Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi

Historia Novella

The Historia Novella

by

William of Malmesbury

Translated from the Latin with Introduction and Notes by
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INTRODUCTION

I. THE AUTHOR AND HIS WORK

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

¹ GR, book i. prologue.
² HN, prologue.
³ GR, book i. pro. 8.
⁶ Thomson; Farmer, 'Life and works'; Gransden, Historical Writing, i. 166–85; Stubbs's prefaces to the two volumes of the Rolls Series edition of the GR remain fundamental: on William's life and work, Stubbs, i, pp. xv–xliii; on the historical value of his work, ibid., ii, pp. xv–cxliv.
revised editions of some of his works. The present study offers a new edition of the *HN*, and a reassessment of the significance of the work. William of Malmesbury's career, and his other works, are brought into commission only so far as this is necessary for an understanding of the *HN*. The 'judging aright' of this text is in itself a difficult enough task.

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

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

If not wealthy in terms of endowment, Malmesbury was rich in the heritage of sanctity that William would come to see as the chief contribution of the Anglo-Saxon to the Anglo-Norman world. He would travel widely collecting material for his writings, most notably the *GP*, and books for his library. You can scarcely pass any settlement of consequence but that you hear the name of some new saint; but of the majority of these, 'all memory had perished'. A saint without a c.v. was a sad specimen. Where he could, and using any material that came to hand, William sought to supply the lack. Southern has described his study of St Anselm, *An Edition of William of Malmesbury's Treatise on the Miracles of the Virgin*, D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1959), and also J. M. Canal, 'El libro de laudibus et miraculis Sanctae Mariae de Guillermo de Malmesbury, O.S.B. (1143)', *Claretianum*, viii (Rome, 1968), 71-242; R. W. Pfaff, 'The Abbreviatio Amalarii of William of Malmesbury', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, xlviii (1988), 77-113, xlviii (1988), 128-71; *William of Malmesbury, Polyhistor: A Critical Edition*, ed. H. Testroet Outellette (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, x: Binghamton, NY, 1982). Letters of dedication prefaceing a copy of the *GP* surviving in Troyes show that the work was first taken up at the invitation of Henry I's queen, Matilda, who died in 1118. That request came to a religious house, and a library, and a scholar, with an established reputation. If 'quadrigenarius' is taken as 'in my forties', then a date of birth of c. 1090 seems to be preferable, and would still do no damage to William of Malmesbury's reputation as a prodigy.


8 The relevant passages are fully discussed in Stubbs, i, pp. xiii-xvii.


11 Stubbs had suggested this as a possibility (i, p. xvi), and it was seen as a probability by Farmer, *Life and works*, p. 50. The date c. 1095 is retained by Thomson, pp. 1-2, and in *Dictionary of Historians*, pp. 451-2.
Aldhelm, the most notable of the early abbots of Malmesbury, which forms book v of the GP, as 'his masterpiece of historical method. . . . He had to rely on a mixture of charters, inscriptions, archaeological remains, pictures, legends and chronicles; and to these he added Aldhelm's own theological writings and letters.21 He offered his expertise also to the neighbouring, and very wealthy, monastery at Glastonbury in Somerset, writing biographies of four of its saints, Benignus, Dunstan, Indract, and Patrick.22 These works were all seen by John Leland at Glastonbury early in the sixteenth century,23 but they have suffered the more subtle iconoclasm of the destruction of the great monastic libraries, and only the *Life of Dunstan* now survives.24 William's materials for this work were 'writings both in Latin and English', which the monks had found for him in a very old chest.25 He showed his independence as a historian by rejecting some of the traditions of the community, finding no evidence, for instance, that they possessed the body of St Dunstan as they claimed;26 while, without mentioning the possibility of forgery, he noted as remarkable a charter of Cædwalla attested by a cross while that king remained a pagan.27 The saints still lived in the places where their bones lay. In writing their lives, William was writing contemporary history. Archival research had its fascination and its challenges, in dealing both with texts and with their custodians; but the foundation of serious study was a good library. The building up of a library was an essential part of William of Malmesbury's work. He describes the library in his time as the joint achievement of

21 Southern, 'The sense of the past', p. 255.
introduced himself in the Prologue to the HN it was as ‘librarian of Malmesbury’, a simple title that encapsulated his life’s work.

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

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

This latter point is more fully developed in the Prologue to the HN:38

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

It was as a historian that William of Malmesbury became best known, particularly for the GR and the GP, which may originally have been intended as a single work. The GR was started, as has been seen, before 1118, and was completed by 1125, with two further editions appearing soon after 1134.39 The GP was also completed in 1125, and revised over the next fifteen years.40 There are about thirty surviving medieval manuscripts of the GR (fewer than half of which have additionally a text of the HN); and there are about twenty surviving manuscripts of the GP.41 The Liber pontificalis, identified as his by Rodney Thomson, was also a major work of historical scholarship, completed soon after 1119.42

The historian who wrote the HN was not just supremely well-read,43 but also very well-travelled, and very well-connected. His travels took him the length and breadth of England, to the north (where he found the dialect of Yorkshiresmen all but incomprehensible)44 to the fenlands (where the monks of Thorney were misogynists),45 and widely in southern England (where the fertility of the Vale of Gloucester was singled out for particular commendation).46 Much of the civil war would be fought over what for William was home ground. The HN is not, however, a text in which the sense of place is well developed, for William of Malmesbury is less interested in the struggle for castles than in the struggles for men’s minds. Here the quality and the range of his connections, his ‘networking’, become important. In the 1120s he wrote of himself as being ‘of a retiring disposition and far from the secrets of the court’,47 but this may be tongue in cheek, as are many of his asides. It certainly was not true in the last decade of his life. After the death of Queen Matilda in 1118, the monks of Malmesbury looked to her stepson Robert earl of Gloucester, established at Bristol 24 miles away, for support. The later editions of the GR were dedicated to Robert;48 and the HN was his commission. Roger of Salisbury was often at Malmesbury, and he can be heard in the HN, explaining why he felt himself no longer bound by his oath to the empress, and confiding his fears before setting off for the meeting of the court at Oxford in June 1139.49 The HN also confirms that William of Malmesbury remained closely tied to Henry of Blois, abbot of Glastonbury (1126–71), bishop of Winchester (1129–71), and papal legate (1139–43). It was Henry of Winchester above all who brought

37 GR, book ii, pro. i.
38 HN, prologue. This is modelled very closely on the Prologue to Bede’s Ecclesiastical History.
41 These figures are found in Farmer, ‘Life and works’, p. 43 n. 4; the locations are briefly described in Gransden, Historical Writing, i. 179–80.
44 GP, p. 209.
45 GP, p. 327.
47 GR, book v, prologue.
48 GR, ep. iii; also GR §446–0 (epilogue).
49 HN §3, ‘sepe audiui dicentem’; HN §23, ‘audiui eum dicentem’.
William close to the secrets of the court, into the cloisters of power. William went to the legatine councils at Winchester in 1139 and 1141, and there saw the behaviour of kings put under scrutiny, and the fate of nations decided. His brethren would not be allowed to forget it: 'my memory is very clear'. William of Malmesbury gives us the clearest picture of a prelate in perpetual motion; and at times he seems almost to echo Henry's patterns of thought.

William of Malmesbury was also well-connected in literary circles. Indeed it may be, following up Martin Brett's observations, that his is the first generation of which we may speak of the existence of a historical profession within England, a group of scholars in regular contact, collecting material, distributing drafts of their writings to one another for comment, confident both of their methodology and of the market for their work. It is the fruit of the close textual work of the last two decades that this world starts to come to life. Three centres of contact have been shown to have been particularly important in determining the shape of William of Malmesbury's academic career. The first chronologically, and which may have retained its primacy for him throughout his life, was Canterbury. At Canterbury William met Eadmer, whose work he admired, and made extensive use of throughout the GR. He heard of the deeds of—and perhaps even saw—Anselm, whom some already revered as a saint; and he could not fail to note the importance for contemporary history of the Canterbury archive, with its 'huge piles of material'. Sir Richard Southern has recently identified William of Malmesbury as the 'unauthorised person' who had carried off parts of this archive, but he sees him also as maintaining a collaboration with the house, and his autograph collection preserves the texts of some of Anselm's letters not found elsewhere. At Canterbury, William drew on the libraries both of Christ Church and of St Augustine's, taking from the latter a copy of the 'E' text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and a distinctive version of an early Life of Dunstan. The second of the major centres was Glastonbury. William must have visited Glastonbury at least once before 1125, whilst he was writing the GP, for he refers to its fine library, but in that work it was given comparatively short shrift. About 1129, however, and thus shortly after the appointment of Henry of Blois as abbot, William made a longer visit to Glastonbury. Whilst there, as has already been noted, he wrote the lives of its local saints, but he also completed a substantial monograph, On the Antiquity of Glastonbury. This last work has a fulsome Prologue dedicated to Henry of Blois, in which he describes himself as 'a son of your church', which it is suggested shows that he had been admitted to the abbey's fraternity. Worcester is the third centre where William found important material and congenial colleagues, who included Prior Nicholas, a protégé of Wulfstan, and the monk John. As at Glastonbury, at least two visits must be posited, one to work on the GP, and the second to work on the monograph, the Life of Wulfstan. William of Malmesbury and John of

50 HN §§ 11 (1139); §§ 46–51 (1141).
51 'Egregie quippe memini': HN § 46.
52 The following may be noted: (i) he 'was not slow to carry out what he had once taken in hand': HN § 39 (and also § 88); cf. references to lay brothers of Sempringham, 'men who had put their hand to the plough of divine service': The Book of Saint Gilbert, ed. R. Foreville and G. Keir (OMT, 1989), pp. 146–7; (ii) 'knowing that it was the special concern of his office that peace should be agreed upon': HN § 40; cf. 'on him [England] depends for peace or war, agitation or rest': Henry of Blois enamel plaques, English Romanoque Art 1066–1210, ed. G. Zarnecki et al. (London, 1984), nos. 277 a and b, pp. 261–2 (which refer also to his eloquence, cf. HN § 58); (iii) both William (of Roger of Salisbury) and Henry (of himself) use the—admittedly common—tag vel pecie vel pretio ('by prayer or by price'): HN § 33; EEA, viii: Winchester 1070–704, ed. M. J. Franklin (Oxford, 1993), App. I, p. 200.
54 Thomson, pp. 46–7, 70, 73.
55 'He expounds everything so clearly that all seems to happen under our very eyes': GP, p. 74. Trans. Southern, Anselm, p. 247.
56 Much of book v of the GR was taken from Eadmer's Historia norvum: Stubbs, ii, p. cxxiv. As to which version of Eadmer's work was used, see Brett, 'John of Worcester', p. 112 n. 1, and references there cited.
57 Anselm is described as 'uir qui omnes quos quisidem uiderimus sapientia et religione praestaret', in GP, p. 121.
58 GP, p. 113. The dispute between Canterbury and York he had condensed from many tedious volumes (GP, p. 44), and what have become known as 'the Canterbury forgeries' were coming to light as he wrote (GR § 294; Southern, Anselm, pp. 389–92).
60 Ibid., pp. 400–2, 471.
63 Ibid., pp. xxvi–xxx.
Worcester drew on each other’s work, as Martin Brett has shown in detail in his fine study. More speculative must be the suggestion that it was from his contacts at Worcester that William derived his interests in the calendar and in cosmology. It is interesting also that it was at Worcester, twenty years after William’s death, that a son of Robert of Gloucester (to whom the HN is dedicated) became the diocesan bishop. Roger of Worcester owned a copy of William of Malmesbury’s Commentary on Lamentations, and probably one of the HN also.

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

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

The themes of this passage occur elsewhere in the Commentary, and they would recur no less insistently in the HN. Under Stephen: the treasures of some churches were plundered and their landed property given to laymen; churches belonging to clerks were sold to strangers; bishops were made prisoners and compelled to alienate their property; abbeys were granted to unfit persons either to oblige friends or to pay off debts. When he came to summarize the state of the nation, in the year 1140, he would conclude in the same vein: ‘everything in England was up for sale, and now churches and abbeys were split up and sold not secretly but openly’. And if in the HN the bishops were among the victims, in the Commentary they were chief among the culprits. They should preach the Word and live in holy simplicity, but instead they oppressed the poor, and served as ‘yes-men’ (assentatores) to the rich; their proper sobriety had been turned to worldly pomp; they ruled their subjects but profited them not at all.

Here, we may be sure, the ‘ancient monastery’ of Malmesbury, and its diocesan bishop Roger of Salisbury, were uppermost in William’s mind.

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

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have been dated to 1126–7.79 The abbey was leaderless, they said, and for the lack of a shepherd the sheep were being dispersed.80 The protests of the monks fell on deaf ears, and the bishop only tightened his grip. When the oaths to the empress were renewed at Northampton in September 1131, the king granted the monastery of Malmesbury to the church of Salisbury and its bishop, ‘ut dominium suum et sedem pro priam’, thus reducing it to the status of a cathedral priory.81 This was cast as a ‘restoration’, made with the approval of the bishops present, since the monastery had earlier been united with the see.82 Then, after Stephen’s accession, the bishop obtained additionally the grant of the borough of Malmesbury, with the hundreds attached, as Henry I had held them in demesne.83 He built a castle at Malmesbury, within a stone’s throw of the abbey church.84 This was the outlook, as William composed his Commentary on Lamentations at Malmesbury, and England descended into civil war. Advancing years and worsening circumstances (‘fortuna deterior’), he said in his Prologue, had led him to put aside historical work.85 The monastery’s circumstances, if not those of the country as a whole, were about to look up. The disgrace of Roger of Salisbury in summer 1139 was followed shortly thereafter by his death. The monks of Malmesbury then sought out the king, and obtained from him ‘the restoration of their ancient privileges and their abbots’.86 The abbatial election of 1140, suggested

80 Under the protection of Queen Matilda the house had been greatly blessed: ‘Hoc solum in habundantia totius bonitatis superfit, quod absque pastore gregem aecclesiae nostrae liquevit. Qua de causa oes ipsas, quas domina nostra congregavit, inustse dispersas noveritis’: letter to David, king of Scots, GR, ep. i. 7.
82 The history behind this claim is elucidated in a valuable article by N. Berry, ‘St Aldhelm, William of Malmesbury, and the liberty of Malmesbury Abbey’, Reading Medieval Studies, xvi (1990), 15–38.
83 Regesta, iii, no. 784.
84 HN §22: ‘uix iactu lapidis’.
86 HN §35. It was the later tradition at Malmesbury that Stephen had kept Roger imprisoned at Devizes until the time of his death (BL, Cotton MS Vitell. A. x, fo. 159), from which it has been suggested that the election may have taken place as soon as Roger was imprisoned (VCH Wiltshire, iii. 216 n. 60), but HN and the other contemporary sources argue against this.

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

II. THE WRITING OF THE HISTORIA NOVELLA

In response to Robert of Gloucester’s commission, William of Malmesbury explained in his Prologue that he needed to go back in time, so that ‘the history may be related in a more orderly sequence’. He would start, he said, with ‘the empress’s return to England after her husband’s death’. The emperor Henry V died in May 1125, and the empress returned to England in September 1126. The final event described in the HN was the empress’s dramatic escape from the siege of Oxford in December 1142. The text of the work is divided into three books (libri). The first book goes from 1126 to the siege warfare which followed Robert of Gloucester’s renunciation of his homage to Stephen in summer 1138.89 The second book covers the years 1139 and 1140, the first of these being the year in which the empress, ‘eadem uirago’, ‘came to England to vindicate her right against Stephen’, and concludes with the peace discussions of 1140.90 The third book covers the years 1141 and 1142, starting with the battle of Lincoln on 2 February 1141, and concluding with the siege of Oxford in December 1142.91 This last event, William explained, he had not the information to put in context. ‘I am disposed to go into this
more thoroughly if ever by the gift of God I learn the truth from those who were present. 92

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

These references within the text would suggest that the HN was commenced not earlier than 1140. Other evidence confirms this date, and indicates a date of composition possibly starting late in 1140 and stretching into the early months of 1141 for books i and ii. In the year 1140 England ‘was troubled by the brutalities of war’, 95 but for the monks of Malmesbury it was a year of liberation, when after an interval of more than twenty years they were given licence to elect an abbot. 96 They elected one of their own number, the monk John. Abbot John was no sooner elected than he was en route for Rome, a journey made (it may be supposed) to appeal against Henry of Winchester’s rejection of the appointment on the grounds of simony. 97 John died on 19 August 1140, 98 and his companion on the journey, Peter Moraunt, was elected abbot in his place. 99 William of Malmesbury wrote a

history of this journey, a work now lost but seen by John Leland in the sixteenth century. 100 In the Prologue to this work—the Itinerarium or Odoeporicon of Abbot John—William of Malmesbury stated that he was currently hard at work on the HN. 101 If, as is possible, Abbot John died in Rome, 102 Peter cannot have returned, have been elected as abbot, and have started to brief William of Malmesbury on the journey, before October 1140. The HN may only have been commenced after the Itinerarium was completed. When dealing with the eclipse of March 1140, William comments that ‘it was thought and said by many, nor were they wrong, that the king would not survive the year in office’, 103 clearly anticipating the Battle of Lincoln in early February 1141. Books i and ii may have been written in their entirety in the weeks immediately following this battle, when for the Angevins everything was possible. They were certainly completed at this period, but they could have been commenced in late 1140.

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

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

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

92 HN § 79.
93 HN § 14: modo in AC texts, omitted in B.
94 HN § 7.
95 HN § 8.
96 HN § 36.
97 HN § 35.
98 HN § 35, says simply that Henry ‘disapproved of the person elected, for in no way could he be convinced that the king had agreed to the election without a bribe’.
99 The date of death is given in the Gloucester chronicle: JW ii, 280-1.
100 This information also comes from the Gloucester chronicle: JW iii, 292-3.
101 Leland, Collectanea, iii, 272; the incipit was Principium et processum Malmesburiensis censibus: Bale, Index, p. 136; Stubbs, i, pp. xxxviii-xl.
102 ‘Iam vero in Novella Historia diligentur ad hoc nostra vigilavit oratio’: Leland, Collectanea, iii, 272.
103 ‘de laboriosa ... profectio versus Romam’: ibid.
104 HN § 38.
Treatment in these terms could no longer be sustained. If William had lost his narrative line, had lost track, it was because the Angevin party had suffered the same fate. The labyrinth was in their minds. William said that he was writing this section of the HN in 1142. The scribe of the Margam manuscript, conscious that the events described dated from 1141, altered the reading here from ‘1142’ to ‘1141’. This emendation was followed by Hardy and by Stubbs, because they saw this manuscript as William’s definitive text, but the reading 1142 was restored by Mynors. This was undoubtedly correct.

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

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

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

The following sequence of writing is suggested:

108 See below, pp. lxiv-lxvii. 109 Hardy, ii. 737; Stubbs, ii. 567. 107 Mynors, p. 46. 106 HN §60.
PROLOGUS

Incipit Prologus Willemi Malmesberiensis in libros novelle historie, missos Roberto comiti Gloecestrie


Quid enim plus ad honestatis spectat commodum, quid conducibilium e equitati, quam diuinam agnoscere circa bonos indulgentiam, et erga periuros uindictam? Quid porro iocundius quam fortium facta viriarum monimentis tradere litterarum, quorum exemplo ceteri exuant ignauiam, et ad defendendam armentur patriam? Quod quia officio stili mei preceptum est fieri, ordinatius puto posse historiam transigi, si paulo altius repetens a reditu imperatricis in Angliam post uiri sui decessum seriem annorum contexam.* Itaque primo uocata, ut decet, in auxilio Diuinitate, rerum veritatem scripturus, nichilque offense daturus aut gratie, ita incipiam.

Explicit prologus

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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HERE BEGINNETH THE FIRST BOOK OF THE HISTORIA NOVELLA

§ 450. Why King Henry recalled the Empress from Germany

In the twenty-sixth year of Henry King of England, which was the eleven hundred and twenty-sixth of the Incarnation of the Lord, Henry Emperor of Germany, whom the aforesaid king's daughter Matilda had married, died in the very flower of his age and his victories. At that time our king was staying in Normandy to calm any disturbances that might arise in those regions and, on hearing of his son-in-law's death, he not long afterwards sent men of distinction and called his daughter home. The Empress, they say, was loth to return because she had grown accustomed to the lands into which she was married and had many possessions in them. At any rate there is no doubt that some princes of Lorraine and Lombardy came to England more than once in the following years to ask for her as their lady but gained nothing by their efforts, the king being minded to establish peace between himself and the Count of Anjou by his daughter's marriage. For strangely enough that great man, though the mightiest of all kings in our recollection or that of our fathers, yet always regarded the power of the Angevins with suspicion. For this reason he broke off and brought to nothing the alliance that William, his nephew, afterwards Count of Flanders,
suus, comes postea Flandrie, cum filia comitis Andegauensis Fulconis, postea regis Ierosolimorum, contracturus esse uidebat, dissoluit et cassauit. Hinc est quod aliam eiusdem filiam filio suo Willelmo impubi uixdum adolescenti coniuxit. Hinc est quod hanc filiam suam, de qua incepius loqui, post imperatoriam thorum, eiusdem Fulconis filio nuptum collocavist, sicut sermo procedens dicere perget.

§ 451. De concilio habitu Londoniis.

Anno uicesimo septimo rex Henricus Angliam uenit mense Septembri, adducens secum filiam suam. Proximo vero Natali Domini conuocato apud Londoniam magno cleri et optimatum numero, uxorique, filie ducis Louanensis, quam post obitum Matildis duxerat, cornitatum Salopesberie dedit: quam uidelicet feminam dolens non concipere, dum et perpetuo sterilem fore timeret, de successore regni merito anxius cogitabat. De qua re antea multum diuque considerato consilio, tunc in eodem concilio omnes totius Anglie optimates, episcopos etiam et abbates, sacramento adegit et obstrinxit, ut, si ipse sine herede masculo decederet, Matildam filiam suam quondam imperatrixem incunctanter et sine ulla retractatione dominam susciperent: prefatus quanto incommodo patrie fortuna Willelum filium sibi surripuisset, cui iure regnum competeret: nunc superesse filiam, cui solem legite debeat succedere, ab auo, auunculo, et patre regibus; a materno genere multis retro seculis. Siquim

\[\text{§ 451. The council held at London}\]

In the twenty-seventh year of his reign King Henry came to England in the month of September, bringing his daughter with him. Next Christmas, summoning a great number of the clergy and nobility to London, he gave his wife, the daughter of the Duke of Louvain, whom he had married after Matilda's death, the earldom of Shrewsbury: in grief that the woman did not conceive and fear that she would always be barren he was, with good cause, thinking anxiously about the successor to his throne. After deliberating long and deeply on this matter he then, at this same council, bound the nobles of all England, likewise the bishops and abbots, by the obligation of an oath that, if he himself died without a male heir, they would immediately and without hesitation accept his daughter Matilda, formerly Empress, as their lady. He said first what a disaster it had been for the country that fortune deprived him of his son William, the rightful heir to the throne; as it was, he said, his daughter remained, and she alone had a legal claim to succeed him since her grandfather, uncle and father had been kings, while on the mother's side the royal lineage went back for many centuries—
dem ab Egberto rege a West-Saxonum, qui primus ceteros insule reges uel expulit uel subegit, anno Dominice incarnationis octingentesimo, sub quatuourdcem regibus, usque ad eiusdem incarnationis annum millesimum quadragesimum tertium, quo rex Edwardus b in regnum sullimatus est. Nec unquam eiusdem regalis sanguinis linea defectit, nec in successione regni claudicauit. Porro Edwardus illius progeniei ultimus, idemque et pra­clarissimus, proneptem suam Margaritam ex fratre Edmundo Ireneside Malcolmi regis Scottorum nuptiis copulauit; quorum filiam fuisse Matildem, huius imperatricis matrem, constat.

§ 452. De sacramento quod primates Anglie fecerunt Imperatrici

Iurauerunt ergo cuncti, quicunque in eodem concilio alicuius uidentur c esse momenti; primo Will­elmus Cantuarie archiepiscopus, mox ceteri episcopi, nec minus abbates. Laicorum primus iurauit David rex Scotie, eiusdem imperatricis auunculus; tum e Stephanus comes Moritonii f et Bononie, nepos Henrici regis ex sorore Adela: mox Robertus regis filius, quem ante regnum susceperat, et comitem Glocestre fecerat, data ei in matrimoniolum Mabilia, spectabili et excel­lenti femina, domina tum uiro morigera, tum etiam fecunditatem numerose et pulcherrime prolis beata. Notabile, ut dicitur, fuit certamen inter Robertum et Stephanum, dum emula laude uirtutum inter se contenderent quis eorum prior iuraret, illo priuielgium filii, isto dignitatem nepotis spectante. Ita obstrictis a regis om. B c uidentur om. AB b Edwardus + qui apud Westmonasterium iacet AB e filiam—constat filia Mathildis huius imperatricis mater excitit AB f data—beata om. AB g filius regis AB h filius regis AB

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

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

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

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

Reliquos annos uite et regni Henrici regis breuiter percensere libet, ut nec rerum cognitioe fraudentur posteri, nec his que minus ad hanc historiam pertinent prolixius immorari uidear. Anno uicesimo octauo rediit in Angliam rex a Normannia. Anno uicesimo nono quidem accidit in Anglia quod mirum

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

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

I wish to review the remaining years of King Henry's life and reign in brief, that posterity may not be deprived of the knowledge of events and yet I may not appear to dwell too long on matters irrelevant to this history. In the twenty-eighth year of his reign the king returned from Normandy to England. In the twenty-ninth year a thing befell in England that may cause wonder to our
uideatur crinitis nostris, qui, obliti quid e nati sunt, libenter se in muliebris sexus habitum transformant. Quidam provincialium militum, magno crinium luxu superbiens, conscientiaque stimulante perterritus, uisus est sibi uidere in sompniis quasi aliquis eum capillorum suorum criniculis suffocaret; quare, sompno excussus, quicquid superfluebat comarum cito abscidit. Cucurrit exemplum per Angliam, et, sicut recens pena mentem mouere solet, omnes pene milites ad iustum modum crines suos recidi equanimiter tulerunt. Set non diu stetit! hec sanctitas; uix enim anno elapso, cuncti, qui sibi curiales esse uidebant, in prius uitium reciderunt: longitudine capillorum cum feminis certabant, et, ubi crines deficiunt, inuolucra quedam innodabant, obliti vel potius ignari sententie apostolice, 'Vir si comam nutrierit, ignominia est illo.'

§ 454. Epistola Petri Portuensis de eadem contentione

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

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The election originally was to have been left to eight cardinals, including Peter of Porto, and it would not, according to normal procedure, have taken place before the funeral, but immediately after Honorius's death five of the electors met in secret, near the Frangipani stronghold, and then proclaim Gregory as Pope. There were only sixteen of the younger cardinals on their side (Gregorovius, op. cit.).
This election I saw performed according to the canon law, and by God's will I ratified it. This man the Church accepts and reveres: to this man by God's grace the bishops, the abbots, the princes, captains and barons, some in person, some by messenger, are paying court in my sight. I do not see the plundering and the cruelty that you allege. All who come to him for answers or on matters of business are received with kindness and depart in greater kindness. Return, return now to understanding: do not make a schism in the Church for the ruin of souls; labour no longer: let the fear of God be upon you, not regard for the world. Shall he who sleeps not rise again? Cease now from lies, in which the wicked are wont to put their trust. The Bishop of Tivoli, in his letter, bore witness on oath, saying that I judged the Deacon of St Angelo alone fitting for the dignity of Pope. Let him take heed to his own words: I spoke nothing in secret; there is no man who has ever heard this saying from my lips. This was always my opinion, that until the Pope was buried nothing should be said about the person to succeed him. I have maintained, and will maintain, the unity of the Church: I shall take care to cling to truth and justice, in the sure hope that justice and truth will set me free.'

Thus wrote the aforesaid Peter of Porto, too much favouring Peter Leo. Nor did the other side refrain from calling Peter himself the lion-cub and his supporters accomplices in a plot. And they for their part were contending about matters that lay in doubt; Innocent, banished from Rome, crossed the Alps and hastened to France. There he was immediately recognised by the entire Church on this side of the Alps; moreover King Henry, who could not lightly be moved from a decision he had once made, paid him reverence voluntarily at
quam semel proposuisset deici nosset, illi apud Carnotum ulbo manus dedit; et apud Rothomagum non modo suis set et optimatum et etiam Iudeorum munerebus eum dignatus est. Nec uero Innocentius, quamuis ab Anglorum et Francorum regibus, simul et ab imperatore Alemannorum, ulde iuuaretur, nunquam tamen quiete potiri potuit, quod Anacletus Romane sedem teneret ecclesie.1 At uero ipso Anacleto defuncto,2 octauo presumpti ut dicebatur sui episcopatus anno, dominus Innocentius inconcussa ad hoc tempus pace apostolica fruitur dignitate.

§ 455. Anno tricesimo primo regni sui rediit rex in Angliam. Imperatrix quoque eodem anno natali solo adventum suum exhibuit; habitoque non paruo procerum conuentu apud Northamtonam, priscam fidem apud eos qui dederant nouauit, ab his qui non dederant accept. Eodem anno Lodowicus rex Francorum, et in senium uergens et nimia corpulentia grauis, filium coronari iussit ut regni successorem: quo non multo post casu equi exanimato, alterum per manum pontificis Remensis3 diademate insigniuit.4 Is, ut ferunt, ab antiqua Francorum fortitudine non degenerans, etiam Aquitaniam iuri suo per uxoris dotale fedus adquisiuit; quam post Lodowicum, Caroli magni filium, in proprio dominatu Francorum reges non habuisse noscuntur.

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

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

3 It was Philip who was killed by a fall from his horse at Paris two years after he was crowned; the future Louis VII got possession of Aquitaine.
§ 456. De lue pecorum

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

§ 457. De transitu Regis Henrici et de morte eius


§ 456. The plague among beasts

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

§ 457. King Henry's crossing and his death

Having completed the thirty-second year of his reign the day before, Henry sailed to Normandy on the fifth of August, the day on which he had once received the supreme dignity of the crown at Westminster. That was the king's last crossing and the one that brought him to his doom. God's providence jested strangely then with...
humanis, ut eo die nauem ascenderet, nunquam iterum reuersurus, quo dudum coronatus fuerat, tam diu et tam felicer regnaturus. Erant tunc, ut dixi, none Augusti et feria quarta. Prosecuta sunt elementa dolore suo extremum tanti principis transitum. Nam et sol ipsa die, hora sexta, tetra ferrugine, ut poete solent dicere, nitidum caput obtexit, mentes hominum defectione sua terrens: et feria sexta proxima primo mane tantus terre motus fuit ut penitus subsidere uideretur, horrifico sono sub terra ante audito. Vidi ego et in eclipsi stellas circa solem; et in terre motu parietem domus in qua sedebam, bifario impetu elevatum, tertio resedisse. Fuit ergo rex in Normannia triennio continuo, et tanto plus quantum est inter nonas Augusti, quo die, ut dictum est, mare transiuit, et kalendas Decembris, qua nocte decessit.

Nec uero dubitandum, multa eum, que non inmerito scribi deberent, in Normannia gessisse; set consilium fuit preterire que ad nostram notitiam non integre peruenere. Opiniones reditus eius in Angliam multe; siue fato quodam, siue divina uoluntate, omnes frustrate. Regnauit ergo annis triginta quinque, et a nonis Augusti usque ad kalendas Decembris; id est, mensibus quatuor, diebus quatuor minus. Apud Liuns exercitio uenationis intentus, ualitudine aduersa correp­tus decubuit. Qua in deterius crescente, euocauit ad se Hugonem, quem primo ex priore de Lewis abbatem apud Radingas, mOX Rothomagi archiepiscopum, fecerat; merito sibi et heredibus suis pro tantis beneficiis obnox-

human affairs, that he should go on board, never to come back again, on the day when he had been crowned in the distant past to reign so long and so happily. It was then, as I have said, the fifth of August, and a Wednesday. The elements accompanied with their sorrow the last crossing of so great a prince. For on that very day the sun, at the sixth hour, covered his shining head with gloomy rust, as the poets are wont to say, putting fear into men's minds by his eclipse, and on the following Friday at dawn the earth quaked so terribly that it seemed to sink to the depths, and a dreadful noise was heard under the earth before this. In the eclipse I saw myself the stars around the sun, and in the earth-quake the wall of the house in which I sat lifted up by two shocks and settling down at a third. The king then was in Normandy for three years on end, and as much longer as is the interval between the fifth of August, when, as has been said, he crossed the sea, and the first of December, on the night of which he died. Nor indeed is it to be doubted that he did many things in Normandy with just claim to be written down, but it has been my intention to pass over everything that did not fully come to my knowledge. There were many expectations of his return to England, but all, by a kind of fate or by the divine will, were disappointed. He reigned then for thirty-five years and in addition, from the fifth of August to the first of December, that is four months less four days. When occupied in hunting at Lyons, he was seized by illness and took to his bed. When the illness grew worse he summoned Hugh, whom he had first made Abbot of Reading instead of Prior of Lewes and afterwards Archbishop of Rouen, a man with good reason devoted to him and his heirs in return for benefits so great. The report of his illness quickly brought the nobles together.
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His son Robert, Earl of Gloucester, also came, who, for his steadfast loyalty and distinguished merit, has pre-eminentely deserved that the recollection of him shall live for all time. When he was asked by them about his successor he assigned all his lands on both sides of the sea to his daughter in lawful and lasting succession, being somewhat angry with her husband because he had vexed the king by not a few threats and insults. When the seventh day of his illness had passed he paid his debt to nature in the dead of night. I refrain from speaking of his noble character here because I have dealt with it very fully in the fifth book of the deeds of the kings: in how Christian a fashion he died the following letter of the aforesaid Archbishop of Rouen will show.

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

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

§ 458. Epistola Rothomagensis Archiepiscopi de obitu Regis

§ 458. Epistola Rothomagensis Archiepiscopi de obitu Regis

Domino et patri suo Innocentio pape, servus Hugo Rothomagensis sacerdos, obedientie debitum. De domino meo rege, non sine dolore memorando, pie paternitati uestre notificandum duximus; qui, subita praeuentus egriitudine, nos missis quam citissime legatis suis egritudinis solatiis uoluit interesse. Venimus ad ipsum, et cum ipso plenim morteribum confecimus triduum. Prout ei dicebamus, ipse ore proprio sua mateatur peccata, et manu propria pectus suum percutiebat, et malam voluntatem dimittebat. Consilio Dei et nostro et episcoporum emendationem vitae sua observatum sese promittebat. Sub ista promissione, eo firmiter annuente, pro nostro officio tertio eum et per triduum absolvimus. Crucem Domini adorauit;

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{*} sue om. AB \textsuperscript{f} autem om. AB \textsuperscript{g} quia AB
\textsuperscript{h} egriitudinis + sue AB \textsuperscript{i} ipsa B \textsuperscript{j} eo] ista ei AB
\textsuperscript{k} cum ante officio AB}
corpus et sanguinem Domini deuote suscepit; elemosinam suam disposuit, ita dicendo: "Soluautur debita mea, reddantur liberationes et solidate quibus a debeo; reliqua indigentibus distribuantur." Vtinam sic fecissent qui thesauros eius tenebant et tenent! Tandem illi auctoritatem de unctione infirmorum, quam ecclesia a beato Jacobo apostolo suscepit, studiose proposuimus; et ipsius pia petitione oleo sancto eum inunximus. Sic in pace quieuit: pacem det ei Deus, quia pacem dilexit!

§ 459. Quomodo corpus Regis Henrici exinteratum est

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

§ 460. De Stephano Rege in regnum promotio

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

§ 459. How King Henry's body was disembowelled

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

§ 460. King Stephen's advancement to the kingship

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

§ 461. King Stephen's coronation and his character

Stephen then was crowned King of England on the twenty-second of December, a Sunday, in the presence...
presentibus, archiepiscopo, Wintoniensi, Salesberiensi, nullis abbatibus, paucissimis optimatibus, uicesima secunda die post excessum auunculi, anno Dominice incarnationis millesimo centesimo tricesimo quinto. Vir quidem impiger set minus prudens,\(^a\) armis strenuus, immodi ci animi ad quelibet ardua inchoanda, lenis et exorabilis hostibus, affabilis omnibus: cuius cum dulcedinem in promissis suspiceres, ueritatem tamen \(^b\) dictorum et promissorum efficaciam desiderares; unde fratris consilium non multo post lapso tempore postponebat, cuius, ut dixi, auxilio munitus et aduersantes summouerat et ad regnum ascenderat.

§ 462. De humatione regis Henrici

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

\(^a\) minus prudens] prudens A imprudens B
\(^b\) tamen ueritatem A
\(^c\) quinto B
\(^d\) postea om. AB
\(^e\) deuectus A
\(^f\) et om. AB
\(^g\) et om. B
\(^h\) uero difficulter] difficile AB

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

§ 462. King Henry's burial

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

In the same year, after Easter, Robert Earl of Gloucester, for whose wisdom King Stephen had the greatest respect, came to England. He had wearied his mind with much reflection, while he was in Normandy, on what he thought he should decide to do in this matter, for he saw that if he submitted to King Stephen it would be contrary to the oath he had taken to his sister, but understood that if he resisted it would bring no advantage to his sister or nephews and would certainly do enormous harm to himself. For (a thing I have touched on above) the king had a vast quantity of treasure, heaped up during many years by his uncle King Henry; the pennies, and they too of the finest, were reckoned to amount to nearly a hundred thousand pounds: there were also vessels of gold and silver of great weight and inestimable value, amassed by the forethought of earlier kings and especially King Henry. As the king had this mass of treasure he could not lack helpers, particularly as he himself was a generous giver and, the fault least befitting a prince, a spendthrift. Knights of all kinds made a rush to him, men who served in light harness also, especially from Flanders and Brittany. They were a class of men full of greed and violence, who cared nothing for breaking into churchyards or robbing churches; moreover, they not only rode down members of religious orders, but even dragged them off to captivity: and it was not only foreign knights that acted thus but likewise some born in England, who hated King Henry’s peace because under it they had had but a scanty livelihood. All these had gladly given their support to a prince whom with little trouble they could influence to their own advantage, pushing their own fortunes at the expense of the people
of the country. Stephen besides, when he was a count, had by his good nature and the way he jested, sat and ate in the company even of the humblest, earned an affection that can hardly be imagined, and already all the chief men of England had willingly gone over to his side. So that very wise earl was anxious to convince them of their fault and bring them to a sounder opinion by personal conversation; for on account of the reasons mentioned above there was no chance of resistance by force, indeed he could not even come to England unless he concealed his secret purpose for a time by pretending to share their breach of faith. Therefore he did homage to the king conditionally, that is to say, for as long as the king maintained his rank unimpaired and kept the agreement, since having long observed the king’s disposition he foresaw that he would be likely to break his word.

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

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

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\(^a\) conuescendi om. B  \(^b\) quidem AB  \(^c\) sedis Romane AB

1 Note the highly conditional character of this allegiance.
I will not do or allow anything of the nature of simony in the Church or in what appertains to it. I assert and confirm that jurisdiction and power over churchmen and all clerks and their property and the distribution of the goods of the Church are in the hands of the bishops. I decide and confirm that the prerogatives of the churches, confirmed by their privileges, and their customs maintained from of old, shall remain inviolate. All the property of the churches and the tenures that they had on the day when my grandfather William was alive and dead I grant to them in free and absolute possession, exempt from any vexatious claims. If a church afterwards seeks restoration of what it held or possessed before that king's death and now has not, I reserve the investigation or restoration of this to my own indulgence and disposal. Whatever has been added after that king's death, by the generosity of other kings, the bounty of princes, offerings or purchases or any kind of transfer made by the faithful, I confirm. I promise that I will bring about peace and justice in all things and maintain them as far as lies in my power. The forests that King William my grandfather and King William the second my uncle established and held I reserve for myself: all the others that King Henry added I restore and grant to the churches and the kingdom in peaceful possession.

If any bishop or abbot or other churchman has distributed his property before his death, or arranged for its distribution, in a reasonable fashion, I grant that this shall stand: if death seized him before he could do this let the same distribution take place for the benefit of his soul according to the advice of the Church. While sees

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Stephen soon broke this promise when he went to hunt at Brampton (Henry of Huntingdon, p. 258).
lack pastors of their own let them and all their property be put in the hands and guardianship of clerks and good men of the same church until a new pastor is appointed according to the canon law. All exactions and legal chicaneries and injustices, wrongly brought into practice by the sheriffs or any other persons whomsoever, I utterly abolish. Good laws and ancient and just customs in what relates to murders and pleas and other cases I will observe and I enjoin and establish their observance. At Oxford, in the eleven hundred and thirty-sixth year of the Lord's Incarnation, the first of my reign.

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

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

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

[For William of Ypres see note on ch. 55 of Guut.

The king came back in Advent 1137 (Robert de Torigni, p. 133).]
Normannia manens intendit. Ita Stephano multis tumultibus in Anglia impedito, et nunc super hos,\(^a\) nunc super alios irruente, ut merito illi: quod de Ismahele dictum est coaptari posset, quia ‘manus omnium contra illum, et illius contra omnes’,\(^b\) Robertus totu anno illo securum in Normannia egit otium. Rex prompte contra sibi resistentes crebro,\(^c\) ut ferebatur, dicere solebat, ‘Cum me in regem elegerint, cur me destituunt? per nascentiam Dei, nunquam rex deiectus appellabor!’\(^d\)

Robertus, quasi positus in specula, rerum prouidebat exitum, et ne de iuramento, quod sorori fecerat, erga Deum et homines perfidie notaretur, sedulo cogitabat.

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

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

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\(^a\) unus AB  \(^b\) crebre AB  \(^c\) elegerunt B  \(^d\) Dominice incarnationis AB  \(^e\) quos + uel AB  \(^f\) enim om. B

1 Genesis xvi. 12

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

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

In the eleven hundred and thirty-eighth year of the Lord’s Incarnation England was being shaken by internal strife, for many, urged on to unlawful courses by high birth or lofty spirit or rather the recklessness of youth, did not shrink from asking the king for estates or castles or in fact anything that had once taken their fancy, and when he deferred the gift with excuses that the domains of the Crown would be impaired or that others laid claim to the same things or were in actual possession of them, they were at once moved to wrath, fortified castles against him and carried off immense plunder from his lands. Yet he was not broken in spirit by any man’s rebellion but appeared suddenly now here, now there and always settled the business with more loss to himself than to his opponents, for after expending many great
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him of all the possessions in England that he could and levelled some of his castles. Only Bristol remained, so that it could not only drive out his enemies but also harass the king with frequent raids. But because it will be enough to have extended the first book of the Historia Novella from the Empress’s return to her father, after her husband’s death, up to this point, I shall now begin the second book from the year when that woman of masculine spirit came to England to vindicate her right against Stephen.

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

Apud Oxenefordum circa octauum kalendas Iulii facto conuentu magnatum, predicti quoque pontifices aduenerunt. Inuitus ualde Salesberiensis hanc expeditiōnem incepit. Audiui etenim dēum dicentem uerba in hanc sententiam: 'Per dominam meam sanctam Mariam, nescio quo pacto, relucet mens mea huic itineri! Hoc scio, quod eius utilitatis ero in curia, cuius est equinus pullus in pugna.' Ita presagiebat animus mala futura. Tum, quasi fortuna uideretur fauere uoluntati regis, concitatus est tumultus inter homines conceptas querimonias regi effundunt: episcopos, oblitos ordinis, in castellis edificandis insanire; nulli dubium esse debere quin hec ad perniciem regis fierent omnia, dum illi, statim ut uenisset imperatrix, cum traditione castellorum domine occurrerent, paternorum scilicet beneficiorum memoria inducti; preueniendos ergo citius, et ad deditiōnem munitionum artandos; alioquin regem seram penitentiam acturum, cum in potestate hostium esse uideret que, si saperet, sibi apponere potuisset. Hec optimates sepius. Ille, quamuis eis nimio esset fauore obnoxius, aliquamdiu uerba suis blandientes dissimuluit audire; molliens delationis amaritudinem, uel religionis in episcopis gratia, uel, quod magis opinor, sue detractiōnis inuidia. Denique illorum, que procēres suaserant, effectum non distulit cum primum uolenti se occasio ingessit. Ea fuit huiusmodi.

§ 469. The arrest of the bishops

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

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§ 469. The arrest of the bishops

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

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\(^{9}\) ecclesie om. AB
\(^{10}\) occiso AB
\(^{11}\) occasione accepta AB accepta conueniri om. Ce\(^{2}\)
\(^{12}\) sue om. Ce\(^{2}\)
\(^{13}\) esse post episcopi AB
\(^{14}\) si posset AB scilicet castellum AB
dictabat AB
\(^{15}\) animositatem AB Alexander om. AB castellorum Sleaford AB castelli AB

\(^{1}\) Stephen took Alexander to Newark and threatened to deprive him of all food until the castle was surrendered (Henry of Huntingdon, p. 266).
§ 470. Hoc regis factum in diuersas sententias soluit ora multorum. Quidam dicebant iure castellis alienatos episcopos uideri, que preter scita canonum edificassent: illos euangelistas pacis esse debere, non architectos domorum que auctoribus maleficii forent refugium. Hec amplioribus rationibus et sermonibus agebat Hugo archiepiscopus Rothomagi, quantum illa facundia poterat maximus regis propugnator. Alii contra, quorum partibus assistebat Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus, sedis apostolice in Anglia legatus, frater regis Stephani, ut ante dixi; quem nec fraterna necessitudo, nec periculi metus, a uero tunc exorbitare cogebat. Sic porro dicebat : si episcopi tramitem iustitie in aliquo transgrederentur, non esse regis, set canonum iudicium; sine publico et ecclesiastico concilio illos nulla possessione priuari debuisse: regem id non rectitudinis zelo, set commodi sui compendio fecisse; qui castella non ecclesiis, ex quarum sumptibus et in quarum terris constructa erant, reddiderit, set laicis eisdemque parum religiosis contradiderit. Ista uir ille tum priuatim, tum etiam publice coram rege affirmans, eiusdemque aures de liberatione et restitutione pontificum appellans, omnem consumpti operam, in nullo auditis: quapropter, uigorem canonum, experientium ratus, concilio, quod quarto kalendas Septembris celebraturus erat Wintonie, fratrem incunctanter adesse precepit.
§ 471. De concilio habito pro captione episcoporum

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

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

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\(^a\) amicitia post regis AB
\(^b\) cum AB
\(^c\) reatus AB
\(^d\) cum sic cum AB
\(^e\) prouiso AB

quantum potuit causam antistitis Rogerii, episcopus enim Alexander aberat; quem manutenuit, grauauit; modestae tamen, sine ulla uerborum contumelia: quamuis quidam comitum, astantes iuxta, crebro loquelam eius interruperent, prohra in episcopum iacentes.

§ 473. Hec ergo fuit summa dictorum Alberici: multis iniuriis Rogerium episcopum affecisse regem Stephanum: rarissime ad curiam uenisse, quin homines sui, de eius potentia presumelem, seditiones mouissent. Qui cum sepe alias, tum nuper apud Oxenefordum fecissent impetum in homines et in ipsum nepotem comitis Alani; in homines etiam Heruei de Liuns, qui esset tante nobilitatis, tanti supercilii, ut nunquam regi Henrico petenti animum indulserit in Angliam uenire. In iniuriam ergo regis Stephani redundare, pro cuius amore uenerit, quod ei tanta uis illata sit. Episcopum Lindocoliensem, ex ueteri odio in Alanum, seditionis per homines suos auctorem fuisse. Episcopum Salesberiensem inimicis regis clam fauere, dissimulata interim pro tempore uersutia: id regem ex multis indubitanter comperisse; eoque potissimum, quod Rogerium de Mortemer, cum militibus regiis quos ducbat; in summio de Bristowiensibus metu, nec una nocte idem episcopus Malmesberie mancre dimisisset. Omnibus esse in ore, quod, statim ut imperatrix uenisset, ille ad earn cum nepotibus et castellis se conferret. Rogerius itaque captus sit non ut episcopus, set ut regis seruiens, qui et procurationes eius administraret et solidatas acciperet. Castella non per violentiam rex eripuerit, set episcopi Alexander, whom Roger supported, was not there; yet he did it with restraint and without abusive language, though some of the earls, standing by his side, often interrupted his speech by hurling insults at the bishop.

§ 473. This then was the sum of what Aubrey said: that Bishop Roger had inflicted many wrongs on King Stephen; had very seldom come to court without his men raising a brawl, presuming on his power. At many other times and recently at Oxford they had attacked Count Alan's men and even his nephew, likewise the men of Hervey de Lyons, who was so high-born and so proud that he had never deigned to come to England at King Henry's request. It therefore amounted to a wrong to King Stephen, from affection for whom he had come, that such violence had been offered him. The Bishop of Lincoln, owing to an old hatred for Alan, had stirred up the brawl through his men. The Bishop of Salisbury secretly favoured the king's enemies, though meanwhile he disguised his craft for the time: the king had learnt that beyond doubt by many proofs, and this especially, that the bishop had not allowed Roger de Mortimer, with the king's troops whom he was leading, to stay even one night at Malmesbury, when he was in the greatest dread of the people of Bristol. Everyone was saying that as soon as the Empress came he would take her side together with his nephews and his castles. Roger then had been arrested not as a bishop but as a servant of the king, who both managed his affairs and received his pay. The king had not seized the castles by force, but both the bishops had surrendered them gladly to avoid facing a charge for the brawl they had stirred up at court. The king had found some money
ambo gratanter reddiderint, ut calumpniam de tumultu quem in curia concitaerant euaderent. Aliquantum pecuniarum rex in castellis inuenit, que ipsius legitime essent; quia eas tempore regis Henrici, aununci et antecessoris sui, ex fisci regii redditibus Rogerius episcopus collegisset. Eis tamen, sicut et castellis, idem presul pro timore commissorum in regem libens cesserat; inde non deesse testes regi. Ipsum proinde uelle ut pacta inter se et episcopos rata permanerent.

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

§ 475. Dictis in hunc modum utrobique multis, causa petitu regis in posterum diem dilata, nec minus in crastino ad adventum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis posttridie prolongata. Is ubi uenit, omnium suspensis in the castles, but it was money that lawfully belonged to him, because Bishop Roger had amassed it from the revenues of the royal treasury in the time of King Henry, his uncle and predecessor. However, that same bishop, in the fear induced by his misdeeds, had willingly yielded up the money to the king, just like the castles, and the king did not lack witnesses of this. It was therefore his wish that the agreement between himself and the bishops should remain in force.

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

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

1 cf. the arraignment of William de St Calais, Bishop of Durham, before William Rufus (Symon of Durham, I, pp. 179 et seq.).
animis quidnam afferret, dixit se concedere ut episcopi castella habenter si se iure habere debere per canones probare possent; quod quia non possent, extreme improbitatis esse contra canones niti uelle. 'Et esto,', inquit, 'iustum sit ut habeant: certe, quia suspectum est tempus, secundum morem aliarum gentium, omnes claves munitionum suarum debent uoluntati regis contradere, qui pro omnium pace debet militare. Ita omnis controversia episcoporum infirmabitur: aut enim secundum canonum scita iniustum est ut habeant castella; aut, si hoc ex indulgentia principali toleratur, ut tradant claves necessitati temporis debent cedere.'

§ 476. His predictus subiecit causidicus Albericus: significatum esse regi quod murmurarent inter se pontifices, pararentque aliquos ex suis contra eum Romam mittere. 'Et hoc,' ait, 'laudat uobis rex, ne quisquam uestrum presumat facere; quia, si quis contra voluntatem suam et regni dignitatem ab Anglia quocom pa petitionem facere, ipse quinetiam quia se grauari uidet, ultro ad Romam appellat uos.'

§ 477. Hec postquam rex partim quasi laudando, partim minando mandasset, intellectum est quo tenderet. Quapropter ita diessum est, ut nec ipse cen- suram canonum pati uellet, nec episcopi in eum bring, he said he would allow the bishops to have their castles if they could prove by the canon law that they were entitled to have them; but, as they could not, it was a mark of extreme wickedness to wish to strive against the canon law. 'Even granted,' he said, 'that it is right for them to have the castles, yet certainly, as it is a time of suspicion, all the chief men, in accordance with the custom of other peoples, ought to hand over the keys of their fortifications to the disposal of the king, whose duty it is to fight for the peace of all. So the bishops' whole case will fall to the ground, for either it is unjust, according to the canon law, for them to have castles or, if this is permitted by the king as an act of grace, they ought to yield to the emergencies of the time by delivering up the keys.'

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

§ 477. After this message from the king, which was a mixture of advice and threat, it was understood what he was aiming at. Wherefore the council broke up without the king's consenting to bear a canonical censure or the bishops' thinking it wise to produce one against him,
exercere consulutum ducrent: duplici ex causa, seu quia principem excommunicare sine apostolica conscientia temerarium esset; seu quoniam audirent, quidam etiam uiderent, gladios circa se nudari. Non enim iam ludica erant uerba, set de uita et sanguine pene certabatur.\(^1\) Non omiserunt tamen legatus et archiepiscopus quin tenorem officii sui proseuerentur: suppliciter enim pedibus regis in cubiculo affusi, orauerunt ut miseretur ecclesie, miseretur anime et fame sue, nec pateretur fieri discidium inter regnum et saeerdotium. Ile dignanter assurgens, quamuis a se facti eorum amoliretur invidia, malorum tamen preuentus consiliis, nullam bonarum\(^2\) promissionum exhibuit efficaciam.

\(\S \text{478.} \) De adventu imperatricis et Roberti comitis in Angliam.

Kalendis Septembris solutum est concilium. Pridie uero kalendarum Octobrium\(^3\) comes Robertus, tandem nexus morarum eluctatus, cum sorore imperatrice inunctus est Anglie, fretus pietate Dei et fide legiti mi sacramenti, ceterum multo minore armorum apparatu quam quis alius tam periculo sum bellum aggredi temptaret; non enim plus quam centum quadraginta milites tunc secum adduxit. Testimonio ueridicorum relatorum sermo meus nititur. Dicerem, nisi adulatio uideretur, non imparem fuisse illum\(^4\) Iulio Cesari dumtaxat animo, quem Titus Livius commemorat quinque solum cohortes habuisse quando ciuale bellum inchoavit; cum quibus, inquiens, orbem terrarum adortus\(^5\) est. Quamuis iniqua comparatione Iulius et Robertus conferantarut: Iulius enim, uere fidei extorris, for two reasons, one, that it was rash to excommunicate a prince without the Pope's cognizance, the other, that they heard, and some even saw, swords being drawn around them. For it was no longer a dialectical game but wellnigh a struggle for men's lifeblood.\(^1\) However, the legate and the archbishop did not fail to pursue the course that their duty prescribed, for they fell as suppliants at the king's feet in his room and begged him to take pity on the Church, pity on his soul and reputation, and not suffer a divorce to be made between the monarchy and the clergy. Though he rose respectfully and removed the stigma that their act had laid on him, yet, taken up with the advice of wicked men, he showed no fulfilment of righteous promises.

\(\S \text{478.} \) The arrival of the Empress and Earl Robert in England

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

\(^1\) Virgil, Aeneid, xii, ll. 764-5.
\(^2\) Robert de Torigni (p. 137) says they landed in August. Orderic says 'in autumn.'

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

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

§ 480. How Hereford yielded to the Empress

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

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

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

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

On the eleventh of December Roger Bishop of Salisbury escaped from a quartan fever, by which he had long been afflicted, by the favour of death: they say he contracted the illness from mental suffering, having been assailed by King Stephen with injuries so many and so great. God seems to me to have displayed him to the rich as a warning of the mutability of things, lest they should trust in the uncertainty of riches, by seeking which, as the Apostle says, some concerning faith have made shipwreck. He first made his way into the confidence of Earl Henry, who afterwards became king, by judgment in managing his private affairs and checking the luxury of his household. For Henry, before he began to reign, was sparing and frugal in his expenditure, being hampered by lack of means, since his brothers William and Robert treated him haughtily. Learning his character, Roger deserved so well of him in his time of need that on ascending the throne he refused Roger little or nothing that he himself thought fit to ask, lavishing on him estates, churches, prebends of clerks, whole abbeys of monks, finally entrusting the very kingdom to him: he made him chancellor at the beginning of his reign and not long afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. So Roger pleaded the cases, controlled the expenditure himself, kept the treasure himself, both when the king was in England and likewise, without colleague or witness, when, as happened often and for long periods,
crebro et diu accidit, morabatur Normannie. Nec solum a rege, set et ab optimatibus, ab his etiam quos felicitatis eius invidia clamat mordebat, maximeque a ministris et tunc debitoris regis, ei quecumque pene cogitasset conferebantur. Si quid possessionibus eius contiguum erat quod suis utilitatis conducet, continent uel prece uel precio, sin minus uiolentia, extorquebat. Ipse, singulari gloria, quantum nostras etas reminisci potest, in domibus edificandis, splendida per omnes possessiones suas construxit habitacula, in quibus solum tuendis successorum eius frustra laborabit opera; sedem suam mirificis ornamentis et edificis, citra ullam expensarum parsimoniam, in immensum extulit. Erat prorsus mirum uideu de homine illo, quanta eum in omni genere dignitatum opum sequatur copia, et quasi ad manum affluat: quantula illa gloria, qua quid posset accidere maius? quod duos nepotes, sue educationis opera, honesta litterature et industrie virum, effecit episcopos; nee uero episcopatum, set Lindocoliensis et Heliensis, quibus opulentiores nescio si habet Anglia. Sentiebat ipse quantum potest, et, aliquanto durius quam talem uirum deceret, Diuinatis abutbat indulgentia. Denique, sicut poeta quidam de quodam dicit, 'Diruit, edificat, mutat quadrata rotundis;'

ita Rogerius abbatias in episcopatum, res episcopatus in abbatiam alterare conatus est. Malmesberiense et Abbadesberiense, antiquissima cenobia, quantum in ipso fuit, episcopatu delegavit: Scireburnense pro-

a tum om. AB  b potui A  c quilibet AB  d abbatias A  e est om. B

1 Horace Ep. I, i, l. 100.

so Roger tried to turn abbeys into a bishopric, the property of a bishopric into an abbey. Two most ancient monasteries, those of Malmesbury and Abbotsbury, he attached to the bishopric as far as lay in his power: the priory of Sherborne, which belongs directly
ratum, qui proprius est episcopi Salesberiensis, in abbatiam mutavit, abbatia de Hortuna proinde destructa et adiecta. Hec tempore regis Henrici, sub quo res eius, ut dixi, magnis successibus florenterunt: set enim sub Stephano rege, sicut predixi, retro sublapse sunt; nisi quod in initio regni eius nepotibus suis, una cancellaria, alteri thesaurarium, sibi burgum Malmesberie impetrauit, subinde rege familiaribus suis ingeminante, 'Per nascentiam Dei! medietatem Anglie darem ei, si peteret, donec tempus pertranseat: ante deficiet ipse in petendo, quam ego in dando.' Posterioribus annis fortuna, nimium et ante diu ei blandita, ad extremum scorpiacea crudeler hominem cauda percussit. Quale fuit illud, quod ante ora sua uidit homines bene de se sauciari, familiarissimum militem obtruncari: postero die seipsum, ut supra fatus sum, et nepotes suos potentissimos episcopos, unum fugari, alterum teneri, tertium, dilectissimum sibi adolescentem, compedibus uinciri: post redditionem castellorum thesaurios suos diripi, et se postmodum in concilio fedissimis conuiciis proscendi: ad ultimum, cum apud Salesberiam pene anhelaret in exitum, quicquid residuum erat numerorum et usorum, quod scilicet ad perficiendam ecclesiam super altare posuerat, se inuito asportari. Extremum puto calamitatis, cuius etiam me miseret, quod, cum multis miser uideretur, paucissimis erat miserabilis, tantum liuoris et odii ex nimiis potentia contraxerat, et immerito apud quosdam quos etiam honoribus auxerat.

\[\textit{HISTORIA NOVELLA}\]

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

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

§ 483. *De confusione guerre per Angliam*

Totus annus ille asperitate guerre inhorruit. Castella erant crebra per totam Angliam, queque suas partes defendentia, immo ut uerius dicam, depopulantia. Milites castellorum abducebant ab agris et pecora et pecudes, nec ecclesiis nec cimiteriis parcentes. Vauassores, rusticos, quicumque pecuniosi putabantur, intercipientes, suppli-
ciorum magnitudine ad quoduis promittendum cogebant. Domibus miserorum ruricolarum usque ad stramen expilatis, ipsos uinctos incarcerabant; nec nisi omnibus quecumque habeant, et quocumque modo adquirere poterant, in redemptionem consumptis, dimittebant. Plures in ipsis tormentis quibus ad se redimendum constringebantur dulces efflabant animas, quod solum poterant, Deo miserias suas applorantes. Et quidem, ex voluntate comitis, legatus cum episcopis omnes effractores cimiteriorum et violatores ecclesiarum, et qui sacri vel religiosi ordinis hominibus vel eorum famulis manus iniecissent, multotiens excommunicauit; set nichil propemodum hac profecit industria. Erat ergo uidere calamitatem, Angliam, preclarissimam quondam pacis nutriculam, speciale domicilium quietis, ad hoc miseria deuolutam esse, ut nec etiam episcopi nec monachi de uilla in uillam tuto possent progredi. Sub Henrico rege multi alienigene, qui genialis humi inquie­tationibus exagitabantur, Angliam annauigabant, et sub eius alis quietum otium agebant; sub Stephano plures ex Flandria et Britannia, rapto vivere assueti, spe magnarum predarum Angliam inuolabant. Comes Glocestre Robertus interea modeste se agere, nichil magis cauere quam ne vel paruo detrimento suorum uinceret. Magnates Anglorum, quos ad religionem iurisjurandi seruandam flectere non posset, satis habebat in officio continere, ut qui nichil adiuuare uellent minus nocerent; secundum comicum, uolens dum non posset quo uellet. Vbicumque tamen com­

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

Eo anno in quadragesima, tertiodecimo kalendas Aprilis hora nona feria quarta, fuit eclipsis, per totam Angliam ut accepi. Apud nos certe, et apud omnes mode fieri posse uidebat, et militis et ducis probe officium exequebatur: denique munitiones, que potissimum partibus susceps nocebant, strenue debellabant," scilicet Harpetreu,\(^1\) quam rex Stephanus a quibusdam militibus comitis, ante quam in Angliam uenisset, ceperaet; et alias multas, Sudleie,\(^2\) Cernei, quam rex, ut dixi, militibus suis impleuerat; et castellum quod idem rex contra Valengeford offirmauerat, solo complanauit \(^1\)b. Fratrem etiam suum Reinaldum in tanta difficultate temporis comitem Cornubie creauit. Nec uero minor erat regi animus ad \(^c\) adeunda quæ sibi competebant munia, qui nullam occasionem preterimtebat quo minus sepe et adversarios propulsaret et sua defenderet; set frustrabatur successibus, uergebantque in peius omnia pro iustitie penuria (iamque caritas annone paulatim crescebat) et pro falsitate. Difficultas enim \(^d\) monete tanta erat, ut interdum ex decem et eo amplius solidis uix duodecim denarii recipereantur.\(^3\) Ferebatur ipse rex pondus denariorum, quod fuerat tempore Henrici regis,\(^4\) alleriiar iussisse; quia, exhausto predecessoris sui immenso illo thesauro, tot militum expensis nequiret sufficere. Erant igitur Anglie cuncta uenalia; et iam non clam, set palam, ecciesie et abbatie uenum distrhebantur.

§ 484. The eclipse of the sun

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

\(^a\) debellabat AB  \(^b\) scilicet—complanauit om. AB  \(^c\) ad om. Ce  
\(^d\) enim mutata distinctione om. AB  \(^e\) regis Henrici AB

\(^1\) For Harptree, in Somerset, see Gesta, ch. 31.

\(^2\) In Gloucestershire, close to Winchcomb.
§ 485. De captione Roberti Filii Huberti

Sequenti ebdomada, ipso tempore Passionis, septimo kalendas Aprilis, prefatus barbarus Robertus filius Huberti, ad furta belli peridoneus, castellum de Divis intercepit. Homo cunctorum quos nostri seculi memoria complectitur immanissimus, in Deum etiam blasphemus; ultro quippe gloriari solebat se interfuisse ubi quater viginti monachi pariter cum ecclesia concremati fuerint: idem se in Anglia factitaturum et Deum contristaturum depredatione Wiltoniensis ecclesie, etiam subuersione Malmesberiensis, cum monachorum illius loci omnium cede; idem se muneris eis repensurum, quod regem ad nocumントurum sui admisserunt. Hoc enim illis imponebat, set falso. Hisce auribus audierit, quod si quando captivus, quod quidem rarissime fuit, immunes absque tortioniis dimitteret, et gratie ipsi de Dei parte aegbantur, audierit, inquam, eum respondisse, 'Nunquam mihi Deus grates sciat!' Captivus meli flagrantissimo sole nudos sub diuo exponebat, muscas et id generis.

§ 485. The capture of Robert Fitz Hubert

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

Eodem anno in Pentecoste resedit rex Londonie in Turri, episcopo tantummodo Sagensi presente: ceteri uel fastidierunt uel timuerunt uenire. Aliquanto post, mediante legato, colloquium indictum est inter imperatricem et regem, si forte Deo inspirante pax reformari posset. Conuentum iuxta Bathoniam, misso ex parte imperatricis Roberto fratre et ceteris suis, on the king's, the legate and the archbishop, and likewise the queen. But vainly, vainly, sun, stirring up flies and similar insects to sting them. Now, having won Devizes, he did not hesitate to boast that by means of that castle he would gain possession of the whole district from Winchester to London and send to Flanders for knights to act as his bodyguard. As he was preparing to do these things the vengeance of heaven prevented him by the agency of John Fitz Gilbert, a man of great cunning who was castellan of Marlborough: for as he objected to handing over Devizes to his lady the Empress John chained him, hanged him on a gallows and put him to death. Wondrously was God's judgment exercised upon a sacrilegious man, in that he earned so shameful an end not from the king, to whom he was an enemy, but from those whom he seemed to favour. Those who brought about his death must be given the praise they deserve for ridding the country of such a plague and so justly punishing an enemy in their midst.

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

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

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

End of the second book of the Historia Novella
INCIPIIT PROLOGUS LIBRI TERTII

Anno incarnationis Dominice millesimo centesimo quadragesimo secundo in inextricablem laberinthum rerum et negotiorum que acciderunt in Anglia aggredior; euoluere; ea causa, ne per nostram incuriam late at posteros, cum sit opere precium cognoscere uolubilitatem fortune statusque humani mutabilitatem, Deo dumtaxat permittente uel iubente. Itaque quia moderni non mediocriter et merito reprehendunt predecessores nostros, qui nec sui nec suorum post Bedam ullam reliquerunt memoriam, ego, qui a nobis hanc proposui sum mouere infamiam, debeo apud lectores bonam, si recte iudicabunt, pacisci gratiam.

LIBER TERTIUS

§ 487. Quomodo rex uenerit ad obsidionem Lindcolnie

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

BEGINNING OF THE PREFACE OF THE THIRD BOOK

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

BOOK THREE

§ 487. How the king came to besiege Lincoln

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

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

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

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

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

The Earl of Gloucester was not hard to persuade since he could not bear the shame of the thing; and at the same time, loathing delay because his noble country, for the sake of two persons, was being tormented by the plunder and slaughter of civil war, he preferred, if God should allow it, to hazard a final decision. He also hoped for the divine approval in his enterprise because
the king had wronged his son-in-law who was in no wise at fault, was besieging his daughter and had turned into a castle the church of the Blessed Mother of God at Lincoln. How greatly these things must have influenced the prince's mind! Would it not be better to die and fall with glory rather than bear so signal an affront? So, to avenge God and his sister and to free his relatives, he took the risk. The adherents of his party, most of them disinherited men inflamed to war by grief for what they had lost and consciousness of valour, followed him eagerly, though he cunningly concealed his purpose all the way from Gloucester to Lincoln, keeping the whole army in uncertainty, except for a very few, by taking an indirect route.

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

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

§ 489. De pugna comitis Glocestre et captione regis

Ventum ad suppremum ipso die Purificationis beatissime Marie, ad flumen quod inter duos exercitus preter-fluebat, Trenta nomine, quod et or tu suo et pluviarum profluui tam magnum fuerat ut nullatenus uado transitum preberet. Tum demum et genero, qui cum manu ualida occurrerat, et ceteris quos ductauerat, detegens animum hoc sibi propositum iam dudum esse adiecit, quod nulla unquam necessitate terga uerteret; uel moriendum uel ueriendum esse, si non uicisset. Cunctis igitur bona spe ipsum impletibus, mirabile audire, ilico belli discrimen initurus, predicti rapacitatem fluminis cum omnibus suis nando transgressus est. Tantus erat comiti ardor finem e imponere, ut mallet ultima experiri quam regni calamitatem ulterius protendi: nam et rex cum comitibus quamplurimis et non incerti militum

\[\text{§ 489. The Earl of Gloucester's fight and the king's capture}\]

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The six earls on the king's side were Alan of Brittany, Waleran of Meulan, Waleran's half-brother, William de Warenne of Surrey, Hugh of Norfolk, Simon of Northampton and William of Albemarle, Earl of Yorkshire. The earls joined forces with a great number of barons, accompanied by a large body of knights. The royalists first attempted that prelude to the fight which is called jousting, for this they were accomplished, but when they saw that the earls, if the expression may be allowed, were fighting not with lances at a distance but with swords at close quarters and, charging with their banners in the van, were breaking through the king's line, then all the earls to a man sought safety in flight (six of them had entered the battle on the king's side), but a number of barons of notable loyalty and courage, thinking they should not abandon the king even at this desperate moment, were taken prisoners. The king himself, though he did not lack spirit in self-defence, was at length attacked on all sides by the Earl of Gloucester's knights and fell to the ground on being struck by a stone; it is not known who dealt the blow. So, as all around him were captured or put to flight, he brought himself to yield for the time and be held a prisoner. Therefore the glorious Earl of Gloucester gave orders that the king should be kept alive and unharmed, not suffering even that he should be the victim of any insulting language: behold, he mildly protected in humiliation him whom he had just been furiously assailing when exalted in majesty, so that, controlling emotions of anger and joy, he both showed kindness to a relative and had regard, even in the person of a captive, to the splendour of the crown. But the mass of the burgesses of Lincoln was in great part cut down, through the just anger of the victors and without causing any grief to the vanquished, since it was they who by their instigation had given rise to this calamity.

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\[a\] sex—plures AB  
\[b\] reseruari A asseruari B  
\[c\] pro(s)cindi AB  
\[d\] ciuam AB  
\[e\] Lindocolinum AB

\[1\] The six earls on the king's side were Alan of Brittany, Waleran of Meulan, Waleran's half-brother, William de Warenne of Surrey, Hugh of Norfolk, Simon of Northampton and William of Albemarle, Earl of Yorkshire (Henry of Huntingdon, pp. 269-72).
§ 490. Quomodo rex imperatrixi presentatur

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{a} uero om. B  \textsuperscript{b} uero AB

§ 490. How the king was brought before the Empress

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

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

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

a in]cum AB  b Wiltoniam B  c cessere AB

1 Gesta, ch. 59, says 'dominam et reginam acclamare praecipit.' For 'dominus' or 'domina,' used of the lawful successor before coronatIOn, see

a letter from the Chapter of St David's to John in 1199 (Giraldus, I, p. 110) with Giraldus's comment.
§ 492. How in a solemn council they confirmed the Empress as lady of England

On the Monday after Easter week a council of Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury and all the bishops of England and many abbots, under the presidency of the legate, was begun at Winchester in great state. Any who failed to attend gave reasons for not coming by representatives and letters. As I took part in the proceedings of the council I will not deny posterity the whole truth of what occurred, for my recollection is very clear.

That same day, after the reading of the letters of excuse by which some defended their absence, the legate called the bishops aside and conferred with them in secret; afterwards the abbots were summoned and finally the archdeacons. No part of their deliberations was published, but the minds and lips of all were busy with what had to be done.

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

On the Tuesday the legate's speech was much to this effect: that by appointment of the Pope he took his place in England and it was therefore by the Pope's authority that the clergy of England were gathered in this council to discuss the peace of their country, which was suffering a very perilous shipwreck. In the time of King Henry, his uncle, England had been the peculiar habitation of peace, so that through the activity, spirit and vigour of that pre-eminent man not only did the natives, whatever their power or position, not venture to create any disturbance but likewise all the neighbouring kings and princes, following his example, both inclined...
inuitarent uel compellerent. Qui uidelicet rex, non-nullis ante obitum annis, filie sue quondam imperatrix, quae sola sibi proles ex despansa quondam coniugis supererat, omne regnum Anglie, simul et ducatum Normannie, iurari ab omnibus episcopis simulque baronibus fecerit, si successore masculo ex illa, quam ex Lotharingia duxerat, uxore careret. 'Et inuidit,' inquit, 'atrox fortuna precellementissimo auunculo meo, ut sine masculo herede in Normannia decederet. Itaque quia longum uidebatur dominam expectare, que moras ad veniendum in Angliam nectebat, in Normannia quippe residebat, prouisum est paci patrie, et regnare permissus frater meus. 'Enim uero, quamuis ego uadem me apposuerim inter eum et Deum quod sanctam ecclesiam honoraret et exaltaret, et bonas leges manuteneret, malas uero abrogaret; piget meminisse, pudet narrare, qualem se in regno exhibuerit: quomodo in presumptores nulla iustitia exercita, quomodo pax omnis statim ipso pene anno aboluta; episcopi capti, et ad redditionem possessorum suarum coacti; abbatie uendite, ecclesie thesauris depilate; consilia prauorum audita, bonorum uel suspensa uel omnino contempta. Scitis quotiens eum tum per me tum per episcopos conuenerim, concilio presertim anno predicto et causam ad hoc indico, et nichil nisi odio adquisierim. Nee illud quemquam, qui recte pensare uelit, latet, debere me fratrem meum mortalem diligere, set causam Patris immortalis multo pluris facere. Itaque quia Deus iudicium suum de fratre meo exercuit, ut eum, me nesciente, in potestatem potentium

to peace themselves and invited or forced their subjects to it. That king, some years before his death, had had the whole kingdom of England and also the duchy of Normandy confirmed on oath by all the bishops and barons to his daughter, formerly Empress, his only surviving offspring by his first wife, if he failed of a male successor by his wife from Lorraine. 'And cruel fortune,' he said, 'showed a grudge against my preeminent uncle, so that he died in Normandy without a male heir. Therefore, because it seemed tedious to wait for the lady, who made delays in coming to England since her residence was in Normandy, thought was taken for the peace of the country and my brother allowed to reign. But though I made myself guarantor between him and God that he would honour and exalt Holy Church, maintain good laws and repeal bad ones, I am vexed to remember and ashamed to tell what manner of man he showed himself as king, how no justice was enforced upon transgressors, peace at once brought entirely to an end, almost in that very year, bishops arrested and compelled to surrender their property, abbacies sold and churches despoiled of their treasure, the advice of the wicked hearkened to, that of the good either not put into effect or altogether disregarded. You know how often I made application to him, sometimes personally and sometimes through the bishops, especially when I called a council for this purpose in the year mentioned before, and gained nothing but hatred. And if anyone will consider the matter aright he cannot be unaware that while I should love my mortal brother I should esteem far more highly the cause of my immortal Father. Therefore, since God has executed his judgment on my brother in allowing him to fall into the power of the strong without my knowledge, that the kingdom may
incidere permitteret; ne regnum uacillet, si regnante
careat, omnes uos pro iure legationis mee hac conuenire
inuitaui. Ventilata est hesterno die causa secreto coram
maiori parte cleri Anglie, ad cuius ius potissimum
spectat principem eligere, simulque ordinare. Inuocata
itaque primo, ut par est, in auxilium Divinitate, filiam
pacifici regis, gloriosi regis, diuitis regis, boni regis, et
nistro tempore incomparabilis, in Anglie Normannieque
dominam eligimus, et ei fidem et manutenementum
promittimus.'

§ 494. Quomodo Londonienses in concilio

Cumque omnes presentes uel modeste acclamassent
sententie, uel silentes non contradixissent, subiecit le-
gatus: 'Londonienses, qui sunt quasi optimates pro
magnitudine citatis in Anglia, nutiis nostris conueni-
mus, et conductum ut tuto ueniant misimus. Eos
qua confido non ultra hunc dies diem moratus, bona uenia
usque cras sustineamus.'

§ 495. Feria quarta uenerunt Londonienses, et, in
concilium introducti, causam suam eatenus egerunt ut
dicerent, missos se
a communionem quam uocant Lon-
doniarum, non certamina set preces offerre, ut dominus
suus rex de captione liberaretur. Hoc omnes barones,
qui in eorum
b communione; in
omni clero qui presens erat. Responsum
est eis a legato ubertim et splendide; et, quo minus
fieret quod rogabant, eadem oratio que pridie habita.

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

§ 494. How the Londoners bore themselves in the council

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

§ 495. The Londoners came on the Wednesday and,
on being introduced into the council, pleaded their
case to the extent of saying they had been sent by what
is called the commune of London and brought not
contentiousness but a request for the freeing of their lord
the king from captivity. All the barons who had earlier
been received into their commune were urgent in
demanding this from the lord legate, the archbishop and
all the clergy who were present. The legate answered
them at length and with eloquence and made the same
speech as the day before in opposition to what they asked.
Moreover, he added it was not fitting that the Londoners,
Adiectum quinetiam, non decere ut Londonienses, qui precipui habebantur in Anglia sicut proceres, illorum partes fouerent qui dominum suum in bello reliquerant, quorum consilio idem sanctam ecclesiam exhonorauerat, qui postremo non ob aliud ipsis Londoniensibus uidebantur nisi ut eos pecuniis emungerent.

§ 496. De clericorum reginæ

Interea surrexit quidam, cuius nomen, si bene memini, Christianus, regine ut audiui clericus, porrexitque cartam legato; qua ille sub silentio lecta, uoce quantum potuit exaltata dixit non esse legitimam, nee quod deberet in tanto, presertimque sublimium et religiosarum personarum, conuentu recitari. Preter cetera enim que reprehensibilia et notabilia erant scripta, testem appositum qui preterito anno, in eodem quo tunc sedebat capitulœ, uenerabiles episcopos maxima uerborum affecerit contumelia. Ita illo tricante, clericus legationis sui non defuit, sed preclaram fiduciam litteras legit in auditu, quorum hec erat summa: rogabat regina obnixe omnem clericum congregatum, et nuncupatim episcopum Wintonie fratrem domini sui, ut eundem dominum regno restituerent, quem iniqui uiri, qui etiam homines sui essent, in vincula coniecissent. Huic suggestioni retulit legatus uerba in eandem sententiam qua et Londonienses. Illi, communicato consilio, dixerunt se decretum concilii communiuis suis relatus, et fauorem suum quantum possent prestituros. Feria quinta solutum est concilium, excommunicatis ante multis qui regiarum erant partium; nominatim Willemo Martello, qui quondam pincerna

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§ 496. The queen's clerk

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

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

\(^a\) receperunt A 
\(^b\) Anglie \(\dagger\) dignanter AB 
\(^c\) assiduis Ce\(^1\)
\(^d\) quibus om. B 
\(^e\) modis degebat B (modis ut decebat Cd)

\(^1\) Note the very different account of the retreat from London in the *Gesta*, ch. 62.
then as always sharing his sister's fortunes in everything, and, to put it briefly, by all her adherents, unharmed to a man. The Londoners, learning of their departure, dashed into their lodgings and carried off whatever had been left in haste.

§ 498. The dispute between the Empress and the legate

Not many days later a quarrel arose between the legate and the Empress, a mischance that I may truly call the origin of all the evils that followed in England: I will relate how it befell. King Stephen had a son named Eustace by the daughter of Eustace Count of Boulogne. To go back further, that posterity may not be unaware of the truth about these events, King Henry, the Empress's father, had given Mary, the sister of his wife the Empress's mother, in marriage to the aforesaid count because he was both of distinguished birth and eminent alike for prudence and valour. Eustace had no children by Mary except a daughter named Matilda. As she was of marriageable age on her father's death that most splendid of kings united her in lawful wedlock with his nephew Stephen and at the same time took trouble to gain for him the county of Boulogne, having already given him that of Mortain in Normandy from his own possessions. These counties the legate had intended to give to his nephew Eustace, whom I have mentioned, as being his lawful property while his father was held a prisoner, but the Empress firmly refused and, it may be, actually promised them to others. The legate, enraged by this affront, kept away from her court for many days and, though often summoned back, persisted in refusal. Meanwhile he had an intimate conference at Guildford...
with the queen, his brother’s wife, and influenced by her tears and offers of amends he resolved to free his brother; he also gave absolution, without consulting the bishops, to all the members of his brother’s party whom he had excommunicated in the council. His complaints against the Empress were likewise current throughout England: that she had wished to arrest him; that she had disregarded everything she had sworn to him; that all the barons of England had kept their faith with her but she had broken hers, being unable to show restraint in the enjoyment of what she had gained.

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

The Earl of Gloucester, with no very large retinue, hastened to Winchester to settle these disturbances if he could, but having accomplished nothing went back to Oxford, where his sister had long been in permanent quarters. Then she, perceiving from what she had always been hearing and then learnt from her brother that the legate had no kindly intentions towards her party, came to Winchester with as large a force as she could. There she was at once received within the royal castle and summoned the legate by messengers, perhaps meaning him no harm, not to delay coming to her as she herself had arrived; but he, thinking he would lose his freedom of action if he did come, deceived the messengers by an ambiguous answer, saying merely ‘I will get ready,’ and sent immediately for all those who he knew would favour the king. So almost all the earls in England came, for they were young and lightminded, men who preferred cavalry-raids to peace. Most of them likewise, ashamed of having abandoned the king in battle, as has been said
conuentu illo fuge sue obprobrium lenire conabantur. Pauci uero cum imperatrici uenerant: * rex Scottie David, Robertus comes Glocester, Milo de Hereford, et barones pauci; Reinnulfus * comes Cestrie tarde et inutiliter aduenit. * Vt ergo magnam seriem rerum breui uerborum compendio explicem: a regina, et comitibus qui uenerant, undique foras muros Wintorne obseruante sunt uie, ne uictualia imperatricis fidelibus * inferrentur; Andeuera etiam uicus incensus. Ab occidente itaque raro et anguste importabantur necessaria, uiatoribus nonnullis interceptis uel * occisis uel parte membrorum mutilatis: ab oriente uero toto tramite uersus Londoniam constipabantur semite multitudine commematuum, * episcopo et suis importandorum; Gaufrido de Mandevilla, qui iam iterum auxilio eorum cesserat, antea enim post captioinem regis imperatrici fidelitatem iurauerat, * et Londoniensibus maxime annite­ntibus, nichilque omnino quod possent pretermit­tentibus quo imperatricem contristarent. Wintonienses porro uel tacito ci fauebant iudicio, memores fidei quam ei pacti fuerant cum inuiti propemodum ab episcopo ad hoc adacti essent. Interea ex turre pontificis iaculatum incendium in domos burgensium, qui, ut dixi, prorniores erant imperatricis felicitati, quem epis­copi, comprehendit et combussit abbatiam totam sanctimonialium intra urbem, simulque cenobium quod dicitur Ad Hidam extra. Erat ibi imago crucifixi Domini magna mole auri et argenti simulque gemmarum, donec * above, were trying to palliate the disgrace of their flight by assembling them. Only a few had come with the Empress: David King of Scots, Robert Earl of Gloucester, Miles Earl of Hereford and a few barons; Ralph Earl of Chester's arrival was late and ineffective. So, to unfold a long succession of events in a brief account, everywhere outside the walls of Winchester the roads were being watched by the queen and the earls who had come, to prevent provisions being brought in to the Empress's adherents, and the village of Andover was burnt. So from the west necessities were being brought in seldom and on a limited scale, and of those who conveyed them a number were captured or killed or mutilated in some part of their limbs: on the east, all the way to London, the tracks were crowded with masses of supplies being taken to the bishop and his men, Geoffrey de Mandeville, who had again gone over to aid them—for formerly, after the king's capture, he had sworn allegiance to the Empress—and the Londoners making the greatest efforts and not letting slip a single thing that lay in their power whereby they might annoy the Empress. But the people of Winchester gave her their unspoken loyalty, remembering the faith they had pledged to her when they were induced to do it, almost against their will, by the bishop. Meanwhile firebrands, flung from the bishop's tower upon the houses of the citizens, who, as I have said, were more zealous for the Empress's success than the bishop's, caught and burnt an entire nunnery within the city and the monastery called Hyde without. There was in it a likeness of the crucified Lord with a great mass of gold and silver, also precious stones, wrought with laborious devotion as a gift from

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\* conuenuerant B  
\* Reinnulfus AB (+ enim B)  
\* uenit B  
\* itaque om. A  
\* fidelibus imperatricis A  
\* episcopo et sui importandorum;  
\* commemantium Ce  
\* Gaufrido—iuraerat om. AB  
\* —que om. A  
\* felicitati imperatricis A  
\* cenobium + monachorum AB
§ 500. De discessu comitis Glocestre a Wintonia et captione sua

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

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

Meanwhile the Earl of Gloucester, though he was hard-pressed by daily battles between the king’s men and his own and his success was not proportionate to his expectations, still always thought he must refrain from burning churches, though he was lodged in the neighbourhood of St Swithun’s. But since he could no longer bear the shame of the thing, that he and his men were practically besieged and fortune was turning to favour the other side, he thought he must bow to the emergencies of the time and prepared an orderly withdrawal. And so he sent his sister on ahead with the remainder in the front part of the column, that she might get away unimpeded, and himself moved on slowly with a few who had the courage not to fear numbers. Wherefore, as the earls of the king’s party pursued at speed and he himself thought it unbecoming and beneath his dignity to fly and was alone the special object of everyone’s attack, he was taken prisoner. The others, particularly those of high rank, went on with the journey they had...
cum festinatone Diuisas peruenerunt. Sic a Wintonia
die sancte Crucis Exaltationis, que tunc habebatur in
dominica, discessum; cum illuc pauci ante Assump-
tionem beate Dei generieis diebus uentum fuissest.
Nonnullique miraculi exemplum et multorum materia
sermonum fuit in Anglia, quod sicut rex dominica in
domine nostre Purificatione, ita comes dominica in
uiuifice Crucis Exaltatione, unam candelique sortem
experti sunt. Illud uero percelebre magnificumque fuit,
quod pro isto euentu nemo comitem Gloecstre uel in-
frac tum mente, uel etiam tristem uultu, uidert b; ita
conscientiam alte nobilitatis spirabat, ne se fortune
ludibrio subiceret. Quamuis enim primo blanditiis
inuitatus, post etiam minis lacesseretur, nunquam tamen
inflexus est ut de liberatione sua preter consensum e
sororis tractaretur. Ad ultimum eo modo res uentilata,
Ut equis conditionibus et rex et ipse absoluerunt;
nullo pacto ait interiuniente, nisi ut quisque d partes
suas pro posse, sicut et prius, tutaretur. Hec ab
Exaltatione sancte Crucis usque ad festum Omnium
Sanctorum plurimo uerbvm agmine sepe uersata,
tunc demum debito fine conclusa; ea enim die rex
eluctatus captionem, in eadem apud Bristou reginam
suam et filium cum duobus magnatibus reliquit, uades
liberandi comitis continuo, cum festinato itinere rex
Wintoniam uenisset; ibi enim asseruabatur comes,
reductus a Rouecastra, quo prius abductus fuerat.
Terto die, mox ut rex Wintoniam uenit, comes abscessit;
dimisso ibi, quousque regina absolveretur, in eodem j

begun and reached Devizes in the greatest haste. Such
was the departure from Winchester on the day of the
Exaltation of the Holy Cross, which then fell on a Sunday,
the arrival having been a few days before the Assumption
of the Blessed Mother of God. It was a matter of some
wonder and much talk in England that the king and the
earl met one and the same fate, the former on a Sunday,
the Purification of Our Lady, the latter on a Sunday, the
Exaltation of the Lifegiving Cross. What was greatly
famed and brought him much honour was that no-one
saw the Earl of Gloucester broken in spirit or even
gloomy of countenance because of that mischance; such
consciousness of his lofty rank did he breathe that he
could not be humbled by the outrage of fortune. For
though he was first lured by flatteries and afterwards
even assailed by threats he was never induced to allow
negotiations for his release without his sister's consent.
The discussions ended in an agreement that the king and
he should be released on the same terms, no other
condition being involved except that each should main-
tain his own cause to the best of his ability, as before.
These matters were argued at very great length from the
Exaltation of the Holy Cross to the feast of All Saints
and only then reached a suitable conclusion, for on that
day the king emerged from captivity. On that same
day he left his queen and son with two men of high rank
at Bristol as sureties for the earl's release immediately
the king could reach Winchester by travelling at speed;
for that was where the earl was kept, having been brought
there from Rochester, where he was taken at first. On
the third day, as soon as the king came to Winchester,
the earl went away, leaving his son William there as a
hostage in the same manner until the queen's release. So
he travelled rapidly, came to Bristol and released the
obsidatu filio suo Willelmo. Celeriter igitur permensa uia, Bristou ueniens reginam absoluit; cuius reditu Willelmus filius comitis ab obsidatu liberatur. Satis autem constat, toto tempore captione, sequentibusque mensibus usque ad Natale, multis et magnis pollicitationibus sollicitatum ut a sorore descisceret, pluris semper pietatem germanitatis quam quaslibet promissiones fecisse: nam et relictis rebus castellisque suis, quibus commodo frui posset, circa germanam sedulo apud Oxeneford mansitabant; quo loco, ut prefatus sum, illa sedem sibi constituens, curiam fecerat.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 503. Recapitulatio de comite Glocestre

Principia gestorum huius anni, qui est incarnationis dominice millesimus centesimus quadragesimus tertius, ex reliquis superioris anni successit animo resarcire; simulque summam rerum que de Roberto filio regis Henrici comite Glocestre sparsim dictae sunt, quasi in fasciculum collectam, lectoris estimationi per recapitulationem proponere. Ipse quippe sicut primus ad partes sororis sue iuste defendendas initium suscepit, ita semper inuicto animo in incepto gratis perseuerauit: gratis dieo, quia nonnulli fautorum eius vel fortunam sequentes cum eius uolubilitate mutantur, uel, multa iam emolu­menta consecuti, spe ampliorum premiorum pro iustitia pugnant. Solus uel pene solus Robertus in neutram partem pronior, nec spe compendii nec dispendii timore unquam flexus est, sicut ex consequentibus liquebit. Non ergo alicui, si hec integre scribo, adulationis surrepat suspicio; nichil enim a me dabitur gratie, set sola were mainly due to his connivance. The envoy said this and a great deal more in very harsh terms, without any attempt to appease the legate, but the latter could not be induced by any severity of language to betray anger, being, as I said before, a man not slow to carry out what he had once taken in hand. So this year, whose tragedies I have briefly related, was ill-omened and almost mortal for England, which, after thinking that it might now in some sort draw a breath of freedom, fell back again into misery, and in misery, unless God's mercy sends a remedy soon, will long remain.

§ 503. The Earl of Gloucester: a summing up

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

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

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

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

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

§ 507. De liberatione regis

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

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

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

a Mabilia B  b dilecti om. AB  c assentiri A
d et om. A  e Salesberia † et AB
f nonnulli] et nonnulli A nonnullique B
g multis marcis inh. in corum red. A
1 Earl Gilbert was Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford, nephew of the Earl of Pembroke. William of Salisbury was the brother of Earl Patrick, mentioned in ch. 112 of the Gesta.
§ 510. A month passed in these negotiations, so hard was it to release princes whom fortune had put in her chains. Repulit comes immensas promises memorabili responso, quod post teritas audiat et miret uolo: 'Non sum,' inquit meus set alieni iuris: cum mee potestatis me uidero, quicquid ratio de re quam allegatis dictauerit, facturum me respondeo.'

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

§ 509. Tum illi concitatores et nonnicil moti, cum blanditiis nichil promouerent, minas intentare ceperunt, quod eum ultra mare in Bononiam mitterent, perpetuis vinculis usque ad mortem innodandum. Enim uero ille, minas sereno uultu dissoluens, nichil minus se timere protestatus est. Constanter et uere: confidebat enim in magnanimitate comitisse, uxoris sue scilicet, et animositate suorum, qui statim regem in Hiberniam mitterent, si quid perperam in comitem factum audissent.

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

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

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

§ 514. Hec ideo sic in superioris anni gestis non
apposui, quia clam conscientia mea erat: semper
quippe horrori habui aliquid ad posteros transmittendum
stilo committere, quod nescirem solida ueritate subsistere.
Ea porro, que de presenti anno dicenda sunt, hoc habe-
bunt principium.

§ 515. Tractatus ut pro comite Andegauense mitteretur

Utreque partes, imperatriceis et regis, se cum quietis
modestia egerunt a Natali usque ad quadragesimam,

a et simul A  b sic om. AB  c natuitate A natale B

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

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

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

§ 515. Proposal to send for the Count of Anjou

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

1 Virgil, Aeneid, VII, l. 586.
rather to keep their own than to assail what belonged to others: the king went north to settle some affairs. The arrival of Lent enjoined upon all a truce from war, taking advantage of which the Empress came to Devizes with her counsellors to hold a secret conference there, the purport of which was, however, so far made public that it was known all her adherents approved sending for the Count of Anjou, it being his duty to maintain the inheritance of his wife and children in England. So men of reputation were sent, qualified to undertake so great a charge.

§ 516. De infirmitate regis

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

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

Ita omnium audientium spebus erectis, ad comitem preces uerse, ut hunc laborem pro sororis et neporum hereditate dignaretur. Dissimulauit ille primo, difficilém rem pretendens: suspectum per confertissimos hostes iter citra et ultra mare; periculosum sorori, quam in absentia eius aliis egre tuarentur, qui eam in captione sua pene reliquerant, rebus ipsi suis diffisi. Fauens tandem omnium unaniem voluentiali, obsides poposcit singillatim ab his qui optimates uidebantur, secum Normanniam ducendos, uadesque futuros tam comiti Andegauensi quam imperatrici, quod omnes iunctis umbonibus ab ea, dum ipse abesset, iniurias propulerent, uicibus suis apud Oxenefordum manentes. Ac clamatum est sententie, dati obides Normanniam ducendi.

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

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

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

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

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

* The boy was handed over at Bristol to a certain Matthew for education (Gervase, I, p. 124).
statim etiam castello potitus est. Nec eo contentus, qui fortunam sibi aspirare uideret, tribus diebus ante festum sancti Michaelis inopinato casu Oxeneford ciuitatem concremauit, et castellum, in quo cum domesticis militibus imperatrix erat, obsedit; ita scilicet offirmato a animo, ut nullius spe commodi, nullius timore detrimenti, discedendum pronuntiaret, nisi castello reddito et imperatrice in ditionem suam redacta. Mox igitur b optimates quidem c omnes imperaticris, confusi quia a domina sua preter statuum abfuerant, conferts cuneis ad Walengeford conuenerunt, eo proposito ut regem bello impeterent si ipse in aperto campo martem experiri uellet, set eum d intra ciuitatem aggredit, ut inexpugnabilis preter incendium uideretur.

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

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

Cogitauerat primo ad Hamtunam appellere, ut dispensio burgensium simul et domini eorum injurias suas ulisceretur; set flexerunt eius impetum precibus multis Vituli, qui artissimarum necessitudinum parentes, quis apud Hamtunam habeant, erumpnis ceterorum involui timent. Genus hominum nauticorum est quos Vitulos vocant; qui quia fidi clientes comitis sunt, preces corum non negligendas arbitratus, cepto destitit; simul et honoratus uisum, ut in locum de quo egressus fuerat reuerteretur, quod per violentiam amiserat ui recuperaturus. Statim ergo portu et uico in potestatem subactis, castellum obsedit, quod lectissimorum militum quos ibi rex locauerat munitione sua confirmarat animositatem, ne dicam contumaciam. At enim paulo post milites, machinis comitis labefactati et consternati, petuerunt indutas ut, sicut moris est illorum hominum, efflagiarent a rege suppetias; die dicta, si forte negaret, castellum reddituri. Id, spe regem ab obsidione sororis abducendi, acceptissimorum comiti fuit, quamuis impatiensi desiderio castelli habendi teneretur; qua putamus animi confidentia, ut nullo ex Anglia fultus adhuc auxilio, cum trecentis et paulo plus militibus

a comites AB  b ciuium AB  c fide AB  d electissimorum B  e confirmabat AB  f pecierunt AB

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

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

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

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

Southampton and Hastings (De Expugnatione Lyxboneni, ed. C. W. David, pp. 100–4 and note 1 to p. 100).
regem intrepidus operiretur, qui mille milites et eo amplius habere fertebatur; multi enim non tam imperatricis odio quam aviditate prede ad obsidendum conulauerant.

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

Veruntamen, cum relatum esset quod obsessis apud Waram a rege negaretur auxilium, ea scilicet obstatione qua predixi castellum recepti; eodemque impulsus insulanam Portland, quam incastellauerant, subegit; nec minus et tertium, cuius nomen Lulleworda, quod Willelmi de Glastonia cuiusdam cubicularii fuerat, qui nuper ad fide imperatricis descuerat. Inde omnes fatores imperatricis ad Cirecestram convocauit, iam ingresso Aduentu. Ibi igitur ad domine sue succurrendum omnibus suis uribus conspirati, professionem ad Oxenefordum meditabantur, infensus mentibus cum rege, nisi abscederet, preliaturi. Enimiero iam progressis plausibile nuntium alia tum est, egressam imperatricem apud Walengeford tuto manere. Illic ergo diuertentes, eiusdem domine sue consilio, quia et milites qui ea exeunte remanerant, castello reddito indemnes abierant, et sancti dies quiescere uel parum admonebant, bello abstinentium rati, ad sua quique sunt reuersi.

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

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

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

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

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1 The meaning given is quite usual in twelfth-century Latin; only the castle remained in the Empress's possession.
2 The account in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (p. 384) says that she was let down from the tower by ropes.