Cronicon
Richardi Divisensis
De Tempore
Regis Richardi Primi

The Chronicle
of Richard of Devizes
of the Time of
King Richard the First

Edited by
John T. Appleby

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INTRODUCTION

I THE AUTHOR AND HIS CHRONICLE

The chronicle of Richard of Devizes is one of the most interesting historical works of the twelfth century in England. It combines information with entertainment to a degree not found in any of Richard's contemporaries. With the opening sentences of the prologue we find ourselves in the company of a mocking, irreverent, witty and rather cynical writer whose character is apparent on every page of his book. At the same time we find in his chronicle much information that cannot be found in any other source. Richard of Devizes, a monk of St Swithin's, or the Old Minster, at Winchester, was in an ideal place for gathering information. Winchester, the old capital of Wessex, was one of the most important cities in the kingdom. It had been the seat of the royal treasury; the king occasionally held his great ceremonial courts there; and the king and all his important officials usually stopped there on their way to and from Southampton and Portsmouth, the most commonly used ports.

This chronicle begins with King Richard's crowning on 3 September 1189 and ends with the king's preparations to leave the Holy Land in October 1192. King Richard's participation in the Third Crusade is covered much more fully and authoritatively by the Itinerarium Regis Ricardi than by our author, and he is not, therefore, an important source of information in that respect. Concerning events in England during the king's absence, however, this chronicle amplifies in a most valuable way the accounts of other contemporary writers, chief amongst whom are Gervase of Canterbury, the author of the Gesta Regis Ricardi Primi (the continuation of the Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, formerly ascribed to Benedict of Peterborough,
but now thought to be the work of Roger of Hoveden \(^1\), Ralph of Diceto, Roger of Hoveden, William of Newburgh, and Gerald of Wales.

No other English king has shown so little interest in his realm or so little concern for its welfare as did Richard, the hero of this chronicle. Nor, it is only fair to add, has any other English king been so idolised by his people, both during his lifetime and afterwards. Although he was born in England, Richard left the country at an early age and returned only twice, each time for short visits, once at Easter 1176 and again at Christmas 1184,\(^2\) to the land over which he was to rule.

When he became king, at the age of thirty-two, his one thought was to drain his realm of men and money for his projected crusade. He stayed in England long enough only to be crowned, to make hasty and ill-planned dispositions for the governing of the country during his absence, and to wring every penny possible from the sale of lands and honours. His father had built up a system of government highly efficient for that day; Richard could hardly have done more than he did to wreck it. He dismissed his father’s trusted vicegerent, the Chief Justiciar Rannulf Glanvill; he ousted the sheriffs and sold their offices to the highest bidders; he impressed many of the most capable barons into his army; and he left in a position of great trust and responsibility William Longchamp, a foreigner who not only knew little of England but who sneered openly at the country and its inhabitants. Although he was unmarried and was departing on a hazardous enterprise from which he might well not return, Richard did not designate a successor or make any provision for the governing of the country in the event of his death.

To complete the mischief, the king gave his brother John what amounted to an independent principality embracing six whole counties,\(^1\) and he nominated his bastard brother Geoffrey, who was himself suspected of having had designs on the throne,\(^2\) to be archbishop of York. To the confusion of the Church, he made his chancellor, William Longchamp, bishop of Ely and induced the pope to appoint him papal legate, and he took the archbishop of Canterbury, who might have exerted a moderating influence on these violent and ambitious characters, on the Crusade with him. After he had left the country at the earliest opportunity, he increased the confusion by showering his justiciars with contradictory orders. As our author puts it: ‘He made everyone feel that he had been satisfied and sent them all back to the chancellor with whatever letters they wanted.’

Richard thus heaped up the materials for an explosion that shook the whole country and subjected the governmental system, painfully restored by his father through a process of trial and error over thirty-five years, to the most severe strain it had undergone since the anarchy and civil war of Stephen’s reign. The first phase of the efforts of the English barons, led by Count John, to throw off the yoke of the hated William Longchamp in the spring and summer of 1191 is presented more fully and more vividly by our author than by any other writer.

Although Richard of Devizes does not hesitate to express his opinions in violent and colourful language concerning people in whom he feels a personal interest, his account of the momentous struggle between Count John, William Longchamp, and Walter of Coutances is detached, and critical of all three. His denunciation of William Longchamp lends some credibility to the account, usually thought highly prejudiced, by Gerald of Wales in his De Vita Galfridi. On the other hand, Richard scrupulously refrains from saying a word in praise of Count John, who posed as the champion of the barons’ liberties but

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\(^1\) See Doris M. Stenton, ‘Roger of Howden and Benedict’, English Historical Review, LXVIII (1953), 374-82.

\(^2\) Gesta, I, 115, 120, 319, 333-4

\(^1\) Newburgh, I, 301; Gesta, II, 78, 99

\(^2\) De Vita Galfrid., p. 374
whose blundering attempt to seize his brother’s crown alienated the sympathies of all those whose favour he had done the most to gain. Of the third party in the struggle, Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, who emerged triumphant at the end as chief justiciar, Richard has little to say, and that little is not favourable. His previous contemptuous dismissal of the archbishop as one so cowardly as to desert from the Crusade apparently removed him from our author’s notice; it little mattered what he did after that one great refusal.

In so far as his chronicle can be checked against the accounts of other writers, Richard of Devizes is quite accurate in his account of events in England during these crucial years. His greatest errors that can now be detected are his carelessly assigning a date, 25 April 1191, to the treaty between John and Longchamp, which he has previously stated to be the result of a conference held on 28 July, and his inaccurate summary of that treaty.¹

Richard’s chronicle is wholly original; it shows no indication of being derived from any other known source. On the other hand, no other writer of the time makes any reference to it, which, added to the fact that only two copies are known, would indicate that it is precisely what it professes to be—a private production written for the entertainment of the friend to whom it is dedicated and unknown outside a narrow circle of friends. Its greatest value lies in the fact that it is the account by a wholly independent writer, based on his own observations and sources of information, of a crucial period in English history.

Richard reveals a lively personality from the first page of his work, which opens with a mocking dedication to Robert, formerly prior at St Swithin’s at Winchester and now a Carthusian monk at Witham. He pokes sharp fun at the legends, circulated throughout the Middle Ages, of the boy-martyrs ritually murdered by the Jews that began with the story of ‘Saint’ William of Norwich, a twelve-year-old boy who was said, on no reliable evidence, to have been murdered by the Jews in 1144. His preposterous story of the Christian boy, which begins with portentous solemnity and then fizzes out in a burst of mocking laughter at the absurdity of his own tale, shows his sceptical attitude towards legends that were widely accepted, even by bishops such as William of Turbe, bishop of Norwich from 1146 to 1174, and, two centuries later, by Geoffrey Chaucer.

Richard is a man of strong prejudices, national, local and monastic, which he airs at every opportunity. Like all good Englishmen of his time, he despises the French. It would indeed be difficult for anyone to tell the story of King Philip’s retreat from the Holy Land in such a way as to shed any lustre on that monarch’s name, but Richard loses no opportunity to place the French in an unfavourable light.

As a man born, to judge from his name, in Devizes, some thirty-five miles north-west of Winchester, who probably spent at least his adult life in the cloister of the Old Minster, he has a mocking scorn for the rest of England and a profound affection for his adopted home, as he shows in the catalogue of cities in the legend of the boy-martyr.

As a monk, Richard has a good-natured contempt for the secular clergy and a bitter hatred for Hugh of Nonant, bishop of Coventry, who attempted to replace his monastic chapter by secular canons. By the last quarter of the twelfth century the black monks, or Benedictines as we call them now, had become rich and complacent and had lost much both of their original zeal and of the new life imparted to them by the reforms of the two previous centuries. Some bishops, such as Hugh of Nonant and Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, lost all patience with the convents of monks that formed the chapters of their cathedrals and attempted to replace them with secular canons more

¹ See Appendix F.
amenable to the bishops and to their ideals of the religious life. The monks replied with such venom that one would think they were dealing with the Devil himself rather than with consecrated bishops. Although he was no saint, Hugh of Nonant, about whom Richard writes with such malevolence, was not far from the average for the bishops of his time.

Finally, as a member of a rich and ancient order, and of a house of literary, artistic and musical traditions unsurpassed in England, Richard has nothing but jeers for such fanatical newcomers as the Carthusians, to whom his friend had defected. Prior Robert, to whom Richard dedicates his work, had committed the supreme folly, in Richard’s eyes, of leaving St Swithin’s, not for a bishopric but to embrace the austere life of the Carthusians at Witham, the first and, at the time this chronicle was written, the only house of that order in England.

For all his wit and malice, Richard should not be dismissed out of hand as a satirist and nothing more. One cannot help admiring him for his loyalty to his order and to his king. Whilst his loyalty to his order provokes his sharpest and most bitter comments in writing of Bishop Hugh, one must remember that to Richard and his fellow monks the bishop was a dangerous enemy, bent upon destroying the monastic life itself. One would have scant respect for a monk who was not convinced of the nobility and sanctity of the monastic life, and one of Richard’s most eloquent passages is his defence of his order.

His loyalty to his king likewise moves one to admiration because, unlike many panegyrics of royal personages, it is wholly disinterested. Richard was no clerk of the royal chapel whose fortunes depended upon the king’s good-will; as a simple monk he had nothing to gain from a king who would in all probability never hear of him or his writings. Richard

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the monk saw in Richard the king the embodiment of all knightly virtues and of the crusading ideal. His hero-worship led him to write his most moving passage, in which the king upbraids his God for having deserted him in his greatest need, and to compose the superb closing sentence of this chronicle.

While it makes pleasant reading and is fascinating for the picture it gives of the average Englishman’s view of his king during that king’s lifetime, this account of King Richard’s deeds is not a reliable source of information on the Third Crusade. Having told of the outward voyage as far as Cyprus in considerable detail, our author gives a sketchy and distorted account of the conquest of Cyprus and a brief narrative of the capture of Acre. He then omits all mention of the Crusaders from August 1191, when King Philip abandoned the enterprise, till approximately a year later, when King Richard began negotiations for a truce with the Saracens.

The great difference between these sections leads one to believe that our author received his information from three separate sources. In the first section of the outward voyage the tone is optimistic, as though the author at the time of writing it did not know of the disappointments and defeats that lay ahead. The account of the king’s stay in Sicily is of the same high order of accuracy and of illuminating detail as is his narrative of events in England. The confused account of the occupation of Cyprus and the perfunctory story of the siege of Acre point to a different and less dependable source of information. No mention is made of the great victory at Arsuf in September 1191, which might indicate that the person from whom Richard received this second instalment of information left the Holy Land shortly before that battle. The account of Richard’s final months in the Holy Land is lacking in precise detail and is an odd jumble of events, with the chronology all awry. It is characterised by a melancholy resignation, lightened
only by the king's courage in the face of defeat. Our author apparently based his story on information given him at first hand by some of the Crusaders, for it does not follow any other account now extant.

This chronicle ends with the king's decision to leave the Holy Land in October 1192. It may well have been finished within the following year. Although the author obviously knew of Richard's having been taken prisoner in Austria in December 1192, he would hardly have omitted the story of the king's ransoming and return to England if those events had already happened by the time he wrote his chronicle. Certainly it is difficult to believe that a monk of Winchester could forbear telling of Richard's visit to St Swithin's on 16 April 1194, when he spent the night in the monastery and 'had himself bathed', and of his glorious crown-wearing in Winchester cathedral on the next day and the great feast that followed in the monastery itself. At any rate, the chronicle was written before 1190, for in that year died Walter, prior of Bath, whom Richard refers to as still living.

II The Manuscripts

The chronicle of Richard of Devizes survives in only two manuscripts: No. 339, ff.25r-43v, of the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, formerly in the collection of Archbishop Parker, and Cotton Domitian A. XIII, ff.70r-87r, in the British Museum. They will be referred to as A and B respectively.

Dr Richard Vaughan, Fellow and Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has kindly supplied the following description of MS A:

'The first part of MS 339, containing a set of annals (to f.24p) and the chronicle of Richard of Devizes, consists of 43

1 Hoveden, III, 442-3; Gerv. Cant., I, 524-5  2 Ann. Wint., p. 68

rather ragged, worn, ill-cut, and ill-ruled leaves of parchment measuring approximately 8 ¾ by 6 7/8 inches. The first four quires are regular and complete; then follow two incomplete ones, the first of six with one leaf removed and the second originally of eight but having had the last two cut off.

The general impression is of a book made by an amateur on rather low-grade parchment, but this must not be exaggerated, because at least he used full sheets and not mere scraps. The leaves have been trimmed by a binder at top and bottom, and some text has been lost at the foot of certain leaves. Several lines would have been lost on f.40, but the binder folded up the bottom half-inch of parchment. Even then some words appear to have been lost at the foot of both 40r and 40v. From this one may deduce that the original size of the book was probably about 9 ¾ by 6 7/8 inches.

The pages are ruled so as to (a) allow an inside margin about ¾ in. wide, which in the annals (up to f.24v) is used for dates; (b) allow for a block of text, about 3½ in. wide; and (c) (except between ff.25 and 35) allow a generous outside margin of 1½ in. to 2 in. in width for additions.

The whole book is neatly written in a small, regular book-hand that shows no signs, even in the glosses and corrections, of breaking into cursive. The amount of writing in the margins increases towards the end, until on f.40v there is no text at all, only a long marginal entry.

1 'Is margins have suffered by the knife of a careless binder, but the portions of text which have been removed, are supplied by Joseline, Archbishop Parker's secretary.' Stevenson, Introd. to Richard of Devizes, p. vii, note 4. ff. 35, 36, 38, 39, and 40 have lost some of the text at the foot of the page, and a tear at the foot of f.41 has destroyed part of the text on the lower right-hand corner of 41r. Most of the missing portions have been supplied by a modern hand, presumably at the time the manuscript was bound, in the inside margins of the mutilated pages, except on 38r, where the missing portion is carried over to the top of 38v. The fact that the copied portions are not complete indicates that these pages were already mutilated at the time they were bound. Since these readings are incomplete and have several errors, they have been ignored in the preparation of the present text, and the missing portions have been supplied from B.

[Editor's note]
The pages were clearly laid out so that the writer could insert additional passages alongside relevant passages of his main text, but it does not seem that he had any system of symbols or marks for denoting the exact place for insertion of these marginalia: such things occur only sporadically. There are a good many erasures (a whole passage on f. 35v), alterations, and corrections, but James’s remark that “The margins are full of erased entries” \(^1\) is true only up to about f.10. After that point erased entries in the margins are scarce (perhaps three in all).

“The chronicle is followed by a 14th century English chronicle, ending in 1327, that is attributed to Peter de Ickham. The present binding, 1952, replaces a cheap 18th century binding of no value.”

The Cotton MS is of approximately the same size. Howlett, in the preface to his edition (p. lxviii), describes it as ‘length of page 7\(\frac{1}{8}\), width 5\(\frac{3}{4}\), width of margin 1\(\frac{1}{8}\) in.’

Although closely similar, the handwriting of the two manuscripts is not identical. A is written in a rounded hand, whereas in B the vertical strokes are emphasised and the general impression is one of greater angularity. The formation of the letters differs in the two manuscripts, and a slightly different system of abbreviating is used. Both hands would appear to be of the end of the twelfth century or the first part of the thirteenth. A seems to be a bit earlier than B or perhaps the work of an older man who retained vestiges of the writing of an earlier day.

A bears all the marks of an author’s draft. It starts out as a conventional chronicle, with wide margins at the outside and bottom of the page and a line left blank after each entry. Then the author starts adding bits of information in the empty spaces. There is nothing in the context to distinguish text from marginalia; the story wanders from one to the other, apparently as the items occurred to the writer. Some bits in the margin are obviously intended to fit into the text and are so marked; others carry on an entirely different story. In the year 1190, for example, once the story is under way, the deeds of King Richard occupy the text and the misdeeds of Longchamp the margin. In 1191, on the other hand, Count John and Longchamp fill the text, and the king’s deeds are relegated to the margin. By f. 40v things have got so far out of hand that the margin is entirely filled, and the space left blank for the text is used for an addition to the margin. On 42r the space left for the text has dwindled to about an eighth of the page; on 43r the writer makes the marginalia into the whole page but carefully preserves the blank line between paragraphs. Thus we have come round full circle, except that the whole width of the page is used. The writing varies from entry to entry, now careful and stately, now hurried and dash- ing. The ink varies throughout the manuscript. Spaces are left blank for names or better turns of speech, which are sometimes added later in a different ink. Corrections and interlineations abound. All these points would indicate that A is in the handwriting of Richard of Devizes.

B is obviously a fair copy of A, written in a different hand.\(^1\) B reproduces A closely, with no attempt to correct any save the most obvious errors of spelling, such as famalia for familia, cancellarius for cancellarius, and the like. It looks as though it were written all of a piece. Marginalia and text were copied at the same time. The most striking evidence of this is on f.78. When the scribe reached the bottom of 78r with both text and margin his pen was becoming blunt, and the writing was too thick. He therefore stopped and either

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\(^1\) Since Howlett states that the two MSS ‘are obviously in the handwriting of one man’ (p. lxviii), I should not venture to contradict him if Professor V. H. Galbraith did not support me in the conviction that they are in different hands.
sharpened his pen or picked up a fresh one, leaving two sentences, one in the text and one in the margin, in mid-air. Then he turned the leaf and began 78v in a much finer hand, taking up both sentences.

The scribe of B incorporated corrections into their proper places as marked in A and even made a few emendations of his own in a tentative way, usually by interlineation. He made only two major departures from his text. In the account of Henry of Champagne asking help from King Philip, Phillip, according to A, offered Henry 'c. marcas Parisiacensium,' which, even for Philip, was an absurd sum. The scribe of B changed it to 'c. millia', and then, because he did not know whether to write marks or pounds, put neither. At any rate, 'c. millia', whether marks or pounds, was a more likely figure. Philip never had that much money in all his life, to be sure, but he knew that Henry would not pawn his county to him in any case. The second significant variant is in the reference to King Richard's troops in the Holy Land. In A they are referred to as 'nostris', which is changed to 'Neustrius' in B. It may be far-fetched to see in this a difference in attitude towards the Crusaders, with Richard of Devizes identifying himself with them in spirit and the scribe of B looking on them as Normans and hence foreigners.

Apart from the difference in handwriting, it seems obvious that B, although a fair copy of A, is not the author's copy, nor could it have been dictated by him. If the author himself had made or dictated the copy, he would surely have revised his work to the extent of rearranging it, incorporating the marginalia into the text, and producing a true fair copy, neatly arranged in paragraphs, as a chronicle should be. Since it was not so revised, it was most probably not only copied by a scribe but also copied when Richard himself was not present to be consulted, either because the copy was made at a different place (perhaps at Witham, the logical place for a copy to be made, in view of the dedication) or because it was made at Winchester after Richard's death. This is clearly shown by the marginal notation on f.78r of B, 'Hic atrasum erat quicquid illud esset', and by the failure to correct the careless mistake in dating the Treaty of Winchester.

Although the more obvious mistakes of spelling are corrected in B, a number of ungrammatical and obscure passages are copied verbatim, with no attempt to make them conform either to grammar or to clarity. In Richard's exhortation to his army at Messina, for example, the king is reported as saying, 'Expeditantur . . . ad ii equitum', which is clearly ungrammatical. This is copied verbatim in B, although it might easily have been altered to 'equites ad ii', which was probably what the author meant. Again, when the chancellor is defending himself before the assembly, he says, 'Obsides dare . . . quia cogit oportet, non diffugio'. If the author himself had made or dictated the copy, he would surely have corrected such a mistake. The fact that these and a number of other errors were not corrected seems clear proof that B is the work of a scribe who lapsed occasionally into the merely mechanical copying of the text before him.

In making his copy, the scribe of B, therefore, was faced by the same problem that faces the present editor: how can this almost chaotic mass be arranged in a logical way? And, like the present editor, he decided that short of a drastic revision that would do violence to the text it could not be so arranged. He therefore made the best copy he could, but he preserved the probably meaningless distinction between text and marginalia because, again like the present editor, he could think of no better way of doing it.

In order, then, to preserve that distinction rather than wholly to rearrange the text, the present edition, which follows the text, spelling (except for obvious misspellings), and division into sentences and paragraphs of A, marks the paragraphs
written in the margin with an asterisk. Interlineations, some of which are corrections or additions to the text and others the author's variants, usually introduced by _uel_, are enclosed in parentheses, and corrections made in the margin are both marked with an asterisk and enclosed in parentheses. As far as it is practical to do so, each page, both text and marginalia, is given entire before proceeding to the next one. This system, although cumbersome and perhaps confusing at first, has been adopted because the editor feels that, short of reproducing each page photographically or of using double columns, one for the text and one for marginalia, it is the most faithful method of presenting the original manuscript.

The chronicle of Richard of Devizes has been edited by J. Stevenson for the English Historical Society (1838) and by Richard Howlett in the Rolls Series, in Volume III of *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I* (1886). It has been translated by J. A. Giles in Bohn's Antiquarian Library (1848) and by Stevenson in Volume V, Part 1, of *Church Historians of England* (1858).

**III The _Annales de Wintonia_ and the Chronicle**

In both manuscripts the chronicle is preceded by a set of annals. The one in A begins with a description of Britain, drawn chiefly from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and continues to the year 1138. It is in the same handwriting as the chronicle, and one may with some measure of confidence ascribe it to Richard of Devizes, as did H. R. Luard in the preface (p. xii) of his edition, under the title of _Annales de Wintonia_, in Volume II of _Annales Monastici_ (Rolls Series, 36, 1864–9). The grounds for that ascription are, briefly:

1. the fact that both are in the same handwriting
2. the frequent use of alliteration, Richard's favourite device
3. the classical quotations, all drawn from the authors whom Richard most frequently quotes in the chronicle
4. the marked similarity of many expressions and even whole sentences
5. the dramatic speeches in direct discourse, another favourite device of our author
6. the general style, which is strikingly similar in language, constructions and sentiments.

The annals in manuscript B, in the same handwriting, to the year 1202 as the chronicle, are a copy of those in A to the year 1065. Beginning with the year 1066, they depart from the earlier manuscript. The section from 1066 to 1138 relies heavily upon extracts from William of Malmesbury. Whole sentences are sometimes copied from A, but those sentences are the least individual and least interesting portions of the earlier work. Although this section is obviously, from the many references to Winchester, written by a monk of St Swithun's, there is nothing about it to indicate its authorship. The section from 1139 to 1190 is even less individual, consisting usually of only a few characterless sentences for each year, although the emphasis upon the cathedral and convent of Winchester is retained. This section ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence, at the end of a verso page, thus making it possible for one to speculate that a portion containing the years covered by Richard's chronicle was removed.

The next section, from 1196 to 1202, shows a marked contrast with the preceding one and seems to return to the familiar dramatic style of Richard of Devizes, with the mocking account of the conversion of Walter, prior of Bath, to the Cistercians, the dramatic story of the outrage on Bishop Peter of St Davids, the account of the field cursed by its owner, the horrifying story of Queen Joan's torturing of 'Petrus Basilius', who discharged the arrow that killed King Richard her brother, and finally the ludicrous account of the 'speudo-sacri', so similar
in tone to Richard’s story of the boy-martyr that one cannot resist the conviction that this section could have been written by no-one but Richard of Devizes. If this conviction be correct, it must follow that Richard was writing as late as 1202. In the midst of that year the handwriting changes and continues to the end of the annals in the year 1277.

In preparing his edition of the annals, Luard followed MS A to 1066 and then used B to the end, without noting the variants in the two manuscripts for the period in which they overlap, a process which probably would have entailed the printing of both versions in their entirety. (I have treated this matter more fully in ‘Richard of Devizes and the Annals of Winchester’, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol. xxxvi (1963), 70-77.)
C R O N I C O N R I C H A R D I D I V I S E N S I S
D E T E M P O R E R E G I S R I C H A R D I P R I M I

[Page 1]

VENERABILIS patri et semper domino Roberto, olim priori Wintoniensis ecclesie, suus Ricardus dictus Divisensis: si bonum est quod inchoatum, in eo perseverare. Postquam bono omine de nostra Wintoniensia ecclesia Cartusiam profectus es, multum et sepe desideravi subsequi sic profectum tecum forte remansurus, certo autem uiurus quid ageres, qualiter uiueres, quanto cella Cartusie celsior sit et celo ulcinior claustro Wintonie.

Voluit Deus tandem uoto meo satisfacerre. Veni, et utinam solus uenissem. Fui ibi me tercio, fueruntque qui mecum uenerant michi causa recessus. Meumallis uelle duplicuit, feraeque, non dicam errorem, frigere michi fecerunt. Vidi apud uos quod alibi non uideram, quod non credideram, quod minus mirari poteram quam deceret.

In qualibet cellarium uestrarum est unum hostium ex instituto, quod uobis aperiere licet ad placidum, sed per illud exire non licet, nisi tantum ita ut unus pedum circam limen in cella semper remaneset. Egrediater uno pede quo voluerit frater, altero remanente in cella. Magnum et profundum sacramentum debere hostium habere quod patet, per quod intrare uel exire non licet. Miror et aliud. Omnibus bonis temporalibus habu-

CHRONICLE OF RICHARD I OF THE TIME OF KING RICHARD I

To his venerable father and always his master, Robert, formerly prior of Winchester: his servant Richard, called 'of Devizes': if what he has begun is good, may he persevere in it. After you, under a good omen, went from our church at Winchester to the Charterhouse, I often had a strong desire to follow you who had thus left, perhaps in order to remain with you, and certainly to see for myself what you were doing, how you were living, and by how much a Carthusian cell is loftier and nearer Heaven than is the cloister at Winchester.

At last it pleased God to grant my request. I went, and I wish that I had gone alone. I went there with two others, and the ones who went with me were the cause of my leaving again. My eagerness displeased them, and they threw cold water on my enthusiasm. (I will not say that they pointed out my mistakes.) In your community I saw something that I would not see anywhere else, something that I could not believe, something that I could not wonder at as much as was fitting.

According to your rule, in each of your cells there is only one door, which you are allowed to open as you like, but through which you may not go out, except in such a way that one foot always stays short of the threshold and inside the cell. A brother may go out with one foot wherever he wants to, provided that the other foot stays inside the cell. There must be some great and profound mystery about a door that stands open and yet no one is allowed to come in or go out through it. I wonder at another thing: you are abounding in all temporal
THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZES

dantes, tamquam nichil habentes et omnia possidentes, omnibus misericordiorum hominibus et humanis, ple-
nimi nam ad eos lunicem caritatem habentes, caritatis effectum dimidiatis ad invas, 'benedictus' sine pre-
benda dantes hospitium. Miror et tertia. Viri uisente-
res uobis extra seculum secreto ac singulariter, omnes res gestas in seculo scitis ut fiunt, et quandoque prescitis ante quem fiant.

Nec id ad inburiam taciturnitatis ueste plus quam Pythagorice me dixisse credideris, cum tante granitiatis uiro, tam arduo professionis, presupere audem prophetare potius deliramenta mundi, quam fabulari. Ve-
runtamen etiam omnia scis Deus uobiscum sit, ut putatur, et in uobis, et in illo scisis omnia, non ab homine neque per hominem; uoluisti, ut alebas, ut exercitiu meum uibi fieret solatio, quatenus meta noue morfosa quam mundus mouit, mutans quadrarum rotund-
dis, maxime post transmigrationem uestrum ad celum cellatum, uibi cronic a scriberem, ut mundus uibi, amplius pre oculis habita eius mobilitate, uilesceret, et amati memoriam nota uibi littera representaret. O me felicem,

Lagl. si sancta illa anima, si angelus Domini, si / delicatus homo et tam de numero deorum factus coram magno Deo mei uix hominis meminisse dignetur. Feci quod petieras, facito quod promisti. Et ut libellus alculus momenti habebat initium, a condicio paulisper alius

1 Horace, Ep., I, 1, 100

THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZES

goods, since you have nothing and yet possess every-
thing; you are more mercyful and kinder than all other men, since you have perfect charity towards each other: and yet you cut your charity to strangers in half, by giving them a blessing without a meal. I wonder at yet a third thing: you are men living by yourselves, secluded and alone, away from the world; and yet you know everything that is done in the world as soon as it takes place, and sometimes you know about it in advance, even before it is done.

And do not think that I am saying this to reflect on your rule of silence, which is more than Pythagorean. I dare say that men of such gravity and of such an arduous way of life are able to prophesy concerning the madness of the world, better than merely gossiping. However, although the all-knowing God is with you, as it is thought, and in you, and although you know everything, not by men or through men, but in Him alone; you wished, as you said, that this exercise of mine might be a solace to you, a marking, as it were, of the beginning of the new morphosis, when the world moves, changing square things into round; especially after your trans-
migration to a cloistered heaven, and that I should write a chronicle for you, so that, with its fickleness more fully before your eyes, the world might seem vile to you and so that these letters might bring back the memory of your friend to you again. Oh, how happy I should be if that holy soul, if that angel of the Lord, if that defied man, already counted amongst the number of the gods, should deign to remember me, who am hardly a man, in his prayers before the great God! I have done what you asked; now do what you promised. And so that this little book may have a beginning of some impor-
tance, I have started a little earlier than we agreed, and
the boundary of my work is ‘the confused house of Oedipus’. And because I could not hope to unravel the whole story, I have undertaken only the latter part of it. Why, and how, and when the father crowned his son; how much and what manner of things they then accomplished; whose lands they invaded and when and to what extent; and to what end they each came: all this I have left to those who want to bring forth bigger things. My writing is concerned only with the survivors of those two.

In the year, then, of Our Lord 1189,

*3 in the time of Pope Clement,

Richard, the son of King Henry II by Eleanor, and the brother of King Henry III, was hallowed king of the English by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, at Westminster on 3 September.

* It caused many people to whisper and to marvel when a bat was seen flying through the monastery at midday, although the day was clear, circling about in an untimely way, especially about the king’s throne.

On that same coronation day, at about the hour of that solemnity in which the Son was immolated to the Father, they began in the city of London to immolate the Jews to their father, the Devil. It took them so long to celebrate this mystery that the holocaust was barely completed on the second day. The other towns and cities of the country emulated the faith of the Londoners,

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1 Statius, Theb., i, 17
2 Henry, ‘the young king’, eldest son of Henry II, was crowned king of the English on 14 June 1170.
3 Marginal entries are preceded by asterisks.
4 Clement III (Paolo Scolari), the principal organiser of the Third Crusade, was pope from 19 December 1187 to late March or early April 1191 (see Appendix F, p. 92).
5 Until the accession of John’s son, contemporary writers occasionally refer to ‘the young king’ as Henry III. He died on 11 June 1189 and never reigned in his own right.
6 Baldwin, successively archdeacon of Totes in the diocese of Exeter, abbot of Forde in Dorset and bishop of Worcester, was elected archbishop of Canterbury in 1184. See Knowles, pp. 316-22.
7 cf. Ovid, Met., ii, 721
THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZES

deuotione suos sanguisugas cum sanguine transmiserunt ad inferos. A liquid sed inequaliter ca tempestate contra perditos patratum est ubique per regnum; sola tantum suis uerminibus pepercit Wintonia. Populus prudent et providus ac ciuitas semper ciuiler agens. Nichil unquam egit prepopere, nichil plus metuens quam penitere; rerum exitus estimat ante principia. Noluit indigierium qua premebatur imparata periculo sui per partes uiolenter euomore, cauitque uisceribus, dissimulans interim modestie (uel phisice) a molestiam, donec oportuno medendi tempore totam liceat sibi morbi materiam simul et semel egerere.

* Willelmus de Longo Campo, qui et ante coronam comitis Pictavorum fuerat cancellarius, comite in regem coronato, quanto regnum potius est comitatit, tanto sensit ministerium suum in melius profecisse.

* Res accidit ipsa die coronationis in Westmonasterio, res ut tunc uix ore dimido dici licuit, nonnullius portentii prunencia. Ad completorium, nouissimam horam dici, primum signum in ipsa die pulsari contiguit, nec aliquo ex conuentu nec ipsis ministriis ecclesie nisi post cuseum id aduentibus; cum prime, terce, sexte, none, vespere, et duarum missarum solemne seruicium sine omni signorum pulsatione fuerit celebratum.

Stephanus de Marzai, seneschallus Andegauie (sub rege nuper defuncto), ille magnus et potens, singulariter ferus et dominus domini sui, captus et coniecutus in uin-

\^ Interlined above modestie. This is the first of many such emendations, which will be enclosed in parentheses without further comment. An asterisk indicates that the emendation is in the margin of the page.

1 The ferocious persecution of the Jews spread from London to the provinces and culminated in the death of 500 Jews at York in March 1190. See Newburgh, I, 294, and Gesta, II, 83-4, 107.

2 William Longchamp, a man of lowly and obscure birth (his enemies said that his grandfather was a runaway serf), had been Richard's chancellor when he was duke of Aquitaine, before his accession to the throne. See Stubbs, Preface to Hoveden, II, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

and with equal devotion they dispatched their blood-suckers bloodily to hell. To some degree, but not everywhere the same, this storm against the incorrigible people raged throughout the kingdom. Winchester alone spared its worms. They were a prudent and far-sighted people and a city that always behaved in a civilized manner. They never did anything over-hastily, for fear they might repent of it later, and they looked to the end of things rather than to the beginnings. They did not want partially to vomit forth the undigested mass violently and at their peril, even though they were urged to do so, when they were not ready. They hid it in their bowels, modestly (or naturally) dissipating their disgust meanwhile, till at an opportune time for remedies they could cast out all the morbid matter once and for all.

* William Longchamp, who had been chancellor to the count of the Poitevins before his coronation, now that the count was crowned king, felt that his office had been increased by as much as a kingdom is greater than a county.

* A thing happened on that same coronation day at Westminster that could hardly be spoken of in a whisper then, for it was an omen of no little portent. At compline, the last hour of the day, the bells happened to be rung for the first time that day, for no-one in the convent and even none of the ministers of the church had thought about it till afterwards, and the service of prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and two Masses had been solemnly celebrated without any ringing of bells.

That great and powerful man, Stephen of Marzai, who had been seneschal of Anjou under the latey deceased king and who was extremely savage and domineering, even to his master, was seized and put in chains and
culta, Wintoniam usque perterritur, ubi spectaculum factus angelis et hominibus, miserabilis maceratus inedia, ferri infractus pendere, ad xii librarum monete Andegauensis solutionem et xvi librarum promissionem pro redemptione coactus est.

Rannulfus de Glanvillia, regni (Anglorum) rector et regis oculus, ut Stephano non inferior nisi moribus et dimitis, depostatus et custodie traditus, ire saltem sibi liberum et redire redemt xii libris argenti. Et cum hoc nomen Glanvillia tanti fuisse die preterito, (nomen, scilicet, super omne nomen), ut quisque cui concessum fuisse a Domino loqueretur inter principes et adoraretur a populo, proximo mane non superfuit unus in terra qui vocatur hoc nomine.

* Nocuit duobus istis, (scilicet, Stephano et Rulfus), quod et nocisse certum est mille prioribus, quod etiam alis nocere poterit in postrema, suspecta, scilicet, de prioris domini familiaritate presumptio.

Regem Ricardum agende sus peregrinationis tempus urget et, cum solutis nouissimis in professione fieri qui in suspicione crucis omnium Cisalpinorum principum primus exierat. Rex regis nomine dignus qui primo regni sui anno regnum Anglie pro Christo non secus fere reliquum quam si non rediremus abiret. Tanta fuit uti duolit, tam subito, tan cito et celeriter ad ultiscendas Christi cucurrit, immo voluisset, injuriis. Regni tamen

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1 Cor. 4: 9
2 *Four* Angvin money were equivalent to one English pound (Gesta, II, 123). For Stephen of Maresi, see Appendix A.
3 Rannulf Glanvillia, one of Henry III's most faithful and capable ministers, was made chief minister in 1205. Although the king had placed great confidence in him, his reputation was not good. See the incredible story in Gosn. I, 374-18, and the official record of his thievery in FR 23 Hen. II, pp. 81-2.

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consilio aliquantulum dum res maior in mente pati- batur indulgens, accepta a summo pontifice potestate ut cunctamque nullet de suis crucem detraeret, sue rei publice ratione regende, Hugenem de Puat † episcopum Dunelm i in primis toti regno preces istiuiarcham, et serio, ut putabat a pluribus; nunc inuper de uteurano episcopo creans comitem (* Northumbria), I exposita sibi quod ubit castorum custodia, X libras argentii de scriinis eius diligenter extraxerat.

* Iohannes frater regis, qui solus ex fillis matris sue regine Alenor * fratris supererat, preter comitatum de Moreton, quem dono patriis pridem perceperat, in tantum a fratre dictus est et dilatatus in Anglia, quod et priuatum et publice predicabatur a pluribus regem de redditi in regnum non cogitare, quem frater, iam eo non impotentior, si intimos sibi mores non reprimat, audedit ac tur accipit et successit sine residuo, et de regno.

Gaufrido filio Petri et Willelmo Briwere et Hugone Bardulf, detracta sibi cruce, domi sedere permisit, regis erarius totius trium collectas, tres illas nucus trans- fundit in fiscum.

* Omnes uicecomites regni, leui accusatione regis merentes offensa malefica potestate priuati, ux inermi- malbi mediante pecunia faciem eius uiderent permisi sunt.

Rannullus de Glanuilla, quo nullus fuerat suo tem-

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1 Hugh of Le Puiset, a nephew of King Stephen and one of the greatest and most influential men in the north of England, was elected bishop of Durham in 1153. See Stubbs, Preface to Horden, III, pp. xxviii-xxix, and G. V. Symes, Hugh de Puat (Cambridge, 1910).
2 The chronicler paraphrases Richard's reported remarks on this occasion: 'I have done a wonderful thing in making a new cast out of an old bishop' (Newborough, I, 95).
3 In Normandy
4 These three had all had experience as sheriffs and as justices. Geoffrey was made sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1185 and had served as a justice and as chief justice. William was sheriff of Devonshire in the latter part of Henry's reign and a justice in 1187. Hugh was appointed a justice in 1159, he was also sheriff of Cornwall from 1185 to 1188 and of Wiltshire in 1189.
pore (disertor) dum prepotuit, priusius iam factus ex princepe, in tantum ebuit pre dolore, ut gener eius Radulfus de Ardenna elatorem oris ratione deperderet quicquid oris eius iudicio fuerat consecutus.1 In eliam, quia uetus erat impatienisque laboris, si illud aliquid quod fini facto superaret, regi dare uoluiisset in beneficium, remitti sibi difficultatem peregrinationis facile meruisset.

De regulis Walliensium et Scottorum rex cautionem recepit quod dum peregrinaretur ad lectionem Anglie terminos suos non excelsentem.

Godfriedus filius memorandri Ricardi illius de Luci, Ricardus tesaurarius, Hubertus Walteri,2 Willelmus de Longo Campo, quatuor uiri non minus virtutis aut laudis ultime, ad quatuor uacantes sedes, scilicet, Wintoniensem, Londoniensem, Sarisbriensem, Elensensem, electi sunt apud Pipewelle. Singuli satis canonice, et maxime Wintoniensis, qui primus, hoc est, xvii kalendas Octobris, nomen initiatorem dignitatis optimis, cum trium electio dilata fuerit in crastinum, consentiente rege et confirmante archiepiscopo quod factum fuerat, quamuis in primis aliquid alter maliuisset. Circa quod mirum accidit, ut is ipsa die fato fungeretur, qui agente archiepiscopo ad unam sedem fuerat nominatus.

Willelmus Elensis electus, datis III librarum argenti, sigillum regis sibi retinuit, licet Reginaldus Italus3 quatum millerium superoptulerit.

1 Ralph of Arden was deposed as sheriff of Wilts in 1189. Franco de Bohun preferred 300 marks ‘to have his right concerning the lands’ in Summes of which Ralph had deprived him by force. Franco won the suit and was forgiven the 300 marks. Ralph had to offer 1000 marks for the king’s goodwill. (PR & RH, I, pp. 114, 130).  
2 See Appendix B.  
3 Probably Reginald, bishop of Bath, who had been brought up in Italy. (See Snodsb, Instroit. to Epp. Cant., p. 14 no. 1). Both William son

no-one was more eloquent than Rannulf of Glanville. Now that he was reduced from a prince to a private person, however, he became so stupid through grief that his son-in-law, Ralph of Arden, lost through Rannulf’s pleading what he had been awarded in a judgment through his own pleading.1 Rannulf was willing to give whatever was left over after he had paid his fine as a gift to the king, and, because he was old and not able to bear the toil, he easily got himself released from the pilgrimage.

The king accepted a pledge from the petty kings of the Welsh and the Scots that whilst he was on pilgrimage they would not cross their borders to do harm to England.

Godfrey, the son of the celebrated Richard of Luci, Richard the treasurer, Hubert Walter and William Longchamp, four men of no little virtue and fame, were elected at Pipewell to the four vacant sees of Winchester, London, Salisbury and Ely. They were all elected canonically enough, and especially the bishop of Winchester, who, on 15 September, was the first to obtain the dignity of election. The election of the other three was put off till the following day, with the king’s consent, and the archbishop confirmed what had been done, although at first he would have preferred it otherwise.

An extraordinary thing happened in this affair: on that very day the man died who, through the archbishop’s agency, had been proposed for one of the sees.

William, the bishop-elect of Ely, kept the king’s seal by giving 5,000 pounds of silver for it, although Reginald the Italian offered four thousand.

The bishops-elect of Winchester and Salisbury were consecrated by Archbishops Baldwin at Westminster on 22 October.

On the same day, Hugh of Nonant, bishop of Coventry, laid a complaint against his monks of Coventry before the archbishop and the bishops assembled for the consecration of the bishops-elect, to the effect that the monks had laid violent hands on him and had shed his blood before the altar. He had expelled the greater part of the community from the church before he lodged the complaint. Nor did he rest from his evil-doing till he had begged letters from all the bishops to the supreme pontiff in attestation against the monks.

Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, mindful of what was due to his position, sought to regain the possessions of which the church had been despoiled. Since no one had the right of reclaiming two of its manors, Mton and Wargrave, against the church of Winchester, he got them back by a judicial process, having secretly given the king 3,000 pounds of silver. Nor did this circumstance man forget to make a fine with the king to guarantee the safety of the treasure of his church, to secure his patrimony, to be sheriff of Hampshire, and to have the custody of the castles of Winchester and Porchester, all at the same time. When the time for him to pay so much money drew near, since he could not go beyond the day fixed for the payment without risking the whole undertaking and since he could find no nearer help under Heaven, he reluctantly put his hand into the treasure of his church. He bound himself and his successors, how-

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1 See Appendix C.
2 A fine in this sense was a more or less voluntary payment to the king to secure his good-will or some special favour. These transactions are confirmed by the following entries in PR 2 Rct. 1, pp. 130 and 131.

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3 Godfridus episcopus Wintoniensis reddit cornporum de MMM II. pro restitutione de Mton et de Wargrave Wintoniae ecclesia et sibi et successoribus suis in perpetuum.
4 Godfridus episcopus Wintoniensis reddit cornporum de Mton pro fine suo de hæcinitia.
tuendum se et posteros nos obliguit, caussens consentui cyrographi sigillati testimonio.

Homo tante bencignatis et modestis, qui nec iratus unquam aliquid in subditos egerit, quod non redoleret manusueudinem. Vere de familia et illius et unus ex familiaribus, de quo dicitur: 'Sub quo uiuere regnare est' 1.

Omnex quibus pecunia sua fuit oneri rex officiosissime exoneret, traditis cuilibet ad placitum potentissimis et possessionibus quis elegebant. Vade et quandoque ibi familiaris assistentibus alludens, in hoc prorupit eludium: 'Si inuenissem emptorem, Londoniam vendissem'. Poteby hoc vero, nisi tardiis exulasset, pluriim pretiuni, ne iuxta proverbiium Anglicum: 'Sic sapiens discret mercator fieri, emere pro duodecim et pro uno et semis vendere'. 2.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini m xcviii, Rex transfretatur in Neustriam, toitus regni cura cancellario delegata. 3

Ricardus Londoniensis et Willelmus Eliensis electi conscriunhent a Baldewino archiepiscopo apud Westmonasterium ii kalendas Ianuarii.

Willelmus Eliensis episcopus et regis cancellarius, abetr naturaliter Jacob, licet non luctasset cum angelo, persona spectabilis, corporis breuitatem animo recompensans, de domini sui securus amore et de voluntate presumens, quia omnis potestas impatiens consorts fuit,

1 Familia A
2 A cyrograph consisis of two or more copies of a document made on a single sheet of parchment. The copies were cut apart on jagged lines and given to the interested partie, who could then make copies. If the lines along the cut did not correspond, forgery, one of the favourite indoor sports of the time, was indicated.
3 Of the post-communion of the Mass to beg for peace: 'Dones, suorci pacis et amor, quem aude uiuere, cale regnare est... I am in-
dicted to Professor M. D. Knowles for this note.

THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZE

ever, to repay the money and gave the convent a sealed cyrograph as security.

He was a man of such kindness and modesty that even in anger he never did anything to his subjects that was not fragrant with gentleness. Truly he was of the household and one of the familiar companions of Him of Whom it is said: 'To live under him is to reign'. 2

The king most obligingly unburdened all those whose money was a burden to them, and he gave to whomever he pleased whatever powers and possessions they chose. Joking one day with his companions who were standing by, he made this jest: 'If I could have found a buyer I would have sold London itself'. By this remark, if it had not later been forgotten, many people might have been warned, according to the English proverb: 'A scholar who would learn to become a merchant buys for a shilling and sells for three halfpence'. 3

In the year of Our Lord 1190,

The king crossed over to Normandy, having delegated the care of the whole kingdom to the chancellor. 4 Richard, the bishop-elect of London, and William, of Ely, were consecrated by Archbishop Baldwin at Westminster on 31 December.

William, bishop of Ely and the king's chancellor, another Jacob by nature, although he did not wrestle with an angel, a remarkable person who made for the shortness of his stature by his arrogance, counting on his lord's affection and presuming on his good will, expelled
Hugh of Le Puiset from the Exchequer, because all power always has been, still is, and always will be jealous of anyone sharing it. Scarcely leaving the bishop the bare sword with which the king's hand had girded him a knight, he took away from him the honour of the earldom, which he had held only a short time. And to make sure that the bishop of Durham did not suffer alone, he spared no-one and was more savage than a wild beast to everyone. He even persecuted the bishop of Winchester. The custody of the castles and of the county was taken away from him, and he was not even allowed to enjoy his own patronymy. The kingdom was thrown into an uproar, and those who were offended accused the king of bad faith. An appeal by all against the tyrant was carried across the sea to the king, but the tyrant crossed the sea first and delimited the whole series of his actions and exactions before the king with a few words. The king instructed him very fully in all the things he was to do, thus forestalling the complaints of the envious. He was back before his attackers had access to the king. Thus he returned to the English no less powerful and prosperous, so that 'whatever he wanted to do he did'.

* William of Mandeville, count of Aumale, fell into a severe semi-tertian fever at Gisors and died. His widow was a woman who was almost a man, lacking nothing virile except the virile organs. William of Fors, a knight much experienced in arms, received her as his wife, together with all the lands of her former husband, as a gift from King Richard.

* John, bishop of Norwich, one of those who were
Salahadino minantibus, ad profectionem et causam munitus plenissime, dum iter ageret in Burgundie finibus incidunt in latrones, qui et omne ei uiaicum sustulerunt. Qui, cui nichil supererat facultatis unde procederet, ueritiam uersus summum pontificem. Cumque ei sua insinuacione casum esset illacrimatus et inopiam, clementia (eum) summe sedis absolutum a uoto remisit ad propria.¹

Regem reuercum a Vasconia, ubi latrunculos armis deiecerat, sublatis sibi quas occupauerant munitionibus,² conuenerunt quos cancellarius leserat, qui singulis, ut cuique tunc uidebatur, satisfacienis, cum qualibus uolebant litteris remisit omnes ad cancellarium.

Wintoniensis episcopus, graui tactus incommodo, trans mare substitit aliquidu. Dunelmensis festinus pertendit Londoniam, sed a baronibus scaccarii non receptus, festinus precipitabat iter quasi triumphantus post cancellarium, qui tunc temporis in expeditionem profectus erat uersus Lincolniam. Quem consecutus³ salutavit ex parte regis, non simpliciter a nec sine ruga. Conuenitque eum protinus cum supercilio de negociis rei publice, ac si sine nutu suo quicquid fieri non liceret.

*Proeicit ampullas et sesquipeda/ia verba,*⁴ et dum nimirum gloriatus est in nondum potestate recepta, quicquid tacuisse debuerat, nescius cum quo loquebatur, effudit. In fine ursorum claua profertur uerba determinans,

— threaten Saladin, set out on the pilgrimage most amply provided for the journey and the cause. Whilst he was travelling along the borders of Burgundy he fell amongst thieves, who took all his money away from him. Since he had no means left with which to proceed, he turned his way to the supreme pontiff, and when he had insinuated himself into the pope's presence he wept over his misadventure and his neediness. The pope released him from his vow by the clemency of the holy see and sent him back to his own affairs.¹

When the king returned from Gascony, where he had overcome the brigands by force of arms and demolished the fortifications they were occupying,² those whom the chancellor had injured came to him. He made each one feel that he had been satisfied and sent them all back to the chancellor with whatever letters they wanted.

The bishop of Winchester was seized by a grave illness and remained across the Channel for some time. The bishop of Durham hastily proceeded to London, but, since he was not received by the barons of the Exchequer, he quickly set out, as though he were expecting to stage a triumph, after the chancellor, who at that time had gone on a military sortie towards Lincoln. When he overtook him,³ he saluted him on the king's behalf, neither simply nor without a frown. He haughtily began straightway discussing the affairs of the country with him, as though nothing were allowed to be done without his consent. ‘He burst into bombast and words half a yard long,’⁴ and, glorying greatly in a power he had not yet received and forgetting whom he was talking to, he discussed matters concerning which he should have kept silent. At the end of his speech, the club was brought forth that put a stop to idle words; the sacred

¹ Richard, however, exacted a thousand marks from him for his release (Gesta, II, 115).
² Early in June Richard captured the castle of Chis, in Bigorrrre, and hanged William, the lord of the castle, who may have been one of the brigands here referred to, for he made a practice of robbing pilgrims on their way to St James of Compostella (Hoveden, III, 35).
³ At Blythe, Notts (Gesta, II, 109) ⁴ Horace, Ars Poet., l. 97
sacra regis reuerenda nimiris recitanda monstratur. 'Parti-

ririunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.' 1 *(Iussum est

ad regis mandatum summum fieri silentium. 'Conti-
nuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant.' 2 Epistola legit

in publico que plus metuenda foret, si nondum lecta

fuisset.) Ad audità callidus ille, dolum dissimulare

peritus, distulit in diem septimum respondere, locum

colloquii statuens apud *(Tikchulle). Die nominato

Dunelmensis uenit ad castrum, suisque iussis pro foribus

prestolari, satis solus ingreditur ad cancellarium. Qui

prius tacuerat prior loquitur, cogitque deceptum pos-

terius impetratas prioribus contra quicquid sperauerat

litteras proprio ore recitare. Respondere paranti sub-

icct: 'Pridie, te loquite, fuit mìchi tempus tacendi:
nunc ut sentias quia te tacente loquendi tempus accepi—
uiuit dominus meus (rex)—non egrediéris hinc donec de

reddendis michi castris omnibus que tenes cederes ob-

sides, quoniam ego te capio, non presul presulem, sed

cancellarius castellanum'. Non fuit circumuto con-

stantia resistendi nec facultas; traduntur obsides, et,

dato termino, castra redduntur ad obsidum solutio-

nem.

Dominus Wintoniensis, demum conualescens in

Neustria, uolens et ipse sibi sublata recipere, omni qua

potuit celeritate regressus, inuenit cancellarium obi-
dentem castrum Glocestrie. Cuius aduentu cognito,
cancellarius ⁹ progreditur (obuius) uenienti, complexo-

* cancellarius A

¹ Horace, Ars Poet., l. 159

² Virgil, Aen. ii, 1

letter of the king, greatly to be revered, was brought

forth to be proclaimed. 'The mountains are in labour;
a ridiculous mouse will be born.' ¹ It was ordered that

complete silence be kept before the king's mandate.

'All were still and kept attentive silence.' ² The letter,

which would have been more impressive if its contents

had not already been known, was read in public. When

the chancellor heard it, the cunning man, skilled in

hiding his deceit, put off answering for a week and

appointed Tickhill as the place for the conference. On

the appointed day the bishop of Durham came to the

castle and, ordering his attendants to wait outside the

gates, went in alone to the chancellor. The one who had

kept silent before was now the first to speak, and forced

the deceived bishop to read with his own lips a letter that

had been written after the first one and that was contrary

to what he had hoped for. When the bishop was getting

ready to answer, the chancellor said: 'The other day,

when you were speaking, it was my time to keep silent.

Now, in order to make you realise that while you keep silent

it is my turn to speak—for my lord the king is still living—
you will not leave here till you have given hostages that

you will surrender to me all the castles you hold, for I

seize you, not as a bishop seizing another bishop, but as

the chancellor seizing a castellan.' ³ The duped man had

neither the firmness nor the means to resist. The hos-

tages were handed over, and at the appointed time the

castles were surrendered in order to redeem them.

The lord bishop of Winchester at last recovered his

health in Normandy. Wanting to get back what had

been taken away from him, he returned with all the

speed he could and found the chancellor laying siege to

Gloucester Castle. When he learned of his coming, the

chancellor went to meet him and embraced him closely

* Willelmus Wigornensis episcopus, qui Baldwinino proximus successerat, ultum uniuerse carnis ingressus est.\(^1\) Willelmus, mirabilis Elenis episcopus, cancellarius regis, regni iustitarius, trinomius ille et triceps, ut utraque manu uteretur pro dextra, et gladius Petri gladio subueniret imperatoris,\(^2\) legationem suscepit totius Anglie, Sootie, Wallie, et Hibernie, opentam a summo pontifice, regis non aliter profectioni instaeta per Reginaldum\(^3\) episcopum Batonicum. V Natalie erga quo voluit sorte beatus, ibat per regnum et rueretebatur in simulitudinem fulguris choruscantis.

* Willelmus, apostolice sedis legatus, concilium tenuit apud Westmonasterium, in quo, ne nil ageretur quod de se predicaretur in posterum, omnes religiones qui Conventuni ecclesiae eliminansam et clericos prebendariorum loco monachorum preludicavit substituens.\(^4\) Exo Rex Ricardus sacramentum exigit\(^5\) a duobus fratribus suis, Johanne uterino ex Gaufride non ex legitima,\(^6\) quod Angliam non inntrent intra triennio peregrinationis.

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\(^1\) Cf. Ann. Win. p. 64.\(^2\) Cum ullo utroque teneret gladium apostolica auctioria et regia.\(^3\) Reginald, sen. of Jocelin of Bohun, bishop of Salisbury, was bishop of Bath from 1170 to 1181.\(^4\) The monks held this against him as long as he lived. See his obituary in Ann. Win., p. 64.\(^5\) In Normandy in February 1190.\(^6\) See Appendix D.
sue, a die profectionis ab Turonis triennio computato, ita tamen dispensans matris precibus circa Iohannem, ut in Angliam per cancellarium transiens staret eius iudicio, et ad placitum illius uel moraretur in regno uel exularet.

* Rex erubi, uetustissimus ille Pyramon,\(^1\) inter ecclesiam Saresbiirenum et monasterium Malmesbie, admo to recenti fomite, scintillam ueterem rediuiuos commouit in ignes. Suscitur abbas non (iam) de professione pontifici facienda, sed de (ipso) nomine pastoralis ponendo simul et baculo. Impetrate sunt littere regis ad cancellarium, quibus (abbas) ad postulationes episcopi respondere cogeretur in iure. Nec sui oblitus est homo cuius res agitur, quem nullum unquam improuisum potuit inuenire periculum, qui nichil nouit perdere propter ignauiam; clauum clauo repulit litteris alias infirmantibus a rege donatus. Cancellarius, pudenda mandatorum principis contrarietate perspecta, ne fama regis facto lederetur si procederet in causa, integram utriusque partis in regis rectum distulit actionem.\(^2\)

Dodurium regne (Alienor) per totas terras (regis) recognitum est iureiurando, et sibi traditum, ut que prius de fisco uixerat deinceps uixeret de proprio.

Classis regis de propriis mota litoribus Hispaniam circuit, et de occano per arta Affrice Mediterraneum mare, quod ulterius Grecum dicitur, ingressa, ad Massiliam, regem ibi prestolatura, perducitur.\(^3\)

\(^1\) A Cyclops, servant of Vulcan. Virgil, *Aen.* viii, 425

\(^2\) Hubert Walter, by his agents, at the Council of Westminster revived the old claim of the bishops of Salisbury to exercise jurisdiction over Malmesbury Abbey. Abbot Robert, forewarned, had secured a letter from the king staying the proceedings until his return. Meanwhile he obtained a bull from the pope exempting the abbey from episcopal control.

\(^3\) The fleet sailed shortly after Easter, 25 March 1190. After stopping at Lisbon to help the Portuguese in their war against the Moors, they reached Marseilles on 29 August, a fortnight after Richard, weary of waiting for them, had hired a few vessels and set out. The fleet sailed from Marseilles on 30 August and reached Messina, where Richard joined it, on 14 September. 

three years of his pilgrimage, the three years to be computed from the day he set out from Tours. However, at his mother’s request, he so far dispensed John as to allow him to come to England with the chancellor’s permission and to stay there according to his judgment: at the chancellor’s pleasure he might either remain in the realm or be exiled from it.

* The king of Hell, that most ancient Pyracmon,\(^1\) by adding fresh fuel, stirred up the old spark of the quarrel between the church of Salisbury and the monastery of Malmesbury into fresh flames. The abbot was summoned, this time not to make his profession of obedience to the bishop, but to lay aside the very name and staff of a pastor. A letter had been obtained from the king to the chancellor, by which the abbot would be forced to answer the bishop’s complaints in court. Nor did the man whom the matter concerned forget to look out for himself, for no danger could find him unprepared, and he never lost anything through laziness. He drove out one nail with another, for he had been given a letter from the king, cancelling the first one. The chancellor, ashamed for the contradictory character of the prince’s letters to be seen, lest the king’s good name be injured by it if he proceeded with the case, postponed any action by either party till the king’s return.\(^2\)

The dower of Queen Eleanor was recognised by oath throughout all the king’s lands and given to her, so that she, who had heretofore lived from the Exchequer, might henceforth live on her own income.

The king’s fleet sailed from its own shores and went around Spain. From the ocean it entered the Mediterranean Sea, which farther on is called the Greek Sea, through the Straits of Africa, and was led to Marseilles, to wait there for the king.\(^3\)
The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes

The king of France and the king of England held a council at Tours and again at Vézelay and confirmed the treaty between themselves and their realms. When they had disposed and ordered everything on both sides to their satisfaction, they turned their armies in different directions and separated from each other. The French king, who was subject to sea-sickness, went by land to Sicily. The English king, planning to go by water, went to meet his ships at Marseilles.

The ships, which the king found already at hand on the coast, were a hundred in number, with 14 busses, vessels of great capacity and wonderful speed, strong and most solid. This was their order and equipment: the first of the ships had three extra rudders, thirteen anchors, 30 oars, 3 sails, and three sets of all sorts of ropes, and, in addition to this, two of whatever a ship might need, except the mast and the skiff. One most skilful captain was appointed to the command of the ship, and 14 chosen servants were assigned to help him. The ship was laden with 40 costly horses trained to warfare, and all sorts of arms for as many knights, and forty foot-soldiers, and fifteen sailors, and food for a whole year for that number of men and horses. The same arrangement applied to all the ships; each of the busses, however, received a double complement and burden. The king's treasure, which was exceedingly great and beyond reckoning, was divided amongst the ships and busses, so that if one part should fall into danger, the rest might be saved. With affairs thus disposed, the king himself
ipse cum familia propria et maiores exercitus cum sibi famulantibus, relicto litore, precedent classem in galeis, et per ciuitates maritimis die tum hospitantes, assumpti secum maioribus maris illius nauibus ac buecis, prospere Messanam applicuerunt. 1 Tanta erat applicantium gloria, talis fragor et fulgor armorum, tantus tubarum strepitus et litorum, quod intremuit ciuitas et expuuit, uenitque contra regem omnis etas, populus sive numero, mirantes et predicantes quanto rex iste gloriosus et terribilis applicaret rege Francie, qui cum cum copiis suis preuenerat die vil. 2

Metatusque est rex Anglie castra extra ciuitatem, quoniam rex Francie reperitus (iam) fuerat in palatium Tancredii regis Sicilie intramuros. Ipsa die rex Francie, cognito sodalis sui et fratris aduentus, uolat in eius occursum, nec potuit inter amplius et oscula 3 gesticulatio sacra exprimere: quantum eorum uterque guuderet ex altero. Reficitorius exercitus mutuus applaudiibus et coloquis, non aliter quam si tot milibus hominum eset ex unum et anima una. 4 In deliciis talibus expenditur dies feriatus in usiperm, et regibus lactibus nundium satiati 5 digredientibus, singuli suas reuerentiam in partes.

Rex Anglie mox die crasino erigi feiti patibula extra castra, ad suspendendos in eis latrunculos et prodone. Non parcabat iudices delegati sexu uel utati, parque (fuit) aduenae et indigene rei lex et supplicium.

Rex Francie quicquid sui peccaretur uel peccaretur in suas dissimulauit et tacuit. Rex Anglie, pro indifferenti

1 On 25 September
2 William II, ‘the Good’, king of Sicily from 1166 to 1189, married Joan, the third daughter of Henry II and Eleanor, in 1177. They had no children. When William died, in November 1189, he was succeeded by Tancred, his illegitimate cousin.
3 This same expression is used in the Ann. West, p. 13, in the account of the murder of Edward the Martyr.
4 cf. Aela, iv, 59
5 Juvenal, iv, 150

with his own household and the leaders of the army with their attendants left the coast and went ahead of the fleet in galleys. They were entertained every day in the coastal towns, and, taking the larger ships and busses of those waters with them, they arrived happily at Messina. 1 So great was the glory of the new arrivals, such was the clashing and glittering of armour, so great was the noise of trumpets and clarions that the city trembled and grew afraid. People of all ages, a crowd beyond number, came to meet the king, marvelling and declaring how much more gloriously and impressively this king landed than did the king of France, who had arrived with his troops a week before.

The king of England set up camp outside the city, because the king of France had already been received in the palace of Tancred, 2 the king of Sicily, within the walls. On the same day the king of France, when he learned of the arrival of his companion and brother, flew to meet him, and gestures, between embraces and kisses, 3 could not sufficiently express how much they delighted in each other. The armies refreshed themselves with mutual applause and conversation, just as if among so many thousands of men there were only one heart and one soul. 4 The holiday was spent in such pleasures, and the kings, tired but still not satiated, 5 separated, and everyone returned to his quarters.

The king of England immediately, on the next day, had gallows built outside the camp, on which to hang thieves and plunderers. The judges he designated spared neither sex nor age, and the law and the punishment were the same for the guilty, whether they were foreigners or natives.

The king of France concealed whatever his men did or suffered, or kept silent about it. The king of England,
giving no heed to the nationality of anyone involved in a crime, considered every man his subject and left no offence unpunished. For this reason the Griffons called one king the Lamb and the other the Lion.

The king of England sent his ambassadors to the king of Sicily to demand his sister Joan, the former queen of Sicily, and her dower, with a golden chair and all of King William’s legacy that had been left to King Henry, Richard’s father: that is, a golden table 12 feet long, a silken tent, a hundred first-class galleys with everything necessary for them for two years, sixty thousand quarters of wheat, 60,000 of barley, 60,000 of wine, twenty-four golden cups, and 24 golden plates.

The king of Sicily, giving little weight to the commands of the king of the English and thinking even less of his demands, sent Richard’s sister to him with the mere furniture of her bedchamber. Because of her royal station, however, he gave her a million terrimi for her expenses.

On the third day following, the king of England crossed the great river Del Far, which separates Calabria from Sicily, and went armed into Calabria. There he seized a very strongly fortified castle called La Bagnara, and, having thrown out the Griffons, he established his sister there and furnished the place with an armed guard.

Next the king seized a very strong castle called the Griffons’ Monastery, situated on that same river Del Far between La Bagnara and Messina, and after he had captured it he fortified it. He mercilessly ground down with various punishments the Griffons who resisted him and made them a laughing-stock to his men.

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1 The Greek-speaking Sicilians
2 Big enough to seat two hundred knights at dinner at the same time
3 A gold coin weighing about one gram
4 30 September. The ‘river Del Far’ was probably the narrowest part of the Straits of Messina, between Puente del Faro and the mainland.
Monachi Cluniacenses non consueuerunt de prioratibus et magistratibus suis prece vel precio se in uicem suppliantur, et tamen aliquis eorum aliquando aliquid attemptavit chiasmodi, quod et digas uidentis animadversionem puniatur. Erat quidam uir uenerabilis prior Montis Acuti, totus ex uirtutibus factus, Iocelius nomine, in quo nichil nisi commendabile cerneret. Ad hunc talem suppliantum uenit cuius non opus est dicere nomen, unus ex suis falsi facinus, cum litteris abbatis Cluniacensis quas poterat arte sequituri, quibus suhebatur ut prior presentium labori cederet et congregatio eum suspiceret in prelatum. Prenouit prior per aliquem quid mercis negotiator quere uenerat, unde, non expectato mandato, sedem uacuauit in capitulo, presente consuenu, et ait illi: 'Amice, ad quod veniamis?'

Biu ille moratus, ut quod raperre uenerat recipere videatur in suis, demum se recepit in sedem, et continuo sibi improcatus est, dicens: 'O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas, cuius in humanis ludit potestas rebus, qui deponis potentes et exaltas humiles, iustu iudex Ihesu Christi, si inuicem iustum preside, cito et manu dicenter ostendere.' Vide te miraculum. Ipsi die loquelam perdici, altera uita, terciae terre traditus experimur didicit et exemplo decuit, quod 'non habet euentus sordida preda bonorum.'

Monacus quidam de Glastonia multa muneribus Johannem comitem spe promotionis coeterum, sed dum uenire debet ad capere, tigno quodam casu sibi in...
mishap fell on his face. Crushed and made altogether useless, he lost both the eggs and the money.

* Guy, king of Jerusalem, sent word to Philip, king of the French, and Richard, king of the English, who were spending the winter in Sicily, that unless the rest of the Christians, who were keeping guard before Acre, were sent more speedy help, they would be forced either to flee or to surrender, because of their weakness and the violent attacks of the pagans. To their help the kings sent Henry, count of Champagne, and Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, and Rannulf Glanvill, with a strong army; of whom Archbishop Baldwin and Rannulf Glanvill died at the siege of the city the Latins call Acre and the Jews Accaron, while the kings still remained in Sicily.

Before the arrival of King Richard in Sicily, the Griffins were stronger than all the other rulers of that region. While they had always hated the Ultramontanes, now, irritated by fresh injuries, they burned more fiercely than ever. They made peace with all who recognised the king of France as lord, and then they sought full revenge for their injuries from the king of the English and his tail-bearing men. (The paltry Greeks and Sicilians called all those who followed that king 'Englishmen' and 'tailed'.) The English, therefore, were denied all trade with the country by edict, and they were slain both by day and by night by forties and fifties, wherever they were found unarmed. The slaughter increased every day, and it was planned to continue with this madness till every one of them was either killed or put to flight. The king of England, of both Richard and Philip. He reached Acre in July 1190 with the main contingent of the French army, which had gone ahead of the two kings.
rex Anglie, leo ille teterimus, horrendum rugit, iras tanto pectore dignas concipiens. Perterruit eius amicas-simos furor insaniens. Curia contrariet. Sedent circa solium nominati principes exercitus, quilibet in ordine suo, foretque facillimum legere presidentis in uultu quicquid tacitus mente tractatabat, si quis in eius faciem oculos auderet attolere. Post diurnum sum-mumque silentium, rex indignantia talibus ora resoluit:

"O mei milites, O regni mei robur et corona, vos * millie

sae mecum pericula passi,* vos qui uiribus tot michi / fian-
nos domustis et ciuitatis, uideatis quod uulgus ignamus
iam nobis insultat? Expugnavimus nos Turcos et
Arabes, erimus nos terrori gentibus inuictissimis, faciet
nobis uiam dextra nostra usque ad terre terminos post
crucem Christi, restituemus nos regnum Israel, qui
uilibus et effeminatis Grifonibus terga dederimus? Nos
hic in patrie nostro deudci confinio tendemus uelertius, ut
ex Anglorum inerlia in finibus orbis fabula fiat? Estne,
mei, michi iusta satis noua causa doloris? Videre qui-
dem me videor vos ex deliberrimae uiribus parcere, ut
olim cum Salahadino * forte fortius confilgati.

*Ego dominus et rex uester vos diligio, ego de decore
uestro solicitor, ego dico uobis, ego predico frequentius,
si mode sic abeatis inuiti, precedet vos et comitantur
hulta uolatis familia diffugii. Egerentur contra vos amas et
paruuli, singulique hostium in fugitibus uires duplicates

1 in Aquitanii, ulla uelita ut bellis de pace, A
1 Luton, i. 299-300
2 Saladin, sultan of Egypt and Syria, was born in 1138. After having
conquered Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, he turned his attention to the
Latino kingdom of Jerusalem. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Christian
army and captured the relic of the True Cross at Hirm, on 4 July 1187.
On 2 October he captured Jerusalem. He then drove the Christians out
of the Holy Land, except for Tyre, which they used as a base for the siege
ministrabit audacia. Scio quoniam inuitum qui seruat idem facit occidenti.¹ Neminem rex retenebit inuitum, nolo cuitam uestrum mecum morandii uim facere, ne pauor unius in certamine confidentiam frangat alterius. Quisque sequetur quod elegerit, sed ego aut hic moriar aut meas communes uobis ulciscar injurias. Si uius hinc iero, non uidebit me Salahadinus, nisi uictorem. Vos fugietis, et me regem uestrum relictum opponetis solum discrimini.'

Rex orationem uix bene finierat, et infremuerunt omnes uiri uirtutis, eo turbati tantummodo, quod dominus suus de suis uidebatur diffidere. Promittunt se ex animo ad quicquid preceperit parituros, montes et muros eorae penetrare parati.² Ponat supercilium; tota sibi si iussisset sudore suo Sicilia subicetur. Totus si uoluerit usque ad columnas Erculis ibit in sanguine.

'Substitit ut clamor pressus grauitate regentis';³ 'Placet,' iniqud, 'quod audio. Reficitis uscera mea, qui pudorem uestrum propulsare paratis. Et quia semper nocuit differre paratis,⁴ mora tollenda est, ut sit subitum quodcumque parumus. Messana michi capie-

³ Horace, Ars Poet., 467
⁴ Ovid, Met., i, 207
⁵ Horace, Ep., i, 60
⁶ Lucan, i, 50
seruetur summa tranquillitas. Expediantur imfra biddum ad \( \tilde{n} \) equitum ex uniuerso exercitu electorum, qui non habeant corda in caligis,\(^1\) et \( i \) pedites sagittarii. Sit lex seruata sine remedio. Pedes pleno pede fugiens pedem perdat. Miles priuetur cingulo. Militari disciplina discretio ordine singuli disponuntur in acies, et die tercio ad clangorem bucine me primum et preum sequantur ad ciuitatem.\(^2\) Cum summis applausibus soluitur concio. Rex, uultus rigore remissus, uisus est uoluntari corum ipsa oris serenitate gratias agere.


\(^{0}\) Thus in both MSS

\(^{1}\) cf. the description of the Norman soldiers at Hastings: \( 'uiorum quidem quorum corda minime latitabant in caligis.' \) *Annales Wintonienses*, p. 27

\(^{2}\) King Richard proposed William, archbishop of Monreale, as a successor to Baldwin, but the monks of Canterbury refused to elect him (Gerv. Cant., I, 493-4, 508-9). Margarito and Jordan of Pin were the governors whom Tancred had placed in charge of Messina (Gesta, II, 198).
decreuerit, si tamen ab eiusdem horae momento nemo
Grifenum in suis manus miserit. Multum mirati sunt,
magisque letati ad inaprate responsa manuocudinis qui
aduenarant, quod novissimo proposeuerat illi ponentes in
manum, de reliquo tractaruri scorsum considerant a
compassu regis remoti.

Regis exercitus predictum pridie taxatus in numerum
cum graui taciturnitate prestolabantur extra castra pre-
conem ab orto iam sole, et formatorum pacis morosius
agents in horam plene tercia diem proraxerat; cum
cece nubito et ex imprisso clamatur audita nimia uoce
pro fribus. "Arma, arma, urit." 1 Hugo Brunus 2 captus ceditur a
Grivenibus, quicquid habet diripitur, et
homines eius occiduntur! Confudit clamor pacis
infracte de pace tractantes, et rex Franciis talem prorupit
in uocem: "Perpendo quod Deus eit hos homines et
induruit cor eorum, ut cadant in manus cruciatorum". Re-
uersurae celereit eum omnibus qui secum fuerant
in regis papiloneum, inuenit eum iam ferro se uestientem,
cui brevibus insit: "Testis ero coram omnibus homini-
bis, quicquid acciderit, quod inculpabilis eris si amdo
contra maledictos Grifones arma portueris."

Disserat et dissebit. Secundum eum qui secum uene-
rant, et recipiantur (pariter) in ciuitatem.

Rex Anglie procedit armatus, uexillum terrible (dra-
conis) preferuit expansum, clangor tube post regem
mouet exercitum. Refulit sol in clipesos aureos et res-

1 Virgil, ilm, ii. 60b
2 Hugh IX, "the Brown", lord of Lusignan, was a nephew of King Guy
of Jerusalem (Sidney Painter, "The House of Lusignan and Chatehuesau,
1234-1266", Speculum, XXX (1955), 279). He was not killed in this en-
counter.
splenduerunt montes ab eis. Ibi sunt caele und ordinate, et sine ludo res agebatur.

Grifones, (e duero,) clausis ianuis clani (ciuitatis), armati stabant ad propugnaculam murorum et turrium, (nicil adhuc metuentes,) et caelabantur incessanter in hostes. Rex, qui nichil melius nouit quam expugnare ciuitates et euertere castra, permisit primo pharetrae eorum eacuari, et sic demum per suos sagittarios qui prela[nt exhibent primum facient insulam. Sagittarum imbre celum tegitur, prope nos per prolungeta ciueps mille tela transfundunt, nichil contra pilarum impetu poterat salutare rebelles. Relinquuntur muri sine custodia, quia (nullus) potuit foris prospecere, quin in utrum oculi sagittam habearet in oculo. Accedit interim rex cum milite suo sine repulsa libere ac si licenter ad ianuas ciuitatis, quas, admo coerere, dicto cito contruit, et, inducit exercitu, omnia cepit munita orbis usque ad palatium Tancredii et hospicel Francorum circa sui regis hospitium, quibus pepercit ob reuentiorem domini sui regis. Pomuntur vexilla victorium super turres ciuitatis in girum, et dedicas munitiones singulas singulis tradidit ex principibus exercitus, et hospitarii fecit magnates suos in ciuitate. Suscepit obvies filios omnium nobilium ciuitatis et provincie, ut aut redimentur ad regis estimationem aut reliqua pars ciuitatis illi sine Marte rediletur, et a rege suo Tancred de exigencias suis sibi satisfiat. Hora diei quinti oppugnare ceperat urbem, et cepit

shone brightly with the reflection from them. They went forth carefully and in good order, and the business was done without any foolishness.

The Grifones, on the other side, locked the gates of the city and stood in arms at the ramparts of the walls and towers, fearing nothing as yet, and shot at the army incessantly. The king, who knew nothing better than storming cities and overthrowing castles, first let them empty their quivers. Then at length he made the first assault by his bowmen, who went in front of the army. The sky was hidden by a violent rain of arrows; a thousand darts pierced the shields extended along the ramparts; and nothing could save the rebels from the force of the javelins. The walls were left without guards, for no one could look out without getting an arrow in his eye immediately. In the meantime the king, with his army, came up to the gates of the city unopposed, freely, and, as it were, without restraint. When the battering ram was moved up, he broke down the gates more quickly than it takes to tell about it. He led the army into the city and captured all the fortified places up to Tancred’s palace and the quarters of the French around their king’s lodging, which he spared out of respect for his lord the king. The victors’ banners were placed on the towers of the city in a circle. He turned over the captured fortifications to the leaders of the army, one to each, and he made his nobles take up quarters in the city. He took as hostages the sons of all the nobles of the city and the province, so that either they might be ransomed according to the king’s valuation of them or else the remainder of the city might be given up to him without a struggle and his demands from its king, Tancred, might be satisfied. He began the assault of the city at the fifth hour of the day and took it on the
eam hora decima, et, renovato exercitu, reuersus est victor in castra. Tancredus rex, ad nunciantium sibi rerum exitus verba perterritus, fortinuit cum eo finem facere, misit illi xx unclorum auri pro sodario sororis, et alis xx unclorum auri pro legato Willelmi regis et perpetuo sibi et suis pace seruanda. Sicipitur satis egre et indignanter illud parum pecunie, redduntur ob-sides, et ab utuisque partis optimatibus pax firma iuratur.

Rex Anglie, minus adhuc credens indignis, fecit castellum (ligneum) novum magne fortitudinis et emi-nentie iuxta muros Messane, quod ad opprobrium Grifonum 'Matergrim' nominavit. Glorificata est fort-i-tudo regis valde, et 'siluit terra in speciebus eius'.

* Walterus, ex monaco et priore sancti Swithuni Wintonensi ecclesie abbass Westmonasterii, opetit v° kalendras Octobris.

Regina Alienor, femina incomparabils, pulchra et pudica, potens et modesta, humilis et diserta, quod in femina solet incensire rarissime, que non minus annosa quam quae duos reges maritos habuerat et duos reges filios, ad omnes adhuc indeffessa labores, pose cuius aetas sua mirari potuit, assumpta secum filia regis Naurorum, pulcella prundentiore quam pulcra, secuta est regem filium suum, et consecuta morantem adhuc in Sicilia, uenit Riasam cluitatem omni bono plenam et bonam receptum, prestolatura ibi uelle regis, cum legatis regis Naurorum et urigne.

* Multi nosseunt quod utinam nemo nostrum nosset. Hec ipsa regina tempore prioris mariti fuit Ierosolimis.

1 6 October 1190. 2 13 October 1190. 3 13 March 1200. 4 June 1191. 5 2 August 1191. 6 24 February 1191. 7 October 1192. 8 11 September 1192.
THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZES

was at Jerusalem. Let no one say any more about it; I too know it well. Keep silent!*

* In the year 1191,
* The first conference between the count of Mortain, the king's brother, and the chancellor, concerning the custody of certain castles and the money granted to the count by his brother from the Exchequer, took place at Winchester on Laetare Sunday.*

The king, who had formerly sworn to the king of France that he would marry his sister, whom his father, King Henry, had provided for him and had long kept under close custody, was suspicious concerning that custody.* He therefore considered marrying the maiden whom his mother had brought. And so that his desire, for which he ardently longed, might be fulfilled without difficulty, he summoned the count of Flanders 4 and took counsel with him. The count was a most eloquent man, with a tongue on which he set a high price. Through his mediation the king of France released the king of England from his oath to marry his sister and granted to him in undisturbed and perpetual possession the country of the Vexin and Gisors, 5 in exchange for 10,000 pounds of silver.

* Robert, the prior of St Swithun's of Winchester, having given up his office of prior and disregarded his vows of religion, through grief—or should I rather say through devotion?—cast himself down into the Carthusian sect at Witham. 6

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1 This is a coy reference to the scandalous rumours concerning Eleanor's relations with her uncle, Raymond, prince of Antioch, whilst she and Louis were on the Second Crusade. See John of Salisbury, Historia Pontificum, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (1958), chap. xxvii. (See Plate facing p. xvi.).

2 4 March 1191. Laetare Sunday, so called from the opening words of the introit of the Mass (Is. 66: 10), is the fourth Sunday of Lent.

3 Richard, at the age of eleven, was betrothed to Alice, the daughter of Louis VII by his third wife, Adela of Champagne, on 6 January 1169. Alice was turned over to Henry to be brought up in his family, as was the custom at that time. It was rumoured later that Henry had made her his mistress and even that she had borne him a child. When Philip, in Sicily, accused Richard of casting Alice aside, Richard replied: 'I am not casting your sister aside, but I cannot take her as my wife, because my father knew her and begot a son on her' (Gesta, II, 160).

4 Philip, count of Flanders, was a cousin of King Richard and the uncle of Isabel of Hainault, King Philip's first wife, who had died in May 1190.

5 The Vexin, the territory lying between Normandy and the Île de France, on the right bank of the Seine, together with its chief fortress, Gisors, had been the dowry of Margaret of France, the wife of Henry, 'the young king'. When the young Henry died, in 1189, Henry II and Philip agreed that it should form the dowry of Margaret's half-sister Alice, then betrothed to Richard.

6 This is the Robert to whom the chronicle is dedicated.
* Walterus prior Batonie prius ididem similis fervore (vel furore) presumpsit, sed semel extractus nihil minus uidetur adhibi quam de redivi cogitare.  
Rex Francie cum suo exercitu, regem Anglie precedens versus Ierosolimam, mari se credidit iii kalendas Aprilis.

Rex Anglie relicturus Sicilian facit defetri castellum quod exstruxerat, et totam materiam secum portandum in nauibus subs repouit. Omne genus machinarum ad expugnandus munitiones et omne genus armorum quod cor hominis potuit exceptura presto iam habebat in nauibus.

* Robertus filius (Willemi filii) Radulphi consecratus est in episcopum Wigornie a Willelm de Longo Campo adhuc legato, apud Cantuariam iiiii nonas Maii.

* Conventus Cantuarii deposuit priorum suum quem Baldwinus archiepiscopus eis precerat, et alterum loco depositi substituit.

Walterus archiepiscopus Rothomagi, quia, ut clericorum est, passibilinis erat et pauidus, salutata a longe Ierosolima, omnem non rogatus remisit erga Saliadinum indignationem, et regi pro eo pugnatur quantum quid uiustius argument donavit, et crucem pretendentis, pudoris oblitus, illa quam miseriae matrum difficiens peperit denotione, (selicit), pastores ecclesie debebunt potius pre-

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1 See IAnn. Wint., p. 60.
2 Since summons had not yet come into common use, men were frequently identified by adding their father’s name, and sometimes also, as in this case, their grandfather’s.
3 This would imply that the death of Pope Clement III was not yet officially known in England, since Longchamp’s legatship would be terminated by the death of the pope who had appointed him.
4 Shortly before he left England, in March 1199, Archbishop Baldwin instituted Obit of Rerod as prior of Chene Church Coutres. Baldwin died in the Holy Land in November 1199, but the news of his death did not reach England till the following March. As soon as they learned that their hated archbishop was dead, the monks deposed the prior he had appointed.
dicere quam preliari; non decere episcopum arma portare nisi uirtutum. Rex autem, cui necessarior uisa est pecunia illius quam persone presentia, allegationes, ac si uisa nimis ratione deictus, approbavit, et (expeditum) reuomisit eum litteris suis in Angliam ad Willelum cancellarium, de fisco sub certo hominum et equorum numero exibendum triennio. Hoc in fine litterarum addito pro honore et pro toto, ut cancellarius in agendis regni eius ueterem consilium. Ex factis huius archiepiscopi rex factus instructor, purgavit exercitum, non permittens secum quecumque uenire, nisi qui bene posset et bono animo uellet arma portare, nec ueruentibus pecunias suas illuc usque allatam secum reportare permisit aut arma.

Regiam quoque matrem suam, omni ut decuit honoré suscepit et post dies decemulationes gloriose deductam, redire fecit cum archiepiscopo, retenta sibi puella quam quesierat, et fidei sororis sua credita, que iam ad occasurum maris in castra redierat.

* Celestius papa.1

Ricardus rex Anglie, litteris in Angliam destinatis toti regno suo ualedicens et de honoringo ab omnibus cancellario summam mentionem facens, parata classe sua meliore quam mala, cum exercitu electo et forti, cum Ioanna sorore sua ac uirigne maritanda, cum omnibus que pugnaturis aut peregre profecturis necessaria esse poterant, uento uela commissi in idus Aprilis. In classe autem erant naues clivi. Buceo xxiii. Galee xxixi. Summa uasorum cc et xix.

1 a B: [i]litteris suis in anglis a (first two letters invisible)

1 Celestine III (Giacinto Bobone) was elected pope in late March or early April 1191 (see p. 99), when he was in his eighties.

of the Church should preach rather than fight and that it was not fitting for a bishop to bear any other arms than those of the virtues. The king, however, to whom the sight of his money was more necessary than the presence of his person, approved his excuses, as if overcome by his exceedingly lively logic, and sent him back to England with his letters to William the chancellor, to be furnished with a certain number of men and horses from the Exchequer for three years. The king added at the end of his letter, for the archbishop's honour and as a general directive, that the chancellor should use his counsel in the affairs of the kingdom. The king, having become wiser from the deeds of this archbishop, purged the army. He did not allow anyone to go with him unless he was well able and cheerfully willing to bear arms, nor did he allow those who turned back to take with them the money or the arms that they had brought thus far.

He received the queen his mother with all fitting honour, embraced her warmly, and led her in a glorious procession. Then he had her return with the archbishop. He kept for himself the maiden whom he had desired and entrusted her to the care of his sister, who had returned to the camp to meet her mother.

* Celestine [became] pope.1

Richard, king of England, sent letters to England, bidding farewell to all his realm and making special mention that the chancellor was to be honoured by all men. He got ready his fleet, which was more excellent than numerous, and set sail with his army, chosen and strong, with Joan his sister and the virgin he was to marry, and with everything that might be necessary for waging war or travelling afar, on 10 April.

In the fleet were 156 ships, 24 busses, and 39 galleys: the total of the vessels was 219.
THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZES

* John, bishop of Exeter, drew his last breath.

* Savaric, archdeacon of Northampton, one of the many who followed the king from England to Sicily, was given letters patent by the king in the presence of the king's mother to the justiciars of England, containing the king's assent, and something more than assent, that he should be promoted to whatever vacant diocese he might be elected to. Savaric sent these letters to his kinsman, the bishop of Bath, in England. He, however, went to Rome, being very well known to the Romans.

The archbishop of Rouen came to England to the chancellor, by whom he was honourably received and entertained, even much better than the king had ordered. Others followed him with many orders, all of which had the conclusion that the chancellor was to be obeyed by all.

The king especially ordered his brother John, by each of the messengers, to support the chancellor, to help him against all men, and not to break the oath he had sworn to him.

* The king of England ordered the chancellor and the convent of Canterbury and the bishops of the province to take counsel together canonically concerning the see, because Baldwin's death had deprived it of a head. Concerning the office of abbot of Westminster, however, now vacant, the chancellor alone was permitted to arrange matters at his pleasure.

John, the king's brother, who had kept his ears open, so that he knew for certain that his brother had turned his back on England, now went about the country with a

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1. John 'the Chanter' was bishop of Exeter from 1186 to 1191. He had been precentor of Exeter and sub-dean of Salisbury.
2. Savaric was related to Bishop Jocelin of Salisbury and his son Reginald, bishop of Bath, and to the Emperor Henry VI (Epip. Cantuar., p. 250). He was a man of great ambition who attempted to use his family connections to promote his advancement. The plan that drew him to Rome was a scheme to have his cousin Reginald elected archbishop of Canterbury, so that he could succeed Reginald as bishop of Bath. For the families, see Knowles, Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket (1951), pp. 18-22, 159.
iam ibat per regionem populosior, nec proibebat (vel coiebat) suos se regis nominantes heredem. Et sicut horecere solum solet ad sois absentiam, sic alterata est regni facies ad regis abscessum. Mouentur quique maiores, castra firmantur, munientur opida, fossata raduntur. Archiepiscopus Rotomagensis, non magis futura presentiens quam qui fomes laudabatur erroris, ita ardidere callebat cancellario, ut (et) eius emulis non disincuriet.


1 Assuming that Richard’s forthcoming marriage did not produce an heir, John’s only rival for the throne, in the event of Richard’s death, would be Arthur, the posthumous son of their brother Geoffrey, duke of Brittany, born in 1189. The author of the Ann. Wint. states (p. 64) that Richard named Arthur as his heir before he set out on the Crusade. In a letter to the pope, written in Sicily in November 1190 to inform Clement that he had arranged for a marriage between Arthur and Tancred’s daughter, Richard refers to Arthur as ‘the illustrious duke of Brittany, our most dear nephew and heir’ (Howden, III, 65).

2 Gerard of Camville was the elder brother of one of the leaders of Richard’s fleet (Doris M. Stenton, Introd. to PR 3 & 4 Ric. I, pp. xxv-xlvi). He married Nichola, daughter and heiress of Richard of Haia, hereditary constable of Lincoln Castle and sheriff of Lincolnshire. In 1190 the king, larger following. He did not prohibit or restrain his followers from calling him the king’s heir.

And as the earth shudders at the absence of the sun, so the face of the realm was altered at the king’s departure. Certain nobles became busy; castles were strengthened; towns were fortified, and moats were dug. The archbishop of Rouen, foreseeing the future no better than he who was praised as the father of error, knew how to please the chancellor greatly, but in such a way that he did not displease even his rivals.

Letters were secretly sent (or went) amongst the leaders of the clergy and the people, and the support of each one was solicited against the chancellor. The knights willingly but secretly consented to Count John; the clergy, however, more cautious by nature, did not dare openly to swear to the words of either instructor. The chancellor pretended not to be aware of this, scorning to admit that anyone would presume to dare anything against him in any way. At last the lid was taken off the pot. It was reported to him that Gerard of Camville, a factious man, prodigal of his allegiance, had done homage to Count John, the king’s brother, for Lincoln Castle, the custody of which was recognized to belong to the inheritance of Nicholaa, the wife of this same Gerard, but under the king. This act was believed to be an offence against the crown, and the chancellor went to punish the one who had committed it. He quickly collected an army and went to those places. First he made an attack on Wigmore, and then he forced Roger of Mortimer, (who was charged) with having

in return for 700 marks, gave Gerard a charter confirming him in those offices by his wife’s right (PR 2 Ric. I, p. 89).

3 Roger of Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, was one of the most powerful barons along the Welsh border. Our author is the only writer who mentions this incident.
formed a conspiracy against the king (or the realm) with the Welsh, to surrender the castles and to abjure England for three years. As he went into exile, he was blamed by his accomplices for faintness of heart, for although he was supplied with many soldiers and had abundant castles and provisions, before a blow was struck he surrendered at the mere threats of a priest.

The reproach after the event was too late. Roger left the kingdom, and the chancellor ordered (or caused) Lincoln to be besieged. Gerard was with the count, and his wife, Nicholaa, whose heart was not that of a woman, defended the castle manfully. The chancellor was wholly occupied around Lincoln, when Count John, having forced the custodians to surrender solely through fear, occupied Nottingham Castle and that of Tickhill, both exceedingly strong. Moreover, he ordered the chancellor to lift the siege, or else he would avenge the injury to his man. It was not fitting [he said] to take their custodies away from law-worthy men of the realm, well-known and free, and hand them over to foreigners and unknown men. The chancellor’s argument that he had entrusted the king’s castles to such men because they were left unprotected against passers-by and that any barbarian who might go by could take them with the same ease that he [John] had done was mere foolishness. He was no longer willing to bear in silence the desolation of his brother’s possessions and his realm. The chancellor was greatly disturbed by these messages. He summoned the nobles and the chiefs of the army and said: ‘Don’t believe anything I say, if this man is not seeking to conquer the kingdom for himself. He is too hasty in his presumption, for even if he were bound to share the crown with his brother in alternate years, Eteocles has not yet reigned for a full year.’ He spoke many words

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1. Eteocles was a son of Oedipus and Jocasta and brother of Polynices. After Oedipus was banished from Thebes, Eteocles and Polynices agreed to rule in alternate years, with Eteocles to rule during the first year.

of grief in this fashion. Then his spirits rose again, for he was greater in courage than in body and he conceived things on a grand scale. He sent the archbishop of Rouen to the count to order him in a peremptory manner to give up the castles and to answer for his broken oath to his brother before the king’s court. The archbishop, who knew how to keep more than one iron in the fire, praised the chancellor’s firmness. Then he went to the count. After he had delivered the chancellor’s commands, he put it in the count’s ear that, whatever others might say, he should dare something big, ‘worthy of Gyaros and prison’, if he wanted to be someone of importance. In public, however, he advised that the count and the chancellor should come to a conference and that they should put an end to their differences by committing them to arbitrators. The count, more than angry at the presumption of the chancellor’s orders, became unrecognizable in all his body. Wrath cut furrows across his forehead; his burning eyes shot sparks; rage darkened the ruddy colour of his face. I know what he would have done to the chancellor if in that hour of fury he had fallen like an apple into the hands of the raging count. Indignation so swelled in his closed breast that it had either to burst or to vomit forth its venom somewhere. ‘This son of perdition,’ he said, ‘the worst of the worst, who first carried across to Englishmen from the foolishness of the French the preposterous custom of serving on bended knee, would not trouble me as you now see [me troubled], if I had not refused to pay any attention to this new knowledge offered me.’

He wanted to say stronger things, either true or false, but out of respect for the archbishop’s presence he recollected himself and restrained his vehemence. ‘If I have spoken amiss, archbishop,’ he said, ‘I beg par-
The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes

Friuola seriis intendeant; ratiocinatum est circa mandata cancellarii, et utrumque consilium archiepiscopi ad idei medium consentitur in colloquendum. Dies figitur νο kalendas Augusti; locus, extra Wintoniam. Cancellarius concessit stare quod prouiderat, et dimissa obsidione rexiemus est Londoniam. Comes uero, uerens eius uersatius, conduxit sibi Wallensium, ut si cancellarius inter indutias illum capere conaretur, isti in latebris locati ex latere colloquii conatus eius infringerent ex arrupto. Preterea summoniri instituit et rogari, ut quisquis hominum suorum et aliorum se amantium / conueniens esset ad bella procedere, secum ueniret loco et die ad susceptum sed spectum sibi cum domino totius terre colloquium, ut saltem uius eius uaderet, si plus quam rex ille et nimius in oculis suis contra ius faceret, aut in transactionem non consentiret. At contra cancellarius tertium cum omnibus armis totius Anglie militem die nominato mandauit uenire Winstoniam. De reditibus etiam regis conduxit et ipse Wallenses, ut si dexterandum foret cum comite, haberet pares acies, 'et pila minantia pilis'.

Conuentum est ad colloquium sicut dictum est et predictum, quod in melius quam timebatur contigit terminari. Conuentio igitur facta inter comitem et cancellarium erat huissmodi, et hoc modo prouisa.

Tres in primis nominatur episcopi, Wintoniensis, Londoniensis, Batoniensis, in quorum fidelitatem utraque pars secura se creditit. Episcopi elegerunt ad partem don. After these frivolous words they turned to serious matters. A discussion was held concerning the chancellor’s orders, and each one agreed to the archbishop’s advice to have a conference on a day of mediation. The day was fixed for 28 July; the place, outside Winchester. The chancellor agreed to abide by these provisions, and he raised the siege and returned to London. The count, however, distrusting his crafty designs, brought with him 4,000 Welshmen, so that if the chancellor attempted to seize him during the truce, these men, concealed near the conference-place, might quickly check his attempt. Furthermore, he ordered the summons and request to be made that all his men and everyone else who loved him should assemble, ready for war, and go with him at the appointed place and day to the conference, which he had agreed to but distrusted, with the lord of the whole land, so that he might at least escape alive if that man, more than a king and mightier in his own eyes, should do anything contrary to the decision of the tribunal or should not agree to the transaction. The chancellor, on the other hand, ordered a third of the knighthood of all England to come fully armed to Winchester on the appointed day. He took with him, too, the Welshmen from the king’s levy, so that if there should be a struggle with the count, he would have equal forces ‘and spear threatening spear’.

An agreement was reached at the conference, as it was proclaimed and published, which brought things to a better end than had been feared. The agreement made between the count and the chancellor was of this nature and made the following provisions:

First, three bishops were named, those of Winchester, London, and Bath, on whose trustworthiness each side relied. The bishops chose, on the chancellor’s side,
cancellarii tres comites, de Warenna, de Arundel, de Clara,\(^1\) et quosdam alios viii\(^{o}\) nominatos; ad partem comitis, Stephanum Ridel, comitis cancellarium, Willel- mum de Wenneual, Reginaldum de Wasceuilla, et quos-
dam alios viii\(^{o}\) nominatos. Iste omnes iuraerunt, ali
inspectis, ali tactis sacrosanctis euangelis, se prouisuros
inter comitem et cancellarium de querelis eorum et
questionibus satisfactionem ad homorem utriusque partis
et pacem regni. Et si quid deinceps inter eos contrarie-
tatis emerserit, fideliter terminabunt. Comes etiam (et)
cancellarius iuraerunt se in quicquid predicti iuratores
prouiderint consensuros. Et hec fuit prouisio.

Girardo de Camuilla, in gratiam cancellarii recepto,
remansit illi in bono et pace custodia castri de Lincolnia.
Comes reddidit castella que ceparat. Que recepta, can-
cellarius tradidit fidelibus et ligiis hominibus regis,
scilicet, Willelmo de Wenn[eual] castellum de Noting-
[cham], et Reginaldo de Wasceu[illa] castellum de
Tikhulla, et uterque istorum dedit obsidem cancellarius
quod castella illa custodirent in salua pace et fidelitate
domini regis, si eius rediret. Si autem rex ante regres-
sum in fata concederet, predicta castra comiti redderen-
tur, et cancellarius redderet obsides.\(^{a}\)

Constabularii (castellorum) de honoribus comitis
mutarentur a cancellario, si eos mutandos comes de
ratione monstraret. Cancellarius, si rex obiret, comiti
exheredationem non quereret, sed pro omni eum posse
suo promoueret ad regnum.

\(^{a}\) obsidges A

\(^{1}\) Hamelin, earl of Warenne, was a bastard son of Count Geoffrey of
Anjou and hence half-brother to King Henry II. He married Isabella,
the daughter and heiress of Earl William of Warenne, and thus acquired
her father’s title and estates. William, earl of Arundel, was the son of William
of Albini and Adelaide of Louvain, the widow of Henry I. He married
Maud, the widow of Roger of Clare, earl of Hertford. Richard of Clare,
earl of Hertford, succeeded to the title upon the death of his father, Roger,
three earls, those of Warenne, Arundel, and Clare,\(^1\) and
eight other nominees; and on the count’s side, Stephen
Ridel, the count’s chancellor, William of Wenneval,
Reginald of Wasseville, and eight other nominees. All
these men swore, some while looking at the Holy Gospels
and others while touching them, that they would provide
a settlement of the complaints and differences between
the count and the chancellor to the honour of each party
and the peace of the realm, and that if any dis-
agreement should arise between them thereafter, they
would faithfully put an end to it. The count and the
chancellor also swore to agree to whatever the jurors
should provide. And these were the provisions:

The custody of Lincoln Castle remained in good peace
with Gerard of Camville, who was to be received into
the chancellor’s favour. The count surrendered the
castles he had taken. When he received these castles,
the chancellor turned them over to faithful liegemen of
the king, to wit: to William of Wenneval, Nottingham
Castle, and to Reginald of Wasseville, the castle of Tick-
hill. Each of these men gave a hostage to the chancellor
to ensure that he would keep these castles for the king in
tue peace and faith to the lord king, if he should return
alive. If, however, the king should die before he returned,
they would give the aforesaid castles back to the count,
and the chancellor would return the hostages.

The constables of the castles belonging to the count’s
honours were to be changed by the chancellor, if the
count should show a good reason for changing them.
The chancellor would not try to disinherit the count if
the king died, but he would, in so far as he was able,
advance him to the crown.

in 1173. He married Amicia, the daughter and heirress of Earl William of
Gloucester.
Actum solemniter apud Wintoniam viiō kalendas Maiī.Æ

.isOn

* Eclipsis solis circa horam diei terciam.²

* Mirati sunt qui causas rerum nesciunt; nullis ob-

stantibus soli nubibus, medio die solis radios solito lucere

debulius, sed hīi quos agitāt mundi labor dicunt solis et

lune defectus facere aliquid non significare.

* Classis Ricardi regis Anglorum altum legebat,³ et

hoc ordine procedebat. In prima fronte ibant iii naues

tantum, in quarum una erat regina Sicilie et puella

Nauarorum forte adhuc uirgo; in duabus, aliqua pars

tesauri regis et armorum; in singulis trium homines de-

fensabiles et uictualia. In secundo ordine erant inter

naues et buceas et dromundos xiii.

* In tercio, xiiiī. In quarto, xx. In quinto, xxx. In

sexto, xl. In septimo, lx.

* In nouissimo, rex ipse cum galeis suis sequebatur.

Erat inter naues et processiones earum tali discretione

indictum nautis spatium, quod de uno ordine ad alterum

uox tubae, de una naui ad alteram uox hominis audiri

potuit. Illud etiam fuit admirabile quod rex non minus

sanus et incolimus, fortis et potens, leuis et exiliis erat

in mari quam solet esse in terris. Concludo ergo quod

non erat unus homo ualidior illo in mundo, nec in terra,

nec in mari.

* Predicto itaque modo et ordine naibus aliis alias

preceuntibus, due de tribus primis uiuentorum impulse

cautibus iuxta portum Cipri⁴ contrite sunt; tertia, que

Anglica erat, agilior illis retorta in altum diffugit peri-

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1 See Appendix F.  
2 On 25 June  
3 Richard sailed from Messina on 10 April.  
4 At Limasol, on 24 April  
5 The third, which was English and more manœuvrable than the other two,
culum. Omnes fere homines utriusque nauis uiui euaserunt ad terram, de (quibus) multos interfecerunt occurrentes Ciprii, quosdam ceperunt, quidam refugi-
entes a in quandam ecclesiam obsessi fuerunt. Quicquid etiam in nauibus (de mari erutum) fuerat cessit in pre-
dam Cipriorum. Princex b quoque insule illius adveniens in partem suam recept aurum et arma, et fecit ab omni quem conuocare potuit armato observari litus ut classem sequentem applicare non sineret, ne rex sibi surrepta recipereet. Supra portum erat urbs fortis, et super (rupem) natuam castellum emines et munitum. Tota gens illa bellica et de rapto uiuere consuetu.
Ponebantur in introitu portus per transuersum trabes et
tigna, porte et hostia, et tota terra toto animo contra
Anglos se preparauit ad pugnam.

* Voluit Deus ut populus b maledictus malorum meri-

tum per manus non miserentis acciperet. Tertia

nauis Anglica in qua erant femme eectis anchoris in

alto expectabat, et omnia considerabat e contra relatura
casum regi, ne forte dampni nescius et dedecoris locum

preteiret inultus. Venit nauium regis ordo post alteras,
et substiterunt omnes ad primam. Rumor refusus

peruenit ad regem, qui missis nuttis ad dominum insule

nichil voluntatis adeptus, / mandauit uniuersum exercitum

armari a primo usque ad ultimum, et de magnis

nauibus egressos in galeis et scaphis sequi a illum ad

litus. Fit quod iubetur scitissime; venitur in armis ad

portum. Rex armatus primus de galea exiliens primum

ictum dedit in bello. Sed antequam possent dare secun-

a refugientem A b populus A a sequi supplied from B; illegible in A
1 Isaac Comnenos, who had been sent by the emperor of Byzantium to

Cyprus as governor in 1182, soon set himself up as an independent ruler.
He made an alliance with Saladin and refused to deliver any suprplies to
the Christians. See Norgate, p. 141.

turned back into the open sea and escaped the peril. Almost all the men of both ships reached land alive. The

Cyprians came running up and killed many of them, and others they captured. Some of them took refuge in

a certain church and were besieged. Whatever was still

in the ships (was dragged in from the sea and) fell prey
to the Cyprians. The prince c of that island came up

and received as his share of the spoils the gold and the

arms. He made everyone whom he could summon

watch the shore in arms, so that the fleet that was

following might not be allowed to land, lest the king get

back what had been stolen from him. Above the port

was a strong city, and on a cliff of native rock was a

lofty and fortified castle. That whole race was warlike

and accustomed to live by plunder. Timbers and beams,
doors and gates were put crosswise in the entrance of

the harbour, and the whole island, with all its strength,
got ready to fight the English.

* God willed that this accursed people should receive

the punishment for their sins from the hand of one who

had no compassion on them. The third English ship, in

which the women were, cast out her anchors, waited in

the open sea, and took note of everything to report the

events to the king, lest perhaps, unaware of the loss and

the shame, he might pass the place by without taking his

vengeance. The rank of the king’s ships came after the

others, and all stood by the first one. News of the

repulse reached the king, and he sent messengers to the

lord of the island. When he got no satisfaction, he

ordered the whole army to arm from first to last and to

leave the big ships and follow him ashore in galleys and

skiffs. What he ordered was quickly done, and he came

armed up to the harbour. The king, in arms, leaped

from the galley first and gave the first blow in battle,
dum, III suorum habebat in latere secum percutientium.

* Deicitur in momento quicquid lignorum oppositum fuerat in portu, et ascendunt uiri fortes in urbem non
mitiores quam solent esse leene, raptis feticibus. Pugnatur
contra illos uiriliter, et ecceverunt uulnerati ex hiis et
ex illis, et inebriabantur gladii utrorumque in sanguine.
Vincentur Ciprii, capta est urbs et cum castello,1 diri-
pitur quicquid placet victoribus, et ipse dominus insulae
comprehensus est et adductus ad regem. Precatur
ueniam, et meretur; offert homagium a regi, et recipitur,
et iurat non rogatus quod a modo de illo sicut ligio
domino tenebit insulam, et omnia castella terre sibi
aperiet et exponet, damnum restituet, et de proprio
largietur. Dimissus post iuramentum, iubetur (in) mane
pacta complere. Nocte illa quiescit in castro, et
iuratus eius fugiens secessit in aliud castellum,2 et sum-
moniri facit omnem hominem terre qui poterant arma
portare, ut conuenirent ad eum, et ita factum est. Rex
autem Ierusalem3 cadem nocte applicuit in Ciprum ut
occurreret regi et salutarit eum, cuius adventum plus
quam omnium hominum totius mundi desiderauerat.

* In crastino, quiescit ille dominus Ciprii, compertus
f.34r est effugisse. / Rex, uidens se esse illum et ubi esset
edoctus, precepit regi Ierolosimorum sequi perfidum per
terram cum media parte exercitus, ipse alteram partem
circumduxit per aquam, volens esse in obviam ne clai-

a hominimum corrected to homagium A

1 On 6 May
2 Famagosta. Castellum may mean either ‘castle’ or ‘town’. It is here
translated as ‘castle’, because it seems likely that Isaac would take refuge
in a fortified place. Castrum is commonly used for ‘town’.
3 King Guy had set out to meet Richard and enlist his help against a
plot, encouraged by King Philip, to depose Guy and give the crown of
Jerusalem to Conrad of Montferrat. Guy landed in Cyprus on 11 May.
Our author gives a greatly simplified account of Richard’s campaign in
Cyprus, which occupied the month of May, omitting many events and
giving others in the wrong order. See rib., pp. 184-204, and Norgate,

but before he could give the second he had 3,000 of his
men at his side striking with him.

* In a moment they cast aside whatever timbers had
been placed in the harbour. The strong men went up
into the city no more gently than do lionesses when their
cubs have been taken from them. The defenders fought
valiantly against them; the wounded fell on this side
and on that; and the swords of both sides were made
drunk with blood. The Cyprians were vanquished;
the city with its castle was taken; 4 whatever pleased
the victors was seized; and the lord of the island himself
was captured and brought to the king. He begged for
pardon, and it was granted; he offered homage to the
king, and it was received. Of his own accord he swore
that henceforth he would hold the island from the king
as his liege lord, that he would open all the castles of the
land to him, that he would make restitution for the
damage, and that he would issue money bountifully
from his own treasury. When he was dismissed after
swearing the oath, he was ordered to complete the treaty
on the next day. That night the king slept in the castle.
His sworn man fled, withdrew to another castle,5 and
causad every man of the land who could bear arms to be
summoned to come to him, and thus it was done. The
king of Jerusalem,6 however, landed in Cyprus that same
night, so that he might meet and greet the king, whose
coming he longed for more than that of all the men of the
whole world.

* On the next day, when the lord of Cyprus was
sought, he was found to have fled. The king, seeing
that he had been mocked and having learned where he
[Isaac] was, directed the king of Jerusalem to follow the
traitor by land with half the army, and he himself led the
other part around by water to cut him off from escaping
by sea. The two parties met around the town to which he had fled. He came out against the king and fought with the English, and both sides fought bitterly. The English would have been defeated on that day if they had not been fighting under Richard. In the end they won a dearly bought victory, the Cyprian fled, and the castle was taken. The kings followed him as before, one by land, the other by water, and besieged him in a third castle. The walls were knocked down by huge stones hurled by stone-throwers, and the besieged man promised to surrender if only he would not be put in iron fetters. The king granted the suppliant’s prayers and had silver shackles made for him. The prince of the pirates having been thus captured, the king went over the whole island and took possession of all its castles and put his guards in all of them. He appointed justiciars and sheriffs, and the whole land was subject to him in all things, just as England is.

* The gold and silk and jewels that were taken from the treasury he kept for himself; the silver and the victuals he gave to the army. He gave most generously of his booty to the king of Jerusalem. And now that Lent was already past and the lawful time for contracting marriages had come, he married, on the island, Berengaria, the daughter of the king of the Navarrese, whom his mother had brought to him during Lent. Returning to their ships after this and sailing for Acre in fair weather, they encountered a cargo ship of the greatest size, sent by Saladin to the besieged [inhabitants of Acre], full of victuals and armed men. She was a wonderful ship, bigger than any except Noah’s that has ever been read about. And happy was this valiant man, because

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1 When Richard and Guy reached Famagusta, they found that Isaac had fled to Nicosia. They captured that city, but Isaac meanwhile fled to Candaria. Richard fell ill and stayed at Nicosia, while Guy completed the campaign, captured Isaac’s daughter, and forced Isaac to surrender to Richard.

2 Richard and Berengaria were married at Limasol on 12 May. *Ibn.,* pp. 193-6.

3 The fleet set sail on 5 June.
ubique materiam uirtutis offendit; primus ipse pugna-
torum ascitis ad suam galeis suorum nauale prelium
cepit habere cum Turcis. Nauis fuit munita turribus et
propugnaculis, et pugnabant uecdider desserpati, quia
'est una salus uictis nullam sperare salutem'.
Dirus erat assultus, et dura defensio. Sed quid adeo durum,
quod non domauerit durus ille durandus? Deuincunctur
Mocomicole; naus illa regina nauium detrita demergi-
tur quasi plumbum in aquis uehementibus, et perit
cum possessoribus suis tota possession. Rex inde pro-
grediens uenit ad Accaronis obsidionem, et exceptus
est ad obsidentibus cum gaudio tanto, ac si esset Christus
qui reuenisset in terram restituere regnum Israel.

Cancellarius mira exactione et instantia induxit
(primo) partem aliquam monacorum et postmodum
totam congregationem Westmonasterii quod permisscrunt
fratrem eius (monacum de Cadomo) profiteri cohabi-
tationem in (West)monasterio, eligendum ab omnibus
sibi in abbatem a professione et cohabitatione die nomi-
nato. Et ut hec fabricatio non infringeretur, scripto
cautem est sigillo ecclesie apposito in testimonium.

Gaufridus non ex matre frater Ricardi regis et
Iohannis comitis, qui consecratus fuerat in archiepis-
copum Eboracensem Turonis ab archiepiscopo Turon-
ensis de mandato summi pontificis, non semel sollicitauit
mandatis Iohannem fratrem regis et suum, ut saltem
 suo assensu reuerti sibi liceret in Angliam. Quo con-
sentiente redire paruit. Inter mandata fratrum non
latuerunt cancellarium, qui precauens ne qualitas
everywhere he found an opportunity for bravery. He
collected his men from their galleys and began a naval
battle with the Turks, himself first amongst the fighters.
The ship was armed with towers and ramparts. The
desperate sailors fought like madmen, for "the only safety
of the vanquished is to hope for none." Fearful was the
assault and fierce was the defence, but what is so tough
that it cannot be overcome by him who grows even
tougher in taming it? The Mocomicole were van-
quished; that ship, the queen of ships, was broken to
bits and sank like lead in the raging sea; and all her
cargo perished with its owners. The king, proceeding
thence, came to the siege of Acre and was received by
the besiegers with as much joy as if he had been Christ
Himself returning to earth to restore the kingdom of
Israel.

The chancellor, by wondrous demands and persist-
ence, induced (at first) a certain part of the monks and
later the whole congregation of Westminster to permit
his brother (a monk of Caen) to profess residence at
Westminster, so that upon the appointed day he might
be elected abbot by all upon his profession and taking
up residence. In order that this irregular arrangement
might not be broken, it was made secure in writing,
with the seal of the church put on it in testimony.

Geoffrey, the brother, but not on the mother's side,
of King Richard and Count John, who had been con-
secrated archbishop of York at Tours by the archbishop of
Tours at the command of the supreme pontiff, several
times sent letters to John, the king's brother and his own,
begging that at least with his consent he might be permitted
to return to England. When John consented, he made
ready to return. The brothers' correspondence did not
escape the notice of the chancellor. Taking precautions

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\textsuperscript{a} in supplied from B; illegible in A

\textsuperscript{b} Israel A; Israel B

\textsuperscript{c} Virgil, 	extit{Aen.}, ii, 354

\textsuperscript{d} Moslems; literally, worshippers of Mohammed

\textsuperscript{e} Richard landed at Acre on 8 June.

\textsuperscript{f} On 8 August
genuine peruersitatis cresceret ex aumento, mandauit custodibus litorum ut ubicunque archiepiscopus ille qui Angliam abiuauaret triennio peregrinationis regis terre illabertur infra terminum, progerdi non permitteretur, nisi de consilio iuratorum in quos comes et cancellarius iuramento compromiserant de omnibus que poterant intercidere (uel post accidere).

Robertus quidam prior Herefordensis,¹ monacus de seipso nichil medicum estimans, alienis se negotiis ut sua intersereret libenter ingerens, in cancellarii mandatis ierat ad regem in Siciliam. Vbi non est obitus sui post cetera, qui quocumque modo, quemcumque pigeret, abtiatam de Muchenia concessam sibi a rege et confirmatam meruit optinere. Ad quam, agente cancellario, contra uelle conuentus possidendam nec canonice nec cum benedictione ingressus, et primo mox die, ad primum prandium, ex anguillis recentibus auidius sine uino quam expediere, et amplius, insumendo, incidit in languorem, quem 'peperit cibus indigestus et heres ardenti stomaco'.² Et ne uoracitati languor ascriberetur, monacos loci de dato sibi toxico fecit inuamari.

Gauffridus³ archiepiscopus Eboracensis, de consensu Iohannis comitis fratris sui presumens, parato nauigio suo Douram apulit,⁴ qui mox terre redditus, primo peteiit oraturus ecclesiam. Est ibi prioratus monacorum de professione Cantuariorum, quorum oratorium missas

lest the quality of their innate perversity might increase through their being together, he gave orders to the guardians of the coast that wherever the archbishop, who had abjured England for the three years of the king's pilgrimage, might land within that period, he should not be permitted to proceed onward except with the consent of the jurors to whose arbitration the count and the chancellor had by oath agreed to submit everything that might be a subject of difference between them (or that might afterwards arise).

A certain Robert, prior of Hereford,¹ a monk who held himself in no small esteem and gladly meddled in matters in which he had no business so that he might promote his own affairs, went on the chancellor's instructions to the king in Sicily, where he did not forget his own concerns after the others were taken care of. In some way or other, to the disgust of many, he contrived to obtain the office of abbot of Muchelney, granted and confirmed to him by the king. He came to take possession, through the agency of the chancellor, against the will of the convent and neither canonically nor with an [episcopal] blessing. On the very first day, at the first meal, through eating newly caught eels more glutonously than was wise and without any wine, he fell into a sickness that 'the undigested food, retained by his burning stomach, produced'.² In order that the illness might not be laid to his gluttony, he caused an evil report to be spread about that the monks of the place had given him poison.

Geoffrey,³ archbishop of York, presuming on the consent of Count John his brother, got his ship ready and landed at Dover.⁴ As soon as he set foot to land he sought a church where he might pray. There is a priory of monks there of the profession of Canterbury, whose

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¹ i.e. of St Guthlac's priory, Hereford, a dependency of Gloucester abbey.
² Juvenal, iii, 233. The chronicler alters imperfectus to indigestus.
³ For the following events see Gesta, II, 210-15, De Vita Galf., pp. 387-96, and Dicto, II, 96-101, in the last of which the dates are carefully recorded.
⁴ On 14 September
auditurus cum clericis suis ingressus est, et familia eius circa exsarcinandas naues erat intenta.

Iam tota suppellext terram tenuit, cum subito cons	


stabarius castelli quicquid putabatur esse archiepiscopii


trahit fecit in opidum, plus in mandato domini sui can
cellarii intelligens quam mandauerat. Quidam etiam


militum, armati sub tunicis et spatis accincti, uenerunt


in monasterium ut comprehenderent pontificem. Quos


ut uidit, precognita voluntate eorum, accepit crucem in


manus suas, prioreque eos alloquens et manus in suos


extendens, ait: 'Ego sum archiepiscopus: si me quer	


itis, sinite hos abire.' Et milites: 'Vtrum,' inquint,


'archiepiscopus sis nec ne, nichil ad nos. Vnum scimus,


quonium tu es Gauffridus filius Henrici regis quem genuit


quocumque thor, qui coram rege, cuius te fratrem


fasic, Angliam abiuarasti triennio. Si sicut traditor regni


in regnum non ueneris, si litteras absolutionis attuleris,


"aut dic, aut accipe calcem". Tunc archiepiscopus:


'Traditor,' inquit, 'nec sum, nec litteras aliqus ubis


ostendam.' Iniecerunt illico coram ipso altari manus


in eum, et inuitum ac renitentem non repugnantem


violenter extraxerunt de ecclesia. Qui max extra limen


positus, ipso qui in eum manum miserant, presentes et


audientes et adhuc illum tenentes, excommunicavit ex


nomine, et oblatum sibi equum, ut cum illis ad castrum


equitaret, quia ma[n]cipium fuit excommunicatorium,


non recepit. Quem totius oblii mansuetudinis per


manus trahebant, peditem et crucem portantem, per


lutum platearum usque in castrum. Post hec omnia,


oratory he entered with his clerks to hear Mass, while


his servants were busy round the ships, which were being


unloaded.


All his household furniture was already unloaded, when


suddenly the constable of the castle, reading more


into the order of his lord the chancellor than he had


commanded, had everything that was thought to be the


archbishop's dragged into the town. Some soldiers, also,


armed under their cloaks and girded with swords, came


into the monastery to seize the prelate. When he saw


them, aware of their intention, he took his cross in his


hands. Speaking to them first and stretching out his


hands to his followers, he said: 'I am the archbishop.


If you are seeking me, let these men go.' The soldiers


said: 'Whether you are the archbishop or not is nothing


to us. One thing we do know: that you are Geoffrey,


the son of King Henry whom he begot in some bed or


other, who, in the presence of the king, whose brother you


make yourself out to be, abjured England for three years.


If you have not come into the realm as a traitor to the


realm, if you have brought letters releasing you from


your oath, either speak or take the consequences.' Then


the archbishop said: 'I am not a traitor, nor will I


show you any letters.' They laid hands on him there


before the very altar. By violence they dragged him,


unwilling and resisting, but not fighting back, out of


the church. As soon as he was past the threshold he


excommunicated by name those who had laid hands on


him, who were present and hearing him and still holding


him. He refused a horse offered him, so that he might


ride with them to the castle, because it was the property


of excommunicated men. Forgetful of all mercy, with


their hands they dragged him, on foot and carrying his


cross, through the mud of the streets into the castle.


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1 Matthew of Clare, who was married to Longchamp's sister, Richeut. De Vita Gulf., pp. 388, 390


2 Juvenal, iii, 295
cum captuo suo de gratia sua uolebant humanius agere, inferentes illi de melioribus cibis quos sibi parauerant, sed ille, ex hiis que iam tulerat factus constantior, cibos illorum uelud idoliticum respuens, nolebat uiuere nisi de proprio. It rumor per regionem uento uelocior, sequuntur qui dominum suum seuti fuerant a longe referentes et conquerentes ad omnes, archiepiscopum fratem regis sic appulsam, sic tractatum, sic retentum in carcere.

* Rex Francorum preuenerat ad Accaronem et magni habitus est ab indigenis, sed superueniente Ricardo ita delituit et sine nomine factus est, ut solet ad solis ortum suum luna lumen amittere.

* Venit ad regem suum Henricus comes Campanie, cui iam deficiebat quicquid aduexerat uictus aut precii. Postulat subuentionem. Cui rex suus et dominus fecit offerri c marcas Parisiacensium, si tamen sibi uelit oppignerare Campaniam. Ad hec comes: 'Feci, inquir, quod debut; nunc faciam quod cogi oportet. Meo regi militare uolebam, sed me non recipit nisi pro meo. Vado ad eum qui me recipiet, qui paratior est ad dare quam ad accipere.'

* Rex Anglorum Ricardus uenienti ad eum Henrico comiti Campanie dedit iii modios triticri, iii bacones, et iii libras argentii. Totus igitur exercitus alienigenarum, qui ex omni natione qui sub celo est nominis Christiani, iam pridem et ante regum audentum conuenerat ad

After all this, when they wanted in their kindness to act in a more humane manner to their captive, they brought him some better food, which they had prepared for themselves. He, however, made more determined by what he had already borne, spat out their food as that of idolators and would not eat anything except from his own provisions. The story went through the country more quickly than the wind. Those who had followed their lord from afar followed it, reporting and lamenting to everyone that the archbishop, the king's brother, had been thus driven, thus dragged, and thus kept in prison.

* The king of the French had arrived at Acre before Richard and was much thought of by the natives, but when Richard came the king of the French was extinguished and made nameless, even as the moon loses its light at sunrise.

* Henry, count of Champagne, came to his king, for he was already running short of whatever he had brought with him in the way of provisions and money. He asked for help, and his king and lord offered him a hundred marks of the money of Paris, on condition, however, that he pawn Champagne to him. To this the count said: 'I have done what I should; now I will do what necessity forces me to do. I wanted to fight for my king, but he has no use for me except for what is mine. I will go to him who will receive me and who is more ready to give than to take.'

* When Henry, count of Champagne, came to him, Richard, king of the English, gave him 4,000 measures of wheat, 4,000 cured pig-carcasses, and 4,000 pounds of silver. At the news of such a gift, therefore, the whole army of foreigners, from every nation of Christian name under the heavens, who had already come to the siege

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* C millia B

1 Matthew 26: 58; Mark 14: 54; Luke 22: 54. The archbishop's orders to the soldiers may be intended as an echo of St Thomas's injunction to his murderers. See William son of Stephen in Materials, III, 141.

2 In mid-April
obsidionem, ad tante famam donationis Ricardum regem in ducem recepit et dominum. Soli qui dominum suum secuti fuerant Franci resederunt cum suo paupere rege Francorum.

 Archiepiscopus erat in custodia iam tridianus, et cancellarius statim ut sibi casus innotuit omnibus suis illi redditis fecit liberum quaquauersum uellet abire. Scripsit insuper Johanni comiti et omnibus episcopis, cum iuramento assens et conscientiam suam prefatum uirum prescriptas injurias pertulisse. Parum pro fecit excusatio, quia dudum quesita et uotis empta usque tenacius retenta est, que se sponte obtulit aduersus eum occasio. Excommunicat ab omni ecclesia totius regni (in speciale) presumptores tante temeritatis qui in archiepiscopum manus inieciant, in genere auctores et consentientes, ut saltem in generali maledictione cancellarius omnibus inuidiosus involueretur.

* Rex Anglorum, more nescius, tercia die sui adventus in obsidionem extremit fecit et erigi castellum suum ligneum quod in Sicilia factum, Mategrifum nominauerat, et ante lucanum diei quarte stetit machina iuxta moros Accaronis, que sua proceritate sub se positam despiciebat clientatem, erantque desuper sagittariaiam orto sole sine cessatione in Turcos et Tracos mittentes missilia. Petrarje etiam per competencia loca locate crebris iactibus menia diruebant. Hiis grauiores uiri talponarii, sub terra sibi uiam aperientes, murorum fundamenta sub-

before the arrival of the kings, received King Richard as their leader and lord. Only the French who had come with their king sat idle and apart with their paltry king of the French.

The archbishop had already been in custody three days, when the chancellor, as soon as the affair was reported to him, gave all his possessions back to him and set him free to go wheresoever he chose. Moreover, he wrote to Count John and all the bishops, declaring on his oath that this man had suffered all these injuries without his knowledge. The excuse was of little avail, for what had formerly been sought and purchased with promises was [now seized upon and] retained more tenaciously than if by bird-lime, since he, of his own initiative, had furnished his enemies with an accusation against him. Those who had presumed to such temerity and had laid hands on the archbishop were excommunicated individually from every church in the whole realm. The authors of the deed and those who had consented to it were excommunicated in general, so that the chancellor, who was hated by all, might be involved at least in a general curse.

* The king of the English, who would brook no delay, on the third day of his coming to the siege had his wooden castle that had been built in Sicily and was called 'The Griffon-Killer' built and set up. Before dawn on the fourth day the machine stood against the walls of Acre, and because of its great height it overlooked the city beneath it. As soon as the sun rose, the bowmen upon it kept up an unceasing rain of arrows on the Turks and Thracians. The stone-throwers, skilfully placed, broke down the walls by repeated shots. Even more effective than these were the miners, who opened a way for themselves underground and dug under the foundations of
fodiebant. Sed et scali apositis per propugnacula scutarii scrutabantur ingressum. Discurrebat rex ipse per cuneos, hos instruens, hos arguens, hos instimulans, et sic adebat ubique per singulos, ut (sibi) singulariter deberet ascribi quicquid singuli faciebant.

* Rex Francorum etiam ipse non segeter egit, qui et apud turrem urbis que Maledicta dicitur suum qualem potuit faciebat assultum.

* Preerant tunc temporis obsesse ciuitati uiri illustres Carracois et Mestocus, post Salahadinum principes gentilium potentiissimi, qui post certamen dierum plurium, cum per interpretes deditio nem (urbis) promitterent et capitum redemptionem; rex Anglorum uolebat uiribus uincere desperatos, uolebat et uictos pro redemptione corporum capita soluere, sed agente rege Francorum indulta est eis tantum uita cum indemnitate membrorum, si post deditio nem ciuitatis et dationem omnium que possidebant, crux Dominica redderetur.

* Erant omnes in Accarone gentiles pugnatores lectissimi, et erant numero nouem milia. Quorum plurimi plurimos aureos deglutientes de uentre faciebant marsupium, quia presci erat quod quicquid apud quemlibet cuiuslibet precii foret offensum, sibi si reniteretur in crucem, et uictoribus cederet in rapinam. Egressi igitur uniueri coram regibus penitus inermes et extra cutem sine pecunia, traduntur in custodias, et reges, cum signis triumphalibus urbe ingressi, totam sibi et suis dimidio partiti sunt cum supellectili, solam sedem pon-

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1 'When the Christians gutted the dead pagans, they found many bezants in their bodies; and they cut out their gall bladders and put them aside to use as medicine.' Gesta, II., 189. 'Bezant' is here used loosely for gold coins; they were probably dinars.

the walls. Ladders also were placed against the walls, and the troops on the ramparts kept watch for an entry. The king himself ran about through the ranks, ordering, exhorting, and inspiring, and he was thus everywhere beside each man, so that to him alone might be ascribed what each man did.

* Even the king of the French himself did not act slothfully, but he also made as much of an assault as he could on a tower of the city called the Accursed Tower.

* At that time the most illustrious men Karakush and Meshtub, the most powerful princes of the infidels after Saladin, ruled over the besieged city. After a struggle of several days, they promised, through interpreters, to surrender the city and pay ransom. The king of the English wanted to conquer these despairing men by force, and he wanted the vanquished to pay with their heads for the freeing of their bodies. Through the agency of the king of the French, however, they were granted their lives and the safety of their bodies, on condition that after the surrender of the city and of everything they had, the Lord's Cross would be given back.

* All the most excellent and well-born fighting men of the infidels were then in Acre, and they were nine thousand in number. Many of them, by swallowing many gold pieces, made purses of their bellies, for they knew in advance that whatever anyone might have of any value would be counted as an offence and would lead him, if he resisted, to the gallows and be booty for the victors. All of them therefore came out before the kings completely defenceless and with no money outside their skins and were put into safe keeping. The kings entered the city with triumphant banners and divided it with its furnishing in half between themselves and their armies, except only the bishop's seat, which its
bishop received by common consent. The captives also were divided. Meshtub fell by lot to the king of the English, and Karakush, like a drop of cold water, fell into the burning mouth of the thirsty Philip, king of the French.

Count John, sharpening his jaw-teeth against the chancellor, whom he did not love, laid a most grave complaint before each of the bishops and nobles of the realm concerning the agreement to a (sworn) peace that had been broken by the other party and concerning the seizure, shameful to himself, of his brother. The jurors were begged and adjured to stand by their sworn promise and to act quickly lest the situation become worse, so that the man who had broken faith and betrayed his oath might wipe out by a fitting satisfaction the wrong he had done.

The affair, which up till this time had been conducted in the clouds, now proceeded to certain action. The chancellor was summoned by the valid authority of all of his and the count’s mediators to come to answer the count’s accusation and to submit himself to the law, at Loddon bridge, on 5 October.

The count, with a large part of the nobles of the realm all favouring him, waited for the chancellor at the conference place for two days. On the third day he sent some of his followers ahead of him to London, while he still waited (at the conference place) to see if the man for whom he was waiting would dare or deign to come. The chancellor, fearing the count and distrusting the judges, delayed for two days to go to the conference place. On the third day (for ‘as each man’s conscience is, so within the breast it conceives its hopes and fears as facts,’) between hope and fear, he started to go to the conference. Behold! Henry Biset, a man faithful to
him, who had seen those of the count's household who had been sent ahead going by 'at full gallop, spurring heavily,' came to the chancellor and swore that the count had gone armed on the day before to seize London. Who on that day would not accept as Gospel truth whatever he might say, unaware that he was lying? But he did not lie, for he thought that what he said was true. The chancellor, deceived, as any man would be, by this turn of affairs, had all the soldiers who were with him arm immediately, and, thinking that he was following directly after the count, he reached the city ahead of him. Because the count had not yet arrived, he asked the citizens to shut the gates to the count when he arrived, but they refused and called the chancellor a disturber of the land and a traitor.

The archbishop of York, however, with an eye to the future, had stayed there for several days to see the end of the affair, and assiduously stirred up everyone against the chancellor by complaints and prayers. The chancellor, realizing for the first time that he had been betrayed, fled to the Tower, and the Londoners kept watch by land and by sea lest he escape. When the count learned of his flight, he pursued the chancellor with his forces. The count was received by the citizens, who came out to meet him with lanterns and torches, for he entered the city by night. Nothing was lacking in the salutations of the fawning populace save that parrot-cry, 'Chere Basileos!'

* The duke of Austria, one of the early besiegers of Acre, followed the king of England as an equal into the possession of his share of the city. With his banner carried before him, he appeared to claim for himself a part of the triumph. If not at the order at least with the consent of the offended king, the duke's banner was
ducis in cenum, et in eis contumeliam a derisoribus conculeatum. Dux in regem licet atrociter ardens, quam uindicare non potuit dissimulatii injuriam, et regressus in sue locum obsidionis, in refixam se recepta nocte papilionem, et postquam citissime potuit plenus rancoris renaugirat ad propria.

* Missis ex parte captivorum ad Salahadinum nun-tius pro sui redemptione, cum in redibitionem sancte crucis nulla posset ethnicus supplicatione deflecti, rex Anglorum, uno tantum Mestoco quia fuit illustris ad uitam uendito, omnes suos decapitauit, et erga ipsum Salahadinum se idem uoluntatis habere sine palpatione renuntiavit.

* Marchisius (quidam) de Monte Ferrato, uir lieu-an-nigena, ab antaceis iam annis occupatam Tyrum possiderat, cui rex Francorum omnes suos capitaus uendidit, et nondum parte regionis diadema promisit, sed in hoc casu restitit ei rex Anglorum in faciem. 'Non decet,' inquit, 'tui nominis hominem nonum parta largiri uel promittere, sed et si tue peregrinationis Christus in causa est, cum regionis huius capud urbium de manu hostili Ierosolimam nouissimo tuleris, Widoni Ierosolimorum regi legitimu regnum sine dilatatione suo conditio restitues. Ceterum, si recorderis, Accaronem non optimistu sine parte, unde nec (quod) duorum est debet manus una partii. Ho hoh, pro gutture Dei!' Marchisius, felicis spei vacuius, Tyrum reuertitur, et rex Francorum, qui per marchisium contra inuidiosum suum se guminare gestiat, decreuit in dies, et id ei accessit ad iuge cauterium conscientiae, quod et iixa regis Anglorum

1 See Appendix G.
2 Is. 27: 1
3 Conrad of Montferrat had landed at Tyre in 1187 with a few followers and snatched it from the hands of the Saracens. He was in virtual command of the Christian operations in the Holy Land until the arrival of the English and French kings.

cast into the dirt and trampled upon as an insult to him by his mockers. The duke, though fearfully enraged against the king, concealed the injury that he could not avenge. He returned to the place [he had occupied] at the siege and withdrew that night to his tent, which had already been taken down. Later, as quickly as he could, full of wrath, he sailed back to his own land.

* Messengers were sent to Saladin on the part of the captives to arrange for their ransom, but no entreaty could move the heathen to return the Holy Cross. The king of the English therefore beheaded all his captives, Meshtub alone being allowed to buy his life, because he was illustrious, and he fearlessly sent word to Saladin himself that he would like to do the same to him.

* The marquis of Montferrat, a son of the serpent, had occupied Tyre several years before. The king of the French sold all his living captives to him and promised him the crown of a region not yet won. But in this case the king of the English resisted him to his face. 'It is not fitting', he said, 'for a man of your name to give away or promise things that have not yet been won. If Christ is indeed the reason for your pilgrimage, when you at last take Jerusalem, the chief city of this country, from the enemy's hand, you will, without delay or conditions, turn the kingdom over to Guy, the lawful king of Jerusalem. Furthermore, you may remember, you did not take Acre without help. One hand, therefore, should not parcel out what belongs to two. Ho, ho, by God's throat!' The marquis, deprived of this happy hope, went back to Tyre. The king of the French, who had been looking forward with delight to doubling his power, by means of the marquis, against his rival, went into a decline from that day. It became a perpetual torment to his conscience that a camp-follower of the
splendidius uiueret quam pincerna Francorum. Post
dies aliquot conficte sunt in cubiculo regis Francorum
littere, quibus, uelud a magnatibus suis ex Francia
missis, rex reuocaretur in Franciam. Causa supponitur
que plus debeat quam a iusta uideri: unigenitum suum
post diutinam ualuitudinem iam desperatum a medicis,
Franciam desolam si perdito pignore pater, quod
contingere poterat, periet in terra aliena.\footnote{Habito
igitur super his inter reges crebro colloquio, cum esset
uterque magnus et non possent habitare communiter,
Abraham remanente, recessit ab eo Loth.\footnote{Prestitit
etiam rex Francorum per primates suos regi Anglicum
iuratorium cautio nem pro sibi et suis qualibet indemni-
tate severanda donec in regnum suum reuerteretur in
pace.}

Crastino\footnote{Crisis} comes et uniuersi magnates regni conue-
erunt in ecclesiam sancti Pauli, et auditia est prima
omnia querela Eboracensis archiepiscopi.

Post illam admissionem est quis(quis) habebat aliquid in
eum. Summam et diligentem audientiam habuerunt
accusatores absentis, et precipue ille in uerbis plurimus
Hugo Couentreensis episcopus, pridie familiarissimus eius,
qui quia pessima pestis est familiaris inimicus, peius
omnibus et perseverius in familiarem elogius, non prius
destitit donec diceretur ab omnibus: "Nolumus hunc
regnare super nos."\footnote{Tota itaque concio sine uilla dilatatione constituerunt
Iohannem comitem fratrem regis summum rectorem
\footnote{The remainder of this paragraph, which has been cut away by the binder, is
supplied from B. It is supplied in a modern hand in A.}
\footnote{Philip's son, Louis, did not die at this time, but his illness furnished
Philip with an excuse for going back to France. His main reason for re-
turning, apart from the fact that he was not in the least interested in the
Crusade, was to assert his claim to Artois and Vermandois, since their ruler,
Philip of Flanders, had died at the siege of Acre.}

king of the English lived more splendidly than the butler
of the king of the French. After a few days letters
were devised in the chamber of the king of the French to
look as though they had been sent by his nobles from
France, by which the king was recalled to France. A
reason was given that would appear to be more than
sufficient: his only son [was suffering from] a long illness
that the physicians had already given up as hopeless,
and France would be desolate if, after having lost his
son, the father, as might well happen, were to perish in a
foreign land.\footnote{The kings held frequent conversations on
these matters. Since each was a great man and they
could not live together, Abraham remained and Lot
went away from him.} The king of the French also
swore an oath to the king of the English, with his leading
men as sureties, that he would leave him and all his men
unharmed till he returned to his kingdom in peace.

On the next day\footnote{On 8 October. See De Vita Golp., pp. 405-9; Diceto, II, 99-100;
and Poole, pp. 357-9.} the count and all the nobles of the
realm met in St Paul's Church. The accusation of the
archbishop of York was heard first of all.

After it, anyone was admitted who had anything
against the chancellor. The accusers of the absent man
had a full and careful hearing, and especially that wordy
Hugh, bishop of Coventry, but yesterday his most
familiar friend. Since the worst plague is an enemy who
was once a friend, he spoke the most severely and gravely
of all against his intimate friend and did not cease till
everyone said: 'We will not have this man to reign
over us!'\footnote{Luke 19:14}
totius regni, et (ut) omnia castella quibus uellet custodienda traderet statuentes, tria tantum (de minus ualentibus) ab inuicem plurimum distantia nominetenus iam cancellario reliquerunt. Iustitiarius supremus post comitem, iustitiarii errantes, custodes scaccarii, castrorum constabularii, omnes noui de nouo instituuntur. Inter alios tunc receptores et episcopus Wintoniensis quae sibi cancellarius tulerat in integrum recept custodias, et dominus Dunelmensis recept comitatum Northumbrie.

* Concessa est ipsa die et instituta comitia Londoniensium, in quam uniuersi (regn) magnates et ipsi etiam ipsius provincie episcopi iurare coguntur. Nunc primum in inulta sibi coniuratione regno regem deesse cognouit Londonia, quam nec rex ipse Ricardus nec predecessor et pater eius Henricus pro mille milibus marcis1 argenti fieri permisset. Quanta quippe mala ex coniuratione proiueniant, ex ipsa poterit diffinitione perpendi, que talis est: Communia est tumor plebis, timor regni, tepor sacerdotii.2

Dies ille nefastus declinabat ad usesperam, et quatuor episcopi et totidem comites, ex parte conscientis missi ad cancellarium, exposuerunt illi ad litteram totius acta dici. Inhorruit ille ad inopinatam audaciam presumptorum, et deficiente spiritu decidit in terram, ita exanguis ut ex ore spumas emitteret. Iniecta sibi aqua frigida in faciem, reuxit, et erectus in pedes, toruo nuntios perstrinxit lumine, dicens: **"Vna salus uictis, nullam

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1 A mark, a unit of accounting, not an actual coin, was two-thirds of a pound, 1s. 4d. The only coin minted in England at this time was the silver penny.


* Dunelmensis (et—Northumbrie is an addition, by the original scribe)
sperare salutem'. Vici stis et uinctis incautum. Si me Dominus Deus dominum meum regem inter duos oculos uideret dederit, dies ista male uobis illuxit, certi estote. Quantum in uobis est, comiti iam dedisti quic- quid regis erat in regno. Dicite ei, uuii adhuc Priamus. Vos qui uestri (u)uentis adhuc regis immemores alterum uobis elegiste in dominum, dicite illi domino uestro quoniam totum ibit alter quam existimat. Castella non dedam; sigillum non resignabo.' Regresi ab eo ueniti, retulerunt comiti quod acceperant, qui precepit artius arcem obsideri.

Cancellarius ad maiorem partem noctis—quia qui 'non intendit animum studiis et rebus honestis imuidia uel amore uigil torquebitur'—erat insonpnis, et eum interim sui plus (uel non minus) torquebant quam conscientia, rogantes cum lacrimis, petebat eum proueluii, ut necessitate cederet et ne contra torrentem brachia tenderet. Emollius ille ferro durior ad geminosa consilia circumventium; iterum et iterum examinatus pre tristitia, ad ultimum uix aduexit fieri, quod omni destitutus auxilio facere cogebatur. Vnus ex fratribus eius et tres cum eo non ignobiles permiserit, non nisi, nutauerauert ipse hora noctis comiti cancellariiium quo- cumque non refert animo quicquid prouisum est pati et agere paratum. Tollat moras, quia 'semper ncuuit differre passis.' In crastino fieret, ne talis se uentus obueret, ut differretur in annum. Reuertuntur isti

to expect no safety.' You have vanquished and fettered me when I was unaware. If the Lord God lets me see my lord the king with my two eyes, this day will bring woe to you, you may be sure. In so far as you can, you have already given the count whatever was the king's in the realm. Tell him that Priam is still alive. You who have forgotten your still living king and have chosen another to be your lord, you tell that lord of yours that everything will turn out differently from what he thinks. The castles I will not give up; the seal I will not resign.' The messengers left him and reported what had happened to the count, who ordered the Tower to be more closely besieged.

The chancellor was sleepless for the greater part of the night, for the man who 'does not turn his mind to study and to honest matters will be racked to sleepless-ness by envy or by love.' In the meantime his followers racked him more (or not less) than his con-science, begging him with tears, prostrate at his feet, to give way to necessity and not to try to swim against the current.' He, harder than iron, was softened by the tearful counsel of those weeping around him. Fainting again and again from sorrow, at last he reluctantly con-sented that those things be done that he, helpless as he was, was being forced to do. He did not send but, rather, permitted one of his brothers and three men, not ignoble, with him, to announce to the count at that same hour of the night that the chancellor, no matter in what frame of mind, was ready to suffer and to do what had been provided. Let delay be removed, they urged, for 'it was always harmful to put things off when they were ready.' Let it be done on the next day, lest the wind so change that it might have to be put off for a year. They returned to the Tower, and before daybreak the
in arcem, et nota fecit ante diem ista fieri comes sibi consentientibus.

"Oceanum" interea nascens Aurora reliquid, et
comes cum tota cohorte sua exuit in planitiem quod est extra Londoniam ad orientem, orto iam sole.


"Semper ego auditor tantum nunquam ne repomam? Ante omnia noueritis singuli et uniueri quod nullius rei rerum me sentio, quare os alcius uestrum count notified his party that these things would be done.

"Meanwhile the new-born Aurora left the ocean," and the count with all his party went out to a level place outside London to the east, immediately after sunrise.

The chancellor, too, went there, but not so early as his adversaries. The great men were in the centre; around them was a circle of citizens, and the rabble, estimated at 10,000 men, was looking on from the fringe. First the bishop of Coventry came up to the chancellor and repeated each of the accusations of the previous day, always adding something of his own. 'It is', he said, 'neither fitting nor endurable that the knavery of one such man should cause so many noble and honourable men to come together from such distant parts for nothing. And because it is better to suffer once than for ever, I will bring all these things to a close with few words. It does not please us, because it does not suit us, that you should rule any longer in the realm. You will be content with your bishopric, with the three castles we have allowed you, and with the shadow of a great name. You will give dependable hostages that you will surrender all the rest of the castles and that you will not stir up troubles or excite tumults, and (afterwards) you may freely go wherever you will.' Many people said many things about these matters, but no-one opposed them. Only (the lord bishop) of Winchester, although he was more eloquent than most, kept silent all the time. At last the chancellor, when with difficulty he got permission to speak, said:

"Am I always to be only a listener, and shall I never answer?" Before all else, let each and every one of you know that I do not consider myself guilty of anything that should make me fear the verdict of any of

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1 Oceanum supplied from B; illegible in A
2 exuit supplied from B; illegible in A
3 Virgil, Aen., iv, 129
4 Lucan, i, 135
5 Juvenal, i, 1
The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes

52

THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZES

52

You. I declare that the archbishop of York was seized without my knowledge or consent, and if you will hear it I will prove it either in the civil or in the ecclesiastical courts. If I have done anything concerning the king’s escheats and the women in his gift, 1 Geoffrey son of Peter, William Briwere, and Hugh Bardolf, whom I had as advisers by the king’s appointment, will give satisfaction for me, if they are allowed to speak.

‘I am ready to give an account to the last farthing as to why and for what I have spent the king’s money. Although in this matter I fear the king more than I do you, I shall not refuse to give hostages for surrendering the castles, for I must submit to force. 2 I do not relinquish the title that you cannot take away and the reputation that I shall still have. Finally I say, so that you may all know, that I do not lay down any of the duties given me by the king. You, being many, have beset one man. You are stronger than I, and I, the king’s chancellor and justiciar of the realm, judged contrary to all law, give way to stronger men because it is necessary.’

The sun, sinking in the west, put an end to the allegations of the parties. (Two) brothers of the former chancellor and a certain third person, who had shared his secrets as his chamberlain, were received as hostages.

The keys of the Tower of London having been surrendered, the council was dissolved on 10 October.

The chancellor went to Dover, which was one of the three castles of which mention has been made, and the count turned over all the fortified places of the land, which had been surrendered to him, to whomever he pleased and most trusted.

* The king of the French sailed (or went back) home

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* Rex Francorum, cum paucis renaugis (uel re-

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patrians) ab Accarone, robur sui exercitus ad nichil agendum reliquit in loco, cui duces dedit Beluacensem episcopum et ducem Burgundiae.¹

* Rex Anglie, uocatis ad se Francorum ducibus, in primis ipsam Ierosolimam statuit committer expetendum, sed dissuasione Francorum corda utriusque infregit et infringiatur exercitus, et regem militam destitutum a proposita metropolis perusionem retinuit. Rex, ad* (ista turbatus) sed non desperatus, iam ab illo dic suum a Franci secreuit exercitum, et ad expugnanda castra circa maris oram brachia porrigens, quicquid sibi munitionis obstitit a Tiro usque ad Ascalonem, post dira bella et alta uulnerea, tamen⁵ obtinuit. Tyrum uero, quia de sue partis parto non erat, non est dignatus adire.²

* Mittuntur continuo et a dampnato et a dampnatoribus nuntii ad ipsum regem in terram promissionis, quiue pro parte sua ad accusandum uel excusandum sufficienter instructi.

* Nominatio his cancellarius ex perdite potestatis et presentis sui status recordatione confusus, inibitionem transfretationis (dum) modis omnibus molitur eludere, non uniformiter nec semel tantum illusus est.

* Taceo quod et in habitu monachi et in muliebri ueste reprehensus fuerit et retentus, quia multum et nimis est meminisse quam inestimabilem supellectilem, quam multiplices gazas sibi, demum in Flandriam ap-

from Acre with a small force and left the flower of his army there to do nothing, under the command of the bishop of Beauvais and the duke of Burgundy.¹

* The king of England summoned the leaders of the French and at first declared that they should set out together for Jerusalem itself. The dissuasion of the French, however, weakened and cooled off the hearts of both armies and restrained the king, thus deprived of an army, from the proposed expedition to the city. The king was angered and disturbed by this, but he did not despair. From that day he separated his army from the French and employed his arms in storming the forts along the sea-coast. He won every fortified place that stood in his way from Tyre to Ascalon, not, however, without severe battles and heavy losses. He did not deign to go to Tyre because it had not been allotted to his share.²

* Messengers were sent immediately, both by the condemned man and by those who had condemned him, to the king himself in the Promised Land, and they were adequately instructed either to accuse or to excuse.

* The chancellor in name only, disturbed by the thought of his lost power and his present condition, tried in every way to get round the prohibition against his crossing the Channel, and in a variety of ways and more than once he made a laughing-stock of himself.

* I shall not mention that he was caught and held both in a monk's habit and in woman's clothing, but it is well remembered what vast stores of goods and what enormous treasures the Flemings took from him when he

¹ The strategy agreed upon at a council on 20 August was to regain the coast before penetrating inland to Jerusalem. The united armies left Acre on 25 August. After the victory at Arsuf on 7 September, they reached Joppa, which they intended to use as a base for their assault on Jerusalem, on 10 September. See Norgate, pp. 176-92.

Westmonasterienses monachi, qui ante dies istos tam magni cordis exsisterant ut pro mori sua facta non inicient, ex quo uiderunt tempus alterum, ctiam ipsi alterati cum tempore, quicquid cum cancellario de fratre suo pepigerant retro dorum ponentes, priorem domus sue in abbatem (conuientia) comitis elegerunt, qui et benedictionem et baculum sine dilatatione percepit ab episcopo Londoniens. Frater cancellarii, qui de condito debuerat eligi in

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1 See the description of the chancellor, dressed as a woman, and the adventures that befell him on the shore at Dover, De Vita Galli, pp. 410-12. He reached Flanders on 29 October.
2 William Postard, elected on 9 October (Diceto, II, 100)
ment should have been elected abbot, seeing the convent acting contrary to its agreement, went away in confusion with his self-esteem diminished. He took with him (however) the letter of warranty after making an appeal against the (second) election, made before legitimate witnesses, lest anything should be done contrary to the promotion that had been assured him.

The monks of Muchelney threw out of their house the man whom they had been forced to receive, their—
I know not—neither abbott-elect nor abbot, after the example of the monks of Westminster, but not, however, for a similar reason. They threw the coverings of his bed out after him and exposed him, heaped with insults, to the four winds off the island.

The archbishop of Rouen, having been appointed chief justice of the realm and supreme in affairs by the count, summoned the clergy and people to Canterbury and set about electing an archbishop, as the king himself had ordered. The bishops of London and Winchester, however, were not present, being detained on the king's business in London. There arose amongst the bishops who were present a controversy as to which of them appeared to be of the highest rank, to whom the first voice in the election should belong, since the two aforesaid, who were of the highest rank, were not present. The prior of Canterbury loosed the knot of the difficulty by making them all equal in electing the pontiff. He made a procession in public with his monks, and in the presence of the whole church they elected as archbishop Reginald, bishop of Bath, from amongst the secular clergy.

When the solemnities at Canterbury that are usually performed for an archbishop-elect had been completed, Reginald, archbishop-elect of Canterbury, got ready to
tuariam solemnitatis que fieri solent circa electos, uenit disponere Bathoniensi ecclesie quam multum diligebat, magis ab ea dilectus. Furtur etiam quod de eligendo et sibi subrogando Saurarico (Northhamtone) archidiacono, prioris et conuentus impetravit assensum et perceiverit cautionem. Vnde reuertens, egrotavit in itinere, et accubuit eger nimiris apud manerium suum de Dokemeresfeld. Quicquid uidens sibi nichil uicinium esse quam mortem, suscepit habitum monachi per manus Walteri prioris sui tunc secum morantis, et accipiens huc locutus est:

‘Deus noluit me esse archiepiscopum, et ego nolo. Deus uoluit me esse monacum, et ego uolo.’

(Litteras etiam regis ad iustitiarios de concessa Saurarico diocesi ad quamcumque foret electus canonice, in extremis agens dedit priori Batonic, ut huius auctoritate instrumenti citius promoueretur.) Omnibus deinde que ad fidem spectant et penitentiam deuote et sana mente peractis, quieuit in Domino vii kalendas Ianuarii.

(Epitaphium) b

Dum Reginaldus erat, bene seque suoque regebat.
Nemo plus querat; quicquid docuit faciebat.
Sancti Swithuni nisi pratum preripuisset,
Hunc de communi mors tam cito non rapuisset.
Sed quia penituit, minuit mors passa reatum.
Fecit quod potuit; se dedit ad monacatum.

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a B adds attulit. *This sentence is added at the side of the epitaph in A.*

b Epitaphium B: om. A

set out for Rome for his pallium, if the Fates spared him. He went to settle the affairs of the church of Bath, which he dearly loved and by whom he was even more dearly loved. Concerning the matter of electing his successor, it is said that he begged the assent of the prior and the convent for Savaric, archdeacon of Northampton, and received their promise. On his way back he fell ill on the road and took to his bed, very ill indeed, at his manor of Dogmersfield. When he saw that nothing was nearer to him than death, he received the monk’s habit at the hands of Walter, his prior, who was staying with him at the time. Accepting the habit, he said:

‘God did not want me to be archbishop, and I do not want to be. God wanted me to be a monk, and I want to be one.’

(He received the king’s letter to the justiciars, granting Savaric whatever diocese he might be canonically elected to. In his last moments he gave it to the prior of Bath, so that by the authority of that instrument Savaric might be promoted the more quickly.) Having done everything, then, that pertains to faith and penance with a devout and clear mind, he rested in the Lord on 26 December.

Epitaph

Whilst Reginald lived, he ruled himself and his subjects well. Let no one seek for more; whatever he taught he did. If he had not snatched away St Swithun’s field, Death would not have snatched him away from the community so quickly. But, because he was penitent, the death he suffered lessened his guilt. He did what he could; he embraced the monastic life.

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1 See Reginald’s letter from his death-bed to the monks of Canterbury, *Epp. Cantuari.,* p. 353. After his death, Longchamp confiscated the revenues of the see of Canterbury (*Gesta, II, 286*).
Walterus prior Bathonis et suos sine clero\(^1\) consentu cler巩erunt sib\(\) in futurum episcopum Sauricum archidiaconum Northamptonie absentem et adhuc casum cognati pontificis ignorantem, et licet clerus reniteretur optinuerunt.

\(^a\) Duo legati a latere summi pontificis directi in Galliam, instictu, ut furtur, regis Francorum sed occulto, uenero Giosorum uisitatuir Normanniam quam regni Francorum partem precipuam fuisse didicerant, quos quia\(^*\) castri constabularius et senescalus Neustrie non admiserunt, hac se rationis umbra tuentes, quod non nisi faucente fundi domino uel presente debeat ciusuquam provincie (feri) uisitatio. Hoc specialiter pruilegio omnes reges Anglorum et Ricardum precipue ab apostolica sede donatos.

\(^*\) Nichil egi quod legatos uera uel uerisimilis allegatio; creu et intumui, sed contra intinimds 'dilis euam potestas'.\(^2\)

\(^*\) Contempta recollitur Romane maiestatis autoritas. Prsicu{\textsuperscript{c}}unt 'ampullas et sequipedalia uerba'.\(^3\) Multam in resistentes multa acerbitate minantium, et tamen quia non habeant placitare cum pueris, clausit contra eos castri foribus, sutterent deforis. Sed non defuit summ repulsis solutium. Quo quo non potenter personaliter accedere processerunt potentialiter. Castellamum Giosorit et senescallum Neustrie presentes excommunicauerunt ex nomine, et universum Neustriam ab universal ritu eccle-

\(^*\) Although both MSS read quia, quidem would probably make better sense.

\(^1\) i.e. the chapter of Wells, made up of secular canons, who shared with the monks of Bath the right of electing the bishop. John of Tours, who became bishop of Wells in 1060, moved his seat to Bath, where there was already an abbey of black monks, and took over the establishment. Thus the dioceses had lost forth two chapters.

\(^2\) Juvenal, iv, 71

\(^3\) Hocaece, Ars Pari, i, 97
siastici suspenderunt ministerio. Oportuit deferri potentie. Siluit ecclesia continuo et continue per trium septimanarum spatium, donec inuocato summo pontifice remissa fuit et in nominatos sententia et in Neustria lata suspensio. Redditus est liber libertatis (Neustria) et uxor leticie, et legatis inibitin est portare pedes in Neustriam.

* Mº cº xçº iiº,

Philippus rex Francorum, relictó sodali suo Ricardo rege Anglorum in terra Ierosolimitana inter inimicos crucis Christi, nec copia sancte crucis habita, nec sepulcri, recursus est in Franciam.¹

* Cancellarius adiit regem Francorum et de sublatis sibi in Flandria facultatibus coram ipso (querelam) depositus, sed nichil ibi amplius habuit, 'quam quod ridiculos homines fecit'.²

Godefridus Wintoniensis episcopus restituit ecclesie sue magnam partem tesauri quem, ut premissum est, appruntauerat, vº kalendas Februarii.

* Festivitas Purificationis sancte Marie celebrata est in ipsa dominica Septuagesima apud Wintoniam. Dominica uero nichil dominicum habuit preter memoriam ad uesperas et matutinos et missam matutinam.³

Regina Alienor de Neustria transfretavit in Angliam et appulit apud Portesme, iiiº idus Februarii.

Vna plena hidata terre apud mansam que dicitur Morsted de uillanagio de Gilicumba tradita est cuidam ecclesiastical rite. Power had to be given in to; the church was silent immediately and completely for the space of three weeks. When they appealed to the supreme pontiff, both the sentence against the designated men and the suspension laid on Normandy were removed. The book of freedom and the voice of joy were restored (to Normandy), and the legates were forbidden to set foot in Normandy.

* In 1192,

Philip, king of the French, left his companion Richard, king of the English, in the land of Jerusalem amongst the enemies of the Cross of Christ and returned to France without having had sight of the Holy Cross or of the Sepulchre.¹

* The chancellor went to the king of the French and laid a complaint before him concerning the riches that had been taken away from him in Flanders, but he got nothing more there 'than that he made men ridiculous'.²

Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, returned to his church, on 28 January, a great part of the treasure that he had borrowed, as is told above.

* The feast of the Purification of St Mary was celebrated on Septuagesima Sunday itself at Winchester. The Sunday offices, however, had nothing of the Sunday except the commemoration at vespers and lauds and the morrow-Mass.³

Queen Eleanor crossed over from Normandy to England and landed at Portsmouth on 11 February.

A full hide of land near the manor called Morstead, of the lands held by villein tenure at Chilcomb, was nocturnae. For the monastic usage prevailing in England around this time, see The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc, ed. David Knowles (Nelson's Medieval Texts, 1951). On pp. 16-17 the ceremonies of Candlemas and of Septuagesima Sunday are described.
ciui Wintonie, nomine Pentecoste, tenenda xx annis pro annuo et libero servitio xx solidorium sine consentia conuersa.1

Rex Francorum totis diebus et noctibus fabricari fecit omne genus armorum per uniuersum regnum suum, et ciuitates et castra munuit, ut putabatur in preparationem pugne adversus regem Anglorum, si de peregrinatione reverteretur. Quibus in terris Anglorum regis cognitis, constabularii eius in Normannia, et Cino-
mannia, et Anegaulia et Turonia, et Britania, et Pic-
tania, et Vasconia, etiam ipse quieor id locorum muniri poterat omibus modis munierunt. Sed et filius regis
Nauturum in iritiationem Francorum prouinciam circa
Teloam depopulatus est.

Quidam prepositus regis Francorum, vicens maior
fieri patribus suis, in confino Neustrie et Francie, ubi
nuqua minuvi fierat, castellum extruxit, quod max
num edificabatur Normanni in impetu naturalis furoris
sui a fundamentis eruenter, et ipsum prefectum frustatim
laniaeuerunt.

* Matrona merito memoranda multotiens, regina
Aienor, appendentia quadem sue doti tuguria infra
Ellienem dioecesin usitatuit. Cui usurant obitum ex
omnibus uicis et uillulis quacunque transibat uiri cum
mulieribus et paruis, non omnibus extreme conditionis,
populus lacrimans et lacrimabilis, uidi pedes, inloti
uestes, inculti capillos. Loquuntur lacrimis, quibus pre
dolore uelba defectionar, nec erat opus interprete, cum
plus quam uolebant dicere patenti pagina legeretur.
Humana corpora passim per agros inhumata lacerabant,

1 A Pentecost is listed in the Pipe Rolls as supervising the work on
Winchester Castle at this time (P.R. 2 R. I. p. 137, and 3 R. I. p. 83).
bishop had deprived them of burial. When she learned the cause of such suffering, the queen took pity on the misery of the living because of their dead, for she was very merciful. Immediately dropping her own affairs and looking after the concerns of others, she went to London. She requested, indeed commanded, the archbishop of Rouen that the confiscated revenues of the bishop be repaid to the bishop and that the same bishop, in the name of the chancellor, be proclaimed throughout the province of Rouen as freed from the excommunication that had been pronounced upon him. And who would be so savage or cruel that this woman could not bend him to her wishes? She forgot nothing and sent word over to Normandy to the bishop of Ely that his public office and private affairs in England had been restored to him as she had requested, and she forced him to revoke the sentence he had laid upon the officers of the Exchequer. Thus through the queen’s mediation the open enmity between the warring parties was laid to rest, but, unless she were to shatter the hearts of both parties, the habits of thought contracted through an old hatred could not be changed.

Count John sent messengers to Southampton and ordered that a ship be made ready for him immediately, so that he might go over, as it was thought, to the king of the French. His mother, however, fearing that the light-minded youth might be going to attempt something, by the counsels of the French, against his lord and brother, with an anxious mind tried in every way she could to prevent her son’s proposed journey. Her maternal heart was moved and pained when she called to mind the condition of her older sons and the premature deaths of both of them because of their sins.

With all her strength she wanted to make sure that
liberorum fide seruata, felicius mater in fata concederet quam patrem illorum contigit precessisse. Conuocatis itaque uniuersis maioribus regni primo apud Windlesoram, secundo apud Oxoniam, tertio apud Londoniam, quarto apud Wintoniam, uix propriis lacrimis et magnatum precibus potuit optimere ut non trans fretaret ad tempus. Comes igitur propose de profectionis frustratus effectu, fecit istac quod potuit, et (a) constabularis regis de Windlesora et Walingfod ad se secreto uocatis castella suscepit, et recepta suis iuratis sibi custodienda delegavit.

Mandato Rotomagensis archiepiscopi conuenerunt columpne ecclesie, legum librarii, apud Londoniam, inter regni negotia, ut sepius, de aliquo aut nichilo locuturi. Omnium erat una voluntas: conuenire comitem Ioannes de presumptione castellorum. Sed quia se sing[u]lli sibi inuicem non credebant, quisque sibi, quia alterum metuens, uicario potius quam proprio uolebat ore proferri questionem.

Ad hoc igitur omnibus et hoc animo uerba uentilantibus, Eacus unus abest, ad quem simul uniuersi conuennerant conuiciendum. Sed et quem simul inter agendum de olim cancellario casualiter tractaretur, ‘Ecce iterum Crispinus’ adest. Ingrediuntur auditorium nuntii cancellarii iam iterum legati, salutantes reginam que presens aderat, et reliquis uniueros quos simul forte

faith would be kept between her youngest sons, at least, so that their mother might die more happily than had their father, who had gone before them. All the great men of the realm were called together, therefore, first at Windsor, secondly at Oxford, thirdly at London, and fourthly at Winchester. Through her own tears and the prayers of the nobles she was with difficulty able to obtain a promise that he would not cross over for the time being. The count, when he was prevented from making his intended journey, did what he could. He secretly summoned the king’s constables of Windsor and Wallingford and took possession of those castles. When he had received them he turned them over to men sworn to him, to keep for him.

At the order of the archbishop of Rouen, the pillars of the Church and the scribes of the law gathered at London to discuss, as is so often the case, little or nothing concerning the affairs of the realm. All were of one mind: to summon Count John to account for taking over the castles. But, because each one in turn did not believe that it was his affair, each one, fearing the count, wanted the question to be put by another’s mouth rather than by his own.

Everyone aired his views, therefore, to this purpose and in this spirit. Only Aeacus was not there, who everyone agreed should be present. But even while, among the matters to be attended to, the former chancellor, as it happened, was being discussed, behold! Crispinus was once more present.2 Messengers of the chancellor, now legate once more,3 came before the assembly and saluted the queen, who was present, and all the others, whom they found, as it happened, all to-

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1 A son of Jupiter by Europa and grandfather of Achilles and Ajax. Together with Minos and Rhadamantus, he was one of the judges in Hades. cf. Horace, Carm., ii, 13, 22-3: ‘Quam pene ... iudicantem uidimus Aeacum’.
2 Juvenal, iv, 1. Crispinus, a former slave, rose to riches and honour under Nero and was also a favourite of Domitian. This allusion would not be lost on Longchamp’s enemies, who would no doubt recall the earlier description in Juvenal, i, 97-9:

‘Crispinus, Tyrias humero reuocante laceras,
Ventilet aetiam digitis sudantibus aurum,
Nec suferre quat maioris pondera gemmæ’.

3 Pope Celestine III had reappointed Longchamp as papal legate before Midsummer 1191 (Gesta, II, 207).
offenderant, ex parte domini sui, in Angliam pridie apud Duram apulit feliciter. Ipsum foer ministerium legationis sue executurum noesimus mandatorum clausa discutit. Diu 'conticere omnes, intentique ora tenebant' \(^1\) nimirum atttoniti. Tandem in utra uenit omnium ut ipsum suppliciter aduocarent in dictatorem et dominum, quem judicarum uenerant ut periurum et transgressorem in dominum. Ad comitem laque, tunc moramem apud Wallingford et ridentem illorum conventriculis, mittitur multo ex magnatibus, et multiformes, quorum fuerit unus Echion.\(^2\) Humiliter et sine ruga rogant ut festinet 'occursare capro'. 'Domine,' inquit, \"cornu ferit ille, cauto!\"\(^3\)

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Comes non multum mutat diu se reuerenter rogaris sustinuit, tandemque delato sibi satiatus honore, cum noesimus precatoribus, quos plus dilacerat, uenti Londoniam respondere coacte, quosque contingere, sufficienter instructus. Assurgit et blanditur curia ueniens, etatis et ordinis ordine non servatu, dum qui-cunque prius potest prior occurrit et se cupit ante uideri, uelens placere principi, 'quia principibis placuisse uiris non ultima laus est'.\(^4\) Comedere duces. De castris nulla fit mentio. De cancellario tota fuerit querela et consultatione. Si comitum consulatu, omnes cum proseripere sunt parati. Comitem in consensum modis omnibus emolliere satagent, 'at illa dextra iacebat belua'\(^5\) Comes respondere rogatus brevarium imit. 'Cancellarius iste

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\(^1\) Virgil, Aen. viii, 2.
\(^2\) One of the heroes who sprang up from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus. Perhaps a reference to the bishop of Winchester, to whom the lines in Ov. Met. iii. 594-6. Echion...fratresque sedis quos pedi-que dedicavit, might apply, in view of the fact that he headed the party of tolerant justices that visited Oxfordshire and Berkshire in 1192 (FR 4 Ric. I, pp. 271, 273, 274).
\(^3\) Virgil, Ec. i. 23
\(^4\) Horace, Ep. i. 17, 25
\(^5\) Juvenal, Sat. xxx. On the side, that is, that they did not expect.

The count, not greatly moved, allowed himself to be humbly begged for a long time. At last, satisfied with the honour paid to him, he came to London with the latest suppliants, whom he liked better than the others. He was sufficiently informed to be able to answer to every 'wherefore?' if any questions should happen to be asked. The assembly stood up and made flattering speeches to the newcomer, not observing the order of age and rank. Whoever could first do so ran up first and tried to be seen before the others, wanting to please the prince, for 'to have pleased princes is not the least praise for a man.' The leaders sat down in council. There was no mention of the castles; the whole complaint and consultation was concerning the chancellor. If the count so advised, they were all ready to proscribe him. They were busy trying to persuade the count to that opinion in every way, 'but the beast was to their right.' When the count was begged to reply, he said briefly: 'This chancellor does not in the least fear the


2 The metaphor is from logic. Proposito is the major premise of a syllogism; conclusio, the consequence. I am indebted to Prof. C. N. L. Brooke for this information.
3 Juvenal, i, 43
"Inesperatus adueniam et triumphabo de hostibus meis, et rursus in interdicto tibi, et modo michi non parenti regno meo, mea te faciet victoria ciuem, forsan et hoc elim meminisse iuuabit."

"Quia Wintonia non debuit debita sibi mercede priuari pro seruata, ut (in capite libri) prepositum est, pace Iudeis, Wintonienses Iudei ciuitatis sue Iudaico more studentes honoris, etsi factum forte defuerit, plurimis facti indiciis celebrem sibi famam de martirizato a se in Wintonia puero conferuent. Casus erat huiusmodi. Puerum quendam Christianum artis sutoric scilium Iudeus quidam in familiare familie sue conscierat ministerium. Non ibi continuum residebat ad opus, nec magnum aliquid semel sinebatur explere, ne prouisam sibi cedem probaret cohabitatio, et ut pro modico labore melius ibi quam pro multo alibi remuneratus, domum demonis donis eius et dolis illefactus libentius frequentaret. Fuerat autem Francus genere, pupillus et orphanus, abiecite conditionis et paupertatis extreme. Has huius miseris (in Francia) male miseratus, quidam Iudeus Francigena crebris ei monitis persuasit ut Angliam peteret, terram lacte et melle manantem; Anglos liberales predicauit et dapsiles; ibi nullum qui niteretur ad probitatem pauperem moriturum. Puer promtus, ut naturaliter Francorum est, ad uelle quicquid ululercis, assumpto secum comite quodam coetaneo suo et compatriota, ad peregre proficiscendum precinctus est, nichil in manibus habens preter baculum, nichil in syrtarchia preter subulum. Valedixit Iudeo suo. Cui Iudeus:

1 John had first, as our author states earlier, been forbidden to enter the kingdom for three years. Longchamp chooses to ignore the fact that Richard later gave him permission to return.

2 This speech is a medley of quotations from the following sources: Horace, *Ep.*, i, 1, 7; Ovid, *Fasti*, i, 493; Virgil, *Aen.*, i, 207; Horace, *Ep.*, i, 4, 14; Lucan, i, 279; and Virgil, *Aen.*, i, 203.
friend, who said to him: 'Go forth manfully. May the God of my fathers lead you as I desire.' He put his hands on his head, as if he were a scapegoat, and, after several deep groans and silent prayers, certain already of the victim, he said: 'Be of stout heart; forget your people and your native land, for every country "is a fatherland to the strong man, as the sea is to fishes and as whatever appears in the empty sky is to the bird."'

When you reach England, if you come to London, pass through it quickly, for I do not at all like that city. All sorts of men crowd together there from every country under the heavens. Each race brings its own vices and its own customs to the city. No-one lives in it without falling into some sort of crime. Every quarter of it abounds in grave obscenities. The greater a rascal a man is, the better a man he is accounted. I know whom I am instructing. You have a warmth of character beyond your years, and a coolness of memory; and from these contrary qualities arises a temperateness of reasoning. I fear nothing for you, unless you live with evil companions, for manners are formed by association. Well, be that as it may! You will arrive in London. Behold, I prophesy to you: whatever evil or malicious thing that can be found in any part of the world, you will find in that one city. Do not associate with the crowds of pimps; do not mingle with the throngs in eating-houses; avoid dice and gambling, the theatre and the tavern. You will meet with more braggarts there than in all France; the number of parasites is infinite. Actors, jesters, smooth-skinned lads, Moors, flattering, pretty boys, effemificates, pederasts, singing and dancing girls, quacks, belly-dancers, sorceresses, extortioners, night-wanderers, magicians, mimes, beggars, buffoons: all this tribe fill all the houses. Therefore, if you do not

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\[^a\] Supplied from B. Cut away by the binder and supplied in a modern hand in A. 
\[^b\] Clabrio (which our author declines as though it were the proper name Clabrio, Glabrius), *hairless*; hence a young (beardless) slave

\[^c\] Ovid, Fasti, ii, 493
THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZES

want to dwell with evildoers, do not live in London. I do not speak against learned or religious men, or against Jews; however, because of their living amid evil people, I believe they are less perfect than elsewhere. I do not go to the extent of saying that you should not go to any city whatever, since in my opinion there is nowhere for you to live except in a city; I refer only to which city. If, therefore, you arrive in the neighbourhood of Canterbury or if, indeed, you pass through it, your journey will be wasted. There is a whole collection of men there who have been abandoned by their lately deified leader, I know not whom, who was high priest of the men of Canterbury, who now, through lack of bread and of work, die in the open day in the broad streets. Rochester and Chichester are mere hamlets, and there is no reason why they should be called cities, except for the bishops' seats.

* Oxford scarcely sustains, much less satisfies, her own men. Exeter refreshes both men and beasts with the same provender. Bath, placed or, rather, dumped down in the midst of the valleys, in an exceedingly heavy air and sulphureous vapour, is at the gates of hell. Neither should you choose a seat in the Marches, Worcester, Chester, or Hereford, because of the Welsh, who are prodigal of the lives of others. York is full of Scotsmen, filthy and treacherous creatures scarcely men. The region of Ely sticks perpetually from the surrounding fens. In Durham, Norwich, and Lincoln there are very few people of your sort amongst the powerful, and you will hear almost no-one speaking French. At Bristol there is no-one who is not or has not been a soap-

*Winchester is, of course, the centre of our author's world. Since Winchester, Chester, and Hereford are to the north of Winchester, Richard has the French Jew refer to them as in anglo, 'in the northern parts'.
omnis Francus sapariarios amat ut stercorarios. Post urbes, omne forum, uilla, uel opidum incolas habet rudes et rusticos. Omni insuper tempore pro talibus Cornubienses habeto quales in Francia nosti nostros Flandreses haberi. Ceterum regio ipsa generaliter in rore celi et in pinguedine terre tota beatissima est. In singulis etiam locis * aliquid boni sunt, sed multo minus in omnibus quam in una, Wintonia. Hec est in partibus illis Iudeorum Ierosolima; in hoc sola perpetua pace fruuntur. Hec est scola bene uiuere et ualere uolentium. Hic fiunt homines; hic satis est panis et uini pro nichilo. Sunt in ea tante monachi misericordie et mansuetudinis, clericus consili et libertatis, cives ciuitatis et fidei, femine pulcritudinis et pudicitie, quod parum me retinet quin ego uadam illuc cum talibus Christianis fieri Christianus. Ad istam te dirigo ciuitatem, urbem urbium, matrem b omnium et omnibus meliorem. Vnum est uitium et illud solum, cui de consuetudine nimis indulget. Salua pace litteratorum dixerim et Iudeorum, Wentani mentiuntur ut uigiles. c Nusquam enim sub celo de tam facili tot rumores falsi fabricantur ut ibi; alias per omnia sunt ueraces. Multa haberem adhuc et de meis negotiis tibi dicere, sed ne forte non capias uel oblivisci, literulas has familiaris mei Iudei manibus inseres, credo quia et ab illo aliquando remunerabis.* Scriptura breuis erat Ebraica.

* Iudeus perorauerat, et puer omnia interpretatus in bonum peruenit Wintoniam. d Subula sibi sicut et

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*a b Supplied from B. Cut away by the binder and supplied in a modern hand in A.
b * sed in fabulis faciendis B.
d * Beginning at this point, the lines extend the full width of the page.

68 THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZES

58 THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZES

him and his companion, and, thanks to the Jew's letter, horrible sweetness and listing kindness were their comfort. Wherever these poor lads worked or ate away from each other by day, every night they slept together in the same bed in the same old hut of a poor old woman. Day followed day and month followed month; and for our lad, whom we have so carefully brought thus far, time hastened on, whether he was present or absent. The day of the Adored Cross' came, and the lad, working that day at his Jew's shop, did not appear [that night], however he had been kept out of the way. It was, to be sure, near the Pasch, a holy day of the Jews. His companion, wondering at his absence when he did not return to his bedroom that evening, was terrified that same night by many dreams. When he did not find him after having looked for several days in every corner of the town, in his simplicity he went to the Jew [to ask him] if he had sent his friend anywhere. He was greeted with extraordinary harshness in place of yesterday's kindness. Noticing the change in the Jew's words and looks, he became inflamed against him. Since he was of a sharp voice and wonderful eloquence, he burst into a quarrel, accusing him with loud cries of having done away with his companion. "You son of a dirty whore," he said, "you thief, you traitor, you devil, you have crucified my friend! Alas, why haven't I the strength of a man? I would tear you to pieces with my hands!" The cries of the lad shouting in the room were heard in the streets, and Jews and Christians ran up from all directions. The lad insisted, and, already surer of himself because of the crowd, he addressed those present and began to plead for his companion. "O you men who gather together," he said, "see if there is a grief like unto my grief." 9 This Jew is a devil; this

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7 *Beginning at this point, the lines occupy the body of the page, and the margin carries the text beginning Centesimais episcopan (see below).
8 *V calit chalbaren.
9 *Good Friday, which usually falls, as our author observes, near the Jewish Pasch
10 Lamentations 1:10
man has torn the heart out of my breast; this man has cut the throat of my only friend, and I presume he has eaten him, too. A certain son of the devil, a French Jew—I do not understand or know what it is all about—that Jew gave my companion a fatal letter to this man. He came to this city, led or, rather, misled by him. He often worked for this Jew here, and he was last seen in his house. He had a witness to some of this, for a Christian woman, who, contrary to the canons, took care of some Jewish children in that same house, steadfastly swore that she had seen the lad go down into the Jew's storeroom without returning. The Jew denied the story, and the matter was referred to the judges. The accusers failed: the boy because he was under age; the woman because her being employed by Jews made her infamous. The Jew offered to clear his conscience by oath concerning the infamy. Gold won the judges' favour. Phineas gave it and pleased them, and the matter was dropped.

* The bishop of Chester, who, out of hatred for religious orders, cast the monks out of Coventry, tore down to the very foundations whatever buildings were in the monastery, so that by the altered look of the place all memory of those who had gone before might be taken away from those who came after. But lest the ruins of the walls might sometimes speak of their founder, he began to build with materials found close at hand, and acquired without cost, in an unfinished church in that place. He even provided the wages of the stonemasons and plasterers from the movable goods of the monastery. He selected the two principal manors of the monks for his own use. In order to consume them completely in a methodical fashion, wherever he ate, he had something special, bought with the money from the manors,
sibi presentaretur ad esum, gloriaturo de victoria, ac si de monacorum, quos uitio uicerat, uisceribus uesceretur. Reliquos uero eorum (omnes) redditus in prebendas partius est, quamquam Romane perpetuo aditulatas ecclesie dedit appropriatas quibusdam cardinalibus sedis apostolice, designans eos et eorum in eisdem titulos canonicos successores ecclesie Couentrensis esse canonicos, ut si qua forte de transactis coram summo pontifice fieret retractatio, curiam totam in sue partis defensione faceret proniorem. Alius prebendas aliis contulit, sed nullam ulli quem pro certo non nouerat nullius religionis esse cultorem. Edificauerunt certatim etiam absentes canonici circa ecclesiam ampla et excelsa diuersoria, ad usus forte proprios, si uel semel in uita locum uisitandi causam casus offerret. Nullus ibi ex prebendaris, sicut nec alibi faciunt, religiose resedit, sed pauperibus uicariis ad insultandum Deo modica mercede conductus, pre a foribus palatiorum facientes magalia, sanctum eis chorum, uictosque penates" b et nudos ecclesie parietes crediderunt. Hec est uere uera religio. Hanc omnis imitari et emulari deberet ecclesia. Canonicus seculari ab ecclesia sua quam diu libuerit licebit abesse, et patrimonium Christi ubi et quando et in quascumque voluerit uoluptates absumere. Id tantum prouideant ut audiatur uociferatio frequens in domo Domini. Si ad fines talium pulsauerit aduena, si pauper b clamauerit, respondebit qui pre c foribus habitat, et ipse satis pauper uicarius: "Transite et alibi alimoniam querite, quia dominus domus domi non est." Hec est

offered to him to eat. Thus he gloried in his victory, as if he were being fed from the bellies of the monks whom he had overcome with evil. He divided all the rest of the income from them into prebends, of which he gave some in perpetuity to the Roman Church and assigned them to certain cardinals of the apostolic see, designating them and their canonical successors in those same titles as canons of the Church of Coventry, so that if perchance any complaint of these doings should be made before the supreme pontiff the whole curia would be the more willing to defend his side. Other prebends he bestowed on others, but he gave none to anyone whom he did not know for certain to be no friend of the religious orders. Even the absent canons eagerly built large and splendid lodgings around the church, perhaps for their own use, in case any occasion should arise, even once in their lives, for visiting the place. None of the prebendaries lived a religious life there, as they do not do anywhere else, but some poor vicars were hired for a wretched stipend, as an insult to God. They built huts at the gates of the palaces and believed that "the conquered Penates" c and the bare walls of the church were a holy choir for them. This indeed is the true religious life: this every church should imitate and emulate. The secular canon will be permitted to be absent from his church for as long as he pleases and to squander Christ's patrimony where and when and in whatever pleasures he pleases. Let them see to it merely that a frequent uproar is heard in the Lord's house. If a stranger were to knock at such a man's gates, if a poor man cried out, the one who lived in front of the gates—and he would be the vicar, poor enough himself—would reply: 'Go away and beg for food somewhere else, for the lord of the house is not at home'.

\[ a \text{ pro AB} \quad b \text{ Supplied from B} \quad c \text{ pro AB} \]

\[ 1 \text{ Virgil, } Aen., \text{ viii, 11} \]
illa gloriosa clericorum religio, cuius gratia Cestrensis episcopus monachos suos de Coventria expulit, primus hominum tantum nefas ausus admittere. Causa clericorum irregulariter regularium, scilicet, canonico-rum, ad placitum monacos eliminavit, monacos qui non uiciario sed ore proprio laudabant Dominum, qui habita-bant et ambulabant in domo Domini cum consensu omnibus diebus uite sue, qui preter uictum et uestitum nil terrenum nouerant, quorum panis presto fuit pauperi, quorum porta quolibet tempore uiatori patuit; nec tamen taliter placuerunt episcopo, qui nunquam dilexit monacos uel monacatum. Homo dicacitatis amare, qui et si aliquando alicui parceret, nunquam monacos mordere quieuit. "O offa solida et insorbibilis monacus! (Multa milia maledicum bolus iste strangulavit, fuitque male morientibus pro uiatrico." Si quotiens mordetur et roditur, monacus absorberetur; ante plurima secula (tota) fuisset absorta religio.) Omni loco et tempore siue serio siue ioco loqueretur episcopus, aliqua pars orationis eius erat monacus. Nec cum monacorum suorum saturavit ejectio, sed semper sibi similis postea sicut prius monacum masticabat. Sed qui de monachis non loqui non potuit, ne notam detractoris incurreret si in absentia monacorum carperet monacatum, instituit monacum aliquem in curia sua secum habere manentem, ut presente monaco et audiente iocundior de monachis

\* The two following sentences are written in the body of the page. The remainder of the page is blank except for the crowded margin.

\* Strictly speaking, Bishop Hugh introduced secular canons, not clerks regular (Austin or Black Canons) into Coventry. For the distinction, see Knowles, pp. 199-40. Our author, however, cannot resist the verbal play of clericorum irregulariter regularium, which may be loosely translated as "clerks who call themselves regular, although they live by no rule (regula) at all". In the end, the pope ordered the canons to be ejected and the monks restored. See The Chronicle of Jocelin of Bractelton, ed. H. E. Butler (Nelson's Medieval Texts, 1949), pp. 94-5.
fieret fabulatio. Assumpsit itaque in quasi capellanum
quendam monacum uix adultum, professum tamen
apud Burtunam, quem et ad ludibrium religionis cir-
cumduxit multo tempore. Dolor nimirum! Etiam in
angeli Dei reperitur iniquitas. Monacus sciens et
prudens, diductus ad delusionem, frontem suam fecerat
frontem meretricis, ut monacos carpi monacus non
erubesceret. Heu, quanta uagandi et equitandi libido!
Audite me et expectate paulisper. Videbitis qualiter
equittatoris huius desierit equitatio. Die quadam apud
Couentreiam episcopo super operandos suos stante, suus
monacus sibi collateratus herebat. In quem episcopus
familiariter innixus, 'Nonne,' inquit, 'mi monache, tuo
etiam iudicio decet et expedit ut tante tantus decor
ecclesiae, tam decens edificium, deorum sit potius quam
demoniorum?' Hesitanti monacho in obscuritate uer-
borum, adiecit: 'Ego,' ait, 'clericos meos deos nominio,
monacos demonia'. Moxque a manus dextere digito in
astantes sibi clericos extento, infit: 'Ego dico, dii estis
et filii Excelsi omnes'. Rursusque reuersus in leum
ad monachum intulit: 'Vos autem monachi sicut de-
mones mortemini, et sicut unus et primus de principibus
uestris in infernum cadetis, quia uiiuii diaboli estis. Certe,
si me contingeret pro mortuo monacho celebrare, quod
vaude inuitus facerem, / (** ego corpus eius et animam
non Deo sed diabolo commendarem). / Monacus, qui
in loco monachis ablato monacorum contumeliam non
refellit, quia in tali casu siliuit, perpetuum sibi meruit
imponi silentium. Repente enim lapsi lapsus de fastigio
up stories about monks the more freely. He thus took
as his chaplain, as it were, a certain monk, barely an
adult but nevertheless professed at Burton, whom he
led about with him for a long time, so as to make a
laughing-stock of the religious life. Oh grief beyond
measure! Evil was found even amongst God's angels.
A wise and prudent monk, led into a delusion, made his
brow a whore's brow, and a monk did not blush to
revile monks. Alas, such a love of wandering about and
of riding! Listen to me and wait a while; you will see
in what a way this rider's riding came to an end. One
day at Coventry, when the bishop was standing over
his workmen, his monk stood close to his side. The
bishop, leaning on him in a familiar way, said to him:
'Doesn't it seem fitting and proper to your judgment,
too, O monk o' mine, for a church of such beauty, such
a worthy edifice, to belong to gods rather than to
devils?' When the monk hesitated because of the ob-
scenity of the words, he added: 'I call my clerks gods,
and the monks devils.' Thereupon with the finger of
his right hand pointed at some clerks standing before
him, he said: 'I tell you, you are gods, and you are all
sons of the Most High.' Turning then to the left, he
attacked the monk. 'But you, you monks, will die like
demons and fall into hell like the first of your princes,
because you are devils whilst you are alive. Indeed, if
I should happen to celebrate [Mass] for a dead monk,
which I would do most unwillingly, I would commend
his body and soul not to God but to the devil.' The
monk, who, in a place where there were no other
monks, did not refute the abuse of monks, deserved to
have perpetual silence imposed upon him because he
kept silent in such a case. Surely enough, a stone sud-
denly fell from the gable of the church and knocked the

a. b Supplied from B. Cut away by the binder
diligebat (Walkelinus), quam si omnes dii essent'.
eclesiæ monachum episcopo adherentem excerebravit, episcopo ad maius iudicum incolum reservatum.\(^1\)

Rex\(^2\) Anglorum Ricardus in conquendo regionem circa Jerusalam iam complevit biennium, ita quod de nulla terrarum suarum quicquid se iuuaninis fuerat subsecutum. Nec ipse frater eius unicus et uterinus Johan-nes comes Moretonii, nec iusticiarii eius, nec magnates reliqui quicquam uidi sunt de transmittendis illiuis relictibus sed neque de redditiis illius cogitare. Oratio tanti\(^3\) fiebat sine intermissione ab ecclesia ad Deum pro eo.\(^1\)

Minuatur in dies in Terra Promissionis regis exercitus, et preter (multatios gladiis) multa milia per menses singulos ex nocturni frigoris et diurni ferorior intemperantia nimis proxima moriebantur in populo. Vt uidebatur moriendum ibi fuit omnibus, eligeretur a qualibet utrum inbella an morreretur in bello. Ex adverso, gentilium robur uelhamentur insaniti, quibus ex casu Christianorum creuit audada, quorum certis uicibus recente uillitate reficiebatur exercitus, quibus erat aer natura, locus patria, labor sanitas, parcia medicina. In nostris,\(^4\) et diuerso, fiebat aduersum quod aduersarius ferebat emolumentum. Si quippe nostri uel semel in septemana parcius ueriuerant, septem septimani (postea) minus uelldi redderentur. Epulabatur gens ex Franci- et Anglia promiscua quoniamque contaret, dux pretium durabat, cotidie splendidé, et salus Francorum reuerentia uisque ad nauium. Anglorumque memorabi- bili more seruato perhominis sub ipis etiam lituis et clangore busine debitae deuotione inflabat calidibus

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\(^1\) In Neutrizis II
\(^2\) See Appendix III.
\(^3\) Our author, in resuming his account of Richard’s deeds in the Holy Land, jumps from September 1191 to August 1192. For the event during that interval see ibid., pp. 460-465; Neutrizis, pp. 590-595; Runciman, III, 57-75.
\(^4\) Acts 12: 5

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The chronicle of Richard of Devizes describes how the king of England, who had already spent two years conquering the region around Jerusalem, was undeterred by the harsh conditions. Neither his full brother John, count of Mortain, nor his justiciars, nor the rest of the nobles appeared to think of sending him anything from their revenues or even of his return. Only the Church prayed unceasingly to God for him.

The king’s army grew weaker day by day in the Promised Land, and, in addition to those wounded in battle, many thousands of them died every month from the very great extremes of cold by night and heat by day, coming so close together. As it appeared that everyone was going to die there in any case, each one chose whether he would die in bed or in battle. On the other hand, the pagans’ strength increased greatly, for their boldness grew at the Christians’ plight and their army had recently been increased by fresh troops from various places. They were accustomed to the climate, the place was their native land, the work was healthful, and the scarcity of food was curative. Amongst our men, on the contrary, what brought an advantage to their foes was a disadvantage to them. If, indeed, our men were on short rations for even one day of the week, they were weakened for seven weeks to come. The common people among the French and English feasted together every day in a splendid fashion, no matter how great the cost, as long as their money held out, and, with all due respect for the French, they ate till they were sick. The traditional custom of the English was always observed, and with proper ceremony they drained their cups to the sound of clarions and the
effeandii. Mercatores provincie qui castris inuadebant
uicula mirabantur ex miraculi disuestudine, et credere
quod uidebant uexum esse uix poterat, dum populus
unus et est parus numero tripulum panis absumeret et uini
centumplum ad id unde sustentabantur plures gentilium
populi, et quilibet inumerabilis. Et facta est merito
super emeritos manus Domini. Tantam ingluviem
tanta sequibatur inedia, ut uix dentes digitis parcerent
dum manus minus solito ad insumendum faciebatur
Hillos calamitatiis et allis que gravetes et multe fuerant, multo gravior accession regis aderentias.
Rex lecto nimis eger excipitur. Tipus erat continuus;
medici maiorem emitirentem musitabant. Quibus et
primo desperantibus, diffusa est de domo regis in castra
dira desperato. Raris erat in multis millibus qui non
mediaretur difficiium. Secutaque fuitis dispersionis
aut deductum suprema confusion, (* nisi Hubertus)
Waleri episcopus Saresbericus concilium citius coegisset.

Opentum est allegationibus ualidis ut non dilabere-
tur exercitus, donec a Salahadino postularentur inducit;
omnes armati starent in ace solidius solito, et minaci
nullu tegentes mentis ignauam, preliandi mentiren
tur affectum; nem de regis loqueretur inomodo, ne tanti
doloris aereatum dilabaretur ad hostes. Sequibatur enim
certissime quod Salabadinus uniuersi minus exercitus
quam solius regis metuabat occursum. Quem si decu-
buisse cognosceret, iam de stercore boum lapidaret
Francigenas, et potatores lectissimos potione paurois ex-
clangour of trumpets. The merchants of the province,
who brought provisions to the camp, were astonished at
these extraordinary ways and could scarcely believe
what they saw to be true, that one host of people, and
that a small one, should consume three times as much
bread and a hundred times as much wine as would
sustain several or even countless hosts of pagans. And
rightly did the Lord's hand fall upon those who had
deserved it. Such hunger followed such gluttony that
their teeth scarcely spared their fingers when their hands
offered their gruel less than they were accustomed to
eating. To these calamities and other, grave and
numerous in themselves, was added the much greater
misfortune of the king. The king took to his bed, very
ill indeed. His fever was continuous, and the physicians
whispered of an acute semi-tertian fever. They were the
first to give way to despair, and from the king's dwelling
dire despair was diffused throughout the camp. Rare
was the man amongst those many thousand who did
not think of flight, and the supreme confusion of dispersal
or surrender would have followed, if Hubert Walter,
bishop of Salisbury, had not quickly called a council.

By earnest pleading he attained this result: an agree-
ment was made that the army would not disperse till a
truce had been asked for from Saladin; all the armed
men stood in their ranks more stoutly than ever; and,
hiding the cowardice of their hearts behind fierce faces,
they lyingly declared that they were ready for battle;
no one spoke of the king's illness, lest so sorrowful a
secret should be spread amongst the enemy. Everyone
knew for certain that Saladin feared the onslaught of the
whole army less than that of the king alone. If he had
known that the king was ill in bed, he would already have
pelted the French with ox-dung and have made those
ebriaret Angligenas. Descendit interea ad uidendum regem ut de more solcat quidam Saffatinus gentilis Salahadini frater, uir militie ueteris, multum ciuis et sapiens, quem regis magnanimitatis et munificentia in sui amorem et sua favorem partis illexerat. Ministris regis solito minus hilariter illi aplaudentibus et ad regis colloquium non admitterntibus, 'Ego,' inquit per interpretem, 'uos altum dolere sentio, nec causam nescio. Meus amicus rex uester infirmus est, et ideo michi fores eius claudis.' Et totis medullis resolutus in lacrimas, 'Deus,' inquit, 'Christianorum, sibi Deus es, talem uirum tuis (tam) necessarium tam prepropere non patieris occumbere.' In consensum receptus et ista locutus est.

'In uritate prenuntio quod si rebus ut nunc sunt / se habentibus uir iste decesserit, uos omnes Christiani peribitis, et tota hoc regio nostra erit in posterum sine litigio. Nuncipat metuemos illum ualidum regem Francie, qui priusquam ueniret in aciem uictus est, cuius quicquid uirum tres anni contulerat, trium mensium (breue) tempus absumpsit? Huc pro nichilo reuerteretur ulterius, quoniam hoc pro uero semper habemus auspicio, ut quos in primo, non callide dico sed naturaliter, sentimentus ignauros, semper deinceps inueniamus deteriores. Sed rex iste inter omnes Christiani nominis principes quos totius mundi teres circularis ambit, solus honore ducis et regis nomine dignus, quia (bene) incept, (in) melius profect, et in optimo statu consummabatur, si modicum uobis durauerit. Non est de nouo quod timemus Angli-

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* These words have been partly or wholly lost by a tear at the corner of the page in A. In such cases they have been supplied from B.

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1 cf. Ann. Wint., p. 13, 'Daci, ... ut erant natura patatores lectissimi,' and p. 27, of the English at Hastings, 'Haroldum, cum militebus suis procul dubio potentibus, sed in exhauriendi calicibus potentioribus ... '

Further references to the English as drinkers are collected by Ch.-V. Langlois, 'Les Anglois du moyen-Age', Rev. historique, LI (1893), 305-6.
genas, quoniam et patrem istius talem fecerat\(^a\) nobis fama, ut si uel inermis nostras uenisset in partes omnes fugissemus armati, quibus nec ab eo fugari uideretur inglorium. Ille timor noster, uir suo tempore singularis, occubuit, sed more fenici semiles meliores reparavit in filio. Sed nec nos latuit etiam genitore uiuente Ricardus iste quis fuerit. Habuimus enim omnibus diebus patris eius nostros inspectores in partibus illis, qui nobis et regis actus et filiorum suorum (ortus) et occasus nun-
tiabant. Iste pre\(^b\) omnibus fratribus suis merito probi-
tatis a patre dilectus et ante fratres priores natu populis regendis prelatus est. Nec nos latuit quod dux Aquitanie factus tirannos prouinciae, auis et atauis suis indomabiles, quanta uirtutis celeritate prostriuirit, quam metuendus et ipse regi Francie et omnibus circa fines suos exitterit terrarum rectoribus. Nullus de suo sibi...\(^c\) ille uero
terminos suos semper dilatauit in proximos. Nec nos
latuit quod duorum fratrum suorum unum (iam) in
regem coronatum, alterum iam Minoris Britannie com-
tem, quia se contra beatam patrem crexerant, non desti-
tit iure Martis impetere, donec diurnitate uexationis
affecto eternae requie donauit utrumque. Omnes etiam,
it magis miremini, ciuitates partium uestrarum ex
nomine nouimus, sed et regem patrem istius non ignora-
mus apud Cinomannis suorum proditione deuitum,
apud Chinonum mortuum, apud Fontem Ebrardi uisse
sepultum.\(^1\) Taceo, non ex ignorantia, quis se fecerit
desideratissime nobis tante necis autorem.

'O si Ricardus iste, quem quamuis diligam tamen

\(^a\) farerat A (nobis farerat marked for transfer)  \(^b\) pro corrected to pre
\(^c\) Half a line is blank in both MSS.
\(^1\) See Appendix J.
were removed from our midst, how little would we fear and what scant attention would we pay to that youngest son, who sleeps at home in clover! We know that Richard, who, greater even than his father, succeeded to the throne, set forth against us in the very year of his crowning. Even before he set out, the number of his ships and soldiers was not unknown to us.

"We knew, at the very time it was taking place, how speedily he captured Messina, the most strongly fortified city of Sicily, and, although none of us would believe it, nevertheless our fears increased, "and fame added false fears to true"."

"His courage, unable to stand still in one place," proceeded through a boundless region, and everywhere he left signs of his strength. A discussion concerning the man sprang up amongst us, as to whether he was preparing to conquer only the Promised Land for his God or, at the same time, the whole world for himself. Who can worthy tell of his capture of Cyprus? Indeed, if the island of Cyprus had lain immediately adjoining Egypt and my brother Saladin had subdued it within ten years, the pagans would have numbered his name among those of the gods. We learned from that what we had already taken for granted at the beginning, that he would overthrow anyone who resisted him, and our hearts turned to water, as the hoarfrost turns to water at the sight of the rising sun. Indeed, it was said of him that he ate his enemies alive. Fear alone was the reason why he was not received into the city with the gates wide open on the very day of his arrival at Acre. They [the besieged] fought both bravely and insanely, not from a desire to save the city but from dread of the tortures that had been promised them and from a despair for their lives. More than death itself they feared dying
metuentes, hoc modis omnibus molientes, ne morerentur inulti. Et hoc non ex obstinatione, sed ex nostre fidei religione fecerunt. Credimus enim inultorum umbras semper errare, et omnis fores quietis expertes. Eque tamen profuit infelicibus temeritas et timiditas, uicti uriibus et ad deditionem timore coacti, leuiores quam sperauerant morte multati sunt, et adhuc, proh pudor gentibus, usque hodie umbre eorum errores aguntur inulte. Ego ideo usus per Deum maximum, quoniam si postquam Accarone potitus est continuo Ierosolimam duxisset exercitum, imfra toto terre Christianorum terminos nec unum reperisset ex nostris, immo deditsemus ei gazas inestimabiles, ut non progredere tur, ut nos non persequeretur ulterior. Sed, Deo gratia, oneratus fuit rege Francorum et (per eum) retardatus, sicut murilegus cui malleus pendet ad caudam. Ceterum nos, etiam eius emuli, nichil in Ricardo reperimus quod possimus carpere nisi uirtutem, nichil odire nisi Martis peritiam. Sed cum infirmo pugnare quae gloria? Et si uoluisse hodie mane uos omnes et illum capitalem tullis sententiam, nunc miserendum est usus propter uestri regis incomodum. Vel pacem perpetuam cum fratre meo uobis adquiram, uel ad minus indutias bonas et diuturnas. Quousque autem reuertar ad uos, nullus inde uestrum loquat ur ad regem, ne si motus fuerit egrotet grauius, quoniam tam grandis et grossi cordis est ut, etsi modo mori debeat, non consentiet in transactionem, nisi suam partem uiderit meliorem."

Eloqui plura voleit, sed perorare non pertulit lingua languens et pre dolore deficiens, unde et in complossas unavenged, and this they strove to avoid in every way possible. They did this, not through stubbornness, but because of the teaching of our faith. We believe that the shades of the unavenged wander for ever and are denied all rest. Courage and cowardice were of like avail to those wretched men. Overcome by strength and forced to surrender through fear, they were punished by a death more merciful than they had hoped for, and now, to the shame of the pagans, their shades wander unavenged to this very day. I swear to you by the great God that if, after he had become master of Acre, he had immediately led his army to Jerusalem, he would not have found a single one of our people in all the bounds of the Christians’ lands. Rather would we have given him inestimable treasure to induce him not to go on and not to persecute us any further. But, thank God, he was burdened with the king of the French and held back by him, like a cat with a hammer tied to its tail. Nevertheless, although we are his rivals, we found nothing in Richard to which we could take exception save his bravery, nothing to hate save his skill at arms. But what glory is there in fighting a sick man? And although this morning I would have wished that he and all of you might receive a death sentence, now you are to be pitied because of your king’s misfortune. I shall arrange with my brother either for a perpetual peace for you or, at the least, for a firm and lasting truce. However, until I come back to you, let none of you speak of it to the king lest his illness become worse, for he is of such great and noble heart that even if he were now due to die he would not consent to the transaction unless he saw that his was the better part of the bargain.

He wanted to say more, but his tongue, faltering and stopping through grief, would not carry on to the end.
He covered his face with his clenched fists and wept bitterly. The bishop of Salisbury and the closest members of the king’s household who were present conferred upon these matters secretly and agreed to what they termed a most hateful and unwanted truce, although they had earlier proposed to buy it at any price. Having shaken hands with them, Saladin, his face expressionless and his grief concealed, went back to Saladin at Jerusalem.

A council was called together before his brother. At length, after seventeen days, he succeeded, by strong arguments, in bending the pagans’ stiff necks into giving the Christians a truce.¹ The time was set and the terms were drawn up. If it pleased King Richard, such a truce would obtain between the Christians and the pagans for the space of three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours, that whatever one side or the other held in any way, they would hold it unmolested till the end of the truce. The Christians would be allowed in the meantime to fortify Acre alone in any way they pleased, and the pagans, Jerusalem. All contracts, all commerce, all dealings whatsoever: everything should be carried out between them in peace by all. Saladin himself set out for the English with the news of this treaty.

Whilst King Richard lay ill at Jaffa, word was brought to him that the duke of Burgundy was gravely ill at Acre. That day was the crisis of the king’s fever, and because of his joy over the news his fever broke up. With lifted hands the king prayed continually, saying: ‘May God destroy him, because he would not destroy the enemies of our faith with me, although he has been waging war with my money for a long time!’ The duke

¹ It is impossible to reconcile Richard’s account of the negotiations leading up to the truce, which was ratified by King Richard on 2 September 1192, with any of the other accounts by contemporary writers. The Sūrat Bahr-al-Din acted as Saladin’s representative. Richard’s story of Saladin’s
THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZES

Die teria dux defunctor tu. Culus casu cognitio, episcopus Belacensis, ricto rege, cum omnibus suis Accaronem fortibus aduentit. Conuerunt ad eum ex omnibus opidis omnes Francigenae usque ad umain, contineb Campanie Henricum, Ricardii regis ex sorore nepotem.

Factus autem episcopus dux et minator eorum, edicto proposito, uniuersos repatriare mandavit. Cessit instaurum, et gloriosus princeps, cum suis glabronibus ab oriente recedens, 'Tirrenum nauiguit equant.'

Apponus in latus Alemanne, per totas dietas sui itineris disseminabat in populos quod traditur ille rex Anglie, (c primo adventus sui in Iudaeam tempore,) regem Francorum dominius suum Salahadino tradere dispositur; quod, ut Tyro potiterat, marchamius jugularis fecerat; (c quod ducem Burgundacie ueneno perdiderat;) quod ad ultimum omnem Christianorum exercitum qui sibi non perbat in commune uendidaret; hominum esse singulariter furum, moribus ferreorum et inamabilem, in dolis doctum, et in dissimulatione doctissimun; horum gratia regem Francorum tam celeriter repatriasse; horum gratia Francos qui reuderant inconquistam Ierosolimam deseruisse.

Rumor uires ex diffusione receptet, et in unum hominem omnium hominum scrutarii inmodam. Reuens in Franciam dominus Belacensis regis sui secreto surrexit in aereum, quod rex Anglie qui cum perdiderat sicarios in Franciam destinedur. Rex ad ista turbatum, contra patricium consuetudinem custodes corporis sui lecitisinter ordinavit. Addidit etiam mittere ad imperatorem

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* Frenningen issued not the casus A. * Nennetan issued not the casus

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1 Hugh, duke of Burgundy, the principal author of the discompositions within the Christian hosts, died in July. Richard fell ill shortly after the capture of Jaffa, on 2nd August. The negotiations for the truce seem to have begun about 8th August.

2 Conrad of Monferat was assassinated on 3rd April 1195. Although it was a favourite accusation of the French that Richard was responsible for the murder, there is no evidence to support it. See JEH., pp. 350-42 and 445-5, and Norgate, pp. 215-16.

* Henricus comes Campanie, solus iam ex magnitibus Francorum in Iudea relictus, ad regem Anglorum reuersus est Iaphet. Cui cum nuntiasset et ducis Burgundie casum et fugam Francigenarum, spiritus regis ita reuixit, ut mox omne cum sudore uitifer recept sospitatem. Viribus etiam corporis ex magnanimitate plus quam ex quieete uel cibo resumptis, mandavit per totam maritimam a Tyro usque ad Ascalonem ut omnes qui poterant ad bella procedere ad regis expensas militare uenirent.

* Conuenit ad eum populus sine numero, ex quibus pars plurima pedites fuerunt. Quibus quibus quia inutilis erant repulsis, recensuit equites, et uix inuenit milites quingentos et scutarios quorum domini perierant duo milia. Nec tamen pro paucitate diffusus, mentes metuendum rethor optimus premissa oratione refecit. Iubetur edici per cuncos ut in diem tertium acies ordinare sequantur regem, uel mori martirio uel uiiribus expugnare Ierusalem. Hec erat eius summa concilii, quia nichil adhuc de induitis nouerat. Nemo enim quod ex

sengers with gifts to the emperor of Germany, and he carefully inculcated in the imperial majesty a hatred for the king of England. It was therefore ordered in an imperial edict that all the cities and all the princes of the Empire should seize with arms the king of the English if, on his return from Judea, he should by chance come to their part of the country, and that they should turn him over, alive or dead, to the emperor. If anyone were to spare him, he would be punished as a public enemy of the Empire. Everyone, and especially that eager duke of Austria, whom the king of England had dismissed from the army at Acre, complied with the emperor's command.

* Henry, count of Champagne, now the only one of the great men of the French left in Judea, returned to the king of the English at Jaffa. When he reported both the death of the duke of Burgundy and the flight of the French, the king's spirits so revived that immediately, through a salutary sweat, he regained his full health. His strength of body being restored rather by his stout heart than by rest or food, he ordered throughout the whole sea-coast from Tyre to Ascalon that all who were able to go to war should come to fight at the king's expense.

* A host beyond numbering came to him, of whom the greater part were foot-soldiers. When he had sent them all away, since they were useless, he reviewed the horsemen and found scarcely five hundred knights, and two thousand shield-bearers, whose lords had perished. However, undismayed by this small number, this excellent orator invigorated the hearts of the fearful by a preliminary speech. It was then ordered that they form by companies, so that on the third day the battle-array might follow the king, either to die as martyrs or to conquer Jerusalem by force of arms. This was the chief point of his plan, for at this time he knew nothing about
metu mortis eius, ipso nesciente, presumptum 

ex inesperato ulenti aussus erat insinuare. Hubertus 
vetero Walteri episcopus Saresberie, communicato cum 
Henrico comite de indutis consilio, facilem habuit in 
operta consensum. Pariter igitur deliberantes qua pos- 

sent (arte) sine sui periculo periculosum prelibim 

prepedire, unam ex mille iudicant : si populus dissuaderetur 
ad pugnam. Et mira res accidit. Ita cor pugniaturaorum 
sine dissuasione defecit quod die dicto, cum rex suo 
more praevis produsisset exercitum, non sunt inuenti 
inter omnes milites et scutarios nisi nongenti. Ob 
quans defectionem rex, nimis irascens immo uesaniens 
et urgam pineam quam manu gestabat dentibus com- 
minuentes, indignantia tandem talibus ora resoluti. 'Deus,' 
inquit, 'Deus, Deus, quare me dereliquisti?' Cui 
nos stulti Christiani, qui nos Angli ab ultra orbis partes 
huc uemimus arma portare? Nonne Deus Christiano-
rum? Eia, quam bonus tuus es, qui iam pro tuo nomine 
trademur in manus gladii, partes uulpio erimus. O 
quans inuitus ego te (* desererem) in tam graui necessi-
tatis articulo, si tibi esses quod tu michi es, dominus et 
adoxatus! Certe, non michi sed tibi deinceps mea 
signa iacebunt. Certe, non propter ignaviam mee 
militie tu ipse, rex meus et Deus meus, (* hodie uictus 
es,) non regulus tuus iste Ricardus.'

Dixerat, et consternatus nimium castra repetiit. Ad

the truce. No-one, indeed, upon his unexpected recovery 
dared to tell him what, unknown to him, they had taken 
upon themselves to do through fear of his death. Hubert 
Walter, bishop of Salisbury, however, having conferred 
with Count Henry concerning the truce, won an easy 
agreement concerning the best thing to do. When they 
were discussing by what artifice they could, without 
danger to themselves, avoid the perilous battle, they hit 
upon the one artifice out of a thousand: that the people 
should be dissuaded from the fight. And the astonishing 
thing came to pass. The courage of the men who were 
going to fight so failed them, even without dissuasion, 
that on the appointed day, when the king, as was his 
custom, went out in front to lead the army, of all the 
knights and shield-bearers only nine hundred were 
found. At the defection the king grew extremely angry 
and raged with wrath. He chewed up the pine staff that 
he carried in his hand into small bits. He gave vent to 
his indignation in these words: 'O God,' he said, "O 
God, O God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" For 
whose sake did we foolish Christians, for whose sake 
did we Englishmen come here from the farthest part of 
the world to bear arms? Was it not for the God of the 
Christians? How good indeed Thou art to Thy servants, 
who are now for Thy name's sake to be delivered over 
to the sword and to be the prey of wolves! Oh, how 
unwillingly would I desert Thee in such a grave hour of 
need, if I were to Thee what Thou art to me, my 
lord and advocate! Henceforth my banners will lie 
prostrate, not for me, indeed, but for Thee. Not 
because of the cowardice of my army, indeed, art Thou, 
my king and my God, and not Thy wretched little king, 
this Richard, defaced this day.'

Thus he spoke, and then he returned greatly dis-

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343 These words have been partly or wholly lost by a tear at the corner of the page 
in A. When necessary, they have been supplied from B.

1 Psalm 21:1; Matthew 27:46; Mark 15:34
quiem ut iam competereuidebat Hubertus episcopus et Henricus comes familiaris accedentes, ac si nichil fuerit prefectum, de transactione cum gentilibus necessario facienda regis animum per integumenta sollicitauerunt. Et rex ad illos: 'Quia', inquit, 'turbate mentis est precipitare potius quam dictare sententiam, ego, qui turbatus sum animo, uobis, quos quiete mentis uideo, quod expedire uideris pro bono pacis ordinare permitto.' Qui uotorum compotes destinandos ad Saffatinum super hiis nuntios delegerunt, cum subito Saffatinus de Ierosolimitis nuntiatur adesse. Cui comes et episcopus occurrentes et de indutiis iam (ab eo) certificati, eum qualiter cum domino suo rege loqueretur instituunt. Saffatinus in colloquium regis admissus, ut is cui fuerat ab antea familiaris, uix inauluit ut rex seipsum non perderet, ut in indutiis consentiret. Tanta quippe uiro fuisset in corpore, uirtus in animo, (fides in Christo,) quod difficile temperari potuit quin, ut erat milite destititus, contra mille gentiles lectissimos singulari sui corporis certamen exciperet. Quia quia non est permisisse excurrere, hoc elegit diffugium, ut post septem septimanarum indiuias, saluo sedere pactiosis, in suo penderet arbitrio, utrum pugnare foret satius an quiescere. Dantur a partibus dextere de hac ultima transactione seruanda fideliter, et Saffatinus, regis munere plus honoratus quam honeratus, ad fratrem regeditur. de pretractatis cum rathabitione ad terminum reuersurus.

Ricardus rex Anglie concilium habuit in Accarone, ibique regni illius rei publice (prudenter) prouidens, quieted to the camp. As he now seemed ready to agree, Bishop Hubert and Count Henry came to him in a friendly fashion, and, as though nothing had been done beforehand, by devious arguments they urged the king to carry out the necessary transactions with the pagans. The king said to them: 'Because a disturbed mind is more likely to reject than to weigh a decision, I, who am disturbed in my heart, permit you, who I see are of calm mind, to arrange whatever seems best to you for the sake of peace'. Having gained their wishes, they were sending messengers to Safadin to arrange these matters, when suddenly it was announced that Safadin had returned from Jerusalem and was there. The count and the bishop hastened to meet him. He reassured them concerning the truce he had already arranged, and they instructed him as to how he should speak with their lord the king. When he was admitted to a conference with the king, since he was on friendly terms with him from of old, Safadin could only with the greatest difficulty prevail upon the king not to destroy himself but to agree to the truce. He had such strength in his body, such courage in his heart, such faith in Christ that he could scarcely be dissuaded from carrying on the fight alone with his own body, since he had no soldiers, against a thousand chosen pagans. Because he was not allowed to sally forth, he chose this escape, that after a truce of seven weeks, if the truce were kept, it would depend upon his choice whether to fight or to have peace. They shook hands in agreement to keep this last provision faithfully. Safadin, more honoured than burdened by the king's gift, went back to his brother, to return at the appointed time with a confirmation of the treaty.

Richard, king of England, held a council at Acre, and there, wisely providing for the administration of
that kingdom, he appointed his nephew Henry, count of Champagne, to whom he had previously given Tyre, as duke and lord of all the Promised Land. He thought it best, however, to put off his kingly consecration till Jerusalem itself should perhaps be taken.

King Richard, preparing to return to his own country, with the help of Duke Henry placed armed men in all the fortifications in his territories. Through lack of men, he left Ascalon alone without a guardian or an inhabitant. To make sure that it should not become a stronghold for the pagans, he had the walls and towers of the fortress thrown down.

The seventh day of the seventh week came, and Saffadin, with many of the emirs who were eager to behold the man's face, came to the king. The truce was confirmed by oaths on both sides, with this added to the provisions: that for the duration of the truce neither Christian nor pagan should live in Ascalon. All the cultivated land belonging to the city, however, was to remain to the faithful.

Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, and Henry, duke of Judea, with many others, went up to Jerusalem to worship in the place where Christ's feet had stood. Misery indeed was to be seen there. The captive confessors of the Christian name existed in a hard and long martyrdom. Chained together in companies, their feet ulcerated, their shoulders flayed, their buttocks goaded, their backs scourged, they carried material to the stone-masons to make Jerusalem impregnable against the Christians.

When they returned from the holy places, the duke and the bishop tried to persuade the king that he, too, should go up, but the proud swelling of his great heart would not allow him to enjoy as a privilege from the pagans what he could not have as a gift from God.

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1 After the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat in April, Henry of Champagne married Isabel, Conrad's widow, on 5 May 1192 and was elected king of Jerusalem in his wife's right. King Richard consoled Guy of Lusignan, whose claim to the crown had lapsed upon the death of his wife, Sybil, by giving him the island of Cyprus.

2 cf. Psalm 131:7