INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

The *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers has survived only in an incomplete form. It was edited in 1619 by André Duchesne from a unique, but damaged, manuscript, whose first and last folios were missing. The manuscript subsequently disappeared, probably in the fire in the Cottonian Library (1731). So the preface and concluding chapters, which may have contained information about the author, are now lost; and almost all that is known about him comes from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis.¹

According to Orderic, he was a Norman by birth, who came from Préaux. He was evidently well born; his sister became abbess of Saint-Léger-de-Préaux, a house planned by Humphrey of Vieilles and founded by Roger of Beaumont.² The house attracted postulants from wealthy families; WP’s father may have been a vassal of the Beaumonts. Like many young men of noble and knightly families in the mid eleventh century, WP trained as a knight and fought for a time in secular warfare.³ He turned, however, to the Church, and studied for a time in the schools of Poitiers, from which he took his name. WP himself, in one of his rare autobiographical notes, corroborates this by saying that he was ‘in exile in Poitiers’ at the time of the siege of Mouliherne (1049).⁴ If his fighting took place during Duke William’s minority in about 1042–3, he might have been born c. 1020. His accomplished Latin style, and his thorough familiarity with a wide range of classical authors, are clear proof that he studied for several years at Poitiers before returning to Normandy. There he

¹ *OV* ii. 78–9, 184–5, 258–61.
² *OV* ii. 258–9; *GG* ix. 853; *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, ed. J. Mahillon, 6 vols (Paris, 1703–39), iv. 361–2; *Neustria pia*, ed. A. du Moustier (Rouen, 1663), pp. 520–3, 526. His sister has sometimes been assumed to have been Emma, the first abbess. But Emma, who was old enough to be made an abbess c. 1040, must have been considerably older than William; her successor, Ansfride, who became abbess c. 1075 (*Annales OSB*, v. 655, no. lxxiv; *Neustria pia*, p. 523) and may have been a professed nun at Préaux for many years, could have been William’s sister.
³ *OV* ii. 258–61.
⁴ *GG* i. 11.
served for many years as one of Duke William’s chaplains. He was also at some time archdeacon of Lisieux, serving under both Bishop Hugh, who died in July 1077, and Hugh’s successor, Gilbert Maminot. The date of his appointment is not known. The first probable reference to William as archdeacon of Lisieux in any charter occurs in an agreement (c.1075) whereby William, son of Anschetil, granted land in Étquerquey and Colletot to Saint-Léger in return for a payment which he received from the abbess, Ansfrida, to enable him to go to Spain. Witnesses to the charter include William, archdeacon of Lisieux, and this is most likely to be William of Poitiers, particularly in view of his connection with Saint-Léger, though William de Glanville is a possibility.

In his later years, Orderic wrote, WP was forced by unfavourable circumstances to abandon his work on the Gesta Guillelmi, which he would have continued until the death of King William. He gave himself up to silence and prayer, and composed verses and sermons; he was so far from envy that he invited his juniors to criticize and improve his verses. Evidently he lived until after 1087, the date of the king’s death; but whether failing health or a fall from favour forced him into retirement is not known. Possibly he retreated to a monastery, and the ‘juniors’ mentioned by Orderic were young monks. Since Orderic went to Saint-Évroult, which was in the diocese of Lisieux, in 1085, it is just possible that he met the old archdeacon. He could certainly have derived his information from those who had known him.

Apart from WP’s probable attestation of the transaction at Saint-Léger c.1075, there is no trace of him as a witness in any Norman ecclesiastical charters that have yet come to light. Although he was one of the chaplains of William the Conqueror, he has proved equally elusive in ducal and royal charters. In Domesday Book, however, there is a statement that the prebends of the church of St Martin’s, Dover, formerly held in common, had been divided between the canons by Bishop Odo of Bayeux; and one of the canons is ‘Willemus Pictavensis’. The close connection between St Martin’s and the English royal chapel makes the identification of this William with the Conqueror’s chaplain all the more likely. Moreover the possibility of a connection between WP and Bishop Odo is consistent with his fulsome praise for the bishop, and may help to explain why a panegyric dedicated to the Conqueror was never completed. Odo’s close connection with Robert Curthose, whose first rebellion against his father began in 1077, and his later disgrace and imprisonment, must have caused many of those closely associated with him to fall from favour. The connection cannot be proved conclusively; but if it existed it would suggest that some of WP’s information about the actual battle of Hastings originated with Odo himself, and consequently had a partial slant towards the Bayeux version of the Conquest.

Something of WP’s character and ability can be deduced from his writing. Orderic was certainly justified in admiring his learning, for he was an unusually accomplished Latinist, and clearly enjoyed showing off his learning. The schools of Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand in Poitiers, where he may be presumed to have studied, had been made famous under the direction in 1024-8 of Hildegar, the pupil of Fulbert of Chartres. Hildegar had connections with Normandy. And the church of Saint-Hilaire, dedicated on 1 November 1049, had been built largely at the expense of Emma, daughter of Duke Richard I of Normandy and wife

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5 OV ii. 184-5.
6 OV ii. 258-9.
7 Neustria pia, p. 523. I am grateful to Professor David Bates for sending me a copy of the pancarte of Saint-Léger (no. 217 in his forthcoming edition of the charters of William I).
9 OV ii. 184-5, 258-61.
10 OV iii. 6-9.
11 A Willemus Pictavensis witnessed a charter of Serlo of Lingères (1079-82) making a grant to Saint-Étienne-de-Caen; but he is not described as a clerk (Musset, Abbayes caennaises, nos. 7, 18).
13 GG ii. 37.
15 Ibid., pp. 86-7.
16 The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres, ed. F. Behrends (OMT, 1976), nos. 67, 68.
successively of King Æthelred and King Cnut of England. As a result of his studies, WP had a thorough mastery of Caesar's *De bello gallico* and *De bello civili* and Vergil's *Aeneid*, and he modelled his style on these and on a number of other Latin authors. He used Sallust as well as Caesar for battles, Cicero and St Augustine for moral dissertations; he also made use of the *Satires* of Juvenal, the *Agricola* of Tacitus, the *Thebaid* of Statius, the *Lives* of Suetonius and Plutarch, Lucan’s *Pharsalia*, and Justin’s *Epitome*. Some of his knowledge of legends of the Trojan war may have come from the *Ilias latina*. His references to legal principles are too general to indicate any serious legal studies at Poitiers; but he was certainly familiar with Norman customary law as it was enforced by the dukes, and was aware of some at least of the different English customs. He showed himself a supporter of church reform in so far as it was encouraged by Duke William; his interest in the eucharistic controversy and the condemnation of the views of Berengar appears only obliquely in his comments on the duke’s devotion to the sacraments. 

His years in Poitiers left one other mark on his work: knowledge of events in the region and an interest in Poitou. In his account of the revolt of Guy of Brionne he points out that Guy, who was a nephew of William, count of Poitou, went after his defeat to Burgundy, where he plagued his brother, William Tête-Hardie, for ten more years. He also twice mentions Aimeri, vicomte of Thouars (the most important castle in the marches between Poitou and Anjou), stating that Aimeri both took part in the Conquest of England and was the spokesman of those who wished Duke William to be crowned king. Surprisingly, he makes no mention of the interests of the lords of Bellême in the region. This drastic simplification of the situation of Domfront in particular may have been politically motivated; he wished, both there and more generally in Maine, to make a case for the claims of the earlier Norman dukes, which had been actively taken up by Duke William.

Secular clerks, unlike monks, did not have the resources of a monastic library at their elbow. The *Gesta Guillelmi* is full of echoes of classical texts; but it is difficult to be certain what library resources WP had at hand when he was actually writing it. His close comparison of the British campaigns of Julius Caesar with the campaigns of William the Conqueror suggests that he may have had a copy at least of *De bello gallico* with him; on the other hand, the occasional slips over names could mean that he relied on an almost, but not quite, perfect memory of what he had studied intensively at Poitiers. Most of the echoes of other classical sources could have been remembered from his student years; the occasional phrases and aphorisms are of the kind that memory most readily retains. Contemporary works, such as the histories of Dudo of Saint-Quentin and William of Jumièges, could have been seen in the great abbeys, particularly at Fécamp, adjacent to a favoured ducal castle, or at Jumièges or Saint-Wandrille. If he finally settled at Lisieux and was writing there he would have had the resources of the cathedral library to draw upon. On the whole, the originality of the *Gesta Guillelmi* suggests that it is above all a book of memoirs, written by a man of letters who had been well drilled in youth in such of the classics as were
then available, but had spent his mature years nearer to the seats of power, both secular and ecclesiastical. Remote as WP's preconceptions were from those of the nineteenth century, his work has, in some ways, more in common with the reminiscences of a Victorian statesman than with the monastic chronicles of his own day.

The *Gesta Guillelmi*, even in its unfinished form, is the earliest extended biography of any duke of Normandy. It was planned after 1066 to show how Duke William prepared for, and achieved, the Conquest of England; and to justify his succession to the throne. In an early chapter describing Earl Godwine's responsibility for the murder of the ætheling Alfred, WP refers to the retribution that was to come with the defeat and death of Godwine's son Harold. 26 He continued his history, as Orderic Vitalis tells us, up to the death of Earl Edwin (in 1071), and was then obliged to leave it unfinished. 27 Although he may have begun writing of the Conqueror's Norman campaigns at any time after the Conquest, most of the evidence points to a date after 1071 for the bulk of the writing. His statement that Stigand was tolerated for a time as archbishop of Canterbury because of his influence, and was removed only when the king was ready to appoint Lanfranc, 28 supports this dating. He wrote of Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, who died on 17 July 1077, as though he were still alive; and although a reference to the dedication of Saint-Etienne-de-Lisieux is perhaps worth noting that the last dated reference to Gilbert fitz Osbern as archdeacon of Lisieux is 1071. 31 If WP took up more of the archidiaconal duties at that date, at the same time ceasing to be King William's chaplain, he may have wished both to leave a record of what he knew and, by dedicating the work to the king, to earn future promotion. This, however, is speculation.

In planning the *GG* he was strongly influenced by classical models, and to a lesser extent by the shorter accounts of dukes put together by Dudo of Saint-Quentin and WJ. He knew Suetonius and Plutarch, even if he had never read Einhard. Something may have been derived from a different type of biography: the *Vitae* of the bishops and archbishops of Rouen, though these would have suggested little more than the church benefactions to be included in any eulogy of the duke. 32 For the most part he was innovating. The classical influence is apparent in his general plan. His division of the work into an account of the deeds of William the duke and those of William the king echoes the rhetorical device of *partitio* or *divisio*. 33 There is, too, a certain amount of arrangement by topic. Duke William's character and relations with the church are treated separately from his campaigns. Even within the more political parts of the narrative, arrangement is not simply chronological: themes are important.

Besides this, WP was writing from memory some twenty years after the events. After a description of the disturbances during William's minority, relations with Anjou are outlined in a section which begins over a decade earlier. 34 Any attempt to date the long sieges of Domfront and Arques from the sequence of events in WP's narrative is bound to lead to confusion and contradiction.

For the most part, the classical influence is indirect and subtle. It appears in his style; he enjoyed imitating Caesar, Cicero,
Sallust, or Vergil. In particular, consciously or unconsciously, he wrote with two different kinds of rhetorical conventions, of panegyric and of history. He claimed that, unlike the poets, he did not wander over the fields of fiction, but stated only what was true history. Granted that he did not claim to tell the whole truth, this may approximate to his aim in the historical parts of his narrative. But no eleventh-century historian ever aimed at Lord Acton’s unattainable ideal of writing history ‘just as it happened’. Grammar itself was an art, and some rhetoric was bound to seep into even the most sober historical work of any writer trained in the schools. The declamatory passages used a much more exaggerated rhetoric. When, for example, WP apostrophizes Harold after his death and burial, and comments that his body lies in a tumulus on the seashore, he seems to forget that he has just expressly said that the proposal to bury Harold on the seashore had been made in jest. Similarly, he reproaches the English for rebelling against their new king in terms that do not quite square with his comments on the justice and moderation of the measures taken by William, and on his warm reception during his progress through the country. His lavish praise of the king stretches credulity to such an extent that within a generation Orderic Vitalis, who had been in England as a boy and knew the truth about William’s acts of brutality, omitted it in recording the history of the years after 1066, largely from the pages of WP. Yet this does not invalidate WP’s more sober assessments, or the value of his more straightforward historical passages. These Orderic thought worthy of repeating, and they give a precious insight into many topics, particularly the campaigns of the duke and his skill as a military commander.

As a former knight, WP could write of campaigns with authority. Like most of his educated contemporaries, he knew and cited Vegetius, though many of the general principles laid down by Vegetius could as well have been reached by practical experience combined with common sense. The qualities he admired in the duke were his speed, his prudence, and above all his careful planning. Duke William could move rapidly from one trouble-spot to another so as to appear without warning, leaving a small contingent of men in quickly constructed sieges-castles to carry on a siege in his absence. He was prudent in not risking the doubtful outcome of battle except as a last resort. He had, indeed, though WP does not openly admit as much, no practical experience of commanding an army in any major battle before 1066. At Val-ès-Dunes, as WJ makes clear, the rebels were routed by an army led by the king of France; and there are grounds for thinking that Varaville was not really a pitched battle. At Mortemer battle was forced on the Normans by French aggression; and the duke himself was not present when victory was won by Count Robert of Eu. It is possible that, on some occasions (as WP suggests), enemies were so impressed by William’s reputation in war that they retreated before he appeared on the scene. In general, up to 1066, Duke William succeeded by concentrating on castles and starving out his opponents in a series of resolute and successful sieges. The invasion of England, however, demanded an aggressive policy. William must have known that nothing but success in a battle in which his rival had to perish could win him the crown of England. As a churchman, writing after Ermenfrid of Sion’s penitential ordinances had imposed severe penances on all guilty of bloodshed even in battle, WP could hardly say so openly. He could, however, attempt to show Harold’s duplicity in taking the crown, and adding (perhaps because of a lingering suspicion that Harold’s coronation may have conferred some regality on him) direct references to the classical doctrine of the virtue of tyrannicide. He could also bring out in vivid detail Duke William’s meticulously careful preparations for an extremely hazardous enterprise. As he pointed out, Caesar was not always

31 Classical biographies were written under the influence of the rhetorical technique of encomium; see A. J. Gossage, ‘Plutarch’, in Dorey, Latin Biography, p. 47.
32 GG i. 33.
33 GG ii. 25.
34 Ibid., pp. 143–60, assesses the value of WP for military history.
35 Cf. Vegetius, iii. 8.
36 GG i. 32.
37 Councils and Synods, i. 381–4.
38 GG ii. 25; cf. ii. 32.
sufficiently careful in laying his plans; but William never failed to prepare for all eventualities.\textsuperscript{45}

In the light of this, it is reasonable to ask whether in fact the duke was delayed for a month at the mouth of the Dives by unfavourable winds. Since a similar story occurs in the Carmen de Hastingae proelio\textsuperscript{46} it is likely that rumours to that effect spread among the troops preparing for the invasion. But they may have been spread deliberately by the duke, in order to confuse Harold’s spies. WP tells how one of these spies was caught and sent back to Harold with a defiant message.\textsuperscript{47} It is not unreasonable to suppose that a leader who certainly made use of military intelligence\textsuperscript{48} would have been aware of the value of a little misinformation to confuse his enemies. Certainly Harold had to keep his forces spread out along the south coast from the Isle of Wight to Kent, ready to intercept a landing at any point, until his food supplies ran out, many of the men went home, and the English fleet withdrew to the river Thames.\textsuperscript{49} Duke William meanwhile, as his biographer shows, organized and paid for food supplies for his men.\textsuperscript{50} He knew that once across the Channel he could, as an invader, feed them by ruthlessly ravaging the lands of Harold himself and his men,\textsuperscript{51} whereas Harold could not afford to do so. Duke William may not have intended necessarily to move to the adequate, but less good, moorings at Saint-Valery-sur-Somme; but he kept his options open. Moreover the crossing was shorter from Saint-Valery than from the estuary of the Dives; and the monks of Fécamp, one or more of whom accompanied him,\textsuperscript{52} had run out, many of the men went home, and the English fleet had retreated to the river Thames.\textsuperscript{49} Duke William meanwhile, as his biographer shows, organized and paid for food supplies for his men.\textsuperscript{50} He knew that once across the Channel he could, as an invader, feed them by ruthlessly ravaging the lands of Harold himself and his men,\textsuperscript{51} whereas Harold could not afford to do so. Duke William may not have intended necessarily to move to the adequate, but less good, moorings at Saint-Valery-sur-Somme; but he kept his options open. Moreover the crossing was shorter from Saint-Valery than from the estuary of the Dives; and the monks of Fécamp, one or more of whom accompanied him,\textsuperscript{52} had run out, many of the men went home, and the English fleet had retreated to the river Thames.\textsuperscript{49} Duke William meanwhile, as his biographer shows, organized and paid for food supplies for his men.\textsuperscript{50} He knew that once across the Channel he could, as an invader, feed them by ruthlessly ravaging the lands of Harold himself and his men,\textsuperscript{51} whereas Harold could not afford to do so. Duke William may not have intended necessarily to move to the adequate, but less good, moorings at Saint-Valery-sur-Somme; but he kept his options open. Moreover the crossing was shorter from Saint-Valery than from the estuary of the Dives; and the monks of Fécamp, one or more of whom accompanied him,\textsuperscript{52} had

\textsuperscript{45} GG ii. 40. Nevertheless here and elsewhere in describing William’s preparations, WP may have had in mind the comments of Suetonius, Vita Caesaris, c. Ivii: ‘In obeundis expeditionibus dubium cautior an audactior, exercitum neque per insidiosa itinera duxit umquam nisi perspeculatus locorum situs, neque in Britanniam transvexit, nisi ante per se portus et navigationem et accessum ad insulam explorasset.’

\textsuperscript{46} ASC (C) s.a. 1066.

\textsuperscript{47} GG ii. 6. Carmen, lines 49-53.


\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Gesta GvilllELMI} xxv

\textsuperscript{50} GG ii. 2.

\textsuperscript{51} The ravaging by William’s army around Hastings is illustrated in the Bayeux Tapestry, pl. 47, 52.

\textsuperscript{52} GG ii. 12.

lands in Sussex and knew the landing places and the hinterland.\textsuperscript{53} Above all, he needed to assemble his ships and train the men who made up his motley army.

Successful warfare in the eleventh century depended partly on small disciplined troops of mounted men under the command of an experienced leader, and partly on the skilful use of foot-soldiers and archers.\textsuperscript{54} The duke’s army was made up, not merely of his own well-trained household troops, Norman vassals, and auxiliaries like the men of the count of Boulogne, but of adventurers from other regions who had joined the enterprise through hope of gain. Nothing but rigorous training could have welded them into a force sufficiently disciplined to overcome the heavy, but unknown, odds that they were bound to encounter. William must have known that, though he might tempt Harold into battle by deliberately ravaging his lands, Harold, as the defender, could choose where to make his stand. William could hardly have imagined a site more unfavourable to the attacker than the hill at Battle, where tightly packed crack troops could form a solid shield wall that could not be by-passed. His achievement was to be capable of winning against formidable odds. WP’s narrative makes clear, sometimes only by implication, how he achieved this.

Naturally WP made much of the story of the wind that changed as the result of prayers at Saint-Valery; this was what his master wished to be believed. It would be a sign that God favoured a just enterprise. Winds that yielded to prayer were a stock element in miracle stories. Yet, sometimes indirectly, WP shows other factors that were important. He mentions that during the wait boats were being built in harbours near to the Dives.\textsuperscript{55} He shows the care taken to procure adequate provisions. And he mentions the monk of Fécamp: a reminder, surely, that although


\textsuperscript{55} GG ii. 6. This alleged delay must be compared with William’s swift crossing on his return from Normandy to England in bitter weather and rough seas on 6 December 1067 (OV ii. 208–11, quoting WP; see below, p. xxxvii and n. 99).
winds might blow from the wrong direction for a few days, in the long run what mattered was good seamanship and a knowledge of the Channel crossings. This was something possessed by the sailors in the little ports controlled by Fécamp, experienced as they were in cross-Channel trading in all weathers. The reality of the dangers appears in WP’s mention of the ships that were wrecked during the move from the Dives to Saint-Valery, and of the fate of the men who became separated from the fleet during the crossing, and landed on the wrong beach at Romney. The amount of training that must have taken place during the six weeks of anything but idle and fretful waiting is shown by the remarkable manoeuvres carried out during the battle itself, which led to a hard-fought victory against courageous and formidable forces fighting for their freedom.

The rhetorical passages need to be interpreted with caution. WP was stating the case for Duke William’s claim to the English throne, as it was promulgated in Normandy. There are elements common to the accounts of WJ, WP, and the Bayeux Tapestry, which were probably derived at least in part from a written statement. This may have been a claim sent to Rome to obtain papal support. But part of the case had been made earlier, for the Inventio Sancti Wulfranni, written before 1053, had stressed the blood-relationship between King Edward and the Norman dukes, had claimed that Edward returned to England with Norman support, and had blamed Earl Godwine, Harold’s father, for the murder of Alfred. WP gives the most complete and coherent statement of William’s case, stressing right of inheritance, victory in battle as a sign of divine approval, election by Normans and English, and coronation by a properly-constituted archbishop. He insists that Edward designated William as his heir; that Harold, who had become William’s vassal during his visit to Normandy, perfidiously broke his solemn oath and seized the crown. WP is alone in knowing the English custom that gave special importance to death-bed bequests, and the use of that custom to justify Harold’s claim. He met the objection head-on and rejected it, by suggesting that William had been prepared to defend his claim by proceedings under either English or Norman law, or in single combat; and that Harold had spurned the offer and insisted that the issue must be decided in battle. WP wavers only very slightly in his statement of the case, by occasionally (but only occasionally) calling Harold ‘king’. There is a slight illogicality here, if coronation by the excommunicate Stigand invalidated the ceremony, as was asserted by the Normans within a year. But, for the first months after the victory, Harold had been called king even by his conquerors, and perhaps memories of that slipped into WP’s narrative. He was careful, however, not to call William king until after his coronation; this was the Church’s case, to which WP, like WJ, gave full support.

3. THE SOURCES USED BY WILLIAM OF POITIERS

The written sources which could have been used by WP consisted mainly of histories of the dukes of Normandy by Dudo of Saint-Quentin and William of Jumièges. Elisabeth van Houts has shown that WJ finished the greater part of his GND by 1060, and revised and extended it between 1067 and 1070. Besides the ducal histories, the Inventio et miracula Sancti Vulfranni, which was completed by 1053/4, included a short chapter on Anglo-Norman relations. Raymonde Foreville demonstrated that WP certainly cited one or two short passages from GND in his early chapters; but she was hesitant in attributing any deliberate use of the work for the events of which he had independent oral reports.
INTRODUCTION

is every reason to accept this. Indeed the debate between Jean Marx and Louis Halphen on whether WP enlarged upon WJ or WJ abbreviated WP is merely tilting at windmills.\(^\text{68}\) Eleventh-century chroniclers in search of facts did not as a rule pay much attention to the written work of their contemporaries, when they had independently heard reports of the same events.\(^\text{69}\) Similarities often occur because two writers heard similar oral testimony, whether reliable or unreliable. Earlier influences were potent in building up traditions of writing. Both Dudo and WJ developed the theme of the perfect warrior duke, who adds piety, wisdom, and justice to his military virtues; and WP improved upon it in his biography.\(^\text{70}\)

Verbal echoes occurring in two sources are often due to common knowledge of classical authors.\(^\text{71}\) Such echoes are most noticeable in GG and the Carmen de Hastingae proelia; and they do not imply direct imitation, and do not help to solve the problems of whether either author knew the work of the other, or when the Carmen was written. The date is a controversial question. Internal evidence, such as the mention of two archbishops as participants in King William’s coronation,\(^\text{72}\) makes it likely that the Carmen was written either before Stigand’s disgrace in 1070, or in the twelfth century, when memories might have been dim. A number of scholars, notably the editors of the Carmen, supported by van Houts, favour the earlier date; R. C. H. Davis’s argument for a twelfth-century date has been accepted by a few others. Some more recent work, notably that by Giovanni Orlandi, supports the early date and accepts Guy, bishop of Amiens, as the author.\(^\text{73}\)

The balance is now inclined towards the earlier date.

\(^{68}\) Foreville, p. xxvi.

\(^{69}\) This was a very well-established tradition of historical writing, first clearly enunciated by Thucydides. See A. D. Momigliano, Studies in Historiography (London, 1960), pp. 214–18.

\(^{70}\) See Jean Flori, L’essor de la chevalerie xi-xii siècles (Geneva, 1986), pp. 144–8.

\(^{71}\) See e.g. GG ii. 15, and Carmen, lines 321–2.

\(^{72}\) Carmen, lines 804–4.

Ansgard was said to have taken part, he may have thrown away a few reliable details together with the imaginative elaboration of events.

The date of one pictorial source, the Bayeux Tapestry, is debatable, but it was certainly later than GG.80 Both Bishop Odo and Bayeux are central to its narrative; and since WP knew and admired Odo he and the designer of the tapestry probably had some oral sources in common. There are marked similarities in the two descriptions of the Battle of Hastings, though there are also some conspicuous differences in the role assigned to Eustace of Boulogne.

The judgement of individuals and their purpose in writing were bound to influence their handling of fluid and variable oral sources; and WP’s sources were almost entirely oral. From the time when his own experience began, he preferred his own recollections, both of what he had seen himself and of what other eye-witnesses had told him, to any written chronicle. This had, indeed, been the normal practice of historians from the time of Thucydides.81

The identification of oral sources is difficult, and can rarely result in more than a plausible hypothesis. WP must have been close to Duke William during the years when he was a ducal or royal chaplain. If he was for a time the duke’s confessor, this might account for his frequent, but generalized, interpolations on William’s piety.82 Though much of this is conventional special pleading, it is interesting that he draws a picture of a man indifferent to omens,83 a pious Christian trusting in the will of God in order to further righteous ends. From the time he knew

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29 Ansgard, mentioned in the Carmen (line 690), can probably be identified as Asgar or Esgar the staller, the grandson of Tovi the Proud (Walsham Chronicle, pp. xvii-xviii).
30 For the Bayeux Tapestry, the volume edited by Sir Frank Stenton (The Bayeux Tapestry, 2nd edn., London, 1965) is still fundamental; citations to scenes in the tapestry are taken from the plate numbers in this edition. S. A. Brown, The Bayeux Tapestry: History and Bibliography (Woodbridge and Wolfeboro, NH, 1988), provides a comprehensive bibliography up to 1988. There is a critical French edition by L. Musset, La tapisserie de Bayeux (La-Pierre-qui-Vire, 1989).
31 See above, p. xxviii.
32 GG i. 49-52, ii. 14, ii. 44 and passim.
33 GG ii. 14, where William merely laughed at accidentally putting on his hauberk back to front before the battle.
34 See OV vi, pp. xxii-xxiii.
35 See Foreville, pp. xliii-xliv.
36 GG ii. 15.
37 See T. P. Wiseman, Clio’s Cosmetics (Leicester, 1979), pp. 27-40, citing Cicero, De orat. ii. 36; OV i. 80 n. 1.
the body of Hector. If Caesar occasionally helped to lighten the burden of a sick colleague, William must do the same, or better. If Vergil described feasts celebrated by Aeneas at critical moments, William must equal or surpass him by celebrating a feast in mid-Channel. This was part of WP's technique in his rhetorical passages. In those that were more strictly historical, he relied more directly on oral testimony, some of which came from eye-witnesses.

4. THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS

William of Poitiers did not, as he himself said, hear the discourse with which the duke encouraged his troops before the battle, and he was not an eye-witness of the battle. He stated significantly, 'We have not the means, and it is not our intention, to describe all the exploits of individuals as their merit deserves. The most eloquent writer who had seen the battle with his own eyes could scarcely have followed every detail.' His account is based on oral evidence; it is most precise on the ordering of the troops for battle, a point on which many eye-witnesses could agree. Once the action had started, individuals would have lost sight of the whole picture and been aware only of the particular actions in which they were engaged. So it is not surprising to find that some of the closest resemblances to the account in the Carmen, also drawn from oral sources, are in the opening stage of the battle. Both state that Harold's troops emerged from woods and took their stand on foot in densely packed formation at the top of a hill, approached by a steep, rough slope. Both agree that the front line of the Norman army was made up of archers on foot, shooting arrows and bolts; the mention of bolts shows that they included crossbowmen. Among the mailed, mounted knights the duke himself commanded the centre, with Bretons and other auxiliaries on the left and the Normans on the right (the Carmen reverses the left and right, but may have been describing the line from the opposite side). WP, however, is much more exact; he mentions a second line of foot-soldiers, more heavily armed and wearing haubersks, between the archers and the rank of mounted knights led by the duke. He describes the first stage of the fighting carefully: the archers and foot-soldiers advanced first, and met fierce resistance from the English. The knights followed, those who had been behind (presumably the mounted knights) advancing to the front; and these fought hand-to-hand with swords. He does not indicate whether there had been a charge with couched lances; but in an uphill charge against foot-soldiers the couched lance would not have been a very effective weapon, and the knights would certainly have needed to draw their swords to make any impact. There is no suggestion in WP that a jongleur, called Taillefer, rode in front to encourage the troops and strike the first blow, as alleged in the Carmen.

Both sources agree in general on the next phase: part of the attacking line gave way, panic broke out among the Bretons, and then spread to other contingents when it was rumoured that the duke was dead. William raised his helmet to show that he was still alive; his forces rallied, turned, surrounded, and massacred the pursuing English. From this point the Carmen and WP differ more and more. WP states quite clearly that the first flight was genuine; but its unexpected success when William’s forces turned on the English persuaded the Normans to retreat twice more in flights that were feigned. The Carmen is a little confused on the number of flights, and implies at one point that the first was feigned. Details of the later stages of the battle vary. WP mentions a heroic charge led by Robert of Beaumont, of which he may have heard through his association with the Beaumont family in Normandy. He mentions that in the final onslaught the Normans shot arrows; it is interesting to note that in the Bayeux

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88 GG ii. 25; Cf. Ilias latina, lines 1009–45.
89 GG ii. 9; cf. Suetonius, Vita Caesaris, c. Ixxii: 'Amicos tanta semper facilitate indulgentiâ tractavit, ut Gaio Oppio comitanti se per silvestre iter correptoque subita valitudine deversoriolo eo, quod unum erat, cesserit, et ipsi humi et sub divo cubuerit'.
90 GG ii. 7; Vergil, Aen. i. 168–215.
91 GG ii. 16; Carmen, lines 315–72.
92 GG ii. 16, 17; Carmen, lines 373–84.
93 See below, ii. 17 and n. 76.
94 Carmen, lines 391–405. The ‘Taillefer’ episode reappears in the twelfth century in the work of Henry of Huntingdon (Greenway, Huntingdon pp. cvi, 392–3) and Wace (Rou, pt. iii, lines 8013–39 (ii. 182–4)).
What he actually did in the battle must remain an open question. On the whole, when the sources for the battle are compared, WP emerges as the most valuable: the most exact, and (in spite of passages of restrained rhetoric), the least carried away by imagination. He knew from experience the practical side of fighting. And victory, in view of the formidable resistance of the English and the difficulty of the terrain, was an achievement so remarkable that praise of the leader needed very little embellishment.

5. THE USE OF GESTA GIVILELMI BY ORDERIC VITALIS

Orderic Vitalis had a complete manuscript of the Gesta Guillelmi, which was his principal source for the campaigns of 1066–1071 and for William’s right to the English throne. He used it with discretion, omitting the long passages of comparison with Caesar and the Vergilian episodes such as the mid-Channel banquet. While he abbreviated the rhetorical passages, he retained many expressions of admiration for William’s courage, leadership, and kingly qualities. But the many passages praising William’s mercy towards the conquered English are either omitted altogether or directly contradicted. Brought up in England from 1075 to 1085, Orderic had heard the English side of the story, and knew how much injustice and suffering were caused by the dispossession of many landowners, and the ravaging of William’s armies. Comparison of passages in the GG and the Historia Ecclesiastica illustrates the way he treated his source.

Gaufredi non triste acceperunt hoc eum fuisse detrimento multatum, assuerantes gloriam solius Guillelmi comitis ultionem multorum esse de periuero ac praedone.

41. Per idem fere tempus Edwardus rex Anglorum suo iam statuto haeredi Guillelmo, quem loco germani aut prolis adamabat, grauiores quam fuerit cautum pignore cauit. Placuit obitus necessitatem praecuenire, cuius horam homo sancta uita ad caelestia tendens, proximam affore meditabatur. Fidem sacramentum confirmaturum Heraldum ei destinavit, cunctorum sub dominatione sua diuitiis, honore, atque potentia eminentissimum: cuius antea frater et fratruelis obsides fuerant accepti de successione eadem. Et cum quidem prudentissime, ut ipsius opes et auctoritas totius Anglice gentis dissensum coercerent, si rem nouare mallet perfida mobilitate, quanta sese agunt.


Directi ad se dux Guillelms euentu cognito, propere missis legatis, precatu simul ac minis extortum obuius honorifice suscepit eum. Guidoni benemcrito, qui nee pretio nee uiolentia compulsionis, uirum quem torquerc, nccare, uendere potuisset pro libitu, ipse adducens apud Aucense castrum sibi praesentauit,
grates retulit condignas, terras tradidit amelas ac multum opimas,\(^1\) addidit insuper in pecuniis maxima dona. Heraldum uero sufficientissime cum honore in urbem sui principatus caput Rothomagum introduxit, ubi multiplex hospitalitatis officiositas uiae laborem perpersos iucundissime recrearet. Nimium gratulabatur tanto super hospite, sibi omnium carissimi propinqui et amici legato, quem inter se et Anglos, quibus a rege secundus crat, mediatorem sperabat fidissimum.

42. Coadunato ad Bonamuillam\(^2\) consilio, illic Heraldus ei fidelitatem sancto ritu christianorum iuravit. Et sicut ueracissimi multaque honestate praeclarissimi homines recitauere, qui tunc affuere testes, in serie summa sacramenti libens ipse haec distinctit:\(^3\) se in curia domini sui Edwardi regis quandiu superesset ducis Guillelmi uicarium fore; enisurum quanto consilio ualeret aut opibus ut Anglica monarchia post Edwardi decessum in eius manu confirmaretur; traditurum interipsi militum custodiae castrum\(^4\) Doueram, studio atque sumptu suo communitum; item per diversa loca illius terrae alia castra, ubi uoluntas ducis ea firmari iuberet, abunde quoque alimonias daturum custodibus. Dux ei, iam satelliti suo accepto per manus, ante iusiurandum terras eius cunctumque potentatum dedit petenti. Non enim in longum sperabatur Edwardi aegrotantis uita.

43. Deinde, quia ferocem et novi nominis cupidum novit, ipsum et qui venerant cum ipso armis militaribus et equis delectissimis instructos secum in bellum Britannicum duxit; hospitem atque legatum quasi contubernalem habens ut co quoque honore quodam sibi magis fidum et obnoxium faceret.

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\(^1\) Wace (Rou, pt. iii, lines 5603–4 (ii. 97)), mentions a manor on the E3ulnc that was given.

\(^2\) Sources disagree on the place where Harold took an oath to the duke, but WP was close to the court and was probably right. The Bayeux Tapestry (pl. 28) named Bayeux; Orderic (OV ii. 124–6) named Rouen; Fadmer and WJ did not specify any place.

\(^3\) Fadmer (HN, p. 7) considered that Harold swore under constraint, and did not regard himself as bound by any oath ("Sensit Haraldus in his periculum undique; nec intellevit quae evaderet"). Although WP does not mention any proposal of marriage between Duke William's daughter and Harold at this point, he later referred to one (below, p. 156 n. 6).

\(^4\) There were ancient fortifications at Dover; work on the castle itself may have been begun immediately after the Conquest (see below, p. 144. n. 1).
Britannia namque praefidenter aduersus Normanniam fuit omnis armata.¹

Huius audaciae princeps erat Conanus Alani filius.² Is in uirum ferocissimum adultus, a tutela diu tolerata liber, capto Eudone patruo suo, atque uinculis ergastularibus mancipato, provinciae quam dono paterno accepit magna cum truculentia dominari coepit. Paternae dehinc rebellionis renouator, Normanniae hostis, non miles, esse uoluit. Dominus autem eius antiquo iure, sicuti Normannorum, Guillelmus, castellum quod sancti Iacobi appellatum est, interim opposuit in confinio, ne famelici praedones ecclesiis inermibus, aut ultimo terrae suae uulgo, excursionibus latrocinantibus nocerent. Emit namque rex Francorum Karolus pacem atque amicitiam a Rollone primo duce Normannorum ac posteriorum parente, natam suam Gislam in matrimonium, et Britanniam in seruitium perpetuum ei tradens. Exorauerant id foedus Franci non ualentes amplius resistere gallico ense danicae securi.³ Annalium paginae attestantur.⁴ Exinde comites Britannici e iugo Normannicae dominationis ceruicem omnino soluere nunquam ualuerunt, etsi multotiens id conati tota ui obluctando. Alanus et Conanus, quanto Normanniae rectores consanguinitate propius attingebant tanto gloriantibus animis contra eos elatiore existebant. Conani in tantum iam tementias creuit ut quo die terminos Normanniae aggrederetur, denuntiare non formidaret. Homini acrioris naturae, feruidae aetatis, ministrauit plurimum fiduciae regio longe lateque dita, militie magis quam credibile sit referta.

¹ There is no corroboration of this statement.
² Conan II, son of Alan III, had freed himself from the tutelage of his uncle c.1057. See above, p. 46 n. 2, p. 52 n. 4. WP probably regarded his refusal of homage to the duke of Normandy as rebellion.
³ Duke William began the building of the castle of St James de Beuvron during this expedition, and entrusted it to Richard, vicomte of Avranches. It served both as a defence against border raids by Breton lords and as part of the system of fortifications protecting the frontier (Yver, ‘Châteaux-forts’, pp. 58-9; V. Ménard, Histoire religieuse, civile et militaire de Saint-James de Beuvron depuis sa fondation jusqu’a nos jours (Avranches, 1897), pp. 2-24, 417-19).
⁴ WP appears to have taken this information from Dudo (ii. 29, ‘Dedit itaque rex filiam suam, Gislam nomine, uxorem illi duci... totamque Britanniam de qua posset vivere’). WJ (GND i. 64) claimed only that King Charles gave ‘termam maritimam ab Epte flumine usque ad Britannicos limites cum sua filia nomine Gisla’.
⁵ Possibly a reference to the annals of Flodoard (Les annales de Flodoard, ed. Ph. Lauer (Paris, 1908), pp. i. 6).
⁶ Count Alan III’s father, Geoffrey of Rennes, count of Brittany, married Hawise, daughter of Duke Richard I of Normandy; and Duke Richard II of Normandy married as his first wife Judith of Brittany, sister of Count Geoffreyc.
44. Indeed in those parts one warrior sired fifty, since each had, according to their barbarous custom, ten or more wives, as is related of the ancient Moors who were ignorant of divine law and chaste morals. Moreover, this multitude devotes itself chiefly to arms and horses, and very little to the cultivation of fields or improvement of customs. They live on plentiful milk and very little bread. Wide open spaces provide rich grazing for cattle and crops are almost unknown. When they are not making war, they live on or occupy themselves with plunder, brigandage, and domestic feuds. They rush joyfully and eagerly into battle; while fighting they hit out like madmen. Accustomed to repulse the enemy, they give ground with reluctance. They rejoice and glory in victory and praise won in battle; they love stripping the slain of their spoils, for this is both an honour and a pleasure to them.

45. Undismayed by these terrifying practices, Duke William, on the day which he remembered Conan had fixed for his coming, went himself to the frontier to meet him. The latter, thinking that a thunderbolt was about to strike him, fled as fast as possible to fortified places, abandoning the siege of Dol, a castle in his own land. This castle, hostile to the rebel, remained faithful to the just cause. Ruallon, the defender of the castle, tried to restrain Conan: he called him back in jest, begging him to stay for two more days and claiming that he would win the cost of the delay from him. The wretched man, frightened to death and hearing only the sounds of panic, carried on his way and fled further. The terrible leader who pursued him would have pressed the fugitive further, if he had not been aware of the manifest danger of taking a numerous force through uninhabited country, which was infertile and unknown. If any remnants of the previous year’s produce were left in the impoverished land, the inhabitants had hidden them in safe places with their flocks. The crops were standing green in the fields. So, to avoid the sacrilegious looting of church goods, if any were found, he led back his army, which was exhausted by the lack of regular provisions. Moreover he assumed magnanimously that Conan would come very soon to...
excedenti iam Britanniae limitem repente indicatur Gaufredum Andegauensem cum ingentibus copiis Conano fuisse conjunctum, et ambos postero die praeliatum affuturos. Itaque aperitur conflictus eo cupidior, quod gloriosius intelligebat triumphum de hoste bino, utroque immani, uno consequi certamine. Ad hoc fore multiplicem eiusdem triumphi fructum.


46. Receptus in sua, percarum hospitem Heraldum apud se post moratum aliquandiu, donis onustum omisit; digne utroque et cuius iussu et pro cuius honoré ampliando venerat. Qui etiam fratrueuis eius, alter obesus, cum ipso redux ipsum redditus est. Paucis igitur te affiliamur Heralde. Qua mente post haec Guillelmo haereditatem auferre, bellum inferre, ausus es, cui te gentemque tuam sacrosancto iureiurando subiecisti tua et lingua et manu; coercere debuisti, et perniciosissime concitasti. Infeliciter secundi flatus, qui nigerrimus seek mercy and pardon for his crime. But he had scarcely crossed the frontiers of Brittany when he learnt that Geoffrey of Anjou had joined Conan with huge forces, and that both would be ready to give battle on the next day. And so the fight appeared more desirable than ever to him, for he knew that it would be more glorious to triumph over two enemies, both of them redoubtable, in one conflict. This would give a manifold gain as the fruit of one victory.

But Ruallon, on whose territory the tents had been pitched, broke into complaints. He would have been grateful (he said) to have been rescued by William from the enemy's power if the damage were not to cancel out the gain; for if he were to pitch camp and await his enemy the region (which was very infertile and greatly exhausted) would be totally devastated. It made no difference to the peasants whether they lost the labour of the previous year to the Norman or Breton army. So far the expulsion of Conan had brought fame, but not the preservation of property. The duke replied that they must bear in mind that a hasty retreat might be considered dishonourable, but he promised full recompense in gold for any damage done. At once he forbade his men-at-arms to touch the crops and herds belonging to Ruallon. This command was obeyed with such restraint that a single sheaf of corn would have amply sufficed as compensation for all damage. The battle was awaited in vain, as the enemy fled further away.

46. On his return home William, after keeping his valued guest Harold with him for a while longer, sent him away loaded with gifts worthy of both of them and of the man at whose command and to increase whose honour he had come. Furthermore his nephew, the second hostage, was, out of respect for his person, released to return with Harold. Just a few words, O Harold, will we address to you! With what intent dared you after this take William's inheritance from him and make war on him, when you had with both voice and hand subjected yourself and your people to him by a sacrosanct oath? What you should have suppressed you perniciously stirred up. How unfortunate were the following
winds which filled your black sails on the way home! How impious the smooth sea which suffered you, most abominable of men, to be carried on your journey to the shore! How perverse was the calm harbour which received you, who were bringing the disastrous shipwreck of your native land!

47. In the midst of the warlike activities and domestic occupations which are called worldly, this most excellent prince nevertheless devoted his greatest efforts to things divine; they are too many and too great for our humble pen to describe in detail. For he knew not only that the flourishing principalities of this world are cut off in an instant, but also that ‘the fashion of this world passeth away’; that there is only one kingdom which stands immutable, ruled with eternal lordship by an ineffable Emperor, who governs with coeternal providence the universe which He created. He, in His power, crushes in a moment those tyrants who surrender themselves too much to earthly delights; but to His servants who persevere He grants diadems and palaces shining eternally with inestimable beauty in that most glorious city; home of the highest truth and beauty. William also knew that his father, the famous Duke Robert, after distinguishing himself at home with memorable achievements, laid down the symbols of his office and took the perilous road of a pilgrim, out of a yearning to see his Master in the heavenly Sion. He knew that the Richards and their earlier ancestors, powerful and famous, had in all humility borne the Lord’s cross on their brow, His love in their heart, fear of Him in their deeds. As a prudent man he had weighed up how wretched and shameful it is for those who, stripped of transitory honours, are condemned to outer darkness, where they are burned with inextinguishable flames, not consumed, where they will bewail their wretchedness without remission and lament their misdeeds without pardon. On the other hand he knew how happy and glorious are those who, after fulfilling their office on earth, are clothed with the robe of immortality and made fellow-citizens of the angels, to dwell in every delight, seeing God face to face and rejoicing in His perpetual praise.

A reference to the legend of Theseus. A black sail was to indicate the failure of Theseus to slay the Minotaur.

Cf. Dudo, ii. 3; iii. 36, 58; GND i. 132-4; ii. 38.
PARS SECUNDA

1. Verus namque rumor insperato uenit, Anglicam terram rege Edwardo orbatam esse et eius corona Heraldum ornatum. Nec sustinuit uesanus Anglus quiu electio publica statuerat consulere; sed in die lugubri quo optimus ille humatus est, cum gens uniuerse plangeret, periiurus regium solium cum plausu occupavit, quibusdam iniquis fauentibus. Ordinatus est non sancta consecratione Stigandi, iusto zelo apostolici et anathemate ministerio sacerdotum priuati. 2

Dux Guillelmos habita cum suis consultatione3 armis inuriam ulisci, armis haereditatem reposcere decreuit, tametsi complures maiorum id ingenioso dissuaderent, ut rem nimir arduam, Normanniae uiribus longe maiorem. 5 Habuit in consilii ea tempestate Normannia praeter episcopos et abbates laici ordinis praestantissimos uiores, quorum in collegio splendidiora quaedam eius lumina atque ornamenta emicuere: Rodbertus Moritoliensis comes; 6 Rodbertus Aucensis comes, Lexouiensis episcopi Hugonis (de cuius uita supra scrisimus) frater; 7 Ebroicensis comes Richardus Rodberti archiepiscopi filius; Rogerus de Bellomonte; 8 Rogerus de Montegomerico; 9 Guillelmos filius

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1 King Edward died at Westminster on 4 or 5 Jan. 1066; Harold was crowned in Westminster Abbey the next day. 5 Jan. is the date accepted by most authorities (see F. E. Harmer, Anglo-Saxon Writs (Manchester, 1952), p. 560, corrected by Barlow, in Vita Edwards, p. 124 n. 326). For Harold’s oath, see above, i. 42. The ASC (E) 1066 says that he was chosen; and he could have been accorded formal acclamation by the bishops and magnates assembled at Westminster for the consecration of the new church the week before. JW ii. 600 says “Haraldus . . . quem rex ante suum decessum regni successorum elegerat, a totius Anglie primatibus ad regale culmen elecms. ’ 2

2 Archbishop Stigand was excommunicated by Leo IX after he received the pallium from the anti-pope Benedict X, and the sentence was renewed by Nicholas II and Alexander II. See Brooks, Canterbury, pp. 304–11, for the weakness of Stigand’s position; after January 1069, when Benedict X was deposed and his acts anulled. Stigand is not known to have consecrated any bishops before the Norman Conquest. The Worcester/ York tradition, which stated that Harold was crowned by Ealdred, archbishop of York (Chronicon pontificum ecclesiae Eboracensis, in Historians of the Church of York, ed. J. Rainé, 3 vols. (RS, 1879–94), ii. 349; JW ii. 600) is probably to be preferred to the Norman tradition, which shows a hardening of the legend to Harold’s discredit after Stigand’s deposition in 1070 (Brooks, Canterbury, p. 386, n. 158; OV ii. 136–8 and n. 1).

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PART II

1. A true report came unexpectedly, that the English land had lost its king and that Harold was wearing its crown. And this mad Englishman could not endure to await the decision of a public election, but on the tragic day when that best of all men was buried, while all the people were mourning, he violated his oath and seized the royal throne with acclamation, with the connivance of a few wicked men. He received an impious consecration from Stigand, who had been deprived of his priestly office by the just zeal and anathema of the pope. 3

Duke William, after taking counsel with his men, 4 determined to avenge this injury with arms, and claim his inheritance 5 by force of arms, although many of the greater men argued speciously that the enterprise was too arduous and far beyond the resources of Normandy. 5 At that time Normandy had in its counsels, besides the bishops and abbots, outstanding men of the secular order, shining luminaries who were the pride of that assembly: Robert count of Mortain; 6 Robert count of Eu, the brother of Hugh bishop of Lisieux (of whose life we have written above); 7 Richard count of Évreux, son of Archbishop Robert; Roger of Beaumont; 8 Roger of Montgomery; 9 William fitz

3 William’s consultation with his vassals is described by OV ii. 140–2, who added some details to the information he took from GG, in particular, the names of the bishops and, among the laymen, the names of Ralph of Conches, William of Warenne, Hugh of Grandmesnil, Roger of Montbray and Baldwin and Richard, the sons of Count Gilbert of Brionne.

4 WP continues to insist on William’s hereditary right through King Edward’s mother Emma (see above, i. 14, 41).

5 OV ii. 142–3 amplifies this, mentioning specifically the dangers of the crossing, the problem of raising a fleet, and Harold’s resources in manpower.

6 Robert of Mortain was Duke William’s half-brother. For his career, see B. Golding, Robert of Mortain, Battle, xiii (1991), 119–44. He was given the county of Mortain after the downfall of William Warlenc (1053 x 1061). He provided 120 ships for the invasion fleet (van Houts, ‘Ship list’, p. 169 and App. 1).

7 For Robert, see above, i. 31; for Hugh, i. 38.

8 Roger of Beaumont-le-Roger, son of Humphrey of Vieilles.

9 Roger II of Montgomery, vicomte of the Hiénois. For his family and early career, see Kathleen Thompson, ‘The Norman aristocracy before 1066: the example of the Montgomerys’, Historical Research, lx (1987), 251–63.
Osbern;¹ Hugo uicecomes.² Horum ingenis atque industria conseruari posset incolumis: nec adeo senatoribus ducenis indigeret freta his Romana respublica,³ si quanta apud ueteres nunc polleret. In omni tamen delibratione prudentiae principis a cunctis concessum fuisse comperimus, ac si mente diuina quid agendum foret aut uitandum praenosceret. Pie agentibus Deus dedit sapientiam⁴, ait quidam peritus divinorum. Ille autem ab infantia pie operabatur. Quantum uero iubere libuit, tantum nisi necessitas obsisteret paruere cuncti.

2. Quam igitur prudenti ipsius dispositione naues fierent, armis, uiris, commeatu alisque rebus quae bello sunt usui instruerentur, qualiter totius Normanniae studia feruerent, prolixum est per singula enarrare.² Neque minus prouide disposit, qui Normanniam se absente gubernarent ac tutarentur.⁶ Conuenit etiam externus miles in auxilium copiosus,⁷ quos ex parte notissima ducis liberalitas, uerum omnes iustae causae causae fiducia contraxit.

Rapina omni interdicta, stipendio ipsius millia militum quinquagenta alebantur, dum uentorum incommoditas ad portum Diuae detinebat mora menstrua.⁸ Ea illius temperantia fuit ac prudentia: militibus et hospitibus abunde sumptus ministrabatur; nemimi rapere quippiam concedebatur. Proncialium tuto armenta uel greges pascebantur seu per campestria seu per tcsqua. Segetes falcem cultoris intactae expectabant, quas nee segetem rapina omni interdicta, stipendio ipsius millia militum quinquagenta alebantur, dum uentorum incommoditas ad portum Diuae detinebat mora menstrua.⁸ Ea illius temperantia fuit ac prudentia: militibus et hospitibus abunde sumptus ministrabatur; nemimi rapere quippiam concedebatur. Proncialium tuto armenta uel greges pascebantur seu per campestria seu per tcsqua. Segetes falcem cultoris intactae expectabant, quas nee segetem rapina.

2. Hugh the vicomte was Hugh II of Montfort, first named as a vicomte in a charter of 1055 (Fauroux, no. 137; Bates, Normandy, p. 142 n. 93). He subscribed a number of Duke William's charters (Fauroux, nos. 110, 137, 145, 194, 220). His name does not occur in Oderic's list.
3. The number of senators in the Roman republic was greater; there were 300 at the beginning of the Republic and more later (Foreville, p. 149 n. 7).
4. Ecl. 43: 37 (omnia autem Dominus fecit et pie agentibus dedit sapientiam).
5. Details of shipbuilding are shown in the Bayeux Tapestry, pls. 37, 38, 39. For the provision of ships, see below, p. 108 and n. 2.
6. See below, it. 43.
7. See below, it. 19.
8. In fact it is unlikely that the month's delay was due to unfavourable winds (see above, Introduction, pp. xxiv–xxvi). The logistics involved in provisioning William's army have been discussed by B. S. Bachrach, 'Some observations on the military administration of the Norman Conquest', Battle, viii (1986), 1–25. He estimates the probable number of men in William's army as about 14,000 (the number given in the Chronique de Saint-Maixent 751–1182, ed. J. Verdon (Paris, 1979), p. 136), of whom 10,000 could have been effective fighting men. Other historians have suggested a lower figure (e.g. R. Allen Brown, 'The battle of Hastings', Battle, iii (1981), 1–21, at p. 10, suggests 7,000 for the force at Hastings).
imbecillis aut inermis, e quo cantans qua libuit uctabatur, turmas militum cernens non exhorrescens.\footnote{F, authoritas D M}

3. Tempore eodem sedebat in cathedra sancti Petri Romae papa Alexander dignissimus, cui obediret quomque consuleret ecclesia uniusera. Responsa etenim edebat iusta salutariaque. Is praeus Luciensis, cum altiorem gradum nullatenus appeteret, violento plurimorum consensus, quorum apud Romanos tunc praecellebat auctoritas,\footnote{1} ingenti concilio assentiente, in eo locatus est primatu, quo praeusulum orbis terrae caput existeret atque magister.\footnote{2} Allectionem hanc sanctitate meruerat atque doctrina. Per eadem post ad ortum solis et occasum effulgebat. Neque sui cursus limitem sol immutabilis natura, quam per ueritatis ille directum tendebat uita: quodquod ubiqueaque per mundum potuit iniquum corrigens, nulli concedens.\footnote{3}

Huius apostolici fauorem petens dux, intimato negotio quod agitabat, uexillum accept eius benignitate uelut suffragium sancti Petri, quo primo confidentius ac tutius uaderet adversarium.\footnote{4} Et Romanorum imperator Henrico, Henrici imperatoris filio, nepoti imperatoris Chounradi, nouiter iunctus fuit in amicitia, cuius edicto in quemlibet hostem Germania ei, si postularet, uiret adiuatri.\footnote{5} Rex quoque Danorum Sueus fidem legationibus ei spoondit, sed inimicis eius amicum

\footnote{1} The whole passage, ‘PrOinicialium . . . exhorrescens’ is reproduced word for word below, ii. 45.

\footnote{2} Anselm, bishop of Lucca, was elected pope as Alexander II on 30 Sept. 1061. He had the support of Archdeacon Hildebrand and all the cardinal bishops, who met outside the walls of Rome for the election, and he was enthroned under the protection of Prince Richard of Capua and the Normans. His election was contested unsuccessfully by the party of the young king, Henry IV of Germany, who set up Cadalus, bishop of Parma, as antipope (H. E. J. Cowdrey, The Age of Abbot Desiderius (Oxford, 1983), p. 118; Chronica monasterii Casinensi, ed. H. Hoffmann, MGH SS. xxiv (1986), 85–6).

\footnote{3} WP’s lavish praise may have been prompted by Alexander II’s support for Duke William. Papal policy towards the Normans, both in Normandy and in South Italy, had been hostile, or at least cautious, in the early 1050s; after the defeat of Nicholas II at Civitate in 1059 relations improved in both areas, and Alexander II carried on the policies of his predecessor. See François Neveux, ‘Quelques aspects de l’imperialisme normand au xie siecle en Italie et en Angleterre’, in Les Normands en Mediterranee, ed. P. Bouet and F. Neveux (Cairns, 1994), pp. 51–62, at 52–3.

\footnote{4} The GG is the only contemporary written source to mention the papal banner. But there is corroboration by Orderic Vitalis; for although Orderic relied partly on GG he had some independent information, and named Gilbert, archdeacon of Lisieux, as the envoy sent to seek support from Alexander II, who brought back the banner (OV ii. 142–3). It cannot be identified with certainty among the flags depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry (Renn, ‘Burgcat’, pp. 189, 191–2).

\footnote{5} There is no other evidence for this alliance, though William may well have taken steps to guard against any attack in the course of an inevitably very perilous and protracted enterprise. K. J. Leyser, ‘England and the Empire in the early twelfth century’, in his Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900–1250 (London, 1983), pp. 191–213, points out (p. 191) that the permission of the emperor given to men wishing to accompany the expedition could have assisted Flemish knights from fiefs held of the Empire in joining William’s army.

3. At that time the see of St Peter at Rome was occupied by Pope Alexander, a most worthy man who was obeyed and consulted by the universal Church, for he gave just and salutary replies. When he was bishop of Lucca and sought no higher dignity, he was placed in the primacy by the impetuous concurrence of many of those whose authority prevailed at that time among the Romans and with the consent of a large assembly, so that he might be the head and master of the bishops of the whole world.\footnote{2} He deserved this promotion because of his holiness and learning. Through these he shone thereafter to the East and to the West. Nor did the sun proceed more immutably on its course in nature than he proceeded in his life on the straight line of truth; whatsoever and wheresoever in the world he could, he corrected wrong and gave way to no one.\footnote{3} Seeking the approval of this pope, whom he had informed of the business in hand, the duke received a banner with his blessing, to signify the approval of St Peter,\footnote{4} by following which he might attack the enemy with greater confidence and safety.\footnote{5} Also he had recently made a friendly pact with Henry, emperor of the Romans, son of the emperor Henry and grandson of the emperor Conrad, by the terms of which Germany would, if requested, come to his aid against any enemy.\footnote{5} Swen, king of the Danes, also pledged his faith to him through ambassadors; but he
exhibebat se fidelem, sicut in sequentibus legendo ipsius
detrimenta spectabils. 1

4. Heraldus interea promptus ad decernendum praelio siue
terrestri, siue nauali, plerumque cum immani exercitu ad litus 2
marinum operiens, 3 callide subornatos transmisit exploratores. 4
Quorum deprehenso uni, causamque sui aduentus qua praecip­
tum est specie obtegere conato, dux animi sui magnitudinem
proditur: ‘Non indiget’, inquit, ‘Heraldus auri ul argenti iactura
atu aliorumque fidem atque solertiaem emere, qui subdole
speculatum 5 nos ueniatis. Quid consulatur, quid
apparetur apud nos certior cum quam uelit et opinione eius
citior index, quippe mea praesenta, docebit? Hoc ex me refer
illi mandatum, nee ullam aduersitatem ex nobis ei suscipientam
esse, quominus reliquam aetatem securus agat, nisi intra annuum
spacium, ubi tutiorem locum suis pedibus sperat, me conspexerit. 6

Stupentes vero grande promissum primores Normannorum,
multi diffidentiam suam non reticent. Amplificant oratione, quam
desperatio dictuat, opes Heraldi, suas diminuunt. Thesauris
illum abundare, quisbus partis suae duces et reges praepotentes
conducantur; classem habere plurimam, homines in ministeriis
nauticis peritissimos, qui saepius pericula et praelia maritima sint
experti; terra illius, uti diuitiis, ita militis copia,
hanc multiplicier superari. Quis enim iuxta praestitutum naues perfici aut perfecitis
remiges inucniri annuo spatio posse speraret? Quis noua hac
expeditione pulcherrimum statum patriae in omnem redigi mis­
set? Hoc ex me refer illi mandatum, nee ullam aduersitatem ex nobis ei suscipientam
esse, quominus reliquam aetatem securus agat, nisi intra annuum
spacium, ubi tutiorem locum suis pedibus sperat, me conspexerit. 7

5. Erexit autem diffidentes dux hac elocutione: ‘Innotuit nobis’,
ait ‘Heraldi sapientia: terrorem nobis ingerit, sed spem auget. Sua

1 Swin II Estrithson, king of Denmark (1043–74), was the son of Canute's sister Estrith and
himself had pretensions to the English throne. WP's account of his attack on England in
1066 was contained in the later part of his work, now lost; for its substance, see OW ii.
24. 9
2 C. ASC (C) 1666, ‘King Harold assembled a naval force and a land force larger than
any king had assembled before in this country, because he had been told as a fact that
Count William from Normandy, King Edward's kinsman, meant to come here and subdue
this country.'

4 There is no doubt that the English no less than the Normans made use of military
intelligence. See above, p. xxiv.
II. rode inland, the ships were brought up to London, up by William of the men needed during his first
allowed home, Duke William's followers, (Caesar, reason rood that i.6. TiE DEEDS OF
regions.' see Gauthiez, we was later taken splendid "When his King Harold's fleet
the king and assembled contradicts there circular to
the of St Paul's Statemenr the go his sur
was kept in the safe anchorage there as well as in the coastal harbours. WP's statement here that the fleet was being built and assembled contradicts his previous statement (ii. 8) that the delay was due to the wind.
The theme of the need to reform the English church, developed by Norman apologists at the time of the Conquest, was later taken up by William of Malmesbury (GR ii. 304-3) and by Orderic Vitalis (OV ii. 256-49).
6. Presently the whole fleet, equipped with such great foresight, was blown from the mouth of the Dives and the neighbouring ports, where they had long waited for a south wind to carry them across, and was driven by the breath of the west wind to moorings at Saint-Valery. There too the leader, whom neither the delay and the contrary wind nor the terrible shipwrecks nor the craven flight of many who had pledged their faith to him could shake, committed himself with the utmost confidence by prayers, gifts and vows, to the protection of heaven. Indeed, meeting adversity with good counsel, he concealed (as far as he could) the loss of those who had been drowned, by burying them in secret, and by land force was kept everywhere along the sea, though in the end it was of no use. When it was the Feast of the Nativity of St Mary [8 Sept.] the provisions of the people were gone, and nobody could keep them there any longer. Then the men were allowed to go home, and the king rode inland, and the ships were brought up to London, and many perished before they reached there.
6. Cf. the misfortunes of the English fleet (ibid.). This is the only early source to mention the shipwreck of some Norman ships on the way to Saint-Valery. Such loss was only to be expected with very large fleets moving along the Channel coasts. Cf. the damage suffered by Caesar's fleet during his first invasion of Britain (Caesar, De bello gallico iv. 28, 29).

6. iam tota classis prouidentissime exornata ab ostio Diue uicinisque portubus, ubi Nothum, quo transmitterent, diu tus expectauere, Zephyri flatu in stationem Sancti Guacrici delata est. Ibi quoque precibus, donis, uotis, calesti suffragio se commisit optime confidens prineeps, quem neque mora siue contrarietas uenti, neque terribilia naufragia, neque pauida fuga multorum, qui fidem spoponderant, frangere praeualent. Quin et consilio aduersitatis obuius, submersorum interitus quantum poterat occultauit, latentius tumulando; commeatum in dies...
augendo, inopiam leniuit. Ad hoc hortamine diuero retractor externitos, animavit pauentes. Sacris supplicationibus adoe decer-tuit, ut corpus etiam acceptissimi Deo confessoris Gualerici, contra praepedientem et pro secundo uento, extra basilicam deferret, concurrente in eadem humiliatis arma concionc profec-turorum cum ipso.¹

7. Spirante dein aura expectata, uoces cum manibus in caelu gratificantes, ac simul tumultus inuicem incitans tollitur; terra quam properantissime descritur, dubium iter quam cupientissime initur. Eo namque celeritatis motu impelluntur, ut cum armigerum hic, socium inclamet ille, plerique immemores clientum, aut sociorum, aut rerum necessariarum, id solum ne relinquantur cogitant ac festinant. Increpat tamen atque urget in puppes ardens uhelementia ducis, si quo uellatenus moram nectere notat.

Verum ne prius luce litiṣ² quod intendat attingentes, iniqua et minus nota statione periclitentur, dat praeconis uoce edictum, ut cum in altum sint deductae, paululum noxii conquisceanit non longe a sua² rates cunctae in anchoris fluitantes, donec in eius mali summo lampade conspecta, exemplo buccinae clangorem cursorem signum.³ Memorant antique Graecia Atridem Agamemnona fraternos thalamus ultum iisisse mille naubus;⁴ protestamur nos Guillel-mum diadema regium requisisse pluribus.⁵ Xerxem fabulatur illa Seston et Abidon ponto disiunctas urbes nauium ponte coniun-xisse.⁶ Guillelmmum nos reuera propagamus, uno clauo suae

¹ D; litiṣ M F

⁴ For the alleged delay at Saint-Valery, see above, pp. xxv–xxvi. WJ does not suggest that there was any undue delay (GND ii. 164–7). King William's 1068 grant of land in Essex to the abbey of Saint-Valery was made as a thank-offering for the safe outcome of the whole enterprise (I. E. Salter, Facsimiles of Early Charters in Oxford Muniment Rooms (Oxford, 1929), p. 29); and not specifically for the favourable wind.

² WP may have had in mind both the experience of Caesar (De bello gallico iv. 23–6) and the fate of a small number of ships which became separated from the main fleet and landed at Romney; a misfortune he refrains from mentioning until describing Duke William's vengeance (below, ii. 27) after the battle of Hastings.

The ship-list (above, p. 108 n. 2), names the ship Hora, and states that it was given by Duchesse Matilda; Orderic names the ship's master as Stephen, son of Ainar (OV vi. 296–7). The description of the Channel crossing is full of Vergilian echoes, both in language and in picturesque detail (Foreville, pp. xli–xliii, 159 n. 3). In addition, some episodes are
daily increasing supplies he alleviated want. By divers encoura-gements he retained the terrified and put heart into the fearful. He strove with holy prayers to such a point that he had the body of Valery, a confessor most acceptable to God, carried out of the basilica to quell the contrary wind and bring a favourable one; all the assembled men-at-arms who were to set out with him shared in taking up the same arms of humility.¹

7. At length the expected wind blows; voices and hands are raised to heaven in thanks, and at the same time a tumult arises as each one encourages the other. The land is left behind with all speed, and they embark eagerly on the hazardous journey. Their haste is so great that, as one calls for his squire and another for his companion, most, heedless of their dependants or friends or their necessary baggage, hurry forward fearful only of being left behind. The duke meanwhile, eager and vehement, admonishes any laggards he can see and urges them to embark in the ships.

But for fear that they might reach the shore to which they were bound before dawn and run into danger in a hostile and unknown landing place,² he has an order proclaimed by a herald that when they reach the open sea they should all rest at anchor for a short watch of the night not far from his ship, until they see a lamp lit at his masthead, and hear the sound of a trumpet as a signal to sail on.³

Ancient Greece tells us that Agamemnon of the house of Atreus went to avenge the violation of his brother's bed with a thousand ships;⁴ but we protest that William claimed a royal crown with more.⁵ Greece also tells the story of how Xerxes joined the towns of Sestos and Abydos, separated by the sea, with a bridge of boats.⁶ As for us, we proclaim in truth that William

reminiscent of Caesar, who also became separated from part of his fleet and had to wait offshore for the remaining boats (De bello gallico iv. 22).

⁴ Cf. Ilias latina, lines 120–9, 171–5, where the numbers add up to 1,086; the number 1,000, however, is more probably taken from Vergil, Aeneid ii. 197–8, 'quos neque Tydides nec Larissaeus Achilles, | non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae'.

⁵ Wace gave the number 600 (Wace, Rou pt. iii, line 6425 (ii. 123)); if all kinds of transport are included 1,000 is not excessive. The number 3,000 given by WJ (GND ii. 164) is certainly inflated.

⁶ The account of the bridge of boats built by Xerxes is fullest in Herodorus (vii. 33–6), whose work cannot have been known to WP. He probably took the reference from Lucan, Pharsalia ii. 672–5 and vi. 55–6, where both Sestos and Abydos are named.
linked together by his sway the wide extent of the Norman and English lands. We consider that William, who had never been conquered by anyone and had enriched his native land with famous trophies and splendid triumphs, was equal in strength and surpassing in courage to Xerxes, who was defeated by a stronger foe and had no fleet. 1

When the ships set sail at night after the halt, the vessel carrying the duke at a great pace left the others behind, as if it responded to his command as he hastened to victory, by trying to equal his ardour by its speed. In the morning an oarsman, ordered to look out from the top of the mast for those following, reported that as far as he could see there was nothing but sea and sky. At once the anchor was dropped and, so that fear and grief might not trouble his companions, the mettlesome duke partook of an abundant meal, accompanied by spiced wine, as if he were in his hall at home, asserting with remarkable cheerfulness that all the others would arrive before long, guided by God to whose safekeeping he had entrusted them. Vergil, the prince of poets, would not have thought it unfitting to insert in his praise of the Trojan Aeneas (who was the ancestor and glory of ancient Rome) an account of the confidence and purpose of this banquet. 2 On being asked again, the look-out saw four ships following; the third time he exclaimed that there were so many they resembled a dense forest whose trees bore sails. We leave it to everyone to imagine how the duke’s hope was turned to joy, and how much he glorified God’s mercy from the depths of his heart.

8. Carried by a favourable breeze to Pevensey, they disembarked easily from the ships, without having to offer battle. 3 In fact Harold had gone away to Yorkshire to fight against his brother Tostig 4 and Harold, king of the

Rudkin, ‘Where did William land? (Sussex Magazine, Feb. 1928) argued for a landing at a number of small places, in particular Bulmer-Haven (near Bexhill) and Hastings-Haven (cited Foreville, p. 164, n. 3). It is possible that the landings of the very large number of boats were spread out over several beaches and harbours from Pevensey to Hastings.

1 This is WP's first mention of Harold's brother Tostig, who was earl of Northumbria from 1035 until a rebellion of the Northumbrians forced him into exile in 1065 (Vita Edwardi, pp. 76-80 and nn. 188, 190).
rege dimicaturus.\textsuperscript{1} Nec mirere quod germanus permutos iniurias, inuasi honoris aemulus, arma externa adduxit in Heraldum, quem germana\textsuperscript{2} quoque illi moribus absimillima, cum armis non ualereat, uotis impugnabat et consilio, luxuria foedum, truculentum\textsuperscript{a} homicidam, diuete rapina superbum, aduersarium aequali et bono. Voluit autem uirilis prudentiae femina intelligens honesta quaelibet ac uita colens, Guillelmm Anglis dominari, quem Edwardi regis mariti sui adoptio, filii loco, sibi succedere statuit: sapientem, iustum, fortbum.\textsuperscript{3}

9. Bellum inter Guillelmm ducem et Heraldum regem Anglorum.\textsuperscript{4} Gaudentes arrepto littore, Normanni prima munitione Peneuesellum, altera Hastingsa occupauere; quae sibi receptaculo, nauibus propuigaculo forest.\textsuperscript{5} Marius, aut Magnus Pompeius, uterque eximiu calliditate atque industria meritus triumphum, hic\textsuperscript{b} adducto Romam in uinculis Iugurtha,\textsuperscript{6} ille coacto Mithridate ad uenenum,\textsuperscript{2} sic in hostium fines delatum formidaret agens militem uniuersum, se in periculum irem ab agmine cum legione seigniter dare. Fuit illorum, et est ducum consuetudinis, dirigere non ire exploratores: magis ad uitam sibi, quam ut exercitui prouidentiam suam consuerarent.\textsuperscript{8} Guillelmm uero cum uiginti quinque, non amplius militum comitatu promptus ipse loca et incolas explorauit. Inde reuerens, ob asperitatem tramitis pedes

\textsuperscript{a} M F; truculentum D
\textsuperscript{b} M F; hacc D

\textsuperscript{1} Tostig had gone to Flanders in November 1065, and then sailed either by way of Normandy or directly to the Isle of Wight in April or May 1066. Orderic, the Hyde Chronicle, and Quaedam exceptiones mention a visit to King Harold of Norway (CND ii. 162, n. 3, appendix, p. 302; OV ii. 168 and n. 1).
\textsuperscript{2} His sister was Edith, the wife of Edward the Confessor. There is an element of sheer inventive in WP’s attack on Harold; but there is independent evidence, particularly in Domesday Book, of his great wealth, partly granted by King Edward and partly taken from various churches without their consent (see Robin Fleming, Kings and Lords in Conquest England (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 84–5, 88–9). The charge of lasciviousness may have been prompted by his long association with his concubine, Edith Swan-neck, or with other concubines. Very different estimates of his character are given in the Vita Edwardi (pp. 46–8), and in the chronicle of the church he founded at Waltham (Waltham Chronicle, pp. 22–9 and passim).
\textsuperscript{3} Queen Edith succeeded in making peace with William and may have endorsed his claim. See Pauline Stafford, Queen Emma and Queen Edith (Oxford, 1997), p. 275.
\textsuperscript{4} The heading in Duchesne’s edition probably marks the point where WP began the second part of his history. This edition, however, follows the division preferred in Foreville’s edition.
\textsuperscript{5} For Pevensey, see A. J. Taylor, ‘Evidence for a pre-Conquest origin for the chapels in Hastings and Pevensey castles’, Château-Gaillard: European Castle Studies, iii (London, 1999), 144–51. The Norman fortifications were constructed within the walls of the Roman fortress. The Bayeux Tapestry shows a mote under construction at Hastings (Bayeux Tapestry, pl. 51). A. J. Taylor has suggested that ‘the mote that survives in much mutilated condition on Hastings cliff today is indeed the mote seen under construction in the Tapestry’ (Belbre’, Battle, xiv (1992), 1–23, at p. 19).
\textsuperscript{6} Cf. Sallust, Bellum Iugurthinun, exciv. 3, ‘Sed postquam bellum in Namidia concfictum et Iugurthum Romam vincitum adduci nuncius est, Marius consul absens factus est et ei decreto provincia Gallia, isque kalendis Januariis magna gloria consul triumphant.’
\textsuperscript{7} For Pompey’s triumphs, cf. Lucan, Pharsalia, viii. 794–815.
\textsuperscript{8} See Vegetius, iii. 6 (pp. 75–7).
laughter, though the reader may laugh) he deserved genuine praise, for he carried on his own shoulders both his own hauberk and that of one of his followers, William fitz Osbern, renowned for his bodily strength and courage, whom he had relieved of this iron burden.

10. Robert, son of the noblewoman Guimara, who was a wealthy inhabitant of those parts and a Norman by birth, sent a messenger to Hastings to the duke, his lord and kinsman, with these words: ‘King Harold has fought with his own brother and with the king of the Norwegians, who passed for the strongest man living under the sun, and has killed both in one battle and destroyed huge armies. Encouraged by this success, he is advancing against you by forced marches, leading a strong and numerous troop; against him I consider that your men would be worth no more than so many wretched dogs. You are reckoned a prudent man; up to now you have always acted prudently in peace and war. Now I advise you, act circumspectly so as not to fall through rashness into a danger from which you will not escape. I urge you: stay behind fortifications; do not offer battle for the time being.’ But the duke replied to the messenger, ‘For the message in which your lord wishes me to be cautious (although it would have been decent to give advice without insult) give him my thanks and this reply: “I will not take refuge in the shelter of ditch or walls, but I will fight with Harold as soon as possible; nor do I lack confidence in the courage of my men to fight and destroy him with his men, if God so wills, even if I had only 10,000 men of the quality of the 60,000 I have brought with me”’.

11. One day, when the duke was inspecting the guard of the ships, he was told as he happened to be walking along near to

In crastino discumbens in medio primatum suorum cucculato advocato dixit, ‘Ego sum Guillelmus, Dei gratia Normannorum princeps.’ Quae mihi hesterno die retulisti, in horum nunc praesentia refer.’ Legatus ita elocutus est, ‘Haec tibi mandat rex Heraldus. Terram eius ingressus es, qua fiducia, qua temeritate, nescit. Meminit quidem quod rex Edwardus te Anglici regni haeredem fore pridem decreuerit, et quod ipse in Normannia de hac successione securitatem tibi firmauerit.’ Nout autem iure suum esse regnum idem, eiusdem regis domini sui dono in extremis illius sibi concessum. Etenim ab eo tempore quo beatus Augustinus in hanc uenit regionem, communem gentis huissu suisse consuetudinem, donationem quam in ultimo fine suo quis fecerit, eam raram haberi. Quapropter de terra iuste cum tuis te regredi postulat. Alioquin amicitiam et cuncta pacta per ipsum in Normannia tibi firmata soluet, penes te omnino relinquens ea.’

12. Auditis Heraldi mandatis, dux monachum inquisuit num legatum suum ad Heraldum cum salute perdurecerit. Iste salutis eius ut propiae curam se habiturum spopondit. Dux illico the moorings that a monk had arrived as an envoy from Harold. He went to meet him at once, and made this skillful speech, ‘I am the steward of William, count of the Normans, and the person nearest to him. You cannot have access to speak to him except through me; tell me the message that you bring. He will hear it willingly from me, for he holds no one dearer. After I have done my work you may come at a convenient moment as you wish, to speak with him.’ After hearing the message, as the monk revealed it, the duke ordered the envoy to be lodged without delay and entertained with humanity and courtesy. Meanwhile he deliberated within himself and with his men, as to how he should reply to the message.

In the morning, sitting in the midst of his magnates, he said to the cowled advocate, ‘I am William, by the grace of God prince of the Normans.’ Repeat now in the presence of these men what you told me yesterday.’ The envoy spoke as follows: ‘King Harold sends you this message. You have invaded his land, whether from confidence or rashness he does not know. He recalls, indeed, that King Edward formerly decreed that you should be heir to the English kingdom, and that he himself gave you surety in Normandy for this succession. He knows, however, that the kingdom is his by right, by gift of the same king his lord, made to him on his deathbed. For ever since the time when St Augustine came to these parts, the common custom of this people has been that the gift that anyone made at the point of death shall be held as valid. Wherefore he rightly demands that you should leave this land with your men. Otherwise he will end the friendship and break all the pacts made by him to you in Normandy, leaving the responsibility entirely with you.’

12. After hearing Harold’s message the duke asked the monk if he would be willing to escort his own envoy to Harold in safety. The monk promised to care for his safety as for his own.

1 The formula, ‘Dei gratia’, was frequently used by William in his ducal charters (Fauroux, nos. 94, 102, 109, 110, 115 and passim). His title in charters varies between ‘dux’ and ‘comes’, more rarely ‘marchio’, and occasionally ‘princeps’ (e.g. Fauroux, no. 177, ‘ego Willelmuus, Normannorum, Dei gratia, princeps’).

2 Part of the case for William, repeatedly stressed by WP.

3 Cf. Eadmer, HN, p. 8, ‘obit Edwardus, et iuxta quod ipse ante mortem statucret in regnum ei successit Haroldus.’ The reference shows that WP was familiar with the English custom that gave overriding right to death-bed (‘verba novissima’) bequests, and was at pains to show that it had no force on this occasion. See J. S. Beckermann, ‘Succession in Normandy, 1087, and in England, 1066: the role of testamentary custom’, Speculum, xlvii (1972), 258-60; H. E. J. Cowdrey, ‘Death-bed testaments’, Fälschungen im Mittelalter (MGH Schriften, 6 vols., Hanover, 1988–90), iv. 703-24, at pp. 716-20; Ann Williams, ‘Some notes and considerations on problems connected with the English royal succession, 860–1066’, Battle, i (1979), 144–67, at pp. 165–7.
ii. 12  

THE DEEDS OF WILLIAM

Whereupon the duke instructed a certain monk of Fécamp¹ in the words he was to take forthwith to Harold: ‘Neither rashly nor unjustly, but after taking counsel and guided by equity I have crossed the sea to enter this land, of which my lord and kinsman King Edward (as Harold himself says) made me his heir, on account of the great honours and numerous benefits which I and my ancestors conferred on him and his brother and their men; also because, of all those belonging to his line, he believed me to be the most worthy and the most able either to help him while he lived, or to govern the kingdom after his death. Certainly he did not do this without the consent of his magnates, but in truth with the advice of Archbishop Stigand, Earl Godwine, Earl Leofric, and Earl Siward, who also confirmed with a handfast oath, that after the death of Edward they would receive me as their lord, and that during his lifetime they would not seek at any time to deprive me of the kingdom through any impediment. He gave me the son and grandson of Godwine as hostages.² Finally he sent Harold himself to Normandy, so that he might swear to me there and in person what his father and the others named above had sworn to me in my absence. When he was on his journey, he fell into a perilous captivity, from which I rescued him by my prudence and power. He made himself my vassal by giving his hands to me, and gave me surety with his grandson of Godwine as hostages.³ I am ready to put my case against him to judgement, by the law of the English or of the Normans as he prefers. If according to a true and equitable judgement the Normans or the English decree that he ought by right to possess this kingdom, let him possess it in peace. If they agree that it should justly be surrendered to me, let him abandon it to me. But if he rejects this proposition, I do not consider it right that either my men or his should fall in battle, for they have no guilt in our dispute. See, I am ready to assert, by my

¹ The appearance of the monk of Fécamp in William’s company is certainly authentic. The royal monastery of Fécamp had received lands in Sussex from Cnut and Edward the Confessor: although some were taken over by Harold, the abbey retained property called ‘Rameslie’ in the hundred of Guestling, and some tolls in the port of Winchelsea. See above, pp. xxvi–xxvii. The monks were familiar with Hastings and its hinterland, and could have provided guides for the Norman invaders. Remigius of Fécamp had also given a ship with twenty knights (van Houts, ‘Ship-list’, pp. 178–9); and William of Malmsbury recorded that King William recognized a debt to him when he made him bishop of Dorchester (GP pp. 312–13, ‘Remigius, ex monacho Fiscannensi, qui Willhelmo comite

² See above, i. 14.
³ See above, i. 41, 42. WP here indicates both that Harold became William’s vassal and that he swore a handfast oath.
Hanc uerborum ducis diligenter compertam sententiam magis quam dictatum nostrum in oculos plurimorum uenire uolumus, quia plurimorum perpetuo fauore cum desideramus laudari. Pulchre colligetur et ex ea, quod uere prudens, iustus, pius ac fortis exiterit. Rationum namque copia, sicut liuetu attento, quas infirmare nec ualeret eloquentiae romanae maximus author Tullius, Heraldri rationem destruxit. Denique iudicium, quod iura gentium\(^2\) definirent, accipere praesto fuit. Anglos inimicos mori ob litem suam noluit; singulari certamine proprio capite causam determinar e uoluit.

13. Vt ergo mandata eadem Heraldro appropinquanti per monarchum sunt relata, stupore expalluit, atque dier ut elinguis obticuit. Rogitanti autem responsum legato semel et iterum, primo respondit: 'Pergimus continenter'; secundo: 'Pergimus ad preüum.'\(^3\) Instabat legatus ut aliud responderetur, repetens: non interitum accepta judicet, sed singulare certamen Normanno duci placere. Nam uir strenuus et bonus iustum aliquid in actum renuntiare, nec multos oecumbere uolebat; Heraldri caput, pro quo minor fortitudo, aequitas nulla staret, casurum confidens. Tum leuato Heraldus in caelum uultu ait: 'Dominus inter me et Guillelmum hodie quod iustum est decernat.' Regnandi siquidem cupidinem caecatus, simul ob trepidationem oblitus injuriae, conscientiam in ruinam sui rectum iudicem optauit.

14. Interea exploratum directi ducis iussu probatissimi equites, hostem adesse citi nuntiant. Accelerabat enim eo magis rex

\(^1\) The judicial duel was established in the custom of Normandy, not in that of England (Tardif, i. xlii, pp. 34–35; F Pollock and E W. Maitland, The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1968), i. 74. Such an offer, if made, would have been unacceptable to an Englishman. In the well-established practice of Normandy and northern France an offer of the ordeal or trial by battle was frequently a manoeuvre never intended to be taken up, made to gain a judicial advantage; see S. D. White, 'Proposing the ordeal and avoiding it: strategy and power in Western French litigation, 1050–1150', Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 89–123.

\(^2\) By the 'laws of peoples' WP meant the different legal customs of the Normans and the English; this is not the ius gentium of Roman law.

\(^3\) The Carmen also (lines 303–4) makes Harold declare that God will judge between them. Cf. Gen. 16. 5, 'Judicet Dominus inter me et te'.
furious king was hastening his march all the more because he had heard that the lands near to the Norman camp were being laid waste.¹ He thought that in a night or surprise attack he might defeat them unawares; and, in case they should try to escape, he had laid a naval ambush for them with an armed fleet of up to 700 ships.² The duke hastily ordered all who could be found in the camp (for a large number of his companions had gone off foraging) to arm themselves. He himself participated in the mystery of the Mass with the greatest devotion, and strengthened his body and soul by receiving in communion the body and blood of the Lord. He hung around his neck in humility the relics whose protection Harold had forfeited by breaking the oath that he had sworn on them. Two bishops who had accompanied him from Normandy, Odo of Bayeux and Geoffrey of Coutances, were in his company, together with numerous clerks and not a few monks. This clerical body prepared for the combat with prayers.³ Anyone else would have been terrified by putting on his hauberk back to front. But William laughed at this inversion as an accident and did not fear it as a bad omen.⁴

¹. Exhortationem, qua pro tempore breuiter militum uirtutii plurimum alacridades addidit, egregianm fuisse non dubitamus; eti nobis non ex tota dignitate sua relatum.⁵ Commonuit Normannos, quod in multis atque magnis periculis victores tamen se duce semper existerint. Commonuit omnes patriae suae, nobilium gestorum, magnim nominis. Nunc probandum esse manu, quu uirtute polleant, quem gerant animum. Iam non id agi, quis regnans uiuat, sed quis periculum imminens cum uita euadat. Si more uiorum pugnet, uictoriam, decus, divitiis habituros.

² There may have been rumours of a possible naval ambush, but it is unlikely that Harold would have had time to bring his ships out of their winter quarters in the Thames (isc C 1066), or to make up anything like 700 from any ships remaining in the Channel ports.

³. Exhortationem, qua pro tempore breuiter militum uirtutii plurimum alacridades addidit, egregianm fuisse non dubitamus; eti nobis non ex tota dignitate sua relatum.⁵ Commonuit Normannos, quod in multis atque magnis periculis victores tamen se duce semper existerint. Commonuit omnes patriae suae, nobilium gestorum, magnim nominis. Nunc probandum esse manu, quu uirtute polleant, quem gerant animum. Iam non id agi, quis regnans uiuat, sed quis periculum imminens cum uita euadat. Si more uiorum pugnet, uictoriam, decus, divitiis habituros.

⁴. Exhortationem, qua pro tempore breuiter militum uirtutii plurimum alacridades addidit, egregianm fuisse non dubitamus; eti nobis non ex tota dignitate sua relatum.⁵ Commonuit Normannos, quod in multis atque magnis periculis victores tamen se duce semper existerint. Commonuit omnes patriae suae, nobilium gestorum, magnim nominis. Nunc probandum esse manu, quu uirtute polleant, quem gerant animum. Iam non id agi, quis regnans uiuat, sed quis periculum imminens cum uita euadat. Si more uiorum pugnet, uictoriam, decus, divitiis habituros.

⁵. Exhortationem, qua pro tempore breuiter militum uirtutii plurimum alacridades addidit, egregianm fuisse non dubitamus; eti nobis non ex tota dignitate sua relatum.⁵ Commonuit Normannos, quod in multis atque magnis periculis victores tamen se duce semper existerint. Commonuit omnes patriae suae, nobilium gestorum, magnim nominis. Nunc probandum esse manu, quu uirtute polleant, quem gerant animum. Iam non id agi, quis regnans uiuat, sed quis periculum imminens cum uita euadat. Si more uiorum pugnet, uictoriam, decus, divitiis habituros.

⁶. Exhortationem, qua pro tempore breuiter militum uirtutii plurimum alacridades addidit, egregianm fuisse non dubitamus; eti nobis non ex tota dignitate sua relatum.⁵ Commonuit Normannos, quod in multis atque magnis periculis victores tamen se duce semper existerint. Commonuit omnes patriae suae, nobilium gestorum, magnim nominis. Nunc probandum esse manu, quu uirtute polleant, quem gerant animum. Iam non id agi, quis regnans uiuat, sed quis periculum imminens cum uita euadat. Si more uiorum pugnet, uictoriam, decus, divitiis habituros.

⁷. Exhortationem, qua pro tempore breuiter militum uirtutii plurimum alacridades addidit, egregianm fuisse non dubitamus; eti nobis non ex tota dignitate sua relatum.⁵ Commonuit Normannos, quod in multis atque magnis periculis victores tamen se duce semper existerint. Commonuit omnes patriae suae, nobilium gestorum, magnim nominis. Nunc probandum esse manu, quu uirtute polleant, quem gerant animum. Iam non id agi, quis regnans uiuat, sed quis periculum imminens cum uita euadat. Si more uiorum pugnet, uictoriam, decus, divitiis habituros.

⁸. Exhortationem, qua pro tempore breuiter militum uirtutii plurimum alacridades addidit, egregianm fuisse non dubitamus; eti nobis non ex tota dignitate sua relatum.⁵ Commonuit Normannos, quod in multis atque magnis periculis victores tamen se duce semper existerint. Commonuit omnes patriae suae, nobilium gestorum, magnim nominis. Nunc probandum esse manu, quu uirtute polleant, quem gerant animum. Iam non id agi, quis regnans uiuat, sed quis periculum imminens cum uita euadat. Si more uiorum pugnet, uictoriam, decus, divitiis habituros.

⁹. Exhortationem, qua pro tempore breuiter militum uirtutii plurimum alacridades addidit, egregianm fuisse non dubitamus; eti nobis non ex tota dignitate sua relatum.⁵ Commonuit Normannos, quod in multis atque magnis periculis victores tamen se duce semper existerint. Commonuit omnes patriae suae, nobilium gestorum, magnim nominis. Nunc probandum esse manu, quu uirtute polleant, quem gerant animum. Iam non id agi, quis regnans uiuat, sed quis periculum imminens cum uita euadat. Si more uiorum pugnet, uictoriam, decus, divitiis habituros.


16. Now this is the well-ordered arrangement in which he advanced behind the banner which the pope had sent him. 2 He placed foot-soldiers in front, armed with arrows and cross-bows; likewise foot-soldiers in the second rank, but more powerful and wearing hauberks; finally the squadrons of mounted knights, in the middle of which he himself rode with the strongest force, so that he could direct operations on all sides with hand and voice. 4 If any author of antiquity had been writing of Harold's line of march he would have recorded that in his passage rivers were dried up and forests laid flat. 5 For huge forces of English had assembled from all the shires. Some showed zeal for Harold, and all showed love of their country, which they wished to defend against invaders even though their cause was unjust. The land of the Danes (who were allied by blood) also sent copious forces. However, not daring to fight with William on equal terms, for they thought him more formidable than the king of the Norwegians, they took their stand on higher ground, on a hill near to the wood through which they had come. 6 At once dismounting from their horses, Norman to exaggerate the size of the English army (see Freeman, iii, note I.I.). Both the ASC (E) 1066 and the Worcester Chronicle (JW ii. 604) state that Harold fought the battle before all his troops had assembled (though ASC (D) 1066 says that Harold assembled a large army). WP's statement that the Danes sent support is uncorroborated. Even today, after the top of the hill at Battle had been levelled for the building of Battle Abbey, the strength of Harold's position is impressive. Harold may have supposed that he could effectively bar William's advance towards London, and that William would not attempt to attack on such unfavourable terrain.
densius conglobati. Dux cum suis neque loci territus asperitate, ardua chiui sensim ascendit.


Altissimus clamor, hinc Normannicus, illinc harharicus, armorum sonitu et gemitu morientium superatur. Sic aliquandiu summa ui certatur ah utrisque. Angli nimium adiuuantur superioris loci opportunitate, quem sine procursu tenent, et maxime eonferti; ingenti quoque numerositate sua atque validissima corpulcntia; praeterea pugnae instrumentis, quae facile per scuta vel alia tegmina uiam inueniunt. Fortissimc itaquc sustinent uel propel·lunt ausos in se districtum ensibus impetum facerc. Vulnerant et eos qui eminus in se icacula coniicnt. Ecce igitur hac saecitia perterririt auertunt pedites pariter atque equites Britannii, et quoquot auxiliares erant in sinistro cornu; cedit fere cuneta uictoria, quod cum pace dictum sit Normannorum inuictissimae nationis. Romanae maiestatis exercitus, copias regum continens, uincere solitus terra mariqllle, fugit aliquando, cum ducem suum sciret aut erederet occisum. Credideru Normanni ducem ac dominum suum cecidisse. Non ergo nimiris pudenda fuga cessere; minime uero dolenda, cum plurimum iuuerit.

1 WP possibly had in mind his own experience of the conduct of suits in the Norman courts.
3 The use of the couched lance by mounted knights was restricted in this battle, because of the nature of the terrain; hence the sword, or the javelin thrown from a distance, became particularly important. See above, p. xxxii; and, for the use of the lance, Jean Flori, ‘Encore l’usage de la lance . . . la technique du combat chevaleresque vers l’an 1100’, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, xxxi (1988), 213–40.
18. For the leader, seeing a great part of the opposing force springing forward to pursue his men, rushed towards them, met them as they fled and halted them, striking out and threatening with his spear. 1 Baring his head and lifting his helmet, 2 he cried, 'Look at me. I am alive, and with God’s help I will conquer. What madness is persuading you to flee? What way is open to escape? You could slaughter like cattle the men who are pursuing and killing you. You are abandoning victory and imperishable fame, and hurrying to disaster and perpetual ignominy. Not one of you will escape death by flight.' 3 At these words they recovered their courage. He rushed forward at their head, brandishing his sword, and mowed down the hostile people who deserved death for rebelling against him, their king. 4 Full of zeal the Normans surrounded some thousands who had pursued them and destroyed them in a moment, so that not a single one survived.

19. Emboldened by this, they launched an attack with greater determination on the main body of the army, which in spite of the heavy losses it had suffered seemed not to be diminished. The English fought confidently with all their might, striving particularly to prevent a gap being opened by their attackers. They were so tightly packed together that there was hardly room for the slain to fall. However paths were cut through them in several places by the weapons of the most valiant knights. Pressing home the attack were men of Maine, 5 Frenchmen, Bretons, Aquitanians, 6 above all Normans, whose valour was outstanding. A certain young Norman knight, Robert the son of Roger of Beaumont, nephew and heir of Hugh count of Meulan through Hugh’s sister Adeline, 7 while fighting that day in his first battle performed a praiseworthy deed, which deserves to be immortalized; charging with the battalion he commanded on the right wing, he laid the enemy low with the greatest audacity. We have not the means, and it is not our intention, to describe all the exploits of individuals as their merit deserves. The most eloquent writer who had seen that

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1. For Roger of Beaumont, see above, ii. 1. His wife Adeline was a daughter of Waleran I, count of Meulan; her brother Hugh became a monk at Bec. In 1066 young Robert was only heir presumptive. He was granted extensive lands in England by King William, and was made earl of Leicester by Henry I c. 1107 (CP vii. 523-4).


4. Among these was certainly Aimeri, viscount (‘praeurn’) of Thouars, twice named by WP (see below, ii. 22, 29; Jane Martindale, ‘Aimeri of Thouars and the Poitevin connection’, Battle, vii (1985), 224-45, at pp. 224-5).


22. Interfuerunt huic praelio Eustachii Boloniae comes, Guillelmius Ricardi Ebroicensis comitis filius, Goisfredus

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1 This statement shows that WP was not an eye-witness of the battle. It also emphasizes that even an eye-witness could have seen only a part of the action.

2 This rhetorical device (partium or dicurio), where the writer indicates in advance another topic to be taken up, was characteristic of earlier Latin prose biographies; see above, p. xxi.

3 Both the feigned flights, and the ability of the Norman forces to turn genuine flight into renewed attack in the previous incident, illustrate the remarkable skill of manœuvre in mounted combat achieved by the knights making up the mixed force.

4 The importance of the archers during this phase of the battle is illustrated in the Bayeux Tapestry, where no fewer than 23 archers are shown in the lower border (ps. 68, 69, 70, 71); cf. H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Towards an interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry', Battle, 8 (1988), 49–65, at p. 62: 'it is the archers who turn the tide of the battle'.

5 WP is a principal source for the modest list compiled by G. H. White of the 'companions of the Conqueror' known to have fought at Hastings (CP xii (i), app. I). The list was enlarged to twenty-seven by D. C. Douglas, 'Companions of the Conqueror', History, xxvii (1943), 129–47. Of the many others rewarded with English lands it is impossible to be absolutely certain who actually fought in the battle, and who, like Roger of Montgomery, came shortly afterwards.

6 Eustace II, count of Boulogne. For his career, see Tanner, 'Counts of Boulogne', pp. 251–86.

7 William, the son of Richard count of Évreux and Adela, the widow of Roger de Tosny, succeeded to the county in 1087.
Rotonis Moritoniae comitis filius,1 Guillelmus Osbernii filius,2 Haimeri Maiorum praeses,3 Gualterius Giffardus,4 Hugo de Montfortii,5 Rodolphus de Toneia,6 Hugo de Grenteinsnil,7 Guillelmus de Guerana,8 alique quamplures militiae praestantiae fama celebrissimae et quorum nomina historiarum uoluminibus inter bellicosissimos commendari deceat. Guillelmus uero, dux eorum, adeo praestabat eis fortitudine, quemadmodum prudentia, ut antiquis ducibus Graecorum siue Romanorum qui maxime scriptis laudabantur, aliis merito sit praeposendus, aliis comparandus. Nobiliter duxit ille cohens fugam, dans animos, periculi socius; saepius clamans ut uenirent, quam iubens ire. Vnde liquido intelligitur uirtutem illi praestiam pariter fecisse militibus ite et audaciam. Cor amatis absque uulnere pars hostium non modica, prospiciens hunc admirandum ac terribilem equitem. Equi tres cciderunt sub eo confossi. Ter ille desiluit intrepidus, nec diu mors uectoris inulta remansit.9 Hic uelocitas eius, hic robur eius uidcri potuit corporis et animi. Scuta, galeae, loricas, irato mucrone et moram designante penetravit; clipeo suo non-nullus collisit. Mirantes eum pedem sui milites, plerique confecti uulneribus, corde sunt reintegrati. Et nonnulli, 'quos iam sanguis uulnet', 10 scuti iniuxi uiriliter depugnant, aliqui uoce et nutibus, cum aliud non ualent, socios instigant, ne timidem ducem sequantur, ne victoriam e manibus dimittant. Auxilio ipse multis atque salutii fuit.

Cum Heraldo, tali quem poemata dicunt Hectorem uel Turnum, non minus auderet Guillelmuus congredi singulari certamine, quam Achilles cum Hectore;11 uel Aeneas cum

1 Geoffrey, son of Rotrou I count of Perche. If he acquired any lands in England after the Conquest, he was no longer holding them in 1086 (J. F. A. Mason, 'The companions of the Conqueror: an additional name', EHR lxi (1966), 66; see also OV ii. 266 n. 4).
2 See above, p. 26 n. 3.
3 Aimeri, twice given by WP the general title of 'praesidus', was vicomte of Thouars. Like Geoffrey of Perche, he was not a landless younger son, but a highly born young man who stood to inherit lands and title, and joined the expedition for reasons other than a wish to win estates in England. See above, p. xvii.
4 See above, p. 48 n. 6.
5 See above, p. 48 n. 5.
6 Ralph II of Tosny, son of Roger of Tosny; for his career see OV ii. 90, 166, 140, 358.
7 He was the husband of Adele of Beaumont and the son of Robert I of Grandmesnil, one of the founders of the abbey of Saint-Fyrvoul. After the Conquest he became castellan of Leicester and acquired extensive lands in England, which passed to the Beaumont family in the reign of Henry I (OV ii. 64-5 and n. 31; iv. 336-9).
8 William I of Warenne, who became earl of Surrey just before he died in 1088 (CP xii/1, p. 493).
9 The Carmen (lines 470-522) gives a long and fanciful account of William's loss of two horses. For a closer parallel, cf. William of Apulia's account of how Robert Guiscard lost three horses in the battle of Civitate, 'Ter deictus equo, ter viribus ipe reuenimus | Maior in arma reedit; stimulus furor ipe reminiscat', Mathieu, Geste, ii. 229-7 (p. 144).
10 Caesar, De bello gallico vii. 59.
11 The account of the victory of Achilles over Hector in Homer (Iliad, xxii. 247-300), may have been known to WP through the Ilias latina.
Turnus.\(^1\) Tydeus aduersum insidiatos quinquaginta rupis petuit opem:\(^2\) Guillelmus par, haud inferior loco, solus non extimuit mille. Scriptor Thebaidos uel \textit{Aeneidos}, qui libris in ipsis poetica lege de magnis maiora canunt, ex actibus huius uiri aeque magnum, plus dignum conficere\(^4\) opus uera canendo. Profecto, si quantum dignitas materiae suppediaret carminibus ediscere-\(\textit{c}ent\) condecentibus, inter diuos ipsorum stili uenustate transferrent eum. Nostra uero tenuis prosa, titulatura ipsius humillime regnantibus pietatem in cultu ueri Dei, qui solus ab aeterno in finem seculorum et ultra Deus est, praecium quo tam fortiter quam iuste uicit, ueraci termino breuique conclusat.

23. \(\textit{Iam inclinato die haud dubie intellexit exercitus Anglorum se stare contra Normannos diutius non ulere.\) Nouerunt se diminutos interitu multarum legio-\(\textit{nem}\); regem ipsum et frater eius, regnique primates nonnullos occubuisse;\(^3\) quotquot reliqui sunt prope uiribus exhaustos; subsidium quod expectent nullum relicum. Viderunt Normannos non multum decreuisse peremp-\(\textit{torum}\) casu, et quasi uirium incremen-\(\textit{ta}\) cum, quam iuste uicit, ueraci termino breuique conclusat.

\(\textit{Regnum sui, et se sitent, et quasi ueris incrementa pugnando somerent, acius quam in principio imminere; ducis eam saeuitiam quae nulli contra stanti parceret; eam fortitudinem quae nisi uictrix non quiesceret. In fugam itaque conuersi quantotius abierunt, alii rapitis equis, nonnulli pedites; pars per uias, plerique per auia. Iacuerunt in sanguine qui niterentur, aut surgerent non ualentes profugere. Valentes fecit aliqvis salutem ualde cupiens animus. Multi siluestribus in abditis remanserunt cadauera; multa obfuerunt profugentibus sequentibus per itineram collapsi. Normanni, licet ignari regionis, auide insequebantur, caedentes rea terga, imponentes quod uisit victor.

\(\textit{Cassian, xiilr, app. GND 137}\) Thebaid

\(\textit{Aeneas over Turnus.}\) Tydeus, when ambushed by fifty men, defended himself with a rock;\(^2\) William, his equal and in no way inferior in standing, single-handed did not fear a thousand. The authors of the \textit{Thebaid} or the \textit{Aeneid}, who in their books sing of great events and exaggerate them according to the law of poetry, could make an equally great and more worthy work by singing truthfully about the actions of this man. Indeed, if by the beauty of their style they could equal the grandeur of their subject matter, they would rank him among the gods. But our feeble prose will bring humbly to the notice of kings his piety in the worship of the true God, who alone is God from eternity to the end of the world and beyond, and will briefly and truthfully bring to a close this account of the battle which he bravely and justly won.

23. Towards the end of the day the English army realized that there was no hope of resisting the Normans any longer. They knew that they had been weakened by the loss of many troops; that the king himself and his brothers and not a few of the nobles of the kingdom had perished;\(^3\) that all who remained were almost at the end of their strength, and that they could hope for no relief. They saw that the Normans were not greatly weakened by the loss of those who had fallen and, seeming to have found new strength as they fought, were pressing on more eagerly than at first. They saw that the duke in his ferocity spared no opponent; and that nothing but victory could quench his ardour. So they turned to escape as quickly as possible by flight, some on horses they had seized, some on foot; some along roads, others through untrodden wastes. Some lay helplessly in their own blood, others who struggled up were too weak to escape. The passionate wish to escape death gave strength to some. Many left their corpses in deep woods, many who had collapsed on the routes blocked the way for those who came after. The Normans, though strangers to the district, pursued them relentlessly, slashing their guilty backs and putting the last touches independent corroboration of the scene in the Bayeux Tapestry. The fanciful account in the \textit{Carmen} (lines 503–24), evidently inspired by the licence that WP attributed to poetry, cannot be taken at its face value. See G. H. White in \textit{CP xii/1}, app. 1.
24. Rediit tamen fugientibus confidencia, nactis ad renouandum certamen maximam opportunitatem praerupti uallii\textsuperscript{a} et frequentium fossarum.\textsuperscript{1} Gens equidem illa natura semper in ferrum prompta fuit, descendens ab antiqua Saxonum origine ferocissimorum hominum. Propulsi non fuissent, nisi fortissima ui urgent. Regem Noricorum, magnio exercitu fretum et bellicosum, quam facile nuper uicerunt.\textsuperscript{2} Cernens autem felicium signorum ductor cohortes inopinato collectas, quamuis nouiter aduenire subsidium putaret, non flexit iter neque substitit, terribilibor cum parte hastae\textsuperscript{3} quam grandia spicula uibrantes, Eustachium comitem cum militibus quinquaginta auersum, et receptui siga canere volentem, ne abiret uirili uoce compellauit.\textsuperscript{4} Ille contra familiariter in aurem ducis reditum suasit, proximam ei, si pergeret, mortem praedicens. Haec inter iverba percussus Eustachius inter scapulas icu sonoro, cuius grauitatem statim sanguis demonstrabat naribus et ore, quasi moribundus euasit ope comitum. Dux formidinem omnino dedignans aut dedecus, inuadens protriuit aduersarios. In eo congressu Normannorum aliqui nobiliores ceciderunt,\textsuperscript{3} aduersitate loci uirtute eo rum impedita.

25. Sic victoria consummata, ad aream belli regressum, reperit stragem, quam non absque miseratione conspexit, tametsi factam in impios; tametsi tyrannum occidere sit pulchrum, fama gloriosum, beneficio gratum. Late solum operuit sordidatus in cruore Anglica nobilitatis atque iuuentutis. Propius regem fratres

\textsuperscript{a} FOV; uallis DM

\textsuperscript{1} This late stand of the English was developed later by Orderic, in both his Interpolations in WJ (GND ii. 168-71) and in the Ecclesiastical History (OV ii. 176), into the 'Malfosse' incident.

\textsuperscript{2} A reference to the battle of Stamford Bridge.

\textsuperscript{3} Possibly he had couched his lance to charge the English, and it had broken off in the impact, though, as Renn ('Burgeat', p. 188 n. 52) has pointed out, this is not a necessary assumption.

\textsuperscript{4} The sources differ considerably on the role of Eustace. WJ does not mention him; Orderic (OV ii. 178) follows WP. The Carmen (line 535) named him as one of four who, the poet claimed, combined to kill Harold. The evidence of the Bayeux Tapestry is ambiguous, and depends partly on whether the banner-bearing figure by Duke William

to the victory. Even the hooves of the horses inflicted punishment on the dead as they galloped over their bodies.

\textsuperscript{5} Orderic names Engelulf of Laigle among those killed at this point (OV ii. 176-7).
ius duo reperti sunt. Ipse carrens omni decore, quibusdam signis, nequaquam facie, recognitus est, et in castra ducis delatus qui tumulandum cum Guillelmo agnominem Maletto concessit, non matris pro corpore dilectae prolis auri par pondus offerenti. Scuit enim non decere tali commercio aurum accipere. Aestimauit indiguum fore ad matris libitum sepeliri, cuius ob nimiam cupiditatem inselupti remanserent innumerabiles. Dictum est illudendo, oportere situm esse custodem littoris et pelagi, quae cum armis ante uesanus insedit.

Nosi tibi, Heralde, non insultamus, sed cum pio uictore, tamen ruinam lachrimato, miseramu et plangimus te. Vicisti digno te prouentu, ad meritorium tuum et in creuro iaciisti, et in littore tumulo iaces, et posthumae generationi tam Anglorum quam Normannorum abominabilis eris. Corruere solent qui summam in mundo postestatem summam beatitudinem putant; et ut maxime beati sint, rapiunt cam, raptam ui bellica retinere nituntur. Atqui tu fraterno sanguine maduisti, ne fratris magnitudo te faceret minus potentem. Ruisti dein furiosus in alterum conflictum, ut aditus patriae parricidio regale decus non amitteres. Traxit igitur te clades contracta per te. Ecce non fulges in corona quam perfide to 'quidam partim Normannus

1 There is agreement in the English sources too that Harold's body was almost unrecognizable (Waltham Chronicle, pp. 54–5).

2 The Carmen (lines 589–8) states that William entrusted the burial of Harold's body to 'quidam partim Normannus et Anglus | Comperter Heraldi. . . . . This description might fit William Malet. The difficult question of William's parentage and family has been discussed most recently by Vivien Brown (Eye Priory Cartulary and Charters, ed. V. Brown, Suffolk Records Society, Suffolk Charters, 2 vols., 1993, 1994), ii. 4–7. She concludes that if the Carmen meant William Malet, his mother must have been English, and that he held some land in Lincolnshire before the Conquest. It is possible that a daughter of his was the mother of the famous Countess Lucy, whose first husband was Ivo Taillebois. He could therefore have known Harold before the Conquest; 'computer' might imply either some sponsor in baptism or intimate friendship. The Waltham Chronicle, pp. 59–5, with a totally different version of the burial, says that the body was given for burial to Osgod and Æthelric, two canons of Waltham, the college founded by Harold.

3 Cf. the account in the Iliad of Priam's plea to Achilles for the body of his son Hector (ll. 322–3). However Priam's gifts, which included 13 talents of gold, were accepted. The version in the Waltham Chronicle is that the canons offered 10 marks of gold, which Duke William rejected when he granted their request.

4 Among the early sources only WP, followed by Orderic, and the Carmen, suggest that Harold was buried on the seashore. See above, p. xxxi. If the Waltham tradition (Waltham Chronicle, pp. xlviii–lvi, 54–5) is accepted, William Malet may have been assigned some role in the burial; perhaps it was he who identified the body, or provided the safe-conduct which the chronicler said was promised by Duke William.

5 The word 'tumulus' was used by Lucan to describe Pompey's humble tomb on the seashore after his defeat and death (Pharsalia, vii. 816).

6 A reference to Tostig, who was killed at Stamford Bridge.
fine. Regum terror cometa, post initium altitudinis tuae curu­cans, exitium tibi uaticinatus fuit.


27. Humatis autem suis, dispositaque custodia Hastingas cum strenuo praefecto, Romanaerium accedens, quam placuit poenam exegit pro clade suorum, quos illuc errore appulsos fera gens adorta praelio cum utriusque partis maximo detrimento fuderat. Hinc Doueram contendit, ubi populum innumerabilem

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1 This is WP's first reference to the comet (Halley's comet), which was observed in places as far apart as France, Germany, Italy, and Scandinavia, as well as in Normandy and England. It was variously regarded as an omen, though not always of the same event. See E. van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest through European eyes', EHR cx (1995), 832-53. The Bayeux Tapestry (pl. 35) dramatically links it with the first rumours of the preparation of Duke William's invasion fleet.

2 This is rhetorical exaggeration; the battle of Hastings was decisive, but not final; WP himself in his later chapters describes some of King William's campaigns to put down rebellions in the west country and Yorkshire.

3 Poetically the name 'Pergama' designated the citadel of Troy; it occurs frequently in the Aeneid (i. 466; ii. 177, 291 and passim). WP may have had in mind 'Nec posse Argolicis exscindi Pergama tellis' (ii. 177).

4 Cf. Vergil, Aeneid ii. 107-8.

5 Humphrey of Tillem. WP is the sole authority for the Romney incident. It shows that although the greater part of the English army had been withdrawn from the coast before William landed, some men were still guarding at least parts of it.

28. Occurrunt ultra Cantuarii haud procul a Douera, iurant fidelitatem, dant obsides. Contremuit etiam potens metropolis metu, et ne funditus caderet ullatenus resistendo, maturauit impetrare statum obediendo. Veniens postero die ad Fractam Turrim castra metatus est, quo in loco grauissima sui corporis ualetudine animos familiarium pari conturbauit aegritudine. Volens autem publicum bonum, ne exercitus egestate rerum necessariarum laboraret, noluit indulgere sibi moras ibi agendo, quamquam proficuum ac valde optandum, optimum ducem ad sanitatem convalere.

In referring to a 'castellum' WP either used the term loosely, or (if he had ever seen Dover) had in mind the fortifications built by William after he occupied the site. Before the Conquest there were some Anglo-Saxon fortifications on the hill above the town, around the Roman lighthouse and the church of St Mary-in-Castro. R. Allen Brown, *Dover Castle* (HMSO 1974), pp. 4–5, describes the terms 'castrum' and 'castellum' which are used in some early sources, even in the Worcester Chronicle, as 'merely the product of loose terminology'; and suggests that before the Conquest the 'castle' was an Anglo-Saxon *burh*, occupying the site of an ancient Iron Age enclosure which preceded it; and that William the Conqueror built extra defences within the older fortifications.

28. The men of Canterbury of their own accord came out to meet him not far from Dover; they swore fealty and gave hostages. Even the mighty metropolitan city shook with terror, and for fear of total ruin if it resisted further, hastened to secure its status by submission. Coming next day to the Broken Tower, the duke pitched his camp. In that place he was afflicted with a severe illness, which caused great anxiety to his closest followers. But for the sake of the general good he did not wish to indulge himself by delaying there, lest the army should suffer from a shortage of supplies, although it was greatly to be desired and in the public interest that the admirable duke should be restored to health.
Meanwhile Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, who, outstanding for his wealth and dignity, was equally powerful in the counsels of the English, was threatening battle together with the sons of Ælfgar and other nobles. As king they had chosen Edgar Etheling, of the noble stock of King Edward, but a boy in years. It was indeed their highest wish to have no lord who was not a compatriot. But indeed the man who ought to reign over them was approaching resolutely, and took up a position not far from London, where he heard that they most often held their meetings. The river Thames flows past this city, carrying foreign riches from a sea port. Although it is inhabited only by citizens, it abounds in a large population famous for their military qualities. At that time, indeed, a crowd of warriors from elsewhere had flocked thither, and the city, in spite of its great size, could scarcely accommodate them all. Five hundred Norman knights, sent there in advance, quickly forced the troops that had made a sortie to retreat shamefully inside the walls, killing those in the rear. They added fire to the great carnage, burning all the houses they could find on this side of the river, so that the fierce pride of their enemies might be subdued by a twofold disaster. The duke, advancing wherever he wished, then crossed the river Thames by both a ford and a bridge and came to the town of Wallingford. Stigand the archbishop, coming to him there, did homage to him, confirmed his fealty with an oath, and renounced the ætheling, whom he had elected without due consideration. As soon as William, advancing from there, came in sight of London, the chief men of the city came out to meet him; they submitted themselves and the whole city to him just as the men of Canterbury had done previously. They produced as many hostages as he required. After this the bishops and other leading men begged him to take the crown, saying that And they gave hostages and swore oaths to him, and he promised that he would be a gracious liege lord, and yet in the mean time they ravaged all they overran.1

1 The Carmen (lines 635-750) gives a dramatic and lengthy account of the capitulation of London, alleging that William prepared to bombard the city with siege engines, and that the surrender was negotiated by a certain ‘Ansgard’, who hoped to trick the Conqueror in negotiations, but was himself tricked. Much of the detail is implausible; but since Ansgard can probably be identified as Asgar or Esgar the staller, a man of the noble stock of King Edward, it was indeed their highest wish to have no lord who was not a compatriot. But indeed the man who ought to reign over them was approaching resolutely, and took up a position not far from London, where he heard that they most often held their meetings. The river Thames flows past this city, carrying foreign riches from a sea port.
atque caeteri summates, se quidem solitos esse regi seruire, regem
dominum habere uelle.₁

29. Consulens ille comitatos e Normannia, quorum non minus
prudentiam quam fidem spectatam habebat, patefecit eis quid
maxime sibi dissuaderet quod Angli orabant: res adhuc turbidas
esse; rebellare nonnullos; se potius regni quam coronam
cupere. Praeterea si Deus ipsi hunc concedit honorem, secum uelle
coniugem suam coronari. 2 Denique non oportere nimium proper­
ari, dum in altum culmen ascenditur. Praeterea non illi dominabatur
regnandi libido, sanctum esse intellexerat sancteque diligebat
coniugii pignus. Familiares contra suasere, ut totius exercitus
unanimi desiderio optari sciebant; quanquam rationes eius apprime
laudabiles dignoscerent, ex arcano uberrimae sapientiae manantes.

Aderat huic consilio Haimerius Aquitanus, praesces Toarcensis,³
lingua non ignobilior quam dextra. Is demirans et urbane extollens
modestiam inquirentem animos militum, num uellent dominum
suum regem fieri: 'Ad disceptationem', inquit, 'huiusmodi milites
nunquam aut raro acciti sunt. Non est diu trahendum nostra
deliberatione quod desideramus fieri quam ocissime.' At pruden­
tissimi et optimi ueri nequaquam ita cuperent in alto huius mon­
archiae illu locari, nisi praecipue idoneum peruiderent, Iicct
ipsorum commodis et honores per exultationem eius augeri ulentes.
Ipse iterum omnia secum perpendens, adquieuit tot petentibus
et totque suadentibus;4 praesertim sperans ubi regnare coeperit rebel­
lem qucmquc minus ausurum in se, facilius conterendum esse. a

Praemisit ergo Lundoniam qui munitionem in ipsa construerent
urbe, et pleraque competentia regiae magnificentiae praepararent,
moraturus interim per uicina. Aduersitas omnis procul fuit, adeo ut
uenatui et avium ludo, si forte libuit, secure uacaret. 5

₁ M F; a se D

₂ Matilda was not able to come to England to be crowned until Pentecost, 1068 (OV ii. 214; probably Orderic took the information from the lost chapters of WP). For Aimeri, vicomte of Thouars, see above, p. xviii.

³ Orderic realistically cut out all panegyric, and reduced the whole discussion to, ‘Hoc summpere flagitabant Normanni, qui pro fasse regali nanciscendo suo principi, subierunt ingens discremen maris et praetui’ (OV ii. 182).

₄ For Aimeri, see above, p. xviii.

₅ Cf. above, i. 17.
30. On the day fixed for the coronation, the archbishop of York,¹ a great lover of justice and a man of mature years, wise, good, and eloquent, addressed the English, and asked them in the appropriate words whether they would consent to him being crowned as their lord. They all shouted their joyful assent, with no hesitation, as if heaven had granted them one mind and one voice. The Normans added their voice most readily to the wish of the English, after the bishop of Coutances had addressed them and asked their wishes. But the men who, armed and mounted, had been placed as a guard round the minster, on hearing the loud clamour in an unknown tongue, thought that some treachery was afoot and rashly set fire to houses near to the city. When William had been elected in this way the archbishop, renowned for both his holy life and his spotless reputation, consecrated him, placed on his head the diadem of kings, and seated him on a royal throne, in the presence and with the consent of many bishops and abbots, in the basilica of St Peter the apostle, which boasted of possessing the tomb of King Edward, on the holy feast of Christmas in the year of Our Lord 1066. He had indeed refused to be consecrated by Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury, having learnt that he had been pronounced excommunicate through the just zeal of the pope. The royal insignia were no less fitting to his person than were his virtues to kingly rule. And his children and grandchildren will rule by lawful succession over the English land, which he possesses both by hereditary designation confirmed by the oath of the English, and by right of conquest. He was crowned by the consent, or rather by the wish, of the leaders of the same people.

And if anyone asks the reason for this blood claim, it is well-known that he was related to King Edward by close ties of blood, being the son of Duke Robert, whose aunt, Emma, the sister of Richard II and daughter of Richard I, was Edward’s mother. ²

Post celebratam ordinationem—non, ut solitum est, post honorum augmenta fieri—remissius laudabilia gerere coepit, sed nouo admirandoque ardore ad honestos et ingentes actus accenditur dignissimus rex: quod nomen, posito ducis nomine, libens...
acceptat stilus noster. 1 Secularibus namque ac diuinis operam impendebat strenuum utrisque; ad seruitium tamen regis omnium regum cor propensius habebat; quippe cui suos proiectus reputabat, contra quem potentia aut uita neminem mortalium potiri diu posse sciebat; a quo gloriam interminabilem, ubi temporalem finiret, expectabat. In huius ergo imperatoris quasi tributum large erogauit, quod Heraldi regis aerarium auare inclusit. 2

31. Terrae illi sua fertilitate opimae uberiorem opulentiam comportare soliti sunt negotiatores gaza aduectitia. Maximi numero genere, artificio thesauri compositi fuerant, aut custodiendi ad uanum gaudium aurariae, aut luxu Anglico turpiter consumendi. Quorum partem ad ministros confecti bellii magnifice erogauit, plurima ac pretiosissima egenis et monasteriis diuerrarum prouinciarum distribuit. Id munificentiae studium adiuuit non modicus census, quem undique ciuitates et locupletes quique obtulerant noutio domino. 3 Romanae ecclesiae sancti Petri 4 pecuniam in auro atque argento ampliorem quam dictu credibile "sit, et ornamenta" quae Bizantium percara haberet, in manum Alexandri papae transmisit. Memorabile quoque uexillum Heraldi, hominis armati imaginem intextam habens ex auro purissimo: 5 quo spolio pro munere eiusdem apostolici benignitate sibi misso par redderet; 6 simul et triumphum de tiranno Romae ulteriusque optatum pulchre indicaret. Quanti famulorum Christi

1 WP's insistence that William's royal title began only with his coronation was in line with Capetian royal practice (in contrast to the earlier English practice of dating a new reign from the death of the previous king), and with the insistence of the Church on coronation as an essential element in regality. See G. Garnett ('Coronation and propaganda', above, p. xxvi n. 50), p. 111, who suggests that Lanfranc may have influenced the presentation of the case for William.

2 There is ample evidence of Harold's appropriation of estates (see above, p. 14, n. 2). But, at least before his coronation, he was generous in his gifts to favoured churches, in particular his own foundation at Waltham (Waltham Chronicle, pp. 26–33).

3 The 'spontaneous' gifts were made, as even WP's account of the surrender of Canterbury and London admits, to prevent spoliation. WP characteristically presents a case wholly favourable to William. The ASC (D) 1070, claimed that 'the king had all the monasteries that were in England plundered.' Both the Worcester and Ely chronicles, however, show that the plundering was not indiscriminate; some property seized had been placed in monastic houses by lay persons, and some was recovered (FW ii. 4–5; Liber

4 This is probably a reference to Peter's Pence, which had been paid somewhat irregularly, and occurs in Anglo-Saxon sources at least from the tenth century (Councils and Synods, i. 62, 100, 308, 351, 627, 629; W. E. Lunt, Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327 (Cambridge, MA, 1939), pp. 31–3, 45–7.

5 The phrase 'qua Bizantium percara haberet', used by Robert of Torigni in a different context (GND ii. 244), is one of the indications that Torigni may have been familiar with GG.

6 A reference to the papal banner sent to William; see above, ii. 2. Harold's banner is presented differently in the Bayeux Tapestry, where it shows a wyvern 'presumably representing the dragon of Wessex' (Renn, 'Burgeat', p. 187).
victory greatly desired at Rome. We will relate briefly how many communities of the servants of Christ were happy to sing hymns of praise for the victor, whom they had previously supported with the armament of their prayers. In a thousand churches of France, Aquitaine, and Burgundy, and also Auvergne and other regions, the memory of King William will be celebrated for ever.¹ The magnitude of the benefaction, always living, will not allow the memory of the benefactor to die. Some churches received very large golden crosses, wonderfully jewelled; many others pounds of gold, or vessels made of the same metal; quite a few vestments or something else of value. The least of these gifts with which he delighted the smallest cell would have been a splendid enrichment for a metropolitan basilica. Would that I could make known to leaders and kings these things, and many others written in this book, as an example and an incitement.

32. But the most welcome gifts came to Normandy from its kind son and pious father, sent with considerate haste when the severity of the weather and sea (for it was the beginning of January) was at its worst. The news of the outcome awaited with such eager and anxious hope was received a thousand times more dearly. Normandy could not have received the most beautiful and delightful gift from Arabia² with such thankfulness. No happier day ever dawned on her than that on which she learned for certain that her leader, to whom she owed her peaceful condition, was a king. Towns, castles, villages, monasteries, rejoiced greatly for the victory, still more for the kingship. A light of unaccustomed serenity seemed suddenly to have dawned on the province. For although she thought herself deprived of her common father when he was not present, she accepted that he should be absent, more so that he might enjoy supreme power than that he should be a stronger defence or a greater glory for her. Normandy indeed was as eager for his greatness as he was for the interest and honour of Normandy. It was doubtful which was the greater, his country's love for him or his love for his country, just as it was once doubted of Caesar Augustus and the Roman people.³

¹ Cf. Ps. 71: 10, 'Reges Tharsis et insulae munera offerent; reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent', and Ps. 71: 15, 'Et vivet, dabitur ei de auro Arabiae.'

² Cf. Suetonius, Augustus, c. Iviii, for the substance rather than the exact words.
And you too, you English land, would love him and hold him in the highest respect; you would gladly prostrate yourself entirely at his feet, if putting aside your folly and wickedness you could judge more soundly the kind of man into whose power you had come. Be not prejudiced, learn to appreciate his worth, and all the lords you have endured will appear petty in comparison with him. The splendour of his reputation will cast great lustre on you. The most valiant King Pyrrhus learnt through an ambassador to regard all the Romans as comparable to himself. That city, mother of the kings of the world, sovereign mistress of the earth, would have rejoiced to have given birth to the man who is to rule over you, and to be defended by his arm, governed by his wisdom, and submitted to his rule. His Norman knights possess Apulia, have conquered Sicily, and strike fear into Babylon. Cnut the Dane slaughtered the noblest of your sons, young and old, with the utmost cruelty, so that he could subject you to his rule and that of his children. This man (William) did not desire the death of Harold, but rather he wished to increase for him the power of his father Godwine, and give him in marriage to his own daughter, who was worthy to share an emperor’s bed, as had been promised. But if you do not agree with me on these matters, at least he has lifted from your neck the proud and cruel lordship of Harold; he has killed the execrable tyrant who was forcing you into a servitude that was both disastrous and shameful. Such a service is held by all peoples to be a famous and praiseworthy deed. The benefits of the most salutary rule, by which you will be raised up, will subsequently bear witness to some extent against your ill-will. King

Diligeres ac maximi haberes eum et tu, Anglica terra, totemque te eius pedibus laeta prosterne, si abset imprudentia atque iniquitas tua, quo meliore consilio diiudicaret posses in quas usi potestatem deueneris. ¹ Praejudicare noli, dignitatem eius diligentius cognosce, et quotquot exegisti dominos, parui habeis cum eo comparatos. Eius honestatis pulchritudo optimo te colore decorabit. Didicit per legatum suum ualentissimum uir, rex Pyrrhus, tales fere, quali erat ipse, Romam habere cunctos.² Illa ciuitates, parens regum orbis, terrae caput et domina, hunc, qui tibi dominaturas est propugnatus, et ipsius manu defensari, sapientia gubernari, imperio parere gauderet. Huius milites Normanni possident Apuliam, deuicere Siciliam,³ propugnant Constantinopolim, ingerunt metum Babyloni.⁴ Nobilissimos tuorum filiorum, iuuenes ac senes, Chunutus Danus truciduist nimmia crudelitate,⁵ ut sibi ac liberis suis te subigeret. Hic ne Heraldum uellet occubuisse. Inmno uoluit patris Goduini⁶ potestiam illi ampliare, et natam suam, imperatoris thalamo dignissimam, in matrimonium, uti fuerat pollicitus, tradere.⁷ At si haec tibi mecum non conueniant, profecto sustulit a ceruice tua superbum crudelique dominatum Heraldi; abominandum tyrannum, qui te seruitute calamitosa simul et ignominiosa premeret, interemit;⁸ quod meritum in omni gente gratum habuerit atque praeclaram. Benefacta uero saluberrimae dominations, qua eris exaltata, in sequentibus aliquia contra tuam inuidiam testabuntur. Viuet, uiuet

¹ Here WP recognizes that, in spite of his claims, the English did not accept the Conquest without rebellion.
² Cf. Plutarch, Pyrrhus, xxix. 6.
³ The Norman conquest of South Italy and Sicily by the sons of Tancred of Hauteville progressed rapidly after their acceptance by Pope Nicholas II in 1059. By 1066 substantial gains had been made in both Apulia and Sicily; by the time WP wrote the conquests had been completed with the capture of Bari in 1071 and Palermo in 1072. See, most recently, Bouet and Neveux, Les Normands en Méditerranée (above, p. 104 n. 3), pp. 18–21. There is an interesting parallel with one statement in the Carmen (lines 259–60) that has puzzled commentators, but now makes sense as textually emended by Orlandi (pp. 125–7) from ‘Apulus et Calaber, Siculus, quibus icula feruunt | Normanni...’ to ‘[Normanni], quibus Apulus, Calaber et Siculus incola seruiit’. This emendation removes the alleged South Italian contingent from the battlefield of Hastings, where no other chronicler noticed them. The passage now refers to the triumphs of the Normans, including their conquest of South Italy and (part of) Sicily, and is exactly parallel to this statement in WP.

⁴ Erroneously translated ‘have attacked Constantinople’ by Foreville, p. 220. The reference is to the Normans fighting in the imperial service against the Turks (Mathieu, Geste, pp. 5 n. 4, 346). Normans were being employed as mercenaries in Constantinople from the middle of the eleventh century; their skill as cavalry was particularly appreciated (J. Shepard, ‘The uses of the Franks in eleventh-century Byzantium’, Battle, xv (1903), 275–285).
⁵ The ASC (CDE) 1017 lists the English leaders, including Eadric Streona, ealdorman of Mercia, killed after Cnut became king; and the poet Sigvatr Thorðarson recorded ‘soon Cnut killed or drove away the sons of Æthelred, yea, everyone of them’ (Keynes, Æthelings’, p. 174).
⁶ See OV ii. 136 n. 1.
⁷ For the justification of tyrannicide, cf. above, i. 18, ii. 25.
33. Multa Lundonie posteaquam coronatus est prudenter, iustè, clementerque disposuit, quaedam ad ipsius ciuitatis comoda sitæ dignitatem, alia quae genti proficereat uniuerse, nonnulla quibus ecclesiis terrae consuleretur. Iura quaecunque dictauit "optimis rationibus sanxit." \[1\] Iudicium rectum nulla persona ab eo nequequcum postulauit. Specie uindicandi reatus auaritiam plerunque uelat regnans iniquitas, supplicio addicit innocentem, ut possessionem addicti rapiat. Ille neminem damnauit, nisi quem non damnare iniquum foret; nam uti aduersus libidines alias, ut aduersus auaritiam inuictum animum gerebat. Intellexerat esse regiae maiestatis illustri munificentia praestare, nihil ubi aequitas contradicte accipere. \[2\]

Suis quoque primatibus digna se et grauitate pracepit, et diligentia suasit aequitatem. Esse iugiter in oculis habendum, cuius uicerint praesidio, aeternum imperatorem. Nimium oppressi uictos nequaquam oponere, uictoribus professione christiana professionem. Iura quaecunque nullius uel altius est dedecus infligeret. Milités uero mediae nauiet, nisi quem non damnare iniquum foret; nam uti aduersus libidines alias, ut aduersus auaritiam inuictum animum gerebat. Intellexerat esse regiae maiestatis illustri munificentia praestare, nihil ubi aequitas contradicte accipere. \[3\]

William will live long, he will live too in our pages, which we are happy to write in a simple style, so that a great many people may easily understand such shining deeds, particularly since you will find that the greatest orators, who have a special capacity for writing impressively, employ a plain style when they are writing history. \[4\]

33. At London, after his coronation, he made many wise, just, and merciful provisions; some were for the interest and honour of the city, others to the profit of the whole people, and some to the advantage of the churches of the land. Whatever laws he promulgated, he promulgated for the best of reasons. \[5\] No one ever sought a just judgement from him in vain. When iniquity reigns it most often veils its greed under the pretext of avenging crimes, condemning the innocent man to punishment in order to confiscate his possessions. \[6\] He condemned none save those whom it would have been unjust not to condemn; for he kept his mind free from avarice, as from other passions. He understood that the essence of royal majesty was to excel in conspicuous generosity, and to accept nothing which was contrary to fair dealing. \[7\]

To his magnates he taught conduct worthy of him and of his dignity, and as a friend counselled equity. He warned them to be constantly mindful of the eternal King by whose aid they had conquered, and that it was never seemly to overburden the conquered, who were Christians no less than they themselves were, lest those they had justly defeated be goaded into rebellion by their injuries. He added that it was not honourable to act disgracefully when abroad in such a way as to bring dishonour to the land where one was born or brought up. He restrained the knights of middling rank and the common soldiers with appropriate regulations. Women were safe from the violence which passionate men often inflict. Even those offences indulged with the consent of shameless women were forbidden, so as to avoid scandal. He scarcely allowed the soldiers to drink in taverns, since

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\[1\] See above, p. xxi. Classical writers had distinguished between the 'stilus maior' in which panegyric was written, and the simpler style more suitable for history (S. MacCormack, 'Latin prose panegyrics', Empire and Aftermath, Silver Latin II, ed. F. A. Dorey (London and Boston, 1975), pp. 143-205).

\[2\] There is some evidence of King William punishing oppressive royal officials before 1071 when they were denounced legally by powerful ecclesiastics; for cases involving the archbishop of York and the abbot of Abingdon, see R. C. van Caenegem, English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I, 2 vols. (Selden Society, London 1990-1), i. nos. 1, 4.

\[3\] This was a common charge; cf. Vita Edwardi, pp. 28-9 and n. 194.

\[4\] WP here uses 'aequitas' in the sense in which it occurs in Scripture (e.g. Ps 4: 4 (8), 'et ipse judicabit populos in aequitate'). There is no suggestion of the 'equity' of Roman law.

Tributis et cunctis rebus ad regium fiscum reddendis, modum qui non grauaret posuit. Latrociniis, inuasionibus, maleficiis locum omnem intra suos terminos denegauit. Portus et quaelibet itineria negotiatoribus patere, et nullam iniuriam fieri iussit. Pontificium Stigandi, quod nouerat non canonicum, minime probabat; sed apostolici sententiam expectare melius quam propemodum deponere existimabat. Suadebant et aliae rationes, ut ad tempus pateretur atque honorifice haberet illum, euius inter Anglos auetoritas erat summa. In sede metropolitana meditabatur sanctum uita, fama carum, eloquentia diuini uerbi potentem, a qui suffraganeis episcopis eongruam formam praebere, et ouili Dominico praeesse seiret, cunetisque prodesse cuperet studio uigilanti.

He set a limit that was not oppressive to the collection of tribute and all dues owed to the royal treasury. He allowed no place in his kingdom for thefts, brigandage, or evil deeds. He ordered that merchants should go freely in the harbours and on all highways, and should suffer no harm. He did not approve of the pontificate of Stigand, which he knew to be uncanonical, but thought it better to await the pope's sentence than to depose him hastily. Other considerations persuaded him to suffer him for the time being and hold him in honour, because of the very great authority he exercised over the English. He was considering placing in the metropolitan see a man of holy life and great renown, a master in expounding the word of God who would know how to furnish a suitable model for his suffragan bishops, and how to preside over the Lord’s flock, and who would wish to procure the good of all with vigilant zeal. He also gave thought to making provision for other churches. All the first acts of his reign were righteous.
mobilitatem ingentis ac feri populi perficerentur.  

1 Vidit enim inprimis necessarium magnopere Londonienses coerceri. Ibi ueniunt ad obsequium eius Eduinus et Morcardus maximi fere omnium Anglorum genere ac potentia, Algardi illius nominatis simi filii, deprecantur ueniam si qua in re contra cum senserant, tradunt se cunctaque sua eius clementiae; item ali complures nobiles et opibus ampli. In his erat comes Coxo, quem singulari et fortitudine et probitate regi, post et optimo cuique Normanno placuisse audiuimus.  

Rex eorum sacramenta, ut postulauerunt, libens accepit, liberaliter eis donauit gratiam suam, reddidit eis cuncta quae possederant, habebat eos magno honore.

35. Inde progresiens diversas partes regni accessit, ordinando ubique utilia sibi et incolis terrae. Quaqua pergebat, in armis nemo manebat. Iter nullum obstruitur, occurrent passim obsequientes. Omnes ille clementibus oculis respexit, clementissimis plebem. Saepe uultu miserantem animum prodidit, iussit multotiens misericordiam, cum supplices conspiceret aut egenos, matres animaduerteret uoce et gestibus precari cum liberis. Adelinum, quem post Heraldi ruinam Angli regem statuere conati fuerant, amplis terris ditauit, atque in carissimis habuit eum, quia regis Edwardi genus contigerat; ad hoc ne puerilis aetas nimium doleret non habere honorem ad quem electus fuerat. 

Eiusdem liberalitatis dono acceperunt Angli complures, quod a parentibus uel a prioribus dominis non acceperant. Custodes in castellis strenuus uiros collocuit, ex Gallis traductos, quorum fidei pariter ac uirtuti credebat, cum multitudine peditum et equitum. Ipsis opulenta beneficia distribuit, pro quibus labores

1 A reference to the building of the White Tower in London, and possibly also to two other early Norman castles in the city: Baynard’s castle and Montfichet (Brown and Curnow, p. 5).

2 The ASC (D) 1066 placed the submission of Edwin and Morcar at Berkhamsted, before the coronation. Douglas, Conqueror, p. 207, suggested that WP may have confused Barking with Berkhamsted.

3 See below, ii. 48.

4 After this sentence Orderic (OV ii. 194) retained only ‘Custodes in castellis … distribuit’ in this chapter. He omitted all reference to King William’s alleged compassion for the English, including the statement that nothing was taken from any Englishman unjustly. If this statement is true, the Ætheling never gained possession of the lands. Orderic omits the passage.
ac pericula libentibus animis tolerarent. Nulli tamen Gallo datum est quod Anglo cuiquam iniuste fuerit ablatum.


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4 M P, terce D


3 At that time attacks could come from the Irish kingdoms (FW ii. 2–3), sometimes loosely called 'Danish', though originally settled by invaders from Norway as well as Denmark.

5 This Odo, bishop of Bayeux, was well known to be the kind of man best able to undertake both ecclesiastical and secular business. The church of Bayeux first benefited from his virtue and wisdom.

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ii. 37 THE DEEDS OF WILLIAM

willingly bear toil and danger. However nothing was given to any Frenchman which had been taken unjustly from any Englishman.

36. The town of Winchester is famous and strong. Its citizens and neighbours are rich, untrustworthy, and bold. It can quickly receive help from the Danes. It is fourteen miles from the sea which separates England from the Danes. William built a fortress within the walls of the city, and left there William fitz Osbern, the chief man in his army, so that he could govern all the kingdom of England to the north in his place during his absence. He had recognized that this man above all the Normans was, like his father before him, the most loyal in peace and war, being outstanding in courage and counsel in both domestic and military affairs, and being by his great piety devoted to the Lord of Heaven. He knew that he was greatly cherished by the Normans and greatly feared by the English. He had loved him above all the other members of his household since they had been boys together, and had raised him to power in Normandy.

37. As for the castle of Dover, he entrusted it to his brother Odo, together with the adjacent south coast, which goes by the old name of Kent. Looking across to Gaul, which is quite near, it is inhabited by less savage men, for they used to engage in trade with the Belgae. It is also alleged, as ancient writings testify, that this maritime region was once held by Gauls who, having crossed over for the sake of war and plunder, were attracted by its fertile fields. This Odo, bishop of Bayeux, was well known to be the kind of man best able to undertake both ecclesiastical and secular business. The church of Bayeux first benefited from his virtue and wisdom.
38. The king, having thus provided for the governance of the kingdom, betook himself to Pevensey—a place whose name, we consider, deserves to be remembered because it was there that he had first landed. The ships were waiting, all ready for the crossing; it seemed fit to equip them with white sails in the manner of the ancients, for they were to carry back a most glorious triumph and to announce the greatest joy that could have been desired.

Many Englishmen of high rank assembled there. Of these he had determined to take away with him those whose loyalty and power he particularly suspected: Archbishop Stigand, the Ætheling, kinsman of King Edward, the three earls Edwin, Morcar, and Walthoe, and many others of high rank; so that during his

for he governed and adorned it with great zeal when, though still young in years, he was to be preferred to his seniors for the maturity of his mind. Afterwards he was useful to the whole of Normandy, and a great ornament to it. In synods where there were discussions about Christian worship or secular affairs he shone equally for his intelligence and for his eloquence. It was the unanimous opinion of all that Gaul did not have his equal in munificence. He deserved no less praise for his love of justice. He never took up arms, and never wished to do so; nevertheless he was greatly feared by men at arms, for when need arose he helped in war by his most practical counsels as far as his religion allowed. He was singularly and most steadfastly loyal to the king, his uterine brother, whom he cherished with so great a love that he would not willingly be separated from him even on the battlefield, and from whom he had received great honours and expected to receive still more. Normans and Bretons obeyed him willingly as a most acceptable lord. And the English were not so barbarous that they could not recognize that this bishop, this leader, deserved to be feared, but also to be venerated and loved.


38. Rex ita commissa regni cura Peneuesellum se recepit, quem locum in nominandis ponendum censerat quoniam ipso portu primo litus2 illud attigit. Stabant naues ad transmittendum paratisse, quas uere decuerat albis uelis more ueterum adornatas esse.2 Erant enim reuercutae gloriosissimum triumphum, nunciatureae maxime optatum gaudium.

Conuenit eodem multus Anglorum equitatus.3 Ex his abducere secum decreuerat, quorum praecipue fidem suspiciebat ac poten­tiam, archipraesulem Stigandum, Adelinum propinquum regis Edwardi,4 tres comites, Edwinum, Morcarum et Gualleuam; simul alios complures alte nobilitatis: ut ipsis auctoribus nihil

1 This passage of warm praise for Odo augments WP's brief notice about his appointment as bishop. Together with evidence from Domesday Book, it suggests that WP may have had some connection with Bishop Odo (Davis, 'William of Poitiers', pp. 120–3, and above, p. xvii).

2 Cf. above, i. 46, where Harold is said to have returned from Normandy with black sails. The reference to the ancients is probably to the legend of Theseus.

3 ‘Equitatus’ is here used in its classical sense as ‘men of rank’. The whole passage echoes Caesar, De bello gallico v. 5 (‘eodem equitatus totius Galliae convenit numero milium quattuor principesque ex omnibus civitariis . . . ’), where Caesar describes taking

some of the leading men of Gaul with him in his second invasion of Britain, as hostages to prevent rebellion when he was away.

7 For Edgar Ætheling, see above, p. 146 n. 3. Walthoe was earl of Huntingdon; for his later career and rebellion see OV ii. 262, 312­44. The Worcester chronicle, followed by Ordoric (OV ii. 196), names Æthelnoth of Canterbury (FW ii. i, ‘nobilem sartram Agelnothum Cantwaricen’).
sub decessum suum nouaretur, gens uero tota minus ad rebelli­
onem ualeret spoliata principibus. Denique eos potissimum, uelut i obsides, in potestate sua tali cautela tenendos existimabat, quorum auctoritas uel salus propinquus et compatriotis maximu esset. Sic autem fuere subacti, ut obsequentissimae facerent imperata: nam et si petere quid malebat, praecipi uice audierunt; praeertim cum non traherentur ut captiui, sed dominum suum regem proximi
comitarentur, ampliorex hoc gratiam atque honoribus habitat. Hanc enim eius animaduertebant humanitatem, unde optima quaeque expectanda forent, nihil metuendum crudele uel iniur­ium. At militae repatriantes, quorum in tantis negotiis fideli opera usus fuerat,1 larga manu ad eundem portum donauit ut opimum
fructum victoriae secum omnes perceperet gaudeant.

Ita solutis nauibus omnium animis laetissimis, in altricem
terram prouehitur secundo et uento et aestu. Transmissio haec
mare diu pacauit, pirata omni procul fugato.2 Felicitatem
actorum, quae qui nouerit merito admiratur, multo magis admir­andam celeritas fecit. Siquidem Octobris circiter calendas, die quo
memoriam archangeli Michaelis ecclesia concelebrat, terram ad
hostilem, dubius quem consequeretur euentum, abiit; mense
Martio in sinum patriae redditus est, melius quam scripta
nostra exponant rebus gestis.

39. Iulius Caesar bis transuectus in ipsam Britanniam nauibus
mille (nam Angliae3 nomen antiquius est Britanniae) non acque
magna peregit prima uice,3 nec a littore longius progredi, nec in
littore, tametsi patria consuetudine castra munierit, diutius morari
ausus est.4 Transiit in extremo aestatis, rediit ante aequinocium
quod prope instabat.5 Perturbatae sunt legiones eius magnus metu,
cum naues partim fractae aestu maritimo aut fluctibus, partim

1 Some of the men of rank who returned a few years later are named by Orderic; they
included Hugh of Grandmesnil and Humphrey of Tilleul (OV ii. 226–1).
2 Probably a reference to Scandinavian pirates.
3 The comparison that follows is based on Caesar, De bello gallico. In fact Caesar gave
the numbers of ships as 98 for the first invasion (iv. 22) and over 800 for the second (v. 8).
4 The camp is mentioned by Caesar, iv. 31.
5 ibid. iv. 20; iv. 38.
inutiles ad nauigandum essent armamentis amissis. Aliquae ciuitates, quoniam in otio agitare quam populum Romanum, cuius tremenda erat per mundum opinio, hostem tolerare mallevant, obsides ei dederunt. Ceterum quos in continentem obsides adducere imperauit, praeter duas cunctae neglexerunt, quanquam in Belgio cum immanni exercitu hibernare cum nouerint. Secundo pedites Romanos et equites ad millia fere centum transportauit, una ex ciuitatibus Galliae primos quamplures cum eorum equitatu. Quidigitur huius urii, quem scribimus, conferendum laudibus hac uice patravit?

40. Equitatus Britannorum et essedarii cladem illi non parum intulerunt, acuo loco audacissime cum eo confligentes, Angli uero Guilelmum pauidi in monte ope-riebantur. Caesarem praelio saepius adorti sunt Britanni; Anglos adeo Guilelmus die uno prostriuit, ut post secum dimicandi fiduciam nullatenus recipierent. Cum idem imperator ad flumen Tamesim peruenisset, in fines Cassiuellauni, qui contra se bellum administrabat, exercitum ducens, in aduersa ripa hostes instructi obstabant: aegerrime milites Romani uada transierunt, ex aqua capite solo extantes; at cum in eandem regionem dux Normannorum aduentaret, obuiam ei clementiam deprecando processerunt ciuitates et municipia: militibus eius traiectum ultra flumen ponte, si id collibuisset. Caesarem, ut agros uastaret igne ac praeda, equitatum suum effudit, quos latius uagari Cassiuellaunus prohibebat, ex essedis pugnare peritos immittendo; Guilelmus autem pacifica iubens incolos, terram quam citius euertere posset, incolas cum terra sibi consueruavit. Defendit Caesar ab iniuria Cassiuellauni Mandrubatium et ciuitatem, cuius imperium

1 Caesar iv. 29 ("Compluribus navibus fractis, reliqua cum essent, familiae, ancoris, reliquisque armamentis amissis ad navigandum inutiles ... totius exercitus perturbatione factor est").
2 ibid. iv. 27, 38.
3 WP's number is exaggerated. The figures given by Caesar (v. 8) are 2,000 horsemen and 5 legions, with a contingent of cavalry equal to that left behind. A legion numbered 5,000 in theory, but in practice 3,500 at most. He also took with him some of the Gallic leaders with their attendants, more or less as hostages (v. 5).
4 ibid. v. 15-17.
5 ibid. v. 15-17.
6 ibid. v. 15-17.
7 ibid. v. 18. Caesar ... ad flumen Tamesim in fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit; quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc aegro, transiri potest. Eo cum venisset, annum desiderat alteram fluminis ripam magnum esse copias hosium instructas ... Sed ea celeritate atque eo impetu milites erunt, cum capite solo ex aqua extarent, ut hostes impetum legionum atque equitum sustinere non possent ripasque dimittherent ac si fugae mandarent.
redidit Mandrubatium; 1 liberavit in perpetuo Guillelmus gentem omnem a tirannide Heraldi, atque solium obtinuit ipse; unde regionibus quae sub multis regibus quondam egerant, unus imperitaret. 2 Romani solum ex Britanniae maioribus Cingetorigem ceperunt, 3 mille ex ipsa natione illustres in uincula, si placuisset, coniecissent Normanni. Quanta partibus in ipsi Romani gesserunt tempore aestuio, quanta Normanni hiberno: hiemem ad res bello gerendas minus quam aestatem opportunum esse pernotum est. Caesari satis fuerat ad laudem et utilitatem praelia cum Britannis, uti cum Gallis, imperando facere: equidem sua manu raro pugnauit. 4 Hac multa ducum antiquorum consuetudo fuit: attestat Commentarii eloquentia ipsius dictati. At dedecus usum est Guillelmo, ac parum utile, in eo conflictu quo contribuit Anglos, officia praestare imperatoris, nisi praestaret officia quoque militis, uti bellis alis consecuerat: in omni enim certamine ubi praesens aderat, primus aut in primis gladio suo pugnare solitus erat. Si Romani illius, et nostri principis acta attentius perspexeris, illum temerarium atque fortunae nimis confidentem, hunc omnino prouidum hominem, qui magis optimo consilio quam casu res bene gesset, recte dices. 5

Postremo Caesar, ciuitatibus aliquot in deditione et obsidibus a Cassiuellauno acceptis, necnon aliquanto uectigali, quo in annos singulos Britannia populo Romano penderet, constitutio, exercitium difficile duobus commetibus in Belgium reportaut, nauibus quippe repectis et minoris quam adduxerat 6 numeri, ob incommode, quod ex tempestate acciderat. 6 Tali minime Guillelms difficultate angebatur. Pareret ei gens eadem imperanti nauigia noua ad numerum et modum quem uellet, insuper metallo

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1 Caesar v. 20. Mandrubatius, whose father (the king of the Trinobantes) had been killed by Cassivellaunos, had sought out Caesar in Gaul to ask for his help, and had accompanied the invasion (v. 20).
2 WP exaggerates. He may have meant to include Scotland (see above, p. 16 n. 3). England had been effectively a single kingdom since the tenth century.
3 An error for Luputorix (De bello gallico, v. 22).
4 Although Suetonius stated that Caesar led his troops on the march (Caesar, c. lxi, ‘In aqmine nonnullum quo, saepius pedibus antebat, capite detecto, seu sol, seu imber esset, longissimas vias incredibili cereditate confecit’), and that he could rally a retreating force (ibid., c. lxi, ‘inclinatam aciem solus saepe restituit obsistens fugientibus, retinensque...
5 Caesar, De bello gallico, v. 23; cf. iv. 29, 31; v. 1, 11.

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city to Mandrubatius’ rule; William freed the whole people for ever from the tyranny of Harold, and himself took the throne, so that the regions which had formerly been subject to many kings might be ruled by one. 2 The Romans captured only Cingetorix 3 of the leaders of Britain; the Normans, if it had been thought desirable, could have thrown a thousand of the most illustrious men of that people into chains. The Romans did no more in those parts in summer than the Normans in winter; and it is well known that winter is less suitable than summer for the waging of war. To Caesar it was sufficient for his glory and his interest to fight with the Britons or the Gauls by commanding; indeed he rarely fought with his own hand. 4 This was the normal custom of the generals of the ancients, as attested in the eloquent language of the Commentaries, which Caesar himself composed. But to William it seemed dishonourable and of little use, in that battle in which he crushed the English, to carry out the duties of a general unless he also carried out those of a soldier, as had been his custom in other wars. For in every battle in which he was present he was accustomed to be the first, or among the first, to fight with his sword. If you look closely at the deeds of this Roman and those of our leader, you will rightly say that the Roman was improvident and trusted too much to luck, whereas William always acted with foresight and succeeded more by good planning than by chance. 5

Finally, Caesar, after accepting the surrender of some cities and hostages from Cassivellaunos and deciding the modest tribute Britons should pay each year to the Roman people, transported his army back to Belgica with difficulty in two separate crossings, for his ships had needed to be repaired and were fewer than those he had brought with him, on account of the damage suffered in a storm. 6 William did not experience nearly so much difficulty. The populace would have prepared for him, had he so ordered, as many ships as he wished of the type specified, and—what is singulos et contortis faeibus convertens in hostem), he did not claim that he actually led attacks in the front line.
7 WP here insists on good planning rather than luck. Cf. above, p. xiv. In fact Caesar too was a careful planner; see Suetonius, Caesar, c. lxi, for the care with which he ventured on new ground.

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F; adduxerat D M

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more—decorated lavishly with precious metal, fitted with purple sails, and manned by skilled oarsmen and chosen steersmen. How gloriously he returned! not bringing with him a crowd of captives in the Roman fashion, but having in his entourage and allegiance the primate of the bishops of all Britain, many great abbots from the overseas monasteries, and sons of the English worthy by both ancestry and wealth to be called kings. He brought back with him neither a small tribute nor booty, but as much gold and silver as might have been collected with difficulty from the subjection of the three parts of Gaul, which he had received entirely lawfully and was proposing to spend wherever it was most clearly needed. This kingdom is many times richer than Gaul in its wealth of precious metals; it seems as if it should be called the granary of Ceres because of the abundance of its corn, and the treasury of Arabia because of its richness in gold. We omit further mention of Julius Caesar, as it may perhaps be considered disparaging. He was indeed a distinguished general, who had learnt the military science of the Greeks from books and practised Roman warfare from youth with acclaim, his valour leading him to consulship. He brought many wars against warlike people to a swift and successful close, and finally, by force of arms, he made Rome, the mistress of Africa, Europe, and Asia, his kingdom.

41. Italy did not run more happily to greet Titus the son of Vespasian (who through his ardent desire for justice deserved to be called the favourite of the world) than did Normandy to meet its ruler, King William. It was a time of winter, and of the austere lenten penances. Nevertheless everywhere celebrations were held as if it were a time of high festival. The sun seemed to shine with the clear brightness of summer, far more strongly than usual at this season. The inhabitants of humble or remote places flocked to

42. Quam pietatem ipse confestim lucro multipli recerndae, donans pallia, libras2 auri, aliquae magna altaribus ac famulis Christi. Nullius unquam regis aut imperatoris largitatem in oblationibus maiorem comperimus. Item quas ecclesias non praesentia sua, númeribus uiisuit aut iterum. Cadomens basilicae, modo specieque admirabili suis impiendiis ad titulum beati Stephani protomartiris a fundamento, ut ante est memoratum, extractae, tum diversa donaria aduexit, materia arteificioque pretiosissima, quae ad seculi terminum honora permanere ualeant.3 Singula descriptionibus aut nominibus designare spatiosum foret. Voluptuosum est ea perspectare hospitibus maximis, et qui saepe nobilium ecclesiarum thesauros uiderant, transiret, iliac hospes eiusmodem specie et auri textura egregie, uiri in omni ulante artificio.4 Ad hoc incolere apud eos Germani solebant talium artium scientissimorum.5 Inferunt et negociatores, qui longinquas regiones naubus adeunt, doctarum manuum opera.

Potentes nonnulli sanctis inique largiuntur, plerumque in isdem donationibus laudem suam in mundo, delicta sua coram

1 Lucan, Pharsalia, viii. 794–815. After describing Pompey’s unworthy burial, recalls his three earlier triumphs in Rome: ‘ter cunibus actis | Contentum multos patriae donasse triumphos.’
2 If Duchesne correctly transcribed ‘libras’, gold bullion must be meant; but if it is an error for ‘libros’, it could refer to the service books whose bindings were decorated with gold, which were plundered from the English churches (D. N. Dumville, ‘Anglo-Saxon books: treasure in Norman hands?’, Battle, vii (1994), 83–99).
3 The Waltham Chronicle complained that William Rufus had plundered Waltham to enrich Saint-Etienne-de-Caen, but it is possible that the treasures were taken by his father (Waltham Chronicle, pp. 58–9).
4 For the skill of English needlewomen and craftsmen, see Bayeux Tapestry, pp. 44–5.

42. He rewarded this dutiful affection immediately with treasures of many kinds, giving vestments, gold bullion,2 and other magnificent gifts to the altars and servants of Christ. We have not heard of any king or emperor who showed greater liberality in his gifts. Similarly, he honoured in turn with his gifts the churches that he could not honour with his presence. To the basilica of Caen, admirable both in design and decoration, which he had built from its foundations entirely at his own expense and had dedicated in the name of the protomartyr St Stephen (as previously described), he brought such diverse gifts, so precious in both material and workmanship that they deserve to be remembered to the end of time.3 It would take too much space to describe or even enumerate each one. To gaze at them is a rare delight for the most eminent guests, even for those who have often seen the treasures of the noblest churches. If a Greek or Arab visitor passed that way he would be overwhelmed by the same delight. The women of the English people are very skilled in needlework and weaving gold thread, and the men are outstanding in craftsmanship of all kinds.4 Moreover Germans, most skilled in such arts, are accustomed to live among them.5 Traders too, who travel to distant regions in their ships, bring objects of skilled workmanship.

There are some powerful men who endow the saints wickedly, for the most part increasing with these gifts their glory in the towns or anywhere else where there was a chance of seeing the king. When he entered his metropolitan city of Rouen old men, boys, matrons and all the citizens came out to see him; they shouted out to welcome his return, so that you could have thought the whole city was cheering, as did Rome formerly when it joyfully applauded Pompey.1 Communities of monks and clerks vied with each other as to who could show the greatest complaisance at the arrival of their beloved protector. Nothing which ought to have been done in celebration of such honour was left undone. Furthermore, if anything new could be devised, it was added.
Deo adaugentes. Spoliant ecclesias, et rapinis ipsis alias ditant. Rex uero Guillelmus nunquam nisi bonitate sinceram farnam sibi comparavit, donans uere sua; mente ad spem interminae mercedis, non ad gloriem quae deperibit, intentus. Abundantes ecclesiae transmarinae aliquae ei libentes, quae in Galliam transferret, dederunt quoniam ea multuplo redemit rebus alius.

43. Patriam non minus regno caram sibi, praecipue causa probae gentis, quam principibus terrenis fidam, culturae Christi ualde deditam, nouerat, in statu quem uolebat inuenit. Optime quidem egerat in gubernaculo domina nostra Matildis, iam nomine diuulgato regina etiam nondum coronata. Illius prudentiam uiri adiuuere consilio utilissimi, in quibus locum dignitatis primum tenebat Rogerus de Bellomonte, Humfridi hominis generosissimi filius, ob maturitatem aeui liberior ad negotia quae domi geruntur; filio adolescenti, super cuius fortitudine in praelio contra Heraldum paucis diximus, officio militari tradito. Verum quod finitimi incursionem nullam ausi fuerant, cum terram fere militibus exhaustam scirent, regi ipsi, cuius reuersionem ueribusantur, primo ascribendum arbitramur.

44. Ad coenobium sanctae Trinitatis Fiscanni Pascha celebravit Dominicum, redemptorem resurrectionis suae festo reverendissime honorans, cum frequentia uenerabilium et praesulum et abbatarum. Humiliter adstans ille choris ordinum religiosorum ludicra intermittere, concurrere ad divina militum plcbisque turbas coegit. Regis Francorum uitricus intererat huic curiae Rodolphus praepotens comites multaque nobilitas Franciae. Curiose hi cum Normannis cernebant crinigeros alumnos plagae 

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1 For a different view see above, p. 153 n. 2.
2 Matilda, together with Roger of Beaumont and others, had been entrusted with the care of the duchy; see OV ii. 268, 210; D. Bates, 'The origins of the justiciarship', Battle, iv (1982), 1-12, at p. 6. She was crowned at Pentecost (11 May) 1068 (ASC (D) 1067 for 1068; FW ii. 2; OV ii. 214).
3 See above, ii. 19. Roger's father was Humphrey of Vieilles.
4 The royal abbey of Fécamp was closely associated with the royal palace, and the duke had been accustomed to celebrate the major church feasts there. On its symbolic importance for the new king, see Renoux, Fécamp, p. 482; 'Le couronnement dynastique

world and their sins before God. They despoil churches and enrich others with the booty. But King William won true fame through his goodness alone, by giving only the things that were truly his; his mind was fixed on the hope of an eternal reward, not on a perishable glory. Countless overseas churches freely gave him things which he could take to Gaul, because he redeemed them many times over with other gifts.

43. He found his native land (which was no less dear to him than his kingdom, because he knew that its virtuous people were loyal to their secular princes, sincerely devoted to the worship of Christ) in the state which he desired. For its government had been carried on smoothly by our lady Matilda, already commonly known by the title of queen, though as yet uncrowned. Men of great experience had added their counsel to her wisdom; amongst them the first in dignity was Roger of Beaumont (son of the illustrious Humphrey), who on account of his mature age was more suitable for home affairs, and had handed over military duties to his youthful son (of whose courage in the battle against Harold we have already said a little). But in truth the fact that neighbours had not dared to make any attack though they knew the land to be almost emptied of knights, must, we think, be attributed primarily to the king himself, whose return they feared.

44. He celebrated Easter Sunday at the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Fécamp, most reverently honouring the Saviour on the feast of His resurrection, with a great gathering of venerable bishops and abbots. Humbly standing near the choirs of the religious orders, he compelled soldiers and people to leave their games and come to divine service. The stepfather of the king of the Franks, the mighty Count Raoul, was present at this court, together with many of the French nobles. These men, like the Normans, looked with curiosity at the long-haired sons of the anglais est le point d'aboutissement d'une idéologie dont Fécamp a été l'un des creuxets majeurs.'
Aquilonalis: quorum pulchritudini Galliae comatae\textsuperscript{1} formosissimi iuuenes inuidenter. Nec enim puellar\ae\ enunst\ae\ cedebant. Regis autem regiorumque satellit\ae\ indumenta spectantes intextra atque crustata auro, quaque\textsuperscript{a} ante iderant ulilia aestimauere. Item usa argentea siue aurea admirabantur, quorum de numero uli decore uere narrari possint incredibilia. His tantum ex pociulis\textsuperscript{b} coenaciium ingens bibebat, aut cornubis bubalinis metallo decoratis codem circa extremitates utrasque. Denique plurima huiuscemodi competentia regali munificentiae notabant, quae reuersi domum ob noutatem praedicarent. Ceterum talibus longe insigniorem atque plus memorandum ipsius regis cognouere honestatem.

45. Aestivum illa, et autumnum partemque hiemis citra mare transegit, tempus hoc patriae amori omne donans; quae neque hac mora, neque superioris anni expeditione suas opes attenuatas fuisse dolbat. Ea illius temperantia fuit ac prudentia: militibus et hospitibus abunde sumptus ministrabatur; nemini raperi quippeiam concedebat.\textsuperscript{2} Prouincialium tuto armenta vel greges pascebantur, seu per campestria, seu per tesqua. Segetes falcem cultoris intactae expectabant, quas nee attriuit superba equitum effusio, nee demessuit pabulator. Homo imbecillis aut inermis equo cantans qua libuit uectabatur, turmas militum cernens, non ehorrens.

46. Interea Baioicensis praesul Odo et Guillelmus Osberni filius praefecturas in regno uterque suam laudabiliter administrabant: interdum simul agitantes, modo diuersi. Si quando necessitudo postulabat, festinam alter alteri ferebat opem.\textsuperscript{3} Per amicam qua sincere voluntatem concordabant, amplius ualuit prudens eorum vigilantia. Mutuo sese, regem aequaliter, diligebant; affectu ardebat pari ad continendum in pace gentem christianam, northern lands, whose beauty the most handsome youths of ‘long-haired Gaul’\textsuperscript{1} might have envied; nor did they yield anything to the beauty of girls. Indeed as they looked at the clothes of the king and his courtiers, woven and encrusted with gold, they considered whatever they had seen before to be of little worth. Similarly they maravelled at the vessels of silver and gold, of whose number and beauty incredible things could truthfully be told. At a great banquet they drank only from such goblets or from horns of wild oxen decorated with the same metal at both ends. Indeed they noted many such things, serving the magnificence of a king, which they praised on their return home because of their novelty. But they recognized that far more distinguished and memorable than these things was the splendour of the king himself.

45. He spent that summer and part of the autumn and winter on this side of the sea, devoting all his time to love of his native land, which did not have cause to grieve for loss of wealth either because of this stay or because of his expedition in the preceding year. Such was his moderation and wisdom that abundant provision was made for the soldiers and their hosts, and no one was permitted to seize anything.\textsuperscript{2} The cattle and flocks of the people of the province grazed safely whether in the fields or on the waste. The crops waited unharmed for the scythe of the harvester, and were neither trampled by the proud charges of horsemen nor cut down by foragers. A man who was weak or unarmed could ride singing on his horse wherever he wished, without trembling at the sight of squadrons of knights.

46. Meanwhile Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and William fitz Osbern were administering their prefectures in the kingdom, each praiseworthy in his own, working sometimes together, sometimes separately; if ever necessity demanded it, one gave speedy help to the other.\textsuperscript{3} Their wise vigilance was made all the more effective by the friendly willingness with which they genuinely agreed. They loved each other and the king equally; they burned

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. Suetonius, \textit{Caesar}, c. xxii, for the expression ‘Galliae comatae’. The long-haired style of the Anglo-Saxons is illustrated in the \textit{Bayeux Tapestry}.

\textsuperscript{2} This and the following sentences repeat word for word the account of Duke William’s orderly preparation for the invasion (above, ii. 2).

\textsuperscript{3} Orderic (OV ii. 202–3) gives a different account of their administration, describing it as oppressive and unjust; the \textit{JSC (D)} 1066 wrote ‘And Bishop Odo and Earl William stayed behind and built castles far and wide throughout the country and distressed the wretched folk’.

\textsuperscript{a} D M F; M F suggest that possibly quaecumque should be read

\textsuperscript{b} M F; populis D
47. At that time Eustace, count of Boulogne, who had given his son as a hostage for his loyalty in Normandy before the war, was working against the king. In particular, the inhabitants of Kent persuaded him to attack Dover castle with their help. If indeed he had been able to gain possession of that strong site with its seaport his power would have been extended more widely and that of the Normans correspondingly diminished. It was because they hated the Normans that they reached an agreement with Eustace, formerly their bitter enemy. They knew by experience of his prowess in war and fortune in battle. They thought that if they were not to serve one of their own countrymen, they would rather serve a neighbour whom they knew. It happened that favourable circumstances promised the outcome that they desired.

The custodians of the first fortress, the bishop of Bayeux and Hugh of Montfort, had gone away across the river Thames, taking most of their troops with them. Eustace therefore, after receiving a message from the English, sailed across with his men with a common desire to keep the Christian people in peace, and deferred readily to each other’s advice. They paid the greatest respect to justice, as the king had admonished, so that fierce men and enemies might be corrected and brought into friendship. The lesser officials were equally zealous in the castles where each had been placed. But neither benefits nor fear could sufficiently force the English to prefer peace and quiet to changes and revolts. They had not the courage to rise in arms openly, but dealt in vile conspiracies in different regions, to see if by any deceit they could succeed in inflicting damage. They repeatedly sent envoys to the Danes or some other people from whom they might hope for help. In addition, some fled abroad where, as exiles, they might either be free from the power of the Normans, or, having gained foreign help, might return to fight against them.

1 A number went to join the forces of the Greek emperor in Constantinople (OV ii. 202).

2 From the time of Duke William’s marriage to Matilda, Eustace had been apprehensive of his growing power, and had openly sided with William of Arques against him; see GND ii. 104–5 and n. 3. For the uneasy relations between Eustace and the duke, see Tanner, ‘Counts of Boulogne’, pp. 270–6. WP is the only source to mention that Eustace’s son was given as a hostage. In spite of receiving extensive estates in England, Eustace returned to the continent not later than Easter 1067 (Tanner, p. 272).

3 Various motives have been suggested for the action of Eustace. Douglas, Conqueror, p. 412, thought that he might have been motivated by political changes after the death of Baldwin V, count of Flanders, on 1 September 1067. Barlow, Conqueror, app. C, pp. 397–8, suggested that he might have acted on behalf of a hypothetical grandson, his descendant by his first wife Goda. Tanner, ‘Counts of Boulogne’, pp. 272–4, argues that either he was disappointed in his hope of recovering lands he had previously controlled through his wife, or he wished to hold Dover in order to control the main passageway to England from his port of Wissant.
castellanos. Classem duxit militibus delectis oneratam, relictis equis praeter admodum paucos. Vicinia omnis adfuit armata, auctior numerus ex ulterioribus accederet si mora biduana obsidio traheretur. Ceterum custodia inueniunt minus opinione remis-sam, plus (in statu)\(^a\) ad defensandum ualidam. (Eustachium uero)\(^b\) eripiunt uelocitas equi, notitia tramitis nauisque paratior. Nobilissimus autem tiro, nepos eius,\(^1\) comprehensus est. Angli per diuerticula plura eo facilius euaserunt quo minus commodum erat paucitati castellanorum insequi per diuersa. Iure id Eustachio dedecus atque detrimentum contigit. Equidem si rationes, quae eius liti controversantur, depromerem, regis cum gratiam atque regis dono accepta beneficia ex aequo et bono amississe plane conuincercem. Neque sententia errauit, dicta consensu Anglorum et Gallorum, qua de reatu multo conuictus est. Sed pararendum sentimus personae multifariam illustri, comiti nominato, qui reconciliatus nunc in proximis regis honoratur.\(^2\)

48. Eodem fere tempore Coxo comes, quem placuisse Normannis diximus, morte occidit immerita et quam deceat propa-gari.\(^3\) Vt igitur uiuat laus eius atque per exemplum oritur in posthumis innocentia defuncti, literis efficere iuuat. Prosapia ac potentatu Anglus hic iuxta praecelsus, magis animi singularitate prudentis et omnino honesti excelluit. Hic regis causam et ipsum faure mucho probabat. Sui uero satelles ab ipso dissiebant, factionum deterrimi fautores ac socii. Proinde eum ab officio transuertere tentabant, saepe monentcs, quasi per amicitiam, de priuato honore, ut libertatem a proauis traditam defenderet; nunc obsecrantes atque obtestantes, tanquam gratia rerum publicarum,

\(^a\) in statu and Eustachium uero supplied from OV

\(^1\) The text printed by Duchesne is corrupt, possibly because of damage to the end of the MS; and the omission of the name of Eustace (copied by Orderic from a better MS) makes it almost unintelligible. The identity of the 'nepos' (a term used for various kinsmen, including a grandson, nephew or bastard son) is uncertain. Barlow favoured grandson, Tanner ('Counts of Boulogne', p. 266 n. 26) more plausibly speculated that he may have been Eustace's bastard son, Geoffrey.

\(^2\) For the reconciliation and Eustace's English estates, see Tanner, 'Counts of Boulogne', pp. 274-6 and app. B, pp. 280-5.

\(^3\) Royal authority was 'intermittent and probably ineffective' in Northumbria. King William first attempted to control the region through local officials; Copsi had served under Earl Tostig, but his rule lasted for barely five weeks before his assassination by Osulf, a rival claimant to the earldom on 12 March 1067. See W. M. Aird, 'St Cuthbert, the Scots and the Normans', *Battle*, xvi (1994), 1-20, at pp. 9-10.
ut extraneos deserens optimorum hominum suae nationis et consangvinis uoluntatem sequeretur. Sane diutina uariae
calliditate haec suggerebant, et huius modi alia. Sed ubi mentem
firmiter in tenore boni fixam taliter dimouere nequeunt, com-
prouinciales ad inuidiam concitauere quam necessario placaret ab
rege deficiendo. Postremo augescente in dies maleuolentia
ipseorum, cum ille popularium odia omnemque iniuriam perpeti
quam integritatem fidei temerare mallet, per insidias oppressum
interfecerunt. Ita eximius uir suo casu, quod maiestas domini sui
stare debet, asseruit.

49. Sane pontifices quidam obsequio regio studebant, maxime
Adelred primas Eboracensis . . .

1 The text breaks off here. WP may have gone on to describe how certain Englishmen
like Copsi helped King William. Orderic, using WP, wrote, 'Tunc Adeldredus primas
Eboracensis aliique pontifices quidam utilitati regiae studebant . . . Tunc etiam aliquid
sapientissimi ciuium urbanorum et nonnulli ex militibus ingenuis quorum nomen et opes
ualebant, et multi ex plebis contra suos pro Normannis magnaere insurgebant' (OV ii.
208 and n. 1).

ii. 49

forebears as a matter of personal honour; now beseeching and
imploring him, as if for the sake of the public good, to desert the
foreigners and fall in with the wishes of the best men of his nation
and line. For a long time they urged these things and others of the
same kind with various sorts of cunning. But when they failed by
these means to change his mind, which was firmly fixed on the
pursuit of good, they stirred up the people of the province to
hatred, so as to force him to desert the king in order to placate
them. Finally, as their malevolence increased from day to day, and
as he preferred to suffer the hatred of the people and every kind of
outrage rather than violate his faith, they laid an ambush and
murdered him. So this eminent man asserted by his death that the
majesty of his lord should stand secure.

49. Certain bishops showed great zeal in the king's service,
notably Ealdred, archbishop of York . . .