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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.

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

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

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be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

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

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

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

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no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

*Rolls House,  
December 1857.*

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

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VOL. III.

- I.—THE “GESTA STEPHANI REGIS ANGLORUM.”  
II.—THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD, PRIOR OF HEXHAM.  
III.—THE “RELATIO DE STANDARDO” OF ST. AELRED, ABBOT  
OF RIEVAULX.  
IV.—THE METRICAL CHRONICLE OF JORDAN FANTOSME.  
V.—THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZES.

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RICHARD HOWLETT,  
OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

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P R E F A C E.

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## P R E F A C E :

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THE somewhat miscellaneous collection of short historical treatises published in the present volume<sup>1</sup> does much towards completing the list of chronicles of the twelfth century already included in the Rolls Series.

Considered by themselves it was obvious that these treatises must either be neglected or issued as a collection, for they are not, so far as is known, continuations of any great chronicles, nor are they, when isolated, of sufficient bulk to form volumes of reasonable size. The idea of printing them, and the *Draco Normannicus*, in company with the chronicle of William of Newburgh therefore commended itself as a middle course; for the latter work is specially fitted to act as a connecting narrative, and as a running commentary on the whole. It moreover bears traces of special relationship to at least one member of the group, the poem of Jordan Fantosme.<sup>2</sup>

The later years of Henry II. and the reign of Richard I. are well illustrated in our annals; but the same cannot be said for the epoch of Stephen; and prominence will therefore be given in the present preface to affairs connected with the days of that unhappy monarch.

It is proposed to discuss first the probable authorship of the *Gesta Stephani* and their credibility; then to

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<sup>1</sup> The *Gesta Stephani Regis*; | *de Standardo*; the Chronicle of  
the Chronicle of Richard of Hex- | Jordan Fantosme; and the Chro-  
ham; the brief treatise by St. | nicle of Richard of Devizes.  
Aelred of Rievaulx, entitled *Relatio* | <sup>2</sup> See Preface to vol. i., p. xxvi.

mark their contributions to our knowledge; next to consider the chronological difficulties they present; afterwards to discuss certain aspects of the time of which the author treats; and in the last place to mention such facts as we can ascertain as to the manuscript source of the work.

The remaining disposable space in this preface will be devoted to notes connected with the MSS., authors, and special features of the minor chronicles which fill up the rest of the volume.

Author-  
ship of the  
*Gesta*  
*Stephani*.

The author of the *Gesta* is unknown, and many speculations have been offered as to his position and circumstances. He was probably not an Englishman, although his way of writing *Avrentia*,<sup>1</sup> instead of *Abrince* for Avranches, would seem to mark him as one; but his foreign origin shows itself clearly in several places, as, for instance, in the words "*veniens-que ad viculum, qui lingua Anglorum dicitur Ferenduna.*"<sup>2</sup>

Would an Englishman or an Anglo-Norman take the trouble to say that an obscure place in England, which had no special Latin or French name, was called *Ferenduna* in the English tongue?

The circumstance already mentioned as to Avranches militates against the idea that he was a Norman. What then more natural than to suppose that he came from a third royal possession, the Boulonnais,<sup>3</sup> and was by birth, as well as by inclination, an ally to the brothers Stephen and Henry of Blois? Let us see if the theory of his being a chaplain to the latter could be sustained.

It seems certain that he was an ecclesiastic; but it is improbable that he was in personal attendance on

<sup>1</sup> *Aurentia*, as Duchesne has it.

<sup>2</sup> p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Like one of Stephen's chaplains, Ricardus de Bolonia (Cott. Galba, E. ii. *fo.* 31).

Stephen as chaplain, for he fails to record many of the king's greatest deeds, and omits all notice of his illness in 1142. He exhibits, with one exception, no special acquaintance with the northern and eastern counties of England; but on the other hand shows minute knowledge of Oxford, Bristol, Bath, Exeter, and Winchester.

The work considered as a whole contains too great a mass of topographical information to be the product of a monastic pen. A monk who writes largely of general events invariably writes with special distinctness about things happening within a short radius of his fixed dwelling, often betraying it by allusions to trifling events which assume for him an undue importance. Not so the author of the *Gesta*. His description of the Roman structures at Bath,<sup>1</sup> his verbal sketch of the tower of Bampton church,<sup>2</sup> and similar graphic passages, might mislead us if we did not see that he also knows Exeter, Winchester, and the Isle of Ely.<sup>3</sup> We feel that he must have been a dependent of some great personage whose public duty led him to these places. Have we not such a person in the king's brother Henry of Blois, who was at the same time abbot of Glastonbury and bishop of Winchester? We cannot sketch an itinerary for the great prelate; but we know that Exeter, when captured, was left in his military charge, and that he attended his brother Stephen in force on many occasions, notably at Wilton, where he was nearly taken prisoner. We do not positively know that he joined the expedition to Ely, but it is quite possible that he did.

The author was probably chaplain to Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester.

Our author certainly writes like one who stood beside

<sup>1</sup> This should be compared with Mr. Morgan's paper in the *Arch. Assoc. Journ.*, vol. xli., p. 398.

<sup>2</sup> p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> John of Worcester, a well informed chronicler, has two blundering lines only as to the expedition to the Isle of Ely.

the prelate, explaining on the one hand the story that he persuaded his brother to let the empress reach Bristol, on the other telling us the bishop's stern advice to Stephen, to grant no terms to the Exeter rebels, for their skin was loose and their lips dry, and they must consequently be soon driven by thirst to unconditional surrender.

Our chronicler can tell us, too, with obviously personal knowledge, how the same prelate was flouted by the empress when she was mistress of London, and thought herself queen of England. Then again we have from him an account of the siege of Winchester, which must have been written by an eye-witness; and we know that bishop Henry of Blois was present on that occasion. Finally the prelate's quarrel with William de Pont-de-l'Arche, and his dealings with Robert Fitz-Hildebrand are known to us through no other writer.

Of course we must expect to find a man, who according to our theory is a confidential agent, ignorant of specific matters happening at a distance from the place of his special mission; but when we find him writing nothing about the council held in April 1140, at Winchester, and little as to the one assembled in December of the same year at Westminster, the silence is eminently suspicious. At both of these councils Henry of Winchester presented an exceedingly sorry figure, withstood to the face and openly charged with shameful dealing by an envoy of the queen in the first assembly; in the second, similarly and deservedly insulted by a supporter of the empress. We can well understand that our author, if he were Henry's chaplain, could not venture to write down such excuses and falsehoods as the prelate was driven to employ, and we are conscious that we lose by the suppression of inconvenient facts, not through our chronicler's want of knowledge. It would be troublesome to note every minute point, but, allowing for the deliberate omission of certain matters, we may say that

our knowledge of the character of Henry of Blois depends more on the *Gesta*, than on William of Malmesbury.

It is even a favourable point in the present argument that our truth-loving chronicler indites a few words of censure upon the worldliness of his master. Such happily is the independence of early ecclesiastical writers that a circumstance of this kind has many parallels.<sup>1</sup>

If the author of the *Gesta Stephani* were, as we have supposed, a chaplain to the bishop of Winchester his intimate knowledge of events would no longer appear marvellous. Chaplains, then as now, were ecclesiastical aides-de-camp, and, with such warlike masters as Henry of Blois and other mediæval bishops, must often have had military experiences as well as clerical. No messenger in troublous times could be so safe as a churchman; and our author, if in such a position, must no doubt have frequently ridden with despatches from the prelate to his brother the king. He would thus know the military events of his time in a way impossible to a monk,<sup>2</sup> and he would have precisely such experiences of the rough soldiery of the day as he describes for us on p. 100. Indeed we may suspect that it was the author's own serving men who were beaten before his eyes, when he went on some occasion to complain of an injury to church property.

Perhaps the incident occurred on one of the many journeys he must have taken to Glastonbury, for his supposed master was, as we have said, abbot of that most ancient and most sacred house,—a burden of rule which would necessitate constant ridings to and fro

<sup>1</sup> We may instance the free speech of William of Newburgh as to the conduct of the bishops with regard to criminous clerks; Etienne de Rouen's strictures on Becket; and Jocelin de Brakelond's amusing commentaries on his superiors.

<sup>2</sup> If our author were chaplain to Henry of Winchester, his name probably is in the long list of the bishop's clerks attesting a charter in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (ed. 1655), i., p. 703.

of messengers from Winchester. Glastonbury, unapproachably safe in its pre eminent sanctity, seems to have been untouched by war; and its monks, close to the scene of the thickest strife, must have been singularly well able to inform their abbot's chaplain as to all that happened around them.

Finally our theory would offer a probable explanation of the circumstance that the manuscript of the *Gesta Stephani* was found in northern France; and of the further, and perhaps consequent, fact that no later chronicler has borrowed a single word from it.

The explanation may well be derivable from the circumstance that, in 1148,<sup>1</sup> Henry of Winchester found it desirable to proceed to Rome, to answer before the pope the charges made against him by various enemies. It is beyond a doubt that a princely bishop like Henry took some of his chaplains with him on this occasion to act as secretaries and private agents, and, if the author of the *Gesta Stephani* were one of them, his death, or even a mere accidental loss of baggage, may have caused his book to appear as a derelict in France.

This theory would furnish a narrow limit to the loss we have sustained by the mutilation of the MS. Certainly it is supported by the circumstance that there are no allusions which indicate such a knowledge of later years as constantly appears in other chronicles, and indeed in the *Gesta* themselves, when dealing with earlier events.

We may cite, for example, the reference, under the year 1136,<sup>2</sup> to the ultimate fate of Milo of Gloucester, who did not die until December 1143,—an allusion which

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<sup>1</sup> John of Hexham, Rolls ed., p. 322. He may of course, if he lived so long, have gone with the bishop in 1151 or in 1155; but, had he done so in 1155, some hint of the

ultimate solution of the great problem of the day would surely have appeared in the book.

<sup>2</sup> p. 16.



also tends to show that the work was not undertaken very early in Stephen's reign.

Whoever may have written the treatise, it is obvious that he was as much a partisan of Stephen as Malmesbury was of Maud; but if we compare the writings of these men, who approached events with opposite feelings, we are astonished at the candour and fairness they have obviously manifested. Not less marvellous is their accuracy. They produce on the reader's mind the same sense of certitude as is felt when tallies are compared, or the dispersed fragments of an ancient urn are fitted together.

Reliability  
of the nar-  
rative of  
the *Gesta*. ✓

Strict  
agreement  
between  
Malmes-  
bury and  
the *Gesta*.

Just as a mathematician who has found that a similar law governs two series, infers their correspondence in the higher terms, even so may we confide in the parallel records of these two singularly honest men, and when the *series temporum* of the one is broken seemingly by death, we may justly say that, as the survivor has been found to act according to the same law of careful veracity as his compeer, we will trust him to the end with as much confidence as we should have felt if his brother writer had lived to confirm his assertions.

We need not, however, rely on mere theory. We may try the later portions of the *Gesta Stephani* by the test of undesigned coincidences with the private correspondence of Gilbert Foliot, a man of learning and eminence, who did not seek to tell any connected story; but who wrote to bishops, nobles, and popes on matters of urgent business.

Corroborations from  
Foliot's  
letters.

These letters can be more confidently classed according to date than many similar series, for the author became a bishop in 1148. Almost all his writings therefore in which he appears as abbot of Gloucester belong to the period of the *Gesta Stephani*.

If we read the third letter in Dr. Giles' edition we shall see our abbot appealing to the legate, Henry of Winchester, on behalf of earl Milo, who, having been excommunicated by the bishop of Hereford, had vainly offered satisfaction to the angry prelate. If we now read the account of the affair in the *Gesta*, p. 102, we shall feel absolute confidence in both writers.

Proceeding to a less distinct coincidence, let us take Foliot's letter No. XL, which, being addressed to pope Eugenius, must have been written at some date after February, 1145. In it the writer pleads for the monks of Malmesbury, whose precincts have been occupied by a new fortification, and whose sacred retreat is infested by soldiers.

✓ Taking up the *Gesta* at p. 114 we see that, in 1145, Stephen hastened to Malmesbury, threw a body of men into the castle, and stored it with provisions. The new fortress is not mentioned, but few will doubt that the same transaction is referred to by both writers, when we find William of Malmesbury, at a much earlier date, complaining of a castle having been *begun* by the bishop of Salisbury within the conventual enclosure.

✓ In the last place let us select the account of the acts of John le Marshal, otherwise John FitzGilbert,<sup>1</sup> castellan of Marlborough, as given by Foliot in letter No. XIV., and compare it with a passage on p. 107 of the *Gesta*. In doing so we shall see that the apologist of Stephen is corroborated by Foliot, the partisan of Maud.

These coincidences will also abundantly attest that which, in truth, no one seems ever to have questioned—the genuineness of the work.

Authen-  
ticity of  
the work.

<sup>1</sup> The identity of this noble, the father of the great William Marshal, with the John FitzGilbert of the *Gesta*, is clear from Malmesbury, p. 734, when compared with

the *Gesta*, pp. 66, 67, 80, and 107, and with the *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, pp. 117, 125-127, and 135. See note 3 on p. 67.

The statement by which Duchesne introduces the treatise,<sup>1</sup> mentioning the library from which the MS. came, and the friend through whom he obtained it, is brief but clear, and his honesty is notorious. Still as the MS. is not now forthcoming, and as C. J. Bertram's forgery of the "*De situ Britannie*" is a fact to be remembered, it is necessary to refer formally to the matter.

We will now consider the special contributions of the *Gesta* to our knowledge of English history.

We must remember that up to varying dates, as far as the end of 1142, we have the efficient aid of Ordericus Vitalis, of John of Worcester, the excellent continuator of Florence, and above all of William of Malmesbury.

Portions of Stephen's reign as to which the *Gesta* afford special or exclusive information.

It is not to be expected that such writers would have left any facts of transcendent importance to be stated for the first time by a fourth chronicler; but we may instance as original contributions by our author the interesting account of the days preceding Stephen's coronation, including the debates among the nobles on his election; the prompt dispersion of lawless bands; Stephen's royal progress; facts as to the important quarrel with Robert of Bathampton; interesting details as to the siege of Exeter, including a statement as to its cost in money; and finally, information as to the intervention of the barons on behalf of Baldwin de Redvers. In this last-mentioned matter our author affords a good explanation of an act usually passed over as merely one more manifestation of Stephen's weakness.

After this point—the end of 1142—and as far as the end of 1147, the *Gesta Stephani* constitute the main stem of the history of England.<sup>1</sup> Huntingdon devotes the equivalent of about four octavo pages to this period. Gervase, when he does not copy Huntingdon, gives us few but ecclesiastical events, and those few in

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

wrong order. Newburgh and Hoveden copy Huntingdon, and add but few secular facts; the English Chronicle is but a shadow of its former self; and John of Hexham, like the others, is almost exclusively ecclesiastical.

In short, for those six years we must regard the remaining chronicles as the means of adding dates and stray facts to the valuable narrative of the *Gesta*.

We will, however, select a few points on which the *Gesta Stephani* cast an entirely new light. The explanation of Stephen's conduct towards the earl of Chester is clear, satisfactory, and nowhere else to be found. The desertions of Turgis of Avranches from Stephen, and of Philip, son of the earl of Gloucester, from Maud are nowhere else mentioned, though the latter fact reveals serious dissensions in the Angevin party—dissensions with which we may possibly connect Ralph of Chester's change of sides. These differences apparently led to the negotiations for peace conducted by Reginald earl of Cornwall, whose diplomacy brought about a meeting of king and empress in 1146. This conference was unfortunately unavailing, and has perhaps on this account been neglected by all the chroniclers except the careful author of the *Gesta*. Finally, the efforts of Henry, in 1147, to rival the early deeds of his great ancestors are not only unrecorded by any other chronicler,<sup>1</sup> but have hitherto been confused by many English historians with the events of 1149, when he went north to be knighted by David king of Scotland. This matter has been dealt with at some length in a note on p. 130; but

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<sup>1</sup> The passage in John of Hexham (Rolls ed., pp. 324, 5), under the year 1150, which seems at first sight possibly to relate to it, will be found on examination and comparison with Gervase, i. 151, 2, to be a mixture of the events of 1146 with those of 1153. There seems

to be no certain explanation of this blundering interpolation; but as the facts do not appear in their proper places, the notes of them would seem to have been carelessly misplaced, and to have been ignorantly miscopied in the Hexham scriptorium.

considerations which lead to a conclusion adverse to historians in general require to be made more clear than would be possible in a foot-note.

Certainly the chronology of this period is very difficult, and we feel on safe ground at but one or two points. Let us, however, first summarise the story as given in the *Gesta*. Chronological difficulties :

The series of events having led up to the earl of Chester's attack on Lincoln in the early days of the year 1147, some minor actions of Stephen's are mentioned, ending with an account of the blockade of Pevensey castle.] Then our history states that while those events were in progress, Henry, whom the chronicler boldly terms "*justus regni . . hæres*," came across to England "*cum florida militum caterva*," and wild rumours spread as to the men and money he had brought. (1.)  
Henry's  
invasion of  
England in  
1147.

Soon the truth became known, that his following was small, and was paid only in promises. The boy commander was repulsed from Cricklade, and routed from Bourton. Outwitted at all points by Stephen, disappointed of help from the barons, and threatened with desertion by his mercenaries, the lad fell ill, apparently through sheer chagrin. He applied to his mother and to his uncle, earl Robert of Gloucester, for money to pay his men, but not receiving any, he turned in desperation to his chivalrous enemy.

It was thoroughly in keeping with the knightly character of Stephen to send to a beaten opponent, who was at once his cousin and a mere child, the means of getting out of an ugly position. The king's nobles advised a contrary course ; but kindness of heart prevailed, and the silence of history shows reasonably well that his noble act wrought him no immediate harm.

We must begin our examination of this story with the evidence of Gervase,<sup>1</sup> who alleges that in 1146 (meaning 1147, as is obvious by the immediate mention of the death of the earl of Gloucester) Geoffrey of Anjou sent to fetch Henry away from England. Certainly Gervase writes as if Henry had already been four years in this country; but he errs sadly at this part of his chronicle.

A further piece of evidence is the charter to Saint Ouen given, apparently in Normandy, by Henry, "*ducis Normannorum . . . filius*,"<sup>2</sup> at some date between March 5 and April 20, 1147, and finally we are assured by Robert of Torigni<sup>3</sup> that Henry returned from England to Normandy and was received at Bec on May 29, 1147.

Now there are certain points in the story itself which tend to fix the date. It is quite certain that Henry's application to earl Robert of Gloucester was made before the 31st of October, 1147, for we have overwhelming testimony that on that day the earl died.<sup>4</sup>

We should thus be able to place the invasion definitely before November 1147, and probably between the beginning of March and the end of May in that year; but there is an apparent difficulty raised by the assertion of Gervase that the empress left England before March 5, 1147. Had she done so Henry could not have consulted her in urgent circumstances, as the *Gesta* tell us he did; but against Gervase, whose dates at this point are by his own admission almost worthless, we must place the fact that the narrative of the *Gesta*, which covers the whole of 1147, contains no

<sup>1</sup> i. 131.

<sup>2</sup> *Neustria Pia*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> i., p. 243.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 134, note 2.



reference to her departure, and indeed, as we have seen, alludes to her presence; and we should especially remark the probability that she quitted England in discouragement after the death of her great champion, rather than that she left him to fight for a cause she had herself deserted. Assuredly she must have left early in 1148, and our first trace of her in Normandy, naturally enough, is in the month of June of that year.<sup>1</sup>

These facts would alone suffice to prevent this expedition from being confused with the visit in 1149; but let us examine the details known about the latter. From Gervase, Huntingdon, and John of Hexham we learn that Henry came over in the middle of May 1149, a date which receives at once confirmation and correction from his charter to Salisbury cathedral, given at Devizes on April 13, 1149.<sup>2</sup> At this time, as Gervase expressly says, Robert of Gloucester was dead, and the empress had quitted England, and Henry, joining himself to Ralph of Chester and Roger of Hereford, marched north towards Scotland. At Carlisle, on May 22, 1149, he was knighted; the date being absolutely fixed by the concurrent testimony of Huntingdon, John of Hexham, and the Chronicle of Melrose.

After this ceremony an invasion of England was planned; but it came to nothing, and there is no trace of any fighting on this occasion. Clearly we have two

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<sup>1</sup> The empress was certainly at Falaise in June 1148 (Salisb. charters, Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., xl. 145, 146), so we have a fixed limit of error, one which at any rate helps to show that this visit of Henry's is not to be confounded with the one in 1149.

<sup>2</sup> See charter preserved at Salis-

bury. A translation is printed in the Journal of the Brit. Archæol. Assoc., xl., p. 146. Another of Henry's early charters, given at Devizes to Quarr abbey, and, as the list of witnesses shows, almost certainly at this date, is printed by Dngdale, *Monast.*, i., p. 750 (ed. 1655).

(separate visits, one about April 1147—a boy's failure; the other in April 1149—a sober commencement of a definite though abortive scheme of invasion. If we are to say that these two alleged visits are really but one, we must suppose that the author of the *Gesta Stephani* has presented us with two pages of circumstantial fable, and we must also set aside the clear testimony of Robert of Torigni; but mediæval history would simply disappear if the evidence of chroniclers were to be treated in this way.

Our conclusions as to this expedition will be confirmed by an examination of the curious chronological difficulty which arises on the assertion of the *Gesta*<sup>1</sup> that almost at the same time as Henry's invasion,—the one in 1147 of which we have just spoken,—Stephen knighted his son Eustace and made him *consul*. Now both Huntingdon and John of Hexham<sup>2</sup> say that the rivals, Henry and Eustace, were knighted in the same year, that year being 1149, while on the other hand the writer of the *Gesta* places the knighthood of Eustace just before the death of Robert of Gloucester, that is before October 31, 1147.

Chronological difficulties:

(2.) The date of the knighting of Eustace.

Thus far the matter stands as a dispute between the chroniclers; but there is other testimony which seems decisive against Huntingdon and John of Hexham, though we have to introduce the evidence of the *Gesta Stephani* so far as regards the fact that Eustace was knighted and made *consul* at one time. This however, is but a matter of course, for he could hardly have been made count of Boulogne before knighthood in an age in which even a bishop who became an earl

<sup>1</sup> p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> It is observable that while the chronicle of Melrose confirms these writers as to the date (1149) of Henry's knighthood, it says nothing as to Eustace.



was also made a knight, though what Eustace received was evidently a lordship not an earldom.<sup>1</sup>

If we now examine the charter of queen Matilda to the Priory of the Holy Trinity, London,<sup>2</sup> we see that one witness was "*comes Eustachius filius regis*"; another, bishop Hilary of Chichester, who was consecrated in August 1147; a third, Robert bishop of Hereford, who died in September 1148. These limiting dates for the grant of the lordship to Eustace are fixed by the charters giving land for the building of Faversham abbey, in or before 1148, for in these he again appears as *comes*. In earlier charters he is merely "*Eustachius filius meus*." We are thus sure that he became a count before September 1148, and we may confidently add that he also became a knight before the same date—no doubt in 1147, as the *Gesta* tell us. So.

We must therefore, it would seem, give the case in favour of the author of the *Gesta*, and admit that he once more demonstrates his superiority over his fellow writers.

There is a third, and an exceedingly complex, chronological difficulty respecting the date of the landing of the empress and Robert of Gloucester, for William of Malmesbury<sup>3</sup> asserts that they landed at Arundel on Sept. 30, Chronological difficulties:  
(3.) The date of the landing of the em-

<sup>1</sup> Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, became earl of Northumberland in 1189 or 1190, and of him Richard of Devizes (see p. 389) says, "et solo sibi gladio, quo *mau regis in militem fuerat accinctus, vix relicto . . .*" There is probably nothing which can be adduced to show positively that knighthood *must* precede the grant either of the office or of the dignity; but girding with the sword of a county seems to imply a previous or concurrent knighthood

in the case of an earl. The point, is strongly set before us by Gervase, who says that on June 14, 1170, when the younger Henry was to be crowned, his father "*ipsa die Henricum . . . militem fecit, statimque eum . . . in regem ungui præcepit et coronari.*" Haste is implied in this passage; but the ceremony of knighthood was carefully observed before the coronation.

<sup>2</sup> *Monast.* (ed. 1673), ii., p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> p. 724.

press Maud 1139, and the task of impugning the testimony of such a writer is not a little serious.<sup>1</sup> There was a council held, he says, from August 29 to September 1, and on September 30 the invasion was effected.

More or less in support of this we have (i.) a vague date, "*in autumno*," from Ordericus Vitalis;<sup>2</sup> (ii.) another vague date, "*circa mensem Septembrem*," for the council from John of Hexham; and (iii.) a date *in August*, also for the council, from the Waverley Annals.<sup>3</sup>

Against these we must set the important evidence of John of Worcester, the continuator of Florence; for the true text of his chronicle<sup>4</sup> informs us, in one place, that the empress and her brother landed at Portsmouth "*mense . . Julio*," in another, that they came before August 1.

Against both Malmesbury and John of Worcester we must next cite Robert of Torigni,<sup>5</sup> who at this point has interesting original information. He says that the empress crossed "*mense Augusto*," and, as we shall see, he is very likely right.

Now we should remark *in limine* that the *Gesta*, and all the chronicles which allude to both events, agree to place the landing *after* the council.

Let us then proceed to see what light the series of events will cast on the controversy.

We know from Malmesbury<sup>6</sup> and John of Worcester that the bishops were seized at Oxford just after June 24. Then the king marched to Devizes and Sherborne, and thence towards Lincolnshire to seize Newark and Sleaford. After all this—" *nec longe post* " Huntingdon says—the council was held.

<sup>1</sup> His testimony, however, as to another pair of dates (see p. 73, note 3) is refuted by the evidence of the charter given by Adam de Domerham, ed. Hearne, p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> v. 121.

<sup>3</sup> p. 227.

<sup>4</sup> As supplied by Gervase and by Cott. MS. Calig. A. VI.

<sup>5</sup> i., p. 215.

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

Now, as there were no sieges in these cases, and as Stephen was marvellously rapid in his marches, these operations can scarcely have occupied the whole of July.

Some reason is thus afforded us for thinking that the council, called in consequence of the events of June 24, took place at the end of July and the beginning of August. ✓

After referring to the council, the *Gesta Stephani* narrate the king's expedition to Dunster against William de Mohun; and to Wareham and Corfe against the invasion of Baldwin de Redvers. From the siege of Corfe Castle it appears that the king passed on to an attack on Marlborough, and during this he heard of the arrival of the empress. A month seems indeed a short time for all these operations.

These considerations still leave us in a difficulty; but there is possibly light in one direction.

Baldwin de Redvers, an active ally of the empress, had landed at Wareham with a large force; ✓<sup>1</sup> but the precise place of the landing, and the fact that Baldwin led the force, are matters apparently known to no chronicler save the author of the *Gesta*. Now Baldwin's was in very truth the main army of invasion, and knowing its strength, John of Worcester perhaps assumed that it was led by Robert of Gloucester and that the empress came with it, for he believed that she came "*cum grandi exercitu*" to Portsmouth, whereas she certainly came with only a small retinue and to Arundel.

With this interpretation we can arrive at a reasonable conjecture.

We should have the seizure of the bishops about June 24; the march to Devizes and Lincolnshire during

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<sup>1</sup> *Gest. Steph.*, p. 53.

July; the council during the last days of July, and on the first day of August; the arrival of the bulk of Maud's expedition, led by Baldwin de Redvers, about August 1; the king's attacks on Dunster, Corfe, and Marlborough occupying August; and finally the actual coming of the empress herself on August 30. This would amount to no greater violence than shifting Malmesbury's two dates exactly one month back; but it would bring time into agreement with the march of events; would explain John of Worcester's precise assertions; and, above all, would accord with the date, August, which Robert of Torigni gives for Maud's arrival.

Finally this date, being late in August, would agree reasonably well with Ordericus Vitalis, who says that Maud came "*in autumnno.*" We should also have the council ending on August 1, in literal accord with the Waverley annals, and we should only be required to set aside one annalist, John of Hexham, who knew little of southern events.

As to the place of disembarkation it is, on geographical grounds alone, no strained conjecture to say, that, after landing his sister at Arundel,<sup>1</sup> earl Robert went on by sea to Portsmouth<sup>2</sup>—which no doubt means Fareham, at the head of the harbour—and thence took his daring ride to Wallingford. Malmesbury and Robert of Torigni<sup>3</sup> agree that he had but a handful of men—twenty, or even twelve as the former has it,—while John of Worcester, as we have noted, believed that he came "*cum grandi exercitu.*"

This discrepancy would, as we have said, be explained by our theory that the expedition came in two sections,

<sup>1</sup> Malmesbury and the *Gesta* agree as to the place of her landing.

<sup>2</sup> This place is given by John of Worcester, the continuator, for the

landing of the empress and her brother.

<sup>3</sup> i., 216.

for the *Gesta Stephani* say that Baldwin de Redvers arrived "*forti militum caterva*," as no doubt he did, for it was only his presence in force that could render the coming of Maud and her brother with twenty or thirty retainers anything else than an act of madness.

Baldwin had in fact drawn the royal forces westward, and had left the eastern half of the south coast open. No doubt, too, by spreading a false report that the empress was with him, he caused the watch set on the ports to be relaxed. This, however, is but conjecture, though it would account for John of Worcester's mistake.

It is now our prescribed duty to furnish a brief com-  
mentary on the times of which our author treats, and we will attempt to fulfil the task mainly by the help of evidence outside the pages of the chroniclers, appealing to cartularies rather than to historians, and citing the irrefragable testimony of original documents still extant.

The witness of charters as to the condition of England under Stephen. ✓

It will indeed be a good illustration of the way in which charters throw light upon this dark period if, before we enter upon the discussion of our main subject—the question of the true condition of England—we make a slight digression as to two small matters which are possibly new to history.

Instances of information derivable from such sources :

In the original edition of the *Monasticon* (1655),<sup>1</sup> there is a charter granted by Stephen "*apud Maperteshalam in obsidione*." The chroniclers mention no such event as a siege at Meppershall; but there exists at the present day, close to the church of this small Bedfordshire village, a high mound with a double line of outer ramparts answering in the clearest way to the type of the hastily-built, stockaded "castles" of this reign.<sup>2</sup> Stephen, it thus appears, had to capture this outpost, perhaps during the siege of Bedford in 1138.

(1.) A siege not noticed by chroniclers. ✓

A second, and very puzzling, matter is that in the

(2.) A question

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 480, col. 2.

<sup>2</sup> From information communicated by the Rev. J. H. Howlett.

raised as to the completeness of existing lists of the bishops of Chichester. cartulary of St. Benet-at-Hulme,<sup>1</sup> the great Norfolk monastery, there is one of the king's charters to his nephew, abbot Hugh, witnessed by *J. ẽpo. Cicestr.*, while the name of another witness shows that the document must be dated after September 1147.

We also find in the Chertsey cartulary<sup>2</sup> a charter addressed to the same nephew, who, after 1149, had become abbot of that house. This too is witnessed by *J. Cicestr. epo.* Now we are told<sup>3</sup> that bishop Seffrid was deposed in 1145, and that Hilary took the see after consecration in August 1147. Is it possible that we have here a trace of an unknown bishop of Chichester, living in enforced retirement under the friendly care of abbot Hugh, just as St. William of York was doing at that very date in the palace of Henry of Winchester?<sup>4</sup>

Fragmen-  
tary nature  
of the  
evidence  
derivable  
from  
charters.

Returning, however, to our main theme we would remark that existing records give us but faint and casual glimpses of the minor life of the time, and in the ensuing attempt to gather facts which throw light on the reign we shall be compelled to draw our deductions from the very dust and débris of events.

We must employ dateless charters, roughly chronologising them by the witnesses' names. We must take a word here, a fact there, and a legal phrase from any trustworthy source, often, perhaps, causing the reader to inquire why so deep a significance is imputed either to phrases which seem like chance expressions, or to the mere titles of functionaries.

Charters  
here em-  
ployed to  
regulate,  
not to form,  
ideas as to  
the reign  
of Stephen.

But our task is like that of the geologist, and just as a few broken fossils enable him to settle the true sequence of strata, so our scattered and imperfect charters, trustworthy samples of the acts and facts of

<sup>1</sup> Cott. Galba E. ii. *fo.* 33 *b.*

<sup>2</sup> Cott. Vitell. A. xiii. *fo.* 57 *b.*

<sup>3</sup> Diocesan Hist. of Chichester,

by the Rev. W. R. W. Stephens,  
pp. 48-52.

<sup>4</sup> William of Newburgh, i., 56,  
79.



the time, will enable us, not to form, but to regulate our ideas of the social condition of England under Stephen.<sup>1</sup>

Directing our attention first to fiscal matters, we find that, writing under 1139, the author of the *Gesta Stephani* calls Roger le Poer by a technical title, "*summus antigrahus*," an expression which implies that which can be otherwise surmised, viz., that the exchequer machinery had not stopped in Stephen's fourth year. Of course Roger's chancellorship ceased in 1139, after the rude threat to hang him before Devizes castle, and Philip d'Harcourt, soon afterwards bishop of Bayeux, took his place.<sup>2</sup> He did not hold it long, for the cartulary of Ramsey<sup>3</sup> shows us "*R. cancellarius*" in 1140-1, and a charter of 1143, preserved by Thomas of Elmham,<sup>4</sup> is also witnessed by *R. cancellarius*.

This is, of course, the *Robertus de Gaunt, cancellarius*,<sup>5</sup> who witnessed Stephen's charter to Lilleshall abbey,<sup>6</sup> and his precipe in favour of Reading abbey.<sup>7</sup> There is thus significant evidence of the continued existence of one of the great exchequer offices, and there is nothing to show that Robert de Gaunt did not serve until his death in 1153—except of course for a few weeks in 1141.<sup>8</sup>

Traces of the existence of a continuous fiscal administration derivable from charters and chronicles.

Stephen's chancellors :

(i.) Roger le Poer,  
(ii.) Philip d'Harcourt,  
(iii.) Robert de Gaunt.

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately very few charters contain anything directly useful to the general historian, though most are valuable for family history. Those quoted in the text are the result of a complete search through the old and the new editions of the *Monasticon*, the *Brit. Mus. charters*, and many printed collections, in addition to about 35 MS. cartularies.

<sup>2</sup> A charter of Stephen to St. Frideswide, Oxford, *Mon. Anglic.*, ii., 146, is witnessed by *P. cancellarius*.

<sup>3</sup> i., 108, *Bulle*, 553.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 34 and 382 (Rolls ed.).

<sup>5</sup> Brother of the earl of Lincoln. See his charter, in 1148, to Rufford abbey.

<sup>6</sup> In or after 1142, as Imarus, the legate, a witness, came in that year, *Anglia Sacra*, i., 343.

<sup>7</sup> *Archæolog. Journal*, xx., p. 291, No. 10.

<sup>8</sup> A charter of Stephen in Cott. MS. Vitell. A. XIII. professes to be witnessed by *Walter cancellarius*; but it also represents the

✓ Again, though Stephen seems to have needed the superfluous wealth of the bishops in 1139 to procure a good marriage for Eustace, he does not appear at any other point of the narrative to be in serious pecuniary straits.<sup>1</sup> Indeed this is proved in a practical way by the gift of money he kindly made to his boy adversary, Henry, so late as 1147,<sup>2</sup> and numismatists deny the assertion that he was driven by poverty to debase the coinage, for the numerous existing examples of his money, and even the few remaining baronial pennies, are invariably of good metal, though a few of them are light.<sup>3</sup>

Except for a few months he derived throughout his reign an inestimable benefit from the possession of London, a veritable mine of wealth, as the answer of its citizens to Maud<sup>4</sup> abundantly shows. Beside what we may at this date perhaps scarcely term the "Cinque Ports," he held two others, Lynn and Yarmouth, both of much greater wealth and importance than many historical students have suspected; but all this without steadily-working fiscal machinery would not have availed to meet the constant drain of war expenses.<sup>5</sup>

✓ Surely then there must have been, with whatever interruptions and within however varying an area, a tolerable exchequer system. No Pipe Rolls survive, for the one formerly supposed to belong to the 5th year of

king as calling William I. his father.

✓ <sup>1</sup> *Gest. Steph.*, p. 18. His want of money is referred to in one or two places; but he never seems to have been hindered in his operations by lack of supplies. As to one mode of obtaining them see *Hist. Mon. Abingd.*, ii., 292.

<sup>2</sup> *Gest. Steph.*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> See note 2 on p. lii.

<sup>4</sup> *Gest. Steph.*, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> Stephen's wastefulness in grants is curiously referred to in Henry's charter to Stanley (*Dugd. Mon.*, ed. 1655, i., p. 867). He says, "reperi quod tempore regis Stephani, ablatoris mei, multa dispersa fuerant, etiam a dominiis regni alienata, tum in feodis militum tum in eleemosinis ecclesiarum, inter quæ abbatia de Thama membrum quoddam marnerii mei de Ferendon . . . tenebat ex dono inimicorum meorum."



Stephen—whether a complete roll or a collection of *disjecta membra* of different rolls—has certainly no relation in any portion to this reign; but the absence of those records is easily comprehensible, and need not disturb our beliefs when we consider what our next charter has to tell us. No doubt as to date or meaning can attach to the document we now cite, for while the charter<sup>1</sup> cannot have been given before November 1141, nor so late as the end of 1143, probabilities place it about the beginning of 1142. It is replete with historical information; but we can only quote its more significant words:—

The exchequer referred to in a charter of 1142 or 1143.

Stephanus rex etc. . . . Sciatis me reddidisse . . . Gaufredo comiti de Essexia omnia sua tenementa . . . quæ tennit . . die qua impeditus fui apud Lincoluiam et captus. Et præter hoc dedi ei . . . ccc. libratas terræ . . . et . . dedi ei . . custodiam turris Londoniæ cum castello quod ei subest habendum . . sibi et suis heredibus . . et *justicias et vicecomitatus* de Londonia et de Middelsexa in feodum et hereditatem *eadem firma* qua Gaufredus de Mannavilla avus suus eas tenuit *scilicet pro ccc. libris*. Et justicias et vicecomitatus de Essexia et do Heortfordiscira eadem firma qua avus ejus eos tenuit, ita tamen quod dominia, quæ de prædictis comitatibus data sunt ipsi comiti Gaufredo aut alicui alii, a firma præfata subtrahantur et illi et heredibus suis *ad Scaccarium computabuntur*. Et præterea firmiter ei concessi ut possit firmare quoddam castellum ubicunque voluerit in terra sua . . . Et præterea dedi &c. . . et præterea quicquid carta Reginæ testatur.

Here then we have the exchequer referred to in 1142 or 1143 plainly and by name, and associated with all its familiar technicalities, and we see that earl Geoffrey, being, as was sometimes the case, *vicecomes* as well as *comes*, must have appeared at Easter and Michaelmas to answer for the stated "farm" of his three counties. The items of account must, it follows, have been entered

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<sup>1</sup> Duchy of Lanc. Charter, No. 18, Pub. Rec. Office (see 31st Rept. of Deputy Keeper, Appx. pp. 2, 3).

on Pipe Rolls. Then, again, we know by the word *justicias* that he was charged with the administration of the law over by far the most important and valuable portion of the whole kingdom.

Presence of officers responsible to the exchequer in Warwickshire in 1146, and in Yorkshire in the year 1150.

We will next cite from the Patent Roll for 21 Ric. II., 2. m. 10, one of Stephen's charters certainly granted before 1148,<sup>1</sup> which Mr. Eyton dates about May 1146. This is addressed to the *vicecomes* of Warwickshire.

Our last instance shall be from the deed of exchange by which the site of Meaux abbey was assured.

This document, which curiously enough begins with the words:—

“*Sciant tam præsentēs quam posterī hunc finem esse terminatum inter Willielmum comitem Albemarlīe et Johannem de Melsa,*”

belongs of course to the year 1150,<sup>2</sup> and is witnessed among others by “*Willielmus vicecomes.*”

Thus we see an exchequer functionary in Yorkshire at a definite date; and we see that though William of Albemarle may have been, as Newburgh asserts, more king than earl, he did nevertheless permit the presence of the most important of royal officers in the shire.

✓ The evidence of charters as to the continuity of the exchequer system confirmed by the *Dialogus de Scaccario*.

So far we have the evidence derivable from chroniclers on the one hand, and from charters on the other. Now let us see what Richard bishop of London, the son of Nigel bishop of Ely, tells us respecting his father:—“*Hic . . . scaccarii scientiam, continuata per multos annos bellica tempestate pene prorsus abolitam, reformavit.*”<sup>3</sup> Our surmise as to the continuity of the exchequer system is confirmed more surely by these grudging words from the deposed chancellor's son than by larger expressions from a neutral pen.

<sup>1</sup> Eustace is not yet *comes*. The queen is another witness.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale's *Monast.* (ed. 1655), i. pp. 798, 799.

<sup>3</sup> Bp. Stubbs' "Select Charters," p. 199.

✓ It would be too daring to assert positively that there was an administration of justice and a complete fiscal system in operation in Yorkshire and the Eastern Midlands during this reign, as a whole; but it is not by any means improbable. The two systems were at this date so closely connected that the presence of the one would pre-suppose the existence of the other. Any evidence of either is thus good with respect to both, and we shall see a little farther on that in 1147 the king's arm was long enough to reach beyond York.

Traces of the existence of a fiscal system are good evidence of the existence of a judicial system, and vice versa.

Great systems are as tenacious of life as nations: we may suspend or interfere with the one, we may harry the other with fire and sword; but as soon as the activity of the disturbing hand diminishes, use revives and damage is repaired. Monasteries suffering ✓ injury from neighbours; landowners and townsmen disputing as to rights; and even bishops and abbots, as in the case of Hilary of Chichester and the abbot of Battle, which we shall have to notice later,<sup>1</sup> would desire to invoke the king's courts at the earliest possible moment, and the king would as eagerly urge his sheriffs to return to duty. Indeed his anxiety in this respect ✓ was one of the underlying causes of the sudden seizure of Ralph of Chester in 1146, for the *Gesta* say that the earl was suspected "*quia regalium fiscorum redditus . . . reddere negligebat.*"<sup>2</sup>

Let us then endeavour to obtain some glimpses of the legal aspect of the epoch, and let us select first the year 1140, of which Henry of Huntingdon can tell us nothing, but which appears from the *Gesta Stephani* to have been chequered with such military events as the expedition against the Isle of Ely, the recovery of Cornwall by the king, Geoffrey Talbot's attack on Hereford, and Robert of Gloucester's raid on Nottingham.

Traces of legal administration and signs of the extension of the authority of the king. ✓

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

<sup>2</sup> p. 118.

A *finalis concordia* completed before the king's court in 1140.

The first of our two instances shall be the curious trace of formal legal procedure appearing in Stephen's charter to Reading abbey given at Norwich, no doubt in 1140.<sup>1</sup> The king, referring to an arrangement made with Ralph Purcell, adds, "*sicut inde finivit coram me cum ipsis monachis.*" Here then we see an instance of the ancient *finalis concordia* completed in the king's court at the very height of the war.

Stephen's confirmation, in 1140, of charters respecting a foundation in Warwickshire.

In this same year Ralph, who was "butler" to the earl of Leicester, was persuaded by Simon bishop of Worcester to found a monastic house at Alcester. He alleges in his charter,<sup>2</sup> which bears the date 1140, that he acted by the advice and with the consent of his over-lords, king Stephen, Robert earl of Leicester, and Waleran count of Meulan, and he names archbishop Theobald as favouring his project. Earl Robert of Leicester contributed a confirming charter in his usual semi-regal style, and Stephen concluded the whole under his royal authority in a charter witnessed at Oxford by count Waleran, Robert of Leicester, William of Almarle earl of Yorkshire, and Simon earl of Northampton—a sufficiently significant list of great barons.

Probably this was the king's visit to Oxford after the expedition to Hereford recorded by John of Worcester.<sup>3</sup> If so, it was about March 1140, at the most exciting of times, almost midway between the coming of Maud and the king's capture by her brother at Lincoln, and yet the position of affairs indicated by these charters is not suggestive of an entirely shattered administrative system.

<sup>1</sup> Archæol. Journ., xx., 291, No. 9. Richard de Luci, a witness, reached England about the end of 1138; Geoffrey de Mandeville, another witness, rebelled in 1143; Stephen

marched into Norfolk against Hugh Bigod in May 1140.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale's *Monast.* (ed. 1655), i., 470.

<sup>3</sup> p. 124.

We have, too, distinct evidence of Stephen's power in the west from a charter quoted by Mr. Duncombe in his History of Hereford (p. 232). The names of two witnesses, Robert de Gaunt *cancellarius*, and William earl of Lincoln, place it certainly between 1140 or 1141 and 1146. Probably it was given about 1142. The words are:—

Stephen grants the earldom of Hereford about 1142.

Sciatis nos *reddidisse*<sup>1</sup> . . . Roberto comiti Leycestriae . . . totum comitatum de Herefordscyre.

We need scarcely add that where there was an earl there certainly was a *vicecomes*. No less certainly, too, must there have been *justiciarii* as well.

Disputes between earl Warene and the monks of Reading to be referred to the king's court (about 1141).

About this time, for Robert de Gaunt witnesses the precipice, Stephen writes severely to earl Warene as to his conduct towards the Reading monks, telling him that, if he has any claims on them, he may come "*in curiam meam, et tenebo inde tibi plenum rectum.*"<sup>2</sup>

It is not a little startling, with the familiar cry of robbery and devastation ringing in our ears, to find that the machinery of the king's court could operate north of York in 1147 and 1148, and yet we find on the best testimony that such was the case.

The machinery of the *Curia Regis* in operation beyond York in 1147 and 1148.

The document which proves this is the account of the early history of Byland abbey, written by Philip, third abbot of that house.<sup>3</sup> The whole deserves attentive scrutiny, as it is carefully, and apparently correctly, dated.

In the year in which Roger Mowbray gave the monks some land in Coxwold—this appears elsewhere<sup>4</sup> to be 1147—he was impleaded respecting the castle of Bayeux by a baron of France. This castle had been recently

<sup>1</sup> For the earlier grant to him see Duch. Lanc. Chart. No. 4 (31st Rep. of Deputy Keeper of Records). The second grant no doubt marks the recovery of the county by the king.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Journ., xx., p. 291, No. 10. The earl died in 1148.

<sup>3</sup> Dugdale's *Monast.* (ed. 1655), i., pp. 1027-1034. It was written in 1197.

<sup>4</sup> p. 1030, col. 2, l. 38.



given to him by Stephen on his knighthood. Mowbray at once crossed with letters from Stephen, "*qui scripsit se velle dictum castellum . . . eidem Rogero contra omnes homines warantizare. Verumtamen per illud placitum nichil amisit.*"

Passing by this curious evidence of Stephen's power at this date across the sea, we find that, in Mowbray's absence, two barons "*moverunt placitum in curia . . . regis contra dominum R. Molbray, et fuit proscutum secundum legem terre per longum tempus.*"

The abbot hereupon crossed to Normandy, *anno m.c. xlviij.*, and saw Mowbray, who, being then unable to return, wrote "*specialiter amicis suis, scilicet comiti Marescallo<sup>1</sup> et comiti de Warena, quod ipsi supplicarent domino regi . . . quod illud placitum, quod Robertus et Willielmus de Stutevilla moverant contra eum in curia regis, remaneret in illo statu, quo tunc fuit, usque ad reditum suum in Angliam.*"

The earls did as they were asked, and Stephen granted their request, swearing that Mowbray should not lose a foot of land in England "*per placitum in curia sua, dum extra regnum fuisset.*" Mowbray returned in 1148 and compromised the matter.

A document of this kind, teeming with natural references to legal pleas and to the *Curia Regis*, and written in the tone of one who took it for a matter of course that the machinery of justice would accomplish its ends, is a striking confutation of the heated words of the chroniclers. It tells us in the plainest way that Stephen, who obviously was not in Yorkshire at the time, had nevertheless all the powers of a king over districts to the north of York.

A much less distinct instance, for the earl of Leicester arranged a compromise, is the case in which, some time

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<sup>1</sup> John FitzGilbert, better known as John le Marshal. He had been an opponent of the king, notably at

the battle of Winchester, and had won over Patrick earl of Salisbury, whose sister, Sibylla, he married.

after 1147, Robert de Meppershall intended to take legal proceedings (*placitare*) against the monks of Bittlesden; but the intention to plead implies a court and a judge whose decisions will be respected, and the intervention of the earl was noticeably that of a friend, not that of a half-independent ruler.<sup>1</sup>

The chronicle of Battle abbey gives one valuable piece of evidence as to the administration of justice under Stephen, in 1148, and the words used are deserving of close attention. Hilary of Chichester claimed jurisdiction over the abbey, whereupon the abbot laid his complaint before the *aula regis*<sup>2</sup> at St. Albans. A day was given by the king on the octave of St. Andrew for the hearing in London "*coram se, episcopis, et baronibus suis*," and the case was given by Stephen in favour of the abbot.

The further stage of proceedings, much later, before Henry II. himself, was not more legally formal.

Far more striking than any previous instance is a case derived by Blomefield from the registers of the great monastic house at Bury St. Edmunds.<sup>3</sup>

He states that, about 1150, Stephen sent William Martel as his deputy to Norwich to settle affairs in that part of the kingdom. Martel summoned the notables of East Anglia to meet him in the bishop's garden, and he

A formal suit before the *Curia Regis* in 1148.

A cause remitted by the *Curia Regis* to the shire-moot, and moved thence to the court of the abbot of Bury, about 1150.

<sup>1</sup> There is an interesting charter in the *Monasticon*, ii., p. 68, which directs the sheriff of Wilts "*resasare monachos . . . de Theokesburia*" of lands of which Walter de Pinkney had unjustly disseised them. Walter was in prison from 1145 until shortly before his death, in 1147 (*Gesta Steph.*, p. 113); but the date of the presence of a sheriff in this county, a real theatre of war, cannot be safely inferred from the materials.

<sup>2</sup> "*Curiam apud Sanctum Al-*

*banum adiit propere atque hoc regia intulit aula.*"

<sup>3</sup> F. Blomefield (*Hist. of Norfolk*, iii., p. 28, note) states that this account is "*E Regro. Chartarum Abb. Sti. Edi., fo. 60,*" adding "*in veteri etiam Regro. intratur.*" The registers of this abbey are extraordinarily numerous, bulky, and closely written, and the present editor has failed to trace the document; but Blomefield is above suspicion.



there presided over a court of the county, which included William Turbe, bishop of Norwich, Nigel bishop of Ely, Ording abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, Daniel abbot of St. Benet-at-Hulme, William de Chesney, Henry de Rye and others.

Two cases which interested abbot Ording are alone reported, and the first only concerns us here. Jordan de Blossville and Richard de Waldar, two gentlemen of the court, brought forward a lad named Herbert to bear testimony against two knights, Robert FitzGilbert and another, for holding treasonable correspondence with the king's enemies within the beleaguered town of Bedford. Stephen had sent the cause down to be judged by the county, but abbot Ording, whose knights the accused men were, claimed the hearing for his own court, and obtained respite of judgment until he could see the king.

The king's decision on this appeal was to the effect that all justice originally belonged to the court of the county, and he would adopt the ruling of that court as to the privileges of the monastery.

The parties returned to Norwich and there Sir Hervy de Glanvil, an aged knight, rose in the shire-moot and said that from his fifty years of legal experience he was sure that the cause belonged to the abbot.

Hereupon with the assent of the sheriffs, Roger Gulafer and William Frechnei, the abbot's liberties were declared good, and William Martel reported in that sense to Stephen, who confirmed the proceedings. A little while afterwards, on his visit to Bury, the good-natured king pardoned the traitors.<sup>1</sup>

If we do not venture to assert that we have before us an instance of an *iter* of a judge rising in contradiction

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<sup>1</sup> In confirmation of the stated date of this document we have the following: William Turbe became bishop in 1146; Ording became abbot in 1148; abbot Daniel died in November, 1153,

of the statement that there were no justices itinerant in Stephen's reign, we may at least confidently say that there could not be more distinct evidence that local and central courts of justice at this date were organised not only for independent, but also for concerted action.

It is curious that we can trace with practical certainty to a date between 1136 and, at the latest, the end of 1143, an early instance of another interesting piece of formal legal procedure. Both documents are printed by Madox,<sup>1</sup> and one by Bigelow,<sup>2</sup> but these writers have failed to compare them with earl Geoffrey's charter, in 1136, to his foundation at Walden,<sup>3</sup> which is witnessed by the very person, Adelard de Guerris,<sup>4</sup> to whom the writ from which we quote is addressed. We need therefore feel no doubt that it originated with the Geoffrey de Mandeville who was earl of Essex up to 1143:—

“G. comes de Essexa, Aelardo de Guerris salutem.  
 “Præcipio tibi quod . . . reddas canonicis Sancti Martini  
 “ . . . bladum suum de Godicestra et omnes res suas, quas  
 “ homines mei inde ceperunt . . . *Et fac recognosci per*  
 “ *vicinium et probos homines illius provincie, si quinque acræ*  
 “ *terræ quas Walterus Longus tenet et illos inde disaisivit,*  
 “ *quas illi canonici calumniant, sint de eorum tenuera, et si*  
 “ *recognitum fuerit, fac inde eos saisiri . . .*”<sup>5</sup>

We cannot find on a single document the assertion that the procedure of Recognitions of Novel Disseisin reached a high stage of development in the reign of Stephen, but the words of our charter are singularly clear, and if supported must be held to present a case that cannot be lightly passed over.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Excheq., i., 108, note k.

<sup>2</sup> M. M. Bigelow, “*Placita Anglo-Normannica*,” p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Dugdale, *Monast.* (ed. 1655), p. 459.

<sup>4</sup> This person does not appear in any other charter in the *Monasticon*, and his name is not on any of the

Pipe Rolls of Henry II. as far as they have been at present published (*i.e.*, to 9 Hen. II.).

<sup>5</sup> This document, and the one next quoted, are said to be in the possession of the dean and chapter of Westminster.

And confirmation exists in a charter of Stephen which so abounds with points of interest that it must also be quoted. The allusion to the crusade which it contains would incline us to assign it to 1147, rather than to any other date:—

“ S. Rex Angliæ . . . Ricardo de Luci Justiciario et M[oricio] viccomiti de Essexæ salutem. Præcipio quod faciatis habere et tenere Henrico Wintoniensi episcopo fratri meo, et canonicis Sancti Martini Londoniæ, ita in pace . . . mariscum snum . . . sicut recognitum et testificatum fuit coram Moricio viccomite in hundredo apud Meldonam, quod tenuerunt tempore Regis Henrici et die quo fuit vivus et mortuus, et deinceps usque ad diem quo Walterus filius Gisleberti movit ad pergendum Jerosolimam; et super hoc non ponantur inde in placitum injuste donec Walterus redeat in Angliam . . . T. Roberto de Ver apud Lond.”<sup>1</sup>

We have thus at a date between 1136 and 1143 Recognitions of Novel Disseisin in full use, though the hearing at this date was before the sheriff, not before itinerant justices. The system of recognitions was of early growth; but there is really no evidence that under Henry II. the special procedure of the Grand Assize, the selection of four electors by the sheriff, extended to Recognitions of Novel Disseisin. On the contrary all the information we have goes to show that in these the recognitors were chosen by the sheriff.<sup>2</sup>

Twelve being a purely customary number no significance attaches to it, and thus nothing remains to show that the Recognitions of Novel Disseisin under Stephen were not as full, formal, and effective as those heard before the justices itinerant under his successor.

If we refer to Bigelow's "*Placita Anglo-Normannica*"<sup>3</sup> we shall see a most curious series of writs ranging from

<sup>1</sup> Madox: *Formulare Anglic.*, p. 40, No. LXVIII. (from the original in Westm. Abbey).

<sup>2</sup> Glanville, lib. xiii. cap. 2 and cap. 3.

<sup>3</sup> M. M. Bigelow, "*Pl. Angl. Norm.*, or Law Cases from Wil-

liam I. to Richard I.," pp. 108, 130, 169, 170, 250, 320. It is a pity that Mr. Bigelow worked upon so very limited a series of charters. Some of the most important in Stephen's reign have escaped his notice altogether.

the year 1111, and displaying the course of legal evolution from a rudimentary writ up to the full form given by Glanville. It is, however, remarkable that no one of the *actual* writs instanced by Mr. Bigelow, even during the reign of Henry II. himself, is nearly so clear as to the mode of procedure as Stephen's second writ cited above, and it is only the typical or *specimen* writ given by Glanville which excels it in indications of judicial mechanism.

Quitting the subject of legal procedure, we may remark that so much turns on a true comprehension of the position of a few nobles during this reign, that it will be profitable to consider what charters as well as chronicles can tell us about the attitude of some of the leaders.

The brothers Robert earl of Leicester and Waleran count of Meulan, with Simon de St. Liz, earl of Northampton and son-in-law to earl Robert, held, as has already been said, the heart of the Midlands; but there were important points of difference in their behaviour.

Setting aside what happened in 1141—and indeed it was a sort of loyalty which proposed to substitute one brother, Theobald of Blois, for another who was in prison and regarded as lost—we can say that earl Robert of Leicester was the king's friend more or less sincerely up to the beginning of 1153.<sup>1</sup> From that date his support was given to the Angevin side.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gervase, i., 152, 3. The words *ducis se duci* should probably be read *comitis se duci*. As to the passage in John of Hexham under 1150, see p. xlix, note 1. Stephen (between 1141 and 1146) gave to earl Robert the county of Hereford, Duncombe, Hist. Heref. 232.

<sup>2</sup> His foundation of St. Mary's, Leicester (in 1143), is confirmed by Stephen (*Mon. Anglic.*, vi., pt. i.,

p. 466). He appears later as a witness with Ranulph of Chester (therefore in or before 1153) to a charter (Dugdale's *Monast.*, ed. 1655, i., 821) given at Gloucester by Henry *duke of Normandy* (therefore after Sept. 1151). This charter must thus be dated 1153, for Henry was not in England between 1149 and 1153.

Attitude of  
certain  
nobles.

Robert  
earl of  
Leicester.

The earl died in 1167 after passing fifteen years in the cloister at Leicester, so his assistance to Henry was probably only given in the form of supplies and moral support, the latter a form of aid which, however, had been of substantial value to his own brother Waleran when Stephen was attacking Worcester. Indeed the words of Gervase will bear no interpretation in the direction of armed support.

The Cartulary of St. Benet-at-Hulme affords us a charter,<sup>1</sup> safely attributable to the year 1137, which gives a clear idea of the earl's position at the opening of the reign:—

R. com Leg' baronibus regis de Hastings' salutem. Præcipio quod abbas et monachi de Hulmo teneant bene et in pace . . . terras suas in Gernemut' . . . . Et nisi feceritis vicecomes de Norfole faciat, et nisi fecerit ego faciam. T. R. Basset per breve regis de ultra mare.

These words are seemingly those of a justiciary carrying on the king's government during his absence, though we do not detect much abatement of tone when Stephen is in England, and indeed the earl's brother, Waleran of Meulan, could issue a precipe set in no lower key:—

G. comes Mell. justiciariis et baronibus vicecomitibus et præpositis et ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis de Wirecestr., et de Wiceo salutem. Præcipio quod monachi de Rading . . . . sint quieti de theloneo.<sup>2</sup>

The position of the count of Meulan was peculiar.

After fighting for Stephen in Normandy he came to England with him and was a prime instigator of the attack on the bishops in 1139. Then we see him fighting at Lincoln in February 1141, and retreating from the lost battle; but though Ordericus Vitalis tells us that, with earl Simon and others, he still adhered to the lost cause, we find him at some date after the end of 1141, witnessing the empress Maud's charter to

<sup>1</sup> Cott. Galba, E. ii., fo. 33 b.

| <sup>2</sup> *Monast. Anglic.*, iv. 56.



Bordesley abbey.<sup>1</sup> With his brother earl Robert he had been at the Lenten conference at Mortain in 1141, and had arranged at least a truce with the Angevins—probably something more, for he had much to lose on the Norman side of the sea. Robert of Torigni<sup>2</sup> is more definite in his words than Ordericus, saying, “*concordiam fecit cum comite Gaufrido Andegavensi*” and this must be the truth, for in 1144 he assisted at the attack on Rouen. In 1146 he went to the Holy Land, but he returned, and appears, in 1153, as a prisoner in the hands of his own nephew.

In 1150 and 1151 Stephen, who was gradually recovering lost positions, made assaults on Worcester castle; but his attacks were apparently deluded by the artifices of Robert of Leicester, who was the natural protector of count Waleran’s property, and who seems to have had influence enough to keep it from confiscation. The count of Meulan was brother-in-law to Roger earl of Warwick, who allied himself with the empress as early as 1141,<sup>3</sup> and we thus have a chain of family connexions, extending from an open enemy of the king, earl Roger, through Waleran of Meulan, and Robert of Leicester to William of Warenne,<sup>4</sup> and Simon earl of Northampton, the most uncompromising of the king’s adherents. As an absentee, Waleran counts for comparatively little, and the essential factors were the three last-named nobles.

It would thus appear that the Eastern Midlands, up to the practical termination of the great struggle in 1147–8, were held by three members of one family, which, so far as England was concerned, was essentially faithful to the king. The effect of this circumstance

<sup>1</sup> Milo is earl of Hereford in the charter referred to (Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., xxxi., p. 392); but we also have count Waleran witnessing the queen’s charter to Coggeshall, dated 26 December, and

given in 1141—for the convent met in August 1142.

<sup>2</sup> i., 225.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta*, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Half-brother to count Waleran. William of Warenne died in 1148.

Ralph  
earl of  
Chester.

can scarcely be over-estimated. So great was it that when Robert of Gloucester made his splendid march on Lincoln, in 1141, he kept his destination a secret,<sup>1</sup> lest his men should turn from so desperate an enterprise. So great was it that Ralph of Chester, in 1146, was seemingly obliged to resort to a feigned alliance with Stephen in order to avoid the barrier and strike, as he hoped, a treacherous blow for his own advantage. The fortunes of the Angevins in 1146 were low, there being, moreover a split in their faction, and it appears from the narrative of the *Gesta* that the earl of Chester, perhaps secretly aiming at the crown, strove to entangle Stephen in a joint expedition against the Welsh. These turbulent neighbours were really molesting the earl,<sup>2</sup> but his true design, as we may read in the *Gesta*, was to avail himself of the dark chances of a distant expedition. If this were the earl's thought, and it seems to have been widely suspected, the guilty hand of Peverel paid him in his own coin.

By the capture of earl Ralph in 1146, Stephen gained Lincoln,<sup>3</sup> a city which had always been personally friendly to him, and the county was given to Gilbert de Gaunt, brother, it is said, of the chancellor.

William of  
Albemarle.

We have seen signs of the faithfulness of William earl of Albemarle, but in 1148, on the occasion of the opposition offered by Stephen to Henry Murdae, archbishop of York, we see this earl and Eustace maintaining the king's cause at the cost, on the earl's part, of suffering excommunication.

<sup>1</sup> W. of Malmesb., 741.

<sup>2</sup> Dugd. *Monast.*, ed. 1655, i., 890, l. 20; *Brut y Tywysogion*, Rolls ed., p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> Lincoln castle and city had been granted by Stephen to the earl of Chester as a sort of pledge until, first, his lands in Normandy,

and, secondly, the castle of Tickhill, should have been restored to him. Duchy of Lanc. Charters (Pub. Rec. O.). See 31st Rept. of Dep. Keeper, Appx., p. 2. His brother William de Roumare was earl of Lincoln.



In addition to him there are two men of less exalted rank who deserve especial notice. These are William Martel and Richard de Luci, who appear everywhere as the king's companions in arms. Such was the character and ability of the latter that, after 1154, we find him just as much valued and trusted by Henry II. as by his predecessor. Whether he was justiciar or not during the later years of Stephen is not certain. The extensibility of the word *justiciarius* in the charter quoted on p. xxxviii. may or may not be conceded; but if we note that the common forms of address of Stephen's charters are: "*justiciis, vicecomitibus*," "*Roberto filio Walteri et ministris*," "*Radulfo filio comitis et vice-comiti de Chent*," "*Willelmo de Ipra et ministris et burgensibus Cantuarie*," we shall perhaps be prepared to attach greater meaning to yet another charter which begins thus:—

William Martel.

Richard de Luci probably Stephen's justiciary.

"Stephanus, rex Angliæ, Ricardo de Luci *justiciario*, et vicecomiti de Essexia salutem."<sup>1</sup>

If we attempt to view great events as terms in a mathematical expansion, or as stages of development in a scheme of evolution, we shall experience difficulty in satisfactorily assigning any share in the work of national progress to such an epoch as the reign of Stephen. If we ask ourselves by what causes, apart from the irregular play of will of a few principal actors, the sudden lapse from order took place, we are confronted by an apparently insoluble problem.

The part played by Stephen's reign in the development of the nation.

If we set aside the men of London, Bristol, York, and some other towns, and think of the population at large, the silence of the chroniclers well assures us that the lower orders played no appreciable part in the drama, save that of silent sufferers.

<sup>1</sup> Madox, Hist. Exch. 33 (note r). The charter on p. xxxviii. gives reason for supposing that Richard de Luci was not *justiciarius* and *vicecomes*, but that the name of the *vicecomes* is merely omitted here.

X The barons and their retainers—Normans, of course to a man, with their savagery accentuated in the west by Welsh mercenaries and supplemented in the south and east by Breton and Flemish coterells,—fought as partisans of rival rulers, and even a few of them as robber barons, seeking to hold their own and increase it, without looking forward to any future of justice and strong rule, living in the present and waiting to profit by the turn of events. As to what signs of progress might have been marked in the English population had they grown prosperous under leaders of their own race instead of becoming slaves under masters of another, it would be idle to speculate. They were but as dull clay in the hands of the potters, and the potters had now quarrelled over their work. Once, it is true, in this reign, at the call of the church, the populace went forth to fight in the open field, and then indeed they showed themselves in arm and heart worthy sons of the men of Senlac, yet they did but defend their homes against a foreign foe, and that done they returned silently to their humble drudgery. On a second occasion,<sup>1</sup> apparently finding earl Hervey an unendurable neighbour, the “simple rustics,” as the author of the *Gesta* calls them, contrived to drive their enemy from Devizes—a considerable feat of war of which we should like to have further details. Still our English forefathers seem at this date to have had no collective aims, for a Tarquin-like policy had laid low all the taller heads, all, indeed, who could rise far enough from earth to note the existence of an horizon.<sup>2</sup>

With a Hereward or a Wallace to lead them they might have completely changed the drama by rising at a chosen moment. Secretly allying himself with the Welsh, and waiting for such a juncture as Geoffrey de

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<sup>1</sup> p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> There is an indistinct notice of a rising of the English in the North, but it was speedily quelled.

Mandeville's outburst into furious rebellion, the English leader might have succeeded in crushing the king first and the empress afterwards. But the man did not appear at the critical time, and it is to the Normans we must look if we are to trace any meaning in the events of the period.

Certainly England was thrown into a veritable crucible, ✱ but was it within the refiner's fire or the foundry furnace? Perhaps in the operations of the latter we may trace a little of the results of the former, for the bronze was melting ready to be cast into its first rough shape, and the fierce heat was altering its constituents no less than weakening their resistance to fusion and commixture.

So swiftly was this result reached that bishop Richard the Treasurer, writing but twenty-three years later,<sup>1</sup> could tell of a blending so complete that Norman children could hardly be distinguished from English, except in the villein class.

Concurrently with the warring at home there was the oft-mentioned drain of the fiercer Norman spirits abroad towards the East, a bourne from which, William of Newburgh tells us, not a fourth of them ever returned.

The Norman race in England was thus purged of its most turbulent elements, and the residue was so tamed by sheer exhaustion as to welcome and appreciate for a time the peace which followed.

A further outburst and a new letting of hot blood took place in 1173 and 1174, two years which brought England apparently to the verge of an epoch similar to the one which had passed away; but the elements of the strife were different, for twenty years of Henry's peace, justice, and even taxation, and notably his training of professional soldiers and judges, had brought to both

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<sup>1</sup> *Dial. de Scacc.*, Bp. Stubbs, "Select Charters," p. 201.

aces greater wealth and greater opportunities of the better sort.

Control-  
ling power  
of the  
Church.

Another force by which a peaceful settlement was ultimately brought about was notoriously the action of the Church.

When we watch the course of events under Stephen, our minds cast back to the days of Gregory the Great, and the critical time when imperial power had vanished from Italy, leaving the Church face to face with barbaric invaders.

What Gregory then did bravely and gloriously in the face of the world, the Church in a less obvious way did for England through the dreadful years between 1136 and 1147. An organised force, which was, broadly speaking, almost neutral, spread over the most hotly contested shires, moderating the strife by continuous pressure, here punishing excesses by excommunication, there making efforts for peace, in a third place endeavouring to mitigate the misery of captives.

It is impossible to read the letters of Gilbert Foliot without being impressed by the fact that the storm of war had ruffled only the surface of the Church, and had failed to penetrate its depths.

Stephen, for example, is compelled to an outward repentance for his treatment of certain bishops; a prelate in the west excommunicates earl Milo, the empress Maud's powerful partisan, and her friend, the abbot of Gloucester, appeals to the king's brother to use his legatine influence in the earl's favour; lastly, the same abbot, who is elsewhere seen as one of the empress's correspondents, requests his friend, Jocelin bishop of Salisbury, a man raised to the prelacy by the favour of Stephen, to use his authority against two of Maud's supporters.

It is a rough analogy to say that in these, as in other ancient days, the Church stood to the State in somewhat the same position as that recently held by equity with

respect to the common law. Where the latter failed altogether, equity supplied its place; where its logic became senselessly harsh, equity moderated its action.

That such men as Henry of Winchester and Alexander of Lincoln were the most worldly of churchmen is nothing to the point. They wielded spiritual authority with none the less temporal force, and there were, happily, better men, like archbishop Theobald, who boldly refused to crown the king's son, and at a later date succeeded in keeping the peace of the realm unbroken during days of dread when there was no king in the land.

This continuous pressure, like other forces which act *non vi, sed saepe cadendo*, never too visible, never relaxing its hold, and exerting steady influence on high and low alike, did, as we have seen, in the end bring the reign of Stephen to a happy conclusion.

There is much intense writing about this period in the chronicles, and we may be easily misled into regarding as general descriptions certain graphic touches which should only be viewed as the accentuated passages of the author's theme.

If we take a map of England and trace on it the marchings and countermarchings of armies, and mark centres like Ramsey and Coventry, which were for a time in the possession of robber barons, we shall probably obtain a fairer idea of the localities chiefly affected by the strife than by any other course.

Portions of  
England  
principally  
affected by  
the war.

It will be seen that three-fourths of the warfare which preceded 1148 went on within a district bounded on the north by the valley of the Thames as far down as Wallingford, and by lines running respectively from Bristol and Reading southwards to the sea. This was the area which suffered worst of all, and the period referred to was the one which included four-fifths of the distress.

When peace with Scotland had been concluded in 1139, England north of Tyne passed into the hands of king



David, and the north-west fell to the earl of Chester and a few others, who ruled entirely or partially for themselves, but not, so far as appears, with cruelty. When Cornwall and Devonshire had endured one or two marches of opposing armies they too had peace. Kent, Surrey, Essex, and other districts round London, were practically unaffected. Suffolk<sup>1</sup> for a time was free from warfare, and Norfolk suffered but little, though Cambridge, Bedford, and the Isle of Ely endured temporarily a considerable share of hardship as did also, and no doubt more continuously, the Welsh marches.

The period  
from 1147  
to 1153  
was one of  
unbroken  
peace.

The stress of the war was all over by the end of 1147.

From that year until the opening of 1153 there were—we say it in conscious opposition to most that has been written on the subject—five clear years of unbroken peace;<sup>2</sup> for the expeditions which Stephen led were but the military measures of a king recovering at his leisure the rights he had lost in time of war. The taking of Bridgenorth and other early deeds of Henry II. might as well be described by the name of war as Stephen's assaults on Worcester. Indeed the distinction for which we argue appears a very real one when duly considered. It is in fact all the difference between military justice on high offenders, and belligerency; between the lawful acts of armed majesty, which give a people confidence in their king's administration, and the uncertain issues of war, which fill men's minds with alarm for the future.

The earl of Chester, the lord of Wallingford, and a few others, remained cowed in their fortresses, and

<sup>1</sup> Jocelin de Brakelond, ed. Camden Soc., p. 102, gives an interesting hint of the way in which protection was sought during troublous times. The abbot of Bury granted two manors, subject to a reserved rent, as a retaining fee to Adam de Cokefeld for protecting the convent against two neighbouring castellans.

The *Rot. Cur. Regis* for 6 Ric. I., however, furnish a sarcastic commentary on the success of this particular measure.

<sup>2</sup> The words written by Gervase as to anarchy under 1150 were written, as bishop Stubbs shows, 38 years later. They are supported by no external evidence.

Stephen slowly and carefully proceeded with the work of recovery; not venturing anything in great and costly expeditions; blockading rather than besieging; and making light forays rather than advances in force.

✓ Stephen's real power at this time is well indicated by three points, the utter collapse of the projected invasion from the north in 1149; the expedition of Eustace against Normandy in 1151; and the fact that earl Robert of Leicester was driven to defend his brother's possessions by wiles rather than by arms.<sup>1</sup>

What conclusion will it now be safe to draw after comparing the faint and scattered traces of the charters with the statements of the chronicles? Perhaps this, that except for a few weeks in 1141, Stephen had round him at the worst of times the nucleus of a kingdom, small but compact; and that continuously within its narrow limits, and for long periods outside them, justice was regularly administered after the manner of the age, while an exchequer system was also duly at work. The minimum probably comprised the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, part of Hampshire and Berks, Buckingham, Northampton, Bedford, Herts, Essex, and Suffolk.

The limits  
of Ste-  
phen's  
kingdom.  
✱

Beyond this the allegiance, among others, of the Beaumonts in the Midlands, of the Gaunt family in Lincolnshire, and of William of Albemarle in Yorkshire spread the power of the king practically for the whole of his reign over much wider limits, while between 1147 and 1153 the king's enemies held to their fastnesses in sullen dread, offering no active resistance to his power. What the position of Cornwall and Devonshire was is not so clear, as they were almost cut off from the rest of England by the arena of the great combat.

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<sup>1</sup> As to the passage in John of Hexham (Rolls ed., pp. 324, 325), about an attack by the earl of Chester on Lincoln in 1150 see p. xvi, note 1.



Exeter was taken by Stephen in 1136, and could not have been lost without a serious siege.<sup>1</sup> Cornwall, however, seems to have been recovered by Reginald in 1141, and so far as we know remained for an indefinite time out of allegiance to the king. Indeed the passage on p. 108 of the *Gesta* as to Stephen de Mandeville renders it almost certain that these two counties were, as a whole, out of the king's power.

Norfolk, another important shire, rendered partially and transiently disloyal more than once by Hugh Bigod, was, however, as we have seen, controllable by the earl of Leicester in 1137, while in the years 1146-9 charters show us the king's nephew Hugh holding the position of abbot of the great monastery of St. Benet-at-Hulme,<sup>2</sup> and a sheriff, William de Chesney, installed in the county.<sup>3</sup>

Limits of  
the empress  
Maud's  
rule in  
1147.

It seems, too, that in 1147, when she was deciding to give up the struggle, at least for a time, the empress had but a narrow belt of country under her nominal sovereignty.<sup>4</sup> The advantage which her geographical position with regard to Wales gave her had been very great, for though in no sense her allies, but always ready to slay and plunder impartially, the Welsh population afforded a cheap and practically inexhaustible supply of effective mercenaries, without which her small territory must have been quickly drained of its fighting elements.

A district of vague extent round Bristol, with isolated outposts at Wallingford and Devizes, a portion of

<sup>1</sup> A charter to St. Peter's, Exeter, granted as reparation for damage done by the siege, is among the MSS. of the earl of Devon (IX. Rep. Hist. MSS. Com., p. 406). One witness, Richard de Luci, came from Normandy about the end of 1138; another, Turgis of Avranches, rebelled early in 1145; but the precise date of the document is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Cott. Galba E. II., fo. 33 b. This Hugh became abbot of Chertsey later on.

<sup>3</sup> Cott. Galba E. II., fo. 57 b.

<sup>4</sup> Of the 47 mints issuing coin at this date only 11 lay within her jurisdiction, and probably few of these were working, for her coins are extremely rare.

Gloucestershire and Monmouth, these probably belonged to her in a more or less royal sense; but the king was established in Coventry, he held Cricklade and the valley of the Thames as far as Oxford, and Eustace was more than keeping the earl of Chester in check in the north-west. Even Herefordshire had become one of the earldoms of Robert of Leicester,<sup>1</sup> who was at that time loyal, and Worcestershire seems to have been held by him in a kind of trust for his absent and disloyal brother Waleran. The Angevins were thus hemmed in, and it is not to be wondered at that, when Robert of Gloucester unexpectedly died of a fever at the end of 1147, his sister left England, at the latest, at the beginning of the succeeding year.<sup>2</sup>

Again, as has already been stated, the remainder of England in the hands of such men as Ralph of Chester, seems, so far as the bare evidence of charters extends, to have been ruled not ravaged, though of course the neighbourhood of a castle garrisoned by Flemings, or the path of an army composed of men like Geoffrey de Mandeville's adherents, must have been the scene of such hellish mischief as the Peterborough chronicle eloquently depicts. That hideous cruelties were plentiful is quite certain; but that England south of Humber suffered anything approaching to the horrors of the Scotch invasions is practically denied by the visible results of the time; for what otherwise is the explanation of the ascertained fact that, in William of Newburgh's words, the troubled reign of Stephen saw the foundation of more religious houses than all the previous hundred years? How are we to account for the interesting trace of a nascent university visible in the appearance of Master Vacarius as a teacher of law at Oxford in the year 1149?<sup>3</sup> How, too, are we to account

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

<sup>2</sup> Gervase says in March 1147, but the later date, March 1148, is,

as we have already said, more probable.

<sup>3</sup> R. of Torigni, i. 250.

for the first coming of the Premonstratensian order to England in 1148? The narrow spirit of a past generation spoke of attempts to purchase with money the forgiveness of Heaven. But we would rather have it that the better spirits of the time were zealous for the increase of mitigating influences.

✓ What a monastery could be on a day of battle let John of Worcester portray. The valuables of his monastery and the relics of the saints are thrust into hollow spaces in the walls—his church is filled with household goods, with women and children. Within the choir a priest is chanting; outside it an infant weeping, the voice of sucklings and of wailing mothers mixes with the psalmody.

To learn what a monastery could be a few years later and at a time of less acute suffering, let us listen to Jocelin de Brakelond<sup>1</sup> telling us that in war times even Jewish mothers and children were fed from the monastery stores, while the richer Jews, though instinct with the fears natural to a hunted race, placed their money in the hands of the abbey sacist.

We see then that isolated facts, like the coins which deny the assertion that Stephen debased his currency,<sup>2</sup> seem to stand in defiant contradiction of certain recurring statements of all the chroniclers, who are yet for the most part incontestably veracious men.

<sup>1</sup> p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> From inquiries made in the coin department of the British Museum it would appear that no *debased* coin of this reign is known to exist. Hawkins (ed. Kenyon, p. 176) affirms that even the baronial coins are of good metal, "though somewhat below the legal weight, or 22½ grs." The find of 180 coins recorded in the Numismatic Chronicle (Series III.,

vol. 3, pp. 108-116) exhibits some pieces of very light weight, "though all are of good silver." Mr. Wakeford says, "whereas the majority weigh as usual, 20 to 22, or even as high as 23 grains, others, though finely preserved, weigh as low as 18, 16, 15, 13, and even 12 grains, the light specimens being all of type Hawkins, 270."

We can find abundant excuse for those who have depicted the reign of Stephen as a thick darkness broken by lurid flashes of destructive agencies, and in our endeavour to realise the truth we must be careful to avoid an opposite extreme of treatment. Extant evidence demands that we should lower the tone of the picture by many degrees, not that we should alter its lines. When our duty in this respect has been done with caution we shall still find ourselves bound to supply a sufficiently sorrowful representation of the desolation wrought by the unbridled passions of a dominant race.

It has been already intimated that the manuscript of the *Gesta Stephani* is no longer forthcoming. The present edition is therefore founded on that of André Duchesne printed in his very rare work entitled "*Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*"<sup>1</sup> In his preface Duchesne gives us all we know for certain about the MS. :—

Loss of the MS. of the *Gesta Stephani*.

"Ordricum excipit alius sine nomine Historicus, qui Gesta Stephani Anglorum Regis, et Comitis Boloniensis scripsit. Certè contemporaneum ipsius Regis, et partium eius fautorem fuissè, quæ refert in pluribus Historiæ suæ locis, indicant. Hunc do ex veteri, sed imperfecto et semiexeso Exemplari Episcopi; Laudunensis, quod mihi benignè obtulit D. Georgius de Y Doctor Theologus Parisiensis, Regis Christianissimi Consiliarius et Prædicator ordinarius, necnon Vicarius generalis reuerendissimi Domini Benjamini de Brichanteau Episcopi-Ducis Laudunensis ac Franciæ Paris."

The catalogue of the Public Library of Laon unfortunately shows no trace of such a volume, and we are left to the evidence afforded by the printed copy itself. The manuscript had lost whole leaves when Duchesne saw it, and it ended abruptly with pages which had suffered damage; but these very losses enable us to decide that no lacuna existed in addition to those which

<sup>1</sup> Paris, 1619, pp. 927 to 975. There is in the Stowe collection in the British Museum a MS., No. 974, entitled "*Gesta Stephani*

*Regis*." It is, unfortunately, only a 17th century transcript from Duchesne's edition, not an independent copy from the original MS.

Duchesne detected. This fact is valuable in relation to the interesting portion of the history which treats of Henry's expedition in 1147.

The tedious reasoning by which this result and those which follow have been provisionally established by the present editor must be relegated to a foot-note;<sup>1</sup> but the main points may be succinctly stated.

Probable  
size of the  
MS.

The MS. seems to have been written straight across the page. Each page contained the equivalent of from 40 to 43 lines of the print of the present edition, and each line held about 11 words.

If we suppose it to have been an average specimen, and in an ordinary 12th century hand, we can go so far as to say that the written page measured about  $4\frac{3}{4}$  by  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and that the outside dimensions of the volume most likely were  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by 5 inches.

<sup>1</sup> The lacunæ on pp. 130-135 fall almost into columns in Duchesne's folio pages, and clearly show themselves to be the result of damage to the outer margins of the dorse of the last three folios: the faces cannot have been affected, for reasons which will appear. The number of lines between the end of the first string of lacunæ and the end of the second in the present edition gives us a rough measure of 80 or 81 lines to the folio. This number is, of course, liable to variations (up to about 86), probably caused by interlineations and corrections; but it is fairly correct, for, on counting the lines between the breaks on pp. 1, 30, 36, 45, 69, 85, and 134, we shall find that the resulting numbers are approximately multiples of 81. This gives us a series of 11, 2, 4, 9, 6, and 17 folios, and an imperfect folio, representing the last page but one and the injured page at the end, completes 50 folios.

Examining the broken lines about p. 133 we see that they must have

averaged about 11 words. This is too much for any ordinary MS. written in *double* columns. There are about 275 words to a page, or 25 lines of 11 words. An average specimen of a 12th century MS. of these dimensions measures  $4\frac{3}{4}$  by  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches for the written page, and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by 5 inches for the outside measure.

The margins of face as well as dorse, as we have said, cannot have been affected, for there must otherwise have been 550 words to a page, instead of 550 to the folio. This would give 50 lines of 11 words to a page—an abnormal shape, unless indeed we also suppose double columns; but this again would involve a page of unprecedented size.

The omission of the T from *talia* on p. 24, l. 17, through the usual forgetfulness of rubricators, points to the existence of coloured or large black capitals elsewhere in the book.



There seem to have been initial letters, perhaps in colour, and at the time Duchesne worked there were exactly 50 folios remaining. Whether or not it was the author's autograph is, of course, uncertain. Probably it was, but we cannot feel at all sure, for, although an author's corrections and interpolations might be supposed to have caused considerable differences between the pages, the existing variations are in fact very slight, and if the MS. were a fair copy would be well accounted for by mere alterations of hand, or by the varying extent to which contractions were used by different copyists. Whatever may be the truth on this doubtful point the actually slight variation in the length of pages has suggested the placing of asterisks in the margins of this edition to indicate approximately and provisionally the places at which new folios began.

Duchesne's text was reprinted for the English Historical Society in 1846, under the editorship of Dr. Richard Clarke Sewell. It is, however, difficult to speak gratefully of this edition, for Dr. Sewell seems to have been so impressed by the excellent results of comparing his chronicle with William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella*, a work which contains no facts after the end of 1142, that he has continued his comparisons almost to the end of the *Gesta* without being aware that he is citing Malmesbury's testimony as to events which, so far as we know, happened after the chronicler's death—certainly after he had ceased to write.<sup>1</sup>

To offer avowed emendations is, of course, right and proper; but it is far otherwise for an editor to alter the spelling of proper names,<sup>2</sup> and to make minor

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<sup>1</sup> See for example the note on p. 125 of his edition. The passage as to Stephen's illness (in 1142) is cited with reference to his wound in 1147.

<sup>2</sup> On p. 63 of his edition (p. 63

also in the present volume), he changes Duchesne's spelling *Ramensem* into *Rumensem*, and asserts in the margin that a monk was made abbot of Rumsey—a nunnery.

changes without telling his readers what he has done. On the other hand Dr. Sewell tolerates such inflections as *canium* and *prudantium*, and, while complaining of Duchesne's punctuation, floods his own pages with commas. Furthermore, in editing an almost dateless chronicle, he omits to help his readers by putting a single date into his margins.

Two translations of the *Gesta* have been published, one by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson in 1858,<sup>1</sup> the other by Mr. Thomas Forester.<sup>2</sup>

### RICARDUS HAUGUSTALDENSIS DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI.

This short chronicle, extending from 1135 to 1139, is preserved in MS. No. 139 in archbishop Parker's library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It immediately follows in that volume the "*Cronica Abbatis Prumensis Ecclesie*" which end on *fo. 36 b.* The same MS. contains 16 tractates, including the chronicle of John of Hexham and a version of St. Aelred's account of the Battle of the Standard. It is a folio volume written in double columns of 36 or 37 lines to the page, and is the only copy of prior Richard's work which is extant.

The handwriting is of the 13th century. The contents of the volume leave no doubt that it belonged to Hexham priory.

The merit of collecting the facts known as to the author is due to canon James Raine, from whose excellent edition of the Hexham chronicles the following summary is taken.

Richard probably refers to himself in cap. ix. of his work as to the church of Hexham when he speaks of

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<sup>1</sup> "The Church Historians of England," vol. v., pt. 1.

<sup>2</sup> With Henry of Huntingdon in Bohn's "Antiquarian Library."



"*quidam canonicus nomine Ricardus.*"<sup>1</sup> He became prior of Hexham in 1141, in succession to Robert Biselth, and on the 8th of September in that year granted a lease to William de Stonegrave.<sup>2</sup> He was not confirmed in the priorate until 1142.<sup>3</sup> There are other traces of him in charters,<sup>4</sup> but the next dated reference we reach is in 1151, when cardinal John Paparo visited Hexham. Afterwards, in 1152, prior Richard received archbishop Murdac,<sup>5</sup> and then, in 1154, he mentions his own presence at the translation of some relics in Hexham priory.

It is uncertain how long he lived after this, but St. Aelred of Rievaulx, in his account of the Saints of Hexham<sup>6</sup>—a treatise composed before 1167—speaks of him as dead.

The history was no doubt composed by Richard when a canon, for it stops at a date previous to his assumption of the government of the convent. It is entirely original, presenting no trace of adaptation from previous writers,<sup>7</sup> but embodying such public documents as came in the writer's way. Prior Richard has thus preserved to us, in whole or in part, two documents which would otherwise have been totally lost. These are the letter from pope Inuocent II. confirming Stephen in the king-

<sup>1</sup> Raine's ed., p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Collect. Top. et Geneal.*, vi., 42.

<sup>3</sup> John of Hexham, p. 140, ed. Raine.

<sup>4</sup> Deed of gift from Agnes de Holme, *Coll. Top. et Gen.*, vi., 40; gift by Wm. of St. Barbe, *ib.*, p. 41; gift by Walter de Bolbec, Hodgson's *Northumberland*, i., pt. ii., 167.

<sup>5</sup> John of Hexham.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Raine, i. 193.

<sup>7</sup> Canon Raine seems to think that Richard borrowed from Malmes-

bury and from R. of Torigni's continuation of William of Jumiéges; but careful comparison does not confirm the opinion. The preamble of the Westminster Canons, p. 172, appears verbatim in the *Contin. Fl. Wigorn.*, but this is, of course, because both writers had before them copies of a public document. Dr. Liebermann (*Pertz*, xxvii. p. 11) sees slight traces of Henry of Huntingdon in the account of Henry I.

dom, and an irregular extract from the same pope's letter as to the schism of 1130.<sup>1</sup>

This work was first published in 1652 by Sir Roger Twysden in his "*Decem Scriptores.*"<sup>2</sup> A second edition was included, as has already been said, by canon Raine in his "*Church of Hexham.*"<sup>3</sup> This furnishes a more correct text, and has full and interesting notes, of which much use has been made in the present edition.

A translation of the chronicle was published by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson in "*The Church Historians of England.*"<sup>4</sup>

#### ÆLREDI RIEVALLENSIS RELATIO DE STANDARDO.

The York  
MS. "E."

The present text of this curious treatise is derived from a manuscript (XVI., I., 8) belonging to the dean and chapter of York. This is quoted as "E."

It is a small folio, rather thick, containing 200 leaves, measuring 11 inches by 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ . The handwriting is of the end of the 12th century.

The MS. is written in double columns of about 34 lines, and St. Aelred's treatise occupies the five concluding folios, ending imperfectly with the words "*accipe inquit, ut,*" about 14 lines of print having thus been lost.

On the fly-leaf at the beginning of the volume is an elenchus opening with the words:—

*Liber S̄c̄e Marie Rievall  
Hec continentur in hac volumine  
Jeronimus de hebraicis questionibus.*

<sup>1</sup> p. 168. Canon Raine mentions also the decrees of the Council of Westminster in 1138. Gervase, however, supplies a nearly perfect copy of these.

<sup>2</sup> Col. 309 to col. 330.

<sup>3</sup> Surtees Society.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. iv., pt. i., pp. 35-58.

After marking about 13 other treatises the list ends:—

*Expositio mappe mundi.*

*Relatio de Standar.*

A complete list of the contents of this volume may be seen in Wright and Halliwell's *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* at p. 187, where they are cited from the 14th century catalogue of the Rievaulx Library in MS. N.B. 17 in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge.

The article in this catalogue begins with "*Jeronimus de Hebraicis questionibus*" and ends with "*Ailredus de standardo, de mappa, in uno volumine.*"

A MS. in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (No. 139), contains a 13th century copy of the treatise. This was used by Twysden, but it cannot compare with the York copy, which, belonging to the author's own abbey, and obviously transcribed within thirty years of his death, was doubtless derived from his autograph. This copy has not been collated, except for page 199, where the text depends upon it, but its readings have been inserted whenever desirable. It is quoted as "P." The Corpus MS. "P."

A third copy is in Cottonian MS. Titus A. xix., beginning at *fo. 144 b.* This is a quarto MS. on paper, in a hand of the 15th century. It affords an absurdly corrupt and interpolated text. The Cottonian MS. "C."

The presentation of so brief a work of the celebrated abbot of Rievaulx does not justify any extended notice of his life or writings. Such an account has been given by canon James Raine on p. li of his preface to his "Church of Hexham." He includes an account of the saint's ancestry, from which we may note that he was the son of Eilaf, a priest of Hexham, and grandson of Eilaf Larwa, priest and treasurer of Durham in 1085—a significant pedigree.

He died on January 12, 1166, in the 57th year of his age. He was buried at Rievaulx, and was canonised in 1191.

He was an extensive writer on theological subjects. Many of his works were printed by Richard Gibbons in 1631.<sup>1</sup> The one now printed was first published by Sir Roger Twysden in 1652.<sup>2</sup>

### CHRONIQUE DE JORDAN FANTOSME.

Attention was first called to this poem by Mr. Henry Petrie. It exists associated with the work of Geoffrey Gaimar in two MSS., one a very early 13th century copy, which is in Durham Cathedral Library; the other, written late in the same century, is owned by the dean and chapter of Lincoln.

The Durham MS.  
"D."

The Durham MS. [C. iv. 27] which forms the basis of the present edition, is a rather small quarto of 166 leaves, Fantosme's poem occupying *fos.* 138 to 166 *b.* The pages measure 9 by 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The poem of Gaimar is written in double columns; but the length of Fantosme's lines compels the use of the whole width. There are about 36 lines to a page, and there are no coloured capitals; but there are marginal section marks, which have been reproduced by the sign § in the present edition. The folios are quoted in the margin from the Durham copy.

The Lincoln MS.  
"L."

The Lincoln MS. [A. 4. 12., formerly H. 18. 3] comprises 189 leaves, and is larger than the Durham MS., the page measuring 10 by 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches. There are about 32 lines to a page. Our poem occupies *fos.* 158 to 189, ending abruptly through the loss of a leaf which bore 5 lines. There are large coloured capitals, and every *laisse* is marked by smaller capitals, also in colour. This MS. is referred to as "L."

<sup>1</sup> It may be useful to note that a MS. of his "*Compendium Speculi Charitatis*" appears, from the Hist. MSS. Comm. Report, ii., p. 147, to

be in the library of the Dominican Priory at Woodchester, Stroud.

<sup>2</sup> "*Decem Scriptores*," eoll. 337-346.

These MSS. are probably derived directly through one or more copies from one original; but one of them cannot have been copied from the other, for while they contain many mistakes in common, each omits passages that the other contains. There are many gross blunders in each. Passages are repeated in positions in which they become absurd, and others are hopelessly corrupt in both copies. The author is not mentioned in any rubric; but the name Jordan Fantosme occurs five times<sup>1</sup> in a way which marks his identity, the supposed reciter of the poem speaking of Fantosme to his audience as a third person:<sup>2</sup>—

Fantosme dit e bien le nus afie.<sup>3</sup>

Again,

Dehé ait Fantosme, si jà m'orrez mentir.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore we have the fact that a 13th century hand has written "*auctor libri*" above the name Fantosme occurring in line 1152 in the Lincoln MS.

Many more personal particulars are known as to Fantosme than as to most authors of his century. Indeed as we ascertain from the "*Voyage Littéraire*" of Martene and Durand, ii. p. 99, his portrait is perhaps still in existence. These learned Benedictines, after examining the MSS. at the abbey of St. Amand, wrote as follows:—

Parmi les livres de Théologie, nous vîmes les commentaires de Gilbert de la Porrée, évêque de Poitier, sur les livres de la Trinité de Boëce. Son portrait est à la tête. . . . An-dessous de ce portrait on voit celui de trois de ses disciples, celui du quatrième est dans la lettre initiale. Au-dessous de ces trois portraits on lit cette inscription :

*Jordanus Fantasma, Ivo Carnotensis decanus, Johannes Belet. Hi tres et ille quartus intensiore studio attenti, mentis acie*

<sup>1</sup> Verses 521, 668, 674, 903, and 1152.

<sup>2</sup> M. Michel justly points out that the majority of trouvères of the 12th and 13th centuries who have intimated their names, have em-

ployed the same means, although with more reserve and less clearness.

<sup>3</sup> l. 674.

<sup>4</sup> l. 1152.

Personal details respecting the author.

*perspicacissimi, et sola veritatis specie coacti, sub Pictavensi episcopo vigerunt discipuli, quorum animæ requiescant in pace.*<sup>1</sup>

The portrait of the fourth, *Nicholaus*, has a separate inscription.

From John of Salisbury we find that Fantosme was one of the clerks of Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester—a curious coincidence if our surmise as to the authorship of the *Gesta Stephani* should ever be confirmed—and we see that he was probably chancellor of the diocese, the only office, so far as we are aware, which would give him any right to maintain against his colleague, John Joichel, the suit referred to in the following letter of John of Salisbury to pope Adrian IV., written of course between 1154 and 1159 :<sup>2</sup>

Causa quæ vertebatur inter magistrum Jord. Fantasma et magistrum Johannem Joichel., clericos domini Wintoniensis super Wintoniam, tandem translata est ad audientiam nostram. Auditis ergo allegationibus magistri Jord., et instrumentis diligenter inspectis, memorato Johanni vestra et nostra auctoritate inhibuimus ne contra voluntatem Jord. scholas regere presumeret in præfata civitate. Die vero sequenti in nostra presentia constiterunt, multa in se proponentes ad invicem : Jordanus siquidem jam dictum Johannem contra religionem fidei in prædicta civitate sibi scholas usurpasse, et damna plurima intulisse dicebat, officio nostro sibi super his satisfieri pestulans. E contra Johannes se judicio synodi super fidei lesione innocentiam suam purgasse asserebat, et magistrum Jordanum, cui similis purgatio adjudicata est, quoniam super fidei lesione similiter fuerat impetitus, omnino defecisse dicebat, petens ut [eum] urgeremus vel ad purgationem ex judicio prestandam, vel ad implendam pactionem quæ fide interposita dicebatur fuisse roborata. Illis itaque sic altercantibus, Johannes vestram audientiam appellavit, dicens se ostensurum quod sæpedictus Jordanus religionem fidei et sacramenti temeraverat, diem præfigens nativitatem beati Johannis. Cum vero Jord. prolixitatem temporis causaretur, eo quod ab initio Decembris usque ad finem Junii terminum prorogasset, eam sæpefatus Johannes in festum beati Michaelis protelavit. Nos autem quæstionem criminum vestræ reservantes discretioni,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Liebermann, who quotes part of this passage (Pertz, xxvii.

p. 53), notes that Gilbert bishop of Poitiers died in 1154.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Giles, No. xix.



quia de jure scolarum magistri Jordani constabat, communicato fratrum nostrorum Cicestrensis, Herefordensis, [et] Wigornien-  
sis, episcoporum consilio, domino Wintoniensi dedimus in man-  
datis ne præfatum Jordannum super scholis pateretur a Johanne  
ulterius fatigari; et, si eum inveniret vestræ et nostræ auctori-  
tatis contemptorem, ipsum publice denuntiaret anathematis  
vinculo innodatam. Postmodum vero elapsis paucis diebus, in  
nostram præsentiam redierunt, Jordano veterem querelam inno-  
vante. Dicebat enim Johannem post interdictum usurpasse  
scholas, et in sententiam anathematis incidisse. Johannes vero  
hoc constantissime inficiatus est, paratus incontinenti, tactis  
sacrosanctis Evangeliiis jurare quod post prohibitionem nostram  
a magisterio destiterat. E contra Jordannus se die præfixa pro-  
baturum dicebat, assertione legitimorum testium, quod post  
edictum magisterium exercuerat; sed Johannes diem recipere  
recusavit, dicens se jam in procinctu Romani itineris esse.  
Vos autem, auctore Domino, litigiis eorum finem debitum  
inponetis.

A little later, on April 10, 1160, Richard de Anesty  
found bishop Henry and his clerk Jordan Fantosme at  
Fareham. His words are:

“Et inveni episcopum apud Ferham juxta Portesmue, et  
“ inde mecum reduxi magistrum Jordanum Fantasma et  
“ Nicholaum<sup>1</sup> de Chandos, qui testificarent viva voce quod  
“ episcopus ante testificaverat per breve suum.”<sup>2</sup>

This passage has caused Sir F. Palgrave to call our  
poet Giordano Fantasma, and to think that he may have  
been an Italian; but his Poitevin, or at least French,  
origin seems now to be certain.

There are peculiarities in the language of the poem  
which are at present regarded by those who have studied  
the matter as marks of the Anglo-Norman dialect; but  
we offer no opinion. They may eventually be found not  
to exclude the supposition that the author was a Poitevin  
by birth. Indeed it would be remarkable if a youth  
educated under the personal oversight of the bishop of  
Poitou should be proved to have adopted an outlandish

Dialect  
and metre.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the *Magister Nicholaus*  
who witnesses one of the bishop of  
Winchester's charters. *Dugd.*  
*Monast.*, ed. 1655, i. 703. Possibly

he is the fourth of the disciples of  
bishop Gilbert. See p. lxii.

<sup>2</sup> Sir F. Palgrave, “*English  
Commonwealth*,” pt. ii., p. lxxviii.

form of what we may presume was his native tongue.<sup>1</sup> The prevailing metre is Alexandrine; but there is a piece, from verse 646 to 765, in ten syllable, and another, from line 2033 to 2059, in fourteen syllable verses.

Supposed  
interpolation.

Efforts have been made to brand the longer of these passages (ll. 646-765) as an interpolation; but when the weightiest part of the argument is seen to be the question "Is it likely that an English canon would go to save [the Scotch] from the hands of the English?" we perceive that the critic has failed to consider either the negotiations of bishop Hugh of Durham with the Scotch king, or the relations between the archbishop of York and the Scotch clergy which Stubbs, the Dominican chronicler, attests.<sup>2</sup>

The truth may be merely this; that our poet, not a very skilful artist in his craft, sought to relieve the monotony of his long metre by an episode in lighter verse.<sup>3</sup>

The study of early French has been taken up so vigorously in France, Germany, and other countries, that an editor who seeks to present an ancient French text for historical purposes is bound also to consider students of wholly different aim, who care much for the form and little for the substance of what he has sent to press. The wishes of these students will, perhaps, be sufficiently met by a text in exact accord with the MSS., and by a list of variants extending often to mere changes of form.

As regards accentuation scarcely any change has been made in M. Michel's method. Indeed a single volume of "*Romania*" will be seen to include so many individual systems that it is obviously impossible to do more than adopt a tolerably consistent line.

<sup>1</sup> The Norman dialect or the Poitevin sub-dialect. Of Picard or Burgundian there are no traces.

<sup>2</sup> Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1713.

<sup>3</sup> See also note 1 on p. 259. The word *tense* in this note should be deleted.

With respect to the translation now offered it is necessary to repeat that the aim has been solely historical. M. Michel published a translation with his edition in 1840. On this Mr. Stevenson made some improvements, and the present editor would willingly have confined himself to a few further alterations; but he has felt it incumbent on him to prepare, largely assisted, of course, by the labours of the two eminent scholars just named, a rendering which should be in the main independent. The attempt to turn such early language into readable English would alone be difficult, but *chevilles* are so numerous, pronouns are so often used where names are needed, and the author has so frequently sacrificed sense to rhyme, that the results of a faithful translation are often little short of grotesque.

Those who use the text now offered for the purposes of philological investigation may be referred to an interesting essay by Dr. Johan Vising of Upsala, on the Anglo-Norman dialect of the 12th century. This includes remarks on the *Voyage de Brandan* and the poem of Gaimar, as well as a critical study of the language and versification of *Fantosme*; <sup>1</sup> but the present purely tentative state of this branch of philological science is illustrated by the fact noted above, that one of the three poets on whose works Dr. Vising founds his views as to the Anglo-Norman dialect was certainly a Poitevin by education, and not improbably a Poitevin by birth also.

With regard to the historical aspect of the poem it should be premised that, as the author lost his great master in 1171, there is nothing astonishing in finding

<sup>1</sup> "Etude sur le dialecte Anglo-Normand du xii<sup>e</sup> siècle," par Johan Vising. Upsala, 1882. Esaias Edquist. The author, however, notes many points in which *Fantosme's* language differs from the

dialect of the other writers. For a critical investigation of the metre, &c., readers may be referred to M. Rose's paper in *Boehmer's Romantische Studien*, v. pp. 301-382.

him far away from Winchester, and appearing as an eyewitness of occurrences in the north in 1173 and 1174.

He asserts that he saw many of the events he narrates, including the most important of all, the actual capture of William the Lion.<sup>1</sup>

Il esteit sempres pris, à mes dous oilz le vi,  
A Randulf de Glanville ù il puis se rendi.

On the other hand, as M. Michel well observes, Fantosme honestly states that he is unable to give details about the capture of Norwich, because he was not there.

The authenticity of the poem.

The authenticity of the work is placed beyond cavil by the evident fact that William of Newburgh saw and used it; but as to this matter the reader must be referred to the preface to vol. i., pp. xxvi and xxvii.

The poem abounds in minute details respecting the war in the north, which are not elsewhere recorded, and its contemporary character renders it an interesting piece of historical evidence respecting one of the most serious crises in the whole of our English annals.

A curious point, too, is the fact noticed by bishop Stubbs (*Const. Hist.* i. 538) that on line 288 is perhaps the first occurrence of the word Parliament as applied to a deliberative assembly.

The poem was edited by M. Francisque Michel for the Surtees Society in 1840, and was published in France by the same gentleman in 1844, for the French Government. It is included among the appendices to vol. iii. of the "*Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie*" in the "*Collection de Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France*" for the date mentioned, pp. 531-613.

The translation made by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson will be found in the "Church Historians of England," vol. iv., part i.

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<sup>1</sup> The lines in which these references to his own personal presence, absence, knowledge, &c. occur are | 895, 1145, 1155, 1159, 1775, and 1810.

RICARDUS DIVISIENSIS DE REBUS GESTIS  
RICARDI PRIMI.

The chronicle of Richard of Devizes is one of the most amusing products of the middle ages. In it classical quotations, bombastic speeches, and keen gibes are mixed up with valuable historical facts relating to the period between the accession of Richard I. and the date of his quitting Palestine for his eventful voyage homewards.

The writer proclaims himself to be a monk of St. Swithun's, Winchester, and supplies his own name, "*Ricardus dictus Divisiensis*," in the mocking letter of dedication which he addresses to Robert, his former prior, who, quitting the Benedictine order, had betaken himself to the Carthusians of Witham.

Richard went, it appears, with two companions to visit the Chartreuse, seeking, as he satirically says, to see by how much the Witham house was nearer to heaven than were the Winchester cloisters; but he wished that he had travelled alone, for there was a falling out and seemingly a premature return, as there may well have been when so caustic a wit formed one of the party.

Richard remarks three things which his visit had taught him—that a Carthusian was at liberty to open his door and go out quite freely, so long as one of his feet remained within his cell; that wealthy and hospitable and charitable as Carthusians manifestly were, they gave their guests "*Benedicite sine præbenda*"; finally, that, though living apart and in silence, they were not only aware of what was happening in the outer world, but even knew what was going to happen. This, of course, was because such grave and reverend men had prophetic knowledge of the doings of the world, but could not narrate them as gossip.

Then the gibing Benedictine, professing that prior Robert had expressed a desire to see a copy of the chronicle, commends it to him in words of mockery which border upon blasphemy.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> O me felicem . . . meminisse dignetur, p. 382.

Account of  
the MSS.

There is little doubt that the only two MSS. of the chronicle now existing are in the handwriting of its author, and it is almost certain that both belonged to the Winchester house. It is improbable that the work was multiplied much further, if at all,<sup>1</sup> for there are no traces of it in the great compilations of the 14th and subsequent centuries, which laid most of the well-known writers under contributions.<sup>2</sup>

So much depends upon the evidence of the two MSS. that they must be described at once.

The one on which the present edition is founded is No. 339 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. This is quoted as "P." The second copy is Cott. MS. Domit. A. XIII., which is referred to as "C." Both are quarto volumes<sup>3</sup> and each contains a "Brut" chronicle, immediately followed by the chronicle of Richard I. here printed. The four treatises,—that is the two Richardian chronicles, the whole of one set of annals, and the other set as far as 1202—are obviously in the handwriting of one man. This assertion may perhaps be accepted on the joint testimony of Mr. Stevenson,<sup>4</sup> Mr. Luard,<sup>5</sup> and the present editor.

If then the Corpus MS. of the chronicle of Richard I. should prove to be the author's autograph it follows that, to the extent stated above, the four treatises are

<sup>1</sup> There is a note in a 16th cent. hand in Bodl. MS. Laud 730, which Mr. Stevenson believes to refer to a third copy: "Hic multa desunt ab hoc anno 1272 usque ad annum 1327, et hoc totum habetur in veteri libro ligato cum Richardo Divisiensi."

<sup>2</sup> For the use made of the Winchester Annals (Cottonian) see Dr. Liebermann's *Anglo-Norm. Geschichtsquellen*, pp. 173-202. As to Bodleian MS. Digby 11, which however contains *no trace* of the Richardian chronicle, see page lxx. note 1.

<sup>3</sup> [MS. P.] Length of page 8 $\frac{3}{4}$

inches, width 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ , width of margin 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ . About 31 lines to the body of each page. The handwriting accords well with the probable date, 1192-1202. The chronicle of Richard I. occupies *fo.* 25 *a.* to *fo.* 43 *b.*, both inclusive.

[MS. C.] Length of page 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ , width 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ , width of margin 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ . About 35 lines to the body of the page. Handwriting the same as that of [P.]. Chronicle extends from *fo.* 70*a.* to *fo.* 87*a.*, both inclusive.

<sup>4</sup> Engl. Hist. Soc. ed., p. vii. Less definitely than Mr. Luard.

<sup>5</sup> *Annal. de Wintonia*, preface, p. xi.



in the handwriting of Richard of Devizes, and we may unreservedly assert that there is no sign which marks an autograph that is absent from the MS. in question.

The Corpus MS. probably the author's draft.

The principal indications are these :—

- (1.) Many long passages are written on erasures, e.g. the passage on p. 381 from *In qualibet* to *antequam fiant*. In this and other cases the new matter exceeds the old by so much that the residue overflows into the margin. Elsewhere gaps occur through the retraction of sentences.
- (2.) Interlineations and minor erasures<sup>1</sup> abound.
- (3.) Spaces are left for expressions not yet found to the author's taste. Some of these are filled up in darker ink, others still remain blank.
- (4.) There are many variations in the tone of the ink, and many defects in the handwriting, caused by carelessness at one time or haste at another.
- (5.) There is one passage, see p. 448, note 1, which seems to have been progressing quite satisfactorily, but yet was not to the author's liking. In lieu of using the knife, as he usually did, he struck this one through with his pen and took up the sentence afresh.
- (6.) Alterations of single words are frequent.
- (7.) Half a page has been roughly erased in one place, but in making his fair copy (now the Cottonian MS.) the writer has added in the margin the words "*hic abrasum erat quicquid illud esset*," playfully pretending that he does not know what had been written.
- (8.) In making the fair copy he alters some incomplete or erroneous sentences, putting in the word *dilaniare*, for instance, on p. 439, and correcting "*centum marcas Parisiacensium*" on p. 426 to "*centum millia Parisiacensium*."

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<sup>1</sup> The erasures are so numerous that only the more important of them have been referred to in the notes.

- (9.) The celebrated allusion to the early frailties of queen Eleanor is presented in the margin of the MS. in a whimsical style, which can only be imperfectly shown by means of type:—

~~~~~  
 (Multi noveřt quod utinam)  
 (nemo nostrum nosset)  
 [Et (ñ ipsa regina tēpe)  
 [ego (p'oris mariti fuit)  
 [bene (Ierosolimis.)  
 [novi. (nemo plus)  
 [Silete (ide loq'tr)

Additional arguments will be drawn by every reader from what follows as to Richard's other work, but it may perhaps be assumed from what has been summarised above, that our MSS. present an author's draft and an author's own fair copy.

We have said that in each MS. there is a " Brut " chronicle. The one in the Corpus MS. is defective<sup>1</sup>—ending with the reign of Stephen. That in the Cottonian MS. is complete and is, we may now perhaps say, in Richard's handwriting as far as the year 1202. The latter has been published by Mr. Luard as the *Annales de Wintonia*, and that gentleman not only remarks that these annals up to 1066 are interspersed with quotations from Richard's favourite classical authors, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal, but adds (with regard to the Annals in the Corpus copy, which are identical with the Cottonian as far as 1066) " I cannot therefore think that any " more probable author for the chronicle can be found."<sup>2</sup>

Richard of  
 Devizes  
 probably  
 the author  
 of the  
*Annales de  
 Wintonia.*

<sup>1</sup> Possibly through loss of leaves. An ancient transcript of part of it will be found in a Bodleian MS. (Digby 11). On *fo.* 169 of this MS., for example, will be seen the following:—

Henricus episcopus Wintoniensis jam secundus rex, mandavit quibuslibet magnatibus regni ut ad

regem venirent et homagium facerent aut de regno exirent.

In Corpus MS. 339, on *fo.* 24 *b.*, we have:

Henricus episcopus, jam secundus rex, mandavit quibuslibet magnatibus regni ut ad regem venirent et homagium facerent aut regnum exirent.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. de Winton.*, pref., p. xii.

Mr. Luard might perhaps have gone a step further as to the relationship of the two, and might even have said that they represent successive editions, for there are many traces of relationship. The following sentence, for example, as to Stephen, taken from the last page of the *Corpus Annals*, is obviously the original of the passage from the *Cottonian Annales de Wintonia* with which it is here contrasted:—

(*Corpus MS.*)

Convenerunt omnes ad regem et contra conscientias se illi summiserunt.

(*Cottonian MS.*)

Venerunt magnates et contra conscientias suas illi fecerunt homagia.

Indeed the epitaph on the bishop of Bath, on p. 422 of the present volume, when compared with the following irreverent joke from the *Annales*,<sup>1</sup> affords us an excellent substitute for Richard's signature:—

Hoc anno obiit Johannes cardinalis. Quo mortuo audierunt nautæ sub Ethna vocem dicentem "Accendite focum."

The chronicle in the *Corpus MS.* is, as has been said, identical with the *Annales de Wintonia* as far as 1066; but from that point we may now say that Richard has used, but diverged from, his earlier composition. This older work has in the margin, in the author's handwriting, a dedication which has been mutilated by the careless binder who has cut away so much from the chronicle of Richard I. Enough remains, however, to warrant us in attempting a conjectural completion:—

[M]agistro Ade suus de [votus]:

Meo malo mirum inu[tatis]

temporibus accidit ut etiam fi[gmenta]

placeant sapientibus.<sup>2</sup>

The tone of this is truly that of Richard of Devizes, and the alliteration "*meo malo mirum mutatis*" seems

<sup>1</sup> *Annal. de Winton.*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Opposite this passage is the date 1201.

to come naturally from the hand of the man who elsewhere writes "*vicio vicerat, visceribus vescretur.*"<sup>1</sup>

These considerations not only have an interest of their own, but they enable us to say that our author lived as late as the year 1202.

He composed the Richardian chronicle before 1198, for in it, p. 403, he speaks of Walter prior of Bath, who died in that year, as a living man. Indeed he probably finished writing about 1193, for the passage on p. 450 as to the emperor of Germany and the duke of Austria seems to have been written by a man who knew later events, but would not narrate them out of their due order.

Perhaps the best introduction to Richard as a writer may be found in his ludicrous account of the alleged crucifixion of a boy by the Winchester Jews. Obviously he does not believe the story, and he makes his Jew quote Horace and Ovid as glibly as Longchamp, who, in another part of the work, hurls defiance at his tormentors in a speech made up of passages from Horace, Ovid, Virgil, and Lucan.

Care and discrimination are necessary in using this chronicle. We must beware of the author's excuses for the king, and we must perhaps set aside all the speeches—and there are many—as pure fiction. At least we must reject Saphadin's ornate oration in which he, too, demonstrates his acquaintance with Lucan, though it is of course far less improbable that the bishop of Ely precluded a reply to his accusers with the well-known line, "*Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam?*"

In the narrative we must be on our guard against satire disguised as fact, and against strong insular and monastic prejudices, but, when these are allowed for, we shall find that the remainder is valuable history, supplying details nowhere else to be found respecting the con-

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<sup>1</sup> p. 440, and "*si Parca parcerent, pro pullio profecturus,*" p. 421.

dition of parties in England during Cœur-de-Lion's absence.

There are a few errors, such as the one noted on p. 408, but the writer is no falsifier, and from the numerous passages in which his work runs parallel with Benedict of Peterborough we gain great confidence in his honesty.

Apart from his frequent quotations from the classics, some of which are marked in the present edition, there are few traces of borrowing from other authors. On p. 412<sup>1</sup> we have a word or two which seem to be from some document which also gave Benedict of Peterborough his account of archbishop Geoffrey's ill-treatment, and in Richard's crusading news we see that in common with Newburgh and the second continuator of Florence of Worcester he has derived the puerility as to a truce for "3 years, 3 months, 3 weeks, 3 days, and 3 hours" from some letter which circulated through England.

On reading many portions of our chronicle with the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, we shall be struck with far-off resemblances. Words, but not phrases, agree in passages which treat of the same subject, and, though the accounts often differ, they frequently approach each other closely. The forms of some Oriental names, too, such as *Carracois*, *Mestocus*, and *Saphadinus* agree. Precise assertions cannot be made at present; but examination of a complete text of the poem of king Richard's chaplain, Ambroise, which exists in the Vatican Library<sup>2</sup> (MS. Christina, 1659) and is now recognised as indubitably the French original of the *Itinerarium*, would bring out curious results, for there are passages in the work of Richard of Devizes which are obviously nothing but free renderings of the French text into Latin.<sup>3</sup>

Use made  
by Richard  
of Devizes  
of the  
poem of  
Ambroise,  
king  
Richard's  
chaplain.

<sup>1</sup> See note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Long extracts from this poem may be seen in Pertz, xxvii. pp. 533-546.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, lines 1154-5 quoted in note 4 on p. 404. It is practically certain that William of Newburgh used this poem.

The marginal paragraphs in the MSS.

We may, perhaps, recur to the MSS. so far as to say that large portions of the narrative, more in P. than in C., are given in wide margins obviously left for the purpose.

No marks are supplied (save in one or two cases) to show where these passages fit in, and therefore it is not easy to place them suitably in consecutive order. All have, however, been lettered  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , &c., in the margins of the present edition, and the points opposite which they begin in the Corpus MS. are correspondingly marked "at  $\alpha$ ," "at  $\beta$ ," &c. Except in two cases,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stevenson's arrangement of these paragraphs has been followed.

Editions.

The chronicle of Richard I. was edited for the English Historical Society in 1838 by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, and the same gentleman published a translation of the work, in 1858, in vol. v., part i., of the "Church Historians of England." Another translation has been published in Bohn's Antiquarian Library.

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It only remains for me to offer my best thanks, either for kindness in facilitating my access to MSS. or for direct literary assistance, to the Rev. S. S. Lewis of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Dr. F. Liebermann of Berlin, the Rev. F. R. Maddison of Lincoln, Canon James Raine of York, Mr. C. T. Martin, and Mr. Walter Rye. To Miss L. Toulmin-Smith and to Miss M. A. Howlett, I am specially indebted for much assistance in translating Jordan Fantosme's poem.

RICHARD HOWLETT.

London,  
31st August, 1886.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 392, note 1, and p. 416, note 2.



## CORRECTIONS.

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- p. 65, marginal note, *for* "Cornwall" *read* "Gloucester."
- p. 132, marginal note and note 3, *for* "an earl" *read* "consul."
- p. 172, note 3, *for* "contin." *read* "Contin."
- p. 202, line 5, *for* "a" *read* "à."
- „ line 12, *for* "tenant-salve" *read* "tenant—salve."
- p. 205, substitute a full stop for the comma at the end of line 23.
- p. 231, note 2, *for* "desamrez" *read* "desarmez."
- p. 259, note 1, last line but two, *erase* "tense."
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LIBER PRIMUS.

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GESTA STEPHANI,  
REGIS ANGLORUM  
ET DUCIS NORMANNORUM.

Cum rex Henricus, pax patriæ gentisque suæ pater, A.D. 1135. ad extrema deveniens morti debitum exsolvisset, luctuosum infortunium universam regionis facièm turbidam reddidit et omnino confusam.<sup>1</sup> Ubi namque, eo regnante, judicii caput, juris inerat domicilium; ibi, eodem ruente, iniquitatis copia, totiusque malitiæ succerevit seminarium. Anglia siquidem, justitiæ prius sedes, pacis habitaculum, pietatis apex, religionis speculum, perversitatis postea locus, dissensionis recessus, inquietudinis disciplina, omnisque rebellii effecta est magistra. Rupta protinus in populo veneranda sanctæ amicitie fœdera; dissoluta mutue cognationis conjunctissima vincula; quosque diutinæ tranquillitatis vestierat toga, illos bellieus stridor, Mavortius furor invasit. Novo enim quisque sæviendi raptus amore, in alterum crudele debacchari, tantoque sese gloriosiore æstimare, quanto in innocentes nocentius insurgebat.

State of England after the death of Henry I.

Outburst of lawless violence.

<sup>1</sup> A marked peculiarity of this chronicle is the almost total omission of dates. The author's care in maintaining chronological sequence is most praiseworthy; but it does not atone for the want of precise figures. The dates now placed in the margins are chiefly derived from the continuation of Floreuce of Wor-

cester (quoted as *C. Fl. Wigorn.*), Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, Ordericus Vitalis, Richard and John of Hexham, Gervase of Canterbury, Robert of Torigni, the Tewkesbury and Waverley Annals, and the small chronicles collected by Dr. Liebermann.

A.D. 1135. Legis quoque institutis, quibus indisciplinatus coer-  
 cetur populus, ex toto neglectis, immo et adnullatis,  
 ad omne illicitum effrenati, quidquid flagitii menti<sup>1</sup>  
 occurrebat, promptissime peragebant. Ut enim verbis  
 propheticis utar, "a planta pedis usque ad verticem Isa. i. 6.  
 "non erat in eis sanitas:" quia a minimis usque ad  
 summos, animæ morbo ægrescentes, vel raptum com-  
 mittebant, vel raptui aliis assentiendo parebant. Fere  
 quoque, quæ in tota prius regione, tanquam in inda-  
 gine reclusæ, cum summa pace reservabantur, nunc  
 quaquaversum turbari, a quolibet passim dispergi, ab  
 omnibus, abjecto metu, prosterni. Et hæc quidem  
 minor, nec multum conquerenda<sup>2</sup> jactura, sed admo-  
 dum tamen stupenda, quomodo tanta ferarum millia,  
 quæ antea copioso grege universam terram affluenter  
 inundarant, tam repente fuerint adnullata, ut de tam  
 innumero examine vix duas postmodum simul repe-  
 rires. Ubi tandem cœpit grandis hæc et indicibilis  
 copia adeo extenuari, ut "rarissima," ut aiunt, "avis"  
 esset vel unam ubivis locorum feram conspicari, in  
 seipsos truculenter conversi alios<sup>3</sup> spoliare; res pos-  
 sessas sibi vicissim diripere; insidias et necem al-  
 terutrum moliri; utque per prophetam dicitur, "vir Isa. xix.  
 "innisericorditer in virum, unusquisque irruere in  
 "proximum suum." Quicquid enim sceleris ira ur-  
 gente sub pace dictabatur, nunc, vindictæ arrepto  
 tempore, ad effectum quam celeriter deducebatur: quia  
 odiosa simultas sese publice retgens, quicquid occulte  
 secum palliarat in lucem nunc proferens aperte decla-  
 rabat.

Stephen of  
 Bonlogne  
 lands in  
 England.

Interea dum se Anglenses ita turbulenter, ita et  
 calamitose continerent, laxatisque justitiæ frænâ ad  
 omne nefas libere prorumperent, Stephanus Bulonicen-  
 sis comes, vir præclara nobilitatus prosapia, Angliam

<sup>1</sup> *mente*, Duchesne's edition. This  
 will henceforward be referred to  
 as D.

<sup>2</sup> *conquirenda*, D.

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



cum paucis applicuit. Erat enim idem vir pacifico A.D. 1135.  
 regi Henrico omnium nepotum solus carissimus; eo  
 quod non solum ei germana contribulis lineæ consan-  
 guinitate conjunctus, sed multimodo esset virtutum  
 coruscamine præcipue insignitus. Fuit siquidem, quod Character  
 in nostri temporis divitibus constat esse rarissimum, of Stephen.  
 dives et humilis, munificus et affabilis; sed et in omni  
 militari congressione, sive in hostium qualibet obsi-  
 dione, audax et fortis, discretus et longanimis. Hic  
 itaque tantus, cum primum regem Henricum extre-  
 mum exhalasse spiritum, fama intimante, percepisset,  
 magnum quoddam, de more illius Saulis, in corde  
 concipiens, cum transmarinis inesset partibus, ad littus  
 tetendit, nactoque fortuito flatu secundo, animum  
 cum navi penes Angliam direxit.<sup>1</sup> Cumque jam, uti  
 præmissum est, cum paucissimo comitatu applicuisset,  
 ad ipsam totius regionis reginam, metropolim, matu-  
 rato itinere, Londonias devenit. Concussa protinus in He  
 adventu viri civitas illa, cum læto strepitu obviam ei marches  
 occurrit: quæque lugendum tutoris sui Henrici occa- to London,  
 sum mœstuose lugebat, tanquam eum in Stephano and is  
 recuperasset, lætanter et festive tripudiabat. Majores chosen  
 igitur natu, consultuque quique proveciores, concilium king.  
 coegere, deque regni statu, pro arbitrio suo, utilia in  
 commune providentes, ad regem eligendum unanimiter  
 conspiravere. Dicebant enim omne regnum sinistrae  
 fortunæ casibus subjacere, ubi ipsa totius regiminis  
 præsentia, justitiæque caput<sup>2</sup> defuerit. Idcirco operæ  
 pretium eis esse regem quam mature constituere, qui  
 ad communis utilitatis pacem reformandam, et rebelli-  
 bus regni armatus occurreret, et legum instituta juste  
 disponeret. Id quoque sui esse juris, suique specialiter

\*  
<sup>1</sup> He sailed from Witsand, her-  
 ralded by a thunderstorm. The  
 people of Dover repulsed him, and  
 the inhabitants of Canterbury  
 shut their gates against him. W.  
 Malmesb., 703; Gerv., i. 94.

<sup>2</sup> ubi ipsa totius regiminis justitiæque caput præsentia, D., probably through neglect of marks of transposition.

A.D. 1135. privilegii, ut si rex ipsorum quoquomodo obiret, alius suo provisu in regnum<sup>1</sup> substituendus e vestigio succederet. Nec alium sese in manu habere, qui regis vices adimplens tantis regni periculis finem imponeret, quam Stephanum illum, divino, ut sibi videbatur, nutu inter eos adductum: qui ad hoc idoneus, tam generis dignitate quam animi probitate, omnibus apparebat. His igitur auditis, et ab omnibus gratiose, nulloque aperte contradicente, receptis, de regno eum suscipiendo in commune consultum conscivere, regemque, omnium ad hoc concordante favore, constituere; firmata prius utrimque pactione, peractoque, ut vulgus asserebat, mutuo juramento, ut eum cives quoad viveret opibus sustentarent, viribus tutarentur; ipse autem ad regnum pacificandum ad omnium eorundem suffragium, toto sese conatu accingeret.

Arguments which conduced to his election.

The citizens of London swear to maintain his cause.

Stephen at once secures the peace of the kingdom.

King Henry's janitor, leader of a robber band, is hung.

Stephen is joined by his brother the legate :

Stephanus itaque, tam fortunato eventu, et regis nomen et regni apicem assecutus, ad pacem in regno conciliandam sese viriliter armavit; ipsisque predonibus, qui circumjacentem graviter depopularant provinciam, fortiter occurrens, insignem mox in regni sui primordio promeruit titulum. Erat namque eo in tempore vir quidam, etsi dignitatis exiguae, utpote regis Henrici januarum conclusor, ad nocendum tamen precipue paratus, et ad violentiam pauperibus inferendam avidissimus. Hic etenim cum indiscreto, tam rusticorum quam stipendiariorum militum, agmine vicinos suos circumquaque molestans, nunc deprædatione insatiabili, nunc igne et gladio omnibus se intolerabilem exhibebat. Huic tandem Stephanus obviam intrepide occurrens, commanipulares ejus nonnullos victoriose captos vel vita privavit, vel vinculis mancipavit: ipsumque eorundem ducem cum aliis concludens, cruciariæ stipiti postremo affixit. Deinde valida militum manu, qui undecumque confluxerant, repentino<sup>2</sup> collecta, ad Henricum episcopum, in quo totius annisui summa dependebat, festinato tetendit. Erat enim vir ille ex

<sup>1</sup> *regno*, D.

| <sup>2</sup> *repentice*, D.

ambobus genitoribus frater ei progenitus, vir sicut A.D. 1135.  
 prudentia mirabilis, ita et eloquentia ineffabilis; qui  
 et, dextera sibi ad votum arridente fortuna, abbas  
 Glastoniae, praesul Wintoniae, totiusque Angliae legatus  
 fuit ab Apostolica Sede in regno inthronizatus. Iste  
 igitur de prospero germani sui successu eximie letatus,  
 cum dignioribus Wintoniae civibus obvius ei advenit, ha- is received  
 honourably  
 at Wim-  
 chester:  
 bitoque in communi brevi colloquio, in civitatem, secun-  
 dam duntaxat regni sedem, [eum] honorifice induxit.

Fuit eodem in tempore in civitate Wintoniensi Wil- and gets  
 possession  
 of the trea-  
 sures of  
 Henry I.  
 lelmus<sup>1</sup> quidam, fidissimus thesaurorum regis Henrici  
 custos et resignator, qui saepius ab episcopo precibus  
 obstrictus, mercede fuit permulsus, ut castellum sibi  
 traderet, thesauros aperiret. Sed quanto ille ad pe-  
 tendum intensior, tanto iste ad inficiandum habebatur  
 proclivior. Ceterum, ubi regem adventasse cognovit,  
 nescio utrum timore an amore illius permotus, ejus se  
 occursui gratanter obtulit, ipsumque ditissimum regis  
 Henrici ararium, quod tota ex antiquissimis regibus  
 Anglia copiose referserat, ejus deliberationi cum cast-  
 ello contradidit. Nova proinde per regnum de novi Stephen is  
 joined by  
 the no-  
 bility, and  
 by William  
 archbishop  
 of Canter-  
 bury.  
 regis adventu fama praekonante, quamplures cum, et  
 illi praecipue, qui ante regni susceptionem se illi vel  
 fratribus suis amicitia devinxerant, grate et hilariter  
 recipientes, ad nutum illi cum omni conatu obsecun-  
 dabant. Affuit et inter alios Willelmus Cantuarie  
 archipraesul, vir vultu columbinus, habituque vere reli-  
 giosus; sed pecuniarum adquisitarum possessor avidior  
 quam erogator<sup>2</sup> [profusior]. Cum enim de communi vita  
 moriens tandem secessisset, infinitam aeris copiam in re-  
 positoriis suis occulte reconditam regis administratorii  
 repererunt: quam si in eleemosynarum largitione vivens  
 distribuisset, imitans evangelicum hominem, qui de  
 Mamona iniquitatis sibi amicos efficiens, ideo disper-  
 sit et dedit pauperibus, ut justitia illius in aeternum

<sup>1</sup> William Pont de l'Arche, W. *Malmesb.*, 703.

<sup>2</sup> *erogator*, D., perhaps erring  
 thus: *erogat* [or *profus*]ior.

A.D. 1135. maneret, perfectum pastorem perfectius adimpleret. Qui cum regis fautores omnixe persuaderent quatinus eum ad regnandum inungeret, quodque imperfectum videbatur administrationis suæ officio suppleret, rationabili eis responso obviavit: asserens non id leviter aut subito fieri deberè, sed et discretionis prius ventilabro sollicitè discutiendum, et callido omnium consilio utrum fieri deberet sapientissime investigandum. "Sicut enim," inquit, "rex ad hoc eligitur, ut omnes regat, electusque imperii sui jura omnibus injungat; sic profecto, sic congruit, ut ad eum in regno confirmandum omnes pariter convolent, parique consensu quid statuendum, quidve respnendum sit, ab omnibus provideatur." Adjecit et regem Henricum, cum adviveret, primos totius regni artissimo constrinxisse jurejurando, ne quem post illius discessum, nisi aut filiam, quam comiti Andegavensi maritarat, aut illius, si superfuisset, hæredem, in regno susciperent: ideoque præsumptuosum esse quippiam huic statuto adversum velle moliri: maxime eum et filia ejus superstes esset, et hæredum gratia non privaretur. Ad hæc regis suffraganei constanter responderunt, "Verum," inquirunt, "nec abnegandum, regem Henricum callidæ intentionis proposito filiam despondisse, quatinus inter Normannos et Andegavenses, qui se sæpius dissidendo turbarant, firmiter et stabilis pacem conciliaret. Ad ipsam quoque hæredandam imperioso illo, cui nullus obsistebat, oris tonitruo summos totius regni jurare compulit potius quam præcepit. Et quanquam eosdem invite jurare, juramentumque haud ratum fore prænosceret, voluit tamen, more Ezechielis, in diebus suis pacem reformare, perque unius mulieris conjugium multa hominum millia ad concordie adsciscere glutinum. Utque patenter agnosceremus, quod ei in vita certa de causa complacuit, post mortem ut fixum foret displicuisse, supremo eum agitante mortis articulo, cum et plurimi asta-

The arch-  
bishop  
hesitates to  
crown  
Stephen.

Arguments  
of the  
friends of  
Stephen.

“rent, et veram suorum erratum confessionem audi- A.D. 1135.  
 “rent, de jurejurando violenter baronibus suis injuncto  
 “apertissime penituit.<sup>1</sup> Unde, quia constat omne Statement  
 “jusjurandum a quolibet cum violentia extortum ip- that Henry  
 “sua perjurii efficaciam penitus amisisse, sanum est openly  
 “præcipueque acceptandum, cum ad regnandum læte repented of  
 “suscipere, quem et summum totius regni caput sine extorting  
 “repulsu Londonia suscepit, et [qui] ad hoc, justo oaths of  
 “germanæ propinquitatis jure, idoneus accessit. Spe fealty to  
 “quoque firma certificamur, si virum suscipientes omni Mand.  
 “illum annisu juverimus, regno maxime profuturum :  
 “quia cum ab omnibus modo diripitur, distrabitur, et  
 “conculcatur, in ipso protinus tanti infortunii exordio  
 “constat per virum constantem et militarem idem in  
 “melius posse reformari, qui et suorum potentia et  
 “fratrum sapientium gloria sublimatus, quicquid sibi  
 “desse putabitur, eorum adminiculo suffultus perfec-  
 “tius adimplebit.”

Talibus itaque sed et aliis nonnullis ratiociniis, quæ Coronation  
 breviandi causa prætereo, impulsus archiepiscopus, of Stephen.  
 regem eum in Angliam et Normanniam, cum episcopis  
 frequentique, qui intererat, clericatu, sacrauit et in-  
 unxit.<sup>2</sup> Quibus tandem cognitis, celebrique sermone  
 per Angliam divulgatis, omnes fere primi totius regni  
 læte cum et veneranter recepere, plurimisque ab eo  
 muneribus donati, sed et terris amplificati, liberali cum  
 jurejurando, præmisso hominio, ejus sese servitio ex  
 toto manciparunt.

<sup>1</sup> Gervase, i. 94, says that a great noble swore that he heard Henry release his subjects from the oath. Hugh Bigod was the man.

<sup>2</sup> William of Malmesbury says that he was crowned king of England on 22 Dec. 1135, there being present only three bishops, *i.e.*, the archbishop, the bishops of Win-

chester and Salisbury, no abbot, and a very few nobles, twenty-two days after the death of his uncle. The *Chron. de Bello* gives the same date. Other writers state that Stephen's coronation took place on the 26th of December. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says on Midwinter Day.



A.D. 1136.

Robert  
earl of  
Gloucester  
joins the  
king (after  
March 22).

Affuit et inter alios Robertus<sup>1</sup> comes Glaornie, filius regis Henrici, sed nothus, vir probati ingenii, laudabilisque prudentie. Qui cum de regni susceptione, patre defuncto, ut fama erat, admoneretur, saniori præventus consilio nullatenus adquevit; dicens æquius esse filio sororis suæ, cui justius competebat, regnum cedere, quam præsumptive sibi usurpare. Hic itaque cum regiis mandatis et scriptis sæpius ad se venire commonitus tandem affuisset, gratiose et excellenter susceptus, quæcumque postulavit, exhibito regi hominio, fuit ad votum assecutus; ipsoque postremo pacificato, totum præne Angliæ regnum fuit regem secutum.<sup>2</sup>

Stephen  
makes a  
royal pro-  
gress  
through  
England.

Rex igitur copioso militum stipatus agmine, splendide, sicut regalem decet honorificentiam, per Angliam procedere;<sup>3</sup> se suo regimini inclinantes benigne et veneranter suscipere; in omnibus utriusque ordinis ecclesiis, urbibus etiam et castellis, cum festiva<sup>4</sup> occurrence recipi; ad omnes se pro necessariis expetentes humiliter et mansuete inflecti; pro pace in regno revocanda plurimum adniti; pro concordia inter subjectos restauranda non minimum largiri; nec solum ad Angliam, immo et ad Waloniam pacificandam multum sudoris, multum et pecuniarum impendere.

Descrip-  
tion of  
Wales.

Est autem Walonia terra silvestris et pascuosa, ipsi Angliæ proxima vicinitate contermina, ex uno ejusdem latere in longum juxta mare protensa, cervorum quidem et piscium, lactis et armentorum uberima; sed hominum nutrix bestialium, natura velocium, consuetudine bellantium, fide semper et locis instabilium. Postquam autem Normanni, bello commisso,

Character  
of the  
Welsh  
people.

<sup>1</sup> He came after Easter (March 22), W. of Malmesb., 705.

<sup>2</sup> *secutus*, D.

<sup>3</sup> His itinerary seems to have been Reading (W. of M., 705; Hunt., 258); Oxford (Hunt., 258); Durham, Feb. 4 or 5 (R. Hex.; W. of

M., 705; Hunt., 259); York (R. Hexham, and charter in *Monasticon*, v., p. 372); London, March 22 (R. Hex.; Hunt., 259); Oxford, after Easter (W. of M., 707; R. Hex.).

<sup>4</sup> *festiva*, D.



Anglos sibi subjugarunt, hanc etiam suo imperio terram adjacentem castellis innumeris annexuere;<sup>1</sup> propriis incolis viriliter edomitis, constanter excoluere; ad pacem confovendam, legem et plebiscita eis indixere; adeoque terram fertilem omnibusque copiis affluentem reddidere, ut fœcundissimæ Britanniae nequaquam inferiorem aestimares. Verum, rege Henrico mortuo, pace quoque regni et concordia cum ipso sepulta, in dominos suos Walenses mortale semper odium spirantes, fœdus quod eis pepigerant penitus abruperunt; e diversisque turmatim emergentes locis, nunc huc nunc illuc hostiliter discurrerunt; deprædatione, igne, gladio villas evacuarunt, domos consumerunt, homines necaverunt.<sup>2</sup> Et primum quidem in maritimam provinciam, quæ vocatur Gver, delectabilem admodum omnique fertilitate redundantem promoverunt exercitum, militesque cum pedestri agmine usque ad quingentos et sexdecim,<sup>3</sup> in unum contra eos cuneum conglobatos, undique circumvenientes, in ore gladii penitus prostraverunt. Deinde de primo dissensionis suæ eventu prospere peracto apprime collæctantes, per omnes se Waloniæ fines audacter effuderunt; ad omne quoque facinus proni, ad omne illicitum perfaciles, non cuivis ætati parcere, non ordini cuiquam reverentiam exhibere, non tempore aut loco sceleris immunes existere. Hæc autem rebellii semina ad aures regis fama deferente, effrenam illorum temeritatem cohibere attentans, milites et sagittarios, plurima thesauri sui stipe conductos, ad eos edomandos transmisit. Sed alii, multis egregie perpetratis, ibi occisi, alii ferocem hostium non ferentes occursionem, post multa exercitia et impensas, inglorii recesserunt.

A.D. 1136.

Disturbances in Wales on the death of Henry I.

Defeat of the Normans by the Welsh in the district of Gower (1 Jan. 1136).

The king's troops fail to quell the insurrection.

<sup>1</sup> *annuere*, D.<sup>2</sup> The *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 97, confirms this and gives dates.<sup>3</sup> The *C. Fl. Wigorn.* gives these figures, but as the total of those

slain on both sides. An exact agreement as to numbers in early chronicles is so unusual as to leave suspicions as to a common source of information.

A.D. 1136.

Summary  
of Welsh  
affairs.  
Richard  
Fitz-Gil-  
bert is  
slain by  
the Welsh  
(April 15).

The Welsh  
make an  
inroad on  
his lands.

Defeat of  
the Nor-  
mans (in  
October?).

Fuit eodem in tempore Ricardus filius Gisleberti<sup>1</sup> in Walonia, vir sincera generositate insignis, cognatis et hominibus fultus ditissimis, terris et castellis hereditatus innumeris, qui omnes affines suos fide habens confederatos, obsidibus vero obstrictos, pacis eam multimodæque fecunditatis adeo reddidit affluentem, ut secunda esse Anglia perfacile crederetur. Iste igitur, cum magna quædam regem postulasset, nec ad votum impetrasset, bellum, ut aiebant, adversus eum promoturus abcessit, Waloniamque eum ingenti comitatu repedans, insidiis ab ipsis Walensibus positis circumventus est, et inter omnes suos miserabiliter solus occisus. Quod cum latius divulgatum esset, summum videlicet Walensium primatem succubuisse, ex diversis provinciis in immensum se coadunantes exercitum terram illius ingressi, in tres se terribiles turmas ordinate et bellicose diviserunt, ipsosque Ricardi milites, sed et alios nonnullos, qui usque ad tria millia eum peditum agmine ex vicinis urbibus et castellis ad auxilium eorum convenerant, ex tribus partibus perlustrantes in fugam miserunt,<sup>2</sup> eosque cum clamore sagittarumque emissionem viriliter et animose insequentes, alios miserandis modis occiderunt, alios in flumine violenter impulsos enecuerunt, nonnullos domibus et templis ignibus impositis cremandos tradiderunt, totamque provinciam, quæ usque ad xxxvi. miliaria distenditur, prædando pervagantes, nihil residui in ea reliquerunt; senes aut neei aut ludibriis exposuerunt; juvenes utriusque sexus vinculis et captivitati addixerunt; feminas cujusvis ætatis publico incestui impudenter dederunt. Deinde baronum castella alia effringentes, alia stricta obsidione cingentes, quibus paulo ante flexa cervice subiciebantur, eorum

<sup>1</sup> Son of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Hertford.

<sup>2</sup> This may perhaps be identified with the battle at Cardigan, "*mense Octobri, hebdomada secunda,*" for

the river (Teify) is referred to in each case, *C. Flor. Wigorn.*, p. 97. See *Annal. Camb.* (Rolls Series), p. 40.

nunc versa vice rigide dominabantur. Fuit ipsius Ricardi quoddam castellum obsessum, inexpugnabili munitione vallatum, in quo uxor ejus, soror comitis Cestriae, clausa delitebat, quae multimodo cruciatu anxie torquebatur, quia viri solatio carens, feminea desperatione frangebatur; escarum immunis, ambientibus eam cum plurimo suo collegio inimicis, strictissime includebatur, totius ad se refugii supervenientis exspes, tristitia et mærore atterebatur. Cumque illic, proximis ad eam pertingere non valentibus, diutissime demoraretur, Milo quidam, civitati Glaucesium praesidens, qui et postea,<sup>1</sup> callido magis prudentis animi ingenio quam ex generis successione, ad consulatus apicem conscendit, ad eam liberandam tum pro compassiva, quam de ingenua habuit muliere, pietate, tum pro regis imperio, qui hoc ei litteris delegatis injunxerat, se et suos dedit periculo, interque medios hostes, per opaca nemorum lustra, per montium prominentia capita, ad castellum fortiter ivit, eamque cum suis sane reducens, victoriose et cum gloria redivit.

Audiens autem rex et in hac patria Walenses ad discordiam excitandam convaluisse, proposuit et adhuc temerariae illorum obsistere praesumptioni, ascitoque Baldvino, memorati Ricardi germano, inæstimabilem ei pecuniarum committens copiam, praecipit quatinus fratris terrae impigre subveniret, et ad adversarios retundendos se constanter accingeret. Ille autem, acceptis pecuniis, expeditos ad comitatum suum milites, sed et virilis pectoris arcitenentes usque ad quingentos conducens, usque ad castellum Brecheneo cum omni apparatu devenit, ibique audiens adversarios cum innumerabili multitudine ei occurrisset; vias, prostratis ex transverso arboribus, obstruxisset; omnesque vesaniae complices ad suffragium suum e diverso convocasse, timore concussus coeptum iter repressit, ibidemque multo tempore demorans, dum hostes per

A.D. 1136?

The Welsh besiege Fitz-Gilbert's wife in her castle.

Milo of Gloucester goes to her rescue.

Stephen sends Richard Fitz-Gilbert's brother to put down the insurrection.

His disgraceful retreat.

<sup>1</sup> pro ea, D.

A.D.1136? hoc aut tædio afficere, aut fame deficere arbitratur, ventri tantum et otio indulgit, prodigeque quæ secum detulerat consumptis, indigens et honoris vœuus ad propria remeavit.

Robert Fitz-Harold sent to reduce the Welsh.

He repairs and garrisons a fortress,

which is soon afterwards taken by the Welsh.

Stephen determines to leave them to themselves.

Their sufferings by famine and pestilence.

These things happened at different times, but are narrated to-

Robertus quoque filius Heraldī, vir stemmatis ingenuissimi, fuit ad Walenses subjugandos sed aliorum destinatus, ibique gloriose multotiens adquisito de inimicis triumpho, castellum inter eos, quod tunc pæne fuerat inhabitatum, inexpugnabiliter firmavit, hominibusque in eo ad omnem sortem paratis diligenter expositis, post multa laudabiliter expleta, ad Angliam pro viribus reparandis eum paucis divertit. Hostes autem de absentia illius non minimum alacres, reditumque suum e proximo formidantes, in unum se globum repente collegerunt, ejusque castellum diutissima obsidione vallantes, cum nec inhabitantibus alimenta adessent, nec Robertus propter intolerabilem eorum impetum ad subveniendum tam præsto sufficeret, redditum sibi tandem subruerunt. Walensibus igitur his terrarum modis turbantibus, videbatur regi frustra niti, frustra et thesauri sui immensitatem ad eos pacificandos effundere; ideoque commodiori monitus consilio, maluit effrenam illorum aliquantisper pati diffidentiam, quatinus, armis cessantibus, discordiaque commune inter eos dissidium operante, aut fame afficerentur, aut in seipsos conversi, mutua cæde consumerentur.<sup>1</sup> Et quidem id in brevi contigisse vidimus. Cædibus namque et prædæ incessanter vacantes, terram omnem vomeris ignaram, hominum autem vacuum adeo reliquerunt, ut nulla penitus spes vitæ sequentis in posterum relinqueretur, sed tabe et inedia defecti, post mortem animalium quæ prædam illorum persecuta est, et ipsi corrupto ex cadaverum tabefactione aere permixtim moriebantur. Hæc vero, quæ diversis in Walonia contigere temporibus, in uno ordine redigentes paucis perstrinximus, ne totiens a

<sup>1</sup> consumarentur, D.

cepto tractandi limite esset aberrandum, quotiens aliquid insigniter gestum suo esset in loco competentius deflorandum. A.D. 1136.

Rex igitur ad regnum tranquillandum, ad pacem componendam, uti superius prolatum est, impiger existere; omnibus facilem se et accommodum exhibere; exheredatos in propria reducere; in distribuendis ecclesiarum honoribus vitii simoniaci expers omnino esse; in causis tractandis, in hominibus jure testandis, nihil impulsu muneris, nihil gratia mercedis perficere; omnibus nihilominus cuiquam religioni addictis cum humili se reverentia inclinare; omnibus cujuslibet ætatisabilem se et flexibilem reddere. Tam benigni etiam, tamque mansueti erat animi, ut regię fere dignitatis oblitus in multis negotiis non se suis prælatum, sed omnimodis parem quandoque etiam inferiorem videret. Jamjamque ad consuetam pacem, ad solitam se Anglia quietem paulatim informabat, omnesque sine ulla violentia, sine omni omnino exactione, gratia Dei, per quam reges regnant, inflectebantur, exceptis quibusdam regis Henrici primis et conjunctioribus amicis, quos, ex plebeio genere inter aulanos juvenulos ad ministrandum assuetos, in tantum postea singulari sibi dilectione astrinxit, ut eos honoribus ditatos largissimis, prædiisque honoratos amplissimis, et omnium palatinorum archiministros efficeret, et omnium curialium causarum susceptores præscriberet. Isti itaque cum regia delegatione<sup>1</sup> curiam frequentare sæpius monerentur, eandemque is amicitie gratiam, eundem honorationis cumulum, quem eis rex Henricus exhibuit, se etiam eis relaturum sponderet, diu se circa castella sua reprimentes, scriptis regis adquiescere penitus abnuerunt, tum propter fidem et jusjurandum, quod connutritie suę regis Henrici filię debuerant, tum quia quique regni nobiliores gloriam eorum et together for convenience.  
Peaceful and benevolent measures of Stephen. His uprightnes and justice, piety and affability.  
Improved state of England.  
Certain friends of the late king are discontented,  
and refuse to come to Stephen's court.

<sup>1</sup> *delectatione. D.*



A.D. 1136. pompam ægre ferebant, utpote qui ex imo creati genere se multo nobiliores et divitiis excederent, et dominio superarent. Verebantur etiam alia de causa in præsentiam<sup>1</sup> regis accedere, ne scilicet clamoribus pauperum, querimoniis viduarum, quorum ad suum usum terras redegerant, coram rege circumventi, quod injuste possederant, urgente justitia, prorsus amitterent.

His endeavours to conciliate them.

They at last do homage to Stephen.

Death of Payne Fitz-John (10 July). Milo of Gloucester dies some-what later.

1143?

Sed rex malens circa eos benigna uti patientia, et omnia prius amore experiri quam armis, quosdam de assistentibus sibi, super quos præcipue innitebatur, ad eos in amoris concordiam reducendos transmisit, quatinus et blanditiis eos lenientes, et minis, ni adquiescerent, absterrentes, ad assensum suum quibus modis possent intentissime provocarent. Illi autem, intenta sibi a rege comminatione, cum salvo eundi et redeundi conductu curiam petiere; omnibusque quæ petierant ad votum impetratis, peracto cum jurejurando liberali hominio, illius sese servitio ex toto manciparunt. Affuit inter reliquos Paganus filius Joannis, sed et Milo ille, de quo superius fecimus mentionem, ille Herefordensis et Salopesbiriæ, iste Glocestrensis provinciæ dominatum gerens: qui in tantum in tempore regis Henrici potentiæ suæ culmen extenderant, ut a Sabrina flumine usque ad mare per omnes fines Angliæ et Waloniæ omnes placitis involverent, angariis onerarent. Sed illo defuncto, dum metu regis Stephani magis quam impotentia pressi, opportunitatem quando dissidentiam excitarent præstolarentur, ambo miserandis modis sine penitentiae fructu interierunt; quia Paganus dum Walenses persequitur, solus inter suos, missili capite transforato, succubuit,<sup>2</sup> Milo vero

<sup>1</sup> *in præsentia*, D.

<sup>2</sup> The *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 98, mentions his death in very similar words, apparently dating it about May, 1137; but the unprinted version of the same continuation in Cott. MS., Calig. A. VI., fo. 230 b,

gives the date, 10 July, 1137, precisely, and states that he was buried in the chapter house of Gloucester by bishop Robert of Hereford and abbot Walter. His brothers are named in a charter in the Monasticon, ii. 90. 15. (ed. 1673).



post multas perturbationes, quas postea regi et regno, A.D. 1136. consilio et astu, sicut in consequentibus plenius declarabimus,<sup>1</sup> intulit, dum cervis insidiaretur, a comite pectus sagitta transfixus sine mora interiit.

Omnibus igitur summatibus regni fide et jure-jurando cum rege constrictis, edicto per Angliam promulgato, summos ecclesiarum ductores cum primis populi ad concilium Londonias conscivit.<sup>2</sup> Illis quoque quasi in unam sentinam illuc confluentibus, ecclesiarumque columnis sedendi ordine dispositis, vulgo etiam confuse et permixtim, ut solet, ubique se ingente, plura regno et ecclesie profutura fuerunt et utiliter ostensa, et salubriter pertractata. De ecclesie siquidem statu in melius componendo, de ejusdem libertate multiplicius restauranda, splendide nonnulla in ipsa regis presentia perorarunt, asserentes in regis Henrici praeipue temporibus ecclesiam vacillasse, ancillam fuisse dejectam et conculcatam, plurimique dedecoris injuriis affectam, pastores etenim ejus, spirituales scilicet divini verbi expensores, qui Dei mensae conjunctius assistebant, [regem] placitis et legibus implicare; cujuslibet angariae violenta exactione degravare; minuscula annuaria vice tributi ab eis exigere; ostium ecclesiae Simonis frequentius quam Petri clave claudere vel aperire; quod Deus acceptavit, conjugii bonum, perfacili occasione dissolvere; adulterina lenocinia sicut ipse committere, ita et in aliis tolerare; terras ecclesiarum, pastoribus defunctis, in proprios usus redigere; altarium nonnunquam oblationes in praepositorum laicorum manus contradere, vel recompensa sibi mercede, quibus jure cedebant injuste concedere. Si quis autem ex adverso ascendens se murum pro domo Israel vellet objicere, nefandisque hujusmodi commentis ecclesiastico rigore occurrere, terrore illius

A council of the clergy in London (April).

Projects for improving the condition of the Church.

State of the Church in the reign of Henry I.

<sup>1</sup> See under 1143.

<sup>2</sup> For reasons for dating the

council early in April 1136, see p. 18, note 1.

A.D. 1136. protinus repressus injuriis impeti, insecutione valida a se suisque comministris tribulari, nec ante in postulatione qualibet vel querimonia exaudiri quam, manu ejus innuncta, reum se præsumptionis in publico proclamaret. Super hac igitur inverecunda ecclesiæ de-  
 pressionem, alteraque, ut verius dicam, Pharaonis grassatione, in facie regis vehementer conquesti, obnixè eum imploraverunt, quatinus suæ ecclesiam libertati redderet, sui eam juris compotem officeret, illius instituta legibus secularium præponi, illius decreta nulla ratione prævalente pateretur remitti. His autem rex patienter auditis, quæcumque postularant gratuito eis indulgens, ecclesiæ libertatem fixam et inviolabilem esse, illius statuta rata et inconcussa, ejus ministros, cujuscumque professionis essent vel ordinis, omni reverentia honorandos esse præcepit. Fecissetque præceptioni suæ satis, nisi et consiliatores perversi, qui bonum quandoque pervertunt animum, et ipsa indigentia necessitas, quæ nullam legem vel rationem admittit, ad hæc infringenda, sicut in consequentibus declarabimus, cum impulissent. Et istis quidem tali modo peroratis, in una omnium pace et concordia concilium est solutum.<sup>1</sup>

Exstitit eo in tempore Robertus<sup>2</sup> quidam de Bath-entona, miles revera nec sanguinis infimi, nec honoris terrarum exigui, sed vorax vini et escarum consumptor, gulæ tantum et ebrietati sub pace vacabat. Mortuo autem rege Henrico, ebrietatis studium in discor-

Petition of the clergy to Stephen.

The king's gracious answer.

The liberties of the Church confirmed.

Character of Robert of Bathampton.

<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury gives Stephen's charter, p. 707, dating it from Oxford, in 1136, but he omits the witnesses. Richard of Hexham gives the charter with the names of all witnesses. These include Robert of Gloucester and Hugh Bigod. The former reached England after March 22; the latter rebelled on April 26 (H. Hunt.,

259). Malmesbury dates the charter "*non multo post adventum comitis.*" These three facts seem to point to the beginning of April as the true date.

<sup>2</sup> H. Hunt., p. 259, also calls him *Robertus quidam*. The form *Bath-entona* appears as *Bathentun* and *Bakentun* in the MSS. of Huntingdon.

diæ commutans dissidium, militibus et sagittariis A.D. 1136.  
 secum in castello agglutinatis, affines omnes igne et Ilis acts of  
 deprædatione vehementer vexabat: hominioque tandem outrage.  
 regi Stephano exhibito, cum discordiæ maxime et in-  
 quietudinis deberet immunis existere, crudelior cunctis  
 et infestior apparebat. Vocatus vero ad curiam tan- He is sum-  
 quam de rebellio in regno excitato satisfactorius, piger moned to  
 quidem et subtristis advenit; utpote qui perjuriis sibi the court  
 et infidelitatis conscius regiam se majestatem offen- of Stephen  
 disse prænorat. Accusatus denique a pluribus, quorum to answer  
 substantiam hostili invasione diripuerat, cum causa for his  
 ejus invalida et responsio inefficax esset, sententiæ offences.  
 judicium protinus addictus, compulsus est et castellum Is sen-  
 regis deliberationi committere, et quæcumque posside- tenced to  
 bat in misericordiæ illius dispositionem<sup>1</sup> contradenda give up his  
 esse. Et hoc profecto juste provisum satisque ido- castle,  
 neum judicatum fuit, ut qui aliorum cupidus quæ sua  
 non erant injuste invaserat, justo æquitatis judicio et  
 sua amitteret. Consultum est autem regi, quia neces- and soldiers  
 sitas ad hoc urgebat, militum cohortem ad ejus susci- are sent to  
 piendum castellum, comitante ipso Roberto, destinaret. take it.  
 Quod et ipse hilari quidem et arridente vultu in The plans  
 curiæ conspectu concessit; sed in animo dolose versa- of Robert  
 bat, quomodo et regis milites seducere et quæ proprii for retain-  
 possidebat juris posset retinere. Cum igitur in itinere ing his  
 pariter progressi, ad quandam ipsius Roberti villam castle.  
 hospitandi gratia divertissent, ipso Roberto duce illo-  
 rum et præambulo existente, omnes domus suæ minis-  
 tros in eorum susceptionem gratanter excitavit, splen-  
 didoque epularum apparatu omnibus abunde convivatis,  
 vino etiam largissimo et somno in nocte sepultis, ipse  
 equum ascendens ab eis furtive discessit, suoque mu- He makes  
 nicipio contra regem valde obfirmato, nunc huc nunc his escape,  
 illuc per incerta latibula vagans, quandoque etiam and for-  
 eum regis inimicis adversus eum inimicanter agens, tifies his  
 stronghold.

<sup>1</sup> dispositione, D.

A.D. 1136. horrendo tandem exitu inter extraneos expiravit. Sed  
 His death. regis milites in crastino expergefacti, ut consodalem  
 tam negligenter amissum adverterunt, plurimum de  
 discessione illius confusi, sicut sine Roberto ita et  
 Stephen marches to Bathampton. sine honore ad curiam redierunt. Audiens denique  
 rex seditionem circa Bathamptonam esse exortam, mu-  
 nicipes namque Roberti, igne et rapina scævientes,  
 escarum omne suffragium, viribus undecumque illatis,  
 directum in castellum congregabant, pulsa protinus  
 dilatione, potenti cum armatorum expeditione illuc  
 The siege of Bathampton (June, 1136). tetendit.<sup>1</sup> Quo cum perventum esset, fixis circa cas-  
 tellum castris, sagittariis etiam ad excubandum nocte  
 dispositis, aliis ad insidiandum in die ordinatis, ad  
 expeditionem perseveranter inferendum rex cum omni  
 exercitu viriliter se accinxit. Nec mora, dum excubi-  
 tores intentius pernoctant, miserum homunculum a  
 muro demissum fugamque consulentem ceperunt, ob-  
 latumque regi in omnium suorum oculis alte suspen-  
 derunt; rege affirmante tali omnes exitio puniendos,  
 ni jussioni suæ festine adquiescentes, de castello red-  
 dendo in commune consulerent. Illi statim verentes,  
 minis sibi a rege intentis, vitæ suæ providere con-  
 sultu dignum judicaverunt, dum constet<sup>2</sup> et verum  
 sit nullam pro anima commutationem tribuendam;  
 redditoque in manus regis castello, dura sibi, vellent  
 nollent, imposita conditione, ut ab omni regno exles

\*

<sup>1</sup> That this march was in the latter part of May, 1136, appears likely from the following reasons: (i.) the Waverley Annals, p. 225, say that Stephen stayed in East Anglia about Hugh Bigod's rebellion *ad Pentecosten* (May 10); (ii.) Ordericus places a proposed visit to Normandy *post Pentecosten*; (iii.) Henry of Hunt., p. 259, agrees that Stephen, after taking Bathampton, went to capture Exeter; (iv.)

the siege of Exeter (see p. 25) occupied almost three months, and was ended by the drying up of the wells—a circumstance which points to the beginning of September; (v.) the Waverley Annals, p. 225, say that Stephen went to Brampton *ad festum sancti Michaelis*. Reckoning backwards, we see that the siege of Bathampton probably took place late in May or early in June.

<sup>2</sup> constat, D.

aberrarent, donec eos clementia regis revocaret, cum A.D. 1136.  
rege Scotio multo, ut audivimus, tempore habitarunt.<sup>1</sup>

Needum ista rex ad effectum deduxerat, et ecce Baldwin de Redvers makes an insurrection against the king at Exeter (about June).  
quidam maximæ discordiæ nuncii ex Esonia civitate, referentes Baldvinum de Revers, virum et dignitate et genere magnificum, insolita quædam et, ut res se habebat, adversus regiam pacem agere: quia urbem inter togatos cives solito arrogantius cum armato milite ingredi; nec solum in urbe commanentes, sed et convicaneos omnes, ut ad sui solius dominium inflecerentur rogare; omne etiam genus edulii in castellum,<sup>2</sup> quod ex regio sibi usurpat honore, festinanter ingerere; universis non suæ se præsumptioni ineliantibus ignem et gladium viva voce minari; idcirco The citizens send to the king for assistance.  
se regem summissa prece implorare, ut civibus suis in tribulationis angustia positis, solumque<sup>3</sup> in defensione sua remedium sperantibus, succurrere maturaret: quo subventionis suæ ope roborati, et Baldvini potentiae facilius reniti, et sibi soli valerent liberius et specialius obsequi. Talibus rex auditis, temerariam Baldvini præsumptionem indigne ferens, et ideo præcipue, quia luce clarius erat injuste eum adversum se insurrexisse, quia castelli Esoniensis, quod regalis semper extiterat juris, rex sibi custodiam rationabiliter requirebat, nullum hostibus discursandi per provincias tempus indulsit, sed ducentis equitibus, qui The king orders two hundred cavalry to march to Exeter.  
illum præcederent, ad Esoniam destinatis, præcepit ut tota nocte itinerantes adversarios secluderent si possent, sin autem civibus permixti armati incederent, neve civitati obsessent sollicitè procurarent. Cum igi-

<sup>1</sup> Ordericus Vitalis (Prevost's edit., vol. v., p. 63) says that after May 10, 1136—probably therefore just before the attack on Bathampton—Stephen prepared a fleet to cross to Normandy. Hearing, however, a false report of the death

of bishop Roger, he returned to Salisbury. As a result of the interruption, he postponed his journey till the following Lent.

<sup>2</sup> *castello*, D.

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



A.D. 1136. tur in mane crastinus dies erupisset, Balduini milites

The fol-  
lowers of  
Baldwin,  
being  
about to  
destroy and  
plunder  
the city,  
are routed  
by the  
king's  
troops.

in cives iracundia permoti, eo quod in malum suum ad regem misissent, ad civitatem spoliandam, ad faces domibus injiciendas, agmine conferto e castello prodibant, cum ecce legionarii<sup>1</sup> micantibus armis, vexillisque in altum volitantibus, civitati appropriarunt, tumultuque civitatis, pro castellanis deprædatione et igne furentibus, horribiliter exorto, portis se audacter inferentes, in fugam adversarios repente miserunt. Nec mora, et rex in turmis et centenariis cum glorioso; immo ut verius dicam, cum horrendo comitatu advenit, civibusque suis cum honore et gloria, cum donariis et festiva lætitia illi occurrentibus, gaudenter intra muros susceptus fuit.

Stephen is  
gladly re-  
ceived by  
the citi-  
zens.

Descrip-  
tion of  
Exeter.

Est autem Esonia civitas ampla, vetustissimo Cæsarium opere murata, quarta ut ferunt principalis Angliæ sedes, æquoreorum piscium, carnum quoque, et navalis commercii refertissima. Castellum in ea situm, editissimo aggere sublatum, muro inexpugnabili obseptum, turribus Cæsarianis in-scissili<sup>2</sup> calce confectis firmatum: in quo Balduinus validissimam pubem, totius duntaxat Angliæ florem, ad obsistendum regi delectam imposuit. Et isti quidem fide et jurejurando, ne regi cederent omnino, cum essent astricti, cum uxore illius et filiis, ad omnia parati recludebantur, castellumque cum micantibus armis spissim et ordinate coronantes, conviciis illatis, regem et suos sæpissime improperabant. Aliquando etiam ex occultis aditibus ex insperato prosilientes, regium damnaturi exercitum cum impetu irruere, nonnunquam vero aut sagittas emitte-re, aut jacula ex alto vibrare, multisque aliis modis, cum tempus exigebat, infesti existere. Ceterum rex cum baronum copia, qui omnes aut cum adveniente convenerant, aut perniciousiter eum collatis viribus subsequabantur, multis modis quo eis molestior esset desu-

The castle  
is strongly  
garrisoned  
by Baldwin  
de Redvers.

The siege.

<sup>1</sup> *regionarii*, D.

<sup>2</sup> *in-scissili*, D., but Roman mortar, that will not split is meant.



davit; quare<sup>1</sup> et agmine peditum instructissime armato A.D. 1136. —  
 exterius promurale, quod ad castellum muniendum  
 aggere cumulatissimo in altum sustollebatur, expulsis  
 constanter hostibus suscepit, pontemque interiorem,  
 quo ad urbem de castello incessus protendebatur,  
 viriliter infregit, lignorumque ingentia ædificia, quibus  
 de muro pugnare nitentibus resisteretur, mire et arti-  
 ficiose exaltavit. Die etiam et nocte graviter et  
 intente obsidionem clausis inferre; nunc cum armatis  
 aggerem incessu quadrupede conscendentibus rixam  
 pugnacem secum committere; nunc cum innumeris  
 funditoribus, qui e diverso conducti fuerant, intolera-  
 bili eos lapidum grandine infestare; aliquando autem  
 ascitis eis, qui massæ subterraneæ cautius norunt ve-  
 nas incidere, ad murum diruendum viscera terræ scruta-  
 ri præcipere; nonnunquam etiam machinas diversi  
 generis, alias in altum sublatas, alias humo tenus  
 depressas, istas ad inspiciendum quidnam rerum in  
 castello gereretur, illas ad murum quassandum vel  
 subruendum aptare. Illi e contra fortiter et promp-  
 tissime refragantes, omnia ejus machinamenta, in qui-  
 bus plurimum artificum desudarat ingenium, nihili  
 pendebant: ita ut strenue et ingeniose utrisque de-  
 certantibus, magnum eorum fieret prudentiæ et veloci-  
 tatis certamen.

Cum igitur omnes laboriose decertarent, et isti qui-  
 dem ut reclusos devincerent, illi autem ut se ab ex-  
 clusis inexpugnanter defenderent, milites Balduini,  
 quibus observandi castelli sui de Plintona curam in-  
 dulserat, propter insuperabilem,<sup>2</sup> quam adesse cum rege  
 audierant, virtutem, de domino suo desperantes, et ne  
 vitæ suæ periculum incurrerent, ut inertissimi et in-  
 constantis animi, plus justo formidantes, de reddendo  
 castello pacisque concordia inter eos statuenda regi  
 occulte miserunt. Rex itaque malens in pacis et

Secret propositions  
 for surrendering the  
 castle of  
 Plympton  
 to the king.

<sup>1</sup> quia, D.

| <sup>2</sup> inseparabilem, D.

A.D. 1136. concordiae amore cuncta<sup>1</sup> componere, quam schisma  
 — dissensionis quoquomodo enutrire, libenti animo  
 quaecumque postularant annuit, dummodo se imperio  
 suo inclinantes, quæ pacis essent toto nisu excolerent.  
 Datis denique dextris et acceptis, ducenti milites,  
 cum ingenti sagittantium cuneo, penes Plintonam  
 The king's forces are received into Plympton.  
 diriguntur, primoque diluculo ante castellum inopi-  
 nate loricati astantes maximum comprovincialibus ter-  
 rorem, et præcipue hujus factionis insciis, incutientes,  
 ab ipsis proditoribus, quasi pro impotentia obsidioni  
 resistere non valentibus, redditum castellum tandem  
 suscipiunt. Quo postremo suscepto, regisque ex jus-  
 sione solo tenus diruto, omnem Balduini terram, quæ  
 in illis partibus ampla est et delectabilis omnibusque  
 affluens bonis, horribili deprædatione nudantes, cum  
 multis gregum et armentorum millibus Esoniam, ad  
 regem, redierunt. Talia<sup>2</sup> per omnes Damnoniæ partes  
 fama dispergente, omnes Balduini astipulatores sibi  
 periculum, rebus jacturam ex regis sibi insectatione  
 inferendam admodum metuentes, ei se supplices con-  
 tulerunt, excepto Aluredo filio Joelis<sup>3</sup> cujusdam illus-  
 trissimi viri, qui erat cum Balduino familiaritate  
 notissimus, amicitia connexus, fide etiam ad obsisten-  
 dum regi adjuratus. Sed cum castellum haberet per-  
 tensum et invalidum, nec ad suos contutandos suffi-  
 cienti munitione securum, vacuum illud et hominum  
 expers omnino reliquit, Esoniamque cum fortissima  
 militum manu frater illius latenter adventans, inter  
 regios milites, nec enim possibile erat, inter tot lori-  
 catos, quis ille vel iste esset facile discernere, sub  
 specie regem adjuvantium se commiscuit. Deinde  
 legato intra castellum misso, captivi siquidem et re-

The fol-  
 lowers of  
 Baldwin  
 submit to  
 the king,  
 with the  
 exception  
 of Alured  
 Fitz Joel.

<sup>1</sup> *cuncta*, D.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Alia*, Duchesne. Sewell sug-  
 gests *illa*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Monasticon* (ed. 1655, i.,  
 pp. 684-5). Perhaps this was

Alured de Totnes, apparently a son  
 of the Joel mentioned in a charter  
 to Barnstaple priory which Baldwin  
 de Redvers witnesses.

ligiosi certis de causis introeundi vias frequentabant, A.D. 1136. —  
Balduini milites de adventu suo certificavit, quodque, propriis quæcumque possederat relictis, fide illius et amore allectus, quæcumque sors ei objiceret, cum eis passurus advenit. Illi continuo pro consodalis adventu festivo gaudio exultantes, portis apertis, in illius occursum cum innumeris armatis prosilire, eumque cum suis in facie regis, et in omnium conspectu principum sane introduxerunt. Confusus illico regis exercitus, et illi potissimum, quibus providendi et magistrandi in alios cura committebatur, eo quod illi et sui communionem, ignorantibus omnibus, participati fuissent, et, quod mordacius urebat, illibate et libere de medio illorum ad hostes se transtulissent. Rex autem leni animo quod acciderat ferens, nihil super hoc indignabatur; verum tunc demum festum se diem acturum aiebat, si divina id actum esset providentia, ut omnes pacis suæ adversarii in uno locello concluderentur.

The besieged at Exeter make a sally.

Alured contrives to get into the castle.

Interea dum et exterius impugnantium, et interius obniventium, anceps esset victoria, rex etiam ibi tribus fere mensibus perendinatus, usque ad xv. millia marcarum<sup>1</sup> in variis expensis consumpsisset, tantos rerum Dispositor Deus volens terminare labores, duorum castelli puteorum uberes venas, affluisque aquarum rivulis semper destillantes, adeo exsiccavit, ut quæ prius ad quotidianum haustum hominibus et jumentis abunde suffecerant, vix nunc ad unius sedandam sitim sufficere prævalerent. Asserunt quidam ex intemperati solis caloribus refluas aquarum scatebras contractas esse, alii fluitantibus in viscera terræ meatibus, aliquo accidente casu, in imis cavernis occultisve terræ sinibus retrusas fuisse. Ego autem non id solis ardori, non casui cuilibet ascribo, sed viva voce protestor, divinam in puteis siccatis adesse virtutem, quia, si in tot anteactis seculis eum et calores plurimi

The siege lasts nearly three months.

The wells of the castle dry up.

<sup>1</sup> *marcas*, D.

A.D. 1136. extiterint, semper inexhaustæ abundaverint, nec nunc, nisi divina virtute operante, usque ad aquarum indigentiam extenuarentur: maxime cum et ante castelli obsidionem, et post ipsius statim redditionem, aquæ largissime exuberarint, earumque tantum dum obsidio protelaretur adesset indigentia: ut videlicet sitis supplicio, tanquam aliquo Dei castigati flagello, sponte et suppliciter cogerentur reddere, quod injuste et arroganter videbantur tenere.

The besieged are reduced to the greatest extremities for want of water.

Aquis igitur cessantibus, ab omnibus, ad necessaria explenda, ad vinum recurrebatur; quod quidem in brevi fuit exhaustum; dum necessitas urgeret, et panes vice aquæ vino conficere, et, si qui erant patiendi cibi, vino lixare. Igni quoque et facibus, quos ad machinas eorum ustulandas, vel ad domos consumendas, regis artifices prudenter et artiste immittebant, cum vino semper extincturi occurrebant, quousque sicut nec aquæ, ita nec vini guttam prorsus haberent. Unde constat, potu deficiente, multimodis eos passionibus angustiari, et ad singula quæque solito imbecilliores existere: quia fragile corpus hominis tunc demum constans est et convalescit, quando naturæ sufficienti sustentatur alimento: cum vero imminutum fuerit, vel ex toto subtractum, infirmum habetur et omnino invalidum. Continuis itaque excubationibus ultra humanam opinionem afflictis, diversis pugnarum modis, quos de muro adversariis inferebant, usque ad defectum fatigati, sitis ad extremum nimia et intolerabili arefactione extenuati, in commune sibi consulere; quatinus consultis illis, deque interiori, qua vexabantur, angustia secreta certificatis, quorum impulsu Balduinus se contra regem armaverat, qui et tunc cum rege dolose militabant, salvis hominibus castellum contraderent. Nec mora, duobus totius castelli primis et dignioribus ad regem delegatis, qui et linguas venustius ornare, et verba quotiens expediebat prudentius et ornatius immutare prænorant. Sed ille, fratris sui Wintoniensis episcopi

Proposals for capitulation are

consilio persuasus, ferream illis frontem ostendens, A.D. 1136. —  
 inexauditos a præsentia sua eum minis abegit: quia  
 episcopus, laxa et effœta eorum cute conspecta, mili-  
 tibus remissis et a naturali succo vacuatis, labris dis-  
 panso hiatu retractis, anhela eos siti laborare depre-  
 hendit, ideoque nequaquam consultum esse progrediendi  
 de castello permissum eis indulgere, cum ratum esset  
 in proximo eos ad votum suum, quocumque modo  
 exoptabant, cessuros. Uxor etiam Balduini duram  
 hanc suorum repulsionem non ferens, nuda pedes,  
 sparsa seapulis erines, largos lacrymarum imbres ema-  
 nans, ad regem pro suis supplicatura accessit. Sed  
 ille humiliter eam et benigne suscepit, tum pro pie-  
 tate, quam de miserando et afflicto sexu habuerat,  
 tum pro nobilis mulieris eognatis et amicis, qui secum  
 ibi in obsidione laborabant, auditisque quæ flebiliter  
 de reddendo castello miseranda deposebat, inflexibili-  
 ter se et adhuc indurans, sine effectu ad suos tandem  
 remisit. Istis itaque hoc modo repulsis, solumque  
 proximam mortem opperientibus, barones regis alii pro  
 contribulibus suis, qui intus recludebantur, germano  
 sanguini compassi, vehementer indoluerunt: alii Bal-  
 duini dissensionis conscii et cooperatores, pro obsi-  
 dione consentaneis suis tam obstinate intenta non  
 minimum effrenduerunt, factoque agmine regem pari-  
 ter adeuntes nunc viva eum eo ratione plura contu-  
 lerunt, nunc blanditiis intermixtis in alterum eum  
 hominem repente mutaverunt.

rejected by  
 the advice  
 of the  
 bishop of  
 Winchester.

The wife of  
 Baldwin  
 petitions  
 the king in  
 vain.

The barons  
 of the  
 realm in-  
 terfere  
 success-  
 fully on  
 behalf of  
 Baldwin.

Dicebant namque regi plenum se de hostibus con-  
 quisisse triumphum, dum quod sui erat juris, præva-  
 lentibus viribus suis, tandem conquisisset; ideoque  
 dignitati suæ esse aptius, regiæque pietati competen-  
 tius, captivis supplicibus vitam donare, quam usque  
 ad mortem punitis, quod parum vitæ supererat im-  
 misericorditer auferre. Addebant et illos non in re-  
 giam majestatem jurasse, nec nisi in fidelitatem domini  
 sui arma movisse; immo tunc se specialiter eum rege

Their  
 argument.



A.D. 1136. agere declarabant, cum, quod sui erat juris proprii, in manus suas tandem tradidissent. Quocirca consultius esse regnoque suo commodius judicabant, morosam illam, qua maxime gravabantur, solvere obsidionem, quatinus et castellum ad gloriæ suæ augmentum susciperet, et ad alia explenda negotia paratius sese et avidius accingeret. Rex autem baronum frequentia vallatus, qui non solum precum blanditiis implorabant, verum etiam monitis cum suasoriis impellebant, flexus postremo quæ petierant concessit: utque conjunctius sibi alliceret, inque servitium suum devotiores haberet, non solum eos libere progredi, sed et sua exportare, et cuicumque domino vellent adherere permisit. Illis denique progredientibus, corpora singulorum marcida siccaque siti videres languentia, citiusque ad hauriendum cujusvis generis poculum, quam ad quodlibet explendam negocium, egressi properabant.

The king yields to their advice.

The besieged are allowed to march out and carry away their property, and follow any chief they think fit.

Baldwin flees to the Isle of Wight (September?). Description of the island.

Audiens Balduinus regem superiorem, quæque possederat in manus illius cecidisse, non est desperatus nec animo fractus; sed, viribus reparatis, ad terram suam de Wiht, rebellium et adhuc excitaturus, se totum convertit. Est autem Wiht insula marina, longitudinis capax, latitudine stricta, nautarum excursionibus frequentata, piscium abundans, frugibus infœcunda, tota fere in Balduini sortem ex patrimonio collata, inter Angliam et Normanniam, sed Angliæ propinquius sita. In hac idem castellum habebat, ornatissimo lapidum ædificio constructum, validissimo munimine firmatum, ex quo, collectis in immensum navigium piratis, regiam potestatem infirmare tentabat; flatumque ad omnem paratus, et mercatores inter Angliam et Normanniam velificantes intercipere, et utrisque terris, quocumque nisu posset, molestiam inferre desudabat. Sed rex stropham illius præveniens, castellum Esoniense cum adjacente provincia in episcopi Wintoniensis dispositione relinquens, Balduinum celeriter fuit subsecutus. Veniensque ad portum, qui



vocatur Hamtona, eo quod esset insulæ contiguus accessuque facilior, classem sibi cum nauticis instrumentis aptare præcepit: cum ecce Balduinus, de illius adventu tam subito tamque insperato nimium obstupescens, ad eum supplex et miserandus, urgentibus amicis, advenit. Castello siquidem Vihttensi firme et inexpugnabiliter adversus regem munito, mensus est sollicite, si, quemadmodum escarum inerat abundantia, ita et ad hominum inhabitantium quantitatem aquarum non deesset sufficientia. Sed et hoc rerum dispositrice Dei actum est providentia, ut et aquæ subita superveniente ariditate exsiccarentur, et ad obsistendum regi ipse et comministri ejus desperatione frangerentur. Quocirca quæ prius possederat regem deposcens, nec impetrans, exul tandem ab Anglia ad comitem Andegavensem eum impugnaturus accessit. Comes autem in adventu illius admodum lætificatus, honoranter eum cum suis suscepit, seque ad explendum omne animi sui propositum paratum esse, et devotissimum aiebat, sive in curia sua commilitare, sive regie dignitati disposuisset obsistere.

A.D. 1136.

The king preparing to sail for the Isle of Wight, Baldwin surrenders himself.

Baldwin goes into exile to the count of Anjou, and is honourably received.

At Balduinus, curiales delicias ad tempus aspernans, ad discordiam in regem promovendam se constanter accingere; amicis et cognatis pro regis infestatione plurimum conqueri, se patria pulsum, a patrimonio alienatum, fugam et exilium injuste perpeßsum, ideoque ad solius sui refugii portum recurrisse, quatinus viribus et armis secum utentibus, si quo modo fortunam in melius immutare possent, experirentur. Et illi quidem illustrissimi viri querimoniis tenere compatientes, adeo eum actu et consilio intente adjuvarunt, ut eum cum suis in propriis recipientes castellis, domini ei vicem et honorem ex toto concesserint. Ipse itaque, plurimis in auxilium suum conspirantibus, in tota Normannia, et præcipue contra regi consentientes, dissensionem ordiri; non rapinæ aut violentiæ parere; non se a gladio vel ab incendio retrahere; improvise ad deprædandum irruens omnia

The intrigues of Baldwin against the king.

Insurrection in Normandy.

A.D. 1136. [im]p[er]isericorditer auferre; turbam ubique faciens cunctis se formidandum exhibere. Ad hæc autem mala inferenda comitissa Andegavensis, regis Henrici filia, continuo precandi et admonendi stimulo eum impellebat; quia, defuncto patre, thesauros ejus, quos ad animam illius medelam justius erat egentibus impartiri, in proprios usus redegerat,<sup>1</sup> castella quædam ad sui ipsius proprietatem firmarat. Nec solum Balduinum, sed et alios, quotquot poterat, ad sibi obsequendum inclinarat; utpote quæ regni dominum, ex paterno sibi jure, juste, ut sibi videbatur,<sup>2</sup> vendicabat.

Baldwin is instigated by the empress Maud.

Talia cum rex in Normannia plenius fieri edidicisset, missis trans mare legatis, neque enim propter grave rerum insistendarum pondus prævaluit tam cito illie assistere, digniores quosque prece et<sup>3</sup> . . .

[Desunt hic aliquot folia.]

A.D. 1137.  
Decem-  
ber 25.

The king requires Milo de Beauchamp to give up the castle of Bedford, and do homage.

. . . . Bedefordiæ comitem efficeret.<sup>4</sup> Curia denique splendide et solemniter, ut in Christi decuit Nativitate, celebrata, missis rex ad Milonem de Bellocampo nunciis, qui castello Bedefordiæ ex regia permissione custos præsidebat, præcepit, ut et castellum Bedefordiæ, et quam sibi debebat servitii vicem Hugoni exhiberet. Si vero præcepto suo libens adquiesceret honorandum eum, multisque donandum exeniis; si vero quoquo modo contrarius haberetur, totius eum infortunii adversitatem perlaturum citissime pollicebatur. Milo denique, regia legatione per-

<sup>1</sup> Should apparently be *rex Stephanus* redegerat.

<sup>2</sup> *videbantur*, D.

<sup>3</sup> We here lose details of what happened at Brampton, including the effects of the breach of agreement as to the forest laws (II. Hunt., p. 260). We lose, too, an account of what was happening in England while Stephen was in

Normandy. He returned (R. Hex. and R. of Torig.) about Advent (Nov. 28), and kept the Christmas feast of 1137 at Dunstable (*C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 101). At this point our chronicle resumes.

<sup>4</sup> The name here lost is probably that of Hugh le Poer. See p. 32, note 1.

cepta, libenti se animo regi militaturum, ejusque imperiis obsecuturum dicebat, ni se a possessione, ex paterno jure sibi et suis debita, amovere temptaret; quod si id ex animo faceret, si fixe adversum se insurgere pararet, se quidem iram ejus quanto posset patientius tolerare, sed castellum, nisi illo ad extrema deducto, [regem] nunquam habiturum. Talia rex percipiens, maxima indignatione erga Milonem permotus, ex omni Anglia in unum exercitu conflente, illum obsessurus Bedefordiam advenit.<sup>1</sup> Cognito Milo illius adventu, quicquid escarum sub manibus repererat, ab omnibus cum violentia distractum, secum asportavit; civibusque et confinibus, quibus prius, ut suis, humane pepererat, inverecundam<sup>2</sup> inferens rapinam, quicquid oculis occurrebat in castellum congeffit, portisque diligenter obseratis, hac vice regales sine suorum detrimento exclusit. Verum rex castelli ambitum prudenter pergyrans, illis et illis in locis, quæ ad insidiandum opportuniora habebantur, sagittantium phalanges apposuit, præcepitque ut in altum dirigentes, vel propugnaculis inhærentes, crebra sagittarum impeterent emissionè, liberumque prospectum habere non permittentès, ad eos perturbandos studiose contenderent. Ille interim ad diversi generis machinas construendas, quæ vel ad vallum dispergendum vel ad murum dissipandum aptarentur, arte et ingenio, sumptu et opere

A.D. 1137.

Milo offers to do knight-service, but refuses to give up the castle.

A.D. 1138.

The king marches against Bedford (in January?)

Milo provisions his castle.

The king besieges it.

<sup>1</sup> "Emensis festivis diebus Dominicæ Nativitatis" is the date in *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 102. H. Hunt., p. 260, says "in vigilia Natalis." *Ord. Vit.*, v., p. 103, says that the king attacked Bedford at Christmas, *prohibente fratre suo Henrico*, and that it was defended by the sons of Robert de Beauchamp, who feared that the king would marry their cousin to Hugh le Poer, earl of Bedford, third son of Robert de Meulan. Adam de Domerham, ed.

Hicarne, p. 328, gives a charter dated 1138, "apud Goldintonam in obsidione Bedeford." In Dugdale's *Monasticon* (1655), vol. i., p. 480, is a charter of Stephen, probably of this date, given "apud Maperteshalam in obsidione." Close to Meppershall church, Bedfordshire, is a mound with double circumvallation answering to the ordinary earthwork and timber castles of this reign.

<sup>2</sup> *irreverendam*, D.

A.D. 1138. insudare; nocte vero proceres excubitores ad singulos castelli ingressus observandos, ne inclusi ad suos commovendos irrumperent, neve forensis quilibet escas eis vel solamina inferret, sollerter ordinare; die vero quantum adversitatis artificiosius ei intendere, quibus modis competentius posset inflectere, studiosius providere. Sed quia castellum editissimo aggere vallatum, muro forti et arduo in circuitu cinctum, inquassabili turri et forti firmatum, hominibus duris et invictis oppletum, spem tam cito capiendi prorsus ademerat, ad alia regni peragenda negotia, quæ illum instanter stimulabant, [sc] convertens, majorem exercitus partem ad eos obsidendos reliquit; jussitque, ut si machinis eos subjugare non possent, quousque fame et inedia defecti supplices redderentur, obsidionem protelarent. Et illi quidem, rege discesso, tandiu obsidendo eos vexarunt, usque dum, cibis deficientibus et ipsi defetiscentes, tenendi impossibilitatem tandem faterentur. Sub militari igitur conditione castellum deserentes, regis ad hoc eos compellente virtute et imperio, tradiderunt. Sed quanto tunc humiliores et depressiores, tanto, aliquantillo elapso tempore, elatiores et acerbiores ad ipsum castellum redeuntes, non solum illud recuperarunt, verum ipsum Rogerium de comite militem, de milite pauperem, Deo judice, ordine mirabiliter transverso, effecerunt.<sup>1</sup> Sed de his plenius in sequentibus.

The siege turned into a blockade.

The castle is surrendered, but is subsequently recovered.

1140

Invasion of Northumberland by the Scotch.

Expugnata denique Bedefordia, cum jam discordiæ finem impositum, omnemque repugnantiae commotionem sopitam crederes et omnino abolitam, ecce totius malitiæ radix et origo in ea Angliæ parte,

<sup>1</sup> These words should be compared with the elucidating passage as to Hugh on p. 73. This shows that we should regard *Rogerium* as a mistake, and read *Hugonem*. The pusillanimous restora-

tion of the castle to Milo by Hugh le Poer took place in 1141. Ordericus Vitalis, v., p. 120, calls Roger of Salisbury's son, the chancellor, "*Rogerus cognomento Pauper*." Hence perhaps the confusion.

quæ Nordhumbria dicitur, rapinam et incendium, discordiam et bellum promotura surrexit.<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1138.

Tam magnum enimvero, tamque stupendum fuit hoc malum, ut non solum hominibus horrendum, verum etiam de cœlo magnum declaratum sit et admirandum; cum paulo antequam hoc contigisset, viderimus non modicam cœli partem ad instar fornacis ardentis igneas spissim scintillas emittere, ignitosque miræ conflagrationis globos, tanquam<sup>2</sup> vivi incendii carbones, non in uno tantum, sed divise variis in locis agiliter sese et densanter movere. Et hæc nimirum tam aperta, tamque visibilis ignivoma cœli facies vel futuram maximi sanguinis effusionem, vel indicibilem, quæ subsecuta est, villarum et urbium exprimebat cremationem, quia Summus rerum Opifex, cum sit invisibilis, ignorantiae tamen nostræ pie condescendens, visibiliter nos de futuris instruit, et aliquando re vera signum de cœlo ad nos informandos ostendit, aliquando per quælibet, Ipso agente, accidentia in terris inscitiam nostram certificat et præmunit. Et de cœlo quidem, sicut in libro Regum, cum viderent partem cœli insolito inductam rubore, belli scilicet futuri a Deo præmonstratum signum, exponentes quidnam illud prætenderet, dixerunt, "Sanguis est gladii." In libro quoque Machabæorum, cum intuerentur igneas discurrere in cœlo acies, militumque aëriorum nihil nisi ignem spirantium communes conflictus, verissime futuri mali esse agnosebant portenta; quod et ipse historiarum textus ita fuisse certissime commendat. Sed et in terris plurima ostendit Deus, quæ rerum

Preternatural warnings.

\*  
4 Reg. iii.  
23.  
2 Mach. v.  
2.

<sup>1</sup> Richard of Hexham furnishes details of this invasion. It began on Jan. 10; Stephen heard of it (*C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 102) after the fall of Bedford, and he reached Northumberland by Feb. 2. Bedford therefore capitulated about the

middle of January. Ordericus Vitalis, v., p. 104, says the siege lasted five weeks, and began before Christmas (*ibique Natali Domini . . laboriose peregit*). This would give the end of January.

<sup>2</sup> *tanq.* (for *tamque*), D.



A.D. 1138. in proximo futurarum aperta fuerunt indicia, sicut scissionem pallii Saulis, quæ regni illius consummationem portendebat. Decem quoque scissuræ, quas propheta jussit Jeroboam tollere, dominium eum super decem tribus habiturum expresserunt. Omnia nihilominus prophetarum gesta, sed et scriptio illa, quæ coram Baltasar fuit exarata, et somnia patris sui, nihil aliud nisi rerum supervenientium vera quædam erant præsagia, quibus mortales præcognitis et Deo suppliciores et in ipsis malis fierent cautiores. Non igitur me lector rugosa sanna derideat, si polum, quem his oculis in ardorem conversum, densissimæque conspexi ignis et carbonum vellera proferre, malorum futurorum formam dixerim, illiusque dirissimæ pestis quæ in Nordhumbria consequenter evenit, significationem. Audiat itaque et advertat, qui nosse desiderat.

David king of Scotland had promised Henry to support his daughter.

Erat rex in Scotia, quæ confinis est Angliæ, fluvio quodam certis limitibus duo regna determinante, rex pectoris mansueti, progenitoribusque religiosis exortus, et ipse justo vivendi tramite illos cœquans. Iste, cum in præsentia regis Henrici, cum ceteris regni summatibus, immo omnium primus jurejurando se constrinxisset, nullum, illo expirante, nisi aut filiam regis, aut ejus hæredem in regnum<sup>1</sup> suscepturum, vehementer indoluit Stephanum ad regni Anglorum gubernaculum successisse. Sed quia illud sine suo consultu ab ipsis baronibus provisum fuit et actum, extrema rerum sapienter metiens, ad quem finem cœpta devenirent, tempore aliquanto tacitus expectabat. Tandem cum regis Henrici filia literis ad eum missis intimaret, se patrio testamento alienatam; regno sibi spouso et jurato privatam, leges solutas, justitiam calcatam, fidem baronum Angliæ fœdusque juratum ruptum ex toto et nihili pensum, ideoque suppliciter illum et lacrymose precari, quatinus ut cognatus

The empress Maud complains to him of the loss of her kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> regno, D.



destitutæ subveniret, ut sibi adjuratus miserandæ sub- A.D. 1138.  
sidium impenderet, rex alte ingemuit, zeloque justitiæ  
succensus, tum pro communis sanguinis cognatione,  
tum pro fide mulieri repromissa et debita, regnum  
Angliæ turbare disposuit; ut undique in regem dis-  
sentione commota, quod injuste, ut sibi videbatur,  
occupaverat, justiori se, cooperante Deo, linquere coge-  
retur. Habebat rex secum, qui eum crebro admoni- She is sup-  
tionis calcare ad turbationem concitandam stimula- ported by  
bant, hinc filium Roberti de Bathentona, ejusque the son of  
collaterales, qui ex Anglia, ut dictum est, exulati, sub Robert of  
spe recuperandæ patriæ ad illum confugerant; inde Bathamp-  
filium Joannis Eustachium, regis Henrici summum et ton and  
popularem amicum, aliosque quamplures, qui vel ques- other  
tus gratia vel justitiæ, ut sibi videbatur, defendendæ exiles.  
occasione discordiam ambiebant. Rex igitur David, David  
sic enim vocabatur, perpenso<sup>1</sup> per Scotiam edicto wages a  
omnes in arma commovit, laxatisque permissionis suæ cruel war  
frenis, quicquid in Anglos truculentius, quicquid ex- against  
coegitare possent inhumanius, remota pietate, peragere England.  
præcepit.

Est autem Scotia, quæ et Albania dicitur, regio Descrip-  
locis palustribus circumsepta, silvarum fertilium, lactis, tion of  
et armentorum copiosa, portubus salubribus, insulis Scotland.  
opulentis circumcincta, sed incolas barbaros habens et  
impuros, nec nimio frigore fractos, nec aspera fame  
detritos, citis pedibus levique armaturæ confidentes;  
anxium amare<sup>2</sup> mortis exitum pro nihilo ducentes  
inter suos domesticos, sed inter sibi extraneos omnes  
crudelitate excedentes. Hujus igitur gentis rebellem David  
multitudinem a ceterioribus Scotiæ partibus in exerci- marches  
tum inopinabilem adunans, penes Angliam direxit, into North-  
regni que utriusque transitis interfiniis, in provinciam umberland  
Nordhumbriæ, quæ lata erat et populosa, omniumque (Jan. 10).  
necessariorum copiis referta, fuit castra metatus.

<sup>1</sup> *propanso* ? see p. 79.| <sup>2</sup> *amare*, D.

A.D. 1138. Inde turmis et bellantium ordinibus dispositis, in  
 — omnem terram, quæ spaciosa erat et dives, . . . . .

[*Desiderantur et hic nonnulla.*]<sup>1</sup>

In hunc denique modum regis et nunciorum verbis terminatis, discessum est. Et rex plane Londoniam,<sup>2</sup> nuncii vero ad specialem comitis sedem Bristoam tendentes, quam dura regno Angliæ mandata suis pertulerunt—ut scilicet escis plurimis castrum Bristoæ refarcirent, omnium ad se confluentium consortia susciperent, quicquid durius et infestius possent in regem et suos, tanquam in comitis adversarios, sine mora committerent.

Descrip-  
 tion of  
 Bristol.

Est autem Bristoa civitas omnium fere regionis civitatum opulentissima, ex vicinis peregrinisque terris navigio velificante suscipiens mercimonia; in fertiliori Angliæ parte constituta, ipso etiam situ loci omnium civitatum Angliæ munitissima. Sicut enim de Brundisio legimus, quædam provinciæ Glaornensis pars ad formam linguæ restricta et in longum protensa, duobus fluviis gemina ejus latera prolucantibus, inque inferiori parte ubi ipsa terra defectum patitur, in unam aquarum abundantiam coeuntibus, efficit civitatem. Viva quoque et fortis maris exæstuatio noctibus et diebus abundanter exundans, ex ambabus civitatis partibus fluvios ipsos in latum et profundum pelagus regurgitare in seipsos cogit, portumque mille

<sup>1</sup> By this lacuna we lose, as regards the North, the facts as to Stephen's march against the Scotch about Feb. 2; his return about Feb. 17; the renewal of the invasion on April 8; the details of the battle of the Standard, and many subsequent events. For these we may refer to R. of Hexham. As regards the South we should probably have had notices of the revolt of certain great barons after Easter mentioned by H. Hunt., p. 261, and by the *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, pp. 105, 106.

The incursion of the Danes mentioned under 1138 by Alberic des Trois Fontaines (*Bouquet*, xii. 699) must be a Norwegian raid, like Eystein's in 1153.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the visit to London referred to in the *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 108. It should be remarked that in the *Engl. Hist. Society's* edit. of Florence the passage from *hæc tamen oro* (p. 107) to *neque bibit* (p. 108), and another passage on p. 113, are absurdly out of place.

carinis habillimum et tutissimum efficiens, ambitum A.D. 1138. illius adeo prope et conjuncte constringit, ut tota civitas aquis innatare, tota super ripas considerare videatur; ex tamen ejus regione, ubi ad obsidendum opportunior magisque pervia habetur, castellum plurimo aggere exaltatum, muro et propugnaculis, turribus et diversis machinis firmatum, impugnantium coeret accessus, in quod<sup>1</sup> undam equitum et clientum pedestrium, immo ut verius dicam prædonum et raptorum abundantiam, adeo grandem et mirabilem advocarunt, ut non solum etiam contemplantibus magna et metuenda, sed etiam horrenda et incredibilis videretur. E diversis siquidem provinciis et regionibus emersi, tanto illie abundantius et gratulantius affuerunt, quanto sub divite domino ex munitissimo castello, quicquid libentius animo occurreret in uberrimam committere Angliam<sup>2</sup> fuit eis permissum.

Affuit inter reliquos Galfridus ille Taleboth, qui, ut præmissum est,<sup>3</sup> ab Anglia exulatus, omne dirissimæ infectionis venenum passim exhalare, quicquid etiam crudelitatis vesana mens et indiscreta concipere solet, agere disponebat. Sed malitia illius in seipsum, Deo judice, fuit conversa, quia dum alios trucidare alios damnare deliberat, ipse primum captus, vinculisque tenacissime constrictus damnationis sententiam pene suscepit.

Geoffrey Talbot, an exile, is taken, and narrowly escapes his fate.

Est civitas a Bristoa vi. milliariis distans, ubi tunc per occultas fistulas aquas, sine<sup>4</sup> humano ingenio et artificio calefactas, ex abstrusis terræ visceribus sursum in receptaculum per caueratas arcuationes gloriose dispositum emanant,<sup>5</sup> thermasque temperatas et sanas, aspectuque delectabiles in medio civitatis

Description of Bath. (14 m. in fact)

<sup>1</sup> quo, D.

<sup>2</sup> uberrima . . . Anglia, D.

<sup>3</sup> In the lost leaves. He was driven from Hereford in 1138 (Ord. Vital., v., p. 112), and from Weobly (C. Fl. Wigorn., p. 106). See

also pp. 107, 108 of the latter chronicle, and p. 68 of this volume.

<sup>4</sup> *ex*, D., an error caught up from the line below.

<sup>5</sup> Here active, as in Vulgate, *Ep. Jac.* iii, 11.

A.D. 1138. efficiunt. Quæ civitas Batta vocatur, quod ex Anglicæ  
 lingue proprietate trahens vocabulum, Balneum in-  
 terpretatur, eo quod ad illam ex omni Anglia infirmi  
 causa in salubribus aquis diluendi, sani vero gratia  
 mirabiles calidæ aquæ eruptiones videndi, et in eis  
 balneandi, concurrere solent. Hanc igitur civitatem,  
 eo quod facilis esset ad muniendum, ad sortem suam  
 Bristoenses adjicere conantes, facto agmine in primo  
 diei crepusculo improvise illam adiere, sealisque secum  
 et aliis machinulis ad murum conscendendum con-  
 vectis, in quadam valle recepti paululum expectarunt,  
 quoad usque, situ civitatis adituque capiendi ab ex-  
 ploratoribus considerato, laxatis omnes habenis illue  
 pariter convolarent. Galfridus itaque Taleboth, cog-  
 natusque illius Gislebertus de Laceio,<sup>1</sup> vir prudens  
 et in omni militari actione providus et operosus, ad  
 explorandum destinati, circuitum civitatis pedetentim  
 et caute, ut sibi videbatur, perlustrarunt: cum ecce  
 milites præsulis Battensis, illis conspicatis, repente  
 interfuerunt, Gislebertoque de medio illorum evadente,  
 ut erat alio versutior et acerbior, Galfridum circum-  
 venientes ceperunt, pedibusque strictissime compeditis  
 in secretum recessum,<sup>2</sup> custodiis adhibitis, retruserunt.  
 Gislebertus autem, tam infortunate cognato amisso, ad  
 eomites regressus, mœstuosus suspiriis quid ei infortu-  
 nii accidit enarravit. Nec tamen illi ob hoc despe-  
 rati, sed constantius animati, seque in invicem cohori-  
 tantes, et ad eum liberandum unanimiter conspirantes  
 Battam petierunt, accersitoque præsule sub fide et  
 jurejurando, liberam ei et indemnem egressionem sal-  
 vamque reditionem sponponderunt.<sup>3</sup> Episcopus tandem,  
 ut innocens qui credit omni verbo, ut alter Jacob  
 qui simpliciter habitat in domo, dolose ab impiis

The people  
 of Bristol  
 endeavour  
 to seize  
 Bath.

Geoffrey  
 Talbot is  
 taken pri-  
 soner.

The friends  
 of Geoffrey  
 get posses-  
 sion of the

<sup>1</sup> The *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 108, names William Hoset, but omits Lacy.

<sup>2</sup> *secretò recessu*, D.

<sup>3</sup> This renders the *C. Fl. Wigorn.* intelligible. The Continuator speaks as if the bishop and Geoffrey were at once exchanged.

lætanter suscipitur : statimque in Evangelii præconem, A.D. 1138. in sacrosanctæ mensæ Dei ministrum, sacrilegas manus injecerunt, reverendumque fidei et religionis communis satorum, qui horrei Dominici triticum [solet]<sup>1</sup> expendere, qui arcam Dei illudque divinum manna gestat in pectore, conviciis impudicis irrogantes, suspendio ni Galfridum redderet extinguere minitarunt. Porro episcopus in tribulationis angustia positus, cum adversarii nec pietate, nec humani animi compassione propter ejus anxietatem emollirentur, sed nec sui intra muros recepti, (capto siquidem episcopo interius se recipientes conclusis portis ad muros defendendos concurrerant,) remedium illi conferre prævalerent, temerariæ illorum satisfaciens præsumptioni, virum compedes exutum reddi præcepit, in hoc nimirum commodo usus et salubri consilio; quia si illum in manus regis contradendum ut ceperat reservaret, supplicio cum vel vitæ periculo exposuisset, seipsum autem contumeliis afficiendum vel vita privandum præbuisset. Neque enim sanum erat, aut episcopi officium, malum pro malo reddere, utque nocentibus noceret ipse nocens existere. Sed neque ratio expetebat, ut alium contumeliando seipsum contumeliis adjiceret, cum constet neminem seipso sibi esse propinquiorem, neque pro alterius anima suam aliquatenus commutare debere. Reddito denique viro, immo, ut verius dicam, occulta Dei dispositione ad animæ suæ supplicium in futurum reservato, quatinus quanto abundantius et diutius crudeliora ageret, crudelius postmodum torqueretur, cœpit episcopus pastorali<sup>2</sup> tunc demum utens auctoritate fidem repromissam repscere, juramenti sacramentum ubinam esset requirere, utrorumque violatores eos astruere, nec prospere eis aliis in factis succedere,<sup>3</sup> qui, reverentia et pudore amisso, Deum videbantur propter hoc offendisse. Hæc episcopo prosequente, asserebant nec juramentum ei fecisse, nec

bishop of Bath by fraud,

and threaten to hang him if Geoffrey is not surrendered.

The bishop orders Geoffrey to be given up.

<sup>1</sup> Not in D., but apparently needed.

<sup>2</sup> *pastorale*, D.

<sup>3</sup> An unrevised sentence, but the meaning is clear.



A.D. 1138. fidem pepigisse, cum omni sane sapienti ratum sit, nec perjuros jurare debere, nec qui fide carent fidem alicui posse donare. Quæ ideo dicebant, ut episcopus de ignorantia notarent, qui nimium nimiumque perjuris et perfidis plus justo credebat.

The friends of Geoffrey refuse to liberate the bishop.

Outrages of the people of Bristol.

Bristoenses igitur ad omne facinus effrenes, ubicumque vel regis vel eorum, qui regi favebant, terras vel possessiones audierant, tanquam famelica canum rabies ad oppositum cadaver illuc avide et maturanter cursitare; juga boum, greges pecudum, quicquid concupiscibile vel oculus cernebat, vel cor ambitiosum affectabat, rapere et abducere, vendere et consumere. Ubi vero quæ in circuitu, et quasi sub manu eorum erant, in perditionis barathrum redacta videbantur et adnullata, in omnibus Angliæ partibus sicubi pecuniosos vel opulentos audierant, celerrime adesse, nunc viribus abreptos, nunc fraudibus seductos, oculis fasciatis, ore etiam obducto,<sup>1</sup> vel cum massa aliqua illic urgenter impressa, vel cum machinula ad formam asperi freni capistrata et dentata, cæcos secum deducere, tandemque in medio Bristoæ, quemadmodum de latrunculis Hilisei legimus, inductos, aut jejuniis macerare, aut suppliciis addictos<sup>2</sup> usque ad novissimum quadrantem quicquid possederant ab eis exigere. Alii technam excogitantes versutiorem, ubi Anglia quietior, pax abundantior, populus otio et securitati acclinior,<sup>3</sup> in die per tritam et populosam viam nunc huc, nunc illuc itinerare; nomen suum, personas, et officium mentiri; non arma, non notabilem habitum, non impia modumque excedentia verba more prædonum proferre; sed humilem vultum, mediocrem incessum, lenes omnique mansuetudine permulsos sermones prætere, sicque se falsis commentis novæ fucationis hypocritas reddere, quoad usque de spe sua minime frustrati, vel divitem sibi forte occurrentem, vel ubivis locorum furtim ablatum, ad totius Angliæ novercam, Bristoam,

<sup>4</sup> Reg. xiii. 20.

<sup>1</sup> *obdurato*, D.

<sup>2</sup> *addictis*, D.

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



adducerent. Hic autem coloratæ deceptionis modus, A.D. 1138. hoc hypocriticæ simulationis figmentum, per omnes fere Angliæ fines adeo inolevit, ut vix esset civitas vel viculus, ubi fraudulentæ hujus molimenta non exercebant, ubi turpissimi hujus latrocinii vestigia non relinquerent. Unde nec regiæ pacis vias secure ut solebant incedere, nec homo se homini fidenter ut solebat concedere: sed ubicumque alter alterum in itinere conspicabatur, totus protinus contremiscere, meticuloſe visum effugere, vel prope in silva vel in divortio aliquo [latere],<sup>1</sup> usquequo, resumpto tandem spiritu, viam cœptam tutior carperet et audacior.

Distracted and dangerous state of England.

Ubi igitur fama auribus regis insonuit, Bristoenses et publico raptu et clandestinis, ut dictum est, furtis terram turbasse, licet in aliis regni negociis persecendis<sup>2</sup> undique pulsaretur, ex omni Anglia militia convocata, quasi Bristoam obsessurus improvise Battam advenit. Episcopus de adventu illius præmonitus foras civitatem adveniēti occurrit. Cumque rex primo loquendi in capite se adversus eum indignatum ostenderet, eo quod Galfridum sui insidiatorem, pacis et patriæ perditorem,<sup>3</sup> tam libere et indemne de custodia sua prodire permisisset, testibus sibi consentientibus regi satisfacit, injuriis se inhonestatum, suspensio proximum, sceleratorum violentiam inhonore perpesum, lenitumque tandem et ad solitam amicitiam reductum Battam introduxit. Considerans rex civitatis ambitum, totumque perlustrans in gyrum, locum inexpugnabilem et ad resistendum habillimum animadvertit; ideoque muros altius sustolli, propugnacula in devexum<sup>4</sup> surrigi, frequentique militum adhibita custodia ad Bristoenses coaretandos diligenter et caute jussit observare. Inde ad impostricem Bristoam digrediens, prope civitatem conduxit exercitum, baroni-

The king marches to Bath, as though about to attack Bristol.

Interview of the king and the bishop of Bath.

The bishop excuses himself for the escape of Geoffrey.

Preparations for the defence of Bath and siege of Bristol.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sewell alters to *silvam* . . . *divortium aliquod*, but this leaves the sentence incomplete.

<sup>2</sup> *persistendis*, D.

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

<sup>4</sup> *devectum*, D.

A.D. 1138. busque pereontatis et in commune consultis, quanto gravius eam obsidere, quibus ingeniis valentius expugnare, quot modis expeditius posset degravare, varium et incertum, secundum quæ ei iste fidenter, illi fraudulententer obsequebantur, recepit consultum. Alii autem suadebant, ubi civitatis ostium arctatis faucibus angustius coibat, plurimam grandium lapidum, lignorum, et cespitum molem injectare, quatinus aditu portus obducto,<sup>1</sup> et suffragium eorum ex remigantium labore, in quo præcipue confidebant, adesse desisteret,<sup>2</sup> et fluvii circa civitatem, ut dictum est, proluentes, intercepto cursu retrorsum in seipsos crescerent, inque stagnum ad instar pelagi latum et profundum sese recolligentes, citissimam civitati prætenderent submersionem. Laudabant etiam, ex duabus civitatis partibus castellis constructis, ingressus eorum et egressus, qui pontibus frequentabantur, arceret, ipse vero exercitu ante comitis castellum aliquanto tempore detento, fame, diversisque passionibus inhabitantes afficeret. Sed istorum sanum acceptumque consilium alii pervertentes, et illi maxime, qui cum illo fecte militantes comiti amplius favebant, e converso consulebant, opus otiosum, laboremque esse infructuosum abyssum pelagi lignorum vel lapidum materia velle obstruere; cum evidentissimum esset, quicquid involveretur aut in ipsa profunditate cedere et absorberi, aut pontica exæstuatione fortiter inundante consumi omnia et adnullari.

Different  
opinions of  
the barons.

The king  
abandons  
the siege  
of Bristol,  
and directs  
expeditions

Horum igitur impulsu rex a Bristoensi desistens obsidione, quæcumque in circuitu illius erant vastatis et consumptis, prædatis et abductis, versus duo castella, Carith videlicet et Harpetreu, illud a [Radulfo<sup>3</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> *obdurato*, D.

<sup>2</sup> *desisteret*, D.

<sup>3</sup> Duchesne omits the name, leaving a blank, probably corresponding to one in the MS. Certain MSS.

of Huntingdon (Rolls ed., p. 261) supply the name *Radulfus*; others give *Willelmus*. Orderic. calls him *Radulfus Lupellus*.

cognomine Luvel, istud a Willelmo filio Joannis A.D. 1138. possessum, expeditionem promovit. Erant autem amicitiae nexibus cum comite copulati, fide et jure-jurando firmanter unificati, pactionibus et hominio adeo confederati, ut cum celerius perceperissent illum adversus regiam potestatem velle insurgere, et ipsi in eum praesto et conspiranter secum insurgerent. Audientes denique regem in Bristoam castra promovisse, diutinamque obsidionem ibi protelaturum arbitantes, pollicitam comiti fidem unanimiter reddiderunt, omnesque circa se provincias gravi infestatione permoventes, quicquid adversi poterant ubique gentium inferebant. Sed rex percitus illuc adventans valide et infeste castellum Cari obsedit, balistisque ignem et lapidum imbres inter inclusos, adempta cessatione, discutientibus,<sup>1</sup> usque ad escarum indigentiam vexatos, sub pacis tandem concordiaeque confederatione sibi cedere coegit. Neque enim resistere diutius poterant dapibus subtractis imbecillati, maxime cum nec comes, spes illorum atque refugium, Angliam advenisset, neque Bristoenses, propter regis virtutem se multo superiorem, ad subveniendum eis possent accedere. Relinquens igitur Carith, datis dextris et acceptis, exercitum ad Arpetream convertit, ubi et castellum praestruere, militumque sufficientem copiam imponere curavisset,<sup>2</sup> nisi prudentum consilio esset ei suggestum, ex militibus, quos in Batta reliquerat, aptissime et hoc castellum gravari<sup>3</sup> posse: ideo potissimum, quia et inter utrosque recessus brevis et compendiosus esset discursus, sumptuosumque haberetur et nimis onerosum multis in locis multos puguandi et obsidendi apparatus et exercitia moliri. Alio vero in tempore, cum juxta idem castellum cum infinita armatorum multitudine transitum habuisset, quasi cum exercitu Bristoenses obsessurus progrediretur, prodeuntes con-

against  
Castle  
Cary and  
Harptree.

Siege of  
Castle  
Cary.

Its sur-  
render.

Expedi-  
tion  
against  
Harptree.

<sup>1</sup> *incutientibus?*

<sup>2</sup> *curavit, D.*

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

A.D. 1138. festim castellani, exercitum illius insequabantur, cum retrogradum rex citissime faciens reflexum, liberum equis cursum ad castellum indulsit, vacuumque pæne repperiens, istos portis ignem apponere, illos muris machinas et scalas aptare, omnes vero ad ingrediendum sedule et ferventer jussit insudare, quousque captum tandem, quippe cum a paucis resistebatur, custodiæ suorum et providentiæ tradidit.

The castle is somewhat later taken by Stephen by a surprise.

The vigour and energy of Stephen.

Castellum denique Cari rex, ut præmissum est, triumphatus, ad diversas curas, ad multimoda negocia, quæ per omnes eum Angliæ partes sine intermissione huc illucque in diversa trahebant, armatus semper et cum exercitu properavit. Sicut enim de fabulosa illa Hereulis legimus hydra, ejus uno resecto capite duo vel ampliora suboriebantur, sic et de regis Stephani laboribus specialiter sentiendum: quia, uno quolibet finito, alii graviores infinite succedebant, et ad singulos sufferendos ut alter Alcides invicte se semper et fortiter accingebat. Legi multimodas Saulis pugnas et labores, aliorum quoque regum innumeros confictus et sudores; sed onerosæ illius gravedini, multimodis bellis et insidiis, vel ab aliis perpessis, vel a se aliis illatis, innumeris etiam angustiis, vel de suorum occasu vel de accidentibus infortuniis, nec comparandos<sup>1</sup> quidem; quia tanti fuerunt tamque stupendi illius labores, ut horrendi profecto et incredibiles legentibus videantur. Legi et plurimas Machabeorum pro patriæ quiete restauranda inquietudines, audiivi et miras Alexandri contra extraneos decertationes, aliorum quoque regum pro tutandis subjectis certamina varia et afflictiones, sed multipliciores regis Stephani et multo graviores invenies tribulationes et agones, et tanto nimirum molestiores, quanto a familiaribus compatriotis et a suis sibique conjuratis inferebantur. Quia enim amicorum et popularium ægrior solet esse et acerbior persecutio, testatur Dominus, qui magis de

<sup>1</sup> comparandi, D.

Matth. x.  
36.

illo quam de aliis conqueritur, qui edebat panes suos, A.D. 1138. et tamen levavit adversum se calcaneum suum. Hinc et Idem alibi, "Inimici," inquit, "hominis domestici " ejus." Inde etiam philosophus quidam, "Nulla," inquit, "pestis efficacior, quam familiaris inimicus." Audiatur itaque, et appositam historiam plenius ediscat, qui miranda legere et nosse desiderat.<sup>1</sup>

Milites itaque, quos rex in Battensi civitate ad Bristoenses impugnandos reliquerat, constanter se et strenue continere, muros et aggeres omni resistendi artificio inexpugnabiliter firmare, per alternas vigilias noctis conticinia cum armato milite circa muros expendere, quandoque et in ipso noctis silentio muros egressi, congruis in locis insidias texere. In die vero cum maxima vernaculorum et militum armata cohorte istas vel illas Bristoensium terras aggredi, nunc ante ipsas civitatis portas quasi per violentiam ingressuri subito, et horrende cum totis viribus apparere, domos et templa, et quicquid in ignem redigi poterat et consumi . . . . .

Gallant behaviour of the royal troops at Bath.

[*Desunt iterum aliqua.*]<sup>2</sup>

. . . . immensa etiam amicorum et splendidissimi A.D. 1139. dominatus suffultus potentia,<sup>3</sup> secundus post regem in omnibus regni imperiis habebatur. Is itaque, licet regi carissimus, licet curiæ<sup>4</sup> palatinæ regni que negociis cunctis specialius esset præpositus, carius tamen et

<sup>1</sup> Orderic. Vital., v., p. 113, says that in August, 1138, Shrewsbury was captured by Stephen from William FitzAlan. The *Annal. de Theokesb.*, p. 46, say that he took Bedford, Hereford, Shrewsbury, and Wareham. A charter in the *Monasticon* (ed. 1655, i. p. 779) granted *apud Salopesberiam in obsidione*, is inconsistently dated *anno tertio* and also 1139.

<sup>2</sup> The lost leaves may have given an account of (i.) the matters de-

tailed on p. 113 of the *C. Fl. Wigorn.*; (ii.) the council of Westminster on Dec. 13; (iii.) the election of Theobald; (iv.) the efforts of the queen and legate which ended in the peace with Scotland on April 9, 1139; and (v.) Stephen's visit to Worcester, the siege of Lndlow, &c. The narrative resumes from about June 1139.

<sup>3</sup> The person here meant is Roger bishop of Salisbury.

<sup>4</sup> *curia*, D.



A.D. 1139. amicus supradictis regis Henrici filiis compatiebatur, eisque fidem firmissime servaturum, subsidiumque sedule impensurum, occulte tamen ne regem offenderet, pollicitans, castella sua, quæ ornatissime construxerat, tam armis quam escarum copiis munificentissime farciebat, prudenter et regi deserviens et temporis opportunitatem expectans, quo illis in Angliam adventatis virilius et expeditius subveniret. Quia etiam eorundem adventum in proximo Angliam affuturum sperabat, sic enim illi frequentius de Normannia mandarant, copiosa innumerabilium militum stipatus frequentia, quasi ad subveniendum regi<sup>1</sup> eos ductitaret; quævis ad loca et maxime regis ad curiam procedere; magnam et stupendam amicorum multitudinem comitatu suo adungere, quatinus et interim propter hoc regi complaceret, et quibus gratius libentiusque parebat, si advenissent, promptus continuo suffragator adesset. Huic autem sententiæ et nepotes illius, alter Lincolnensis alter Eliensis dicti episcopi, viri pompatici temeritatisque non audendæ præsumptores, assentiebantur; puramque et simplicem Christianæ religionis conversationem neglectui habentes, militiæ prorsus et pompæ seculari studium adeo accommodabant, ut quotiens ex conductu curiæ interessent, propter miram, qua undique stipabantur, militantium secum frequentiam admirabiles et ipsi cunctis probarentur. Hanc autem magnificam episcoporum gloriam comes Mellonensis, ceterique, qui regi arctius et privatus adhærebant, ægre ferentes, invidiæ facibus<sup>2</sup> hostiliter in eos effervebant, conceptamque malitiæ suæ flammam minime suffocantes, multis eos et indignis accusandi vituperiis apud regem criminabantur. Dicebant namque episcopos illos regni primatum, totam divitiarum pompam, omne hominum robur ad suam jactantiam et proficuum, non ad regium honorem possidere: castella nomina-

Pomp and  
regal mag-  
nificence  
of the  
bishops of  
Ely and  
Lincoln.

They incur  
the odium  
of the  
king's  
friends.

Charges  
brought  
against the  
bishops.

<sup>1</sup> *ei*, D.

| <sup>2</sup> *fascibus*, D.



tissima construxisse,<sup>1</sup> turre et ædificia munitissima A.D. 1139. subvexisse, nec hoc ut regi regnum conferrent, sed ut regiam ab eo dignitatem surriperent, et ut coronæ suæ dignitati insidiarentur; quamobrem consultum fore, regiæque paci potissimum expedire, manus in illos injicere, quatinus castella, et quæcumque alia erant discordiæ et bellorum materia, ad honorem regis regi dimitterent; quæ vero ecclesiastici<sup>2</sup> propositi essent, religionis et juris episcopalis, in eorum deliberationem<sup>3</sup> sancte et catholice cederetur. Quod si rex, sicut suæ innitebatur virtuti et prudentiæ, ita et suis disposeret consiliis adquiescere, viros illôs non ut episcopos, sed ut episcopalis mansuetudinis transgressores suspectosque pacis suæ et regni tranquillandi pervasores, privatim captos custodiæ manciparet, donec municipiis suis et quæ Cæsaris essent Cæsari redditis, a discordandi suspicione, quam eis imputabant, et rex securior et regio illius esset pacatior. Talibus rex perceptis, quæ illi continuo admonendi stimulo invade magis et suspiciose quam sancte et juste<sup>4</sup> suggererant, in mentis positus angustia plurimum secum anxiiabatur, tum quia grave erat et illicitum in ordinem sacerdotalem irreverenter insurgere, tum quia contrarium erat et injuriosum secreti sui conscios et palatii primos non exaudire. Tandem autem importuna illorum petitione et impulsione fractus, quam ei continuatim et procaciter inculcabant, ad sui honorem et regni quietudinem quæ postularant in episcopos committere indulsit: in hoc nimirum stultissimo, immo et insano devictus et impulsus consilio, quia si indecens est et vetitum qualemcumque hominem offendere, secundum illud, "Quod tibi non vis fieri, alii ne fece-

The leniency of the king is a source of evil to him.

The difficult position of the king.

He consents to active measures against the bishops.

<sup>1</sup> They held Sherborne, Devizes, Malmesbury, Salisbury, Newark, and Sleaford.

<sup>2</sup> *ecclesiastica*, D.

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

<sup>4</sup> *injuste*, D.

A.D. 1139. "ris," multo magis turpe est et inconcessum, in summos sacri altaris ministros irreverentiam violentiæ quoquomodo exhibere. Illud enim agere in hominum conspectu, magnum constat esse transgressum; istud vero perficere, præmaximum in ipsum Deum videtur et est peccatum. Unde et Dominus per prophetam, "Qui tangit," Inquit, "vos, quasi qui tetigerit pupil-<sup>Zach. ii. 8.</sup> "lam oculi mei." Et in Evangelio, "Qui vos spernit,<sup>Luc. x. 16.</sup> " me spernit." Et ne præsumptiva hujus temeritatis <sup>\*</sup> inhonestatio, vel inhonesta concussio, erga sacri altaris comministros committeretur, sic eos per prophetam inhibet, dicens, "Nolite tangere christos meos." Ego <sup>Ps. civ. 15.</sup> autem fixe et audacter pronuncio, nulla celerius offensa ipsum acrius Deum offendi, quam si in officiales mensæ Illius sacristas vel dictu vel factu quispiam offendat. Et quidem filii Coræ, quia se tumide et arroganter in præpositos erexere, non solum a Deo reprobat, sed et vivi absorpti interiire. Sed et Saul, quia in Domini sacerdotes impie insurrexit et indiscrete, non solum in oculis Domini a regno dejectus, sed et bello crudelissime succubuit interemptus. His paucis ad contumaces ministrorum Dei contemptores corrigendos expositis, ad materiam tandem redeamus.

The fol-  
lowers of  
the bishops  
attacked  
and routed  
by the  
king's  
party.

Cum igitur episcopi cum summa, uti præmissum est, ambitione ad curiam convenissent, subito inter episcopales militesque regales exorta seditione, comite Mellonensi versuto cum quibusdam aliis instigatore, qui regiæ partis coadjutores intererant, et illi præcipue quicumque factionis præfatæ conscii videbantur, sumptis armis dispositisque agminibus, in episcoporum suffraganeos præcipitanter se impegerunt, istisque captis et illis interemptis, plurimis autem quaquaversum probrose effugatis omnibusque quæ secum detulerant in hostium manu ubique relictis, ad regem tandem, quasi de inimicis triumphati, redierunt, consilioque malignantium in commune habito, ad episcopos, tanquam ad regiæ majestatis transgressores capiendos,

facto grege maturarunt.<sup>1</sup> Et illi quidem audita suorum probrosa dispersione, fugæ, ut fama erat, consulebant, cum ecce regis satellites hospitia illorum armati subeuntes, Salesbiriensemque et Lincolnensem episcopum reperientes, omnibus quæ aderant cum violentia distractis, ad regem velociter adduxerunt.<sup>2</sup> Episcopus autem Eliensis, auditis quæ contigerant, ut erat animi versutioris agilitatisque expeditioris, celerime aufugit, et ad castellum avunculi sui, quod Divisa dicebatur, itinere sub festinatione protenso, ad obsistendum regi viriliter se accinxit. Audiens vero rex Eliensem episcopum adversum se arma sumpsisse, quæ sibi prius dolose et æmulanter suggesta fuerant, vera credebat, tantoque in episcopos vehementiori indignatione succensus, ad eorum possidenda municipia totus intendit. Veniens itaque ad Divisas, quod erat Salesbiriensis episcopi castellum, mirando artificio sed et munimine inexpugnabili firmatum, duos secum episcopos custodiis adhibitis stricte servatos adduxit, jussitque ut locis ab invicem seclusi inhonestis, acribus macerarentur jejuniis, summusque illius antigraphus, Salesbiriensis episcopi filius,<sup>3</sup> captus jam et vinculis mancipatus ante ipsum castelli introitum alte suspenderetur, ni episcopus Eliensis, castello demum reddito, regiam virtutem intus susciperet. Episcopi itaque

A.D. 1139.

The bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln taken prisoners (at Oxford, June 24).

The bishop of Ely escapes to Devizes castle, and prepares to resist the king.

Stephen proceeds to seize on the fortresses of the bishops. Treatment of the bishops.

The king threatens to hang Roger, the son of the bishop of Salisbury.

<sup>1</sup> This took place at Oxford, on 24 June. See Will. of Malmesb., 716; and Orderic. Vit., v., p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> A Duchy of Lancaster charter, No. 15, (Pub. Rec. O.) shows what followed. Stephen made certain grants "quamdiu habeo episcopatum Lincolnensem in manu mea," with a proviso, "si evenierit quod A. episcopus mecum pacem fecerit vel alius episcopus Lincolnie substitutus fuerit."

<sup>3</sup> Roger, the chancellor of England, was son of Roger bishop of Salisbury, by Maud of Ramesbury. Cf. Will. of Malmesb., 717. Orderic. Vital., v., p. 120, calls him "*Rogerus cognomento Pauper.*" Philip d'Harcourt took his office for a time; but in 1140-1 it passed to Robert de Gaunt, as appears from a charter of 1143 given by Thomas of Elmham, p. 382, and from the Ramsey Cartulary, p. 108 (*Bulla*, A.D. 1140-41).

A.D. 1139. nimia anxietate afflicti animo maxime torquebantur, dum cunctis palam esset, diversis se et suos ludibriis sed et vitæ periculo exponendos, quoad<sup>1</sup> municipia sua, quæ summo studio construxerant, summo et amore complectebantur, in regis deliberationem committerent. Amicorum tamen consultu, qui, licet per-rari, curiali frequentiæ intererant, fuit eis persuasum et fixe injunctum, quatinus ex inhonesta, qua detinebantur, custodia se subtrahentes, regis voluntati ex toto satisfacerent; maxime cum ea, quæ Cæsaris sunt, Cæsari sint reddenda, et nulla commutatio pro anima sit ponenda.<sup>2</sup>

The bishops, by the advice of their friends, surrender.

Stephen gets possession of their castles and stores.

Council at Winchester.

All munitions of war belonging to the bishops declared to belong to the king.

Hoc igitur castello sed et aliis, quæ possederant, in manus regis contraditis, episcopi humiles postmodum et depressi omnemque inanis gloriæ pompositatem exuti, ad res ecclesiasticas simpliciter et ecclesiastice possidendas regrediebantur, concessis regi, licet ægre et invite, quascumque in castellis recondiderant, armorum et pecuniarum copiis. His itaque tali modo completis, inopinabilem regi fortunæ contigisse miramur eventum, cum suis ad regni tuitionem impensis pæne et exhaustis thesauris, in aliorum labores tam repente impegerit, quæque ad suum, ut fama erat, damnum et detrimentum in castellis congesta fuere, ad suum modo honorem et proficuum sine omni omnino labore indulta cessere. Fuit post hoc habitum in Anglia et firme statutum concilium,<sup>3</sup> ut quæcumque in quorumlibet episcoporum manus belli essent ac tumultus receptacula, tanquam propria regis regi permitterentur. Ubi etiam rex de temeraria, quam in episcopos commisit, invasione publice accusatus, ratione valida,

\*

<sup>1</sup> *qui*, D.

<sup>2</sup> The king gained possession of the castles of Salisbury, Sherborne, Malmesbury, Newark, and Sleaford. Will. of Malmesh., 718; H. Hunt., 226.

<sup>3</sup> For details as to the council of Winchester see W. of Malmesh., p. 719. As to the date, see Preface. The order of the words here being awkward, Dr. Sewell inserts *concilium* after *Anglia*.

ut putavit, et efficaci se et suos excusavit. Sed quia ab omni clero juste provisum et discrete fuit dijudicatum, nulla ratione in christos Domini manus posse immittere, ecclesiastici rigoris duritiam humilitatis subjectione mollivit, habitumque regalem exutus, gemensque animo et contritus spiritu, commissi sententiam humiliter suscepit.

A.D. 1139.  
The king does penance for his treatment of the bishops.

Eo in tempore Willelmus de Moïun, vir non solum honoris summi sed et generis conspicui, prævalidam in regem dissensionem commovit, inque suo, quod pulchre et inexpugnate in pelagi litore locerat, municipio,<sup>1</sup> nonnullis militum et peditum manipulis aggregatis, per universam illam Angliæ plagam ferox et turbine plenus discursare; omni in loco omni in tempore, surrepta pietate, crudelia operari; non solum vicinos, sed et remotissimos nonnullos adhibita violentia sibi subjugare; si qui resistebant, furto et rapina, igne et gladio infatigabiliter vexare; pecuniosos, quibuscumque occurrerat, vinculis et cruciatibus immisericorditer exponere; et hæc quidem agens, regnum pacis et quietis, jubili et exultationis, in discordiam et rebellium, in fletum et ejulatum commutare. Quæ tandem ubi regi notificata fuere, suis secum fautoribus in grandem exercitum conspiratis, ad reprimendam Willelmi ferocitatem festinato itinere tetendit. Cumque ante ipsum castelli constitisset ingressum, insuperabilem loci contuens munitionem, hinc, marino gurgite alluente, inaccessam, inde turribus et muris, vallo et propugnaculis fortissime firmatam, de obsidione ingerenda ex toto desperavit, acceptoque saniori consilio, in ipso hostium conspectu castellum offirmavit, unde et eos gravius arceret, et circumjacentem provinciam securius possideret.

Insurrection of William de Mohun.

His castle is blockaded.

<sup>1</sup> Dunster castle, H. Hunt., p. 261.



A.D. 1139. Præcepit quoque Henrico de Traceio, viro militari et in multis bellorum eventibus sæpius probato, quatinus vires suas agens, quoniam ad alia vocabatur, promptissime et constanter adversus hostes insurgeret. Et Henricus quidem, rege absente,<sup>1</sup> ex Bardestapula, civitate sua et ex regia sibi promissione indulta, strenue adversarios et virilissime impugnavit: adeo ut non solum solitos eorum per regionem discursus effrenesque prædantium inhiberet raptus, sed etiam centum et quatuor uno in tempore milites in equestri ex eis caperet congressione. Ipsumque Willelmum in tantum humilem reddidit et depressum, ut et cum ulterius impugnare desisteret, et patriam pacatiorem suæque inquietudinis omnino immunem relinqueret.

He is reduced to obedience.

Henry de Tracy reduces William Fitz Odo.

Nec modo Willelmum istum, sed et alios patriæ perversores regięque pacis pertinaces impugnatores Henricus virtuose postea subegit, et maxime Willelmum filium Odonis, virum possessionibus et divitiis amplissime dilatatum,<sup>2</sup> qui suis sub pace parcissime fruens, numquam a vicinis, ut consuetudo est, fercula, nec a quolibet hominum suscepit munuscula, sed regno tandem, discordia ubique suboriente, turbato, in regem cum aliis et ipse insurrexit. Sed Henricus animose pro rege agens, cum frequentissimo eum conflictu imbecillasset, agnovit postremo veris ab exploratoribus castellum illius evacuatum, suos[que], qui inerant, commilitones ad prædandum destinatos; veniensque cum suis nocturno sub silentio, castellum, deceptis excubiis, furto subintravit, injectisque per turris fenestras facibus,<sup>3</sup> domos interiores in flammas convertit, ipsumque castelli dominum semiustulatum cum inopinabilis immensitatis thesauris inde abstrahens, quicquid possederat, rege favente, obtinuit. In multis

Surprises his castle by night.

<sup>1</sup> *absentato*, D.

<sup>2</sup> *ditatum*?

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



autem et aliis negociis alacerrime Heuricus et fidsime contra regis adversarios decertavit, quemadmodum suis in locis in præsentī historia plenius deflorabimus. A.D. 1139.

Dum talibus diversis, ut dilucidatum est, modis Anglia turbaretur, Balduinus vir, ut dictum est, generosus, et ab Anglia, urgente rege, exulatus, cum florida et forti militum caterva apud civitatem Warham applicuit, susceptusque in Corsli<sup>1</sup> unum omnium Anglorum castellum tutissimum,<sup>2</sup> ad obsistendum regi, quem prope affuturum, fama revelante, perceperat, intrepide sese cum suis accinxit. Rex autem cum de suo adventu a suis fautoribus præmoneretur, nullum moræ spatium indulisit, sed sibi consentientibus quam-

\* citius advocatis, ante ipsum improvise castellum Balduinum obsessurus advenit, ibique tempore diutissimo commorans, dum hostes aut machinis affligere aut fame afficere putabat, consilio tandem suorum, soluta obsidione, virum illæse secedere permisit, eo quod audisset Robertum Glaornæ comitem et sororem illius, obstinaces regni sui insecutores, viribus suis in unum adunatis, nuper Angliam ingressuros: neve, se et suis insciis, in regnum prorumperent sollicitè procurans, omnes portuum aditus nocte diligenter et die observare præcepit, consultius sibi arbitrans et commodius, summos inimicorum quanto posset nisu impedire, quam ad Balduinum totus intendens, et ipse interdum ab aliis impediretur. Sed, ut scriptum est,

Prov. xxi.  
30.

“ non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Dominum,” nec valet humani pectoris astutia devitare quod Dei disposuit providentia agere. Scimus quia<sup>3</sup> subditi aliquando pro suis, aliquando pro præpositorum flagellantur reatu: quia, ut notum est, et populus Israel, qui<sup>4</sup> Deum in multis offenderat, multis belli oppressionibus, multis et pestilentia

Baldwin de Redvers lands at Warham.

Stephen besieges Corfe castle, but hearing of the approach of Maud and the earl of Gloucester suffers Baldwin to go free.

<sup>1</sup> Thus in D. for *Corfe*.

<sup>2</sup> *uno . . . castello tutissimo*, D.

<sup>3</sup> For *quod*, as in the Vulgate.

<sup>4</sup> *quia*, D.

A.D. 1139. attritionibus sæpius vapulabat; et idem populus, pro regis David, sed et pro Salomonis adulterii offensione, hinc ab angelo percussus, inde fuit ab hostibus dirissime vexatus.

Quia igitur populus Anglorum luxu et otio dissolutus, luxuria et ebrietate enervatus, fastu et arrogantia tumefactus, Deum ad iram frequentius provocarat,<sup>1</sup> quia et eorundem præpositi turpi hoc et enormi vivendi modo, sed et laxius et remissius in omnem illiciti amplexus coitum, in omnem edendi et bibitandi superfluum ructum, in quicquid denique viciosius, animæque habetur perniciosius, sine discretionem, sine pœnitundine, proruebant, Deumque per hoc exasperabant sibi que maxime indignari cogebant, non fuit mirum, si tot Anglia discordiæ dissensionibus, tantis bellorum tumultibus, tot ubique torquebatur sceleribus: cum constet, et verum sit, magna quælibet et horrenda peccata, non sine magnis expiari suppliciiis, quantoque quispiam proclivior fuerit ad malum, tanto capacior erit ad perpetiendum malorum tormentum. Hinc etenim ad Babylonem dicitur, "Quantum exaltata et in deliciis fuit, tantum date illi tormentum et luctum." Unde licet rex Stephanus plurimo militandi artificio ad regnum pacandum invigilaret, licet immenso decertandi sudore se et suos contra adversarios continuo fatigaret, non tamen ad votum profecit; quia, ut prophete utar verbis, in omnibus, quæ eis contigerant, non fuit aversus furor Domini, sed adhuc manus Illius extenta, semperque grave Domini onus magis et magis illos deprimens, usque dum completa essent peccata Amorreorum, et Æthiops mutaret pellem suam, immisericorditer ubique per Angliam semper induruit.

Apocal.  
xviii. 7.

Isaiiah, ix.  
21.

Robert earl of Gloucester and the empress Maud land at Arundel (Aug. 30?). Dum igitur rex ad alia intenderet, ostiaque marina, custodiis strictissime adhibitis, arcere juberet, comes Glaornia Robertus, cum sorore sua comitissa Andegavensi, apud castellum Arundel applicitus, quasi hos-

<sup>1</sup> *provocarant*, D.

pitandi gratia, cum robusta militum manu susceptus A.D. 1139. fuit.<sup>1</sup> Concussa protinus Anglia et eximio pavore tremefacta, modis diversis agitabatur; quia quicumque clanculo vel aperte illi favebant, solito erant acriores et ad regem perturbandum accensiores; qui vero regi obtemperabant, quasi horrendo depressi tonitruo, humiliabantur. Ceterum rex per omnes, quæ sibi acciderant, bellorum et discordiarum adversitates indesperatus prorsus et infractus nullum moræ spatium indulsit, sed cum prompto et exercitato, quem secum ducebat, militantium cuneo, audacissime accellerans, ante ipsum insperate constitit castellum, ediscensque a veris exploratoribus, comitem cum suis evasum Bristoam sub nocturno silentio tetendisse, sororemque illius cum adductis secum Andegavensibus castello, ubi applicuit, delituisse, exercitus ibi parte ad providendum ne foras prorumperet relicta, ipse ad capiendum comitem totus intendit. Verum, cum voti sui compos minime existeret (non enim trita via sed secreto quodam diverterat limite) ad eos, qui in castellum<sup>2</sup> se retruserant, obsidendos retrogradum iter festinato inflexit. Episcopus autem Wintoniensis, audito eorum adventu, omnia protinus viarum diverticula militibus oppositis obstruere fecit, tandemque, ut fama erat, comiti occurrens, pacis et amicitiae stabilius inter se pactione peracta, virum

The earl of Gloucester marches to Bristol; Stephen pursues him.

Failing in his object, he returns to besiege Maud in Arundel castle.

The bishop of Winchester is said secretly to favour

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<sup>1</sup> W. of Malmesb., p. 724, gives the date as Sept. 30, the council having separated on Sept. 1. The true text of the *C. Fl. Wigorn.* states that the empress came to Portsmouth "*mense Julio.*" The present chronicle (see p. 50 and p. 54) agrees with W. of M. in placing the arrival after—and evidently a considerable time after—the coun-

cil. Henry of Huntingdon, p. 266, says immediately after the council. Orderic. Vital., v., p. 121, merely says "*in autumno,*" and R. of Torigni, i. 215, asserts that she came "*mense Augusto.*" This question is discussed in the preface to the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> *castello, D.*

A.D. 1139. indemnem abire permisit. Et hoc quidem vulgus, sed omni sane sentienti dubium constat et prorsus the escape of the earl. incredibile, ut frater regni fraterni invasorem cum osculo susciperet, eumque a suo prospectu ad regnum<sup>1</sup> in fratrem gravius promovendum illæsum dimitteret. The bishop's advice. Episcopus itaque, quasi comite non consecuto, cum multa equestrium ambitione regem adivit. Cumque animadvertisset regem ad obsidionem ingerendam animum affirmasse, inutile id et inacceptum tam sibi quam regno ait esse consilium. Si enim ex una Angliæ regione Andegavensem comitissam obsidere disponeret, germanus illius ad regnum perturbandum ex alia quam festinus parte insurgeret; ideoque He persuades the king to suffer the empress to join her brother. consultius sibi esse et regno salubrius, ut ipsam ad fratrem damni immunem progredi permetteret, quatinus ambobus cum viribus suis in locum unum redactis, et facilius ad eorum cassandum conatum intenderet, et ad eos gravius insequendos cum omnibus suis expeditius esset. Datis igitur dextris, et sub jurejurando acceptis induciis, ad fratrem comitissam secedere permisit: tanto liberius eos expugnare confidens, quanto in unam regionis partem ambo redigebantur. Illi Earl Robert and the empress arrive at Bristol. denique Bristoam adventantes<sup>2</sup> omnes regni barones adventum suum<sup>3</sup> certificare, ut eis intentius subvenirent pie et lacrymose deposcere, illis exenia danda istis prædia amplificanda promittere; omnibus vero prout poterant<sup>4</sup> omnibus commodis ad votum occurrere. They are joined by many supporters. Omnes itaque illorum fautores, qui regi antea, fide tamen et dolose, deserviebant, rupto juramenti et hominii fœdere, quod ei pepigerant, ad illos convertebantur, conjunctique uno animo, una et conspiratione ad obsistendum regi animati, vehementissime in eum ubique irruebant.

<sup>1</sup> bellum?<sup>2</sup> adventanti,<sup>3</sup> de adventu suo?<sup>4</sup> poterat, D.

Fuit ea tempestate Brienus filius Comitis<sup>1</sup> vir A.D. 1139.  
 genere clarus et dignitate magnificus, qui de illorum Insurrec-  
 adventu eximie lætificatus, firmato inexpugnabili, quod tion of  
 penes Walengefordiam habuerat, castello, cum militum Brien Fitz-  
 ingentissima copia adversus regem vive et constantis- Count,  
 sime rebellavit. Sed et Milo ille primas Glaornensis, and of  
 de quo superius pauca prælibavimus, mentita quam Milo of  
 regi pepigerat fide, tenacissime se contra eum erexit, Gloucester.  
 susceptisque quotquot ad eum confluerant regis ad-  
 versariis, omnem in circumjacentibus comitatu Gla-  
 ornæ provinciis depopulationem exegit. Et nunc  
 quidem de remotissimis Angliæ finibus innumerabilis  
 multitudinis animalia abducere, nunc quos circa se  
 fide et hominio regi allectos prænoverat, igne et gladio  
 validissime vexare; illic juges regi suisque confraga-  
 necis insidias texere, istic eorundem terras et posses-  
 siones usque ad solitudinem crudelissime nudare. Non  
 solum igitur isti, sed et alii nonnulli, qui prius cum  
 rege fide et jurejurando confœderabantur, nunc pacis  
 et concordia dissoluto annexu effrenate in eum inge-  
 rebantur, omnique truculentia diversis in Angliæ par-  
 tibus sævientes, quicquid gravius aut scelestius exco-  
 gitarent ubique locorum impie committebant. Sed  
 rex Stephanus in omnibus, quæ undatim ingruerant,  
 adversis inexasperatus prorsus et infractus, viribus  
 suis in grandem exercitum collectis, singulos audacter  
 tentabat affligere. Et primum quidem Walengefordiam Stephen  
 cum indicibili veniens multitudine, pertinaci eos et marches  
 inseparabili<sup>2</sup> claudere obsidione proposuit, cum utiliori against  
 Walling-  
 ford.

<sup>1</sup> There was a "*Brientius filius*  
 "*comitis de Insula*" (Wight), who  
 was dead in 1140, and whose sons  
 were lepers and were tonsured  
 (*Monast.*, ed. 1655, i. 557). The  
 Brien here referred to, whom the  
 Peterborough chronicle calls "Brian  
 "þes eorles sunu Alein Fergan,"  
 witnessed a charter of Milo of Glou-

cester at Bristol in 1141 (*Monast.*  
 (ed. 1830), vi. 137). To him Gil-  
 bert Foliot wrote a letter (No. lxxix.)  
 in or after 1139, which, by showing  
 that he was a friend of the empress  
 from childhood, favourably explains  
 a passage on p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *insuperabili*?



A.D. 1139. baronum præventus consilio, quod animo conceperat ad tempus prætermisit. Dicebant enim, ut res se habebat, castellum illud munimine insuperabili<sup>1</sup> tutissime firmatum, escas ad plurimorum annorum suffragia copiosissime ingestas, pubem validissimam invictissimumque militiæ robur intus susceptum, nec posse ibi sine maximo sui suorumque detrimento diutius immorari; cum palam esset hinc suum a castellanis exercitum quotidianis excursibus gravissime turbandum, inde ab adversariis undecumque in eum conspirantibus clanculo vel aperte facillime infestandum. Quamobrem commodum aiebant et suscipiendum consilium, ut duobus ibi constructis castellis suisque ad obsistendum sufficienter impositis, ad alios expugnandos aliorum diverteret, quatinus et istos per hoc urgentius coaretaret, et ad aliorum debilitandum conamen promptissimus suffragator et insperatus adesset.

On his march against Trowbridge he takes certain castles:

*Fact by*  
*of*  
*Cerne*  
*in*  
*in*  
Cerne, is stormed:

Malmesbury surrenders (before Oct. 21).

Robert Fitz-Hubert is taken.

Duobus igitur sub festinatione erectis castellis, cum omni expeditione versus municipium, quod Trobriga dicitur, tetendit, quod Umfridus de Boun, consilio et incitatu Milonis, ad regi adversandum defensione inexpugnabili firmarat. Verum dum iter carperet propositum, mirandus ei fortunæ contigit eventus, quia et castellum de Cernei, quod ad seditionem in eum concitandam Milo construxerat, adhibita captum violentia obtinuit, et municipium civitatis Malmesburiæ, artificiose et inexpugnanter patratum, redditum suscepit, intercepto in eo Roberto filio Huberti cum suis, viro crudelissimo nullique in malitia et scelere æquando.<sup>2</sup> Verum quoniam varius est eventus belli, et nunc Fortuna secula nostra rotans istum ad summa sustollit, et mox eundem ad inferiora dejicit, post

<sup>1</sup> inseparabili, D.

<sup>2</sup> According to Malmesbury, p. 726, this Robert, having taken the castle from the bishop of Salisbury, was, after holding it less than a fortnight, driven out by Stephen.

He surrendered, joined the empress (C. Fl. Wigorn., p. 125), and in March 1140 (W. of M., p. 733) surprised Devizes. He was a Fleming. See p. 65.





A.D. 1139. existimo, quod castella, quæ rex in Glaornensi vel Herefordensi locarat provinciis, quorum municipes inauditam in plebem<sup>1</sup> exercebant tyrannidem, alia vive et virtuose capta subvertit, alia ad possidendum suis permisit; istis partim captis partim a castello prorsus effugatis, ut apud civitatem Wincelcumbæ, illis vive et virtuose superatis ac redditis, ut apud Cernei et civitatem Herefordiæ. Illud quoque nequa-

His fidelity and devotion to the empress.

quam prætereundum, regis Henrici pignoribus adeo eum fidum, adeo fuisse unanimum, ut non solum eos coadjuverit, sed et ipsam Andegaviæ comitissam cum suis suscipiens, vicem ei patris actu et consilio semper exhibuit, quousque tandem capto et incarcerato rege, sicut in sequentibus plenius enodabimus, totius eam Angliæ reginam effecit.

Stephen besieges Trowbridge (about the end of October).

Interca<sup>2</sup> rex Trobrigam adveniens, cum locum ipsum officiosissime firmatum, ad omnem qui includebantur fortunam paratissimos, nec sine gravi difficultate cesuros conspexisset, ad machinas operose componendas, ad obsidionem pertinaciter inferendam insudavit. Sed frustra nisus, quia nec ipsi machinis atterebantur, nec obsidione, licet valida et prolixa, aliquatenus flectebantur. Quamobrem baronibus, qui in obsidione aderant, aliis ob moram tædiosam vehementer afflictis, aliis autem fiete secum et fraudulentè laborantibus, omnibus vero ne comes Glaornia, contractis in unum viribus, in eos repente irrueret formidantibus; rex, consultu suorum, Landoniam<sup>3</sup> remeavit, quatinus,

Raises the siege and returns to London,

<sup>1</sup> plebe, D.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently immediately after taking Cerne and Malmesbury (see p. 58, and W. of M., p. 726), and therefore probably about the end of October.

<sup>3</sup> From London very probably Stephen went to Oxford, for early in December 1139 (*C. Fl. W.*, p.

121) he marched from thence to Worcester and Leominster, returning, it is said, to Worcester before Dec. 3, but the dates seem wrong. From thence he went to Oxford and Salisbury. This would most likely be after Dec. 11, for he obviously went thither to seize the bishop's property. His foray round

By 1140  
Flower  
123.

viribus ibi innovatis, acrius postmodum quo fortuna A.D. 1139.  
vocaret accederet, et securius quæque invaderet. Re-  
\* liquit autem in castello, quod Divisa dicebatur, ad leaving a  
Trobrigam infestandam, eo quod prope esset, succinc- body of  
tissimam ad Martios congressus militiam, illisque et troops at  
istis, alternis sese incursionibus mutuo impugnantibus, Devizes.  
totam circumjacentem provinciam in miseram solitudi-  
nem ubique redegerunt.

Iisdem temporibus Rogerius Salesbiriensis episcopus Death of  
quod vitæ habuit moriens expiravit; qui sicut diviti- Roger,  
arum gloria prudentisque animi ingenio omnes regni bishop of  
magnates superavit, ita a luxuria fractus et prorsus Salisbury  
enervatus, quicquid in se virtutis continuit sola sorduit (Dec. 11).  
immunditia. Reliquit autem in ecclesia Salesbiriæ His charac-  
infinitam nummorum quantitatem, sed et vasa plurima ter and  
ductili aurificum opere, ista ex argento, illa ex auro wealth.  
artiste et gloriose cælata: quæ omnia in usus regis,  
ipsis canonicis faventibus, immo et ultro offerentibus,  
cesserunt, et alia multa, quæ episcopus in unum the-  
saurizarat; ignorans, secundum Psalmistam, cui con-  
gregaret ea: similis et Evangelico illi diviti, cui dici-  
tur, "Hac nocte recipient animam tuam a te; quæ  
"parasti, cujus erunt?" Rex vero partem pecuniæ  
ad ecclesiam cooperiendam, partem ad canonicorum  
relevandam necessitatem indulisit, terrasque ecclesiarum  
et possessiones, quas episcopus in proprios usus rede-  
gerat, deque dominabus, sublatis pastoribus, ancillas  
effecerat, libere et ecclesiastice ipsis ecclesiis reddidit,  
pastoribusque canonicè inthronizatis, duas ecclesias,  
Malmesbiriensem et Abbesbiriensem, ut fuerant anti-  
quitus, splendide restauravit.

Audiens episcopus Eliensis avunculum defunctum, The bishop  
quod animo dudum conceperat, adversus regem agere of Ely  
revolts.

Dunster (Malmesb., p. 726) per-  
haps followed. He kept Christmas  
at Salisbury, and then passed on to

Reading, where he distributed some  
of the bishop's money, as shown  
below.

Ps. xxxviii.  
6.

Lue. xii.  
20.

A.D. 1140.  
The king  
disposes of  
it to religi-  
ous uses.  
Restores  
the  
churches  
of Malmes-  
bury and  
Amesbury.

A.D. 1140. studuit, quatinus et injurias in avunculum a rege, ut dictum est, irrogatas, in eum quanto nisu posset vindicaret, et regis Henrici filios ad regnum maturius consequendum pro posse adjuvaret. Armis igitur Evangelicis militiaque ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ prorsus derelicta, virum sanguineum<sup>1</sup> induit, militibusque ad quodlibet facinus promptis, opere et animo expeditis, in Eli sua pecunia conductis, confines omnes, et eos maxime qui regi consentiebant,<sup>2</sup> turbabat. Est autem Eli insula delectabilis, grandis, et populosa, terra fertili et pascuosa fœcunda, stagnis et paludibus immeabiliter undique circumcincta, nec nisi in una sui parte itineribus pervia, ubi et limes arctissimus viam strictissimam in insulam dirigit, castellumque, in medio limine ex antiquo mirifice in ipsis aquis infixum, totam insulam unum et inexpugnatum efficit castellum. Huc itaque rex,<sup>3</sup> cum de incepta episcopi seditione vera percepisset, cum grandi exercitu festinus advenit, considerataque mira et insuperabili loci munitione, quomodo se cum suis ingereret, plures anxie consulabat. Datoque tandem consilio et approbato, ut plures naviculas in locum,<sup>4</sup> quo gurges circumfluens insulæ parciior apparebat, pariter aggregaret, pontemque super illas ex transverso positas, craticulis in longum substratis, usque ad insulæ ripas dirigeret, rex, non minimum gavisus, opus maturanter fieri præcepit; tandemque hoc modo ponte super naves ingeniose constructo, usque ad posteriores insulæ ripas ipse cum suis festinanter devenit. Transitus autem tali artificio aquis, restabant et adhuc limosæ quædam paludes, in quibus vadum fundosum ad transmeandum habile regi latenter fuit ostensum. Aiunt monachum quendam provinciæ Eli pergnarum, et aquæ transmeandæ præ-

Description of Ely.

Stephen marches against Ely.

Constructs a bridge of boats.

Penetrates into Ely by a ford,

which is shown him by a monk,

<sup>1</sup> *sanguinum*, D.

<sup>2</sup> *consentiebantur*, D.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently marching direct

from Reading. See *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> *loco*, D.

See Hist. Ely Angl. Sav. f. 620.

scriptorem et vadi in paludibus monstrandī ducem A.D. 1140. fuisse et ostensorem, quem et postea ob hujus servitii gratiam non Petri sed Simonis potius clave in ecclesiam introductum, abbatemque Ramensem<sup>1</sup> vocatum vidimus, multosque postea ob injustam ecclesie inductionem labores et afflictiones, Deo juste de occultis judicante, pertulisse cognovimus. Sed de his in sequentibus. Rex autem ad interiora insulae progrediens, exercitum quaquaversum discurrere permisit, captisque nonnullis episcopi militibus, sed et spoliis magni pretii et thesauris mirae multitudinis repertis, castellulum, quod erat in introitu insulae, ubi et episcopi se milites receperant, obtinuit et accepit: habitaque mire et gloriose de adversariis victoria, plurimum hostibus per Angliam terrorem incussit. Episcopus autem vix regiam evadens virtutem, pauper et depressus Glaorniam aufugit, ubi omnes a rege infestati quasi in sentinam convenerant, didicitque egenus, quod discere nequit dives et superbus, quia deponit Dominus potentes de sede, et qui se arroganter exaltat, usque ad inum depressum humiliat.

who, for his services, was afterwards made abbot of Ramsey.

Stephen ravages the island and storms a fortress.

The bishop with difficulty escapes to Gloucester.

Dum hæc in Eliensi agerentur provincia,<sup>2</sup> Willelmus filius Ricardi, vir stemmatis illustrissimi, quique comitatus Cornubiensis amplissimum sub rege habebat

William Fitz-Richard, earl of Cornwall, revolts,

<sup>1</sup> The Chronicle of Ramsey states that a flagitious monk of that abbey, named Daniel, bribed Stephen to appoint him, but was quickly dispossessed on appeal to Rome. The Cott. MS. Vesp. A. xviii. says: "*Daniel abbas. Iste supplantavit ipsum Walterum de abbacia sua, et confusus recessit a curia Romana.*" The *Monast. Anglic.*, iv. 142, quoting from Royal Soc. MS. 51 (? 29), says that Geoffrey de Mandeville and William de Saye with Daniel, "*quodam falsi nominis ac tonsurae monacho,*" invaded

Ramsey Abbey. This would be in 1143. The names of abbot Walter and "*Danielis monachi*" occur together in the Ramsey Chartulary (i., p. 253, l. 7) in a peculiar way. The form *Ramensem* may be Duchesne's error for *Ramesiensem*. Dr. Sewell alters, without authority, to *Rumensem*, but Romsey was a nunnery.

<sup>2</sup> We miss here an account of the events round Worcester in the *C. Fl. Wigorn.* p. 124, but we have details as to Cornwall not there given.



A.D. 1140. principatum, fidei et jurisjurandi sacramentum regi  
 and mar- promissum dolose violavit, susceptoque Reinaldo,<sup>1</sup> filio  
 ries his regis Henrici, in castellum,<sup>2</sup> quod regiæ semper erat  
 daughter to potestatis et juris, filiam suam ei despondens, totius  
 Reginald, Cornubiæ comitatum commisit. Et Reinaldus quidem,  
 the son of king tantum principatus naeto dominatu, fortiter magis quam  
 Henry. tantum principatus naeto dominatu, fortiter magis quam  
 Violence of Reginald; providenter se continere, omnes violentia et armis ad  
 nutum sibi inflectere, castella ubicumque aderant, suis  
 impositis, firmare, regis, quotquot e proximo fuerant,  
 fautores gravissime cœpit opprimere. Adeoque præ-  
 sumptuose<sup>3</sup> cœptæ temeritatis prævaluit insania, ut  
 nec ecclesiis parceret, nec suos aliquatenus prædones a  
 rebus ecclesiasticis cohiberet. Quapropter justissimo  
 he is ex- non multum post divinæ ultionis verbera vidimus  
 communi- circumventum, quia episcopus Esoniensis gladio eum  
 cated by the bishop of Exeter; anathematis percussum ab ecclesiæ limine semovit, et  
 uxor illius furiis agitata, non simplicem in ejus  
 amplexus sexum, sed dirum et horrendum offerebat  
 his suffer- dæmonium: terramque, quam a proditore socero sus-  
 ings. ceperat, a rege non multo post surreptam, tempore  
 plurimo amisit,<sup>4</sup> solumque quod inhabitabat castellum,  
 vix et cum angustia, prævalentibus in eum adversariis,  
 obtinuit. Audiens siquidem rex et in patria Cornubi-  
 ensi rebellium, ut præmisimus, adversum se concita-  
 tum, festinus illuc et improvisus advenit, resumptisque,  
 Stephen recovers Cornwall, and grants it to earl Alan. quæ Reinaldus invaserat, castellis, Alano comiti, viro  
 summæ crudelitatis et doli, patriam commisit: illoque  
 inibi eum promptissima militum cohorte relicto, jugem  
 cum Reinaldo, usque dum inde abigeretur, jussit  
 habere conflictum.

Robert  
 earl of  
 Gloucester  
 attacks  
 Cornwall.

Robertus autem Glaornensis comes, sed et fortissima  
 illa, quæ Glaorniam incolebat, adversariorum regis  
 militia, percipientes tandem fines Cornubiæ regem  
 subintrasse, eximie lætabantur: quia et in eum facilius

<sup>1</sup> See W. of Malmesb., p. 732.

<sup>2</sup> castello, D.

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

<sup>4</sup> Less than a year. See p. 72.



irruere, utpote in extremiore Angliæ parte ab exercitu A.D. 1140. semotum, et si Deus conamini suo tam fortunate aspiraret, etiam ibi comprimere autumabant. Collecto itaque immenso militum robore, regem impugnaturi cum grandi apparatu Cornubiam properarunt, cum ecce nuncii aures illorum insperate perculerunt, affirmantes regem felici auspicio cunctis perpetratis tandem redeuntem, et cum ingentissima mirandæ militiæ expeditione inter eos sub oculis affuturum. Nec enim falso aut frivole commenta nuncii proferebant, quia rex de comitis adventu secrete præmonitus, suis ad conflegendum docte et provise dispositis, omnibusque Damnoniæ baronibus in auxilium suum ascitis, quasi ipsa die cum comite congressurus approperebat: jam-jamque inter utrosque paucula distante itineris intercapedine votis fecisset satis, ni comes, sano suorum consilio accepto, desistere persuasus, iter retrogradum versus Bristoam suam velocius relegisset. Regrediens itaque rex sine sui vel suorum impedimento, plurima adulterina castella, alia sola adventus sui fama vacuata, alia viribus virtuose adhibitis conquisita, subvertit: omnesque circumjacentes provincias, quas castella inhabitantes intolerabili infestatione degravabant, purgavit tunc omnino, et quietissimas<sup>1</sup> reddidit.

Receives news of the king's return and successes.

The earl of Cornwall retreats to Bristol.

Prope hoc tempus<sup>2</sup> Robertus filius Huberti,<sup>3</sup> vir genere Flandrensis, animo et actu fraudulentus, qui, ut de Evangelico judice dicitur, nec Deum nec homines reverebatur, ex Roberti comitis militia furtive profisciscens (erat enim illius stipendiarius) castellum regis, quod Divisa dicebatur, ornanter et inexpugnabiliter muratum, tensis a muri propugnaculo scalis usque ad imum ex corio firme et ingeniose contextis, noctu

A Brabançon, Robert Fitz Hubert, seizes on Devizes (March 26).

Luc. xviii.  
4.

<sup>1</sup> *quietissima*, D.

<sup>2</sup> W. of Malmesb., p. 733, gives the date.

<sup>3</sup> As to this man see p. 58, note 2. We here have him once more

taking a castle, not as a partisan, but as a freebooter. He was related to William of Ypres. *C. Fl. W.*, p. 125.

A.D. 1140. occupavit. Cumque se et suos, deceptis manubiis, interius conjecisset, quotquot ex parte regis inerant, secure soporantes nec talia suspicantes, comprehendit, exceptis paucis, qui sub intempesta nocte, clamore subeuntium exorto, repente se in turrin eminentiorem<sup>1</sup> contulerunt: sed quia nec escas secum contulerant, nec suffragatores a rege advenerant, paucis diebus decursis turrin reddiderunt.

The earl of Gloucester sends his son to take the castle. He is denied admittance.

Hujus igitur tam egregii facinoris fama se latius dispergente, comes Glaornensis filium cum copioso militum agmine, tanquam Roberti conamen astipulaturus, transmisit: sed ille verbis eum injuriosis aspernans, minis quoque intermixtis a portis abigens, vilificatum ad patrem remisit, affirmans, ut castellum possideret non fortiori se committeret, castellum se conquisisse. Et quidem ita se res habebat, ita et versipellis ille versute cogitabat, quatinus nec ex parte comitis se continens, nec ex consortio regis se proficiens, suæ gentis viribus abundanter intro receptis, omnem circumquaque provinciam aut dolo deciperet, aut viribus obtineret. Sed malitia illius in seipsum Deo mirabiliter judice fuit reflexa, quia secundum illam divinitus prolatam sententiam, "Per quæ peccat \*  
" quis, per hæc et torquebitur." Quia enim alios circumvenire dolose attentabat, et ille dolo circumventus, captus, et catenatus, diversis suppliciis fatigatus interiit. Fuit siquidem in vicino Joannes<sup>2</sup> quidam, vir itidem technosus et ad magna fraudulenter comovenda paratissimus, castellum tutissimum ex regio jure violenter possidens, Merlebergam nominatum. Quod Robertus affectans, vel quia castello suo vicinum erat et commodum, vel quia et illo sub jure suo redacto, toti posset Angliæ licentius inferre dissensum, Joanni per internuncios mandavit, se pacis cum illo

Robert is taken prisoner by John le Marshal, castellan of Marlborough.

Sapient. xi. 17.

<sup>1</sup> turri eminentiori, D.

<sup>2</sup> John Fitz Gilbert, Malmesb., 734. This was John le Marshal,

son of Gilbert le Marshal. See p. 67, note 3.

et amicitiae fœdus habiturum, vices castellum suum introeundi causa consilii dandi et recipiendi<sup>1</sup> velle deprecere, fœdus indisruptum, concordiam intemeratam proposuisse servare. Joannes autem animadvertens spe castelli sui decipiendi, ut se res habebat, hæc omnia polliceri, gratanter quæ postulabat et benigne annuit, susceptumque castello, clausis post se portis, fame et tormentis afficiendum in carcerali angustia deposuit, irruensque cum suis in Roberti consodales, quos secum prodicionis suæ conscios auctitarat,<sup>2</sup> alios, injectis continuo manibus, captos cum duce suo retrahit, alios cum ignominia turpiter effugatos usque ad Divisas cedere coegit.

A.D. 1140.

The mutual treacheries of Robert Fitz Hubert and John le Marshal.

The latter takes Robert prisoner.

Audiens Glaorniaë comes nefandissimum illum in Joannis custodia, qui suæ adhuc partis fidissimus erat coadjutor, tali modo detentum, non mediocriter collætabatur, eximiamque militum frequentiam in suum advocans comitatum, ad Joannem advenit, adductumque ante Divisas Robertum, in omnium suorum oculis alte suspendit, condigna Dei ultione, ut qui multa hominum millia suppliciis attriverat, et ipse scelestam vitam digno supplicio terminaret.<sup>3</sup> Isto igitur, ut dictum est, suspenso, cognati et commilitones, quos in Divisa reliquerat, quos et vivens adjurarat ne cuiquam

The earl of Gloucester hangs Robert (before Aug. 15).

The friends of Robert sell Devizes

<sup>1</sup> *decipiendi*, D.<sup>2</sup> *ductitarat*?

<sup>3</sup> On comparing the account given by William of Malmesbury, p. 734, with p. 105 of the present chronicle and the *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, pp. 117, 125-127, it seems that John was holding Marlborough for himself, but was so far bribed by the earl of Gloucester as to lend FitzHubert for 15 days in exchange for hostages. The earl's object was to force the prisoner to resign Devizes into his hands, but the plot was spoiled by the cunning of John, and so the earl

hanged the man. As to the castellan of Marlborough we have it (*C. Fl. Wig.*, p. 126) that he was "*tunc in regis fidelitate*," but Malmesbury contradicts this, and certainly Stephen attacked Marlborough in 1139. John was still castellan in 1144. The *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* says that John le Marshal, a partisan of the empress, fled after the fight at Wherwell to Marlborough (*l. 276*) and Ludgershall, and the *Ann. Winton.*, p. 51, say that John le Marshal had fortified these towns in 1138.

A.D. 1140. castellum committerent, quamvis suspenderentur,<sup>1</sup> plurimis a rege susceptis pecuniis, Herveo Britoni, viro illustri et militari et genero regis, castellum commiserunt. Et ille quidem fortiter semper et vivacissime regem adjuvans, pertinacem et inremissum cum regis insectatoribus habuit conflictum, quousque tandem a rusticis circumventus, et ab omnibus comprovincialibus obsessus, vellet nollet, castello amisso, ab omni Anglia exul discederet. Sed de his in sequentibus.<sup>2</sup>

to Hervey of Britany, the king's son-in-law, but he is (in 1141) besieged, and forced to fly the kingdom.  
Geoffrey Talbot prepares to besiege the king's forces in Hereford. He garrisons the church of St. Mary.

Istis tali modo perpetratis, Galfridus Talebot, ejus mentionem locis opportunis præmisimus,<sup>3</sup> milites, quos rex in Herefordensi municipio reliquerat, patriæ defensores sui que juris præministros et tutores, obsidere tentavit. Ingressusque in episcopalis sedis principalem Genitricis Dei ecclesiam, expulsis irreverenter mensæ Dei ministris, armatorum cœtum temerarie induxit, domumque orationum et animarum propiciatorium in dissensionis tumultum, in belli et sanguinis convertit recessum. Erat profecto horrendum, omnibusque pietientibus impatiendum, cernere vitæ et salutis habitaculum in raptorum et bellantium permutatum asylum; civibus ubique lacrymose ejulantibus, vel quia suorum cœmeterium in castelli sustollebatur vallum,<sup>4</sup> parentumque et cognatorum corpora alia semiputrefacta, alia recentissime humata, crudele spectaculum, ab imo videbant incompassive retracta; vel quia de turri, unde dulces et imbelles audierant tintinnabulorum monitus, nunc balistas erigi, nunc ad regales damnandos in palam erat missilia torqueri. Galfridus igitur regis milites in castello suo reclusos infestissime a templo propugnans, sed et Milo Glaor-

<sup>1</sup> *suspenderetur?*

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 72, 73.

<sup>3</sup> On pp. 37, 38. He died of his wounds on Aug. 22, 1140 (*C. Fl. Wig.*, p. 128).

<sup>4</sup> The version of the *Contin. Fl. Wigorn.* in Cott. MS. Calig. A. vi., f. 233, exactly confirms all this and shows that it happened shortly before December 3. *See below 1139*

as Geoffrey died 22 and 1140 Fla. c 128

p. 722  
121

A.D. 1139  
below.

\* nensis, ex alia castelli regione molita obsidione, cum A.D. 1140.  
 machinis eos vehementer angustians . . . . .

[*Rursus hic desiderantur folia duo.*<sup>1</sup>]

. . . . daret totum quod deliquerat diligentius emenda-  
 turum. Quapropter consultum est regi, ut viro, ad  
 fœdus redintegrandum, ad pacem innovandam, recepto,  
 si promissa factis adimpleret, tacitus observaret sicque  
 ad alia explenda aliorum secederet. Plurimo itaque  
 evoluta tempore, cum nec comes solito devotius regi  
 pareret, cumque in Lincolniensi cum uxore, et filiis  
 commorans castello, civibus et affinibus dira injunge-  
 ret, cives regi privatim et occulte nunciis destinatis,  
 ut ad comitem cum suorum suffragiis obsidendum  
 quam festinus adesset, cum multa supplicatione sæpius  
 mandarunt. Rex autem repente, et improvise adve-  
 niens,<sup>2</sup> a civibus susceptus castellum evacuatum pæne  
 invenit, exceptis uxore et fratre comitis<sup>3</sup> paucisque  
 eorum suffraganeis, quos idem, rege civitatem subeunte,  
 ibi relinquens, vix a castello solus effugit. Rege ita-  
 que constanter et animose castellum obsidente, quique  
 includebantur balistis et aliis diversi studii machinis  
 gravissime infestante, comes Cestriæ, mandatis Roberto  
 comite Glaornia, sed et Milone et omnibus qui se in  
 regem armarant, sed et Walensium gravi secum et  
 intolerabili conducta multitudine, una omnes con-  
 spiratione, immo et concordia animo, ad regem expug-  
 nandum pariter convenerunt. Erat autem festivus

Siege of  
 Lincoln  
 begun  
 about Dec.  
 25.

Battle of  
 Lincoln,  
 Feb. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly some of the matters treated of in the lost leaves were (i.) the capture of Bungay (*Ann. War.*, p. 228) and of Nottingham (*C. Fl. W.*, p. 128); (ii.) the fruitless negotiations for peace which W. of Malmesb. details, pp. 734, 735; and (iii.) the king's visit to Lincoln before Christmas men-

tioned by the same chronicler, p. 739.

<sup>2</sup> "*In ipsis Natalis Dominici feris*," W. of M., p. 739; Ord. Vital., p. 125, says "*post Natale*."

<sup>3</sup> The earl of Chester's rights in Lincoln are explained by Duch. Lanc. Charter, No. 5.



A.D. 1141. Purificationis dies. Cumque iu summo diluculo missarum solemnia celebrarent, et rex, secundum ritum diei et officium, accensum in manu cereum gestaret, lumen ipsum subito extinctum, sed et cereus, ut aiunt, parumper infractus, retentusque tamen in manu resarcinatus fuit, et iterato accensus: signum videlicet, quod propter peccatum suum regni honorem amitteret, tandemque, exacta pœnitentia, Deo sibi propitio mire et gloriose idem recuperaret. Quod etiam cereum, cum in manu illius infractus esset, in manu tamen retinuit, significat quia nec regnum ex toto deseruit, sed nec regis nomen, licet in carcere positus, amisit: miraque Dei actum est dispositione, cum inter summos detineretur inimicos, non tamen ne rex esset efficere potuerunt.

Omens  
preceding  
the battle  
of Lincoln.

Audiens autem rex hostes in proximo affuturos, ipsaque die, ni aufugeret, conficturos, noluit gloriam suam fugæ opprobrio deturpare, sed bellico more caute et ordinate dispositis agminibus, extra civitatem obvius eis audacter occurrit. Cumque fortissimam tam militum quam peditum præmisisset cohortem, in exitu cujusdam vadi eis ad obsistendum, illi, e converso directis prudenter aciebus, cum violentia in ipsos irruentes, vadum occupaverunt, dispersisque eis fortissime et in fugam emissis, uno et intrepido animo in regium se vivacissime commiscuerunt exercitum, istisque interemptis et illis ad redimendum captis, plurimis autem antequam manus consererent, ut comes Mellonensis et Willelmus ille de Ipra, proh pudor! fugitantibus, regem tandem valide et constantissime repugnantem ceperunt. Proinde dum alii eives in civitatem fugitando se recipientes prosequerentur, et cædibus creberrime peractis, sed et domibus passim et templis prædatis et succensis, lacrymandum depopulationis spectaculum ubique committerent, alii circa immensam, quam sibi subdiderant, captivorum multitudinem, sed et circa regem frequentius intenderent; cumque eum tandem exarmassent, humiliter et querulose sæpius inclamantem, hanc

Stephen is  
taken pri-  
soner.



sibi improprietatis notam, offensarum suarum vindice Deo, A.D. 1141. accidisse; nec tamen eos criminis præmaximi fuisse immunes, qui rupta fide, spreto juramento, nihili penso quod sibi pepigerant hominio, in eum, quem sibi regem et dominum spontaneæ præfecerant, tam dire tamque scelerate insurrexissent; tanta omnes pietatis et compassionis teneritudine frangebantur, ut non solum in lacrymas et ejulatum omnes prorumperent, sed et cordis et oris pœnitudine quam maxime afficerentur.

Comes itaque Glaornensis regem secum adducens, Stephen is taken to sorori suæ comitissæ Andegaviæ in Glaornia obtulit, Gloucester, communicate inde consilio in turri Bristoensi usque ad (Feb. 9) extremum vitæ halitum reservandum custodiis adhibitis and is imprisoned at Bristol. reposuit: cæcus in hoc et Dei secreti ex toto nescius, in cujus manu, ut scriptum est, continetur cor regis, et quocumque voluerit vertet illud; Qui ideo regem ad tempus humiliat, ut gloriosius postmodum et potentius exaltet. Qui enim regem Babylonicum superbe se et arroganter extollentem usque ad bestialem formam infirmatum depressit, ut per ipsam depressionem, sensu et meliore in Deum cognitione recepta, altius postea et acceptius levaret; Qui etiam regem David per filii insectationem ideo propter peccata sua a sede regali turpiter effugavit, perque diversa latibula viliter<sup>1</sup> et inhonore discursare permisit, ut eminentius perinde et mirabilius ad regnum induceret; Ipse idem secreto illo, quo nihil agit sine causa, consilio, regem Stephanum ad momentum voluit dejici, ut excelsius postea et mirificentius posset elevari. Sed quomodo illud et quam mirabiliter contigerit, clarius in sequentibus dilucidabimus.<sup>2</sup>

Capto itaque rege, et, ut propalatatum est, in Bristoam ex Dei dispositione retruso, tota Anglia concussa

State of England.

<sup>1</sup> *viriliter*, D.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the interview of Stephen with the empress Maud,

and of his subsequent treatment, see Will. of Malmesb., p. 740.

A.D. 1141. obstupuit, et aliis quidem festus dies, et nova lux visa oriri, dum per hoc discordiæ et bello finem imponendum sperarent; aliis altius sentientibus non posse reatum, quem in regem et dominum commiserant, sine maximo regni et suorum impedimento expiari, sed nec discordiæ tumultus tam facile terminari, dum in propatulo esset et majorem regni partem regi se inclinasse, et firmiora ubique castella regalibus cecidisse. Quod et ita contigisse non multo post experto probavimus. Sed tamen major regni pars comitissæ suisque se fautoribus continuo inclinavit, et alii quidem ex regalibus, subitis circumventi infortuniis, aut capiebantur, aut ex propriis cum violentia detrudebantur: alii mentita citissime, quam regi debuerant, fide, se illi et sua ultronee contradebant.<sup>1</sup> Hominum profecto servile et teterrimum genus, qui, domino et rege sinistris auspiciis agitato non tamen amisso, fidem, quam ei promiserant, tam repente immutarunt. Comes namque Alanus, vir, ut dictum est, immensæ truculentiae et doli, dum comiti Cestriæ inhonorem, quam in regem et dominum commiserat, captionem ulturus insidias tenderet, adversariis prevalentibus, captus et catenatus, suppliciisque in carcerali squalore fuit adductus; donec coactæ humilitatis et vilissimæ servitutis induens cervicem, et hominum comiti Cestriæ faceret, et castella sua illius deliberationi permetteret: interimque comitatum Cornubiæ, quem ex regis datione perceperat, Reinaldo jam in patria superiore, amisit. Comes etiam Herveus, gener regis, in castello, quod

The greater part of the kingdom sides with the emperor.

Earl Alan is taken prisoner,

and does homage to the earl of Chester; but loses Cornwall.

Earl Herveus, the

<sup>1</sup> From Cott. MS. Domit. xv. fo. 6 (an Ely chronicle), it would seem that two earls seized on the Isle of Ely during the king's imprisonment. "*Rex Stephanus captus est . . . Com. Goffridus et Gilebertus insulam de Hely assiliunt et capiunt.*" This is no doubt Geof-

frey de Mandeville, for we learn from Malmesbury, p. 752, that during the king's imprisonment he changed sides, but afterwards returned to his allegiance. For the remarkable grants made to him after Stephen's release, see Dugh. Lane. Charters, Pub. Rec. O., No. 7.

Divisa dicitur, a simplici rusticorum plebe in unum se globum in malum illius conjurante, diutissime obsessus, tandemque castello in manus comitissæ red-  
dito, ab omni Angliā inhoneste depulsus cum paucis transmeavit. Sed et Hugo cognomine Pauper, qui comitatum Bedefordiae, detruso Milone de Bellocampo, ex regia permissione possederat, negligenter et remis-  
se, ut vir lusus et effeminatus se continens, castellum Miloni, vellet nollet, commisit, justoque Dei judicio de comite miles, de milite in brevi pauperimus fuit.<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1141.

king's son-in-law, driven from Devizes.

Hugh le Poer loses Bedfordshire.

Istis itaque, sed et aliis nonnullis, qui regi paruerant, mutabilem infelicis fortunæ aleam perpersis, aliis quoque sponte nulloque cogente ad comitissæ imperium conversis, (ut Robertus de Oli, civitatis Oxenefordiae sub rege præceptor, et comes ille de Warwic,<sup>2</sup> viri molles et deliciis magis quam animi fortitudine affluentibus,) illa statim elatissimum summi fastus induere supercilium nec jam humilem femineæ mansuetudinis motum vel incessum, sed solito severius, solito et arrogantius procedere et loqui, et cuncta cœpit peragere, adeo ut in ipso mox domini sui capite reginam se totius Angliæ fecerit, et gloriata fuerit appellari. Consultum autem est ei, quatinus Henricum Wintoniensem episcopum fratrem regis in amorem suum ascisceret,<sup>3</sup> eo quod omnibus Angliæ magnatibus consilio et prudentia præstantior, virtute et divitiis haberetur potentior; quod si suæ vellet parti allu-  
bescere, honorandum eum et consiliorum primum; si vero contrarius et rebellis quoquomodo existeret, omnem in enm<sup>4</sup> Angliæ exercitum festinato dirigendum. Episcopus vero in angustia positus, hinc, quia

The pride of Maud.

She endeavours to gain over Henry of Winchester.

His difficult position.

<sup>1</sup> This passage corrects and explains a statement on p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Roger, see p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> See Adam de Domesday, p. 328, ed. Hearne, for Maud's charter containing a reference to her inter-

view with the bishop at Wherwell on Feb. 16, and to her entry into Winchester on Feb. 17. Malmesbury, pp. 743, 744, has different dates, and is perhaps wrong.

<sup>4</sup> *eo*, D.

*Not specifically to give Domesday a more instant. Quadragesima*  
*Say a Sunday in the early part of Lent*

A.D. 1141. partes regis tueri et ad priorem punctum reducere  
 ———— difficillimum erat, maxime quia castella sua nec escis  
 nec hominibus sufficienter firmarat, inde, quia grave  
 sibi et in oculis hominum indecens videbatur, spirante  
 adhuc fratre, adversis se illius tam subito inclinare.

He deter-  
 mines to  
 temporise.

Diverso itaque hamo huc illicque distractus anceps  
 ferebatur, donec acceptiori confirmatus consilio, dispo-  
 suit ad tempus pacis [et]<sup>1</sup> amicitiae fœdus cum ini-  
 micis pacisci, dum sic sibi et suis pacis securitate  
 indulta, et quo se regnum vel quomodo vergeret,  
 tacitus observaret, et ad subveniendum fratri, si  
 opportunitas daretur, promptius et liberius assurgeret.

\*

The em-  
 press Maud  
 holds a  
 council at  
 Winchester (7-10  
 April).<sup>2</sup>

Pacis igitur et concordiae fœdere in commune per-  
 acto, cum festiva<sup>2</sup> illam occursione in Ventam civi-  
 tatem suscepit, regisque castello et regni corona, quam  
 semper ardentissime affectarat, thesaurisque, quos licet  
 perpauca rex ibi reliquerat, in deliberationem suam<sup>3</sup>  
 contraditis, in publica se civitatis et fori audientia  
 dominam et reginam acclamare præcepit. Illa itaque  
 in hunc supremi honoris cumulum tam gloriose tam  
 et excellenter evecta, cuncta cœpit potenter, immo et  
 præcipitanter agere, et alios quidem, qui regi parue-  
 rant, quique se illi et sua subjicere convenerant, invite  
 et cum aperta quandoque indignatione suscipere, alios  
 autem injuriis et minis afflictos indignando a se abi-  
 gere; istorum possessiones et terras, ut rex haberi  
 permiserat, ordine indiscrete permutato minuere vel  
 auferre; illorum feuda<sup>4</sup> et honores, qui, licet perpauca,  
 regi adhuc paruerant, distrahere ex toto et aliis per-  
 mittere; quicquid rex decreto regali permissum sta-  
 tuerat, ore imperioso destituere, quicquid ecclesiis vel  
 secum commilitantibus fixe et inconcusse donarat, abri-  
 pere confestim et suis impendere; quodque plurimi

Her  
 haughty  
 behaviour  
 to her  
 friends.

She re-  
 verses all  
 Stephen's  
 grants, and

<sup>1</sup> *et*, not in D.

<sup>2</sup> *festina*, D. *Honorifica facta*  
*processione*, Will. of Malm., p. 744,  
 referring to her entry on March 3.

<sup>3</sup> *deliberatione sua*, D.

<sup>4</sup> *feudos*, D.

fuerat supercilii et arrogantiae indicium, cum rex A.D. 1141. Scotiae<sup>1</sup> et episcopus Wintoniae et frater illius comes Glaorniae, quos totius regni primos continuos tunc comites secum ductabat, pro quolibet supplicaturi, poplitibus ante ipsam flexis accesserant, non, ipsis ante se inclinantibus, reverenter ut decuit assurgere, nec in postulatis assentiri, sed inexauditos quamsæpe, tumidaque responsione obbuccatos a se inhonore dimittere; janjamque non illorum consiliis, ut decebat et ut eis promiserat, inniti, sed suo quæque provisu, suæ et dispositionis præsumptu, cuncta ordinare. Hæc The bishop of Winchester is disgusted. vero cum episcopus Wintoniensis sine suo assensu, sed et alia nonnulla sine suo consilio agi conspiceret, indignè satis et ægre tulit, cauteque tamen et versute cuncta dissimulans, ad quem finem cepta devenirent tacitus observabat.

Cum igitur illa majorem sibi regni partem, datis obsidibus sumpto et ab hominibus hominio, tandem inclinasset, et ob hoc in fastuosam elata verticem plurimum se, ut præmissum est, extulisset, cum immenso militum apparatu, rogatu Londoniensium, qui se illi supplices obtulerunt, ad civitatem postremo devenit.<sup>2</sup> Cumque cives lætos se pacis et tranquillitatis attigisse dies, regnique infortunium in melius permutatum æstimarent, illa, ditioribus quibusque mandatis, infinitæ copiae pecuniam, non simplici cum mansuetudine sed cum ore imperioso, ab eis exegit. Proinde cum illi solitas divitiarum opulentias per regni dissensionem conquererentur amisisse, ad asperimæ famis, quæ imminebat, relevandam inedia plurima impendisse, usque ad impendentem pauperiem regi semper obtemperasse, ideoque pie et humiliter implorarent, quatinus calamitatis et oppressionis suæ

treats the king of Scots, the bishop of Winchester, and her own brother with great disrespect.

The bishop of Winchester is disgusted.

The empress goes to London (a little before 24 June). She demands money from the citizens.

They expostulate.

<sup>1</sup> From Twysden, col. 63 and col. 270, it appears that he started after May 8, and was received at Durham on the way.

<sup>2</sup> W. of Malmeshb., p. 749, gives the approximate date.

See W. ?  
Malm.



A.D. 1141. miserta, in exigendis pecuniis modum eis imponeret, in injungendis insoliti tributi angariis vexatis civibus vel paucò tempore parceret; deinde vero, cum sopitis per regnum bellorum tumultibus pax ex integro rediret stabilior, quanto amplius divitiis dilatarentur, tanto obnixius ei suffragarentur. Talia his modis civibus prosequentibus, illa, torva oculos, crispata in rugam frontem, totam muliebris mansuetudinis eversa faciem, in intolerabilem indignationem exarsit, regi inquiring Londonienses plurima et sæpe impendisse; divitias suas ad eum roborandum, se autem imbecillandum, largissime prorogasse; cum adversariis suis in malum suum dudum conspirasse; ideoque nec justum esse in aliquo eis parcere, nec exquisitæ pecuniæ vel minimum relaxare. His cives perceptis tristes et inexcusati ad sua discessere.

Her impetuous bearing and answer.

Stephen's queen strives for the release of her husband.

Failing in negotiation, she has recourse to arms, and marches with a strong army to London.

In hujus etiam temporis instantia regina, astuti pectoris virilisque constantiæ femina, nunciis ad comitissam destinatis, pro viro ex carcerali squalore erundo, filioque illius ex paterno tantum testamento hæreditando, enixe supplicavit; sed cum duris et inhonestis conviciata injuriis, tam ipsa quam et illi, qui vice illius supplicaturi accesserant, suæ petitionis compotes [minime]<sup>1</sup> exstiterant. Regina, quod prece non valuit, armis impetrare confidens, splendidissimum militantium decus ante Londonias, ex altera fluvii regione, transmisit, utque raptu et incendio, violentia et gladio in comitissæ suorumque prospectu, ardentissime circa civitatem desævirent præcepit. Londonienses igitur plurimum anxiiati, hinc, quia in eorum oculis patria nudabatur hostilique deprædatione in domos ericii redigebatur, nec qui suffragaretur in promptu habebatur; inde, quia nova illa domina dis-

\*

<sup>1</sup> Duchesne reads, *tam ipsa quam et illi . . . compotes exstiterant*, and in the margin explains *exstiterant* by *non existerent*. Dr. Sewell alters

*tam—quam et to neque—neque*. It is easier to believe that a word has been omitted.



cretionis metas transcendens immoderate se contra eos erigebat, nec futuram eam mansuetudinis vel pietatis habituram erga se viscera sperabant, cum in primo jam regnandi capite suorum nequaquam miserta intolerabilia eis postularet: quocirca dignum consulto iudicarunt, ut cum regina pacis et confœderationis pactione redintegrata, ad regem et dominum a vinculis eruendum unanimiter conspirarent: quod pro rege nimis subito nimis et indiscrete relicto juste notati, [non diutius]<sup>1</sup> injunctam sibi novorum tyrannidem quoquomodo spirante adhuc rege susciperent.

Cum ergo comitissa quid super postulatione sua cives responderent, voluntatis implendæ secunda, præstolaretur, omnis civitas sonantibus ubique campanis, signum videlicet ad bellum progrediendi, ad arma convolvit, omnesque unum habentes animum in comitissam et suos atrocissime irruere velle, quasi frequentissima ex apium alveariis examina reseratis portis pariter prodierunt.<sup>2</sup> Illa autem cum coquinatis dapibus nimium audacter nimiumque secure recumbere jam proposuisset, audito civitatis horrendo tumultu, et a quodam de prodicione in eam concitata secreta præmonita,<sup>3</sup> fugæ velocissime præsidium cum omnibus suis expetiit. Cumque cursatiles ascensi equos vix antemurales civitatis domos fugiendo liquissent, ecce civium magna, dictuque et æstimatu indicibilis copia, hospitia quæ reliquerant subiens, quodcumque impræmeditata fugæ velocitas intus deseruerat, sicut relictum invenit, ita et inventum ubique diripuit. Comitissa autem, cum plures secum barones, timore urgente, aufugissent, non tamen continuos eos fugæ et dispersionis suæ secum habuit comites: quia tantus tam repentini pavoris strepitus tam mirabiliter omnes conturbavit,

A.D. 1141.

The citizens of London, being in a difficulty, determine on joining the queen.

The citizens issue from the gates to attack the empress,

who seeks safety in instant flight.

Her suite is dispersed.

<sup>1</sup> The sense requires a negative.

<sup>2</sup> This was "*in mense Junio*," *Annal. Plympton.* (Liebermann, *Anglo-Norm. Geschichtsquellen*, p.

28). See Twysden, col. 63. William Cumin was to have been invested on June 24.

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

A.D. 1141. ut, dominæ suæ prorsus immemores, sibi potius fugiendo consulerent, variarumque viarum diversiclinia, quæ se citius fugitantibus objiciebant, subeuntes, per plurima diverticula, quasi se Londonienses instanter insequerentur, sua expetierunt. Et episcopus quidem Wintoniensis hujus, ut ferunt, factionis conscius et instigator, sed et alii quidam, tam episcopi quam cinguli militaris viri, qui ad dominam inthronizandam pompose Londonias et arroganter convenerant, multimoda fugæ latibula perniciosissime adierunt. Illa vero cum fratre suo comite Glaornensi aliisque baronibus perpauca, quibus præcipue fugiendi opportunitas illo aptius dirigebatur, civitatem Oxenefordiæ sub omni acceleratione advenit.<sup>1</sup>

She escapes to Oxford.

The courage of the king's party revives.

Exertions of the queen for her husband.

The bishop of Winchester wishes to assist Stephen.

Istis igitur a Londonia tali modo exterritis, quicumque regis erant fautores et ex ejusdem captione humiliati deprimebantur, tanquam<sup>2</sup> nova luce perfusi, in invicem læte congratulabantur, sumptisque animose armis, in comitissæ consentaneos undecumque insurgabant. Regina autem a Londoniensibus suscepta, sexusque fragilitatis femineæque mollitiei oblita, viriliter sese et virtuose continere; invictos ubique coadjutores prece sibi et pretio allicere; regis conjuratos, ubi ubi per Angliam fuerant dispersi, ad dominum suum secum reposedendum constanter sollicitare; et nunc quidem Wintoniensem episcopum, totius Angliæ legatum, ut fraternis compatiens vinculis ad eum liberandum intenderet, ut sibi maritum, plebi regem, regno patronum, toto secum nisu acquireret, viriliter supplicare. Et episcopus quidem flexus tum lacrymosis mulieris precibus, quas ei instantissime suggererat, tum pia fraterni sanguinis compassione, quæ illum vehementissime afficiebat, animo secum plurimum moliri, quomodo et fratrem ex carceris improprio sub-

<sup>1</sup> She went to Oxford, then to Gloucester, and back again to Oxford, *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> *tamque*, D.

trahere, et regno ingeniosius posset inducere. Sed A.D. 1141.  
 comitissa Andegavensis versutiam illius astute præve-  
 niens, cum instructissimo militum apparatu, episcopum The em-  
 press pre-  
 pares to  
 attack  
 si posset interceptura, Ventam civitatem advenit: <sup>1</sup>  
 cumque unam portam, civibus adventus illius omnino Winches-  
 ter.  
 insciis, cum maxima sese ambientium frequentia sub-  
 intrasset, episcopus curraci equo ascenso ex alia pro-  
 grediens ad castella sua celerrime aufugit. Illa igitur She gains  
 possession  
 of the city.  
 universam sibi parentium per Angliam militiam, edicto  
 ubique propenso, <sup>2</sup> in grandem exercitum convocavit, The bishop  
 rides out  
 from an-  
 other gate.  
 castellumque episcopi, quod venustissimo constructum  
 schemate <sup>3</sup> in civitatis medio locarat, sed et domum  
 illius, quam ad instar castelli fortiter et inexpugna-  
 biliter firmarat, validissima obsidione claudere præ-  
 cepit.

Commodum autem duxi paucis intimare, qui vel Allies of  
 the  
 empress.  
 quanti coadjutores illius ad obsidionem secum inferen-  
 dam, contractis ibi viribus, affluere, quatinus, his per-  
 spectis, lector advertat non hominum esse potentiam,  
 sed [per] Deicæ potius virtutis miram et potentissimam  
 efficaciam, tam validum tamque copiosum militantium  
 examen adeo repente victum et dispersum, captum  
 fuisse et penitus adnullatum, sicut in sequentibus  
 plenius declarabimus. Fuit ibi David rex Scotiæ, <sup>4</sup> ut  
 præmissum est bis ab Anglia ignominiose effugatus,  
 tertio autem, non sine sui flagitio suorumque maximo  
 periculo, cum innumeris aliis probrose effugandus.  
 Fuit et Robertus comes Glaornie, Rannulfus comes Earls.  
 Cestriæ, <sup>5</sup> Balduinus comes Esoniæ, Reinaldus filius  
 regis Henrici, sed nothus, comes Cornubiæ, Milo  
 Glaornensis, quem ibi cum gratia et favore omnium

<sup>1</sup> Just before August 1 is the date fixed by the *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 133; Malmesbury says a little before August 15, the *Annal. Plympt.* (Liebermann, p. 28), "*mense Augusti jam mediantem.*"

<sup>2</sup> *propanso?* See p. 35.

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

<sup>4</sup> See Twysden, col. 63, 40-50.

<sup>5</sup> According to Will. of Malmesbury, he came too late to be of any service, p. 751.

A.D. 1141. comitem præfecit Herefordiæ, Rogerius comes de Warwic, Willelmus de Moïun, quem comitem ibi statuit Dorsetiæ, Boterellus quidam comes Britannia: Barons. barones, nihilominus fide et merito, virtute et præstantia nequaquam comitibus inferiores; Brienus videlicet, cujus superius fecimus mentionem, Joannes, ille Marescallus agnominatus, Rogerius<sup>1</sup> de Oleo, Rogerius de Nunant, Willelmus filius Alani; sed et alii nonnulli, quos expresse denominare longum est et tædiosum.<sup>2</sup> Qui omnes, viribus mire et copiose undecumque secum conductis, ad obsidendum episcopi castellum uno animo, uno et infatigabili studio, pariter contendebant.

Movements of the bishop.

The queen, with a strong body of Londoners, besieges the besiegers.

Episcopus autem, mandatis ex omni Anglia, qui regi paruerant, baronibus, sed et militibus gregariis plurimo ære conductis, ad eos extra civitatem infestandos toto nisu contendit. Sed et regina cum eximio militantium robore, cumque invicta Londoniensium caterva, qui fere mille cum galeis et loriceis ornatisime instructi convenerant, interius obsidentes vivacissime exterius et ardentissime obsidebat. Habuerat et rex proceres secreti sui privos,<sup>3</sup> privataque familiaritate sibi conjunctiores, non quidem terris amplificatos, sed in castris tantum merentes, quorum digniores fuerunt Rogerius de Casneto<sup>4</sup> et Willelmus frater illius, viri bellaces nullisque militari industria vel quavis probitate secundi; qui, capto rege, fidem tamen ei indisruptam servant, intestinum ejusdem adversariis semper et ubique habuere conflictum. Cumque ceteri regis fautores ad ejusdem adversarios expugnandos, Ventam civitatem confluisissent, et ipsi, cum

<sup>1</sup> *Robertus?* See p. 73, and *C. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> The list of witnesses to one of Maud's charters at Oxford (obviously in 1141) supplies other names. *Monast. Anglic.*, v. 107.

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

<sup>4</sup> See charters to Sibton Abbey for the genealogy of this family. *Monast. Anglic.* (ed. 1830), v. 559

accinctissima militum et sagittantium cohorte, ex una A.D. 1141.  
 eos civitatis regione infestissime degravabant. Facta  
 est autem ibi miranda nostrisque seculis inaudita ob-  
 sidio. Quia cum tota Anglia, cum inopinabili exteræ  
 gentis affluentia, illic undecumque coadunata eum Extraordi-  
 armis affuisset, sic in invicem contrarii habebantur, nary posi-  
 ut qui episcopi castellum exterius<sup>1</sup> obsidebant, et ipsi tion of  
 a regalibus exterius strictissime obsidebantur, nunquam both  
 sine hominum periculo, nunquam sine utriusque gentis armies.  
 quam maximo detrimento. Ut enim de militibus reti-  
 ceam, qui in cotidiano conflictu nunc ex hac parte  
 nunc ex illa capiebantur, vel qui, diversis agitati cas-  
 sibus, diversis modis extinguebantur, nonnulla alia  
 contigerunt incommoda; quia dum illi ad episcopi  
 obtinendum castellum arte et ingenio contendebant,  
 qui intus recludebantur ignibus foras emissis majorem  
 civitatis partem, sed et duas abbatias,<sup>2</sup> in fayillas pen- Two abbeyes  
 nitus redegerunt. Dum etiam regales, appositis ubique burnt.  
 armatorum cuneis, viarum circa civitatem diverticula, Famine in  
 ne quid escarum interius ingereretur, curiosissime the city.  
 observarent, fames valida omnem urbem inhabitantium  
 copiam gravissime vexavit. Provisum est igitur et  
 communi consilio provise, ut sibi videbatur, statutum,  
 quatinus penes abbatiam Warwellensem, quæ a Venta The em-  
 civitate vi. milliariis distabat, trecentis ibi destinatis press  
 militibus, castellum construerent, ut scilicet inde et establishes  
 regales facilius arcerentur, et ciborum subsidia com- strong  
 petentius in urbem dirigerentur. Sed regales consul- positions  
 tum hujusmodi in malum suum machinatum adven- at Wber-  
 tentes, subito et insperate, cum intolerabili multitudine well.  
 Warwellam advenerunt, fortiterque in eos undique Sudden  
 irruentes, captis et interemptis plurimis, cedere tandem attack on  
 reliquos et in templum se recipere compulerunt. Cum- Wherwell  
 by the  
 king's  
 party.

<sup>1</sup> D. suggests *interius*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the abbey of St. Mary, | and Hyde abbey. Will. of Malmes-

bury, p. 752.



A.D. 1141. que vice castelli ad se defendendos templo uterentur, alii, facibus undique injectis, semiustulatos eos e templo prodire, et ad votum suum se sibi subdere coegerunt. Erat quidem horrendum et miserabile videre, quam impie, quam truculenter in templo, pietatis videlicet et orationis domo, armatorum cunei grassabantur; maxime quia, hic alterutrim[que] cædes committebantur, illic captivi loris vinculati abstraherentur; hinc incendium templi et domorum fastigia horribiliter depasecebat, inde virginum Deo sacratarum, quæ igne urgente suis de claustris invitæ prodierant, clamor et ejulatus alte resonabat.<sup>1</sup>

The abbey  
stormed  
and burnt  
(Sept. 14).

Robert of  
Gloucester  
prepares  
to retreat  
from Win-  
chester.

The re-  
treat.

His men  
are sur-  
rounded  
and routed  
by the  
king's  
forces.

Robertus itaque Glaornensis comes, ceterique suæ partis suffraganei, ubi lacrymabilem præfati infortunii audissent eventum, de obsidione diutius ingerenda ex toto desperati, fugæ quam mature inire presidium sibi consulere. Non enim sanum eis erat vel commodum, pro tam luctuosa suorum ibi amplius immorari jactura, cum in palam esset et civitatem ab episcopi militibus horridissimo concrematam incendio, famisque et inediæ tabe eos plurimum laborare, et sibi, ni celerius aufugerent, idem perversitatis infortunium quamcitius imminere. Collectis itaque sarcinulis, e portis pariter prorumpebant cauteque ad fugiendum, et consortim dispositis agminibus, fugam omnes catervatim inibant: cum ecce indicibilis regalis exercitus multitudo undique illos circumveniens fortiter in eos irruit et intrepidanter, omnemque adversariorum copiam in diversa dispergens, comitem tandem Glaornia, extremi

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<sup>1</sup> This incident is variously narrated by the chroniclers: John of Hexham (Twysden, col. 270) supports the *Gesta*. Malmesbury (p. 752) apparently does the same. On the other hand, the well-informed Continuator of *Fl. Wigorn.*, p.

135, represents John le Marshal as entering Wherwell abbey during the flight and fighting, it would seem, to cover Maud's retreat. This is supported by the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* (ll. 208-248).



agminis ducem et provisorem, cum omnibus pæne suis captum intercepit;<sup>1</sup> deinde in reliquum vulgus per omnes sese provinciæ fines circumquaque diffundens, non solum quoscumque deprehenderat milites captivavit, sed et inæstimabilis pretii spolia, sparsim et ubique oblata, diripuit. Videres cursatiles equos, forma acceptos et spectaculo dignos, hic præcipitatis rectoribus passim vagare, illic extremum trahentes halitum præ lassitudine deficere; nunc scuta et loricas, armorumque omnimodum genus solotenus ubique strata jacere; nunc pallia concupiscibilia, sed et metalli appetiandi vasa, cum aliis exeniis, cumulatim projecta, reperientibus se passim objicere. Quid loquar de militibus inmo et de summis baronibus, qui omnibus militandi abjectis insigniis, pedites et inhonori, nomen suum et fugam mentiebantur; et alii quidem, in manus rusticorum incidentes, dirissimis flagris atterebantur, alii, latibulis sese occultantes inhonestis, exsanguis et metu pleni, vel usque ad opportunum fugiendi tempus ibi delitescabant, vel ab adversariis tandem inventi probrose et indecenter inde attrahebantur? Quid etiam regem Scotiæ memorem, qui tertio, ut aiunt, captus, sed præmio semper intercurrente dimissus, dolens et defatigatus vix ad sua cum paucis defugit? Quid Cantuariæ archipræsulem, cum quibusdam episcopis, aliisque eminentioribus totius Angliæ viris, qui, dispersis sociis, equis quoque et vestibus ab istis captis, ab illis horrende abstractis, vix ad tuta dispersionis hujus latibula diffugere poterunt? Sed et ipsa Andegavensis comitissa, femineam semper excedens mollitiem, ferreumque et infractum gerens in adversis animum, ante omnes, Brieno tantum cum paucis comite, ad Divisas confugit, immensum

A.D. 1141.

The earl of Gloucester taken prisoner (Sept. 14).

The king of Scots is taken, but bribes his captors.

Narrow escape of the archbishop of Canterbury.

The empress and Brien Fitz Count escape to Devizes.

<sup>1</sup> He was taken to Rochester, *Peterborough Chron.*, p. 384.

A.D. 1141. per hoc, ipsa et Brienus,<sup>1</sup> nacti præconii titulum, ut sicut sese antea mutuo et indivise dilexerant, ita nec in adversis, plurimo impediende periculo, aliquatenus separarentur.<sup>2</sup>

The Londoners pillage Winchester.

Dum igitur hæc fugæ et dispersionis varietas varie, ut dilucidatum est, diversis in locis agcretur, Londonienses, cum maxima militum regalium parte, modis horrendis Wintoniensem civitatem expilavere, domibusque et cellariis sed et templis nonnullis fractis et deprædatis, cum multis exeniis, cum innumeris etiam captivis, ad propria unusquisque lætissime discessere. Et ita quidem Wintoniensis sese habuit dispersio, quæ cunctis adeo horrenda fuit et admirabilis, ut vix aliqua ætas consimilem in nostro seculo valeat reminisci.

Stephen and the earl of Gloucester

Capto itaque tali modo Glaornensi comite, paucoque temporis intervallo transcurso, facta fuit inter utrius-

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Foliot (*Ep.* lxxix.) writes a lengthy epistle to Brian FitzCount, who had apparently caused a book to be written in support of Maud, "*cujus causam . . . ut . . . jam vidimus eloqui . . . venustate . . . sustines et defendis.*" Foliot reminds him that Henry I. helped him from boyhood, knighted, and enriched him. This letter was written shortly after the Lateran Council of 1139. It supplies an innocent interpretation to the otherwise ambiguous words of the text. See also Maud's charter (*Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 19579*) mentioning a gift made to Reading abbey "*pro amore et legali servicio . . . Brieni filii comitis quod mihi fecit,*" and *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xxxi., p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> The newly discovered poem, *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maré-*

*chal* (l. 199-354), gives details as to the escape of the empress. It was John le Marshal who advised her to ride to his own castle of Ludgershall, and who said—

Les jamhes vos covient desjoindre

Et metre par en sor l'arçun.

He, too (see p. 82, note 1), covered her retreat by a rally at Wherwell. The king's troops supposed he was burned in the abbey; but he made his escape on foot to Marlborough, from whence he went to Ludgershall. Issuing from thence he inflicted a defeat on earl Patrick. The poem was composed many years after these events; but, as M. Paul Meyer shows, the poet had excellent opportunities for getting information. The *C. Fl. Wigorn.* agrees that the empress went on to Devizes.

74 later?

que partis fautores fixeque statuta conventio, ut rege A.D. 1141. et comite unoquoque pro altero redditus, ad priorem <sup>are ex-</sup> dissensionis punctum ex integro redirent. Dura qui- <sup>changed</sup> dem et indiscreta, omnique regioni offutura conditio: <sup>(Nov. 1).</sup> sed quia alia nequit ad præsens pacis inter eos et amicitiae intercurrere consensio, utrisque in pactione statuenda tumide inter se dissidentibus partibus, provisiva fuit hæc tandem et grate utrinque suscepta conventio. Reddito itaque rege, splendida et gloriosa Rejoicings at the restoration of the king. occurrentium baronum et congregientium fuit cum comitata processio, mireque pietas intermixta cum gaudio festivum cunctis tripudium adaugebat; dum alii, ob propitiam Dei elementiam potenter et mirabiliter in eum actam, pias amicabiliter et religiose lacrymas elicerent, alii, ob incolumem ejusdem receptionem, in vocem jubili et exultationis lætæ prorumperent.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See, for an account of the negotiation, Will. of Malmesb., p. 759. At this point we lose the assistance of the Continuator of Florence of Worcester, who might perhaps

more properly be quoted as John of Worcester, instead of being treated as an anonymous writer. See Engl. Hist. Soc. edition of Florence, p. 107, note 2.



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LIBER SECUNDUS.

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## LIBER SECUNDUS.

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Rege de carcerali tandem exuto angustia, cum tam horribili regni malitiæ finem jam imponendum crederes tantisque doloribus, et partem utramvis condolere, et ad pacem in commune redintegrandam conspirare putares, aggravata est denuo super Anglenses manus Domini; quia multimode Deum offenderant, multiplices castigati flagello, ut reseratum est, vapularunt.<sup>1</sup> Comitissa namque Andegavensis, ferocem semper et inflexibilem exhalans spiritum, recepta postremo incolumitate, (fuerat enim ex Wentoniensi dispersione quassa nimis, et usque ad defectum pæne defatigata) cum valida militarium virorum manu civitatem Oxenfordiam, quæ suo se dominio inclinarat, devenit;<sup>2</sup> suosque ad resistendum regi roborans et confortans, plurimas equestrium alas ad prædandum quaquaversum direxit; fide sibi et hominibus connexos, ut suo conamini enixius suffragarentur, scriptis et nunciis sollicitè flagitavit; castella, ubicumque competentius poterat, ista ad regales validius arcendos, illa ad suos impensius tutandos passim firmavit; unum siqui-

A.D. 1142.

The empress moves upon Oxford (before Sept. 29).

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<sup>1</sup> A good indication that the author was not in attendance on the king may be observed in the fact that he does not mention Stephen's illness. John of Hexham (Twysden, 271) says that Stephen went to York after Easter to settle the North, but, *proventus . . . infirmitate*, dismissed his forces. Malmesbury, p. 763, says that the king's sickness lasted from a little after April

19 to beyond June 7. About June 24 [?] the earl of Gloucester crossed to Normandy (W. of M., p. 765), and then Stephen took Wareham. His attack on Cirencester and other places near would naturally come between this event and the burning of Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> The approximate date is from Gervase, i 124.

A.D. 1142. dem apud Wdestoc, regis Henrici familiarem privati secreti recessum, aliud apud viculum Ratrotam, fluctibus inaccessis et paludibus obseptum; tertium penes civitatem Cirencestræ, juxta piam religiosorum ecclesiam, tanquam alterum Dagon juxta Arcam Domini; quartum in villa Bentonensi, super ipsius ecclesiæ turrim, quæ ex miro schemate, stupendoque ingeniosi laboris artificio fuit ex antiquo constructa; aliaque nonnulla diversis in Angliæ provinciis fautoribus suis firmare permisit; ex quibus gravissima populi depressio, communis regni depopulatio, belli et dissidii semina ubique pullularunt.

Stephen surprises and burns Cirencester.

Sed rex Stephanus, talibus perceptis, quasi tunc demum a somno experrectus, a pigritiæ torpore vive se et audacter excussit, ascitisque suæ partis assentaneis, cum plurimo constantis militiæ apparatu, civitatem Cirencestræ improvise devenit, castellumque, custodibus furtive<sup>1</sup> dispersis, evacuatum reperiens, ignibus depascendum commisit, valloque et propugnaculis usque ad imum dirutis,<sup>2</sup> ad Bentonam<sup>3</sup> constantissime et Ratrotam exercitum direxit; alteroque cum violentia capto, altero autem ex libitu reddito, quemadmodum de Cæsare legimus, "nil actum credens, cum quid superesset agendum," ad Oxenofordiam, Andegavensis comitissæ vires impugnaturus, virtuose accessit. Est autem Oxenofordia civitas tutissime munita, aquis maximæ profunditatis undique proluentibus inaccessa; hinc, vallis antemuralis intentissime circumcincta, inde inexpugnabili castello et turri eminentissima pulere et fortissime roborata.

Captures Bampton and Radeot.

Marches on Oxford.

Description of Oxford.

Lucan. Phars. ii. 657.

<sup>1</sup> *fortuito*?

<sup>2</sup> *diruto*, D.

<sup>3</sup> Benton is no doubt Bampton (Beamdune). *Ratrota* is probably Radeot, about three miles to the south-west, and close to the Thames. In MSS. of the probable age of the

one which Duchesne was copying, a *d* with a top sloping back, followed closely by a *c*, might easily be mistaken for a *t* with a tilted top, followed by the second form of *r*.

The two villages lie in the line of march from Cirencester to Oxford.

Huc igitur cum Andegavensis comitissa cum splen- A.D. 1142.  
 dida se<sup>1</sup> militantium manu contulisset, nimium  
 quidem sui suorumque secunda, tum quia castellum  
 cum omni circumjacente provincia sub sui imperii  
 redigebatur jure, tum propter insuperabilem loci muni-  
 tionem, quæ sola est duntaxat adversantium gloria,  
 ecce rex, cum grandi et exercitato comitatu assistens,  
 ex altera fluvii regione subito advenit, cernensque ad-  
 versarios in magnam copiam conflatos e civitate pro-  
 disse, aliosque, solo fluvio dirimente, verbis injuriosis se  
 et suos lacessere, alios vero, excussis valide de cornu  
 sagittis, suos ex adversa fluvii parte dirissime infes-  
 tare, præmonstrato antiquo sed eximie profunditatis  
 vado, cum primis seipsum audacissime immersit, transi-  
 toque confestim natando, potius quam vadando, meatu  
 virili cum impetu in hostes impegit, retroque usque  
 ad civitatis portas cedere cogens, bellicas cum eis  
 manus virilissime commiscuit. Cumque denique sui,  
 flumine post eum transmissa, pariter emersissent, inque  
 unum constipati globum in adversarios insurrexissent,  
 illis fugientibus et apertis portis in civitatem se reci-  
 pientibus, se etiam regales turmatim cum eis intermis-  
 centes intra mœnia nullo obsistente contulerunt,  
 facibusque ubique in civitate domibus injectis, insig-  
 nem de adversariis victoriæ titulum indepti fuere.<sup>2</sup>  
 Omnes siquidem horrendo sinistro casu infortunio  
 pariter involvere, quia alios quotquot resistebant,  
 gladio dissecante, vita privavere, alios sub redimendi  
 conditione detentos vinculis injecere; istos secunda dis-  
 persiois suæ latibula repetentes prodire e civitate  
 coegere, illos in castellum sub festinatione cum do-  
 mina sua detrusos fortiter reclusere.

Stephen  
crosses the  
river, and  
engages  
the enemy.

Maud's  
party  
routed;  
Stephen's  
men enter  
the city,  
and set  
fire to it,  
Sept. 26.

The em-  
press is  
shut up in  
the castle.

The castle  
besieged.

\* Rex igitur tali modo victoria potitus,<sup>3</sup> ad obsidionem  
 in comitissam et suos ingerendam se constantissime

<sup>1</sup> *secum*, D.

<sup>2</sup> W. of Malmesb., p. 766, gives  
the date.

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

A.D. 1142. accinxit, facile reputans discordiæ regni finem imponendum, si suis illam viribus subjugasset, per quam discordandi sumpsit exordium. Dispositis igitur sollicitis hinc inde circa castellum custodibus, omnes aditus nocte diligenter et die observare præcepit; tribusque mensibus cum plurimo ibi perendinans exercitu, usque ad impendentem<sup>1</sup> famis inediam castellum inhabitantes obsidendo redegit. Verum quoniam providentiæ Dei ejusdemque judiciorum cæcus est omnis homo et ex toto ignarus, quod rex virtuose complere proposuit, Deus in contrarium repente immutavit. Quia dum fixa obsidione usque ad ipsam captivitatem comitissam claudere intenderet, inter tot hostes, inter tot nocturni silentii excubitores, quos rex ex omni castelli parte curiose disposuerat, mirandis illa modis illæsa evasit. Escis namque et omni vivendi solatio pæne in castello exhaustis, rege quoque viribus animose et machinis ad illud obtinendum desudante, illa plurimum coartata venturique ex toto desperata subsidii, tribus prudentis ingenii se comitantibus militibus, e castello noctu egreditur, perque nivem et gelu (nix etenim in omni abundantissime terra incanduerat, et gelu horridissime aquis induruerat) sex ferme milliariis cum summo sui comitumque labore pedestris incessit, quodque manifesti fuit miraculi indicium, per ipsas, quæ super regis suorumque capita, dum ad civitatem expugnandam transmearent, inundaverant, aquas, illa sicca pedes immadida omnino vestes transmisit, perque regis excubias, qui noctis silentia hinc cornicinum stridore, inde ululantium in altum clamore, ubique rumpebant,<sup>2</sup> nullo omnino, exceptis suis et uno tantum ex regia parte, conscio<sup>3</sup> egressionisque illius solo proditore, libere, ut dictum

The besieged reduced to great extremities.

Escape of the empress (shortly before Christmas)

94 to Abingdon?

<sup>1</sup> *impudentem*, D.

<sup>2</sup> *rumpebatur*, D.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Sewell here alters the text, reading and punctuating thus: "*nullo omnino suis capto, et*

"*uno tantum ex regia parte conscio, . . .*" The author's sentence is awkward, but perfectly grammatical.

est, e castello et illæse secessit, civitatemque Walen- A.D. 1142.  
 gefordiam cum plurimo labore noctu advenit. Nescio  
 autem utrum ad gloriæ ipsius cumulum in futu- to Walling-  
 rum dilatandum, vel ad regni inquietudinem ex Dei ford.  
 iudicio enixius exaggerandam, sed nunquam aliam  
 de tot sui capitis hostibus, de tantis imminentibus<sup>1</sup> sibi  
 periculis tam fortunate surreptam legimus feminam;  
 dum verum sit et ex castello Arundel inter medios  
 adversarios indemnem eam exisse, et ex medio Lon-  
 doniensium in illam solam cum plena indignatione  
 insurgentium incolumiter evasisse; inde ex Wintoniensi  
 dispersione, omnibus fere suis interceptis, solam mira-  
 biliter elapsam fuisse; hinc ex Oxenofordensi obsidione  
 discessam sane, ut præmissum est, diffugisse.

Cum igitur rex animadverteret, primam regni sui Stephen  
 et pacis inquietatricem, quam omnibus anhelantius determines  
 comprehendere sitiebat, furtivis, ut dictum est, latebris to break  
 imminens periculum devitasse, superstitiosum et inutile up the  
 iudicavit tritam laboriose obsidionem diutius protelare; siege.  
 dum tot undique coarctantibus se inimicis, facile per-  
 versi sibi casus subrepere<sup>2</sup> posset infortunium; maxime  
 quia Robertus comes Glaornia simul sororem audivit Robert of  
 obsessam, nec virtute sufficienti suffragari prævaluit, Gloucester  
 castellum de Warham, ubi se regales receperant, takes the  
 obsedit et obtinuit, et ad alia in eum incommoda castle of  
 intendenda viriliter se semper et intrepide accinxit.<sup>3</sup> Wareham.  
 Consilio itaque suorum prudenter permonitus, redditum The castle  
 a comitissæ militibus castellum suscepit, suisque im- of Oxford  
 positis latissimæ provinciæ dominium illis in partibus is sur-  
 rendered  
 to the  
 king.

<sup>1</sup> eminentibus, D.

<sup>2</sup> surripere, D.

<sup>3</sup> This was a considerable time before Maud's escape from Oxford. The earl, it appears from Malmesbury, p. 768, had captured the isle of Portland and Lulworth castle,

and then, "*jam ingresso Adventu,*" had summoned all his forces to meet him at Cirencester with a view to the relief of Oxford. While maturing his plans he heard that his sister was out of danger.



A.D. 1143. potenter exercuit. Deinde pauco dilapso tempore,<sup>1</sup> cum instructissima militantium manu civitatem Warham, ubi comes Glaorniae castellum munitissime firmarat, advenit: vidensque locum intentissime munitum, igne ubique et gladio crudelis desæviit, direptisque et spoliatis quæcumque occurrerant, ad civitatem Wiltonam, ut comitis per provincias inhiberet excursus, castellum offirmaturus accessit. Affuit et episcopus Wintoniensis cum valida virorum militarium manu, nisum illius astipulaturus, baronesque ex omnibus Angliæ partibus mandati, vel cum adveniente rege convenerant, vel prope affuturi cum omnibus auxiliis suis ad eum confluebant. Quod ubi comiti Glaornensi certis deferentibus nunciis manifestum fuit, mandatis confestim totius virtutis suæ primis coadjutoribus, cum rege conflicturus Wiltoniam devenit. Cumque rex, exercitu ad præliandum comminus in turmas hinc inde ordinato, ex adverso e civitate prodisset, comes, quos secum adduxerat, caute et conserte in tres cuneos bellico more divisit, irruensque fortiter in adversarios, cedere regem constantissime coegit, et nisi cum episcopo Wintoniensi fugæ præsidium velocius inisset, in hostiles secunda vice manus turpissime incidisset.\*

Willelmus autem quidam, cognomento Martellus, vir illustris, fide quoque et amicitia potissimum regi connexus, cum militibus sibi assentaneis viriliter dimicando

Stephen marches to Wareham, and lays waste the adjoining country.

Prepares to fortify Wilton.

The bishop of Winchester and other barons join Stephen.

The earl of Gloucester gives battle at Wilton.

Stephen narrowly escapes being made prisoner.

Resistance of William Martel.

<sup>1</sup> The surrender of Oxford occurred about Christmas, so Wareham can hardly have been reached in force before Jan. 1. Probably this is the dividing point of the years 1142, 1143.

<sup>2</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, p. 276, places the defeat at Wilton in the same year as the siege of Oxford. Gervase, i. 125, gives a precise date, 1st July 1143, and the *Annal. Wav.*,

p. 229, place the battle in 1143. The sequence of the present chronicle completes the evidence against Huntingdon, but it also makes it appear probable that an error, *Julii* instead of *Januarii*, has crept into the chronicle of Gervase, whose dates at this period are not satisfactory. Indeed (see note 1 on p. 96), he makes another mistake at this point as to Milo of Gloucester.

yes but "ortate"



aliquantulum restitit: sed quia major regalis exercitus A.D. 1143.  
 copia quaquaversum eum rege dispersa confugerat, Stephen's  
 invictaque hostilis multitudinis atrocitas urgentissime<sup>1</sup> army  
 illum circumveniebat, captus postremo cum plurimis routed;  
 aliis detinetur. Deinde comes, fortuna sibi tam auspice Martel  
 cato aspirante, regales in civitatem et templa, securas made pri-  
 dispersionis suæ latebras repetentes, animose persequi- soner.  
 tur, injectisque ubique per civitatem ignibus, diem Wilton  
 lacrymarum totiusque crudelitatis reddidit plenam: dum burnt.  
 cunctis palam esset omnes rapina et gladio, violentia  
 et incendio, hinc in miseros eives, inde in quos repererant regales dirissime desævire, quodque majoris erat ejulatus, reverendum genitricis Dei, et sanctæ Etheldridæ<sup>2</sup> virginis, professionique addietarum virginum cœnobium, confractis truculentissime januis, expilavere, quique sese præsidii causa intus contulerant, calcata impudenter pietate, loris innexis foras abstraxere.<sup>3</sup> Et quidem, quanquam justum videatur eum adversariis perverse debere contendere, et mensura, qua nobis mensi fuerint, æqua illis vice remetiri, eximie tamen comes Glaormensis sui que fautores culpandi, temerariæque præsumptionis præcipue notandi, quia templum animarum duntaxat et depressorum notissimum omni ætate refugium, non solum violarunt, sed et, qui spe salutis et securitatis causa introrsum confugerant, eum nudis ab altari abstractos gladiis captivitati addixerunt. Nee impune quidem. Justus Retributive justice.  
 namque calamitatum suis injuste illatarum respector The death  
 Deus, qui reddit impiis in caput secundum quod of one of  
 promerentur, acerbissimam in eos<sup>4</sup> exercuit ultionem. Robert of  
 Quia Roberti Glaormensis comitis filius, specialis scilicet Gloucester soon  
 propagationis suæ splendor et decus, immatura non follows.  
 multo post morte præventus interiit. Comes quoque Milo earl  
 Herefordiæ, Milo, fomes tanti mali et instigator, sine of Hereford dies  
 within the year.

<sup>1</sup> *urgentissime*, D. <sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The nunnery of Wilton, as Mr. Stevenson notes.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Fitz Hildebrand did this (see p. 98).

<sup>4</sup> *eis*, D.

A.D. 1143. confessionis verbo, sine pœnitentiæ fructu, ipso in anno sagittatus interiit.<sup>1</sup> Willelmus nihilominus civitatis Saresbiriæ præceptor eo tempore et municeps, horrendis in somnis, ipsa Virgine, ut aiunt, sibi assistente, deteritus minis, sed et dirissimis inevitabilis ægritudinis correptus flagellis, lento tandem cruciatu tortus interiit. Robertus etiam filius Heldebranti, vir infimi generis, sed summæ semper malitiæ machinator, atrocissimo et nostris seculis inaudito vexatus cruciatu, ad extrema devenit, sicut in sequentibus plenius enarrabimus.<sup>2</sup> Sed et alii nonnulli, divinæ animadversionis experti vindictam, crudelitatis ob temerariam præfati sacrilegii præsumptionem excepere sententiam: de quibus plurima præsentis operi inserere desudarem, nisi et legentibus tædium ingerere, et longe a materia viderer aberrare.

Robert of Gloucester returns to Bristol.

Regains the castle of Sherborne.

The earl's further successes.

Robertus igitur, Glaornensis comes, tali modo apud Wiltonam victoria potitus, cum multis exeniis, cum Willelmo etiam Martello aliisque innumeris captivis, Bristoam adveniens, in arctissimæ eum custodiæ districtionem retrusit; donec tandem reddito, quod illius subdebatur potestati, Siresburniæ castello, latissimæ provinciæ indeptus<sup>3</sup> fuit principatum. Quicumque itaque regi favebant misere eo in tempore depressi humiliabantur, tum quia rex a Wiltonica congressione, suis captivatis, ignominiose diffugerat, tum quia castellum præfatum, quod una erat totius regni clavis, comes Glaornensis in sui juris dominium susceperat. Et comes quidem sui que consentanei victorioso se postmodum hilariterque continere, regnum latissime in suæ potestatis jura redigere, castella, ista a regalibus possessa ardentem et virtuose destruere, illa ad eos

<sup>1</sup> Gervase, i. 126, says a few days after the fight at Wiltou; but John of Hexham (Twysden, 273) tells us that Milo was killed by an arrow while hunting on 24 Dec. 1143. The present chronicle, on p. 103, gives

the same day and month as the prior of Hexham and, by sequence, the same year.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 98.

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

enixius edomandos triumphatissime surrigere, dimidi-  
 amque fere Angliam a mari in latus usque ad mare  
 legibus suis et præceptis, sine omni omnino resistente,  
 addicere. Hoc autem illius dominium, pace et tran-  
 quillitate ubique reformata, plurimum decorabat, ex-  
 cepto quod in castellis suis ædificandis operariorum  
 exactiones ab omnibus exigebat; et quotiens eum  
 adversariis esset congregiendum, omnium sibi auxilia  
 aseiscibat, vel in militibus mittendis, vel in æris  
 descriptione reddenda. Et erat quidem illis in parti-  
 bus umbra quædam pæcis, sed pax necdum perfecta:  
 quia nihil compatriotas anxius angebat quam non  
 sibi sed aliis laborare, materiamque discordiæ et belli  
 suis quoquomodo ensibus adaugere.

A.D. 1143.

His en-  
 deavour to  
 govern  
 well.

Omnibus igitur in ea regionis parte comitem sequen-  
 tibus, solus Henricus de Traecio, vires regis roberans,  
 inflexibiliter omnibus resistere, bellum intestinum, con-  
 gressiones assiduas eum adversariis agere, eum singulis  
 ubique committere, quousque omnibus protervæ insec-  
 tationis illius importunitate pæne afflietis, pacem cum  
 eis ad tempus statuere deerevit, quoad et rex illis in  
 partibus potentior, et regio sibi belli sedatis tumultibus  
 esset subjectior.

Henry de  
 Tracy up-  
 holds the  
 cause of  
 Stephen.  
*Lord of  
 Barnstaple  
 about 52*

Secundum hoc tempus Willelmus de Ponte Area-  
 rum, vir, ut relatum est, regi Henrico suisque postnatis  
 fidelissimus, gravissimam in fratrem regis, episcopum<sup>1</sup>  
 Wintoniensem, dissensionem promovit. Verum quia  
 episcopus cum fortissima militantium manu fortiter  
 semper et constantissime restitit, omnesque illius eona-  
 tus non solum viribus sed et prudentiæ suæ discre-  
 tione delusit, dominam suam, Andegavensem eomitissam,  
 scriptis delegatis postulavit, ut ei, in auxilium suum,  
 plurimum equestrium virorum suffragium, quique illis  
 præset, artis militariæ callidum ducem et propug-  
 natorem transmitteret. Illi autem, viri petitione  
 susepta, admodum congaudebant, vel quia episcopi vires

Quarrel of  
 William de  
 Pont de  
 l'Arche  
 and the  
 bishop of  
 Winches-  
 ter.

He applies  
 to the  
 empress  
 for assist-  
 ance  
 against the  
 bishop.

<sup>1</sup> episcoporum, D.

A.D. 1143. per hunc facilius edomandas credebant, vel quia suas hinc partes præcipue roboratas confidebant, eo quod non solum constans esset et quibus favebat fidissimus, verum quia æris et divitiarum erat idem refertissimus. Miserunt itaque Robertum filium Heldebrandi, virum plebeium quidem, sed militari virtute approbatum, quodque militantium florem et gloriam dedecorat et confundit, cupidinarius fuit idem, bibax et impudicus. Cumque cum florida militum caterva adveniens grantissime susceptus fuisset, secretorumque Willelmi ex toto conscius, vices ingrediendi castellum ipsius egrediendique pro libitu frequentaret, cupidine vulneratus uxorem in amplexus suos conscivit, habitoque ex communi sui et uxoris assensu pessimo et detestando consilio, Willelmum, compede tenacissime astrictum, carcerali in custodia reposuit, castelloque illius, divitiis, et uxore fruens, relicta quoque et aspernata comitissa, quæ gloriose illuc eum direxerat, cum rege et episcopo foedus inivit. Nec impune, ut præmissum est, tam sceleratæ tamque infidæ factionis audaciam temerarius ille incestor moliri præsumpsit: quia ex quo in meretricios adulteræ sinus perfidus impudicator accubuit, justissimo Deo injustitiæ illius ultore, vermibus quidam inter vitalia illius innatus irrepsit, lentoque morsu interiora exedens, paulatim sceleratum depavit, multisque tandem vexatum questibus, multis etiam et horrendis tortum cruciatibus, dignissimo supplicio ad extrema deduxit. Et hæc quidem non solum ob perfidam sceleratamque vitam, sed et quia sacratam venerabili virgini Adeldridæ<sup>1</sup> ustulavit ecclesiam, Deo vindice, mirabiliter pertulit.

Hac sub tempestate Anglia multis diversisque modis turbari; hinc a rege suisque suffraganeis vehementissime angustari, inde a Glaornensi comite turbatissime tribulari; nunc effrenes istorum impetus, nunc indiscretos illorum tolerare tumultus; semper autem et

Robert Fitz Hildebrand is sent.

He falls in love with the wife of William de Pont de l'Arche.

Imprisons him.

Traitorously enters into a treaty with Stephen and the bishop. His shocking death.

Dreadful state of England.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 95, note 1 and p. 96.

ubique commoveri cepit, et in solitudinem redigi. A.D. 1143.  
 Alii patriæ dulcedinem in nauseautem amaritudinem  
 intuentes conversam, exterâs magis regiones inhabitare  
 eligere; alii circa templa, spe videlicet se contutandi,  
 humilia contextentes tuguria, in metu et ærunna vitam  
 ducere; isti cibariis deficientibus (fames namque in  
 omni Angliâ dirissime invaluerat) vetitis et insuetis  
 canum vel equorum carnibus vesci, illi herbarum vel  
 radicum crudam illuvien<sup>1</sup> ad famem relevandam in-  
 satiabili morsu consumere; pars hominum, ubique  
 provinciarum, famis prævalente angustia tabescens  
 catervatim mori, pars, cum omni familia spontaneum  
 lugubriter subiens exilium, exterminari. Videres famo-  
 sissimi nominis villas, defunctis totius sexus et ætatis  
 colonis, solitarias stare et prorsus evacuatas, agros  
 cultissima segete albescentes, suberat enim in vicino  
 autumnus, sed eorum cultores, pestifera fame inter-  
 currente, de medio sublato, totamque Angliam vultum  
 doloris et calamitatis, faciem miseriæ et oppressionis  
 ubique induisse. Ad tantorum autem accedebat cumu-  
 lum malorum, quod efferâ barbarorum multitudo, quæ  
 gratia militandi, facto grege, Angliam confluserat, nec  
 visceribus pietatis, nec humanæ compassionis affectu  
 super tot tantisque miseriis frangebatur; sed ubique  
 per castella in scelus et flagitium committendum una-  
 nimiter conspirare, in rebus pauperum diripiendis  
 insatiabiliter vacare, in discordiis alterutrim[que] pro-  
 movendis, in cædibus passim peragendis toti malitiosi  
 animi studio intendere. Cumque barones, qui eos in  
 auxilium suum ex remotissimis provinciis consciverant,  
 nec ex propriis redditibus stipendia prorogare, nec  
 inexpletam eorundem sitim ex prædarum, ut consue-  
 verant, spoliis poterant remunerare (quia nihil indis-  
 reptum indistractumque ubivis locorum reliquerant)  
 ecclesiarum possessiones, vel ubicumque suis affinius

State of  
 England at  
 the end of  
 the sum-  
 mer of  
 1143.

\*

<sup>1</sup> *ingluviem*, D.



A.D. 1143. — cohærebant municipiis, vel quos aliis in locis missis competentius agminibus infestare valebant, nunc calumniis et violentiis impiissime gravare, nunc angariis et tributis atrocissime premere; istas clanculo vel aperte, rebus deprædatione distractis, nudare, illas in proprii juris dominium inverecunde redigere. Si quis autem vel reverendæ personæ monachus, vel nominatæ auctoritatis clericus, pro illata rebus ecclesiasticis exactione conquesturus accederet, injuriosis protinus contumeliis affici, minis in faciem impudenter prætextis irreverenter absterreri, sæpe itineris sui comministri gravissimo verbere, ipso conspicante, vexari; sæpe idem ipse, eujuscumque dignitatis esset vel ordinis, spoliis, quæ secum detulerat, incompassive subtractis, aut inhonore nudatus, e suo prospectu repelli, aut atrocissima verberis contusione defatigatus relinqui.<sup>1</sup> Et hæc quidem lacrymosæ miseræ facies, hic questuosæ tragœdiæ inhonestissimus modus, sicut ubique per Angliam publice committebantur, ita et ad episcoporum aures ubique deferebantur. Sed illi timore vilissime depressi, ut arundo vento agitata inflectebantur, habentesque sal infatuatum,<sup>2</sup> non ascendebant ex adverso, nec se murum pro domo Israel opponebant. Ezech. xiii. Deberent namque gladio verbi Dei, qui devorat carnes,<sup>5</sup> carnaliter sapientibus occurrere; filiisque Belial, qui rebus ecclesiasticis violenter incumbant, tunicamque Domini particulatim sibi diripientes, laceram ubique locorum et discissam reliquerant, Hieremiæ faciem cornutamque Moysi frontem viriliter offerre. Ideo namque ipsi per columnas, quæ domum Dei sustentant, per leuculos, qui labrum illud Salomonis supportant, per bases, quæ mensam propositionis sustentant, exprimuntur; quatinus ecclesiam, quæ vere est et dicitur domus Dei, quæ et per labrum designatur,

Treatment  
of ecclesi-  
astics by  
the barons.

Unworthy  
conduct of  
the  
bishops.

<sup>1</sup> This reads like a personal ex- | <sup>2</sup> *insulsum*, Vulg., Marc. ix. 30.  
perience.



quia ibi peccatorum sordes multis modis diluuntur, A.D. 1143.  
 quæ nihilominus per mensam figuratur, quia ibi vitæ  
 æternæ fercula proponuntur, non solum sustinere et  
 fortem efficere, sed et ab adversariis fortiter semper  
 et inexpugnate debent defendere. Episcopi autem e  
 contrario, prædonibus ecclesiarum possessiones ubique,  
 ut sæpius pro palatum est, diripientibus, alii metu  
 illorum inerte depressi, aut succumbebant, aut tepide  
 et remisse separationis sententiam non diu perman-  
 suram inferebant; alii, quod tamen non erat opus  
 episcoporum, castella sua escis et armorum copiis,  
 militibus et sagittariis refertissime supplebant, dum  
 que maleficos rerumque ecclesiasticarum direptores They build  
castles and  
oppress the  
people.  
 arcere putarentur, ipsis maleficis in vicinis suis oppri-  
 mendis, in rebus eorum diripiendis crudeliores semper  
 et magis immisericordes extiterant. Ipsi nihilominus,  
 ipsi episcopi, quod pudet quidem dicere, non tamen  
 omnes, sed plurimi ex omnibus, ferro accincti, armis  
 decentissime instructi, cum patriæ perversoribus super-  
 bissimis in vehi equis, prædæ participari; milites bel-  
 lica sorte interceptos, vel pecuniosos, quibuscumque  
 occurrerent, vinculis et cruciatibus exponere; et dum  
 ipsi tanti sceleris, tantique flagitii caput essent et  
 causa, non sibi solebant, sed suis militibus tantum  
 nefas ascribere. Et ut de ceteris impræsentiarum  
 faceam, indecens namque est omnes pariter carpere,  
 episcopos Wintoniæ, Lincolnæ, et Cestriæ, tantæ irre-  
 ligious studiis ceteris enixius intentos<sup>1</sup> fama publice  
 declamabat.

Verum quamvis ecclesiasticus rigor, scelere ubique  
 et impietate prevalente, inflexus, ut præmissum est,  
 vacillavit, non tamen Robertus Herefordensis antistes,  
 vir piæ religionis summæque constantiæ, a statu  
 religionis, a tramite justitiæ exorbitavit, sed armis  
 assumptis, quibus Apostolus evangelicum hominem

Spirited  
conduct of  
Robert  
bishop of  
Hereford.

See Off  
Foliet  
No. 3.  
6.?

<sup>1</sup> *inrentos*, perhaps for *intentos*, D.

A.D. 1143. curiose armat et sollicite instruit, viriliter se contra Catholicæ pacis adversarios clipeum defensionis tandem opposuit. Cum enim Herefordiæ comes ad conducendam, quam adversus regem congregarat, militiam ære plurimo indigeret, novæ exactionis tributa sub sui domini jugo redactas ecclesias reddere coegit, ipsumque Herefordiæ præsulem hinc jure, ut sibi videbatur, astringens, inde minis ni acquiesceret absterrens, injunctæ tyrannidis munus reddere postulavit; cumque illum frequentius urgeret, episcopus libera fronte et constanti animo persolvere postulata abnegavit, asserens res ecclesiasticas, per pias devotæ plebis oblationes altari assignatas, in ipsius Dei manus<sup>1</sup> ad ecclesiæ servitium perpetuo mancipatas, nec secularis personæ esse officium, plus quam in sanctæ ipsas ecclesiæ res<sup>2</sup> quoquomodo inferre dominium, sicque per earundem direptionem incurrere sacrilegium, tanquam in ipsum quis altare<sup>3</sup> exercuisset commissum. Quamobrem aut a nefaria præsumptione se et suos arceret, aut gladio anathematis se et suos incunctanter percelleret.

His opposition to the illegal demands of the earl of Hereford.

Threatens him with excommunication.

The earl invades the bishop's lands.

The bishop pronounces sentence of excommunication against him and his followers.

The diocese laid under interdiction.

Talia episcopo prosequente, furibundus Milo in iram exarsit, missisque qui opes et terras episcopii,<sup>4</sup> ubicumque essent, invaderent, omnem in eis depopulationem exegit. Episcopus igitur, clero in unum conventum haud pigranter ascito, metuendam ecclesiasticæ percussiois sententiam in Milonem suæque temeritatis astipulatores dictavit,<sup>5</sup> omnemque circumquaque sui juris provinciam in tantum sententiæ rigore astrinxit, ut nec divini cultus officium celebrare, nec corpus humo imponere, vel aqua immergere, vel igne consumere, sed nec a loco, quo expiravit, dimovere liceret, quousque tandem sacrilegii præsumptor, omnibus quæ diripuit, usque ad novissimum quadrantem, fidejusso-

<sup>1</sup> manu, D.

<sup>2</sup> sancta ipsius . . . rebus, D.

<sup>3</sup> ipso . . . altari, D.

<sup>4</sup> See Glossary.

<sup>5</sup> See Foliot, *Ep.* iii., ed. Giles.

ribus interpositis, redditis, pœnitentiæ satisfactione ad ecclesiam revocatus accessit. Verum quia quæ red-  
dere spondit fidejussores post hoc persolvere oportuit, dumque uni ecclesiæ satisfecit, per plures per hoc impediens ecclesias oneravit, quorum pastores inter se et episcopum plegios esse cœgit, in ipso anno, dum in sacro vigiliarum Nativitatis Domini die cervis insidiaretur, a milite, sagittam imprudenter in cervum dirigente, pectus transforatus, sine pœnitentiæ fructu miserabiliter occubuit.<sup>1</sup> Cujus interitus in nonnullis divitibus, ne ecclesiarum possessiones tam abrupte postea pervaderent, aliquanto majorem terrorem incussit, et reliquos per Angliam episcopos ad obsistendum deinceps temerariæ divitum præsumptioni audaces effecit. Successit dehinc in comitatum Herefordiæ Rogerius, Milonis filius, juvenis quidem ætate, sed eximiæ probitatis decus.

A.D. 1143.

Milo earl of Hereford is killed by accident (Dec. 24).

Is succeeded by his son Roger.

Fuit eo in tempore ex his qui rege obtemperabant Galfridus de Magnavilla, vir sicut prudentis animi ingenio spectabilis, ita et in adversis inflexibilis virtutis constantia, militarisque studii probitate admirabilis; qui omnes regni primates et divitiarum potentia et dignitatis excedebat opulentia; turrim. quoque Londoniarum in manu, sed et castella inexpugnabilis fortitudinis circa civitatem constructa habebat, omnemque regni partem, quæ se regi subdiderat, ut ubique per regnum regis vices adimplens et in rebus agendis rege avidius exaudiretur, et in præceptis injungendis plus ei quam regi obtemperaretur. Quod ægre ferentes illi præcipue, qui se familiariori dilectione regi conjunctius devinxerant, tum quia Galfridus, ut videbatur, omnia regni jura sibi callide usurparat, tum quia regnum, ut in ore jam vulgi celebre fuerat,

Geoffrey de Mandeville.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 16. He was buried, after a dispute over his body with the monks of Gloucester, at Lanthony Priory. See *Ep. Gilb.*

*Foliot*, lxxv. There are interesting references to him in *Epp.* iii. and vi.

A.D. 1143. comitissæ Andegavensi conferre disposuerat, ad hoc regem secreta persuasione impulerunt, quatinus Galfridum de prodicionis infamia notatum caperet, et redditis quæcumque possederat castellis, et rex post hinc securus, et regnum ipsius haberetur pacatius.

Is accused by the nobles of treason. Quarrel between Geoffrey and the barons. Geoffrey is accused, and ridicules the charge. Is taken prisoner at St. Albans. Stephen threatens to hang him. He obtains his liberty by surrender of his castles.

Rege multo tempore differente, ne regia majestas turpi prodicionis opprobrio infamaretur, subito inter Galfridum et barones, injuriis et minis utrinque protensis, orta seditio: cumque rex habitam inter eos dissensionem, sedatis partibus, niteretur dirimere, affuerunt quidam, qui Galfridum de prodicionis factione in se et suos machinata, libera fronte accusabant. Cumque se de objecto crimine minime purgaret, sed turpissimam infamiam verbis jocosis alludendo infringeret, rex et qui præsentés erant barones Galfridum et suos repente ceperunt. Hæc autem, ut relata sunt, apud sanctum Albanum effecta contigerunt.<sup>1</sup>

Rex igitur Galfridum, custodiis arctissime adhibitis, Londonias adducens, ni turrim et quæ miro labore et artificio erexerat castella, in manus ejus committeret, suspendio cruciari paravit: cum salubri amicorum persuasus consilio, ut imminens inhonestæ mortis periculum, castellis redditis, devitaret, regis voluntati tandem satisfecit, regnique totius communem ad jacturam, tali modo liberatus, de medio illorum evasit. Ferus namque et turbulentus, per tyrannidis suæ commotionem totum Angliæ regnum in dissensionem validius commovit, dum et regis adversarii, audientes eum in regem arma sumpsisse, tanti comitis roborati suffragio, promptius et hilarius ad discordiam ubique ingerendam convolarent, et qui regis fautores esse videbantur,

<sup>1</sup> W. of Newburgh tells us (see vol. i., pp. 44-48) many interesting particulars which may be compared with some of the succeeding pages of the present chronicle. It appears from Newburgh that de Mandeville, apparently a considerable time be-

fore his seizure at St. Albans, had captured the princess Constance, and had detained her in the Tower of Loudon. He gave her up, and seemed to think that the outrage had been forgotten.

tanquam horrendo depressi tonitruo, pro illius a rege A.D. 1143.  
 discessione magis ac magis humiliabantur.

Galfridus igitur, ubique in regno fide sibi et homi- Raises  
 nio conjuratis in unum secum cuneum convocatis, forces, and  
 gregariæ quoque militiæ, sed et prædonum, qui unde- ravages  
 cumque devote concurrerant, robustissima manu in the whole  
 suum protinus conspirata collegium, ignibus et gladio country.  
 ubique locorum desævire; gregum et armentorum de-  
 prædationi avidus et insatiabilis incumbere; omnia  
 adversus regiæ partis consentaneos abripere et con-  
 sumere, nudare et destruere; nulli ætati, nulli profes-  
 sioni parcere, sed insatiatæ atrocitatis sitim ubique  
 exæstuans, quicquid exquisitæ crudelitatis menti occur-  
 rebat, instantissime in adversarios complere. Civitatem Surprises  
 namque Cantebriam, regio juri subditam, incautis in and plun-  
 eam civibus irruens cepit et deprædavit, ecclesiasque, ders Cam-  
 ostiis securibus immersis, violenter confregit, distractis- bridge.  
 que spoliis, et quas cives in eis recondiderant opes, He pillages  
 flammam passim injecit, talique ferocitate in omnem the  
 circumquaque provinciam, in omnibus etiam, quascun- churches,  
 que obviam habebat, ecclesiis, immiseranter desæviit;  
 possessiones cœnobiorum, distractis rebus, depopulatis  
 omnibus, in solitudinem redegit; sanctuaria eorum, vel  
 quæcumque in ærariis concredita reponebantur, sine  
 metu vel pietate ferox abripuit;<sup>1</sup> cœnobiumque sancti  
 Benedicti de Ramesia, non solum captis monachorum and religi-  
 spoliis, altaribus quoque et sanctorum reliquiis nuda- ous houses,  
 tis, expilavit, sed etiam expulsis incompassive mona- especially  
 chis de monasterio, militibusque impositis, castellum the abbey  
 sibi adaptavit.<sup>2</sup> of Ramsey.

<sup>1</sup> *abrepsit*, D.

<sup>2</sup> H. Hunt., p. 277, includes the seizure of Ramsey abbey within the year 1143. John of Hexham and the Ramsey Cartulary agree. Perhaps, then, this is the dividing point of the years 1143, 1144.

Our author omits Stephen's failure at Lincoln in 1144, mentioned by Huntingdon and the *Ann. de Theokesb.*, p. 46, although he refers on p. 107 to the earl of Chester's warlike operations.



A.D. 1144.

Stephen  
marches  
against de  
Mande-  
ville,  
who  
escapes  
him,

and pur-  
sues his  
depreda-  
tions in  
other  
quarters.

Stephen  
withdraws,  
leaving  
forces to  
keep him  
in check.

De Man-  
deville  
joins him-  
self with  
Hugh  
Bigod.

De Man-  
deville is  
slain  
(August).

Is refused  
the rites of  
burial.

Cum igitur primum tam temerariæ commotionis rex audisset præsumptionem, effrenemque Galfridi in omnem circumquaque patriam eruptionem, ad tam præcipitis insaniam ausus cohibendos, cum validissimæ militiæ apparatu, festinus advenit. Sed dum ille se a regis occursu callide dimoveret, et nunc securas fugæ suæ latebras in locis palustribus, quæ in ea maxime regionis parte exuberant, celeriter repeteret, nunc provinciam, qua eum rex fuerat persecutus, cum suis relinquens, aliorum turbationem excitaturus versute diverteret, rex solitos illius in eadem patria excursus prudenter attentans impedire, in locis opportunis castella construxit, militibusque, qui patriæ perditoribus<sup>1</sup> resisterent, sufficienter impositis, ad alia explenda regni negotia alio divertit. Galfridus autem, rege discesso, in eos, quos ad se infestandum reliquerat, omnes conaminis sui vires impiger exercuit, sibi que regis adversariis, quotquot e diverso confluxerant, sociatis, Hugone quoque cognomento Bigot, viro illustri et in illis partibus potenti, sibi confœderato, quia et ipse regni pacem regisque virtutem instantissime, ut præmissum est, turbabat, omnem patriam atrox ubique et in omnem sexum et ordinem immitis commovit. Verum tantarum tamque immanium persecutionum, tam crudelium quoque, quas in omnes ingerebat, calamitatum justissimus tandem respector Deus, dignum malitiæ suæ finem imposuit. Quia dum nimis audax, nimisque prudentiæ suæ innitens regiæ virtutis castella frequentius circumstrepere, ab ipsis tandem regalibus circumventus prosternitur;<sup>2</sup> et sicut, dum viveret, ecclesiam confudit, terram turbavit, sic, ad eum confundendum tota Angliæ conspiravit ecclesia;

<sup>1</sup> *perlitoribus*, D.

<sup>2</sup> See Gervase, i. 128 and *Monast. Angl.* ii. 548. He was attacking Burwell, and was shot by an archer

of the garrison. William de Saye also perished. Huntingdon contributes the date.



quia et anathematis gladio percussus et inabsolutus A.D. 1144.  
abscessit, et terræ sacrilegum dari non licuit.<sup>1</sup>

Isto itaque tali modo ad extrema deducto, nox Fresh disturbances in Eng-land.  
quædam et horror omnes regis adversarios implevit, quique ex dissensione a Galfrido exorta regis annisum maxime infirmari putabant, nunc, eo interfecto, liberio-

rem et ad se perturbandum, ut res se habebat, expeditiorem fore æstimabant. Nec tamen se a scelere et impietate, qua semel imbuebantur, aliquatenus cohibebant, sed maligno eos spiritu in omne nefas propellente, tanto se ad discordiam enixius accingebant, et ad omne nefas, in omnibus Angliæ partibus, ardentius peragendum pronebant. Comes namque Cestriæ uni-

versam illam Borealem plagam continua persecutione affligere; regis barones, quotquot sibi erant affiniore, jugi insectatione gravare, et nunc quidem eorum municipia furtis clandestinis surripere, sibi que inclinare; nunc igne et gladio eorum possessiones et terras hostica depopulatione delere; bellumque tantum et afflictionem anhelans, furibundus cunctis et intolerabilis occurrere.<sup>2</sup> Joannes<sup>3</sup> quoque, stipes inferni et totius

radix malitiæ, qui Merlebergensi præerat castello, infatigabili inquietudine regnum turbare; castella miri artificii in locis sibi competentioribus construere; terras ecclesiarum et possessiones in proprii juris dominium, expulsis cujusvis ordinis possessoribus, redigere; cumque ecclesiasticæ militiæ gladio percelleretur, non ob hoc flexus, sed magis ac magis fuit induratus; quia et summi ordinis ministros ad suum, facto grege, castellum cogebat statutis diebus accurrere, et eis, quasi

Hostilities by the earl of Chester.

John le Marshal, castellan of Marlborough, plunders the clergy.

<sup>1</sup> He was wrapped in lead and hung on an apple tree in the Temple, and afterwards buried in the churchyard by the Templars. See Dugdale's *Monast.* (ed. 1655), vol. i., p. 450.

<sup>2</sup> John of Hexham (*Twysden*, 273) says that the earl of Chester

and Gilbert de Gant so persecuted William earl of York that he was forced to intrench himself in the abbey of St. Mary, Bridlington. Cf. *W. of Newburgh*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> As to John Fitz Gilbert, otherwise John de Marshal, see pp. 66, note 2 and 67, note 2.

A.D. 1144. episcopali perfungens imperio, vel de tributi solutione vel de operum compulsu, mandatum inexpugnabile solebat injungere.<sup>1</sup> Filii quoque Roberti Glaornensis comitis, viri ætate agiles et perprompti, in arte quoque militari assiduo studio exercitati, regnum in meridiana ejus parte turbare; patrisque virtute et constantia animati, istic, ubi competentius providerant, castella erigere, illic a vicinis furtive surripere; nunc in adversarios, facto agmine, constanter irruere, nunc eorum terras gladio et deprædatione ubique vastare. Et quidem isti peramplam regionis partem, a mari ex transverso usque ad mare, patris in omnibus prævalente industria, invaserant, nactoque tandem amplissimi domini principatu, pacem simulantes, leges et plebiscita ubique injungebant: et licet armis et deprædationi erga sibi tantum consentientes parcere viderentur, siti tamen avaritiæ laborantes, tributis assiduis, placitis, et angariis omnes involvebant.

Hostilities in the South by the sons of Robert earl of Gloucester.

Hostilities by Stephen de Mandeville.

Stephanus nihilominus de Magnavilla, vir illustris militarique industria<sup>2</sup> præcluis, qui et partes comitis Damnoniæ vehementer attollebat, plurimam in regno discordiam excitare; in præruptis locorum præcipitiis, ubi vetusta ætas, urgente necessitate, castella locarat, denuo reparare; latissimas circumquaque provincias sub tyrannidis suæ jugo flectere; regis fautoribus, ubicumque vicinius occurrebant, molestissimus esse. Isti omnes, sed et alii nonnulli, quos omittimus in præsentī dinumerare, ne tædiosum legenti ingramus fastidium, regiam potestatem frequentissime infirmabant. Cumque dissensionem in regno exortam nunc rex istis nunc illis in locis avidus mitigaret, omnes in unum repente conglobati, propositum illius vigilantissime cassabant. Tali modo et regales singulis in Angliæ provinciis, nunc viribus collatis, nunc furtivis

<sup>1</sup> See Gilbert Foliot, *Ep.* xiv., ed. Giles.

<sup>2</sup> *militarisque industria*, D., but almost the same phrase, in right form, appears on p. 132.

incursibus, ubicumque opportunius judicabant castella A.D. 1144.  
surrigebant; istisque et illis mutuis deprædationibus, Wretched  
alternis concursibus sibi obviantibus, regnum jubili state of  
prius et quietis, tranquillitatis et pacis, in tristitiam England.  
et discordiam, in cædem et vastationem ubique com-  
mutarunt.

Eo in tempore Willelmus de Dovre, vir studii mili- William de  
tariis, callidus et acer, comitis Glaornia viribus sufful- Dover at-  
tus, ad villam, quæ Cichelada dicitur, in loco delicioso tacks  
totiusque opulentiæ abundantiam sitam, devenit; castel- Cricklade.  
lumque, aquis se et paludibus undique objicientibus,  
inaccessum ferventissime erexit, militibusque stipendi-  
ariis, sed et sagittantium turmis secum copiose comita-  
tis, immitis et inquietus quaquaversum rapiebatur;  
patriam sibi, ex utroque Tamisii fluvii margine, latis-  
sime subjiciens, in regales crudelissime effervebat. Et  
nunc revera feroci incursione circa eorum castella  
desæviens, nunc nocturnis in latebris insidias texens,  
nunquam ab assidua eorum infestatione vacabat,  
nunquam utriusvis partis periculi immunis habebatur.  
Quanquam etiam ad regales impediendos impiger et Extends  
accinctus ubique videretur, circa eos tamen, qui his preda-  
Oxenfordensem incolebant civitatem, vel Malmesburi- tory expe-  
riensi præerant municipio, sæpius et ferventius desæ- ditions to  
viebat: quia vicini, ei occurrentes, se et suos frequen- Oxford and  
tius perturbabant. Comes quoque Glaornensis, erectis Malmes-  
in brevi prope Malmesbiriæ tribus castellis, dum rex bury.  
in sedandis belli tumultibus alibi detineretur, non The earl of  
solum consuetos eorum per patriam caute præpedivit Gloucester  
excursus, verum usque ad impendentem<sup>1</sup> famis inedia blockades  
jugiter eos et constanter coercuit. the latter  
place.

Ceterum, ubi rex de tanta suorum afflictione vera The king  
percepit, immensa protinus militariæ multitudinis copia relieves,  
convocata, Malmesbiriæ subitus et insperatus advenit, and  
escisque ad plurimi temporis sufficientiam impositis, victuals  
Malmes-  
circa castella, quæ comes extruxerat, deprædatione, bury.

<sup>1</sup> *impudentem*, D.

A.D. 1144. igne, et gladio atrocissime ubique invaluit; fixisque circa Tetebiriam tentoriis, castellum duntaxat tribus a Malmesberia distans milliariis, viribus et armis ad capiendum constantissime desudavit; ulteriore quoque castelli propugnaculo virtuose tandem adquisito, militibusque nonnullis captis et interemptis, aliis autem spississime vulneratis et intra interiorem recessum in angustum locellum catervatim redactis, machinas instantissime undique applicuit, et obsidione eos claudere proposuit. Comes autem Glaornensis, cum regis primum comperisset adventum, immensam quantocius militum sibi ascivit frequentiam, quippe qui plurima e proximo, alia proprii juris alia fidissime sibi parentia, habebat castella, crudelemque et indomitum pedestris multitudinis, Walensium videlicet et Bristoensium aliarumque, quæ e vicino aderant, civitatum, quasi cum rege commissurus, aggregavit exercitum. Comes etiam Herefordiæ Rogerius, sed et alii robustissimæ virtutis, in auxilium suum unanimiter conspirantes, contractis in unum viribus, citissime affuerunt, regnumque, duobus tantum interpositis milliariis, ambientes exercitum, a longe expectarunt, usque dum alii, qui adesse maturabant, in suffragium suum pariter convenissent.

Barones itaque, qui cum rege convenerant, tam copiosum adversariorum examen in suum audientes periculum pariter confluxisse, effrenemque Walensium barbariem sed et incompositum Bristoensium vulgus exhorrescentes, quos comes Glaornia, miræ multitudinis conserto agmine, ad se conturbandos ductabat, sanum regis auribus instillarunt consilium, ut, obsidione ad tempus soluta, alio, quo necessitas vocaret, admoveret suos; vel quia inconsultum erat et discrimini proximum, inter tot pedestris multitudinis lanistas longe imparem militiæ suæ cuneum obviam exponere; maxime cum sui et a propriis sedibus procul elongati, et ab itineris labore essent defatigati, illi, e converso, de

Encamps  
at Tet-  
bury.

Attacks  
the castles  
of the earl  
of Glou-  
cester.

The earl of  
Gloucester  
prepares to  
relieve  
them, and  
engage  
Stephen.

Is joined  
by Roger  
earl of  
Hereford.

They wait  
for rein-  
force-  
ments.

The barons  
advise  
Stephen to  
abandon  
the siege,  
and retreat.

jay 5-6  
miles

suis e vicino prodientes urbibus et castellis, tanto constantiores ad dimicandum concurrerent, quanto, nulla itineris vexatione detriti, e patria sua tunc demum prorupissent: iccirco sanum esse ab obsidione ad præsens desistere, ne a feroci hostium circumventus concursu, suorum, sinistra impediante fortuna, pateretur detrimentum. His rex animadversis, sano suorum adquevit consilio, omnique expeditione sub festinatione ab illis locis dimota, ad Winchelcomam, ubi Rogerius, novus ille Herefordensis comes, castellum adversus sibi consentientes erexerat, improvise devenit, reperiensque castellum vallo eminentissimo in præceps devexum, insuperabili munitione undique circumcinctum, sed paucis ad resistendum impositis (diffugerant enim subitum illius et insperatum audientes adventum) validiores quosque armis se instruere, ad castellum expugnandum se vivacissime aptare præcepit, istis sagittis spissim emittendis insistere, illis, reptando vallum conscendere, omnibus autem impigre in circuitu discursantibus, quæcumque ad manus occurrerent intus jaculari. Dum igitur rex cum suis tam vive tam valide in capiendo castello desudaret, effrenem tantorum impetum qui se interius recluserant minime sufferentes, datis tandem dextris castellum reddiderunt.

Stephen marches against Wincombe (near Cheltenham).

Orders the assault.

The castle surrenders.

Exhilaratis denique suis, qui, plurimis in Glaornensi provincia castellis erectis, latissime patriam invaserant, ad Hugonem Bigot, inquietissimum regni adversarium, tetendit:<sup>1</sup> qui ubi primum percepit regem in Glaornensem provinciam<sup>2</sup> ad obsidionem, ut fama erat, offirmandam digressum, æstimans eum diutius ibi immorandum, cum omni sese ad prædandum impetu circa regis castella diffudit. Sed rex, impræmeditate superveniens,

A.D. 1145, Stephen prepares to attack Hugh Bigod.

<sup>1</sup> The dividing point of the years 1144 and 1145 is very doubtful. The only clue is Huntingdon's statement, p. 278: "*Decimo rex*

"*Stephanus anno prius in agendis circa discursus Hugonis Bigot occupatus est.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Glaornensi provincia, D.*



A.D. 1145. totum illius conamen virtuose subegit, militibusque suis aliis captis aliis quaquaversum dispersis, etiam terram ejus validissima vastatione consumpsit; tribusque illa in provincia erectis castellis, ubi duntaxat frequentiores Hugo variabat decursus, plurimo ibi tempore repausavit.

Surprises  
and routs  
his predat-  
ory force.

Turgis of  
Avranches  
revolts.

Circa id tempus Turgisius quidam, genere Normannus, de Aurentia,<sup>1</sup> ut aiebant, civitate oriundus, adversus regem rebellari disposuit. Quod quidem omni audienti absurdum videbatur et prorsus incredibile; tum quia ille non solum regis secreti ejusque consiliorum omnium palatinorum habebatur primus, tum quia ex plebeio genere et paupere domo, sibi copulatum, divitiarum

His obliga-  
tions and  
ingratitude  
to Stephen.

The origin  
of the  
quarrel.

et dignitatum fecerat affluentissimum; mirumque euectis videbatur, tot sibi a rege gratiæ et amicitia ipsius collatis beneficiis, in ejus quoquomodo discordiam posse relabi. Fuit autem hujus discordiæ causa et exordium castellum de Waldena<sup>2</sup> omnisque e vicinio circumjacens provincia, quam rex ei ad conservandum magis quam ad possidendum commiserat: cumque rex in castellum,<sup>3</sup> utpote in sui juris sui que, ut putabat, laboris possessione, solitos vellet frequentare ingressus, verens ille ne quod possidebat alteri committeret, omnino inhibuit; seque provide et suos regis conspectu curialique intermixtione callide semovit: incertus profecto futuri, quoquo rerum dispositor Deus cui vult et quoquomodo vult fortunam permutans, non eum castellum diutius habiturum prævidit. Accidit namque

<sup>1</sup> A charter of Stephen at Norwich (Archæol. Journ. xx., p. 291) is witnessed by *Turgisius de Abrincis*. Another charter in Dugdale's *Monast.* (ed. 1655), i., p. 850, is witnessed by *Turgis. de Avarencis*. Thomas of Elmham, p. 383, dates in 1146 a charter at Canterbury, to which *Turg. de Abrincis* subscribes

as witness. Was he restored to favour?

<sup>2</sup> The *Annal. de Wav.*, p. 227, say that Stephen took Walden in the Lent of 1139. Subsequently he gave the castle into the custody of Geoffrey de Mandeville, for it is one of those he was forced to extort from the traitor in 1143.

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



ut venationi<sup>1</sup> studium impensurus, ex ipso quadam vice prodiret castello; cumque canibus, aliis sagacitate nictentibus,<sup>2</sup> aliis præpete cursu bestiolam insectantibus, et ipse Turgisius lituo concrepante lætus insequeretur, ecce rex, eum validissimo militum globò, auspice fortuna, immo, ut verius dicam, Deo sibi ad votum conspirante, subito et improvise advenit. Cumque in aurem<sup>3</sup> fuisset instillatum, hostem suum e castello progressum in manibus adesse, vive undique in eum præcepit irruere, captumque incunctanter vinculisque innexum, ante ipsum castelli introitum in altum suspendere, ni, reddito castello, vitæ suæ consulere. Ille enim in angusto positus, hinc quia grave esset et onerosum, totius spei suæ refugium, castellum dimittere, inde quia certissimum erat manus regis, nisi in redditione castelli, nullatenus posse diffugere, vitæ suæ tandem consulens, regis petitioni, ut voluit, occurrit.

Dum ista tali modo his in partibus gererentur, et rex in aliis sedandis discordiis ad alia loca promoveretur, milites Rodberti Glaornensis comitis, Willelmus scilicet de Doura et sui, cujus crudelitatis modum paucis perstrinximus, persecutione incessabili in regales efferuntur, et nunc quidem adversus eos, quos rex in civitate Oxenefordiae ad patriæ tuitionem reliquerat, tumultu et rapina, igne et gladio, infestissime desæviunt; nunc contra illos, qui vice regis Malmesbiriæ præsidium observabant, sævissimos quam sæpe impetus egerunt, numquam sine adjacentis provinciæ maximo detrimento, numquam sine utriusvis partis inrestaurabili damno; nec Willelmus ille ab assidua regalium impugnatione umquam cessavit quousque captum tandem insidiis Walterum,<sup>4</sup> quem rex militiæ Malmesbiriensi primipilum præfecerat, virum constantem et circa

A.D. 1145.

Stephen surprises Turgis while hunting.

He surrenders the castle.

William of Dover harasses Oxford,

and the garrison of Malmesbury.

Takes Walter de Pinkney, castellan of Malmesbury, and delivers him

<sup>1</sup> *venerationi*, D.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps for *nictentibus* (or *nictantibus*), in the sense of "striving." ?

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

<sup>4</sup> See p. 135, and see Gilbert Foliot, *Ep.* xiv., ed. Giles, as to Walter *Pincheum*—no doubt *Pinchenni*.

A.D. 1145. martios sudores probatissimum, comitissæ Andegavensi  
 et suo filio commisit, malorumque et afflictionum, quæ  
 in populum<sup>1</sup> immiseranter exercuerat, poenitens, sacra  
 Hierusalem pro peccatis expiandis loca petiit, ibique,  
 contra obstinaces fidei Christianæ adversarios viriliter  
 multa et gloriose agens, feliciter tandem interfectus  
 occubuit.

to the  
 empress.  
 William of  
 Dover  
 joins the  
 crusade  
 and dies in  
 the East.

The em-  
 press en-  
 deavours  
 to obtain  
 possession  
 of  
 Malmes-  
 bury.

Stephen  
 reinforces  
 the garri-  
 son at  
 Malmes-  
 bury.

Cruel  
 treatment  
 of Walter.

Philip, the  
 son of the  
 earl of  
 Gloucester,  
 appointed to  
 command  
 at Crick-  
 lade, in the  
 place of  
 William of  
 Dover.

Comitissa itaque Andegavensis, nacto viro quem  
 omnibus pertinacius adversariis oderat, nunc blanditiis  
 intermixtis [eum] demulcere, nunc supplicia et necem,  
 ni Malmesbiriæ sibi castellum committeret, horrende  
 minitari; sed ille, constantissime verbis renitens, nec  
 blanda mulieris persuasione aliquatenus frangi, nec  
 minis sæpius circumventus ad castellum reddendum  
 poterat inflecti. Sed nec liceret, si, quantum ad se,  
 reddere disposuisset; quia et militiæ regalis consodales,  
 qui se, intercepto illo, in castellum retruserant, minime  
 assentirent, et rex, audita Walteri captione, quam fes-  
 tine affuit, impositisque militibus escarumque copioso  
 suffragio, ad alia, prout necessitas urgebat, inde dis-  
 cessit.<sup>2</sup> Comitissa autem, spe sua frustrata, solo cru-  
 delitatis studio in virum exarsit, ferroque aretissime  
 constrictum carcerali squalori eruciandum exposuit;  
 Willelmo quoque, cujus mentionem paulo ante ex-  
 egimus, a castello Criceladæ discesso, Philippum,  
 filium Glaornensis comitis, virum discordiæ, in sævitia  
 primum, in non audendis temerarium, in omni deni-  
 que malitia omnino consummatum, cum fortissima  
 militum manu imposuit. Et Philippus quidem in  
 regales, ubicumque aderant, ferventissime desævians,  
 nunc eorum terras prædando vacuare, igne consumere,  
 nunc autem eorum municipia; militari congressione

<sup>1</sup> *populo*, D.

<sup>2</sup> Probably it was on this occa-  
 sion that the fortification, which  
 caused Gilbert Foliot's letter, No.  
 xli., was increased. W. of Mal-

mesb., p. 726, refers to its com-  
 mencement. Foliot wrote as abbot,  
 and therefore before Sept. 1148, and  
 as he addressed pope Eugenius, the  
 date must be after Feb. 1145.

eum eis, configere; hic dominii sui tyrannidem cum A.D. 1145.  
 violentia extendere, illic aliorum jura indiscreta irrup-  
 tione occupare; in rebus ecclesiasticis diripiendis, in  
 omnibus denique locis, quocumque rapiente se crudeli-

\*

tatis impetu ferebatur, gravis et intolerabilis adesse.  
 Erat ipso in tempore Willelmus de Chamai, civitatis Resistance  
of William  
de Chamai.  
 Oxenefordiæ præses regalisque militiæ dux et assignator, qui cum promptissima militantium manu Philippi viribus sæpissime restitit, illisque alterutrum dissentione mutua concertantibus, solum in illis partibus discordiæ et calamitatis reliquerunt aspectum.

Denique cum Philippus superiorem manum nonnumquam haberet, vel propter patris sui suffragium, vel propter comitissæ Andegavensis fautores, qui, quotiens oportebat, in auxilium suum promptissime confluebant, ad hoc patrem permonuit, quatinus propius Oxenefordiam accederet, castellisque in opportunioribus locis erectis, egressus eorum, qui regi militabant, attentius arceret. Ille profecto ad obtemperandum, accepto consilio, facilis, omnem virtutis suæ convocavit militiam, veniensque ad viculum, qui linguæ Anglorum dicitur

Philip persuades his father to besiege Oxford.

Ferenduna,<sup>1</sup> locum delectabilem omnique copia referatissimum, castellum in eo vallo et propugnaculis munitissimum erexit, militibusque, totius videlicet virtutis suæ flore, impositis, solitos regalis militiæ impetus, qui ex Oxenefordia aliisque circumquaque castellis ad suos inquietandos prodierant, virtuose coercuit. Et illi revera vehementissime constricti, utpote qui nec ex castellis prodire, angustiantibus se adversariis, valebant, quod solum supererat, regis opem scriptis et nunciis celerrime implorarunt.

He builds a fortress at Faringdon (in the summer).

The royal forces at Oxford apply for assistance.

Audiens autem rex et suorum angustiam et hostium adversum se prævalentem potentiam, licet infectis necessariis negociis, cum maximo illuc militum col-

<sup>1</sup> Faringdon. The approximate date, "in æstate," is given by H. Hunt., p. 278.

A.D. 1145. legio, rupta dilatione, tetendit; veniensque Oxenefordiam, usque dum copiosiore[m] repararet exercitum, paucis diebus ibidem repausavit, collectisque tandem in immensam copiam viribus, circa castellum Ferendunæ, obsidionem protelaturus, castra metatus fuit. Deinde operi miro et non infructuoso<sup>1</sup> præmonuit suos insistere, ut se scilicet vallo et propugnaculis caute circumcingerent, ne repentina hostium irruptio ad se perturbandos quoquomodo irrueret,<sup>2</sup> sed, quasi intra asylum suum recepti, et sibi prudentius providerent et hostibus, cum expediret, tutius audaciusque occurrerent. Nec mora, erectis circa castellum miri artificii machinis, sagittariis quoque in circuitu differtissime ordinatis, qui interius recludebantur gravissime vexabat: quia hinc eos lapides, vel si quid aliud machinæ executiebant, desuper irruentes ubique contundebant, inde horridissima sagittarum grando, in eorum circumvolans prospectu, dirissime inquietabat; aliquando tela eminus vibrata, molesve quælibet lacertis excutientibus interius emissa eos molestabat, aliquando valida pubes,<sup>3</sup> elivosi valli celsitudinem animose conscendens, pugnam cum eis, paxillis tantum utrosque dirimentibus, acerrime committebat. In hunc denique modum quotidianis regales excursibus eos, qui inclusi erant, gravare; illique e contra viriliter et invicte sese defensare, donec, qui primi habebantur, ceteris insciis, ad regem occulte miserunt, deque reddendo castello, pactione<sup>4</sup> inter se confecta, ei satisfecerunt. Hoc itaque in regis dispositionem<sup>5</sup> contradito castello, plurimum gloriæ, cumulum fortunæ regis, Deus aspirato adjecit, quia non solum ex militum captione, qui se illi sub redimendi conditione commiserant, vel ex armorum et spoliolorum copiis, quas intus affluentissime reppererat, suos largissime commilitones ditavit, sed etiam ex ipsa,

Stephen  
marches to  
the relief  
of Oxford.  
Besieges  
Faringdon.

Stephen's  
party for-  
tify their  
position.

Faringdon  
capitu-  
lates.

<sup>1</sup> *infructuosc*, D.

<sup>2</sup> *irruerent*, D.

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

<sup>4</sup> *factione*, D.

<sup>5</sup> *dispositione*, D.

quam potentissime adeptus fuit, victoria, non min- A.D.1146?  
 mum adversariis suis terrorem incussit.<sup>1</sup> Hostes nam-  
 que illius, tam famosum percipientes contigisse illi  
 triumphum, magis ac magis deprimebantur; quia alii  
 tardius et remissius adversus eum arma sumebant,  
 alii, sibi metuentes, pacis cum eo et concordiae foedus  
 quamcitissime inibant. Comes siquidem Cestræ, qui  
 tertiam fere regni partem armis prævalentibus occu-  
 parat, supplex et mansuetus regem adivit,<sup>2</sup> crudelita-  
 tisque et perfidiæ, quam in eum egerat, cum et manus  
 in Lincolnensi captione in regem et dominum extendit,  
 et regales possessiones sibi usurpando latissime invasit,  
 tandem pœnitens, veteris amicitiae, renovato inter eos  
 foedere, in gratiam rediit.<sup>3</sup> In multis autem, solito  
 vivacius solito et fidelius, regis vires adjuvit, quia et  
 Bedefordensem civitatem, quæ regiam semper potesta-  
 tem infirmarat, cum rege adveniens, viriliter cepit et  
 obtentam regi commisit; et ad perturbandum eos, qui  
 se in Wale[n]gefordense castellum<sup>4</sup> receperant, qui et  
 ubique in regno dissensionis et belli semina resperge-  
 bant, non solum promptus et alacer insistebat, verum-  
 etiam trecentos secum virilis pectoris equites comitatus,<sup>5</sup>  
 regis lateri continuus comes adhæsit, quousque, erecto  
 in prospectu Walengefordiæ miri sudoris et artificii  
 castello, solitos eorum per regiones discursus aliquan-

Consternation among the followers of Maud.

The earl of Chester comes over to the king's party.

Joins the king, and takes Bedford.

Attacks Wallingford castle.

<sup>1</sup> The chronicles generally at this date have decreased to a mere thread of history, and give no clue whatever to the demarcation between the years 1145 and 1146. We are left to pure conjecture. It would seem that a lull in hostilities was caused by the serious losses the party of the empress had incurred, and we may suppose that the operations round Oxford were the last in the year 1145. The attack on Wallingford certainly belongs to 1146.

<sup>2</sup> They met at Stamford, *Peterborough Chron.*, p. 384.

<sup>3</sup> William of Malmesbury intimates that so early as 1141 the earl of Chester was but lukewarm in his attachment to the empress, p. 751: "*Comes Cestrie tarde et inutiliter advenit.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Walegefordensi castello*, D.

<sup>5</sup> *adducens*?, with or in place of *comitatus*, according to the meaning assigned to the latter.

By earl's year?  
1142?



A.D. 1146. tisper sedavit.<sup>1</sup> Et quanquam comes, redintegrato pacis fœdere, commodus ei fidusque suffragator esse videretur, suspectus ei cunctisque regni sui primis habebatur; tum quia regalium fiscorum redditus et castella, quæ violenter possederat, reddere negligebat, tum quia mobilem levis et inconstantis animi naturam, quam proprie sibi insitam comes habebat, obsidibus vel fidejussoribus datis nequaquam firmarat. Unde nec rex, sed nec consilii sui primi super fide viri aliquatenus confidebant, sed inter tot tantosque regni tumultus extrema rerum prudenter observabant, quoadusque idem, aut redditus<sup>2</sup> ex toto quæ regalis extiterant juris, firmiter se illi et fiducialius inclinaret; aut si hoc agere prorsus abnueret, ad eum rex capiendum, ubi opportunitas expeditius occurreret, manus injiceret. Quod et ita contigit, sicut in consequentibus ex ordine plenius disseretur.

Philip, the son of Robert of Gloucester, joins Stephen. Philippus quoque, filius Roberti comitis Glaornie, ejus mentionem paucis præstrinximus, videns eo in tempore regem superiorem, et ipse pacis cum eo et concordie confederationem inivit, terrisque et castellis copiose ditatus, sed et muneribus a rege amplissime donatus, hominum ei, datis obsidibus, exhibuit, minasque et dissensiones in regis adversarios ubique respirans, igne et gladio, violentia et deprædatione quaquaversum desæviit; nec solum baronum regi adversantium, sed et patris sui terras et possessiones in nudum campum, in horrendam passim redigens solitudinem, crudelis ubique locorum et intolerabilis habebatur. Habuit vero idem robur militiæ invictissimum, castella quoque plurima, alia ex regis sibi permissione mandata, alia probitatis suæ industria ex adversariis conquisita. Cepit namque Robertum,

<sup>1</sup> W. Hunt, p. 279, places this event in 1146. See Stephen's charter in the *Chron. Mon. de Abingdon*,

ii. 180, given "*apud Warcny*" in "*obsidione*."  
<sup>2</sup> redditus, D.



cognomento Musard, virum simpliciter, immo, ut ve-  
 rum fatear, imprudenter de castello suo egressum :  
 eumque Philippus in insidiis delitesceret, progressum  
 eum fortuito invenit, suspendiumque, collo loro in-  
 nexo, minitans, castellum illius violenter obtinuit.  
 Cepit nihilominus et Reinaldum Cornubiæ comitem,  
 maximumque militiæ suæ apparatus, regiis indu-  
 ciis fretum, et ad pacem cum rege reparandam a<sup>1</sup>  
 comitissa promotum. Sed quia, rege nescio, captio  
 talis provenit, immo quia pacis et securitatis ex  
 utraque parte datis induciis, ad illicitam Philippus  
 proruit captionem, reddito tandem viro, offensum re-  
 gem lenivit.<sup>2</sup> Cumque rex cum suis assentaneis, sed  
 et comitissa cum sibi consentientibus, ad pacem con-  
 firmendam pariter convenissent, arrogantiae tumore  
 utrimque prævalente, istisque et illis discordiam am-  
 bientibus, nihil profecerunt. Quia comitissæ fautores  
 regni sibi primatum jure usurpantes, a regni nomine  
 et a regis honore regem privare contendebant; ille  
 autem, non solum possessa jurè possidere vendicabat,  
 sed et de qualicumque modo acquisitis, nil eis om-  
 nino relaxare velle, fixe asserebat; sicque utrorumque  
 partibus diverse sentientibus, ad solitum dissensionis  
 punctum ex integro redierunt.

Eo in tempore desæviebant in Glaornensi provincia  
 Henricus quidam de Caldoet et Radulfus frater ejus,  
 viri bellicosi et circa martios sudores accinctissimi, ex  
 Anglia<sup>3</sup> quidem militandi studio in Angliam progressi;  
 dolo et perfidia quam maxime imbuti; ad rapinam  
 ubique et discordiam promovendam promptissimi, ad  
 scelus et sacrilegium inferendum avidissimi. Isti nam-  
 que, castellis nunc clandestinis furtis nunc armis  
 prævalentibus virtuose conquisitis, vicinos omnes et

A.D. 1146.

He takes  
Robert  
Musard  
prisoner.

Captures  
Reginald  
earl of  
Cornwall,  
Maud's en-  
voy, while  
under a  
safe con-  
duct.

Ineffectual  
meeting of  
Stephen  
and Maud.

Revolt of  
Henry de  
Caldoet  
and his  
brother.

11. 8 R  
de Caldoet  
Foliot 274  
No 34.  
Et in manu?

<sup>1</sup> reparandum cum, D.

<sup>2</sup> lenivit, D.

<sup>3</sup> The name *de Caldoet* suggests

*Flandria* in place of the obviously  
erroneous *Anglia*.

A.D. 1146. maxime ecclesiarum possessiones vexabant multis modis. Quia non solum in diversis operum angariis, in multimodis etiam aliis exactionibus, jugum dirissimæ servitutis injungebant, sed et furtis et latrociniiis, rapina et cæde, intolerabiles cunctis se exhibebant. Quapropter ecclesiarum possessiones, illis et illis in locis, quam frequenter distrahentes, ab ecclesiæ limine remoti, separationis sententiam sæpissime pertulerunt, quousque tandem, divinæ ultionis verbere multati, condignam sceleribus suis pœnam pariter susceperunt. Quia alius, suspensio sublatus, ante castellum suum horridissime interiit, alius reddito quod possederat castello, inopia et injuriis plenus, ab omni tandem Anglia dedecore fugatus, abscessit. Et quidem hic<sup>1</sup> verissime, hic<sup>1</sup> illa divini eloquii completa [est] sententia, ubi in ulciscendis impiorum sceleribus patiens redditor describitur esse Deus; quia postquam inflexibilem eorum superbæ cervicis pertinaciam, ut in melius converterentur, diutissime pertulit, postquam atrocissimam inexpletæ tyrannidis violentiam, quam ubique locorum et in ecclesiasticas maxime ingerebant possessiones,<sup>2</sup> patientissime sustinuit, ad totius tandem ignominie et dedecoris punctum utrosque redigens, justissimo, ut præmissum est, verbere utrosque multavit; quique videbantur imperio et gloria, dominatione et potentia, non solum barones convicaneos excedere, sed et in ipso se regno latissime extendere, incertum subito mutabilis fortunæ lapsum experti, ad nihilum cum omnibus suis fuerunt redacti. Per omnia benedictus Deus, qui tradidit impios. Castella vero ipsorum et amplissimæ, quas in suum redegerant dominium, possessiones multis in brevi cesserunt; aliis proditionis factione ingressum machinantibus, aliis pecuniæ impensione dominium acquirentibus, omnibus vero ad unum calamitatis et miserie propositum

One is  
hanged,  
the other  
banished.

\*

<sup>1</sup> *hi*, in each place, D.

| <sup>2</sup> *ecclesiasticis . . . possessionibus*, D.

tendentibus, ut effrenem tyrannidis suæ libidinem in plebem protenderent, ut rupta pace et tranquillitatis fœdere dissoluto, dissensionis motus concitarent. A.D. 1146.

Circa idem quoque tempus Walterius quidam, frater comitis Herefordiæ, assensu, ut aiebant, ipsius comitis, cepit Rogerium de Berchelai, insidiis prætensis circumventum; virum indemnem, nec solum amicitia et alternæ pacis fœdere sibi astrictum, sed et germana contribulis sanguinis cognatione propinquum; vestibusque tandem nudatum et ludibriis expositum, sed et vinculis arctissime mancipatum, ante suum quod in vicino habuerat castellum, tribus vicibus, loro collo innexo, suspenderunt, et tertio, laxatis vinculis, ad ima dimiserunt; talibusque indecentibus modis interitum viro minitantes, immo eum, nisi castellum suum comiti committeret, ad interneciem dirissime compellentes, inexauditi postremo discessere, miserumque seminecis Rogerii cadaver, quia tenuis adhuc vitalis animæ spiritus in vexato corpore palpitabat, secum ferentes, ad carceris perferenda supplicia diutius reservarunt.

Walter, the brother of the earl of Hereford, makes Roger of Berkeley prisoner. They try by threats and torture to prevail on him to give up his castle.

Philippus<sup>1</sup> autem, cujus superius fecimus mentionem, injurias Rogerio irrogatas ægre ferens, hinc quia eum sub defensionis suæ jure tutandum susceperat, inde quia neptem suam uxorandi copula jugatam habebat, armis et depredatione intolerabiliter desæviit,<sup>2</sup> ferusque et indignatione plenus totam depopulari provinciam, subque sui domini jure redigere proposuit. Cumque sibi et suis, lætis nonnunquam auspiciis, fortuna aspirasset, inque martios sudores secundos frequenter eventus habuisset, divino subito correptus verbere, in ægritudinis insperatæ incidit languorem, fractusque diutissime corpore et viribus exhaustus, crudellem, quem conceperat, spiritum penitus abjuravit, seque cum honestis, qui sibi deservierant, viris voto

Philip proposes to avenge Roger. After some success, he is taken ill, and goes on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> The son of Robert of Gloucester. | <sup>2</sup> *desavit*, D.

A.D. 1146. astringens, Hierusalem invisere, sanctorumque loca  
— adire sub spontanea peregrinatione proposuit.

The begin-  
ning of the  
second  
crusade.

Eo in tempore barbara paganorum multitudo, nostræ religioni adversa, adversus Christi nomen in tantum invaluit, ut non solum Christianorum terras civitatesque opimatissimas,<sup>1</sup> armis prævalentibus, sibi inclinarent, verum et circa Hierusalem, quæ civitas est civitatum, solaque militiæ Christianæ gloria et decus, facto grege, discurrerent, istos cædibus involverent, illos ad captivandum, proh pudor! abducerent: quodque nefas est dicere, templa se abolere, sancta conculcare, nomen Christi de medio auferre astruebant. Hujus itaque tam intolerabilis exactionis opprobria ad pias matris ecclesiæ aures fama intimante, ubique terrarum delata, commota sunt regna, concussa mundi imperia, ad et communis injuriæ ulciscendam infamiam totus sese orbis viriliter accinxit. Et licet valida totius Angliæ pubes, omnesque masculi pectoris et constantis animi virtute insignes, ad hæc vindicanda paratissime convolarent, ita ut tot et tantis undique promoventibus vacuum et exhaustam Angliam putares, non tamen discordia et rapina, gladius et adversarius in Anglia cessavit; quia aliis cedentibus alii succedebant, tanto in agendis malis ferventiores, quanto recentius ad ea accedebant.<sup>2</sup>

State of  
England;

Arrepta itaque crudelitatis totiusque [malitiæ]<sup>3</sup> opportunitate, alius alium ad scelus et flagitium æmulari; quanto urgentius poterant neces sibi alterutrim[que] et insidias moliri; utque fit, vi justitia calcatur, leges dissolvuntur, magistratus sibi et dominium, quanto diffusius poterant, passim propugnare; et nunc quidem in pauperes et in rerum ecclesiasticarum posses-

\*

<sup>1</sup> Duchesne has *opimatissimas*. Dr. Sewell suggests *opulentissimas*, but the author of the *Gesta* prefers unusual words.

<sup>2</sup> St. Bernard began to preach the

second crusade at Vezelay at Easter 1146. The actual start was not made till 1147.

<sup>3</sup> There is an indication of a blank space in Duchesne's edition.

siones<sup>1</sup> avide insurgere, quæ erat et assueta et gene- A.D. 1146.  
 ralis omnium via, nunc vel aliorum castella furto  
 surripere, nunc eos, quibus fidei fœdere connectebantur,  
 dolo decipere. Comes namque Cestræ, cum plurima<sup>2</sup> Treachery  
 ex regio jure invasisset, ideoque rex ei suspectus of the earl  
 of Chester.  
 fuisset, ad callidam consuetæ proditionis technam se  
 totum convertit; versute amittens quomodo facilius,  
 sine infamiæ opprobrio, regem posset in hostiles manus  
 contradere. Cum igitur, paucis se comitantibus, curiam His plains.  
 advenisset, quatinus totius per hoc suspicionis nota de  
 medijs tolleretur, conquestus est se ab hostibus, et  
 maxime a barbara Walensium multitudine, graviter He com-  
 circumventum, terras suas lacrymabili deprædatione plains of  
 the Welsh.  
 spoliatas; urbes alias, flammis immissis, in nudum  
 campum redactas, alias gravissima obsidione circum- Petitions  
 cinctas; se et suos in proximo a comitatus sui finibus the king  
 exterminandos, ni regis impigre præsentia illa, qua against  
 ceteros relevabat, auxilii sui ope sibi et suis celerius them in  
 subveniret.<sup>3</sup> Asserebat et adversarios, audito tantum person.  
 regis nomine, terrendos; plus præsentia illius terrore  
 posse deprimere, quam si multa secum pugnatorum  
 millia sine ejus præsentia tentaret inducere: se quo-  
 que plurimi æris copiam regiis militibus largissime  
 impensurum; sumptus et quæcumque sibi necessaria  
 judicabat spondebat collaturum, nec diu regem secum  
 commorandum, sed patriæ suæ perversoribus, quasi in  
 transitu, per regis præsentiam superatis, cum glorioso  
 conquistæ victoriæ titulo, citissime remeandum.

Talibus rex instigatus jam se cum comite progres- Stephen  
 surum aiebat, jam se in expeditionem promoturum promises  
 lætus et alacer promittebat, cum ecce primi omnes, to go; but  
 qui ei assistebant, animadvertentes quod præfata comes is warned  
 of trea-  
 chery.

<sup>1</sup> *possessores* ?

<sup>2</sup> *plurimum*, D.

<sup>3</sup> What happened directly the  
 earl was imprisoned is noteworthy :

“ interim Wallenses provinciam

“ Cestræ vastaverunt, scilicet apud

“ vicum Malbanc.” Dugd. Mo-  
 nast., ed. 1655, i. 890, 20.



A.D. 1146. in dolo loqueretur, a proposito regem subito revocarent.<sup>1</sup> Dicebant siquidem nequaquam consultum esse in remotas Waloniæ partes, quemadmodum comes expectabat, regem procedere; maxime cum ad plurima sedanda dissensionis semina, quæ ubique locorum per Angliam pullularunt, revocaretur; nec tutum esse per abrupta montium, per condensa silvarum, in barbæræ gentis insidias circumquaque dispositas, exercitum ducere, ubi nec aquarum liquor ad sitim<sup>2</sup> pro voto relevandam se offerebat, nec escarum suffragia, quæ regio sufficerent apparatus, in promptu occurrebant: certum quidem plurima imminere in itinere pericula, plurima patere quaquaversum discrimina; cum id quoque esset in dubio, utrum tandem, labore exhausto, de victoria potiendi certi redderentur; temerarium quoque esse, nimisque præsumptuosum, in ejus se comitatum tam inconsulte velle ingerere, qui præmaximam regni partem adversus se præripuisset; et licet se regi, ut videbatur, inclinasset, non tamen se in aliquo securiorem, sed nec fidei certitudine, nec obsidum commissione reddidisset certiore; quod si ad hostes conterendos<sup>3</sup> regem, ut postulabat, vellet promovere, redderet prius quæ de suis injuste usurpaverat, fide quoque exhibita, sed et obsidibus oblatis tutiorem faceret: quod si in instanti facere renuisset, non solum eum affirmabant non, ut postulabat, adjuvare debere, sed et, ut in sævissimum hostem, vive in eum et constanter insurgere, captumque sine mora, donec regi satisfaceret, carceri mancipare.

Interview  
of the  
barons  
with the  
earl of  
Chester.

Cum igitur sano hujusmodi consilio rex tandem licet invite acquievisset, illi, facto continuo agmine, comitem talia nequaquam suspicantem adeunt, regem spondent, ad quæcumque sinistra sors vocasset, per-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> These words are suggestive of summer or early autumn.

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



promptum in suum ac devotum auxilium, si de sin- A.D. 1146.  
gulis, quæ præmisimus, suum cum rege haberet assen-  
sum. Verum comite protinus respondente, non ad The earl  
hesitates  
to accept  
their offers.  
hoc curiam venisse, sed nec de his præmonitum, vel  
cum suis consilium accepisse, verbis tumidis et litigi-  
osis utrimque insurgentibus, dum illi comitem doli et They ac-  
cuse him of  
treason,  
and take  
him pri-  
soner.  
prodicionis factionem in regem texere proclamarent,  
ille autem confusus et rubore plenus, utpote conscius,  
primum abnegaret, deinde ad alia confugeret, subito  
in eum manus iniecerunt, regisque assignantes cus-  
todiis, ferro vinctum carceri retruserunt.<sup>1</sup>

Istis itaque tali modo completis, cum proceres, qui The friends  
of the earl  
take arms  
against  
Stephen.  
comiti parebant, quosque in singulis sparsim reliquerat  
castellis, captum dominum, fama intimante, percepis-  
sent, factis ubique et coadunatis gladiatorum turmis,  
ad arma convolarunt; regem turbare, omnibus regi  
assentientibus dissensionem inferre; se pro comite  
liberando usque ad mortis angustiam velle decertare  
\* firme promiserunt. Aliis tamen, qui sanioris erant et  
\* profundioris consilii, callide providentibus grave esse  
et periculo proximum, sine suo principe impugnare,  
melius et consultius, quæ comitis erant, in manus  
regis committere, sicque illo tandem recuperato, quo-  
cumque fortuna postmodum vocasset libere et expedite  
sequi. Cum amicis comitis regem petiere; castella, quæ Others  
offer terms  
to the  
king.  
sui sanciebat juris, reddito comite, se sibi velle tra-  
dere; obsides, fidejussores, et quæcumque ad securitatem  
sui firmiter subnitendam <sup>2</sup> postulasset offerre, privatim et  
publice fixe sponderunt. Rex autem habito super his  
et suscepto consilio, commodum et utile sibi et regno,  
adjudicavit, prout deprecabant, petitionem suscipere;  
quatinus, quæ regalis noscebantur juris receptis, comes, The earl is  
released.

<sup>1</sup> He was taken at Northampton, according to H. Hunt., p. 279, in 1146.

<sup>2</sup> See Glossary.

A.D. 1146. datis obsidibus, insuper et jurisjurandi sacramento, ne regi deinceps obsisteret, in curiæ prospectu peracto, ad sui tantum comitatus honores liber abscederet.

A.D. 1147. Liberato itaque tali modo comite,<sup>1</sup> cum pacem sequi cum fidem, quam promiserat, servare deberet, animum secutus, ad arma convolavit, ruptoque promissi sui fœdere et juramenti neglecta virtute, ad discordiam in regem concitandam se et suos constanter accinxit. Ferus admodum et indignatione plenus, militum sibi copiam e diverso asciscere, peditum et violentorum dextras ad totius flagitii exercendam malitiam suscipere, raptu et incendio, violentia et gladio, nunc in adversarios, quandoque etiam in sibi consentientes, quodque majoris erat doloris, quandoque in ecclesiasticæ pacis possessiones, ubique crudele cœpit desævire, et [in] omnem ætatem in omnem sexum

Is excommunicated.

Herodianam tyrannidem, Neronianam truculentiam exercere. Et quamvis ob tot et tanta quæ committebat scelera nodo anathematis esset inmodatus, nunquam ob hoc mitior, nunquam cuivis professioni indulgentior habebatur. Hic regis castella vel furto intercipere, vel violentiam ingerendo perfringere; illic nova raptim sub oculis erigere, sicque de una in aliam quam frequenter patriam cum effrenato exercitu discursare; omnia in solitudinem et in nudum campum vastando

He attacks Lincoln with varied success.

redigere. Ante Lincolnensem civitatem, quam pro sui liberatione regi reddiderat, in qua etiam rex militiæ suæ florem reposuerat, cum armato milite quam sæpe grassari; et nunc quidem tristes fortunæ ludos experiri, nunc felicis eventus arridente successu, læte de regalibus et magnifice triumphare. Ante castellum quoque Coventerii, ubi se regales receperant, et ipse

Besieges Coventry.

<sup>1</sup> Stephen, as appears from Huntingdon, p. 279, and W. of Newburgh, i. 57, was crowned in Lincoln on 25 Dec. 1146. After he had

left the city the earl of Chester made an attempt to recover it. This then is probably the dividing point of the years 1146, 1147.

comes castellum firmavit, regaliumque per patriam A.D. 1147  
 discursus virtuose coeruit; donec rex, clara militum  
 stipatus multitudine, illuc advenit, escas suis, quibus Stephen  
 maxime indigi erant, in castellum reposuit, cum relieves  
 comite, qui sibi in difficilioribus itineris viis insidias Coventry.  
 tetenderat, multotiens commisit, multorumque in primo Partial en-  
 congressu strage peracta, istisque captis et illis effu- gement.  
 gatis, rex ibi ad tempus, quia et aliquantisper vulne- Stephen is  
 ratus fuit, adversariis cessit: sed, post pauca, viribus wounded.  
 denno reparatis, cum comite confixit, captisque plu-  
 rimis et vulneratis nonnullis, ipsoque comite pudenter  
 effugato et pæne interempto, ipsum tandem comitis  
 castellum redditum sibi subvertit. Sed et circa alia Routs the  
 nonnunquam comitis castella victoriose rex et constan- earl, and  
 tissime egit; nunc gravi et intolerabili obsidione qui takes his  
 se interius recluserant affligens, nunc mira depopula- fortifica-  
 tione, vel ignis conflagratione, quæ circa erant des- tions.  
 truens et depascens; semper autem comiti sibi que  
 consentientibus molestus extitit et perversus.

Gislebertum quoque, filium Ricardi,<sup>1</sup> virum prædi- Stephen  
 tum nobilitatis prosapia, quia se obsidem et sua pro makes the  
 comite dederat castella, erat namque illius nepos, in earl of  
 ipso rex rebellii exordio cepit, suæque diutissime Chester's  
 deputatum custodiæ assidue detinuit; quousque nephew,  
 deditis in manus<sup>2</sup> regis, quæcumque possederat, Gilbert  
 castellis, quod solum erat exilii et propulsioni suæ Fitz  
 remedium, ad avunculum se protinus contulit, pacem- Richard, a  
 que regni, quanto potuit nisu, perturbans, vires regis prisoner.  
 persæpe infregit. Cujus castella cum Gislebertus comes He sur-  
 patruus suus a rege postularet, sibi que jure heredi- renders his  
 tario competere astrueret, nec regi consultum foret castles,  
 ut in hac ei petitione hac vice adquiesceret, in exau- and joins  
 Earl Gil- his uncle.  
 bert, an- other uncle  
 of Gilbert  
 Fitz  
 Richard,

<sup>1</sup> He was son of Richard Fitz-Gilbert (see p. 12), the brother of Gilbert Fitz-Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, who is mentioned ten lines lower down.

<sup>2</sup> manu, D.

*cre del Sa  
Hert b SEA  
b. f. X. m. 116*

A.D. 1147. ditus a regis se præsentia et a curiæ conspectu latenter subtrahit; hoc animo proponens, ut a rege ex toto discederet, firmatisque, quæ plurima in illa regni parte habuerat, castellis, eum comite Cestriæ aliisque regis adversariis undique in eum insurgeret: quodque juste, ut sibi videbatur, possidere non poterat, armis prævalentibus tandem obtineret. Sed rex, ut animadvertit Gislebertum de curia se furtive subtraxisse, idque manifestum esset, quod ut sibi et regno adversaretur abscessisset, credulus persuadentibus, maxime quia prius ei suspectus fuerat, universa statim concitata militia, Gislebertum urgenter fuit insecutus. "Et injuria," inquit, "cui tot et tantas rerum opulentias contuli, quem ex paupere milite assumptum ad consulatus apicem honorifice provexi, cui prælargas possessionum affluentias, prout ipse animo conceperat, totiens et totiens impendi, nunc arma tam subito tamque inconsiderate assumere, nunc partes adversariorum contra me adniti videtur. Ubi fides, ubi pudor, ubi ille, qui et fidem mihi inconcussam servare, et dedecoris notam reputare deberet ab amore meo quovis deflectere? qui nec fidem erga me singularem sibi et solum dominum servat, nec infamiæ publicæ ruborem, hæc agendo, aliquatenus devitat? sed jam fugitantem instantius urgeamus, omnesque conatus illius imparatos reddentes, quicquid in nos adversum struxerit, accelerata in eum persecutione, cassemus."

Stephen appears suddenly before his castle. He escapes in disguise.

Nec mora; cum comes ad suum, quod propinquius imminebat, castellum tunc primum adveniret, ut militum ibi et escarum imposito suffragio, regi suis obistere præciperet, ecce rex ex adversa castelli parte, dispositis bellico more agminibus, inopinate astitit, ipsumque comitem intercepisset, nisi mentita persona et occultata facie, inter tumultus passim insurgentes cum paucis aufugisset. Rex itaque repente assistens, terrore et violentia castellanis illata, redditum castel-

The castle, with two others, is taken.

\*

lum post pauca suscepit. Duobus quoque Gisleberti A.D. 1147.  
 castellis festine et quasi in ipso currentis impetu  
 occupatis, ad quartum, quod Penevesel<sup>1</sup> dicebatur,  
 laxata mora, tetendit. Est quidem Penevesel castel-  
 lum editissimo aggere sublatum, muro venustissimo  
 undique præmunitum, gurgite marino abluente inex-  
 pugnabiliter vallatum, loci difficultate pæne inaccessum.  
 Huc igitur cum rex, exercitu comitante, se contulisset,  
 locique munitionem ad expugnandum difficilem, [eos-  
 que], qui se intus contulerant, ad resistendum paratos  
 percepisset, fidum protinus et constantem militiæ suæ  
 cuneum, cui præcipue innitebatur, ad eos obsidendos  
 ibi reliquit; vive illis injungens, ut sumptu et opere, and block-  
 ingenio et arte obsidionem, a parte maris cum navi- ades it.  
 bus, a terræ vero prospectu cum militibus intenderent,  
 quousque tandem tædio et lassitudine defatigati resis-  
 tendi impossibilitatem profiterentur.

Dum hæc ita agerentur, Henricus, filius comitis  
 Andegaviæ, justus regni Anglorum hæres et appetitor,  
 cum florida militum caterva, ex transmarinis partibus  
 Angliam advenit.<sup>2</sup> Concussum protinus et conturbatum  
 in ejus adventu regnum; quia, ut fama adventus  
 ejus se latius, sicut solet, diffunderet, multa scilicet  
 millia secum adduxisse, plurimorum in brevi futura,  
 infinitæ copiæ thesauros secum attulisse, nunc illam  
 deprædatam provinciam, nunc istam combustione de-  
 pastam mentiebatur. Læte igitur aures arrigebant,  
 et quasi nova eis lux visa est oriri, qui sibi assentie-  
 bantur: cum, e converso, regales, quasi gravi depressi  
 tonitruo, aliquanto tempore humiliarentur. Verum,  
 postquam certum fuit, et in omnium notitia manifeste  
 diventilatam, militum eum globum exiguum, non

Stephen  
 marches  
 against  
 Pevensey  
 castle,

Henry  
 lands in  
 England.

*See Henry  
 A.D. 1151.  
 Gervase  
 H. H. ...*

<sup>1</sup> No doubt *Pevenesei* in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> As to the date of this visit, see p. 130, note 3. The expression "*Dum hæc ita agerentur*" shows

that we may date what follows as happening in the early months of 1147, if such a conclusion seems probable from other circumstances.



1149) A.D. 1147. — autem exercitum, adduxisse, eos etiam nondum ad tempus stipe data, sed in futuro promissa conductos, nihil egregium facere, sed otio semper et negligentiae omnia dare, recepto animo fortiter eis ubique et constanter restiterunt. Quia cum ad civitatem Cricke-ladam, et ad municipium quod Burtuna dicitur, quae tunc regii habebantur juris, quasi interius sine obstaculo irrupturi advenissent, hinc cum dedecore effugati, inde metu eos abigente, festine fuere propulsi. Nec multo post regiam saepius experti virtutem, *qui superior*<sup>1</sup> se fieret ubique constantior, sicut improvide et indiscrete Angliam *ingressi, ita* inertia et otio dissoluti, penuria et egestate convicti, egregio *imperatore*<sup>2</sup> suo et justo totius regni haerede, cum quo advenerant, derelicto, *turpiter* tandem discesserunt. Juvenc quidem, tali ingruente infortunio, morbo *caepit* affici, pudoris et injuriae cruciatu macerari: hinc quia fidos *minime* manipulares, quos ad suum sibi delegerat suffragium, secum ut proposuerat *retinere* quivit: inde quia nec auxilium speratum a baronibus sibi inclinatis *obtinuit, nec* stipendia in promptu habere potuit, quae suis impertiret, qui et in castellis *vigilabant* et quotidiano conflictu in adversarios decertabant.

He is re-  
pulsed  
from  
Cricklade  
and Bour-  
ton.

Henry ap-  
plies to his  
mother  
and the

Hujus mali nec immerito *infortuniis* circumventus consuluit matrem:<sup>3</sup> sed ipsa, aëris indigens, nequaquam

<sup>1</sup> The lacunæ are evidently caused by damage to the outer edge of the lower part of the last three leaves in the MS. The words here suggested as appropriate for filling up the blank spaces left by Duchesne and by Dr. Sewall are of course entirely conjectural. They are all printed in italics.

<sup>2</sup> The remnant of the mutilated word given by Duchesne is, however, *in*, not *im*.

<sup>3</sup> The empress left England, Ger-

vase would have us believe, before the Lent of 1147. Her brother the earl of Gloucester certainly died on 31st Oct. 1147. The latter date and the events here narrated show that this was a flying visit, not recorded by any other chronicler. When Henry made his better-known visit in May 1149, his acts were quite different. He went, as a Salisbury charter tells us, to Devizes, and thence north with the earls of Chester and Hereford to

? 1148

See Sym. G.  
A.D. 1151



tantam ejus inopiam adjuvare suffecit. Consuluit et avunculum Glaornia comitem, sed ipse, suis sacculis avidè incumbens, rebus tantum sibi necessariis occurrere maluit, omnibusque, in quibus confidebat, *sociis* hujus necessitatis articulo deficientibus, ad extremum, ut fama erat, ad regem tanquam ad cognatum, missis occulte legatis, benigne eum et suppliciter imploravit, ut indigentiam, qua premebatur, miseranter respiceret, et ut propinqui sanguinis cognatione connexum, sibi-que, quantum in se erat, benignum, pie exaudiret. Talibus rex perceptis, ut erat semper compassionis et pietatis abundans, juvenem exaudivit, et quem deberet ab omni subventionis opere destituere, utpote regni sui æmulum sibi-que ex toto adversum, missis pecuniis ut petierat granter adjuvit. Et quidem licet rex a

A.D. 1147.

earl of Gloucester for assistance.

Is refused.

In his extremity he applies to Stephen.

Stephen assists his rival, in opposition to the advice of his nobles.

Carlisle, and was knighted, as Huntingdon, the Melrose chronicler, and John of Hexham testify, on 22nd May 1149. On this 1149 occasion he might possibly have applied to his mother, though all chroniclers agree that she was abroad, but not to earl Robert, for he was certainly dead.

Now Robert of Torigni (i. 243) avers that Henry returned to Normandy, and was received at Bec on 29th May 1147, but Gervase (i. 131) says that Henry came in 1142 and stayed four years. If, however, we neglect Gervase's dates—which he confesses are faulty about this point—but read his *account*, we have a narrative which accords well with the *Gesta*. Geoffrey of Aujou, fearing that his son would get involved in the fighting, sent for him. Earl Robert escorted him to Wareham, never again to “see his face in the flesh.” Then the chronicler notes that earl Robert

died in November. His statement as to the death of the earl shows, however, very plainly that he is giving us the events of 1147 under a wrong date. If this be conceded, Robert of Torigni's date fits in to the sequence of events; for we may suppose that early in 1147 Henry again crossed over to his uncle Robert in England: that his adventure either had not his father's approval, or that he made use of his escort in a warlike way his father never intended; that bearing of his application to his mother and of his difficulties, his father sent for him back to Normandy; that earl Robert escorted him to Wareham; that he was received at Bec on May 29; and that the earl, dying in October 1147, never saw the boy's face again. This question will be reviewed in the Preface in connexion with a further point—the date at which Eustace was knighted.

~~1149~~  
7

A.D. 1147. quibusdam in hoc notaretur, quod non solum imprudenter, immo et pueriliter egisset, qui eum,<sup>1</sup> quem maxime persequi debebat, data pecunia tantopere fulciebat, ego altius eum et consultius fecisse sentio: quia quanto benignius quis et humanius se erga adversarium continet, tanto eum et debiliorem reddit et amplius infirmat; ideoque secundum Psalmistam, Ps. vii. 5. noluit retribuendis sibi mala inferre, sed ut Apostolus præcipit, sic in bonum malum devincere, quatenus per bonum adversario bene impensum, carbones compunctionis et correctionis in mentem<sup>2</sup> illius ingereret.

The king knights his son Eustace and makes him an earl.

Character of Eustace.

Sub eodem ferme tempore rex Eustachium filium suum, egregiæ indolis adolescentem, militiæ cingulo coram optimatibus honoranter accinxit,<sup>3</sup> eumque terris et possessionibus amplissime ditatum, militiæ quoque floridissimæ apparatu præcipue insignitum, ad consularatus apicem excellenter provexit. Et ipse profecto annis adolescens, moribus gravis, militiæ industria præcluis,<sup>4</sup> innata probitate præcipuus, ornatissimum eminens in ipso militandi limine gloriosæ famæ promeruit titulum; quia mitem se imprimis et affabilem exhibere; dapsilitatis manum cum hilari munificentia ubique porrigere; plurimumque de paterno pectore possidens, istis pro tempore parem, illis quandoque


<sup>1</sup> Henry was about 14 at this time.

<sup>2</sup> *mente*, D.

<sup>3</sup> Henry and Eustace, according to Henry of Huntingdon, p. 282, and (less definitely), according to John of Hexham (Twysden, 278), were *both* knighted in 1149; but our author clearly asserts here that Eustace was knighted before the death of Robert of Gloucester, which event (see p. 134, note 2) certainly happened on 31 October, 1147.

Unquestionably *Henry* was knighted on May 22, 1149, on the occasion of his next visit to England, for the Melrose Chronicler supports Huntingdon and John of Hexham as to this; but, when we find from charters that Eustace was actually made an earl at some date before August, 1148, Huntingdon's error becomes apparent. This will be more fully discussed in the Preface.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 108, note 2.

superiorem ostendere; hic pacis foedera intentissime A.D. 1147.  firmare, illic duram adversariis et inexpugnabilem frontem offerre. Cum comite namque Cestriae, sed et cum aliis nonnullis, sic nonnumquam mutui certaminis conflictum habuit, sic et insigni famosae victoriae splendore multotiens enituit, ut, quod tener agebat ephebus, necdum enim primam lanuginem attigerat, perfecti in militari congressione viri admirarentur. Dumque filius ejus ad hostes retundendos, ex una regni parte, promptissime desudaret, pater, ex alia, consuetam triumphalis militiae fiduciam frequentissime reportabat. Castellum siquidem, quod dicebatur de Silva, ubi se totius pacis et tranquillitatis inimici receperant, omnemque circumjacentem provinciam instantissime infestabant, improvise adveniens cum violentia cepit, suisque impositis latissimae provinciae dominatum conquisivit. In hoc etiam tempore castellum de Lidelea,<sup>1</sup> famose sibi et triumphaliter redditum, suscepit. Fuit namque idem castellum *olim ex regio jure*, quod quidem in illis partibus, et ad varios raptorum arcendos incursus *et ad ecclesiae terras tuendas*, quas circumquaque episcopus habuerat, possidebat. *Hoc castellum quidam de comitibus Brieni, callidi admodum et ad quaeque mala versuti, latenter intravere, quod cum cepissent, terrasque et possessiones episcopi gravi depopulatione nudassent, rex, ut erat semper consulti animi et in rebus agendis strenuissimi, copiosissima adunata multitudine, duo ante ipsum castella instantissime aggressus est, militumque et peditum turmis sufficienter impositis, usque ad ipsam impetu<sup>2</sup> et armis inedia inclusos coercuit. Quibus cum comes Glaorniae cum tribus comitibus, et cum totius*

<sup>1</sup> See Dugd. *Monast.* (ed. 1673), ii. 546, 6, for *Lidele* and *Boteley*. Domesday places these manors in Hants, Mausbridge Hundred.

<sup>2</sup> Duchesne has *ip*. This can, however, be the beginning of no word but *ipse*.

A.D. 1147. militiæ indicibili examine et escarum suffragiis,<sup>1</sup> *appropinquasset* et episcopi proposuisset castella subvertere, rex ab episcopo mandatus repente *adiit*, ipsumque comitem cum omnibus suis in subitum terrorem convertit, et redditum sibi castellum episcopo commisit.

Comes deinde Glaornia, ut erat regis adversariorum *strenuissimus* et ad magna quævis struenda paratissimus, iterum atque iterum exercitum *comparare*, jugi hortaminis et admonitionis stimulo complices suos incitavit; illos minis, istos promissis sibi et præmiis conjugare; quatinus omnes in unam concordiam, in unum animum conspirati, exercitum e diverso ad idem velle repararent, et, collectis undecumque agminibus, vive et constanter in regem insurgerent. Ceterum, quia non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Dominum, dum ille perturbationis et dissensionis semina, multiplicius quam fecerat et intentius quam consueverat, in regno jactaret, ad extrema subito deveniens, sine digno, ut aiunt, pœnitentiæ fructu, in Bristoa sua tandem oppetiit.<sup>2</sup> Successit in comitatum suum Willelmus filius suus, senior quidem ætate, sed vir mollis, et thalamorum magis quam militiæ appetitor. Hic tamen in primo comitatus sui exordio, quod præter omnium opinionem vix una vice contigit, egregiæ probitatis successus indeptus fuit. Henricus namque de Traceio,<sup>3</sup> vir bellicosus,

1147.  
Death of the earl of Gloucester (31 October, 1147). He is succeeded by his son William.

<sup>1</sup> *suffragia*, D.

<sup>2</sup> The death of Robert of Gloucester is a landmark in the difficult chronology of this part of the chronicle. The *Annales de Margan*, p. 13, say, "1147, *Fundata est abbatia nostra quæ dicitur Margan. Et eodem anno comes Gloucestria Robertus, qui eam fundavit, apud Bristollum obiit, pridie kal. Novembris.*" The witness of the house which the earl

founded scarcely requires support, but it is given by John of Hexham, the *Annal. de Theokesb.*, p. 47, the *Annal. de Wav.*, p. 232, by the *Annal. Plympton.*, and the *Annal. Anglosax. breves* (both in Liebermann's Anglo-Norm. Geschichtsquellen). Gervase, i. 131, says he died of a fever in the beginning of November, but he gives the year as 1146.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 52 and 97.

et in militari exercitio expertissimus, qui et regis A.D. 1147. 1148<sup>7</sup>  
 partibus parebat, ante castellum, quod Cari dicitur, et Henry de  
 aliud firmabat, quo et comitem Glaorniae per hoc Tracy,  
 facilius arceret, [et] diffusioris provinciae dominium while  
 possideret: cum ecce ipse comes, talibus fama inti- building  
 mante perceptis, cum immenso repente supervenit near Castle  
 exercitu, inceptumque Henrici municipium fundotenus Cary, is  
 [complanavit], ipsumque cum suis inglorium cedere routed by  
 coegit. William  
 earl of  
 Gloucester.

Eo tempore Walterius de Pincheui,<sup>1</sup> cujus superius Walter de  
 meminimus, carceralem exutus squalorem, comite Here- Pinkney  
 fordiae ad hoc maxime suffragante, ad arma denuo emerges  
 convolvit; egregio militantium globo ascito, castellum from con-  
 quod Cisticinia<sup>2</sup> dicitur, furto subintravit, aliisque Takes  
 quos in eo repererat, interemptis aliis autem in Christ-  
 vinculis mancipatis, omnibusque, quae circumquaque church.  
 fuerant, avidissime direptis, amplissimae provinciae  
 dominium possedit. Verum, cum deberet veteris cru- His  
 delitatis et malitiae oblivisci, ne peccatis exigentibus cruelty.  
 in manus adversariorum iterato incidere, ferus cunctis  
 et intolerabilis existere; ecclesiarum possessiones atro-  
 cissime gravare; vicinos quosque angariis et violentiis  
 molestare, ab omnibus aera et donaria sine cessatione  
 exigere; his poenas et supplicia, illis diversas mortes,  
 solo crudelitatis studio, inferre. Sed tantae illius Death of  
 malitiae vindex et retributor Deus justo eadem Walter de  
 iudicio in auctorem tandem reflexit. Cives namque Pinkney.  
 loci illius, sed et de comprovincialibus nonnulli, crudeli-  
 tatis illius barbariem aegre ferentes, in unam proditio-  
 nem conspirantes,<sup>3</sup> congregatis militibus ad cujus feu-  
 dum ipsi pertinebant, et circa ipsum castellum turmis  
 dispositis, Walterium et suos, qui de castello progressi  
 in ecclesiam intraverunt, convenere, cumque eum sup-  
 pliciter implorarent, quatinus in exactionibus lenior<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 113. D. has *Pincbenei*.

<sup>2</sup> Christchurch.

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

<sup>4</sup> *rior* is the fragment of the word  
 in Duchesne.



1148.

A.D. 1147. fieret, et ille fronte pervicaci indignanter respondisset, *se hard mitius*, immo<sup>1</sup> multo feralius, quam consueverat acturum, unus ex eis *audacter* prosiliens, acutissimam bipennem in ejus cervicem virtuose *infixit*, et isto<sup>2</sup> interempto, reliquos etiam ejus commilitones instanter prostraverunt, *et iis qui* insidiis delitescabant concurrentibus, eos, qui in castello erant, protinus *observaverunt*. Tandem datis dextris et pace confecta castellum receperunt.

The followers of Patrick earl of Salisbury capture Downton.

Circa idem *tempus homines* Patritii comitis castellum, quod Duntuna<sup>3</sup> dicitur, ex jure et possessione *Wintoniensi* ecclesiæ furto surripuerunt, castellum escarum copiis uberrime *refertum* et apparatu apprime præmunitum, impositisque prædonibus, et aliorum . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *umo* is the fragment given by Duchesne.

<sup>2</sup> *iste*, D.

<sup>3</sup> Downton, south of Salisbury. The *Annales Winton.*, p. 51, say that in 1138 Henry bishop of Winchester built "*castellum . . de Duntona.*" The changed attitude of Patrick earl of Salisbury is interesting, as an explanation is now forthcoming. We have seen (p. 84, note 2) the earl fighting against John le Marshal, Maud's ally; but we see "*Patric. de Sarum const.*" as a witness to a charter granted by the empress (Monast. Anglic., v., p. 446); and we also here see the earl dispos-

sessing Henry bishop of Winchester of the castle of Downton. The *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, l. 372, tells us that John le Marshal married Sibylla, sister of earl Patrick, and that this brought about peace between the enemies—the earl was won over:

Puis prist damesele Sibire,  
La sorur le cunte Patriz ;

Puis i out amor et conorde  
Qui lnr dura tute lor vie.

John le Marshal, however, seems to have made peace with Stephen later (Monast. Anglic., ed. 1655, vol. i. p. 1031, col. 2. l. 24).



HISTORIA RICARDI, PRIORIS ECCLESIAE  
HAUGUSTALDENSIS,  
DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI.



# INCIPIIT HISTORIA PLÆ MEMORIÆ

PRIORIS RICARDI HAUGUSTALDENSIS ECCLESIAE,

## DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI ET DE BELLO STANDARDII.<sup>1</sup>

Anno <sup>2</sup> Verbi incarnati MCXXXV., ab adventu vero <sup>3</sup> A.D. 1135.  
Normannorum in Angliam lxi., Henricus rex Angliæ, Death of  
anno ætatis suæ lxxvij., de quadam muræna comedens king  
ægotavit, et mortuus est in quadam foresta Norman- Henry I.  
niæ, quæ Leuns dicitur, apud sanctum Dionisium, iv<sup>to</sup>  
nonas Decembris,<sup>4</sup> feria ij. Regnavit autem gloriose  
annis triginta v. et mensibus iv. Corpus vero ipsius,  
sicut præceperat, in Angliam transvectum, apud Ra-  
dingas sepultum est. Unde statim justitiæ et pax,  
quæ cum eo diu regnaverant, in Normannia et Anglia  
pariter cum illo <sup>5</sup> occubuerunt. Et justitiæ patrocinate <sup>6</sup> Outburst  
quod solum tunc ubique regnabat, violentiæ et rapinæ, of lawless  
cædes et deprædationes, inauditæ crudelitates et in- violence  
numeræ calamitates, loco pacis ac justitiæ, suam ty- after his  
rannidem latenter et patenter exercuerunt. Hæc decease.  
autem omnia mala post mortem ejus tanto exuberan-

<sup>1</sup> *Standardii*, thus in the rubric.

<sup>2</sup> The initial A is very large and beautiful.

<sup>3</sup> *vero*, interlined in lighter ink. This and all other alterations and corrections in the MS. are contemporary.

<sup>4</sup> Other chroniclers give 1st December, but as Henry died at night-fall the discrepancy is, as canon Raine remarks, easily understood.

The words of our chronicler present a slight, but no doubt purely accidental, similarity to those of Robert of Torigni in the so-called 8th book of the chronicle of William of Jumièges, Duchesne, p. 809.

<sup>5</sup> *illo*, not *eo*, MS.

<sup>6</sup> Canon Raine remarks that some words seem to have been omitted here.

A.D. 1135. tius et vehementius prævaluerunt, quanto majori potentia et districtiori justitia in vita sua plures depresserat, aggravaverat, spoliaverat, exhæreditaverat, exiliaverat. Unde nacti occasionem, quam ardentè desideraverant, singuli se vindicare festinabant, dum quicquid mali agere poterant eis impune facere licebat.

Murder of  
William  
Travers.

Ea tempestate Willelmus cognomento Transversus, qui honorem Fracti Pontis, sic enim quoddam oppidum nominatur, ex dono Henrici regis habuerat, a quodam milite homine suo, Pagano nomine, apud ipsum oppidum letali vulnere percussus, post triduum in habitu monachili mortuus est. Et quem patri suo, Roberto de Lescei, rex Henricus abstulerat, Ilbertus de Lesceio, filius ejus, mox eundem honorem recuperavit. Et per Angliam et per Normanniam similiter pluribus eadem tempestate contigit.

Character-  
istics of  
king  
Henry I.

Rex autem nobilis Henricus in juvenili ætate magna virtutis probitate laudabilis, in adversitatum periculis sæpe vexatus, in militaribus congressionibus optime exercitatus fuit. Erat namque vir consilii et providentiæ, sagacitatis ac prudentiæ, mente constans, animo audax, in sermone verax, in promissis efficax, in minis pertinax, in amicitia perseverans, in odio perdurans, in adversis patiens, in prosperis temperans; facundia disertus, justitia rigidus, in judicio æquus, inimicis pessimus, amicis optimus. Igitur post fratrem suum Willelmum regnum Angliæ adeptus, ducatumque Normanniæ a germano suo Roberto comite mira arte acquisivit, et utriusque negotia magna sapientia disposuit, ac omnes sibi adversantes ineffabili calliditate superavit. Nobiles plerosque propter eorum perfidiam depressit; ignobiles vero multos, quos probos ac sibi fideles invenit, amplis honoribus sullimavit. Bonas quoque leges et consuetudines regis Edwardi, prædecessoris ac cognati sui, restauravit, et, prout ei videbatur, sua sapientia et auctoritate emendatas et corroboratas, in regno suo rigide et constanter, tam a

fo. 37. b.

divitibus quam a pauperibus, observari fecit. Raptores A.D. 1135. quoque ac fures et latrones ac maleficos, atque falsæ monete factores et studiosos expensores, gravi animadversione puniri fecit.

Igitur in diebus ejus<sup>1</sup> tempora pacis floruerunt, ac plura monasteria, in quibus antea non erant, ad religionem monachorum, ac præcipue canonicorum regularium, conversa sunt. Unde et ipse duo cœnobîa, unum monachorum apud Radingas, ubi et ipse sepeliri voluit, et alterum canonicorum apud Cirecestram instituit, et regali munificentia ditavit, ac utrisque juxta ordines suos abbates præfecit. Monasterium vero Radingas ipse favore suo provexit, et in lumine basilicam pulcherrimi operis erexit, et cum regali potestate reddituum, conventu, et numerositate monachorum ornavit. Construxit etiam cœnobium Cirecestre quarto ante obitum suum anno, in quo cum opulentia rerum necessariarum canonicos regulares collocavit. In religiosos et in pauperes laudabili largitate et congrua veneratione enituit. Post quem princeps<sup>2</sup> non surrexit alius, qui sic injustas regni exactiones interdiceret, omnes sibi subjectos in pace et modestia sapientiæ disponderet, personas ecclesiasticas reverenter excoleret,<sup>3</sup> pauperes et inopes sumptuosis elemosinis foveret.

Duas reginas habuit, primam nomine Mactildam, filiam Malcolmî regis Scotiæ, ex qua unam filiam genuit, quæ primo imperatori Henrico Alemanniæ ac deinde Gaufrido Andegavensium comiti in conjugium data est. Unum quoque filium nomine Willelmum ex eadem habuit, qui cum maxima nobilitate Angliæ et Normanniæ in mari summersus est. Alteram vero reginam post mortem Matildis, nomine Adelizam, filiam Godefridi ducis Luvaniæ, accepit; sed hæc sterilis per-

<sup>1</sup> *ejus*, not *illis*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *princeps*, marked to this point.

<sup>3</sup> The hand changes here at the head of a column.

A.D. 1135. mansit. In fornicatione autem et adulterio plures  
 — liberos<sup>1</sup> habuit; namque hæc duo vicia, scilicet lux-  
 uria et amor pecuniæ, in eo nimis dominabantur.  
 Unde ejus exemplo plurimi corrupti sunt.

Hic autem, sicut prædictum est, paulo antequam  
 moreretur in Normannia existens, de quadam murena  
 comedit; unde mox ægrotare cœpit et mortuus est.  
 Quo mortuo, continuo emergerunt homines scelesti et  
 peccatores, cuncta jura justitiæ et pacis dissipantes, et  
 ad direptiones et cædes, incendia et alia flagitia, hos-  
 tilititer proruentes. Ipse enim in principio regni sui  
 sicut prædiximus, leges justas et libertates populo  
 dedit, carta confirmavit, sigillo corroboravit, et in  
 ærario suo apud Wintoniam conservari præcepit, sicut  
 sequens articulus aperte demonstrabit.

The charter  
 granted by  
 him at the  
 beginning  
 of his  
 reign.

Charter  
 of king  
 Henry I.  
 (A.D.  
 1101.)

“ Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum, omnibus fidelibus<sup>2</sup>  
 “ suis, tam Francigenis quam Anglicis, totius Angliæ salutem.<sup>3</sup>  
 “ Sciatis me misericordia Dei, et communi consilio baronum  
 “ regni Angliæ, ejusdem regni regem coronatum esse. Et  
 “ quia regnum oppressum erat injustis exactionibus,<sup>4</sup> ego, re-  
 “ spectu Dei et amore quem erga vos omnes habeo, sanctam  
 “ Dei ecclesiam imprimis liberam concedo, ita quod nec  
 “ eam vendam nec ad firmam ponam, nec, mortuo archiepi-  
 “ scopo vel episcopo vel abbate, aliquid accipiam de dominio  
 “ ecclesiæ vel de hominibus donec successor in eam ingredi-  
 “ atur. Et omnes malas consuetudines, quibus regnum An-  
 “ gliæ injuste opprimebatur, inde aufero. Quas malas con-  
 “ suetudines expono hic [ex] parte.<sup>5</sup>  
 “ Si aliquis baronum meorum vel comitum sive aliorum,  
 “ qui de me tenent, mortuus fuerit, hæres suus non redimat  
 “ terram suam sicut faciebat tempore fratris mei, sed legi-  
 “ tima et justa<sup>6</sup> relevatione relevabit eam. Similiter homines  
 “ baronum meorum legitima et justa relevatione relevabunt  
 “ terras suas de dominis suis.  
 “ Et si quis baronum vel aliorum hominum meorum filiam  
 “ suam nuptui tradere voluerit, sive sororem sive neptem

fo. 38.

<sup>1</sup> *liber*, in light ink, the termina-  
 tion *os* in dark.

<sup>2</sup> *fidelibus*, interlined in light ink.

<sup>3</sup> A new hand adds *alutem* to the

*s*, and takes up the work in much  
 lighter ink.

<sup>4</sup> *actionibus*, MS.

<sup>5</sup> *partes*, MS.; *ex parte*, Statut es

<sup>6</sup> *legitima et justa* interlined.



“ sive cognatam, mecum inde loquetur. Sed neque ego ali- A.D. 1135.  
 “ quid de suo pro hac licentia accipiam, neque defendam ei  
 “ quin eam det, excepto si eam jungere vellet inimico meo.  
 “ Et si mortuo barone vel alio homine meo filia hæres rem-  
 “ manserit, illam dabo consilio baronum meorum cum terra  
 “ sua. Et si mortuo marito uxor remanserit ejus, et sine  
 “ liberis fuerit, dotem suam et maritacionem habebit, et eam  
 “ non dabo marito nisi secundum velle suum: si vero uxor  
 “ cum liberis remanserit, dotem quidem et maritacionem  
 “ suam habebit, dum corpus suam legitime servaverit, et eam  
 “ non dabo nisi secundum velle suum; et terræ liberorum  
 “ custos erit sive uxor sive alius propinquorum, qui justius  
 “ esse debebit. Et præcipio ut barones mei similiter se con-  
 “ tineant erga filios vel filias vel uxores hominum suorum.  
 “ Monetagium commne quod capiebatur per civitates et per  
 “ comitatus, quod non fuit tempore regis Edwardi, hoc ne  
 “ amodo sit omnino defendo. Si quis captus fuerit, sive mone-  
 “ tarius sive alius, cum falsa moneta, justitia recta inde fiat.  
 “ Omnia placita et omnia debita quæ fratri meo debeban-  
 “ tur<sup>1</sup> condono, exceptis rectis firmis meis, et exceptis illis  
 “ quæ pacta erant pro aliorum hæreditatibus, vel pro eis  
 “ rebus quæ juste aliis contingebant. Et si quis pro hære-  
 “ ditate sua aliquid pepigit, illud condono, et omnes rele-  
 “ vationes, quæ pro rectis hæreditatibus pactæ erant.  
 “ Et<sup>2</sup> si quis baronum vel hominum meorum infirmabitur.  
 “ sicut ipse dabit vel dare disponet pecuniam suam, ita datam  
 “ esse concedo. Quod si ipse, præventus vel armis vel infir-  
 “ mitate, pecuniam suam non dederit vel dare disposuerit,  
 “ uxor sua sive liberi aut parentes, et legitimi homines ejus,  
 “ eam pro anima ejus dividant, sicut melius eis visum fuerit.  
 “ Et<sup>3</sup> si quis baronum vel hominum meorum forisfecerit,  
 “ non dabit vadium in misericordia pecuniæ suæ, sicut faci-  
 “ ebat tempore patris mei vel fratris, sed, secundum forisfacti  
 “ modum, ita emendabit sicut emendasset retro a tempore patris  
 “ mei in tempore aliorum antecessorum meorum. Quod si  
 “ perfidiæ vel sceleris convictus fuerit, sic emendet.  
 “ Murdra<sup>4</sup> etiam, retro ab illa die qua in regem coronatus  
 “ fui, omnia condono. Et ea quæ amodo facta fuerint, juste  
 “ emendentur secundum lagam regis Edwardi.

[On fo.  
38. b.]

[On fo.  
38. a.]

[Begins  
fo. 38. b.]

<sup>1</sup> *debebant*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> This article is written after the one which follows, but the letters *a, b* direct transposition, and the clause “ *Quod si perfidiæ . . . .* “ *emendet,*” which really begins

*fo. 38 b.*, must, of course, change place also.

<sup>3</sup> This article is on *fo. 38 a.*

<sup>4</sup> The spelling here is *murdia*. As the MS. is unique, its orthography has been followed as far as possible.

A.D. 1135. " Ferestas communi consensu baronum meorum in manu  
 — " mea ita retinui, sicut pater meus eas habuit. Militibus, qui  
 " per loricas terras suas deserviunt, terras dominicarum car-  
 " rucarum suarum quietas ab omnibus geldis, et ab omni  
 " opere, proprio dono meo concedo, ut sicut tam magno gra-  
 " vamine alleviati sunt, ita equis et armis se bene<sup>1</sup> instruant,  
 " ut apti sint et parati ad servitium meum et ad defensionem  
 " regni mei.  
 " Pacem firmam in toto regno meo pongo, et teneri amodo<sup>2</sup>  
 " præcipio. Lagam regis Edwardi vobis reddo cum illis  
 " emendationibus quibus pater meus eam emendavit consilio  
 " baronum suorum.  
 " Si quis aliquid de meo, vel de rebus alicujus, post obitum  
 " regis Willelmi fratris mei cepit, totum cito<sup>3</sup> reddatur absque  
 " emendatione. Et si quis inde aliquid retinuerit, ille super  
 " quem<sup>4</sup> inventum fuerit graviter mihi emendabit.  
 " Teste Mauricio Lundoniensi episcopo, et Willelmo clecto  
 " Wintoniæ episcopo, et Gerardo Herfordensi episcopo, et  
 " Henrico comite, et Simone comite, et Waltero comite Gifardo,  
 " et R. de Muntfort, et Eudone dapifero, et Rogero Bigoto.  
 " Valete."<sup>5</sup>

Hæc autem de eo succincte dicta ad præsens suffi-  
 ciant: si quis autem plenius nosse desiderat actus ejus,  
 et quomodo se in regno habuerit, in cronicis de gestis  
 Anglorum invenire poterit. Henrico autem regi mox  
 Stephanus comes Bononiæ, nepos ejus ex sorore sua  
 comitissa de Blais, et frater Theobaldi comitis, in  
 regnum successit.

Succession  
of Stephen.

[A.D.  
1136.]

Stephen's  
election  
and coro-  
nation,  
25 Decem-  
ber [1135].

Anno<sup>6</sup> igitur Dominicæ incarnationis MCXXXVI. a  
 primoribus regni, cum favore cleri ac populi, Stephanus  
 comes Bononiæ electus, a Willelmo Cantuariensi archi-  
 episcopo in Natale<sup>7</sup> Domini apud Lundonias in regem  
 consecratur. Hujus autem regni primordia et proces-  
 sus tot ac tantis redundavere rerum adversantium tur-

<sup>1</sup> bene, interlined.

<sup>2</sup> amodo, interlined.

<sup>3</sup> cito, interlined.

<sup>4</sup> quem, interlined.

<sup>5</sup> The list of witnesses differs somewhat from the other copies. See the text as printed in bishop

Stubbs' "Select Charters," pp. 100-102.

<sup>6</sup> The hand changes again here: a fourth scribe takes up the work.

<sup>7</sup> Natale, MS. This date accords with the witness of the Peterborough Chronicle.

bationibus, ut quid de eis scribi debeat, quemve<sup>1</sup> habi- A.D. 1135.  
tura sint singula finem, nondum sciri valeat. Ipse  
autem rex, licet innumeris et maximis adversitatibus  
undique coartatus, semper tamen animo constans, vultu  
hilaris, et quasi de victoria jam securus, hostium suo-  
rum conatus et minas, subdolorum versutias ac perfid-  
dorum fraudes, et temporalium rerum, licet maximarum,  
amissiones, quasi non sentiret vel parum perpenderet,  
deridebat. Quæ ejus confidentia et securitas adversariis  
suis stuporem et confusionem, suis vero vigorem et  
audaciam et consolationem conferebat. Erat quoque His  
vir tantæ mansuetudinis et benignitatis, ut etiam in- character.  
mici ejus, ad ipsum conversi, præter spem suam in  
illo misericordiam invenirent. Maximas igitur familias  
de militibus stipendiariis collegit, per quos negotia sua  
in Normannia et Anglia ageret. Nam Galfridus comes  
Andegavensis qui imperatricem, scilicet filiam H[en-  
rici] regis, quæ sic vocata est postquam imperatori  
nupsit, in conjugio habebat, cujus filio Anglia ac<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey of  
Normannia jurata fuit, mox ut eum in regem electum Anjou  
esse cognovit, plurimas regiones deprædavit ac de- attacks  
struxit, et multa castella in Normannia contra illum Normandy.  
cepit ac tenuit. Similiter et David rex Scottiæ, ejus- David of  
dem dominæ avunculus, in provincia Norþamymbrorum Scotland  
v. oppida, scilicet Lugubaliam, quod Anglice Carlel seizes  
dicitur, et Carrum,<sup>3</sup> quod ab Anglis Werch dicitur, et Carlisle  
Alnawic et Norham et Novum Castellum, mox circa and other  
Natale Domini cum magno exercitu præoccupavit ac towns,  
tenuit. Sed Bahanburch<sup>4</sup> minime habere potuit. Fi- about 25  
delitates quoque et obsides de potentioribus et nobili- December.  
oribus ejusdem regionis ad conservandam fidem impe-  
ratrici nepti suæ accepit. Proposuit etiam Dunelmum A.D. 1136.  
aggredi: sed Stephanus rex ad Caput Jejunii, quod Stephen  
marches to

<sup>1</sup> *quave*, MS.<sup>2</sup> A fifth scribe takes up the work after *ac*.<sup>3</sup> Carham or Wark on the Tweed.<sup>4</sup> *Bahanburch*, MS.—the end of the word on an erasure.

A.D. 1136. illo anno nonis Februarii contigit, cum maximo exercitu  
 Durham, illuc veniens, xv. diebus ibi moratus est. Tandem vero  
 Feb. 5. in eadem provincia, habita colloctione et pace facta  
 A peaceful arrangement con- inter duos reges, Henricus filius David regis Scottiæ  
 cluded. homagium Stephano regi apud Eboracum fecit. Dedit-  
 que rex illi cum consulatu patris sui de Huntadun,  
 Carlel, et Donacastram, cum omnibus quæ ad ea per-  
 tinent; et, ut quidam aiunt, qui se huic conventioni  
 interfuisse testantur, promisit illi quod si comitatum  
 Norþanymbricæ alicui dare vellet, prius calumpniam  
 Henrici filii regis Scottiæ super eo juste in sua curia  
 judicari faceret. Reddidit quoque David rex Scottiæ  
 Stephano regi Angliæ iv. prædicta castella sua quæ  
 invaserat, nam quintum, scilicet Carlel, datum erat  
 ei, redditis obsidibus et utriusque partis hominibus in

Henry, son of king David, visits Stephen at Easter, March 22. eadem pace concordatis. Fuit quoque Henricus filius  
 regis Scottiæ ad curiam Stephani regis Angliæ in  
 proxima Pascha, quam apud Lundoniam festive tenuit.  
 cum maximo honore susceptus, atque ad mensam ad  
 dexteram ipsius regis sedit. Unde et Willelmus

Conduct of the archbishop of Canterbury and other nobles towards him. archiepiscopus Cantuariensis se a curia subtraxit, et  
 quidam proceres Angliæ, erga regem indignati, coram  
 ipso Henrico calumpnias intulerunt. De qua re David  
 rex Scottiæ valde indignatus, recepto filio suo, noluit  
 eum, quamvis sæpius mandatum, ad curiam regis  
 remittere.

Troubles with the Welsh. Eodem autem anno Walani multum de terra S[te-  
 phani] regis Angliæ devastaverunt, et duos de baro-  
 nibus suis, Ricardum filium Rogerii,<sup>1</sup> et Paganum  
 filium Johannis, in regione illorum insidiosè occide-  
 runt. Sed mox cum eo concordati sunt.

Rebellion of Baldwin de Redvers. Eodem quoque anno Baldewinus de Redwers, quia  
 non potuit quendam honorem habere, quem a rege

<sup>1</sup> This name, canon Raine notes, should be Richard FitzGilbert. See *Gesta Stephani*, p. 12.

? See Ser  
 kin in 1133  
 in/.

postulaverat, Exceestram oppidum suum contra illum A.D. 1136. firmavit. Rex vero, devastata terra ejus, post diutinam obsidionem oppidum per vim cepit, et illum captum de Anglia et Normannia exlegavit. At ille ad Gaufridum Andegavensem comitem et ad imperatricem ejus uxorem confugit.

Eodem quoque anno Innocentius, Romanæ sedis Apostolicus, Stephano regi Angliæ litteras suas transmisit, quibus eum Apostolica auctoritate in regno Angliæ confirmavit. Quarum exemplar hoc est:—

Letter of pope Innocent II. confirming Stephen's election.

“Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo filio Stephano illustri Anglorum regi salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

“Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, in cujus manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia jura regnorum, ex incomprehensibili supernæ providentiæ dispensatione quando vult mutat tempora et transfert regna. Sicut enim attestatur Dan. iv. 17. propheta, ‘Dominatur excelsus in regno hominum, et cui ‘voluerit dat illud.’ Quot commoditates, quanta jocunditatis tranquillitas, quantumque justitiæ censura in regno Angliæ et ducatu Normanniæ, regnante filio nostro gloriosæ fo. 39. b. memoriæ Henrico rege, viguerunt, eo humanis rebus exempto oculata fide perclaruit. Cum enim idem esset religiosorum virorum amator, pacis et justitiæ cultor, viduarum et orphanorum propitius consolator, et eorum, qui impotentia defendere se non poterant, pius defensor, ipso sublato de medio, prout accepimus, turbata est religio in regno Angliæ, et nullum mandatum pacis seu justitiæ in adjutorio regali vigeat, atque atrocitatem tantorum scelerum comitabatur impunitas. Ne autem diutius grassando in populum Dei debachari<sup>1</sup> posset dira feralitas, inclinata est ad preces religiosorum virorum divinæ miseratio pietatis, et tautis flagitiis potenter occurrens, quemadmodum venerabilium fratrum nostrorum, archiepiscoporum, episcoporum earundem regionum, et amatorum sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, gloriosi Francorum regis et illustris viri comitis Teodaldi scripta testantur, et industrium virorum nobis indicavit assertio, communi voto et unanimi assensu tam procerum quam etiam populi, te in regem eligere et a præsnlibus regni consecrari providit. Nos cognoscentes vota tantorum virorum in personam tuam, præeunte divina gratia, convenisse, pro spe etiam certa,<sup>2</sup> et

<sup>1</sup> So in MS.

| <sup>2</sup> certo, MS.



A.D. 1136. “ [quia] beato Petro in ipsa consecrationis tuæ die obedientiam  
 — “ et reverentiam promississe, et quia de præfati regis prosapia  
 “ prope posito gradu originem traxisse dinosceris, quod de te  
 “ factum est gratum habentes, te in specialem beati Petri et  
 “ sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ filium affectione paterna recipimus,  
 “ et in cadem honoris et familiaritatis prærogativa, qua præ-  
 “ decessor tuus egregiæ recordationis Henricus a nobis coro-  
 “ nabatur, te propensius volumus retinere.”

Igitur Stephanus, his et aliis modis in regno Angliæ confirmatus, episcopos et proceres sui regni regali edicto in unum convenire præcepit; cum quibus hoc generale concilium celebravit.

Charter of  
king  
Stephen.

“ Ego Stephanus Dei gratia assensu cleri et populi in regem  
 “ Angliæ electus, et a Willelmo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo  
 “ et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ legato consecratus, et ab Inno-  
 “ centio sanctæ Romanæ sedis pontifice confirmatus, respectu  
 “ et amore Dei sanctam ecclesiam liberam esse concedo, et  
 “ debitam reverentiam illi confirmo.

“ Nichil me in ecclesia vel rebus ecclesiasticis simoniace  
 “ acturum vel permissurum prouitto. Ecclesiasticarum perso-  
 “ narum et omnium clericorum et rerum eorum justitiam, et  
 “ potestatem et distributionem honorum ecclesiasticorum, in  
 “ manu episcoporum esse perhibeo et confirmo. Dignitates  
 “ ecclesiarum privilegiis earum confirmatas, et consuetudines  
 “ earum antiquo tenore habitas, inviolate manere statuo et  
 “ concedo. Omnes ecclesiarum possessiones et tenurias, quas  
 “ illa die habuerunt qua Willelmus rex Angliæ, avus meus,  
 “ fuit vivus et mortuus, sine omni calumpniantium reclama-  
 “ tione eis liberis et absolutas esse concedo. Si quid vero de  
 “ habitis vel possessis ante mortem ejusdem regis, quibus  
 “ modo careat, ecclesia deinceps resederit,<sup>1</sup> indulgentiæ et dis-  
 “ pensationi meæ vel restituendum vel discutiendum reservo  
 “ Quæcunque vero post mortem ipsius regis liberalitate regum,  
 “ largitione principum, oblatione vel comparatione vel qualibet

<sup>1</sup> W. of Malmesbury, who gives the body of this charter in the *Hist. Novella*, here writes *repetierit*, probably the right word. There are a few unimportant verbal differences between the document as presented by the two writers, but Richard of Hexham gives the witnesses. His copy agrees more closely with

MS. Bibl. Reg. 13 B. xix. and kindred MSS. than with 13 D. ii. In the Statutes of the Realm, as canon Raine notes, this charter is given from a copy in the Treasury of Exeter Cathedral. This version may be conveniently consulted in Bishop Stubbs' "Select Charters," p. 120.



“transmutatione fidelium, eis collata sunt confirmo. Pacem A.D. 1136.

“et justitiam me in omnibus facturum et pro posse meo

“conservaturum eis promitto.

fo. 40.

“Forestas, quas Willelmus rex avus meus et Willelmus  
“secundus avunculus meus instituerunt et habuerunt, mihi  
“reservo. Ceteras vero omnes, quas Henricus rex super-  
“addidit, ecclesiis et regno quietas reddo et concedo.

“Si quis episcopus vel abbas vel alia ecclesiastica persona  
“ante mortem suam rationabiliter sua distribuerit vel distri-  
“buenda stauerit, firmum manere concedo. Si vero morte  
“præoccupatus fuerit, pro salute animæ ejus ecclesiæ con-  
“silio eadem fiat distributio. Dum vero sedes propriis pas-  
“toribus vacuæ fuerint, ipsæ et omnes earum possessiones  
“in manu et custodia clericorum vel proborum hominum  
“ejusdem ecclesiæ committantur, donec pastor canonice sub-  
“stituatur.

“Omnes exactiones et injustitias et mescheningas, sive  
“per vicecomites vel per alios quoslibet male inductas, fun-  
“ditus extirpo.

“Bonas leges et antiquas et justas consuetudines in hundris<sup>1</sup>  
“et placitis et aliis cansis observabo, et observari præcipio  
“et constituo.<sup>2</sup> Hæc omnia concedo et confirmo salva regis  
“et justa dignitate mea. Teste Willelmo Cantuariensi archi-  
“episcopo, et Hugone archiepiscopo Rotomagensi, et Henrico  
“episcopo Wintoniensi, et Rogero episcopo Sar[esburiensi],  
“et Alexandro episcopo Lincolnensi, et Nig[ello] episcopo  
“Heliensi, et Erbr.<sup>3</sup> episcopo Norwicensi, et Symone episcopo  
“Wirecestrensi, et Bernardo episcopo sancti Davidis, et  
“Audoeno episcopo Ebr[oicensi], et Ricardo episcopo Abrin-  
“censi, et Roberto episcopo Herefordensi, et Johanne epi-  
“scopo Rovencestrensi, et Adelwifo episcopo Carlelensi;<sup>4</sup> et  
“Rogero cancellario; et Henrico nepote regis; et Roberto  
“comite Glocestriæ, et Willelmo comite Warennæ, et Ra-  
“dulfo comite Cestriæ, Rogero comite Warawicensi, Ro-  
“de Vcr, Milone de Glocc., Roberto de Olli, Briano filio  
“Comitis, constabil.; Willelmo Martel, Hugone Big[ot],<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *hundris*, thus MS., but Malmesbury, *Hist. Novella*, p. 709, and the Statutes give *murdris*, which is no doubt the right word.

<sup>2</sup> Malmesbury omits all that follows, except the date and place, saying *nomina testium . . . apponere fastidio*.

<sup>3</sup> *Erb̄r*, MS. This would be Everard de Montgomery, bishop 1121–1145.

<sup>4</sup> *Carlel*, MS.

<sup>5</sup> *Big*, MS.

A.D. 1136. " Hunfrido de Buhun, Simone de Belloc[amp] <sup>1</sup> dapiferis ;  
 — " Willelmo de Alb[iniaco], Martel de Alb. <sup>2</sup> pincernis ; Ro-  
 " berto de Fer[reriis], Willelmo Peverel, Simone de Silvan-  
 " ecti, <sup>3</sup> Willelmo de Albamarla, <sup>4</sup> Hugone de Sancto Claro,  
 " Iberto de Leceo.  
 " Apud Oxenford, anno scilicet ab Incarnatione Domini  
 " MCXXXVI., sed regni mei primo." <sup>5</sup>

His et aliis modis statim in primo anno confirmatus Stephanus in regno Angliæ, etiam hujusmodi leges et consuetudines regno suo dedit et concessit, et constanter promisit quod eas cum suis firmissime servaret.

Stephen crosses to Normandy in August. Death of William archbishop of Canterbury.

Eodem anno propter bellum comitis Andegavensis, mense Augusti, <sup>6</sup> in Normanniam Stephanus rex transfretavit. Et Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, mense Novembris defunctus, in sua civitate sepultus est.

A.D. 1137. Anno igitur proximo, id est MCXXXVII., pacis fœdere  
 — rupto, statim post Pascha David rex Scottiæ, exerci-  
 Threatened irruption of the Scots after April 11. tum suum congregans, Northymbriam devastare proposuit. Sed ex præcepto regis S[tephani], tunc in Normannia existentis, maxima pars comitum et baronum Angliæ cum magno exercitu militum ad Novum

<sup>1</sup> The Statutes read *Belcamp*.

<sup>2</sup> The Statutes read *Eudone Mart'*.

<sup>3</sup> *Saintliz* in the Statutes.

<sup>4</sup> *Alban'a*, MS. The Statutes insert immediately after this the name *Pag' filio Johannis*, and put *Hamone* for *Hugone*. Payne Fitz-John was killed in this same year.

<sup>5</sup> The fact that the names of Robert of Gloucester and Hugh Bigod appear as witnesses enables us to fix the date of this charter with some closeness. The former reached England *post Pascha* (March 22) according to Malmesbury, *Hist. Nov.*, p. 705, the latter rebelled *ad Rogationes* (April 26), according to Hen. of Huntingdon,

Rolls ed. p. 259. The latter author is shown both by Malmesbury and R. of Hexham to be wrong in placing the Oxford charter before the march to Durham.

<sup>6</sup> This is an error. Malmesbury, p. 710, says that he crossed early in Lent, 1137. R. of Torigni (i. 206) agrees to this date. *Orderic Vital.* (Prevost's ed. v. p. 63) shows how prior Richard was deceived. At the end of May, 1136, Stephen began to prepare to cross, but he heard a rumour as to the death of Roger of Salisbury. He returned to Salisbury, found the bishop alive, and then deferred his journey till the following Lent.

Castellum, quod est in Northumbria, venit, illi resistere parata, si regnum Angliæ invaderet. Tandem per internuncios datis et acceptis induciis usque ad proximum Adventum Domini, post xl. dies ad propria redierunt. In Adventu autem Domini Stephano regi redeunti de Normannia, postquam data magna pecunia a comite Andegavensi biennii inducias acceperat, legati David regis Scottiæ et Henrici filii ejus mox affuerunt, illi suas inducias reddentes, nisi Henrico comitatum Northymbriæ daret. At rex petitioni illorum minime annuit.

A.D. 1137.  
—  
Stephen  
returns,  
November  
28.

Claims of  
king  
David.

Anno igitur MCXXXVIII, iv. idus Januarii, Willelmus filius Dunecan, nepos David regis, cum parte exercitus ipsius David castellum, quod Carrum dicitur, in terra regis Angliæ antelucanis insidiis invasit, deprædataque circumquaque regione, illud expugnare cœpit. Deinde ipse rex cum Henrico filio suo et cum majore exercitu illuc adveniens, et omnium virium suarum conatus explorans, balistis et aliis machinis et variis assultibus oppidum expugnare aggressus est, ac deinde illud iij. ebdomadis obsedit. Sed nichil profecit; immo, Deo auxiliante, omnis ejus conatus in contrarium illi conversus est. Nam milites et alii, qui in castello erant, se et oppidum optime defendentes, signiferum ejus et alios multos de hominibus suis in conspectu ejus interfecerunt, et multos plures vulneraverunt.<sup>1</sup> Cernens autem rex laborem suum illic cassari, et sibi suisque grave dampnum de die in diem crescere, indignatione et ira inflammatus, tandem oppido relicto ad Northymbriam devastandam cum omni multitudine sua properavit. Igitur ille detestandus exercitus, omni paganorum genere atrocior, nec Deo nec hominibus reverentiam deferens, tota provincia deprædata, utriusque sexus cujusque ætatis et conditionis homines

A.D. 1138.  
—  
Scotch in-  
vasion on  
Jan. 10.

*fo. 40. b.*

<sup>1</sup> *vulneraverunt*, thus in MS.

A.D. 1138. passim trucidavit; villas, ecclesias, domos destruxit, spoliavit, accendit. Namque languentes in grabatis, ac mulieres prægnantes et parturientes, et in cunis infantes, et alios innocentes inter ubera et in sinibus matrum suarum, cum ipsis matribus, et decrepitos senes et defectas anus et ceteros qualibet occasione debiles, ubicunque inveniebant, in ore gladii trucidaverunt, vel lanceis suis confixerunt. Et quanto miserabiliore mortis genere illos disperdere poterant, tanto plus gratulabantur. Unde apertissime ibi impletum esse videtur quod psalmista conquerendo deflebat, dicens, "Deus venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam, Ps. lxxviii. "polluerunt templum sanctum tuum, posuerunt Jerusalem<sup>1</sup> in pomorum custodiam," et cetera quæ in illo psalmo sequuntur.<sup>2</sup> Fertur etiam quod in quodam loco multos parvulos congregatos occiderunt, eorumque sanguinem in quendam rivum, quem antea præcluserant, effundendo collegerunt, sicque ipsam aquam cruentatam, immo jam ex maxima parte cruorem, biberunt.<sup>3</sup> Dicunt etiam quod in ecclesiis crucifixos, quanto turpius poterant, in Christi ignominiam et ipsorum confusionem demembraverunt, et altaria suffoderunt, et juxta et super ipsa clericos et innocentes laceraverunt. Unde non inmerito iterum cum propheta gemendo proclamare possumus, "Deus, repulisti nos et destruxisti nos, Ps. lix. 1. "iratus es, sed nondum misertus es nobis," et cetera quæ ibi sunt. Coadunatus autem erat iste nefandus exercitus de Normannis, Germanis, Anglis, de Northymbrianis et Cumbris, de Teswetadala et<sup>4</sup> Lodonea, de Pietis, qui vulgo Galleweienses dicuntur, et Scottis; nec erat qui eorum numerum sciret. Infiniti enim absque omni mandato, aut depredandi amore, aut

Composition of the Scotch army.

<sup>1</sup> The latter part thus in MS. : tuam, p. l. s. t. p. i. in p. c.

<sup>2</sup> *secuntur* is the spelling in the MS.

<sup>3</sup> *biberunt*, interlined in darker ink.

<sup>4</sup> The MS. reads *et*.

occasione ulciscendi, aut sola voluntate nocendi, quali- A.D. 1138.  
bet<sup>1</sup> regio illa habundabat, se supradictis commiscuerunt.

Igitur per provinciam discurrentes et nemini par- Extent of  
centes, exceptis oppidis et maritima regione, quæ ex country  
orientali parte est, fere totam Northymbriam usque ravaged.  
ad Tinam fluvium hac vice ferro et flamma vasta-  
verunt. Illam autem in reditu suo destruere propo-  
suerant. Quædam etiam pars exercitus illius per-  
transiens Tinam, et in solitudinibus innumeros homines  
perimens, maximam partem terræ sancti Cuthberti ad  
occidentalem plagam eodem modo devastavit. Dum  
autem hæc a suis fierent, rex Scottiæ cum multitudine  
non modica apud Corabrigam<sup>2</sup> morabatur. Hac tem-  
pestate, in terra Ranulfi de Merlai, de observantiis  
Cisterciensium destructum est quoddam cœnobium,<sup>3</sup>  
codem anno constructum, et plurima alia gravissimis  
fo. 41. vexationibus sunt oppressa. Unde et illud cœnobium  
quod ad Tinæ fluminis hostium situm est, quod Anglice  
Tinemuthe dicitur, ut sibi et illic existentibus pro  
præsenti necessitate pacem redimeret, regi Scottiæ et  
suis xxvij. marcas argenti persolvit. In hac autem  
procellosæ tempestatis rabie illud nobile monasterium Safety of  
Haugustaldense, quamvis in medio concursu et quasi Hexham  
in via illius nefandi exercitus et supradictorum malo- Prior.  
rum situm, undique ab eis coangustaretur; tamen ob  
declaranda merita sanctorum Andreae apostoli et Wil-  
fridi episcopi et confessoris, advocatorum ejus, et  
ceterorum patronorum, scilicet sanctorum Accæ et  
Almundi et Eatæ, episcoporum et confessorum, et  
aliorum sanctorum in eadem ecclesia quiescentium,  
Deo auxiliante, suis et omnibus ad illud refugientibus  
pacem firmissimam exhibuit, et omnibus illis contra  
omnes hostiles impetus tutissimum asilum extitit.

<sup>1</sup> The scribe has apparently omit-  
ted some words between *nocendi*  
and *qualibet*.

<sup>2</sup> Corbridge on the Tyne, near  
Hexham (Raine).

<sup>3</sup> A note at the foot of the page  
and in a later hand says *Novum*  
*Monasterium* (Newminster).



A.D. 1138. Verumptamen primo Picti ad Tinam fluvium, juxta eandem villam fluentem, cum maximo impetu irruentes, ipsam sicut et alia destruere proposuerant. Sed mox, antequam prædictum annum transirent, a compatriotis duo de numero illorum sunt interfecti. Quod ceteri cernentes, exterriti retrorsum abierunt. Præterea duo de eadem gente Pictorum devenerunt ad quoddam oratorium sancti Michaelis archangeli,<sup>1</sup> ex eadem boreali parte Tinæ fluminis situm, quod ad prædictam Haugustaldensem ecclesiam pertinebat. Frangentes igitur ejus hostium, quod ibi repperunt secum abstulerunt. Sed vindicta Dei non defuit. Nam mox dæmoni traditi, sensu privantur, et prout furor illos exagitabat, in conspectu omnium per nemora et rura nocte et die passim discurrentes, alter ipsi sibi os primo lapidibus conterens, deinde a quodam abscisis femoribus, alter seipsum in Tina submergens, uterque miserabiliter utraque morte dampnati perierunt. His ita factis, alii de exercitu pavefacti, prædictæ Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ possessiones non sunt amplius ausi invadere. Igitur David rex Scottiæ et Henricus comes, filius ejus, illi monasterio et fratribus illius, et omnibus ad illud pertinentibus, suam perpetuam pacem de se et de omnibus suis concesserunt, idque<sup>2</sup> per sua privilegia, quæ in eadem ecclesia conservantur, confirmaverunt. Hoc tantummodo interjecto, ut ipsi sibi et suis mutuam pacem servarent. Illa itaque nobilis basilica a sancto Wilfrido fundata, antiquæ consuetudinis dignitatem retinens, in hac et in aliis bellorum et discordiarum tempestatibus, innumeris tam pauperibus quam divitibus facta est tutissimum asilum, quibus vitæ subsidium et rerum suarum conservationem contulit.

King David agrees to leave the Hexham monks unmolested.

<sup>1</sup> Canon Raine identifies this as St. John Lee, about a mile from Hexham.

<sup>2</sup> *idque*, MS., not *atque*.



Interea, circa Purificationem sanctæ Mariæ, Stephanus A.D. 1138. rex Angliæ, cum ingenti multitudine comitum et baronum et cum maximo exercitu equitum et peditum, venit. Quod ubi rex Scottiæ cognovit, relicta Northumbria cum exercitu suo ad terram suam properavit; divertitque ad Carrum, et postea intravit terram suam, et in quibusdam solitudinibus haud procul a Rochasburgh cum exercitu suo latuit, insidiis regi Angliæ præparatis. Speravit enim quod ille in Rochasburgh hospitaretur. Præceperatque ejus civibus, ut quasi fidem illi servaturi eum benigne susciperent: sed et præcepit, ut quando ipse noctu cum suo exercitu superveniret, et multitudo militum, quos in oppido posuerat, subito erumperet, et cum civibus ei occurreret, omnes in unum congregati, undique regem Angliæ incautum circumvallantes, eum cum suis omnibus extinguerent. Sed Deus, qui videt cogitationes hominum quam<sup>1</sup> vanæ sunt, has insidias ad nichilum redegit. Nam rex Angliæ Twedam transiens fluvium, ad Rochasburgh non divertit, sed magna parte terræ regis Scottiæ deprædata atque succensa, tum quia multi ex militibus suis nec armis indui volebant nec bella gerere, erat enim initium Quadragesimæ, tum quia rex Scottiæ et sui ei in bello occurrere non audebant, tum quia exercitui suo victus deficiebat, cum suis ad Swthangliam rediit. Verum, peracta Paschali sollempnitate, mox in proxima ebdomada, feria vj., sæpedictus rex Scottiæ cum nefando exercitu suo iterum in Northumbriam rediit; et primo maritimam provinciam, quam alia vice intactam reliquerat, et præter hanc si forte aliquid aliud alibi illæsum præterierat, ac deinde maximam partem terræ S. Cuthberti in orientali plaga inter Dunelmum et mare, non minori furore et crudelitate quam supradictum est, destruxit. Plurima quoque prædia monachorum,

Stephen reaches the North about Feb. 2.

Retreat of the Scotch to Roxburgh.

Stephen ravages a part of Scotland, but retires about Feb. 16.

Renewed incursion of the Scotch on April 8.

97 Feb. 15  
April.

<sup>1</sup> cogitationes .h. quam, MS.

A.D. 1138. Deo ac sancto Cuthberto die et nocte servientium, et hac et alia vice, pariter cum suis cultoribus, similiter consumpsit. Sed sanctus Cuthbertus tandem suorum misertus est. Nam dum sui hæc agerent, rex cum suis militibus haud procul a Dunelmo perhendinabat. Ubi gravi seditione propter quaedam feminam orta, Picti ipsum regem cum suis extinguere minabantur. Quo pavore dum valde anxietur, ecce falso rumore divulgatur maximum exercitum de Swthanglia adventare. Igitur cibus suis relictis, qui tunc parati erant, nemine persequente, versus terram suam cum omnibus suis fugit, et ad oppidum de Northam, quod in terra sancti Cuthberti est, divertit, illudque obsidens, variis modis et machinis expugnare et capere temptavit. Dumque ibi in obsidione moraretur, Willelmum filium Dunacan,<sup>1</sup> nepotem suum, cum Pictis et parte exercitus sui, in expeditionem ad Eboracensem scyram transmisit. Quo pervenientes, et propter peccata populi victoriam optinentes, possessiones cujusdam nobilis cœnobii, quod in Futhþernessa<sup>2</sup> situm est, et provinciam, quæ Crafna<sup>3</sup> dicitur, ex magna parte ferro et flamma destruxerunt. Igitur nulli gradui, nulli ætati, nulli sexui, nulli conditioni parentes, liberos et cognatos in conspectu parentum suorum, et dominos in conspectu servorum suorum et e converso, et maritos ante oculos uxoribus suarum quanto miserabilius poterant prius trucidaverunt, deinde, proh dolor! solas nobiles matronas et castas virgines, mixtim cum aliis feminis et cum præda, pariter abduxerunt. Nudatas quoque et turmatim resticulis et corrigiis colligatas et copulatas lanceis et telis suis compungentes, ante se illas abegerunt. Hoc idem in aliis bellis, sed in hoc copiosius fecerunt. Deinde illis cum præda dis-

Panic in the Scotch army.

Siege of Northam.

of Northam.  
S. g. m. H. K. - cont

Ravages in Yorkshire, extending to the possessions of Furness abbey.

cor. ds.

<sup>1</sup> Dunacan, MS.

<sup>2</sup> This, and not *Suththernessa*, is the clear reading of the MS. The castle at the point of the

Furness peninsula is called, canon Raine says, the Peel of Futher.

<sup>3</sup> Craven.

partitis, quidam eorum misericordia commoti aliquas ex eis ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ in Carlel liberas tradiderunt. Verum Picti et multi alii illas, quæ eis obvenerunt, secum ad patriam suam duxerunt. Denique illi bestiales homines, adulterium et incestum ac cetera scelera pro nichilo ducentes, postquam more brutorum animalium illis miserrimis abuti pertæsi sunt, eas vel sibi ancillas fecerunt, vel pro vaccis aliis barbaris vendiderunt. Hæc autem ut rex Scottiæ cognovit, ipse cum suis magno exultavit gaudio, ac prædictum castrum solito acrius impugnare aggressus est. Oppidani vero primo optime se defenderunt; verum deinde, tum quia pauci erant, et plures ex illis vulnerati fuerant, quippe ix. tantum milites erant, tum quia a domino suo Gaufrido Dunelmensi episcopo nullum auxilium sperabant, tum quia in talibus conflictibus parum exercitati erant, attoniti deditionem regi fecerunt, cum et vallum optimum esset, et tarris fortissima, et eis victualia habundarent. Igitur milites et alii qui erant in oppido magnum vituperium incurrerunt, quia castrum male custodientes nimis cito dederunt: nec solum illi sed et dominus illorum, quia non pro sua opportunitate et temporis necessitate castrum suum munierat. Milites cum suis Dunelmum redierunt. Rex igitur, recepto oppido et sumpto cibo, qui satis copiose ibi repertus est, mandat episcopo Dunelmensi, quod si relicto Stephano rege Angliæ vellet suæ parti fidelitatem jurare, castrum suum illi redderet, et dampna quæ ei fecerat restauraret. Abnegat episcopus. Fecit ergo rex oppidum destrui.

Surrender  
of Nor-  
tham.

fo. 42.

Dum autem circa Rogationes hæc ibi agerentur, milites de oppido Carrum exeuntes, quæ juxta illos advehebantur et revehebantur victualia regis David, una cum vehiculis et ministris, infra oppidum suum rapuerunt. Rex ergo nimia inflammatus ira, illos obsidere cum omni multitudine sua festinavit, et oppidum machinis et quibuscunque potuit modis expug-

May 8--/0

A.D. 1138. nare iterum aggressus est. Sed Deo auxiliante, omnis conatus ejus incassum cecidit. Insuper etiam perplures<sup>1</sup> suorum vulnerati et læsi sunt ab eis, et nonnulli interfecti. Similiter et in congressionibus, quas ante hanc obsidionem cum Henrico filio regis conseruerant, quosdam occiderant, alios vulnerauerant vel retinuerant, et de eis redemptionem acceperunt. Benedictus Deus per omnia, qui protegit pios et tradidit impios. Videns autem rex se frustra circa oppidum laborare, segetes per agros consumi fecit. Deinde de sua et de quibuscumque terris potuit, copiosiore[m] quam unquam antea habuerat, coadunari exercitum fecit. Eustachius quoque filius Johannis,<sup>2</sup> unus de baronibus regis Angliæ, quoddam munitissimum castellum, quod Alnewic dicitur, in Northumbria habens, qui diu clanculo regi Scottiæ fauerat, hac vice manifeste perjurus, naturali domino suo, scilicet rege Angliæ, abnegato, ipse cum omni virtute sua contra regnum Angliæ Scottis auxilium ferebat; unde non minimam multitudinem belligerantium secum ducens, ad destruendam Eboracensem scyram cum rege Scottiæ profectus est, et suum alterum castellum nomine Maltun munitissimum, et in eadem provincia juxta fluvium Derewentionem haut procul ab Eboraco situm, de quo in sequentibus dicendum est, regi Scottiæ et suis tradere disposuerat. Rex igitur David duobus tegnionibus, id est baronibus, suis cum gente eorum obsidione Carrum commendata, cum maxima parte sui exercitus ad oppidum, quod Bahanburg dicitur, profectus est. Ubi ante castrum, quodam vallo capto, fere centum homines interemit. Deinde circa illud et circa Milford,<sup>3</sup> oppidum Willelmi Bertram, et in pluribus locis per Northumbriam segetibus vastatis fluvium Tine pertransiit, intransque in terram S. Cuthberti, quæ

22 July, next p.  
Eustace  
Fitz John  
turns  
traitor.

<sup>1</sup> per perplures, MS.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Gesta Stephani*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Canon Raine suggests *Milford*, which is doubtless right.

nondum ad eum venerat sui exercitus partem expectavit. Nec mora, ex ejus edicto Picti et Cumbri et homines de Carlel et de circumjacente regione ad illum convenerunt. Congregato igitur toto exercitu suo, quia nimis et insuperabilis ei videbatur, revera enim grandis erat, plusquam xxvj. milia hominum habens, nimio exultavit gaudio. Elevatumque est cor ejus et suorum, ac in se et in sua multitudine spem suam ponentes, nec ad Deum ullum respectum habentes, nimis indignanter ac superbe locuti sunt. Nec solum Eboracensem scyram, sed et maximam portionem Angliæ in exterminium dare et meditabantur et minabantur. Non enim aliquam numerositatem præsumere vel posse sibi resistere æstimabant.

His autem infra octabas Nativitatis sanctæ Mariæ<sup>1</sup> ita gestis, rex cum suo exercitu Dunelmum præteriens, usque ad Tesam fluvium segetes depopulari, villas et ecclesias, quas alia vice intactas reliquit, more suo frangi, deprædari, succendi fecit. Pertransiens quoque Tesam idem factitare cœpit. Verum divina pietas lacrimis innumerabilium viduarum, orphanorum, et miserorum pulsata, illum tantam impietatem diutius impune exercere non est passa. Quippe dumque se suosque ad hujusmodi nequitiam præpararet, omnis ejus apparatus, et quid agere et quo tendere proposuerat, et fama præconante et certis nuntiis intercurrentibus, homines Eboracensis scyræ non latuit. Igitur barones illius provinciæ, scilicet Turstinus archiepiscopus, qui, ut consequenter apparebit, maxime se de hoc negotio intromisit, et Willelmus de Albamarla, Walterus de Gant, Robertus de Brus, Rogerus de Mulbrai, Walterus Espec, Ilbertus de Lesceio, Willelmus de Perci, Ricardus de Curci, Willelmus Fossard,

A.D. 1138.

The preceding events happened July 22-29 [?].

The ravages of the Scotch rouse archbishop Thurstan and the northern barons.

fo. 42. b.

<sup>1</sup> This festival occurs on Sept. 8, but the events lead up to the battle of the Standard, which certainly was fought on August 22. Probably therefore we should read "sanctæ

Mariæ Magdalenæ." The octave of this would give the dates July 22-29.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in MS. The construction recurs on p. 176.



A.D. 1138. Robertus de Stutavilla et ceteri potentes et sapientes viri Eboracum convenerunt, et quid consilii in hac tempestate habere deberent, inter se diligenter tractaverunt. Cumque plurimi propter proditionem, in qua multi esse aestimabantur, de sese mutuo diffidentes hæsitarent, et cum principem et conductorem belli non haberent, nam Stephanus rex dominus eorum, ea tempestate non minoribus angustiis in Suthanglia circumventus, ad præsens ad eos venire non poterat, cum paucis tantæ numerositati occurrere formidarent, pæne a sua ac patriæ suæ defensione omnino deficere videbantur, nisi Turstinus eorum archiepiscopus, magnæ constantiæ atque probitatis vir, sermone ac consilio suo illos animasset. Quippe cum esset pastor animarum illorum, non more mercennarii infestante lupo de fuga sibi præsidium sperabat, sed potius super gregis sui dispersione ac pernicie, atque patriæ suæ destructione, gravissimo compassionis dolore sauciatus, omni studio et conatu tantis malis remedium quærebat. Unde et ex divina auctoritate, quæ ei commissa fuerat, et ex regia potestate, quæ illi tunc in hoc negotio tradita erat, et de illorum fidelitate ac probitate eos fideliter admonuit, ne a pessima barbarie per ignaviam se omnes una die prosterni sinerent; sed potius cuncti pariter cum suis per veram pœnitentiam Deo reconciliati, et ad eum toto corde conversi, cujus iram se promeruisse tot ac tanta mala testabantur, fiducialiter ac viriliter pro tanta necessitate agerent. Quod si devote facerent, de misericordia Dei præsumens, eos victores fore prænunciabat. Namque illa pessima gens potius Deo ac sanctæ ecclesiæ quam ipsis quantum poterant adversabantur, et ideo injustam, immo scele-ratam causam pugnandi habebant. Ipsorum veró causa justa ac piissima erat, quippe pro sanctæ ecclesiæ ac suæ patriæ defensione periculo se objiciebant.<sup>1</sup> Et si forte Deo placeret sine aliquorum illorum casu hoc discrimen non posse peragi, tali intentione pugnanti-

Some of the barons are suspected of disloyalty; but all unite round archbishop Thurstan.

<sup>1</sup> *obiciebant* is the form in MS.



bus non mors formidanda, sed potius optanda erat. A.D. 1138. Promisit etiam eis quod suæ diocesis presbyteros singulos, cum crucibus et parochianis suis, pariter cum illis in bellum procedere faceret, et quod ipse cum suis bello interesse, Deo disponente, cogitabat. Circa eundem tumultum temporis Bernardus de Baiol, quidam de proceribus ejusdem provinciæ, cum multitudine equitum a rege Angliæ missus ad eos venit. Qui et ex parte regis et sua ad idem animos eorum multum accendit. Igitur mandato regis et archiepiscopi sui ammoniti, omnes unanimiter ad unum consilium confirmati, singuli ad sua revertuntur. Post modicum vero unusquisque cum suis munitis ac bellicis armis instructi<sup>1</sup> iterum Eboracum conveniunt. Itaque post acceptam privatam pœnitentiam, illis pariter et omni populo archipræsul triduanum cum eleemosinis indixit jejunium, ac deinde absolutionem, et benedictionem Dei et suam eis sollempniter tribuit. Et quanvis præ nimia infirmitatis et ætatis debilitate ubi necesse erat in lecto gestaretur gestatorio, ipse tamen ad animos eorum accendendos in prælium cum illis ire voluit. At illi ipsum remanere fecerunt, obsecrantes ut in orationibus et eleemosinis, vigiliis et jejuniis, et in ceteris, quæ ad Deum pertinent,<sup>2</sup> pro eis intercedere satageret; ipsi vero pro ecclesia Dei, et pro illo qui ejus minister erat, prout Ipse eos adjuvare dignaretur, et sicut illorum ordo exigebat, libenter contra hostes pugnarent. Tunc crucem suam, et sancti Petri vexillum, ac suos homines eis tradidit.<sup>3</sup> At illi ad oppidum quod Trese<sup>4</sup> vocatur iverunt. Inde vero Robertum de Brus et Bernardum de Baiol ad regem Scottiæ, terram sancti Cuthberti, ut supradictum est, jam<sup>5</sup> devastantem, miserunt; qui cum summa humili-

The barons  
first ask  
for peace.

<sup>1</sup> *instructis*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *vel sunt*, interlined above *per-*  
*tinent*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> Marked to this order in MS.

<sup>4</sup> Thirsk.

<sup>5</sup> *jam*, interlined, MS.

A.D. 1138. tate ac benignitate eum obsecrauerunt, ut saltem extunc a sua crudelitate cessaret. Quod si illorum consilio adquiesceret, quem postulauerat comitatum Northumbriæ Henrico filio suo se impetraturos a rege Angliæ firmissime promiserunt. At ille corde obstinato cum suis<sup>1</sup> pariter et eorum verba spreuit, et eos indignanter derisit. Itaque Robertus reddito humagio<sup>2</sup> quod ei fecerat, et Bernardus fidelitate, quam una vice ab eo deprehensus illi iurauerat, ad suos socios reuersi sunt. Omnes igitur proceres illius provinciae, et de Notingham scyra Willelmus Peverel, et Gaufridus Halsalin, et de Derbia scyra<sup>3</sup> Robertus de Ferers, et alii principales et sapientes viri sese adinvicem sacramentorum obligatione assecurant et confirmant, quod nullus eorum, quamdiu eum adiuuare posset, in hoc negotio alium desereret; et ita cuncti aut simul morentur aut vincerent. Eodem tempore misit archiepiscopus eis Radulfum cognomento Nouellum, Orcadensium episcopum, cum quodam de archidiaconibus suis et aliis clericis, qui, populis cotidie ad eos undique catervatim confluentibus, vice sua et pœnitentiam injungeret, et absolutionem daret.<sup>4</sup> Misit quoque eis presbyteros cum parochianis suis, sicut eis promiserat.

Dum itaque adventum Scottorum expectarent, ecce redeuntibus prænucciis, quos ad explorandum præmiserant, regem cum exercitu suo jam Tesam fluvium pertransisse, et more suo jam suam provinciam destruentem cognoscunt. Ergo cum summa festinatione eis occurrunt, pertranseuntesque villam quæ Aluartun dicitur, ad campum, qui duobus miliaris ab ea distabat, summo mane pervenerunt. Mox autem aliqui eorum in medio cuiusdam machinæ, quam ibi adduxerunt,

The English assembly at Northallerton.

<sup>1</sup> *suis*, interlined, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *humagio*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> *Willelmus Peverel . . scyra*, in

margin at foot of page, but marked to this point.

<sup>4</sup> The verbs are in the singular in the MS.

rant, unius navis malum erexerunt, quod Standard A.D. 1138.  
appellaverunt. Unde Hugo Sotevagina,<sup>1</sup> Eboracensis  
archidiaconus,

“ Dicitur a stando Standardum, quod stetit illic

“ Militiæ probitas, vincere sive mori.”

Description  
of the  
Standard.

*ib.* 43. *b.*

In summitate vero ipsius arboris quandam argenteam pixidem cum corpore Christi, et sanctorum Petri Apostoli, et Johannis Beverlacensis et Wilfridi Ripensis confessorum ac pontificum, vexilia suspendunt. Hoc autem ideo fecerant, ut Jesus Christus Dominus noster per presentiam sui corporis eis dux belli esset, quod pro ejus ecclesia ac sua patria defendenda susceperant. In hoc quoque suis providentes ut, si aliquo casu a se disjungerentur et elongarentur, evidens et certum signum haberent quo ad suos socios reverterentur, et ubi auxilium recuperare possent. Deinde vix se bellicis armis instruxerant, cum ecce rex Scottiæ, cum toto exercitu suo ad præliandum paratissimo ac promptissimo, cominus adesse nunciatur. Itaque maxima pars equitum, equis relictis, fiunt pedites. Horum electissimi mixti cum sagittariis in prima acie præordinantur. Ceteri vero, præter prælii ordinatorum et incentorum, cum baronibus juxta et circum Standard in pectore belli condensantur. Reliqua autem multitudo undique conglomerata eos circumvallabat. Equestris vero cohors et equi militum, ne a clamore et strepitu Scottorum exterrerentur, paulo longius abducti erant. Similiter vero ex parte adversariorum ipse rex et pæne omnes sui sunt effecti pedites, [et] equi eorum remotius servabantur. In fronte belli erant Pieti, in medio rex cum militibus et Anglis suis; cetera barbaries undique circumfusa fremebat. Dumque tali ordine ad præliandum procederent, ecce Standard cum vexillis haud procul aspicitur, moxque ipsius regis ac suorum

<sup>1</sup> His life of archbishop Thurstan is in a MS. in York Cathedral Library.

A.D. 1138.

The battle  
of the  
Standard,  
August 22.

corda ingenti pavore et horrore obstupuerunt. Obstinati tamen in malitia sua cœpta mala perficere saterunt. Igitur in octabis Assumptionis sanctæ Mariæ xj. Kal. Septemb., feria ij., inter primam et tertiam hujus prælii conflictus initus et finitus est. Nam statim in primo congressu innumeris Pictis interfectis, ceteri projectis armis turpem fugam inierunt. Campus cadaveribus repletur, quamplurimi capiuntur, rex et alii omnes terga dederunt. Denique de tanto exercitu, omnes aut cæsi sunt, aut capti, aut sicut oves percusso pastore dispersi; mirumque in modum, quasi sensu alienati, non minus in circumjacentes regiones hostium suorum a patria sua elongando, quam adversus patriam suam revertendo, fugerunt. Sed ubicumque sunt reperti, tanquam oves occisionis sunt interfecti. Justoque Dei judicio qui multos miserabiliter interemerant ac insepultos reliquerant, ipsi multo miserabilius trucidati, nec patrio nec peregrino more sepulchris<sup>1</sup> usi, canibus, avibus, ac feris expositi, aut lacerati et discerpti sunt, aut sub divo contabuerunt et computruerunt. Rex quoque, qui paulo ante præ nimia mentis elatione et exercitus sui numerositate cœli sidera vertice tangere videbatur, et ideo vel totam vel maximam partem Angliæ in exterminium ducere minabatur, mox inglorius ac paucis comitatus, cum summa confusione et ignominia, vix vivus evasit.

Hor. Od.,  
i. 1, 36.

The Scotch  
are ha-  
rassed in  
their re-  
treat.

Itaque divinæ ultionis virtus in hoc quoque manifestissime claruit, quod victorum exercitus inestimabiliter major erat quam vincientium. Nec interfectorum numerus ab aliquo æstimari potest. Nam sicut plures testantur, de illo exercitu qui de sola Scottia exiit, plusquam x. millia defuisse a reversis recensiti sunt. Nam per diversa loca Deirorum, Berniciorum, Northamymbrorum, Cumbrorum, et aliarum provinciarum, post bellum multo plures sunt interempti quam in bello sunt interfecti. At Anglorum exercitus, paucis

<sup>1</sup> sepulchri, MS.

de suis amissis, Deo auxiliante victoria expedite potius, sumpta præda, quæ satis copiosa ibi reperta est, brevi fere totus dissolvitur, et unusquisque ad propria revertens, vexilla quæ acceperant cum gaudio et gratiarum actione ecclesiis sanctorum reassignant. Quippe cum cultioribus vestibus et omnibus divitiis suis ad hoc bellum, quasi ad regales nuptias, processerant.

A.D. 1138.  
—  
Siege of  
Malton  
castle.

fo. 44.

Deinde quidam baronum ad oppidum Eustachii quod Maltun vocatur, de quo supradictum est, cum parte exercitus diverterunt, villaque destructa illud obsederunt. Tempore namque belli, ex præcepto prædicti domini sui, milites ex illo eruperant, atque plurimas villas flamma consumpserant; tandem datis et acceptis viij. dierum induciis obsidio remansit. Solus autem ille locus, in quo prædictum prælium factum est, sancti Cuthberti erat, cum totus circumjacens campus alterius juris esset. Quod divina dispensatione, sed tamen præter intentionem belligerantium, accidit. Namque facile datur intelligi, quod divina pietas noluit diutius esse inultum scelus, quod in terra sanctissimi ac dilectissimi confessoris et pontificis sui commiserant; immo more consueto<sup>1</sup> citius vindicavit. Hujus autem facti rumor ubi aures regis Angliæ attigit, valde lætus effectus est. Unde etiam quia audivit eos se viriliter in hoc negotio habuisse, Wilhelmmum de Albamarla in Eboracensi et Robertum de Ferrers in Derbiensi scyra comites fecit. Notandum quoque quod et sibi et suis, et in Suthanglia et in Normannia, contra suos adversarios pugnantibus circa idem tempus similiter optime contigit.

Rex autem Scottiæ recepto Henrico filio suo, et recollectis suis, qui sparsim de pugna, non ut consortes sed potius sicut hostes inimicissimi, fugerant, obsidionem apud Carrum corroboravit. Namque Angli et Scotti, et Picti et ceteri barbari, ubicumque casu sese<sup>2</sup> inveniebant, quicumque prævalebant alios mutuo

Siege of  
Carham.

<sup>1</sup> Thus in MS.

| <sup>2</sup> sese, MS.



A.D. 1138. — vel trucidabant, vel vulnerabant, vel saltem spoliabant, et ita justo Dei iudicio æque a suis sicut ab alienis opprimebantur. Rex igitur his cognitis graves calumpnias et exactiones in suos intorsit, et infinitam pecuniam ex eis extorsit. Neenon firmitus quam unquam antea fecerat sacramentis et obsidibus illos sibi obligavit, quod nunquam amplius eum in bello desererent. Deinde oppidum Carrum machinis, ac novis instrumentis, et pluribus modis capere temptavit. At oppidani machinis machinas frangentes, ex regis hominibus multos variis mortibus peremerunt, et plurimos vulneraverunt, unum tantum de militibus suis amittentes. Quippe de castello exiens, et in sua probitate nimium confidens, et ideo temerarie audax, dum incautus circa fractionem eujusdam machinæ moraretur, a multitudine Scottorum oppressus et extinctus est. Videns itaque rex omnem conatum suum nihil prævalere, sed potius sibi suisque multum nocere, machinis<sup>1</sup> remotis et congressionibus dimissis, suos, licet invitos, oppidum diligenter obsidere coegit. Quippe propter magna dampna et angustias ac penurias, quæ sæpe ibi perpassi fuerant, diuturnæ obsidionis pertæsi erant.

Ravages committed by Eadgar, son of earl Cospatrie, and others.

Ea tempestate quidam pestilentes, quibus omne studium et gaudium erat scelera excogitare ac perpetrare, ut malignitatis suæ desideria efficacius consummarent detestabili concordia in unum convenerunt. Hujus vero execrabilis sodalitiæ Eadgarus, filius nothus Cospatriæ comitis, et Robertus et Uctred, filii Meldred, principales ac duces erant. Igitur rapacitate stimulante, et impunitate patrocinate, ac furore exagitante, more luporum quæritantes prædam quam devorarent, per Northymbriam discurrerunt. Pertranseuntes quoque Tinam fluvium, in terram sancti Cuthberti pervenerunt; sed non invento ibi quod possent vel

<sup>1</sup> *manichis* (sic), MS.



auderent rapere, vacua manu reversi sunt. Ergo in A.D. 1138.  
 quadam villa parrochiæ Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ, quæ  
 fo. 44. b. Herintun<sup>1</sup> dicitur, prædam quam invenerunt abstulerunt. Deinde, interpositis duabus noctibus, iidem prædones aliam villam Digentun<sup>2</sup> vocatam invaserunt. Hæc autem propria villa erat canonicis prædictæ ecclesiæ, et ab Hestaldasham versus orientem viij. miliaris distabat. Igitur interfectis ibi iij. de servientibus ipsorum canonicorum, et multis convitiis priori illorum illatis, qui forte eadem nocte ibidem supervenerat, cum præda discesserunt. Et hoc præter spem eorum ipsis canonicis accidit: namque rex Scottiæ, ut supradictum est, ipsis et hominibus<sup>3</sup> et omnibus rebus, et parrochiæ illorum et nominatim huic villæ ipsorum, de se et de omnibus suis firmissimam pacem dederat.

Circa idem tempus quidam Albericus Hostiensis episcopus in illas partes venit, quem Innocentius Romanæ sedis Apostolicus, ut legationis officio in Anglia et Scottia fungeretur, miserat. Erat autem vir iste natione Gallicus, professione monachus, observatione Cluniacus, divina ac seculari eruditione perspicuus, in ecclesiasticis negotiis optime exercitatus, facundia præclarus, consilio providus, et, quod his omnibus majus est, in habitu et vultu, denique in omni conversatione et actione sua, magnæ mansuetudinis ac religionis documentum præferebat. Hic igitur primo apud Cluniacum ad conversionem veniens, propter prudentiam ac religionem suam supprior ibi effectus est. Unde ad ejus providentiam omnis regularium observationum diligentia maxime pertinebat. Deinde in Francia apud Parisius in cella, quæ dicitur ad sanctum Martinum de Campis, prioris officium strenue aliquandiu explevit.

Alberic,  
 bishop of  
 Ostia, the  
 papal  
 legate,  
 visits the  
 North.

Personal  
 history of  
 bishop  
 Alberic.

<sup>1</sup> Errington.

<sup>2</sup> Dissington, parish of Newburn.

<sup>3</sup> et omnibus hominibus, MS., but

*omnibus* is underlined, the sign for omission in this MS.

A.D. 1138. Post aliquot vero annos, quia fratribus suis valde necessarius ac dilectus erat, iterum ad supprioratus dignitatem domum revocatus est; exinde vero ad Vergelense<sup>1</sup> cœnobium electus est, ut ei abbatis jure præesset; deinde ad Hostiensis ecclesiæ præsulatum canonica electione sublimatus est. Hujus autem ecclesiæ episcopis, ex speciali antiqui honoris prærogativa, constitutum est ipsum Apostolicum consecrare. Iste igitur, ut supra dictum est, in Angliam veniens, de statu sanctæ Romanæ matris ecclesiæ omnibus ejus fidelibus filiis magnum gaudium attulit. Namque dominus papa supranominatus universis catholicæ ecclesiæ filiis cartam suam per illum direxit. In hac autem referebat quomodo dum navis S. Petri diutissime ac gravissime fluctibus inimicorum occupata et operta præcipitaretur, atque scopulis scismaticorum conquassata ac dilacerata pessumdaretur, de salutis suæ reparatione jam pæne desperare cogebatur; quia ineffabilis desolatio atque detestabilis abominatio, qua a primogenito Sathanæ, scilicet Petroleone et ejus fautoribus, miserabiliter afflicta est, viij. annis continuis duravit. Nec opus est eam describere, cum fere ab universo orbe cognita sit atque defleta. Verumptamen immensa Christi pietas, quæ quasi dormire atque eam, peccatis nostris exigentibus, penitus neglexisse videbatur, a suis fidelibus precum et lacrimarum instantia pulsata ac tandem excitata, omnem pelagi furorem,<sup>2</sup> ventorum sevitiâ, tempestatum rabiem potenti virtutis suæ imperio compescuit: mutans itaque procellam ejus in auram lenitatis, in portu tranquillitatis et in gaudio securitatis illam requiescere fecit. Porro omnium inimicorum suorum superbiam et gloriam in conculcationem et ignominiam convertit, ac omnium sibi adversantium colla suæ potestatis imperio subjecit.

The papal  
schism of  
1130.

anti-pope  
anacletus

Extract  
from pope  
Innocent's  
letter.

<sup>1</sup> Vezelay.

<sup>2</sup> *vel fragorem* interlined, as an alternative reading, above *furorem*,

MS. The point at which actual quotation begins is uncertain.

Ps. viii.  
1, 2.  
fo. 45.

Unde non immerito cum Psalmista proclamare possumus: "Domine Dominus noster, quam ammirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra; quoniam elevata est magnificentia tua super caelos."<sup>1</sup> Exceptis autem his litteris, quae in hunc modum, de recuperatione pacis et unitatis sanctae Romanae ecclesiae et de reparatione Apostolicae potestatis et dignitatis loquebantur, alias litteras regibus Angliae et Scotiae, et Turstino archiepiscopo Eboracensi, quippe tunc temporis Cantuariensis metropolis proprio pastore carebat, et episcopis, atque abbatibus, ac praelatis sanctae ecclesiae utriusque regni a praedicto papa directas, de auctoritate suae legationis attulit. Igitur ab his omnibus honorifice susceptus est. Abbatem etiam Molelmismi coenobii, cum pluribus monachis de transmarinis partibus, secum adduxit, et quendam alterum nomine Ricardum, illius monasterii abbatem quod dicitur Ad Fontes, magnae religionis et auctoritatis virum, mox ut in Angliam venit ad se convocavit. Hos igitur egregiae discretionis et virtutis viros viae et vitae suae comites ac testes inseparabiliter habuit, ut et illorum consilio et auxilio quae tractanda erant tractaret, ac eorum testimonio conversationis ejus honestas commendabilior redderetur. Ecclesias igitur episcopatum et coenobia, tam clericorum quam monachorum, visitando<sup>2</sup> fere per totam Angliam pertransivit, et a singulis sollempniter receptus est. Tandem vero usque ad Dunelmum pervenit.

The legate Alberic chooses the abbots of Molesmes and Fountains as his assessors.

Eodem tempore Willelmus Cumin, David regis Scotiae cancellarius, de supradicto bello fugiens, captus et incarcerationis ibidem detinebatur. Quem mox de carcere eripiens, domino suo liberum reddidit. Igitur habens secum duos episcopos, Robertum Here-

He frees William Cumin, chancellor of Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> *est n. t. i. u. t. qm̄ de. ÷ m. t. s. c.* is the abbreviated form of the quotation in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> Marked for this position in MS.

A.D. 1138. fordensem et Adthelwlfum Carlelensem, et iij. abba-  
 — tes ac plurimos clericos, per solitudinem ad Haugustaldense cœnobium pervenit. A fratribus autem loci illius satis honorabiliter susceptus, de dampno quod in occisione hominum suorum et in deprædatione terræ suæ, ut prædiximus, illis recenter acciderat, multum diligenter eos consolatus est. Deinde per Northymbriam et Cumberland<sup>1</sup> iij. die ante festum sancti Michaelis ad Carlel pervenit, ibique regem Scottiæ cum episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, baronibus suæ terræ reperit. Illi vero diu a Cisalpina, immo fere ab universa ecclesia discordantes, exosæ memoriæ Petroleoni et apostasiæ ejus nimium favisse videbantur. Tunc vero divina gratia inspirati, mandata Innocentii papæ et legatum ejus omnes unanimiter cum magna veneratione susceperunt. Igitur triduo cum eis de suæ legationis negotiis diligenter tractavit. Et quoniam cognovit quod Johannes Glesguensis episcopus curam animarum quam habuerat nulli commiserat, et sine licentia ac clanculo episcopatum suum reliquerat, et, nulla evidente necessitate cogente, apud Tironam monachus effectus est; de illo definivit, ut regius nuncius cum ipsius et regis pariter litteris pro eo mitteretur, et si redire nollet, sententia super illum daretur. Et ita factum est. Convenit quoque regem de reformanda pace inter eum et regem Angliæ, et hujus rei gratia ad ejus pedes cecidit, scilicet ut sanctæ ecclesiæ et sui ipsius et suorum misereretur, quibus tot et tanta mala fecerat. Sed vix inducias impetravit, quod nullum exercitum et nullum malum, excepta obsidione quæ circa Carrum erat, ante festum sancti Martini in terram regis Angliæ induceret. Hoc etiam apud Pictos impetravit, quod omnes puëllas ac mulieres captivas, quas habere possent, ante eundem terminum ad Carlel reducerent, et eas ibi libertati

The legate reaches Carlisle on Sept. 26.

He endeavours to mitigate the ferocity of the war.

<sup>1</sup> Cumberland, MS.

redderent. Ipsi quoque et omnes alii firmissime ei A.D. 1138. promiserunt, quod nullo modo ecclesias amplius violarent; et quod parvulis et fœmineo sexui et ex infirmitate et ætate debilibus<sup>1</sup> parcerent; et omnino neminem nisi sibi resistantem amplius occiderent. Rex quoque cum priore de Hestaldasham, qui illuc cum legato venerat, antequam illum interpellaret de dampno ipsius et fratrum suorum locutus, illud multum planxit, et promisit quod totum restitui faceret; et insuper de injuria, quæ illis et eorum ecclesiæ facta fuerat, et de interfectione hominum suorum eis rectum facere suos cogeret. Quod et ex magna parte fecit. Nam et eorum et hominum suorum pecunia fere tota reddita est.

His ita factis, legatus ipso die festivitatis sancti Michaelis inde discedens, per Hestaldasham et Dunelmum in Suthangliam rediit, narravitque S[tephano] regi Angliæ suisque quid apud David regem Scottiæ et suos profecerat.

The legate returns southwards on Sept. 29.

Rex autem Scottiæ post paucos dies, per quosdam qui de oppido Carrum exierant, cognovit, quod illi qui in oppido erant gravissima ciborum penuria jam angustiabantur: unde eos arctius custodiri præcepit. Nec hoc falsum erat, namque milites qui intus erant præ inopia victualium equos suos interfecerant, ac sale conditos jam ex maxima parte eos comederant, nec tamen adhuc oppidum reddere volebant; immo cibo eorum jam penitus deficiente, armati de castello exire, et per medios hostes irrumperere, seque quamdiu possent defendere cogitaverant, nisi Deus interim eis aliud consilium providisset. Igitur circa festum sancti Martini Willelmus abbas de Riesvalle in provinciam illam veniens, ex parte Walteri Espec, cujus illud, ut supradictum est, oppidum erat, eis certissime dixit, quatinus regi Scottiæ illud traderent. Noverat enim

Condition of the garrison of Carham.

Nov. 11.

<sup>1</sup> *debilibus*, interlined MS.



A.D. 1138. bene quomodo præ penuria victualium jam nimia angustia macerati fuerant. Rex igitur, interveniente abbate, xxiii. equos eis dedit, ac illos cum armis suis abire permisit, oppidumque receptum mox destrui fecit. Supranominatus vero legatus, ut prædictum est, per episcopatus ac monasteria ad curiam regis Angliæ reversus, quendam alium legatum, nomine<sup>1</sup> qui nuperrime a domino papa Innocentio venerat ibidem repperit. Igitur Turstinum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, et omnes episcopos, atque abbates, ac priores canonicorum per totam Angliam summoneri fecerunt, ut ad festum sancti Nicholai<sup>2</sup> in civitate Lundonia ad generale concilium convenirent. Quibus præfinito tempore ac loco cum S[tephano] rege Angliæ congregatis, de ecclesiasticis causis cum illis ambo legati tractare ceperunt. Albricus tamen priorem locum optinuit. Fuit autem concilium hujusmodi.<sup>3</sup>

6 Dec.

Council of Westminster begins on December 13.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXXXVIII, pontificatus autem domini papæ Innocentii secundi anno ix., regnante piissimo et illustrissimo S[tephano] rege Anglorum, H[enrici] magni regis nepote, anno vero regni ipsius tertio, celebrata est synodus Lundoniae in ecclesia sancti Petri apostolorum principis apud Westmonasterium, mense Decembris, tertia decima die ejusdem mensis; ubi, post multarum discussionem causarum, promulgata sunt hæc capitula et ab omnibus confirmata, numero xvij. Præfuit autem illi synodo Albricus, Hostiensis episcopus et prædicti domini papæ Innocentii in Angliam et Scottiam legatus, cum episcopis diversarum provinciarum xvij. et abbatibus circiter xxx. et cum innumera cleri ac<sup>4</sup> populi mul-

<sup>1</sup> *nomine* followed by a short blank space, MS. Twysden conceals this by omitting *nomine*. Perhaps this is the legate to whom Gilbert Foliot addressed a letter (xvi.)—“J. sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ . . .

“legato,” unless Imarus bishop of Tusulan is meant.

<sup>2</sup> sic MS.

<sup>3</sup> The *contin. Fl. Wigorn.*, p. 114, also gives the preamble which follows.

<sup>4</sup> *ac*, MS.



titudine. Vacabat autem tunc temporis Cantuariensis ecclesia, et infirmabatur Turstinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus: Willelmum tamen, ecclesie sancti Petri Eboracensis decanum, cum quibusdam clericis suis illuc direxit. Sunt autem hæc capitula:—<sup>1</sup>

- jo. 46. "Sanctorum<sup>2</sup> patrum canonica instituta sequentes auctoritate Apostolica interdicens, ut pro crismate, pro oleo, pro baptismate, pro penitentia, pro visitatione infirmorum, seu desponsatione mulierum, seu unctione, pro commuione corporis Christi, pro sepultura, nullum omnino precium exigatur. Quod qui præsumperit, excommunicationi subjaceat.
- (2.) "Sancimus etiam ut ultra octo dies corpus Christi non reservetur, neque ad infirmos, nisi per sacerdotem, aut per diaconem, aut necessitate instante per quemlibet, cum summa reverentia deferatur. No fees to be exacted for Sacraments.
- (3.) "Item, Apostolica auctoritate sancimus, ut in consecrationibus episcoporum, vel abbatum benedictionibus, non cappa, non indumentum ecclesiasticum, neque quicquam ab episcopo vel a ministris ejus exigatur. Et in dedicationibus quoque ecclesiarum, non tapete, non manutergium, non bacinia, nichilque omnino, præter procuracionem<sup>3</sup> sacris canonibus institutam, requiratur. Limitation of Reservation of the Host.
- (4.) "Si quis episcopus in diocesi sua per alium episcopum ecclesiam consecrari fecerit, Apostolica auctoritate prohibemus, ne quid inde ultra procuracionem<sup>4</sup> ejusdem episcopi exigat. No gifts of any kind to be taken at consecrations.
- (5.) "Nullus omnino de manu laici ecclesiam seu quæcumque ecclesiastica beneficia accipiat. Cum autem investituram per episcopum aliquis acceperit, præcipimus ut super Evangelium juret, se nichil propter hoc per se, vel per aliquam aliam personam dedisse alicui vel promisisse. Si autem præsumptum fuerit,<sup>5</sup> irrita hujusmodi donatio erit, et tam dator quam acceptor ultioni canonice subjaceat. No extra fees to be taken by bishops acting on behalf of others.
- (6.) "Sancimus præterea ne quis ecclesiam, seu quælibet beneficia ecclesiastica paterna sibi vendicet hæreditate, aut Lay investiture and simony prohibited.
- Against succession to benefices

<sup>1</sup> The *capitula* which follow are distinguished by coloured capitals.

<sup>2</sup> Gervase, i. 107, supplies a copy of these canons which omits one of them and presents many variations. Only the more important of these are noticed here.

<sup>3</sup> *corredium*, Gervase.

<sup>4</sup> *corredium*, Gerv. again.

<sup>5</sup> The copy given by Gervase simply adds "*irritum fore decernimus*" after *fuerit*.

- A.D. 1138. “ successorem sibi in ecclesiastico constituat beneficio. Quod  
 by inherit- “ si præsumptum fuerit irritum fore decernimus, cum Psal. Ps. lxxxii.  
 ance. “ mista dicentes, ‘Deus meus, pone illos ut rotam’ ‘qui 14. 13.  
 “ ‘dixerunt, Hæreditate possideamus<sup>1</sup> sanctuarium Dei.’<sup>2</sup>”
- Against (7.) “ Clericos a non suis episcopis absque literis proprii  
 ordination “ episcopi ordinatos, a susceptorum officii ordinum inhibe-  
 by strauger “ mus: solique Romano pontifici eorundem plenaria restitutio  
 bishops not “ reservetur, nisi religionis habitum susceperint.  
 delegated.
- Against (8.) “ Sanctorum patrum vestigiis inhærentes, presbyteros,  
 the mar- “ diaconos, subdiaconos uxoratos aut concubinarios, ecclesi-  
 riage of “ asticis officii et beneficiis privamus; ac ne quis eorum  
 clerks. “ missam audire præsumat Apostolica auctoritate prohibemus.
- Against (9.) “ Fœneratores<sup>3</sup> clericos, et turpia lucra sectantes, et  
 clerical “ publica secularium negotia procurantes, ab officio et bene-  
 usurers. “ ficio ecclesiastico nichilominus removendos esse censemus.
- Against (10) “ Si quis clericum, aut monachum vel sanctimoniam, vel  
 laying “ quamlibet ecclesiasticam personam occiderit, incarcerationit,  
 violent “ vel nefarias ei manus intulerit, nisi tertio summonitus<sup>4</sup>  
 hands on “ satisfecerit, anathemate feriatur. Neque quisquam ei præter  
 clerks. “ Romanum pontificem, nisi mortis argente periculo, modum  
 “ pœnitentiæ finalis injungat. Si autem impœnitens mortuus  
 “ fuerit, corpus ejus inhumatum remaneat.
- Against (11.) “ Si quis res ecclesiarum mobiles vel immobiles vio-  
 usurpation “ lenter usurpare præsumpserit, nisi post<sup>5</sup> canonicam voca-  
 of church “ tionem emendaverit, eum excommunicari præcipimus.
- Churches (12.) “ Apostolica auctoritate prohibemus, ne quis absque  
 only to be “ licentia episcopi sui in possessione sua ecclesiam, vel ora-  
 built by “ torium constituat.  
 licence.
- The clergy (13.) “ His subjungimus quoque auctoritatem Nicholai papæ  
 are for- “ dicentis, ‘Cum discreti sint milites Christi a militibus  
 bidden to “ seculi, non convenit militem ecclesiæ seculo militare, per  
 use arms. “ quod ad effusionem sanguinis necesse sit pervenire. De-  
 “ nique, sicut turpe<sup>6</sup> est laicum missas facere, sacramenta  
 “ ‘corporis et sanguinis Christi conficere, ita ridiculum et  
 “ ‘inconveniens est clericum arma sustollere, et ad bella

<sup>1</sup> *q. d. h. p.* is the form of the quotation at this point.

<sup>2</sup> Gervase's copy altogether omits this canon, a curious one which recognises the existence of marriages among the parochial clergy,

while the next canon but one strictly forbids the clergy to marry.

<sup>3</sup> *Venatores*, Gervase: a peculiar variation.

<sup>4</sup> *admonitus*, Gerv.

<sup>5</sup> *per*, Gerv.

<sup>6</sup> *turpe aut perniciosum est*, Gerv.

2 Tim. ii. 14. “ ‘procedere, cum Paulus apostolus dicat, Nemo militans Deo  
 14. “ ‘implicat etc.’ A.D. 1138.

fo. 46. b. (14.) “ Item adjicimus hoc decretum Innocentii papæ dicentis Monks  
 “ ‘in monasteriis si postea ad clericatum pervenerint, non when or-  
 “ ‘debent aliquatenus a priore proposito deviare: sicut in dained  
 “ ‘monasteriis positi fuerunt, ita et in clericatus ordine are not re-  
 “ ‘degere debent, et quod diu servaverunt id in altiori gradu leased  
 “ ‘positi amittere non debent.’ from their  
 vows.

(15.) “ Prohibemus etiam Apostolica auctoritate sauctimo- Nuns for-  
 “ niales variis seu grisiis sabellinis, marterinis, hereminis, bidden to  
 “ ‘beverinis pellibus et anulis aureis uti, sive torturam capil- wear furs,  
 “ ‘lorum et compositionem capillorum facere.’<sup>2</sup> Hujus decreti &c.  
 “ quæ inventa fuerit violatrix anathemati subiaceat.

(16.) “ De omnibus primitiis rectas decimas dari Apostolica Tenths of  
 “ auctoritate præcipimus; quas qui reddere noluerit, anatbe- first fruits.  
 “ matis in eum sententia proferatur.

(17.) “ Sancimus præterea, ut si magistri scholarum aliis Schools  
 “ ‘scolas suas pro precio legendas locaverint, ecclesiasticæ vin- not to be  
 “ ‘dictæ subiaceant.’<sup>3</sup> let for  
 hire.

In hoc autem concilio tractatum est de archiepiscopo Election of  
 ad Cantuariensem ecclesiam eligendo, quæ, ut supra- Theobald  
 dictum est, tunc proprio pastore carebat. Tandem abbot of  
 vero post proximam Epiphaniam hæc causa finem Bec to the  
 habuit, cum Beccensis cœnobii abbas, nomine Teobal- arch-  
 dus, electus præfatæ ecclesiæ archipræsul, a supradieto bishopric  
 Alberico consecratus est. of Canter-  
 bury.

In eodem autem concilio depositus est abbas de Monastic  
 Cruland, et prior ecclesiæ sancti Albani martyris, affairs.  
 nomine Godefridus; in loco ejus<sup>4</sup> restitutus, et abbatæ  
 quæ est juxta Hastings, quæ dicitur Ad Bellum,  
 abbas nomine Adam<sup>5</sup> electus est: quos utrosque præ-

<sup>1</sup> *Vietricio Rotomagensi archiepi- scopo*, om. Gerv.

<sup>2</sup> *sive torturam . . facere*, omitted by Gervase.

<sup>3</sup> The wording of this canon in Gervase is very different, and supplies a correction, *regendas*, for *legendas*.

<sup>4</sup> Twysden reads *et alter in loco ejus*, but *et alter* is underlined, as words are underlined elsewhere in this MS.

for omission. This changes the testimony of the MS. on a point of some little interest. John of Hexham in summarising this passage represents prior Godfrey as the successor of the deposed abbot of Croyland; but, in either case, *insti- tutus* seems necessary in place of *restitutus*.

<sup>5</sup> This should be Walter de Lucey.

A.D. 1138. dictus Albericus benedixit. Invitavit quoque omnes episcopos et abbates plurimos Angliæ ad generale concilium, quod dominus papa Innocentius ad medium Quadragesimæ Romæ celebraturus erat.

Efforts of the legate to restore peace with Scotland.

Dum autem hæc agerentur, de pace reformanda inter duos reges sæpissime ac diligentissime cum pluribus, et maxime cum regina Angliæ, tractavit. Postquam vero ipsius reginæ mentem ad hanc rem perficiendam valde esse accensam intellexit, ipsa mediante, ac feminea calliditate atque protervitate instante, ipsum regem crebro de eadem re interpellavit, quem primo durum et quasi hanc reconciliationem aspernentem invenerunt. Quippe plures de baronibus suis, quibus ex discordia eorum gravia dampna contigerant, sollicitè ei persuaserant, ut nullo modo pacem cum rege Scottiæ faceret, immo se viriliter de illo vindicaret: verumptamen feminei pectoris ardor vinci nescius, quibuscumque potuit modis nocte ac die stimulando non destitit, donec regium animum ad suam voluntatem detorsit. Namque avunculum suum David regem Scottiæ, et Henricum, filium ejus atque suum cognatum, vehementer amavit, ac ideo tantopere marito suo regi Angliæ eos pacificare curavit. Præfatus itaque legatus ubi rem eo modo procedere vidit, audacius regem convenit de illa meliore spe concepta, ac de<sup>1</sup> ceteris causis suis se intromisit.

A.D. 1139. Anno igitur MCXXXIX., perfectis negotiis suis in Anglia, sæpedictus legatus mox post octabas Epiphaniæ cum suis ad mare reversus transfretavit. Nam ad prædictum concilium domini papæ tempore congruo pervenire properavit. Teobaldus quoque Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et <sup>2</sup> Rofensis, et Simon Wigornensis, Rogerus Coventrensis, Robertus Execestrensis,

The legate and certain English prelates proceed to Rome, after Jan. 13, to

<sup>1</sup> See p. 159, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Twysden inserts *Earnulfus*, | which is not in the MS., a blank being left for the name.

isti V. episcopi, et cum illis iij. abbates, pro omni-  
 bus episcopis et abbatibus Angliæ ad idem concilium  
 iverunt. Namque rex S[tephanus] propter turbatio-  
 nem regni sui, quæ gravis tunc imminebat, plures  
 illuc mittere noluit. Præterea bonæ memoriæ Tur-  
 stinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et propter concilium,  
 et propter quædam alia privata negotia, quæ per illum  
 facere disponebat, Ricardum, abbatem de Fontibus,  
 eximie virtutis virum, de quo superius mentionem  
 fecimus, illuc direxit. Namque, sicut vulgo dicitur,<sup>1</sup>  
 de sede sua seipsum deponere, et germanum fratrem  
 suum Audoenum nomine, Ebroicensem episcopum, pro  
 se archiepiscopum Eboraci constituere cogitaverat  
 Sed interim dum hæc parabantur, et nuncius ejus  
 infectis negotiis Romæ defunctus est, et frater ipsius,  
 sumpto ante mortem suam religioso habitu canonicorum  
 apud Meretun, ibidem de hac vita migravit.  
 Verum Cantuariensis archiepiscopus cum suo pallio, et  
 prædicti episcopi et abbates, finito concilio et confectis  
 negotiis suis, sani et incolumes redierunt.

A.D. 1139.  
 attend the  
 second  
 Lateran  
 Council.

fo. 47.

Mox autem postquam sæpenominatus legatus ab  
 Anglia discessit, intercurrentibus nuntiis inter duos  
 reges pax facta est hoc modo. S[tephanus] rex An-  
 gliæ, cum omnibus terris suis quas ante habebat,  
 Henrico filio David regis Scottiæ comitatum North-  
 umbriæ, exceptis duobus oppidis, scilicet Novo Castello  
 et Bahanburg, concessit; hæc enim in manu sua reti-  
 nuit. Sed pro ipsis oppidis quantum urbes eorum  
 valebant, in Suthanglia illi dare debebat. Præcepit  
 quoque ut barones qui de comitatu tenebant, quicun-  
 que vellent, de consule<sup>2</sup> Henrico terras suas recog-  
 noscerent, et salva fidelitate quam ei juraverant, illi  
 homagia facerent. Quod et plerique fecerunt. Rex

Terms of  
 peace with  
 Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> *d<sup>r</sup>* in MS. Twysden writes  
*dicebatur*, which is incorrect and

also destroys the sense of contem-  
 poraneous testimony.

<sup>2</sup> *consule*, MS.



A.D. 1139. autem Scottiæ et Henricus filius ejus, cum omnibus suis, extunc quamdiu viverent S[tephano] regi Angliæ per omnia pacifici et fidelissimi existere debebant.<sup>1</sup> Et ut de fidelitate eorum securior esset, filium Cospatricki comitis, et filium Hugonis de Morvilla, et filium Fergusi comitis, et filium Mel et filium Mac<sup>2</sup>, scilicet duorum<sup>2</sup> comitum de Scottiâ, ei obsides dare debebant. Leges quoque, et consuetudines et statuta, quæ rex Henricus avunculus ejus in comitatu Northumbriæ statuerat, per omnia ibi inviolabiliter<sup>3</sup> custodire debebant. Hæc autem concordia ab Henrico filio regis Scottiæ et ab eorum baronibus, coram Matilde regina Angliæ et multis comitibus et baronibus de Suthanglia, v. idus Aprilis, Dunelmi confirmata est. Hoc quoque diligenter distinctum est, quod Henricus comes, neque super terram sancti Cuthberti, neque super terram sancti Andreae de Hestaldashamseyre, quia ad archiepiscopatum Eboracensem pertinebat, ullum jus habere debebat. Deinde cum regina ad curiam regis S[tephani] profectus, apud Notingham eum invenit, confirmatisque ab illo, quæ apud Dunelmum fecerant, per totam æstatem in Suthanglia demorans, et curiam regis frequentans, in servicio ejus magnas impensas fecit.

'Eodem anno Walterus de Gant, sumpto habitu monachi apud Barthanaïam, et Robertus de Ferrers, qui fuit comes de Derbia seyra, defuncti sunt.

*Explicit bellum Standardii.*

<sup>1</sup> *debebant* interlined.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. reads *duorum*. Twys-

den alters to *quinque* without authority.

<sup>3</sup> *inviolabiliter*, MS.

Dunbar  
of Alloway

ing...  
de...  
St...  
r...  
of...  
L. S. Robert

Conclusion  
of peace on  
April 9.

Ratifica-  
tion of the  
peace at  
Notting-  
ham.



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RELATIO VENERABILIS AELREDI,  
ABBATIS RIEVALLENSIS,  
DE STANDARDO.

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INCIPIT RELATIO VENERABILIS AELREDI,  
ABBATIS RIEVALLENSIS, DE STANDARDO.

fo. 196. Rege igitur Stephano circa australes partes occupato,<sup>1</sup> rex Scottorum innumerabilem coegit exercitum, non solum eos, qui ejus subjacebant imperio, sed et de insulanis et Orchadensibus non parvam multitudinem accersiens. Qui cum maxima superbia et ferocitate progrediens, omnem borealis Angliæ partem aut sibi subdere, aut cæde incendioque depopulari proposuit. Non latuit proceres Transhumbranos ejus adventus, qui hortatu maxime Walteri Espec,<sup>2</sup> de quo postea dicemus, in unum convenientes, ejus conatui resistere decreverunt. Igitur parvum quidem numero, sed armis et viribus robustissimum, exercitum adunant, regiumque signum, quod vulgo *Standard* dicitur,

A.D. 1138.

David,  
king of  
Scotland,  
invades the  
north of  
England.

The northern  
barons  
prepare to  
resist.

<sup>1</sup> The title and opening words in P., the Cambridge MS., run, "*Incipit descriptio viri venerabilis Aethredi abbatis Rievallis de bello inter regem Scottiæ et barones Angliæ apud Standardium, juxta Alvertoniam. Anno Domini Incarnationis M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>XXX<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup>. rege Stephano circa partes australes occupato.*" The far more corrupt Cottonian copy (C.) gives the opening passage thus: "*Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>XXX<sup>o</sup>8<sup>o</sup>, xj. kl. Septembris ac etiam anno Thurstini archiepiscopi xx<sup>o</sup>ij<sup>o</sup>.*"

The age and authority of E., the Rievaulx copy, written about A.D.

1200, cause the variations of P. to have little interest, though the latter MS. conceivably represents an independent reading of the author's rough draft. All are therefore not given, especially as Twysden's edition excellently represents this copy.

C. is grossly inaccurate, but as there is some interest in the interpolations, these are given so far as they are not simply derived from Henry of Huntingdon. It is a 15th century copy.

<sup>2</sup> *hortatu et summonitione T. archiepiscopi et Walteri Espec*, in a different hand and on an erasure; P.

A.D. 1138.

Arch-  
bishop  
Thurstan  
exhorts the  
English to  
rise against  
the in-  
vader.

in campo latissimo juxta Alvertonam constituentes,<sup>1</sup> illic hostes excipere deceverunt.<sup>2</sup> Sed et Thurstinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus per totam diocesim suam edictum episcopale proposuit ut, de singulis parochiis suis presbyteris cum cruce et vexillis reliquiisque sanctorum, præeuntibus, omnes qui possent ad bella procedere, ad proceres properarent,<sup>3</sup> ecclesiam Christi contra barbaros defensuri. Erant itaque in australi exercitu primi principes<sup>4</sup> Willelmus comes Albemarlensis,<sup>5</sup> juvenis tunc strenuissimus et in armis multum exercitatus, habens secum, tam de Morinis quam de Ponciis, milites plurimos non minus astutia militari quam animi virtute præstantes.<sup>6</sup> Walterus quoque de Gant, morti jam ultima senectute vicinus, vir mansuetus et pius, qui et ipse validissimam manum de Flandrensibus et Normannis adducens, tam sapientia quam pondere sermonum reliquam multitudinem plurimum animavit. Ilbertus sane de Laci non segnis nec cum paucis advolavit, qui tempore regis Henrici exulans, quanto fuerat laboribus ærumpnisque assuefactus, tanto stabat in hac necessitate securus. Sed et Robertus de Brus, licet regem Scotiæ plurimum dilexisset, gentibus tamen suis in hac necessitate<sup>7</sup> non defuit, qui cum optimo juvene filio suo Adam tam validam manum adduxit, ut non solum viribus, sed et decore simul ac juventute, omnem multitudinem plurimum decorarent. Tantus autem fervor resistendi Scottis cunctos arri-

not chosen  
of Afordburg  
sect R. Haxby

fo. 196. b.

<sup>1</sup> *Standerd, in campo latissimo, scilicet super Cottwen more juxta Northaldertonam, constituens, C.*

<sup>2</sup> The passage which follows stands thus in C.:—*Ipsæ autem Thurstanus fieri jussit in viis subterraneis quedam instrumenta sonos horribiles reddentia, quæ Anglice dicuntur Potroutes, quibus resonantibus fere et cetera armamenta, quæ præcedebant exercitum prædicti David regis, timore strepitus*

*perterrita, in exercitum regis David ferociter resiebant. Sed et Thurstinus, &c.*

<sup>3</sup> *properassent, E. P.*

<sup>4</sup> Having been begun with these words, the passages which follow should be correlated as far as *plurimum decorarent*; but the structure is utterly broken up.

<sup>5</sup> *Albem., E.*

<sup>6</sup> *prætales, E.; præstantes, P.*

<sup>7</sup> *parte altered to necessitate, E.*

puit ut etiam Rogerum<sup>1</sup> de Mulbrai, adhuc puerulum,<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1138. exercitui interesse fecissent, tam decenter tamen ut tali ætati conveniebat, inter ceteros sapientissime collocatum.<sup>3</sup> Cum quo universa terræ suæ militia, quæ profecto nec sapientia nec virtute nec numero ceteris videbatur inferior, cum tanta devotione convenit, ut minor ætas domini sui nullum exercitui videretur afferre dispendium. Affuit et Walterus Espec, vir senex et plenus dierum, acer ingenio, in consiliis prudens, in pace modestus, in bello providus; amicitiam sociis, fidem semper regibus servans. Erat ei statura ingens, membra omnia tantæ magnitudinis, ut nec modum excederent et tantæ proceritati congruerent.<sup>4</sup> Capilli nigri, barba proluxa, frons patens et libera, oculi grandes et perspieaces, facies amplissima, tracticia<sup>5</sup> tamen, vox tubæ similis; facundiam, quæ ei facilis erat, quadam soni majestate componens. Erat præterea nobilis carne, sed Christiana pietate longe nobilior. Nempe cum liberis careret hæredibus, licet ei nepotes strenui non deessent, de optimis tamen quibusque possessionibus suis Christum fecit hæredem. Nam in loco amœnissimo, Kirkeham<sup>6</sup> nomine, monasterium regularium condidit clericorum, multis illud donariis ornans et ditans possessionibus: insuper et palatia sua, thalamos suos, cellaria sua, in servorum Christi habitacula commutans. Cisterciensem quoque ordinem, cujus vix famam audierat Anglia, favente sibi glorioso rege Henrico, in has partes advexit, suscipiens fratres de nobilissimo monasterio Clarevallis per manum sancti ac Deo dilecti<sup>7</sup> abbatis Bernardi. Qui venientes in Angliam, anno ab incarnatione Do-

Character  
and acts of  
Walter  
Espec.

Est Kirkeham  
in Wiltshire

<sup>1</sup> Rogerus (sic), E.

<sup>2</sup> puerulus (sic), E.; puerulum, P.

<sup>3</sup> collocant, E.; collocatum, P.

<sup>4</sup> convenirent with vel congruerent interlined above, E. Probably this expresses the transcriber's

doubt as to the word in the author's rough copy. P. reads congruerent.

<sup>5</sup> Thus in E. and P.

<sup>6</sup> Kirham, P.; Kylliam, C.

<sup>7</sup> C. has the reading sancti ac Deo dilecti; P. omits sancti, but retains ac.

A.D. 1138. mini M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>XXX<sup>o</sup>II<sup>o</sup>, naeti locum in valle profundissima super ripam Riæ fluminis, unde ipsum monasterium Rievallis nomen accepit, multos suæ religionis fama ad optimorum studiorum æmulationem incitaverunt: unde in brevi multiplicati super numerum, plurima in utroque regno, Angliæ scilicet et Scotiæ, ecœobia condiderunt. Nam prædictus Walterus necdum tantis satiatus beneficiis, in territorio Wardunensi famosissimum per eosdem fratres fundavit monasterium. Porro secundo<sup>1</sup> anno adventus eorum in Angliam quidam monachi de ecclesia beatæ Mariæ Eboracensi Cisterciensem puritatem et paupertatem zelantes, auxilio freti venerabilis Turstini archiepiscopi, relinquentes divitias et delicias monasticæ puritati contrarias, in maxima paupertate, miro fervore<sup>2</sup> Fontanense ecœnobiium creaverunt. Deinde prædictorum se fratrum ordini plenius conjungentes, plurima<sup>3</sup> et ipsi per insulam<sup>4</sup> monasteria fundaverunt. Waverlenses quoque fratres, qui hactenus quasi in angulo latuerant, cognito quod ejusdem essent ordinis, Cisterciensium monasteriorum numerum auxerunt. Ita alii ab ipsis Rievallensibus procreati, alii eorum exemplo provocati, multis ecœnobiis clariorem insulam reddiderunt. Unde non immerito ecœnobiium Rievallense cetera,<sup>5</sup> quæ in Anglia sunt ejusdem ordinis, fama et religione præcellit. Hæc autem omnia bona quis dubitet viro illi strenuissimo ascribenda, qui<sup>6</sup> tantorum fructuum semen de procul advexit, et locum in quo seminaretur invenit? Hic igitur, cum ab universo<sup>7</sup> exercitu, tum propter ætatem, tum propter sapientiam, patris more coleretur, ascendens machinam quam circa regium

fo. 197.

<sup>1</sup> *secundo anno*, C. E.; *eadem*, on an erasure, P.

<sup>2</sup> The date, vj. kal. Januarii, which is in P. only, follows here, interlined.

<sup>3</sup> *plurima*, C. E.; *plura*, P.

<sup>4</sup> *Britannicam nobilia* follows here in P. only.

<sup>5</sup> *ceteris*, E. P. C.

<sup>6</sup> *qui*, E. C.

<sup>7</sup> *cum ab alio universo*, E.; P. now reads *cum ab*.



signum<sup>1</sup> fabricaverant, supereminens universo populo  
 ab humero et sursum, hac oratione dejectos quadam  
 formidine animos erexit, promptos acrius inflammavit.  
 "Non inutile est," inquit, "viri fortissimi, si senem  
 "juvenes audiat; me dico, qui multorum temporum  
 "vicissitudine, mutatione regum, et diversis bellorum  
 "eventibus didici et præterita revolvere, et æstimare  
 "præsentia, et secundum præterita de præsentibus,  
 "secundum præsentia de futuris capere conjecturam.  
 "Et certe si omnes, qui me audiunt, saperent et intel-  
 "ligerent, et ea quæ nobis hodie ventura sunt præ-  
 "viderent, silerem libentius et sompno meo requiesce-  
 "rem, vel luderem aleis, aut confligerem scaccis, vel  
 "si ea ætati meæ minus congruerent, legendis historiis  
 "operam darem, vel more meo veterum gesta narranti  
 "aurem attentius commodarem. Nunc autem video  
 "plerosque de prælio certos, incertos de victoria,  
 "fluctuare animo, timere vehementer ne paucitatem  
 "nostram immensæ copię Scottorum absorbeant; cum  
 "non ex multitudine victoria pendeat, vel viribus<sup>2</sup>  
 "adquiratur, sed<sup>3</sup> justis votis causaque honesta ab  
 "Omnipotente impetretur. Ego sane considerans qua  
 "ratione, qua causa, qua necessitate, qui adversus  
 "quos hodie dimicamus, sto intrepidus, tam securus  
 "de victoria quam de prælio certus. Cur enim de  
 "victoria desperemus, cum victoria generi nostro  
 "quasi in feudum data sit ab Altissimo? Nonne  
 "proavi nostri maximam Galliæ portionem cum paucis  
 "invasere militibus, et ab ea cum gente etiam ipsum  
 "Galliæ nomen eraserunt. Quotiens ab eis Francorum  
 "est fusus exercitus; quotiens a Cenomanensibus,  
 "Andegavensibus, Aquitanensibus, pauci de multis,

A.D. 1138.  
 His exhortation to the English host.

<sup>1</sup> The absurd drawings, which Twysden here inserts from P., are no doubt efforts of imagination on the part of the transcriber of the

Cambridge copy. E. has nothing of the kind, nor has C.

<sup>2</sup> *vel viribus*, E.; *sed ut viribus* C.; *sed vel viribus*, P.

<sup>3</sup> *sed*, E.; *vel*, C. P.

A.D. 1138. "victoriam reportarunt? Certe patres nostri et nos  
 Exhorta- "hanc insulam, quam quondam victoriosissimus Julius,  
 tion ad- "non sine multa suorum strage, post multos annos  
 dressed by "vix tandem optinuit, in brevi edomimus, in brevi  
 Waller "nostris subdidimus legibus, nostris obsequiis manci-  
 Espee to "pavimus. Vidimus, vidimus oculis nostris, regem  
 the Eng- "Franciæ cum universo suo exercitu nobis terga  
 lish army. "vertentem, optimos quosque regni ejus proceres a  
 "nobis captos, alios redimi, alios mancipari vinculis,  
 "alios careere condempnari. Quis Apuliam,<sup>1</sup> Siciliam,  
 "Calabriam, nisi vester<sup>2</sup> Normannus edomuit? Nomen  
 "uterque Imperator eadem die, eadem fere hora, terga *fo. 197. b.*  
 "vertit Normannis, cum alter adversus patrem, alter  
 "adversus filium dimicaret!<sup>3</sup> Quis igitur non rideat,  
 "potius quam timeat, quod adversus tales vilis Scot-  
 "tus seminudis natibus pugnaturus occurrit? Isti  
 "sunt, isti sunt utique qui non resistendum nobis  
 "quondam sed cedendum putarunt, cum Angliæ victor  
 Calathus "Willelmus Laodoniam, Calatriam, Scotiam usque ad  
 "Abernith<sup>4</sup> penetraret, ubi bellicosus ille Malcolmus  
 "deditione factus est noster; et nunc victores suos,  
 "dominos suos<sup>5</sup> bello provocant; lanceis nostris, gla-  
 "diis et telis<sup>6</sup> nostris nudum obiciunt corium; pelle  
 "vitulina pro scuto utentes; irrationabili mortis con-  
 "temptu, magis quam viribus animati. Quid ergo  
 "hastarum illarum, quas eminus intuemur, nimia lon-  
 "gitudine nos terret? Sed lignum fragile est, ferrum  
 "obtunsum,<sup>7</sup> dum ferit perit, dum impingitur frangi-  
 "tur, vix ad unum ietum sufficiens. Excipe illud  
 "saltem baculo, et inermis Scottus astat. An mul-  
 "titudinem expavescimus? Sed quanto vincendorum  
 "major numerus, tanto vincentibus gloria major.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Huntingdon's version of the bishop of Orkney's address.

<sup>2</sup> *vester*, P. as well as E.

<sup>3</sup> W. of Newburgh, i., 429, also tells this erroneous story.

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

<sup>5</sup> *dominos suos*, C. E.

<sup>6</sup> *gladiis et telis*, E.; *gladiis nostris, telis nostris*, C. P.

<sup>7</sup> Thus in E. and P.

“Taceo quid de ipso numero sentiam, ne futura  
 gloria nostræ aliquid detrahere videar. An pro  
 causa diffidimus? Sed non injustum bellum pro rege  
 nostro suscipimus, qui regnum non, ut hostes calump-  
 niantur, invasit indebitum,<sup>1</sup> sed suscepit oblatum; quem  
 populus petiit, quem clerus elegit, quem  
 unxit pontifex, quem in regnum Apostolica confir-  
 mavit auctoritas. Sed, ut interim de rege taceamus,  
 nullus certe justum negabit, quod pro patria arma  
 suscipimus; quod pro uxoribus nostris, pro liberis  
 nostris, pro ecclesiis nostris dimicamus, imminens  
 periculum propulsantes.<sup>2</sup> Urget enim necessitas.  
 Recolite quid in Transtianis partibus egerint, nec  
 mitiora sperate si vicerint Scotti. Taceo cædes,  
 rapinas, incendia, quæ humano quodammodo more  
 exercentur ab hostibus: talia dicam, qualia nec  
 fabulæ ferunt, nec narrant historiæ a crudelissimis  
 acta tyrannis. Dicam, inquam, si non præ nimio  
 horrore sermo defecerit, aut auditor aufugerit. Nulli  
 ætati, nulli ordini, nulli omnino sexui pepercerunt;  
 nobiles, tam pueri quam puellæ, ducti sunt in cap-  
 tivitatem; pudica matrimonia incredibili libidine  
 vexata sunt; parvuli jactati in aera, et aculeis  
 lancearum excepti, delectabile spectaculum Galwen-  
 sibus præbuerunt; prægnans mulier per medium  
 secabatur, tener fœtus, extractus ab utero, impia  
 manu ad saxum allidebatur. Lassati innocentium  
 cæde, illotis cultellis, quibus miserorum effuderant  
 viscera, carnes quas vorarent incidebant; humanum-  
 que sanguinem miscentes aqua, crudeli poculo sitim  
 sedabant, dicentes se felicissimos quos in illud tempus  
 fortuna servaverat, quo Gallorum sanguinem bibere  
 potuissent. Casu inventi sunt in eadem domo plures

A.D. 1138.

———  
 Exhorta-  
 tion ad-  
 dressed by  
 Walter  
 Espee to  
 the Eng-  
 lish army.

<sup>1</sup> *indebitum*, C. E.; *debitum*, ab-  
 surdly, P. | <sup>2</sup> *dimicamus* — *propulsantes*, E.;  
*dimicantes* — *propulsamus*, P.

A. D. 1138. “ parvuli. Stabat Galwensis, et unum post unum  
 Exhorta- “ utroque pede arripiens, caput allidebat ad postem. *fo. 198.*  
 tion ad- “ Quos cum in unum cœgisset acervum, ridens versus  
 dressed by “ socium, ‘ Ecce,’ inquit, ‘ quot Gallos hodie solus occidi.’  
 Waller “ Horreo dicere quomodo ingressi sunt templum Dei,  
 Espec to “ quomodo polluerunt sanctuarium ejus, quomodo sa-  
 the Eng- “ lutis Christianæ sacramenta pedibus conculcaverunt.  
 lish army. “ Quid agitis, o viri fortissimi? Non adversus homi-  
 “ nes dimicatis sed adversus bestias, quibus nihil  
 “ humanitatis, nihil inest pietatis; quos cœlum horret,  
 “ quos abominatur terra, quos execrantur maria, quos  
 “ ipsa mundi lumina detestantur; quos non ob aliud  
 “ terra non absorbit, non<sup>1</sup> fulminavit cœlum, non<sup>1</sup>  
 “ maria submerserunt, nisi ut vestris victoriis serva-  
 “ rentur, vestris manibus interirent. Consecrate manus  
 “ vestras in sanguine peccatorum: felices quorum  
 “ hodie manus ad suas ulciscendas injurias Christus  
 “ elegit. Festinate, et nefandum hoc genus<sup>2</sup> hominum  
 “ terris obruite, inferis sepelite, ne, si diutius vixerint,  
 “ sol lumen abscondat, cœlum neget pluvias, fruges  
 “ quadam ariditate marcescant. Cogitate regem ab-  
 “ sentem, quantumque vestræ accedet<sup>3</sup> gloriæ, cum  
 “ reportaveritis de rege sine rege triumphum. Vestra  
 “ erit curia, vestrum erit regnum, vestris consiliis  
 “ omnia tractabuntur, per quos hodie regi regnum,  
 “ regno pax, paci gloria perquiretur: fatebitur rex se  
 “ hodie manibus vestris iterum coronatum. Secure  
 “ igitur congregiamur, cum nobis sit causa justior,  
 “ manus fortior; quos urget necessitas, quos gloria  
 “ provocat, quibus divinum auxilium præsto est, cum  
 “ quibus tota cœlestis curia dimicabit. Aderit Michael  
 “ cum angelis suam ulturus injuriam, cujus ecclesiam  
 “ humano sanguine fœdaverunt, cujus altare super-  
 “ posito capite humano polluerunt.’ Petrus cum

<sup>1</sup> non, in each place, C. E. and P.

<sup>2</sup> hoc sanguinum hominum genus, P.; hoc hominum genus, C.

<sup>3</sup> accedet, C. E.; accedat, P.

“ Apostolis pugnabit pro nobis,<sup>1</sup> quorum basilicas A.D. 1138.  
 “ nunc in stabulum, nunc in prostibulum converte-  
 “ runt. Sancti martyres nostra<sup>2</sup> præcedent agmina,  
 “ quorum incenderunt memorias, quorum atria<sup>3</sup> cædi-  
 “ bus impleverunt. Virgines sanctæ licet pugnae du-  
 “ bitent interesse, pro nobis tamen oratione pugnabunt.  
 “ Amplius dico, ipse Christus apprehendet arma et  
 “ scutum, et exurget in adjutorium nobis. Ipsi enim  
 “ veniunt ad nos in superbia; nos cum humilitate  
 “ procedimus. Illi carnes raptas quas voraverunt  
 “ eructant; nos post sacra jejunia Christi carne et  
 “ sanguine saginamur. Illos histriones, saltatores et  
 “ saltatrices, nos crux Christi et reliquiæ Sanctorum  
 “ antecedunt. Sed quid moror? Certe aut vincen-  
 “ dum nobis est, aut moriendum. Quis enim victoriae  
 “ Scottorum se velit esse superstitem, ut videat ux-  
 “ rem suam Scottorum subjacere libidini, parvulos  
 “ suos lanceis perforari?”

Hæc dicens vertit se ad comitem Albemarlensem, dataque dextera, “Do,” inquit, “fidem quia hodie aut  
 “ vincam Scottos, aut occidar a Scottis.” Quo simili-  
 “ ter voto cuncti se proceres constrinxerunt. Et ut  
 “ spes fugæ cunctis penitus tolleretur, equos omnes  
 “ longius amoventes, pedestri more congregari decesserunt,  
 “ aut mori aut vincere cupientes.”

fo. 198. b.

Rex interim, coactis in unum comitibus optimisque  
 regni sui proceribus, cœpit cum eis de belli ratione  
 tractare; placuitque plurimis, ut quotquot aderant  
 armati milites et sagittarii eunctum præirent exercitum,  
 quatinus armati armatos impeterent, milites congrede-  
 rentur militibus, sagittæ sagittis obviarent. Restitere  
 Galwenses, dicentes sui esse juris primam construere  
 aciem, primum in hostes impetum dare, sua probitate  
 reliquum animare exercitum. Periculosum dicebant

<sup>1</sup> nobis, C. E. ; vobis, P.

<sup>2</sup> nostra in E. and P.

<sup>3</sup> atria, C. E. ; ata, P.

Exhorta-  
tion ad-  
dressed by  
Walter  
Espee to  
the Eng-  
lish army.

The Eng-  
lish decide  
to fight on  
foot.

The men of  
Galloway  
claim to  
form the  
front rank  
of the Scot-  
tish army.

A.D. 1138. alii, si primo<sup>1</sup> aggressu inermes armatis occurrerent, quoniam si belli vim non sustinens, primus cuneus laberetur in fugam, etiam fortium corda facile solverentur: Galwenses nichilominus insistebant, jus suum sibi concedi postulantes.

Allusion to the battle at Clitheroe.

“Quid enim,” inquit, “o rex, formidas, et tunicas illas ferreas, quas eminus cernis, nimium expavescis? Nobis certe sunt latera ferrea, pectus æreum, mens timoris vacua, quorum nec pedes fugam, nec unquam vulnus terga sensere. Quid Gallis apud Cliderhan<sup>2</sup> profuere loricae? Nunquid non inermes isti, ut dicunt, illos et loricas proicere et negligere galeas et scuta relinquere coegerunt? Videat igitur prudentia vestra, o rex, quale sit in his habere fiduciam, quæ in necessitate magis sunt oneri quam consolationi. Nos apud Cliderhou de loricatis victoriam reportavimus: nos hodie et istos, animi virtute pro scuto utentes, lanceis prosternemus.”

His dictis, cum rex militum magis consiliis acquiescere videretur, Malisse comes Stradarnæ<sup>3</sup> plurimum indignatus, “Quid est,” inquit, “o rex, quod Gallorum te magis committis voluntati, cum nullus eorum cum armis suis me inermem sit hodie præcessurus in bello?” Quæ verba Alanus de Perci, magni Alani filius nothus, miles strenuissimus et in militaribus negotiis probatissimus, ægre ferens, conversus ad comitem, “Grande,” inquit, “verbum locutus es, et quod hodie pro vita tua efficere non valebis.” Tunc rex utrosque compescens, ne tumultus hac altereatione subito nasceretur, Galwensium cessit voluntati. Alteram aciem filius regis et milites sagittarique cum eo, adjunctis sibi Cumbrensibus et Tevidalensibus, cum magna sagacitate constituit. Erat autem adolescens pulchra facie, et decorus aspectu, tantæ humilitatis ut

Composition and arrangement of the Scotch army.

<sup>1</sup> *si primo*, E.; *si in primo*, C. P.

<sup>2</sup> *Cliderhan* here, but *Cliderhou*

below in E. See John of Hexham, Rolls ed., p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> *Stradarne*, E.; *Stradarnia*, P.



omnibus inferior videretur, tantæ auctoritatis ut ab A.D. 1138.  
 omnibus timeretur; tam dulcis, tam<sup>1</sup> amabilis, tam  
 affabilis, ut diligeretur ab omnibus; tam castus cor-  
 pore, in sermone tam sobrius, in cunctis moribus tam  
 honestus, tam assiduus in ecclesia, orationi tam in-  
 tentus, tam benivolus circa pauperes, contra male-  
 factores tam erectus, sacerdotibus et monachis sic  
 prostratus, ut et in rege monachum et in monacho  
 regem præterdere videretur. Erat præterea tantæ  
 probitatis, ut in illo exercitu nullus fuerit similis  
 illi<sup>2</sup> sive hostes impetendo, sive impetentes magnani-  
 miter sustinendo, ceteris ad insequendum fortior, ad  
 repellendum acrior, ad fugam tardior. Conjunxerat se  
 ei, ejusque interfuit aciei, Eustachius filius Johannis,  
 de magnis proceribus Angliæ regi quondam Henrico  
 familiarissimus, vir summæ prudentiæ et in seculari-  
 bus negotiis magni consilii, qui a rege Anglorum ideo Conduct of  
Stephen  
towards  
Fustace  
FitzJohn.  
 recesserat, quod ab eo in curia contra morem patrium  
 captus, castra, quæ ei rex Henricus commiserat, red-  
 dere compulsus est; ob quam causam offensus, ut illa-  
 tam sibi ulcisceretur injuriam, ad hostes ejus sese con-  
 tulerat. Tercium cuneum Laodonenses cum insularis  
 et Lavernanis fecerunt. Rex in sua acie Scottos et  
 Muravenses retinuit; nonnullos etiam de militibus  
 Anglis et Francis ad sui corporis custodiam deputavit.  
 Et sic quidem aquilonalis ordinatur exercitus. At<sup>3</sup>  
 australes, quoniam pauci erant, in unum cuneum sa-  
 pientissime glomerantur. Nam strenuissimi milites in  
 prima fronte locati lancearios et sagittarios ita sibi  
 inseruerunt, ut militaribus armis protecti, tanto acrius  
 quanto securius vel in hostes irruerent, vel exciperent  
 irruentes. At proceres, qui maturioris ætatis fuerunt,  
 ut ceteris præsidio forent, circa signum regium con-  
 stituuntur, quibusdam altius ceteris in ipsa machina

fo. 199.

<sup>1</sup> timeretur; tam dulcis tam, on | <sup>2</sup> illi, C. E.; ei, P.  
 erasure, E. | <sup>3</sup> At, E.; Et, P.

A.D. 1138. collatis. Scutis scuta junguntur, lateribus latera conseruntur, laxatis vexillis eriguntur lanceæ, ad solis splendorem loriceæ candescunt; sacerdotes sacris vestibus candidati, eum cruceibus et reliquiis<sup>1</sup> Sanctorum, exercitum ambiebant, et sermone simul et oratione populum decentissime roborabant. Tunc Robertus de Brus, vir grandævus et magnarum opum, moribus gravis, sermone rarus, qui cum dignitate quadam et pondere loquebatur, qui, cum esset de jure regis Anglorum, a juventute tamen regi Scotiæ adhærens, ad maximam ejus familiaritatem profecerat. Ipse igitur, ut vir veteranæ militiæ et talium negotiorum satis gnarus, naturali sagacitate periculum quod regi imminabat prospiciens, antiquæ amicitia intuitu, accepta a sociis licentia, regem adiit, aut bellum dissuasurus, aut ab eo more patrio legitime recessurus. Erat enim obligatus ei non solum amicitia, sed et fidei necessitate. Cum igitur regem cominus aspexisset :

Robert de Bruce makes an effort to avert the combat.

“Assum,” inquit, “o rex, fidelis tuus, daturus nunc  
 “consilium tibi honorabile, regnoque<sup>2</sup> tuo utile, liberis  
 “tuis in posterum profuturum. Non enim sapientis  
 “est, o rex, rerum tantum initia, non<sup>3</sup> etiam exitus  
 “finesque prospicere, et pro solis præsentibus præteri-  
 “torum memoriam vel<sup>4</sup> futurorum providentiam  
 “abolere. Adversum quos hodie levas arma, et im-  
 “mensum hunc<sup>5</sup> ducis exercitum? Adversum Anglos  
 “certe et Normannos. O rex, nonne isti sunt quorum  
 “semper et utile consilium et auxilium promptum,  
 “gratum insuper obsequium, invenisti? ex quo rogo  
 “te, domine mi, tantam fidem invenisti in Scottis,  
 “ut tam secure tibi tuisque Anglorum demas consi-  
 “lium, auxilium abroges Normannorum, quasi soli  
 “tibi sufficiant Scotti etiam contra Scottos. Nova

<sup>1</sup> *et reliquiis*, E.; *reliquisque*, C. P.

<sup>2</sup> *regnoque*, E.; *regno*, C. P.

<sup>3</sup> *non*, E. P.; *verum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *vel*, C. P.; om. E.

<sup>5</sup> *immensum hunc*, E.; *hunc innumerum*, C. P.

fo. 199. b. " tibi est in Galwensibus<sup>1</sup> ista securitas, qui eos A.D. 1138.  
 " hodie armis petis per quos hactenus amabilis Scottis,  
 " terribilis Galwensibus, imperasti. Putasne igitur, o  
 " rex, quod æquis oculis aspiciet cœlestis illa Majestas,  
 " quod illos insistis absumere per quos tibi tuisque<sup>2</sup>  
 " regnum procuratum est,<sup>3</sup> et securitas in regno? Qui-  
 " bus copiis quibusve auxiliis frater tuus Dunecanus  
 " Douenaldi<sup>4</sup> prostravit exercitum, et regnum quod  
 " invaserat tyrannus recepit? Quis Ædgarum<sup>5</sup> fratrem  
 " tuum, immo plusquam fratrem, nisi noster exercitus  
 " regno restituit? Tu ipse rex cum portionem regni,  
 " quam idem tibi frater moriens delegaverat,<sup>6</sup> a fratre  
 " Alexandro reposceres, nostro certe terrore quidquid  
 " volueras sine sanguine impetrasti. Recole præterito  
 " anno cum adversus Malcolmum, paterni odii et per-  
 " secutionis hæredem, Anglorum auxilium flagitares,  
 " quam læti, quam alacres, quam ad auxilium prompti,  
 " quam proni ad periculum Walterus Espec aliique  
 " quamplures Anglorum proceres tibi apud Carleolum  
 " occurrerint, quot paraverint naves, quæ arma intu-  
 " lerint, qua juventute munierint, quomodo omnes  
 " tuos terruerint hostes, donec ipsum Malecolmum pro-  
 " ditum<sup>7</sup> caperent, captum vincirent, vinctum traderent.  
 " Ita terror noster ipsius quidem membra, sed magis  
 " Scottorum animos, vinxit, omnique spe præficiendi  
 " frustrata, audaciam abstulit rebellandi. Quicquid  
 " igitur odii, quicquid inimicitiarum adversum nos  
 " habent Scotti, tui tuorumque est causa, pro quibus  
 " contra eos totiens dimicavimus, quibus ademimus spem

*Donald  
Banc.*  
*702*  
*Edward Bruce  
natural son of  
Alexander Bruce*

<sup>1</sup> Galwensibus, C. E.; Walensibus, P.

<sup>2</sup> tuisque, C. E.; tuis, P.

<sup>3</sup> procuratum est, E.; procreatus (sic) est, C.; procuratur, P.

U 20911.

<sup>4</sup> Douenaldi, E.

<sup>5</sup> Eadgarum, C. P.

<sup>6</sup> delegaverat, E., delegavit, P.

<sup>7</sup> prodercut proditum, the former word expuncted, E.

A.D. 1138. “ rebellandi, [quos] tibi et tuæ per omnia subdidimus.  
 “ voluntati. Rideant proinde Scotti, quod tu eis de  
 “ nobis ultionem procuras, cum nihil aliud habeant  
 “ quod ulciscantur in nobis,<sup>1</sup> nisi quod te tuosque  
 “ dileximus, tibi tuisque fidem servavimus, quod armis  
 “ nostris, scutis nostris, ipsis etiam corporibus nostris  
 “ tua proteximus viscera, tibi regnum servavimus.  
 “ Parce itaque, o rex, parce tibi, parce regno tuo,  
 “ parce præ omnibus juvenum splendidissimo filio tuo,  
 “ quem<sup>2</sup> hodie nudatum consilio et cunctis auxiliis  
 “ spoliatum proditioni Scottorum exponis et objicis  
 “ furori. Cave præterea ne involvaris peccatis homi-  
 “ num impiorum, de quorum manibus cædes parvu-  
 “ lorum, prægnantium luctus, sacerdotum injuria, ipsius  
 “ etiam Divinitatis contemptus exquiritur; adversus  
 “ quos non unius Abel, sed innumerabilium innocen-  
 “ tium sanguis clamat de terra. Vidisti, o rex, abomi-  
 “ nationes pessimas, quas fecerunt hii. Vidisti, inquam,  
 “ vidisti, horruisti, flevisi, pectus tutudisti, clamasti  
 “ contra tuum id fieri præceptum, contra tuam volun-  
 “ tatem, contra tuum decretum. Ostende nunc vera  
 “ te dixisse, ut eos a simili revoces iniquitate, ut  
 “ reversi sine te puniantur si sine te talia commiserint.  
 “ Et hæc satis essent si conatui tuo nullus obsisteret,  
 “ vel de victoria certitudo constaret. Nunc autem stat  
 “ contra te non contempnendus exercitus, quanto tuo  
 “ numero minor, tanto armis viribusque robustior.  
 “ Nescis, o rex, quam sit periculosa desperatio, quando  
 “ et mors certa est, sed stat adhuc de genere mortis  
 “ electio. Certe si viceris moriemur. Moriemur, inquam,  
 “ nos, morientur parvuli nostri; sacerdotes nostri in  
 “ altaribus jugulabuntur; uxores nostræ turpi libidine  
 “ fœdabuntur. Elegimus proinde vel vincere vel mori

fo. 200.

<sup>1</sup> sic, MS.| <sup>2</sup> quem, C. E.; cui, P.

" gloriose, quamvis nulla nobis sit de victoria dubitatio. A.D. 1138.  
 " Hinc dolor meus, hinc lacrimæ, quod dulcissimum —  
 " dominum meum, amantissimum amicum meum, anti-  
 " quum socium meum, in cuius amicitia senni, ejus  
 " munificentiam in numerum multimodorum largitione,  
 " in prædiorum quoque et multarum possessionum  
 " collatione expertus sum, post juveniles ludos quibus  
 " simul exercitati sumus, post armorum negotia quibus  
 " nobis in multis periculis semper affuimus, post  
 " splendida convivium quæ utrique unius regnum minis-  
 " travit, post delicias quas utrisque avium ferarumque  
 " contulit venatio, aut mori periculose aut indecenter  
 " fugere contemplantur."

His dictis lacrimis et singultibus interceptus est sermo loquentis. Et rex naturali pietate commotus in lacrimas solvebatur, jam jamque ibat in pactum. Sed Willelmus regius<sup>1</sup> nepos, vir magni animi et belli præcipuus incentor, superveniens, ipsum Robertum cum maximo furore arguit proditoris, regemque a sententia flexit. At ille nichil moratus, vinculum fidei, quo eatenus regi astrictus fuerat, patrio more dissolvens, ad suos non sine magno<sup>2</sup> dolore revertitur; et statim soluta statione erectis lanceis aquilonalis procedit exercitus. Sequitur lituum<sup>3</sup> stridor tubarum crepitus, fragor lancearum percutientium alteram ad alteram; tremit terra, fremit cælum, echo<sup>4</sup> vicini montes collesque resultant,<sup>5</sup> Interea episcopus<sup>6</sup> Orcha-densis, quem illo miserat archiepiscopus, stans in emi-

Lucan. i.  
237.

done before?  
J. Hexham  
298.

<sup>1</sup> *Willelmus regius*, C. E.

<sup>2</sup> *magno*, E.; om. C.

<sup>3</sup> *lituorum* (sic), on an erasure, E.

<sup>4</sup> *eccho*, E.

<sup>5</sup> C. proceeds with extracts from Henry of Huntingdon, including the long speech attributed to Ralph Nowell, bishop of Orkney (Rolls edition, pp. 262, 263).

<sup>6</sup> E. does not give his name here.

A.D. 1138. — nentiori loco, cum populo præliandi necessitatem in remissionem peccatorum indixisset, tundentes pectora, erectis manibus divinum auxilium precabantur: factaque super eos absolutione, episcopus benedictionem sollempni voce adjecit, cunctis alta voce respondentibus Amen, Amen. At Galwensium cuneus more suo ter ululatum diræ vocis emittens, tanto impetu irruunt in australes, ut primos lancearios stationem deserere compellerent, sed vi militum iterum repulsi, in hostes animum viresque recipiunt. Ubi vero ferri lignique soliditate Scotticarum lancearum est delusa fragilitas, eductis gladiis cominus decertare temptabant. Sed australes muscæ de cavernis pharetrarum ebullientes, et instar densissimæ pluvie convolantes, et in obstantium pectora, vultum, oculos quoque importunius irruentes, conatum illorum plurimum retardabant. Videres ut hericium spinis, ita Galwensem sagittis undique circumseptum, nichilominus vibrare gladium, et cæca quadam amentia proruentem nunc hostem cædere, nunc inanem aerem cassis ictibus *fo. 200. b.* verberare.<sup>1</sup> Et jamjam percussi pavore extremi quique dissolvebantur in fugam, cum inclitus adolescens filius regis, cum sua superveniens acie, in adversum sibi cornu leonina se feritate<sup>2</sup> proripuit, ipsaque globi australis parte instar cassis aranæ dissipata, obstantes quosque cædendo ultra regium signum progressus est. ratusque reliquum exercitum secutum iri, ut hostibus fugæ præsidium tolleret, equorum stationem invasit dissolvit,<sup>3</sup> dispersit, ac retro usque ad duo stadia redire coegit. Hujus igitur admirabili impetu plebs inermis perterrita labebantur. Sed prudentis<sup>4</sup> eujus-

<sup>1</sup> C. here inserts the passage, *Percusso igitur a sagitta . . . et fugæ indulsit* taken from Henry of Huntingdon (Rolls ed. p. 264).

<sup>2</sup> *feritate*, E.; *ferocitate*, P.

<sup>3</sup> *dissolvit*, C. E.; om. P.

<sup>4</sup> *prudentis eujusdam*: this is the order in C. and E.



A.D. 1138.

dam viri figmento, qui, caput unius occisi in altum erigens, regem clamabat occisum, revocati,<sup>1</sup> vehementius solito irruunt in obstantes. Tunc Galwenses inbrem sagittarum, gladios militum ultra<sup>2</sup> non ferentes,<sup>3</sup> fugam ineunt, occisis prius duobus eorum ducibus Wulgrico<sup>4</sup> et Duuenaldo.<sup>5</sup> Porro Laodensium cuneus, primum vix impetum expectans, statim dissolutus est.<sup>6</sup> Tunc rex equo dissiliens, et proceres qui cum eo erant, adversus hostes processerunt. Sed Scotti ob ceterorum fugam pavidi ex omni<sup>7</sup> parte regalis<sup>8</sup> aciei fugere cœperunt, ita ut in brevi lapsis ceteris vix<sup>9</sup> pauci circa regem persisterent. Proccedit contra eos Anglorum exercitus, ipsum certe regem cum omnibus suis vel occisurus vel capturus, nisi milites regem, fugam omnimodis abjurantem, vi sublatum equo regredi compulissent. Tunc hi qui fugerant, videntes regale vexillum, quod ad similitudinem draconis figuratum facile agnoscebatur, reverti, scientes regem non cecidisse sed redire, ad ipsum reversi terribilem insequentibus cuneum creaverunt. Interea ille adolescentum decus, militum gloria, senum deliciae, filius regis, respiciens retro, vidit se cum paucis in mediis relictum hostibus, vertensque se ad unum de sociis et subridens: "Fecimus," inquit, "quod potuimus, et certe quantum in nobis est vicimus. Nunc consilio non minus opus est quam virtute. Nec est aliud inajus animi constantis indicium quam in adversa

<sup>1</sup> *revocat*, E.; *revocati*, C. P.<sup>2</sup> *ultra*, E.; *ulterius*, C. P.<sup>3</sup> *ferentes*, E.; *sustinentes*, C.<sup>4</sup> *Wulgrico*, E.; *Wlgrico*, P.<sup>5</sup> *Duuenaldo*, E.<sup>6</sup> C. here interpolates the following: *Regalis autem acies . . . .**solo rege persistente* from Huntingdon (Rolls ed., p. 264).<sup>7</sup> *omni parte*, E.; *omni lapsi parte*, P.<sup>8</sup> *regalis*, C. E.<sup>9</sup> *vix*, E.; om. C. P.

A.D. 1138. " fortuna non frangi, et quando non potes viribus,  
 " consilio superes inimicum. Projectis itaque signis,  
 " quibus a ceteris dividimur, ipsis nos hostibus indera-  
 " mus, quasi insequentes cum ipsis, donec prætergressi  
 " cunctos ad paternum cuneum, quem eminus video in  
 " suo vigore manentem cedere necessitati, quamtocius  
 " veniamus." His dictis, sonipedem calcaribus urgens  
 medios intersecat hostes, donec anteriores transgressus,  
 mitiori incessu equum allevat. Et ut noveris quam  
 securum in adversis et providum gesserit<sup>1</sup> animum,  
 ceteris militibus armorum onera ubiubi projicientibus,  
 optimus juvenis laboris patiens sustinuit, donec ad  
 pauperis ejusdam tugurium veniens, evocato pauper-  
 culo exiit se thorace,<sup>2</sup> projiciensque ad pedes hominis,  
 " Accipe," inquit, " ut<sup>3</sup> quod mihi est oneri, tuæ consulat  
 " necessitati."<sup>4</sup> At rex jam longe processerat, jam ordi-  
 nate terribiliter incedens ut, quosdam de insequentibus  
 capiens, ceteros qui instabant plurimum deterreret;  
 sicque ad Carleolum usque perveniens, ibi de se jam  
 securus, sed de filio pavidus, per biduum nil aliud  
 agens expectabat. Tertia tandem die diu desideratum  
 sanum et incolumem filium recepit. Anglorum sane  
 proceres diu insequentes innumerabiles tam Scottos  
 quam<sup>5</sup> Galwenses interfecerunt, de militibus vero mul-  
 tos ceperunt. De singulis autem partibus singuli  
 milites corruerunt. Sane Anglorum duces omnes sani  
 incolumesque reversi, et circa Walterum Espec, quem  
 ducis et patris loco venerabantur, conglobati, immensas

<sup>1</sup> gesserit, E. C.

<sup>2</sup> torace, E.

<sup>3</sup> The York MS. (E.) ends as a fragment at this point with the words *Accipe, inquit, ut*, not *vir*, as in Twysden. C. also reads *ut*. The

remainder of the text is taken from the Cambridge MS.

<sup>4</sup> C. here inserts: *Ad ultimum tamen fugere est compulsus. At rex . . .*

<sup>5</sup> *tam*, P., apparently, but the word has been carelessly altered.

gratias Deo Omnipotenti pro insperata victoria retulerunt.<sup>1</sup> A D. 1138.

*Explicit descriptio Æthelredi abbatis.*

<sup>1</sup> C adds: *Hoc bellum mense Augusti factum est iij<sup>o</sup> anno regni regis Stephani apud Cuenmore. Duces Standard fuerunt Willelmus comes Albemeriæ, Walterus Espe, Willelmus Piperellus de Nothyng-*

*ame, Ilbertus Lacy, cujus frater solus ex omnibus equitibus ibi occisus est. These words are mainly from Henry of Huntingdon (Rolls ed., p. 264).*



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CHRONIQUE  
DE  
JORDAN FANTOSME.

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CHRONIQUE DE LA GUERRE ENTRE LES  
ANGLOIS ET LES ECOSSOIS

EN 1173 ET 1174,

PAR JORDAN FANTOSME.

- Oëz<sup>1</sup> veraie estoire (que Deu<sup>2</sup> vus benëie !) fo. 138.  
 Del miendre euruné qui unkes fust en vie.  
 Talent m'est pris de faire vers, dreiz est que jo<sup>3</sup>  
 vus die :  
 Celui tieng à sage qui par<sup>4</sup> autre se chastie.  
 5 Gentil rei d' Engleterre<sup>5</sup> a la char très hardie,  
 Al euruner<sup>6</sup> de vostre fiz ne vus suvieng-e-il mie  
 Ke l'umage de nost ses meins le rei d'Aubanie<sup>7</sup>  
 Li feïstes presenter, senz feï aver mentie ?  
 Puis lur deïstes ambedous : " Deus les maldie,  
 10 " Ki de vus departirad amur ne druërie !  
 " Eneuntre tutes genz del mund, en force e en  
 " aïe,  
 " Od mun fiz seicz tenant-salve ma seignurie."  
 Puis entre vus<sup>8</sup> e vostre fiz mortel nasquid<sup>9</sup>  
 envie,  
 Dunt maint gentil chevalier ad puis<sup>10</sup> perdu la  
 vie,  
 15 Maint hume deschevalchié, mainte sele voidie.  
 Maint bon escu estroé, mainte bruine<sup>11</sup> faillie.

<sup>1</sup> The illuminator has neglected to insert the O of Oëz in D., but L. has it.

<sup>2</sup> *verraie* . . . *Deus*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *Talent me prist de fere un vers* . . . *je le*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *que par*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *de Engleterre*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Al eurunement*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *que le humage de ses-meins le rei de Albanie*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *Puis en vos*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *nasqui mortel*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *puis omitted*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *breingue*, L.



CHRONICLE OF THE WAR BETWEEN  
THE ENGLISH AND THE SCOTCH

IN 1173 AND 1174,

BY JORDAN FANTOSME

Hear a true history (May God bless you!)  
Of the best king that ever lived.  
The desire to make verses has seized me, right it  
is I should tell you them :

I hold him wise who corrects himself by others.  
Gentle king of England of right brave face,  
At your son's coronation remember you not that  
You caused the homage from the hands of the  
king of Albany

To be presented to him, without forfeiture of  
fealty ?

Then you said to them both, " God curse them who  
10 " Would disjoin love and friendship from you !

" Against the whole world, with might and with  
" aid

" Be with my son—saving my over-lordship."  
Afterwards deadly envy arose between you and  
your son,

Whence many a gentle knight has since lost his  
life,

Many a man been unhorsed, many a saddle  
emptied,

Many a good shield pierced, many a hauberk  
broken.

Après icest eurunement, e après ceste baillie,  
 Surportastes à<sup>1</sup> vostre fiz auques de seignurie,  
 Tolistes lui ses volentés; n'en pot<sup>2</sup> aver baillie:  
 20 Là erut guerre senz auur, Damnes-Deus la  
 maldie!  
 Reis<sup>3</sup> de terre senz honur ne set bien que  
 faire:  
 Ne sout<sup>4</sup> li juefnes eurunez, li gentilz debo-  
 naire.  
 Quant ne pot ses volentez acumplir pur sun  
 paire,  
 Pensout en sun curage qu'il li fereit cuntraire:  
 25 Turnad s'en tut à celée,<sup>5</sup> passad un gué de  
 Leire,<sup>6</sup>  
 De si qu'il vint à Saint-Denis<sup>7</sup> ne volt mangier  
 ne beire,  
 Cuntad al rei de France trestut le suen afaire.  
 Mandent celui de Flandres, Felipe depuignaire,<sup>8</sup>  
 E Maheu de Buluine,<sup>9</sup> qu'il venist od sun fraire.  
 30 Grant fud cele assemblée: une<sup>10</sup> ne vëistes maire.  
 Li reis Lowis de France si fud à Saint-Denis,—  
 Mar fud la guerre faite envers le rei Henris!<sup>11</sup>—  
 E tint un grant eunceile de tuz ses bons amis.  
 Del viel rei d'Engleterre<sup>12</sup> esteit issi pensis,  
 35 A poi de duel n'esrage<sup>13</sup> li gentil rei Lowis.

The young  
 king flies  
 to Louis  
 of France  
 (March 8,  
 1173).

<sup>1</sup> à, om. L.

<sup>2</sup> n'en poiet, L.

<sup>3</sup> The scribe of D. has placed the R. of *Reis* in the margin.

<sup>4</sup> *Ne solt*, L. In D. the word is *ausout*.

<sup>5</sup> *sei tut à celé*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *del heire*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *D'issi . . . Seint-Deonis*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *Mandé unt idunc Philippe le pugneire*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *E le eunte de Buluigne*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *unques*, L.

<sup>11</sup> L. omits this line, but M. Vising is mistaken in saying that it does not occur in D.

<sup>12</sup> *de Engletere*, L. This variation recurs, but will not be again recorded.

<sup>13</sup> *de dul ne rage*, L.

After this coronation, and after this delegation,  
 You withdrew from your son something of his  
 lordship,  
 You annulled his desires ; he could not have his  
 power.

20 Thence grew loveless war, the Lord God curse it !  
 A king of a country knows ill what to do without  
 honour :

Neither did the crowned youth, the noble and kind,  
 When he was unable on account of his father to  
 fulfil his desires,

He thought in his heart that he would oppose him :  
 He turned himself away quite secretly, passed a  
 ford of the Loire ;

Until he reached St. Denis he would neither eat  
 nor drink.

He very soon related his business to the king of  
 France.

They send for him of Flanders, Philip<sup>1</sup> the warrior,  
 And Matthew<sup>2</sup> of Boulogne to come with his  
 brother.

30 Great was this meeting : you never saw greater,  
 King Louis<sup>3</sup> of France was at Saint Denis,—  
 In an evil hour was the war waged against king  
 Henry ! —<sup>4</sup>

And held a great council of all his good friends.  
 So much did the gentle king Louis think about  
 The old king of England as almost to go mad  
 with grief.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Thierry d'Alsace and Sibylla of Anjou, aunt to Henry II. He succeeded his father in 1168, and died of the plague at Acre in 1191.

<sup>2</sup> He became count of Boulogne by marriage with Mary, daughter

of king Stephen, and abbess of Rumsey.

<sup>3</sup> Louis VII., the first husband of Eleanor of Aquitaine.

<sup>4</sup> This line and line 43 are almost identical. Its insertion here is perhaps a mistake on the part of the writer of the Durham MS.

- Quant li cuens de Flandres en ad drescié sun  
vis  
E dit al rei de France : “ Ne seiez si pensis : fo. 138b.  
“ Vos avez<sup>1</sup> grant barnage, vailanz e poestis  
“ Pur faire grant damage desur voz enemis.  
40 “ En tute vostre terre mar seit vassal remis,  
“ Ki puisse<sup>2</sup> porter armes, u ne seit si antis,  
“ Ne vus face serrement<sup>3</sup> sur le cors saint  
“ Denis.”  
Mar fud faite la guerre<sup>4</sup> devers le rei Hen-  
ris !  
§ Li cuens Tiebaut<sup>5</sup> de France dresçad de sun  
estage,  
45 E dist al emperere ù fud<sup>6</sup> sun grant barnage :  
“ Gentil rei de Saint-Denis, el cors<sup>7</sup> me tient  
“ la rage,  
“ Jo<sup>8</sup> sui vostre liges hum par fei e par hu-  
“ mage,  
“ Bien sui prest de guerreier e de trover hostage,  
“ Quarante jorz vus servirai enz<sup>9</sup> el premier es-  
“ tage,  
50 “ E ferai al rei Henri, ço crei,<sup>10</sup> itel damage,  
“ Ne serrad mès restoré en trestut sun eage.<sup>11</sup>  
“ Ne purrad en nul lieu guarir en plein ne en  
“ boseage,  
“ Se il al jofue rei sun fiz ne rende l'eritage,<sup>12</sup>—  
“ Le regue d'Engleterre,—si faire volt que sage.  
55 “ Larrez-lui Normendie, se ire vus assuage.  
“ Se rien i ad de mesprisun e dit ai nul ultrage,

<sup>1</sup> *Vos aiez*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *Que ue puet*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *serment*, L. This recurring form will not be again recorded.

<sup>4</sup> *la guerre faite*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *Tebald*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *ù fust*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *Gentils reis de Saint-Denis, el le cors*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *Jeo*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *enz*, om. L.

<sup>10</sup> *jo crei*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *sun age*, L. ; *sun* (not *son*) eage, D.

<sup>12</sup> *le heritage*, L.

When the count of Flanders had raised his face  
And had said to the king of France: "Be not so  
pensive:

" You have a great baronage, valiant and able

" To do great damage to your enemies.

40 " Throughout your land it would be ill for any

" Vassal, who could carry arms or might

" Not be too old, to delay, nor

" Take an oath to you on the body of St. Denis."

In an evil hour was the war waged against king  
Henry!<sup>1</sup>

The count Thibault<sup>2</sup> of France rose from his seat,  
And told the emperor<sup>3</sup> where his great baronage  
was:

" Gentle king of Saint Denis, rage possesses me:

" I am your liege man by faith and by homage,

" Right ready am I to war and to find hostage.

" I will serve you forty days in the first rank,

50 " And I will do king Henry, I believe, such damage

" As will not be made good in all his life.

" He will be able to escape it in no place, neither

" in plain nor in wood,

" If he does not surrender the heritage to the

" young king his son—

" The kingdom of England,—if he will do what is

" wise.

" You will leave him Normandy, if he appeases

" your anger.

" If there is any error and I have said anything

" outrageous,

<sup>1</sup> See line 32. Perhaps, indeed,  
the line is intended as a sort of  
refrain.

<sup>2</sup> Thibault V., count of Blois and  
Champagne.

<sup>3</sup> The use of this title is worthy  
of notice. See *l.* 435.

- " U nul le voile demustrer<sup>1</sup> vers mei en sun  
 " language,  
 " Veez-mei ci en vostre curt prest de pleier mun  
 " guage,  
 " Cil est vostre parjure,<sup>2</sup> si quiert vostre huntage."  
 60 § Jà sunt à un acord<sup>3</sup> li reis e ses baruns,  
 E tramettent messages par plusurs regiuns ;  
 Le rei Henri desfient par itels achaisuns,  
 Mettent les beles<sup>4</sup> terres à granz destructiuns.  
 El meis d'avril<sup>5</sup> en Paskerez fud l'ost. de France  
 sumuns,  
 65 E chevalchent ès marches<sup>6</sup> laciez les gumpha-  
 nuns.  
 Li reis Henri chevalche cuntre els à espuruns,  
 E ot en sa cumpaigne dis mile Braibeçons<sup>7</sup>  
 E maint gentil chevalier, Angevins e Gaseuns,  
 Ki frunt à ceus de France ires e cuntençons.  
 70 Mult fud grant l'ost de France que ameine  
 Lowis.  
 Pur destruire le pere se peine mult le fiz :  
 [Veneu e pris de guere merrad le à Saint-  
 Denis.]<sup>8</sup>  
 Mès li reis sun pere li ad tut el pramis,  
 Qu'il<sup>9</sup> verrad maint gumfanun e maint cheval de *fo.* 139.  
 pris,  
 75 Mainte targe dubblé blanc e vermeil e bis,  
 Mainte juste faire<sup>10</sup> envers ses enemis,  
 Ainz qu'il seit de bataille recrëuz ne cunquis.<sup>11</sup>  
 § Li sires d'Engleterre ad en sun euer pesance<sup>12</sup>

The revolt  
breaks out  
(after  
April 15,  
1173).

<sup>1</sup> *vuille mustrer*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *parjure*, L.; *parjuire*, D.

<sup>3</sup> *acorde*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *les bones*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *El le meis d'averil*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *as marches*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *cumpanie dis mil Brabeçons*,

L.

<sup>8</sup> This line occurs in L. only.

<sup>9</sup> L. reads confusedly :—

*Qu'il verrad meint gumfanun  
blanc vermeil e bis;*

*Meinte targe dublé meint bon  
chival de pris.*

<sup>10</sup> *fête*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *u cunquis*, L.

<sup>12</sup> *quor pensance*, L.



“ Or some one desires to contradict me,  
 “ Behold me here in your court ready to offer my  
 “ gage,  
 “ That this man is forsworn to you and seeks your  
 “ shame.”

- 60 Already the king and his barons are agreed  
 And send messengers through many parts ;  
 They defy King Henry for such reasons,  
 And subject fair lands to great damage.  
 In the month of April, at Eastertide, was the French  
 host summoned,  
 And they ride to the borders with banners furled.  
 King Henry rides against them in haste,  
 And has in his company ten thousand Brabançons,  
 And many a gentle knight, Angevin and Gascon,  
 Who will cause to those of France wrath and strife.
- 70 Very great was the French host which Louis led.  
 The son takes great pains for his father's destruc-  
 tion :  
 When vanquished and a prisoner of war he will  
 lead him to Saint Denis.  
 But the king his father has promised him still more,  
 That he shall see many a standard and many a  
 valuable horse,  
 Many a shield lined white and red and grey,  
 Many a joust made against his enemies,  
 Before he would be recreant in battle or van-  
 quished.  
 The lord of England had trouble in his heart

- Quant sun fiz le guerreie, qu'il nurri ad d'en-  
fance,
- 80 E veit que cil de Flandres l'unt mis en errance.  
Pramis li unt la terre des Engleis à fiance;<sup>1</sup>  
Mielz volsist mort que vie qu'il eüst la puissance,  
Tant cum il pout d'espée ferir u de lance.<sup>2</sup>  
Establist sun barnage par fiere cuntenance,
- 85 Vait encuntre Lowis, le riche rei de France,  
Cuntre le cunte Phelippun, dunt vus oiez par-  
lance,  
E dan<sup>3</sup> Mahen sun frere, chevalier de vaillance.  
Mult aida Den le pere le jor, quant il l'avance,  
E mustra de sa guerre bele signifiance;
- 90 Que le sucurs de sun fiz, à plus fud s'esperance,<sup>4</sup>  
Fud le jor agraventé senz nule demurance.  
Ço fud<sup>5</sup> Maheu le puigneur, sur qui vint la  
lance;
- N'aurad mès li reis Henriz pur lui nule dutance.  
§ Li cuens de Buluine ad receu mortel plaie,
- 95 De si qu'as espuruns à or li sanc vermeilz li  
raie.  
Ne purrad jamès guarir, asez ad<sup>6</sup> qu'il asaie.  
Tant est sis freres plus dolent, e plus suvent  
s'esmaie,  
E jure sun serrement, "La pretiuse plaie,"  
Jamès vers le rei Henri n'aurad nule appaie.<sup>7</sup>
- 100 Ore chevalche Lowis, si fait le jofne rei,<sup>8</sup>  
E Phelippe de Flandres<sup>9</sup> est mis en grant desrei.  
Li cuens Tiebaut de France demeine grant pod-  
nei.<sup>10</sup>

Death of  
Matthew of  
Boulogne  
(July,  
1173).

<sup>1</sup> L. omits the two lines, *E veit*  
— à fiance.

<sup>2</sup> *peust d'espée ferir u de sa*  
lance, L.

<sup>3</sup> *En dan*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *à plus ot sa fiance*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *Ceo fu*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *ad assez*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *n'avera nul apaie*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *reis*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *de Flandres*, L.; om. D.

<sup>10</sup> *Tebaud — pothnei*, L.

- When his son, whom he had nourished from  
 infancy, waged war on him,  
 80 And he saw that those of Flanders had deceived  
 him.  
 They faithfully promised him the land of the  
 English :
- He would have preferred death to life rather than  
 that [his son] should have the power,  
 So long as he could strike with sword or lance.  
 He marshals his baronage with proud bearing,  
 And goes against Louis, the wealthy king of France,  
 Against count Philip, of whom you hear men talk,  
 And lord Matthew his brother, a valiant knight.  
 God aided much the father that day, when he  
 advanced  
 And showed a fair presage of his campaign.
- 90 For the helpers in whom his son's chief hope rested  
 Were that day promptly routed.  
 That was Matthew the fighter on whom came the  
 lance ;  
 King Henry will no longer have fear of him.  
 The count of Boulogne has received a mortal  
 wound,<sup>1</sup>  
 From which the red blood trickles to his golden  
 spurs.  
 He will never recover, however much he may try.  
 Then<sup>2</sup> is his brother in deeper grief, and oftener  
 alarms himself,  
 And swears his oath—"The precious wound"—  
 Never will he have any pacification with king  
 Henry.
- 100 Now rides Louis, so does the youthful king,  
 And Philip of Flanders is put in great disorder.  
 Count Thibaud of France shows great insolence.

*Newfchatel* <sup>1</sup> At the siege of Driencourt, in  
 July, 1173, from an arrow accord-  
 ing to Gervase.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *donec* for *tant*, which,  
 though in both MSS., is clearly  
 wrong.

- Jà saverad li reis Henri asez ù mover sei.  
 Franceis li muevent guerre, Flameng et Cupei,  
 105 Li euens de Leireestre, si i sunt<sup>1</sup> ses fiz tut trei.  
 Ieil de Tankarvile<sup>2</sup> ne l'aime pas de fei;  
 Cent chevaliers à armes ameine en sun cunrei,<sup>3</sup>  
 Ki tuit lui sul manacent de mettre en tel desrei  
 Ne li larrunt de terre le pris d'un palefrei.
- 110 Seignurs, en la meie<sup>4</sup> fei, merveille est<sup>5</sup> mult *fo. 139b.*  
 grant  
 Pur quei li suen demeine le vunt si demenant,<sup>6</sup>  
 Le plus honorable e le plus cumquerant<sup>7</sup>  
 Que fust en nule terre puis le tens Moysant,  
 Fors sulement li reis Charle, ki poesté fud grant  
 115 Par les dudze cumpaignuns, Olivier, e Rodlant.<sup>8</sup>  
 § Si ne fud<sup>9</sup> mès oï en fable ne en geste  
 Un sul rei de sa valur ne de sa grant poeste.  
 Purquant lui vunt tuz maneçant, il en jure<sup>10</sup> sa  
 teste  
 Ne larrad pur riveier ne pur chacier sa beste.
- 120 Or chevalche li euens Phelipe ovoc sa grant  
 cumpaigne,<sup>11</sup>  
 E gnaste Normendie par bois e par champaigne.<sup>12</sup>  
 N'en oïssiez le rei Henri qu'il une feiz s'en  
 plaigne,<sup>13</sup>  
 Ne querre nul achaisun que la guerre remaigne.<sup>14</sup>  
 Mult ad li juesne reis espleitié, qui si bien se  
 baigne
- 125 Encore<sup>15</sup> en ad les mandemenz des baruns de  
 Bretagne.

<sup>1</sup> *Lceestre, si sunt, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *Tankerville, L.*

<sup>3</sup> *en meine a sun cunrei, L.*

<sup>4</sup> *mei, L.*

<sup>5</sup> *en est, L.*

<sup>6</sup> *manaçant, L.*

<sup>7</sup> *e plus cumquerant, L.*

<sup>8</sup> *Oliver e Rolant, L.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ce ne fud, by erasure, L.*

<sup>10</sup> *li vunt manaçant si en jure, L.*

<sup>11</sup> *od sa grant cumpaignie, L.*

<sup>12</sup> *champaigne, L.*

<sup>13</sup> *que une feiz se plaigne, L.*

<sup>14</sup> *remaignie, L.*

<sup>15</sup> *Encore, L.*

King Henry soon shall know well enough where  
to betake himself.

The French, the Flemings, and the Capei<sup>1</sup> make  
war on him,

The earl of Leicester,<sup>2</sup> and there also are his sons  
all three.

He of Tankerville<sup>3</sup> in truth does not love him ;

He leads a hundred armed knights in his troop,

Who all threaten to put [king Henry] to such  
a rout

That they will not leave him a palfrey's value in  
land.

110 Lords, by my faith, it is very great marvel

Why his own vassals go on treating him thus—

The most honourable and the most victorious

That has been in any land since the time of  
Moses,

Save only king Charles, whose power was great

Through the twelve peers, Oliver, and Roland.

One never heard in fable or in story

Of a single king of his valour or of his great power.

Although all come to him threatening, he swears  
by his head that

He will not cease to hawk by river nor to chase  
his beast.

120 Now count Philip rides with his great company,

And lays waste Normandy by wood and plain.

You would never once have heard king Henry  
bewail it,

Nor seek any occasion for the cessation of war.

Much has the young king done, who is well  
pleased that

Still he has the command of the barons of Brittany.

<sup>1</sup> People, M. Michel says, of the place which Gilbert of Mons calls Capis. It was then a possession of the count of Flanders. See Bouquet, xiii. 566 E.

<sup>2</sup> Robert de Beaumont, third earl of Leicester.

<sup>3</sup> Guillaume le Jeune, *Camerarius de Tancarville*. *Ben. Petr.*, i. 45.

- § Quant ço oï le pere,<sup>1</sup> greins en fud e irez,  
 E jure sun serrement, mar fud unques pensez,  
 E dit à ses chevaliers : “ Seignurs, ore m’entendez :  
 “ Unques mès en ma vie ne fui si adulez ;<sup>2</sup>  
 130 “ El cors<sup>3</sup> me tient la rage : a poi ne sui desvez.  
 “ Les baruns de Bretaine m’unt jà cuntrariez,<sup>4</sup>  
 “ A ceus qui<sup>5</sup> me héent à mort se sunt aban-  
 “ dunez,  
 “ Al rei Lowis de France e à mun fiz ainz nez,  
 “ Ki me vunt deseritant de ço dunt sui chacez.<sup>6</sup>  
 135 “ Tolir me volt ma terre<sup>7</sup> e fieus e heritez.  
 “ Ne sui pas si envielli, ço sevent<sup>8</sup> gent asez,  
 “ Ke deive terre perdre ne pur mes granz héez.  
 “ Od la lune serie anuit eschilguaitiez,<sup>9</sup>  
 “ Que Flameng ne terruen<sup>10</sup> ne seient enbuschiez.  
 140 “ Les baruns de Bretaine, vus le savez asez,  
 “ Tresqu’en Fine Busterne<sup>11</sup> sunt en mes poestez ;  
 “ Mès Raül de Feulgiere est vers mei revelez,<sup>12</sup>  
 “ Li euens Huge<sup>13</sup> de Cestre en est sis afiez.  
 “ Ne larrai que<sup>14</sup> ne’s veie pur fin or esmerez.  
 145 “ Si trover le poeie<sup>15</sup> dedenz lur fermetez ;  
 “ E puis que noz enemis sunt si asëurez, fo. 140.  
 “ Dune les fait bon envair par granz<sup>16</sup> enemistiez.  
 “ Mielz valt engin que guerre<sup>17</sup> sur gent des-  
 “ mesurez,  
 “ Ke malveis asaillie,<sup>18</sup> s’il sunt descuragiez.”

<sup>1</sup> en oï le pere, L.

<sup>2</sup> ne fu si avilez, L.

<sup>3</sup> E le cors, L.

<sup>4</sup> mult m’unt contraillez, L.

<sup>5</sup> A cels he, L.

<sup>6</sup> Que me vunt deseritant de ceo dunt sui chacez, L.

<sup>7</sup> la terre, L.

<sup>8</sup> ceo savent, L.

<sup>9</sup> Od la lune sei anuit achanciez, L.

<sup>10</sup> Que Flamenc e li altre, L.

<sup>11</sup> Finiebus terre, L.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Meis Raüf de Feugere vers mei est revelez, L.

<sup>13</sup> Heue, L. This variation will not be further noted.

<sup>14</sup> Ne larrai ki, L.

<sup>15</sup> les poie, L.

<sup>16</sup> bien envair par mult grant, L.

<sup>17</sup> engin de guere, L.

<sup>18</sup> assaille, L.



- When his father heard that, he was grieved and  
 angry at it,  
 And swore his oath, wrongly was it ever thought,  
 And said to his knights, " My Lords, hear me now :  
 " Never in my life was I so distressed.
- 130 " Anger takes possession of me : I am almost  
 " driven mad.  
 " The barons of Brittany have already opposed me  
 " And have abandoned themselves to those who  
 " mortally hate me,  
 " To king Louis of France and my eldest son,  
 " Who come to disinherit me of that whence I  
 " am driven.  
 " He wishes to take from me my lands and fiefs  
 " and inheritances.  
 " I am not grown so old, people know that well  
 " enough,  
 " That I ought to lose my land, nor on account of  
 " my great feuds.  
 " Keep watch to-night with the tranquil moon,  
 " That neither Fleming nor son of the soil <sup>1</sup> be in  
 " ambush.
- 140 " You know well enough that the barons of  
 " Brittany  
 " As far as Finisterre are in my power ;  
 " But Raoul of Fougères <sup>2</sup> is in rebellion against me,  
 " And earl Hugh of Chester is bound to him.  
 " I will not fail to see them for lack of fine pure  
 " gold,  
 " If I can find them within their strongholds ;  
 " And since our foes are so confident  
 " It is well then to attack them with great enmity,  
 " Cunning is more effective than fighting with  
 " rebels  
 " [Or] than a dangerous attack, if they are dis-  
 " couraged."

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<sup>1</sup> *terrien*, is the usual form.

<sup>2</sup> See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, ii. 897-9.

- 150 Respunt sun barnage : " Pleins estes de buntez,  
 " Trestuz voz enemis sunt en mal an entrez.  
 " Vostre est la terre, si la defendez ;  
 " A tort vus guerreie li vostre engendrez."  
 Atant ès-vus ces chevaliers<sup>1</sup> descenduz del paleis ;
- 155 E vunt saisir ses armes<sup>2</sup> igneus, e demaneis  
 Vestir hauberes e bruines, lacier ces healmes  
 freis,  
 Prendre par les enarmes ces escuz Vianeis.<sup>3</sup>  
 Dunc oïssiez Deu aramir<sup>4</sup> li vielz Henri li reis :  
 " Mar m'aurunt entre-acuntré li traître ès chau-  
 " meis !"<sup>5</sup>
- 160 De la vile sunt issuz chevaliers as cunreis,  
 Meins de seisante mile e plus<sup>6</sup> de seisante treis,  
 N'ad celui qui<sup>7</sup> ne quide valeir un rei Waleis.  
 Ore chevalehe le rei Henri od tute sa meidnée ;<sup>8</sup>  
 Devers Dol en Bretagne tient<sup>9</sup> la cheminée.
- 165 E dit Willame de Humaz<sup>10</sup>—il est en la journée :  
 " Ne tenum plaît de<sup>11</sup> demurer : veiz-ci la lur  
 " cuntrée."  
 Ceus del chastel unt jà vëu Willame e sa  
 baniere,  
 E veient que li Braibengon<sup>12</sup> veneient tut ariere.  
 " Veez l'ost de Normendie, qui nus mettrunt<sup>13</sup>  
 " ariere.
- 170 " Norman sunt bon cunquerur, n'ad gent de lur  
 " maniere :

<sup>1</sup> ses chivalers, L.

<sup>2</sup> les armes, L.

<sup>3</sup> les escuz maneis, L.

<sup>4</sup> Deu clamer, L.

<sup>5</sup> Mar m'averunt entre encuntré  
 li traître has chemeis, L.

<sup>6</sup> Poi meins de trente mile plus,  
 L.

<sup>7</sup> N'ad celui qui, D. ; N'ad celi  
 que, L.

<sup>8</sup> e tute sa mednée, L.

<sup>9</sup> Devers Dol en Bretagne tien,  
 L.

<sup>10</sup> Humez, L.

<sup>11</sup> plaît à, L.

<sup>12</sup> Brabeçun, L.

<sup>13</sup> Normundie — meteil, L.

- 150 His baronage answers : " Full you are of goodness,  
 " All your enemies have begun a bad year.  
 " The land is yours, therefore defend it :  
 " Your son wrongly wars against you."  
 Then behold these knights come down from the  
 palace  
 And seize their arms actively and promptly,  
 Put on hauberks and breastplates and lace their  
 new helmets,  
 And take by the arm-strap their shields of Vienne.<sup>1</sup>  
 Then you might hear Henry the old king swear  
 before God :  
 " Woe to the traitors who shall meet me in the  
 " stubble !"
- 160 Knights have come forth from the town in array,  
 Less than sixty thousand and more than sixty-three,  
 Nor is there one of them who does not think him-  
 self worth a Welsh king.  
 Then rides king Henry with all his company ;  
 Towards Dol in Brittany he holds his course.  
 And William of Humez<sup>2</sup>—he is in the battle—says :  
 " Let us not talk of delay : see here their country."  
 Those in the castle have already seen William  
 and his banner,  
 And see that the Brabançons come all in the rear.<sup>3</sup>  
 " See the host of Normandy, who will drive us  
 " back.
- 170 " Normans are good conquerors ; there is no race  
 " like them :

<sup>1</sup> In Lanphiné.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Richard of Ilumez. He died in 1206.

<sup>3</sup> There seems to be a line missing here from both MSS. William appears in *l.* 165 as the speaker, and in *l.* 167 as a person spoken of.

His words, too, would, according to Fantosme's custom, end with the *laisse* which has the *ée* rhyme. Lines 167, 168 must thus be viewed as narrative, and *l.* 169 as beginning the words of a speaker not named.

- “ Par tut trovom en geste que<sup>1</sup> Norman sunt  
 “ venquere :  
 “ Pensez-ent, sire Raül, kar la cumpaigne est  
 “ fiere.  
 “ Traï nus ad le jofne rei qui guerreie sun pere,  
 “ Quant il les chemins laissa pur estre sur  
 “ riviere.<sup>2</sup>  
 175 “ Cument defendre purrium ne vei nule maniere.  
 “ Ne recevrunt<sup>3</sup> argent ne or : poi nus valdrad  
 “ preiere.”  
 Raül respunt encuntre : “ Ci n’ad mestier folie,  
 “ Ne gab, ne enveisure, ne nule lecherie ;  
 “ Mès ki bon cunseil saurad, vienged avant si  
 “ l’ die.<sup>4</sup>  
 180 “ N’avum poür de perdre ne [membre ne]<sup>5</sup> la  
 “ vie.  
 “ Li viel rei se demeine par mult grant estultie,  
 “ [Quant il de Bretaigne demande seigneurie,]<sup>6</sup>  
 “ Manace nus pur sun avoir e pur sa manantie. *fo. 140. b.*  
 “ Mès n’en irra pas issi cum sun orguil le guie.  
 185 “ Tel cunseil ore<sup>7</sup> en pernum, senz estrif de atie,  
 “ Ke nus ne seium hui huniz, ne la terre mal-  
 “ baillie.  
 “ Cest chastel n’est mie fort : ne nus i fium mie.  
 “ Issum nus fors<sup>8</sup> encuntre : si lur frum asaillie.”  
 § Atant se<sup>9</sup> sunt entre-feruz enz en mi la cham-  
 paigne—  
 190 Dan Willame de Humaz<sup>10</sup> e ceus de sa cumpaigne.  
 N’i ad chevalier de pris qui sa lance n’i fraigne :  
 Ki juster volt à cumpaignun, tost i trova<sup>11</sup> bar-  
 gaigne.

<sup>1</sup> *Par truun de gestes ke, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *sujunere, L.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ne receverent, L.*

<sup>4</sup> *saverad, vienge, s’il le die, L.*

<sup>5</sup> *membre ne, om. D.*

<sup>6</sup> *D. omits this line.*

<sup>7</sup> *ore, om. L.*

<sup>8</sup> *hors, L.*

<sup>9</sup> *se, om. L.*

<sup>10</sup> *Humez, L.*

<sup>11</sup> *i trovra, L.*

" We find everywhere in story that Normans are  
 " the victors :  
 " Think of it, Sir Raoul, for the company is fierce.  
 " The young king, who wars against his father,  
 " betrayed us  
 " When he left the roads to be on the river-bank.  
 " I see no way of defending ourselves.  
 " They will not take silver or gold : entreaty will  
 " avail little."

Raoul retorts : " Folly has no business here,  
 " Nor scoff, nor pleasantry, nor any buffoonery ;  
 " But whoever knows good counsel let him come  
 " forward and speak.

180 " We have no fear of losing life or limb.  
 " The old king comports himself with very great  
 " foolishness,  
 " When he demands the lordship of Brittany,  
 " And threatens us for his possessions and his  
 " riches.  
 " But he shall not proceed in the way his pride  
 " guides him.  
 " Such counsel now let us take without angry  
 " strife<sup>1</sup>  
 " That we may not be to-day dishonoured, nor the  
 " land ill-governed.  
 " This castle is by no means strong : let us not  
 " trust to it at all.  
 " Let us sally out against them : so we will attack  
 " them."

Then they exchanged blows in the midst of the plain—

190 Lord William de Humez and those of his party.  
 There is no knight of importance who there breaks  
 not his lance :  
 He who desired to tilt against an adversary soon  
 found there a match.

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<sup>1</sup> M. Vising amends *aatie*.

Par force furent entassez les baruns de Bretaigne<sup>1</sup>  
 Dedenz lur meïsmes fermetez. N'i ad nul ki n'i  
 s'i plaigne.<sup>2</sup>

195 Par force fud en sun chastel dan Raül de Feulgiere:  
 Hüge li euens de Cestre se clame las pechiere.  
 Ne lur pot aver mestier mangunel ne periere.

La guerre qu'il unt faite lur iert vendue chiere,  
 Kar ore vait un message al rei Henri le pere,

200 A Roem en Normendie<sup>3</sup> sur morel de Riviere,  
 Si li dit l'aventure de sa meisnie fiere,  
 Del cunte de Cestre, de Raül de Feulgiere.<sup>4</sup>  
 Dunc loe Deu le gloriüs e le barun saint Piere:  
 " Descunfit sunt mes enemis: allas que jo n'i ere!"

205 Apreste sun barnage, en qui il mult se fie;  
 Devers Dol en Bretaigne ad la veie acueillie;<sup>5</sup>  
 Mès puis qu'il fud là parvenud od sa chevalerie,  
 Del fait à sa meidnée joius se glorifie.

Ces qui<sup>6</sup> furent el chastel ne s'esjoïrent mie:

210 Mult dutent sa venue e criement sa baillie.  
 N'orent tant de vitaille<sup>7</sup> dunt sustiengent lur vie.  
 Al rei Henri se sunt renduz, si's tient en sa  
 baillie.

" Seignurs," fait li reis Henris, " kar me cunseil-  
 " liez:<sup>8</sup>

" Mis fiz ad tort vers mei, dreiz est que le  
 " sachiez;

Surrender  
 of Dol  
 (26 Aug.,  
 1173).

<sup>1</sup> *enchacez les seignurs de Bre-  
 taine, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *ni ad ki n'i si pleinie, L.*

<sup>3</sup> *A Rom en Normundie, L.*  
 These variations will not be fur-  
 ther recorded.

<sup>4</sup> *Feugere, L.* This variation  
 will not be again recorded.

<sup>5</sup> *euillie, L.*

<sup>6</sup> *Cels ke, L.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ne n'orent pas vitalle, L.*

<sup>8</sup> *kar le me cunvisez, L.*



- The barons of Brittany were made to withdraw by  
force  
Within their own strongholds.<sup>1</sup> There is no one  
there who does not complain of it.  
The lord Raoul of Fougères was perforce in his  
castle :  
Hugh, the earl of Chester, proclaims himself a  
miserable offender.  
Neither mangonel nor arbalist availed to serve  
them.  
The war which they have made shall be sold them  
very dear,  
For now goes a messenger to King Henry the  
father,  
200 To Rouen in Normandy on a black horse of Pro-  
vence,  
And tells him the fate of his proud folk,  
Of the earl of Chester, of Raoul of Fougères.  
Then he praises God the glorious and brave  
Saint Peter :  
“ My foes are discomfited : alas that I was not  
“ there ! ”  
He makes ready his baronage, in whom he places  
great confidence ;  
He has taken his way towards Dol in Brittany ;  
But when he arrived there with his knights  
Joyously he boasts of the deed to his followers.  
Those who were in the castle by no means re-  
joiced :  
210 Much they fear his approach and dread his rule.  
They had not provisions sufficient to sustain life.  
They have given themselves up to King Henry :<sup>2</sup>  
he holds them in his power.  
“ Lords,” said King Henry, “ advise me :  
“ My son is in the wrong towards me, it is right  
“ you should know it,

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<sup>1</sup> August 20, *Bened. Petr.*, i. 56. | <sup>2</sup> August 26, *Bened. Petr.*, i. 57.

- 215 “ Kar rente tut à force volt aver de mes fiez.  
 “ Raisun ne me semble qu’ele li seit<sup>1</sup> paieez.  
 “ De hume de ma vertu ne fud<sup>2</sup> si estroez,  
 “ E ço<sup>3</sup> que est à force u pris u purchaciez  
 “ Ço n’est dreit ne raisun : ço est suvent jugiez. *fo. 141.*
- 220 “ Pur garder ma franchise sui asez laidengiez,  
 “ E par iceus de Flandres suvent cuntrialiez :<sup>4</sup>  
 “ Si n’avum mès busuine d’estre plus damagiez.  
 “ Tut pri communalment, seignurs, que vus  
 “ m’aidiez.  
 “ En estur aduré voz forces asaiez :<sup>5</sup>
- 225 “ A tut vostre poeir pur mei vus esforciez.  
 “ Unkes ne m’amastes, s’al busuin me failliez.<sup>6</sup>  
 “ Le cunte Hüge de Cestre ensemble od vus  
 “ menez ;  
 “ De Raül de Feulgiere ferai mes volentez.  
 “ Larrai le tut quite dedenz ces<sup>7</sup> poestez
- 230 “ Par itel devise : qu’il iert mis afez.  
 “ Si puis vers mei revele par nuls iniquitez,  
 “ Ne tendrat en Bretaine ne fieus ne heritez.  
 “ Adubez, seignurs, vos cors ; à espleit cheval-  
 “ chiez :  
 “ Mis fiz est de bataille trestut apparailiez.
- 235 “ La rente qu’il demande, li paium des espiez<sup>8</sup>  
 “ E des branz acerins e des darz aguisiez.”  
 De ceste novele sunt plusurs bauz e liez—  
 Ço sunt les chevaliers les pruz e les enseigniez.<sup>9</sup>  
 E li cuens de Cestre est dolenz e irez,
- 240 Ne quide<sup>10</sup> en sa vie estre desprisunez.  
 Espoenté sunt li Franceis de la fiere novele,

<sup>1</sup> *ke li seit, L.*<sup>2</sup> *su, L.*<sup>3</sup> *U ço, L.*<sup>4</sup> *contrariez, L.*<sup>5</sup> *ad duré voz forces assez, L.*<sup>6</sup> *failliez, L.*<sup>7</sup> *ses, L.*<sup>8</sup> *qu’il nus demande, li paiierum  
as espez, L.*<sup>9</sup> *e les senez, L.*<sup>10</sup> *Ne quida, L.*

- “ For he desires to have revenue by force from  
 “ my fiefs.  
 “ There seems to me no reason why it should be  
 “ paid to him.  
 “ From a man of my firmness never was anything  
 “ extracted in this way,  
 “ And that which is forcibly taken or obtained  
 “ Is neither right nor reasonable: often is that  
 “ condemned.  
 220 “ I am sufficiently ill-treated for guarding my  
 “ privilege,  
 “ And often thwarted by those from Flanders;  
 “ So we have no desire to be further damaged.  
 “ I pray you all, lords, that you will help me.  
 “ Try your strength in pitched battle:  
 “ Strive for me to your utmost.  
 “ You have never loved me if you fail me at need.  
 “ Take with you earl Hugh of Chester;  
 “ With Raoul de Fougères I will do as I please.  
 “ I will leave him quite free within his possessions  
 230 “ On this condition: that he will be my liege.  
 “ If he afterwards by any wickedness should rebel  
 “ against me,  
 “ He shall hold in Brittany neither fiefs nor heri-  
 “ tage.  
 “ Arm, lords, your bodies; ride with haste:  
 “ My son is quite ready for battle.  
 “ The revenue he demands let us pay him with  
 “ swords  
 “ And with steel brands and with sharp spears.”  
 Many are joyous and glad at this news—  
 Those are the valiant and polished knights.  
 And the earl of Chester is grieved and irate,  
 240 He thinks that he will never in all his life be  
 released from prison.  
 The French are frightened at the proud tidings,

Le cuer al plus hardi en tremble e chancele;  
 Mès icil les cunforte, ki trestuz les ehaele.<sup>1</sup>  
 Irrur ad en sun cuer, li sanc li estenecele.

245 A un cunseil en vait à sa gent plus leale;  
 En Romanz devise un brief, d'un anel l'ensecele.<sup>2</sup>  
 Les messagiers al juefne rei devant lui les apele—  
 Ço fud li reis Lowis ki chargea la novele.  
 Vunt s'en li message ki les briés<sup>3</sup> enporterent.

250 Passent la mer salée, les regnes traverserent;  
 Les forez, les plaines, les ruistes guez passerent;<sup>4</sup>  
 Vient en Escoce e le rei i trouverent;<sup>5</sup>  
 De part le jofne rei Henri les escriz presen-  
 terent.

Jà s'orrez les paroles ki<sup>6</sup> escrites i erent :

255§ “ Al rei d'Escoce, Willame, le meilleur, fo. 141. b.  
 “ A qui nostre lignage ful jadis anceisur,  
 “ Le rei Henri le juefne vus mande par amur :  
 “ Suvénir vus deit de mei ki sui<sup>7</sup> vostre seignur.  
 “ Mult me semble merveille, si ai el cuer<sup>8</sup>  
 “ hisdur

260 “ De si riche rei, de hume de ta valor,<sup>9</sup>  
 “ Ki tel force ad de gent e en sei tel vigur,  
 “ Ne m'aidez de guerre, se veals, el<sup>10</sup> primur  
 “ A guerreer mun pere, tu e ti euntur.  
 “ Jo te durrai la terre que orent ti anceisur—

<sup>1</sup> chadele, L.

<sup>2</sup> l'ensele, L.

<sup>3</sup> que les brefs, L.

<sup>4</sup> guez passerez, D.

<sup>5</sup> i trouverent, is the reading  
 of D.

<sup>6</sup> he, L.

<sup>7</sup> he sui, L.

<sup>8</sup> al quor, L.

<sup>9</sup> de tant valor, L.

<sup>10</sup> si vans, el le, L.

The heart of the hardiest trembles and wavers ;  
 But he who leads them all comforts them.  
 He has ire in his heart, his blood boils.  
 For advice he applies to the most faithful of his  
 followers ;  
 He dictates a letter in Romance, and seals it with  
 a ring.

The messengers of the young king he summons  
 before him—

It was king Louis who confided (to them) the  
 despatch.

The messengers who carry the letters depart.

250 They pass the salt sea and cross the kingdoms ;  
 They pass the forests, the plains, the difficult fords ;  
 They come into Scotland, and find the king there ;  
 On the part of the young king Henry they present  
 the writings.

You shall hear now the words therein written :—

“ To William,<sup>1</sup> the most excellent king of Scot-  
 “ land,

“ To whom our lineage of old was ancestor,

“ The young king Henry sends loving message :

“ You should remember me who am your lord.

“ It seems to me a great wonder, and I have fear  
 “ in my heart

260 “ About so rich a king,—a man of thy courage—

“ Who has such power in adherents, and such  
 “ energy in himself,

“ That you will not help me in war, if you can,  
 “ at first

“ To fight against my father, thou and thy baron-  
 “ age.

“ I will give thee the land which thy ancestor  
 “ had—

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<sup>1</sup> William the Lion, brother of Malcolm IV., whom he succeeded  
 24 Dec. 1165.

- 265 “ Ne n’eüs une<sup>1</sup> en terre de rei si grant honur—  
 “ La terre de la rive :<sup>2</sup> suz ciel ne sai meillur.  
 “ Aurez<sup>3</sup> la seigneurie en chastel e en tur ;  
 “ Karduil vus durrum, ke seiez plus forçur—<sup>4</sup>  
 “ Tute Westmarilande senz nul cuntreditur,  
 270 “ Ke vus me seiez aidant à force, e à baudur  
 “ Ceus qui tienent ces terres me metez en  
 “ errur.”<sup>5</sup>  
 Ore ad li reis d’Escoce el cuer grant marrement  
 Quant il del jofne rei entent le mandement,  
 Qu’il li deit sun humage encuntre tute gent.  
 275 Del autre part li mande saluz cum à parent,  
 Qu’il li durra sa terre qu’à<sup>6</sup> sun honor apent,  
 Ke tuz les reis d’Escoce tindrent lur vivant ;<sup>7</sup>  
 E al viel rei sun pere si redeit ensement  
 Humages e servises, ligance veraïement.  
 280 N’est dreiz ke pur pramisse face tel hardement  
 Qu’il destruite la terre le viel rei ascient,  
 Anceis qu’il ait requis de sun eritement.  
 S’il le volt cuntredire, dunc face sun talent,  
 Rende-lui sun humage senz achaisunement.  
 285 E quant il li aura rendu, e c’il bien le prent,  
 Ne li deit en nule curt desdire le cuvent,  
 Kar voleir<sup>8</sup> de prince tient l’em pur jugement.  
 Dunc tint li reis Willame sun plenier parlement.  
 Des sages de sa terre volt aver loement,

<sup>1</sup> unques, L.

<sup>2</sup> de la rive, L. ; la rine, D.

<sup>3</sup> Avrez, L.

<sup>4</sup> forrur, L.

<sup>5</sup> Cels ke tenent — en irrur, L.

<sup>6</sup> Qui li — ke à, L.

<sup>7</sup> tindrent en lur juvent, L.

<sup>8</sup> Kar culier, L.



" You never had so great an estate in land from  
 " the king—  
 " The border-land: I know no better under  
 " heaven.  
 " You shall have the lordship in castle and in  
 " tower;  
 " I will give you Carlisle that you may be the  
 " stronger—  
 " All Westmoreland without any gainsaying,  
 270 " That you may aid me with strength, and  
 " by boldness

" Put to flight for me those who hold these lands."  
 Now the king of Scotland has in his heart great  
 affliction

When he hears the message of the young king,  
 That he owes him homage against all people.  
 On the other hand he sends salutation to him, as  
 to a relation,

That he will give him his land which belongs to  
 his fief,

Which all the kings of Scotland held during life;  
 And to the old king his father he owes likewise  
 Homage and service, true allegiance.

280 It is not right that for a promise he should act so  
 impudently

As to knowingly ravage the territory of the old  
 king

Before he has laid claim to his inheritance.

If he wills to refuse, then let him do his pleasure,  
 Render up to him his homage without dispute.

And when he shall have rendered it, and if he  
 takes it well,

He ought not in any court to deny the covenant,  
 For a prince's will is held as judgment.

Then king William held his full parliament.

He desires the advice of the wise men of his  
 kingdom,

- 290 S'il<sup>1</sup> deit vers lu jofne rei tenir sun serrement.<sup>2</sup>  
 N'i ad nul qui l' desdie<sup>3</sup> ne ki ço li defent. *fo. 142.*  
 Li reis vait cunseillier oue sa barunie,  
 Dit lur la novele que del rei ad oïe—<sup>4</sup>  
 Le jofne d'Engleterre, ki sun<sup>5</sup> pere guerrie,  
 295 La terre<sup>6</sup> li demande: mès il tut dis li nie.  
 "Mander voil par messages al pere, en Nor-  
 " mendie,  
 " Qu'il de mun herité me rende une partie,  
 " Ço est Northumberland,<sup>7</sup> qu'il tient en sa  
 " baillie;  
 " E s'il ço ne volt faire e tut le me desdie,  
 300 " Ne li dei<sup>8</sup> en avant ne fei ne druërie."  
 Respunt le cunte Donekan,<sup>9</sup> e dit eume barun:  
 " Li vielz reis est rednable,<sup>10</sup> si li faites raisun,  
 " De faire nul ultrage ne querez achaisun.  
 " S'il volt, vus le servirez<sup>11</sup> eume ses liges hum.  
 305 " Rende-vus voz dreitures senz nule mesprisun,  
 " Puis si l' vendrez succurre à cuinte<sup>12</sup> d'espun-  
 " run.  
 " Mielz valt bele parole mustrée<sup>13</sup> par raisun  
 " Ke ne fait manace<sup>14</sup> pur demander nul dun;  
 " E ki autrement le fait, si quiert destructiun,<sup>15</sup>  
 310 " Sa mort e sun damage e sa confusiun."<sup>16</sup>  
 Mult ad li euens Donekans parlé sagement:

<sup>1</sup> *S'il*, D. and L.<sup>2</sup> *serment*, L.<sup>3</sup> *qui desdie*, L.<sup>4</sup> *ad oïe*, L.; *unt oïe*, D.<sup>5</sup> *que sun*, L.<sup>6</sup> *La tere*, L.; *lad terre*, D.<sup>7</sup> *Norhumberland*, L. This variation will not be again noted.<sup>8</sup> *dei*, by erasure of *t*, L.; *deit*, D.<sup>9</sup> *Dunekun*, L.<sup>10</sup> *regnable*, L.<sup>11</sup> *servez*, L.<sup>12</sup> *Puis si vendrez succurre à cuinte*, L.<sup>13</sup> *mustré*, L.<sup>14</sup> *Ke de fere manâce*, L.<sup>15</sup> *luncisun*, L.<sup>16</sup> *Sa mort, sun damage u sa destructiun*, L.

- 290 Whether he ought to keep his oath to the young  
king.  
There is no one who contradicts or forbids him to  
do it.  
The king goes to advise with his baronage  
And tells them the tidings which he has heard  
from the king—  
The young king of England, who fights against  
his father  
And demands the kingdom from him: but he  
altogether refuses.  
“ I wish to tell the father in Normandy by mes-  
“ sengers  
“ To restore me a part of my inheritance,  
“ That is Northumberland, which he holds in his  
“ power;  
“ And if he wills not to do that, and refuses it to  
“ me altogether,  
300 “ I owe him thenceforward neither fealty nor  
“ friendship.”  
Earl Duncan<sup>1</sup> answers, and he speaks like a baron:  
“ The old king is reasonable if you act rightly  
“ towards him,  
“ And seek no opportunity for committing an  
“ outrage.  
“ If he wishes, you will serve him as his liege  
“ man.  
“ Let him restore you your rights without any  
“ failure,  
“ Then you will go to aid him at full speed.  
“ Fair speech offered rationally avails more  
“ Than threats in asking for a gift;  
“ And he who does otherwise seeks destruction,  
310 “ His own death and damage and confusion.”  
Very sagely has earl Duncan spoken:

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<sup>1</sup> Duncan II., earl of Fife.

- N'i ad nul ki l' desdie, par le mien escient.  
 Dunc dit li reis meïsmes, li barun e la gent:  
 " Cest cunseil est leiaus, si me vient à talent.
- 315 " Enveium noz messages od icest mandement.  
 " Si facent lur port<sup>1</sup> cum chevalier vaillant."  
 Vunt s'en li message, lur chevaux espururent,  
 Par les granz chemins ferrez lur rednes abandonent.  
 Li cheval sunt mult bon, qui<sup>2</sup> desuz eus randunent.
- 320 Vient en Normendie, pas lunges ne sujornent;<sup>3</sup>  
 Trovent le viel rei Henri, sagement l'araisunent,  
 De part<sup>4</sup> le rei d'Escoce lur lettres puis li dument.  
 §Frere Willame Dolepene parole<sup>5</sup> tut premier,  
 E dit au rei d'Engleterre: "Jo sui un mes-  
 " sagier.
- 325 " De part le rei d'Escoce<sup>6</sup> vus vieng ci nuntier:<sup>7</sup>  
 " Il est vostre parent, si l'<sup>s</sup> devez mult amer;  
 " Servira vus en cest busuin,—ne l' verrez mès *fo. 142. b.*  
 " targier—  
 " Od mil echevaliers armez, ainz vienge un  
 " meis entier,  
 " Od trente mile desarmez (tant les oi num-  
 " brer),
- 330 " Ki frunt<sup>8</sup> a voz enemis merveillus encumbrier.  
 " Jà ne querrad del vostre vaillant à un denier,  
 " Mès que sa dreiture li voilliez otrier,

<sup>1</sup> *Ki facent lur message, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *sunt bon, he, L.*

<sup>3</sup> *ne sujornent, L.*

<sup>4</sup> *E de par, L.*

<sup>5</sup> *Dolipene parla, L.*

<sup>6</sup> *De par le rei d'Escoce, L.*

<sup>7</sup> *nuntier, L.*

<sup>8</sup> *si le, L.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ke frunt, L.*

There is no one who gainsays him, according to my knowledge.

Then said the king himself, the barons and the people:

“ This is loyal advice, so it pleases me.

“ Let us send our messengers with this message.

“ Let them do their duty like valiant knights.”

The messengers depart, they spur their horses,  
On the great paved roads they slacken their reins.

The horses are very good, which gallop under them.

320 They reach Normandy, not long do they tarry:

They find the old king Henry, and speak wisely to him,

Then they give him their letters on behalf of the king of Scotland.

Brother William Dolepene<sup>1</sup> speaks first,

And says to the king of England: “ I am a messenger.

“ I come here to make an announcement to you in the name of the king of Scotland:

“ He is your relation, so you should love him much;

“ He will serve you in this affair,—you will not see him delay—

“ With a thousand armed knights, before one whole month passes,

“ With thirty thousand unarmed<sup>2</sup>—so many I have heard them numbered—

330 “ Who will cause wonderful embarrassment to your enemies.

“ He will not seek of yours the value of a single penny,

“ Provided that you will be willing to grant him his right,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stevenson conjectures that this should be D'Olifent.

<sup>2</sup> *desarmez*. M. Vising suggests *d'armez* or *armez*, but this would miss the intended division between

the *chevaliers armez* (i.e., defensively and offensively) and the *desarmez* (= *sans armes*), those who bore weapons, but no armour.

- “ Ço est Northumberland, qu’il quiert<sup>1</sup> tut premier,  
 “ Kar nul n’i ad si grant raisun e k’il<sup>2</sup> volsist  
 “ chalengier.  
 335 “ Ore veez-mei ci en vostre curt: terme avant  
 “ ne quier.<sup>3</sup>  
 “ Ferai derainement<sup>4</sup> par un sul chevalier,  
 “ E si ço ne volez faire, pur lui desheriter,  
 “ Ci vus rent sun humage: ne l’ vus quier pas  
 “ celer.”  
 Quant li reis d’Engleterre entent le mandement  
 340 De sun cusin d’Escoce, de sun ententement,<sup>5</sup>  
 Dit à sun message qu’il ne fera<sup>6</sup> n’ient;  
 Ne quiert<sup>7</sup> aver al respuns estrange ne parent.  
 “ Dites au rei d’Escoce que pas ne m’espoent  
 “ Pur guerre que jo aie de mun fiz en present,  
 345 “ Ne pur le rei de France, ne pur la sue gent,  
 “ Ne le cuens de Flandres ki m’envaist<sup>8</sup> suvent.  
 “ Jo’s ferai de lur guerre curesçus<sup>9</sup> e dolent,  
 “ E à lui frai<sup>10</sup> cuntraire, si Deu le me cunsent,  
 “ Mès dites-mei sun frere David,<sup>11</sup> le mien  
 “ parent,  
 350 “ Qu’il vienge pur mei aidier od tant cum il ad  
 “ de gent.<sup>12</sup>  
 “ Tant li durrai de terre e tant de chasement,  
 “ Tutes ses demandes ferai à sun talent.”  
 —“ Sire,” fait li messagier, “ jo l’ vus ai en cun-  
 “ vent;  
 “ Mès le cungié nus dunez d’aler salvement.”

<sup>1</sup> *Ceo est Northumberland qu’il  
 quor, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *reisun qu’il, L.*

<sup>3</sup> *ici en vostre curt, terme ne  
 requer, L.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ferai le derainé, L.*

<sup>5</sup> *ententement, L.*

<sup>6</sup> *fra, L.*

<sup>7</sup> *ne quer, L.*

<sup>8</sup> *que m’envaît, L.*

<sup>9</sup> *curucez, L.*

<sup>10</sup> *ferai, L.*

<sup>11</sup> *Dari sun frere, L.*

<sup>12</sup> *pur mei succure od tant cum il  
 ad gent, L.*



That is Northumberland, which he asks for first  
 " of all,  
 " For no one [else] has so great reason for claim-  
 " ing it.  
 " Now you behold me here in your court : I do  
 " not ask a fixed date.  
 " I will have the right proved by a single knight,  
 " And if in order to disinherit him you refuse to  
 " do it,  
 " I here return you his homage : I do not seek to  
 " hide it from you."

When the king of England hears the message  
 340 Of his cousin of Scotland, respecting his intention,  
 He tells his messenger that he will do nothing ;  
 He seeks not to have at call either stranger or  
 relation.  
 " Tell the king of Scotland that I have no fear  
 " Of the war that I may have with my son at  
 " present,  
 " Nor of the king of France, nor of his people,  
 " Nor of the count of Flanders, who frequently  
 " attacks me.  
 " I will make them wrathful and sorry for their  
 " war,  
 " And I will cause him vexation, if God permit.  
 " But tell his brother David,<sup>1</sup> my relation, on my  
 " behalf  
 350 " That he should come to help me with as many  
 " men as he has.  
 " I will give him so much land and so many fiefs,  
 " I will perform all his requests according to his  
 " desire."  
 " Sire," saith the messenger, " I promise it you ;  
 " But give us leave to go in safety."

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<sup>1</sup> Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion.

- 355 § Atant sunt li message parti de Normendie.  
 Troevent bon passage, n'i demurent mie,  
 Traversent Engleterre, vient en Albanie.  
 Li messagier sunt sage, n'unt cure de folie :  
 Ne troevent qui lur mesface ne qui nul<sup>1</sup> mal  
 lur die
- 360 Dès la mer<sup>2</sup> de Dovre de si qu'en Orkenie.<sup>3</sup>  
 Jà dirrunt tel parole de guerre par atie  
 Dunt eil plurrunt encore qui rien n'en<sup>4</sup> unt oïe :  
 § " Sire rei d'Escoce, Deus saut tun barnage, fo. 143.  
 " Tun cors e tun curage e tun grant vasselage!<sup>5</sup>
- 365 " Del rei d'Engleterre resui venu message.  
 " Ore oiez sun<sup>6</sup> mandement : ne l' tenez à fo-  
 " lage.  
 " Mult s'esmerveille de vus, k'el<sup>7</sup> cors vus tient  
 " la rage ;  
 " Il vus teneit à sages hum, ne mie d'enfantil<sup>8</sup>  
 " age,  
 " Celui qu'il plus<sup>9</sup> amot senz mustrer nul da-  
 " mage.
- 370 " Ne l' devriez<sup>10</sup> requerre de si fait ultrage.  
 " Demandez-lui sa terre pur vostre heritage,  
 " Cum il fust enprisunez eum oisel dedenz  
 " cage ;  
 " Il n'est fuitis<sup>11</sup> de terre ne devenuz salvage ;  
 " Ainz est rei d'Engleterre en plein e en bos-  
 " cage.
- 375 " Ne vus durra pur suu busuin en cest premier  
 " estage  
 " Acreissement de terre : ço est sun language.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> nul, L.; D. has tul.

<sup>2</sup> De la mer, L.

<sup>3</sup> Orkenie, L.

<sup>4</sup> qui pas n'en, L.

<sup>5</sup> Tun cors e ta poeste e tun gentil curage, L.

<sup>6</sup> Ore oiez le, corrected in plummet in margin to sun, L.

<sup>7</sup> Mult s'amerveille de vus, c'at, L.

<sup>8</sup> d'enfantel, L.

<sup>9</sup> E celui ke plus, L.

<sup>10</sup> Ne deveriez, L.

<sup>11</sup> fustifs, L.

<sup>12</sup> ceo est sun language, L.

Then the messengers departed from Normandy.  
 They find a good passage across, and make no  
 delay there,  
 They cross England, they reach Albany.  
 The messengers are wise, they care not for frivolities :  
 They meet with no one who molests them or gives  
 them evil speech

- 360 From the sea of Dover as far as Orkney.  
 Soon they will tell such a message of war through  
 anger,  
 At which those also who have not heard of it shall  
 weep.  
 " Sire, king of Scotland, God save thy baron-  
 " age,  
 " Thy body and thy valour, and thy great retinue !  
 " I return as a messenger from the king of England.  
 " Now hear his message : hold it not lightly.  
 " He wonders much at you, that rage possesses  
 " you :  
 " He took you for a wise man, not a child in  
 " years,  
 " And as one whom he loved best, without thought  
 " of injury.
- 370 " You should not have required from him such a  
 " preposterous act.  
 " You ask of him his land for your heritage  
 " As though he were captive, like a bird in a cage.  
 " He is neither a fugitive from his realm nor become  
 " a savage ;  
 " But he is king of England in plain and in wood.  
 " He will not give you on account of his need, at  
 " this first stage,  
 " Increase of territory : such are his words.

“ Ainz verra se li ferrez amur e cusinage,  
 “ Cument vus vus cuntendrez, cum fol u eume  
 “ sage.”<sup>1</sup>

Dunc oïssiez ees chevaliers, la gent juefne e  
 salvage,<sup>2</sup>

380 Jurer riche serrement<sup>3</sup> e afiehier curage :

“ Si vus cel rei ne guerreiez ki par tel vus  
 “ hansage,

“ Ne devez tenir terre ne nul<sup>4</sup> seignurage ;

“ Ain devez al fiz Mahalt servir en servage.”<sup>5</sup>

§ Ore ot li reis d'Eseoce sa gent qui l' euntraie ;<sup>6</sup>

385 N'unt pas Engelram l'evesque, le mielz de sa  
 clergie,

Ne le cunte Waldef ne se purfiehe mie

A eunseillier la guerre (bien veit que ço est  
 folie),

Si que li reis meïsmes suvent le cuntraie

Par l'enticement de ces qu'aïment<sup>7</sup> la folie,

390 E jure sun serrement, “ Deu le fiz Marie :

“ Ne remeindra la guerre pur vostre cuardie.

“ Asez avez en tresor, aver, e manantie.

“ Defendez vostre terre e querez-vus<sup>8</sup> aïe ;

“ E, si faire ne l' volez,<sup>9</sup> en tute vostre vie

395 “ N'aurez de mun cunquest vaillant à un alie.”<sup>10</sup>

Ço li<sup>11</sup> respunt le cunte : “ Refrenez cel talent.

“ Jo<sup>12</sup> sui vostre liges huem, si furent mi parent.

“ Ne savum puint de guerre : pur ço si m'espoent.

“ A eumencier barate cuvient<sup>13</sup> acuintement.

ta. 143 b.

400 “ Ne vus devez pas fier en fol enticement,<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cument vus tendrez cum fol ou  
 cum, L.

<sup>2</sup> la gefne gent salvage, L.

<sup>3</sup> sermenz, L.

<sup>4</sup> tener terre de vostre, L.

<sup>5</sup> En devez al fiz Mahaut servir  
 cum en servoge, L.

<sup>6</sup> euntraillie, L.

<sup>7</sup> de cels ki aiment, L.

<sup>8</sup> vus, D. L.

<sup>9</sup> ne le volez, L.

<sup>10</sup> N'en avercz — vaillant un alie,  
 L. ; Alie = fruit d'alizier.

<sup>11</sup> celui, L.

<sup>12</sup> Jeo, L.

<sup>13</sup> bareile cuvient, L.

<sup>14</sup> aïer en fol uticement, L.

“ Rather he will see whether you bear him love  
 “ and cousinship,

“ How you comport yourself, whether as a fool or  
 “ wise man.”

Then you might hear those knights, the youth-  
 ful and wild people,

380 Swear a noble oath and proclaim their intentions :

“ If you do not make war upon this king, who  
 “ beards you thus,

“ You ought not to hold either land or lordship ;

“ But should serve the son of Maud in bondage.”

Now the king of Scotland hears his people who  
 oppose him ;

They have not bishop Engelram,<sup>1</sup> the best of his  
 clergy,

Nor does Earl Waltheof<sup>2</sup> venture

To advise war—he clearly sees it is folly.

So that the king himself often goes against him

By the prompting of those who love folly,

390 And swears his oath “ God the son of Mary !

“ The war will not be stayed on account of your  
 “ cowardice.

“ You have enough in treasure, goods, and wealth.

“ Defend your land and seek aid for yourself ;

“ And, if you will not do so, in all your life

“ You shall not have of my gain the value of  
 “ a berry.”

Thus the earl answers him : “ Restrain this desire.

“ I am your liege man, so were my relations.

“ We know nothing of war : wherefore I have  
 “ dread.

“ Knowledge is expedient for the commencement  
 “ of strife.

400 “ You ought not to trust to unwise prompting,

<sup>1</sup> Engelram, bishop of Glasgow. |  
 See Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Earl of Dunbar : *Chron. de Mailros, ann.* 1182.

- " Ne creire la folie de alienes genz.<sup>1</sup>  
 " Se bien vus puet avenir, il guaignerunt<sup>2</sup> suvent;  
 " Ne reperdrunt de guaires, se chiet vus<sup>3</sup> male-  
 " ment.  
 " Li vilain dit en reprovier, si dit mult veire-  
 " ment :  
 405 " ' Tel nuist ki<sup>4</sup> ne puet aidier quant vient al  
 " ' jugement.'  
 " Ne quidez que jo l' die pur nul esmagement,  
 " Ne que vus faille de guerre tant cume<sup>5</sup> sui  
 " vivant."  
 § Quant cel conseil fud duné, li reis ne l' erut  
 mie.  
 Ne remaindra la guerre pur perdre Abanie;<sup>6</sup>  
 410 Mès il voldrad ultre mer enveier un espie  
 Pur veier le cuntienement le pere en Normendie,  
 E puis avant en Flandres, al fiz, en qui il se fic,<sup>7</sup>  
 Ses briés e ses messages, ki haltement li die :<sup>8</sup>  
 " Cume li reis sun pere par dit me cuntralie  
 415 " E par itel manace cum vus avez oïe,  
 " E, s'il volt tenir cuvenant par fiance plevie,  
 " Ne larrai ne li face prueçainement aïe.  
 " Si nus enveit de Flandres ses Flamens<sup>9</sup> od  
 " navie,  
 " Par cent e par<sup>10</sup> cinquante de cele gent hardie :  
 420 " Jo lur livrai la veie la gent qui nus<sup>11</sup> guerrie.  
 " Cil assaudrunt les chastels par force d'establie.  
 " Willame de Saint-Michiel ferad icest message,  
 " E Robert de Husevile, kar ambedous sunt  
 " sage,

<sup>1</sup> *aliene gent*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *Se bien vus puit avenir il guaignerunt*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *Ne perderunt . . . si vus chet*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *Tel nuist ke*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *Ne vus faudre de quere tant cum*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Albanie*, L. This recurs, and will not be again recorded.

<sup>7</sup> *à il s'afie*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *Enveira ses messages, ki haltement li dient*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *les Flamens*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *par*, om., L.

<sup>11</sup> *Jeo lur — ke nus*, L.



- " Nor to believe that foreigners are fools.  
 " If good befall you, they will often gain ;  
 " They will not lose much, if it turn out badly  
   " with you.  
 " The peasant says in the proverb, and says very  
   " truly :  
 " ' He harms who cannot help when the trial  
   " ' comes on.'  
 " Think not that I say it for any fear,  
 " Nor that while I live I shall fail you in war."  
 When this advice was given the king trusted it  
   not at all.  
 The war will not be stayed, though Albany should  
   be lost ;
- 410 But he had desired to send a spy across the sea  
 To see the position of the father in Normandy,  
 And then onwards into Flanders, to the son in  
   whom he trusts,  
 His letters and his messengers, who say loudly to  
   him :  
 " Since the king his father by word opposes me  
 " And by such menace as you have heard,  
 " And if he is willing to keep covenant by pledged  
   " faith,  
 " I will not fail to give him assistance speedily.  
 " So let him send us from Flanders his Flemings  
   " with a fleet,  
 " By hundreds and by fifties of that bold race.
- 420 " I will give them the road to the people who war  
   " with us.  
 " They will attack the castles by regular siege.  
   " William de Saint-Michel will bear this mes-  
   " sage  
 " And Robert de Husevile, for both are wise,

“ Suvent sunt en busuine prové de vasselage :  
 425 “ Bien sevent en riche curt parler de<sup>1</sup> maint  
 “ language.”

A cest message faire s'en<sup>2</sup> vunt ces messagiers ;  
 Li reis le volt e grée, si l' funt mult volentiers.  
 A Berewic sur-Tine troevent les noteniers  
 Ki 's amerrunt en Flandres les sages messagiers.  
 430 Jà sunt entrez en barges, e vunt en halte mer,  
 E traient sur<sup>3</sup> lur sigles, si se funt desarmer.  
 N'unt cure d'Engleterre lunges acosteer :<sup>4</sup>  
 Il sunt lur mortel enemi, qu'il soleient amer.  
 Si cum ces chevaliers unt trové lur seignur

435 Oue le rei de France, Lowis l'emperëur, fo. 144.  
 Dient lur messages suet e senz irrur,  
 Si que<sup>5</sup> bien l'entendent de France li cuntur.  
 E li cuens Phelipe est mis en tel errur,  
 Parole devant les autres le noble guerrëur.

440 Ore dit li cuens Philipe une raisun membrée<sup>6</sup>  
 Veant la curt de France : mult fud bien escutée.  
 “ Tenez al rei d'Escoce la fiance afiée ;  
 “ Qu'il vus ait<sup>7</sup> de guerre, hastif, senz demurée.  
 “ Destruice voz enemis e guaste lur cuntrée,  
 445 “ Par fu e par enbrusement tute seit alunée ;  
 “ Ne lur laist defors, n'en<sup>8</sup> forest ne en préé,  
 “ Dunt il puissent al matin avoir une disuéc ;  
 “ Puis asiece lur chastels de sa gent aünée :

<sup>1</sup> parler en, L.

<sup>2</sup> faire en, L.

<sup>3</sup> sus, L.

<sup>4</sup> acoster, L.

<sup>5</sup> Si cum, L.

<sup>6</sup> membré, D. ; membrée, L.

<sup>7</sup> Qu'il vus eit, L.

<sup>8</sup> de fors chastels en, L.

“ Often at need have they given proof of prowess :  
 “ Well they know how to speak in many a language  
 “ at a great court.”

These messengers go to do this errand :  
 The king wills it and desires it, so they do it very  
 willingly.

At Berwick-on-Tweed<sup>1</sup> they find the mariners  
 Who will conduct to Flanders the astute envoys.  
 430 Already they are on board barques, and go on the  
 high seas,  
 And hoist up their sails, and unmoor<sup>2</sup> their vessel.  
 They do not care to coast along England :  
 They whom they used to love are their mortal  
 foes.

So when these knights have found their lord  
 With the king of France, Louis the emperor,  
 They tell their message gently and dispassionately,  
 So that the counts of France understand it well.  
 And count Philip is so distressed that  
 The noble warrior speaks before the rest.  
 440 Now count Philip says a prudent word  
 Before the court of France : right well was it  
 listened to.  
 “ Keep the faith pledged to the king of Scotland,  
 “ That he may aid you in war, swiftly, without  
 “ delay.  
 “ Destroy your foes and ravage their country,  
 “ By fire and burning let all be set alight ;  
 “ That nothing be left them outside, either in wood  
 “ or meadow,  
 “ Of which in the morning they could have a  
 “ dinner.  
 “ Then with his united force let him besiege  
 “ their castles :

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<sup>1</sup> *Tyne*, in both MSS.

<sup>2</sup> No doubt we should read *desanerer*.

- " N'aurunt succurs ne aïe dedenz tredze luées.<sup>1</sup>  
 450 " Issi deit l'en<sup>2</sup> cumencier guerre: ço m'est vis.<sup>3</sup>  
 " Primes guaster la terre e puis ses enemis.  
 " Nus li aiderum de Flandres ainz vienge<sup>4</sup> quinze  
 " dis,  
 " Par quei ces d'Engleterre serrunt nun poestis."  
 §Si cum li quens Philipe ad fait sa randunée,  
 455 Li reis Louis de France le volt e si l'agrée,  
 E dit as noz<sup>5</sup> messages: "Ja s'iert enseelée<sup>6</sup>  
 " La chartre ke vus porterez enz en vostre cun-  
 " trée.  
 " Dites al rei d'Escoce, senz nule demurée,  
 " La terre est tute sue qu'il ad demandée."  
 460 Quant ces messages sunt venuz e arivez à terre,  
 Dunc furent bien asëur de cumencier la guerre.  
 Asez purriez oïr, mar alissiez luinz querre:  
 " Alum prendre le chastel de Werc en Engleterre."  
 §Ne fud unkes engendré huem de tel memoire,<sup>7</sup>  
 465 Salemun le sage, David qui<sup>8</sup> fist l'estoire,  
 Ke mult ne se glorifiast<sup>9</sup> d'aver si grant victoire  
 Cum cil lur prameteient;<sup>10</sup> mès tut fud veine  
 gloire.  
 Ore ad li reis d'Escoce ses oz apparaillez,  
 A Keledenelee<sup>11</sup> là furent asemblez.  
 470 Les greidles furent, ki dunc erent<sup>12</sup> amez,  
 Ki puis les unt de terre par force degetez.<sup>13</sup>  
 §De Ros e de Muraive<sup>14</sup> unt grant ost banie.

fo. 144. b.

<sup>1</sup> N'averunt succurs n'aïe dedenz tresce luée, L.

<sup>2</sup> D. reads *l'em*; L. has *l'um*.

<sup>3</sup> *issi m'est avis*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *einz que vingne*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *noz*, om. L.

<sup>6</sup> *enselée*, L.; with hair-strokes in D. thus: *ensélléé*.

<sup>7</sup> *memorie*, L.; all the lines which rhyme with this end in *orie* in L.

<sup>8</sup> *ne David ke*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *Que mult se glorifiad*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *Cum il lur premetteient*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *A Kaledene de gré*, L.

<sup>12</sup> *Les greilles vindrent ki dunc furent*, L.

<sup>13</sup> *Que puis les unt de terre par force enchacez*, L.

<sup>14</sup> *Murrez*, L.

- “ They will have nor succour nor aid within  
 “ thirteen leagues.  
 450 “ Thus should war be begun : such is my advice.  
 “ First destroy the land and then one’s foe.  
 “ We will send him help from Flanders before  
 “ fifteen days are over,  
 “ By which these English will be rendered power-  
 “ less.”

As soon as count Philip had done his harangue,  
 King Louis of France wills it and assents,  
 And says to our messengers : “ Soon will be sealed  
 “ The charter that you will carry to your own  
 “ country.  
 “ Tell the king of Scotland without any delay,  
 “ The land which he has demanded is all his own.”  
 460 When these messengers had come and had landed,  
 Then were they perfectly sure to begin the war.  
 You might hear well enough, you need not seek  
 far :  
 “ Let us go to take the castle of Wark in England.”  
 Never was a man begotten of so high a mark—  
 [Not] Solomon the wise, [nor] David who wrote  
 the history—

As not to glory much in having so great a victory  
 As these promised him ; but all was vain glory.  
 Now has the king of Scotland made ready his host,  
 There at Caldenlea<sup>1</sup> were they mustered.  
 470 It was the trumpets,<sup>2</sup> which were then held in  
 favour,  
 That afterwards drove them forcibly from the  
 land.  
 From Ross and Moray they have collected a great  
 host.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Caldenlea in Selkirk-  
 shire.

<sup>2</sup> M. Vising proposes *graindres*—

*amenez* ; but *greidles* are here  
 merely symbols of war.

Certes, le cunte Colbein ne s'i ublia mie.

Seignurs, le cunte d'Anegus<sup>1</sup> i vint od tel aïe,—

475 Plus de treis mile Escoz aveit en sa baillie.

Tant i out de nue gent, ne sai que plus vus die,

Ne vint tel ost d'Escoce puis le tens Helye.<sup>2</sup>

Dunc vint li reis Willame à Werc en Engleterre,

Un chastel en la marche ki puis li fist grant  
guerre,<sup>3</sup>

480 Travail<sup>4</sup> e peine, e suvent grant cuntraire.<sup>5</sup>

Enquist del eunestable cument il le volt faire,

Del tenir u del laissier, le quel li fust viaire.<sup>6</sup>

Rogier<sup>7</sup> d'Estutevile en fud le eunestable,

Ki unkes n'ama traïsun ne servir al diable.

485 E vit que li suen esforz de rien ne fud aidable<sup>8</sup>

Encuntre l'ost d'Escoce, qui mult les assaie,<sup>9</sup>

Ne de rendre sun chastel ne serrad nule<sup>10</sup> ap-  
paie.

Ne fud pas merveille<sup>11</sup> si dan Rogier s'esmaie.

Dunc prie<sup>12</sup> Deu le glorius e sa Mere veraie :

490 " Tel cunseil me dunez que jo m'onur aie,

" Kar li Escot me guerreient senz nule ma-  
" naie."<sup>13</sup>

Rogier d'Estutevile parole à ses privez,

E dit : " Baruns, chevaliers, dites que vus loez.

<sup>1</sup> *d'Aneguns*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *Helie*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *que puis li fist cuntraire*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *Taravail* (sic), D.

<sup>5</sup> L. omits this line.

<sup>6</sup> *u de laissier — meire*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *Roger*, here and elsewhere, L.

<sup>8</sup> *durable*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *Encuntre le ost d'Escoce, ki seit  
esteit aidable*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *le chastel ne ferad nul*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *merveillie*, L.

<sup>12</sup> *Dunc pri*, L.

<sup>13</sup> L. omits this line.



Of a surety the earl Colbein<sup>1</sup> forgot not to be there.  
Lords, the earl of Angus<sup>2</sup> came there with such a  
contingent—

More than three thousand Scots he had in his  
command.

There were so many naked men there—I know  
not what more to tell you—

Never came such host from Scotland since the  
time of Elias.

Then came king William to Wark in England,  
A castle in the marches which afterwards caused  
him great fighting,

480 Labour, and trouble, and often great reverses.

He asked the constable how he would act,  
Whether he would hold it or surrender it—which  
course he would pursue.

Roger d'Estuteville was castellan,  
Who never loved treason nor the devil's service.  
He<sup>3</sup> saw that his force was not of any use  
Against the host of Scotland, which vigorously  
assails them,

And that by surrendering his castle he would not  
obtain any terms.

It was no wonder if lord Roger were dismayed.  
Then prays he God the glorious and his Mother  
true :

490 " Give me such advice that I may preserve my  
" honour,

" For the Scots-attack me mercilessly."

Roger d'Estuteville<sup>4</sup> addresses his trusted friends  
And says : " Barons, knights, say what you advise.

<sup>1</sup> Colban, earl of Fife, Mr. Stevenson thinks.

<sup>2</sup> See Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, i. p. 62, as to Gilibrede, second earl of Angus.

<sup>3</sup> *E* is clearly wrong.

<sup>4</sup> Not referred to by Dugdale, but see Hodgson's *Northumberland Pipe Rolls*. He was sheriff from 1170 to 1185.

“ Veez l'ost le rei d'Escoce qui<sup>1</sup> nus ad desfiez ;  
 495 “ E nus eimes escharniz dedenz ces fermetez,  
 “ N'aurum sucurs n'aïe de nul de noz judnez.”<sup>2</sup>  
 Dunc<sup>3</sup> regrette sun seignur, Henri le rei<sup>4</sup>  
 vaillant ;

Les lermes lung sa face li vunt jus devalant :

“ Mar fud vostre force, quant ore ies<sup>5</sup> nun  
 “ poant,

500 “ Ne poez vostre barun aidier ne tant ne quant.  
 “ Irai al rei d'Escoce sa<sup>6</sup> triewe demandant,  
 “ Quarante jorz de terme, que seie mer passant.<sup>7</sup>  
 “ Si dunc ne me puis succurre par raisun en  
 “ avant,  
 “ Perdu avez senz faille tute Northumberland.”

505 § Rogier d'Estutevile en vint<sup>8</sup> parler al rei,  
 Sages par humilité, senz faire nul desrei—  
 Tuz ceus de sa meisnée<sup>9</sup> se tindrent en cunrei— fo. 145.  
 E dit en sun<sup>10</sup> language : “ Sire, entendez à mei.  
 “ Ne me faites deshonor : refrenez vostre ire.

510 “ Mult aim vostre avancement, mès que<sup>11</sup> li  
 “ miens n'empire.  
 “ Quarante jorz de terme, ke seie mer passant,  
 “ sire,<sup>12</sup>  
 “ Ke jo<sup>13</sup> enveie ultre mer mes briés dedenz  
 “ cire ;  
 “ U jo meïsmes i irrai, lequel voldrai eslire,  
 “ E dirrai à mun<sup>14</sup> seignur mar deit chanter ne  
 “ rire.

515 “ Si Jesus n'en. prent<sup>15</sup> cunrei, la gent de sun  
 “ empire

<sup>1</sup> que, L.

<sup>2</sup> N'averum sucurs — uidnez, L.

<sup>3</sup> unc, D. ; dunc, L.

<sup>4</sup> rei, om. L.

<sup>5</sup> ore est, L.

<sup>6</sup> sad, D. ; sa, L.

<sup>7</sup> passa, L.

<sup>8</sup> en vint, L. ; en vile, D.

<sup>9</sup> mesné, L.

<sup>10</sup> E dit a sun, L.

<sup>11</sup> mès ki, L.

<sup>12</sup> me dunez, bel sire, L.

<sup>13</sup> Que jeo, L.

<sup>14</sup> E dirai mun, L.

<sup>15</sup> Si Jesus ne prent, L.

“ Behold the host of the king of Scotland, who  
 “ has defied us ;  
 “ And we shall be derided within these strongholds,  
 “ We shall have neither succour nor aid from our  
 “ neighbours.”

Then he bewails his lord, Henry the valiant king :  
 The tears go falling down along his face :

“ In vain was thy strength since now thou art  
 “ powerless,  
 500 “ Nor canst aid thy baron in any way whatever.  
 “ I will go to the king of Scotland asking for his  
 “ truce,  
 “ Forty days space that I may pass over seas.  
 “ If then I cannot previously get help for myself  
 “ in reasonable fashion,  
 “ You will have infallibly lost all Northumber-  
 “ land.”

Roger d'Estuteville came to speak of it to the  
 king,

Wisely and humbly, without making any failure—  
 All those in his suite kept themselves in array—  
 And he said in his address : “ Sire, listen to me.

“ Do me no insult : restrain your wrath.  
 510 “ Much I love your welfare, so long as mine own  
 “ suffers not.  
 “ Sire, the space of forty days [I ask] that I may  
 “ cross the sea,  
 “ That I may send my sealed letters beyond sea ;  
 “ Or I myself will go there, whichever I may  
 “ choose,  
 “ And I will tell my lord it is no time for song  
 “ or laughter.  
 “ If Jesus takes no heed to it, he will not see the  
 “ people of his kingdom,

“ Ne’s verra, dès qu’il<sup>1</sup> serrunt tuz livrez à  
 “ martire.”

Dunc vit li reis Willame Rogier en grant tristur,  
 Tute Northumberlant travaillié à dolor.

N’i ad ki cuntrestoise<sup>2</sup> ne lui ne sa vigur.

520 Bien ad graanté le terme al quarantime jor.

Ore dit Jordan Fantosme<sup>3</sup> que Deus les avua :  
 Tuz ceus de Northumberlant ki furent de delà,  
 Ne fust icele triewe ke Rogier demanda,  
 Chaciez fussent de terre par ces d’Albania.

525 Mès le sage chevalier ki sun<sup>4</sup> seigneur ama

Apreste ses messages, il meïsmes s’aturna,  
 Alad en Engleterre, succurs en demanda,  
 Ke dedenz<sup>5</sup> sun terme tel ost en amena

Dunt puis al rei d’Escoce plein cungié li duna

530 D’asaillir le<sup>6</sup> de ses Flamens,—e il les atendra.

§ Dunc dit li reis Willame : “ Oëz, mi chevalier.

“ Par mi Northumberland voil’ mun chemin  
 “ aler.

“ N’i ad ki cuntrestoise, k’i devom<sup>7</sup> dunc duter?

“ L’evesque de Durealme<sup>8</sup>—veiz-ci sun mes-  
 “ sagier—

535 “ Me mande par ses lettres em pès se volt ester.

“ Par lui ne par sa force n’aurom<sup>9</sup> desturbier,

“ Dunt jo me puisse plaindre, vaillant un<sup>10</sup> de-  
 “ nier.

Truce with  
 the bishop  
 of Durham  
 (13 Jan.  
 1174).

<sup>1</sup> *tresqu’il*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *N’i ad ki l’ cuntrestoise*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *Fantome*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *ke sun*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *Ki dedenz*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *D’asaillir li*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *N’i ad qui l’ cuntre estoise, ke  
 devom*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *Le evesque de Dureaume*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *n’averum*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *plendre la munte d’un*, L.

“ For they will all be given up to martyrdom.”  
 Then king William saw Roger in great sadness,  
 All Northumberland tormented with grief.  
 There is none who may oppose him or his strength.  
 520 Willingly he granted the term until the fortieth  
 day.

Now says Jordan Fantosme that God took up their  
 cause :

All those of Northumberland who were beyond  
 [Wark ?]—

Were it not for the truce which Roger sought—  
 Would have been driven from the land by those of  
 Albany.

But the wise knight who loved his lord  
 Makes ready his messengers ; he accoutred himself,  
 Went to England and asked there for help,  
 So that within the appointed time he brought such  
 a host

That he gave then the king of Scotland full per-  
 mission

530 To assail him with his Flemings — and he will  
 await them.

Then said king William : “ Hear, my knights.

“ Through the midst of Northumberland I wish to  
 “ take my way.

“ There is none who can oppose us, whom then  
 “ should we fear ?

“ The bishop of Durham<sup>1</sup>—see here his messenger—

“ Informs me by his letters that he desires to be at  
 “ peace.

“ We shall not have trouble of which I could  
 “ complain

“ Either from him or his forces, worth a penny.

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<sup>1</sup> This is Hugh de Puiset. He made this truce on 13 Jan., 1174, until  
 31 March. *Benedict.*, i. 64.

- " Alum vers Audnewic, si me volez<sup>1</sup> loer,  
 " A Willame de Vesci ke jo ne puis mater.<sup>2</sup>  
 540 " Si le chastel sun pere me volt quite clamer,<sup>3</sup>  
 " Senz perdre de ses membres dunc le larrai  
 " aler;  
 " U se il la cuvenance me volt afancier  
 " Ke fist le cunestable de Werc avant-ier, *fo. 145. b.*  
 " Senz guarisun<sup>4</sup> atraire e senz rien esforcier,  
 545 " Alum à Werckeurde, cel voil<sup>5</sup> agraventer."  
 Atant si irrum à Audnewic le grant ost d'Al-  
 banie;<sup>6</sup>  
 Mès<sup>7</sup> Willame de Vedei ne s'i ubblia<sup>8</sup> mie.  
 Suvent apele par amur sainte Paterne aïe.  
 Plus regrette sun seigneur que chevalier s'amie,  
 550 E dit: " Baruns, chevaliers," à ceus de sa baillie,  
 " Suvent vaut en busuin saveir e folie.  
 " Ore vienge chacun de vus, sun avis nus en  
 " die,  
 " Cument nus nus cuntendrum vers l'ost qui  
 " nus<sup>9</sup> desfie?"  
 § Mult esteit le pere joius en sun curage,  
 555 Ki bon fiz engendre, tut seit ço en<sup>10</sup> suignant-  
 age:  
 Pur le jofne Willame le di en mun language,  
 Ki<sup>11</sup> le chastel sun pere tint par vasselage.  
 Parti s'en li reis atant, n'i fist plus<sup>12</sup> lung est-  
 age,  
 E cil enveia pur succurs ses briés e sun mes-  
 sage.  
 560 Pernent e destruient la terre vers la mer  
 Chevalier e serjant e li autre furier.

<sup>1</sup> *se me volez, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *ke jeo ne puis amer, L.*

<sup>3</sup> *Si le chastel sun pere me volt  
cuntre clamer, L.; D. reads si ne  
chastel.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sanz guarisun, L.*

<sup>5</sup> *Wercwurde, cel ruuil, L.*

<sup>6</sup> *de Albanie, L.*

<sup>7</sup> *Mes, om. L.*

<sup>8</sup> *Vesci ne se ublia, L.*

<sup>9</sup> *que nus, L.*

<sup>10</sup> *cco en sun antage, L.*

<sup>11</sup> *Que, L.*

<sup>12</sup> *Parti li reis, ne fist plus, L.*



“ Let us go towards Alnwick, if you will advise  
“ me so,

“ To William de Vesci <sup>1</sup> whom I am unable to love.<sup>2</sup>

540 “ If he will quit-claim to me his father’s castle

“ Then I will let him go without loss of limb ;

“ Or if he will make the same covenant with me

“ As the constable of Wark made the day before

“ yesterday,

“ Without gathering provisions, and without

“ strengthening anything,

“ Let us proceed to Warkworth, that I wish to

“ demolish.”

Then the great host of Albany went to Alnwick ;

But William de Vesci by no means forgot to be  
there.

Often he calls for aid, for love of the Holy Father.

More he bewails his lord than a knight his mistress,

550 And says : “ Barons, knights,” to those of his com-  
mand,

“ Wisdom and folly are often good at need.

“ Now let each of you come and tell his views as

“ to this,

“ How we shall contend against the host which

“ defies us ? ”

Very glad at heart was the father

To have begotten a good son, albeit not in wedlock :

Of young William I say it,

Who held his father’s castle as a vassal.

Then the king departed, there made he no longer  
stay,

And the former sent his letters and a messenger  
for help.

560 Knights and sergeants and the rest of the pillagers  
Occupy and ravage the country towards the sea.

<sup>1</sup> Sheriff of Northumberland.  
Pipe Roll, 6 Hen. II., p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> The Lincoln MS. is here fol-  
lowed.

Vient à Werkewde,<sup>1</sup> n'i deignent arester,  
 Kar le chastel iert fieble, le mur e le terrier,<sup>2</sup>  
 E Rogier le fiz Richart,<sup>3</sup> un vaillant chevalier,  
 565 L'aveit ëu en garde ; mès il ne l' pot garder.  
 § De cel Rogier le fiz Richart vus dei-jo bien  
 dire :

Del Noef-Chastel<sup>4</sup>-sur-Tinc esteit mestre e sire.  
 Tant esteit de hardement espris e de grant ire,  
 Ne volt au rei d'Escoce de pais parler ne rire.<sup>5</sup>  
 570 Là vint li reis d'Escoce od armée gent e nue :  
 Les munz e les valées redutent sa venue.  
 La sue grant folie mar fud unkes vëue,  
 As baruns de la terre serrad mult chier vendue :  
 Il lur ferad ainz<sup>6</sup> departir tele descuvenue,  
 575 Ne lur larrad dehors chastel un buef à lur charue.  
 Mès li barun sunt naturel vers lur seignurage,  
 Ne tienent greinur plait d'aveir que de beste  
 sauvage.<sup>7</sup>

Mielz vuelent murir à honur que souffrir<sup>8</sup> huntage,  
 Guerpir lur naturel seignur pur perdre lur guai- fo. 146.  
 gnage.

580 Sufferunt e atendrunt, de ço si funt que sage ;  
 Mès lur chastels ne rendrunt pur aver grant<sup>9</sup>  
 damage.

§ Bien veit li reis d'Escoce que jà n'i mettra fin  
 Del Noef-Chastel-sur-Tinc cunquerre senz engin ;  
 E dient si cunseillier : “ Mar aiez le chief enclin.

<sup>1</sup> *Werkewde*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *terrier*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *Roger le fiz Richard*, and below, L.

<sup>4</sup> *De Noef-Chastel*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *rire*. Thus D. and L. M. Michel reasonably amends *lire*.

<sup>6</sup> *ainz*, om. L.

<sup>7</sup> *que beste salvage*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *he de souffrir*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *ne rendrent pur ver lur grant*,

L.

They come to Warkworth, nor deign to stay there,  
 For the castle was weak, the wall and the trench,  
 And Roger Fitz Richard,<sup>1</sup> a valiant knight,  
 Had had it in keeping ; but he could not defend it.  
 Of this Roger Fitz Richard I certainly ought to  
 tell you :

He was master and lord of Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
 So possessed was he with courage and great anger  
 He would neither speak of peace to the king of  
 Scotland nor read of it.

570 Thither came the king of Scotland with armed  
 men and naked :

The hills and the valleys dread his approach.  
 In an evil hour was his great folly ever seen.  
 To the barons of the land it will be sold very dear :  
 He will before leaving cause them such misfortune  
 That he will not leave them outside the castle an  
 ox to their plough.

But the barons are loyal towards their lord,  
 They have no greater love of proprietorship than  
 a wild beast has.

They prefer honourable death to suffering shame  
 [Or] abandoning their natural lord, though they  
 lose their lands.

580 They will endure and wait, in that they do but  
 what is wise ;

But their castles they will not give up though they  
 may suffer great damage.

Well sees the king of Scotland that he will never  
 complete

The conquest of Newcastle-on-Tyne without mili-  
 tary engines ;

And his advisers say : " Wrongly do you hang your  
 " head.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Pipe Roll, 7 Hen. II. : " *In terris datis Rogero filio Ricardi . . .*  
 " *in Burgo Novi Castelli.*"

- 585 " Ainz que sueurs lur vienge, tuit en serrunt  
 " frarin;<sup>1</sup>  
 " Mès faites l'ost sumundre, ke prest<sup>2</sup> seit le  
 " matin.  
 " Alez Karduil cunquerre, dunt nus sumes<sup>3</sup> devin,  
 " Jà n'aura Robert de Vaus si bon sabelin,  
 " Ne mangié la viende, ne bëu de tel vin.
- 590 " Quant verra tanz beaus escuz, tanz healmes  
 " Peitevins,  
 " Ne volsist en l'eschekier devenir un aufin."<sup>4</sup>  
 Ço<sup>5</sup> dit li reis Willame: " Dunc sei-jo maldit,<sup>6</sup>  
 " Escumengié de prestre, huniz, e descunfit,  
 " Si jo le chastel Odinel duins terme ne respit,
- 595 " Ainz li ferai tut perdre sa joie e sun delit.  
 " Li euens Henri mun pere le cherid e nurrit;  
 " Mès à la<sup>7</sup> parestrusse dirrad que mar me vit,  
 " Kar cil en qui il se fie<sup>8</sup> li valdrad mult petit,  
 " De la sue aïe li faz un escundit."<sup>9</sup>
- 600 Là fist li reis d'Escoce tendre ses paveilluns,  
 Ses trefs e<sup>10</sup> ses acubes, ses cuntés, ses baruns,

<sup>1</sup> L. omits this line.

<sup>2</sup> *perest*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *sumus*, L.

<sup>4</sup> These four lines, *Ja n'aura—*  
*aufin*; are not in L.

<sup>5</sup> *Ceo*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *sei-jo maldit*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *la*, om. L.

<sup>8</sup> *il s'afie*, L.

<sup>9</sup> L. omits this line.

<sup>10</sup> *e*, om. L.

- “ Before assistance comes to them they will all be  
 “ wretched ;  
 “ But cause the host to be summoned that it may  
 “ be ready in the morning.  
 “ Go conquer Carlisle of which we prophecy,<sup>1</sup>  
 “ Never shall Robert de Vaus<sup>2</sup> have such good  
 “ sable,  
 “ Nor eat meat, nor drink such good wine.  
 590 “ When he sees so many handsome shields, so many  
 “ Poitevin helmets,  
 “ Would he not wish to become a bishop<sup>3</sup> on the  
 “ chess-board.”  
 Thus said king William : “ Then may I be ac-  
 “ cursed,  
 “ Excommunicated by priest, put to shame, and  
 “ discomfited,  
 “ If I give the castle of Odinel<sup>4</sup> a fixed time or  
 “ respite,  
 “ But I will cause him wholly to lose his joy and  
 “ delight.  
 “ Earl Henry,<sup>5</sup> my father, loved and nourished him ;  
 “ But finally he will say that he saw me by evil  
 “ chance,  
 “ For he in whom he trusts will avail him very  
 “ little,  
 “ He excuses himself from rendering his aid.”  
 600 There the king of Scotland caused his earls, and  
 his barons to pitch  
 His pavilions, his tents, and his marquees,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An interpretation offered with reserve.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bened. Petrob.*, i. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Aufin*, or *alfin*, a word of oriental origin. See G. F. Burguy's *Glossaire de la langue d'Oil*.

<sup>4</sup> Odinel de Humfraville. Prudhoe was his castle. See *Bened. Petrob.*, i. 65.

<sup>5</sup> Henry, father of William the Lion, was son of David I. He died before his father.

<sup>6</sup> The passage seems corrupt.

E dit à sun barnage : "Seignurs, ke là<sup>1</sup> ferums ?  
 " Tant eum esteusse Prudhume, jamès pès n'au-  
 " rums."<sup>2</sup>

Ço dient li Flameng : "Nus l'agraventerums,  
 605 " U mar nus durrez soldeies ne livreisuns."  
 E dit l'autre partie : "Jamès n'en parlerums.  
 " De feire nul enprise<sup>3</sup> ne li eumsentirums ;<sup>4</sup>  
 " Mès voist avant cunquerre, e nus li aiderums.  
 " Northumberland est nostre, quant nus repaire-  
 " rums."

610§—"Sire rei d'Escoce," dient si cunseillier,  
 " De tutes voz dreitures est Karduil le dangier ;  
 " E puis que le jofne rei vus volt del tut duner,  
 " Alez le chief cunquerre, bien le volum<sup>5</sup> loer,  
 " E si Robert de Vaus ne volt le chief duncr,

615 " De la grant tur antive ferez le<sup>6</sup> devaler. *fo. 146. b.*  
 " Faites-i mettre siege, e puis après jurer  
 " Vostre grant ost banie n'en partira premier  
 " Desque<sup>7</sup> vus aiez la cité vëu alumer,  
 " Le mestre-mur desfaire à voz picois d'acier,  
 620 " A unes hautes furches lui-meïsmes encroer.  
 " Dune verrez Robert de Vaus estreitement aler ;  
 " Par le mien escient, ne l' trouverez<sup>8</sup> tant fier  
 " Qu'il vus peussed<sup>9</sup> lungement par force cun-  
 " trester."

Et dit li reis Willame : " Si Deu nus volt aidier,  
 625 " Cest conseil est metable, si l' feimes achiever."  
 La nuit fait ses guaites sun ost eschielguaitier,<sup>10</sup>  
 Desqu'al demein al aube quant jor apparut cler,

<sup>1</sup> là, om. L.  
<sup>2</sup> Tant cume cest chastel estoise,  
 jà pès ne averums, L.  
<sup>3</sup> tel emprise, L.  
<sup>4</sup> Thus in D. ; ne li consenterums,  
 L.

<sup>5</sup> ben le rus vulum, L.

<sup>6</sup> le ferez, L.

<sup>7</sup> Tresque, L.

<sup>8</sup> ne le troverez, L.

<sup>9</sup> puisset, L.

<sup>10</sup> waites sun ost eschewaiter, L.



And he said to his nobility: "Lords, what shall  
 " we do?  
 " So long as Prudhoe remains we shall never have  
 " peace."  
 Thus say the Flemings: "We will demolish it,  
 " Or wrongly will you give us pay and rations."  
 And the other party said: "We will never speak  
 " of it.  
 " We will not consent to his making such an  
 " attempt;  
 " But let him advance to conquer and we will  
 " assist him.  
 " When we shall return Northumberland is ours."  
 610 "Sire, king of Scotland," say his councillors,  
 "Of all your rights Carlisle is the most absolute;  
 "And, since that the young king wills to give you  
 " all,  
 "Go and conquer the principal [town], we strongly  
 " advise it,  
 "And if Robert de Vaus will not surrender the  
 " capital,  
 "Have him cast down from the great old tower.  
 "Lay siege to it, and then cause your vast collected  
 " host  
 "To swear not to leave before you have seen the  
 " city set on fire,  
 "And the principal wall demolished by your steel  
 " pickaxes,  
 620 "[And de Vaus] himself hung up to a high gallows.  
 "Then will you see Robert de Vaus slink off;  
 "Certainly you will not find him so bold  
 "As to be able to resist you forcibly for long."  
 And king William said: "If God will help us,  
 "This plan is advisable, so let us carry it out."  
 At night he made his sentinels keep watch over  
 his host,  
 Till the morrow at dawn when the day appeared  
 clear,

- Qu'il fist suner ses greidles pur faire l'ost aler,  
 E desdendent acubes serjant e escuier.
- 630 Vait s'en li reis Willame uoc son<sup>1</sup> grant bar-  
 nage ;  
 Mes anceis qu'il repairent en lur terre salvage,  
 Des Engleis d'Engleterre aurunt fait<sup>2</sup> tel damage,  
 Mil i larrunt les testes pur<sup>3</sup> lur meïsmes hostage,  
 Kar felun sunt en guerre e mult de fol curage.
- 635 A ceus est bien apparissant trovez en lur veage.  
 Iceil qui sunt acunsëuz<sup>4</sup> en plein n en boscage  
 Ne cunterunt<sup>5</sup> mès novele à nul de lur lignage.  
 Bien sout li reis d'Escoce ses enemis guerreier<sup>6</sup>  
 E suvent en<sup>7</sup> guerre grever e damagier ;
- 640 Mès trop fud acustumé de conseilz noveler.  
 La gent estrange chierisseit, amot e teneit chier ;<sup>8</sup>  
 La sue gent demeine ne volt unkes amer,  
 Ki lui e sun<sup>9</sup> reaume deveient cunseillier.  
 Bien i parut en haste, jà m'en orrez parler,
- 645 Cum avint de sa guerre par malveis cunscillier.  
 Li reis fait sa gent apparaillier ;  
 A ceus dedenz ferad assaut plenier.

<sup>1</sup> *oue sun*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *averunt fait*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *pur*, D. L.

<sup>4</sup> *Iscil ke sunt consëuz*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *Ne cunterent*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *d'Escoce adunkes guerreier*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *Ses enemis en*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *cheriseit a molt cher*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *que lui e sun*, L.

- When he caused his trumpets to sound to put his  
 army in motion.  
 And sergeants and esquires strike the tents.  
 630 King William departs with his great nobles ;  
 But before they return to their wild country,  
 They will have done such damage to the English  
 of England  
 That a thousand there will leave their heads as  
 hostages,  
 For they are cruel in war and very fool-hardy.  
 This is very plain to those found in their path.  
 Those who are caught in plain or in wood  
 Will never relate stories to any of their descendants.  
 Well knows the king of Scotland how to fight his  
 foes  
 And to harass and damage them frequently in  
 warfare ;  
 640 But he was too much given to taking new advice.  
 Foreigners he cherished, loved, and held dear ;  
 His own proper people he never would love,  
 Who ought to advise him and his kingdom.  
 This appeared soon, now you will hear me speak  
 of it,  
 What became of his campaign through bad advice.<sup>1</sup>  
 The king makes his people get ready ;  
 He will make a great assault on those within.

<sup>1</sup> The marked change of metre in the passage which follows as far as line 765 has led MM. Rose, Koschwitz, and Vising to regard it as an interpolation, but the reasons assigned by the latter author seem to have but little weight. Take, for example, his inquiry, "Est-il vrai—semblable qu'un chanoine Anglais aille les sauver des mains des Anglais ?" Considering the position of northern barons like Roger de Mowbray, who actually fought

against the English, and of churchmen like Hugh bishop of Durham (l. 534), who promised neutrality, we see that the case of an isolated canon—sent probably from some Augustinian priory to rid the neighbourhood of the Scotch by fear of the coming host—can have no significance. The change, too, from the future to the past tense in lines 695, 696, to which M. Vising objects, is characteristic of Fantosme.

Attack on  
Carlisle  
(about  
August  
1173).

- Grant fud la noise al estur eumencier.  
Li fer tentissent, e cruissent li acier :
- 650 Ne hauberc ne healmes guaires n'i remist entier.<sup>1</sup>  
Le jor, i furent cil dedenz chevalier :  
Od lur espées funt maint escu estroer,<sup>2</sup>  
Asez en laissent lez le mur estraier<sup>3</sup>  
Ki n'orent<sup>4</sup>, pas leisir pur relever.
- 655 Dès ore cuvient à ceus dedenz aidier,  
L'estur suffrir e les escuz damagier,  
Lur barbecan tenir e chalengier :  
Jà nul euart ne lur aureit<sup>5</sup> mestier.
- §A<sup>6</sup> la porte out grant envaïssement :
- 660 Des ambedous<sup>7</sup> parz out grant aïrement.  
Là veïssiez tanz chevaliers sanglant,  
Tant bon vassal de<sup>8</sup> mal talent.  
Li fer tentissent e vunt comunalment.  
Robert de Vaus se defendeit forment :
- 665 Le fiz Odart<sup>9</sup> ne li failli nïent.  
Pur sun seigneur enprist grant hardement  
De sei tenir encuntre tant de gent—  
Quarante mile, si Fantosme<sup>10</sup> ne ment.  
N'i ad celui ne l' hace mortelment.
- 670§ A, Deu ! quel duel del gentil rei Guillame.  
Del rei Henri aura si<sup>11</sup> mortel blasme ;  
Ço peise mei, par le barun saint Jacme !  
Kar plus franc ne governa une<sup>12</sup> realme.  
Fantosme dit e bien le vus<sup>13</sup> afie,
- 675 Ne se pensast'à nul jor de sa vie  
De guerreier Henri de Normendie,

fo. 147.

<sup>1</sup> L. omits this line.

<sup>2</sup> *escu troer*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *estraer*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *Ke n'ourent*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *avereit*, L.

<sup>6</sup> L. by mistake has *I* for *A* here.

<sup>7</sup> *De ambedeus*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *vassal ferer de*, L.; D, omits *ferer*.

<sup>9</sup> *Odard*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *se Fantome*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *avera si*, L.

<sup>12</sup> *unc*, om. L.

<sup>13</sup> *vus*, both in D. and L.

- Great was the noise at the beginning of the combat.  
 The swords resound and the steel crashes :
- 650 Scarcely a hauberk or helmet there remained whole.  
 That day the garrison were knights :  
 With their swords they made holes in many a shield,  
 Enough of them they leave stretched beside the  
 walls  
 Whom <sup>1</sup> they have no time to pick up.  
 Henceforward it is fitting for those within to help  
 themselves,  
 To endure the combat and injure the shields,  
 To hold and defend their barbican :  
 No coward would have any use there.  
 At the gate there was a great assault :
- 660 On both sides there was great fury.  
 There you might see so many blood-stained knights,  
 So many good vassals in angry mood.  
 The swords clash and intermingle.  
 Robert de Vaus defended himself bravely :  
 FitzOdard <sup>2</sup> in no way failed him.  
 For his lord he undertook great deeds of daring  
 In maintaining himself against so many people—  
 Forty thousand, if Fantosme tells the truth.  
 There is no one who does not mortally hate him.
- 670 Oh God ! what sorrow for the gentle king William.  
 From king Henry he will have such deadly re-  
 proaches ;  
 By brave Saint James this grieves me,  
 For a nobler man never governed a kingdom.  
 Fantosme says it, and well assures you of it,  
 That he would never any day of his life  
 Dream of fighting Henry of Normandy,

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<sup>1</sup> Following the Lincoln MS.

| Pipe Roll, 7 Hen. II., p. 23 (North-

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps John FitzOdard. See | umberland).

- Le fiz Mahaut, ki ad la char hardie ;<sup>1</sup>  
 Mès par eunseil e par malveis envie  
 Puet l'um un sage hume<sup>2</sup> niètre en grant folie.
- 680§ Mès puis qu'il out la chose si enprise,  
 Ne l' pot laissier si par grant<sup>3</sup> cuardise.  
 Pais à tenir eumande à saint Iglise :  
 Des enfreignurs en<sup>4</sup> fait cruel justise.  
 Mès ne li valt eel un sul alie.
- 685 La pute gent, ke Damne-Deu maldie !  
 Les [Gualeis],<sup>5</sup> ki d'aveir unt envie,  
 E li Escot, qui sunt en Albanie, fo. 147. b.  
 Ne portent fei à Deu le fiz Marie ;  
 Brisent mustiers e funt grant roberie.
- 690§ Mult se sunt mis li barun en grant peine,  
 Ki lur honors teneient del rei demeine.  
 Pur lur seignur unt grant dolur certeine :  
 Ses enemis lur unt dunez estreine.<sup>6</sup>  
 Si Deu n'en penst—e Marie Magdaleine,
- 695 Grant guerre aurunt ki<sup>7</sup> mult lur iert griffaine.  
 La terre qui<sup>8</sup> ert de tanz biens si pleine,  
 De tuz aveirs est ore fade e veine.  
 N'i ad beivre fors ewe de funteine  
 U sout aveir cerveise en la semeine.
- 700§ E tut est fait par le rei d'Aubanie,  
 Par sun eunseil e par sa grant folie.<sup>9</sup>  
 Mès ore li creist grant perte senz faille,  
 N'en partira senz aver vilanie.  
 Cil<sup>10</sup> del chastel aurunt prueçain<sup>11</sup> aïe ;
- 705 Si vait de gent qui en<sup>12</sup> Damne-Deu se fie.

<sup>1</sup> *Mahut, qui la char ad hardie, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *hume, om. L.*

<sup>3</sup> *grant, om. L.*

<sup>4</sup> *en, om. L.*

<sup>5</sup> *Gualeis, L.*; a word of similar length has been crased roughly from D.

<sup>6</sup> *duné grant estreine, L.*

<sup>7</sup> *averunt ke, L.*

<sup>8</sup> *que, L.*

<sup>9</sup> *grant lecherie, L.*

<sup>10</sup> *Cels, L.*

<sup>11</sup> *averunt proçain, L.*

<sup>12</sup> *gent qu'en, L.*



- The son of Maud, who has the bold countenance ;  
 But by counsel and evil desire  
 One may make a wise man act foolishly.
- 680 But since he had thus undertaken the affair  
 He could not leave it except through great  
 cowardice.  
 He orders peace to be kept towards Holy Church :  
 He does cruel justice on those who infringe it.  
 But that does not matter a single berry<sup>1</sup> to him.  
 The vile race, whom may the Lord God curse !  
 The Welsh, who long for booty,  
 And the Scots, who are in Albany,  
 Have no faith in God the son of Mary,  
 Break open monasteries and perpetrate great  
 robberies.
- 690 The barons who held their estates from the king  
 himself  
 Put themselves to great trouble.  
 They assuredly have great grief for their lord :  
 His enemies have given them a handsel.  
 If God thinks not of it—and Mary Magdalene—  
 They will have great war which will be very cruel  
 to them.  
 The land which was so full of such prosperity  
 Is now sad, and devoid of all riches.  
 There is no drink but spring water,  
 Where they were wont to have beer during the  
 week.
- 700 And all is done by the king of Albany,  
 By his advice and by his great folly.  
 But now great loss certainly accrues to him,  
 He will not depart without being insulted.  
 Those of the castle will have speedy assistance :  
 So goes it with those who trust in the Lord God.

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<sup>1</sup> Modern French *alize*, the berry | which refutes the derivation from  
 of the alder. M. Burguy quotes | *allium*.  
 “ baston d’alie ” (Roncisv. p. 116),

- Oëz, seignurs, qu'avint<sup>1</sup> de trop outrage,  
 Ke lur avint d'Escoce la salvage.  
 Bel fud lu tens senz<sup>2</sup> nul malveis orage;  
 Li reis d'Escoce esteit de fier curage,  
 710 Chevalier bon e de grant vasselage.  
 De devant lui vint errant un message,  
 Chanuine fud, si saveit le langage:<sup>3</sup>  
 Hastivement li cunta sun damage.  
 §Li reis esteit dedenz sun paveillun,  
 715 Li eschielguaite delez,<sup>4</sup> e environ  
 Ses chamberlens e si privé druiun,<sup>5</sup>  
 Là ù li mès lur dist itel sermun  
 Dunt puis furent mëuz en tençon.  
 §Li mès lur ad trestat cunté,  
 720 Cum aveit vëu la gent armé,<sup>6</sup>  
 Des chevaliers la grant fierté<sup>7</sup>  
 Ki<sup>8</sup> l'assaudrunt ainz le soleil levé.  
 " Cil de Luci, le sage, le sené,  
 " Ainz mie-nuit serrad as voz justé.<sup>9</sup>  
 725 " Gardez-vus-ent,<sup>10</sup> pur Deu de majesté,  
 " Ke ne seiez huni ne vergundé.  
 " Tut le mielz de vostre parenté  
 " S'en vient od lui: chaseun li ad juré.  
 " Creez cunseil, le mielz vus est duné,  
 730 " A Rokesburc<sup>11</sup> alez à sëürté.  
 " Si vus i estes plus lunges aresté,  
 " Male chançon serrad de vus chanté.  
 " Unques ne fist Tiebaut de Balesgué

Advance  
 of Richard  
 de Luci  
 against the  
 Scotch  
 (about  
 October,  
 1173).

fo. 148.

<sup>1</sup> *que avint*, L.; *qu'avient*, D.

<sup>2</sup> *Bel tens fu sanz*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *si saveit bien le langage*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *Li eschealwaite de leez*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *e ses privez drugun*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Cum il aveit vëu la grant fierté*,  
 L.

<sup>7</sup> *Des chivalers e de la gent armé*,  
 L.

<sup>8</sup> *Que*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *as voz justé*, D.; *ad voz ajusté*,  
 L.

<sup>10</sup> *Gardez-nus-ent*, D.; in the  
 same line *del*, L., for *de*.

<sup>11</sup> *A Rokeburc*, L. Thus else-  
 where.

- Hear, lords, what happened from excessive out-  
rage,  
What befel them from Scotland the wild.  
Fair was the weather without any heavy storm ;  
The king of Scotland was of proud courage,  
710 A good knight and of great prowess.  
Into his presence came a messenger wandering,  
A canon he was, and he knew the language :  
With haste he related his wrong.  
The king was within his pavilion,  
The sentinels beside him, and around him  
His chamberlains and his private friends,  
There where the messenger made them this speech,  
By which they were afterwards moved to dispute.  
The messenger had recounted everything to them,  
720 How he had seen the armed people,  
And the great pride of the knights  
That would assault him before sunrise.  
“ He of Lucy, the wise, the prudent,  
“ Before midnight will have approached you.  
“ Beware of it, by the God of Majesty,  
“ That you be not put to shame and disgraced.  
“ All the best of your relations  
“ Approach with him : each has sworn to him.  
“ Trust advice, the best is given you,  
730 “ Go to Roxburgh, to safety.  
“ If you delay any longer here,  
“ An evil song will be sung of you.  
“ Never did Thibault of Balesgué<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Michel's note is interesting :  
“ The romance, to which Fantosme  
“ alludes here, was well known in  
“ England. In a certificate or  
“ memoir concerning some hooks  
“ found, in the third year of Edward  
“ I.'s reign, we find this mention of  
“ it : ‘ Le Romance Willeame de  
“ Orenge et Tabaud de Arable.’

“ *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 12,  
“ N° xxiii. A copy of it was be-  
“ queathed by Guy Beauchamp,  
“ earl of Warwick, to the abbey of  
“ Bordesley, in Worcestershire,  
“ May 1st, 34 Edward I. or III.  
“ See our *Tristan*, vol. I., p. cxxi.,  
“ l. 2.  
“ Fantosme's allusion and the fol-

- “ Si mal eschee à ceus de France né  
 735 “ Cum vus ferrunt li Surreis<sup>1</sup> aduré,  
 “ Si vus e els estes entre-aseblé.”<sup>2</sup>  
 Li reis l’entent, forment s’en est iré.  
 Senz demurer saint Andreu ad juré,  
 “ Tuz asëur i sumes aresté :<sup>3</sup>  
 740 “ Ne lur serrad bataille deveé.<sup>4</sup>  
 “ Bien deit prudhune cunquerre s’erité.  
 “ Mes ancestres d’Escoce le regné<sup>5</sup>  
 “ Iceest honur tindrent en quieté  
 “ Par cel Seignur que l’un requiert à pié,  
 745 “ E jo l’ tendrai del rei mun avué,  
 “ Le fiz al pere ki mes<sup>6</sup> dreiz m’ad duné,  
 “ En mun vivant n’en perderai plein pié.”  
 Jà s’ëust sun ost bien amonesté  
 Quant un cunseil li est des suens duné :  
 750 “ Cum il volsist mès estre honuré,  
 “ Laissast le siege e alast s’en de gré.”  
 Si fist-il veir : n’i fud plus demuré.  
 De nul des suens n’i ot redne tiré.  
 A Rokesburc, ù il ainz unt esté,  
 755 S’en vint de nuiz cum cil qui fud<sup>7</sup> hasté.  
 N’i out un sul de sun ost aresté  
 Ne s’en alast par mult grant lascheté,  
 Senz ço que<sup>8</sup> lur fust nul assaut duné

The Scotch  
retreat to  
Roxburgh.

<sup>1</sup> *Sureis*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *entreséblé*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *sumus aresté*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *bataille vee*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *regnée*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *ke mes*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *ke fud*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *Sant ceo ke*, L.

“ Give so great check to the natives of France

“ As the hardy Southerners will give you,

“ If you and they meet each other.”

The king hears him and is much enraged.

He swore at once by Saint Andrew,

“ We are quite safe in remaining here :

740 “ Battle will not be refused them.

“ A brave man ought certainly to conquer his inheritance.

“ My ancestors of the kingdom of Scotland

“ Peacefully held that fief

“ From that Lord to whom one prays standing,

“ And I will hold it of the king who guards my

“ rights,

“ The son of the father who has given me my

“ rights,

“ And while I live I will not lose a single foot of

“ it.”

Already he would have well aroused his host,

When a suggestion is made to him by his men :

750 “ As he still wished to be honoured,

“ He should quit the siege and go away of his own

“ free will.”

So did he indeed ; he remained there no longer.

By none of his men was there a rein drawn.

To Roxburgh, where they had been before,

They went by night like those in haste.

There was not a single one of his host who stayed,

Or went not away through sheer cowardice,

Without having been attacked

“ lowing lines, taking from a poem  
“ of the 12th century, show its  
“ antiquity :

“ Mais une merveille veoit

“ Qui poïst faire grant paor

“ Au plus hardi combateor

“ De toz ices que nos savons,

“ Se fust *Thiebauz li Esclavons*

“ Ou *Opiniaux* ou *Fernaguz*, etc.

“ (*Le Roman d'Erec et d'Enide*,

“ MS. of the Royal Library, No.

“ 7498<sup>1</sup>, Cangé 26, fol. 41 verso,

“ col. 2, l. 26.)”

Ne escrié, ne de rien damagié.

760 Robert de Vaus guaignad en ceste chace.  
De ces fuiz grant avoir en purchace;  
Mès, ki k'en peist u nul malgré li sace,<sup>1</sup>  
De lur avoir esforcerad sa place.

Croche le pié e estent sa pigace,

765 Mercie Deu e prie e que<sup>2</sup> pas ne l' hacc.

§ Ore chevalche asëur le grant ost d'Engleterre.

Li sires Richart de Luci, nul meillur n'estuet  
querre,

Bien aidet à maintenir sun seignur<sup>3</sup> sa guerre,  
E si set en busuine triewes e pais requerre

770 Là ù il veit la force e li estuet requerre.<sup>4</sup>

Chevalche<sup>5</sup> en la terre destruite e guastée :

Ço est Northumberland qui jà iert renuée.<sup>6</sup>

De si qu'as porz d'Espaine n'aveit itel cuntrée

Ne plus large viandier ne gent plus honorée.

775 Ore est en grant famine: devient anientée<sup>7</sup>

Si del rei d'Engleterre aïe ne seit dunée.

Suspire e purpense cument ele est alée,

E maldit la guerre, quand jà fud cumenciée;<sup>8</sup>

Puis pense en sun curage, si Damnes-Deus l'agré,<sup>9</sup>

780 Par lui e par sa force d'aukes<sup>10</sup> serrad vengée,

E<sup>11</sup> par les pruedhumes ki sunt de la cuntrée,

Ki<sup>12</sup> forment desirent de vengier lur haschée.

§ Li sires Humfrei de Boün est mult de grant  
cuintise :

Al ainz<sup>13</sup> qu'il pot espuruner s'en part de la justise,

<sup>1</sup> *en sace*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *e prie he*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *sun seignur a meinténir*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *faire*, L.

<sup>5</sup> Not *E chivalche*, the *C* has been repeated by the copyist, thus: *C chivalche*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *que jà fud renomée*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *famine del tuit anientée*, L.;

D. may be read *de nient anientée*.

<sup>8</sup> *cumencié*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *le grée*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *de alques*, L.

<sup>11</sup> L. omits *E*.

<sup>12</sup> *Que*, L.

<sup>13</sup> *A ainz*, L.



- Or shouted at, or damaged in any way.
- 760 Robert de Vaus was the gainer in this chase.  
 He obtained great wealth from these fugitives ;  
 But no matter who is displeas'd at it or bears him  
 ill will for it,  
 He will reinforce his position with their property.  
 Bends his foot and extends his sleeve,<sup>1</sup>  
 Thanks God and prays that He will not hate him.  
 Now the great host of England rides secure.  
 The lord Richard de Lucy—no better need be  
 sought—  
 He well aids his lord to maintain his war,  
 And at need he knows how to ask for truces and  
 peace
- 770 Where he sees force and there is want of them.  
 He rides in the ravaged and wasted country—  
 That is Northumberland, which formerly was re-  
 nowned.  
 From here as far as the passes of Spain there was  
 no such country  
 Nor one more plentiful in provisions, nor a more  
 honoured race.  
 Now it is in extreme famine: it is reduced to  
 nothing  
 If aid be not given by the king of England.  
 He sighs and considers how it is fallen into decay,  
 And curses the war, since it has already begun ;  
 Then thinks in his heart, if the Lord God pleases,
- 780 It will be in a little time avenged by him and his  
 forces,  
 And by the brave men who are of the country,  
 Who strongly desire to avenge their suffering.  
 The lord Humphrey de Bohun is a man of great  
 discretion :  
 As soon as he can spur he leaves the justiciary,

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<sup>1</sup> Strictly an ornament worn on a sleeve. The text at this point is obviously faulty.

- 785 Ço est dan Richart de Luci ki tut<sup>1</sup> le monde  
prise.  
Ne volt le rei d'Escoce irer en nule guise,  
Kar un sun message noveles li devise—  
Venuz fud en la terre, ki lur mettrad asise.  
Li euens de Leircestre la chose si ad emprise
- The earl  
of Leicester  
lands (29  
September,  
1173).
- 790 Od Flamens<sup>2</sup> e od f'ranceis e od gent devers  
Frise,  
Aturnerad Engleterre tut à sa cumandise.  
§ "Deus!" fait Richard de Luci,<sup>3</sup> "cum sui en grant  
" errance!  
" Si li reis d'Escoce sëust ceste faisance  
" N'en aurium pais ne triewe pur tut l'aveir de  
" France:
- 795 " Ne lui estëust faire, s'il n'iert de grant enfance." *fo. 149.*  
Chevalche e espurune, si ad el euer<sup>4</sup> pesance,  
Mès anceis qu'il pëust avenir à parler en<sup>5</sup> oiance  
Al rei d'Aubanie ne faire<sup>6</sup> sa fesance,  
Ad dan Humfrei<sup>7</sup> de Boün ki hardement avance
- 800 Fait au rei d'Escoce de Berewie nuisance.  
§ Mult iert de grant affaire dan Humfrei de Boün,  
Li barun de Northumberlant en sunt si cum-  
paignun;  
Arstrent tut<sup>8</sup> Berewie à flambe e à tisu  
E une grant partie de terres<sup>9</sup> environ,
- Burning of  
Berwick  
(about  
October,  
1173).
- 805 Ke perent en lur marches cruel cume leun.  
Mès dan Richard de Luei n'ad suin de tel sermun,  
Si<sup>10</sup> dit en sun language sire Humfrei de Boün,  
[Li barun de Northumberland en sunt si cum-  
paignun]<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *danz Richard — que tuit, L.*<sup>2</sup> *E od Flamens, L.*<sup>3</sup> *de Luce, L.*<sup>4</sup> *al quor, L.*<sup>5</sup> *e, L.*<sup>6</sup> *faite, L.*<sup>7</sup> *Unfrei, below Umfrei, L.*<sup>8</sup> *Artrunt tuit, L.*<sup>9</sup> *E un — des teres, L.*<sup>10</sup> *Si, D. L.*<sup>11</sup> This line, which is 802 repeated  
in error, is not in L.

That is lord Richard de Lucy, whom all the world esteems.

He did not wish to irritate in any way the king of Scotland,

For one of his messengers tells him news—

One had come to the country who will besiege them.

The earl of Leicester has undertaken the affair thus

790 With Flemings and with French and with men  
[from] the direction of Friesland,

He will turn England about wholly at his order.

“ God,” quoth Richard de Lucy, “in what great  
“ distress I am !

“ If the king of Scotland knew this that is doing

“ We should have neither peace nor truce for all

“ the possessions of France :

“ Nor would he do it, were he not a great child.”

He rides and spurs : he is heavy at heart,

But, before he could get to speak in audience

To the king of Albany or do his business,

Lord Humphrey de Bohun, who boldly advances,

800 Had caused the king of Scotland the loss of Berwick.

Lord Humphrey de Bohun had a great business in hand,

The barons of Northumberland are his comrades in it ;

They burn all Berwick with flame and brand

And a great part of the surrounding country,

[So] that they appear in their march cruel as lions.

But lord Richard de Lucy has no care for such narration,

So lord Humphrey de Bohun says in his language—

[*The barons of Northumberland are his comrades in it*<sup>1</sup>]

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<sup>1</sup> See note <sup>11</sup> on the opposite page.

- “ A ! si Deu n'en prenge <sup>1</sup> cure, n'i frum si perdre  
 “ nun.”
- 810 § “ Sire Humfrei de Boün,” fait Richart de Luci,  
 [“ Ne s'en alast par mult grant lascheté,  
 “ Sanz ço que lur fust nul assaut duné  
 “ Ne escrié ne de rien damagié:  
 “ Robert de Vaus guaignad en ceste chace] <sup>2</sup>
- 815 “ Alum <sup>3</sup> al rei d'Escoce pur erier lui merci  
 “ De tenir pais e triewe <sup>4</sup> vers nostre rei Henri.  
 “ Li plusur d'Engleterre li sunt trestuit failli.  
 “ Savez-vus les noveles que nus avoms oï ?  
 “ Li cuens de Leirecestre nus ad tuz mal baillie. <sup>5</sup>
- 820 “ Arivez est en North-Wales, <sup>6</sup> bien le sachiez de fi,  
 “ E ad tensé la terre cum il en fust bailli.  
 “ De si k'en Dunewiz <sup>7</sup> par force recuilli.”
- § Ore est Humfrei de Boün iriez en sun curage :  
 “ Sire Richart de Luci, ore parra vostre age ; <sup>8</sup>
- 825 “ E vus seiez en haste, si cum l'um dit, tant sage.

Richard de  
 Luci pro-  
 poses a  
 truce.

<sup>1</sup> *Si n'en prengum*, L.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 811-814 are not in L.  
 They are lines 757-760 repeated in  
 error.

<sup>3</sup> *Alums*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *pees e triwe*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *tuz malbailli*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Arwelle*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *Donewiz*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *vostre eage*, L.

- “ Ah ! if God takes no care we shall certainly lose.”
- 810 “ Sir Humphrey de Bohun,” quoth Richard de Lucey,  
*[Or went not away through sheer cowardice,  
 Without having been attacked  
 Or shouted at, or damaged in any way.  
 Robert de Vaus was the gainer in this chase.]*<sup>1</sup>
- “ Let us go to the king of Scotland to cry him  
 “ mercy  
 “ To keep peace and truce towards our king Henry.  
 “ The greater part of England have all failed him.  
 “ Do you know the news that we have heard ?  
 “ The earl of Leicester has ruined us all.
- 820 “ He has arrived in North Wales,<sup>3</sup> you may be  
 “ certain about it,  
 “ And has taxed the land as though he were  
 “ sheriff of it.  
 “ From thence to Dunwich he collected by force.”  
 Now is Humphrey de Bohun enraged in his heart :  
 “ Sir Richard de Lucey, now will your age appear ;  
 “ And if you are, as they say, so wisely prompt,

<sup>1</sup> This passage, which, as stated on the opposite page, is only a repetition of lines 757-760, is interesting, because it shows that the passage which Dr. Vising regards as an interpolation (*ll.* 646-765) was almost certainly in the copy from which D., the older MS., was derived. It could hardly have been twice entered if taken from a separate work. The writer of L. either did not use the same early copy or was more wary in its use.

<sup>2</sup> See Dugd. Baroo., i. 179.

<sup>3</sup> This is, of course, a blunder on the part of the Durham scribe. The Lincoln MS. reads *Arwellic* (Orwell). The historical error, however, in what follows is more serious.

The attack on Norwich (see line 895) was in 1174. The events in the text lead up to the battle of Fornham, which was fought on Oct. 17, 1173.

From Diceto we know that Leicester landed at Walton on Sept. 29, Hagenet was taken on Oct. 13, and the defeat at Fornham followed immediately. Again, Diceto (i. p. 381) tells us that a party of Flemings landed at *Airwelle* on May 15, 1174, joined earl Bigod, and captured Norwich on June 18. Benedict of Peterborough (i. 68) supports Diceto.

The earl of Leicester was a prisoner in 1174.

- " Alez al rei d'Escocce, celez-lui cest damage.  
 " S'il set<sup>1</sup> ceste novele mult iert de fier curage,  
 " Ke li cuens<sup>2</sup> seit arivez e venuz à passage :  
 " Ne vus durras sa triewe, s'il n'ad el cuer<sup>3</sup> la rage.  
 830 " Jo m'en irrai ariere: ço iert pur sun damage.  
 " Si Deus le volt e grée, jo desfrai l'ultrage.<sup>4</sup> *fo. 149. b.*  
 " Mar i furent arivez de Flandres la salvage."  
 Ore ad Richart de Luci fait cume sené.  
 Tut ad del rei [d'Escocce]<sup>5</sup> quanqu'il ad demandé  
 835 De triewes vers Northumberland de si que vers  
 l'esté:<sup>6</sup>  
 E dan Humfrei de Boïn s'en est ariere alé  
 E<sup>7</sup> maint gentil chevalier d'Engleterre né:  
 Si serrunt ainz curt terme vers Flamens acuinté.  
 § Bien l'avez oï dire, li petit e li grant,  
 840 Ke le cunte Robert est alé tant avant,  
 Arivez en Sufolke la terre<sup>8</sup> vait tensant;  
 De si qu'en Dunewiz tut vait par sun cumant,  
 Maint gentil hum de Flandres li vait le jor  
 siewant:<sup>9</sup>  
 Dunt li reis d'Engleterre en ot<sup>10</sup> puis joie grant.  
 • 845 § Li cuens Hige Bigot ad ses messages pris,  
 E mande de Dunewiz ceus qui lur<sup>11</sup> est amis,  
 Prengent sei al cunte, si aurunt gieus e ris,<sup>12</sup>

Richard de  
Luci  
arranges a  
truce  
(October,  
1173).

<sup>1</sup> *Si il set, L.*  
<sup>2</sup> *Si li quons, L.*  
<sup>3</sup> *Ne vus durrad la triewe, s'il  
n'ad al quor, L.*  
<sup>4</sup> *desfrai l'ustrage, L.*  
<sup>5</sup> *D. omits d'Escocce.*  
<sup>6</sup> *vers esté, L.*  
<sup>7</sup> *E, om. L.*

<sup>8</sup> *Erwelle Suffoke, omitting la  
terre, L.*  
<sup>9</sup> *hume de Flandre le veit sivant,  
L.*  
<sup>10</sup> *de Engleterre ot, L.*  
<sup>11</sup> *à ceus de Donewiz ke mult lur,  
L.*  
<sup>12</sup> *al cuntre, mult averunt gieu e  
ris, L.*



- " Go to the king of Scotland, hide from him this  
 " injury.  
 " He will be of very proud heart if he knows these  
 " tidings  
 " That the earl should have arrived and succeeded  
 " in passing :  
 " He will not grant you his truce, unless he has  
 " madness in his heart.  
 830 " I will go back : that will be for his damage.  
 " If God wills it and agrees I will repair the out-  
 " rage.  
 " In an evil hour they came from savage Flan-  
 " ders."

Now has Richard de Lucy done like a man of sense.  
 He has from the king of Scotland all that he has  
 asked

Of truce for Northumberland from now till about  
summer :

And lord Humphrey de Bohun has gone back  
 And many a gentle knight of English birth :  
 They will in a short time make acquaintance with  
 the Flemings.

- You have heard it well, both small and great,  
 840 That the earl Robert is gone so far forward  
 That having reached Suffolk he goes levying money  
 on the land ;  
 As far as Dunwich all goes by his orders,  
 Many a gentleman of Flanders goes this day fol-  
 lowing him :  
 At which the king of England afterwards had great  
 joy.

Earl Hugh Bigod has taken his messengers,  
 And makes known to those of Dunwich that he is  
 their friend,  
 Let them side with the earl if they will have sports  
 and mirth,

? to 13 Jan  
1174.

- U cil perdrunt les testes ki<sup>1</sup> sunt encore vifs.  
 E cil li unt remandé: mar seit conseil pris,  
 850 Ainz se vendrunt mult chier envers<sup>2</sup> lur enemis.  
 § Bien l'avez oï dire en reprovier:<sup>3</sup>  
 " Ki fait tricherie sun seigneur dreiturier  
 " U nule felunie ù il ait<sup>4</sup> desturbier,  
 " D'aver malveis guerdun ne se deit pas duter;  
 855 " E ki leaument lu sert si fait mult à preisier."  
 Si fist la gent de Dunewiz,<sup>5</sup> dunt vus m'oëz  
 parler.  
 Li cuens de Leircestre les voleit asiegier,  
 E jura sun serrement dunt il fud custumier,  
 S'à lui ne se rendissent<sup>6</sup> li burgeis e li per,  
 860 N'eschapereit un hune senz mort u desturbier;  
 E cil li remanderent ki erent ainz<sup>7</sup> premier:  
 " Dehé<sup>8</sup> ait ki vus<sup>9</sup> dute l'amuntant d'un denier!<sup>10</sup>  
 " Encore est vifs li bon<sup>11</sup> reis dreiturier,  
 " Ki<sup>12</sup> fera vostre guerre mult tost anienter.  
 865 " Tant cum nus poüm vivre<sup>13</sup> e sur les piez ester,  
 " Ne rendrum la vile<sup>14</sup> pur nul assaut duter."  
 Li cuens de Leircestre se prist à curucier,  
 E fait drescier les furches pur els espoenter.  
 Puis fait armer en haste serjant e escuier:  
 870 Pur assaillir la vile forment se volt pener.  
 Le jor veïssiez burgeis, bien vaillant chevalier,  
 Saillir à<sup>15</sup> lur defenses; chascun set sun mestier,  
 Les uns des arcs traire, les autres à lancier.

fo. 150.

<sup>1</sup> que, L.<sup>2</sup> *Einz se vendrent — vers*, L.<sup>3</sup> *dire sovent en reprover*, L.<sup>4</sup> *dunt il eit*, L.<sup>5</sup> *Doneriz*, and elsewhere, L.<sup>6</sup> *rendunt*, L.<sup>7</sup> *remandent ki erent ainz*, L.;  
*remanderent ki ainz ainz*, D.<sup>8</sup> *Dehé*, D.; *Decz*, L.<sup>9</sup> *vus*, D. L.<sup>10</sup> *l'amunte d'un denier*, L.<sup>11</sup> *est vis en terre li bons*, L.<sup>12</sup> *Que*, L.<sup>13</sup> *poüms vivere*, L.<sup>14</sup> *sa vile*, L.<sup>15</sup> *Sallier à*, L.

Or those who are now alive will lose their heads.  
 And those have answered him: ill would his  
 advice be taken,

- 850 Rather they will sell themselves full dear to their foes.  
 Indeed you have heard it said in the proverb:  
 " He who is guilty of treachery to his rightful lord  
 " Or of any felony by which he may suffer injury  
 " Cannot doubt of having evil recompense;  
 " And he who serves him loyally causes himself to  
 " be highly valued."

So did the people of Dunwich, of whom you hear  
 me speak.

The earl of Leicester wished to besiege them,  
 And swore his oath, as he was accustomed,  
 If the burghers and the notables<sup>1</sup> should not sur-  
 render to him,

- 860 Not a man would escape without death or injury;  
 And these answer him who were the chief people:  
 " Woe be to him who dreads you to the amount of  
 " a penny!  
 " The good rightful king still lives,  
 " Who will full soon bring your campaign to  
 " nothing.  
 " As long as we can live and stand on our feet,  
 " We will not surrender the town from fear of  
 " assault."

The earl of Leicester began to grow incensed,  
 And causes gallows to be erected to alarm them.  
 Then he causes serjeants and squires to be armed  
 quickly:

- 870 He resolved to exert himself to assault the town  
 vigorously.  
 That day you might have seen burghers, right  
 valiant knights,  
 Issue forth to their fortifications: each knows his  
 business,  
 Some to shoot with bows, the others to hurl darts.

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<sup>1</sup> Burguy gives a large range of meanings for *per*, including "conseiller  
 "de ville," no doubt, however, a late use of the word.

- Attack on  
Dunwich  
foiled.
- Les forz aident as fiebles suvent à reposer.  
 875 N'i ot dedenz la vile pucele ne muillier  
 Ki ne portast la piere al paliz pur geter.  
 § Issi se defendirent la gent de Dunewiz,  
 Si cum<sup>1</sup> ces vers parolent ki sunt ici escriz ;  
 E tant furent prudhume<sup>2</sup> li granz e li petiz  
 880 Ke le cunte Robert s'en vait tut escharniz.  
 Li cuens de Leirestre est mult de grant<sup>3</sup> valor,  
 Envers la gent de Dunewiz ne trovad nul amur ;  
 Ne li pout aver mestier assaut ne vavassur,<sup>4</sup>  
 Ne serjant ne escuier dunt cil aient poür.  
 885 Entre lui e le cunte se mistrent al retur,<sup>5</sup>  
 Desqu'al demein al aube,<sup>6</sup> quant vit pareir le jor.  
 Manda ses<sup>7</sup> cunestables, si lur dit en oiance :  
 " Faites munter voz humes, mar iert demurance.  
 " Jo m'en irrai à Norewiz,<sup>8</sup> si Deus m'en duinst  
 " puissance,  
 890 " Pur veoir lur afaire, quele<sup>9</sup> est lur contenance."  
 E cil ne targent mie de faire la fesance ;  
 Tost veïssiez en haste despleier mainte mance,  
 Maint pennuncel de seie porter en bele lance,  
 E maint bon gentil vassal, maint hum de grant  
 vaillance.
- Capture of  
Norwich  
(18 June,  
1174).
- 895 Ki volt oïr la verité cum Norewiz<sup>10</sup> fud prise ?  
 Jo ne fui pas el país quant ele fud asise :  
 Uns traîtres Lohereng la trahi, pur ço si fud  
 surprise.<sup>11</sup>  
 Nul ne se pot de traïsun garder en nul guise,

<sup>1</sup> *Si eume*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *prudume*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *fud de mult grand*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *de vavaçur*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *à retur*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Tresqu'al demein del alba*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *E manda ses*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *Jeo m'en irrai à Norwiz*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *Pur ver — quel*, L. In D. *veoir* has hair-strokes thus: *vêêr*. See p. 284, note 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Norwiz*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *Loereug traï, pur ceo si fud prise*, L.

The strong help the weak to rest frequently.  
 Within the town there was neither maid nor wife  
 Who did not carry a stone to the palisade for  
 throwing.

Thus did the people of Dunwich defend them-  
 selves,

As these verses tell which are here written ;  
 And so brave were great and small

880 That earl Robert retired completely mocked.

The earl of Leicester is of very high courage,  
 Towards the Dunwich folk he had no love ;  
 Neither assault nor vassal could be of service to him,  
 Nor sergeant nor squire of whom these might be  
 afraid.

He and the earl together set about returning  
 As soon as the morrow dawned, when he saw the  
 day appear.

He called his constables, and openly said to them :

“ Cause your men to mount, delay will be fatal.

“ I will go to Norwich, if God gives me power,

890 “ To see their affairs, and what their bearing is.”

And those delay not to do what is to be done ;  
 Soon might you see many a sleeve displayed in  
 haste,

Many a pennon of silk carried on a fine lance,  
 And many a good gentle vassal, many a man of  
 great valour.

Who wishes to hear the truth how Norwich was  
 taken ? <sup>1</sup>

I was not in the country when it was besieged :  
 A Lorraine traitor betrayed it, therefore it was  
 surprised.

No one can in any way guard himself against  
 treason, <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fantosme's chronology is here  
 at fault. See vol. i., p. 178, note 3.

<sup>2</sup>M. Michel cites “ De traïson  
 “ ne se puet nus garder ” from MS.

6985 of the Nat. Lib. Paris, fo.  
 220 ; and “ De traïson ne se puet  
 “ nus gaitier,” from the same MS.,  
 fo. 245.

Fors sulement lu rei Henri, qui les cruels<sup>1</sup> justise,  
 900 Par la vertu del Criatur e preiere de saint Iglise.  
 Pais à tenir à sun poeir, unkes ne fist feintise,  
 E Deus, ki unkes ne menti, le tienge en sun ser-  
 vise !

§Jordan Fantosme premier<sup>2</sup> se volt abanduner *fo. 150. b.*  
 Sur tuz les saintuaires un serrement<sup>3</sup> jurer,  
 905 N'ad clere en tut le monde, tant sace recorder  
 Sa lesçun en sun livre<sup>4</sup> ne de nul art parler,  
 Ki me pëust dire, ne sace recunter,<sup>5</sup>  
 Terre qui la vaille de si qu'à Muntpeslier<sup>6</sup>  
 Cele de Northfolke, dunt vus m'oëz parler,<sup>7</sup>  
 910 Plus honoré chevalier ne meillur viandier,  
 Ne plus gaillardes dames pur largement duner,  
 Fors la cité de Lundres, ù nul ne set sa per.  
 As baruns de la vile ne pot nul cumparer.  
 Unques en ceste [guerre] n'en<sup>8</sup> oïstes parler,  
 915 Tant fust riche de terre, ki's osast asiegier  
 Ne tendre vers els le dei pur sulement penser,  
 N'en eüst malveis gueredun en lieu<sup>9</sup> de sun luier.  
 Gentil rei d'Engleterre, kar pernez à penser  
 Cum vus devez Lundres e les baruns amer,  
 920 Kar unques ne faillirent lur seignur dreiturer,  
 Tuz jorz à sa busuine ne fussent li premier.  
 Asez orent messages de Flandres ultremer,  
 Ki<sup>10</sup> lur prameteient granz honors à duner.  
 Vostre fiz demeine, ke mult devez amer  
 925 Quant par nature se prist à acorder,  
 Lur manda par ses lettres e par sun messagier  
 Qu'il li feissent aïe sun pere à guerreier

<sup>1</sup> *cruelles*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *Jordan Fantosme primercin*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *serment*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *livre*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *sace recorder*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Terre que la vaille de si qu'à Mumpeller*, L.; D. has the form *si*.

<sup>7</sup> *Norfauke dunt m'oëz parler*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *ceste guerre ne me*, L.; D. omits *guerre*.

<sup>9</sup> *en lui*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *Que*, L.



Save only king Henry, who does justice on the cruel,  
 900 By the power of the Creator and the prayers of  
       Holy Church.

There was never any pretence about his keeping  
       peace according to his ability,  
 And may God, who never lied, retain him in his  
       service !

Jordan Fantosme first wished to surrender himself  
 To swear an oath on every reliquary,  
 That there is no clerk in all the world so clever at  
       recording

His lesson in his book, or in discoursing of any art,  
 Who can tell me, or who can mention,  
 A country from here to Montpellier which is worth  
 That of Norfolk of which you hear me speak,

910 More honoured knights, nor more liberal,  
 Nor more merry dames to give freely,  
 Except [in] the city of London, whose peer no one  
       knows.

To the barons of the town none can compare.  
 Never in this war did you hear tell of any one,  
 However wealthy in land, who dared to besiege  
       them,

Or even in thought to point the finger at them,  
 Who did not have a sore recompense in lieu of his  
       pay.

Gentle king of England, take into consideration  
 How you ought to love London and the barons,

920 For they never failed their rightful lord,  
 But were always the first at his need.  
 They had plenty of messengers from Flanders  
       beyond the sea,

Who promised to give them great honours.  
 Your own son, whom you ought to love much  
 Since he has begun to be reconciled in accordance  
       with nature,

Asked them, by his letters and by his envoy,  
 To help him to make war upon his father

- Par itel devise cum jà m'orrez nomer—  
 K'à tuz jorz de sa vie les tendreit si chier,  
 930 Amereit e chierireit e mult lur volt<sup>1</sup> duner.  
 Mès il ne l' volent faire ne sulement granter—  
 Pur vus de vostre regne chacier ne eissillier.  
 § Pur ço les devez amer, honurer, e cherir,  
 E à lur grant busuine lur leauté merir,  
 935 Quant une pur<sup>2</sup> pramesse ne voleient flechir;  
 Mès vus amer à lur poeir lur veneit à plaisir.  
 Gentil rei d'Engleterre, faites le mien desir:  
 Amez ces qui vus vuelent en leauté<sup>3</sup> servir.  
 Ne deit pas al joefne rei de rien mesavenir  
 940 (Quant par naturesee se prist à repentir)<sup>4</sup>  
 A mener genz estranges en<sup>5</sup> pur les suens hunir  
 Ki emprès les jorz sun pere le deivent maintenir.  
 Anceis que cest siecle cumence à definir,<sup>6</sup>  
 Purrunt adventures plusurs avenir.  
 945 Unkes n'en eüistes tel guerre à sustenir,  
 Ke vostre fiz n'ait graindre. Ore penst des suens  
 nurrir.  
 Li cuens de Leicestre<sup>7</sup> ne fine de guaster  
 La terre de Northfolke, dunt vus m'oëz<sup>8</sup> parler;  
 Ne pot de Normendie le rei Henri grever,  
 950 Pur ço volt Engleterre à sun poeir medler.  
 Il ad od lui de Flandres par cent e par millier:  
 Li cuens Hüge le Bigot<sup>9</sup> le volt del tut aidier;  
 E li cuens de Ferrieres,<sup>10</sup> un simple chevalier—  
 Mielz dëust<sup>11</sup> bele dame baisier e acoler

fo. 151.

<sup>1</sup> *lur volt* is repeated in D.<sup>2</sup> *Quant unques pur nul*, L.<sup>3</sup> *ke vos volent en lalté*, L.<sup>4</sup> *repentir*, L.<sup>5</sup> *Amer genz estranges ne*, L.<sup>6</sup> *ceste secle cumenceit a defuillir*,

L.

<sup>7</sup> *Leircestre*, L.<sup>8</sup> *Norfouke, dunt m'oëz*, L.<sup>9</sup> *de Bigot*, L.<sup>10</sup> *Ferrers*, L.<sup>11</sup> *Melz dust*, L.

On such condition as you will hear me name,—  
 That all his life he would hold them so dear,  
 930 Would love and cherish and give them much.  
 But they would not do nor even promise it—  
 To chase or exile you from your realm.  
 Wherefore you ought to love, honour, and  
     cherish them,  
 And at their great need recompense their loyalty,  
 Since they would waver for no promise ;  
 But it was a pleasure to them to love you to the  
     utmost of their power.  
 Gentle king of England, accomplish my desire :  
 Love those who wish to serve you in loyalty.  
 Nothing amiss should befall the young king,—  
 940 Since through natural affection he has begun to  
     repent,—  
 For importing foreigners to disgrace his own  
     people,  
 Who after his father's days should support him.  
 Before this century begins to reach its end,  
 Many adventures may happen.  
 Never had you so great a war to sustain,  
 That your son may not have a greater. Now let  
     him turn to cherishing his own people.  
 The earl of Leicester does not cease to ravage  
 The land of Norfolk, of which you hear me speak ;  
 He could not annoy king Henry in Normandy,  
 950 So he desired to embroil England to the utmost of  
     his power.  
 He had with him Flemings by hundreds and  
     thousands ;  
 Earl Bigod desired to give him every aid ;  
 And earl Ferrers,<sup>1</sup> a simple knight—  
 Rather ought he to kiss and embrace a fair lady

---

<sup>1</sup> Robert earl Ferrers.

- 955 Ke par mal de guerre ferir un chevalier,  
 Li mande par ses lettres sœur puet aler<sup>1</sup>.  
 Par tut Engleterre: n'i aura desturbier.  
 Bien li dit li cuens ceus qui<sup>2</sup> vuelent guerreeer:  
 Ço est li reis d'Escoce qu'il ad nomé premier,  
 960 E dan David<sup>3</sup> sun frere ki mult fait à preisier,  
 E dan Rogier de Munbrai ki tuz jorz fud  
 guerreeer.<sup>4</sup>  
 " Il vus vendrad succurre là vus aurez mestier.  
 " Tute la terre brande: pensez del espleitier.  
 " Li vielz reis d'Engleterre aurad des suens  
 " mestier:<sup>5</sup>
- 965 " Mult est en grant barate, si devum Deu loer.  
 " Jamès jor de sa vie ne passera la mer,  
 " Si aura Normendie perdue al passer.  
 " Si vus à Leireestre pëussiez chevalehier,<sup>6</sup>  
 " Ainz ke venist la Paske purriez tant aler  
 970 " Desqu'à la Tur de Lundres purriez tant aler.<sup>7</sup>  
 " La bone cité d'Everwie<sup>8</sup> si est à dan Rogier,  
 " Par tut Everwiesire<sup>9</sup> se fait seignur elamer.  
 " N'i ad enz<sup>10</sup> en mun païs guaires nul<sup>11</sup>  
 " chevalier,  
 " Si jo n'ai lur aïe, ne's face tut mater."  
 975 — " E Deus!" ço dist li cuens, " cum ore puis *fo. 151. b.*  
 " enragier!  
 " Trop sui en lunge atente<sup>12</sup> pur mun seignur  
 " aidier

The in-  
 vaders try  
 to reach  
 Leicester.

<sup>1</sup> *assœur pout aler, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *li quons quels ço sunt ki, L.*

<sup>3</sup> *Davi, L.*

<sup>4</sup> *ke tuz jurs fu guerrier, L.* The Durham scribe places hair strokes over each *e* here, thus, *guerreeer*. This he does in many other cases of double vowels, meaning, possibly, that they are to be kept separate in pronunciation. See, however, p. 242, note 6.

<sup>5</sup> *de sens mester, L.*

<sup>6</sup> *pensez chivalcher, L.*

<sup>7</sup> D. repeats end of previous line. L. reads *Tresqu'à la Tur de Lundres; n'i aureit desturber.*

<sup>8</sup> *de Everwie, L.*

<sup>9</sup> *Par tute Everwiesire, L.*

<sup>10</sup> *einz, L.*

<sup>11</sup> *nul, repeated in D.*

<sup>12</sup> *aidier* here and at the end of the line in D.; *en lunge atente, L.*

Than by the ill-fortune of war to strike a knight—  
Tells him by his letters that he can go in safety  
Throughout all England: he will have no hind-  
rance there.

The earl tells him who they are who wish to  
make war:

It is the king of Scotland whom he named first,  
960 And lord David his brother who is worthy of high  
esteem,

And lord Roger de Mowbray<sup>1</sup> who was always a  
warrior.

“ He will come to help where you shall have  
“ need.

“ All the land is aflame: take care to be quick.

“ The old king of England will have need of his  
“ men:

“ He is in great difficulty, so we ought to praise  
“ God.

“ Never in his life will he pass the sea

“ Without losing Normandy by crossing.

“ If you could ride to Leicester,

“ Before Easter you might go as far

970 “ As the Tower of London; you would have no  
“ hindrance.<sup>2</sup>

“ The good city of York is lord Roger’s,

“ He proclaims himself lord throughout Yorkshire.

“ There are very few knights in my country

“ Whom I will not humble, if I do not have their  
aid.”

“ Ah, God,” thus said the earl, “ how angry I could  
“ now be!

“ Too long have I been delaying to help my lord

<sup>1</sup> See Dugd. Baron., i. 122.

| <sup>2</sup> See the reading of L.

- “ E del viel rei sun pere e de mes mals vengier.  
 “ Orrai, seignurs chevaliers, un sul de vus  
 “ parler ?  
 “ De faire cest afaire<sup>1</sup> ki m’oserad loer ? ”  
 980 — “ Oil, sire, tut assëur,” respunt lui sa muillier,  
 “ Jà Damnes-Deus [ne place], ki<sup>2</sup> reis est drei-  
 “ turier,  
 “ Ke vus pur Humfrei de Boün laissez<sup>3</sup> cest  
 “ eire ester,  
 “ Ne pur le cunte d’Arandel ne pur sun bel  
 “ parler!<sup>4</sup>  
 “ Li Engleis sunt bon vantur, ne se sevent oster.<sup>5</sup>  
 985 “ Mielz sevent as gros hanaps beivre e gueis-  
 “ seillier.  
 “ Li cuens de Glowecestre<sup>6</sup> fet mult à reduter ;  
 “ Mès il ad vostre sorur à muillier e à per :<sup>7</sup>  
 “ Pur tut l’aveir de France ne volsist eumencier  
 “ De faire nul ultrage dunt eüssiez disturbier.”<sup>8</sup>  
 990 — “ Dame,” ço dist le cunte, “ ore vus oi parler  
 “ Vostre conseil dei faire, kar mult vus soil amer.  
 “ — Sire Hüge del Chastel, volez-le-vus granter ?  
 “ Si vus à Leirecestre estiez<sup>9</sup> el dangier,  
 “ De tut ceus d’Engleterre ne vus estenst<sup>10</sup> duter ;  
 995 “ Ainz lui<sup>11</sup> purriez faire suvent grant disturbier.”  
 E dist Hüge del Chastel : “ N’i ad fors del  
 “ aler.”<sup>12</sup>  
 Tost purriez oïr e bien en halt crier<sup>13</sup>  
 Entre Flamens de Flandres e Franceis e Puier :

<sup>1</sup> *ecle enprise*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *Jà Dampne-Deu ne place, ke,*  
L. ; D. omits *ne place*.

<sup>3</sup> *Unfrei — lessez*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *De Arandel ne pur sun gros*  
parler, L.

<sup>5</sup> *bevadur, ne sevent oster*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Glocestre*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *e à peer*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *encumbrier*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *esteiez*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *estut*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *Ainz les*, L.

<sup>12</sup> *del crer*, L.

<sup>13</sup> *Tost i purriez oier e ben e halt*  
crier, L.



- “ And to revenge myself on the old king his  
 “ father and for my wrongs.  
 “ Lords, knights, shall I hear a single one of you  
 “ speak ?  
 “ Who will venture to advise me to do this  
 “ business ? ”  
 “ Yea, sir, in all certainty,” replied his wife,  
 980 “ Lord God, who is rightful king, forbid  
 “ That you should give up this journey for Hum-  
 “ phrey de Bohun,  
 “ Or for the earl of Arundel,<sup>1</sup> or for his fair words !  
 “ The English are good at boasting, they do not  
 “ understand how to fight.  
 “ They know better how to drink from big cups  
 “ and to eat gluttonously.  
 “ The earl of Gloucester<sup>2</sup> is much to be feared ;  
 “ But he has your sister for wife and for companion:  
 “ For all the riches of France he would not begin  
 “ To perpetrate any outrage from which you could  
 “ have trouble.”  
 990 “ Lady,” so said the earl, “ now I hear you speak  
 “ I must follow your advice for much I am wont  
 “ to love you.  
 “ Sir Hugh de Chastel<sup>3</sup> will you consent to it ?  
 “ If you were at Leicester in possession,  
 “ You need not fear all the men of England ;  
 “ Rather you might often give them great trouble.”  
 And said Hugh de Chastel, “ There is nothing to  
 “ do but go.”  
 Soon you might hear loud shouting  
 Between the Flemings from Flanders and French  
 and men of Poix :<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> William de Albini.

<sup>2</sup> William.

<sup>3</sup> Hugo de Castellis. See New-  
 burgh, i. 179, and Robert of Torigni,

ii. 45. He was cousin to the earl  
 of Leicester.

<sup>4</sup> See DuCange, under “Poheri.”  
 Poix is in Picardy.

- “ Nus n'eimes pas en cest<sup>1</sup> païs venuz pur  
 “ sujoner,  
 1000 “ Mès pur lu rei destruire Henri le vielz guerrier  
 “ E pur aver sa leine, dunt avum desirier.”  
 Seignurs, ço est la verité: li plus furent telier,  
 Ne saveient porter armes à lei de chevalier.  
 Mès pur ço furent venuz, pur aver guain e  
 guerre;<sup>2</sup>  
 1005 Kar n'ad meillur viandier de Saint-Edmund en  
 terre.<sup>3</sup>  
 Ore oiez, seignurs, baruns, de Deu la grant  
 venjance,  
 Qu'il fist descendre sur Flamens e sur la gent  
 de France.  
 Li euens de Leirecestre fud de grant puissance;  
 Mès trop fud de curage jofne e d'enfance<sup>4</sup>  
 1010 Quant il par Engleterre volt aler en oiance,  
 Fesant sa roberie senz aver disturbance, fo. 152.  
 E fait armer sa femme, porter<sup>5</sup> escu e lance:  
 La sue grant folie prendrad dure neissance.  
 Saint-Edmunt<sup>6</sup> aveit chevaliers forment de  
 grant puissance,  
 1015 Si's fait armer en haste senz nule demurance.  
 Ço fud Waltier le fiz Robert, dunt vus oiez  
 parlance,  
 Ki primes<sup>7</sup> justad as Flamens e mist en grief  
 errance.  
 Certes, le cunte d'Arundel (unkes n'ama tarjance)  
 I vint od la meisnée, que saint Edmunt<sup>8</sup> avance!  
 1020 Li sires Hunfrei<sup>9</sup> de Boün lur ad fait destur-  
 bance;  
 Jà 's verrez entre-ferir, n'i ad autre sevrance.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *en ço*, L.<sup>2</sup> *querer*, L.<sup>3</sup> L. omits this line.<sup>4</sup> *c de enfance*, L.<sup>5</sup> *c fuil porter*, L.<sup>6</sup> *A Seint-Edmund*, L.<sup>7</sup> *Que primes*, L.<sup>8</sup> *medniéc — Edmund*, L.<sup>9</sup> *Unfrei*, L., and elsewhere.<sup>10</sup> *sevrance*, L.

“ We have not come into this country to sojourn,  
 1000 “ But to destroy King Henry the old warrior  
 “ And to have his wool, which we long for.”  
 Lords that is the truth: the greater part of them  
 were weavers,<sup>1</sup>

They did not know how to bear arms like knights.  
 But they had come for this—to have gain and  
 fighting;

For there is no better place for hospitality on earth  
 than St. Edmund's.

Lords, barons, now hear the great vengeance  
 of God,

Which he caused to descend on Flemings and on  
 French.

The earl of Leicester was a man of vast power ;  
 But he was of too youthful and childish a mind

1010 When he wished to go publicly through England  
 Perpetrating robberies without hindrance,  
 And causes his wife to take arms—to carry shield  
 and lance :

His great folly will come to a hard birth.

Saint Edmund had knights of the greatest  
 prowess,

And arms them hastily, without any loss of time.  
 It was Walter Fitz Robert, of whom you hear speak,  
 Who first ran a tilt against the Flemings and put  
 them in an evil way.

Indeed the earl of Arundel—never loved he delay—  
 Came there with his followers, whom St. Edmund  
 prosper !

1020 Sir Humphrey de Bohun had caused them trouble  
 Soon will you see them exchange blows, there is  
 no other severance.

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<sup>1</sup> Gervase says something to the same effect, i. 246.

- § Li cuens [de]<sup>1</sup> Leircestre s'arestut en estant,  
E vëite la gent armée ki's veneit aprismant:  
" Sire Hüge del Chastel, ore ça venez avant,  
1025 " E tute nostre<sup>2</sup> gelde, li petit e li grant.  
" Par le mien escient n'en irrum mès avant,  
" Si sufferum bataille mult [dure] e mult pesant.<sup>3</sup>  
" Vëez haubers e heaumes cuntre<sup>4</sup> soleil luisant;  
" Mès ore seiez chevalier, pur Deu le vus cu-  
" mande.<sup>5</sup>
- 1030 " Mal ait le cors del hume ki primes aut fuiant,  
" Ke jà seit dit en reprovier ke seium recreiant."  
Li cuens d'Arundel est mult de grant air,  
E dit à Humfrei de Boün: " Ore les alum ferir  
" En l'onur Deu e saint Eadmunt,<sup>6</sup> qui est  
" verai martir."
- 1035 Respunt Rogier le Bigot: " Tut al<sup>7</sup> vostre plaisir!  
" Jo n'oi unc<sup>8</sup> en ma vie de rien si grant desir  
" Cume Flamens destruire,<sup>9</sup> que jo vei ei venir."
- § Ço fud Waltier<sup>10</sup> le fiz Robert ki puinst pre-  
mierement,—  
Ore li seit en aïe li Reis omnipotent!—
- 1040 E vait ferir Flamens mult aïréement;  
E cil le referent, ki ne l' dutent niënt.  
Il esteient plus de lui par milliers e par cent,  
Si l' funt reuser ariere oue la sue gent;  
Mès il ne targa mie de querre vengeance:
- 1045 Mar virent Engleterre, tuit en serrunt<sup>11</sup> dolent.  
Il encuntra le cunte, si li dit asprement:

The battle  
of Forn-  
ham  
(17 Octo-  
ber, 1173).

<sup>1</sup> D. omits *de*.

<sup>2</sup> *nostre*, D. L.

<sup>3</sup> *Si suffrums la bataille mult dure e mult grant*, L.; D. omits *dure*.

<sup>4</sup> *Vëez tant haubers e halmes cuntre le*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *cumant*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Edmund*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *de Bigot tuit a*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *unke*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *cum Flamencs destrure*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *Water*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *serent*, L.

The earl of Leicester stopped short  
 And saw the armed men who came towards them :  
 “ Sir Hugh de Chastel, come now forward here,  
 “ And all our troop, the little and the great,  
 “ By my judgment we will not advance,  
 “ We will accept battle right hard and heavy.  
 “ Behold the hauberks and helmets glittering  
 “ against the sun ;  
 “ But now be knights, for God’s sake, I command  
 “ you.  
 1030 “ Woe be to the body of the man who may be  
 “ first to flee,  
 “ That it may never be said of us in a proverb  
 “ that we are recreants.”

The earl of Arundel is of a proud disposition,  
 And says to Humphrey de Bohun : “ Now let us  
 † “ go and attack them  
 . . . “ For the honour of God and St. Edmund, who is  
 “ a true martyr.”

Roger le Bigod replies : “ Quite at your pleasure !  
 “ I never in my life so much desired anything  
 “ As to destroy the Flemings whom I see approach  
 “ hither.”

It was Walter Fitz Robert who spurred on first—  
 Now be the King omnipotent his helper !—  
 1040 And goes to strike the Flemings right angrily ;  
 And they, who fear him not, return the blows.  
 They outnumbered him by thousands and by  
 hundreds,  
 So they make him retreat backwards with his  
 people ;  
 But he delayed not to seek vengeance :  
 For bad luck did they see England, all will be  
 sorry for it.  
 He met the earl and said to him roughly :

- “ Vus estes hume mun seignur, ne seiez mie lent : *fo. 152. b.*  
 “ Veiez ses enemis aler à sun destruiement.  
 “ Puigniez-i, sire cunte, od nus ensemblement.”
- 1050 E cil jura la lance Deu (ço fud sun serrement)  
 Mar amena de Flandres Robert itele gent.  
 Dunc veïssiez le cunte ki<sup>1</sup> fierement se destent,  
 E dan Rogier le Bigot ki les granz fés enprent.  
 Ne dan Huge de Creissi<sup>2</sup> ne lur failli nient ;
- 1055 Mès anecis qu’il pëussent ferir sur els à lur talent,<sup>3</sup>  
 Aweit Humfrei de Boün retenuz plus de cent.  
 § Certes, mult le fait bien Robert le fiz Bernart,<sup>4</sup>  
 De cele gent estrange fait merveillus essart.  
 Ne s’i puet pru aidier ne Flameng ne Lumbart :
- 1060 La leine d’Engleterre mult par cuillerent<sup>5</sup> tart.  
 Desur lur cors descendent corneilles e busart,  
 Ki les armes enportent el fu qui tut tens art.<sup>6</sup>  
 Là lur dirrad la<sup>7</sup> messe li prestre saint Suart ;  
 Mielz lur vendreit en Flandres pendre à une<sup>8</sup>  
 hart.
- 1065 Mult fussent pruedhume li Flameng, si Deus lur  
 fust aïe ;  
 Mès il ne l’ aveient deservi pur lur grant roberie.  
 Li cuens de Leireestre mar vit lur cumpaignie,  
 Ne dan Huge del Chastel ne s’en joïra mie :<sup>9</sup>  
 Il sunt en mi la presse, fieblement, senz aïe.

<sup>1</sup> *si, L.*<sup>2</sup> *Ne dean Huge de Cressi, L.*<sup>3</sup> *puissent ferir à lur talent, L.*<sup>4</sup> *Bernard, L.*<sup>5</sup> *cuillent, L.*<sup>6</sup> *ki tuz jurz art.*<sup>7</sup> *la, om. L.*<sup>8</sup> *par une, L.*<sup>9</sup> *joïera mie, L.*



“ You are the liegeman of my lord, be not slow :

“ Behold his enemies going to his destruction.

“ Spur on, sir earl, along with us.”

1050 And this he swore by the spear of God—that was  
his oath—

In evil hour did Robert bring such people from  
Flanders.

Then you might see the earl who proudly draws  
himself up,

And lord Roger le Bigod, who undertakes great  
deeds.

Nor did lord Hugh de Creissi <sup>1</sup> fail them at all ;

But before they could fight as they liked

Humphrey de Bohun had formed a reserve of  
more than a hundred.

Indeed Robert Fitz Bernard <sup>2</sup> does right well,

He makes a marvellous clearance of these foreigners.

Neither can Flemings nor Lombards effectually  
help themselves :

1060 They gathered the wool of England very late.

Upon their bodies crows and buzzards descend,

Who carry their souls to the fire which ever burns.

There the priest of Saint Suart will say mass for  
them :

It would be better for them to hang by a rope in  
Flanders.

If God had been their help the Flemings would  
have been very brave ;

But they had not deserved it for their great rob-  
beries.

The earl of Leicester in an evil hour saw their  
company,

Nor will lord Hugh de Chastel rejoice in it :

They are in the midst of the crowd, feebly, help-  
lessly.

<sup>1</sup> See Bened. Petr., i. 107.

; <sup>2</sup> Hoveden, ii. 87.

- 1070 Ma dame la cuntesse ad la vie acueillie,<sup>1</sup>  
 E trova une fosse ù ele près se nie.<sup>2</sup>  
 Enz en mi le betumei ses aneus i ublie;  
 Jamès ne serrunt trovez en trestute sa vie.  
 § La femme le cunte se volt de gré neier,
- 1075 Quant Simun de Wahille<sup>3</sup> la prist à relever.  
 “ Dame, venez-en od mei, laissez icel ester.  
 “ Issi vait<sup>4</sup> de guerre, de perdre e de guaignier.”  
 Dunc prist le cunte Robert forment sei esmaier:<sup>5</sup>  
 Quant vit sa femme prise, bien se dut curuscier,
- 1080 E vit ses cumpaignuns ocis à cent e à millier:  
 Prist lui en sun visage<sup>6</sup> la culur à muer.  
 § Li sire Humfrei de Bohun e li cuens d'Arundel  
 Unt retenu le cunte e Huge del Chastel, fo. 153.  
 E dan Rogier le Bigot le jor i fud novel.
- 1085 Lui e Huge de Creissi cest fait sembla<sup>7</sup> mult bel.  
 N'i aveit el païs<sup>8</sup> ne vilain ne corbel  
 N'alast Flamens destruire à furke e à fleel.<sup>9</sup>  
 De rien s'entremetteient li armé chevalier,  
 Fors sul del abatre, e vilains à tuer.
- 1090 Par quinze, par quarante, par cent e<sup>10</sup> par millier  
 Les funt à vive force ès fossez tresbuchier.  
 Si Deus i fist miracle, ne fait à merveillier,  
 Kar unkes en ma vie n'oi de lui parler,  
 Tant fust osé d'armes, tant<sup>11</sup> vaillant chevalier,
- 1095 E il<sup>12</sup> volsist le rei Henri guerreier,  
 Pur quei ceus d'Engleterre le volsissent aidier,

<sup>1</sup> veie acuellie, L.

<sup>2</sup> se nie, L.

<sup>3</sup> Simun de Wahille, D.; Simund  
 de Wahille, L.

<sup>4</sup> Issi vent, L.

<sup>5</sup> forment à esmaer, L.

<sup>6</sup> en visage, L.

<sup>7</sup> Cressi cest fet li sembla, L.

<sup>8</sup> el le païs, L.

<sup>9</sup> fuche e a flaet, L.

<sup>10</sup> e, om. L.

<sup>11</sup> tant, D.; ne, L.

<sup>12</sup> E il, D. L.

- 1070 My lady the countess has taken the road,  
 And has met with a ditch where she almost  
 drowned herself.  
 In the midst of the mud she forgets her rings;  
 Never in all her life will they be found.  
 The earl's wife wished to drown herself  
 When Simon de Wahull<sup>1</sup> caught her to pull her up.  
 "Lady come hence with me, let that alone.  
 "Thus it goes with war: losing and gaining."  
 Then earl Robert began to be greatly dismayed:  
 When he saw his wife captured, he had good reason  
 to be sad,
- 1080 And saw his comrades slain by hundreds and  
 thousands;  
 The colour in his face began to change.  
 Sir Humphrey de Bohun and the earl of Arundel  
 Have secured the earl and Hugh de Chastel,  
 And lord Roger le Bigod was newly there that day.  
 To him and Hugh de Creissi this deed seemed very  
 fine.  
 There was not in the country a villein or clown  
 Who did not go to kill Flemings with fork and flail.  
 The armed knights intermeddled with nothing  
 Except the knocking down, and the villeins did  
 the killing.
- 1090 By fifteens, by forties, by hundreds and by thou-  
 sands  
 They made them by main force tumble into the  
 ditches.  
 If God there performed a miracle, it is not to be  
 wondered at,  
 For never in my life did I hear speak of the man  
 Who was so daring in arms, so doughty a knight,  
 As that if he wished to fight against king Henry,  
 Even if the English would help him,

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<sup>1</sup> See Dugd. *Monast.*, ed. 1673, ii. 524. 39.

- Od la pire partie lui n'estüst finer.<sup>1</sup>  
 §Puisque le cunte Robert fud pris en descunfiture  
 Si fud tut Engleterre d'aukes plus asëure.  
 1100 Tut les Flamens de Flandres unt pris dure aven-  
 ture,  
 Nul des enemis le rei de rien ne s'asëure.<sup>2</sup>  
 Li cüens David d'Escoce, quei ke nuls vus en die,  
 Fud le plus gentil guerreier, si Deus me beneïe;<sup>3</sup>  
 Kar unc pur lui ne fud robée saint Iglise n'abeïe,<sup>4</sup>  
 1105 Ne forfeïst à prestre jà nuls de sa baillie.  
 Ço fud en Mai enprès Avril quant<sup>5</sup> l'erbe s'est  
 verdie,  
 Ke David vint d'Escoce od fiere compaignie,  
 Devenuz huem<sup>6</sup> sun frere, veant sa barunie,  
 A duner lui tut Levenax tuz les jorz de sa vie,<sup>7</sup>  
 1110 E puis l'onur de Huntedune — sa fei li en ad  
 plevie—<sup>8</sup>  
 Cel e mult plus li durra, pur quei li face aïe  
 A guerreier le rei Henri, le duc<sup>9</sup> de Normendie.  
 Ore est David d'Escoce en Engleterre venuz  
 Od haubers e od healmes e od beus<sup>10</sup> painz escuz.  
 1115 Icïl de Leircestre li manderent saluz,  
 E dient de lur seignur cum lui est avenuz.  
 Ore vienge pur els maintenir, si serra recëuz.  
 Par lui e par sa force iert li chastel tenuz.

The garrison of Leicester ask David of Scotland to be their commander, May, 1174.

<sup>1</sup> *Od la pierre parti li ne estuit fine, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *ne se assëure, L.*

<sup>3</sup> *me bendie, L.*

<sup>4</sup> *Quar unhes — ne abeïe, L.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ceo fud el meis d'averil, L.*

Both MSS. have *quant*.

<sup>6</sup> *huem, L.*

<sup>7</sup> *tute Levenax sa fei lui ad plevie, L.*

<sup>8</sup> *Huntedune en trestute sa vie, L.,* thus interchanging the ends of two lines.

<sup>9</sup> *deuc, L.*

<sup>10</sup> *halmes e bels, L.*

He did not finish with the worst of the business.

After earl Robert was captured in defeat

All England was a little more secure.

1100 All the Flemings of Flanders have met with hard  
luck,

No enemy of the king feels safe about anything.

Earl David of Scotland, whatever may be said of  
him,

Was the gentlest of warriors, so may God bless me ;  
For never for him was holy Church or abbeyrobbed,  
And none of his men would have done harm to a  
priest.

It was in May, after April, when grass has grown  
green,

That David came from Scotland with a proud  
retinue,

[Having] become his brother's man in the presence  
of his nobles,

On the gift of all Lennox for his life,

1110 And then the honour of Huntingdon,—he has  
pledged his faith about it—

That and much more he will give him provided he  
furnish aid,

To war against king Henry, the duke of Normandy.

Now is David of Scotland arrived in England

With hauberks and with helmets and with beautiful  
painted shields.

Those of Leicester send him greeting,

And tell how it has befallen their lord.

Now let him come to uphold them: he will be  
[well] received.

By him and by his force the castle will be held.

Certes, à Bertram de Verdun serra mult chier  
venduz;

1120 Si puet estre d'eus bailliz, tut serrad irascuz. *fo. 153. b.*  
Ore oiez, seignurs, del cunte cument il fud  
pris:<sup>1</sup>

Il out en Huntedune laissié de ses amis,  
Il fud en Leircestre très bien poestis;  
A ceus de Notingeham<sup>2</sup> en iert tuz jorz de pis.

1125§Ieil de Northamtune<sup>3</sup> furent de grant valor;  
Mès dan David d'Escoce les mist en grief errur:  
Ne pot tenserie de eus<sup>4</sup> aver par amur,  
Si fist sa chevalchie sur les burgeis un jor.  
Certes, ki voldrad oïr, jo'n<sup>5</sup> dirrai la verrur.

1130 Bien le fist le cunte e tuit si cumpaignun;  
Mult firent bien li chevalier qui vindrent del  
chastel.

Li sires Bertram de Verdun le jor i fud novel,  
Mult aveit beles armes e cheval bien ignel,  
Des plusurs qui<sup>6</sup> justerent en porta le cembel;

1135 E dan David d'Escoce i fist de sun avel,  
Il mena tel preie que mult [li] sembla<sup>7</sup> bel.  
Mult guerreia bien David dedenz<sup>8</sup> Engleterre;  
Mès li reis d'Escoce empeira mult sa guerre:  
Par ses malveis cunseilliers tel chose enprist à  
faire

1140 Dunt à la parestrusse li vint mult grant cuntraire.  
David esteit mult sages, sire fud de bon aire,  
E tensa saint Iglise, k'unkes ne volt mesfaire  
Prestre ne chanuine<sup>9</sup> ki sëussent gramaire,

<sup>1</sup> *cum il fud apris, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *Notingham, L.*

<sup>3</sup> *Norhamtune, L.*

<sup>4</sup> *Nes puel tensier ne rien d'eus, L.*

<sup>5</sup> *oïr jeo, L.*

<sup>6</sup> *ke, L.*

<sup>7</sup> *dunt mult li sembla, L. ; D.*  
*omits li.*

<sup>8</sup> *dedenz cel Engleterre, L.*

<sup>9</sup> *chanuine, L.*



- Certainly it will be sold right dear to Bertram de  
Verdun ;<sup>1</sup>  
1120 If it should fall into their power, he will be much  
enraged.

Now hear, lords, of the earl how he was taken :  
He had left some of his friends in Huntingdon,  
He was very powerful in Leicester ;  
It will grow daily worse for the people of Notting-  
ham.

Those of Northampton were right valorous ;  
But lord David of Scotland put them in serious  
trouble :

He could not get revenue from them for love,  
So he made a raid on the burghers one day.  
Certainly to him who lists to hear I will tell the  
truth of it.

- 1130 Well did the earl do it and all his company ;  
Well did the knights who came from the castle.  
Lord Bertram de Verdun was there for the first  
time that day,  
He had very beautiful arms and a very swift horse,  
From many who jousted he bore away the prize ;  
And lord David of Scotland did there according to  
his desire,  
He carried off such booty as seemed to him very  
splendid.  
Excellently well did David fight within England ;  
But the king of Scotland spoilt his campaign very  
much :  
Through evil advisers he undertook to do a thing  
1140 From which in the end great chagrin came to him.  
David was very wise : and a gentle lord was he,  
And protected holy Church : for he never wished  
to harm  
Priest nor canon who knew grammar,

*Sheriff. y  
Harwicks &  
Leicester.  
Pipe Roll  
20 H. II.*

<sup>1</sup> See *Bened. Petr.*, i. 51, and elsewhere in the chronicle.

- N'à nune d'abeïe<sup>1</sup> ne volt pur rien desplaire.
- 1145 Ço fud enprès la Paskes, bien me deit suvenir,  
 Que li reis d'Escoce cumence à revenir  
 Envers Northumberlande pur guaster e hunir.  
 A, Deu! cum grant damage jo<sup>2</sup> lur vi avenir  
 Quant li reis d'Escoce vint pur Werc envair!
- 1150 De la quel partie il voleit<sup>3</sup> assaillir,  
 Rogier d'Estutevile s'aveit<sup>4</sup> fait si guarnir.  
 Dehé ait Fantosme,<sup>5</sup> si jà m'orrez mentir!  
 E si jo vus menteie, si l' purriez bien oïr  
 Cum Rogier fud penible de<sup>6</sup> sun seignur servir.
- 1155§ Oëz del rei d'Escoce cument il guerrea :  
 Quant il departi de Werc cum il se purpensa.  
 Mult grant chevalerie la nuit appailla,  
 Al chastel de Banesbure<sup>7</sup> sempres les enveia.  
 Bien cunuis le barun ki's cunduit e ki's guia :
- 1160 Jà n'en frai<sup>8</sup> parlance, kar mult perdu i a.  
 Merveillus damage fera cest<sup>9</sup> ost banie.  
 Kar plëust<sup>10</sup> à Jesu le fiz sainte Marie  
 Ke la chaitive gent en fust ore guarnie,  
 Ki en lur liz se dorment e si ne sevent mie !
- 1165 Matin esteit encore quant l'aube s'esclarzie,<sup>11</sup>  
 Quant ces chevaliers s'arment, la fiere cumpaignie.  
 La vile de Belefort<sup>12</sup> fud primes assaillie.  
 Par tute la cuntrée firent iur departie,  
 Tels curent as viles pur faire lur folie,
- 1170 Tels vunt mutuns prendre dedenz lur herbergerie,<sup>13</sup>  
 Tels vunt ardeir les viles : ne sai que plus vus die.  
 Jamès de si grant perte n'en iert parole oïe.

fo. 154.

<sup>1</sup> *Ne noniein de abeïe, L.*<sup>2</sup> *jeo, L.*<sup>3</sup> *De la quele partie le voleit, L.*<sup>4</sup> *se aveit, L.*<sup>5</sup> *In L., above Fantosme, a contemporary hand has written auctor libri.*<sup>6</sup> *pur, L.*<sup>7</sup> *Banebure, L.*<sup>8</sup> *Ja ne ferai, L.*<sup>9</sup> *frad cest, L.*<sup>10</sup> *Quar plust, L.*<sup>11</sup> *l'albe esclazie, L.*<sup>12</sup> *Beleford, L.*<sup>13</sup> *lur bercherie, L.*

Nor conventual nun on any account would he dis-  
please.

It was after Easter, well ought I to remember,  
That the king of Scotland began to return  
Towards Northumberland to waste and dishonour.  
Ah God! what great damage I saw happen to them  
When the king of Scotland came to assail Wark!

1150 On whatever side he desired to assault  
Roger d'Estuteville had armed himself for it.  
Woe to Fantosme, if ever you hear me lie!  
And if I lie to you, you may well hear this  
How painstaking Roger was in the service of his  
lord.

Hear of the king of Scotland how he fought:  
When he departed from Wark how he schemed.  
He prepared by night a large body of horsemen,  
And immediately sent them to Bamborough castle.  
I know well the baron who led and guided them:

1160 I will not speak of him, for he has lost much in  
that affair.

This assembled host will do marvellous damage.  
Then would to Jesus, the son of holy Mary,  
That the unhappy people had then been warned of it  
Who are sleeping in their beds and know nothing  
of it!

It was still morning, when the dawn grew bright,  
When these knights armed themselves, the haughty  
company.

The town of ~~Belford~~<sup>1</sup> was first assailed.  
They dispersed over all the country,  
Some run to towns to perpetrate their folly,

1170 Some go to seize sheep in their folds,  
Some go to burn towns: I know not what more I  
can tell you.

Never will the tale of so great a loss be told.

*Belford, close to  
Bamborough*

---

<sup>1</sup> In Northumberland.

- Jà pëussiez veer paï sanz e Flamens ki les lient,<sup>1</sup>  
 Mener en lur cordeles cum<sup>2</sup> gent de paenie.  
 1175 Femmes fuient al mustier;<sup>3</sup> chascune fud ravie  
 Nue senz vestëure;<sup>4</sup> sun avoir i ublie.  
 A, Deu! pur quei ne l' saveit Willame de Vedsci,<sup>5</sup>  
 Rogier d'Estuteville, les autres autresi?  
 La preie fust rescuse, n'i eüssent pas failli;  
 1180 Mès il ne l' sorent mie, certes ço peise mi.<sup>6</sup>  
 Arstrent la cuntrée; mès Deu lur fud ami<sup>7</sup>  
 A ces gentilz paï sanz ki furent<sup>8</sup> desguarni,  
 Ke li Escot n'i furent lur mortel enemi,  
 Tuz les essent<sup>9</sup> estikez, ocis e mal bailli.  
 1185 Mult fud grant la preie ke meinent les reials,  
 A Berewic-sur-Tinc vienent<sup>10</sup> à lur ostals.  
 Asez en unt joie e mult de lur aveals,<sup>11</sup>  
 Kar riches sunt d'almaille, de bofs, e de chevaux,<sup>12</sup>  
 E des beles vaches, de berbiz e d'aigneus,<sup>13</sup>  
 1190 De dras e de muneie, de nusches e d'aneaus.<sup>14</sup>  
 Dunc fist li reis d'Escoce mander ses chevaliers,<sup>15</sup> *fo. 154. b.*  
 Les cunttes de sa terre, tuz les meillurs guerriers.<sup>16</sup>  
 A Werke<sup>17</sup> volt mettre siege par ses bons cun-  
 seilliers,  
 Le chastel voldrad avoir par Flamens e archiers,<sup>18</sup>  
 1195 Par bones perieres, par ses enginz mult fiers  
 E par ses eslingurs, par ses arblastiers.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ja pussiez ver — que les lient,*  
 L.; D. has *vus lie*. The better  
 reading spoils the *laisse*.

<sup>2</sup> *E mener en lur cordes cume,* L.

<sup>3</sup> *à muster,* L.

<sup>4</sup> *vesture,* L.

<sup>5</sup> *Willeme de Vesci,* L.

<sup>6</sup> *ne l' furent — ceo peise moi,* L.

<sup>7</sup> *fust amis,* L.

<sup>8</sup> *ke furent,* L.

<sup>9</sup> *eüssent,* L.

<sup>10</sup> *revenent,* L.

<sup>11</sup> *Asscz unt joie e mult de lur  
aveaus,* L.

<sup>12</sup> *des bofs e des chivals,* L.

<sup>13</sup> *e de aignels,* L.

<sup>14</sup> *e d'agnals,* L.

<sup>15</sup> *les chivalers,* L.

<sup>16</sup> *guereieres,* L.

<sup>17</sup> *A Werc,* L.

<sup>18</sup> *e par archiers,* L.

<sup>19</sup> *e par ses arblastiers,* L.

Now you might see peasants and Flemings who  
bind them  
And lead them in their cords like heathen men.  
Women flee to the monastery ; each one was  
carried off  
Naked, without clothes ; she there forgets her  
property.

Ah God ! why did William de Vesci not know it,  
Roger d'Estuteville and the others also ?  
The booty would have been rescued, they would not  
have failed ;

1180 But they knew nothing about it, that indeed  
grieves me.

They burn the country ; but God was friend  
To those gentle peasants who were despoiled,  
For the Scots were not their mortal enemies,  
[Else] they had beaten, killed, and ill-used all of  
them.

Very great was the plunder that the king's men  
carry off,

To Newcastle-on-Tyne<sup>1</sup> they come to their lodgings.  
They have exultation enough over it and much  
good cheer,

For they are rich in cattle, oxen, and horses,  
And fine cows, sheep, and lambs,

1190 Clothes and money, jewels<sup>2</sup> and rings.

Then the king of Scotland caused his knights to  
be sent for,

The earls of his country, all the best warriors.  
Through good advisers he willed to besiege Wark,  
He wished to have the castle by means of Flemings  
and archers,

By good arbalists, and his very strong engines,  
And by his slingers and his crossbowmen.

*Berwick ?  
Newcastle  
not Scots.*

<sup>1</sup> The same mistake, *Berwic-sur-Tine*, occurs in *l.* 428.

<sup>2</sup> *Nusches*. See Du Cange, under *Nosca, Nusca*.

- Volez oïr de Rogier cum il se cuntint ?  
 Ne s'esmaïa de guaires, quant cest ost li vint :  
 Il aveit en meisnée chevaliers plus de vint,  
 1200 Certes, les meillurs serjanz k'unkes<sup>1</sup> barun retint.  
 L'ost fud merveillus, de grant chevalerie,  
 De Flamens e de marchis fiere la cumpaïnie.  
 Rogier d'Estutevile ad sa maisun guarnie,  
 Ne dute pas lur siege la munte d'un alie :<sup>2</sup>  
 1205 Il ad mult grant<sup>3</sup> barnage ù il bien s'afie,  
 E de eus bien amonester ne se ubblia mie.  
 Par un lundi matin furent appareilliez  
 Ki<sup>4</sup> le chastel assaudrunt ; Flamens furent nomez.  
 Dunc veïssiez targes prendre e ces escuz buclez,  
 1210 Assaillir le heriçon, cum jà oïr<sup>5</sup> purrez.  
 Par merveillus hardement sunt venuz ès fossez ;  
 Ceus qui<sup>6</sup> erent par dedenz ne s'i sunt ubbliez ;  
 Jà se sunt entre-feruz e si entre-medlez.  
 Unc ne vi meillur defens dedenz ces dous regnez.  
 1215 Flamenc esteient hardiz e mult acuragiez,  
 E li autre mult engrès<sup>7</sup> dedenz lur fermetez.  
 Jà veïssiez serjanz e Flamens si medlez,  
 Targes e escuz freindre, penunceus<sup>8</sup> despleiez,  
 Flamens turner ariere des heriçons,<sup>9</sup> plaiez ;  
 1220 Les uns furent des autres des heriçons<sup>10</sup> portez ;  
 Jamès ne crierunt Araz ! mort sunt e enterrez.

<sup>1</sup> *que unkes*, L.<sup>2</sup> *de un alie*, L., with a blundered  
word *nunte* preceding.<sup>3</sup> *grant*, L. ; *gent*, D.<sup>4</sup> *Que*, L.<sup>5</sup> *par oïr*, D.<sup>6</sup> *Cels que*, L.<sup>7</sup> *mult egres*, L.<sup>8</sup> *penunçaus*, L.<sup>9</sup> *del heriçon*, L.<sup>10</sup> *altres en lur escuz*, L.



Do you wish to hear of Roger how he behaved  
himself?

He was not in the least dismayed when this host  
came to him :

He had in his following more than twenty knights,

1200 Certainly the best sergeants that ever baron re-  
tained.

The host was wonderful, of a great many knights,  
Of Flemings and of Borderers fierce was the  
company.

Roger d'Estuteville has garrisoned his house,

He fears not their siege to the value of a berry :

He has a very noble baronage in whom he much  
confides,

And to exhort them well he did not forget.

By a Monday morning were equipped

Those who will assault the castle ; Flemings they  
were called.

Then you might see targes seized and bucklers,

1210 The cheval-de-frise assaulted, as soon you may hear.

By wonderful boldness they reached the ditches ;

Those who were within did not forget themselves ;

Soon they exchanged blows and were thus inter-  
mingled.

I never saw a better defence within these two  
kingdoms.

The Flemings were hold and very full of courage,

And the others very much enraged within their  
stronghold.

Already you might see sergeants and Flemings  
thus mingled,

Bucklers and shields broken, pennons displayed,

Wounded Flemings turning back from the che-  
vaux-de-frise ;

1220 Some were carried from the chevaux-de-frise by  
others ;

Never will they cry " Arras ! " dead they are and  
buried.

§Lunges dura cel assaut, mès poi espleita:<sup>1</sup>

Certes, lu rei Willame de perdre<sup>2</sup> ne fina.

Rogier d'Estutevile les suens amonesta,

1225 Par mult gentil parole lur dit e sermuna:—

“ Gentilz baruns cumpaignuns, pur Deu ki<sup>3</sup> vus  
“ furma!

“ Ne dites vilanie, ne nus ne l' ferums jà;<sup>4</sup>

“ Se il nus assaillent, e Deus nus defendra.

“ Il funt tort al rei Henri, kar mesfait n'i a.

1230§“ Ne traiez voz saiettes<sup>5</sup> fors sulas granz mestiers:

“ Ne savum lur curages ne rien de lur pensers.

“ Il unt larges veies e chemins e sentiers,

“ Le vins e la cerweise, les beivres, les mangiers,

“ E sunt riches d'armes e de curanz<sup>6</sup> destriers;

1235 “ E nus eimes ci-dedenz serjant e soldeiers:

“ Si nus avom viande, guardum-la volentiers.

“ Esparniez voz armes, jo l' di à vus, archiers;

“ Mès quant verrez busuine e granz assauz

“ pleniers,

“ Defendez dunc voz testes cum gentilz cheva-

“ liers.”

1240 Rogier d'Estutevile chastiot si la gent.<sup>7</sup>

E li reis d'Escoce se eurusceit forment,

Quant vit ses serjanz murir e meschaïr suvent,

E vit que rien n'i espleitot, si fud el cuer<sup>8</sup> dolent,

E dit à ses chevaliers par sun grant marrement:

1245 “ Faites vostre periere venir hastivement;

“ Jà pescera<sup>9</sup> la porte, si l' engignur ne ment,

“ E prendrum le baile<sup>10</sup> senz nul delaiement.”

[O]ëz, seignurs, de la periere cument ele ala:—<sup>11</sup>

Siege of  
Wark  
(about  
April,  
1174).

fo. 155.

<sup>1</sup> mès poi i espleita, L.

<sup>2</sup> de perdere, L.

<sup>3</sup> ke, L.

<sup>4</sup> frum jà, L.

<sup>5</sup> seates, L.

<sup>6</sup> e des curranz, L.

<sup>7</sup> si sa gent, L.

<sup>8</sup> a quor, L.

<sup>9</sup> jà depecera, L.

<sup>10</sup> la baillie, L.

<sup>11</sup> Oiez, Seignurs, de la perere  
cum ele ala, L. The Durham scribe  
omits the coloured O, but the letter  
is marked in the margin.

This assault lasted long, but effected little :  
 Certainly king William ceased not to lose.  
 Roger d'Estuteville exhorted his men,  
 With many gracious words he spoke and harangued  
 them :—

“ Gentle barons, comrades, by God who made you,  
 “ Speak no injurious word, nor will we do so :  
 “ If they assail us—and God will defend us—  
 “ They do wrong to king Henry, for he has done  
 “ no evil.

- 1230 “ Shoot not your arrows, except in great need :  
 “ We know nothing of their intentions, nor any  
 “ thing of their thoughts.  
 “ They have broad ways and roads and paths,  
 “ Wine and beer, drink, food,  
 “ And are wealthy in arms and swift chargers ;  
 “ And we are here within, sergeants and soldiers :  
 “ If we have food, let us save it willingly.  
 “ Spare your weapons, I say it to you, archers.  
 “ But when you see need and very great assaults,  
 “ Then defend your heads like noble knights.”

- 1240 Roger d'Estuteville thus admonished his men.  
 And the king of Scotland grew greatly incensed,  
 When he saw his sergeants die and frequently meet  
 with mischance,  
 And saw that he gained no success there, he was  
 grieved at heart,  
 And said to his knights in his great distress :  
 “ Send for your arbalist quickly ;  
 “ It will soon break the gate, if the engineer lies  
 “ not,  
 “ And we shall take the stockade without any  
 delay.”  
 Hear, lords, of the arbalist how it fared—

- La premiere pierre qu'ele unkes lur geta !  
 1250 La pierre de la funde à peine reversa  
 E un de lur chevaliers à terre agraventa.  
 Ne fussent ses armes e sun escu qu'il a,  
 A nul de sun lignage ne revenist-il jà;  
 Mult doit haïr l'engignur ki cel lur<sup>1</sup> engigna,  
 1255 E lu rei d'Escoce ki<sup>2</sup> plus perdu i a.  
 Dunc dist li reis Willame<sup>3</sup> burde merveilluse:—  
 “ Certes, ceste fesance me semble mult custuse.  
 “ El cuer<sup>4</sup> me tient la rage e ire si hisduse,  
 “ Mielz volsisse estre pris tut vif devant Tu-  
 “ luse.”
- 1260 N'est mie grant merveille si ad el cuer pesance:  
 Mar vit Flamens de Flandres e puis lu rei de  
 France.  
 Il set bien la verité enfin e senz faillance,  
 Que perdu ad lu rei Henri senz nule deses- *fo. 155. b.*  
 tance,<sup>5</sup>  
 E ne li puet<sup>6</sup> mesfaire par escu ne par lance
- 1265 Ne par engin de guerre, dunt guaires ait  
 nuisance.  
 Quant la periere li failli, si fist l'autre atraire:  
 Ardeir voldra le chastel, ne set mielz que faire;  
 Mès Jesu le glorijs, de tutes riens furmeire,  
 Turnad au rei d'Escoce le vent mult à cuntraire,  
 1270 E à Rogier le barun cunençad mult à pleire.  
 Ore ad si grant leesce, en sa vie n'out maire.

<sup>1</sup> L. reads *lui*.<sup>2</sup> *ke*, L.<sup>3</sup> *Willem*, L. and below.<sup>4</sup> *El cors*, L.<sup>5</sup> *destance*, L.<sup>6</sup> *E nel li put*, L.

- The first stone it ever cast at them !
- 1250 The stone hardly turned over from the sling  
 But it struck one of their knights to earth.  
 Were it not for his armour and the shield he had  
 He had never returned to any of his family.  
 He must greatly detest the engineer who devised  
 that for them,  
 And [so must] the king of Scotland who there lost  
 more.  
 Then uttered king William a wonderful plea-  
 santry :—  
 “ Indeed this performance appears to me very  
 “ costly.  
 “ Rage possesses my heart and such frightful anger,  
 “ Rather would I be taken alive before Tou-  
 “ louse.”<sup>1</sup>
- 1260 It is no great wonder if he had a weight at his  
 heart :  
 At an evil moment he saw Flemings from Flan-  
 ders and then the king of France.  
 He knows the truth at last and without mistake,  
 That he has lost king Henry without any remedy  
 And can do him no harm by shield or by lance  
 Nor by engine of war, from which he would have  
 little injury.  
 When the arbalist failed him he caused the other  
 to be brought :  
 He wished to burn the castle, he did not know  
 what better to do ;  
 But Jesus the glorious, the Maker of all things,  
 Changed the wind very contrarily for the king of  
 Scots,
- 1270 And it began much to please brave Roger :  
 Now he has such great joy that he never in his  
 life had greater.

---

<sup>1</sup> An expression which would be | panied his brother Malcolm on the  
 meaningless if he had not accom- | Toulouse expedition in 1159.

- Dunc dit li reis Willame: "Laissum ester<sup>1</sup> cest  
 " siege:  
 " Jo veï ma gent destruire e mal qui<sup>2</sup> nus  
 " abriege.  
 " Certes, ceste faisance el cuer<sup>3</sup> forment m'agri-  
 ege:  
 1275 " Rogier d'Estutevile nus ad<sup>4</sup> trovez al triege."  
 §Li reis d'Escoce fist la nuit sun ost<sup>5</sup> eschiel-  
 guaitier,  
 Desqu'al demcin al aube<sup>6</sup> quant jor apparut  
 cler,  
 Qu'il fist trestuz ses cunttes e baruns assembler:  
 " Gentilz baruns chevaliers, ore m'en oiez parler:  
 1280 " Laissum ester<sup>7</sup> cest siege: n'i pouïm espleitier,  
 " Ainz i avum grant perte: pensez del restorer.<sup>8</sup>  
 " Faites le fu esprendre, ces loges alumer,  
 " Voz trefs et voz acubes cuillir e pleier,<sup>9</sup>  
 " Si faites à Rokesburc<sup>10</sup> trestut mun ost aler."  
 1285 Dunc veïssiez ces marchanz e venir<sup>11</sup> e aler,  
 Destendre ces paveilluns, e ces trefs despleier,<sup>12</sup>  
 Par cel<sup>13</sup> ost d'Escoce grant noise demener.  
 De grant descunfiture li pëust remenbrer.  
 Depart<sup>14</sup> le rei Willame, ki si s'en volt aler.  
 1290 Atant funt<sup>15</sup> ces loges esprendre e alumer.  
 Mult fud grant la noise,—ne vus fait à celer—  
 Ke par cel ost demeine garçon e escuier.  
 Rogier d'Estutevile ne fud mie lanier,  
 Ne abunde<sup>16</sup> de guerre ne vilain chevalier.  
 1295 Unkes de plus sage n'en oïstes parler,

The Scotch  
 abandon  
 the siege of  
 Wark.

<sup>1</sup> *estre*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *ke*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *al quor*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *ad*, om. L.

<sup>5</sup> *fist sa gent la nuit*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Tresqu'al—al alba*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *estre*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *returner*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *villir e despleer*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *Rocheburc*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *Dunc veïstes ces marchesaus e  
 vener*, L.

<sup>12</sup> *espleier*, L.

<sup>13</sup> *Par cele*, L.

<sup>14</sup> *De par*, L.

<sup>15</sup> *sunt*, L.

<sup>16</sup> *Ne aboded*, L.



- Then said king William: "Let us leave this siege:  
 "I see my men destroyed, and evil which cuts us  
 "off.  
 "Certainly this affair grieves me much at heart:  
 "Roger d'Estuteville has proved our match."  
 The king of Scotland caused his host to keep  
 watch that night,  
 Until the morrow at dawn when bright day ap-  
 peared,  
 When he gathered together all his earls and barons:  
 "Noble barons, knights, now hear me speak:  
 1280 "Let us quit this siege: we can do nothing at it,  
 "But from it we have great loss: turn your  
 attention to repairing it.  
 "Kindle the fire, burn these huts,  
 "Collect and fold your tents and pavilions,  
 "And let all my army go to Roxburgh."  
 Then you might see these marshals<sup>1</sup> coming and  
 going,  
 The pavilions taken down and the tents folded,  
 Throughout this host of Scotland, making great  
 noise.  
 Of his great discomfiture he might well have  
 memory.  
 King William, who wished to leave, departed.  
 1290 Now they cause the huts to be kindled and burn  
 them.  
 Great was the noise,—that is not to be hid from  
 you—  
 That servant and squire make throughout this  
 host.  
 Roger d'Estuteville was by no means a coward,  
 Nor timid in war nor a base knight.  
 Never did you hear speak of a wiser man

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<sup>1</sup> Following L.

- Ne plus mesurable ne plus gentil guerrier.  
 Quant vit cel ost banic vers Rokesbure<sup>1</sup> aler,  
 A sun gent<sup>2</sup> barnage eumençad à parler:  
 “ Ne dites vilanie : pur Deu laissum ester!<sup>3</sup> fo. 156.
- 1300 “ Ne ccle gent d’Escoce eserier ne huer.<sup>4</sup>  
 “ Mès Deu nostre pere devum tuz loer,<sup>5</sup>  
 “ Quant il del rei d’Escoce e de sun ost si fier  
 “ Nus ad tenu les vies, si l’ devom mercier.  
 “ De juer ne d’enveisier ne vus defend-jo  
 “ mie,
- 1305 “ E quant les verrez departir, le rei e s’ost  
 “ banie,<sup>6</sup>  
 “ Dune escriez voz joies chascun de sa partie.  
 “ Jo refrai la<sup>7</sup> meie, si qu’ele iert oïe.  
 “ Le fiz fait tort au pere, qui si le cuntralie.”  
 Dunc oïssiez ces greidles suner par establie :
- 1310 N’i aveit pas repruces ne dite vilanie,  
 Mès suns e rotruenges, e regrettent<sup>8</sup> amie.  
 De corns e de busines mult bele rebundie.  
 § Rogier d’Estutevile si est el cuer<sup>9</sup> haitiez,  
 Si deit-il bien estre : ne vus esmerveilliez,
- 1315 Kar li reis d’Escoce li ad le sun laissiez.  
 Il n’ad, la merci Deu, ne perdu ne guaigniez,  
 Nul de sa<sup>10</sup> maisnée ocis ne afolez,  
 Chevalier ne serjant dedenz le cors nafrez  
 Dunt li estëust duner un denier<sup>11</sup> muneiez
- 1320 A mire de Salerne pur estre<sup>12</sup> medceinez.  
 Seignurs, si faitierment<sup>13</sup> parti li reis Willame  
 De Werc, et d’icel siege aurad encore<sup>14</sup> blame.

<sup>1</sup> *esbame vers Rokebure, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *grant, L.*

<sup>3</sup> *lessez ester, L.*

<sup>4</sup> *eserier e huer, L.*

<sup>5</sup> *trestuz loer, L.*

<sup>6</sup> *e sa ost banie, L.*

<sup>7</sup> *jo ferai la, L.*

<sup>8</sup> *regreter, L.*

<sup>9</sup> *al quor, L.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ne nul de sa, L.*

<sup>11</sup> *Dunt li estuit doner un denier, L.; D. has duner un denier.*

<sup>12</sup> *D. repeats pur estre.*

<sup>13</sup> *si faitement, L.*

<sup>14</sup> *averad uncore, L.*

Nor a more reasonable, nor a nobler warrior.  
 When he saw this assembled host going towards  
 Roxburgh,

He began to speak to his gentle barons.

“ Say nothing abusive : for God’s sake let be !

1300 “ Nor shout nor follow with cries these Scotch-  
 “ men.

“ But we ought all to praise God our Father,

“ For he has preserved our lives from the king  
 “ of Scotland

“ And his host so proud, we are bound to thank  
 “ him.

“ I by no means forbid you to play or to make  
 “ merry,

“ And when you see the king and his assembled  
 “ host depart

“ Then shout your joy, each in his place.

“ I shall do the same so that it will be heard.

“ The son who thus opposes the father wrongs  
 “ him.”

Then you might hear the trumpets sounding by  
 ranks :

1310 There were no reproaches or base words uttered,  
 But songs and ballads and farewells.  
 Of horns and trumpets very beautiful was the  
 resounding.

Roger d’Estuteville is rejoiced in heart,  
 So indeed should he be : do not wonder at it,  
 For the king of Scotland has left him his own.  
 He has, thank God, neither lost nor gained,  
 And none of his followers [are] killed or hurt,  
 Knight nor sergeant wounded in the body  
 So much as to have to give a coined denier

1320 To a doctor of Salerno for being cured.

Lords, in such a manner did king William depart  
 From Wark, and he will still have reproach for  
 that siege.

Tant ad el cuer<sup>1</sup> grant ire, a poi qu'il ne se pasme.

Puis a juré un serrement,<sup>2</sup> " saint Andreu e saint Jacme!"

1325 Ne larrad si la guerre pur perdre sun realme.<sup>3</sup>  
 §Estes-vus Rogier de Munbrai, ki mult<sup>4</sup> saveit de guerre :

A ses dous fiz ainz nez<sup>5</sup> aveit laissié sa terre,  
 Ses chastels, ses demeines, e il le sorent faire.  
 Il vint au rei d'Escoce pur prier<sup>6</sup> e pur requerre

1330 Qu'il guerriast tut asëur, kar ço en iert la veire<sup>7</sup>

Qu'il n'iert pas en terre qui li feïst<sup>8</sup> cuntraire.  
 Ore ad li reis tel joie: unc<sup>9</sup> en sa vie n'ot maire.

Unkes de mal faire ne se voleit<sup>10</sup> retraire.

La nuit fud le conseil pris eument il le ferunt :

The Scotch  
 army ad-  
 vances on  
 Carlisle.

1335 A Carduil regieres<sup>11</sup> le matin en irrunt,  
 N'i ad ki cel desdie : mès ore eumencerunt,  
 De querre lur damage<sup>12</sup> jamès ne finerunt.  
 Ore est Rogier de Munbrai od le rei d'Aubanie  
 De guerreer à sun poeir, en force<sup>13</sup> e en aïe,

fo. 156. b.

1340 Si est dan Adam de Porz od grant chevalerie.  
 Il erent les meillurs guerriers que l'um saveit en vie.

Il aveient jadis esté; mes il n'en sevent mie<sup>14</sup>  
 Ke Deus ne voldrad lunges cunsentir lur folie.

<sup>1</sup> *al quor*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *serment*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *sa realme*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *ke mult*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *enz neez*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *preier preier*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *kar ço est le vere*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *que li fait*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *unc*, om. L.

<sup>10</sup> *volt*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *A Kardul regeres*, L.

<sup>12</sup> *dameage*, L.

<sup>13</sup> *en force*, D. and L.; *guerréer*, thus with hair-strokes in D.

<sup>14</sup> *ne sevent mie*, L.

He has such anger in his heart that he nearly swoons from it.

Then he swore an oath, "St. Andrew and St. James!"

He will not cease from warring, were he to lose his kingdom.

See there Roger de Mowbray, who well knew war:

He has left his lands to his two eldest sons,  
His castles, his domains, and they knew what to do.

He came to the king of Scotland to beg and entreat him

1330 That he would be sure to fight, for it was the fact  
That there was no one in the country who could oppose him.

Now has the king such joy: never in his life had he more.

Never would he draw back from evil-doing.

In the night was the resolution taken how they will act:

To royal Carlisle they will go in the morning,  
There is no one who contradicts: but now they will begin,

They will never cease to seek their own hurt.

Now is Roger de Mowbray with the king of Albany  
To war according to his power in force and as auxiliary.

1340 So is lord Adam de Port<sup>1</sup> with great chivalry.

They were the best warriors that were known to be living.

They had been so formerly; but they are not at all aware

That God will not long consent to their folly.

---

<sup>1</sup> Dugd. Baron., i. 463.

- Vait s'en li reis Willame od sa grant ost banie<sup>1</sup>  
 1345 Vers Carduil la bele, la fort<sup>2</sup> cité guarnie,  
 Dan Rogier de Munbrai e sa chevalerie,  
 E dan Adam de Porz à ses Marchiz se lie.  
 Les euntes d'Escoce meinent la gent haïe,  
 Ki<sup>3</sup> unkes n'orent pitié de faire diable.  
 1350 Tant eirent lur journées,—ne sai<sup>4</sup> que plus vus  
 die,—  
 Qu'il poent vëir Carduil de beauté<sup>5</sup> replenie :  
 Les murs e les tureles li soleilz esclarzie.<sup>6</sup>  
 Ki ad enveisié gumfanun, volentiers le desplie,  
 E sunent ces busines de chascune<sup>7</sup> estableie :  
 1355 Noise pëussiez oïr en la cité fremie ;  
 Mes dan Robert de Vaus ducement l'en prie  
 Ne seient esmaiez, ne facent cuardie ;  
 Kar, si Deus le maintient sains e sauf sa vie,  
 Ne dute<sup>8</sup> de rien cel ost ne le rei d'Albanie.  
 1360 Li reis apele Rogier e Adam en conseil,  
 Wantier de Berkelai, ki iert un sun<sup>9</sup> fedeil :  
 “ Ore veez, francs chevaliers, mult gentil appa-  
 “ reil ;  
 “ Ne savez acunter le blanc ne le vermeil,  
 “ Tant i ad gumfanuns cuntremunt le soleil !  
 1365 “ Alez-mei à Robert, dites que jo li mand  
 “ Rende-mei le chastel dès ici en avant :  
 “ Il aurad<sup>10</sup> nul succurs de nul hume vivant,  
 “ Ne li reis d'Engleterre ne li ert mès guarant ;  
 “ E s'il ço<sup>11</sup> ne volt faire, bien li seiez jurant  
 1370 “ Il en perdrad le chief<sup>12</sup> e murrunt si enfant.  
 “ Ne li larrai un sul ne ami ne parent

fo. 157.

<sup>1</sup> od sa gent esbanie, L.<sup>2</sup> la forte, L.<sup>3</sup> Que, L.<sup>4</sup> jurnes, ne sa, L.<sup>5</sup> ver Cardul de ballé, L.<sup>6</sup> turrels li soleil esclazie, L.<sup>7</sup> chascun, L.<sup>8</sup> dutent, L.<sup>9</sup> que ert en sun, L.<sup>10</sup> I n'averad, L.<sup>11</sup> ceo, L.<sup>12</sup> le chief, L.



King William with his vast collected host departs  
Towards Carlisle the beautiful, the strong garrisoned city,

Lord Roger de Mowbray and his chivalry,  
And lord Adam de Port joins his Borderers.  
The earls of Scotland lead the hated race  
Who never had scruple about doing devilries.

1350 They so perform their march—I know not what  
more to tell you—

That they could see Carlisle filled with beauty :  
The sun lights up the walls and turrets.  
Whoever has a gay banner willingly displays it,  
And the trumpets sound from every rank :  
Noise you might hear in the trembling city ;  
But lord Robert de Vaus gently begs men  
Not to be alarmed nor to play the coward ;  
For, if God keeps his life safe and sound,  
He by no means fears this host or the king of  
Albany.

1360 The king calls Roger and Adam to his council,  
Walter of Berkeley,<sup>1</sup> who was one of his lieges :  
“ Now behold, noble knights, a very grand array ;  
“ You cannot count the white or the red  
“ There are so many banners against the sun !  
“ Go for me to Robert, say that I summon him  
“ To surrender the castle henceforward :  
“ He will have no relief from any living man  
“ Nor will the king of England ever be his surety ;  
“ And if he will not do that, swear roundly to him  
1370 “ That he shall lose his head for it, and his children  
“ shall die.  
“ I will not leave him a single friend or relation

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<sup>1</sup> See Chalmers' *Caledonia*, i. p. 529.

- “ Ke trestuit ne's eissille,<sup>1</sup> s'il ne fait mun cu-  
 “ mant.”
- Ore s'en vunt<sup>2</sup> les baruns la triewe demandant,  
 Vunt à Robert de Vaus<sup>3</sup> là ù il iert en estant ;
- 1375 Un haubere ot vestu, à un kernel puiant,  
 E teneit en sa mein un espée trenchant<sup>4</sup>  
 Od trenchant alemele, bel l'alot maniant ;  
 E vit le messagier ki l'alot apelant,  
 De lui e de sa gent la triewe demandant,
- 1380 E il li respundi : “ Amis, qu'alez querant ?<sup>5</sup>  
 “ Tost i purriez laisser le petit e le grant.”  
 E dit li<sup>6</sup> messagier : “ Ço n'est pas avenant :  
 “ Ne deit l'un messagier sun message portant  
 “ Laidir<sup>7</sup> ne afolel ; dire puet sun talent.”
- 1385 E dit Robert de Vaus<sup>8</sup> : “ Ore venez plus  
 “ avant,  
 “ Dites vostre plaisir ; ne seiez rien<sup>9</sup> dutant.”  
 Seignurs, si faitement ad li message parlé  
 A Robert, ki<sup>10</sup> est le chief, e à tut le barné :  
 “ Sire Robert de Vaus,<sup>11</sup> pruz estes e sené.
- 1390 “ Messagier sui le rei, il est mun avué ;  
 “ Il vus mande par mei saluz e amistié.  
 “ Rendez-lui le chastel ki est sun herité :  
 “ Ses ancestres l'orent jà lunges en quieté ;  
 “ Mès li<sup>12</sup> reis d'Engleterre l'en ad desherité,
- 1395 “ Ço vus mande<sup>13</sup> par mei, à tort e à pechié.  
 “ Si savez, si vus plaist, que ço est verité.  
 “ Ne fustes pas enfant ne d'enfantil eé<sup>14</sup>  
 “ Ke vus cest ne<sup>15</sup> véistes e trestut le regné.

Carlisle  
 summoned  
 to sur-  
 render.

<sup>1</sup> eissil, L.

<sup>2</sup> s'en vunt, L. ; s'en unt, D.

<sup>3</sup> Vint à Robert de Waus, L.

<sup>4</sup> un espeie mult trechant, L.

<sup>5</sup> E lui respundi : “ Amis, k'alez-  
 “ vus querant ? ” L.

<sup>6</sup> E dit lui, L.

<sup>7</sup> Laidir, L.

<sup>8</sup> Dit Robert de Vals, L.

<sup>9</sup> ne seez nient, L.

<sup>10</sup> que, L.

<sup>11</sup> Vals, L. here and elsewhere.

<sup>12</sup> lui, L.

<sup>13</sup> Ço lui mande, L.

<sup>14</sup> ne d'enfantel hé, L.

<sup>15</sup> Ke vus ço ne, L.

“ Whom I will not exile, if he does not execute  
“ my orders.”

Now the barons go to demand the capitulation,  
They go to Robert de Vaus, (to) where he was  
abiding,

He was dressed in a hauberk, was leaning against  
a battlement,

And was holding in his hand a sharp sword  
With a keen edge, he handled it gracefully ;  
And he saw the messenger who came calling him,  
And asking a capitulation of him and of his men,

1380 And he answered him : “ Friend, what do you  
“ come to request ?

“ You might just let alone the whole business ! ”  
And the messenger said : “ That is not gracious :  
“ One ought not to insult or ill-use a messenger  
“ Carrying his message ; he can speak at his  
“ pleasure.”

And Robert de Vaus said : “ Now come nearer,  
“ Tell your pleasure ; and fear nothing.”  
Lords, in this manner the messenger spoke  
To Robert, who is the chief, and to all the  
baronage :

“ Lord Robert de Vaus, you are brave and wise.  
1390 “ I am the king’s messenger, he is my liege lord ;  
“ He sends to you by me greeting and friendship.  
“ Restore to him the castle which is his birthright :  
“ His ancestors had it formerly for a long while in  
“ peace,  
“ But the king of England disinherited him of it  
“ Wrongfully and wickedly: that message he sends  
“ you by me.  
“ And you know, if you please, that this is the  
“ truth.  
“ You were not a child, nor of childish age  
“ That you and all the kingdom did not see this,

- " Ore li faites amur par devant sun barné:  
 1400 " Rendez-lui le chastel e tut le fermeté,<sup>1</sup>  
 " E il tant vus dura del argent muncé  
 " Unkes Hubert de Vaus tant n'en out assemblé.  
 § " Rendez-lui le chastel par tel devisiun,  
 " E devenez sun hume par tel conditiun:  
 1405 " Tant vus durrad aveir<sup>2</sup> entre or fin e mangun,  
 " E plus encore asez que nus ne vus dium.  
 " Si vus cest ne graantez<sup>3</sup> pur lui desheriter, *fo. 157. b.*  
 " Ne devez en nul lieu en sun cors afier:  
 " Il fera le chastel de sa gent asiegier,  
 1410 " N'en istrez à nul jor senz vostre desturbier;  
 " E s'il puct le chastel par force cunqueter,  
 " Jà li reis d'Engleterre ne vus aura mestier  
 " Ne tut l'or de sun regne k'il pëust assembler,  
 " Qu'il ne vus face detraire e à male mort  
 " jugier."<sup>4</sup>  
 1415 Quant ço oïd dan Robert, si fud de grant me-  
 sure:  
 " N'avum suin de tencier ne de manace cure.  
 " Nus eimes ci dedenz bone gent assëure:<sup>5</sup>  
 " Fel seit ki se rendra tant eum<sup>6</sup> viande li  
 " dure!  
 " Dites-mei, message,<sup>7</sup>—ke Deus vus duinst honur!  
 1420 " Alez au rei d'Escoce, ki<sup>8</sup> est vostre seignur;  
 " Dites ke jo li mand ne li toil nul honur  
 " Ne feus ne heritez, ne ne frai à nul jor;

<sup>1</sup> *formeté*, L.<sup>2</sup> L. omits *aveir*.<sup>3</sup> *grantez*, L.<sup>4</sup> *wort liverer*, L.<sup>5</sup> This line is not in L.<sup>6</sup> *que se rendra tant eume*, L.<sup>7</sup> *messenger*, L.<sup>8</sup> *Que*, L.

- " Now make friendship with him before his no-  
 " bility :  
 1400 " Give him back the castle and all the fortress,  
 " And he will give you such a sum in coined  
 " silver  
 " As Hubert de Vaus never had brought together.  
 " Surrender to him his castle on such terms,  
 " And become his vassal on such conditions :  
 " So much wealth he will give you in pure gold  
 " and golden<sup>1</sup> coin,  
 " And much more besides that we do not tell  
 " you of.  
 " If, for the purpose of disinheriting him, you do  
 " not grant this,  
 " You must nowhere trust him.  
 " He will have the castle besieged by his followers,  
 1410 " You will not go out of it any day without  
 " molestation ;  
 " And if he can take the castle by force  
 " The king of England will be of no use to you,  
 " Nor all the gold of his kingdom which he might  
 " collect  
 " Could prevent your being seized and delivered  
 " up to a cruel death."  
 When lord Robert heard that he was very calm :  
 " We neither care for his contentions nor heed his  
 " threats,  
 " We here within are good, trustworthy people :  
 " A traitor will he be who shall surrender while  
 " provisions last !  
 " Say for me, messenger—God give you honour !  
 1420 " Go to the king of Scotland, who is your lord,  
 " Say that I neither give him nor take from him  
 " any estate,  
 " Or fief or inheritance, neither will I ever do so ;

<sup>1</sup> See Du Cange, under *Mancusa*. A *mangun* was equal to two besants.

- “ Mès voist au rei Henri, si face sa clamur  
 “ Que jo tieng de Carduil<sup>1</sup> le chastel e la tur  
 1425 “ Par force cuntre lui eume<sup>2</sup> vers guerreieur;  
 “ E si mi sire li reis en ait vers mei irruer,  
 “ Enveit-mei sun message, mès nul<sup>3</sup> traïtur,  
 “ Ki me die de sue part: ‘Rendez sus cest  
 “ ‘ honur<sup>4</sup>  
 “ ‘ Volentiers e<sup>5</sup> de gré: n’i aurad nul retur.’ ”  
 Robert de Vaus agrees to surrender Carlisle if not relieved after application to king Henry.  
 1430 § “ E s’il ço ne volt<sup>6</sup> faire, si faïmes euvenant:  
 “ Tant me duinsez respit ke seie mer passant,  
 “ E dirrai mun seigneur, Henri le rei<sup>7</sup> vaillant,  
 “ Qu’il li rende sun honur tant cum il vait que-  
 “ rant—  
 “ Carduil le chastel quanqu’i ad apendant.<sup>8</sup>  
 1435 “ Dunc est-il assëur, si jo ’n ai le cumant,<sup>9</sup>  
 “ Certes; u, si ço nun, pur murir ci devant,  
 “ Le chastel mun seigneur ne li serrai rendant.”  
 § Quant le message lu rei lu respuns out oï,  
 Il dist à ses cumpaignuns: “ Unckes mès tel  
 “ ne vi.  
 1440 “ Se li reis mun seigneur n’en ait<sup>10</sup> de lui merci,  
 “ Petit pris le barnage quanqu’il ad ci<sup>11</sup> bani.”  
 E dit à Robert de Vaus: “ Nus en irrum d’ici;  
 “ Mar veïstes Karduil od tut le rei Henri.”

fo. 158.

<sup>1</sup> *Karduil*, L.<sup>2</sup> *cum*, L.<sup>3</sup> *mès neint*, L.<sup>4</sup> *Que me die de sa part: “ Ren-  
dez-lui cel honur,”* L.<sup>5</sup> *e*, om. L.<sup>6</sup> *ne ne volt*, L.<sup>7</sup> *rei*, om. L.<sup>8</sup> *pendant*, L.<sup>9</sup> *si en ad le covenant*, L.<sup>10</sup> *seigneur en eit*, L.<sup>11</sup> *barnage que il ad ci*, L.



- “ But let him go to king Henry, let him make his  
 “ complaint  
 “ That I hold the castle and the tower of Carlisle  
 “ By force against him, as against one who is  
 “ making war ;  
 “ And if my lord the king be displeas'd with me  
 “ for it,  
 “ Let him send me his messenger, but no traitor,  
 “ Who may say on his behalf: ‘ Surrender this  
 “ ‘ fief  
 “ ‘ Readily and willingly : there will be no giving  
 “ ‘ back,’  
 1430 “ And, if he will not do that, let us make a  
 “ covenant :  
 “ Give me so long respite that I may cross the sea,  
 “ And I will tell my lord, Henry the valiant  
 “ king,  
 “ That he is to return to him his fief just as he  
 “ demands—  
 “ The castle of Carlisle and whatever appertains  
 “ to it.  
 “ Then is he sure, if I have quite certainly the  
 “ command for it ;  
 “ Or, if not that, were I to die here before  
 “ The castle of my lord, I will not surrender it to  
 “ him.”  
 When the king’s messenger had heard the answer  
 He said to his companions : “ Never did I see the  
 “ like of this.  
 1440 “ If my lord the king have no pity on him,  
 “ All the baronage he has called together here is  
 “ not worth much.”  
 And he said to Robert de Vaus : “ We will go  
 “ hence ;  
 “ Woe to you that you ever saw Carlisle with  
 “ king Henry.”

- Atant sunt li message d'iloques departi,  
 1445 E dient lur seignur quanqu'il<sup>1</sup> aveient oï :  
 " Sire, reis d'Escoce, or oiez le mandement.  
 " Robert vus mande par mei ne vus dute nient ;  
 " Ne rendra le chastel pur or ne pur argent,  
 " Ne pur Escoce d'acreis, se il l'aveit en present,  
 1450 " E ainz<sup>2</sup> se larreit murir, veiant tute sa gent.  
 " Il ad enz el chastel asez vin<sup>3</sup> e furment.  
 " Si sunt à un<sup>4</sup> acort entre lui e sa gent.  
 " Dire m'estuvrad<sup>5</sup> trestut quanqu'à messagier  
 " apent.  
 " Rien ne vus volt tolir d'ïço qu'à vus<sup>6</sup> apent ;  
 1455 " Mès, s'il veïst sun seignur à qui l'ouur apent  
 " E li rovast issir par<sup>7</sup> sun eumandement,  
 " E deïst<sup>8</sup> de sa buche à lui tant sulement :  
 " 'Rendez au rei Willame,<sup>9</sup>' mult le freit  
 " bonement ;  
 " E il li frad saveir<sup>10</sup> tost e hastivement."  
 1460 E dist li reis Willame: "Ço est sun gabbement.'  
 Li reis out eunseilliers, si sieut tut lur afaire ;  
 Ne fist à cele feiz à Robert nul cuntraire,  
 Ainz alad à Appelbi, là eudreit<sup>11</sup> tint sun eire.  
 N'i aveit nule gent : pur ço le prist en eire.  
 1465 Li reis aveit mult tost le chastel d'Appelbi ;<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *quant qu'il*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *Einz*, omitting *E*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *Il ad el chastel vin*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *Si est à un*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *Dire m'estuverad*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Rien ne volt tolir de ço ke à vus*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *pur*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *E dist*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *Rendez-le al rei Willeme*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *ferad saver*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *Apelbi là 'ndreit*, L.

<sup>12</sup> *de Apelbi*, L. The same spelling elsewhere.

Thereupon the messengers departed thence  
And tell their lord all they had heard :

“ Sire, king of Scotland, now hear the message.

“ Robert sends you word by me that he fears you  
“ not ;

“ He will not give up the castle for gold or for  
“ silver,

“ Nor for Scotland into the bargain, if he had it  
“ as a gift.

1450 “ Rather would he allow himself to die in the  
“ sight of all his people.

“ There is within the castle enough wine and  
“ corn,

“ And there is accord between him and his men.

“ I must say all that pertains to a messenger.

“ He does not wish to take from you anything  
“ which is yours ;

“ But if he could see his lord to whom the fief  
“ belongs,

“ And he ordered him to withdraw by his com-  
“ mand,

“ And only said thus much to him with his own  
“ mouth :

“ ‘ Surrender [it] to king William,’ he would do it  
“ very willingly ;

“ And he will inform him [of it] soon and  
“ speedily.”

1460 And king William said : “ This is a joke of his.”

The king had counsellors, he knew all their  
business ;

He did not on this occasion oppose Robert,

But he went to Appleby, thither he marched.

There were no people there : therefore he took it  
quickly.

The king had very soon the castle of Appleby ;

Capture of  
Appleby  
by the  
Scotch.

N'i aveit nule gent, si fud tut desguarni.  
Cospatric le fiz Horm,<sup>1</sup> un viel Engleis fluri,  
Esteit li cunestable; si cria tost merci.

Li reis out ubblié par itant sa dolor

- 1470 Quant aveit<sup>2</sup> Appelbi, le chastel e la tur;  
E vait mult maneçant le rei, nostre seigneur,  
Henri le fiz Mahaut, a qui Deu duinst honur!  
A veintre tuz iceus li duinst force e vigur  
Ki<sup>3</sup> sunt encuntre lui pur lui tolor s'onur!

- 1475 § Li reis Willame d'Escoce ad jà pris Appelbi,<sup>4</sup>  
E Rogier de Munbrai qui esteit sis amis,  
E mettent là dedenz lur serjanz Marchis,  
E treis cunestables el chastel<sup>5</sup> unt asis;  
Asez unt entre eus grant risée<sup>6</sup> e grant ris: *fo. 158. b.*

- 1480 Il ne's quident mès perdre<sup>7</sup> desqu'al jor de  
Juis.

They take  
Brough.

A Bure volent aler: le cunscil fud tost pris.  
Se il ne lur est renduz, n'en istra un sul vis;  
Mès le chastel ne fud del tut issi esquis  
Qu'il n'i ot là dedenz chevaliers plus de sis.<sup>8</sup>

- 1485 Le chastel fud mult tost de tutes parz asis;  
Si lur funt dur assaut e Flamens et Marchis,  
E unt le premier jor sur els le baile pris,

<sup>1</sup> *Hovin*, with hair-stroke, L.

<sup>2</sup> D. omits a necessary word; L.  
supplies *aveit*.

<sup>3</sup> *Que*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *Apelbis*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *en le chastel*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *risé*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *Il ne l'quident mès perdre*, L.;

D. omits *perdre*.

<sup>8</sup> *plus de dis*, L.

- There were no people in it, so it was quite un-  
 guarded,  
 Cospatrie<sup>1</sup> the son of Horm, an old grey-haired  
 Englishman,  
 Was the constable; he soon cried mercy.  
 The king had nearly forgotten his grief  
 1470 When he had Appleby, the castle and the tower;  
 And threatens much the king, our lord,  
 Henry the son of Matilda, to whom God give  
 honour!  
 May strength and vigour be given him to vanquish  
 all those  
 Who are against him to take away his possessions!  
 King William of Scotland has already taken  
 Appleby,  
 And Roger de Mowbray who was his friend,  
 And put therein their Border sergeants,  
 And have placed three constables in the castle;  
 They have amongst themselves great fun and  
 laughter:  
 1480 They think never to lose them until the Day of  
 Judgment.  
 To Brough<sup>2</sup> they wish to go: the resolution was  
 soon taken.  
 If it is not surrendered to them, no one shall go  
 out of it alive;  
 But the castle was not altogether so unprovided  
 That there were not in it more than six knights.  
 The castle was very soon besieged on all sides;  
 Both the Flemings and the Borderers make a  
 vigorous assault upon them,  
 And have on the first day taken from them the  
 stockade,

<sup>1</sup> See Nicolson and Burn's History and Antiquities of Westmoreland and Cumberland, i., p. 465, and

Pipe Roll 9 Hen. II. p. 10 (Carlisle).

<sup>2</sup> Brough-under-Stanemore.

- E eus tost l'unt guerpi e<sup>1</sup> en la tur se sunt mis.  
 Ore sunt en cele tur, curtes ures durrunt;<sup>2</sup>
- 1490 Kar il mettent<sup>3</sup> le fu: là dedenz les ardrunt.  
 [Ne sevent nul cunseil ne que fere purrunt;  
 Jà est li fien espris: ore endroit ardrunt.]<sup>4</sup>  
 " Par ma fei, beau sire,<sup>5</sup> si vus plaist, nu ferunt;<sup>6</sup>  
 " Ainz frunt que chevalier: al rei se tendrunt,
- 1495 " Kar il veient très bien nul sucurs n'aurunt."  
 Ne poënt plus souffrir: au rei rendu se sunt.  
 Ço est faite fesance ço qu'il<sup>7</sup> ore funt.  
 Au rei se sunt renduz, granz dolurs ès cuers unt.<sup>8</sup>
- §Mès un chevalier nouveaux lur iert le jor venuz.
- 1500 Ore oiez de ses fiz<sup>9</sup> e de ses granz vertuz:  
 Puis que ses cumpaignuns se furent tuit renduz,  
 Remist-il en la tur e saisi dous escuz,  
 Si's pendi as kerneaus,<sup>10</sup> lungement s'est tenuz,  
 E lança as Esez<sup>11</sup> treis espiez esmuluz;
- 1505 A chascun des espiez ad un mort abatzuz.  
 Quant ceus li sunt failliz, si reprent peus aguz  
 E lançad as Escoz, si en ad emifunduz;  
 E tuz jorz vait criant: "Jà serrez tuz venezuz."  
 Unc<sup>12</sup> d'un sul vassal ne fud estur mielz tenuz.

<sup>1</sup> e, om. L.<sup>2</sup> durent, L.<sup>3</sup> mettent, om. L.<sup>4</sup> D. omits these two lines.<sup>5</sup> bcl's sires, L.<sup>6</sup> nun ferunt, L.<sup>7</sup> ço k'il, L.<sup>8</sup> as quors unt, L.<sup>9</sup> fez, L.<sup>10</sup> as corncls, L.<sup>11</sup> Escoz, L.<sup>12</sup> unques, L.



And they soon have abandoned it, and placed  
themselves in the tower.

Now they are in this tower, few hours will they  
hold out ;

1490 For they set fire to it: they will burn those inside  
it.

They neither know (of) any resource nor what  
they can do ;

Already the fire has caught: now there they will  
be burnt.

“ By my faith, noble sire, if you please, they will  
“ not do so,

“ Rather will they act like knights: they will  
“ offer [to capitulate to] the king,

“ For they see very well that they will have no  
“ succour.”

They cannot endure longer: to the king they have  
surrendered.

That is a right act which they now do.

To the king they have surrendered, great sorrow  
have they in their hearts.

But a new knight came to them that day.

1500 Now hear of his deeds, and of his great strength :

When his companions had all surrendered,

He returned to the tower and seized two shields,

He hung them on the battlements, stayed there a  
long time,

And hurled at the Scots three sharp javelins :

With each of the javelins he struck a man dead.

When those failed him, he takes sharp stakes

And hurled them at the Scots; so he con-  
founded some of them :

And ever he goes on shouting: “Soon shall you  
“ all be vanquished.”

Never by a single vassal was a conflict better  
maintained.

- 1510 Quant li fus li toli le defens des escuz,  
 Ne fait pas à blasmer s'il s'est<sup>1</sup> idunc renduz.  
 Ore est Bure abatuz e le mielz de la tur.  
 [Ore est Robert de Vals alque en effrëur.]<sup>2</sup>  
 Il enveit sun message dedenz meïsmes le jor
- 1515 A Richart de Luci, ki<sup>3</sup> li dit la verrur,  
 Ke pris est Appelbi trestut en la primur,  
 E le chastel de Bure, que guaires n'est pejur.<sup>4</sup>  
 " Ore n'ai de nule part aïc ne sucur,  
 " E bien quid que li<sup>5</sup> reis me rendra dur estur." fo. 159.
- 1520 E<sup>6</sup> dit Richard de Luci: " Ore face le meillur,  
 " Guard que pur nule rien ne vienge boisdëur;<sup>7</sup>  
 " Mès se il aime Henri sun bon seignur,  
 " Pur lui deit endurer peines e dolur.  
 " Jo lui mand de ma part saluz e amur
- 1525 " E novele del rei. Ainz vienge quinzime jor<sup>8</sup>  
 " 'l averad en Engleterre, si Den plaist le Sal-  
 " veur."  
 Quant ço oïd Robert, si li vint la culur ;  
 Ki ore ainz esteit maz, ore est en baudur.  
 §De Richart de Luci ore oiez la<sup>9</sup> verité:
- 1530 Par sun sen qu'il ad bon e sa grant lëauté,  
 Sun seignur de là mer par ses briés ad mandé.  
 L'evesque de Wincestre,<sup>10</sup> cum il fud devisé,  
 Il meïsmes i alad par mult grant amistié,

News of  
 the ap-  
 proaching  
 return of  
 the king  
 (June,  
 1174).

<sup>1</sup> *S'il est*, L.

<sup>2</sup> D. omits this line.

<sup>3</sup> *que*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *pëur*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *E sai que li*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *E*, om. L.

<sup>7</sup> *ne devenge boseur*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *quinze jur*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *la*, om. L.

<sup>10</sup> *Le evesque de Wincestre*, L.

- 1510 When the fire deprived him of the defence of his shields,  
 He is not to blame if he then surrendered.  
 Now is Brough demolished, and the best of the tower.  
 Now is Robert de Vaus somewhat alarmed.  
 He sends to Richard de Lucy on the same day  
 His messenger, who tells him the truth,  
 That Appleby was taken at dawn,  
 And the castle of Brough, which is hardly worse [news].  
 " Now I have from no side aid or succour,  
 " And, indeed, I believe that the king will give  
 " me harsh treatment."
- 1520 And said Richard de Lucy: " Now let him do  
 " the best,  
 " Let him take care that on no account he become  
 " a deceiver ;  
 " But if he loves Henry his good lord,  
 " For him he must endure trouble and sorrow.  
 " I send him on my own behalf greeting and love  
 " And news of the king. Before fifteen days are  
 " past<sup>1</sup>  
 " He will have him in England, if it please God  
 " the Saviour."
- When Robert heard that, the colour came in his face ;  
 He who before was sad, now is joyful.
- 1530 Of Richard de Lucy now hear the truth :  
 Through the good sense he has and his great loyalty,  
 He has summoned his lord from beyond seas by his letters.  
 The bishop of Winchester,<sup>2</sup> as it was settled,  
 Himself went there from very great friendship,

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<sup>1</sup> Henry the elder crossed on July 8. | <sup>2</sup> Richard of Ilchester.

- E dit al rei Henri : "Saluz aiez de Deu !<sup>1</sup>
- 1535 " Engleterre vus salue eume sun avné,  
 " Dan<sup>2</sup> Richart de Luci e tut l'autre barné,  
 " Ki<sup>3</sup> se tienent od vus. Mès oiez la verité.  
 " Ço ne sunt mie dis, si m'aït Damne-Dé,  
 " Ki se tiengent od vus en dreite læauté."<sup>4</sup>
- 1540§ Dunc demande li reis : " Ke fait dunkes Richart,  
 " De Luci le læaus ? Est-il de meie part ?"  
 " Oil, sire, pur veir, il n'i rent pas en dart ;  
 " Ainz<sup>5</sup> se larreit lacier à un fust d'une<sup>6</sup> hart."  
 § " E li ceus d'Arundel, eum est-il<sup>7</sup> euntenant ?
- 1545 " Tient se il ovoc mei ?<sup>8</sup> vait-nus-il guerreiant  
 " Sire, par la meie fei ! ainz est vostre bien  
 " voillant.  
 " En trestuz voz busuinz, el premier<sup>9</sup> chef devant."  
 § " E Humfrei de Boün, eum s'est-il<sup>10</sup> cuntenuz ?  
 " Envers mes enemis est-se-il cumbatuz ?"<sup>11</sup>
- 1550 " Sire, par la meie fei ! jo'n voil<sup>12</sup> estre crëuz,  
 " Ço est uns des plus læiaus ki<sup>13</sup> od vus seit  
 " tenuz."  
 § " Par devers Everwie eument funt les baruns ?  
 " E ceus d'Estutevile, tienent-il lur meisuns ?"  
 " Certes, sire, s'il vus plaist,<sup>14</sup> très bien le sa- *fo. 159. b.*  
 " vums,
- 1555 " De ceus d'Estutevile ne vindrent traïsuns."<sup>15</sup>  
 " E l'eslit de Nincole, eum est-il ès païs ?<sup>16</sup>  
 " Set-il puint guerreier euntre ses enemis ?"  
 " Il est, sire, veirement vostre charneus amis ;<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> selveiz sciez de Dé, L.

<sup>2</sup> Da, D. ; Dan, L.

<sup>3</sup> Ke, L.

<sup>4</sup> Ke tiengent . . endroit de leauté,

L.

<sup>5</sup> ein (sic), L.

<sup>6</sup> de une, L.

<sup>7</sup> est-il, D. L.

<sup>8</sup> od moi, L.

<sup>9</sup> est el primer, L.

<sup>10</sup> cum est-il, L.

<sup>11</sup> cum s'est-il cumbatuz, L.

<sup>12</sup> jo voil, L.

<sup>13</sup> Ceo est un des leus ke, L.

<sup>14</sup> si vus plest, L.

<sup>15</sup> une treisuns, L.

<sup>16</sup> Nichole, cum est-il el païs, L.

<sup>17</sup> vos charnals amis, L.

- And said to king Henry : " May you have salva-  
 " tion from God !  
 " England greets you as her protector,  
 " Lord Richard de Luey and all the rest of the  
 " barons  
 " Who stand by you. But hear the truth.  
 " There are not ten, so may the Lord God help me,  
 " Who stand by you in true loyalty."
- 1540 Then asks the king : " What then is Richard doing,  
 " De Luey the loyal ? Is he on my side ?"  
 " Yes, sire, in truth, he does not join it in vain,  
 " Rather would he allow himself to be tied to a  
 " tree by a rope."  
 " And the earl of Arundel, how is he behaving ?  
 " Does he hold with me ? Is he making war  
 " against us ?"  
 " Sire, by my faith ! on the contrary he is your  
 " well-wisher.  
 " In all your need, he is the first and foremost."  
 " And Humphrey de Bohun, how has he  
 " behaved ?  
 " Has he fought against my enemies ?"
- 1550 " Sire, by my faith ! I wish to be believed in it,  
 " He is one of the most loyal of those who have  
 " been faithful to you."  
 " How did the barons act near York ?  
 " And those of d'Estuteville, do they hold their  
 " houses ?"  
 " Certainly, sire, if you please, we know it very  
 " well.  
 " From those of Estuteville never treason came."  
 " And the [bishop] elect of Lincoln,<sup>1</sup> how is he  
 " in the country ?  
 " Can he not make war against his enemies ?"  
 " He is, sire, in truth of your own blood,

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<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey, natural son of Henry | as Walter Map says, *De Nug. Cur.*  
 II. by Rosamond Clifford, or Ykenai, | 228, 235 (Camden Soc.).

- “ Asez ad chevaliers e bons serjanz Marchis.”
- 1560 “ Thomas le fiz Bernard e sis freres ausi  
 “ Sunt auques suvent od Richart de Luci ? ”  
 “ Certes, sire, s’il vus plaist, il vus sunt mult  
 “ ami,  
 “ E Rogier le Bigot ki unkes<sup>1</sup> ne failli.”
- § “ Kar me dites ore veir de ma terre la north :
- 1565 “ Rogier d’Estutevile ad il fait nul alcort ? ”<sup>2</sup>  
 “ Ainz i murrunt mil humes, sire, de male  
 “ mort  
 “ Ke Rogier vus mesface ne à dreit ne à tort.”  
 “ Randulf de Glanvile<sup>3</sup> est-il en Richemunt,  
 “ E dan Robert de Vaus ?<sup>4</sup> Ces dous baruns que  
 “ funt ? ”
- 1570 Dunc geta li messages un suspir de parfunt ;  
 E li reis li ad dit : “ Ices suspirs<sup>5</sup> dunt sunt ?  
 “ Ad dunc Robert de Vaus faite traïsun ? ”<sup>6</sup>  
 “ Ad-il Carduil rendu ? ne dites si veir<sup>7</sup> nun.”  
 “ Mès le tient noblement cume gentil barun.
- 1575 “ De sun grant desturbier dreiz est que vus  
 “ dium.  
 “ Li reis d’Escoce vint l’autr’ier par Carduil  
 “ chevalehant  
 “ E dan Robert de Vaus durement maneçant,  
 “ Demanda-lui le chastel par itel cuvenant  
 “ Qu’il li durreit asez dunt il serreit manant ;
- 1580 “ E, s’il ço ne fait dès idunc en avant,  
 “ Tuz les frad<sup>8</sup> afamer, li petit e li grant.”  
 “ Par ma fei ! ” ço dist li reis, “ ci ad<sup>9</sup> bon  
 “ cuvenant.  
 “ ‘ En poi d’ure Deu labure,’ ço dit li mendiant.  
 “ Ke fist dunc li Escot ? asiega-il Karduil ? ”

<sup>1</sup> que unques, L.<sup>2</sup> acort, L.<sup>3</sup> Glanvile, L.<sup>4</sup> de Vals, L. here and elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> ces suspirs, L.<sup>6</sup> de Vals fete nule traïsun, L.<sup>7</sup> vers, L.<sup>8</sup> ferad, L.<sup>9</sup> fei ! dit li reis ici ad, L.



- “ He has plenty of knights and good sergeants of  
 “ the marches.”
- 1560 “ Thomas FitzBernard and his brother also,  
 “ Are they also often with Richard de Lucy?”  
 “ Certainly, sire, if you please, they are very  
 “ friendly to you,  
 “ And Roger le Bigod who never failed.”  
 “ Tell me now the truth about my northern land :  
 “ Has Roger d’Estuteville made any treaty?”  
 “ Rather would a thousand men, sire, die there a  
 “ cruel death  
 “ Than that Roger should harm you rightfully or  
 “ wrongfully.”  
 “ Ranulph de Glanville is he at Richmond,  
 “ And lord Robert de Vaus? What are these two  
 “ barons doing?”
- 1570 Then the messenger heaved a deep sigh ;  
 And the king said to him : “ Why these sighs ?  
 “ Has then Robert de Vaus been guilty of treason ?  
 “ Has he surrendered Carlisle ? Say nothing but  
 “ truth.”  
 “ But he holds it nobly like a noble baron.  
 “ Of his great trouble it is right we should tell you.  
 “ The king of Scotland came riding by Carlisle  
 “ the other day  
 “ And threatening lord Robert de Vaus fiercely,  
 “ Demanded of him the castle on this condition,  
 “ That he would give him enough wherewith to  
 “ become rich ;
- 1580 “ And if he did not do this forthwith,  
 “ He would starve them all, both small and great.”  
 “ By my faith !” thus said the king, “ here are  
 “ good conditions,  
 “ ‘ God works quickly,’ so says the beggar.<sup>1</sup>  
 “ What then did the Scot do ? did he besiege  
 “ Carlisle ?”

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<sup>1</sup> M. Michel remarks this proverb | *nique de Rains*, p. 146, “ Mais en  
 in several places, e.g., the *Chro-* | “ poi d’eure Diex labeure.”

- 1585 " Nenil, sire, si vus pleist, ainz fist<sup>1</sup> greinur  
 " orguil ;  
 " Ainz ad pris Appelbi, dunt jo forment m'en  
 " duil.<sup>2</sup>  
 " E le chastel de Bure, bien acuintier<sup>3</sup> vus  
 " voil."  
 " Cument, cheles" dist li reis, " est dunc Ap-  
 " pelbi pris ?"  
 " Oil, sire, veirement, e trestut le país :
- 1590 " Ço ad mult esbaudi<sup>4</sup> voz mortels enemis. fo. 160.  
 " Tels se tindrent od vus, ki se sunt à els  
 " pris.<sup>5</sup>  
 " Sire, pur Robert de Vaus sui-jo ci enveiez :  
 " Ne li puet mès venir ne li vins ne li blez,  
 " Ne devers Richemunt ne serra mès aidiez ;
- 1595 " S'il n'ad hastif<sup>6</sup> sueurs, tut serrad afamez.  
 " Puis iert Northumberland del tut en tut guas-  
 " tez,  
 " Odinel de Humfranvile<sup>7</sup> enfin desheritez :  
 " Le Noef-Chastel-sur-Tine serrad agraventez,  
 " Willame de Vesci, ses terres e ses fiez :
- 1600 " Li Escot i curent par tut cume malfez."  
 " Par Deu !" ço dit li reis, " ço serreit grant  
 " pitiez."  
 Dunc li lerment les oilz : parfunt ad suspirez.  
 " E<sup>8</sup> cheles, que fait l'eveske de Dureaume<sup>9</sup> ?"  
 " Il est trestut à un e li reis Willeaume.<sup>10</sup>"
- 1605 " Saint Thomas," dist li reis, " gardez-mei mun  
 " reaume !<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *en fit*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *me duil*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *acunter*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *abaudi*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *Tels se tindrent od vus, ke sunt ad els pris*, L. ; D. omits the words *od vus*.

<sup>6</sup> *S'il n'i ad hastif*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *Humfrenvile*, L.

<sup>8</sup> L. omits *E*.

<sup>9</sup> *Dureaume*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *e le rei Willeme*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *gardez-moi wa realme*, L.

- “ By no means, sire, if you please, on the contrary  
 “ he did a prouder act,  
 “ For he has taken Appleby, at which I very much  
 “ grieve,  
 “ And the castle of Brough, I wish to inform you.”  
 “ How now, friend,<sup>1</sup>” said the king, “ is then  
 “ Appleby taken ? ”  
 “ Yes, sire, truly, and all the country :  
 1590 “ That has greatly encouraged your mortal ene-  
 “ mies.  
 “ Some who were faithful to you have allied them-  
 “ selves with them.  
 “ Sire, on behalf of Robert de Vaus am I sent here :  
 “ Henceforth neither wine nor corn can reach him,  
 “ Not from Richmond will he ever be succoured ;  
 “ If he is not quickly relieved, everyone will be  
 “ starved.  
 “ Then will Northumberland be wholly devastated,  
 “ Odinel de Umfravile in short disinherited :  
 “ Newcastle-on-Tyne will be destroyed,  
 “ And William de Vesei’s lands and fiefs :  
 1600 “ The Scots run everywhere like demons.”  
 “ By God ! ” so said the king, “ that were a great  
 “ pity.’  
 Then his eyes shed tears : deeply did he sigh.  
 “ And what, friend,<sup>1</sup> is the bishop of Durham  
 “ doing ? ”  
 “ He is all one with king William.”  
 “ Saint Thomas,” said the king, “ guard my king-  
 “ dom for me !

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<sup>1</sup> A provisional word only. | valent of *catulus* or be translated  
*Cheles* cannot here be the equi- | “good fellow.”

- “ A vus me rent cupable dunt li autre unt le  
 “ blasme.  
 “ Beaus sire,” dist li reis, “ dites-mei verité,  
 “ Cument funt mes baruns de Lundres ma cité ? ”  
 “ Si m'aît Damne-Deu ki maint<sup>1</sup> en Trinité,  
 1610 “ La plus leale gent de tut<sup>2</sup> vostre regné.  
 “ N'i ad nul en la vile ki<sup>3</sup> seit de tel cè  
 “ Ki puisse<sup>4</sup> porter armes, ne seit très bien armé.  
 “ Mar quiderez nient endreit d'eus nule mal-  
 “ veistié.<sup>5</sup>  
 “ Mès, sire, d'une<sup>6</sup> rien ore seiez acuintié :  
 1615 “ Gilebert de Munfichet sun chastel ad fermé,  
 “ E dit que les Clarreaus<sup>7</sup> vers lui sunt alié.”  
 “ E Deus ! ” ço dist li reis, “ ore en pernez<sup>8</sup> pitié,  
 “ Gardez mes baruns de Lundres<sup>9</sup> ma cité.  
 “ Alez-ent, sire evesque, enz en vostre país.  
 1620 “ Si Deus santé me dune, e jo puisse estre vis,  
 “ Vus m'aurez<sup>10</sup> à Lundres ainz vienge quinze dis,  
 “ E prendrai vengeance de tuz mes enemis.”  
 Il fait mander sa gent, ses bons serjanz de pris,  
 E cuntes e baruns, n'i ad un sul remis ;<sup>11</sup>  
 1625 Roem<sup>12</sup> lur ad cumandé, kar il sunt ses amis.  
 Li evesques repaire, cum jo ore ainz<sup>13</sup> vus dis ; *fo. 160. b.*  
 E Richart de Luci, qui une<sup>14</sup> ne fud esquis,  
 Les noveles le rei volentiers ad enquis :  
 “ Sire,” fait li evesques, “ jà s'est uns reis de pris :  
 1630 “ Ne dute les Flamengs vaillant à un alis ;<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> que meint, L.<sup>2</sup> lele gent de tute, L.<sup>3</sup> ke, L.<sup>4</sup> Que puisse, L.<sup>5</sup> de els malvesté, L.<sup>6</sup> de une, L.<sup>7</sup> Clarels, L.<sup>8</sup> reis quar en pernez, L.<sup>9</sup> Gardez-mei mes baruns à Lundres, L.<sup>10</sup> Vus m'averez, L.<sup>11</sup> n'i ad nul remis, L.<sup>12</sup> Rom, L.<sup>13</sup> or einz, L.<sup>14</sup> que unques, L.<sup>15</sup> vaillant un alis, L.

- “ To you I declare myself guilty of that for which  
 “ others have the blame.”<sup>1</sup>
- “ Fair lord,” said the king, “ tell me the truth,  
 “ How are the brave men of my city of London  
 “ acting ?”
- “ So may the Lord God who rules in Trinity  
 “ help me,
- 1610 “ They [are] the most loyal people of all your  
 “ kingdom.
- “ There is no one in the town who is of age  
 “ To bear arms, who is not well armed.  
 “ You would wrongly believe any evil of them.  
 “ But, sire, of one thing now be informed :  
 “ Gilbert de Munfichet<sup>2</sup> has fortified his castle,  
 “ And says that the Clares are leagued with him.”  
 “ O God !” so said the king, “ now have pity,  
 “ Preserve the brave men of my city of London.”  
 “ Depart, lord bishop, to your country.
- 1620 “ If God give me health, and I be alive,  
 “ You will have me in London before fifteen days  
 “ are past,  
 “ And I will take vengeance on all my enemies.”  
 He summons his men, his valued good sergeants,  
 And earls and barons, there is not one who is  
 negligent ;  
 Rouen he has confided to them, for they are his  
 friends.  
 The bishop returns, as I just now told you ;  
 And Richard de Luci, who never was to seek,  
 Has eagerly enquired news of the king :  
 “ Sir,” says the bishop, “ he is a worthy king :
- 1630 “ He does not care a berry for the Flemings ;

<sup>1</sup> Can the allusion be to the murder of Becket ?

<sup>2</sup> See Dugd. *Monast.* (Ed. 1655) i. 370, 482 ; also ii. 384, 29, for a

mention of the *Castellum Munfichet* in London, near Ludgate, perhaps a century later.

The bishop  
of Win-  
chester  
announces  
the king's  
return.

" Nu fait-il, par ma fei ! le rei de Saint-Denis.<sup>1</sup>

" Il quide si cunquerre trestuz sēs enemis.

" Ariver le verrez de ci qu'à quinze dis."<sup>2</sup>

Ore est Richart de Luci entrez en grant baudur,

1635 Demande Robert de Vaus mar seit en esfrœur :

Il aurad<sup>3</sup> le succurs del bon rei sun seigneur

Cume leal chevalier ki<sup>4</sup> ad tenu s'onur.

Quant cel oïd Robert<sup>5</sup> là sus en cele tur,

Il ne fud plus haitié unques mēs à nul jor.

1640 Li reis d'Escoce i vint dedenz meïsmes cel jor,

E demanda Carduil, la cité e la tur ;

U il l'aurad à force, n'i aurad<sup>6</sup> nul retur.

E dit Robert de Vaus : " Pur Deu le criatur,

" Un terme me metez, si me nomez un jor,

1645 " Si sucurs<sup>7</sup> ne me vient del rei mun seigneur,

" Rendrai-vus le chastel, si serrez cumandur."

E dit li reis Willame : " Jo n'ai nule poür ;

" U vus n'aurez, jo'n sai bien la verrur."<sup>8</sup>

The Scotch  
attack  
Prudhoe.

§ Ore vait li reis Willame tut dreit vers Odinel,

1650 Suzprendre le voldrad pur aver le chastel ;

Mēs le chastel fud bien guarni de novel :

Ore serrad asiegie là dedenz Odinel,<sup>9</sup>

C'o li mande li reis d'Escoce le cembel.

Odinel ot bone gent el chastel establi,

1655 Ensi fait fermeté : unkes meillurs ne vi.

Il meïsmes senz cumpaignun par force s'en issi.

<sup>1</sup> *Ne fet, par ma fei ! le rei de Sent-Deonis, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *A Lundres le verrez de ci que à quinze dis, L.*

<sup>3</sup> *Il averad, L.*

<sup>4</sup> *hi, om. L.*

<sup>5</sup> *Quant ço oï Robert, L.*

<sup>6</sup> *n'i averad, L.*

<sup>7</sup> *Si se succurs, L.*

<sup>8</sup> *Vus n'aurez nul succurs, jo sai ben la verur, L.*

<sup>9</sup> *Odenel, L. here and elsewhere.*



“ Nor does he, by my faith! for the king of Saint  
“ Denis.

“ He believes he will conquer all his enemies.

“ You will see him arrive in London fifteen days  
“ hence.”<sup>1</sup>

Now Richard de Luci greatly rejoiced ;  
He begs Robert de Vaus not to be afraid :  
He will have the succour of the good king his lord  
As a loyal knight who has kept his honour.  
When Robert up there in the tower heard that,  
He was never more rejoiced on any day.

1640 The king of Scotland came there on that very day,  
And demanded Carlisle, the city and the tower ;  
Or he will have it by force, there will be no  
restoration.

And said Robert de Vaus : “ For the sake of God  
“ the Creator,

“ Set me a term, and name me a day :

“ If assistance does not come from the king my  
“ lord,

“ I will surrender to you the castle, you shall be  
“ commander.”

And king William said : “ I have no fear of it ;  
“ You will not have any succour, I know very  
“ well.”

Now king William goes straight towards Odelin,  
1650 He wished to surprise him and have the castle ;  
But the castle was well and newly provisioned ;  
Now Odelin will be besieged therein,  
For the king of Scotland sends him a challenge.  
Odelin had the castle garrisoned by good people,  
So he makes a stronghold : never better did I see.  
He himself left it without companions by com-  
pulsion.

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<sup>1</sup> Following the Lincoln MS.

The garrison force their commander, Odinel de Umfraville, to go out to obtain succour.

- Ne voleient ses genz qu'il fust<sup>1</sup> laienz huni,  
 Kar il saveient<sup>2</sup> mult bien li reis iert mult hardi,  
 Envers lur seigneur ot<sup>3</sup> le cuer gros e marri;  
 1660 E s'il puet le chastel prendre par ost bani,  
 Il n'aveit de Odinel<sup>4</sup> en sa curt jà merci.  
 Odinel de sa gent mult dolent departi,  
 E il remistrent<sup>5</sup> dedenz cun chevalier hardi.  
 §Grant fu l'ost d'Escoce, la noise e le hu  
 1665 Des Flamens. De Marchis le chastel fud assaillu;  
 E cil se defendirent par force e par vertu,  
 Ke des naffrez<sup>6</sup> par defors tant furent abatu,  
 Jamès ne reverrunt parent qu'il unt eü.  
 E Odinel s'en vait seir<sup>7</sup> Bauçan le kernu  
 1670 Pur demander succurs que il fust succuru.  
 Itant erra-il Odinel<sup>8</sup> sur le bon brun Bauçant,  
 E jurz e de nuiz tut jorz espurunt,<sup>9</sup>  
 Kar il ad purchacié là<sup>10</sup> bone gent vaillant,  
 Quatre cent chevaliers od lur heaumes<sup>11</sup> luisant.  
 1675 Ces serrunt en l'estur oue lui cumbatant,<sup>12</sup>  
 Il succurrunt Pruedhume od lur espiez<sup>13</sup> trenchant.  
 Treis jorz dura le siege, par le mien escient;  
 Mult aveit Odinel là dedenz bone gent.  
 Encuntre les Flamens se defendent forment,  
 1680 N'i perdirent dedenz, tant di que<sup>14</sup> jo n'i ment,  
 Itant cum amuntast à un denier d'argent;  
 Mès lur champs unt perdu ot trestut<sup>15</sup> lur furment,

fo. 161.

<sup>1</sup> *Ne voleit ses genz qu'il fuissent,*  
 L.

<sup>2</sup> *saveit,* L.

<sup>3</sup> *ot,* L.; not in D.

<sup>4</sup> *de Donel,* L.

<sup>5</sup> *Cels remistrent,* L.

<sup>6</sup> *K'ès navraez,* L.

<sup>7</sup> *Sur,* L.

<sup>8</sup> *Tant errad Odenel,* L.

<sup>9</sup> *E de jur e de nuiz tut espurunt,*  
 L.

<sup>10</sup> *Ke il ad purchacez de là,* L.—  
 a preferable reading.

<sup>11</sup> *od les halmes,* L.

<sup>12</sup> *Ces serrunt od lui en lur estur*  
*cumbatant,* L.

<sup>13</sup> *le prodome od lur espiez,* L.

<sup>14</sup> *dil que,* L.

<sup>15</sup> *e trestuit,* L.

- His people did not wish that he should be there  
disgraced,  
For they knew very well that the king was very  
bold,  
And was angry and vexed with their lord ;  
1660 And if he could take the castle by his assembled  
host,  
He would never have mercy on Odinel in his court.  
Odinel departed from his people grieving much,  
And they remained inside like bold knights.  
Great was the host of Scotland, the noise and the  
cry  
Of the Flemings. By the Borderers was the  
castle attacked ;  
And those inside defended themselves with energy  
and valour,  
So that many of the wounded outside were slain,  
Never will they see again their relations.  
And Odinel goes off on maned Bauçan <sup>1</sup>  
1670 To ask for assistance that he might be relieved.  
Then Odinel travelled so far on good brown Bauçant,  
Spurring continually day and night,  
That he has thence collected good valiant people,  
Four hundred knights with their shining helms.  
These will be with him fighting in the battle,  
They will succour Prudhoe with their sharp swords.<sup>2</sup>  
Three days lasted the siege, according to my know-  
ledge :  
Many good people had Odinel therein.  
Against the Flemings they defend themselves  
boldly,  
1680 Nor did they lose inside, I declare I do not lie,  
As much as might amount to a silver penny ;  
But their fields they have lost with all their corn,

<sup>1</sup> *Bauçant* (piebald), apparently  
a name here.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Bened.*, i. 65.

- Lur gardins estrepez de cele male gent ;  
 E ki n'i pot plus mesfaire, si li vint en talent  
 1685 D'escorcer les pumiers : ço fud mal vengeance.  
 §Quant li reis Willame vit qu'il n'i pot espleitier,  
 Ne prendra le chastel par traire ne par lancier,  
 Si parlad en cunseil à sun bon cunseillier :  
 " Alun vers Audnewic, laissum icest ester.  
 1690 " Ne verrez de voz oilz cest premier meis passer,  
 " Odinel le tendra à sun grant desturbier.  
 " Jamès n'en partirum,<sup>1</sup> si l'aurum tut premier :  
 " Si laissum<sup>2</sup> noz Escoz la marrine gwauster.  
 " Mar larrunt en estant ne<sup>3</sup> maisun ne mustier ;  
 1695 " Si larrum Gavelens<sup>4</sup> del autre part aler,  
 " En la terrès<sup>5</sup> Odinel les humes tuer :  
 " Nus irruns à Audnewic le chastel asiegier,  
 " Si vendrunt noz dous ostz pur noz Franceis *fo. 161. b.*  
 " aidier ;  
 " Mès il aurunt<sup>6</sup> anceis fait si grant desturbier,  
 1700 " Destruit est cest pais. Ore pensum del haster."  
 §Ço fud Juesdi au seir ke li reis ad parlé,  
 E Franceis e Flamens unt le plait otrié.  
 Vendresdi par matin fud sun gredle suné :  
 Departi eel grant<sup>7</sup> ost e sun ruiste barné,  
 1705 E vienent à Audnewic, n'i unt<sup>8</sup> plus demuré :

Relinquish-  
 ing the  
 siege of  
 Prudhoe,  
 the Scotch  
 advance  
 against  
 Alnwick.

<sup>1</sup> *Jameis ne partirums, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *li lessums, L.*

<sup>3</sup> *ne, ora. L.*

<sup>4</sup> *Gabelens, L.*

<sup>5</sup> *terre, L.*

<sup>6</sup> *averunt, L.*

<sup>7</sup> *Departi de cele grant, L.*

<sup>8</sup> *n'unt, L.*

- And their gardens were stripped by those bad  
people ;  
And he who could do no more damage took it into  
his head  
To bark the apple-trees ; it was a mean revenge.  
When king William saw that he could not gain  
any advantage,  
Neither could take the castle by arrow nor by lance,  
He spoke in confidence to his good counsellor :  
“ Let us go towards Alnwick, let us give this up.  
1690 “ You will not see with your eyes this first month  
“ pass,  
“ Before Odinel will hold it to his great discom-  
“ fiture.  
“ We will never depart from it until we have  
“ taken it :  
“ So let our Scots lay waste the seaboard.  
“ They will do wrong if they leave a house or  
“ church standing ;  
“ And we will let the men of Galloway go in the  
“ other direction,  
“ To kill the men in Odinel's land :  
“ We will go to Alnwick to besiege the castle,  
“ Our two hosts will come to help our Frenchmen ;  
“ But they will first have caused so great disaster,  
1700 “ That the country will be destroyed. Now let  
“ us make haste.”

It was on Thursday evening that the king spoke,  
Both Frenchmen and Flemings have agreed to the  
project.

On Friday morning was his trumpet sounded :  
This great host departed and his impetuous  
baronage,  
And they come to Alnwick, they did not tarry  
longer :

Massacre  
at Wark-  
worth.

- Mès les Escoz unt ars e lu païs guasté.  
 Le mustier Saint-Laurenz<sup>1</sup> fud le jor violé,  
 Treis prestres el mustier par force escuillié,  
 E<sup>2</sup> treis cenz humes morz, senz mot de fauseté:  
 1710 Jamès ne verrunt parent ne nul de lur<sup>3</sup> parenté.  
 E<sup>4</sup> Odinel de Umfranvile ad si bien espleitié,  
 Tel succurs ad cunquis, si m'aït Damne-Dé,  
 Dunt li reis d'Escoce serrad el cuer<sup>5</sup> iré;  
 Unques parent qu'il cust ne fust si avilé.  
 1715 Li reis iert à Audnewic od sa grant ost banie;  
 E Odinel chevalche à la fiere<sup>6</sup> cumpaignie,  
 Willame d'Estutevile ki<sup>7</sup> très bien le aïe,  
 E Randulf de Glanvile<sup>8</sup> ne se relenti mie.  
 Dan Bernart de Baillou od s'espée<sup>9</sup> furbie  
 1720 Il ferad durement sur la gent d'Aubanie,  
 E Willame de Vesci n'i ubbleiez-vus mie.  
 L'arcevesques d'Everwic<sup>10</sup> lur livra l'establie,<sup>11</sup>  
 Seisante chevaliers de sa chevalerie.  
 Al Noef-Chastel-sur-Tine, quant la nuit est serie,  
 1725 Est venu Odinel ki's cunduist e ki's guie:  
 Ço est la verité, quei que<sup>12</sup> nuls vus en die.  
 Là oïrent novele de cel rei d'Aubanie,<sup>13</sup>  
 Qu'il iert à Audnewic od meisnie escharie,  
 Od Flamens e od Franceis: li Escot n'ierent mie,

Advance  
of the  
Yorkshire  
barons.  
(July,  
1174).

<sup>1</sup> *Saint-Laurenz*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *E*, om. L.

<sup>3</sup> D. has *ne lul de nul*. The reading from L. is therefore inserted.

<sup>4</sup> *E*, om. L. This MS. also reads *Umfrenvile*.

<sup>5</sup> *al quor*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *E* *Odenel chivalche ot la fiere*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *ke*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *E* *Randulfc de Glanvile*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *Dean Bernard de Baillun od sa espée*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *de Everwic*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *d'establie*, L.

<sup>12</sup> *que que*, L.

<sup>13</sup> *d'Albani*, L.



But the Scotch have burned and devastated the country.

The church of Saint Lawrence<sup>1</sup> was that day desecrated,

Three priests in the church were by force castrated,  
And three hundred men dead, without a word of untruth:

1710 Never will they see a relation or any of their kindred.

And Odinel de Umfravile has succeeded so well,  
Has procured such assistance, so help me Lord God,  
That the king of Scotland will be heartily wrathful;  
He never had a relation who was so despised.

The king will go to Alnwick with the great host  
he has summoned;

And Odinel rides with the proud company,  
William d'Estuteville<sup>1</sup> who helps him right well,  
And Ranulph de Glanvile slackens not his pace.

1720 Lord Bernard de Baliol with his furbished sword  
Will strike hard on the people of Albany,  
And do not forget there William de Vesci.  
The archbishop of York gave them as his contingent

Sixty knights of his chivalry.<sup>2</sup>

To Newcastle-upon-Tyne, at dead of night,  
Came Odinel who leads and guides them:  
That is the truth, whatever anyone may say about it.

There they heard news of the king of Albany,  
That he will be going to Alnwick with a select following,

With Flemings and with Frenchmen: the Scots  
will not be there,

---

<sup>1</sup> At Warkworth, *Bened.*, i. 66, and *l.* 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Led by Ranulph de Thilli, *Bened.*, i. 65.

- 1730 Ainz ardent lu país, chascun d'els par atie.  
 S'il vus plëust à oïr bon fait de bone gent,  
 Jo l' vus dirrai de ces, par le<sup>1</sup> mien escient.  
 Un conseil en unt pris quel ferunt<sup>2</sup> e cument,  
 S'il irrunt assaillir icest rei e sa gent.
- 1735 Ço respunt Odinel:<sup>3</sup> "Humiz seit ki l' defent!  
 " Jo i ferrai, si Deu plaist, trestut premierement:  
 " Il m'ad fait mult granz mals, si'n ai le cuer  
 " dolent;  
 " E si Deus nus dunast de prendre vengeance,  
 " Bien aurums espleitié,<sup>4</sup> par le mien escient.
- 1740 " Alum les asaillir; e, se il nus<sup>5</sup> atent,  
 " Il en iert descunfit, e sun ost ensement."  
 Dist Bernard de Baillo:<sup>6</sup> " Ki ore n'ad harde-  
 " ment  
 " Ne deit avoir honur ne rien qu'à<sup>7</sup> lui apent."  
 Dist Randulf de Glanvile: " Faimes-le sagement.
- The barons  
 send for-  
 ward a spy,  
 and then  
 advance  
 towards  
 Alnwick.
- 1745 " Enveiums un espie pur esmer la lur gent;  
 " E nus vendrum après, se Deu le nus eusent.  
 " Quant les Escoz n'i sunt, nus ne's<sup>8</sup> dutum  
 " neient."  
 Odinel fait mander tute sa mieldre gent:  
 Rogier le fiz Richart ad les suens ensement.
- 1750 Ore unt pris les baruns chascun d'els hardement,  
 E vunt vers Audnewic la nuit serréement.

fo. 162.

<sup>1</sup> *Icil vus dirrai de cez pa le, L.*<sup>2</sup> *Un conseil unt pris ke là ferunt,*

L.

<sup>3</sup> *Odenel, L.* This variation will not be again noted.<sup>4</sup> *Bien aurums espleitié, L.*<sup>5</sup> *e, s'il nus, L.*<sup>6</sup> *Ballio, L.*<sup>7</sup> *qui à, L.*<sup>8</sup> *nus ne's ne's, D.*

- 1730 But they burn the country, everyone of them from  
spite.  
If it please you to hear of a good deed done by  
good people,  
I will tell you of this, of my own knowledge.  
They held a council as to what they should do  
and how,  
If they should go to attack this king and his  
people.  
Thus replied Odinel: "Shame be to whoever  
" forbids it!  
" I will strike there, if God please, first of all:  
" He has done me very great harm, and my heart  
" grieves over it;  
" And if God should allow us to take vengeance,  
" We shall have done well, according to my  
" knowledge.
- 1740 " Let us go to attack them; and, if he is waiting  
" for us,  
" He will be discomfited, and his host likewise."  
Said Bernard de Baliol: "He who now has no  
" daring  
" Ought to have neither a fief, nor its appur-  
" tenances."  
Said Ranulph de Glanville: "Let us act prudently.  
" Let us send a spy to estimate [the number of]  
" their followers;  
" And we will follow, if God suffers us.  
" As the Scotch are not there, we do not fear  
" them at all."  
Odinel has all his best followers summoned:  
Roger the son of Richard has done the same by  
his.
- 1750 Now have all the barons taken courage,  
And they go towards Alnwick by night in a  
compact body.

- §E puis<sup>1</sup> le matin, quant le jor s'esclarzie,<sup>2</sup>  
 Li reis d'Escoce aveit sa teste bien guarnie  
 E einc cenx chevaliers d'une cunestable,  
 1755 Ki tuit li vunt disant :<sup>3</sup> " Mar creez cuardie.  
 " Vostre est Northumberland, u qui'n plure u  
 " qui'n rie."<sup>4</sup>  
 E dist li reis d'Escoce : " Nostre ost atendum,  
 " E puis à grant vertu le chastel assaudrum.  
 " Pur le chaud, qui est grant, seignurs, kar nus  
 " disnum."<sup>5</sup>
- The Scotch king is completely off his guard. 1760 E desarme sun chief, très bien le savum :  
 Nus faimes ceste estoire ki mentir<sup>6</sup> ne volum.  
 §Par devant le chastel fud li reis aresté ;  
 Ses serjanz lui aportent dunt il se est disné.<sup>7</sup>  
 E les noz chevaliers en un bruil sunt entré ;  
 1765 Là si unt lur espie, ki tut<sup>8</sup> lur ad cunté.  
 Dit Randulf de Glanvile : " La merci Damne-Dé !  
 " Ore pernez voz armes, mar serrez esmaé."<sup>9</sup>  
 Dunc veïssiez chevaliers vistement cuntener,  
 Munter en lur chevaus e lur armes saisir ;<sup>10</sup>  
 1770 N'i aura nul trestut<sup>11</sup> qu'il ne's voissent ferir : *fo. 162. b.*  
 Ço que l'un d'els volt, l'autre vint à plaisir.<sup>12</sup>  
 Li reis d'Escoce fud pruz, merveillus, e hardi,  
 Par devant Audnewic s'arestut desguarni.  
 Jo ne cunt mie fable cume cil qui ad<sup>13</sup> oi,

<sup>1</sup> *E puis*, om. L.<sup>2</sup> *esclarcie*, L.<sup>3</sup> *he tuz li ent dit*, L.<sup>4</sup> *Norhumberland, que qu'en plure ne qui rie*, L.<sup>5</sup> *didnum*, L.<sup>6</sup> *estorie que mentir*, L.<sup>7</sup> *s'est disné*, L.<sup>8</sup> *he tut*, L.<sup>9</sup> *sez esmaé*, L.<sup>10</sup> *saiser*, L.<sup>11</sup> *N'i avera nul trestur*, L.<sup>12</sup> *pleiser*, L.<sup>13</sup> *k'ad*, L.

And then in the morning, at dawn of day,  
 The king of Scotland had his head well covered  
 And five hundred knights of one troop,  
 Who all keep saying to him: "Believe not cowards,  
 " Yours is Northumberland, whoever may weep  
 " or whoever may laugh about it."  
 And the king of Scotland said: "We will wait  
 " for our host,  
 " And then with great strength we will attack  
 " the castle.  
 " Because of the heat, which is great, lords, let us  
 " dine."

- 1760 And he takes off his helmet, very well we know it:  
 We who write this history wish not to lie.  
 The king had stopped before the castle;  
 His servants bring him that off which he has  
 dined.  
 And our knights went into a wood;  
 There they have their spies, who related everything  
 to them.  
 Said Ranulph de Glanvile: "Thanks be to the  
 " Lord God!  
 " Now take your arms, wrongly would you be  
 " dismayed."  
 Then you might see knights bestir themselves  
 quickly,  
 Mount their horses, and seize their arms;  
 1770 There will not be any of them who do not intend  
 to strike:  
 That which one of them wishes, is agreeable to the  
 other.  
 The king of Scotland was brave, haughty, and  
 bold,  
 Before Alnwick he stood unarmed.  
 I do not relate a fable as one who has heard it,

- The barons charge against the Scotch king and his party.
- 1775 Mès cun celui qui i fud ; e jo meïsmes le vi.  
Quant ces unt jà crié l'enseigne de Vedsci,<sup>1</sup>  
E "Glanvile, chevaliers !" e "Bailliol !" <sup>2</sup> autresi,  
Odincl de Umfranvile relevad le suen cri,  
E cil d'Estutevile, chevalier hardi.
- 1780 Dunc sout li reis Guillame qu'il fud près traï ;  
Vistement <sup>3</sup> se cuntint, ne fud mie esbaï.  
Li reis se fait armer tost e ignelement,  
E muntad el cheval qui <sup>4</sup> n'esteit mie lent,  
E vait en cel estur par mult grant hardement.
- 1785 Le premier qu'il feri, à terre le <sup>5</sup> gravent.  
Li esturs fud mult fort del rei e de sa gent.  
Tut s'en fust bien alez, par le mieu escient,  
Si ne fust un serjant qui vers lui se destent ;  
De la lance qu'il tint, sun cheval li purfent.
- King William's horse is killed and, falling on the king, prevents him from rising.
- 1790 Ne fait à demander se li reis fud dolent :  
Le pechié des Escoz li fait <sup>6</sup> encumbrement.  
Li reis chiet à la terre, e le cheval ferant.  
Li reis e sun cheval à terre sunt andui,  
Il ne pot relever, le cheval jut sur lui :
- 1795 Ore ad ascz travail e peines e ennui,  
Quant garçon e escuier passent ultre lui ;  
Il orrad noveles,<sup>7</sup> men escient, encui ;  
Ne purrad pru aidier sei-meïsmes ne antrui.  
Grant fud la bataille e dure d'ambes parz ; <sup>8</sup>
- 1800 Asez purriez veer <sup>9</sup> lancier e traire darz,  
Cumbatre les hardiz e fuir les cuarz.  
Des Flamens maleurez en fist l'um granz essarz,<sup>10</sup>  
Lur buele <sup>11</sup> des cors traïner par ces praz.  
Jamès en lur païs ne crierunt mès : "Araz !"

<sup>1</sup> *Vesci*, L.<sup>2</sup> *Bailliol*, L.<sup>3</sup> *Vistement*, D. and L.<sup>4</sup> *que*, L.<sup>5</sup> *la*, D.<sup>6</sup> *le fêt*, L.<sup>7</sup> *Il oret nuveles*, L.<sup>8</sup> *durae d'amparz*, L.<sup>9</sup> *Assez pussesz ver*, L.<sup>10</sup> *grant assarz*, L.<sup>11</sup> *buele*, D. and L.



- But as one who was there ; I myself saw it.  
 When these had already shouted the war-cry of  
 Vesci,  
 And "Glanvile, knights !" and "Baliol " besides,  
 Odinel de Humfranvile raised his own cry,  
 And that of d'Estutevile, the bold knight.
- 1780 Then knew king William that he was nearly  
 betrayed :  
 Quickly he collected himself, nor was he dismayed.  
 The king causes himself to be soon and promptly  
 armed,  
 And he mounted his swift horse,  
 And goes into that fight with very great daring.  
 The first whom he struck, he knocks to the ground.  
 The fighting of the king and his people was very  
 vigorous.  
 All might have gone well, to my knowledge,  
 If it had not been that a sergeant who dashes  
 at him,  
 With the lance that he held, rips up his horse too.
- 1790 Do not ask if the king was grieved :  
 The sins of the Scotch embarrass him.  
 The king falls to the ground, and his war-horse too.  
 He could not rise, the horse lay upon him ;  
 Now he has enough trouble, difficulty, and anxiety,  
 When servants and esquires pass by him ;  
 He will hear news, to my knowledge, to-day ;  
 Nor will he be able to help himself or others much.  
 Great and severe was the fighting on both sides.
- 1800 You could see plenty of missiles hurled and shot,  
 Brave men fighting and cowards fleeing.  
 Of the unfortunate Flemings great havoc was made,  
 Their bowels trailing from their bodies through  
 these meadows.  
 Never again in their country will they cry,  
 " Arras ! "

1805 § Li reis jut à la terre abatu, ço vus di;  
 Entre ses quisses giseit le cheval sur li;  
 Jamès n'en levera<sup>1</sup> pur parent ne pur ami.  
 Se li chevaus n'en est traiz, dunt il est mal  
 bailliz;<sup>2</sup>

fo. 163.

Il en iert tuz jorz avilé e huni.

Capture of  
 king Wil-  
 liam  
 (July 13,  
 1174).

1810 Il esteit sempres<sup>3</sup> pris, à mes dous oilz le vi,  
 A Randulf de Glanvile ù il puis se rendi;  
 E ses chevaliers sunt pris tut li plus<sup>4</sup> hardi.  
 N'i aveit nul amur: tuit furent enemi.

Noz chevaliers de ça, unques meillurs ne vi,  
 1815 N'aiment puint les Flamens, ke's orent puis traï;<sup>5</sup>  
 Ainz les vunt ociant, ne sai que plus vus di.

§ Li reis se rent prisun à Randulf; veirement  
 Il ne pot el faire, ke feïst-il<sup>6</sup> autrement?  
 E Randulf<sup>7</sup> fud haitiez, quant il veit e entent

1820 Que la guerre lu rei finie<sup>8</sup> est veirement.  
 Engleterre est em pès; e cele bone gent  
 Ne duterunt mès Escot: ne lur forfrunt<sup>9</sup> neient.

Randulf de Glanvile ad le rei en baillie,  
 [E il se rendi à lui, e il bien l'otreie;

1825 Ne fud issi haitiez à nul jur de sa vie.]<sup>10</sup>  
 Il se fait desarmer, ne de rien ne se ublie.<sup>11</sup>

En un palefrei munta icel rei d'Aubanie;  
 Si l'enmeinent suef, quei que nul vus die.<sup>12</sup>  
 Al Nuef-Chastel-sur-Tine pernent herbergerie,

1830 E li autre sunt remis par<sup>13</sup> lur chevalerie  
 E pernent chevaliers ceus devers Aubanie.

<sup>1</sup> *ne relevera*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *n'est traiz, dunt il est mal bailli*,

L.

<sup>3</sup> *Il en ert sempres*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *certes tuz li plus*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *hi's orent près traï*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *que fait-il*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *E Randolf*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *finé*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *forferunt*, L.

<sup>10</sup> D. omits these two lines.

<sup>11</sup> *il le fest desarmer, de rien ne se ublie*, L.

<sup>12</sup> *vus endie*, L.

<sup>13</sup> *pur*, L.

- The king lay prostrate on the ground, as I tell you.  
 Between his thighs lay the horse upon him ;  
 Never will he rise up for relation or for friend.  
 If the horse is not dragged off him by which he is  
 encumbered,  
 He will be humbled and disgraced all his life.
- 1810 He was immediately taken, with my two eyes I  
 saw it,  
 By Ranulph de Glanvile, to whom he then sur-  
 rendered ;  
 And the boldest of his knights are taken.  
 There was no favour : all were enemies.  
 Our knights on this side, I never saw better,  
 Do not love the Flemings, who had then betrayed  
 them ;  
 But go on killing them, I know no more to tell you.  
 The king surrenders to Ranulph ; indeed  
 He could but do so, how could he do otherwise ?  
 And Ranulph was rejoiced, when he sees and hears
- 1820 That the king's war is really ended.  
 England is at peace, and those good people  
 Will never dread the Scotch ; they will forfeit  
 nothing to them.
- Ranulph de Glanvile has the king in his custody,  
 And he surrendered to him, and indeed assents  
 to it ;  
 He was never so rejoiced on any day of his life.  
 He has himself disarmed, he forgets nothing.  
 On a palfrey this king of Albany mounted ;  
 They lead him away gently, whatever any one may  
 say to you.
- At Newcastle-upon-Tyne they take lodging,  
 1830 And the others are disbanded for their chivalrous  
 service,  
 And take the Scottish knights [away].

- Ore est d'ambesdous parz bataille bien furnie.  
 § Certes, mult le funt bien noz chevaliers reiaus,<sup>1</sup>  
 E cil d'Aubanie furent mult bons vassaus;<sup>2</sup>  
 1835 Mès quant il orent perdu le plus de lur aveus,<sup>3</sup>  
 Lur seigneur naturel, qui ert amené de els,<sup>4</sup>  
 E il ne sunt mie tuz à lur rei leaus,<sup>5</sup>  
 E il sunt à la terre abatuz des chevaus;<sup>6</sup>  
 Enz<sup>7</sup> en mi la bataille serrunt pris commnaus.<sup>8</sup>  
 1840 N'est merveille s'il unt doel e les lez e les baus.<sup>9</sup>  
 § Dan Rogier de Munbrai s'en est alé fuiant;  
 Il ad fait que curteis: que irreit-il atendant?  
 Tuit sunt ses enemis qui là<sup>10</sup> sunt cumbatant;  
 E s'il le poent prendre, n'en anra<sup>11</sup> jà guarant *fo. 163 b.*  
 1845 Que li reis d'Engleterre n'en<sup>12</sup> fëist sun cumant.  
 E dan Adam de Porz,<sup>13</sup> un barun mult vaillant,  
 S'en est alé od lui. Ore vunt espurunt.  
 Bien lur est avenu: Deus lur est mult guarant,  
 Qu'il n'i<sup>14</sup> furent ataint de nul hume vivant.  
 1850 Certes, si Adam de Porz ne fust<sup>15</sup> tant avant,  
 Il eust le jor perdu le petit e le grant;  
 Mès Deus ne l' eusenti, ki est reis poant:  
 Trop fust grant le damage, kar il est mult vaillant.  
 Ore vus dirrai les quels furent bien cumbatant  
 1855 Par devant Andnewic, le chastel dunt jo chant.  
 Dan Alein de Lanceles, tant cum fud en estant.  
 Se<sup>16</sup> defendi sur le destrier ferrant.  
 Il iert mult ancien, un chevalier mult grant,<sup>17</sup>  
 N'aveit ainz justé bien<sup>18</sup> trente anz passant;  
 1860 Mès chevalier fud bon e de grant escient.

<sup>1</sup> *reals*, L.<sup>2</sup> *furent bon vassals*, L.<sup>3</sup> *avals*, L.<sup>4</sup> *Que est amené d'aus*, L.<sup>5</sup> *leals*, L.<sup>6</sup> *de lur chivals*, L.<sup>7</sup> *Einz*, L.<sup>8</sup> *commnals*, L.<sup>9</sup> *balz*, L.<sup>10</sup> *que là*, L.<sup>11</sup> *ne aurad*, L.<sup>12</sup> *n'en in botà* MSS.<sup>13</sup> *Port*, L.<sup>14</sup> *Que il ne*, L.<sup>15</sup> *Port ne fud*, L.<sup>16</sup> *Si se*, L.<sup>17</sup> *un viel chivaler grant*, L.<sup>18</sup> *bien justé einz*, L.

- Now is the battle quite ended on both sides.  
 Certainly our royal knights acted nobly,  
 And those of Albany were very good vassals ;  
 But when they had lost what they cared for most,  
 Their natural lord, who was brought by them,  
 They are not all loyal to their king,  
 And they are struck to the ground from their horses ;  
 1840 Before they are in the midst of the battle they  
       will be taken one and all.  
 It is no wonder if both the merry and the joyous  
       are sad.  
 Lord Roger de Mowbray took to flight ;  
 He has only acted uprightly : for what should he  
       wait ?  
 All who are fighting there are his enemies ;  
 And if they can take him, there will be no guarantee  
 That the king of England may not do as he pleases  
       with him.  
 And lord Adam de Port, a very valiant baron,  
 Went off with him. Now they go spurring away.  
 They have been fortunate : God has taken good  
       care of them,  
 For they were overtaken by no living man.  
 1850 Certainly, if Adam de Port had not gone so far,  
 He might that day have lost everything ;  
 But God did not allow it, who is the mighty King :  
 Too great might have been the destruction, for he  
       is very valiant.  
 Now I will tell you who fought well  
 Before Alnwick, the castle of which I sing.  
 Lord Alan de Lanceles,<sup>1</sup> so long as he was standing,  
 Defended himself on his charger :  
 He was very old, a very great knight,  
 He had not jousted before for thirty years past ;  
 1860 But was a good knight and of great wisdom.

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<sup>1</sup> Alan Lacelys ? Dugd. *Monast.* (ed. 1655) i. 1030, 23.

Capture of  
Scottish  
barons.

- Si le rei l'eust s'eu, sun plait fust avenant.  
 Dan Alain<sup>1</sup> si fud pris e retenu atant;  
 Ore durra raançon, kar sun avoir est grant.  
 Mult<sup>2</sup> le fist bien le jor Willame de Mortemer;  
 1865 Il vait par mi ces rens cum enragié senglier,<sup>3</sup>  
 Dune grant colée<sup>4</sup> e suvent prent sa per;  
 Il trovad cuntre lui un s'eur chevalier,<sup>5</sup>  
 Dan Bernart de Baillou,<sup>6</sup> dunt vus m'oëz parler;  
 Il en ad abatu lui e sun destrier,  
 1870 Si l'ad mis par fiance, cum l'um fait chevalier.  
 Bien le fait dan Bernart, ne fait pas à blasmer;<sup>7</sup>  
 Al partir de la bataille<sup>8</sup> le saurad l'um loer  
 Ki mielz i fiert d'espée<sup>9</sup> e mielz fait caplier.  
 Raül le Rus fist bien, mès ne puet lung durer:  
 1875 Plus de cent l'asaillirent tut<sup>10</sup> pur lui encumbrier.  
 Se il dunc se rendi, ne fait à merveillier;  
 Mar vit icele guerre: il la cumpara<sup>11</sup> mult chier.  
 § Certes, Richart Maluvel se cuntint fierement,  
 Asez i duna granz cops, e il asez en prent,  
 1880 Tant cum fud à cheval ne s'espoenta<sup>12</sup> n'ient; fo. 164.  
 Mult aveit bon cheval, bon sunt li guarnement,<sup>13</sup>  
 E il hardiz e pruz, tant di que jo n'i ment.  
 Il fist à icel jor, par le mien escient,<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Alein*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *Vult*, D.

<sup>3</sup> *regns cum un sengler*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *Dune grose colée*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *chualer*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Baillou*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *à ublier* L.

<sup>8</sup> *Al departir del estur*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *Que mielz i fiert de s'espée*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *tut*, om. L.

<sup>11</sup> *il acumpera*, L.

<sup>12</sup> *ne se poenta*, L.

<sup>13</sup> *si garnement*, L.

<sup>14</sup> *acient*, L.



If the king had known him, his request might  
have been granted,

Lord Alan was then taken and kept ;

Now he will give a ransom, for his wealth is great.

William de Mortimer<sup>1</sup> acted very well on that day ;  
He goes into the midst of the ranks like an infu-  
riated wild boar,

Gives great blows and often receives his share ;

He found himself confronted by a bold knight,

Lord Bernard de Baliol, of whom you hear me  
speak ;

He felled him and his charger to the ground,

1870 So he put him on parole, as they do with knights.

Lord Bernard does this well, he cannot be blamed ;

At the end of the battle he will be praised

Who strikes best with his sword and fights the best.

Raoul le Rus did well, but he could not hold out  
long :

More than a hundred all attacked him to hamper  
him.

It is not to be wondered at if he then surrendered ;

To his misfortune he saw this war : he will pay  
very dearly for it.

Certainly, Richard Maluvel<sup>2</sup> demeaned himself  
proudly,

He gave heavy blows enough, and took enough in  
return,

1880 So long as he was on horseback he feared nothing ;

He had a very good horse, excellent is his armour,

And he is daring and brave, thus much I say with-  
out untruth.

He did on that day, to my knowledge,

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<sup>1</sup> One of the hostages for king William under the treaty of Falaise. the Northumberland Pipe Roll.  
See Hodgson's edit., 108.

<sup>2</sup> The name *Malluvel* occurs in

*B*

*Rous ?*

- Ki tredze compaignuns k'il<sup>1</sup> aveient en present ;  
 1885 Mès il pert l'auferant : dunt il<sup>2</sup> est mult dolent.  
 Il est feru par mi, si eliet hastivement :<sup>3</sup>  
 Ço est grant damage, kar mult en iert dolent.<sup>4</sup>  
 E desus dan Richart s'arestut<sup>5</sup> grant gent ;  
 N'i ad celui ne die : " Rende-vus<sup>6</sup> hastivement."  
 1890 Cil dunc se rendi<sup>7</sup> par mult grant marrement ;  
 Mar vit le rei Willame e sun fol hardement.  
 Ne vus puis acunter, trop serreit lungement,  
 Tuz ceus qui furent pris e menez à turment ;  
 Mès bien vus voil acunter près de cent,  
 1895 Ke Willame de Vesci rainst tut à sun talent.  
 E Bernart de Baillol e l'autre bone gent,  
 Waltier de Bolebec, Odelin<sup>8</sup> ensement,  
 En orent des prisuns à lur departement.  
 §Seignurs, ne vus esmerveilliez se il sunt descunfiz :  
 1900 Li Escot unt le jor plus de mil malbailliz,  
 E les fiz de lur peres la mort les ad partiz.  
 Ki veïst ia dolur, les plurs e les criz  
 Ke funt enz el mustier<sup>9</sup> Saint-Lorenz ces chaitifs ;  
 Les uns unt detrenchiz e les cors e les pis.<sup>10</sup>  
 1905 Les prestres curunez n'i furent<sup>11</sup> guarantis :  
 Ne fait<sup>12</sup> à demander si Deus en est marris  
 E si il ad le rei Willame enhaiz ;

<sup>1</sup> *Que tresce compaignuns que il,*  
 L.  
<sup>2</sup> *il, om. L.*  
<sup>3</sup> *mi le chief hastivement, L.*  
<sup>4</sup> *quar il crt mult dolent, L.*  
<sup>5</sup> *s'arestunt, L.*  
<sup>6</sup> *ne li die : " Rende-vus," L. ;*  
*" Rende-us," D.*

<sup>7</sup> *E il dunc il se rendi, L.*  
<sup>8</sup> *Holebec, Odenel, L.*  
<sup>9</sup> *Ki funt el mustier, L.*  
<sup>10</sup> *e les cors pris, L.*  
<sup>11</sup> *n'i furent n'i furent, D.*  
<sup>12</sup> *N'i fet, L.*

As much as thirteen companions whom he had  
 with him ;  
 But he loses his charger : at which he is very  
 grieved,  
 It is struck in the middle, it falls quickly :  
 That is a great loss, he will sorrow very much for it.  
 And over lord Richard there stood a number of  
 people,  
 There was not one who did not say : " Give your-  
 " self up directly."  
 1890 He surrendered himself therefore, with very great  
 reluctance ;  
 Unlucky was he that he ever saw king William  
 and his fool-hardiness.  
 I cannot tell you, for it would be too long,  
 Of all those who were taken and led miserably  
 away.  
 But indeed I will tell you of nearly a hundred,  
 Whom William de Vesci ransomed quite according  
 to his good pleasure.  
 Both Bernard de Baliol and the other good people,  
 Walter de Bolebec,<sup>1</sup> Odinel likewise,  
 Had some of the prisoners for their share.  
 Lords, do not wonder if they are discomfited :  
 1900 The Scots have this day more than a thousand  
 badly hurt,  
 And death has separated sons from fathers.  
 Who ever saw such grief, tears, and cries  
 As these captives give vent to in the church of  
 Saint Lawrence.<sup>2</sup>  
 Some have their bodies and breasts hacked open.  
 The tonsured priests were not safe there :  
 One need not ask if God is provoked at it,  
 And if He has greatly hated king William :

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<sup>1</sup> See Pipe Roll, 4 Hen. II., 177.

<sup>2</sup> See line 1707. This is at Warkworth.

Pur le pechié de lui sunt plusur malbailliz,  
E il-meïsmes i fud icel<sup>1</sup> jor descumfiz.

1910 § Par le mien escient, ore oiez verité:

King Wil-  
liam is  
taken to  
Newcastle  
and thence  
to Rich-  
mond.

Li reis d'Engleterre fud dunkes<sup>2</sup> arivé,  
E al matin à saint Thomas fud dunkes acordé<sup>3</sup>  
Quant li reis des Escoz<sup>4</sup> fud pris e amené.  
Al Noef-Chastel-sur-Tine fud la nuit ostelé,

1915 E Randulf de Glanvile l'en ad d'iloc mené.

Ore vient à Richemunt, ù il iert sujorné *fo. 164. b.*  
Tant que li reis Hemris en frad sa<sup>5</sup> volenté.

[L]i<sup>6</sup> reis iert veirement al martir saint Thomas,  
U il se rendi cupable, pechiere,<sup>7</sup> e las,

King  
Henry's  
penance  
at Canter-  
bury (July  
12-13,  
1174).

1920 E prist sa penitence. Ne l'tenez pas à gas.

Il en prist le cungié: demurer n'i volt pas.

A Lundres volt aler, ù il out bon talent,

Pur veoir sa cité e sa bone gent.<sup>8</sup>

Pur la guerre d'Escoce en out le cuer dolent,

1925 Il duterent<sup>9</sup> mult le rei, si'n ad grant marre-  
ment;

Mès il orrad tut el hastivement:

Trestuz ses enemiz unt pris dechacement.<sup>10</sup>

§ Quant les noveles à Lundres oïrent del rei,<sup>11</sup>

Chascun s'aparaila richement endreit sei;

1930 Des riches dras de seie sunt vestu à desrei,

N'i ad nul n'i ait un amblant palefrei;

E issent de la vile od merveillus<sup>12</sup> cunrei.

Cil deit bien estre reis qui<sup>13</sup> tels genz ad suz  
sei.

Certes, dan Henri le Blunt fud trestut le premier

<sup>1</sup> *icel*, D. and L.

<sup>2</sup> *dunees*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *E al matin seint Thomas fud  
cel jur acordé*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *d'Escoce*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *eu fera sa*, L.

<sup>6</sup> The *L* is not in D.

<sup>7</sup> *culpable e pechiere*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *Pur ver la cité e la bone gent*,  
L.

<sup>9</sup> *il dutent*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *dechacement*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *Quant les Lundreis oïrent la  
venuc li rei*, L.

<sup>12</sup> *de vile un mervellus*, L.

<sup>13</sup> *que*, L.

- On account of his sin many are ruined,  
 And he himself was on that day discomfited.
- 1910 Now hear the truth, as far as I know.  
 The king of England had then arrived,  
 And in the morning had been reconciled to Saint  
 Thomas .  
 When the king of Scots was taken and led away.  
 At Newcastle-on-Tyne he was lodged for the night,  
 And Ranulph de Glanvile has led him from that  
 place.  
 Now he comes to Richmond, where he stayed  
 Until king Henry should do his pleasure.  
 The king really went to the martyr Saint Thomas,  
 Where he declared himself guilty, sinful, and  
 wretched,
- 1920 And took his penance. Do not consider it as a  
 mockery.  
 He took leave of him: he would not tarry there.  
 To London he wished to go, where he had desire  
 To see his city and his good people.  
 On account of the war with Scotland they have  
 sorrow at heart,  
 They fear much for the king, that he has great  
 vexation about it;  
 But he will hear all speedily ;  
 All his enemies have taken flight.  
 When they heard the news of the king in London,  
 Every one dressed himself richly of his own accord ;
- .1930 With rich silk stuffs they were indiscriminately  
 dressed,  
 Nor is there anyone who has not an ambling  
 palfrey ;  
 And they go out of the town with a wonderful  
 procession.  
 He must really be a king who has such subjects.  
 Certainly, lord Henry le Blunt was the first

Reception  
of king  
Henry by  
the men of  
London.

- 1935 Ki alad<sup>1</sup> en avant pur sun seigneur baisier.  
 Une luée<sup>2</sup> de terre pëussiez bien aler,  
 Del rei de ses baruns tant dura l'acoler;  
 E li reis d'Engleterre les prent<sup>3</sup> à mercier:  
 Leau gent<sup>4</sup> sunt mult, ço lur dit au premier;
- 1940 E els le mercient cum seigneur dreiturier.  
 "Sire," ço dist Gervaise Suplest,<sup>5</sup> "laissez ester.  
 " Ne place Damne-Deu ki furmad terre e mer  
 " Ke nul pëust les Lundreis traïtres apeler!  
 " Ne freient<sup>6</sup> traïsun pur les membres colper."
- 1945 "Certes," ço dit li reis, "il se puent vanter;<sup>7</sup>  
 " E jo lur rendrai, s'il unt de mei mestier."  
 Issi cumveient le rei de si qu'à Westmustier.<sup>8</sup>  
 §Li Lundreis funt joie de la venue lur seigneur,  
 Il li dunent presenz, si li funt grant honur;
- 1950 Mès il esteit pensif e auques en errur  
 En<sup>9</sup> pur le rei d'Escoce ki ert mis en folur,  
 E Rogier de Munbrai, un noble guerrëur,  
 Ki destrueient<sup>10</sup> sa terre par nuit e par jor.  
 Mès anceis que venist dreit ure culchëur,<sup>11</sup>
- 1955 Li vint tele novele dunt il out grant honur.  
 Li reis esteit entré en sa chambre demeine

fo. 165.

<sup>1</sup> *Que alast*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *Une liue*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *le prent*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *Lele gent*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *Sire ceo dit Gerveise Suplest*, L. The word *Suplest*, which is in both MSS., is perhaps resolvable into *s'il vos plest*. M. Michel,

however, has printed it as a name, and his example is here followed.

<sup>6</sup> *fereient*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *il se poent bien vanter*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *Il cunduit le rei de ei k'a West-muster*, L.

<sup>9</sup> *En*, om. L.

<sup>10</sup> *Que destruent*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *ure de culchëur*, L.



Who went forward to kiss his lord.  
 You might well have gone a league,  
 So long lasted the embracing of the king and his  
     barons ;  
 And the king of England begins to thank them :  
 Very loyal people they are, that he tells them first ;  
 1940 And they thank him as their rightful lord.  
     " Sire," said Gervase Suplest, " let that be,  
     " May it please the Lord God who created land  
     " and sea  
     " That no one may be able to call the Londoners  
     " traitors.  
     " They would not commit treason were their limbs  
     " to be cut off."  
     " Surely," so said the king, " they may boast,  
     " And I will recompense them if they have need  
     " of me."  
 Thus they accompanied the king as far as West-  
     minster.  
 The Londoners make rejoicings at the coming of  
     their lord,  
 They give him presents, they pay him great re-  
     spect ;  
 1950 But he was pensive and somewhat distracted  
     On account of the king of Scotland who had acted  
     madly,  
     And Roger de Mowbray, a noble warrior,  
     Who were laying waste his land by night and by  
     day.  
     But before the right hour came for going to bed,  
     There came a piece of news from which he gained  
     great honour.  
 The<sup>1</sup> king had entered his own chamber

<sup>1</sup> William of Newburgh, i. p. 189, gives this interesting story, though in a shorter form. It is hard to escape from the conclusion that he saw this poem, which was written, no doubt, a little after 1174, while

Newburgh's own history was begun probably shortly before 1186. The joint errors of the two authors, pointed out in note <sup>3</sup> on p. 178 of vol. i., supply evidence on this point.

Henry is  
roused in  
the night  
by a mes-  
senger  
from  
Ranulph  
de Glan-  
vile an-  
nouncing  
the capture  
of William  
the Lion.

- Quant le message vint; suffert ot mult grant  
peine:  
Il n'ot bœu ne mangié treis jorz de la semeine,  
Ne sumeillié del oil<sup>1</sup> pur la novele certeine;  
1960 Mès de jorz e de nuiz d'errer se peine:  
Il ad fait mult que sage, il aurad bone estreine.  
Li reis iert acuté e un poi sumeilla,  
Un vadlet à ses piez ki suef<sup>2</sup> les grata;  
N'i out noise ne eri, ne nuls n'i parla,  
1965 Harpe ne viele nul d'ure<sup>3</sup> n'i suna,  
Quant li mès vint al us e suëf apcla.  
E dit li<sup>4</sup> chamberlens: "Ki estes-vus là?"  
"Messagier sui, amis; ore<sup>5</sup> venez plus en çà.  
" Dan Randulf de Glanvile desque ei m'enveia  
1970 " Pur parler oue le<sup>6</sup> rei, kar grant<sup>7</sup> mestier  
" en a."  
§E dit li chamberlens: " Par matin seit l'afaire."<sup>8</sup>  
" Par ma fei!" dist li mès, " ainz i parlerai en  
" eire.  
" Mun seignur ad el cuer e dolur<sup>9</sup> e cuntraire:  
" Si me laissez entrer, chamberleng debonaire."  
1975 E dit li chamberlens: " Ne l' osercie<sup>10</sup> pas faire.  
" Li reis est endormiz: ariere vus estut traire."  
A ço qu'il<sup>11</sup> parolent s'est li reis esveilliez,  
E oïd à eel us erier: " Ovrez! ovrez!"  
" Ki est ço," dist li reis, " à dire me sachiez."

<sup>1</sup> *des oïlz*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *que suef*, L.

<sup>3</sup> *nuldur*, L.

<sup>4</sup> *E dit à*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *ore*, in both MSS.

<sup>6</sup> *od le*, L.

<sup>7</sup> *grant*, om. L.

<sup>8</sup> *sez là*, frere, L.

<sup>9</sup> *el le quor dolur*, L.

<sup>10</sup> *oserai*, L.

<sup>11</sup> *que il*, L.

When the messenger came ; he had gone through  
 much fatigue :  
 He had neither drunk nor eaten for three days  
 of the week,  
 Nor slept a wink on account of the certain news,  
 1960 But by day and by night fatigues himself with  
 journeying.  
 He has acted very wisely, he will have a good  
 gift.  
 The king was leaning on his elbow and slept a  
 little,  
 A servant at his feet was gently rubbing them ;  
 There was neither noise nor cry, nor any who  
 were speaking there,  
 Neither harp nor viols nor anything was sounding  
 at that hour,  
 When the messenger came to the door and gently  
 called.  
 And says the chamberlain : " Who are you there ?"  
 " I am a messenger, friend ; now come more this  
 " way.  
 " Lord Ranulph de Glanvile sent me here  
 1970 " In order to speak with the king, for great need  
 " he has of it."  
 And says the chamberlain : " Let the business be  
 " till the morning."  
 " By my faith !" said the messenger, " but I will  
 " speak to him forthwith.  
 " My lord has in his heart sorrow and vexation :  
 " So let me enter, good chamberlain."  
 And says the chamberlain : " I should not dare to  
 " do it.  
 " The king is asleep : you must withdraw."  
 Whilst they are speaking the king has awaked,  
 And he hears a crying at that door : " Open ! open !"  
 " Who is that," said the king, " can you tell me ?"

- 1980 " Sire," dist li chamberlens, " ore endreit le  
 " saurez.<sup>1</sup>  
 " Message est de çà nort,<sup>2</sup> très bien le cunuis-  
 " siez,  
 " Hume Randulf de Glanvile ; Brien est apelez."  
 " Par ma fei !" dist li reis, " ore sui mult tres-  
 " pensez :  
 " Il ad mestier d'aïe, çæenz venir le laissiez."
- 1985 Li messagier entrad, ki mult<sup>3</sup> fud enseigniez,  
 E salua le rei, cum jà oïr purrez :  
 " Sire rei, Deu vus salt qui maint en Trinitez,  
 " Vostre cors en avant, e puis tuz voz<sup>4</sup> privez!" *fo. 165. b.*  
 " Brien," dist li reis, " queus<sup>5</sup> noveles apotez ?
- 1990 " Est li reis d'Escoce en Richemunt entrez ?  
 " Le Nuef-Chastel-sur-Tine saisi, les fermetez ?  
 " Odinel de Umfranvile<sup>6</sup> est pris u dechaciez,  
 " E<sup>7</sup> trestuz mes baruns de lur terres ostez ?  
 " Messagier, par ta fei ! di-mei veritez.
- 1995 " Malement m'unt servi, s'ore ne seient vengiez."  
 " Sire," ço dist li mès, " un petit m'entendez.  
 " Voz baruns de cest nort [sunt]<sup>8</sup> bone gent  
 " asez.  
 " De la part mun seigneur bonement m'entendez.<sup>9</sup>  
 " Il vus mande<sup>10</sup> par mei saluz e amistiez,
- 2000 " E ma dame mult plus, que vus bien cunuis-  
 " siez.<sup>11</sup>  
 " Il vus mande par mei mar vus remuez.  
 " Li reis d'Escoce est pris e tut sis barnez."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *saverez*, L.<sup>2</sup> *De cest north*, L.<sup>3</sup> *he mult*, L.<sup>4</sup> *tuz le voz*, L.<sup>5</sup> *queles*, L.<sup>6</sup> *Odonel d'Unfrenvile*, L.<sup>7</sup> *E*, om. L.<sup>8</sup> *sunt*, om. D.<sup>9</sup> *seigneur de primes m'entendez*, L.<sup>10</sup> *Il mande par moi*, L.<sup>11</sup> In L. lines 1999 and 2000 are inserted after l. 2002.<sup>12</sup> *barnez*, L.

- 1980 "Sire," said the chamberlain, "you shall know  
 " directly.  
 " It is a messenger from the north, very well you  
 " know him.  
 " A man of Ranulph de Glanvile's: his name is  
 " Brien."  
 "By my faith!" said the king, "now am I very  
 " uneasy:  
 " He is in need of aid, let him come in here."  
 The messenger, who was very well bred, entered,  
 And saluted the king, as you may shortly hear:  
 " Sire king, may God who dwells in Trinity save  
 " you,  
 " Your person first and then all your intimate  
 " friends!"  
 "Brien," said the king, "what news do you bring?"  
 1990 " Has the king of Scotland entered Richmond?  
 " Has Newcastle-upon-Tyne been seized, and the  
 " fortifications?  
 " Odinel de Umfravile been taken or driven  
 " away,  
 " And all my barons ousted from their estates?  
 " Messenger, by thy faith! tell me the truth.  
 " Badly have they served me, so now may they be  
 " punished for it."  
 " Sire," so said the messenger, "hear me a little.  
 " Your barons of the north are right good people.  
 " On behalf of my lord kindly listen to me,  
 " He sends to you by me salutation and friend-  
 " ship,  
 2000 " And my lady much more, with whom you are  
 " well acquainted  
 " He sends you word by me, that you would do  
 " wrong to torment yourself.  
 " The king of Scotland is taken and all his barons."

- E dit li reis Henris: "Dites-vus veritez?"  
 "Oïl, sire, veir, par matin le saurez."<sup>1</sup>
- 2005 "L'arcevesques d'Everwic, uns sages hum let-  
 "trez,"<sup>2</sup>  
 "Vus enveiera dous<sup>3</sup> messages privez;  
 "Mès jo mui premercin, ki soi les veritez.  
 "N'en ai guaires dormi quatre jorz sunt passez,  
 "Ne mangié ne bèn, si suis mult afamez;
- 2010 "Mès, la vostre merci, gueredun m'en rendez."<sup>4</sup>  
 E respondi li reis: "Mar vus en duterez."<sup>5</sup>  
 "Si vus veir m'avez dit, riches estes asez."<sup>6</sup>  
 "Est li reis d'Escoce pris? dites-mei veritez."  
 "Oïl, sire, par fei!<sup>7</sup> En croiz sei encroez,
- 2015 "U pendu à une hart, a arrs en un grant ré,"<sup>8</sup>  
 "Si demein, ainz miedi, ne seit tut averré!"  
 "Dunc," dit li reis Henris, "Deus en eit mercié,"<sup>9</sup>  
 "E saint Thomas martyr<sup>10</sup> e tuz les sainz Dé!"  
 Atant est li message à sun ostel alé,
- 2020 A mangier e<sup>11</sup> à beivre en ad à grant plenté;  
 E li reis est si liez la nuit e si haitié  
 Qu'il vint as chevaliers, si's ad tuz esveillié:  
 "Baruns, esveilliez-vus. Bor vus fud anuitié.  
 "Tele chose ai oïe<sup>12</sup> dunt jo vus frai haitié: fo. 166.
- 2025 "Pris est li reis d'Escoce, ço m'ad l'em dit pur  
 "verté.  
 "Ore ainz me vint novele, quant dui<sup>13</sup> estre  
 "culchié."

<sup>1</sup> Oïl, sire, certes par matin le  
 saveréz, L.

<sup>2</sup> L. omits this line.

<sup>3</sup> enveiera demcin dous, L.

<sup>4</sup> me rendez, L.

<sup>5</sup> dutez, L.

<sup>6</sup> riche serrez assez, L.

<sup>7</sup> par ma fei, L.

<sup>8</sup> un hart, u ars en un grant rée,  
 L.

<sup>9</sup> merei, L.

<sup>10</sup> le martyr, L.

<sup>11</sup> e, lost by a puncture from D.

<sup>12</sup> oï, L.

<sup>13</sup> celc nucele, quant jo dui, L.



And says king Henry: "Do you speak the  
" truth?"

"Yes, sire, truly, in the morning you will know  
" it:

"The archbishop of York, a wise, learned man,

"Will send you two private messengers;

"But I started first, who know the truth.

"I have hardly slept during the last four days,

"Neither eaten nor drunk, so I am very hungry:

2010 "But, in your kindness, give me a reward for it."

And the king replied: "You would be wrong to  
" doubt it.

"If you have told me the truth, you are rich  
" enough.

"Is the king of Scotland taken? tell me the  
" truth."

"Yes, sire, by my faith! On a cross may I be  
" crucified,

"Or hanged by a rope, or burnt on a great pile,

"If to-morrow, before noon, all be not confirmed."

"Then," says king Henry, "God be thanked for  
" it,

"And Saint Thomas the Martyr and all the saints  
" of God!"

Thereupon the messenger went to his hostel,

2020 He has abundance to eat and to drink,

And the king is so merry and joyful that night

That he went to the knights and awoke them all:

"Barons, wake up. It has been a good night for  
" you.

"Such a thing I have heard as will make you  
" glad:

"The king of Scotland is taken, so it has been  
" told me for truth.

"Just now the news came to me, when I ought  
" to have been in bed."

Confirmation of the first report is received (? 18 July, 1174).

E dient ces chevaliers: "Ore merciez Damne-  
" Dé;

Ore est la guerre finie, e en pès<sup>1</sup> vostre regné.

§ Mult semblat ceste nuit al rei Henri mult bele.

2030 Lendemain, ainz nune, li revint novele  
Del arcevesque d'Everwic que l'un Rogier apele.  
Ki salue sun seignur ki les leiaus chaele.<sup>2</sup>  
Quant li reis vit les messages, unkes plus lié  
ne fu,

E veit qu'il dient un, si lur<sup>3</sup> ad respundu :

2035 " Er seir oi la nuvele quant fui<sup>4</sup> mult irascu ;  
" Cele qui<sup>5</sup> la me porta, gueredun li ert rendu."  
Il ad saisi un bastuncel, à Brien l'ad<sup>6</sup> tendu,  
Dis livrées<sup>7</sup> de sa terre pur le travail qu'ot<sup>8</sup> èu.  
Ignelement prent ses messages, si's ad enveiez à  
Davi

2040 Ki iert frere lu rei d'Escoce ; unkes meillur ne  
vi.<sup>9</sup>

Il esteit en Leircestre cum vassal pruz e hardi ;  
Mès unc<sup>10</sup> ne fud si dolent, quant cest<sup>11</sup> message  
oï.

David of Scotland surrenders on hearing the news.

Li reis li mande d'Engleterre que le plai est  
ore si,<sup>12</sup>

N'i ad fors de rendre sei e de venir en sa merci.

2045 Il ne saveit en tut le mund meillur cunseil  
Davi,<sup>13</sup>

Fors de rendre le chastel e puis venir al rei  
Henri.

<sup>1</sup> e em pès est, L.

<sup>2</sup> que ses teals chadele, L.

<sup>3</sup> tuit un, atant si lur, L.

<sup>4</sup> oi-jo la nuvele quant jo fui, L.

<sup>5</sup> Celui que, L.

<sup>6</sup> e à Brien le ad, L.

<sup>7</sup> Dis liveres, L.

<sup>8</sup> qu'il ot, L. ; perhaps quor, D.

<sup>9</sup> unkes meillur guerreur ne vi,  
L.

<sup>10</sup> Meis unques, L.

<sup>11</sup> iest, L.

<sup>12</sup> plait est ore issi, L.

<sup>13</sup> cunseil icil Davi, L.

And the knights say: "Now thank the Lord  
God;

"Now is the war ended, and your kingdom in  
"peace."

This night seemed very fine to king Henry.

2030 Next day,<sup>1</sup> before noon, the news again reached him  
From the archbishop of York, whom they call  
Roger,

Who salutes his lord and who cares for the loyal.

When the king saw the messengers, never was he  
more delighted,

And perceives that they say the same thing, so he  
answered them:

"Last night I heard the news when I was very  
"irritable;

"To him who brought it to me a reward shall be  
"given."

He took a little stick, to Brien he gave it.

Ten librates of his land for the trouble which he  
has had.

Quickly he takes his messengers, and sent them  
off to David

2040 Who was brother to the king of Scotland; never a  
better did I see.

He was at Leicester like a brave and bold vassal,  
But never was he so grieved, as when he heard  
this message.

The king of England sends him word, that the  
case is now such

That there is nothing to be done but to surrender  
and throw himself on his mercy.

David did not know in all the world a better  
course to take

Than to give up the castle and then come to king  
Henry.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See l. 2008. This agrees with  
Benedict's date, 18 July.

<sup>2</sup> Newburgh, i. 195, says he retired  
to Scotland.

- Seignurs, tut ieest plait dedenz oit<sup>1</sup> jorz fud si basti :
- Pès ad li reis d'Engleterre, pris sunt tuit si enemi.
- Ore cumande le rei d'Escoce hastivement à sei mener,
- 2050 Kar li vint une novele, passer li estuet<sup>2</sup> mer :  
Roem<sup>3</sup> est asise, sa cité ; ne voldra plus demurer.
- Il en meine David od lui, si vait envers la mer ;<sup>4</sup>
- E Brien s'en est turné, ki n'ad eure de demurer ;  
E ad dit à sun seigneur igneusement face amener
- 2055 Le rei d'Escoce à Suhantune :<sup>5</sup> " Li reis volt qu'il  
" passe mer."  
Henri le rei, le fiz Mahalt,<sup>6</sup> à bon ure fust-il né !
- Il atent à Suhantune<sup>7</sup> vent e tens e bon oré ;  
E dan Randulf de Glanvile ad d'errer espleitié,<sup>8</sup>  
Le rei d'Escoce en meine od lui, ki mult ad euer iré.<sup>9</sup>
- 2060 Randulf de Glanvile e li reis d'Aubanie jo. 166. b.  
Se hastent pur ateindre<sup>10</sup> le rei e sa navie.  
Li reis aveit bon ore, si<sup>11</sup> ne's atendi mie ;  
Quant vindrent à Hantune, si fud<sup>12</sup> en Normendie.  
Jo vus dirrai la verité, quei que nuls vus en dic.<sup>13</sup>
- 2065 Li reis aveit cumandé sur membre e sur vie

King  
Henry  
reaches  
Normandy  
(August 8,  
1174).

<sup>1</sup> *Seignurs, trestuit cest plait dedenz vij, L.*

<sup>2</sup> *esteit, L.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ron, L.*

<sup>4</sup> *Il enmeient David od lui, atant si vait devers la mer, L.*

<sup>5</sup> *Suhantune, L.*

<sup>6</sup> *Mahaut, L.*

<sup>7</sup> *Sudhamtune, L.*

<sup>8</sup> *Glanvile del errer est espleité, L.*

<sup>9</sup> *que mult ad le quor irré, L.*

<sup>10</sup> *attendre, L.*

<sup>11</sup> *se's ne's, L.*

<sup>12</sup> *Hantune il fud, L.*

<sup>13</sup> *que nus vus endie, L.*

- Lords, all this business was thus finished within  
 eight days,  
 Peace had the king, all his enemies are taken.  
 Now he orders the king of Scotland to be brought  
 to him speedily,
- 2050 For news came to him, that he must cross the  
 sea :
- His city of Rouen is besieged ; he will no longer  
 remain.
- He takes David away with him, he goes towards  
 the sea ;
- And Brien, who has no desire to stay, returned ;  
 And he told his lord to have the king of Scotland  
 Brought directly to Southampton : " The king  
 " wishes that he should cross the sea."
- Henry the king, the son of Matilda, was born  
 under a good star !
- He waits at Southampton<sup>1</sup> for wind, weather, and  
 a fair breeze ;
- And lord Ranulph de Glanvile has hurried his  
 journey,
- He brings with him the king of Scotland, who is  
 very angry at heart.
- 2060 Ranulph de Glanvile and the king of Albany  
 Hasten to reach the king and his fleet.  
 The king had a fair wind, so he did not tarry for  
 them ;
- When they arrived at Southampton, he was in  
 Normandy.<sup>2</sup>
- I will tell you the truth, whatever anyone may  
 say about it.
- The king had commanded on limb and on life

---

<sup>1</sup> Portsmouth, Benedict says, i. 74. | circumstantial, and say that Henry

<sup>2</sup> Benedict and Gervase are less | took William with him.

King  
Henry  
reaches  
Rouen.

Randulf de Glanvile, ki l'aveit en baillie,<sup>1</sup>  
Qu'il passast en haste, si ne tarjast mie.  
Li reis est venuz à Roem, quant l'aube s'es-  
clarzie.

Ainz que venist le vespre, fud la pès estableie ;

2070 E li reis vait en France od sa grant ost banie.

Conclusion  
of the war.

Si en est alé en France. La guerre est ore  
fenie.

---

<sup>1</sup> The five remaining lines are not in L., but the catch-words supply  
*qu'il passast en.*

---



Ranulph de Glanvile, who had him in custody,  
That he should cross over in haste, and should not  
delay.

The king reached Rouen at day-break.

Before the evening peace was established ;<sup>1</sup>

2070 And the king goes into France with the large host  
he had summoned.

He has gone into France. The war is now ended.

---

<sup>1</sup> This disposes far too summarily of the events which led to the treaty of Sept. 30. Henry reached Rouen, Benedict says, on August 11, and the French fled on August 14.

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RICARDUS DIVISIENSIS  
DE  
REBUS GESTIS RICARDI PRIMI.

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# RICARDUS DIVISIENSIS

## DE REBUS GESTIS RICARDI PRIMI.

### PROLOGUS.

Venerabili patri et semper domino Roberto, olim priori Wintoniensis ecclesiae, suus Ricardus, dictus Divisiensis, si bonum est quod inchoavit, in eo perseverare.

Dedicatory letter to Robert, prior of Witham, formerly prior of St. Swithun, Winchester.

Postquam bono omine de nostra Wintoniensi ecclesia Cartusiam profectus es, multum et sæpe desideravi subsequi sic profectum, tecum forte remansurus, certo autem visurus quid ageres, qualiter viveres, quanto cella Cartusiae celsior sit et cælo vicinior claustro Wintoniae. Voluit Deus tandem voto meo satisfacere. Veni, et utinam solus venissem. Fui ibi, me tertio, fueruntque qui mecum venerant mihi causa recessus. Meum illis velle displicuit, fervoremque, non dicam errorem, frigere mihi fecerunt. Vidi apud vos quod alibi non videram, quod non credideram, quod minus mirari poteram quam deceret. In<sup>1</sup> qualibet cellarum vestrarum est unum ostium ex instituto, quod vobis aperire licet ad placitum, sed per illud exire non licet, nisi tantum ita ut unus pedum citra limen in cella semper remaneat. Egrediatur uno pede quo voluerit frater, altero remanente in cella. Magnum et profundum sacramentum debet<sup>2</sup> ostium habere quod pateat, per quod intrare vel exire non liceat. Miror et aliud; omnibus bonis temporalibus abundantes,

<sup>1</sup> In P., the Cambridge MS., the passage *In qualibet—omnia possidentes*, is written on an erasure, and the succeeding passage as far as

*antequam fiant* overflows into the margin.

<sup>2</sup> *debere*, P.C.

tanquam nihil habentes et omnia possidentes, omnibus misericordiores hominibus et humaniores, plenissimam ad vos invicem caritatem habentes, caritatis effectum<sup>1</sup> dimidiatis ad advenas, "benedicite" sine præbenda dantes hospitibus. Miror et tertium; viri viventes vobis extra seculum secrete ac singulariter, omnes res gestas in seculo<sup>2</sup> scitis ut fiunt, et quandoque præscitis antequam fiant. Nec id ad injuriam taciturnitatis vestræ, plusquam Pythagoricæ, me dixisse credideris, eum tantæ gravitatis viros, tam arduæ professionis, præsumere audeam prophetare potius deliramenta mundi quam fabulari.

Veruntamen, etsi omnia sciens Deus vobiscum sit, ut putatur,<sup>3</sup> et in vobis, et in Illo sciatis omnia, non ab homine neque per hominem, voluisti, ut aiebas, ut exercitium meum tibi fieret solatio, quatenus meta novæ morphoseos, quam mundus movit mutans quadrata rotundis, maxime post transmigrationem vestram ad cælum cellatum, tibi chronica scriberem, ut mundus tibi, amplius præ oculis habita ejus mobilitate, vilesceret, et amati memoriam nota tibi litera representaret. O me felicem! si saneta illa anima, si angelus Domini, si deificatus homo et jam de numero deorum factus, coram magno Deo mei vix hominis meminisse dignetur. Feci quod petieras, facito quod promisisti. Et ut libellus alicujus momenti habeat initium, a condieto paulisper altius inchoavi, operisque mihi limes est "Œdipodæ confusa domus," quam tamen, quia me posse evolvere totam sperare non audeo, posteriorem ejus partem aggredior. Cur, et quomodo, et quando, pater filium coronaverit; quanta et qualia inde pervenerint;<sup>4</sup> qui, et quotiens, et quot terras turbaverint; quo quique fine defecerint, reliqui majora parfurientibus: solis meus sermo servit superstitibus.

<sup>1</sup> effectum, P.C.

<sup>2</sup> in seculo, not in C.

<sup>3</sup> vobiscum—putatur, on erasure in P.

<sup>4</sup> provenerint, C.

Hor. Ep. i.  
1. 100.

Stat., Theb.  
i. 17.



## RICARDUS DIVISIENSIS DE REBUS GESTIS RICARDI PRIMI.

Clemens  
papa.

Anno igitur ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo octogesimo nono,<sup>1</sup> Ricardus ex Alienor filius regis Henrici secundi, frater regis Henrici tertii,<sup>2</sup> consecratus est in regem Anglorum a Baldewino archiepiscopo Cantuariæ, apud Westmonasterium, tertio

A.D. 1189.

Coronation  
of king  
Richard I.,  
Sept. 3.

α. nonas Septembris. Eodem coronationis die, circa illam sollempnitatis horam qua Filius immolabatur Patri, inceptum est in civitate Londoniæ immolare Judæos patri suo diabolo;<sup>3</sup> tantaque fuit hujus celebris mora mysterii, ut vix altera die compleri potuerit holocaustum. Æmulatæ sunt aliæ civitates regionis et urbes fidem<sup>4</sup> Londoniensium, et pari devotione suos sanguisugas cum sanguine transmiserunt ad inferos.<sup>5</sup>

β. Aliquid, sed inæqualiter, ea tempestate contra perditos patratum<sup>6</sup> est ubique per regnum, sola tantum suis vermibus pepercit Wintonia, populus prudens et providus ac civitas semper civiliter agens. Nihil unquam egit præpropere, nihil plus metuens quam pœnitere, rerum exitus aestimat ante principia. Noluit indigiem qua premebatur imparata, periculo sui, per partes violenter evomere, cavitque visceribus, dissimulans interim modeste<sup>7</sup> molestiam, donec opportuno medendi

<sup>1</sup> Both copies have the words *Clemens papa* in the margin opposite this point. The title of the treatise is not in either MS.

<sup>2</sup> So called because crowned in his father's lifetime. He died in 1183.

<sup>3</sup> See W. of Newburgh, i. p. 294, &c.

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

<sup>5</sup> *inferos*, P. and C. clearly.

<sup>6</sup> *paratum*, C.

<sup>7</sup> P. has "vel *physice*" interlined above *modeste*.

A.D. 1189. tempore<sup>1</sup> totam liceat sibi morbi materiam<sup>2</sup> simul et semel egerere.

Non sine mussitatione multorum et admiratione visus est vespertilio die medio et sereno per monasterium volitare; easdem importune<sup>3</sup> auras et maxime circa solium regis circinans.<sup>4</sup>

at a.

Willelmus de Longo Campo, qui et ante coronam comitis Pictavorum fuerat cancellarius, comite in regem coronato, quanto regnum potius est comitatu, tanto sensit<sup>5</sup> ministerium suum in melius profecisse.

at β.

Portent  
on the  
coronation  
day.

Res accidit ipsa die coronationis in Westmonasterio; res, ut tunc vix ore dimidio dici licuit, nonnullius portenti prænuncia. Ad completorium, novissimam horam diei, primum signum in ipsa die pulsari contigit, nec aliquo ex conventu, nec ipsis ministris ecclesiæ, nisi post cæsum, id advertentibus;<sup>6</sup> cum primæ, tertiæ, sextæ, nonæ,<sup>7</sup> vesperarum et duarum missarum sollemne servitium, sine omni signorum pulsatione fuerit celebratum.

at γ.

Stephen de  
Marzai  
thrown  
into prison  
and put to  
ransom.

Stephanus de Marzai,<sup>8</sup> senescallus Andegaviæ sub rege nuper defuncto,<sup>9</sup> ille magnus et potens, singulariter ferus et dominus domini sui, captus et coniectus in vincula, Wintoniam usque pertrahitur, ubi spectaculum factus angelis et hominibus, miserabili macera-

<sup>1</sup> In P. a blank of quarter of a line in length follows *tempore*, words having been erased.

<sup>2</sup> A blank, caused by erasure of half a line, intervenes before *simul* in P.

<sup>3</sup> *importune*, P. and C.

<sup>4</sup> This is the first of the marginal paragraphs described in the Preface to the present volume. Opposite the first line of each one of these paragraphs in the present edition is an indication of the point in the body of the Cambridge MS. opposite which the first line begins. Thus "at a" refers to the corresponding

Greek letter in the margin opposite line 6 on p. 383. So also with "at β," &c.

<sup>5</sup> *sumsit*, C.

<sup>6</sup> *advertentibus*, C.

<sup>7</sup> The passage from *Nonæ* to *celebratum* has been cut away by the binder of P.

<sup>8</sup> See also vol. ii. pp. 424-6 for a curious story as to this man. See also note 7 on p. 424 of the same volume. He appears as Stephen de Tronis in other chronicles and in the Pipe Rolls.

<sup>9</sup> *sub-defuncto*, interlined in P.

tus inedia, ferri infraetus pondere, ad triginta millia A.D. 1189.  
 librarum monetæ Andegavensis solutionem et quin-  
 decim millia librarum promissionem, pro redemptione  
 coactus est.

- δ. Rannulfus de Glanvilla, regni Anglorum<sup>1</sup> rector et regis oculus, vir Stephano non inferior nisi moribus et divitiis, depotestatus et custodiae traditus, ire saltem sibi liberum et redire redemit quindecim millibus librarum<sup>2</sup> argenti. Et cum hoc nomen Glanvilla tanti fuisset die præterito, nomen scilicet super omne nomen,<sup>3</sup> ut quisque, cui concessum fuisset<sup>4</sup> a Domino, loqueretur inter principes et adoraretur a populo, proximo mane non superfuit unus in terra qui vocaretur hoc nomine.
- at δ. Nocuit duobus istis, scilicet Stephano et Radulfo,<sup>5</sup> quod et nocuisse certum est mille prioribus, quod etiam aliis nocere poterit in posterum, suspecta scilicet de prioris domini familiaritate præsumptio.
- at ε. Johannes frater regis, qui solus ex filiis matris suæ reginæ Alienor fratri supererat, præter comitatum de Moretonio, quem dono patris pridem pereceperat, in tantum a fratre ditatus est et dilatatus in Anglia, quod et privatim et publice prædicabatur a pluribus regem de reditu in regnum non cogitare, quem frater, jam eo non impotentior, si innatos sibi mores non reprimat, audebit, actus dominandi libidine, repulsum exturbare de regno.<sup>6</sup>
- ε. Regem Ricardum agendæ suæ peregrinationis tempus urgebat, cum nollet novissimus in profectioe fieri, qui in susceptione crucis omnium Cisalpinorum principum primus exstiterat. Rex regis nomine dignus, qui primo regni sui anno regnum Angliæ pro Christo non secus fere reliquit quam si non rediturus abiret.

Similar treatment of Rannulf de Glanville.

Richard lavishes gifts on his brother John.

Richard's preparations for the Crusade.

<sup>1</sup> *Anglorum*, interlined in P.

<sup>2</sup> *mille libris*, MSS.

<sup>3</sup> *nomen scilicet — nomen*, interlined in P.

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

<sup>5</sup> *scilicet — Radulfo*, interlined in P.

<sup>6</sup> These gifts are detailed by Newburgh, vol. i., p. 301, and by Benedict of Peterborough ii. 78, 99.

A.D. 1189. Tanta fuit viri devotio, tam subito, tam cito et celeriter ad ulciscendas Christi ecurrit, immo volavit, injurias. Regni tamen consilio aliquantulum, dum res major in mente patiebatur, indulgens, accepta a summo pontifice potestate, ut cuicumque vellet de suis cruce[m] detraheret, suæ reipublicæ ratione regendæ, Hugonem de Pusat, episcopum Dunelmi, in primis toti regno præfecit justitiarcham et serio, ut putabatur a pluribus; novum insuper de veterano episcopo creans comitem<sup>1</sup> Norrhumbriæ,<sup>2</sup> exposita sibi quot voluit castrorum custodia, decem millia librarum<sup>3</sup> argenti de seriniis ejus diligenter extraxit.

The pope gives him power to keep back whomsoever he may choose from the crusade. Hugh bishop of Durham is so detained in England.

He buys the earldom of Northumberland. Geoffrey Fitz Peter and others are reserved by Richard for the care of the Exchequer. The sheriffs are subjected to exactions.

Gaufrido filio Petri et Willelmo Briwere et Hugone Bardulfi, detracta sibi cruce, domi sedere permissis, regis ærarius totas trium collectas—tres illas nuces—transfudit in fiscum.

ζ.

Omnes vicecomites regni, levi accusatione regis merentes offensam, malefica potestate privati, vix, inæstimabili mediante pecunia, faciem ejus videre permissi sunt.

at ζ.

Rannulfus de Glanvilla, quo nullus fuerat suo tempore disertior dum præpotuit, privatus jam factus ex principe, in tantum heebit præ dolore, ut gener ejus Radulfus de Ardenna<sup>4</sup> ejusdem oris ratione deperderet quicquid oris ejus judicio fuerat consecutus. Is etiam, quia vetulus erat impatiensque laboris, si illud aliquid quod fini facto supererat, regi dare voluisset in benedictionem, remitti sibi difficultatem peregrinationis facile meruisset.

The Scotch king and the Welsh are made to give pledges for peaceable conduct.

De regulis Wallensium et Scottorum rex cautionem recepit quod, dum peregrinaretur, ad læsionem Angliæ terminos suos non excederent.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. of Newburgh, vol. i., p. 305, gives the king's words: "De vestro episcopo novitium comitem mirus ego artifex feci."

<sup>2</sup> *Norhumbriæ*, C.; *Norhumbria* in margin of P.

<sup>3</sup> *libras*, P. C.

<sup>4</sup> Name on erasure in P.

<sup>5</sup> *De regulis—excederent* is in the text of P., but in the margin of C. opposite the last line of the preceding paragraph.

Godefridus filius memorandi Ricardi illius de Luci, A.D. 1189. Ricardus thesaurarius, Hubertus Walteri, Willelmus de Longo Campo, quatuor viri non minimæ virtutis aut laudis ultimæ, ad quatuor vacantes sedes, scilicet, Wintoniensem, Londoniensem, Saresbiriensem, Eliensem, electi sunt apud Pippewelle;<sup>1</sup> singuli satis canonice, et maxime Wintoniensis, qui primus, hoc est xvij. kalendas Octobris, nomen initiatorium dignitatis obtinuit, cum trium electio dilata fuerit in crastinum, consentiente rege, et confirmante archiepiscopo quod factum fuerat, quamvis in primis aliquid aliter maluisset. Circa quod mirum accidit, ut is ipsa die fato fungeretur qui, agente archiepiscopo, ad unam sedium fuerat nominatus.

Council of Pipewell: the sees of Winchester, London, Salisbury, and Ely are filled, Sept. 15 and 16.

Willelmus Eliensis electus, datis tribus millibus librarum argenti, sigillum regis sibi retinuit, licet Reginaldus Italus quartum millerium superobtulerit.

William Long-champ buys the chancellorship.

Wintoniensis et Saresbiriensis electi consecrati sunt a Baldewino archiepiscopo,<sup>2</sup> apud Westmonasterium, xi. kalendas Novembris. Ipso die Hugo [de Nonante],<sup>3</sup> episcopus Coventrensis, querelam deposuit, coram archipræsule et episcopis ad ordinationem electorum convocatis, super monachis suis de Covintre, quod manus in eum violentas injeecerant, et sanguinem suum fuderant coram altari.<sup>4</sup> Maximam etiam partem congregationis ante querelam expulerat de ecclesia, nec ab improbitate quievit donec omnium episcoporum apices ad summum pontificem in attestaciones contra monachos impetravit.

Hugh bishop of Lichfield lays a complaint against the monks of Coventry before the bishops.

Godefridus, Wintoniensis episcopus, suæ memor professionis, sublatis ecclesiæ suæ possessiones revocare contendens, cum in duobus maneriis suis,<sup>5</sup> scilicet, Meones et Weregrava, contra Wintoniensem ecclesiam nemo jus reclamationis haberet, recepit ea<sup>6</sup> ordine

Geoffrey of Winchester's financial arrangements with the king.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. of Newburgh, vol. i., p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> C. adds *Cantuaria*.

<sup>3</sup> The name is written in light ink, by a much later hand, filling a blank space in P. ; a blank in C.

<sup>4</sup> As to this quarrel see W. of Newburgh, vol. i. 394, 5 ; Gervase, i. 550 ; Hoveden, iii. 168 ; Jocelin de Brakelond, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> *suis* in C., not in P.

<sup>6</sup> *eam*, C.



A.D. 1189. <sup>—</sup>judiciario, datis regi secretius tribus millibus librarum argenti. Nec oblitus est vir circumspectus pro thesauri ecclesiæ indemnitate, pro patrimonio suo, pro comitatu Hamtesiræ, pro custodia castrorum Wintoniæ et Porecestræ, una manu cum rege finem facere. Et quia reddendæ tantæ pecuniæ tempus instabat, cum diem fixum solutioni sine totius actionis detrimento transgredi non valeret, et vicinius sub cælo subsidium non invenisset,<sup>1</sup> in thesaurum ecclesiæ suæ manum misit invitus; ad quod etiam restituendum se et posteros suos obligavit, cavens conventui cyrographi sigillati testimonio. Homo tantæ benignitatis et modestiæ, qui nec iratus unquam aliquid in subditos egerit, quod non redoleret mansuetudinem. Vere de familia illius et unus ex familiaribus, de quo dicitur, "sub quo vivere " regnare est."<sup>2</sup>

His conduct to his subordinates.

The king's rapacity.

Omnes, quibus pecunia sua fuit oneri, rex officiosissime exoneravit, traditis cuilibet ad placitum potestatibus et possessionibus quas eligebant;<sup>3</sup> unde et quandoque sibi familiaribus assistentibus alludens, in hoc prorupit eludium, "Si invenissem emptorem Londoniam vendidissem."<sup>4</sup> Poterant hoc verbo, nisi tardius evolasset, plurimi præmuniri, ne juxta proverbium Anglicum, "sic sapiens disceret mercator fieri, " emere pro duodecim, et pro uno et semis vendere."

[A.D. 1190.]

The king crosses to Normandy [about Dec. 11, 1189]. Consecration of bishops, 31 December (1189).

Anno ab incarnatione Domini M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>XC<sup>o</sup>, rex transfretavit in Neustriam, totius regni cura cancellario delegata.

Ricardus Londonensis et Willelmus Eliensis electi consecrati sunt a Baldewino archiepiscopo apud Westmonasterium, ij<sup>o</sup> kalendas Januarii.

<sup>1</sup> The passage *cum diem—invenisset* in P. is on an erasure.

<sup>2</sup> It is almost needless to remark that the author's censures are often couched in the form of ironical

praise. The bishop, however, was true to his word: see p. 430.

<sup>3</sup> *eligebat, C.*

<sup>4</sup> W. of Newburgh gives this saying in very similar words, i. p. 306.



at 7. Willelmus de Magna Villa<sup>1</sup> comes de Alba Mara, A.D. 1190. Semi-  
tertia  
fever.  
apud Gisortium, in hemeritæo majore maniam passus, Death of  
William  
earl of  
Albemarle.  
defunctus est. Cujus relictam, feminam fere virum,  
cui nihil virile defuit præter virilia, Willelmus de  
Fortibus, miles millicies probatus in armis, cum omni  
honore prioris mariti, dono regis Ricardi recepit in  
conjugem.

7. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus et regis cancellarius, William  
Long-  
champ sets  
aside his  
colleague,  
Hugh de  
Puiset, and  
begins to  
tyrannise  
over Eng-  
land.  
alter naturaliter Jacob, licet non luctasset cum angelo,  
persona spectabilis, corporis brevitatem animo recom-  
pensans, de domini sui securus amore et de voluntate  
præsumens, quia omnis potestas impatiens consortis  
fuit, est, et erit, Hugonem de Pusat de scaccario  
propulit, et solo sibi gladio, quo manu regis in mili-  
tem fuerat accinctus, vix relicto, modico tempore  
habito comitatus honore privavit. Et ne solus suam  
Dunelmensis doleret injuriam, cum nulli parceret, omni  
jam bellua tetrior, etiam in Wintoniensem pestis im-  
pegit. Subtrahitur illi custodia castrorum et comita-  
tus, nec etiam de proprio permittitur gaudere patri-  
monio. Turbatur regnum, regemque de inconstantia  
criminantur offensi. Transfretatur ab omnibus ad Appeals  
made  
against  
him.  
regem interpellandum contra tyrannum, sed primus  
ille omnium mare transvectus totius actionis suæ et  
exactionis seriem coram rege brevibus commentatus  
est; a quo et de omnibus agendis instructus plenis-  
sime, adversa æmulorum pro voto vota præpediens,  
prius erat in reditu quam qui illum impetebant copiam  
regis habuissent. Regreditur igitur ad Anglos non  
minus potenter et prospere quam qui omnia quæcun-  
que voluit fecit.

Regem reversum a Vasconia, ubi latrunculos armis  
dejecerat, sublatis sibi quas occupaverant munitioni-  
bus, convenerunt quos cancellarius læserat, qui sin-  
gulis, ut cuique tunc videbatur, satisfaciens, cum

<sup>1</sup> Willa, C.

A. D. 1190. qualibus tunc<sup>1</sup> volebant literis remisit omnes ad cancellarium.

John, bishop of Norwich, being robbed on his way to the East, returns to his sec.

Johannes Norwicensis episcopus, et ipse unus ex at θ.  
 Salahadino minantibus, ad profectorem et causam munitus plenissime, dum iter ageret in Burgundiæ finibus, incidit in latrones, qui et omne ei viaticum sustulerunt; qui, cui nihil supererat facultatis unde procederet, vertit viam versus summum pontificem, cumque ei sua insinuatione casum esset illacrimatus et inopiam, clementia eum summæ Sedis absolutum a voto remisit ad propria.

Wintoniensis episcopus gravi tactus incommodo trans mare substitit aliquandiu.

Hugh, bishop of Durham, attempts to recover his position as joint administrator of the kingdom.

Dunelmensis festinus pertendit Londoniam, sed a baronibus scaccarii non receptus, festinus præcipitat iter, quasi triumphaturus, post cancellarium, qui tunc temporis in expeditionem profectus erat versus Lincolniani. Quem consecutus salutavit ex parte regis, non simpliciter nec sine ruga, convenitque eum protinus<sup>2</sup> cum supercilio de negotiis reipublicæ; ac si sine nutu suo quicquid fieri non liceret. "Projecit ampullas et Hor. Ars Poet., 97.  
 "sesquipedalia verba," et dum nimis gloriatus est in nondum potestate recepta, quicquid tacuisse debuerat, nescius cum quo loquebatur, effudit. In fine verborum clava profertur verba determinans, sacra regis reverenda nimis recitanda monstratur. "Parturiunt montes; nascetur<sup>3</sup> ridiculus mus." Jussum est ad regis Hor. A. P., 139.  
 mandatum summum fieri silentium: "Conticere Virg. Æd. ii. 1.  
 "omnes intentique ora tenebant." Epistola legitur in publico, quæ plus metuenda foret si nondum lecta fuisset;<sup>4</sup> ad audita callidus ille, dolum dissimulare peritus, distulit in diem septimum respondere, locum colloquii statuens apud Tikhulle.<sup>5</sup> Die nominato

<sup>1</sup> tunc, in C., not in P.

<sup>2</sup> protinus, P.; mox, C.

<sup>3</sup> nascetur, P. C.

<sup>4</sup> The passage *Jussum est* —

*fuisset* is in the margin of P., but is marked to this place.

<sup>5</sup> *Tikhulle*, in margin of P.; *Tikhelle*, C.

Dunelmensis venit ad castrum, suisque jussis pro<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1190. foribus praestolari, satis solus ingreditur ad cancellarium. Qui prius tacuerat prior loquitur, cogitque deceptum posterius impetratas prioribus contra quicquid speraverat literas proprio ore recitare. Respondere paranti subjecit, "Pridie, te loquente, fuit mihi Hugh de Puiset is made to surrender his castles. "tempus tacendi, nunc ut sentias quia,<sup>2</sup> te tacente, "loquendi tempus accepi—vivit dominus meus rex!—"non egredieris hinc donec de reddendis mihi castris "omnibus, quae tenes, dederis obsides, quoniam ego "te capio non praesul praesulem,<sup>3</sup> sed cancellarius "castellanum."<sup>4</sup> Non fuit circumvento constantia, resistendi nec facultas: traduntur obsides, et, dato termino, castra redduntur ad obsidum solutionem.

at 1. Willelmus Wigorniae episcopus, qui Baldewino proximus successerat, viam universae carnis ingressus est.

4. Dominus Wintoniensis, demum convalescens in Neustria, volens et ipse sibi sublata recipere, omni qua potuit celeritate regressus, invenit cancellarium obsidentem castrum Gloecestriae. Cujus adventu cog- Siege of Gloucester. nito, cancellarius progreditur obvius venienti, complexoque arctius et deosculato, ait, "Optato advenisti, "carissime! obsidioni instandum est, an desistendum?" Cui episcopus, "Si pacem desideras, arma repone." Intellexit acer ille ingenio vim verborum, jussitque praecones clamare receptui; episcopo etiam patrimonium suum, illud tantum, sine lite restituit. Reliqui omnes, qui contra cancellarium transfretaverant, minus profecerunt quam nihilum.

κ. Willelmus, mirabilis Eliensis episcopus,<sup>5</sup> cancellarius William Long-champ be regis, regni justiciarius, trinominis<sup>6</sup> ille et triceps, ut comes papal gladio subveniret imperatoris, legationem suscepit legate.

<sup>1</sup> pro, P. C.

<sup>2</sup> quia for quod, as in the Vulgate.

<sup>3</sup> Non praesul praesulem, on erasure, P. The passage as far as circumvento is partly on an erasure and overflows into the margin.

<sup>4</sup> castellanum, P.; cancellarium, C.

<sup>5</sup> episcopi, C.

<sup>6</sup> trinominus, MSS.

A.D. 1190. totius Angliæ, Scotiæ, Walliæ, et Hiberniæ, obtentam a summo pontifice, regis non aliter profecturi instantia, per Reginaldum episcopum Batoniæ. Universa ergo qua voluit sorte beatus, ibat per regnum, et revertebatur in similitudinem fulguris coruscantis.

Council at Westminster: ejection of the monks of Coventry.

Willelmus, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, concilium tenuit apud Westmonasterium, in quo, ne nil ageretur quod de se prædicaretur in posterum, omnem religionem de Coventrensi ecclesia eliminandam et clericos præbendarios loco monachorum præjudicavit substituendos.<sup>1</sup>

at κ.

Quarrel between the bishop of Salisbury and the abbot of Malmesbury revived.

Rex Erebi, vetustissimus ille Pyracmon, inter ecclesiam Saresbiriensem et monasterium Malmesbiriæ, admoto recenti fomite, scintillam veterem redivivos commovit in ignes. Suscitatur abbas non jam de professione pontifici faciendâ, sed de ipso nomine pastoris ponendo simul et baculo. Impetratæ sunt literæ regis ad cancellarium, quibus abbas ad postulationes episcopi respondere cogeretur in jure. Nec sui oblitus est homo cujus res agitur, quem nullum unquam improvisum potuit invenire periculum, qui nihil novit perdere propter ignaviam. Clavum clavo repulit, literis alias infirmantibus a rege donatus. Cancellarius, pudenda mandatorum principis contrarietate perspecta,<sup>2</sup> ne fama regis facto læderetur si in causa procederet, integram utriusque partis in regis reditum distulit actionem.

at λ,

Richard had caused his brothers to swear not to enter England for three years.

Rex Ricardus sacramentum exegit a duobus fratribus suis, Johanne uterino et Gaufrido non ex legitima, quod Angliam non intrarent infra triennium<sup>3</sup> peregrinationis suæ, a die profectionis ab<sup>4</sup> Turonis tricennio computato; ita tamen dispensans matris precibus circa Johannem ut in Angliam per cancellarium transiens staret ejus judicio, et ad placitum illius vel moraretur in regno vel exularet.

λ.

An exception is made in John's favour.

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph should of course follow that in which the bestowal of the legateship is mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Newburgh, i. 337, as to Richard's letters. See also the

Introduction to the *Rot. Cur. Regis*, p. lxii.

<sup>3</sup> *triennio*, P.

<sup>4</sup> *ab*, P. C.

Dotarium reginæ Alienor per totas terras regis A.D. 1190.  
 recognitum est jurejurando et sibi traditum, ut quæ Queen  
 prius de fisco vixerat deinceps viveret de proprio. Eleanor's  
dowry.

Classis regis de propriis mota littoribus Hispaniam The king's  
 circuit, et de oceano per arcta Africæ Mediterraneum fleet pro-  
 mare, quod ulterius Græcum dicitur, ingressa, ad Mas- ceeds to  
 siliam, regem ibi præstolatura, perducitur. Marseilles.

Rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ, habito concilio apud The allied  
 Turonis et rursus apud Viceliacum, confirmato inter sovereigns  
 sese et regna sua fœdere, omnibus hinc inde rebus start.  
 dispositis ad libitum et ordinatis, diversis exercitibus  
 ab invicem digrediuntur; Francus mare nauseans per  
 terram tendit Siciliam, Anglus iturus per aquam venit  
 contra naves suas Massiliam.

*at μ.* Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuariæ et Hubertus Arch-  
 Walteri episcopus Saresbiriæ,<sup>1</sup> soli ex mitratis totius<sup>2</sup> bishop  
 Angliæ voti compotes, regem sequuntur in Siciliam Baldwin  
 et præveniunt in terram Juda. and Hu-  
bert bishop

*at ν.* Monachi Cluniacenses non consueverunt de priorati- of Salis-  
 bus et magistratibus suis prece vel pretio se invicem bury reach  
 supplantare, et tamen aliquis eorum aliquando aliquid Palestine  
 attentavit ejusmodi, quod et digna vidimus animad- before the  
 versionem punitum. Erat quidam vir venerabilis prior king.  
 Montis Acuti totus ex virtutibus factus, Jocelinus Failure of  
 nomine, in quo nihil nisi commendabile cerneret. Ad an attempt  
 hunc talem supplantandum venit quidam,<sup>3</sup> cujus non to supplant  
 opus est dicere nomen, unus ex suis falsis fratribus, Jocelin,  
 cum literis abbatis Cluniacensis qua poterat arte quæ- prior of  
 sitis, quibus jubebatur ut prior presentium latori Montacute  
 cederet, et congregatio eum susceperet in prælatum.

Prænovit prior per aliquem quid mercis negotiator  
 quærere venerat, unde, non exspectato mandato, sedem  
 vacuavit in capitulo, præsentem conventum, et ait illi,  
 " Amice, ad quod venisti?" Diu ille moratus, ut  
 quod rapere venerat recipere videretur invitus; de-

<sup>1</sup> Sarum, C.

<sup>2</sup> totius, in C., not in P.

<sup>3</sup> quidam, C.; om. P.



A.D. 1190. mum se recepit in sedem, et continuo sibi imprecatus est, dicens, "O, Qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas, Cujus in humanis ludit potentia rebus, Qui deponis potentes et exaltas humiles, juste iudex Jesu Christe, si injuste isthic præsideo cito et manifeste digneris ostendere." Videte miraculum. Ipsa die loquelam perdidit, altera vitam, tertia terræ traditus experimento didicit, et exemplo docuit, quod "non habet eventus sordida præda bonos."

Ovid.  
Amor., i.  
10. 48.

at ξ.

A monk of Glastonbury attempts to get promotion by bribery.

Monachus quidam de Glastonia<sup>1</sup> multis muneribus Johannem comitem spe promotionis coluerat;<sup>2</sup> sed dum venire debebat ad capere, tigno quodam casu subito<sup>3</sup> sibi in faciem lapsa, detritus et omnino factus inutilis,<sup>4</sup> ova simul et obolum perdidit.

Details as to Richard's fleet.

Naves, quas rex in litore jam præsto invenit, erant numero centum, et buccæ quatuordecim, vasa magnæ capacitatis et miræ agilitatis, vasa fortia et integerima, quorum ornatus et ordinatus hic erat: prima navium tria gubernacula vacantia habuit, tredecim ancoras, triginta remos, duo vela, funes omnium generum triplices; et præter ista, quibuscunque navis egere potest, dupla, præter malum et scapham. Ascribitur navis regimini rector unus doctissimus, et quatuordecim ei vernulæ electi in ministerium supputantur. Oneratur navis quadraginta equis de pretio exercitatis ad arma, et omni armorum genere totidem equitum, et quadraginta peditum, et quindecim navigantium, et victualibus per annum integrum tot hominum et equorum. Una erat omnium navium dispositio; singulæ vero buccarum ordinatus et oneris duplum receperunt. Thesaurus regis, qui erat magnus nimis et inestimabilis, divisus est per naves et buccas, ut si pars una sentiret periculum, reliqua salvaretur. Quibus ita dispositis, rex ipse cum familia propria<sup>5</sup> et majores exercitus cum sibi famulantibus, relicto litore, præcedunt

μ.

ν.

<sup>1</sup> de Glastonia, P; Glastoniensis, C. | <sup>3</sup> subito, C., not in P.  
<sup>2</sup> coluerat, P.; coluit, C. | <sup>4</sup> inutilis, P. and C.  
<sup>5</sup> propria, P. and C.



classēm in galeis, et per civitates maritimas dietim hospitantes, assumptis secum majoribus maris illius navibus ac buceis, prospere Messanam applicuerunt. Tanta erat applicantium gloria, talis fragor et fulgor armorum, tantus tubarum strepitus et lituorum, quod intremuit civitas et expavit, venitque contra regem omnis ætas, populus sine numero, mirantes et prædicantes quanto rex iste gloriosius et terribilius applicuerat rege Franciæ, qui eum cum copiis suis prævenerat die septimo. Metatusque est rex Angliæ castra extra civitatem, quoniam rex Franciæ receptus jam fuerat in palatium Tancredi regis Siciliae intra muros. Ipso die rex Franciæ, cognito sodalis sui et fratris adventu, volat in ejus occursum, nec potuit inter amplexus et oscula gesticulatio satis exprimere quantum eorum uterque gauderet ex altero. Reficiuntur exercitus mutuis applausibus et colloquiis, non aliter quam si tot millibus hominum esset cor unum et anima una. In deliciis talibus expenditur dies feriatus in vesperum, et regibus lassatis, nondum satiatis, digredientibus, singuli suas revertuntur in partes.

A.D. 1190.

Richard starts from Marseilles and reaches Messina.

Juvēn. vi.  
130.

Rex Angliæ mox die crastino erigi fecit patibula extra castra, ad suspendendos in eis latrunculos et prædones. Non parcebant iudices delegati sexui vel ætati, parque fuit advenæ et indigenæ rei lex et supplicium.

Richard hangs thieves of whatever nation.

Rex Franciæ quicquid sui peccarent vel peccaretur in suos, dissimulavit et tacuit; rex Angliæ, pro indifferenti habens cujates crimen involveret, omnem hominem suum reputans, nihil injuriarum reliquit inultum; unde et unus dictus est Agnus a Grifonibus,<sup>1</sup> alter Leonis nomen accepit.

Rex Angliæ misit legatos suos ad regem Siciliae, exigens Johannam sororem suam, reginam quondam Siciliae, et dotarium ejus, cum cathedra aurea, et totum legatum Willelmi regis, quod legaverat Henrico regi

He demands his sister's dowry and the legacy due to her.

<sup>1</sup> The spelling in P. is *Grifones* | *fones*. The difference has not been throughout, but in C. often *Grif-* | *noted*.

A.D. 1190. patri suo, scilicet, mensam auream duodecim pedum  
 in longum, tentorium sericum, centum galeas optimas ξ.  
 cum omnibus sibi ad duos annos necessariis, sexaginta  
 millia silinas de frumento, sexaginta millia de hordeo,  
 sexaginta millia de vino, viginti quatuor cuppas aureas,  
 et viginti et quatuor discos aureos.

Rex Siciliae, mandata regis Anglorum parvo ponde-  
 rans, et de exigentiis minus cogitans, sororem remisit  
 illi cum thalami ejus simplicee supellectili, datis tamen  
 illi dignatione regia mille millibus terrinorum ad ex-  
 pensas.

Richard's  
 seizure of  
 castles in  
 Calabria.

Sequenti die tertio, rex Angliae, transmisso flumine  
 magno Del Far, quod a Sicilia Kalabriam separat,  
 armatus venit Kalabriam, et cepit in ea oppidum  
 munitissimum quod dicitur La Banniere,<sup>1</sup> ejectisque  
 Grifonibus, posuit ibi sororem suam, et locum milite  
 munivit armato.

Rursus rex cepit castellum fortissimum quod dicitur  
 Monasterium Grifonum, in ipso flumine Del Far, situm  
 inter La Banniere et Messanam, captumque firmavit;  
 confectosque sine miseratione calamitatibus variis Grif-  
 ones, qui restiterant, suis fieri fecit ludibrio.

Richard  
 sends for-  
 ward a  
 strong  
 force to  
 the Holy  
 Land.

Wido rex Ierosolymorum mandavit Philippo regi  
 Francorum et Ricardo regi Anglorum, hiemantibus in  
 Sicilia, quod residui Christianorum, qui ante Acras  
 exeubabant, propter sui impotentiam et paganorum  
 violentiam, nisi subveniatur celerius, aut fugere habe-  
 rent aut occumbere. Ad quorum praesidium reges  
 praemiserunt Henricum comitem Campaniae, et Balde-  
 winum archiepiscopum Cantuariae, et Hubertum epi-  
 scopum Saresburiae,<sup>2</sup> et Rannulfum de Glanvilla,<sup>3</sup> cum  
 exereitu valido; ex quibus Baldewinus archiepiscopus  
 et Ranulfus de Glanvilla obierunt in obsidione civi-  
 tatis, quam Latini Acras, Judaei Accaron dicunt, dum  
 adhuc reges morarentur in Sicilia.

at o.

<sup>1</sup> Here and below in P. a hair  
 stroke causes this word to read  
*Bainnere*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sarum*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *Glanvilla*, C. This difference  
 will not be further noted.

a. Grifones ante Ricardi regis adventum in Siciliam A.D. 1190  
 omnibus regionis illius potentibus fortiores, cum et Tumults  
arise be-  
tween the  
Greek in-  
habitants  
of Sicily  
and the  
English.  
 Ultramontanos semper oderint, novis jam irritati  
 casibus amplius incanduerunt, universisque, qui regem  
 Franciæ dominum fatebantur, pace servata, tota inju-  
 riarum de rege Anglorum et caudatis suis ultio quæ-  
 ritur; Græculi enim et Siculi omnes hunc regem  
 sequentes Anglos et caudatos<sup>1</sup> nominabant. Denega-  
 tur igitur Anglis ex edicto omnis terræ negotiatio,  
 cæduntur diebus ac noctibus per quadragenos et  
 quinquagenos, ubicunque reperiuntur inermes. Cædes  
 multiplicatur in dies, eoque usque meditatam est in  
 insania procedere, donec singulos aut funderent, aut  
 fugarent. Hisce tumultibus excitatus rex Angliæ, leo  
 ille teterrimus, horrendum rugiit, iras tanto pectore  
 dignas concipiens. Perterruit ejus amicissimos furor  
 insanientis, curia contrahitur, sedent circa solium These  
events  
rouse the  
king to  
action.  
 nominati principes exercitus, quilibet in ordine suo,  
 foretque facillimum<sup>2</sup> legere præsentis in vultu quic-  
 quid tacitus mente tractabat, si quis in ejus faciem  
 oculos auderet attollere. Post diuturnum<sup>3</sup> summumque  
 silentium, rex indignantia talibus ora resolvit.

Lucan. i.  
299, 300.

“ O mei milites! O regni mei robur et corona! His speech  
to his men.  
 “ vos ‘ mille mecum pericula passi,’<sup>4</sup> vos, qui viribus  
 “ tot mihi tyrannos domuistis et civitates, videtis  
 “ quod vulgus ignavum jam nobis insultat? Expug-  
 “ nabimus nos Turcos et Arabes, erimus nos terrori  
 “ gentibus invictissimis, faciet nobis viam dextra  
 “ nostra usque ad terræ terminos post crucem Christi,  
 “ restituemus nos regnum Israel, qui vilibus et effe-  
 “ minatis Grifonibus terga dederimus? Nos hic in

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stevenson notes that it was a standing joke against the English, as late as the reign of Edward III., to accense them of having tails. Dr. Liebermann (Pertz xxvii. 77, note 2) quotes from a 13th cent.

poem, “ *Angli caudati, qui sunt ad pocula nati.*”

<sup>2</sup> *facillime*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *diuturnum*, P. C.

<sup>4</sup> In P. the words *in Aquitania*, are written at the foot of the page.

A. D. 1190. " patriæ nostræ devicti confinio tendemus ulterius,  
 " ut ex Anglorum inertia in finibus orbis fabula fiat?  
 " Estne, mei, mihi justa satis nova causa doloris?  
 " Videre quidem me videor vos ex deliberatione viri-  
 " bus parcere, ut olim cum Salahadino forte fortius  
 " configatis. Ego dominus et rex vester vos diligo,  
 " ego de decore vestro sollicitor, ego dico vobis, ego  
 " prædico frequentius, si modo sic abeatis inulti, præ-  
 " cedet vos et comitabitur hujus vilis fama diffugii.  
 " Erigentur contra vos anus et parvuli, singulique  
 " hostium in fugitivos vires duplices ministrabit au-  
 " dacia. Scio quoniam<sup>1</sup> invitum qui servat idem facit Hor. A. P.,  
 " occidenti; neminem rex retinebit invitum, nolo cui-<sup>467.</sup>  
 " quam vestrum mecum morandi vim facere, ne  
 " pavor unius in certamine confidentiam frangat al-  
 " terius. Quisque sequetur quod elegerit, sed ego aut  
 " hic moriar, aut meas communes vobis ulciscar  
 " injurias. Si vivus hinc iero, non videbit me Sala-  
 " hadinus nisi victorem; vos fugietis, et me regem  
 " vestrum relictum opponetis solum discrimini."

Rex orationem vix bene finierat et infremuerunt  
 omnes viri<sup>2</sup> virtutis, eo turbati tantummodo quod  
 dominus suus de suis videbatur diffidere. Promit-  
 tunt se ex animo ad quicquid præceperit paritu-  
 ros, montes et muros æreos penetrare parati. Ponat Hor. ep. 1.  
 supercilium: tota sibi, si jusserit, sudore suo Sicilia 1. 60.  
 subjiçetur; totus, si voluerit, usque ad Columnas<sup>3</sup>  
 Herculis, ibit in sanguine. "Substitit ut clamor pres- Ov. Met.  
 " sus gravitate regentis:" "Placet," inquit, "quod i. 207.  
 " audio, reficitis viscera mea, qui pudorem vestrum  
 " propulsare paratis. Et, quia semper nocuit differre Lucan, i.  
 " paratis, mora tollenda est, ut sit subitum quod- 50.  
 " cumque paramus. Messana mihi capietur in primis:  
 " Grifones aut se redimant, aut vendantur. Si rex

The king's  
 further  
 address to  
 his men.

<sup>1</sup> qm̄, in P. and C.

<sup>2</sup> viri fortes et virtutis, C.; viri virtutis, P.

<sup>3</sup> columna, C.

“ Tancredus de dotario sororis meae et legato Wil- A.D. 1190.  
 “ lelmi regis, quod me pro patre contingit, celerius  
 “ non satisfecerit, post depopulationem regni sui sin-  
 “ gula reddere compelletur in quadruplum. Occu-  
 “ pantis erit quicquid cuique venietur in praedam, soli  
 “ domino meo regi Francorum, qui in civitate quiescit,  
 “ et omnibus suis, servetur summa tranquillitas.  
 “ Expediantur infra biduum ad duo millia equitum  
 “ ex universo exercitu electorum, qui non habeant  
 “ corda in caligis, et mille pedites sagittarii. Sit lex  
 “ servata sine remedio: pedes pleno pede fugiens,  
 “ pedem perdat; miles privetur cingulo. Militari dis-  
 “ ciplina discreto ordine singuli disponantur in acies,  
 “ et die tertio ad clangorem buccinae me primum et  
 “ praevium sequantur ad civitatem.” Cum summis  
 applausibus solvitur concio; rex, vultus rigore remisso,  
 visus est voluntati eorum ipsa oris serenitate gratias  
 agere.

Mirum intercidit ut causam regis nec hostis ejus  
 causari posset injustam. Die tertio, quo producendus  
 erat exercitus, summo mane, Ricardus archiepiscopus  
 Messanae, archiepiscopus de Monte Regali, archiepi-  
 scopus de Risa, Margaritus Admiralis,<sup>1</sup> Jordanus de  
 Pin, et plures alii de familiaribus Tancredi regis,  
 assumptis secum Philippo rege Francorum, episcopo  
 Carnoti, duce Burgundiae, comitibus de Neverso et de  
 Pertico, et multis sequacibus regis Franciae, item  
 Rothomagensi et Auxiensis<sup>2</sup> archiepiscopis, Ebroicensi  
 et Bairnocensi<sup>3</sup> episcopis, et omnibus qui quicquam  
 posse putabantur ex Anglis, venerunt reverenter ad  
 regem Angliae, ut sibi de omnibus querelis ad libitum  
 suum facerent satisfieri. Rex diu multumque rogatus  
 ad tantorum virorum instantiam flectitur, et super  
 ipsos precatores pacis ponit iudicium. Pensent quanti

On Oct. 4  
 the king of  
 France and  
 ambassa-  
 dors from  
 Tancred  
 have an  
 interview  
 with  
 Richard.

<sup>1</sup> Admirabilis, P. C.

<sup>2</sup> Anxiens, P. C.

<sup>3</sup> Bairnocencensi, C., i. e., Baoni-  
 ensi (Bayonne). See Hoved. iii. 62.



A.D. 1190. sit quod pertulerit, et provideant<sup>1</sup> ne minus ponderet pacata quam peccatum. Satis erit sibi quicquid sufficere deliberatio communis debere decreverit, si tamen ab ejusdem horæ momento nemo Grifonum in suos manus miserit.<sup>2</sup> Multum mirati sunt magisque<sup>3</sup> lætati ad insperatæ responsa mansuetudinis qui advennerant, quod novissimo proposuerat illi<sup>4</sup> ponentes in manum, de reliquo tractaturi seorsum consederunt, a conspectu regis remoti.

A sudden tumult disturbs the negotiations.

Regis exercitus prædictum pridie taxatus in numerum cum gravi taciturnitate præstolabatur<sup>5</sup> in armis extra castra preconem, ab orto jam sole, et formatores pacis morosius agentes in horam plene tertiam diem protraxerant, cum ecce! subito et ex improvise clamatur audita nimis voce pro<sup>6</sup> foribus, "Arma, arma, viri! Hugo Brunus captus cæditur a Grifonibus, quicquid habet diripitur, et homines ejus occiduntur." Confudit clamor pacis infractæ de pace tractantes, et rex Franciæ talem prorupit in vocem, "Pendo quod Deus odit hos homines et induravit cor eorum, ut cadant in manus cruciatoris;" reversusque celeriter cum omnibus, qui secum fuerant, in regis papilionem, invenit eum jam ferro se vestientem, cui brevibus inquit, "Testis ero coram omnibus hominibus quicquid acciderit, quod inculpabilis eris, si amodo contra maledictos Grifones arma portaveris." Dixerat et discedit, sequuntur eum qui secum venerant, et recipiuntur pariter in civitatem. Rex Angliæ procedit armatus, vexillum terribile draconis præfertur expansum, clangor tubæ post regem movet exercitum. Refulsit sol in clipeos aureos et resplenduerunt montes ab eis: ibant caute et ordinate, et sine hudo res agebatur. Grifones, e diverso, clausis januis civitatis,

Richard prepares to storm Messina.

<sup>1</sup> *providi eant*, P. C.

<sup>2</sup> *miserit*, P.; *mittat*, C, with "vel *miserit*" in the margin.

<sup>3</sup> *magisque*, P. C.

<sup>4</sup> *illi*, om. C.

<sup>5</sup> *præstolabantur*, P. C.

<sup>6</sup> *pro*, P. and C.



armati stabant ad propugnacula murorum et turrium, A.D. 1190. nihil adhuc metuentes, et ejaculabantur incessanter in hostes. Rex, qui nihil melius novit quam expugnare civitates et evertere castra, permisit primo pharetras eorum evacuari, et sic demum per suos sagittarios, qui praebant exercitum, primum fecit insultum. Sagittarum imbre caelum tegitur, protensos per propugnacula clipeos mille tela transfodiunt, nihil contra pilorum impetum poterat salvare rebelles. Relinquuntur muri sine custodia, quia nullus potuit foris prospicere quin in ictu oculi sagittam haberet in oculo.

Accedit interim rex cum milite suo sine repulsa libere acsi licenter ad januas civitatis, quas, admoto ariete, dicto citius contrivit, et, inducto exercitu, omnia cepit munita urbis usque ad palatium Tancredi et hospitia Francorum circa sui regis hospitium, quibus pepercit ob reverentiam domini sui regis. Ponuntur vexilla victorum super tures civitatis in gyrum, et deditas munitiones singulas singulis tradidit ex principibus exercitus, et hospitari fecit magnates suos in civitate. Suscepit obsides filios omnium nobilium civitatis et provinciae, ut aut redimantur ad regis aestimationem, aut reliqua pars civitatis illi sine Marte reddatur, et a rege suo Taneredo de exigentiis suis sibi satisfiat.<sup>1</sup> Hora diei quinta oppugnare coeperat<sup>2</sup> urbem, et cepit eam hora decima; et, revocato exercitu, reversus est victor in castra. Taneredus rex, ad nunciantium sibi rerum exitus verba perterritus, festinavit cum eo finem facere, missis illi viginti millibus unciarum auri pro dotario sororis, et aliis viginti millibus unciarum auri pro legato Willelmi regis et perpetua sibi et suis pace servanda. Suscipitur satis aegre et indignanter illud parum pecuniae, redduntur obsides; et ab utriusque partis optimatibus pax firma juratur.

The gates of Messina are broken down and the city is captured.

Tancred submits to Richard.

<sup>1</sup> *satisfiat*, P. C.

U 20911.

| <sup>2</sup> *coeperat*, P. and C.

A.D. 1190. Rex Angliæ, minus adhuc credens indigenis, fecit π.

Richard's wooden castle "Mategrifun." castellum ligneum novum magnæ fortitudinis et eminentiæ juxta muros Messanæ, quod, ad opprobrium Grifonum, "Mategrifun" nominavit. Glorificata est fortitudo regis valde, et siluit terra in conspectu ejus.

Walter abbot of Westminster dies, Sept. 27. Walterus, ex monacho et priore sancti Swithuni Wintoniensis ecclesiæ abbas<sup>1</sup> Westmonasterii, oppetiit, quinto kalendas Octobris. at π.

Queen Eleanor accompanies Berengère of Navarre to Sicily. Regina Alienor, femina incomparabilis, pulchra et pudica, potens et modesta, humilis et diserta, quod in femina solet inveniri rarissime, quæ non minus an-nosa quam quæ duos reges maritos<sup>2</sup> habuerat et duos reges filios, ad omnes adhuc indefessa labores, posse ejus ætas sua mirari potuit, assumpta secum filia regis Navarorum, puella prudentiore quam pulchra, secuta est regem filium suum, et consecuta morantem<sup>3</sup> adhuc in Sicilia, venit Risam civitatem omni bono plenam et bonam receptui, præstolatura ibi velle regis, cum legatis regis Navarorum et virgine. p.

Insinuations as to Queen Eleanor's earlier life. Multi noverunt quod utinam nemo nostrum nosset. Hæc ipsa regina tempore prioris mariti fuit Ierosoly-mis. Nemo plus inde loquatur; et ego bene novi. Silete!<sup>4</sup> at p.

A.D. 1191. *Anno millesimo centesimo nonagesimo primo.*

Conference between John and Long-champ, March. Colloquium primum inter comitem de Moretonio, fratrem regis, et cancellarium, de custodiis quorundam castellorum, et de pecunia comiti a fratre de scaccario concessa, apud Wintoniam ad *Laxare Ierusalem*. at σ.

<sup>1</sup> *abbas factus est*, C. only.

<sup>2</sup> In P. a short erasure intervenes here.

<sup>3</sup> Corrected from *memorantem*, C.

<sup>4</sup> This paragraph, as appearing in P., strongly suggests the author's

own hand. From *multi* to *loquatur* the words are written inside a wavy line, which forms a triangle standing on its apex. The remaining words are written on the left side of the figure.

- at τ. Robertus prior sancti Swithuni Wintoniæ, prioratu relicto et professione postposita, apud Witteham,<sup>1</sup> dolore,—an dicam devotione?—dejecit se in sectam Cartusie.<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1191.  
Robert prior of St. Swithun becomes a Carthusian.
- at υ. Walterus prior Batoniæ prius id idem<sup>3</sup> simili fervore vel furore præsumserat, sed semel extractus nihil minus videtur adhuc quam de reditu cogitare. Walter prior of Bath repented of a similar step.
- σ. Rex autem, qui dudum juraverat regi Franciæ se sororem ejus accepturum in conjugem, quam pater suus Henricus rex illi providerat et diu valde custodierat, quia suspectam habuit custodiam,<sup>4</sup> meditabatur puellam, quam mater adduxerat, ducere. Et ut desiderium, quo vehementer ardebat, sine difficultate consequeretur, evocatum ad se comitem Flandriæ<sup>5</sup> consulit, hominem eloquentissimum et ad omne pretium linguam habentem, cujus mediatione rex Franciæ remisit regi Angliæ juramentum de sorore ducenda, et quietam clamavit ei in perpetuum totam terram de Vaegesin et Gisortium, receptis ab eo decem millibus librarum argenti.<sup>6</sup> Richard renounces his betrothal to the sister of the king of France.
- υ. Rex Franciæ, cum suo exercitu regem Angliæ præcedens versus Ierosolymam, mari se credidit tertio kalendas<sup>7</sup> Aprilis. The French king starts for the East, March 30.
- at φ. Rex Angliæ relicturus Siciliam fecit deferri castellum, quod exstruxerat, et totam materiem secum portandam in navibus suis reposuit. Omne genus machinarum ad expugnandas munitiones, et omne genus armorum, quod cor hominis potuit excogitare, præsto jam habebat in navibus. Richard dismantles castle "Mategrif-fun," carrying the materials in his ships.
- at φ. Robertus filius Willelmi filii<sup>8</sup> Radulphi consecratus est in episcopum<sup>9</sup> Wigorniae a Willelmo de Longo Campo adhuc legato, apud Cantuariam, tertio nonas Maii. Robert bishop of Worcester consecrated, May 5.

<sup>1</sup> *Witham, C.*<sup>2</sup> This is the person to whom the author dedicates his work.<sup>3</sup> *ibidem, C.*<sup>4</sup> See Giraldus, *De Instructione Principum*, 91, and Benedict, ii. 160,<sup>5</sup> *Flandre* (sic) P.<sup>6</sup> A line erased here from P.<sup>7</sup> Corrected from *nonas, C.*<sup>8</sup> *Willelmi filii*, interlined in P.<sup>9</sup> *episcopum, P. and C.*

A.D. 1191. Conventus Cantuarie deposuit priorem suum, quem *at x.*  
 Baldewinus<sup>1</sup> archiepiscopus eis praefererat, et alterum  
 loco depositi substituit.  
 The monks of Canterbury depose their prior.  
 Queen Eleanor and the archbishop of Rouen return.  
 Walterus archiepiscopus Rothomagi quia, ut clerico- *φ.*  
 rum est, pusillanimis erat et pavidus, salutata a  
 longe Ierosolyma, omnem non rogatus remisit erga  
 Salahadinum indignationem, et regi pro eo pugnaturō  
 quiequid viatiei attulerat donavit, et crucem praten-  
 dens, pudoris oblitus, illa,<sup>2</sup> quam miserrima matrum  
 diffidentia peperit, devotione; scilicet, pastores ecclesie  
 debere potius praedicare quam praeliari, non decere  
 episcopum arma portare nisi virtutum. Rex autem,  
 cui necessarios visa est pecunia illius quam personae *x.*  
 praesentia, allegationes, ac si viva nimis ratione de-  
 victus, approbavit, et expeditum retromisit eum literis  
 suis in Angliam ad Willelmum cancellarium, de fisco  
 sub certo hominum et equorum numero exhibendum  
 triennio; hoc in fine literarum addito, pro honore et  
 pro toto, ut cancellarius in agendis regni ejus uteretur  
 consilio.<sup>3</sup> Ex factis hujus archiepiscopi rex factus  
 Richard sends the inefficient home-wards.  
 instructor, purgavit exercitum, non permittens secum  
 quemquam venire, nisi qui bene posset, et bono animo  
 vellet, arma portare; nec revertentibus pecunias suas  
 illuc usque allatas secum reportare permisit, aut arma.  
 Reginam quoque matrem suam omni, ut decuit, ho-  
 nore susceptam, et post dulces deosculationes gloriose  
 deductam, redire fecit cum archiepiscopo, retenta sibi  
 puella, quam quaesierat,<sup>4</sup> et fidei sororis suae credita,  
 quae jam ad occursum matris in castra redierat.  
 Johannes Exoniensis episcopus diem clausit ex- *at ψ.*  
 tremum.  
 Death of John bishop of Exeter.

<sup>1</sup> The news of his death reached England in March. As to the reason for prior Osbern's ejection, see Gervase, i. p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> A short blank follows in P.

<sup>3</sup> As to the effect of this letter, see W. of Newburgh, i. 336 and

344. Benedict says that the archbishop did not produce the letter until the council on Oct. 8. Cf. the *Vit. Gaufr.*, Rolls ed., p. 399.

<sup>4</sup> These words are from Ambrose: La pucele retint, qu'ot chiere; E sa mere envoia ariere.

*at w.* Savaricus<sup>1</sup> archidiaconus Northamtoniæ, et ipse unus A.D. 1191. —  
 ex plurimis, qui regem Angliæ<sup>2</sup> ex Anglia prosecti  
 sunt in Siciliam, donatus est a rege literis patenti-  
 bus in matris regis presentia, ad justiciarios An-  
 gliæ, assensum regis et aliquid majus assensu conti-  
 nentibus, ut, in quamlibet dicecesim vacantem foret  
 electus, promoveretur. Hos apices Savaricus misit  
 eognato suo episcopo Batoniæ in Angliam, ipse vero  
 Romam concessit, sicut qui fuerat Romanis notissimus.

Celestinus  
 papa.<sup>3</sup>

Ricardus rex Angliæ, literis in Angliam destinatis, Richard]  
 toti regno suo valedicens et de honorando ab omni- leaves  
 bus cancellario summam mentionem faciens, parata Sicily for  
 classe sua meliore quam multa, cum exercitu electo the East,  
 et forti, cum Johanna sorore sua ac virgine mari- April 10.

ψ.

et forti, cum Johanna sorore sua ac virgine mari-  
 tanda, eum omnibus quæ pugnaturis aut peregre pro-  
 fecturis necessaria esse poterant, vento vela commisit,  
 quarto idus Aprilis. In classe autem erant naves  
*w.* elvj., buccæ xxiiij., galeæ xxxix.: summa vasorum ce.  
 et xix.

Rothomagensis archiepiscopus venit Angliam ad can- The arch-  
 cellarium, a quo susceptus et exhibitus est honorifice, bishop of  
 et multo melius quam rex mandaverat. Subsecuti Rouen  
 sunt et alii cum multis mandatis, in quibus omnibus reaches  
 erat conclusio, cancellario parendum ab omnibus England.  
 Fratri maxime suo Johanni mandavit per singulos The king's  
 nunciorum, ut adhæreret cancellario, ut contra omnes parting  
 homines illi fieret presidio, ut præstitum sibi sacra- directions  
 mentum non violaret. to his sub-  
 jects.

*at aa.*

Rex Angliæ mandavit cancellario, et conventui His direc-  
 Cantuariæ, et episcopis provinciæ, ut canonice et com- tions as to  
 muniter consulerent metropoli, quia Baldewinus de- ecclesi-  
 functus prælato destituerat; de abbatiâ vero West- astical  
 monasterii jam vacante solo cancellario permittitur matters.  
 ordinare pro libito.

<sup>1</sup> See *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> *Angliæ*, C.; not in P.

<sup>3</sup> In the margin of both MSS.



A.D. 1191. Eclipsis solis circa horam diei tertiam: mirati sunt at *BB.*

Eclipse of  
the sun (on  
23 June). qui causas rerum nesciunt, nullis obstantibus soli  
nubibus, medio die solis radios solito lucere debilius;  
sed hi, quos agitat mundi labor, dicunt solis et lunæ  
defectus facere aliquid non significare.

Behaviour  
of John:  
signs of  
conspiracy  
against the  
chancellor. Johannes frater regis, qui illo dudum aures habue- aa.  
rat, ut pro certo novit quod frater ad Angliam terga  
verterat, jam ibat per regionem populosior, nec pro-  
hibebat<sup>1</sup> suos se regis nominantes heredem. Et sicut  
horrescere solum solet ad solis absentiam, sic alterata  
est regni facies ad regis abscessum. Moventur quique  
majores, castra firmantur, muniuntur oppida, fossata  
raduntur. Archiepiscopus Rothomagi non magis fu-  
tura<sup>2</sup> præsentiens quam qui fomes laudabatur erroris,  
ita arridere callebat<sup>3</sup> cancellario, ut et ejus æmulis  
non displiceret. Mittuntur<sup>4</sup> privatim brevia per ba-  
rones cleri et populi, et sollicitantur animi singulo-  
rum in cancellarium. Militia comiti libenter sed BB.  
latenter consentiebat, clerus vero natura meticulosior,  
neutrius audebat jurare in verba magistri. Cancel-  
larius hæc sentiens dissimulavit, seire dedignans  
quod aliquis in eum aliquo modo aliquid audere  
præsumeret.

See Ben. P.  
It 207.

The chan-  
cellor tries  
to oust  
Gerard de  
Camville  
from Lin-  
coln. Tandem olla detegitur; nunciatur illi quod Girar-  
dus de Camvilla, homo factiosus et fidei prodigus,  
homagium fecerat Johanni comiti fratri regis de  
castello Lincolnæ, ejus custodia ad hereditatem  
Nicholæ,<sup>5</sup> uxoris ejusdem Girardi, spectare dinoscitur,  
sed sub rege. Factum redundare crëditur<sup>6</sup> in coro-  
nam, et placet ultum ire commissum. Collecto<sup>7</sup> igi-

Ovid. Art.  
Amat.  
i. 687.

<sup>1</sup> "*prohibebat vel colibebat*," P.

<sup>2</sup> *future*, P.; *future*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *arridebat callide*, C.

<sup>4</sup> Above *mittuntur* there is an alternative reading, "*vel ibant*," in P. and C.

<sup>5</sup> D. Lanc. Chart., Record Off.

<sup>6</sup> *videtur*, C.

<sup>7</sup> From this point, in the margins as far as "*cancellarium quocunque*," &c. (p. 416, l. 28-29) is an account of crusading affairs, beginning "*Classis Ricardi*." This is inserted in accordance with Mr. Stevenson's plan on p. 422.



77.

tur celeriter copioso exercitu, venit in partes illas, A.D. 1191. et primo versus Wigemoram facto impetu, Rogerum de Mortuo Mari, insimulatum de conjuratione in regem<sup>1</sup> facta cum Wallensibus, castra dedere, et Angliam abjurare coegit triennio. Culpatur abscedens a complicibus de cordis inopia, quod multo munitus milite, castrorum et facultatis abundans, ante ictum ad nudas minas presbyteri cecidisset. Sera fuit post casum correptio; Rogerus regnum egreditur, et cancellarius jubet<sup>2</sup> obsidere Lincolniam. Girardus erat cum comite, et uxor ejus Nicolaa,<sup>3</sup> nihil femineum cogitans, castellum viriliter custodiebat. Cancellarius versabatur totus circa Lincolniam, dum comes Johannes castrum de Notingham et illud de Tikchulla<sup>4</sup> utrumque fortissimum, custodibus solo timore ad deditionem coactis, occupavit.<sup>5</sup> Addidit etiam mandare cancellario ut obsidionem solveret, alioquin se hominis sui ulturum injuriam; non decere legalibus hominibus regni notis et liberis custodias suas auferre, et advenis et ignotis committere; argumentum ejus esse stultitiæ quod talibus castra regis crediderat, quia ea transeuntibus exponerent; cuilibet barbaro si præterisset eadem facilitate qua et sibi castella patuisse; se nolle diutius rerum et regni fratris desolationem silentio sustinere.

Cancellarius, ad hæc turbatus incredibiliter, accitis coram se proceribus et primis exercitus, inquit, "Non mihi credideritis, si homo iste regnum sibi subjungere non quærit. Præproperum est quod præsumit, etiam si deberet cum fratre annuatim alternare coronam, quia Eteocles nondum annum integrum explevit in regno." Multa in hunc modum verba doloris efflaverat, et rursus resumpto spiritu, ut erat

<sup>1</sup> "vel regnum," interlined, P.

<sup>2</sup> "vel facit," interlined in P.

<sup>3</sup> *Nicholaa*, C.

<sup>4</sup> The *k* is erased from P.

<sup>5</sup> This was before the news of pope Clement's death, on April 10, had reached England, W. of Newburgh, p. 338.

Wigmore  
is surren-  
dered to  
him.

John's  
counter  
measures.

Negotia-  
tions be-  
tween John  
and the  
chancellor

A.D. 1191. major corde quam corpore, magna quædam mente concipiens, misit ad comitem archiepiscopum Rothomagensis, mandans imperativo modo ut castra redderet, et de juramento erga fratrem infracto coram curia regis responderet. Archiepiscopus, utraque manu fabricare peritus, cancellarii laudavit constantiam; et profectus ad comitem post mandatorum expressionem posuit ei in aurem ut, quicquid alii dicerent, auderet aliquid magnum, "Gyaris et carcere dignum," si vellet esse aliquid. In publico autem consuluit ut comes et cancellarius ad colloquium convenirent, et dissidentiam eorum compromissio in arbitros terminaret.

Jnven. i.  
73.

Comes ad mandatorum indecentiam plus quam iratus, toto corpore fiebat incognoscibilis. Rancor frontem sulcavit in rugas, scintillabant ardentes oculi, rosam faciei livor infecit, scioque quid fieret de cancellario, si in ipsa furoris hora inter manus gesticulantis devenisset in pomum. Indignatio in tantum elauso erevit in pectore, quod aut creperet aut partem aliquam virus evomeret. "Filius," inquit, "perditionis, pejorum pessimus, qui de Francorum facetiis præposterum geniculandi genus transvexit primus ad Anglos, non me vexaret, ut cernitis, si oblatam mihi novam scientiam seire non refutassem." Majora volebat vel vera vel falsa dicere, sed ad reverentiam præsentis archiepiscopi mentem recolligens et comprimens vecordiam, "Si male locutus sum," ait, "archiepiscope, veniam peto." Post frivola seriis intendebant, ratiocinatum est circa mandata cancellarii, et utrumque consilium archiepiscopi ad diei medium consentitur in colloquendum. Dies igitur quinto kalendas Augusti;<sup>1</sup> locus, extra Wiutoniam. Cancellarius con-

A conference is arranged for July 28, outside Winchester.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Stubbs, in his edition of Benedict of Peterborough, ii. 208, note <sup>1</sup>, gives the probable order of events at this date. Richard of Devizes carelessly presents us with an agreement (see p. 410) dated April 25, as the result of a conference held on July 28.

cessit stare quod providerant, et, dimissa obsidione, A.D. 1191.  
reversus est Londoniam.

Comes vero, verens ejus versutias, conduxit sibi<sup>1</sup> Both parties come to the conference with arms.  
quatuor millia Wallensium, ut, si cancellarius inter  
inducias illum capere conaretur, isti in latebris locati  
ex latere colloquii conatus ejus infringerent ex abrupto.<sup>2</sup>  
Præterea, summoniri instituit et rogari, ut quisquis  
hominum suorum et aliorum se amantium conveniens  
esset ad bella procedere, secum veniret loco et die ad  
susceptum, sed suspectum, sibi cum domino totius terræ  
colloquium,<sup>3</sup> ut saltem vivus evaderet, si plus quam  
rex ille et nimius in oculis suis contra jus fori faceret,  
aut in transactionem non consentiret. At contra can-  
cellarius tertium cum omnibus armis totius Angliæ  
militem die nominato mandavit venire Wintoniam;  
de redditibus etiam regis conduxit et ipse Wallenses,  
ut si decertandum foret cum comite, haberet pares  
Lucan, i. 7. acies, "et pila minantia pilis."

Conventum est ad colloquium, sicut condictum est Terms agreed upon between John and the chancellor, April 25 (July 28).  
et prædictum, quod in melius quam timebatur contigit  
terminari. Conventio igitur facta inter comitem et  
cancellarium erat hujusmodi, et hoc modo provisiva.  
Tres in primis nominantur episcopi, Wintoniensis, Lon-  
doniensis, et<sup>4</sup> Batoniensis, in quorum fidelitatem utra-  
que pars secura se credidit. Episcopi elegerunt ad  
partem cancellarii tres comites, de Warena, de Arun-  
del, de Clara et quosdam alios octo nominatos. Ad  
partem comitis, Stephanum Ridel, comitis cancel-  
larium, Willelmum de Wenneval, Reginaldum de Was-  
seville, et quosdam alios octo nominatos. Isti omnes  
juraverunt, alii inspectis, alii tactis, sacrosanctis Evan-  
geliis, se provisuros inter comitem et cancellarium de  
querelis eorum et quæstionibus satisfactionem ad ho-  
norem utriusque partis et pacem regni. Et si quid  
deinceps inter eos contrarietatis emergerit, fideliter ter-

<sup>1</sup> sibi, P.; illi, C.

<sup>2</sup> abrupto, P.C.

<sup>3</sup> colloquio, P.C.

<sup>4</sup> et, om. C.

A.D. 1191. minabuunt. Comes et cancellarius iuraverunt se in quicquid prædicti iuratores providerint consensuros; et hæc fuit provisio. Girardo de Camvilla<sup>1</sup> in gratiam cancellarii recepto, remansit illi in bono et pace custodia castri de Lincolnia; comes reddidit castella quæ ceperat, quæ recepta cancellarius tradidit fidelibus et ligiis hominibus regis, scilicet, Willelmo de Wenn[eval]<sup>2</sup> castellum de Notingeham, et Reginaldo de Wasseville castellum de Tikehulla; et uterque istorum dedit obsidem cancellario, quod castella illa custodirent in salva pace et fidelitate domini regis, si vivus rediret. Si autem rex ante regressum in fata concederet, prædicta castra comiti redderentur, et cancellarius redderet obsides. Constabularii castellorum de honoribus comitis mutarentur a cancellario, si eos mutandos comes de ratione monstraret. Cancellarius, si rex obiret, comiti exheredationem non quæreret; sed pro omni eum posse suo promoveret ad regnum. Actum solemniter apud Wintoniam, septimo kalendas<sup>3</sup> Maii.<sup>4</sup>

The chancellor induces the monks of Westminster to receive his brother.

Cancellarius mira exactione et instantia induxit primo partem aliquam monachorum, et postmodum totam congregationem Westmonasterii, quod permiserunt fratrem ejus, monachum de Cadomo, profiteri cohabitationem in Westmonasterio, eligendum ab omnibus sibi in abbatem a professione et cohabitatione, die nominato: et ut hæc fabricatio non infringeretur, scripto cautum est, sigillo ecclesie appposito in testimonium.

Archbishop Geoffrey of York endeavours to return to England.

Gaufridus, non ex matre frater Ricardi regis et Johannis comitis, qui consecratus fuerat in archiepiscopum Eboracensem Turonis ab archiepiscopo Turonensi, de mandato summi pontificis, non semel sollicitavit mandatis Johannem fratrem regis et suum, ut saltem suo assensu reverti sibi liceret in Angliam; quo consentiente, redire paravit. Intermandata fratrum non

<sup>1</sup> C. has the spelling *Camvilla*, and *Wasseville*.

<sup>2</sup> Wenn, P.C.

<sup>3</sup> Altered in C. from *idus*.

<sup>4</sup> This treaty is out of place. See note 1 on p. 408.

latuerunt cancellarium, qui præcavens ne qualitas genuinae perversitatis cresceret ex augmento, mandavit eustodibus littorum, ut ubicumque archiepiscopus ille, qui Angliam abjuraverat triennio peregrinationis regis terræ illaberetur infra terminum, progredi non permetteretur, nisi de consilio juratorum, in quos comes et cancellarius juramento compromiserant de omnibus, quæ poterant intercidere.<sup>1</sup>

Robertus quidam prior Herefordensis, monachus de seipso nihil modicum æstimans, alienis se negociis, ut sua intersereret, libenter ingerens, in cancellarii mandatis ierat ad regem in Siciliam; ubi non est oblitus sui post cetera: qui, quocumque modo quemcumque pigeret, abbatiam de Muchenia concessam sibi a rege et confirmatam, meruit obtinere. Ad quam, agente cancellario, contra velle conventus possidendam, nec canonice nec cum benedictione, ingressus; et primo mox die ad primum prandium ex anguillis recentibus avidius sine vino quam expediret, et amplius insumendo, incidit in languorem, quem peperit cibo indigestus et hærens ardenti stomacho. Et ne voracitati languor ascriberetur, monachos loci de dato sibi toxico fecit infamari.

Juven. iii.  
233.

Gaufridus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, de consensu Johannis comitis fratris sui præsumens, parato navigio suo, Dovram appulit; qui mox terræ redditus primo petiit oraturus ecclesiam. Est ibi prioratus monachorum de professione Cantuariorum, quorum oratorium missas<sup>2</sup> auditorus cum clericis suis ingressus est, et familia ejus circa exsarcinandas naves erat intenta. Jam tota suppellex terram tenuit, cum subito constabularius castelli quicquid putabatur esse archiepiscopi trahi<sup>3</sup> fecit in oppidum, plus in mandato domini sui cancellarii intelligens, quam mandaverat. Quidam etiam militum, armati sub tunicis et spatibus accinetti, venerunt in monasterium, ut comprehenderent pontifi-

A.D. 1191.

Story as to Robert prior of Hereford and the monks of Michelney.

Arch-bishop Geoffrey lands at Dover.

He is violently dragged to prison.

<sup>1</sup> P. gives an alternative reading, |  
"vel post accidere." |

<sup>2</sup> missam, C.

<sup>3</sup> A short erasure in P.



A.D. 1191. cem; quos ut vidit, præcognita voluntate eorum, accepit crucem in manus suas, priorque eos alloquens et manus in suos extendens, ait, "Ego sum archiepiscopus, si me quaeritis, sinite hos abire." Et milites, "Utrum," inquirunt, "archiepiscopus sis, necne, nihil ad nos; unum scimus, quoniam tu es Gaufridus filius Henrici regis, quem genuit quocumque thoro, qui coram rege,<sup>1</sup> cujus te fratrem facis, Angliam abjurasti triennio: si sicut traditor regni in regnum non veneris, si literas absolutionis attuleris, 'aut die, aut accipe calcem.'" Tunc archiepiscopus, Juven. ii.  
295. "Traditor," inquit, "nec<sup>2</sup> sum, nec literas aliquas vobis ostendam." Injecerunt illico coram ipso altari manus in eum, et invitum ac renitentem, non repugnantem, violenter extraxerunt de ecclesia; qui mox extra limen positus ipsos, qui in eum manum<sup>3</sup> miserant, praesentes et audientes et adhuc illum tenentes, excommunicavit ex nomine, et oblatum sibi equum, ut cum illis ad castrum equitaret, quia mancipium fuit excommunicatorum, non recepit. Quem, totius obliti mansuetudinis, per manus trahebant peditem et crucem portantem per lutum platearum<sup>4</sup> usque in castrum. Post hæc omnia, cum captivo suo de gratia sua volebant humanius<sup>5</sup> agere, inferentes illi de melioribus cibis, quos sibi paraverant, sed ille, ex his quæ jam tulerat factus constantior, cibos illorum velut idoliticum respiciens, nolebat vivere nisi de proprio. Itumor per regionem vento velocior, sequuntur qui dominum suum secuti fuerant a longe, referentes et conquerentes ad omnes archiepiscopum fratrem regis sic appulsum, sic tractatum, sic retentum in carcere.

Arch-  
bishop

Archiepiscopus erat in custodia jam triduanus, et cancellarius, statim ut sibi casus innotuit, omnibus

<sup>1</sup> From *quem* on crasure, P.

<sup>2</sup> *non*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *manum*, P.; *manus*, C.

<sup>4</sup> These same words, *per lutum platearum*, occur in Benedict's account, ii. 211, and there are one or

two other expressions, both here and in the *Vit. Gaufr.*, p. 392, which possibly point to a common source of information — probably a letter of which copies were circulated.

<sup>5</sup> *humanus*, P. and C.



suis illi redditis, fecit liberum quaquaversum vellet abire. Scripsit insuper Johanni comiti et omnibus episcopis, cum juramento asserens citra conscientiam suam præfatum virum præscriptas injurias pertulisse. Parum profecit excusatio, quia dudum quæsita et votis empta visco tenacius retenta est, quæ se sponte obtulit, adversus eum occasio. Excommunicantur ab omni ecclesia totius regni, in speciale, præsumptores tantæ temeritatis, qui in archiepiscopum manus iniecerant, in genere, auctores et consentientes; <sup>1</sup> ut saltem in generali maledictione cancellarius omnibus invidiosus involveretur.<sup>2</sup>

*teeth* Comes Johannes, in non amatum sibi cancellarium genuinos exacuens, coram singulis episcoporum et magnatum regni de infracta ex adversa parte juratæ pacis conventionem, de fratris ejus ad sui dedecus captione, querelam deposuit plurimum ponderosam. Rogantur juratores et adjurantur<sup>3</sup> stare promissioni juratæ, faciantque celerius ne deterius fiat, ut fidefragus et perjurus satisfactione digna deleat quod deliquit. Res in nugis hætenus actitata jam procedit ad certum:<sup>4</sup> summonitur valida auctoritate omnium suorum et comitis mediatorum cancellarius, ut ad accusationes comitis responsurus et juri pariturus sibi occurrat, loco ad Pontem Lodani, die tertio nonas Octobris.

Comes, cum maxima parte majorum regni omnium sibi faventium, per duos dies expectaverat loco colloqui cancellarium, et tertio mane præmisit quosdam ex se sequentibus Londoniam, expectans in loco colloqui adhuc si expectatus ille aut auderet aut dig-

A.D. 1191.  
Geoffrey's  
release.

John  
makes  
formal  
complaint  
against the  
chancellor.

Long-  
champ is  
summoned  
to a meet-  
ing on  
October 5  
at Loddon  
Bridge.

The chan-  
cellor fails  
to attend,  
and finally  
goes to  
London.

<sup>1</sup> *consentientes*, P. and C.

<sup>2</sup> There is here in P. about half a page erased: opposite the word *Comes* in C. is a marginal note by the original scribe, "*Hic abrasum erat quicquid illud esset*"—a suf-

ficient proof that C. was copied from P.

<sup>3</sup> In C. *et ad* is written above *et conjurantur*, thus giving *et adjurantur* as an alternative reading.

<sup>4</sup> *ortum*, C., with *cer* above the first syllable.

A.D. 1191. naretur venire. Cancellarius, timens sibi de comite et suspectos habens iudices, duos dies distulit ad locum venire; tertio (quia, ut cuique conscia mens est, ita conceipit inter pectora pro facto spemque metumque suo,) inter spem et metum medius ad colloquium ire perrexit. Et ecce! vir sibi fidelis Henricus Biset, qui viderat transeuntes præmissos de familia comitis, "ad-  
 "misso subdens creberrime calcar equo," venit obvius Ov. Art. Am. ii. 732.  
 cancellario, fidem faciens quod comes ab antediem armatus ierat Londoniam capere; et quis esset eo die qui non ut Evangelium acciperet quicquid ille mentiri nescius diceret? Sed mentitus non est, quia verum putabat esse quod dixerat. Cancellarius, hac vice deceptus ut homo, omnem qui secum erat militem fecit armari continuo; et se æstimans e vestigio subsequi comitem præeuntem, prævenit eum in civitatem. Rogati cives ab eo, quia comes nondum aderat, ut venienti portas clauderent, respuerunt, eum turbatorem terræ nominantes et traditorem. Archiepiscopus enim Eboracensis, futurorum conscius, dum ibi per dies aliquot moram fecisset, ut videret finem negotii, assiduis querelis et precibus commoverat omnes in illum; qui tunc primo se proditum sentiens confugit in arcem, et Londonienses observabant a terra et mari, ne profugeret. Comes, cognita ejus fuga, cum copiis suis eum insequens receptus est ab obviis<sup>1</sup> civibus cum laternis et facibus, quia de nocte venit in urbem; nihilque defuit in salutationibus adulantis populi, nisi illud psittaci,<sup>2</sup> Chere Basileos,<sup>3</sup> hoc est, "Salve, care  
 "domine!" Pers. Prolog. 8.

Long-  
 champ  
 takes re-  
 fuge in the  
 Tower.

A council  
 held in  
 St. Paul's.

Crastino comes et universi magnates regni conven-  
 erunt in ecclesiam Sancti Pauli, et audita est prima  
 omnium querela Eboracensis archiepiscopi; post illam

<sup>1</sup> P. and C. give *ovis*, which is probably an error for *obviis*.

<sup>2</sup> *sithaci*, is the form in both MSS.

<sup>3</sup> *Chere Basileos*, P. C. in capitals. P. omits the words that follow.

admissus est quisquis habebat aliquid in eum. Sum- A.D. 1191  
 mam et diligentem audientiam habuerunt accusatores  
 absentis, et præcipue ille in verbis plurimus, Hugo  
 Coventrensis episcopus, pridie familiarissimus ejus;  
 qui, quia pessima pestis est familiaris inimicus, pejus  
 omnibus et perversius in familiarem elocutus, non  
 prius destitit donec diceretur ab omnibus, "Nolumus  
 00. " hunc regnare super nos." Tota itaque concio sine  
 ulla dilatione constituerunt Johannem comitem fratrem  
 regis summum rectorem totius regni, et ut omnia  
 castella quibus vellet custodienda traderet statuentes,  
 tria tantum de minus valentibus, ab invicem pluri-  
 mum distantia, nomine tenus jam cancellario relique-  
 runt. Justiciarius supremus post comitem, justiciarii New ap-  
 errantes, custodes scaccarii, castrorum constabularii, pointments  
 omnes novi de novo instituuntur. Inter alios tunc are made  
 receptores et episcopus Wintoniensis, quas sibi to judicial,  
 cancellarius tulerat, in integrum recepit custodias,<sup>1</sup> et fiscal, and  
 dominus Dunelmensis recepit comitatum Norhhumbriæ. military  
 offices.

Dies ille nefastus declinabat ad vesperam, et qua- The deci-  
 tuor<sup>2</sup> episcopi et totidem comites, ex parte concionis sion of the  
 missi ad cancellarium, exposuerunt illi ad literam totius council is  
 aeta diei. Inhorruit ille ad inopinatam audaciam præ made  
 sumptorum, et, deficiente spiritu, decidit in terram ita known to  
 exsanguis, ut ex ore spumas emitteret. Injecta sibi Long-  
 aqua frigida in faciem, revixit, et erectus in pedes champ.  
 Virg. Æn., torvo nuncios perstrinxit lumine, dicens, "Una salus  
 ii. 354. " 'victis nullam sperare salutem.' Vicistis et vinxistis  
 " incautum. Si me Dominus Deus dominum meum<sup>3</sup>  
 " regem inter duos oculos videre dederit, dies ista  
 " malo vobis illuxit, certi estote. Quantum in vobis  
 " est, comiti jam dedistis quicquid regis erat in regno.  
 " Dicite ei, vivit adhuc Priamus. Vos, qui vestri

<sup>1</sup> The rest of the paragraph is an addition in dark ink by the same hand.

<sup>2</sup> Giraldus, in the *Vit. Gaufr.*, Rolls ed., p. 405, states that these

were the bishops of London, Lincoln, Winchester, and Coventry (Lichfield).

<sup>3</sup> *meum*, om. C.

A.D. 1191. "viventis adhuc regis immemores, alterum vobis ele-  
 gistis in dominum, dicite illi domino vestro quoniam  
 "totum ibit aliter quam existimat. Castella non  
 "dedam, sigillum non resignabo." Regressi ab eo  
 nuncii retulerunt comiti quod acceperant, qui præcepit  
 arctius arcem obsideri.<sup>1</sup>

He refuses  
 to sur-  
 render his  
 power.

A municip-  
 al organi-  
 sation  
 granted to  
 London.

Concessa<sup>2</sup> est ipsa die et instituta communia Lon-  
 doniensium, in quam<sup>3</sup> universi regni magnates et ipsi  
 etiam ipsius provinciæ episcopi jurare coguntur. Nunc  
 primum in indulta sibi conjuratione regno regem de-  
 esse cognovit Londonia, quam nec rex ipse Ricardus,  
 nec prædecessor et pater ejus Henricus, pro mille mil-  
 libus marcarum<sup>4</sup> argenti fieri permisisset. Quanta  
 quippe mala ex conjuratione proveniant ex ipsa pot-  
 erit diffinitione perpendi, quæ talis est,—communia est  
 tumor plebis, timor regni, tepor sacerdotii.

at 00.

Cancellarius ad majorem partem noctis,—quia qui  
 non intendit animum studiis et rebus honestis invidia  
 vel amore vigil torquebitur,—erat insomnis; et eum  
 interim sui plus<sup>5</sup> torquebant quam conscientia, rogantes  
 cum lacrimis, pedibus ejus provoluti, ut necessitati  
 cederet, et ne contra torrentem brachia tenderet.  
 Emollitur ille ferro durior ad gemituosa consilia cir-  
 cumflentium; iterum et iterum exanimatus præ tris-  
 titia ad ultimum vix adquevit fieri, quod omni desti-  
 tutus auxilio facere cogebatur. Unus ex fratribus ejus  
 et tres cum eo non ignobiles permissi, non missi,  
 nunciaverunt ipsa hora noctis comiti cancellarium,  
 quocumque non refert animo, quicquid provisum est  
 pati et agere paratum. Tollat moras, quia "semper  
 "noctui differre paratis." In crastino fieret ne talis  
 se ventus obverteret, ut differretur in annum. Rever-

λλ.

Juv., iv. 90.

Lucan, i.

50.

Long-  
 champ ac-  
 cepts the  
 terms  
 offered.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Girald. *Vit. Gaufr.*, p. 405.

<sup>2</sup> For the reasons for altering Mr. Stevenson's arrangement of the paragraphs at this point, see p. 429,

note 5, Cf. Bened. Petrob., ii. 214, as to the *Communia*.

<sup>3</sup> *in quam*, P.C.

<sup>4</sup> *marcis*, P.C.

<sup>5</sup> P. interlines "vel non minus."

tuntur isti in arcem, et nota fecit ante diem ista fieri A.D. 1191.  
comes sibi consentientibus.

Virg. Æn.,  
iv. 129.

“Oceanum interea nascens Aurora reliquit,” et comes John and Long-champ meet.  
cum tota cohorte sua exivit in planitiem, quæ est  
extra Londoniam ad orientem, orto jam sole; venit  
illuc et cancellarius, sed minus mane quam adversarii.

Tenuerunt majores medium, circa quos proxima fuit  
corona Quiritum, et populus spectans erat deorsum,  
ut æstimabatur, ad decem millia hominum. Aggre-  
ditur cancellarium primus Coventrensis<sup>1</sup> episcopus,  
singulas accusationes diei præteritæ retractans, et de  
suo semper aliquid adjiciens. “Non est,” inquit, The con-  
trovery is  
begun by  
the bishop  
of Lich-  
field.

“decens nec tolerabile, ut minus talis qualis ignavia  
“tot viros nobiles et honorabiles de tam remotis  
“partibus toties faciat convenire pro nihilo. Et quia  
“melius est semel dolere quam semper, brevibus  
“omnia claudam. Non placet, quia nec<sup>2</sup> expedit, ut  
“ulterius domineris in regno. Contentus eris epis-  
“copatu tuo, et tribus castellis,<sup>3</sup> quæ tibi indulsumus,  
“et magni nominis umbra. De reliquis omnibus cas-  
“tellis reddendis, et de non movenda porrecta aut  
“tumultibus fabricandis, dabis frumentarios obsides,  
“et liber abire postea poteris quaversus volueris.”  
Multi super hæc multa dixerunt, nemo contra; solus  
dominus Wintoniensis, quamvis pluribus eloquentior  
esset, semper tacuit. Demum cancellarius, vix loqui per-  
missus, ait, “Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne  
“reponam?” Ante omnia noveritis singuli et universi  
“quod nullius rei reum me sentio, quare os alicujus  
“vestrum timere debeam. Archiepiscopum Eboraci Long-  
champ's  
reply.  
“me nec sciente nec volente captum profiteor, id  
“civiliter si recipitis vel ecclesiastice probaturus. De  
“excidentis regis et feminis donationis ejus si quid

Quint.

12. 10. 15.

“et magni nominis umbra. De reliquis omnibus cas-  
“tellis reddendis, et de non movenda porrecta aut  
“tumultibus fabricandis, dabis frumentarios obsides,  
“et liber abire postea poteris quaversus volueris.”

Juven., i.  
1.

Multi super hæc multa dixerunt, nemo contra; solus  
dominus Wintoniensis, quamvis pluribus eloquentior  
esset, semper tacuit. Demum cancellarius, vix loqui per-  
missus, ait, “Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne  
“reponam?” Ante omnia noveritis singuli et universi  
“quod nullius rei reum me sentio, quare os alicujus  
“vestrum timere debeam. Archiepiscopum Eboraci  
“me nec sciente nec volente captum profiteor, id  
“civiliter si recipitis vel ecclesiastice probaturus. De  
“excidentis regis et feminis donationis ejus si quid

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Nniant, bishop of Lich-  
field, often called in the chronicles  
bishop of Coventry.

<sup>2</sup> nec, P. C.

<sup>3</sup> Dover, Canterbury, Hereford.



A.D. 1191. "egerim, Gaufridus filius Petri, Willelmus Briwere,  
 " Hugo Bardolfe, quos a rege<sup>1</sup> consiliarios habui, si  
 " liceret eis loqui, pro me satisfacerent.<sup>2</sup> Cur, et in  
 " quid, denarios regis expenderim, præsto sum usque  
 " ad ultimum quadrantem reddere rationem. Obsides  
 " dare pro reddendis castellis, licet in hoc regi magis  
 " timeam, quia cogit oportet, non diffugio. Nomen  
 " quod non valetis auferre, nominatum adhuc habi-  
 " turus, non vilipendo. In summa, sciendum omnibus  
 " dico, quod de nulla administratione mihi a rege  
 " tradita me depono. Circumvenistis unum plurimi,  
 " fortiores me estis, et ego, cancellarius regis et regni  
 " justiciarius, contra formam totius juris judicatus,  
 " quia necesse est, fortioribus cedo." Allegationibus  
 partium fecit finem sol vergens in vesperum; recipi-  
 untur in obsidium fratres duo cancellarii qui fuit, et  
 quidam tertius, qui a secretis ei fuerat cubicularius.  
 Solutum est concilium, redditis clavibus arcis Londoniæ,  
 sexto idus Octobris.

The keys  
of the  
Tower are  
given up  
on Octo-  
ber 10.

77.

Long-  
champ goes  
to Dover:  
earl John  
appoints  
wardens  
over the  
surren-  
dered  
castles.

Both par-  
ties appeal  
to the  
king.

Long-  
champ's  
misfor-  
tunes.

Cancellarius Dovram, unum, scilicet, ex tribus, unde  
 mentio facta est, castris, profectus est; et comes omnia  
 munita terræ,<sup>3</sup> quibus voluit et plus credidit, sibi  
 reddita liberavit.

85.

Mittuntur continuo, et a damnato et a damnatori-  
 bus, nuncii ad ipsum regem in Terram Promissionis,  
 quique pro parte sua ad accusandum vel excusandum  
 sufficienter instructi.

at 77.

Nominativo<sup>4</sup> hic cancellarius ex perditæ potestatis  
 et præsentis sui status recordatione confusus, inhibi-  
 tionem transfretationis dum modis omnibus molitur  
 eludere, non uniformiter nec semel tantum illusus est.  
 Taceo, quod et in habitu monachi et in muliebri veste  
 deprehensus fuerit et retentus,<sup>5</sup> quia multum et nimis

at 85.

<sup>1</sup> quos a rege, not in P.

<sup>2</sup> Only *sa* remains in C., the rest  
of the word is rubbed away.

<sup>3</sup> terra, P. C.

<sup>4</sup> This paragraph is in the margin  
of P., continuing the previous one.

<sup>5</sup> See Hugh of Nunant's letter  
given by Benedict, ii. 215-220. See  
also the *Vit. Gaufr.*, Rolls ed., p. 410.



est meminisse quam inæstimabilem suppellectilem, quam A.D. 1191. multiplices gazas sibi, demum in Flandriam appulso, Flandrensens diripuerunt. Cujus transfretatione cognita, quicquid in Anglia reddituum possederat confiscatur. Fit dira inter duros<sup>1</sup> decertatio. Cancellarius sublatam sibi suspendit dicecesim, et pervasores ejus denotat et innodat anathemate. Nec fuit eo corde minor Rotomagensis archiepiscopus, qui, in ultionem illius præsumptæ excommunicationis in fiscarios, per Neustriam denunciari mandavit Willelmum de Longo Campo excommunicatum haberi. Nolebat tamen se videri metuere maledictionem latam in pervasores prædicti episcopatus, nec dignabatur credere sententiam profugi præsulis posse in solium suæ majestatis ascendere. Fuit igitur fœda facies Eliensis ecclesiæ, tacetur per totam dicecesim ab omni opere Domini, corpora mortuorum per omnes vicos inhumata jaciuntur. In Neustria, vice reddita, nemo ex archiepiscopalibus communicabat cancellario, in ingressu ejus omnis ecclesia suspenditur et egressu omnia signa pulsantur, et altaria ubi celebravit dejiciuntur.

at ee.

Duo legati<sup>2</sup> a latere summi Pontificis directi in Galliam, instinctu, ut fertur, regis Francorum sed occulto, venere Gisortium visitaturi Normanniam, quam regni Francorum partem præcipuam fuisse didicerant; quos, quia castri constabularius et senescallus Neustriæ non admiserunt, hac se rationis umbra tuentes, quod non, nisi favente fundi domino vel præsentate, debeat cujusquam provinciæ fieri visitatio; hoc specialiter privilegio omnes reges Anglorum et Ricardum præcipue ab Apostolica sede donatos. Nihil egit apud legatos vera vel verisimilis allegatio; crevit et intumuit, sed contra intimidos, "Diis æqua potestas."

Juven., iv.  
71.

<sup>1</sup> duros, P. C.

<sup>2</sup> Octavian bishop of Ostia, and Jordan abbot of Fossa Nova, according to Mr. Stevenson.

A.D. 1191. Contempta recolitur Romanæ majestatis auctoritas; *at* §. projiciunt "ampullas et sesquipedalia verba." Multam <sup>Hor. A. P., 97.</sup> in resistentes multa acerbitate minantur, et tamen quia non habebant placitare cum pueris, clausis contra eos castri foribus, steterunt de foris. Sed non defuit suum repulsis solatium. Quo non poterant personaliter accedere, processerunt potentialiter. Castellannum Gisortii et senescallum Neustriæ præsentis excommunicaverunt ex nomine, et universam Neustriam ab universo ritus ecclesiastici suspenderunt<sup>1</sup> ministerio. Oportuit deferri potentiae; siluit ecclesia continuo et continue per trium septimanarum spatium, donec, invocato summo Pontifice, remissa fuit et in nominatos sententia et in Neustriam lata suspensio. Redditus est liber libertatis Neustriæ et vox lætitiæ, et legatis inhibitum est portare pedes in Neustriam.

The monks of Westminster choose an abbot, passing over the chancellor's brother.

Westmonasteriensis monachi, qui ante dies istos tam magni cordis exstiterant, ut pro mori sua facta non inficerent, ex quo viderunt tempus alterum et ipsi alterati cum tempore, quicquid cum cancellario de fratre suo pepigerant retro dorsum ponentes, priorem domus suæ in abbatem conniventia comitis elegerunt, qui et benedictionem et baculum sine dilatione percepit ab episcopo Londonensi.

Frater cancellarii,<sup>2</sup> qui de conducto debuerat eligi in abbatem, videns conventum contra sua pacta venire, confusus cum suo curto pudore recessit; cartam tamen cautionis secum deferens, appellatione ante secundam electionem facta coram legitimis testibus, ne quid contra eam sibi fieret promotionem.

The monks of Muchelney eject their abbot.

Monachi de Muchelencia,<sup>3</sup> quem vi susceperant, suum nescio quem, nec electum nec abbatem, exemplo Westmonasteriensium, non tamen<sup>4</sup> a simili, ejecerunt de domo sua; stramenta lecti ejus post illum projicientes,

<sup>1</sup> The rest as far as *pedes in Neustriam*, is lost from P. by the cutting of the margin.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Longchamp. See as to him the *Vit. Gaufr.*, p. 407.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 411.

<sup>4</sup> *tamen*, in both MSS.

et conviciatum cum contumeliis extra insulam quatuor A.D. 1191.  
ventis exposuerunt.

Archiepiscopus Rothomagensis constitutus a comite The Arch-  
justiciarius regni et supremus super negotia, convocato bishop of  
Cantuariam clero et populo, de eligendo archipontifice,<sup>1</sup> having  
sicut rex ipse sibi injunxerat, agere instituit. Lon- been  
donensis autem et Wintoniensis episcopi non affuerunt, made jus-  
regis detenti negotiis apud Londoniam; factaque inter ticiary by  
episcopos, qui convenerant, quaestione, quis eorum vide- John, con-  
retur esse major, cujus esse deberet electio, ex quo vokes an  
duo praedicti primae dignitatis aberant, prior Cantua- assembly  
riensis, nodum difficultatis absolvens, omnes fecit at Canter-  
aequales in eligendo pontifice, procedens in publicum bury to  
cum monachis suis, et in facie totius ecclesiae eligens elect an  
in archiepiscopum de medio cleri Reginaldum episcopum arch-  
Batoniae. bishop.

Reginaldus Cantuariensis electus Roman, si Parcae The arch-  
parcerent, pro pallio profecturus, expletis apud Can- bishop  
tuariam sollemnitatibus, quae fieri solent circa electos, elect en-  
venit disponere Bathoniensi ecclesiae,<sup>2</sup> quam multum deavours  
diligebat, magis ab ea dilectus. Fertur etiam quod to procure  
de eligendo et sibi subrogando Savarico, Northamp- the election  
tonae archidiacono, prioris et conventus impetrarit of Savaric  
assensum et perceperit cautionem. Unde revertens as his  
aegrotavit in itinere, et accubuit aeger nimis apud successor  
manerium suum de Dokemeresfeld; quique videns sibi in the see  
nihil vicinius esse quam mortem, suscepit habitum of Bath,  
monachi per manus Walteri prioris sui, tunc secum but falls ill,  
morantis, et accipiens haec locutus est, "Deus noluit and dies on  
" me esse archiepiscopum, et ego nolo; Deus voluit Dec. 26.  
" me esse monachum, et ego volo." Literas<sup>3</sup> etiam  
regis ad justiciarios de concessa Savarico diocesi ad  
quamcumque foret electus canonice attulit<sup>4</sup> in extremis  
agens, dedit priori Batoniae, ut hujus auctoritate

<sup>1</sup> *archipraesule*, C.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in MSS.

<sup>3</sup> *Literas*—*promoveretur*, marked  
to this place, but written in P. in

the space left by the short lines of  
the epitaph.

<sup>4</sup> *attulit*, C.; a space in P.

A.D. 1191. instrumenti citius promoveretur. Omnibus deinde, cc.  
 ——— que ad fidem spectant et pœnitentiam, devote et sana  
 mente peractis, quievit in Domino septimo kalendas  
 Januarii.

## Epitaphium.

Epitaph  
 on Regi-  
 nald, arch-  
 bishop  
 elect of  
 Canter-  
 bury.

Dum Reginaldus erat bene seque suosque regebat;  
 Nemo plus quærat; quicquid docuit faciebat.  
 Sancti Swithuni nisi pratum præripuisset,  
 Hunc de communi mors tam cito non rapuisset.  
 Sed, quia pœnituit, minuit mors passa reatum;  
 Fecit quod potuit, se dedit ad monachatum,

The monks  
 of Bath  
 elect Sava-  
 ric, arch-  
 deacon of  
 Northamp-  
 ton, as  
 bishop.

Walterus prior Bathoniæ et suus sine clero con-  
 ventus elegerunt sibi in futurum episcopum Savaricum,  
 archidiaconum Northamptoniæ, absentem et adhuc cc.  
 casum cognati pontificis ignorantem; et licet clerus  
 reniteretur obtinuerunt.

The Cru-  
 sade:  
 The divi-  
 sions and  
 order of  
 sailing of  
 king  
 Richard's  
 fleet.

Classis<sup>1</sup> Ricardi regis Anglorum altum legebat, et ut m.  
 hoc ordine procedebat. In prima fronte ibant tres p. 406.  
 naves tantum in quarum una erat regina Siciliæ et  
 puella Navarorum, forte adhuc virgo; in duabus,  
 aliqua pars thesauri regis et armorum; in singulis  
 trium, homines defensabiles et victualia. In secundo  
 ordine erant inter naves et buceas et dromundos, tre-  
 decim; in tertio, quatuordecim; in quarto, viginti; in  
 quinto, triginta; in sexto, quadraginta; in septimo,  
 sexaginta; in novissimo rex ipse cum galeis suis  
 sequebatur. Erat inter naves et processiones carum  
 tali discretione indictum<sup>2</sup> nautis spatium, quod de uno  
 ordine ad alterum vox tubæ, de una navi ad alteram  
 vox hominis, audiri potuit. Illud etiam fuit admira-  
 bile quod rex non minus sanus et incolumis, fortis et  
 potens, levis et exsiliens, erat in mari quam solebat

<sup>1</sup> This passage, as far as *dignatus adire* (p. 430), is in the margin of the MSS. See note 5 on p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> *indictum*, both MSS.

esse in terris. Concludo ergo quod non erat unus A.D. 1191.  
 homo validior illo in mundo, nec in terra, nec in  
 mari.

Prædicto itaque modo et ordine, navibus aliis alias Two of the  
 leading  
 ships are  
 præeuntibus, duæ de tribus primis, vi ventorum im- wrecked  
 on the  
 coast of  
 pulsæ, cautibus juxta portum Cypri contritæ sunt; Cyprus.  
 tertia, quæ Anglica erat, agilior illis retorta in altum,  
 diffugit periculum. Omnes fere homines utriusque  
 navis vivi evaserunt ad terram, de quibus multos  
 interfecerunt occurrentes Cyprii, quosdam ceperunt,  
 quidam refugientes in quandam ecclesiam obsessi fue-  
 runt. Quicquid etiam in navibus fuerat de mari Ill-treat-  
 ment of  
 the crews.  
 erutum cessit in prædam Cypriorum. Princeps quo-  
 que insulæ illius adveniens in partem suam recepit  
 aurum et arma, et fecit ab omni, quem convocare  
 potuit, armato observari litus, ut classem sequentem  
 applicare non sineret, ne rex sibi surrepta reciperet.  
 Supra portum erat urbs fortis et super rupem nativam  
 castellum eminens et munitum. Tota gens illa belli-  
 cosa et de rapto vivere consuevit. Ponebantur in  
 introitu portus per transversum trabes et tigna, portæ  
 et ostia; et tota terra, toto animo, contra Anglos se  
 præparavit ad pugnam. Voluit Deus ut populus ma-  
 ledictus malorum meritum per manus non miserentis  
 acciperet. Tertia navis Anglica, in qua erant feminae,  
 ejectis ancoris, in alto expectabat et omnia conside-  
 rabat e contra relatura casum regi, ne forte damni  
 nescius et dedecoris, locum præteriret inultus. Venit Richard  
 sends mes-  
 sengers to  
 the em-  
 peror.  
 navium regis ordo post alterum, et substiterunt om-  
 nes ad primam. Rumor refusus pervenit ad regem,  
 qui, missis nunciis ad dominum insulæ,<sup>1</sup> nihil volun-  
 tatis adeptus, mandavit universum exercitum armari  
 a primo usque ad ultimum, et de magnis navibus  
 egressos in galeis et scaphis sequi illum ad litus. Fit  
 quod jubetur citissime, venit in armis ad portum.

<sup>1</sup> Isaac Comuenns.



A.D. 1191. Rex armatus, primus de galea exsilicis, primum ictum dedit in bello; sed, antequam posset dare secundum, tria millia suorum habebat in latere secum percutientium. Dejicitur in momento quicquid lignorum oppositum fuerat in portu, et ascendunt viri fortes in urbem non mitiores quam solent esse leænæ, raptis fœtibus. Pugnatur contra illos viriliter, et ceciderunt vulnerati ex his et ex<sup>1</sup> illis, et inebriabantur gladii utrorumque in sanguine. Vincuntur Cyprii, capta est urbs, et cum castello, diripitur quicquid placet victoribus, et ipse dominus insulæ comprehensus est<sup>2</sup> et adductus ad regem. Precatur veniam<sup>3</sup> et mercetur, offert homagium regi et recipitur, et jurat non rogatus quod amodo de illo, sicut<sup>4</sup> ligio domino, tenebit insulam, et omnia castella terræ sibi aperiet et exponet, damnum restituet, et de proprio largietur. Dimissus post juramentum jubetur in mane pacta complere.

Richard lands with his forces.

The king is captured, but is freed on promising restitution.

Arrival of the king of Jerusalem.

The emperor of Cyprus is found to have fled.

Nocte illa rex quievit in castro; et juratus ejus fugiens secessit in aliud castellum, et summoniri fecit omnem hominem terræ, qui poterant arma portare, ut convenirent ad eum, et ita factum est. Rex autem Hierusalem eadem nocte applicuit in Cyprum, ut occurreret regi et salutaret eum, ejus adventum plus quam omnium hominum totius mundi desideraverat. In crastino quæsitus ille dominus Cyprii, compertus<sup>5</sup> est effugisse. Rex, videns se esse illum, et ubi esset edoctus, præcepit regi Hierosolimorum sequi perfidum per terram cum media parte exercitus, ipse alteram partem circumduxit per aquam, volens esse in obviam, ne elaberetur per mare. Convenerunt partes circa oppidum in quod fugerat, et ille contra regem egressus commisit cum Anglis, et pugnatum

<sup>1</sup> *er*, om. C.

<sup>2</sup> In C. "vel *comprehensus est*"  
is interlined above *insule captus est*.

<sup>3</sup> P. and C. omit *comprehensus* here.

<sup>4</sup> *sicut de ligio*, C.

<sup>5</sup> *quæsitus est ille . . . et compertus*, C.



est acriter ab utrisque partibus. Victi fuissent Angli A.D. 1191.  
 in illa die, nisi sub<sup>1</sup> Ricardo puguassent. Potiuntur After  
 tandem victoria caro mercata, fugit Cyprius et cap- another  
 tum est castrum. Insequuntur illum reges sicut battle the  
 prius, unus per terram, alter per aquam, et obsessus king is  
 est in tertio castello. Dejiciuntur muri<sup>2</sup> fundi- besieged,  
 balariis<sup>3</sup> ingentia saxa rotantibus, promittit deditio- but sur-  
 nem oppressus, si tantummodo in vincula ferrea non renders.  
 poneretur. Annuat rex precibus supplicantis, et fecit  
 ei fieri argenteos compedes. Capto itaque piratarum He is put  
 principe, rex peragravit totam insulam et cepit omnia into silver  
 castella ejus, et posuit custodes suos in singulis, et fetters.  
 constituit justiciarios et vicecomites, et subdita est illi  
 tota terra in omnibus, sicut Anglia.

Aurum, et sericum, et gemmas de thesauris effractas<sup>4</sup>  
 sibi retinuit; argentum et victualia dedit exercitui.  
 Regi quoque Hierusalem de acquisito suo largitus est  
 largissime.

Et quia jam transierat Quadragesima, et legitimum Richard  
 contrahendi tempus advenerat, Berengariam filiam regis marries  
 Navarorum, quam ad se in Quadragesima mater Berengère.  
 ad- The voy-  
 duxerat, sibi despondi fecit in insula. Repetitis post age is re-  
 ista navibus, versus Accaronem feliciter navigans, offen- sured.  
 dit navem onerariam maximæ magnitudinis a Sala- A Saracen  
 hadino ad obsessos directam, victualibus et armato dromond  
 milite plenam: navem mirabilem, navem, qua præter is met and  
 navem Noë, non legitur major ulla fuisse. Lætatus sunk.  
 est<sup>5</sup> hic vir validus, quia ubique materiam virtutis  
 offendit, primus ipse pugnatorum, accitis ad suam  
 galeis suorum, navale prælium cœpit habere cum  
 Turcis. Navis fuit munita turribus et propugnaculis,  
 et pugnabant vecorditer desperati, quia est "una salus  
 "victis nullam sperare salutem." Dirus erat assultus  
 et dura defensio; sed quid adeo durum, quod non  
 domaverit durus ille durandus? Devineuntur Moco-

Virg. Æn.  
 ii. 354.

<sup>1</sup> sub rege Ricardo, C.

<sup>2</sup> muri illius, C.

<sup>3</sup> fundis balearibus, P. C.

<sup>4</sup> effractas, C.; effractis, P.

<sup>5</sup> est, C.; et, P.

A.D. 1191. micolæ, navis illa, regina navium, detrita demergitur quasi plumbum in aquis vehementibus, et periit cum possessoribus suis tota possessio.

Richard reaches Aere.

Rex inde progrediens venit ad Accaronis obsidionem, et exceptus est ab obsidentibus cum gaudio tanto, ac si esset Christus, qui revenisset in terram restituere regnum Israel.

Rex Francorum prævenerat ad Accaronem, et magni habitus est ab indigenis; sed, superveniente Ricardo, ita delituit et sine nomine factus est, ut solet ad solis ortum suum luna lumen amittere.

Richard's profuse liberality.

Venit ad regem suum Henricus<sup>1</sup> comes Campaniæ, cui jam deficiebat quicquid advexerat victus aut pretii. Postulat subventionem, cui rex suus et dominus facit offerri centum millia Parisiacensium,<sup>2</sup> si tamen sibi velit oppignerare Campaniam. Ad hæc comes, "Feci," inquit, "quod debui,<sup>3</sup> nunc faciam quod cogit oportet; meo regi militare volebam, sed me non recepit, nisi pro meo. Vado ad eum qui me recipiet, qui paratior est ad dare, quam ad accipere." Rex Anglorum Ricardus venienti ad eum Henrico<sup>1</sup> comiti Campaniæ dedit quatuor millia modios tritici, quatuor millia bacones, et quatuor millia libras<sup>4</sup> argenti. Totus igitur exercitus alienigenarum, qui ex omni natione, quæ sub cælo est, nominis Christiani, jam pridem et ante regum adventum convenerat ad obsidionem, ad tantæ famam donationis Ricardum regem in ducem recepit et dominum; soli, qui dominum suum secuti fuerant, Franci resederunt cum suo paupere rege Francorum.

Richard causes "castle Mategrif-

Rex Anglorum, moræ nescius, tertia die sui adventus in obsidionem construi<sup>5</sup> fecit et erigi castellum suum ligneum, quod in Sicilia factum, "Mate Grifun" nomi-

<sup>1</sup> *H.*, in *C.*, in both places.

<sup>2</sup> *C. m<sup>v</sup>* *Parisiacensium* is the reading of *C.*; *P.* reads *offerri C. marcas Parisiacensium*.

<sup>3</sup> *C.* reads *potui*, but interlines "vel *debui*" above *quod potui*.

<sup>4</sup> *modios, bacones, libras*, thus in MSS.

<sup>5</sup> *construi, P.*; *erstrui, C.*

naverat; et ante lucanum diei quartæ stetit machina A.D. 1191.  
 juxta muros Accaronis, quæ sua proceritate sub se  
 positam despiciebat civitatem; erantque desuper sagit- fun " lo  
 be put  
 together  
 again.  
 tarii, jam orto sole, sine cessatione in Turcos et Thracos  
 mittentes missilia. Petrarie etiam per competentia  
 loca locatæ crebris jactibus mœnia diruebant. His His ener-  
 getic mea-  
 sures.  
 graviores viri talponarii sub terra sibi viam aperien-  
 tes, murorum fundamenta subfodiebant; sed et, scalis  
 appositis, per propugnacula scutarii scrutabantur<sup>1</sup> in-  
 gressum. Discurrebat rex ipse per cuneos, hos instru-  
 ens, hos arguens, hos instimulans, et sic aderat ubique  
 per singulos, ut sibi singulariter deberet ascribi quic-  
 quid singuli faciebant.

Rex Francorum etiam ipse non segniter egit, qui  
 et apud turrem urbis, quæ Maledicta dicitur, summ  
 qualem potuit fecit<sup>2</sup> assaultum.

Præerant tunc temporis obsessæ civitati viri illus- The gar-  
 rison of  
 Acre ar-  
 range  
 terms of  
 surrender.  
 tres, Carracois et Mestocus, post Salahadinum principes  
 gentilium potentissimi, qui post certamen dierum plu-  
 rium, cum per interpretes deditionem urbis promitte-  
 rent, et capitum redemptionem, rex Anglorum volebat  
 viribus vincere desperatos, volebat et victos pro re-  
 demptione corporum capita solvere; sed, agente rege  
 Francorum, indulta est eis tantum vita cum indemni-  
 tate membrorum, si, post deditionem civitatis et da-  
 tionem omnium, quæ possidebant, Crux Dominica  
 redderetur.

Erant omnes in Accarone gentiles pugnatores lectis- The pri-  
 soners and  
 the spoil  
 are di-  
 vided.  
 simi, et erant numero novem millia. Quorum plurimi  
 plurimos aureos deglutientes de ventre faciebant  
 marsupium, quia præscierant quod quicquid apud  
 quemlibet cujuslibet pretii foret offensum, sibi si  
 reniteretur in crucem, et victoribus cederet in rapi-  
 nam. Egressi igitur universi coram regibus, penitus  
 inermes et extra cutem<sup>3</sup> sine pecunia, traduntur in  
 custodias; et reges cum signis triumphalibus urbem

<sup>1</sup> scrutabantur, P. C.

<sup>2</sup> faciebat, P.; fecit. C.

<sup>3</sup> cutem, P. C. They had swal-  
 lowed their gold.

A.D. 1191. ingressi, totam sibi et suis dimidio partiti sunt eum suppellectili, solam sedem pontificalem ex communi dono suus recepit episcopus. Captivis insuper dimidiatis, Mestocus in sortem regis Anglorum sorte devectus est,<sup>1</sup> et Carracois, ut aquæ stilla frigida, cecidit in os æstuans sitientis Philippi regis Francorum.

The duke of Austria is insulted by Richard.

Dux Austriæ, et ipse unus ex veteribus obsessorebus Accaronis, regem Anglorum secutus a pari in suæ sortis possessionem; quia, prolato<sup>2</sup> coram se vexillo, visus fuit sibi partem vindicare triumphî; et, si non de præcepto, de voluntate tamen, regis offensi, dejectum est vexillum ducis in cœnum, et in ejus contumeliam a derisoribus deculeatum.<sup>3</sup> Dux, in regem licet atrociter ardens, quam<sup>4</sup> vindicare non potuit, dissimulavit injuriam; et regressus in suæ locum obsidionis in refixam se recepit ea nocte papilionem, et post, quam citissime potuit, plenus rancoris renavigavit ad propria.

The massacre of half of the garrison of Acre.

Missis ex parte captivorum ad Salahadinum nunciis pro sui redemptione, cum in redhibitionem sanctæ Crucis nulla posset ethnicus supplicatione deflecti, rex Anglorum, uno tantum Mestoco, quia fuit illustris, ad vitam vendito, omnes suos decapitavit, et erga ipsum Salahadinum se idem voluntatis habere sine palpatione renunciavit.<sup>5</sup>

The marquis of Montferrat is promised the kingdom of Jerusalem by the French monarch.

Marchisius quidam de Monte Ferrato, vir leviannigena ab anteactis jam annis occupatam Tyrum possederat, cui rex Francorum omnes suos captivos vivos vendidit, et nondum partæ regionis diadema promisit; sed in hoc casu restitit ei rex Anglorum in faciem. "Non decet," inquit, "tui nominis hominem nondum "parta largiri vel promittere, sed et si tuæ peregri-

<sup>1</sup> The remaining words of the paragraph are cut away by the binder of P.

<sup>2</sup> *prolato*, P.; *prælato*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *conculcatum*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *quam*, P. C.

<sup>5</sup> A truer account of the circumstances of this massacre appears in W. of Newburgh, i. 356 and 359, and Benedict, ii. 189.

“ nationis Christus in causa est, cum regionis hujus  
 “ caput urbium de manu hostili, Hierosolymam, novis-  
 “ sine<sup>1</sup> tuleris, Widoni Hierosolymorum regi legitimo  
 “ regnum sine dilatione seu conditione restitues. Ce-  
 “ terum, si recorderis, Accaronem non obtinuisti sine  
 “ particeps; unde nec quod duarum est debet manus  
 “ una partiri. Ho, hoh, pro gutture Dei!” Marchi-  
 sium, felicis spei vacuus, Tyrum revertitur, et rex  
 Francorum, qui per marchisium contra invidiosum  
 suum se geminare gestierat, decrevit in dies, et id ei  
 accessit ad iugum cauterium conscientiae, quod et lixa  
 regis Anglorum splendidius viveret, quam pincerna  
 Francorum. Post dies aliquot confictae<sup>2</sup> sunt in cubi-  
 culo regis Francorum literae, quibus, velut a magnati-  
 bus suis ex Francia missis, rex revocaretur in Franciam.  
 Causa supponitur, quae plus debeat quam<sup>3</sup> justa videri;  
 unigenitum suum post diutinam validitudinem jam des-  
 peratum<sup>4</sup> a medicis, Franciam desolanda si, perditio  
 pignore, pater—quod contingere poterat—periret in terra  
 aliena. Habito igitur super his inter reges crebro  
 colloquio, cum esset uterque magnus et non possent  
 habitare communiter, Abraham remanente, recessit ab  
 eo Loth. Praestitit etiam rex Francorum per primates  
 suos regi Anglorum juratoriam cautionem pro sibi et  
 suis qualibet indemnitate servanda, donec in regnum  
 suum reverteretur in pace.<sup>5</sup>

A.D. 1191.

Richard declines to accede.

The king of France thinks of returning.

at u.  
p. 415.

Rex Francorum, cum paucis renavigans<sup>6</sup> ab Accarone, robor sui exercitus ad nihil agendum reliquit in loco, cui duces dedit Belvacensem episcopum et ducem Burgundiae.

<sup>1</sup> novissimo, P.; novissime, C.<sup>2</sup> contractae, C.<sup>3</sup> The rest, as far as *reverteretur in pace*, has been cut from the margin of P.<sup>4</sup> desperatam, C.<sup>5</sup> The passage as to the *communia* granted to London, which Mr. Stevenson places after this paragraph, has been printed on p. 416,in order to keep it in collocation with the passage opposite which it is written. The words “concessa est ipsa die” with which it opens have no meaning here, but they refer clearly to the *Dies ille nefastus* (see p. 415) opposite which they occur in the MS.<sup>6</sup> With “vel repatrians” written above, P.; *repatrians*, C.



A.D. 1191. Rex Angliæ, vocatis ad se Francorum ducibus, in primis ipsam Hierosolymam statuit communiter expetendam; sed dissuasio<sup>1</sup> Francorum corda utriusque infregit et infrigidavit exercitus, et regem milite destitutum a proposita metropolis pervasione retinuit. Rex ad ista turbatus,<sup>2</sup> sed non desperatus, jam ab illo die suum a Francis secrevit exercitum, et ad expugnanda castra circa maris oram brachia porrigens, quicquid sibi munitionis obstitit a Tyro usque ad Ascalonem, post dira bella et alta vulnera tamen, obtinuit. Tyrum vero, quia de suæ partis parto non erat, non est dignatus adire.

at λλ.  
p. 415.

A.D. 1192. *Millesimo<sup>3</sup> centesimo nonagesimo secundo.*

Return of the king of France. Philippus rex Francorum, relicto sodali suo Ricardo rege Anglorum in terra Hierosolymitana inter inimicos crucis Christi, nec copia sanctæ Crucis habita nec Sepulcri, reversus est in Franciam.

κκ.

Godfrey bishop of Winchester makes restitution to the monks, Jan. 28. Godefridus Wintoniensis episcopus restituit ecclesiæ suæ magnam partem thesauri, quem,<sup>4</sup> ut præmissum est, appruntaverat,<sup>5</sup> quinto kalendas Februarii.

μμ.

Regina Alienor de Neustria transfretavit in Angliam, et appulit<sup>6</sup> apud Portesmuc tertio idus Februarii.<sup>7</sup>

Festivitas Purificationis sanctæ<sup>8</sup> Mariæ celebrata est in ipsa Dominica Septuagesimæ apud Wintoniam. Dominica vero nihil dominicum habuit præter memoriam ad vespervas et matutinas et missam matutinam.<sup>9</sup>

at μμ.

Una plena hidata terræ apud mansam, quæ dicitur Morstede, de villanagio de Ciltecumba, tradita est cuidam civi Wintoniæ, nomine Pentecuste, tenenda

[prior ?] of St. Swithun grants a lease of

<sup>1</sup> P. reads *dissuasione*.

<sup>2</sup> Corrected from *ad hæc indignatus*, P.

<sup>3</sup> *Anno millesimo*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *quem*, P. C.

<sup>5</sup> *appruntaverat*, P. C. The bishop's borrowing is noticed on p. 388.

<sup>6</sup> *appulit*, P. C.

<sup>7</sup> Placed here in P.

<sup>8</sup> *beatæ*, C.

<sup>9</sup> *matutinos* (sic) — *matutinam*, P.; *matutinas*—*matutinalem*, C.



Hides of Land  
let for £ 1.

- viginti annis pro annuo et libero servitio viginti solidorum sine conventus conniventia.<sup>1</sup>
- at κκ. Cancellarius adiit regem Francorum, et de sublatis sibi in Flandria facultatibus deposuit coram ipso querelam, sed nihil ibi amplius habuit, "quam quod ridiculos homines fecit."<sup>2</sup>
- Juven., iii. 153. Rex Francorum totis diebus et noctibus fabricari fecit omne genus armorum per universum regnum suum, et civitates et castra munivit, ut putabatur, in preparationem pugnae adversus regem Anglorum, si de peregrinatione reverteretur. Quibus in terris Anglorum regis cognitis, constabularii ejus in Normannia, et Cinomania, et Andegavia, et Turonia, et Biturica, et Pictavia, et Vasconia, etiam ipsi quicquid locorum muniri poterat omnibus modis munierunt. Sed et filius regis Navarorum in irrationem Francorum provinciam circa Tolosam depopulatus est.
- xx. Quidam praepositus regis Francorum, volens major fieri patribus suis, in confinio Neustriae et Franciae, ubi nunquam munitio fuerat, castellum exstruxit: quod, mox dum aedificabatur, Normanni in impetu naturalis furoris sui a fundamentis eruerunt, et ipsum praefectum frustatim laniaverunt.
- at ξξ. Matrona merito memoranda multotiens, regina Alienor, appendentia quaedam suae doti tuguria infra Eliensem diocesim visitavit. Cui venerunt obviam ex omnibus vicis et villulis, quaecunque transibat, viri cum mulieribus et parvulis non omnes extremae conditionis, populus lacrimans et lacrimabilis, nudi pedes, illoti vestes, inculti capillos. Loquuntur lacrimis, quibus praedolore verba defecerant, nec erat opus interprete, cum plus quam volebant dicere patenti pagina legeretur. Humana corpora passim per agros inhumata jacebant, quia sustulerat eis suus episcopus

lands without the knowledge of the convent.

Long-champ goes to the French king.

Military preparations in France.

Richard's constables take corresponding precautions.

Forays about Toulouse.

A French castle in course of erection is demolished.

Queen Eleanor, touched by the misery of the diocese of Ely, arranges the removal of the execommunication.

<sup>1</sup> una plena — conniventia, om. C. This paragraph is in the body of P.

<sup>2</sup> fecit, P.; facit, C.

A.D. 1192. sepulturam. Regina tantæ causam severitatis intelligens, ut erat multum misericors, vivorum in mortuis miserata miseriam, nox relinquens propria et aliena negotia curans, ivit Londoniam, egit, immo exegit, ab archiepiscopo Rothomagensi, ut confiscata episcopi prædia episcopo redderentur, et idem episcopus nomine cancellariæ per provinciam Rothomagensem a denunciata in eum clamaretur excommunicatione solutus. Et quis esset tam ferus aut ferreus, quem in sua vota femina illa non flecteret? Nunciavit etiam nihil oblita in Neustriam domino Eliensi impetratam sibi suæ reipublicæ et familiaris restitutionem<sup>1</sup> in Anglia, et coegit eum, quam in fiscarios tulerat, sententiam revocare. Quievit itaque inter inquietos, mediante regina, manifesta vexatio, sed, nisi utriusque cor creperet, ex veteri contractus odio mentis habitus mutari non potuit.

Hor. Sat.  
ii. 3. 19.

John is dissuaded by his mother from a projected journey to France.

Comes Johannes, missis nunciis ad Portum Hamonis, mandavit præsto parari sibi navigium, ut putabatur, ad regem Francorum defecturus; sed regina, mater ejus, metuens ne levis animi adolescens consiliis Francorum aliquid molitum iret in dominum suum et fratrem, anxia mente pertractat qua posset arte filii propositum præpedire.<sup>2</sup> Movebat nimirum et mordebat materna viscera in mentem reducta priorum filiorum conditio, et immaturus, peccatis exigentibus, utriusque decessus. Volebat vim<sup>3</sup> satisfacere, ut saltem inter novissimos liberorum fide servata, feliciter mater in fata concederet, quam patrem illorum contigit præcessisse.<sup>4</sup> Convocatis itaque universis majoribus regni, primo apud Windlesoram, secundo apud Oxoniam, tertio apud Londoniam, quarto apud Wintoniam, vix propriis lacrimis et magnatum precibus potuit obtinere, ut

oo.

<sup>1</sup> The remainder of the paragraph has been cut away from P.

<sup>2</sup> *impedire*, C.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in both MSS.

<sup>4</sup> *processisse*, with "vel *præ*" interlined above, C.

non transfretaret ad tempus. Comes igitur propo- A.D. 1192.  
sitæ protectionis frustratus effectu, fecit istac quod  
potuit, et a constabulariis regis de Windlesora<sup>1</sup> et John gets  
Walingeford, ad se secreto vocatis, castella suscepit, et into his  
recepta suis juratis sibi custodienda delegavit. power.

Mandato Rothomagensis archiepiscopi convenerunt The  
columnæ ecclesiæ, legum librarii, apud Londoniam, bishops  
inter regni negotia, ut sæpius, de aliquo aut<sup>2</sup> nihilo and others  
locuturi. Omnium erat una voluntas convenire meet to  
comitem Johannem de præsumptione castellorum; sed, put a check  
on John's  
doings.

Juven., iv.  
1. Mandato Rothomagensis archiepiscopi convenerunt  
cellario casualiter tractaretur, ecce! iterum Crispinus The meet-  
adest. Ingrediuntur auditorium nuncii cancellarii, jam ing is dis-  
iterum legati, salutantes reginam, quæ præsens ad- turbed by  
erat, et reliquos universos, quos simul forte offende- messengers  
rant,<sup>3</sup> ex parte domini sui in Angliam pridie apud from Long-  
Dovram appulsi feliciter. Ipsum fore ministerium champ,  
legationis suæ exsecuturum novissima mandatorum who has  
landed.

Virg. Æn.,  
ii. 1. clausa disclnsit.<sup>1</sup> Diu "conticuere omnes, intentique  
" ora tenebant " nimis attoniti. Tandem in vota  
venit omnium, ut ipsum suppliciter advocarent in  
dictatorem et dominum, quem judicare venerant ut  
perjurum et transgressorem in dominum. Ad comi- Abandon-  
tem itaque, tunc morantem apud Walingeford et ri- ing their  
dentem illorum conventicula, mittuntur multi ex mag- first inten-  
natibus et multociens, quorum fuit unus Echion. tion the  
Humiliter et sine ruga rogant ut festinet "occurrare bishops  
send to  
John for  
help.

<sup>1</sup> *Windlesora*, C. here and above.

<sup>2</sup> *aut de nihilo*, C.

<sup>3</sup> In C. the text overflows to the margin at this point, but there are connecting marks. There are none

in the case of the numerous mar- ginal passages already dealt with.

<sup>4</sup> *exclnsit*, C., with "vel dis" [clnsit] interlined.

A.D. 1192. "capro." "Domine," inquit, "cornu ferit ille, Virg. Ecl.,  
 "caveto!"<sup>1</sup> ix. 25.

John at  
 last goes to  
 London.

Comes non multum mctus diu se reverenter rogari  
 sustinuit, tandemque delato sibi satiatu honore, cum  
 novissimis precatoribus, quos plus dilexerat, venit  
 Londoniam; respondere ad omne quare, si quæri con-  
 tingerit, sufficienter instructus. Assurgit et blanditur  
 curia venienti, ætatis et ordinis ordine non servato,  
 dum quicumque<sup>2</sup> prius potest, prior occurrit<sup>3</sup> et se  
 cupit ante videri, volens placere principi, quia "princi-  
 pibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est." Consedere  
 duces. De castris nulla fit mentio; de cancellario  
 tota fuit querela et consultatio. Si comes consulat,  
 omnes eum proscribere sunt parati. Comitem in con-  
 sensum modis omnibus emollire satagunt, "at illis dex-  
 "tra jacebat bellua." Comes respondere rogatus breviter  
 infit, "Cancellarius iste nullius vestrum, nec simul  
 "omnium, minas metuet nec mendicabit amorem, si  
 "me saltem solum mereatur habere propitium. Sep-  
 "tingentas libras argenti mihi daturus est infra diem  
 "septimum, si inter vos et illum me non immer-  
 "sero. Vos videtis quod denariis egeam. Sapientibus  
 "satis dictum est." Dixerat, et sccessit, relicta in  
 medio suæ propositionis conclusione. Aretavit in  
 areto posita curia consilium, sanum videtur singulis  
 palpare virum plus quam pollicitis, dare placet vel  
 commodare pecuniam, sed non de proprio, tandemque  
 totum ergo cadit in absentis ærarium. Creduntur  
 comiti de fisco per fiscarios quingentæ libræ<sup>4</sup>  
 sterlingorum, et recipiuntur ad placitum literæ in  
 cancellarium. Nec dilatio; scribit regina, scribit cle-  
 rus, scribit populus; omnes unanimiter mandant can-  
 cellario pro salute, ut saltum faciat, ut sine mora

Ilor. Ep.,  
 i. 17. 35.

Juven., iv.  
 120.

He inti-  
 mates that  
 the chan-  
 cellor has  
 offered him  
 a bribe.

A counter-  
 bribe is  
 offered to  
 him.

Long-  
 champ is  
 ordered to  
 leave once  
 more.

<sup>1</sup> The last passage (except a correction) which is written in the margin of the Cottonian MS. The Cambridge MS. has much more in the margin, as will be shown.

<sup>2</sup> *quicumque*, P.; *quisque qui*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *occurrat*, C.

<sup>4</sup> C. has *libræ argenti sterlingorum*.

mare transeat, nisi pruriat audire rumores, nisi velit A.D. 1192. convivari<sup>1</sup> scutaris.

- Juven., i. 43. Cancellarius ad mandatorum inclementiam hæsit exsanguis, et sic palluit "ut nudis qui pressit calcibus anguem." Recedens vero hoc solum virile respondisse refertur, "Noverint omnes, qui me persequuntur, quantum videbunt quem pupugerunt. Non omni, ut æstimant, sum destitutus solatio.<sup>2</sup> Est mihi purgatam crebro qui personet<sup>3</sup> aurem scriptis veracibus. 'Quandiu peregrinus sum,' inquit, 'patienter porta, quæ pateris. Omnis terra forti patria est, experto crede, durato,<sup>4</sup> et rebus animum servato secundis. Mecum tibi grata superveniet, quæ<sup>5</sup> non sperabitur, hora. Insuperatus adveniam et triumphabo de hostibus meis, et rursus in interdicto tibi, et modo mihi non parenti, regno meo mea te faciet victoria civem; forsitan et hoc olim meminisse juvabit.'"
- Hor. Ep., i. 1, 7. "gatam crebro qui personet<sup>3</sup> aurem scriptis veracibus. 'Quandiu peregrinus sum,' inquit, 'patienter porta, quæ pateris. Omnis terra forti patria est, experto crede, durato,<sup>4</sup> et rebus animum servato secundis. Mecum tibi grata superveniet, quæ<sup>5</sup> non sperabitur, hora. Insuperatus adveniam et triumphabo de hostibus meis, et rursus in interdicto tibi, et modo mihi non parenti, regno meo mea te faciet victoria civem; forsitan et hoc olim meminisse juvabit.'"
- Ov. Fast., i. 493. " ' porta, quæ pateris. Omnis terra forti patria est, experto crede, durato,<sup>4</sup> et rebus animum servato secundis. Mecum tibi grata superveniet, quæ<sup>5</sup> non sperabitur, hora. Insuperatus adveniam et triumphabo de hostibus meis, et rursus in interdicto tibi, et modo mihi non parenti, regno meo mea te faciet victoria civem; forsitan et hoc olim meminisse juvabit.'"
- Virg. Æn., i. 207. " ' secundis. Mecum tibi grata superveniet, quæ<sup>5</sup> non sperabitur, hora. Insuperatus adveniam et triumphabo de hostibus meis, et rursus in interdicto tibi, et modo mihi non parenti, regno meo mea te faciet victoria civem; forsitan et hoc olim meminisse juvabit.'"
- Hor. Ep., i. 4, 14. " ' triumphabo de hostibus meis, et rursus in interdicto tibi, et modo mihi non parenti, regno meo mea te faciet victoria civem; forsitan et hoc olim meminisse juvabit.'"
- Lucan, i. 279. " ' mea te faciet victoria civem; forsitan et hoc olim meminisse juvabit.'"
- Virg. Æn., i. 203. " ' meminisse juvabit.'"

Quia Wintonia non debuit debita sibi mercede Alleged martyrdom of a christian boy by the Jews of Winchester. privari pro servata, ut in capite libri præpositum est, pace Judæis, Wintonienses Judæi civitatis suæ, Judaico more, studentes honori, etsi factum forte defuerit, plurimis facti indiciis celebrem sibi famam de martyrizato a se in Wintonia puero confecerunt. Casus erat hujusmodi. Puerum quendam Christianum,<sup>6</sup> artis sutoriæ sciolum, Judæus quidam in familiare familiæ suæ consciverat ministerium. Non ibi continuum residebat ad opus, nec magnum aliquid semel sinebatur explere, ne provisam sibi cædem probaret cohabitatio; et, ut, pro modico labore melius ibi quam pro multo alibi remuneratus, domum dæmonis, donis ejus et dolis illectus, libentius frequentaret. Fuerat autem Francus The boy of French origin. genere, pupillus et orphanus, abjectæ conditionis

<sup>1</sup> *convitari*, P. C.

<sup>2</sup> *consilio*, C., with "vel solatio" interlined.

<sup>3</sup> *personat*, C., wrongly.

<sup>4</sup> Should be *durate*—*servate*.

<sup>5</sup> P. reads *dum non*.

<sup>6</sup> *Christianum*, om. C.



A.D. 1192. et paupertatis extremæ. Has hujus<sup>1</sup> miserias in Francia male miseratus, quidam Judæus Francigena crebris ei monitis persuasit, ut Angliam peteret, terram lacte et melle manantem; Anglos liberales prædicavit et dapsiles; ibi nullum, qui niteretur ad probitatem, pauperem moriturum. Puer promptulus, ut naturaliter Francorum est, ad velle quicquid volueris, assumpto secum comite quodam coætaneo suo et compatriota, ad peregrine proficiscendum præcinctus est; nihil in manibus habens præter baculum, nihil in sytarchia præter subulam.

Valedixit Judæo suo; cui Judæus, "Vade," ait, "viriliter. Deus patrum meorum deducat te sicut desidero." Et, impositis manibus super caput ejus, ac si esset hircus emissarius, post stridores quosdam gutturis et tacitas imprecationes, jam de præda securus, adjecit, "Forti animo esto, obliviscere populum tuum et terram tuam, quia omnis terra 'forti patria est, ut piscibus æquor, ut volucri vacuo quicquid in orbe patet.' Angliam ingressus si Londoniam veneris, celeriter pertransibis; multum enim mihi displicet illa polis. Omne hominum genus in illam confluit ex omni natione, quæ sub cælo est; omnis gens sua vitia et suos mores urbi intulit. Nemo in ea<sup>2</sup> sine crimine vivit; non omnis in ea vicus non abundat tristibus obscenis; eo ibi quisquis melior est, quo fuerit major in scelere. Non ignoro quem instruo: habes supra tuam ætatem fervorem ingenii, frigiditatem memoriæ, ex utrinque contrariis, temperantiam rationis. Nihil de te mihi metuo, nisi cum male viventibus commoreris; ex convietu enim mores formantur. Esto, esto. Londoniam venies. Ecce! prædico tibi, quicquid in singulis, quicquid in universis, partibus mundi mali vel malitiæ est, in una illa civitate reperies. Lenonum choros non

The Jew's parting instructions to the boy.

OV. Fast.,  
i. 493.

<sup>1</sup> *hujus*, P. C.

<sup>2</sup> The passage *sine—formantur. Esto*, has been cut from P.



" adeas, gancarum gregibus non immiscearis; vita A.D. 1192.  
 " talum et tesseram, theatrum et tabernam. Plures  
 " ibi quam in tota Gallia thrasones offendes, gnatho- Reasons  
 " num autem infinitus est numerus. Histriones, scurræ, why he  
 " glabriones, garamantes, palpones, pusiones, molles, should  
 " mascularii, ambubajæ, pharmacopolæ, crissariæ, phi- pass  
 " tonissæ. vultuariæ, noctivagæ, magi, mimi, men- through  
 " dici, balatrones, hoc genus omne totas replevere London  
 " domos.<sup>1</sup> Ergo, si nolueris habitare cum turpibus, quickly.  
 " non habitabis Londoniæ. Non loquor in literatos  
 " vel religiosos, sive Judæos; quamvis et ex ipsa  
 " cohabitatione malorum, minus eos ibi quam alibi  
 " crediderim esse perfectos.  
 " Nec eo pergit oratio, ut in nullam te recipias The Jew  
 " civitatem, cum meo consilio nusquam tibi sit nisi briefly  
 " in urbe manendum, refert tamen in qua. Si igitur charac-  
 " circa Cantuariam appuleris, iter habebis perdere; si terises the  
 " vel per eam transieris. Tota est in illa perditorum cities of  
 " collectio ad suum nescio quem nuper deificatum, qui England:  
 " fuerat Cantuariorum archipresbyter, quod passim præ Canter-  
 " inopia panis et ocio per plateas moriuntur ad solem. bury.  
 " Rofecestria<sup>2</sup> et Cicestria viculi sunt, et cur civitates Rochester,  
 " dici debeant præter sedes flaminum nihil obtundunt. Chichester,  
 " Oxonia vix suos homines,<sup>3</sup> non dico satiat, sed sus- Oxford,  
 " tentat. Exonia eodem farre reficit homines et ju- Exeter,  
 " menta. Batonia, in imis vallium<sup>4</sup> in crasso nimis Bath,  
 " aere et vapore sulphureo posita, inmo deposita, est  
 " ad portas inferi. Sed nec in arctois sedem tibi  
 " legeris urbibus, Wigornia, Cestria, Herefordia, prop- Worcester,  
 " ter Wallenses vitæ prodigos. Eboracus<sup>5</sup> Scottis Chester,  
 " abundat, fedis et infidis homuncionibus.<sup>6</sup> Heliensis Hereford,  
 " pagus perpetuo putidus est pro circumfuis paludi- York,  
 " bus. In Dunelmo, Norhrico,<sup>7</sup> sive Lincolnia, per- Ely.

<sup>1</sup> The author's humour is at its best in these instructions. In 1232 there seems to have been another boy martyr at Winchester, *Annal. Winton.*—*Waverley*, Liebermann's *Angl. Norm. Geschichtsquellen* p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> *Rofecestria*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *clericos*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *Wallium* (sic), C.

<sup>5</sup> *Eboracus*, C.; *Eoboracus*, P.

<sup>6</sup> *hominibus vel homuncionibus*, C.

<sup>7</sup> *Norhwico*, C.

A.D. 1192. " paucos de potentibus de tua conditione, nullum penitus audies Romane loquentem. Apud Bristollum  
 Durham, " nemo est qui non sit vel fuerit saponarius, et omnis  
 Norwich, " Francus saponarios amat ut stercorarios. Post urbes,  
 Lincoln, " omne forum, villa, vel oppidum, incolas habet rudes  
 Bristol, " et rusticos. Omni insuper tempore pro talibus  
 Cornwall, " Cornubienses habeto, quales in Francia nosti nostros  
 " Flandrenses haberi. Ceterum regio ipsa generaliter  
 " in rore cœli et in pinguedine terræ tota beatissima  
 " est; in singulis etiam locis<sup>1</sup> aliqui boni sunt, sed  
 Winches- " multo minus in omnibus quam in una, Wintonia.  
 ter. " Hæc est in partibus illis Judæorum Hierosolyrna,  
 The praises " in hac sola perpetua pace fruuntur, hæc est schola  
 of Win- " bene vivere et valere volentium. Hic fiunt homi-  
 chester. " nes, hic satis est panis et vini pro nihilo. Sunt in  
 " ea tantæ monachi misericordiæ et mansuetudinis,  
 " clerus consilii et libertatis, cives civilitatis et fidei,  
 " feminae pulchritudinis et pudicitia, quod parum me  
 " retinet quin ego vadam illuc eum talibus Christia-  
 " nis fieri Christianus. Ad istam te dirigo civitatem,  
 " urbem urbium, matrem omnium, et omnibus melio-  
 " rem. Unum est vitium et illud solum, cui de con-  
 " suetudine nimis indulget. Salva pace literatorum  
 " dixerim et Judæorum, Wentani mentiuntur ut vigi-  
 " les, sed in fabulis faciendis.<sup>2</sup> Nusquam enim sub  
 " cœlo de tam facili tot rumores falsi fabricantur, ut  
 " ibi; alias, per omnia sunt veraces. Multa haberem  
 " adhuc et de meis negotiis tibi dicere, sed ne forte  
 " non capias, vel obliviscaris, literulas has familiaris  
 " mei Judæi manibus inseres, credo quia et ab illo  
 " aliquando remuneraberis." Scripta brevis erat He-  
 braica. Judæus peroraverat, et puer omnia interpre-  
 tatus in bonum pervenit<sup>3</sup> Wintoniam.

<sup>1</sup> From *aliqui* to *urbium, matrem* | been in the margin from the point  
 has been cut from P. | " at o o." The word "Wintoniam" thus follows, after an interval of 4

<sup>2</sup> The words *sed—faciendis* are in C. only. There is a blank space in P. | blank lines, the passage ending

<sup>3</sup> The narrative here returns to | "jubil" on p. 435.

Subula sibi sicut et sodali suo satisfacit ad victum, et male parata per literas Judæi sæva suavitas et blæsa benignitas ad solatium. Ubi cumque diebus pauperuli operarentur ab invicem, vel comederent, singulis noctibus in uno unius vetulæ veteri tugurio in uno lectulo quiescebant. Dies succedunt diebus et <sup>1</sup> menses mensibus; et hujus <sup>2</sup> pueri nostri, quem tam curiose hucusque diduximus, adesse per abesse festinant tempora. Crucis adoratæ dies advenerat, et puer ipso die apud Judæum suum operans, quocumque modo de medio factus, non comparuit. Erat quippe proximum Pascha, dies festus Judæorum. Socius illius vespere non revertentis ad cubiculum miratus absentiam, plurimis ipsa nocte terretur insomniis. Quæsitum diebus aliquot per omnes urbis angulos cum non invenisset, convenit Judæum simpliciter, si suum quoquam misisset nutritium; quem cum præter solitum de tam benigno pridie vehementer sensisset acerbum, verborum et vultus varietate notata, incanduit illico, et, ut erat vocis acutæ et mirabilis eloquentiæ, prorupit <sup>3</sup> in jurgia, magnis cum de sublatione socii sui clamoribus urgens. "Tu," inquit, "fili sordidæ meretricis, tu latro, tu traditor, tu diabole, tu crucifixisti socium meum. Hei mihi! modo quare non habeo vires hominis! Ego te manibus meis dilaniarem." <sup>4</sup> Audiuntur in platea clamores vociferantis in æde, concurrunt undique Judæi et Christiani. Puerulus instat, et jam pro turba constantior, interpellatis præsentibus, cœpit allegare pro socio. "O vos," ait, "viri qui convenistis, "videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus." Iste Judæus diabolus est, iste cor meum de ventre meo rapuit, iste unicum sodalem meum jugulavit, præsumo etiam quod manducavit. Filius quidam dia-

A.D. 1192.  
Story of  
the alleged  
martyr-  
dom.

April 5.

The boy's  
companion  
charges  
his Jewish  
master  
with mur-  
der.

Threni, i.  
12.

<sup>1</sup> et, om. C.

<sup>2</sup> hujus, P. C.

<sup>3</sup> statim prorupit, C.

<sup>4</sup> dilaniarem is not in P., but is supplied in C.

A.D. 1192. "boli, Judæus Francigena, nec intelligo nec experior, " Judæus ille dedit sodali meo literas mortis suæ ad " hominem istum. Ad hanc urbem venit inductus, " immo seductus. Judæo huic sæpe servivit, et in " domo ejus novissime<sup>1</sup> visus est." Non defuit illi<sup>2</sup> testis ad aliqua, quoniam et femina Christiana, quæ, contra Canones, in eadem domo nutrierat Judæulos, constanter jurabat se vidisse puerum in penum<sup>3</sup> Judæi descendere sine regressu. Judæus inficiatur, res refertur ad judices. Deficiunt accusatores: puer quia infra ætatem erat, femina quia infamem eam fecerat Judæorum ministerium. Judæus obtulit purgationem conscientie propter infamiam. Judicibus aurea placuit. Dedit Phinces et placavit, et cessavit quassatio.

The testimony to the crime being defective, and the judges having been bribed, the affair is dropped.

The doings of Hugh Nunant in the monastery of Coventry.

Cestrensis episcopus, qui, ex odio religionis, de Coventria monachos ejecerat, a<sup>4</sup> fundamentis evertit quidquid officinarum fuerat in cœnobio, ut ex alterata loci facie omnis apud posteros præteritorum memoria tolleretur. Sed et ne ruina maceriarum suum quandoque loqueretur auctorem, de præsto inventa et sine pretio parta materia in ecclesia loci, quæ perfecta non fuerat, cepit ædificare. Latomis etiam et cementariis de monasterii suppellectili stipendia instituit. Duo præcipua monachorum maneria selegit in usus proprios, hoc ad abutendum eis ordine constituto, ut ubicumque comederet, speciale aliquid de prædicatorum maneriorum pretio comparatum sibi presentaretur ad esum, gloriatur de victoria, ac si de monachorum, quos vitio vicerat, visceribus vesceretur. Reliquos vero eorum omnes redditus in præbendas partitus est, quarum quasdam Romanæ perpetuo ad titulatas ecclesie dedit appropriatas quibusdam cardinalibus Sedis Apostolicæ, designans eos, et eorum in eosdem titulos canonicos successores, ecclesie Coventrensium esse canonicos, ut si qua forte de transactis

ut ππ.

<sup>1</sup> novissimo, P. C.

<sup>2</sup> ei, C.

<sup>3</sup> penu, P. C.

<sup>4</sup> a, P. C.

coram summo pontifice fieret retractatio, Curiam totam in suæ partis defensionem faceret promiorem; alias præbendas aliis contulit, sed nullam ulli, quem pro certo non noverat nullius religionis esse cultorem. *Ædificaverunt*<sup>1</sup> certatim etiam absentes canonici circa ecclesiam ampla et excelsa diversoria, ad usus forte proprios, si vel semel in vita locum visitandi causam casus offerret. Nullus ibi ex præbendariis, sicut nec alibi faciunt, religiose resedit, sed pauperibus vicariis ad insultandum Deo modica mercede conductis, pro foribus palatiorum facientes magalia,<sup>2</sup> sanctum eis chorum, "victosque Penates," et nudos ecclesiæ parietes crediderunt.

Virg. *Æn.*,  
viii. 11.

Hæc est vere vera religio, hanc omnis imitari et æmulari deberet ecclesia. Canonico seculari ab ecclesia sua, quamdiu libuerit, licet abesse, et patrimonium Christi ubi, et quando, et in quascumque voluerit voluptates absumere. Id tantum provideant, ut audiatur vociferatio frequens in domo Domini. Si ad fores talium pulsaverit advena, si pauper clamaverit, respondebit qui pro foribus habitat, et ipse satis pauper vicarius,— "Transite, et alibi alimoniam quærite, quia<sup>3</sup> dominus domus domi non est." Hæc est illa gloriosa clericorum religio, cujus gratia Cestrensis episcopus monachos suos de Coventreia expulit, primus hominum tantum nefas ausus admittere. Causa clericorum irregulariter regularium, scilicet, canonicorum, ad placitum monachos eliminavit—monachos, qui non vicario, sed ore proprio laudabant Dominum, qui habitabant et ambulabant in domo Domini cum consensu omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, qui præter victum et vestitum nil terrenum noverant, quorum panis præsto fuit pauperi, quorum porta quolibet tempore viatori<sup>4</sup> patuit: nec tamen taliter placuerunt episcopo, qui nunquam dilexit

Bishop  
Hugh's  
preference  
for canons  
and dislike  
of monks.

<sup>1</sup> *ædificaverunt*, P. C.

<sup>2</sup> *magalia*, P. C.

<sup>3</sup> From *quia* to *monachos suos de* has been cut from P. by the binder.

<sup>4</sup> *præsto fuit semper pauperi, quorum porta cuilibet viatori quolibet tempore*, C.



A.D. 1192. monachos vel monachatum. Homo dicacitatis amaræ, qui, et si aliquando alicui parceret, nunquam monachos mordere quievit. "O offa solida et insorbibilis<sup>1</sup> " monachus! multa millia maledicorum bolus iste strangulavit, fuitque male morientibus pro viatico." Si quotiens mordetur et roditur monachus absorberetur, ante plurima secula tota fuisset absorpta religio.<sup>2</sup> Omni loco et tempore, sive serio sive joco loqueretur episcopus, aliqua pars orationis ejus erat monachus. Nec cum monachorum suorum saturavit ejectio; sed semper sibi similis postea, sicut prius, monachum masticabat. Sed qui<sup>3</sup> de monachis non loqui non potuit, ne notam detractoris<sup>4</sup> incurreret, si in absentia monachorum carperet monachatum, instituit monachum aliquem in curia sua secum habere manentem, ut, præsentem monacho et audiente, jucundior de monachis fieret fabulatio. Assumpsit itaque in quasi capellanum quendam monachum vix adultum, professum tamen apud Burtunam, quem et ad ludibrium religionis circumduxit multo tempore. Dolor nimius! Etiam in angelis Dei reperitur iniquitas. Monachus sciens et prudens, deductus ad delusionem, frontem suam fecerat frontem meretricis, ut monachos carpi monachus non erubesceret. Heu, quanta vagandi et equitandi libido. Audite me et exspectate paulisper; videbitis qualiter equitatoris hujus desierit equitatio. Die quadam apud Coventriam episcopo super operarios suos stante, suus monachus sibi collateratus hærebat. In quem episcopus familiariter innixus, "Nonne," inquit, "mi monache, " tuo etiam judicio decet et expedit, ut tantæ tantus " decor ecclesiæ, tam decens ædificium, deorum sit " potius quam dæmoniorum?" Hæsitanti monacho in obscuritate verborum, adjecit, "Ego," ait, " clericos " meos deos nomino, monachos dæmonia." Moxque

<sup>1</sup> Both MSS. have *insorbibilis*.

<sup>2</sup> The passage from *multa millia* to this point is written on a page in P., of which the middle is otherwise blank, but the preceding nar-

rative from the point "at ππ" has kept in the margin, and so continues for the rest of the paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> *qui*, not *quia*, MSS.

<sup>4</sup> *detractoris*, C.; *detractoris*, P.



manus dexteræ digito in astantes sibi clericos extento, A.D. 1192.  
 inquit, "Ego dico, dii estis, et filii Excelsi omnes."  
 Rursumque reversus in laevam, ad monachum intulit,  
 "Vos autem, monachi, sicut dæmones moriemini, et  
 "sicut unus et primus de principibus vestris in infer-  
 "num cadetis, quia vivi diaboli estis. Certe, si me  
 "contingeret pro mortuo monacho celebrare, quod  
 "valde invitus facerem,<sup>1</sup> ego corpus ejus et animam  
 "non Deo, sed diabolo, commendarem." Monachus,  
 qui in loco monachis ablato monachorum contumeliam  
 non refellit, quia in tali casu siluit, perpetuum sibi  
 meruit imponi silentium. Repente enim lapis lapsus  
 de fastigio ecclesiæ monachum episcopo adhærentem  
 excerebravit, episcopo ad majus judicium incolome  
 reservato.

Rex Anglorum Ricardus in conquirendo regionem Hardships  
suffered  
by the  
Crusaders.  
 circa Hierosolymam jam complevit biennium, ita quod  
 de nulla terrarum suarum quiequam se juvaminis fuerat  
 subsecutum;<sup>2</sup> nec ipse frater ejus unicus et uterinus  
 Johannes comes Moretonii, nec justiciarii ejus, nec  
 magnates reliqui quiequam visi sunt de transmittendis  
 illi suis redditibus, sed neque de reditu illius, cogitare.  
 Oratio tantum fiebat sine intermissione ab ecclesiâ ad  
 Deum pro eo. Minuebatur in dies in Terra Promis-  
 sionis regis exercitus, et præter mulctatos gladio,<sup>3</sup> multa  
 millia per menses singulos ex nocturni frigoris et di-  
 urni fervoris intemperantia nimis proxima moriebantur  
 in populo. Ut videbatur, moriendum ibi fuit omnibus,  
 eligeretur a quolibet utrum imbellis, an moreretur in  
 bello. Ex adverso, gentilium robur vehementer inva-  
 luit, quibus ex casu Christianorum crevit audacia,  
 quorum certis vicibus recenti milite reficiebatur exer-  
 citus, quibus erat aer natura, locus patria, labor sanitas,  
 parcitas medicina. In nostris,<sup>4</sup> e diverso, fiebat adversum,  
 quod adversariis ferebat emolumentum. Si quippe nostri

<sup>1</sup> From *morque manus* to this  
point has been cut from P.

<sup>2</sup> *obsecutum*, C.

<sup>3</sup> *mulctatos gladio* has been sub-  
stituted in P. for *manum militum*.

<sup>4</sup> *nostris*, P.; *Neustriis*, C.

A.D. 1192. vel semel in septimana parcius viverent, septem septimanis postea minus validi redderentur. Epulabatur gens ex Francis et Anglis promiscua quantocumque constaret, pretium dum durabat, quotidie splendide, et, salva Francorum reverentia, usque ad nauseam; Anglorumque memorabili more servato perenniter, sub ipsis etiam lituis et clangore buccinæ<sup>1</sup> debita devotione inhiabat calicibus effæcandis. Mercatores provinciæ, qui castris invehebant victualia, mirabantur ex miraculi dissuetudine, et credere quod videbant verum esse vix poterant, dum populus unus, et is parvus numero, triplum panis absumeret et vini centuplum ad id unde sustentabantur plures gentium populi, et quilibet innumerabilis. Et facta est merito super emeritos manus Domini. Tantam ingluviem tanta sequebatur inedia, ut vix dentes digitis parcerent, dum manus minus solito ad insumendum faucibus offerebant. His calamitatibus et aliis, que graves et multe fuerant, multo gravior accessit regis adversitas.

Illness of  
king  
Richard.

Rex lecto nimis æger excipitur; typhus erat continuus; medici majorem hemitritæum mussitabant. Quibus et primo desperantibus, diffusa est de domo regis in castra dira desperatio. Rarus erat in multis millibus, qui non meditaretur diffugium, secutaque fuisset dispersionis aut deditiois suprema confusio,<sup>2</sup> nisi Hubertus Walteri episcopus Sarisburie concilium citius coegisset. Obtentum est allegationibus validis, ut non dilaberetur exercitus, donec a Salahadino postularentur inducie. Omnes armati starent in acie solidius solito, et minaci vultu tegentes mentis ignaviam, præliandi mentirentur affectum. Nemo de regis loqueretur incommodo, ne tanti doloris arcanum dilaberetur ad hostes; sciebatur enim certissime quod Salahadinus universi minus exercitus quam solius regis metuebat occursum; quem si decubuisse cognosceret, jam de stercore boum lapidaret Francigenas, et potatores lectissimos potionem pavoris exebriaret Angligenas.

The panic  
resulting is  
quieted by  
the bishop  
of Salis-  
bury.

<sup>1</sup> *tuba ve buccina*, C.

| <sup>2</sup> A line erased here from P

Descendit interea ad videndum regem, ut de more<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1192. solebat, quidam Saffatinus gentilis, Salahadini frater, Richard's vir militiae veteris, multum civilis et sapiens, quem illness regis magnanimitas et munificentia in sui amorem et becomes known to Saphadin suae favorem partis illexerant. Ministris regis solito minus hilariter illi applaudentibus, et ad regis colloquium non admittentibus, "Ego," inquit, "per interpretem vos altum dolere sentio, nec causam nescio. " Meus amicus, rex vester, infirmus est, et ideo mihi " fores ejus clauditis." Et totis medullis resolutus in lacrimas, "Deus," inquit, "Christianorum, si<sup>2</sup> Deus es, " talem virum tuis tam necessarium tam praepropere " non patieris occumbere." In consensum receptus et ista locutus est. "In veritate praenuncio quod si, Saphadin's " rebus ut nunc sunt se habentibus, vir iste decesserit, speech in " vos omnes Christiani peribitis, et tota haec regio the Christian " nostra erit in posterum sine litigio. Numquid me- camp. " tuemus illum validum regem Franciae, qui prius- " quam veniret in aciem victus est? cujus quiequid " virium tres anni contulerant trium mensium breve " tempus absumpsit. Huc pro nihilo reverteretur " ulterius, quoniam hoc pro vero semper habemus " auspicio, ut quos in primo—non callide dico, sed na- " turaliter—sentimus ignavos, semper deinceps invenia- " mus deteriores. Sed rex iste inter omnes Christiani " nominis principes, quos totius mundi teres circulus " ambit, solus honore ducis et regis nomine dignus; " quia bene incepit, in<sup>3</sup> melius profecit, et in optimo " statu consummabitur, si modicum vobis duraverit.

" Non est de novo quod timemus Angligenas, quo- " niam et patrem istius talem nobis fama fecerat,<sup>4</sup> ut " si vel inermis nostras venisset in partes, omnes fu- " gissemus armati, quibus nec ab eo fugari videretur " inglorium. Ille timor noster, vir suo tempore singu-

<sup>1</sup> The whole or parts of the words *more, magnanimitas, applaudentibus,* and *meus amicus* have been lost from P. by tearing.

<sup>2</sup> From *si Deus* to *ut nunc sunt* has been cut from P.

<sup>3</sup> *in*, P. C.

<sup>4</sup> *fecerat* (sic), P.

A. D. 1192. " laris, occubuit; sed, more phœnicis, se millies meli-  
 " orem reparavit in filio. Sed nec nos latuit, etiam  
 " genitore vivente, Ricardus iste quis fuerit; habui-  
 " mus enim omnibus diebus patris ejus nostros inspec-  
 " tores in partibus illis, qui nobis et regis actus et  
 " filiorum suorum ortus et occasus nunciabant. Iste  
 " præ omnibus fratribus suis, merito probitatis,<sup>1</sup> a  
 " patre dilectus, et ante fratres priores natu populis  
 " regendis prælatus est. Nec nos latuit quod dux  
 " Aquitaniæ factus tyrannos provinciæ, avis et atavis  
 " suis indomabiles, quanta virtutis celeritate protri-  
 " verit, quam metuendus et ipsi regi Franciæ et  
 " omnibus circa fines suos exstiterit terrarum rectori-  
 " bus. Nullus de suo sibi  
 " <sup>2</sup>, ille vero terminos suos semper dilatavit  
 " in proximos. Nec nos latuit quod duorum fratrum  
 " suorum, unum jam in regem coronatum, alterum  
 " jam Minoris Britannici comitem, quia se contra  
 " beatum patrem erexerant, non destitit jure Martis  
 " impetere; donec diuturnitate vexationis affectos  
 " æterna requie donavit utrumque. Omnes etiam, ut  
 " magis miremini, civitates partium vestrarum ex  
 " nomine novimus; sed et regem patrem<sup>3</sup> istius non  
 " ignoramus apud Cinomannos suorum proditiene  
 " devictum, apud Chinonum mortuum, apud Fontem  
 " Ebrardi fuisse sepultum.  
 " Taceo, non ex ignorantia, quis se fecerit desidera-  
 " tissimæ nobis tantæ necis auctorem. O si Ricardus  
 " iste, quem quamvis diligam tamen timeo, si fuisset  
 " factus de medio, quam modicum jam metueremus,  
 " quam pro nihilo haberemus, illum novissimum filio-  
 " rum, qui domi dormit in hordeo. Non est nobis  
 " incognitum<sup>4</sup> quod Ricardus, qui patri magno major  
 " successit in regnum, in ipso mox coronationis suæ  
 " anno adversus nos iter arripuit. Non erat nobis

<sup>1</sup> *probatiss*, C.

<sup>2</sup> Half a line blank in both MSS.

<sup>3</sup> *patriæ*, C.

<sup>4</sup> *ignotum*, C., with "vel *incoqui-*  
*tum*" interlined above.

" ignotus, et ante profectionem suam, numerus navium A.D. 1192.  
 " ejus et militum. Scivimus, et dum res agebatur, —  
 " quanta celeritate munitissimam Siciliæ civitatem  
 " Messanam ceperit expugnatam; et quamvis nullus  
 " nostrum id crederet, tamen timor noster auctus est,  
 " 'et falsos veris addebat fama timores.'  
 " Processit 'virtus nescia stare loco' per incircuitum <sup>1</sup>  
 " regionem, et ubique virtutum reliquit insignia.  
 " Dubius serebatur inter nos sermo de homine, utrum  
 " solam Deo suo Terram Promissionis, an simul sibi  
 " totum mundum subjugare pararet. De captione  
 " Cypri quis digna referet? Certe, si insula Cypri  
 " Ægypto penitus esset contermina, et frater meus  
 " Salahadinus subjugasset eam infra decennium, nomen  
 " ejus inter nomina numinum numeraretur in gentibus.  
 " Ex quo autem jam in primo <sup>2</sup> positum novimus  
 " quicquid sibi resistebat obruere, liquefacta sunt  
 " corda nostra, sicut album gelu liquecit ad appropinquantis solis aspectum. Dicebatur quippe de eo,  
 " quod et hostes suos vivos comederet. Quod vero mox  
 " ipsa adventus ejus die ad Accaronem non est apertis  
 " ultro januis receptus in civitatem, solus timor erat  
 " in causa. Non tuendæ civitatis amore, sed ex promissorum sibi tormentorum horrore et vitæ desperatione, pugnabant tanto viriliter quanto recordius,  
 " hoc plus morte metuentes, hoc modis omnibus  
 " molientes, ni morerentur <sup>3</sup> inulti. Et hoc non ex  
 " obstinatione, sed ex nostræ fidei religione fecerunt.  
 " Credimus <sup>4</sup> enim inultorum umbras semper errare, et  
 " omnis fore quietis expertes. Æque <sup>5</sup> tamen profuit  
 " infelicibus temeritas et timiditas. Victi viribus et ad  
 " deditionem timore coacti, levioere quam speraverant  
 " morte mulctati sunt; et adhuc, proh pudor gentibus!  
 " usque hodie umbræ eorum erroribus aguntur inultæ.

<sup>1</sup> Thus MSS.

<sup>2</sup> *ultimo*, with "vel primo" in margin of C.

<sup>3</sup> *ne morerentur*, C.; *ni morerentur*, P.

<sup>4</sup> As far as *ad Anglos*, p. 449, the text, in P., covers the margins.

<sup>5</sup> *aque*, P. C.

Lucan, i.  
469.

Lucan, i.  
144, 145.



A.D. 1192. "Ego juro vobis per Deum maximum, quoniam si  
 ——— "postquam Accarone potitus est, continuo Hierosoly-  
 "mam duxisset exercitum, infra totos terræ Christian-  
 "orum terminos nec unum reperisset ex nostris, immo  
 "dedissemus ei gazas inæstimabiles, ut non progre-  
 "deretur, ut nos non persequeretur ulterius.  
 "Sed, Deo gratia!<sup>1</sup> oneratus fuit rege Francorum,  
 "et per eum retardatus, sicut murilegus cui malleus  
 "pendet ad caudam. Ceterum nos, etiam ejus æmuli,  
 "nihil in Ricardo reperimus quod possimus<sup>2</sup> carpere,  
 "nisi virtutem, nihil odire, nisi Martis peritiam. Sed  
 "cum infirmo pugnare quæ gloria? Et si voluissem  
 "hodie mane vos omnes et illum capitalem tulisse  
 "sententiam,<sup>3</sup> nunc miserendum est vobis<sup>4</sup> propter  
 "vestri regis incommodum; vel pacem perpetuam cum  
 "fratre meo vobis adquiram, vel ad minus inducias  
 "bonas et diuturnas. Quousque autem revertar ad  
 "vos, nullius inde vestrum loquatur ad regem, ne si  
 "motus fuerit ægrotet gravius, quoniam tam grandis  
 "et grossi cordis est, ut, etsi modo mori debeat, non  
 "consentiet in transactionem, nisi suam partem viderit  
 "meliorem." Eloqui plura voluit, sed perorare non  
 "pertulit lingua languens et præ dolore deficiens, unde  
 "et in complosas manus capite reclinato, flevit uberius.

Saphadin  
 offers to  
 arrange a  
 truce.

The bishop  
 of Salis-  
 bury and  
 the king's  
 private  
 advisers  
 accept the  
 proffered  
 truce.

Episcopus Sarisburiensis et quæ aderat familiarior<sup>5</sup>  
 regis familia, secum super his habita deliberatione  
 secretius, velut in exosas et non desideratas inducias  
 consenserunt, quas prius quocunque mercari pretio  
 proposuerant. Dextris igitur datis et receptis, Saffa-  
 tinus, lota facie et dissimulata mœstitia, ad Salahadi-  
 num reversus est Hierosolymam; ibique, coacto coram  
 fratre concilio, vix post diem septimum decimum  
 validis allegationibus valuit ad dandas Christianis  
 inducias gentilium cervicositates inflectere. Præfigitur

<sup>1</sup> *gratias*, C.

<sup>2</sup> *possimus*, P. C.

<sup>3</sup> In P. the author originally con-  
 tinued the sentence thus: *vel ter-*

*ram hanc reliquisse nobis in pace,*  
 but he has struck these words out.

<sup>4</sup> *vobis*, P. C.

<sup>5</sup> *familiar* (sic), C.



tempus et forma subscribitur. Si Ricardo regi placeat, A.D. 1192.  
infra trium annorum, trium mensium, trium hebdomadarum, trium dierum et trium horarum spatium,<sup>1</sup> tales inter Christianos et gentiles serventur induciæ, ut quicquid quocunque modo pars una vel altera possidet, inconcusse possideat usque ad terminum; Christianis liceret<sup>2</sup> ad placitum interim infortiare Accaronem tantummodo, et gentilibus Jerusalem. Omnis contractus, commercia, quilibet actus,<sup>3</sup> omnia omnibus invicem communicentur in pace. Saffatinus ipse, hujus decreti nuncius, destinatur ad Anglos.

Dum Ricardus rex<sup>4</sup> ægrotabat apud Jafes, nuntiatum est ei quod dux Burgundiæ apud Accaronem graviter ægrotaret. Dies ille fuerat regis creticus,<sup>5</sup> et ex delectatione rumorum febris ejus soluta est. Elevatis autem continuo rex manibus imprecatus est, dicens, "Deus destruat eum, quia noluit mecum inimicos fidei nostræ destruere, licet ad meos solidos jam pridem militaverit." Die tertia dux defungitur; cujus casu cognito, episcopus Belvacensis, relicto rege cum omnibus suis,<sup>6</sup> Accaronem festinus advenit; convenerunt ad eum ex omnibus oppidis omnes Francigenæ usque ad unum, comitem Campaniæ Henricum,<sup>7</sup> Ricardi regis ex sorore nepotem. Factus autem episcopus dux et minator eorum, edicto proposito, universos repatriare mandavit.

Classis instruitur et gloriosus princeps, cum suis glabrionibus ab oriente recedens, "Tyrrhenum navigat æquor." Appulsus in latus Alemanniæ per totas dietas sui itineris disseminabat in populos quod traditor ille rex Angliæ, primo adventus sui in Judæam tem-

Joy at the illness of the duke of Burgundy brings Richard favourably through his fever.

The duke dies (July, 1192).

The bishop of Beauvais sails for Europe and spreads calumnies as to Richard.

<sup>1</sup> William of Newburgh, i. 378, and the second continuator of Florence of Worcester, p. 159, also give these figures.

<sup>2</sup> *licere*, P. C.

<sup>3</sup> *actus*, torn from P.

<sup>4</sup> These three words are illegible in C.

<sup>5</sup> *creticus*, P. C., the mediæval form.

<sup>6</sup> *suis Francigenis*, P., but the latter word struck out.

<sup>7</sup> *H.*, C.

A.D. 1192. — pore,<sup>1</sup> regem Francorum dominum suum Salahadino tradere disposuerat; quod, ut Tyro potiretur, marchisium jugulari fecerat; quod ducem Burgundiæ veneno perdiderat;<sup>2</sup> quod, ad ultimum, omnem Christianorum exercitum, qui sibi non parebat, in commune venderat; hominem esse singulariter ferum, moribus ferreum et inamabilem, in dolis doctum, et in dissimulatione doctissimum; horum gratia, regem Francorum tam celeriter repatriasse; horum gratia, Francos, qui resederant, inconquisitam Hierosolimam deseruisse. Rumor vires ex diffusione recepit, et in unum hominem omnium hominum suscitavit invidiam.

The king of France fears assassination by Richard's emissaries.

Reversus in Franciam dominus Belvaceus regis sui secreto susurravit in aurem, quod rex Angliæ, qui eum perderent, sicarios in Franciam destinaverat.<sup>3</sup> Rex ad ista turbatus, contra patriæ consuetudinem, custodes corporis sui lectissimos ordinavit; addidit etiam mittere ad imperatorem Alemanniæ nuncios cum muneribus, et imperatoriam majestatem in odium regis Angliæ sollicitus inclinavit. Ex imperiali igitur mandatur edicto, ut omnes civitates et omnes imperii principes regem Anglorum, si in partes suas de Judæa forte rediens devenisset,<sup>4</sup> armis exciperent, et sibi vivum vel mortuum presentarent;<sup>5</sup> si quis ei parceret, ut publicus hostis imperii plecteretur. Paruerunt omnes imperatoris imperio; at mage<sup>6</sup> sedulus ille dux Austriæ, quem rex Angliæ apud Accaronem exauctoraverat.

The king's recovery and his efforts to organise an army to march to Jerusalem.

Henricus comes Campaniæ, solus jam ex magnatibus Francorum in Judæa relictus, ad regem Anglorum reversus est Jafeth<sup>7</sup>; cui cum nunciasset et ducis Burgundiæ casum et fugam Francigenarum, spiritus<sup>8</sup> regis

at ππ.

<sup>1</sup> *primo*—*tempore* in margin of P.

<sup>2</sup> *quod*—*perdiderat*, in margin of P. and C.

<sup>3</sup> This charge against the bishop is supported by William of Newburgh, i. 366.

<sup>4</sup> *Devenissent*, P.; altered by expunction in C.

<sup>5</sup> *presentaret*, P. C.

<sup>6</sup> P. and C. have the form *mage*.

<sup>7</sup> *Japhet*, P.

<sup>8</sup> *spiritus*, P. C.

ita revixit, ut mox omnem cum sudore vitifero reci- A.D. 1192.  
peret sospitatem. Viribus etiam corporis ex magna-  
nimitate plus quam ex quiete vel cibo resumptis,  
mandavit per totam maritimam a Tyro usque ad  
Ascalonem, ut omnes qui poterant ad bella procedere  
ad regis expensas militare venirent. Convenit ad  
eum populus sine numero, ex quibus pars plurima  
pedites fuerunt; quibus, quia inutiles erant, repulsis,  
recensuit equites, et vix invenit milites quingentos, et  
scutariorum,<sup>1</sup> quorum domini perierant, duo millia. Nec  
tamen pro paucitate diffusus mentes metuentium rhetor  
optimus præmissa oratione refecit. Jubetur edici per  
cuneos ut in diem tertium acies ordinatæ sequantur  
regem, vel mori martyrio, vel viribus expugnare  
Jerusalem. Hæc erat ejus summa consilii, quia nihil  
adhuc de induciis noverat. Nemo enim, quod ex He was not  
aware of  
the truce.  
metu mortis ejus, ipso nesciente, præsumptum<sup>2</sup> fuerat,  
ex insperato valenti ausus erat insinuare. Hubertus  
vero Walteri, episcopus Sarisburizæ, communicato cum  
Henrico comite de induciis consilio, facilem habuit in  
optata consensum. Pariter igitur deliberantes qua  
possent arte sine sui periculo periculosum proelium  
præpedire, unam ex mille viderunt—si populus dissua-  
deretur ad pugnam. Et mira res accidit; ita cor  
pugnantorum sine dissuasionem defecit quod, die dicto  
cum rex suo more præviis præduxisset exercitum, non  
sunt inventi inter omnes milites et scutarios<sup>3</sup> nisi non- His efforts  
to gather  
an army  
fail.  
genti. Ob quam defectionem rex nimis irascens, immo  
vesaniens, et virgam pineam, quam manu gestabat,  
dentibus comminuens, indignantia tandem talibus ora  
resolvit. “Deus,” inquit, “Deus, Deus,<sup>4</sup> quare me de-  
“ reliquisti! Cui nos stulti Christiani, cui nos Angli,  
“ ab ultra orbis partes huc venimus arma portare?

<sup>1</sup> *scutarios*, MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Four words, *præsumptum*,  
*comite*, *prælium* and *dissuasionem*,  
are either lost or mutilated by  
tearing of the margin of P.

<sup>3</sup> The text, previously in the mar-  
gin of P., returns to the body of the  
page at this point.

<sup>4</sup> *Deus, Deus meus*, C.

A.D. 1192. "Nonne Deo Christianorum? Eia! quam bonus tuis  
 — "es, qui jam pro tuo nomine trademur in manus  
 "gladii, partes vulpium erimus. O quam invitus ego  
 "te desererem in tam gravi necessitatis articulo, si  
 "tibi essem quod tu mihi es, Dominus et advocatus!  
 "Certe, non mihi sed tibi deinceps mea signa jace-  
 "bunt; certe, non propter ignaviam meæ militiæ tu  
 "ipse, rex meus et Deus meus, hodie victus es, non  
 "regulus tuus iste Ricardus."

He  
 authorises  
 the bishop  
 of Salis-  
 bury  
 and the  
 count of  
 Cham-  
 pagne to  
 do that  
 which, un-  
 known to  
 him, is  
 already  
 done.

Dixerat, et consternatus nimium castra repetiit; ad  
 quem, ut jam competere videbatur, Hubertus episcopus  
 et Henricus comes<sup>1</sup> familiarius accedentes, ac si ni-  
 hil fuerit præfectum,<sup>2</sup> de transactione cum gentilibus  
 necessario facienda regis animum per integumenta  
 sollicitaverunt. Et rex ad illos, "Quia," inquit, "tur-  
 "batae mentis est præcipitare potius quam dictare  
 "sententiam,—ego, qui turbatus sum animo, vobis,  
 "quos quietæ mentis video, quod expedire videritis  
 "pro bono pacis ordinare permitto." Qui votorum  
 compotes destinandos ad Saffatinum super his nuncios  
 delegerunt, cum subito Saffatinus reversus de Hie-  
 rosolymis nunciatur adesse; cui comes et episcopus  
 occurrentes, et de induciis jam ab eo certificati, eum  
 qualiter cum domino suo rege loqueretur instituunt.  
 Saffatinus in colloquium regis admissus, ut is cui fue-  
 rat ab antea familiaris, vix invaluit ut rex seipsum  
 non perderet, ut in inducias consentiret. Tanta quippe  
 viro fuit vis in corpore, virtus in animo, fides in  
 Christo, quod difficile temperari potuit quin, ut erat  
 milite destitutus, contra mille gentiles lectissimos sin-  
 gulare sui corporis certamen exciperet. Qua quia non  
 est permissus excurrere, hoc elegit diffugium, ut, post  
 septem septimanarum inducias, salvo fœdere pactionis,  
 in suo penderet arbitrio utrum pugnare foret satius,

<sup>1</sup> *H. comes Campaniæ, C.*

<sup>2</sup> *præfectum* (p'fectū) in P. and C.

The word occurs in post-classical

Latin in the sense of "done before-  
 haud."

an quiescere. Dantur a partibus dextræ de hac ultima A.D. 1192. transactione servanda fideliter; et Saffatinus, regio munere plus honoratus quam oneratus, ad fratrem regreditur, de prætractatis cum rathabitione<sup>1</sup> ad terminum reversurus.

Ricardus rex Angliæ concilium habuit in Accarone, ibique regni illius reipublicæ prudenter providens, Henricum comitem<sup>2</sup> Campaniæ, nepotem suum, cui prius Tyrum dederat, totius Terræ Promissionis ducem et dominum ordinavit. Regiam tantum consecrationem in forte futuram Hierosolymæ consecutionem<sup>3</sup> censuit differendam.

Rex Ricardus repatriare deliberans, cum per ministerium ducis Henrici per universas suarum partium partes munitiones viros defensabiles disposuisset, solam Ascalonem, pro gentis penuria, perpendit custode carituram et habitatore. Unde et præcavens, ne referet gentilium receptaculum, dejici fecit castrum munitiones et propugnacula.

Septimæ septimanæ septimus dies advenerat, et ecce, Saffatino cum plurimis admiralibus, qui faciem viri videre gestierant, ad regem veniente, juramentis partium confirmantur induciæ; hoc ad prætaxationem addito, ut infra induciarum spatium Christianus vel Gentilis Ascalonem nullus inhabitaret, tota tamen agricultura ad urbem pertinens fidelibus remaneret.

Hubertus episcopus Sarisburie et H[enricus] dux Judææ cum manu multa ascenderunt in Jerusalem, adorare in loco ubi steterant pedes Christi. Et erat ibi videre miseriam.<sup>4</sup> Captivi confessores nominis Christiani durum et dinturnum trahebant martyrium; per cuneos concatenati, pedes exulcerati, humeros excoriati,

Richard holds a council at Acre.

He decides to dis-mantle Ascalon.

The bishop of Salisbury and Henry of Champagne go to Jerusalem; but king

<sup>1</sup> rathabitione, P. C.

<sup>2</sup> comite, P.

<sup>3</sup> consecrationem [?], C.

<sup>4</sup> miseriam, P. C.

A.D. 1192. clunes stimulati, terga cæsi, ad inexpugnabilem faciendam contra Christianos Jerusalem, ad manus latomorum et cementariorum materiem comportabant.

Richard  
refuses to  
go.

Reversi a locis sanctis dux et episcopus suaserunt regi, ut et ipse ascenderet, sed adquiescere non potuit digna magni cordis indignatio,<sup>1</sup> ut quod de Dei dono non poterat, de gratia Gentilium consequeretur.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Other authors say that he was dissuaded.

<sup>2</sup> C. adds :

Laus tibi sit Christe, quoniam  
liber explicit iste. Amen.

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## GLOSSARY.

APPRUNTARE, to borrow, 430.

BACO, a ham, 426.

BUCEA, a buss, a large ship, 394.

CONFRAGANEUS, an associate bishop, 57.

CONVICANEUS, living in the same village or parish, 120.

CUPEDINARIUS, greedy of money, 98.

DEFENSABILIS, armed, 422, 453.

DESCRIPTIO, a tax or contribution, 97.

DIETA, a day's journey, 449.

DIVERSICLINIUM, the meeting-point of roads, 78.

ELUDIUM, a jocular saying, 388.

EPISCOPIUM, the office or dignity of a bishop, 102.

FUNDOSUS, shallow, 62.

HIDATA, a hide of land: fixed in Henry II.'s reign at 100 acres, 430.

IMPUDICATOR, a corrupter, 98.

INDEMNIS, innocent, 121.

LEVIANNIGENA, smooth-faced, 428.

MANSA, a manor, 430.

MILLERIUM, for *millarium*, the sum of one thousand, 387.

MURILEGUS, a cat, 418.

OBSTINAX, obstinate, 53, 114.

RECLAMATIO, the right of reclaim, 387.

SILINA, perhaps for *salma*, as in Benedict, ii. p. 133, a seam or quarter of grain, 396.

SUBNITOR, to trust to, or rely on, 125.

TALPONARII, men who undermine the walls of fortresses, 427.

TEGNIO, a thane, 158.

TERRINUS, a Sicilian gold coin (*tare-nus*), weighing 20 grains, 396.

UXORARE, to marry, 121.

VILLANAGIUM, land held by villein tenure, 430.

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# 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 Boece; by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. Edited by W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true; and the chronicle reflects the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.



7. *JOHANNIS CABGRAVE 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 borne in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for which period his work is of some value.

8. *HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS*, by THOMAS OF ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. Edited by CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. *EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS) : CHRONICON ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366 ; a Monacho quodam Malmesbriensi exaratum.* Vols. I., II., and III. Edited by F. S. HAYDON, Esq., B.A. 1858-1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. *MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH : Bernardi Andreae 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 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 are given in an appendix.

11. *MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmano auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V.* Edited by CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz. : A life by Robert Redman ; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author ; Versus Rhythmici, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. *MUNIMENTA 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-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859-1862.*

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. *CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. Edited by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.*

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the Kingdom, not to be elsewhere obtained. Some curious facts are mentioned relative to the 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 TYWYSGOION; 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 CAMBRÆ. *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 Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861-1877.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry H., 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 1183 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 Cambriae* et *Descriptio Cambriae*: and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Re migius 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 *Depôt 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 the MSS. in Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from them is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in

date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066-1200. Vol. III.; 1200-1327. *By* SIR THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862-1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which 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 on historical subjects.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. Vol. I., 1216-1235. Vol. II., 1236-1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of 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. THOME WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272-1381: Vol. II., 1381-1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELOWE ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSINGHAM, 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 VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SEculo XV<sup>mo</sup> FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIS JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTI; ROBERTO BLAKENEX, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSRIPTUM; Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS, A JOHANNE WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS. 7. YPODIGMA NEUSTRIE A THOMA WALSINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1876.

In the 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 Blaneforde, both from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum: with a Continuation, from the closing pages of Parker MS. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the *Annals*, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamsted, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events during those periods.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V. The compiler has often substituted other authorities in place of those consulted in the preparation of his larger work.

29. *CHRONICON ABBATIE EYESHAMENSIS, AUCTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EYESHAMLE ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABBATE, A FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM 1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1418.* Edited by the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. *RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTORIALE DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLIÆ.* Vol. I., 447-871. Vol. II., 872-1066. Edited by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863-1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355-1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Britannia*, in 1747.

31. *YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST.* Years 20-21, 21-22, 30-31, 32-33, and 33-35 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, 13-14 Edward III. *Edited and translated by* LUKE OWEN PIKE, Esq., M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1886.

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 Reconvement 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 Froucester 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. LERCHDOMS, 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 F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.*

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. **CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST.** Vol. I.:—*ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI.* Vol. II.:—*EPISTOLÆ 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 Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. **RECUEIL DES CRONIQUES ET ANCIENNES 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



of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A. 1864.*

This curious chrouicle 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., VIII., and IX. *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. 1865-1886.

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 BRITANNIE 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 PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR.** Vols. I., II., and III. 1067-1253. *Edited by* Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of British Museum. 1866-1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed

the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. **LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455-1023.** Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by EDWARD EDWARDS, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval 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, to the death of Henry III.; 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. CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169-1192, KNOWN UNDER THE NAME OF BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH.** Vols. I. and II. Edited by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. *MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD* (in Two Parts). Edited by the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. *CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDENE*. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. Edited by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriol College, Oxford. 1868-1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (see No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work; it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. *WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE*. Edited, from *William of Malmesbury's Autograph MS.*, by N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. *HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172-1320*. Edited by JOHN T. GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

54. *THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1041 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 Beckynton 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 PARISENSIS, 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.

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**DOMESDAY BOOK**, or the GREAT SURVEY OF ENGLAND OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, 1086; fac-simile of the Part relating to each county, separately (with a few exceptions of double counties). Photozincographed, by Her Majesty's Command, at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, Colonel Sir HENRY JAMES, R.E., F.R.S., &c., DIRECTOR-GENERAL of the ORDNANCE SURVEY, under the Superintendence of W. BASEVI SANDERS, Esq., Assistant Keeper of Her Majesty's Records. 35 Parts, imperial quarto and demy quarto (1861-1863), boards. *Price* 8s. to 1l. 3s. each Part, according to size; or, bound in 2 Vols., 20l. (*The edition in two volumes is out of print.*)

This important and unique survey of the greater portion of England\* is the oldest and most valuable record in the national archives. It was commenced about the year 1084 and finished in 1086. Its compilation was determined upon at Gloucester by William the Conqueror, in council, in order that he might know what was due to him, in the way of tax, from his subjects, and that each at the same time might know what he had to pay. It was compiled as much for their protection as for the benefit of the sovereign. The nobility and people had been grievously distressed at the time by the king bringing over large numbers of French and Bretons, and quartering them on his subjects, "each according to the measure of his land," for the purpose of resisting the invasion of Cnut, King of Denmark, which was apprehended. The Commissioners appointed to make the survey were to inquire the name of each place; who held it in the time of King Edward the Confessor; the present possessor; how many hides were in the manor; how many ploughs were in the demesne; how many homagers; how many villeins; how many cottars; how many serving men; how many free tenants; how many tenants in socage; how much wood, meadow, and pasture; the number of mills and fish ponds; what had been added or taken away from the place; what was the gross value in the time of Edward the Confessor; the present value; and how much each free man or soc-man had, and whether any advance could be made in the value. Thus could be ascertained who held the estate in the time of King Edward; who then held it; its value in the time of the late King; and its value as it stood at the formation of the survey. So minute was the survey, that the writer of the contemporary portion of the Saxon Chronicle records, with some asperity—"So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out, that there was not a single hide, nor one virgate of land, nor even, "it is shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do, an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine was left, that was not set down."

Domesday Survey is in two parts or volumes. The first, in folio, contains the counties of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Chester, and Lancaster, Cornwall, Derby, Devon, Dorset, Gloucester, Hants, Hereford, Herts, Huntingdon, Kent, Leicester and Rutland, Lincoln, Middlesex, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Salop, Somerset, Stafford, Surrey, Sussex, Warwick, Wilts, Worcester, and York. The second volume, in quarto, contains the counties of Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk.

Domesday Book was printed *verbatim et literatim* during the last century, in consequence of an address of the House of Lords to King George III. in 1767. It was not, however, commenced until 1773, and was completed early in 1783. In 1860, Her Majesty's Government, with the concurrence of the Master of the Rolls, determined to apply the art of photozincography to the production of a fac-simile of Domesday Book, under the superintendence of Colonel Sir Henry James, R.E., Director-General of the Ordnance Survey, Southampton. The fac-simile was completed in 1863.

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\* For some reason left unexplained, many parts were left unsurveyed; Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, are not described in the survey; nor does Lancashire appear under its proper name; but Furness, and the northern part of Lancashire, as well as the south of Westmoreland, with a part of Cumberland, are included within the West Riding of Yorkshire. That part of Lancashire which lies between the Ribble and Mersey, and which at the time of the survey comprehended 683 manors, is joined to Cheshire. Part of Rutland is described in the counties of Northampton and Lincoln.

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