ruit.  
 1145 " A Constantino fidei, pietatis origo  
 " Nascitur, inde fides jam generalis adest.  
 " Abluit hunc clarns Silvester fonte perenni,  
 " Huncque tumor procerum, gloria tota subit.  
 " Sic caput evictum dum cetera membra sequun-  
 " tur,  
 1150 " Per mundi radiat climata vera fides.

Julius  
Cæsar  
becomes  
supreme,  
and is the  
originator  
of Rome's  
supremacy.

The bap-  
tism of  
Constan-  
tine the  
Great.

<sup>1</sup> The facts alluded to in the preceding lines are derived from Cæsar, | *de Bello Civili*, iii. § 102 and 104, | and *Bell. Afric.* cap. 94, 95, 96.

- “ Ecclesie princeps Silvester ab imperiali  
 “ Efficitur jussu, tunc sibi Roma datur. The dona-  
tion of  
Constan-  
tine.
- “ Dantur et ecclesie Romanæ prædia clara  
 “ Siciliae, quibus hæc vivere semper habet.
- 1155 “ Imperialis vir Byzantia mœnia tendit,  
 “ Urbem constituit nominis ipse sui.
- “ Purpura cum Roma Silvestro traditur, omnis The vicis-  
situdes of  
the papal  
power.  
 “ Orbis subditur huic, quo patet ipsa fides.
- “ At successores hujus, quandoque tyrannos
- 1160 “ Passi, vix retinent pontificale decus.  
 “ Italiam capit is,<sup>1</sup> sic Romam diripit alter,  
 “ Armis Siciliam jam facit ille suam.
- “ Nobilis hinc papa Stephanus, de sede repulsus, Pope  
Stephen  
invokes  
 “ Auxilium quærens Gallica regna venit.
- 1165 “ Pipinum Karolumque sacrat, secumque reducens, Pepin and  
Charle-  
magne; the  
latter be-  
comes the  
sovereign  
of Italy.  
 “ Hastulfum superans Itala sceptrâ capit.
- “ Sic Romam recipit. Karolus post imperialis  
 “ Romulidum princeps jam tria regna tenet.
- “ Italicus, Francus, Alamannicus extat in unum,
- 1170 “ Dum Karolus vivens hæc tria sceptrâ regit.  
 “ Hujus progenies in bina sorte relicta, The divi-  
sion of  
Charle-  
magne’s  
empire.  
 “ Unum, quæ tria sunt, jam facit esse duo.
- “ Pars etenim prolis Alamannos Italicosque  
 “ Continet, at Francos altera jure regit.
- 1175 “ Hinc Alamanus<sup>2</sup> rex sibi vindicat imperialis  
 “ Italiæ culmen, subdita Roma sibi est. The em-  
peror of  
Germany  
claims  
Rome, and  
the pon-  
tiffs are  
subject to  
him.
- “ En sibi subjectum Romanum pontificatum  
 “ Esse refert, ac vi signifer urbis erit.
- “ Papam constituet quem vult, aliumque repellet,
- 1180 “ Nil populus sed nec clerus ad ista valet.  
 “ Me sibi pontificem Romani cura sonatus He sets  
up whom  
he will as  
pope.  
 “ Elegit; propria sede repellor adhuc.
- “ Victorem statuit papam vis imperialis;  
 “ Per varias terras en miser exul agor.
- 1185 “ Successor Petri sic perdit et imperiale  
 “ Culmen, et officio nominis ecce caret.

<sup>1</sup> *capitis*, MS.| <sup>2</sup> Thus in MS.

- fo. 157.*
- “ Papa vocor, nec digna gero jam pontificali  
 “ Culmine, nec rerum pondera ferre queo.  
 “ Ecclesiam scissam video, conjungere scissa  
 1190 “ Non mea jam virtus, diva sed ipsa valet.  
 “ In duo divisus jam deficit orbis ab imo ;  
 “ Unum si teneat, tum duo scissa ruent.  
 “ Concilium celebrat præcellens Otovianus,  
 “ Huic Alamannus<sup>1</sup> adest Italicusque nitor :  
 1195 “ Summus ibi princeps, cujus manet ille propin-  
       quus,  
 “ Imperii summi gloria tota simul.  
 “ Italiam linquens, horum dum tela pavesco,  
 “ Vix mortem fugii, Gallica rura colo.<sup>2</sup>  
 “ Armis persequitur me virtus imperialis,  
 1200 “ Me gladiis tentat scindere papa suus.  
 “ Percutit ille tumens anathemate nos sociatos,  
 “ Quosque videt pridem temnere schisma suum.  
 “ Nobis solvetur benedictio pro maledicto,  
 “ Qui benedictus erit, nunc anathema subit.  
 1205 “ Inque caput proprium maledictum jure relatum,  
 “ Jure vicem reddit, quam prior ipse dedit.  
 “ Schismaticus Victor anathemate percutiatur,  
 “ Jungimus huic etiam quos sibi schisma refert.  
 “ Excipitur princeps a nobis imperialis,  
 1210 “ Quem seduxit amor sanguinis atque dolus.”

<sup>1</sup> *Alamannis*, MS.| <sup>2</sup> *collo*, MS.

## CAP. XV.

*Quod causa perorata, Victor papa cum omnibus sibi fauentibus, et se recipientibus, excepto imperatore, anathematizatur, sicque a duobus Apostolicis tota ecclesia excommunicatur. Quodque postea Alexandro Romam reverso, imperator cum Victore papa et exercitu suo post eum Italiam intravit, plures ex Romanis rebellantes \* interfecit. Alexander fugiens tandem in Siciliam cum suis sese recepit. Imperator Romam ingressus, ibique presente Victore papa et gloria imperii tota circumstante, diademate insignitur, rebusque in pace compositis Alemanniam revertitur. Victore postea defuncto, Guido Cremonensis subrogatur: hocque obeunte, alter in loco ejus a Romanis et imperatore substituitur.*

[fo. 112.]\*

Clarus Alexander causam concludit in istis,

Laudat concilii splendidus ordo virum.

Judicat hunc papam, sit quamvis pauper et exul, The council anathematizes Victor.

Quæ duo virtutis laude nitere solent.

1215 Exurgens igitur præsul cum pontificali

Ordine, sic astans concionatur item :

“ Schismatis auctorem tanti sententia nostra

“ Percutit, ecclesiæ qui sibi stravit oves.

“ Concilium præsens anathematis Otovianum

1220 “ Judicio damnat, schismaticosque suos.

“ Imperii princeps a nobis excipiatur,

“ Quem super his nobis conciliare volo.”

Concilium tantum finem sortitur in istis :

Pontificum cætus dissociatus abit.

1225 Dum sua quisque petit, plangit quod multa reliquit,

Romulidum papæ curia semper eget :

The council dissolves.

The collection of money was a secondary reason for holding it.

Argentum retinet præsul, conservat et aurum :

Concili, reor, hæc causa secunda fuit.<sup>1</sup>

O rerum miseranda nimis perversio talis,

1230 Ecclesiæ capitis dum ruit ipse status !

In duo divisus Romani splendor honoris,

Orbis jam geminum perficit esse caput.

Corpore sic uno procedunt corpora bina :

En duo, non unus amodo mundus erit.

1235 Illius en caput est, quem subdidit Otovianus,

Noster Alexander sic caput hujus erit.

Dividit ecclesiam geminum jam schisma per orbem,

Illius aut hujus schismatis omnis erit.

Concilium binum celebratur ; præsul uterque *fo. 157 b.*

1240 Se mutuo damnant, subdita euncta simul.

Divisus sese nunc excommunicat orbis ;

Hujus quisquis erit sic anathema subit.

Quidquid cuique placet tanto de schismate dicat ;

Stat mihi iudicium, nullius esse volo.

Alexander buys over the Romans and returns to Rome (A.D. 1165).

1245 Auro multiplici Romanis conciliatis,

Cum vario Roman munere papa redit.

Audit ut hoc princeps Alamannus et Otovianus,<sup>2</sup>

Italiam veniunt, bella necesse parant.

Roma fremens intrare negat, concurrat ad arma,

Frederick and Victor drive him out by force.

1250 Egrediens pars hæc sternitur, illa fugit.

Trans Tiberim cives fugiunt, Rollandus et ipse :

Vix mortem fugit is, cive minante necem.

His life in danger.

Siciliam sese recipit, pietate fovetur

He betakes himself to Sicily and now dwells there.

Regis, ibi plangens crimina degit adhuc.

1255 Mcenia cepit ovans exercitus imperialis,

Princeps subsequitur, Victor et ipse simul.

<sup>1</sup> W. of Newburgh (Vol. I. p. 206) alleges a similar secondary cause in the case of the Third Lateran Council held by the same pope.

<sup>2</sup> This is an error. Victor died 20 April 1164, and Alexander returned to Italy in 1165.

- Principis imponit capiti Victor diadema<sup>1</sup>  
 Italiae dominus solus et urbis hic est.  
 Italia princeps remeat jam pacificatis
- 1260 Omnibus, at Victor præsul in urbe sedet.  
 Guido Cremonensis Victori fata tenenti  
 Succedit, validus rhetor et ore potens.  
 Pluribus hic annis in culmine pontificali  
 Deguit, extremum claudit et iste diem.
- 1265 Subrogat huic alium princeps, præsente senatu.  
 Qui meritis fidei lumine notus erat.  
 Inperia[*lis honor*]<sup>2</sup> sic Itala sceptrata retentat,  
 Sic cap[ut imperii]<sup>2</sup> fit sibi<sup>3</sup> Roma thronus.

Death of  
 Victor  
 [April 20,  
 1161], and  
 election of  
 a second  
 anti-pope,  
 Paschal  
 III., who  
 dying  
 [Sept. 20,  
 1168], is  
 succeeded  
 by Calixtus  
 III.

## CAP. XVI.

*Quod interim, dum hæc gererentur, discordia regis  
 Anglorum cum Francorum rege nondum finita  
 erat. Tandem inter se de pacis fœdere colloquium  
 habent: differtur in procerum regni presentiam.  
 Henricus interim, Anglorum regis filius, Parisius  
 veniens, a rege Francorum et proceribus cum  
 honore maximo suscipitur. Hinc ab utrisque  
 regibus et regni principibus et præsulibus juxta  
 Pisseium ad colloquium venit, pacis fœdera  
 firma stabiliantur. Hæc pax facta est anno ab  
 incarnatione Domini M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup>,<sup>4</sup> mense Februario  
 mediante.<sup>5</sup>*

- Henricus juvenis, rex maximus Angligenarum,
- 1270 Cinctus adhuc multo milite semper erat.  
 Clauserat armatis muris castella vel urbes,  
 Per sua jam nullis hostibus ire licet.  
 Rex Ludovicus regi contendere vitat,  
 Nam superexcellit viribus, ense, manu.

Henry II  
 had closed  
 his do-  
 minions  
 against his  
 enemies.

Louis  
 durst not  
 attack.

<sup>1</sup> Victor was dead at this time. R. de Monte says that the empress was crowned in Rome by Paschal about July 1167. (Pertz, vi. 516.) Morena (Baron. xix. p. 278) says both Frederick and his wife.

<sup>2</sup> Blank spaces in MS

<sup>3</sup> The metre shows that this should be *sibi*, not *ibi* as in MS.

<sup>4</sup> See note I on p. 717 for proof that the date should be 1169.

<sup>5</sup> Here follow the words: *Eaple-  
 ciant capitula Normannici Draconis.*

- 1275 Tollere Normannis pertentat jura paterna,  
 At rex cum cunctis obvius arva tenet.  
 Rex igitur bellum sibi cernit ubique parari,  
 Si Normannigenas vi penetrare velit :  
 Milite, divitiis, armis, et viribus impar
- 1280 Paulatim refugit prœlia, tela, necem.  
 Hujus avi recolit claros cum laude triumphos,  
 Quos ex Francigenis detulit atque patre.  
 Talia volventem timor urget, gloria pulsat,  
 Prævalet interius hic magis, illa minus.
- The French nobles begin to persuade Louis to make peace.
- 1285 Collaudant proceres jam pacis jura reposci,  
 Militiæ virtus illius alta nimis.  
 Audax natura Normannus, clarus in armis,  
 Prœlia nulla timens, cedere sede nequit.  
 Pondera<sup>1</sup> bellorum Francus minor, ut docet ipsa
- The duke of Saxony is leagued with Henry.
- 1290 Neustria, quam Danus cum feritate tulit.  
 Angligeni regis terris stat Francia clausa, fo. 158.  
 Hinc timor armorum, victus at inde venit.  
 Princeipis et regis sociatur maxima virtus,  
 Hanc dux Saxonie jungit, amore ligat.
- 1295 Hæc in pace simul sunt inspicienda, notanda,  
 Nam superare duces prœlia nulla queunt.  
 Consilium laudat procerum, ratione notata ;  
 Rex, regina favet, quod jubet illa stabit.  
 Post tantas igitur prædas, incendia, cædes,
- The kings meet, and a day is fixed for a second conference to be attended by certain nobles.
- 1300 Carmine quas tædet stringere, fœdus adest.  
 Conveniunt reges, de pacis jure loquuntur,  
 Pars utraque petit, quæ cupit illa placeat.  
 Partibus his binis procerum pars parva fuisse  
 Dicitur, hos pacis fœdera cuncta latent.
- 1305 His sine nulla potest fieri concordia regum,  
 Convenient alibi, paxque perennis erit.  
 Discedunt reges, alias de fine loquendum  
 Pacis constituunt, ponitur ipse dies.  
 Maximus interea regalis natus amorem
- 1310 Francigenis pandit, Parisiusque venit.

<sup>1</sup> *pondere*, MS.



- Rex, proceres urbis, simul ecclesiasticus ordo  
 Obviat, huic major gloria nulla fuit.  
 Normannis placuit paucis quod regia proles  
 Francorum petiit dissona corda sibi.
- 1315 Nam se fortunæ committere non sapientis,  
 Sed sua qui fatis contulit, esse solet.  
 Regius hic natus, peperit quem regia mater,  
 Francigenum quondam quæ diadema tulit.  
 Fœderis hanc aquilam rupti<sup>1</sup> cognominat ille
- 1320 Qui divis<sup>2</sup> oculis tempora longa videt.  
 Francus ait: "Nobis heredes hæc peperisset  
 " Jam similes, primo consociata toro.  
 " Neustria lætatur, genito sibi sidere trino,  
 " Fulgura Francigenis sidera trina dabunt.
- 1325 " Dirigit hos nobis rex Anglus; ut alta doloris  
 " Vis animos penetret vel timor ipse premat."  
 Hæc dum Francigenum quorundam corda re-  
 volvunt,  
 Parisius juvenem claudit, honorat, habet.
- Hunc<sup>3</sup> licet obsequiis veneretur amore paterno,
- 1330 Se tamen in casu ponere nullus habet.  
 Concilii regum, clero populisque jocundus,  
 Advenit ecce dies, undique turba fluit.  
 Pisseios campos veniunt utraq̃ue phalanges,  
 Hinc Normannus adest, Francus at illa tenet.
- 1335 Natus adest regis, quem secum tempus ad istud  
 Rex tenuit Gallus, lætus amore patris.  
 Fœderis inde modum, finem rex pandit uterque  
 Principibus coram præsulibusque suis.  
 Hinc Britones assunt, assunt et Pictavienses,
- 1340 Regibus in pacto se sociare volunt.  
 Est modus hic pacis: natis regalibus altis,<sup>4</sup>  
 Ætas cum tulerit, det sua jura pater.

Prince  
Henry in  
the mean-  
time goes  
to Paris,

but his  
act is dis-  
pleasing to  
the Nor-  
mans.

He is hon-  
ourably  
entertained  
at Paris.

The day  
for the  
conference  
at Poissy  
arrives.

Prince  
Henry  
attends it.

The Bre-  
ton and  
Poictevin  
nobles are  
present.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 603, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *clivis*, MS. The annotator adds  
"alias *divis*."

<sup>3</sup> *hunc*—*habet*, written in margin  
by the original hand.

<sup>4</sup> *Scilicet Henrico filio primo-  
genito Henrici regis Anglie et  
Margareta filia regis Francorum,  
M.*

The conditions of peace : Henry's sons when of age to rule provinces, and to be vassals of the French crown. The counts of St. Gilles and Poitou to appear before the French court on the question of Toulouse.

- Tum Normannigenas regat is sub jure paterno,  
 Tempore qui major, primus et ipse throno  
 1345 Nomen avi tenet. Alter erit comes Andegavensis,  
 Pictavius consul dux Aquitanus erit.  
 Filia regalis datur huic; Tholosa notatur,  
 Miles ut hic fiet, juris et ejus erit.  
 Decernet super hoc Francorum curia, consul *fo. 158 b.*  
 1350 Egidii veniet, Pictaviusque comes.  
 Francigenum regi subjecti, jura paterna  
 Hi tres jure regant, servitiumque ferant.  
 Dum pater id tempus, præsens discordia venit,  
 Serviat en natus, pax sibi semper erit.  
 1355 Partibus ambabus tum regibus hæc placuere;  
 Dulce manet cunctis pacis adesse modum.  
 Anglus rex igitur terrarum cedit habenas  
 Natis, cum tulerit tempus et ordo rei.  
 Pro sibi collatis terris tunc quisque laboret,  
 1360 Subditus hinc Francis serviat ense, manu.  
 Interea pax firma stabit, dum tempus adultis  
 Adveniet, Gallus rex simul ista feret.  
 Diriget et natam binis ut fratribus adsit,  
 Bina soror vigeat quo magis arctus amor.  
 1365 Consertis manibus rex pacem firmat uterque,  
 Perpetuum fœdus amodo pacis erit.  
 Urbes, regna, thronum, communi jure tuentur,  
 Hostibus alterius quisque paratus erit.  
 Postque fidem regum proceres tum fœdera jurant,  
 1370 Gaudet utraque phalanx. Finis et iste fuit.  
 Francorum proceres proprio cum rege precantur  
 Pro Dorobernensi præsule, rexque favet.  
 Quod decessorum mos regi detulit Anglo  
 Deferat, ac liber jam sua jura petat.  
 1375 Ecclesiæ propriæ salvo sibi jure redibit  
 Præsul, ait, solvet quod sibi constat honor.  
 Rex infert se nolle novos inducere mores,  
 Id solum faciat quod sibi jure decet.

The French king and his nobles plead for Becket. He may return if he will act as his predecessors acted, ren-

- Lanfranci cathedra<sup>1</sup> sedet Anselmiquæ beati,  
 1380 Is proavi præsul, sic fuit alter avi.  
 Hos placuisse Deo virtutum culmine constat,  
 Regis quisque sui debita jura tulit.  
 Iste Deo solvat soli quod numinis extat,  
 Solvat et ex terris regia jura sibi.
- 1385 Vota Deo reddat, regi quæ Cæsaris extant ;  
 Quod sancti faciunt, solve quemque licet.  
 Reddere jura sibi si dedignatur avita,  
 Exul ab Angligenis jure perennis erit.  
 Hoc jus, hæc ratio sibi constat, præsulis autem
- 1390 Quænam sit, procerum judicet ipse chorus.  
 Jurat Francigenum rex sanctos Bethleemitas<sup>2</sup>  
 Quod Dorobernensis nil rationis habet.  
 Pontificum sedis propriæ vestigia servet,  
 Ac in sede sua pacificatus eat.
- 1395 Quod rex Anglorum repetit, conservat et ipse,  
 Pontifices Galli regia jura tremunt.  
 Thomas conticuit, meditatur regia dicta,  
 Nescio quid voluit, retro redire timet.  
 Talem sortitur regum discordia finem :
- 1400 Prædo latet, miles lugeat, arma jacent.<sup>3</sup>

dering  
 what is  
 due both  
 to God and  
 the king.

Becket is  
 silent,  
 meditating  
 on the  
 king's  
 words, but  
 fears to  
 return.

## EXPLICIT NORMANNICUS DRACO.

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<sup>1</sup> *cathedram*, MS. | and carried to Cologne. See vol. i.  
<sup>2</sup> The Three Kings. Their bodies | pp. 115-117.  
 were discovered at Milan in 1162, | <sup>3</sup> *Sed non diu jacuerunt, etc.*, M.

LIBELLUM istum sumpsi ex quodam parvo antiquo [Written  
libro, quem mihi concessit cum m[ansuetudine] at the foot  
m[agister] R . . . b[ibliothecarius]. Et erat ille liber, of fo.  
ut credo, de Ab[batia] de B[eeco] H[elluini].<sup>1</sup> 158 b.]

HÆC sunt quæ imperatrix Mathildis dedit ecclesiæ [Written  
Becci in ornamentis.<sup>2</sup> on the  
lower half  
of fo.  
159.]

Corona in primis solida ex auro et lapidibus pretiosis, qua filius imperatricis, Henricus rex, postea coronatus extitit, tanti ponderis ut duabus virgis argenteis hinc inde sustentetur, cum imperator vel rex ex ea coronatur. Per brachia vero tota dividitur, cum in thesauro reponitur; cum autem simul conjungitur, in fronte gestantis lapis magni pretii et magnitudinis, cum superposita cruce auri solidi, habetur.

Item alia parva corona aurea, qua imperator in majoribus sollempnitatibus utebatur.

Duo calices aurei, unus cum patena, de quatuor marcis et sex aureis: alter cum patena de tribus marcis et dimidia et tribus unciis.

Una crux de auro et lapidibus preciosis, de septem marcis auri, octo aureis minus.

Pes aureus crucis de duabus marcis et una uncia et decem aureis.

Duo textus aurei mirabilis operis, cum multis et magnis lapidibus preciosis.

Duo thuribula argentea deaurata, unum de sex marcis et una uncia et decem denariis. Aliud de quinque marcis et una uncia et duodecim denariis.

<sup>1</sup>The interpretation of the four letters, "m. m. R. b.," and of the two in the next line "b. h." is of course wholly conjectural. The sign which has been read as the numeral 9 by M. Delisle, and which Card. Mañ omits, is plainly the

common sign for *cum*. It occurs many times in the list of ornaments, which is written by the same hand.

<sup>2</sup>This list is referred to in the poem itself, lib. III. l. 32, as about to be subjoined by the author to his work.

- Una acerra argentea ad incensum, cum cochleari, de una marca et dimidia et una uncia.
- Una scutella aurea de sex marcis et dimidia et duabus unciis.
- Una busta aurea ad eucharistiam.
- Una busta argentea ad oblatas de una marca et tribus unciis et octo denariis.
- Una ampulla argentea ad serviendum altari de una marca et tribus unciis et duobus denariis. Item aliæ duæ ampullæ argentæ de una marca et dimidia et duabus unciis et duodecim denariis.
- Unus urceolus ad aquam benedicendam de tribus marcis et tribus unciis, et dimidia et quattuor denariis.
- Serinium eburneum plenum reliquiis.
- Unus bacinus argenteus de duabus marcis et dimidia et una uncia et quindecim denariis.
- Unus leunculus de sex marcis argenti et dimidia.
- Una justa argentea de quattuor marcis et tribus unciis et quattuor denariis.
- Una casula festivalis cum vestimento suo optime parato. Item alia casula cum vestimento suo cotidiano. Item duæ casulæ et duæ albæ paratæ.
- Una tunica cum vestimento suo parato.
- Una dalmatica cum vestimento suo parato. Item alia tunica et alia dalmatica. Item manipulum unum.
- Tres optimæ cappæ. Duo pallia imperialia, quibus postea capicia addita sunt, et ex eis cappæ effectæ.
- Una alba cum amictu suo sine paratura.
- Duo altaria marmorea ad deferendum, cum argento parata.
- Unum linteam ad altare, aliud ad manus tergendas. Tres telæ lineæ ad faciendas albas.
- Vestimentum imperatricis deguttatum auro, unde postea multæ paraturæ ad albas factæ sunt.

HÆC sunt quæ de ornamentis imperatricis post mortem ejus Becum habuit:—

Unus calix aureus cum patena de tribus marcis.

Quatuor casulæ cum vestimentis suis paratis.

Duæ tunicæ et duæ dalmaticæ.

Sex cappæ, quarum duæ argento intextæ sunt.

Duo thuribula argentea.

Una justa de onogrifis, ejus colum et inferior pars et ungu læ concatenatæ circa ovum argentea sunt. Item libri capellæ imperatricis.

Duo bacini argentei.

[Immediately after the above, written on *fos.* 159 *b.* and 160, occurs a fragment of a poem as to the return of Henry II. from Normandy after the arrangement of the peace referred to in the concluding lines of the *Draco Normannicus.*]

The peace  
of 1169.

Pace reformata, regum sua quisque revisit,

Tela relicta jacent, rura colonus habet.

Francorum patuit probitas, exercitus omnis

Ipsorum retulit quidquid ad arma fuit.

Danus [et] ostendit quidquid virtutis habebat,

Armis, consilio,<sup>1</sup> viribus, ense, manu.

Pontificis villam sine muris tradidit igni;

Hæc sibi laus, feritas pro probitate manet.

Danus ad arma potens, castellum milite, muris

Cinctum vi penetrat, diripit, urit, abit.

Hæc duo qui novit, sibi comparet, inspicietque

Quis fuerit major vel feritate minor.

Altas Francigenum cervices Danus abegit,

Arduus in sese deficit ille tumor.

Fraucus Danorum minitatur<sup>2</sup> castra vel urbes,

Nec capit hæc, nec in his<sup>3</sup> tela vel arma jacit.

Normannis sua jura manent feritate paterna,

Frustra bellæ ciet, qui probitate caret.

Contrast  
between  
the capture  
of (Chau-  
mont) and  
the burn-  
ing of  
(Andely).

<sup>1</sup> *concilio*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *minatur*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in MS.

Anglus rex igitur, munitis urbibus armis,  
 Pertransire parat culmina salsa sali.  
 At Boreas perflans ventos involvit et arcet,  
 Dorsa maris stimulans turbida quæque facit.  
 Denegat horrendo fremitu sua subdere jura,  
 Regales cuneos vi retinere cupit.  
 Cæsareas acies sic olim ferre recusat ;  
 Cæsar at indignans æquoris intrat iter.  
 Nauta refert varias borealis flaminis auras,  
 " Quem vehis est Cæsar, quid times ? " ille subit.  
 Par opus et dictum Willelmi regis habetur,  
 Qui Rufus quodam nomine dictus erat,  
 Labitur hinc rumor, quod consulis Andegavensis  
 In Normannigenas vis violenta furit.  
 Eynoris ad littus properat cum milite paucis,  
 Nauta canit Boream, respuit unda ratem.  
 Rex contra : " Regem tantum non ferre pavescas,  
 " Nam regem nullum subruit unda sali."  
 Sic violenta manus vi transiit æquoris alta,  
 Invitus Boreas regis ad arma favet.  
 Jure pari ferus iste salum fremitusque borinos  
 Temnens horrisonis flatibus instat, abit.  
 Fluctibus in mediis, boreali flante procella,  
 Vela tument, naves concutit unda fremens.  
 Funibus abruptis mali funduntur, et ipsas  
 Antennas subito carbasa scissa ferunt.  
 Nautarum strepitus sic militis ipse tumultus  
 Frangere vult fluctus, consolidare rates.  
 Sævior insistit Boreas, obsistit et Auster,  
 Huc illucque fretum turbine quisque rapit.  
 Jam maris unda furens tabulata per intima serpit,  
 Fluctus transtra tenet, planctus ubique sonat.  
 Nauclerus pavitans artem clavumque relinquit,  
 Fato se tribuit, flatibus, atque salo.  
 Undas ceu montes videas vallesque profundas,  
 Hinc scopuli, Syrtes, inde Charybdis adest.

Henry crosses to England in stormy weather.

William Rufus had done the like.

Two ves-  
sels sink.

In proram puppimque simul vis turbinis instat;  
 Proh dolor! hic geminas<sup>1</sup> obruit unda rates.  
 Hic clari proceres pereunt cum milite multo,  
 Gaza sub undivagis fluctibus ipsa latet.  
 Fortior ast aliis regalis navis in alto  
 Prædita nautarum viribus obstat adhuc.  
 Nunc fluctus findit, nunc sævas transvolat undas,  
 Vis tabulata ratis frangere nulla potest.  
 Tempestatas furibunda minax insurgit et arcet,  
 Ventus et imber obest, æquoris unda furit.  
 Jam sibi præsidio mundano deficiente,  
 Non possunt miseri vivere sive mori.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hoveden mentions one only.

<sup>2</sup> The scribe here adds, "*non plus*  
 "*reperi*," and the hand which wrote  
 the words "*libellum istum*," (see

p. 758) adds, "*in exemplari*."

At the foot of the page (*fo.* 160)  
 occurs the signature "*J. Baudri-*  
 "*bosc*."



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APPENDIX.

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## APPENDIX.



[The poems by Etienne de Rouen here printed are to be found in a manuscript which first belonged to the Abbey of Bec Herluin, and afterwards to the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés (No. 1,547, *olim* 771). This is now No. 14,146 in the Fonds Latin of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.]



## (1.)

[STEPHANI ROTOMAGENSIS MONACHI BECCENSIS CARMEN  
ELEGIACUM DE WALERANNO COMITE MELLENTI.]<sup>1</sup>

*Emicat hic magni laus, gloria, mors Galeranni.*

Flos comitum, decus imperii, vis maxima belli, *fo. 1.*  
Militiæ splendor, sensus acutus obit.<sup>2</sup>

Jura necis violenta fremunt dulcedine pomi,  
Si dulcedo fuit, pestis amara, lues.

5 Nam neque rex, nec opes, neque vis, neque gloria  
mundi

Hanc superare queunt; sed sibi cuncta favent.

A sapiente nequit stultum discernere, cunctos

Dum sibi substernit, commonet esse pares.

Legis tam diræ vim quis depellere possit,

10 Summa patris proles cum favet ipse neci?

Ut nasci natura dedit, sic culpa parentis

Primi dat soboli non nisi jure mori.

Mors igitur, generale chaos, desævit in omnes,

Parcere dum nescit, fortia quæque rapit.

15 Parvos sic minimis, humiles conferre superbis

Audet, et in proprium jus sibi nata trahit.

Hanc subit, immo terit probitatis laus Galerannus:

Vincit ut invictus fortia jura necis.

Nam virtute polum conscendit, et infima linquit,

20 Cujus vita manet vita beata, Deus.

Hic de stirpe satus comitum regumque propin-  
quus,

<sup>1</sup> Martène's title is here given. His note to this poem is as follows: "Hujus Galeranni non semel mentionem facit Ordericus Vitalis, sed præsertim lib. 13 Hist. Eccl. ad annum 1136, ubi hæc habet: *Tunc*

"*Stephanus rex (Anglicæ) filiam suam biennem Galeranno comiti de Mellento in cunabulis dedit.*"

<sup>2</sup> This couplet occurs *verbatim* et *literatim* in the "*Draco Normannicus*, Lib. I., ll. 289, 290.

Quos sensu superat, moribus, ense, throno.  
 Hos sequi probitate parum sibi computat esse,  
 Vult superare duces, nescit habere parem.

*Qualis fuit.*<sup>1</sup>

- 25 Hic Paris in facie, statura Nestor, Ulixes  
 Consilio, belli viribus Hector erat ;  
 Cræsus divitiis, in causis Quintilianus,  
 Eloquio Cicero, versibus ipse Maro.  
 Sic ortu, lingua, sensu, virtute, triumphis.  
 30 Forma, rebus erat splendidus absque pari.

*Quæ conjunx.*

- Huic conjux speciosa satis, par nobilitate,  
 Moribus, ingenio, sanguine, corde, fide.  
 Hæc comitem comitissa parit comiti sociata,  
 In nati speciem parturit ipsa patris.  
 35 Hic animis idem, censu, studiis, feritate,  
 Sensibus, eloquio, munere, mente, manu.  
 In cunctis similis, si solum par foret ætas,  
 Quam natura dabit, si sibi fata sinant.

*Qui nati.*

- Sunt alii nati magni probitate futuri,  
 40 Si tamen in patriis moribus ire juvat.  
 Ex his degenerat nullus virtute nec actu,  
 Quisque sibi nomen comparat inde novum.  
 Par species, par nobilitas, par fervor in illis,  
 Par opus et studium, par pietatis amor.  
 45 Sic pater in natis ut vivens fulget imago,  
 Si prolem videas, conspicias ipse patrem.  
 In natis partitus adest, manet unus in illis,  
 Deserit his totum se probitate virum.  
 Quam fragilis mundi sit amor, sit gloria fallax,  
 50 Is radio mentis dum videt, inde cavet.

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<sup>1</sup> These words are in rubric in the margin.

*Consideratio.*

Inspexit quid honos, quid opes, quid gloria mundi,  
 Quid sit homo, quid erit, quid sibi morte manet.

*Quid honos.*

Ut fumus vanescit honos, ut spuma liquescit,  
 Transit deficiens, ac velut umbra fugit.

*Quid opes.*

55 Morte cadens quid opum secum deferre valebit?  
 Egreditur nudus, dic ubi cæcus abit?

*Quid gloria.*

Doxa tibi mundi quid erit sine numine cœli?  
 Pompa nitens oculis vana fit ante Deum.

*Quid sit homo.*

Vile lutum conceptus homo, natus caro, terra.

*Quid erit.*

60 Vita functus erit vermibus esca, cinis.

*Quid sibi manet.*

Morte manet sibi pro vitiis usura Gehennæ:

Pro virtute salus, gloria, vita, quies.

His igitur senis vigilanti corde notatis,

Terrea contemnit, cœlica sola petit.

65 Linqvit opes, calcatur honos, nec gloria mundi

Jam sapit, immo cadit, nec cadit, immo perit.

Sese cernit humum, vermem, cineremque futurum:

Horret supplicium, certat habere polum.

Distribuit, linqvit, contemnit cuncta, subitque

70 Mite jugum Christi corpore, corde pio.

Consul, nunc monachus, dives, nunc pauper inanis,

Quam sit honor mundi cernere quisque valet.

*Fallacia deliciarum.*

- Dic ubi deliciae, regalia fercula mensae,  
 Nectarei potus, praecipuique cibi,  
 75 Vas auro gemmisque nitens, trabeatus in ostro  
 Discolor ornatus, multus<sup>1</sup> ubique cliens,  
 Aureus in phaleris equus, ardens splendor in armis,  
 In bellis resonans militis alta manus.  
 Aere suspensae turres, fastigia muri,  
 80 Caelatus thalamus, mœnia, tecta, domus.  
 Condensus nemorum saltus, eantusque volucrum,  
 Vulpis flexibilis, dente timendus aper.  
 Cornibus horrendus cervus, capreaeque veloces,  
 Damula diffugiens, caecus in ante lepus.  
 85 His canis infestus concursu, dente, latratu,  
 Cujus et attractus naribus arcet odor.  
 Hinc avium jactus sustollitur, ardea scandit,  
 Accipiter jaculi, dum cadit, instar habet.  
 Fluminis anfractus sileo, tractusque marinos,  
 90 Floribus et pratis fontibus instat amor.  
 Quid vitis gemmas, quid flores, quid botriones?  
 Fructibus innumeris stat species et odor.  
 Pretereo carnis dominetur quanta voluptas,  
 Quae magis ardescit, quo minus ipsa patet.

*Vanitas.*

- 95 Cetera quid referam praesentis gaudia vitae,  
 Quae genus humanum suscipit, ardet, amat?  
 His caro lascivit, lætatur, servit, obedit.  
 Talibus et finem eredit inesse boni.  
 Accidit hoc, quia caeca Dei cognoscere lumen  
 100 Nescit, et in tenebris stat sibi mortis iter.  
 Pulvere terreno visus foedatus ad alta  
 Vix aciem tollit, pressus ad ima ruit.  
 Hæc contemplatus,<sup>2</sup> Galerannus spernit amœna,  
 Delitias, et opes, dulcia quæque soli.

<sup>1</sup> *multusque*, MS.| <sup>2</sup> *contemptus*, MS.

- 105 Nomine, veste, loco, victu, sermonibus, actu  
 Jura subit monachi, sicque beatus obit.  
 Conservat cineres Pratellum,<sup>1</sup> cœlica mentem,  
 Uniet hæc Christus consociata sibi.  
 Nec mirum reputetur Ei, qui cetera finxit,  
 110 Spiritui limum si reparare queat.

*Descriptio.*

- Est igitur locus hic, qui tanti continet ossa,  
 Fratribus ornatus, religione potens,  
 Vallis amœna satis, nemorosis frondibus ampla,  
 Ut fessos relevet, sufficit ipsa sibi.  
 115 Nobile cœnobium tenet, ambit, servat, adornat,  
 Obsequiis dignis inelyta membra viri.  
 Fontibus irriguis,<sup>2</sup> florentibus undique pratis,  
 Ex re nomen habet, quod locus ipse fovet.  
 Hoc hujus proavi fundarunt, busta retentat,  
 120 Testanturque locum sumptibus esse suum.

*Conclusio.*

- His comitum speciale decus junctus Galerannus,  
 Ceu stellæ radius, clarus in orbe micat.  
 Immortalis enim fama, virtute, triumphis  
 Vivit, non moritur, nec perit, immo manet.  
 125 Obvius occurret Christo jam glorificatus,  
 Ut sibi sit requies, gloria, vita, Deus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Martène's note here is : "Pratellum monasterium ordinis S. Benedicti in diœcesi Lexoviensi, ab Hunfredo de Vetulis fundatum. Ibidem jacet Galerannus, qui

" sumto in extremis habitu monastico obiit anno 1166. 5. idus

" Aprilis ætatis suæ 61."

<sup>2</sup> *irruguis*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> The poem ends on fo. 3.



## (2.)

*fo. 3 b.*

- G audet amor verus carum dum novit amicum,  
 I mmatum multis si cor non gestat iniquum;  
 S ensus enim noster veros discernit amicos.  
 L ex naturalis compellit amare propinquos:  
 5 E st vigor interior mentem qui fallere nescit,  
 B isso splendidior, dum lux sibi vera patescit,  
 E x vi naturæ te sic compellor amare,  
 R ebus secure poteris quod et ipse notare,  
 T e licet ignotum vultu, circumfero totum;  
 10 O mne bonum cupio teneas, talis tibi fio.  
  
 S igna quidem mentis sunt talia verba loquentis,  
 T estanturque meum tibi cor seu vasa lyæum:  
 E xponunt mentem ecu flosculus efflat odorem,  
 P romunt ardorem de pectoris igne calentem;  
 15 H os tibi transmitto versus in pignus amoris,  
 A st velut est moris, alios te mittere scito,  
 N otus cum mihi sis, volo discere carmine quis sis.  
 V elle meum mulcebit carmen, quod mihi dulce,  
 S uscipito munuscula quod dat avus tuus unus.  
  
 20 S int tibi dulcia, nec tibi vilia conspiciantur,  
 A spicis intima, quæ tibi proxima jam sociantur.  
 L ittera pingit, quod tibi stringit, carmen amantis,  
 V is ca mentis, quam tibi sentis dona tonantis.  
 T c pictas simul et bonitas æterna coronet:  
 E xterius regat, interius cœlestia donet.<sup>1</sup>  
 M etam nunc pono, cognato me tibi dono.

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<sup>1</sup> Altered by erasure from *donat*.

## (3.)

- Quis, quantus, qualis consul fuit Andegavensis* fo. 171 h.  
*Edidit hic talis descriptor Rothomagensis.* to fo. 173.
- Militiæ decus et patriæ dux en subit astra,  
 Æcclesie pacisque piæ fortissima castra,  
 Qui patrium ferus imperium non extenuavit,  
 Sed ducibus vel consulibus prior amplificavit;  
 5 Qui Paridis seu Tindaridis faciem renovabat,  
 Hectoreum cunctis in eum corpus rutilabat;  
 Qui clipeatus vel galeatus Mars fuit alter,  
 Palladis hastam sanguine pastam gessit et alter. *Inclinantes.*  
 Pectus Achillis protulit illis et feritatem,
- 10 Qui cupierunt aut statuerunt asperitatem  
 Pectoris ejus seu patriæ jus prevaricari,  
 His animosum seque perosum scivit amari.  
 Hunc sapientia necne scientia lætificabant,  
 Terra gloria, celsa palacia condecorabant; *Titubantes.*
- 15 Non fuit altior aut sapientior ullus in istis,  
 Quos tegit ætheris aula vel aeris hæc plaga tristis.  
 Novit amabilis et venerabilis esse benignis,  
 Impenetrabilis, inviolabilis atque malignis,  
 Sceptriger insignis consul fuit Andegavensis, *Ventrosi.*<sup>2</sup>
- 20 Quem titulis dignis celebret plebs Pictaviensis.  
 Nec minus hunc referat Normannia terra celebris,  
 Bellis jam dederat subjectam quam sibi crebris;  
 Hujus fama soli pertransit culmina queque,  
 Scandit et alta poli, super æthera prosilit eque!
- 25 Terret et hæc reges, populos premit ipsa feroces,  
 Angit et atroces, cupientes frangere leges, *Concarnati.*  
 Quas hic saneivit, quas tempnens qui violavit,  
 Pœnis multavit, quas devitare nequivit.  
 Justitiæ cultor, sincerus pacis amator,
- 30 Juris sectator, legum firmissimus ultor,  
 Sola salus patriæ, speculum lux atque sophiæ, *Leonini.*  
 Artibus imbutus septenis, sensus acutus,

<sup>1</sup> Sat.| <sup>2</sup> Ventr.

- Precluis orator, logicæ nec segnis amator,  
 Rethoricos flores edoctus sive colores,  
 35 Cautus et a puero falsum discernere vero,  
 Multimoda specie perfusus phylosophiæ.
- Caudati.* In prosa Cicero, versu Maro cederet illi,  
 In logica Socrates, armis equandus Achilli:  
 Huic quicquid sciri potuit, credo, patuere;  
 40 Gloria, divitiæ, sapientia tanta fuere,  
 Quanta nec exponi possit, sed nec meditari.  
 Munde, sed immunde, cunctos tibi qui sociari  
 Quæris, et in ventrem transfundere perditionis,  
 Quam fallax, fidei nullæ, vel religionis  
 45 Sis, hic agnovit, cum tu super alta tulisti  
 Equoris, ac mortis potum ridens tribuisti.  
 Parcæ, non parcæ, quia nulli parere scistis,  
 Cedere cur superis hunc tam cito sic voluistis?  
 Ast tamen huic cimbam Stigii deferte Caronis,  
 50 Qua Flegeton fluvius tranctur perditionis.  
 Nec saltem videat quæ sit domus atra Plutonis;  
 Elisiis campis quin transeat, ut regionis  
 Incola florigeræ, vitæ sociusque perhennis  
 Gaudeat, arescat donec Langia perhennis,  
 55 Donec sol lunæ, vel solis luna laborem  
 Arripiat, donec perdant utrique colorem,  
 Donec sol radiis, Phebes umbra vacuetur,  
 Ac æther stellis celisque solum relevetur,  
 Sydera vel recubent in aquis, piscesque natalunt  
 60 Æthere, seu volucres ipse super astra meabunt.

*Reciproci.*

- Pestis amara nimis viventibus insidiosa,  
 Mors metuenda malis pestis amara nimis,  
 Ultima sors superis lex irrevocabilis evi,  
 Jus patrium cunctis ultima sors superis.  
 65 Nec genus aut species sexus te movit et ætas,  
 Aurum non movit, nec genus aut species,  
 Subditur omne tibi quod vescitur aeris aura,  
 Quicquid in orbe sapit subditur omne tibi.

- Cogitur omnis homo descendere per tua jura,  
 70 Flectere colla tibi cogitur omnis homo,  
 Nomen in orbe tuum precellit nomina cuncta :  
 Nam genus omne tremit nomen in orbe tuum.  
 Huic aliud simile michi non monstraret Homerus,  
 Non fuit in terris huic aliud simile,  
 75 Hoc domat et populos, reges prosternit atroces,  
 Obruit insanos, hoc domat et populos.  
 Legibus atra tuis mors obstat nulla potestas,  
 Aurum non obstat legibus atra tuis,  
 Per tua regna cadit quicquid natura creavit,  
 80 Auras qui carpit per tua regna cadit.  
 Quis precor Ille fuit, te qui contempnere quivit,  
 Te qui non sensit, quis precor ille fuit ?  
 Summus et ipse Deus voluit tua jura subire,  
 Factus homo moritur summus et ipse Deus.  
 85 Quem tibi non subicis, talem quæ flectere quisti,  
 Christum quæ flectis, quem tibi non subicis ?  
 Ut tibi cedit inops sic cedit servus et auri,  
 Dives sic cedit ut tibi cedit inops,  
 Cedit et insipiens, cedit dialecticus arte,  
 90 Cedit rethoricus, cedit et insipiens,  
 Cedit et omne tibi, quod sese vivere sentit,  
 Quod sub sole jacet, cedit et omne tibi.  
 Cessit et iste tibi, quem carmen personat istud,  
 Laus ejus fremit hic cessit et iste tibi.
- 95 Virginis in thalamo Phebus jam clauserat horas, *Exametri.*  
 Bis decies denas, ter sexaginta, ter octo,  
 Bis quadragenas, semel octo, sed et duodenas.  
 Sirius ac totidem, bis septem bisque dnabus,  
 Bis quinis, bis sex, bis quattuor inde remotis ;  
 100 Imbrifer a Marte mensis septenus in arcem  
 Cælestis sedis mentem cum consulis hujus  
 Sustulit, ipsius septena luce suborta.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The orthography of the MS. is preserved in the case of this and the succeeding poems.

(4. *Extract.*)

*Metrum dactilicum tetrametrum constans ex spondeo  
dactilo catalecto item dactilo spondeo.*

fo. 177 b.

Romæ jam posito verba Maronis

DULcia gustanti mella sophiæ

Fonine jam tali concipienti

Ille suus vatis dicta SOPHYSTE

5 Pectoris in PHARETRA condere verus

Quo queat agnosci VIRGILIANUS.

Miraris forsân me tibi nondum

Metro vel prosa scripta dedisse,

En fateor musam pertimuisse

10 Tanto tantilli ferre labores,

Verum jam lapsô retro timore,

Læta tuum vultum cernere tendit

Ante pedes cujus discere gliscit,

Secum gestando carminis odas

15 Scemate multiplici condecoratas.

Si cupis auctorem noscere quis sit,

Aut quis quem tantis laudibus effert,

Auribus haurito quæ tibi pando.

Hos circunseptos tegmine sacro

20 Noveris ex patrum fonte meare,

Quem Christi clarus continet ortus,

Cujus discurrens fama per orbem

Astraque transcendens culmina cæli

Concutit ac penetrat, scandit et implet.

25 Hujus si nomen noscere gliscis

Claudere bis ternas cerne figuras:

B preedit in his E sibi juncta,

C sequitur qua fit syllaba prima;

Altera C subit has, U sibi subdens,

30 Quas S concludit subdita cunctis.

At si vis horum nomina nosse,

Poem ad-  
dressed  
to the  
author's  
friend  
Rodolph.

- Quos tibi præmisi taliter audi.  
 Auctor, ut ipse canit, nominis arcem  
 Possidet illius, fungitur officio,  
 35 Qui Christi primus bella peregit,  
 Perfusus proprii fonte cruoris.  
 Inspice quod STEPHANUS dicitur iste,  
 Levitæque gradum cernito ferre;  
 Hunc hujus noseas esse nepotem,<sup>1</sup>  
 40 Hos cui dignatur mittere versus,  
 In quibus agnosces hunc vocitari  
 BERNARDUM, monachis his dominari  
 Quos regit in pelago vis Michaelis,  
 Ipse quibus tribuit scandere cælis.  
 45 Id volo non dubites hoc fore primum  
 Carmen quod scriptor protulit iste,  
 Istud eo studio conspiciendum,  
 Hunc tibi do, constat quo fore scriptum,  
 Quod tu tantillo carmina mittis,  
 50 Grates multiplices hinc tibi reddo.

- Harum quam doceas non bene novi  
 125 Primo, sed intento corde relectis  
 Versibus agnovi. Credo secundam  
 Te michi scripsisse jam fugiendam.  
 Grates innumeras hinc tibi solvo,  
 Quod tua majestas carmina præstat,  
 130 Quod tua mens de me sollicitatur,  
 Quod me dignaris tanta docere,  
 Si tamen ipse doces, nam Deus in te,  
 Ut video, degens, hæc tua scripta  
 Fabricat atque suo lumine complet.

---

<sup>1</sup> These three lines (*inspice . . . nepotem*) are written on an erasure.

(5. *Extract.*)

fo. 186.

- Ecce dies clara rutilat super ætheris astra,  
 Luminis hæc gnara perlustrat cœlica castra,  
 Fulget ubique dies, fame diffundit odorem,  
 Qua dignus decies monachus conscendit honorem.  
 5 Ista namque die fit ovis pastor monachorum,  
 Filius ecclesiæ pater extat nune aliorum,  
 Filius ipse pater simul est et filia mater.  
 Hic pastor factus, pastorum gaudia nactus,  
 Contempnit vallem, scit Montis scandere callem,  
 10 Tendit et ad Montem purum cognoscere fontem,  
 Cœlica rimari, cœlestia præmeditari,  
 Linquere terrena, saciari divite vena.  
 Et sciat æterna, careat jam sorde veterna,  
 Culmine virtutum persistat valle relicta,  
 15 Menteque non ficta scit Montem scandere tutum  
 Pneumatis ut sacri dapifer factus Michaelis,  
 Abluat in cœlis cor summi fonte lavaeri,  
 Et videat Christum, mundo qui præsidet isti,  
 Ac Patrem Christi cum sacro Pneumate mixtum.  
 20 Si genus istius vel mores noscere quæris  
 Hic breviter studeo verbis depromere veris:  
 Hujus uterque parens præclaro stegmate nati  
 Inter concives præ multis sunt venerati,  
 Hunc aluit puerum Normannia terra celebris,  
 25 Parisius fecit cecis exire tenebris,  
 Cum casu casum docuit conjungere dudum.  
 . . . . .

Poem on  
 the eleva-  
 tion of the  
 author's  
 uncle to  
 the abbacy  
 of Mont  
 St. Michel.

(6.)

*Metrum parremiacum anapesticum, quod dimetro  
catalecto constat.*

- fo. 191.*
- Nova carmina confice Musa,  
 Licet hic tibi non novus extet,  
 Cui metrum scribere temptas,  
 Hunc olim nam eruisti,  
 5 Cognoscere nec valuisti  
 Ejus speciem remove,  
 Proprio quin pectore fixa  
 Tenet illius interiora.  
 Nam Parthonopeus in annis  
 10 Paridis faciem renovabat,  
 Tideum statura notabat.  
 Ast nunc in philosophiæ  
 Studiis animum spaciando,  
 Hic ingenio fit Homerus,  
 15 Nee prosa jam Ciceroni  
 Cedit metrove Maroni.  
 Huic tanto philosophorum  
 Cur audes scribere Clio?  
 Amor hoc facit, intima dudum  
 20 Cordis penetralia lustrans,  
 Tandem nunc exerit ignem,  
 Quem longo tempore clausum  
 Nec verbis promere quibat.  
 Verum quia fama per orbem  
 25 Currens proprias replet aures,  
 Hujus narrans michi laudes,  
 Huic munera carminis hujus  
 Michi noseas mittere dulce,  
 Hæc nunc si cernere tantum  
 30 Dignetur vel retinere.  
 Nam talia ferre timesco



- Tanto jam phylosophorum,  
Licet hæc mea munera parva  
Dilectio maxima fundat,  
35 Quam cernere si valuisset  
Reor amplius inde stuperet,  
Modicum quod ego sibi notus  
Hunc tanto mentis amore  
Cordis complector in imis.  
40 Sed me fore noverit illum  
Patruus quem dulciter ejus  
Emutriit instituitque,  
Si diligit ergo nepotem  
Hujus qui contulit ista,  
45 Non multum cerno stupendum.  
Sed jam valeas michi care,  
Indutum quem monachilem  
Me cernere spero cucullam  
Cum munere Pneumatis almi.

LIST OF MONKS RECEIVED INTO THE ABBEY OF BEC BY  
LETARD, THE SIXTH ABBOT OF THAT HOUSE.

\* \* \* *Extracted from a Manuscript in the Vatican  
Library (Reg. 499).*

[fo. 11 b.]		Henricus.	Symon.
	<i>Hucusque matriculatio v. abbatis.</i> <sup>1</sup>	Willelmus.	Gislebertus.
	Gaufridus.	Robertus.	Vigerius.
	Henricus.	Willelmus.	Robertus.
	Teodericus.	Herbertus.	Willelmus.
	Harduinus.	Ricardus.	Samuel.
	Gaufridus.	Clarebaldus.	Ansfridus.
	B.	Gislebertus.	Johannes.
	Goscelinus.	Robertus.	Ernaldus.
	Godefridus.	Godefridus.	Symon.
	Varinus.	Robertus.	Rodulfus.
	Willelmus.	Hugo.	Gislebertus.
	Anchitillus.	Gaufridus.	Nicholaus.
	Wibertus.	Herluinus.	Hugo.
	Willelmus.	Rogierius.	Robertus.
	Willelmus.	Robertus.	Hugo.
	BRI.	Wibertus.	Robertus.
	Rogierius.	Aldhelelmus ( <i>sic</i> ).	Willelmus.
	Osbernus.	Rogierius vij.	Willelmus.
	Walterius.	abbas.	Willelmus.
	R.	Walterius.	Oliverus.
	Stephanus.	Rainaldus.	Osmundus.
	Goscelinus.	Raszo.	Ernaldus.
		Helyas.	Helto.

<sup>1</sup> These words mark the termination of the list of novices received by Theobald.

Humfredus.	Rodulfus.	Ricardus.
Rodulfus.	Adam.	Robertus.
Reinaldus.	Ricardus.	
Willelmus.	Symon.	<i>Hucusque matri-</i>
Aaron.	Turstinus.	<i>culatio</i> vj. <i>ab-</i>
Anschetillus.	Henricus.	<i>batis.</i> <sup>1</sup>
Robertus.	Sanson.	. . . .

<sup>1</sup> 141 names follow, and then we reach the entry "Ro. de Novo-burgo." In the Chronicle of Bec in the same MS. (fo. 166) we find the entry, "Anno Domini MCLIX. kal. Aug. Robertus de Novo-

"burgo, vicedominus totius Normanniæ, vir magnæ prudentiæ et bonitatis, multatus infirmitate factus est monachus Beccensis ecclesiæ."



## GLOSSARY.

\* \* \* *No attempt has been made to indicate all the instances in which a word occurs.*

### A.

ACERRA (ACERNA), a box to hold incense, 759.  
 ASSIAMENTUM, an easement, 511.  
 ALBA, an alb, a vestment of linen worn under the tunic or chasuble, 759.  
 ALBINUS, silver. In the *Draco Normannicus* (662, 727, 741), silver and gold are either personified as *Albinus* and *Rufinus*, or are referred to as *album* and *rubrum* (*metallum*).  
 ALBUM, 741. See ALBINUS.  
 AMICTUS, an amice, a square of linen placed round the neck of a priest, 759.  
 ANGARIA, distress, hardship, 210.  
 ASSISA, an assise, an edict, or sometimes the equivalent of the modern word *assize*, 505, &c.

### B.

BACINUS, a basin, 759, 760.  
 BALISTARIUS, a crossbow man, 519, 520, 570.  
 BALLIVUS, a bailiff, 519, 567.  
 BAUBELLA, jewels, 503.  
 BENEFICIATUS, holding a benefice, 574, &c.  
 BRAVIUM, a prize or reward, 190.  
 BUSTA, a box, 759.

### C.

CAPA, a cape (tippet), xv.  
 CAPELLA, the fittings of a travelling chapel, 273.  
 CAPELLANIA, the stipend of a chaplain, 136.  
 CAPICIMUM (CAPUTIUM), a hood or covering for the head, 759.  
 CAPITULUM, the chapter of an ecclesiastical establishment, 139, &c.; also a chapter in a book, *passim*.  
 CAPPA, a cope, a semi-circular vestment used in processions, 759, 760.  
 CARECTA (CARETA), a cart, 513.  
 CARUCATA, the amount of laud which one plough would suffice to cultivate, 555.  
 CASULA, a chasuble, the priest's sacramental vestment, 759.  
 CATALLUS (usually CATALLUM), a chattel, 509.  
 CHORUS, the part of a church usually called the choir, 139, 526.  
 CLAUSTRUM, a cloister, 139.  
 COMPOTUS, an account, 575.  
 CONVERSUS, usually in English chronicles this word means a converted Jew, 216.  
 COTERELLUS, a mercenary soldier, 209. This word is equivalent to RUTA, RUTOR, RUCTARIUS.  
 CULVERT (CULVERTAGIUM), to collect a force "*sub nomine culvertagii*" implies a threat to punish absentees with slavery, 514.

## D.

- DALMATICA, a dalmatic, a vestment worn by deacons when serving at mass, often richly embroidered, 759, 760.  
DENARIUS, as a *weight*, 24 grains, 758, &c.

## E.

- ESCARLETUM, scarlet cloth, 274.

## F.

- FEODARE, to enfeoff, 576.  
FERETRUM, strictly a bier, but often the shrine of a saint, 556.  
FERIA, frequently a week-day, 220, &c.  
FORESTARIUS, a forester, 511.

## G.

- GALEA, a galley, 212.  
GALIOTA, a small galley, 522.  
GRISIUS, the fur called *vair*, 274.  
GUERRA (often WERRA), war, *passim*.

## H.

- HOMAGIUM, homage, 513, &c.  
HOMINIUM, homage, 209.

## I.

- INDUCLE, a tunic, 517, 555, 582.  
INVADIARE, to pledge or mortgage, 274.

## J.

- IUSTA, a enp, 759, 760.

## L.

- LACEATUS, trimmed with lace, 274.  
LEUCA, a league, 583.  
LIGIUS, liege, 504.  
LIGNAMINA, materials for building ships, 212.  
LOTRIX, a laundress, 274.

## M.

- MANERIUM, a manor, 545, &c.  
MARCA, a mark—as a weight it is two thirds of a pound troy, as money a mark of silver is 13s. 4d., of gold 6l., 758, &c.  
MARCHIA, border districts (marches), 526.  
MARITAGIUM, the right of bestowal in marriage, 505.  
MATRICULATIO, the act of enrolling on a *matricula* or list of members of an ecclesiastical body, 780, 781.  
MISSA, a mass or eucharistic office, 516.  
MONIALIS. See SANCTIMONIALIS.

## N.

- NOCUMENTUM, hurt or nuisance, 519.  
NONA, the "canonical hour" from 2 or 3 p.m. to vespers, 516.

## O.

- OCTABA, the octave or eighth day from a festival (the day of the festival is reckoned in), 220.  
OVUM GRIFIS (wrongly *onogrifis* on p. 760)  
"A Griffin's egg" mounted in metal, probably an ostrich egg, forming a cup.

## P.

- PARCUS, a park, 545.  
PARISIUS, Paris, 755, &c. This form is treated in mediæval Latin as an indeclinable noun.

PATENA, a paten, one of the eucharistic vessels, 758, 769.  
 PEDAGIO (PEDAGIUM), a road tax, 216.  
 PERHENDINARE, to stay or stop, 574, 575.  
 PERTINENTIA (used in mediæval Latin as a feminine noun), an appurtenance, 509, 513.  
 PRIMA, the service which immediately succeeds matins, 516.  
 PROCURATIO, the holding of a proxy (*i.e.* being proctor), 219.

## R.

RESPECTUS, respite, 555.  
 RUBRUM, 741. *See* ALBINUS.  
 RUCTARIUS, RUTA, RUTOR, 172, 504, 520.  
*See* COTERELLUS.  
 RUFINUS, 662, 727. *See* ALBINUS.  
 RUMPIEA (RHOMPIEA or RUMPIA), a long javelin, 595.

## S.

SABELLINUS, the fur called sable, 274.  
 SALUTES, perhaps means presents. The ancient French coins called "*saluts*" are not known to have been struck before the 15th century, 743.  
 SANCTIMONIALIS (or MONIALIS), a nun, 218, 512, 574, 575.

SATRINA, a cake, 665.  
 SCACCARIUM, the Exchequer, 573, &c.  
 SCRINIUM, a shrine, 759.  
 SCUTELLA, perhaps a vessel hung under a lamp to catch drops of oil, 759.  
 SERVIENS, a foot soldier, a sergeant, 519.

## T.

TALLIA, a tax, 211, 216.  
 TAXATOR, a person who fixes or assesses an amount, 571, 573.  
 TONELLUM, a wine cask, 505.  
 TORNEAMENTUM, a tournament, 219, &c.  
 THURIBULUM, a censer, 758, 760.  
 TREUGA, a truce (sometimes TREUIA), 220, 527.

## V.

VIATICUM, the eucharist, usually when given to a person *in extremis*, 207.  
 VICECOMES, a sheriff, 511, &c.  
 VINETUM (VISNETUM), the neighbourhood, 273.

## W.

WERRA (GUERRA), war, 505.





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CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS relating to IRELAND, in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London. *Edited by* HENRY SAVAGE SWEETMAN, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland). 1875-1881.

Vol. I.—1171-1251.

Vol. III.—1285-1292.

Vol. II.—1252-1284.

Vol. IV.—1293-1301.

These volumes contain a Calendar of documents relating to Ireland; to be continued to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI., MARY, AND ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. 1860-1877.

Vol. I.—1509-1573.

Vol. III.—1586-1588.

Vol. II.—1574-1585.

The above have been published under the editorship of Mr. H. C. Hamilton.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* the Rev. C. W. RUSSELL, D.D., and JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 1872-1880.

Vol. I.—1603-1606.

Vol. IV.—1611-1614.

Vol. II.—1606-1608.

Vol. V.—1615-1625.

Vol. III.—1608-1610.

This series is in continuation of the Irish State Papers commencing with the reign of Henry VIII.; but, for the reign of James I., the Papers are not confined to those in the Public Record Office, London.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. 1860-1884.

Vol. I.—America and West Indies, 1574-1660.

Vol. II.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1513-1616.

Vol. III.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1617-1621.

Vol. IV.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1622-1624.

Vol. V.—America and West Indies, 1661-1668.

Vol. VI.—East Indies, 1625-1629.

These volumes include an analysis of early Colonial Papers in the Public Record Office, the India Office, and the British Museum.

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* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London (Vols. I.-IV.); and by JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq., (Vols. V., VI., VII., and VIII.) 1862-1885.

Vol. I.—1509-1514.

Vol. IV., Part 2.—1526-1528.

Vol. II. (in Two Parts)—1515-1518.

Vol. IV., Part 3.—1529-1530.

Vol. V.—1531-1532.

Vol. III. (in Two Parts)—1519-1523.

Vol. VI.—1533.

Vol. VII.—1534.

Vol. IV.—Introduction.

Vol. VIII.—1535, to July.

Vol. IV., Part 1.—1524-1526.

These volumes contain summaries of all State Papers and Correspondence relating to the reign of Henry VIII., in the Public Record Office, of those formerly in the State Paper Office, in the British Museum, the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and other Public Libraries; and of all letters that have appeared in print in the works of Burnet, Strype, and others. Whatever authentic original material exists in England relative to the religious, political, parliamentary, or social history of the country during the reign of Henry VIII., whether despatches of ambassadors, or proceedings of the army, navy, treasury, or ordnance, or records of Parliament, appointments of officers, grants from the Crown, &c., will be found calendared in these volumes.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1547-1553. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn Barrister-at-Law, &c. 1861.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF MARY, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1553-1558. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, &c. 1861.

The two preceding volumes exhibit the negotiations of the English ambassadors with the courts of the Emperor Charles V. of Germany, of Henry II. of France, and of Philip II. of Spain. The affairs of several of the minor continental states also find various incidental illustrations of much interest. The Papers descriptive of the circumstances which attended the loss of Calais merit a special notice; while the progress of the wars in the north of France, into which England was dragged by her union with Spain, is narrated at some length. These volumes treat only of the relations of England with foreign powers.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, &c. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, (Vols. I.-VII.), and ALLAN JAMES CROSBY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, (Vols. VIII.-XI.) 1863-1880.

Vol. I.—1558-1559.	Vol. VII.—1564-1565.
Vol. II.—1559-1560.	Vol. VIII.—1566-1568.
Vol. III.—1560-1561.	Vol. IX.—1569-1571.
Vol. IV.—1561-1562.	Vol. X.—1572-1574.
Vol. V.—1562.	Vol. XI.—1575-1577.
Vol. VI.—1563.	

These volumes contain a Calendar of the Foreign Correspondence during the early portion of the reign of Elizabeth. They illustrate not only the external but also the domestic affairs of Foreign Countries during that period.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. 1868-1883.

Vol. I.—1557-1696.	Vol. IV.—1708-1714.
Vol. II.—1697-1702.	Vol. V.—1714-1719.
Vol. III.—1702-1707.	

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. V.—Book of Howth; Miscel- laneous.
Vol. II.—1575-1588.	Vol. VI.—1603-1624.
Vol. III.—1589-1600.	
Vol. IV.—1601-1603.	

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's 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.* 1864-1884.

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.

Vol. VI., Part III.—1557-1558.

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 DOCUMENTS relating to IRELAND, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London. Vol. V.—1302-1307. *Edited by* HENRY SAVAGE SWEETMAN, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland); *continued by* GUSTAVUS FREDERICK HANDCOCK, Esq.
- 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 STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. XI.—1658-1659.
- 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. IX.—1535, Aug. to Dec.

*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.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. Vol. VII. 1559, &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 Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium 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 schoolmen 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 BOCCO; 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): CRONICON 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 1418, 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.—Elmlami 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 GILDHALLÆ 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. 11. 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. **CRONICA 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 floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, 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 PECKOCK, 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. Peckock 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. Peckock, 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 CAMBRIÆ. *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. Davids, 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 Barburgh, 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. Davids 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.

23. 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 original portions are distinguished from mere compilations. If 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 or 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 Gascony. 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 WALSHINGHAM 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 BLANZFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMÆ WALSHINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIE PRECENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793-1290: Vol. II., 1290-1349: Vol. III., 1349-1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDEATUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SEculo XY<sup>mo</sup> FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIS JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTI; ROBERTO BLAKENET, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADScriptUM: Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS, A JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE CONScriptAS. 7. YPODIGMA NEUSTRIE A THOMÆ WALSHINGHAM, 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 first 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. III., 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 Blaneфорde, 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 EVESHAMENSIS, AUCTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EYESHAMLE ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABRATE, 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 Edw. I.; and 11-12 Edw. III. Edited and translated by ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister.

at-Law. Years 12-13 Edward III. *Edited and translated by* LUKE OWEN PIKE, Esq., M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1885.

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, 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 Normandie, 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 GLOUCESTRÆ. 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 Frocester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ. *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 Sapientiæ" 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 times, 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 P. 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 Witbam 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 CANTUARIENSES*; 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 Vinesaut, 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 CRONIQUES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES 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 Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., 1864–1879. Vol. IV. 1431–1443. Edited by Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, Esq., F.S.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-law. 1884.
40. *A COLLECTION of the CHRONICLES and ANCIENT HISTORIES of GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND*, by JOHN DE WAURIN. Albina to 688. (Translation

the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by Sir WILLIAM HARDY, 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 Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

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 *Polychronicon* 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 FRÉDÉRIC 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; AND SUPPLEMENT, CONTAINING THE EVENTS FROM 1141 TO 1150.** Edited, with 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 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, OR 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 contemporary 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 an eye-witness, must have derived his information from 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 ANSTLEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principle of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. *CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HUVEDENE*. 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 MALMESBIRENSIS 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.

56. MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.:—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS BEKYNTON, SECRETARY TO HENRY VI., AND BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS. *Edited, from a MS. in the Archbishopal Library at Lambeth, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents, by the Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.* Vols. I. and II. 1872.

These curious volumes are of a miscellaneous character, and were probably compiled under the immediate direction of Bekynton before he had attained to the Episcopate. They contain many of the Bishop's own letters, and several written by him in the King's name; also letters to himself while Royal Secretary, and others addressed to the King. This work elucidates some points in the history of the nation during the first half of the fifteenth century.

57. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS, MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI, CHRONICA MAJORA. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Vol. V. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. Vol. VI. Additamenta. Vol. VII. Index. *Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registry of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge.* 1872-1884.

This work contains the "Chronica Majora" of Matthew Paris, one of the most valuable and frequently consulted of the ancient English Chronicles. It is published from its commencement, for the first time. The editions by Archbishop Parker, and William Wats, severally begin at the Norman Conquest.

58. MEMORIALE FRATRIS WALTERI DE COVENTRIA.—THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF WALTER OF COVENTRY. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, from the MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* 1872-1873.

This work, now printed in full for the first time, has long been a desideratum by Historical Scholars. The first portion, however, is not of much importance, being only a compilation from earlier writers. The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable and interesting.

59. THE ANGLO-LATIN SATIRICAL POETS AND EPIGRAMMATISTS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY. Vols. I. and II. *Collected and edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres).* 1872.

The Poems contained in these volumes have long been known and appreciated as the best satires of the age in which their authors flourished, and were deservedly popular during the 13th and 14th centuries.

60. MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII., FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM CAMPBELL, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.* 1873-1877.

These volumes are valuable as illustrating the acts and proceedings of Henry VII. on ascending the throne, and shadow out the policy he afterwards adopted.

61. HISTORICAL PAPERS AND LETTERS FROM THE NORTHERN REGISTERS. *Edited by JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society.* 1873.

The documents in this volume illustrate, for the most part, the general history of the north of England, particularly in its relation to Scotland.

62. REGISTRUM PALATINUM DUNELMENSE. THE REGISTER OF RICHARD DE KELLAWE, LORD PALATINE AND BISHOP OF DURHAM; 1311-1316. Vols. I. II., III., and IV. *Edited by Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.* 1873-1878.

Bishop Kellawe's Register contains the proceedings of his prelacy, both lay and ecclesiastical, and is the earliest Register of the Palatinate of Durham.

63. MEMORIALS OF SAINT DUNSTAN, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. *Edited, from various MSS., by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* 1874.

This volume contains several lives of Archbishop Dunstan, one of the most celebrated Primates of Canterbury. They open various points of Historical and Literary interest, without which our knowledge of the period would be more incomplete than it is at present.



64. *CHRONICON ANGLE, AB ANNO DOMINI 1328 USQUE AD ANNUM 1388, AUCTORE MONACHO QUODAM SANCTI ALBANI.* Edited by EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and Assistant-Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 1874.

This chronicle gives a circumstantial history of the close of the reign of Edward III. which has hitherto been considered lost.

65. *THOMAS SAGA ERKIBYSKUPS. A LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET, IN ICELANDIC.* Vols. I. and II. Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary by M. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. 1875-1884.

This work is derived from the Life of Becket written by Benedict of Peterborough, and apparently supplies the missing portions in Benedict's biography.

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This volume contains the "Chronicon Anglicanum," by Ralph of Coggeshall the "Libellus de Expugnacione Terræ Sanctæ per Saladinum," usually ascribed to the same author, and other pieces of an interesting character.

67. *MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THOMAS BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERRURY.* Vols. I., II., III., IV., V., and VI. Edited by the REV. JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. 1875-1883.

This Publication will comprise all contemporary materials for the history of Archbishop Thomas Becket. The first volume contains the life of that celebrated man, and the miracles after his death, by William, a monk of Canterbury. The second, the life by Benedict of Peterborough; John of Salisbury; Alan of Tewkesbury; and Edward Grim. The third, the life by William Fitzstephen; and Herbert of Bosham. The fourth, Anonymus lives, Quadriologus, &c. The fifth and sixth volumes, the Epistles, and known letters.

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This is a new edition of Bracton's celebrated work, collated with MSS. in the British Museum; the Libraries of Lincoln's Inn, Middle Temple, and Gray's Inn; Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; &c.

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This work illustrates many curious points of history, the growth of society, the distribution of land, the relations of landlord and tenant, national history, customs, &c.

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The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury are of great importance as regards the questions of Church and State, during the period in which he wrote. This work was printed by Twysden, in the "Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X.," more than two centuries ago. The present edition has received critical examination and illustration.

74. HENRICI ARCHIDIACONI HUNTINGDONENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM. THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH, BY HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, from A.D. 55 to A.D. 1154, in Eight Books. *Edited by* THOMAS ARNOLD, Esq., M.A., of University College, Oxford. 1879.
- Henry of Huntingdon's work was first printed by Sir Henry Savile, in 1596, in his "Scriptores post Bedam," and reprinted at Frankfort in 1601. Both editions are very rare and inaccurate. The first five books of the History were published in 1848 in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica," which is out of print. The present volume contains the whole of the manuscript of Huntingdon's History in eight books, collated with a manuscript lately discovered at Paris.
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