

# Vita Ædwardi Regis

qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit

S. Bertini monacho  
ascripta

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# The Life of King Edward

who rests at Westminster

attributed to  
a monk of St Bertin

Edited and Translated  
with Introduction and Notes by  
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VITA ÆDWARDI REGIS  
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## [LIBER PRIMVS]

## Poeta

Surgens musa<sup>2</sup> tuis comitata decenter alumpnis,  
sopitum longa solue quiete larem.

Qui terras coxit sol, a torrente retorsit  
mitis equos Cancro, orbe sub occiduo,  
succendens Chelas,<sup>3</sup> ad tedia longa tenebras  
extendit noctis prodigus excubiis.<sup>3</sup>

Longa quies calami dissoluit mentis acumen;  
canitiemque sui cera ueterna dolet.

Nos tenues, rebus dilapsis, pluris egemus,  
quos reparare solet spes tua. Surge, soror.

## Musa

Asto pro foribus, limen custodia nostra  
seruat, nec somnus nec sopor ullus adest.

<sup>2</sup> The punctuation of this sentence is puzzling.

<sup>1</sup> The title looks like one added to an anonymous tract, but at an early date, for it ignores Edward's sanctity and (by implication) distinguishes him from the King Edward who rests at Shaftesbury. It would not appear to be a Westminster label.

<sup>2</sup> For calling on the Muses, see Leonid Arbusow, *Colores rhetorici* (Göttingen 1948), pp. 118–19.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lucan, 1, 659, Virgil, *Georg.*, 1, 33. *Chelae*, the claws of *Scorpio*, are put for the constellation *Libra*. Hence the summer solstice (*Cancer*) has been succeeded by the autumn equinox (*Libra*). It is after 20/24 September

THE LIFE OF KING EDWARD  
who rests at Westminster<sup>1</sup>

## [BOOK I]

## [QUEEN EDITH'S FAMILY]

## Poet

Arise, o Muse,<sup>2</sup> with servants meetly thronged,  
And free from its long rest this slumbering house.  
The mellow Sun, who baked the earth, has reined  
His horses back from burning Crab, and dipped  
The western rim to set the Scales a-light;  
And, spendthrift now, prolongs to weary lengths  
The shades of night for those who keep the watch.<sup>3</sup>  
The pen's long rest destroys the mind's sharp point;  
Old wax laments its hoariness. And I,  
Poor me, all ruined now, lack much; and your  
Assurance always mends. Sister, arise!

## Muse

I stand outside, our watch protects your door  
—No night or drowsiness is here—amazed

(?1065). For the signs of the zodiac, solstices and equinoxes in Anglo-Saxon calendars, see Heinrich Henel, *Studien zum altenglischen Computus* (Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, xxvi, Leipzig 1934), pp. 17–18, 75. A Sherborne calendar of c. 1061 is printed by Francis Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, HBS (1934), pp. 184 ff.

Verum tu, quem tot circum latratibus urget  
 multorum liuor, immoderate furens,  
 uel cuius miseri paupertas, libera certe,  
 ictibus assiduis tundit utrumque latus,  
 miror quid dormis, tua uel tot commoda spernis,  
 cum tibi nos fida suppeditemus ope.  
 Ergo neglectas post tempora longa tabellas  
 cum graphio repetens, accipe quid iubeam.  
 Materies seruata tibi, condigna relatu,  
 summis gesta uiris hactenus occuluit.<sup>1</sup>  
 Hanc assigno tibi sub primatu referendi;  
 quisquis post temptet, sane secundus erit;  
 ore tuo dicet, legati functus honore;  
 aures huic pateant, cetera cuncta tibi.

## Poeta

Sentio iam dudum quem me conaris ad usum  
 intentum fieri officiosa monens.  
 Tu quecumque uoles iubeas seruire uolenti,  
 si tamen ad laudes attineat domine,<sup>2</sup>  
 cui me uouisti specialius ac monuisti  
 ut nostros casus respiceret propius.  
 Respexit miserans, miserata manum dedit, et sic  
 stare iubet, casum ne subeamus item.  
 Compos promissi, fallacis nescia dicti,  
 dum uiuit, certe uiuimus<sup>3</sup>; id satis est.  
 Illa pedes fixit, nos ut de morte reduxit,  
 et simul abiectos restituit calamos.  
 Vouimus hos illi per secula sic famulari,  
 ut quicquid referant, laus et honor sit ei.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'memoriam rerum gestarum, rerum inquam tuo tuorumque honori  
 attinentium, litteris meis posteritati mandare gestio,' *Enc. Emmae*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Queen Edith, Earl Godwin's daughter.

That you, whom the crowd's envy, giving tongue  
 And raging madly, hunts around, that you,  
 O wretch, whose poverty (with freedom, true)  
 Rains on your flanks its ceaseless blows, still sleep  
 And spurn your many opportunities,  
 Since we provide you with our trusty aid.  
 Therefore take up the stylus once again,  
 The tablets long unused, and hear my will.  
 The matter kept for you till now has cloaked  
 A tale by great men wrought which should be told.<sup>1</sup>  
 I give you this: you shall be first to write;  
 The next who tries, a follower, speaking  
 With borrowed mouth, as though a delegate:  
 He may use ears, but you all other parts.

## Poet

Clear now the chance of which you kindly warn,  
 To which you strive that I should bend my mind.  
 Command your willing servant what you will  
 So long as it concerns my lady's<sup>2</sup> fame,  
 For you have vowed me specially to her  
 And bade her closely watch my stumbling steps.  
 Pitying she looked, and pitiful reached out,  
 And made me stand lest I should fall again.  
 Mistress of her troth and free from lies,  
 While she lives, so do I<sup>3</sup>—and that's enough.  
 She fixed my feet, restored me as from death,  
 Put back the pens that I had thrown away;  
 And these as slaves I dedicate to her,  
 And what they write will be to her esteem.

<sup>3</sup> Edith died a week before Christmas 1075 (*ASC D* 1076, *E* 1075), 14  
 Kal. January, at Winchester (Florence, II, p. 11).

Nunc dicenda doce; simili, te preduce, uoce,  
discipuli studio, subsequar ut potero.<sup>1</sup>

## Musa

Et cuius laudi deuotius organa nostrę  
omne clientele personat obsequium?  
Huic citharę iubilos lirico modulamine mixtos  
intonat ipsa nouis musica nostra modis;  
hanc Euterpe, Clio, Polimnia concelebrando  
gratificant mundo carmine perpetuo;  
hanc tu, dum uiuis, grandi merito celebrabis;  
affectum cuius hac cumulamur ope.  
Vatibus exclusis, cessantibus atque poetis,  
Ædwardi regis carmine primus eris.  
Hunc dic Anglorum regem, forma speciosum,  
corporis atque animi nobilitate bonum,  
eius ut aduentu depresso secula luctu  
aurea<sup>2</sup> mox Anglis enituere suis;  
ut post bella David pax succedens Salomonis  
Letheo gemitus pressit in amne graues,  
undantesque suo diffudit prodiga regi  
diuitias cornu Copia munifico;  
ut procul, hoc uiuo, tanto duce, rege, patrono,  
hosticus absistat terror et ira tumens; |  
f. 38<sup>v</sup> floreat ut canis niueo candore uenustis,  
uirtutis speculum, gratia multa dei.  
Ipsius huic lateri depinges<sup>a</sup> imperiali  
que sociata uiget, hec tua spes et opes,

<sup>a</sup> depingis *MS*

<sup>1</sup> It should be noticed that the author shows none of the conventional reluctance and does not plead the conventional insufficiency—the 'Antonian' form of biography—for which see Charles W. Jones, *Saints' Lives and*

Now teach the words: I'll follow as I can,  
A pupil echoing his master's voice.<sup>1</sup>

## Muse

To whose praise more devotedly resound  
Our loyal following's duteous organ notes?  
To her our own new-fashioned music tones  
Hosannas blended with the rhythmic lyre;  
By praising her these Muses three delight  
The world with their continuous serenade;  
'Tis her whom you will all your life with skill  
Acclaim; whose love we strengthen by this aid.  
With poets idle and the prophets barred  
You shall be first to sing King Edward's song.  
Describe him thus, this English king, so fair  
In form, so nobly fine in limb and mind;  
How at his coming, with all grief repressed,  
A golden age<sup>2</sup> shone for his English race,  
As after David's wars came Solomon and peace,  
Which drowned the grievous moans in Lethe's stream,  
And Plenty poured profusely for her king  
Abundant riches from a bounteous horn;  
How when this leader, patron, king was there,  
The dreadful anger of the foe withdraws;  
And how with locks of snowy white he blooms,  
The glass of virtue, the beloved of God.  
You'll paint who thrives at his imperial side,  
The object of your hopes, your champion,

*Chronicles in early England* (New York 1947), pp. 54-5, and A. Campbell, *Enc. Emmae*, p. xxxv. But note the use of *ingeniolum* (below p. 31), for which see Jones, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Virgil on Augustus, *Aeneid*, vi, 792 ff. and *Ecl.* iv.



altera pars hominis, species eadem probitatis,  
 altius ingenium, conciliumque citum.  
 Conuenit nusquam terrarum par sibi quicquam:  
 corpore nam gemino unus habentur homo.  
 Hanc, licet affectum languentis posse relinquat,  
 dices pro merito nobiliore stilo.  
 Ipsius inde patrem, fidei pietate cluentem,  
 scribes Godwinum<sup>1</sup> iura beasse ducum.  
 Ac uelut Elisii fons unicus irrigat orbem,  
 progenitis ex se fluminibus quattuor,  
 fetibus ut uariis fecundent uiscera terre,  
 ac foueant proprio condita plura sinu,  
 sustinet Anglorum pietas sic celica regnum,  
 hoc duce progenitis pignoribus quattuor,<sup>2</sup>  
 quorum tum cordis tum corporis inclita uirtus  
 diuersis opibus sufficit imperium.  
 Horum discreta serie dices probitatem,  
 quos actu proprio prestiterint titulos.  
 Carmine germano germanos plenius actus  
 alternans operis<sup>3</sup> ordine pone modum.  
 Et ne continuo ledatur musica cursu,  
 interdum proso carmina uerte gradu,  
 pagina quo uario reparetur fessa relatu,  
 clarius et pateat historie series.

<sup>1</sup> The son of Wulfnoth, probably a Sussex thegn, Godwin rose to power through the favour of King Cnut. See *FNC*, I, Appendices ZZ, AAA, EEE; C. E. Wright, *The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England* (1939), pp. 213-36.

<sup>2</sup> Although there is some uncertainty whether Edith should be included in the four (cf. also below, p. 15), it seems more likely that the four streams are usually the four sons who are mentioned by name, Harold, Tostig, Gyrrh and Leofwine. But the author knew that there were other sons and daughters (below, p. 6). The children of Godwin and Gyrrha were: sons, Swegn, Harold, Tostig, Gyrrh and Leofwine, in that order, and Wulfnoth, who was given to William of Normandy as a hostage in 1051 or 2, possibly the youngest; daughters, Edith, Gunnhild and

His other part, alike in probity,  
 Profound, intelligent, prompt counsellor.  
 Their equal is not found in all the world,  
 One person dwelling in a double form.  
 You'll tell of her with noble style, as she  
 Deserves, although your pow'rs may fail your love.  
 You'll write that Godwin,<sup>1</sup> her own sire, renowned  
 For loyalty, enjoyed the rights of earls,  
 And just as one Elysian spring can throw  
 Four streams to irrigate the world, implant  
 The entrails of the earth with various fruits,  
 And foster many treasures in their folds,  
 So heavenly goodness holds the English realm  
 High with four children<sup>2</sup> bred from this great earl:  
 Their famous courage both of heart and limb  
 Supplying sovranity with various powers.  
 You'll tell, but one by one, of their great worth,  
 What glories they have won by their own acts.  
 In song fraternal deeds of brothers sing  
 In turn; put ordered measures in the lays<sup>3</sup>;  
 And, lest monotony should spoil the tune,  
 Set now and then your narrative in prose,  
 So that with shifts the weary page revives  
 And the events more lucidly appear.

probably at least one more. The two lists cannot be conflated; but Edith was among the elder children. See *FNC*, II, Appendix F, 'The children of Godwin.' The parents were married in 1019. Swegn was promoted earl c. 1043, Harold in 1044-5, Tostig in 1055, and Gyrrh and Leofwine in 1057. Tostig married in 1051. As Leofwine was old enough to adventure in 1051, he was probably born not later than 1035. A schematic arrangement of their births would be: Edith, c. 1021; Swegen, c. 1023; Harold, c. 1026; Tostig, c. 1029; Gyrrh, c. 1032; and Leofwine, c. 1035; which presents no obvious difficulties.

<sup>3</sup> From the scansion *operis* should be the dat. (or abl.) pl. of *opera*, and not the gen. sing. of *opus*; but it is difficult to grasp the exact meaning.

## [Poeta]

Nil michi gratius est horum quam dicere laudes,  
 a quibus et primum protegor a domina.  
 Nunc accingamur sed nobiliore coturno,  
 utque mones proso tramite pergo uiam.

## [cap. i]

*Virga equitatis*<sup>1</sup> dei ubi quod sibi displicuerat in populo deterisit per pressuram Danorum, regnumque cessit Cnuto regi uario euentu bellorum,<sup>2</sup> inter nouos adepti regni principes regio ascitos lateri hic Godwinus, cuius supra meminimus, cum consilio cautissimus, tum bellicis rebus ab ipso rege probatus est strenuissimus. Erat quoque morum equalitate tam cunctis quam ipsi regi gratissimus, assiduo laboris accinctu incomparabilis, iocunda et prompta affabilitate omnibus affabilis. Vocantibus autem quibusdam regni competentibus negotiis regem in gentem suam—absenti enim rebellare parauerant collo effreni eius abicientes potentiam<sup>3</sup>—adhesit comes indiuiduus per omnem uiam. Hic eius prudentiam, hic laborum constantiam, hic uirtu[ti]s militiam<sup>4</sup>, hic attentius expertus est idem rex tanti

<sup>4</sup> uirtus malitiam MS; cf. seruitutis militiam, *S. Benedicti Reg.*, c. ii

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Heb. 1:8.

<sup>2</sup> Cnut established his power in 1016. Goscelin, owing to Cnut's patronage of St Augustine's, regarded him favourably. In his *Translatio S. Mildrethe*, f. 170v, he writes, 'O dei prouidentiam bene cuncta dispensantem, et sepe nobis etiam contra nostram sententiam consulentem! Ille externus, ille barbarus, ille cedibus et flammis regna demolienti, cuius dicionem tota Anglia septeno congressu preliorum repulerat, quis crederet quod optento regno pater Anglorum fieret, et de Saule quodammodo Dauid exhiberet? Quis natiuus dux, quorum plerique suos deuorant, tantum subditis contulit, tam modestis legibus populos beatificauit?' and relates the miracle of Cnut's surviving a storm on the way back from Rome. Cf. also his later version of this passage in his *Liber de mirac. S. Augustini*,

## [Poet]

No task for me more grateful than to praise  
 These my protectors, specially my dame.  
 Let's gird us up, a noble buskin wear,  
 And, as you bid, start on our way with prose.

## [Chapter i]

When God's rod of justice<sup>1</sup> had swept away by the oppression of the Danes what had displeased Him among the people, and the kingdom, as a result of the vicissitudes of war, had passed to Cnut,<sup>2</sup> among the new nobles of the conquered kingdom attached to the king's side that Godwin, whom we have just mentioned, was judged by the king himself the most cautious in counsel and the most active in war. He was, too, because of his equable temperament, most acceptable both to the people and to the king himself; he was incomparable in his tireless application to work, and with pleasing and ready courtesy polite to all. When, however, some fitting business of the kingdom called Cnut to his own people—for in his absence some unbridled men, putting off his authority from their necks, had prepared to rebel<sup>3</sup>—Godwin was his inseparable companion on the whole journey. Here the king tested more closely his wisdom, here his perseverance, here his courage in war, and here

p. 525, and his earlier, 'princeps factus ex tyranno religiosus,' *Vita S. Wlslini*, c. xiv, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Henry of Huntingdon (*Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold, RS, 1879, p. 187) and, apparently, our author, followed by Freeman, *NC*, 1, pp. 419-21 and Appendix EEE, and Plummer, pp. 202-3, identify this journey as Cnut's visit to Denmark, autumn 1019 to spring 1020, when he went to take possession of the kingdom after the death of his elder brother, Harold. L. M. Larson, however, (*Canute the Great*, 1912, pp. 151, 236-7), held the view that Godwin accompanied Cnut only on later campaigns.

f. 39 principis ualentiam, quam profundus eloquio, et si eum sibi artius astringeret quouis decenti beneficio, quante commoditatis sibi foret in nouiter acquisito Anglorum regno. Taliter ergo diutius probatum, ponit eum sibi a secretis, dans illi in coniugem sororem suam.<sup>1</sup> Vnde cum repatriaret in Angliam, feliciter actis<sup>a</sup> omnibus, totius pene regni ab ipso constituitur dux et baiulus.<sup>2</sup> Adeptus<sup>b</sup> tanti honoris primatum non se extulit,<sup>3</sup> sed omnibus bonis se pro posse patrem prebuit, quamque<sup>c</sup> a puero addidicerat | mentis mansuetudinem non exuit, uerum hanc, ut naturaliter sibi inditam, erga subditos et inter pares<sup>d</sup> eterna assiduitate excoluit. Vndecumque emergerent iniurię, in hoc ius et lex in promptu<sup>e</sup> recuperabatur. Vnde non pro domino habebatur, sed a cunctis patrię filiis pro patre colebatur. Nati sunt ergo filii et filię tanto patri non degeneres, sed paterna et materna probitate insignes, in quibus nutriendis studiosius his artibus agitur, quibus futuro regno munimen pariter et iuuamen in his paratur. Et quoniam circa id nostra uersatur intentio, ut supradictorum probitas posteros non lateat, succurrente nostrę descriptionis officio, hec suo loco dicenda

<sup>a</sup> altered from actus, MS

<sup>c</sup> quamquam MS; L corrects to quia quam

<sup>d</sup> altered from patres MS

<sup>b</sup> Adeptus MS

<sup>e</sup> inprompta MS

<sup>1</sup> Gytha, the daughter of Thurgils Sprakaleg and sister of Ulf (who married Estrith, Cnut's sister). Godwin married her in 1019.

<sup>2</sup> Godwin first attests as *dux* in 1018 (K. 728) and may have held from the beginning the earldom of Wessex. Hence his promotion was unconnected with the Danish expedition. *Baiulus*, which is sometimes confused with *bailliuus*, usually has the meaning of governor or tutor; but in its earlier sense of porter or bearer could be equivalent to the Anglo-Danish *stallere*, a place-holder or court official.

<sup>3</sup> Contemporaries were very impressed by the state kept by English earls; cf. this description from the *Mirac. S. Swithuni*, MPL, clv, col. 79: 'eadem quoque tempestate quidam consul [= comes, col. 80] regis nimium

the strength of this nobleman. He also found out how profound he was in eloquence, and what advantage it would be to him in his newly acquired kingdom if he were to bind him more closely to him by means of some fitting reward. Consequently he admitted the man, whom he had tested in this way for so long, to his council and gave him his sister as wife.<sup>1</sup> And when Godwin returned home, having performed all things well, he was appointed by him earl and office-bearer of almost all the kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Having obtained this pre-eminent honour, Godwin did not carry himself high,<sup>3</sup> but showed himself to all good men as much as he could like a father; and he did not discard the gentleness he had learned from boyhood, but, as something implanted in him by nature, took infinite trouble to cultivate it in all his dealings with inferiors and among equals. Wherever wrongs appeared, right and law were promptly restored there. Hence he was regarded not as a master but was revered by all the country's sons as a father. There were born anon sons and daughters not unworthy of such a sire, but rather distinguished by their parents' good qualities; and in their education attention was paid specially to those arts which would prepare them to be a strength and help to future rulers. And since our purpose centres on this point, that the virtues of these children, with the duteous aid of our description, should not be hidden from posterity, we should reserve these things to be told in their proper places, and those which are not to be omitted

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dilectus, in caducis praepotens rebus, cum ingenti comitatu, sicut mos est Anglosaxonibus, properanter equitabat ad quemdam uicum, in quo grandis apparatus ad necessarios conuiuandi usus erat illi opipare constructus.'

reseruemus, queque primum omittenda non sunt, enucleatius et succincte suo ordine dicemus.

Regnante supradicto Cnuto rege, floruit hic in eius aula primus inter summos regni proceres, et agente equitatis ratione quod scribebat scriptum, quod debebat omnes censebant delendum. Et in huius potentatus solio potenter uiguit, donec et hunc regem et eius totam stirpem ille, qui *regna* pro libitu suo *transfert*,<sup>1</sup> succidit.<sup>2</sup> Succidit inquam, quia in eius semine reseruauit, cui Anglici regni annueret uirgam.<sup>3</sup> Sed uelut pater flagellatis filiis iam pacatus, donaria quę abstraxerat pie representat, et ad se aduocatis blandiens prestat, sic dei pietas Anglis post grauem sue correptionis pressuram parcens, de antiquorum regum stirpe seruatum florem ostendit, utque hunc et regno et saluti suę peterent, et uires prestitit, et animos accendit. Neque hoc tunc subito uel incerto casu dabatur, sed, premonstrante euidentibus oraculis dei magna pietate, hoc ab omnibus petebatur. Nam quale prophete uaticinio dicitur<sup>4</sup>: *priusquam te formarem in utero noui te, et antequam exires de uulua sanctificaui te*, tale nimirum signum prestatur et in hac re.

Antiqui<sup>5</sup> regis Æthelredi regia coniuge utero grauida, in eius partus sobole si masculus prodiret omnis coniurat patria, in eo se dominum expectare et regem,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dan. 2:21; 4:14, 28-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cnut died in 1035, his usurping bastard, Harold Harefoot, in 1040, and his son by Emma of Normandy, Harthacnut, on 8 June 1042. All Cnut's sons were childless.

<sup>3</sup> Edward (the Confessor), the son of Cnut's widow, Emma, by her first husband, King Æthelred.

<sup>4</sup> Jer. 1:5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Osbert, c. iii. As Osbert makes Alfred the elder and Edward the younger son, the event becomes more miraculous (p. 71).

at the beginning we shall tell plainly and briefly in their right order.

In the reign of this King Cnut Godwin flourished in the royal palace, having the first place among the highest nobles of the kingdom; and, as was just, what he wrote all decreed should be written, and what he erased, erased. And he throve mightily in the seat of authority until He who translates kingdoms according to His will<sup>1</sup> cut down both this king and his whole stock.<sup>2</sup> Cut down, I say, because he preserved among his seed the one to whom he had thought to give the sceptre of the English kingdom.<sup>3</sup> But just as a father, after chastising his children, is at peace with them again, and in his goodness gives back the gifts he had taken away, and, calling them to him, shows himself a soothing comforter, so God's loving kindness, sparing the English after the heavy weight of his rebuke, showed them a flower preserved from the root of their ancient kings, and both gave them the strength and fired their minds to seek this flower for the kingdom as well as for their salvation. Nor was this given them then by sudden or uncertain chance; but, after the great goodness of God had shown them the way with undoubted signs, it was sought by all. For, just as it is said in the prediction of the prophet,<sup>4</sup> 'Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee,' there appeared this clear sign, and in this way.

When<sup>5</sup> the royal wife of old King Æthelred was pregnant in her womb, all the men of the country took an oath that if a man child should come forth as the fruit of her labour, they would await in him their lord

qui regeret uniuersam<sup>a</sup> Anglorum gentem.<sup>1</sup> In hac uoce populi non dissonat uox et uoluntas domini, quod licet aliquo temporum decursu differat, tamen in tempore salutis gloriosius agendum reseruatur. Natus ergo puer dignus premonstratur patrie sacramento, qui quandoque paterni regni sullimaretur solio, et precedentium tempestatum turbinem sic suo sereno sedaret moderamine, ut pro pacis optentu omnis illa hostilis f. 39<sup>v</sup> uastitas | et incursio excederet memorie. Irruente uero Danica deuastatione puer defertur<sup>b</sup> ad auos suos in Franciam,<sup>2</sup> ut cum eis ablactationis sue transigat infantiam, uel potius ne tante deuastationis absorbeatur fluctibus, et Anglis suis suis diu expectatus non pereat paruulus. Defluxerat ergo iam graue tempus flendi, et ex gratia dei imminebat iam diu exoptatum tempus miserendi, quo scilicet dei pietas *respexit in preces humilium, et non spreuit gemitus eorum*, ut scriberentur *hec in generatione subsequentium, et populus qui crearetur laudaret dominum*.<sup>3</sup> Dum<sup>4</sup> hic fletus esset de desolato regni solio in populo Anglorum, flebat pariter deo dilectus

<sup>a</sup> uniuersum MS

<sup>b</sup> uel transducitur *interlined*, MS

<sup>1</sup> The exact date of Edward's birth is not known. It can be placed between 1003 (his parents married in the spring of 1002) and 1005 (when his name appears on charters). If the Anonymous is correct; this oath of allegiance is of some constitutional importance. For the subject, see Walther Kienast, *Untertaneneid und Treuworbehalt in Frankreich und England* (Weimar 1952), especially pp. 173-4, and Jean-François Lemarignier, *Autour de la royauté française du IXe au XIIIe siècle*, Bibl. de L'École des Chartes, cxiii (1955), pp. 18-23. Freeman (*NC*, II, p. 529), however, treats the passage simply as rhetoric.

<sup>2</sup> 'In Neustriam,' Osbert, p. 72; 'ad auunculos in Normanniam,' William of Poitiers, I, c. 1. Among their uncles were Duke Richard II of Normandy, Robert archbishop of Rouen, Godfrey (? count of Brionne), and William count of Eu, sons of Duke Richard I. All these had children: Richard—Dukes Richard III and Robert I; Robert—Richard count of Évreux; Godfrey—Gilbert of Brionne; and William—Robert count of Eu,

and king who would rule over the whole race of the English.<sup>1</sup> In this voice of the people there was no disharmony with the voice and will of the Lord, because, although He put it off for a while, He kept it to come to pass even more gloriously in the day of salvation. Accordingly, the boy then born was declared beforehand by the oath of the people to be worthy to be raised at some time to the throne of his ancestral kingdom and by his serene rule so to still the tempest of preceding storms that under the spreading veil of peace all the destruction and assault worked by the foe should pass from men's memory. And when the Danish ravagers burst in, the boy was carried to his kinsmen in Francia,<sup>2</sup> so that with them he could spend his childhood, or rather lest he should be swallowed up in the floods of this devastation, and the infant perish for whom his Englishmen had waited so long. Soon the grievous time of weeping had almost passed, and by God's grace the long-desired time of compassion was now dawning, in which, we may be sure, God's goodness 'regarded the prayer of the destitute and did not despise their groanings, so that this would be written for the generation to come and the people which would be created should praise the Lord.'<sup>3</sup> While<sup>4</sup> there had been weeping among the English over the forsaken throne of the kingdom, there wept also the beloved of God, Brihtwald of holy memory, bishop of

Hugh bishop of Lisieux, and William Busac. So the aethelings had plenty of Norman cousins.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. 101:18-19 (Vulg.).

<sup>4</sup> See below, Appendix A, pp. 85-7.

sancte memorie Brihtwaldus episcopus Wiltunensium.<sup>1</sup> Flebat inquam, et super talibus propitiari dei petebat clementiam. Agebat tunc temporis excubias fletus sui in cenobio Glestiniensi, fessusque post diutinas lacrimas soporem incidit hic uir dei, cum ecce inter sancta sanctorum uidet beatum Petrum, apostolorum primum, decentem<sup>a</sup> hominis personam in regem consecrare, celibem ei uitam designare, regnique annos sub certo uite calculo determinare. Quem etiam hic poscentem de subsequentis regni regnatura posteritate, hac edocet responsione: 'Regnum,' inquit, 'Anglorum est dei; post te prouidit sibi regem ad placitum sui.'<sup>2</sup>

Preeunte ergo gratuita dei clementia, reducto diu afflictis Anglis barbarica seruitute redemptionis sue iubeleo,<sup>3</sup> instat potissimum supradictus dux Godwinus, ut regem suum recipiant in natiui iuris sui throno.<sup>4</sup> Et quoniam pro patre ab omnibus habebatur, in paterno consultu libenter audiebatur. Festiuo itaque uniuersorum tripudio mittuntur post eum duces et episcopi.<sup>5</sup> Ab his prospere adducitur, ab istis alacriter suscipitur, et solio sullimandus regali, Cantie in ecclesia

<sup>a</sup> 'decent', i.e. *decenter* MS

<sup>1</sup> Monk and abbot of Glastonbury, promoted bishop in 995 or 1005 (Robertson, *Charters*, p. 405; R. R. Darlington, *VCH Wilts*, II, p. 29). He died on 22 April 1045 and was buried at Glastonbury, of which he was so great a patron (Wm. of Malmesbury, *GP*, p. 182) that he was accused of despoiling his diocese for the abbey (Idem, *De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiae*, in *Adami de Domerham historia*, ed. Thos. Hearne (Oxford 1727), I, pp. 94-6), a policy which may have caused the poverty of which his successor complained.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dan. 4: 28-9, 'Regnum tuum transibit a te . . . donec scias quod dominetur Excelsus in regno hominum, et cuicumque uoluerit, det illud.'

<sup>3</sup> Harthacnut died at Lambeth on 8 June 1042 (*ASC*).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 'as was his natural right' (*ASC CD* 1042); 'hereditarius rex,' 'Heremanni archidiaconi miracula S. Eadmundi,' Liebermann, *Ungedruckte*, p. 238.

Wiltshire.<sup>1</sup> He wept, I say, and asked that God's mercy should look favourably upon them. At that time he passed the watches of his weeping in the monastery of Glastonbury, and weary after so many tears the man of God fell asleep. When lo! in the Holy of Holies he saw the blessed Peter, the first of the apostles, consecrate the image of a seemingly man as king, mark out for him a life of chastity, and set the years of his reign by a fixed reckoning of his life. And when the king even at this juncture asked him of the generations to come who would reign in the kingdom, Peter answered, 'The kingdom of the English is of God; and after you he has already provided a king according to His will.'<sup>2</sup>

When by God's gracious mercy there came for the English, who had suffered so long under the yoke of the barbarians, the jubilee of their redemption,<sup>3</sup> that Earl Godwin, whom I have already mentioned, took the lead in urging that they should admit their king to the throne that was his by right of birth<sup>4</sup>; and since Godwin was regarded as a father by all, he was gladly heard in the witenagemot. And so, amid the festive joy of all the people, earls and bishops were sent to fetch him.<sup>5</sup> By these he was brought back safely, by those acknowledged with alacrity; and before he was raised to the royal throne he was consecrated God's anointed at Christ

<sup>5</sup> Edward had been recalled to England, and associated with the government, by his half-brother, Harthacnut, in 1041 (Plummer, pp. 219-20). The writer may have been ignorant of this, for he gives the impression that Edward was recalled from Normandy in 1042; but it is possible that the events of 1041-2 are run together (see next note). According to *ASC E* 1041, Edward was chosen king before Harthacnut's funeral.

Christi consecratur christus dei,<sup>1</sup> passimque applauditur ei tam in seruitutis quam in obauditionis sponsione fidei.<sup>2</sup> Laudatur a cunctis regno stabilito in dominatu natiuo, et in hac uicissitudine sollennes gratias regi celebrant altissimo. Et non soli Angli, quibus diuinitus hec prestabatur gratia, uerum congaudet ex uicina germanitate uniuersalis Gallia. Cuius principes hac exhilarati fama, amica festinant legatis suis mit[t]ere mandamina, et tanti regis amicitiam expetere cum pacis gratia.<sup>3</sup> Primus ipse Romanorum imperator f. 40 Heinricus, qui etiam eiusdem | Eadwardi regis sororem Gonhildam nomine coniugem duxerat,<sup>4</sup> exhilaratus quod eum in paterna sede inthronizatum didicerat, ad coniungendas in inuicem dextras legatos dirigit, munera imperiali liberalitate exhibenda mittit, et que tantos decebat terrarum dominos pacem et amicitiam sibi suisque prestat et petit. Rex quoque Francorum, item Heinricus nomine, eiusdem Anglorum regis uicina carnis propinquitate consanguineus,<sup>5</sup> eadem nouitate plurimum iocundatus, legatis suis cum eodem exoptatum amicis utriusque pepigit fedus. Rex etiam

<sup>1</sup> Edward was crowned at Winchester on Easter Day 1043 (*ASC CDE*; Florence, I, p. 197). For possible reasons for the delay, see below p. 11, n. 1). Osbert of Clare (p. 73) repeats this account of a coronation at Canterbury. Freeman (*NC*, II, p. 523) would reconcile by allowing a second coronation. Plummer (pp. 221-2) suggested that the whole account here possibly refers to the events of 1041. But no other writer mentions a coronation on that occasion.

<sup>2</sup> Again there is a suggestion of a general oath of allegiance.

<sup>3</sup> Southern, *First Life*, p. 392, regards the following passage as legendary and 'clouded with romance.' This may be so; but it is not impossible, in view of the delayed coronation, that foreign ambassadors should have presented themselves. Goscelin, in his *Vita S. Edithæ*, pp. 62-3, writes of legations to King Edgar (who went also to salute Edith) in similar terms: 'Externa quoque regna et principatus hanc [Edith] salutationibus, epistolis, xeniiis uenerantur; religiosi antistites salutiferam interuentricem deprecantur. Quicquid legatorum uel Gallia uel Germania aut ipsa augusta et apostolica Roma aut ipsi imperatores ad famosissimum principem

Church, Canterbury.<sup>1</sup> Everywhere he was acclaimed with loyal undertakings of submission and obedience.<sup>2</sup> Now that the kingdom was settled under its native rule there was rejoicing by all, and at this turn of events they offered thanksgivings to the King most High. And not only the English, to whom this favour had been shown by heaven, but indeed the whole of Gaul on account of its close kinship rejoiced with them; and its kings, gladdened by the report, hastened to send by their ambassadors friendly greetings and to seek the friendship of such a king together with the boon of peace.<sup>3</sup> First the Emperor of the Romans himself, Henry, who besides had married Edward's sister Gunnhild,<sup>4</sup> delighted to learn that Edward had been enthroned in his ancestral seat, dispatched ambassadors to confirm their amity, sent gifts to be bestowed with imperial generosity, and, as befitted these great lords of the earth, offered and asked for peace and friendship for him and his vassals. Also the king of the Franks, another Henry, a close kinsman by blood of the king of the English,<sup>5</sup> much pleased with the news, made with him through ambassadors a treaty welcome to the friends of both. Even the king of the

Edgarum misissent, huius sancte affabilitati se commendare gloriatur.' We know little of medieval diplomacy.

<sup>4</sup> Gunnhild was Edward's half-sister, the daughter of Emma and Cnut, who had married Henry III (who was not crowned emperor until 1047) in 1036, and died in 1038. The marriage was celebrated in song; see Wm. of Malmesbury, *GR*, I, pp. 229-30.

<sup>5</sup> Edward kept in touch with Henry I king of the Franks (1031-60) through Helinand, a native of Pontoise, a chaplain sent to Edward by his nephew, Walter III of Mantes, and who became, as a result of these embassies, bishop of Laon in 1052, and later archbishop of Rheims. See Guibert of Nogent, *De uita sua libri tres*, *MPL*, CLVI, col. 99. Osbert (p. 73) repeats the puzzling statement about their kinship. For attempts to establish a relationship (blood or spiritual), see Bloch, *Osbert*, p. 131, and Southern, *First Life*, p. 392, n. 1. It should be remembered that the undoubted relationship of William of Normandy and his wife Matilda of Flanders is no less obscure.



Danorum<sup>1</sup> licet infinita interfluentis oceani longinquitate dirimatur, legatis tamen suis longo maris terrarumque circuitu defessis pacem et dilectionem eius precatur, patrem eum sibi eligit, seque ut filium illi in omnibus subicit, iussusque ab eodem Anglorum rege hanc sponsionem et sacramentis iurat, et obsidibus confirmat.<sup>2</sup> Ceteri quoque eorundem regum tyranni, et quique potentissimi duces et principes, legatis suis eum adeunt, amicum et dominum sibi suisque constituunt, eique fidelitatem et seruitium suum in manus ponunt.<sup>3</sup> Mittuntur singulis pro celsitudine sua ab ipso rege regalia munera, quæ ut nullius quamlibet multiplex regis uel principis umquam equaret munificentia, regum pulcherrimus et nobilissimus Anglorum rex Æwardus facit eisdem Francorum principibus uel annua uel continua.<sup>4</sup> In principio siquidem regni sui tanta diuinitus donatur claritate et gratia, ut quiescente<sup>a</sup> in pacis quiete uniuersali Britannia, cum adiacentium

<sup>a</sup> ? *amend to conquiescente*; cf. p. 30

<sup>1</sup> This statement has caused endless trouble. Freeman (*JC*, II, p. 18) believed the king to be Magnus of Norway, who probably was, indeed, in possession of Denmark at this period. But it is far more likely that the author had in mind Svein Estrithson, Cnut's nephew and Edith's cousin, who asked for English help in 1047 and 1048 (*ASC D*), and who established his claim in the end. For Goscelin's story connecting Queen Emma with Magnus in 1042-3, see F. Barlow, 'Two Notes: Cnut's second pilgrimage and Queen Emma's Disgrace in 1043,' *EHR*, LXXIII (1958), pp. 651-6. For Adam of Bremen's story that Svein was a competitor for the throne, and was bought off by a promise of the reversion of the kingdom should Edward die without heirs, and Freeman's elaboration of it, see *FNC*, II, p. 525. Osbert tried to reconcile the two views of Svein's behaviour and a miraculous vision Edward had of Svein's death, some ten years before he died, by stating here that hostile Denmark alone kept aloof (p. 73), and, after inserting the miracle (pp. 75-6), attributing this mission to Svein's successor (pp. 76-7).

<sup>2</sup> This is a classical description of lordship and vassalage of the Germanic type.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 'Mitigauit Alemannos / Et omnes regni tyrannos,' Wipo, Poem on the death of the Emperor Conrad, *MPL*, CXLII, col. 1249. Southern,

Danes,<sup>1</sup> although separated by the immense distance of the intervening ocean, with ambassadors exhausted by their long travels on land and sea, entreated his peace and love, chose him as a father, submitted himself to him in all things as a son, and by the order of the English king affirmed this agreement by oath and confirmed it with hostages.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, all the other nobles of those kings and all the most powerful dukes and princes approached him with their ambassadors, made him their friend and lord for them and theirs, and put their fealty and service in his hands.<sup>3</sup> To each of these according to his rank were sent from the king royal gifts, and, so that no generosity, however bountiful, of any king or prince whatsoever should ever equal these gifts, Edward, the most fair and noble of English kings, made them for these same Frankish princes in the form of either annual or perpetual grants.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, at the start of his reign he was vouchsafed so much renown and favour by heaven

*First Life*, p. 392, remarks that these transactions are 'not possible outside romance.' The passage must, of course, be read with the next. We know now that in this period feudal vassals, in order to increase the number of their fiefs, did homage to several lords not only in England (where the custom has usually been interpreted as a characteristic feature of the unfeudal structure), but in France. See Jean-François Lemarignier, 'Structures monastiques et structures politiques dans la France de la fin du Xe et des débuts du XIe siècle,' *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 8-14 apr. 1956), IV, pp. 373-82. We also know rather more about money fiefs now. See M. Bloch, *La société féodale* (1939-40), I, pp. 267-9; B. D. Lyon, 'The money fief under the English kings, 1066-1485,' *EHR*, LXVI (1951), p. 161. And if Edward granted such, he would have received the fealty and service of his vassals. Since it is likely that he owed many debts of gratitude on the Continent for help during his exile, it is not unlikely that he repaid them in this way. The author is probably exaggerating, but not necessarily romancing. See also Walther Kienast, *Untertaneneid und Treuorbehalt in Frankreich und England*, p. 189, and n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly, either annual pensions (money fiefs) or grants of land in perpetuity.



regnorum monarchiarumque angularibus insulis, uidetur innouari in eo illud donatium diuini muneris, quo post bellicosum Daud regnum terrores compescuit preliorum, et succedenti filio eius Salomoni in solio glorię pacis exhibuit regnum, ut penitus extinctis omnibus contrariis motibus in mansuetudine uiueret, suos cum benignitate regeret, et uniuersa mundi gloria et diuitiis abundantius cunctis terrarum regibus exuberaret.

Et <sup>1</sup> ut statum siue formam eiusdem non pretereamus, hominis persona erat decentissima, discretę proceritatis, capillis et barba canitie insignis lactea, facie plena et cute rosea, manibus macris et niueis, longis quoque interlucentibus digitis, reliquo corpore toto integer <sup>2</sup> et regius homo, continua grauitate iocundus, humiliatis incedens uisibus, gratissimę cum quouis affabilitatis. Si ratio aliquem suscicaret animi motum, |  
f. 40<sup>v</sup> leonini uidebatur terroris, iram tamen non prodebat iurgiis. Cunctis poscentibus aut benigne daret aut benigne negaret, ita etiam ut benigna negatio plurima uideretur largitio. In frequentia uere se regem et dominum, in priuato, salua quidem regia maiestate, agebat se suis ut consocium. Causam dei episcopis suis et eius misterii<sup>a</sup> iuris uiris imponens,<sup>3</sup> monebat ut

<sup>a</sup> ? ministerii, MS

<sup>1</sup> Osbert, c. iv (pp. 74-5); Wm. of Malmesbury, *GR*, I, p. 272; see below, Appendix A. Cf. also the Bayeux tapestry, pl. i, xxx, xxxii. The description is to some extent conventional: cf. the description of St Audemer (Omer) as he appeared in a vision to a monk of St Bertin, 'proceræ erat staturæ, uenerandæ canitiæ, . . . facie uenustus et gracili, . . . manibus cum digitis longissimis pulcherrima macroris tenuitate translucentibus,' *Miracula S. Bertini*, MPL, cXLVII, col. 1117. The expression 'discretæ proceritatis' recalls Boethius's 'statura discretionis ambiguae,' *De consol. philos.*, I, c. i, line 8, which underlies Folcard's 'statura discretionis mediæ,' *Vita S. Bertini*, p. 606 E.

that, with all Britain, together with the jagged islands of the adjacent kingdoms and monarchies, settling down in the calm of peace, there seemed to have been renewed in him that grant of heavenly favour, by which David, after a martial reign, repressed the terrors of war, and presented to his son Solomon, who followed him on the throne of glory, a rule of peace, so that, with all counter movements completely destroyed, he lived in mercy, ruled his people with kindness, and overflowed more abundantly in the general glory and riches of the world than all the other kings of the earth.

And <sup>1</sup> not to omit his attitude and appearance, he was a very proper figure of a man—of outstanding height, and distinguished by his milky white hair and beard, full face and rosy cheeks, thin white hands, and long translucent fingers; in all the rest of his body he was an unblemished <sup>2</sup> royal person. Pleasant, but always dignified, he walked with eyes down-cast, most graciously affable to one and all. If some cause aroused his temper, he seemed as terrible as a lion, but he never revealed his anger by railing. To all petitioners he would either grant graciously or graciously deny, so that his gracious denial seemed the highest generosity. In public he carried himself as a true king and lord; in private with his courtiers as one of them, but with royal dignity unimpaired. He entrusted the cause of God to his bishops and to men skilled in canon law,<sup>3</sup> warning

<sup>2</sup> *Integer* is possibly important in connexion with the story of Edward's chastity.

<sup>3</sup> There are too many genitives for comfort. Osbert is simpler: 'Sanctis domini sacerdotibus causas inponens ecclesiasticas, suadebat secundum iustitiam uiriliter agere et auctoritate canonica sanctorum patrum uestigiis firmiter inherere. Secularia palatinis et causidicis committebat iudicia . . .' (p. 74).

secundum agerent causam, seculi iudiciariis principibus et palatii sui causidicis precipiens ut iuste discerneren, quatinus et probitas regiam defensionem, et malitia, ubi erumperet, suam cum equitate haberet dampnationem. Leges iniquas euellens, iustas sapienti consilio statuens, omnem Britanniam letificauit, cui ex dei gratia et hereditario iure pius rex presedit.

Laudibus exortis hinc grates concinat orbis,  
et resonet mecum tua musica <sup>1</sup> gaudia rerum,  
que lux de celo rutilans in rege nouello  
Anglis illuxit, gemebundaque corda resoluit;  
has quoque comicias <sup>2</sup> qua leticia celebrarunt  
festiui procures, certatim dona ferentes, <sup>3</sup>  
agnouere suum regem magnumque patronum.  
Multa dedere quidem, verum supereminet omnes  
larga ducis probitas Godwini munere talis <sup>4</sup>:  
scapha grauis, <sup>5</sup> longo laterum compage reducto  
verticibus binis, sinibus stabat Tamesinis;  
sedibus equato numerosis ordine lato,  
a media naui despecto uertice mali,  
centum bis denis aptata minacibus heris. <sup>6</sup>  
Aureus e puppi leo prominet; equora prore  
celse pennato perterret corpore draco

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the author and his Muse.

<sup>2</sup> *Comitiæ* (an old fem. pl. form) is an assembly for holding an election.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Aeneid*, II, 49.

<sup>4</sup> Luard (p. 397, n. 2) and, perhaps, Southern (*First Life*, p. 392) regard this ship as a confusion with that given by Godwin to Harthacnut (Florence, I, p. 195). Freeman (*NC*, II, p. 19, n. 3) asks why? And, indeed, if Godwin gave one to Harthacnut, why should he not have given another to Edward? There is little similarity in the descriptions, and the earlier ship was manned by eighty knights.

<sup>5</sup> This should be compared with a similar description of Viking ships in *Enc. Emmae*, pp. 12, 18-19; and see Appendix Va, 'The Encomiast's description of Norse ships.' Goscelin seems to have been interested in ships. In his *Liber de mirac. S. Augustini* he recounts seven miracles at sea

them to act according to the case, and he ordered his secular judges, princes, and palace lawyers to distinguish equitably, so that, on the one hand, righteousness should have royal support, and, on the other, evil, wherever it appeared, its just condemnation. This goodly king abrogated bad laws, with his *witan* established good ones, and filled with joy all that Britain over which by the grace of God and hereditary right he ruled.

Let now with paeans of praise our <sup>1</sup> music sound  
The earth's thanksgivings and all nature's joy:  
What heavenly dawn suffused the new-found king,  
Lit England, and relieved the aching hearts.  
With what delight the festive lords held court, <sup>2</sup>  
Presented rival gifts, <sup>3</sup> and recognized  
Their own illustrious patron, their own king.  
Much did they give, but overtopped them all  
Earl Godwin's sterling bounty with this gift <sup>4</sup>:  
A loaded ship, <sup>5</sup> its slender lines raked up  
In double prow, lay anchored on the Thames,  
With many rowing benches side by side,  
The towering mast amidships looking down,  
Equipped for six score fearsome warriors. <sup>6</sup>  
A golden lion crowns the stern. A winged  
And golden dragon at the prow affrights

(pp. 525-31), and describes the storm-tossed ships with great skill. On a ship in difficulties in the Ægean Sea a service of intercession was held: 'Nauis erat ecclesia; malus, Sion specula; crux, antennae; carbasa, aulaea; prora, ara; sacerdos, proreta; gubernator, hierarcha; remiges, clerici; rudentes pro cimbali et organis; uentosi sibili, pro folibus et fistulis. In circuitu ingens maris atrium et infinita turba fluctuum respondebant psallentibus crebris allisionibus undarum' (p. 531).

<sup>6</sup> Apparently a peculiar abl. pl. of *hēros*, or a curious scansion of the abl. pl. of *hērus*.

aureus, et linguis flammam uomit ore trisulcis.<sup>1</sup>  
 Nobilis appensum preciat purpura uelum,  
 quo patrum series depicta docet uarias res,  
 bellaque nobilium turbata per equora regum.  
 Antemne grauidus stipes roburque uolatus  
 sustinet, extensis auro rutilantibus alis.<sup>2</sup> |

[cap. ii] <sup>3</sup>

(William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, para. 197)

Non multo post, Edgitham filiam Godwini rex in connubium accepit<sup>4</sup>; feminam in cuius pectore omnium liberalium artium esset gymnasium, sed paruum in mundanis rebus ingenium; quam cum uideres, si litteras stuperes, modestiam certe animi et speciem corporis desiderares.

(Osbert of Clare, c. iv) <sup>5</sup>

- f. 141<sup>v</sup> [Dei mater et uirgo semper in corde, semper eius uersabatur in ore: qui, uirginitatis factus domicilium, formam uirginalem sibimet ipsi protulit ad exemplum. Intenderunt tamen quidam ut naufragium incideret eius pudicitia, set nequaquam, ut assolet, lege pudoris sine remedio uiolata.] Vniuerso itaque regni imperio in pace consopito, de secunda que lateri regis adhereat persona decernitur, ut sponsa tanto digna sponso inter filias principum requiratur. Reperitur tamen in eadem gente una et sola, nulli inferior, ceteris superior, quam et claritas commendabat generis et ineffabilis decor excellentissime iuuentutis. Maior ergo natu | de filiabus Go[d]wini clarissimi ducis Edeiha diligitur, que uersu et prosa celebris et eximia et opere et pictura altera erat Minerva. Hec regalibus thalamis sollempni tripudio traditur, et deo inuncta
- f. 142

<sup>1</sup> A reminiscence of *Aeneid*, II, 475; and cf. 'Hinc erat cernere leones auro fusiles in puppibus . . . aut dracones uarios minantes incendia de naribus,' *Enc. Emmae*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The poem is probably cut short owing to the loss of pages from the MS (see above, p. xxxviii).

<sup>3</sup> Little of this missing chapter, which dealt with Godwin's children, can be reconstructed (see above, *ibid.*).

<sup>4</sup> 23 January (10 days before Candlemas) 1045 (*ASCC* 1044). Edward was in his forties. But he may have remained unmarried so long simply

The sea, and belches fire with triple tongue.<sup>1</sup>  
 Patrician purple pranks the hanging sail,  
 On which are shown th'instructive lineage  
 And the sea battles of our noble kings.  
 The yard-arm strong and heavy holds the sails  
 When wings incarnadine with gold are spread.<sup>2</sup>

[Chapter ii] <sup>3</sup>

(William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, para. 197)

Not long after, the king took Edith the daughter of Godwin to wife,<sup>4</sup> a woman in whose breast was a school of all the liberal arts but small inclination for worldly things. On seeing her, while you would have been amazed at her education, you would certainly also have been attracted by her intellectual modesty and the beauty of her body.

(Osbert of Clare, c. iv) <sup>5</sup>

[The virgin mother of God dwelt always in his heart, always on his lips. He had become a temple of virginity, and brought forth the image of the Virgin to be an example for himself. Some men, however, strove that his chastity should founder, but not, as is usual, by irreparably breaking the law of shame.] Accordingly, when the whole government of the kingdom slept in peace, there was a discussion about the consort who should cleave to the royal side, and it was decided to seek a wife worthy of such a husband from among the daughters of the princes. One alone was found in that people, inferior to none, superior to all, who was recommended both by the distinction of her family and the ineffable beauty of her surpassing youth. The eldest of the daughters of the most illustrious Earl Godwin was chosen, Edith, who was famous and distinguished for verse and prose, and in spinning and embroidery was another Minerva. This young woman was delivered to the royal bridal apartments with ceremonial rejoicing, and, anointed by God, was

because during his exile in Normandy he was landless and, until almost the very end, of no political importance. His brother Alfred died unmarried.

<sup>5</sup> Passages which are suspected of being additions by Osbert are enclosed in brackets. He was a champion of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of Edward's sanctity (Bloch, *Osbert*, p. 12).

diadmate coronatur.<sup>1</sup> [Set misericors deus, qui beatum confessorem suum Alexium in uirginitate seruauit, omnibus diebus uite sue, ut confidimus, sanctum regem Eadwardum in carnis puritate custodiuit.] Obsecuta est illi tamquam filia regina egregia eumque a principio sue desponsionis diuersis in opere redimiuit<sup>a</sup> ornamentis. Quod pro consuetudine regum magis amplectebatur, quam pro delicate uite qualibet occidua uoluptate.<sup>2</sup> [Ipsa uero regis castimoniam reticere quam nouerat, nec consilium effundere quod sciebat.]<sup>3</sup>

f. 41 . . . et rei quam tractamus, et eis quibus hac historia famulamur.

Felix prole pia dux stirpe beatus auita,  
his quattuor natis dans Anglis pignora pacis.  
Prodit gemma prior uarie probitatis amatrix  
in medio regni, tanto duce filia patre  
Ædgit digna suo, regi condigna marito.  
Cuius consilio pax continet undique regnum,  
atque cauet populis, uiolent ne federa pacis.  
Sic de fonte tuo, paradise, latentibus uno  
deriuas orbi signis in quattuor amnes  
sufficienter aquas, uegetent ut uiscera terre,  
atque statum uite foueant hominum pecorumque;  
seque uno<sup>b</sup> laudant utero generata potenter,  
pignora dissimili partu generis uariati  
corpore, uoce, loco, spatio quoque, tempore, motu.  
Aera conscendit pars hec herendo supernis,  
spemque sui generis nido fouet arboris alte.  
Illa profunda petit tranans inimica uoratrix,

<sup>a</sup> remidiuit, corrected from remedium, MS

<sup>b</sup> una MS

<sup>1</sup> If we could be sure that this passage reproduces the source it would be important for the history of the coronation. For the coronation of English queens, see P. E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation* (trans. L. G. Wickham Legg, 1937), pp. 16–17, 22, 29–30.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is probably based on later remarks of the Anonymous (cf. below, pp. 41, 79).

crowned with a diadem.<sup>1</sup> [But merciful God, who preserved his blessed confessor Alexius a virgin, kept, as we believe, St Edward the king all the days of his life in the purity of the flesh.] The excellent queen served him as a daughter, and from the beginning of their marriage arrayed him in many kinds of embroidered robes. This service he accepted more on account of royal custom than for any perishable desire for a luxurious life.<sup>2</sup> [But she preserved the secret of the king's chastity of which she had learned, and kept those counsels that she knew.]<sup>3</sup>

. . . and of the matter of which we treat, and them whom we serve in this history.

O happy earl, in bairns and forebears blessed,  
Siring four guarantors of England's peace.  
First, Edith, gem-like on the kingdom's breast,  
All virtues' friend, fit daughter for the earl,  
Her sire, and also for her spouse, the king;  
By her advice peace wraps the kingdom round  
And keeps mankind from breaking pacts of peace.  
Thus from your single fount, O Paradise,  
You part in secret water for all lands,  
Four ample streams to stir the earth's recess  
And nourish the estate of men and beasts.  
Themselves they loudly praise, born from one womb,  
Issue of various kind, unlike in birth,  
In flesh and voice, place, space, and time and motion.  
The one part mounts the skies, to heaven twined,  
And tends its race's hope in tree-top nest.  
The other, gulping monster, seeks the depths,

<sup>3</sup> Ailred, however, because he had read William of Malmesbury's alternative reasons for Edward's chastity and feared that the controversy over motive might weaken faith in the fact, rewrote this passage as follows, 'Et ne aliquis huic regis uirtuti fidem deroget, sciat hoc temporibus illis per totam Angliam sic diuulgatum et creditum, ut de facto certi plerique de intentione certarent' (col. 748).

dampna suę stirpis faciens truncumque parentem  
 pendit ab ore tenens, dum certo tempore uite  
 flatus uiuificans animal de non animata  
 matre creat; studet inde suis resoluta rapinis.<sup>1</sup>  
 Felicem mundum si seruent<sup>a</sup> flumina cursum  
 queque suum, proprias sic fecundantia terras,  
 federe seruato, statuit quod celicus ordo!  
 Ridebunt<sup>b</sup> mediis candentia lilia campis,  
 capparus auricomis rutilabit in equore cyrrys,  
 uer quoque purpureis decorabit<sup>c</sup> prata ligustris,  
 aerie toruo spectabunt lumine quercus  
 subiectas late terras deuictaque regna,  
 cum per mellifluos montes et prata gregatim  
 depascentur apes, saluo secura labore  
 in laribus propriis<sup>d</sup> iam nil, formica, timebis.  
 f. 41<sup>v</sup> Quod si turbinibus commotis liuor iniquus  
 ruperit hoc pactum, heu quanta ruina sequetur!  
 Antiquumque chaos rursum miser orbis habebit;  
 soluentur celse rupta radice cypressi,  
 sublimesque ruent confracto uertice pinus,  
 alta cadet cedrus languentibus undique ramis,

<sup>a</sup> feruent MS  
<sup>c</sup> et inserted, MS

<sup>b</sup> Videbunt MS  
<sup>d</sup> garbled, MS

<sup>1</sup> The imagery of rivers which are also trees (family trees) is readily comprehensible, and the antithesis between the behaviour of the two parts presents no difficulties. But the historical interpretation is probably lost with chapter ii. If the four streams are Harold, Tostig, Gyrth and Leofwine (see above, p. 4, n. 2), or Edith in place of the last, *pars haec* and *pars illa* should represent two pairs. But which? It is difficult to introduce the good but barren Edith into either set. Although it is possible to hold that Harold and Tostig destroyed the house of Godwin, our author admires them so much, and couples them so often, that they are the most likely candidates for *pars haec*. They have families and Tostig, at least, flies high. Granted this, Gyrth and Leofwine are the pair who injure the family. Yet both fought to the death for Harold at Hastings. Alternatively, we have another exposition of the theme of the rivalry of Harold and Tostig, although the antithesis sounds too harsh for this. Then who was born from a dead

Attacks its root and mouths the parent trunk,  
 And holds, until, as doomed, the breath of life  
 Creates a creature from a lifeless dam;  
 And losing grip, pursues again its prey.<sup>1</sup>  
 O happy world, if each would keep its course  
 And water its own lands, with pacts observed,  
 As the celestial order has ordained.  
 The shining lilies<sup>f</sup> will delight the fields,  
 The caper gild the plain with golden curls,  
 The spring adorn the meads with privet's gleam,  
 The giant oaks, with gloomy eyes, survey  
 The lands laid out, the kingdoms overcome.  
 When bees in swarms across the honeyed hills  
 And meadows feed, you, ant, your labour done,  
 Secure in your own homes, will nothing fear.  
 But if malignant envy break this pact  
 By revolution, O what ruin comes!  
 The wretched world again old Chaos keeps;  
 High cypresses with roots torn out will plunge,  
 The lofty pines crash down with broken tops,  
 Tall cedar, branches drooping round, will fall

mother? Macduff 'was from his mother's womb untimely ripp'd,' which gives us associations with Tostig, Siward, and Malcolm, but no way out of the maze. Duke William of Normandy was *nothus*; but his mother obviously lived (although cf. the legend of Caesar). Perhaps, however, the four rivers have no consistent identification: four streams out of Eden have to represent at least six children. If so, it is possible to suggest the one explanation which is historically plausible—that the gulping monster is the elder brother, Swegn. According to Worcester tradition this man, given to vainglory and pride, claimed, to his mother's indignation, that King Cnut and not Godwin was his real father, *Hemingi Chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. T. Hearne, i, pp. 275–6. And when we remember that Swegn abducted for his pleasure the abbess of Leominster in 1046 (could she have been a kinswoman?) and in 1049 murdered his cousin, Earl Beorn, the words of the poem seem to take on meaning. But this passage, like pl. xv of the Bayeux Tapestry, must remain an historical mystery.

et quecumque sinu proprio pretiosa fouebat.  
 Hic<sup>a</sup> furor hostiles uiolenter capta per urbes  
 plenius ingratīs cumulabit munera terris.

## [cap. iii]

Ordo narrationis huius necessario expostulabat<sup>b</sup> quedam superius expetere, ut textus subsequentium a necessaria non oberret ueritate. Cum predictus sanctę memorię Æwardus rex repatriaret a Francia, ex eadem gente comitati sunt quam plures non ignobiles uiri, quos plurimis honoribus ditatos secum retinuit idem rex, utpote compos totius regni, ordinariosque constituit secretorum consilii sui, et rectores rerum regalis palatii.<sup>1</sup> Inter quos conuenerat abbas quidam Rodbertus nomine, qui trans mare monasterio prefuerat Gemeticensi,<sup>2</sup> quique potissimum, ut aiunt, regi semper astitit a secretis, eiusque consilio plurima tum digna tum indigna in regno contingebant, ut sese mundus habet, euentibus uariis.<sup>3</sup> Emigrante autem episcopo Lundonię, regio fauore successit hic in sede

<sup>a</sup> ? amend to Sic<sup>b</sup> ? amend to expostulat

<sup>1</sup> According to William of Poitiers (i, c. 14), Edward returned with a small escort of Norman knights, the most that the English would allow. Few of his companions can be named. We are informed that his nephew, Ralf of the Vexin, accompanied him (*Hist. Ramsey*, p. 171), but the Normans who were established in Herefordshire (see Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 317-26) and his Breton or Norman kinsman Robert fitzWimarch and Robert's son, Svein of Essex (see Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 571, 573), may have come later. The foreign laymen seem rarely to have attested 'royal' charters. Among Edward's ecclesiastical suite were the monk Robert of Jumięges and the priests Herman and Leofric (for Herman, see K. 762, 767; for Leofric, see *ibid.* and *Ord. Surv. Facsimiles*, pt ii (Southampton 1881), Exeter charters, no. 12). It is, indeed, likely that initially the number of foreigners at Edward's court was small.

<sup>2</sup> Prior of St Ouen at Rouen; 1037 abbot and rebuilders of Jumięges, a convent which had been reformed by William of Dijon at the beginning of the century; 1044 bishop of London. When bishop, he presented to

With all those riches cherished at its heart.  
 Thus Madness on ungrateful lands will heap  
 The bounty looted in the hostile towns.

## [Chapter iii]

The scheme of our story makes it necessary for us to investigate some earlier matters, so that the account of subsequent events shall not depart from the strict truth. When King Edward of holy memory returned from Francia, quite a number of men of that nation, and they not base-born, accompanied him. And these, since he was master of the whole kingdom, he kept with him, enriched them with many honours, and made them his privy counsellors and administrators of the royal palace.<sup>1</sup> Among them had come a certain abbot named Rodbert, who overseas had ruled the monastery of Jumięges,<sup>2</sup> and who, they say, was always the most powerful confidential adviser of the king. By his counsel many things both good and bad were done in the kingdom, with varying result, as is the way of the world.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, on the death of the bishop of London he succeeded by royal

Jumięges a fine Missal written at Winchester c. 1008-25 (*The Missal of Robert of Jumięges*, ed. H. A. Wilson, HBS, 1896) and possibly a Benedictional (*The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. *idem*, HBS, 1902). Although his opposition to Earl Godwin can be viewed as the struggle of an ecclesiastical reformer against a secularist who wanted to dominate the court, the vendetta seems more political than ecclesiastical and more one of persons and nations than of principle.

<sup>3</sup> William of Malmesbury seems to have used this section in *GR*, para. 197, i, pp. 239-40. He wrote, 'Hunc [Rodbertum], cum reliquis, Angli moderni uituperant delatorem Godwini et filiorum ejus, . . . Godwinum et natos magnanimos uiros, et industrios auctores et tutores regni Edwardi . . . Contra, Normanni . . .'

eiusdem pontificalis cathedre, et suscepta tanti prouectus auctoritate, immersit se altius quam necesse erat in disponenda regaliū consiliorum et actuum serie; adeo etiam ut secundum quod dicitur, *corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia mala*,<sup>1</sup> ex assiduitate colloquiorum eius rex cepit post habere consilia utiliora. Vnde etiam, ut uulgo fit, quam plures regni sui proceres culpa offendit aliena, talibusque ex causis paulatim cepit turbari eius res publica, cum obeuntibus possessoribus suis euacuatas dignitatum sedes hii optarent suis, illi distraherent alienis. Dum sic regalis curia ea agitaretur tempestate, e seculo excessit Edzinus archiepiscopus Cantie.<sup>2</sup> Adoleuerat autem in eadem Christi ecclesia, a tenero ungue monasticis educatus disciplinis, ex supradicti ducis Godwini stirpe, quidam monachus Ælricus nomine, uir scilicet secularis industrie et plurima in mundanis rebus peditus sagacitate, non minus quoque in eadem dilectus congregatione. Quem tam totius ecclesie uniuersales filii, quam ipsius monasterii monachi, in archipresulem sibi exposcunt dari, huncque et affectu communi et petitione<sup>a</sup> eligunt preesse regulari.<sup>3</sup> Mittunt etiam ad supradictum Godwinum, qui regio fauore in ea dominabatur parte regni, commonent eum generis sui, precantur ut ex affectu propinquitatis regem adeat, et hunc utpote in eadem ecclesia nutritum et secundum canonica instituta electum sibi pontificem annuat. Promittit fideliter

<sup>a</sup> altered from? petitionis to petitioni MS

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. 15:33.

<sup>2</sup> 29 October 1050.

<sup>3</sup> The Anonymous is the only authority for this dispute over the election to Canterbury. The chroniclers concentrate attention on the disputed succession to London.

favour to the see of his pontifical cathedral, and with the authority derived from this promotion intruded himself more than was necessary in directing the course of the royal councils and acts; so much so, indeed, that, according to the saying, 'Evil communications corrupt good manners,'<sup>1</sup> through his assiduous communication with him the king began to neglect more useful advice. Hence, as generally happens, he offended quite a number of the nobles of his kingdom by means of another's fault. And for such reasons his realm gradually became disturbed, because, when the holders of dignities died, one set of men wanted the vacant sees for their own friends, and others were alienating them to strangers. While the royal court was being shaken by this storm, Eadsī, archbishop of Kent, died.<sup>2</sup> There had grown up, however, in that Church of Christ, from childhood educated in the monastic discipline, one who sprang from the stock of that Godwin whom I have already mentioned, a monk named Ælric, a man active in secular business and endowed with much wisdom in the ways of the world, and not less beloved in that community. Both the whole body of the clergy and the monks of his monastery asked for his appointment as archbishop, and they elected him to the office both by general consent and by petition according to the rule.<sup>3</sup> They also sent to Godwin, who was by royal favour ruling in that part of the kingdom, reminded him of his family, and entreated him for the love of his relative to approach the king and to approve this man as their pontiff, since he was a nursling of that church and elected according to canon law. The famous earl

pro uiribus suis dux inclitus, regemque adiens innotescit petitionem et electionem ecclesiastici conuentus. Sed quia, ut supradiximus, pius rex aurem magis accommodabat aduerse parti illis diebus, a conatu petitionis sue idem dux est repulsus. Rodbertus uero Lundonię sede relicta, in Cantianam commigrat ecclesiam regis munere archiepiscopus,<sup>1</sup> totius ecclesię filiis hanc iniuriam pro nisu suo reclamantibus.

Compos tandem desiderii sui, idem archipresul in adepta summi honoris dignitate, cepit eundem ducem totis uiribus et conatibus irritare et aduersari.<sup>2</sup> Et quia aput regem pro reuerentia ordinis supremi a secretis loco stabat principali, frequentibus eum infestabat consiliis, et a secundis expositum nonnullis interdum incomodabat dampnis. Accedebat autem ad exercendos odiorum motus pro episcopo in causam iustam, quod terre<sup>3</sup> quedam ducis contigę erant quibusdam terris quę ad Christi attinebant ecclesiam. Crebrę quoque erant inter eos controuersię, quod eum dicebat terras archiepiscopatus sui inuasisse, et in iniuria sua usibus suis eas tenere. Ferebat autem idem industrius dux incautius furentem episcopum pacifice, tum pro regis honore, tum pro gentis innato more, quod nichil agant festine uel facile, sed ex consilio plurima uisa precipitatione per se expectant uel diffluere uel perire. Coquebat tamen uehementius quosdam suorum illa ducis iniuria, et nisi eius obsisteret prohibitio, graui episcopum persepe multassent contumelia. Et licet

<sup>1</sup> He was appointed in mid-Lent 1051 (*ASC*).

<sup>2</sup> For the crisis of 1051, see above, p. lxxv.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly at Folkestone: see Eadmer, *Historia Nouorum*, p. 6. According to DB (*VCH Kent*, III, p. 233) Earl Godwin had held the manor. Christchurch had a doubtful charter of Cnut (Robertson, *Charters*, no. lxxxv.)

loyally engaged himself as far as in him lay, and, approaching the king, informed him of the petition and election of the ecclesiastical community. But since, as we have already said, in those days the good king lent his ear more to the rival party, the earl suffered a defeat in pressing his request. Indeed, Rodbert left the see of London and, archbishop by royal grant, migrated to the Kentish church,<sup>1</sup> while all the clergy protested with all their might against the wrong.

His ambition satisfied at last, the archbishop in the office of high honour he had obtained began to provoke and oppose the earl with all his strength and might.<sup>2</sup> And since he stood with the king through the reverence due to his supreme rank as his principal counsellor, he often attacked Godwin with schemes, and when he found him deserted by fortune vexed him with not a few injuries. However, that certain lands<sup>3</sup> of the earl ran with some that belonged to Christ Church, served to direct the hostile movements into a cause in which right was on the bishop's side. There were, also, frequent disputes between them, because he said that Godwin had invaded the lands of his archbishopric and injured him by keeping them to his own use. The active earl, however, suffered peaceably the rash fury of the bishop, both for the sake of the king's honour and because of the innate character of his family, for they do nothing hastily or readily, but advisedly watch the onrush and usually wait for things to subside or die of themselves. The injury to the earl, however, tormented exceedingly some of his servants, and, had he not forbidden it, they would often have punished the bishop with serious



f. 42<sup>v</sup> hoc per se euidentius expertus esset, non quieuit tamen, sed insanie insaniam addens, omni conatu regis animum in illum euertebat, eumque dolo in regem irruere conari, ut quondam in eius fratrem, credere | persuadebat. Quodque superius, materie<sup>a</sup> non inferente, dictum non est: habuerat idem rex Ædwardus germanum fratrem Ælfredum nomine, qui defuncto utrorumque uirico rege scilicet Cnuto,—cum, agentibus Danis qui tunc temporis in regno potentes et factiosi habebantur; quidam filiorum eius Haroldus, obliquo ut aiunt sanguine ei natus,<sup>1</sup> successisset in regnum, homo ut fertur insolens et non bonarum artium—Britanniam cum armatis paucioribus Francis inconsultius ingressus, superque patrio regno adipiscendo cum ageret incautius,<sup>2</sup> iussu predicti regis perperam aiunt captum, et ad mortem usque cruciatum; comites uero, ut aiunt, dolo exarmatos, quosdam interemptos, reliquos uictoribus in seruitium datos.<sup>3</sup> Intendebat itaque, ut supradiximus, Rodbertus archiepiscopus in aurem regis hoc scelus fraternę necis et totius cladis suorum consilio actum esse eiusdem gloriosi ducis, quod eo quoque tempore, ut superius, regaliū consiliorum erat baiulus, persuadebatque in quantum

<sup>a</sup> materie, MS

<sup>1</sup> The Anonymous is not following the author of the *Enc. Emmae*, who thought Harold supposititious (p. 40). For opinions on Harold's birth, see Plummer, pp. 210–11.

<sup>2</sup> Plummer (p. 214) regarded this passage as based on the Norman accounts of a regular invasion. But even if our author is mistaken about Alfred's purpose, and the aetheling had been simply on a legitimate visit to his mother (as the *Chronicles* maintain), an entry with a small escort is hardly a regular invasion.

<sup>3</sup> The most recent investigation of the event is by A. Campbell, *Enc. Emmae*, pp. lxiv–lxvii. See also Plummer, pp. 211–15; C. E. Wright, *The cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England* (1939), p. 218. According to the tradition used by the Anonymous, Godwin was simply an agent of King

insults. And, although Rodbert had first-hand evidence of this, he did not desist, but, adding madness to madness, tried to turn the king's mind against him, and brought Edward to believe that Godwin was guilefully scheming to attack him, just as once upon a time he had attacked his brother. That business was not related before because the matter did not arise. King Edward had had a full brother named Ælfred. When their step-father, King Cnut, died and, at the instigation of the Danes (at that time very powerful and mighty in the kingdom), one of Cnut's sons, Harold (born to him, they say, left-handedly,<sup>1</sup> an arrogant fellow of bad character), succeeded to the kingdom, Ælfred had entered Britain inadvisedly with a few armed Frenchmen. Then, when Ælfred acted rashly about getting possession of the paternal kingdom,<sup>2</sup> he was, by order of King Harold, they say, wrongfully arrested and tortured to death, and his comrades, they say, were disarmed by guile and then some murdered and the rest given in slavery to the victors.<sup>3</sup> And so Archbishop Rodbert asserted to King Edward, as we have just said, that the crime of his brother's death and of the massacre of his men was perpetrated on the advice of the glorious earl, since at that time also, as in the previous reign, he was the king's chief counsellor; and he persuaded him as much as he could

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Harold. It was in this way, apparently, that the earl exculpated himself in Harthacnut's reign (Florence, I, p. 195). Plummer held that this interpretation was mistaken (p. 213). Of Archbishop Robert's resurrection of the charge, Campbell writes that the removal of 'the accusation of Godwin from the reign of Hörthaknútr into that of Eadweard' is a curious confusion (*Enc. Emmae*, p. lxvii). But Edward and his Norman friends cannot have forgotten Alfred's death, and nothing is more likely than that, in the heat of the quarrel, the old charges should have been resurrected.

poterat eum eodem modo etiam ipsius regis Ædwardi generi sui perniciem intendere, effeceratque continua persuasione hoc certius quam par esset regem credere.

Ergo perturbato rege de talibus plus iusto, conuenerunt de tota Britannia quique potentes et duces Glaucestrę regio palatio,<sup>1</sup> ibique<sup>a</sup> eo querimoniam talium habente, perlata est [in] insontem ducem tanti criminis accusatio. Quod ubi per quosdam fideles comperit, missis legatis pacem regis petiit, legem purgandi se de obiecto crimine<sup>b</sup> frustra pretulit. Nam adeo super huius sceleris fide animum rex induxerat, ut nec uerbum aliquod oblatę purgationis audire posset. Conuenerant siquidem eo Siwardus,<sup>2</sup> dux Northumbrorum, Dan[ic]a lingua 'Digara,' hoc est fortis, nuncupatus; Leofricus quoque dux, uir scilicet eximius, ut plurimum deo deuotus<sup>3</sup>; Alfgarus<sup>4</sup> etiam eiusdem ducis Leofrici filius. Frustra ergo cunctis enitentibus, ut feda accusatio in legem transfer[r]etur iudicii, ab eo palatio commigrauit regalis curia Lundeniam.<sup>5</sup> Dux quoque insons et fidens de propria conscientia semper immuni a tanto scelere, e diuerso adueniens cum suis, assederat extra<sup>c</sup> ciuitatis eiusdem flumen Temesin loco mansionis proprię,<sup>6</sup> unde item legationes mittens petiit ne preiudicium innocentię suę

<sup>a</sup> ubique *MS*

<sup>b</sup> crimine, *MS*

<sup>c</sup> ? *amend to iuxta*

<sup>1</sup> The order was sent at the beginning of September 1051 to assemble on the seventh (*ASC D* 1052, *E* 1048). Godwin and his sons were at Beverstone (*ASC*, *ibid*; Florence, I, p. 205), on Godwin's estate there.

<sup>2</sup> A Dane, who first signs as *dux* in 1033 (*K.* 749); earl of Northumbria and, for a time, of Huntingdonshire. For his nickname 'Digera,' see Harmer, *Writs*, p. 572.

<sup>3</sup> Earl of Mercia, appointed between 1023 and 1032; see Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 565-6. Cf. *ASC D* 1057, on the occasion of his death, 'who was very wise in divine and temporal matters.'

<sup>4</sup> Earl of E. Anglia 1051-2 and 1053-7; earl of Mercia 1057-62; see Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 546-7.

that Godwin was now planning in the same way the ruin of even Edward himself, his son-in-law; and with continual persuasion he got the king to give more credence to this than was right.

As the king was moved by these accusations more than was just, all the nobles and earls from the whole of Britain assembled in the royal palace at Gloucester<sup>1</sup>; and there, after Edward had complained of these things, the guiltless earl was formally charged with the crime. When Godwin learned of this through some of his vassals, he asked through messengers for the king's peace, and offered to purge himself of the crime with which he had been charged. But in vain. For the king had so convinced himself of the truth of this crime that he would not hear even one word of the purgation that was offered. Gathered there were Siward,<sup>2</sup> earl of the Northumbrians, called in the Danish tongue 'Digara,' that is 'The Strong,' Earl Leofric, an excellent man, very devoted to God,<sup>3</sup> and Ælfgar,<sup>4</sup> Earl Leofric's son. And after they had all struggled in vain to get the foul charge put to the ordeal, the royal court moved from that palace to London.<sup>5</sup> The earl, too, guiltless and trusting in his conscience, which was for ever clear of such a crime, approached it with his men from the other side, and took up position behind that city's River Thames on a manor that belonged to him.<sup>6</sup> From here he again sent messengers, and asked that nothing should be done by the king to the prejudice of his innocence;

<sup>1</sup> The trial was fixed for the autumnal equinox (*ASC E* 1048).

<sup>2</sup> Southwark (*ASC D* 1052, Florence, I, p. 206; cf. *DB*, *VCH Surrey*, I, pp. 305a, 296b).

f. 43 inferretur a rege, agebatque se omnibus modis paratum ad satisfaciendum regi et cum iure et ultra ius ad nutum uoluntatis suę. Elaborante ergo Stigando<sup>1</sup> tunc quidem Wintonię solius<sup>a</sup> episcopo, postea pariter | Cantię archiepiscopo, qui etiam tunc medius ibat, procrastinata est iudicii (dies) dum rex suorum uteretur consilio. Instabat interim hostiliter Rodbertus archi- (episcopus) ducis in impedimento, eoque agente tandem a rege prolata est in ducem hec indissolubilis cause quę agebatur diffinitio: illum scilicet a rege tunc primum posse sperare pacem, ubi ei reddiderit uiuum suum fratrem cum suis omnibus et que eis uiuentibus<sup>b</sup> uel interfectis ablata sunt cum integritate eorum. At ubi dux ad impossibilitate[m] causam suam agentibus aduersariis uidet urgueri, flente nimium episcopo Stigando qui huius legationis merens baiulus erat, reppulit a se mensam quę astabat, equis ascensis uiam ad Bosanham maritimam celerius tetendit.<sup>2</sup> Ibi ergo paratis nauibus exulari coactus, deum fideliter et cum lacrimis petiit ut sic uitam et uiam eius in mari et in illo regeret exilio, quemadmodum fidelis fuerit domino suo regi Ædwardo, et immunis extiterit ab omnibus his unde tantorum odiorum prodierit occasio. Postquam taliter perorauit innocentię suę meritum, cunctis flentibus admodum, cum coniuge et liberis et omnibus que illis erant ad manum, flante prosperiori uento peruenit ubi tendebat ad antiquum Anglice gentis amicum comitem Balduwinum.<sup>3</sup> Adhuc quoque non

<sup>a</sup> *L amends to solii*    <sup>b</sup> *uiuu* <sup>MS</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cnut's priest and, 1020, head of Ashingdon minster, Stigand had a meteoric career in Edward's reign (bishop of E. Anglia, 1043/4-7; bishop of Winchester, 1047-70, and archbishop of Canterbury in plurality, 1052-70), and was undoubtedly one of the most influential members of Edward's

and he showed himself in every way ready to satisfy the king in accordance with the law or beyond it, according to his will. Whereupon by the efforts of Stigand,<sup>1</sup> at that time bishop only of Winchester, though later he was archbishop of Kent as well, who was still mediating, the day of judgment was postponed while the king took counsel with his men. Meanwhile Archbishop Rodbert stood fiercely in the way of the earl, and at length at his instigation there was declared by the king against the earl this irrevocable judgment in the case at issue: that he could hope for the king's peace when and only when he gave him back his brother alive together with all his men and all their possessions intact which had been taken from them quick or dead. But when the earl saw that by his enemies' action his case was driven to the impossible, he pushed away the table in front of him (while Bishop Stigand, who had been the sorrowful bearer of the message, wept abundantly) and mounting horse rode hard for Bosham on Sea.<sup>2</sup> Forced into banishment, he got ships there, and prayed God loyally and in tears so to guide his life and way on sea and in this exile, as he had been faithful to his lord, King Edward, and guiltless of all those things that had caused these hatreds. And after he had thus proclaimed the quality of his innocence, amid general tears, with his wife and children and all the possessions they had to hand, with a favourable wind, he came to his destination, to that old friend of the English people, Count Baldwin.<sup>3</sup> Yet the

court. Although at first in high favour with the Conqueror, he was deposed in 1070. See Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 572-3.

<sup>2</sup> So *ASC E* 1048. Florence, I, p. 206, has his party take ship at Thorney (Cambs).

<sup>3</sup> A phrase repeated below, p. 54. Baldwin V, 'of Lille,' marquis of Flanders 1035-67.

desistente archiepiscopo, uerum eius dementia agente, tota nocte subsecuntur a regis palatio quam plures armati,<sup>1</sup> ut predictum ducem interimerent, si intra regni terminos posset comprehendi. Quod quia dei pietas frustraui, in maiorem insaniam eundem episcopum accendit. Nam ut ne qua pars prosapie eius regio adhereret lateri ad parandam salutem rerum patrię,<sup>2</sup> omne consilium intendit, ut etiam ipsa regina, eiusdem ducis filia, dissociaretur a rege, contra ius religionis Christianę. Cui consilio, licet rex non ob-sisteret, moderatus est tamen, causam diuortii<sup>a</sup> hanc pretendens honestatem,<sup>3</sup> ut Wiltunensi<sup>b</sup> monasterio, quo educata erat, prestolaretur tantorum turbinum regni quietem.<sup>4</sup> Sic ergo cum regio honore et imperiali comitatu, merens tamen, perducitur ad septa cenobii Wiltunensis, ubi per annum ferme in orationibus et lacrimis diem expectabat salutis. Qui dolor altius peruenit ad animam frequentibus palatinis, magisque lesit quam etiam discessus ipsius ducis. Nec mirum, erat enim in omnibus regalibus consiliis, ut ita dicamus, moderatrix et quoddam principium totius honestatis, et

f. 43<sup>v</sup> quod regem deceret potissimum preferens | ( )tibus<sup>c</sup> et omnibus diuitiis.

<sup>a</sup> diu ortu MS; ? for diu ortam

<sup>b</sup> Wiltunensis MS

<sup>c</sup> corner of MS torn; ? supply potestatibus or dignitatibus; L suggests honoribus.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Ealdred was sent in pursuit of Harold and Leofwine, according to ASC D 1052.

<sup>2</sup> If *patri* were read for *patrię*, the expression would be milder: 'to look after the father's affairs.'

<sup>3</sup> Or, removing the comma after *consilio* and placing one after *diuortii*, it could mean: 'Although the king did not oppose this plan, he moderated the divorce proceedings, giving this honourable pretext . . .'

archbishop, rather than now calling a halt, was driven on by his madness; and a large force of soldiers went from the king's palace in pursuit all night,<sup>1</sup> in order to kill the earl if he should be caught within the boundaries of the kingdom. That God's goodness frustrated this, incensed the archbishop to greater frenzy. For, in order that not a single member of the earl's family should remain at the king's side to provide for the country's well-being,<sup>2</sup> he used every device to secure that even the queen herself, the earl's daughter, should be separated from the king, against the law of the Christian religion. This plan the king, although not opposing, yet did mitigate, giving out as reason for the separation this honourable pretext,<sup>3</sup> that she was to await the subsidence of the storms over the kingdom in the monastery of Wilton, where she had been brought up.<sup>4</sup> And so, with royal honours and an imperial retinue, but with grief at heart, she was brought to the walls of Wilton convent, where for almost a year in prayers and tears she awaited the day of salvation. Such grief more deeply moved and wounded the crowd of courtiers than even the departure of the earl himself. And no wonder! For she was in all the royal counsels, as we might say, a governess and the fount of all goodness, strongly preferring the king's interests to power and riches.

<sup>4</sup> 'to his sister at Wherwell' (ASC E 1048; cf. D 1052); 'cum una pedissequa ad Hwereweallam eam sine honore misit, et abbatissae custodiendam commendauit,' Florence, I, p. 207. Plummer, p. 238, regards Wilton as 'probably a mere slip'; but see above, p. xlix.

(C)oncine, musa soror, super his miserabile carmen,  
 qualiter ille dei uir,<sup>1</sup> qui supra paradisi  
 limpidus est dictus fons, clarus corde fideli,  
 turbidus extiterit Scyllei sorde ueneni<sup>2</sup>;  
 et cum nulla prius de tanto culpa reatu  
 precessit, sceleris cur pondus inheserit illi.  
 Pena premit culpe plures quam non meruere,  
 clarius hinc meritum probat hos terrore repulso;  
 et quanto quiuis deuotior esse probatur,  
 tanto maiores pressuras ferre notatur.  
 Num uite plenam meritis ad saxa Sussannam  
 usque legis ductam, cum pura mente repulsam  
 quesiti sceleris dederit?<sup>3</sup> Num preterit illud  
 quod puer Hebreus, celesti munere<sup>a</sup> fretus,  
 dum peccare timet, peccati munera<sup>b</sup> perfert?<sup>4</sup>  
 Ipse deus noster, uera de uirgine natus,  
 ad nos descendit sine crimine, non tamen absque  
 suppliciis mundi passus quam plura recessit.  
 Plena est tam nouitas horum quam prisca uetustas,  
 Sic fieri sepe sunt exemplaria mille.

## [cap. iv]

Susceptus est ergo inclitus dux Godwinus ab ipso  
 comite Balduino cum magno honore, tum pro antique<sup>c</sup>  
 federationis iure, tum pro multorum ipsius ducis  
 beneficiorum uicissitudine. Acciderant hec in ipsis  
 nuptiis filii sui ducis Tostini,<sup>5</sup> quando sortitus est  
 uxorem Iuthittam, neptem ipsius clarissimi regis

<sup>a</sup> munera MS<sup>b</sup> munere MS<sup>c</sup> antiq̃ ue MS<sup>1</sup> The normal phrase for a saint (cf. Charles W. Jones, *Saints' lives and Chronicles in early England*, p. 73); but here probably a conceit for Godwin.<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ovid, *Met.* XIII, 732, 905; XIV, 40-67.

Sing, sister Muse, on this a piteous song.  
 Tell how that man of God,<sup>1</sup> clear stream, we said,  
 Of Paradise, renowned for faithful heart,  
 Was muddied by the filth of Scylla's bane<sup>2</sup>;  
 And why he bore the burden of the crime  
 When no reproach of guilt had lain before.  
 Blame falls on many who did not deserve,  
 Whence brighter glory crowns them once fear's sped.  
 The more a man is proved to be devout  
 The more he has to suffer greater pains.  
 Do you not read of blithe Susanna led  
 By goodness to the stones, when with pure heart  
 She spurned the sin they sought?<sup>3</sup> Do you forget  
 That Hebrew boy, on heaven's gift relying,  
 Who shrank from sin, but bore its penalty?<sup>4</sup>  
 Our God himself, born from a Virgin true,  
 Came sinless down to us, but suffered much  
 In earthly punishment ere going hence.  
 The present like the past is full of this;  
 A thousand lessons prove how oft 'tis so.

## [Chapter iv]

The famous Earl Godwin was received by Count  
 Baldwin with great honour, partly on account of their  
 old alliance, partly in repayment of the many benefits he  
 had received from the earl. These things happened  
 during the very marriage celebrations of Godwin's son,  
 Earl Tostig,<sup>5</sup> when he took as wife Judith, niece of that

<sup>1</sup> Daniel 13.<sup>2</sup> Joseph. Genesis 39.<sup>3</sup> There is no other evidence that Tostig was an earl at this time. Yet, for a landless man, he made a splendid marriage.

f. 44 Ædwardi, et sororem predicti comitis Baldewini.<sup>1</sup> Vnde accidit, ut nimis indigne post *calicem* exultationis, poculum quoque ei propinaretur *et meroris*.<sup>2</sup> Porro filii eius Haroldus et Leofwinus<sup>3</sup> tran[s]fretauerant Hiberniam, ut, inde adducta militari copia, patris ulciscerentur iniuriam. Contigit etiam hec Anglici regni commotio circa kalendas Octobris, hiematiue sunt hi a comite Balduino in Flandriam, illi uero a rege Dermodo in Hiberniam.<sup>4</sup> Et quoniam supradiximus eum ab omnibus Anglis pro patre coli, subito auditus discessus eius exterruit cor populi. Eius absentiam siue fugam habuere perniciem suam, interitum gentis Anglice, excidium insuper totius patrie. Vnde felicem se putabat, qui post eum exulari poterat. Quidam post eum uadunt, quidam legationes mittunt, paratos se, si uelit reuerti,<sup>a</sup> eum cum uiolentia in patria suscipere,<sup>b</sup> pro eo pugnare, pro eo, si necesse sit, uelle se pariter occumbere.<sup>5</sup> Et hoc accitabatur non clam uel priuatim sed in manifesto et publice, et non modo a quibusdam sed pene ab omnibus indigenis patrie. Et cum tanto totius regni peteretur affectu et desiderio uir spectabilis fidei et uirtutis et tanto lacessitus obprobrio, mittit tamen adhuc pacem et misericordiam petere a rege domino suo, ut sibi liceat cum eius gratia

<sup>a</sup> corrected from reuertere MS

<sup>b</sup> suscipi MS

<sup>1</sup> Judith was the daughter of Count Baldwin IV of Flanders and his second wife, Eleanor of Normandy, Edward's first cousin. Accordingly, she was Baldwin V's half-sister, and, like William the Bastard, Edward's cousin once removed. This is the only evidence that the marriage took place in the autumn of 1051.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ezech. 23:33; Jer. 25:15-17.

<sup>3</sup> Luard mis-read the name as Leofric, and so greatly strengthened the charge of inaccuracy. Although the word is now rather blurred, it is reasonably clear that the scribe wrote a *wen*, and not a long *r*, after *f*. Indeed, he never used the long *r*, and his writing of Leofric can be seen twice on f. 42v. He employed the *wen* for *w* on other occasions (e.g. in

famous King Edward and sister of this Count Baldwin.<sup>1</sup> So it befell that, after the cup of rejoicing, he was most vilely made to drink also the cup of desolation.<sup>2</sup> His sons, Harold and Leofwine,<sup>3</sup> had then crossed to Ireland, so that with military forces drawn from there they could avenge their father's wrong. This disturbance in the English kingdom happened about the beginning of October; and the one party was received into Flanders for the winter by Count Baldwin and the other into Ireland by King Dermot.<sup>4</sup> And since, as we said before, Godwin was revered by all Englishmen as a father, when the unexpected news of his departure was known, the heart of the people was sore afraid. They considered his absence or flight a disaster for them, the ruin of the English people, more, the destruction of the whole country. And so a man who could follow him into exile counted himself fortunate. Some hurried after him, some sent messages that they were ready, should he want to return, to receive him forcibly in the country, to fight for him, and, if need be, they were willing to die for him as well.<sup>5</sup> And this was proclaimed not secretly or privily but openly and publicly, and not by a few only but by almost all the natives of the country. And although this man, so admirable in his loyalty and courage, and exasperated by so great a disgrace, was sought by the whole kingdom with so much love and yearning, he sent again to ask for peace and mercy from the king, his lord,

Baldwinum, p. 22; Siwardus, p. 31; Godwino, p. 32; Wirensis, p. 34; and Siwardo, p. 43).

<sup>4</sup> Diarmaid mac Mael na m-Bo, king of Leinster and Dublin (*ob.* 1072). His name is not recorded in the Chronicles.

<sup>5</sup> 'Hi omnes uno ore, aut uiuere aut mori cum eo se paratos fore, sibi promiserunt,' Florence, I, p. 208, on Godwin's return in June. Cf. also ASC CD.

ad se purgandum legibus uenire coram eo. Hoc quoque pro eius dilectione et suo officio, missis legatis suis, rex petit Francorum,<sup>1</sup> et ipse<sup>a</sup> cum quo hiemabat idem persuadebat marchio Flandrensium.<sup>2</sup> Sed et illi hoc suggerebant satis frustra; obstruxerat enim pias regis aures prauorum malitia.

At<sup>3</sup> ubi uidet se strenuus dux perperam labefactari, et iniquorum factione sibi ad nullam iuris legem accessum dari, memor antiquę uirtutis et tot laborum pristinę iuuentutis, mediante proxima estate<sup>4</sup> parata multiplici classe in fluuio Hysara, profundum inuadit equoris, et flante<sup>b</sup> prospero a medio oriēte uento, portum subigit Britannici littoris.<sup>5</sup> Occurrunt omnes quotquot naui poterant orientales siue australes Angli, occurrunt, inquam, omnes ei, sicut filii suo diu exoptato patri. Quo tempore eadem fama concitati, occurrunt ei ab Hibernia<sup>c</sup> duo predicti filii sui cum magna manu nauali, et ab ipsis occidentalium Britonum siue Anglorum finibus usque quo dux consederat,<sup>6</sup> ferro, igne, et abducta preda omne regnum sunt deuastati. Fit magna inuicem letitia patris et fratrum se mutuo conspicientium, et de exactis laboribus et periculis suis ad inuicem reuerentium. Pelagus operiebatur carinis, cælum densissimis re-|splendebat armis. Sic tandem mutua exhortatione militibus confirmatis, permenso

<sup>a</sup> ipsum MS    <sup>b</sup> flantę MS    <sup>c</sup> ad Hiberniam MS

<sup>1</sup> Henry I.

<sup>2</sup> The titles 'count' and 'marquis' were both in use; see Raymonde Foreville, *Guillaume de Poitiers*, 1952, p. 23, n. 4. Goscelin styled a later count, Robert the Frisian, 'marchisus Flandriae' (*Liber de mirac. S. Augustini*, p. 538).

<sup>3</sup> For the 'counter-revolution' of 1052, see *FNC*, II, pp. 312 ff. and Appendix S; B. Wilkinson, 'Freeman and the Crisis of 1051,' *BJRL*, xxii, pp. 368-87; Plummer, pp. 239-41; and above, p. lxxv.

<sup>4</sup> 22 June (*ASC E* 1052).

that he might with his permission come before him and lawfully purge himself. Also the king of the Franks,<sup>1</sup> both for love of him and as in duty bound, asked through ambassadors for this; and the marquis of Flanders,<sup>2</sup> with whom he was wintering, urged the same. But even they had little enough success when they suggested it, for the malice of evil men had shut up the merciful ears of the king.

But<sup>3</sup> when the active earl saw that he was wrongfully overthrown and that by the intrigue of evil men he was barred from a legal trial, he remembered his old valour and the many achievements of his early youth, assembled a large fleet in the River Yser, and in the middle of the next summer<sup>4</sup> put to sea; and, with a favourable wind blowing from due East, entered a port on the shore of Britain.<sup>5</sup> All the eastern and southern English who could manage it met his ship; all came to meet him, I repeat, like children their long-awaited father. At the same time, and stirred by the same news, his two sons mentioned before came with large naval forces from Ireland to meet him; and they wasted with sword, fire, and the seizure of booty all the kingdom from the farthest limits of the western Britons or English to the place where the earl was stationed.<sup>6</sup> With great joy the father and brothers looked on each other again and marvelled at each other's labours and dangers, now at an end. The sea was covered with ships. The sky glittered with the press of weapons. And so at length, with the soldiers made more resolute by mutual exhortation, they crossed

<sup>5</sup> Dungeness (*ibid.*).

<sup>6</sup> Freeman, *NC*, II, p. 596, devotes an appendix to 'The ravages attributed to Harold and Godwin.' The parties met at Portland or to its west (*ASC E*).



Cantię ut aiunt mari, longo nauium ordine alueum intrant Temesis fluminis.<sup>a</sup>

Audito itaque rex eius uiolento et absque eius nutu in regnum suum ingressu, quamquam fidem referentibus non accommodaret, tamen cum militari copia qua poterat Lundoniam uenit, utque acri erat animo et promptissime strennuitatis, ingressum ciuitatis qua tendebat prohibere temptabat. Sed omnis ciuitas duci obuiam et auxilio processit et presidio, acclamantque illi omnes una uoce prospere in aduentu suo.<sup>1</sup> Et quoniam facultas undique superiores uires amministrabat, hortabantur quam plures, ut etiam in ipsum regem irrueret.<sup>b2</sup> Verum fidelis et deo deuotus dux uerbis et nutu admodum abhorruit. 'Deum,' inquit, 'fidelitatis sue in corde meo habeam hodie testem, me scilicet malle mortem, quam aliquid indecens et iniquum egerim, uel agam, uel me uiuo agi permittam, in dominum meum regem.' Et ab huiusmodi conatu fortiter perturbatis omnibus, uiso rege protinus abiectis armis eius aduoluitur pedibus, orans suppliciter ut in Christi nomine, cuius signiferam regni coronam gestabat in capite,<sup>3</sup> annueret ut sibi liceret purgare se de

<sup>a</sup> fluminibus MS

<sup>b</sup> ? corrected from irruerent or irrueretur MS

<sup>1</sup> At Southwark on 14 September, and the reconciliation took place on the following day (ASC CD; Florence, I, p. 209).

<sup>2</sup> So, ASC E.

<sup>3</sup> The literal sense is elusive. If the passage means that there was a cross on the king's crown, no pictorial support can be found for this suggestion. When the king is shown crowned on the coinage, he wears either a circlet with fleurs-de-lys (*Lilienkrone*)—Cnut (type 2)—or an arched crown (*Bügelkrone*)—Edward (types 8–10) and Harold. On the Bayeux Tapestry (pl. I, xxx, xxxii, xxxiii) Edward and Harold are shown with the floriated crown. Although the Emperor Conrad II had a frontal cross fixed on Otto I's arched crown, and Cnut attended his coronation, Cnut is shown in the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster (D. Talbot Rice, *English Art 871–1100*,

the Kentish sea, as it is called, and, with the ships astern in long line, entered the mouth of the River Thames.

When the king heard of this hostile and unlicensed entry into the kingdom, although he did not believe his informers, he nevertheless came with such military force as he could muster to London; and, as he was of passionate temper and a man of prompt and vigorous action, he tried to deny them entry into the city where he was encamped. But the whole city went out to help and protect the earl, and all with one voice joyfully applauded his coming.<sup>1</sup> And since opportunity was bringing him superior strength from all directions, many urged that he should make an attack even on the king himself.<sup>2</sup> But the earl, loyal and devoted to God, drew back in horror from these words and purpose. 'May I have,' he said, 'God in my heart today as witness to its loyalty—that I would rather die than have done, or do, or, while I am alive, allow to be done, anything unseemly or unrighteous against my lord, the king.' When he had vigorously deterred them all from such an action, and had come into the king's presence, he immediately cast away his weapons and threw himself at his feet, and begged as a suppliant that in the name of Christ, whose kingdom's sign was on the crown he wore on his head,<sup>3</sup> he would grant him permission to purge himself of the

Oxford, 1952, p. 81) with a crown similar in all respects to Conrad's except for the cross. Kings, of course, possessed several crowns. Yet little faith can be placed in either literary or pictorial representations of royal insignia. Only the symbolism of this passage can be trusted. Edward's crown was, like the contemporary imperial crown, a *sancta corona*, and Edward was *christus* (cf. below, p. 29). Cf. P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 13), pp. 5–20, 383–95, 913–15; H. Decker-Hauff, *ibid.* pp. 567, 628–33.



obiecto crimine, et purgato pacem concederet gratiæ suæ. Rex itaque coactus tum misericordia et satisfactione ducis, quem utique uidebat sibi satis, si uti uellet, superiorem armis, tum uero destitutus imprimis fuga archipresulis et suorum multorum uerentium aspectum ducis, qui scilicet auctores fuerant illius concitati turbinis,<sup>1</sup> deuictus quoque precibus supplicantium, redditus armis suis, cum duce in palatium processit, ibique paulatim deferuente animi motu sedatus, sapientium consilio usus, duci osculum prebuit, offensas omnes donauit, gratiam quoque suam tam sibi quam omnibus filiis suis integre annuit. Modico exinde interfluente tempore, mittitur *ēque*<sup>2</sup> regio, ut par erat, apparatu ad monasterium Wiltunense, et ut, fugatis ymbrium siue tempestatum condensis nubibus, redditur celi serenitas uel iocundus splendor solis, sic ab omni motu sedato regno, reducitur regina, eiusdem ducis filia, ad thalamum regis. Vnde post tam grande malum absque sanguine sedatum ducis sapientia, sollennis celebratur letitia tam a palatinis quam ab omni patria.

Tu<sup>3</sup> quoque pange modos uersu saliente canoros,  
leta diu mecum pro tanto fēdere rerum.

Sic fortis Dauid, sic regi parcere nouit,<sup>4</sup> |

f. 45 *spiritus* ille dei nequam quo tempore regi  
infestus seuit, cithara pulsante recedit.

Quod co[m]plexus opus, seruit citharista decorus,

<sup>a</sup> *ēque* MS; ? *amend* to *eques*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ASC E, 'because they were most responsible for the disagreement between Earl Godwine and the king.' Florence, I, p. 210, gives the names of some of the Normans who were allowed to stay.

<sup>2</sup> Or, amending *ēque* to *eques*, 'a knight (or a force of knights) was sent.'

<sup>3</sup> The Muse, again.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings 16-26 (Vulg.). According to Jerome, *De nom. Hebr.*, 'David: fortis manu siue desiderabilis.' Cf. also the penultimate line of the poem.

crime, with which he was charged, and bestow the peace of his favour on him when cleared. The king was constrained both by his mercy and the satisfaction offered by the earl—who in any case appeared much superior in arms, if he chose to use them—and also indeed because he had been deserted, especially by the flight of the archbishop and of many of his men who feared to face the earl, since it was they who had been responsible for that storm of trouble.<sup>1</sup> He was, moreover, overcome by the prayers of the suppliants. So he returned them their arms and entered the palace with the earl. There he gradually calmed the boiling tumult of his mind, and, with the advice of his *witan*, gave the earl the kiss of peace, condoned all offences, and also granted his full favour both to him and all his sons. A short time after a party was properly sent<sup>2</sup> with royal pomp, as was right, to the monastery of Wilton. And, just as after the thick clouds of rain-storms or tempests have been driven away, clear sky and the jovial splendour of the sun are restored, so after all the kingdom's turmoil had abated, the queen, that earl's daughter, was brought back to the king's bed-chamber. And so, after this great evil had been checked without bloodshed by the wisdom of the earl, there was deep joy both at court and in the whole country.

You<sup>3</sup> too make singing tunes with leaping verse,  
With me rejoicing at this settlement.

Likewise was David strong, and spared a king<sup>4</sup>;  
For when God's evil spirit troubled Saul,  
It left him at the striking of the harp.

The comely, cunning harpist came, and when

et feriente lyra refugit uexat[io] dira.  
 Regius inde gener deuicit bella potenter,  
 in thalami pretium sternens preputia gentum;  
 qua belli palma<sup>a</sup> regis delectus in aula,  
 prestat primatum referens a rege secundum.  
 Cui dum creuit honor, concreuit undique lior;  
 ex probitate sui tenduntur pluribus uni  
 insidię uicibus, quas miles uitat auitus,  
 auctior<sup>b</sup> adque fugam petat aut si res sibi pugnam.  
 Ergo timens fraudem latitat, sed lior eandem  
 sepius innectit profugo; deus at pie munit,  
 inque manus illi regem ligat. Ille fauori  
 deuotus tanto, decernit parcere Christo.  
 Milibus armatis loca per suspecta locatis,  
 querit idem Dauid, rupes quem concaua claudit.  
 Hanc causa uentris moti Saul ipse, latentis,  
 quem iugulare parat, solus rex nescius, intrat.  
 'Ecce dies si uis,' inquit manus addita Dauid,  
 'qua datur ulcisci tibi iam super hoste furenti  
 in te. Ne iugulum tardes huic, exere ferrum.  
 Si per te non uis, en nos.' 'Nolit deus,' inquit,  
 'ut christum domini disperdat dextera nostri.  
 State procul iubeo, citius desistite cepto.  
 Nos hunc non capimus, sed nos probat arbiter altus,  
 inque sui<sup>c</sup> christo deuotior esse probabo.  
 Morte sue mortis<sup>d</sup> ruat aut hostilibus armis,  
 et nos insontes conseruet dextra tonantis.'  
 Hęc ubi dixit, clam conscidit clamidis oram.  
 Tutior inde Dauid postergum clamat euntis,

<sup>a</sup> pallma MS. *L* read pallaia and suggests παλαία, ancient (whence Medieval Latin Word List).

<sup>b</sup> ? amend to cautior <sup>c</sup> ? amend to atque suo

<sup>d</sup> Morte sui mortis MS. 1 Kings 26:10 reads, aut dies eius uenerit ut

He played, the dread disorder disappeared.  
 Then, royal son-in-law, he smote the foe  
 And gave those foreskins as his dower gift.  
 With victor's palms accepted in the court,  
 He stands vice-regal, second to the king.  
 But as his honours grew, so envy waxed;  
 His righteousness caused springes to be set  
 Full oft, the which the inborn knight avoids,  
 More fit for flight or, if need be, for war.  
 So fearing fraud he hides; but envy oft  
 Pursues the fugitive. Yet God protects,  
 And puts the bound king in his hands; and he,  
 Full worthy of the gift, th'anointed spared.  
 For Saul, with many thousand men in wait,  
 Sought David, whom a cave concealed;  
 And this Saul entered for his bowels' need,  
 Not knowing that it hid the man he chased.  
 The men of David said, 'Behold the day  
 Given you for vengeance on the raging foe.  
 Fear not to kill, unsheathe the sword. Let us  
 If you will not.' But David said, 'God does  
 Not wish that I should kill th'anointed one.  
 Stand off, I bid, desist from this attempt.  
 We will not take him: God is trying us,  
 And I will be more loyal than his Christ.  
 Let Saul find death himself or in the fray,  
 And God preserve our innocence.' He spoke,  
 Then privily cut off his mantle's skirt,  
 And, as Saul went, cried, safe behind his back,

moriatur aut in praelium descendens perierit. The phrase morte sue mortis, balancing hostilibus armis, could be based on the form morte sua mori. *L* suggests morte sua morti. Other possibilities are, morte die mortis, morte sui Martis.

seque potestatem necis inuenisse perorat.  
 Tendit item per castra uiam diffusa; sepulto  
 rege sopore graui, solo comitante Abysai,  
 et compos uite regis parat ille ferire;  
 sed perturbat item fideique docet pietatem,  
 ne sub eo pereat, quem crismatis unctio sacrat;  
 ecce manu fortis Daudid ad scandala mortis  
 horruit in regem, pacem complexus eandem.

## [cap. v]

f. 45<sup>v</sup> Reconciliatis ergo duce et eius filiis cum rege, et  
 omni patria in pacis tranquillitate conquiescente, secun-  
 do post hęc anno obiit idem dux felicitis memorie,<sup>1</sup>  
 exequisque suis in luctum decedit populus, hunc  
 patrem, hunc nutricium suum regnique memorabant  
 suspiriis et assiduis fletibus. Tumulatur ergo condigno  
 honore in monasterio quod nuncupant ueteri<sup>a</sup> Wintonie,  
 additis in eadem ecclesia multis ornamentorum muneribus  
 et terrarum redditibus pro redemptione ipsius  
 anime.<sup>2</sup> Subrogatur autem regio fauore in eius ducatu  
 filius eius maior natu et sapientia Haroldus, unde in  
 consolationem respirat uniuersus Anglorum exercitus.  
 Virtute enim corporis et animi in populo prestabat ut  
 alter Iudas Machabeus, amicusque gentis sue et patrię  
 uices celebrat patris intentius, et eiusdem gressibus  
 incedit, patientia scilicet et misericordia, et affabilitate  
 cum beniuolentibus. Porro inquietatis, furibus siue

<sup>a</sup> *L* corrects, wrongly, to ueteris.

<sup>1</sup> 15 April 1053, at Winchester.

<sup>2</sup> For Gytha's gifts to Winchester, including the manors of Bleadon and Creacombe, for the soul of Godwin, see the untrustworthy *Annales de Wintonia* in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, RS, (1865), II, p. 26. Creacombe, however, was not in the church's possession either *tempore regis Ædwardi* or in 1086.

That he had had the power of death. Again,  
 He went with Abishai among the camp,  
 With Saul in heavy sleep. And Abishai  
 Prepared to strike the helpless king. Again  
 He curbed and taught him loyalty's troth  
 Lest God's anointed under him should die.  
 Lo! David, strong of arm but peacefully  
 Intent, abhorred the snares of regicide.

## [Chapter v]

In the second year after the earl and his sons had  
 been reconciled to the king, and the whole country had  
 settled down in peaceful tranquillity, that earl of happy  
 memory died<sup>1</sup>; and at his obsequies the people showed  
 great grief and recalled with sighs and many tears this  
 father, their and the kingdom's protector. He was  
 buried with fitting honour in the monastery they call the  
 Old Minster at Winchester, to which church he had  
 given many gifts of ornaments and rents of lands for the  
 redemption of his soul.<sup>2</sup> His son Harold, eldest in birth  
 as in wisdom, was, by the king's favour, appointed to the  
 earldom in his place; and at this the whole English host  
 breathed again and was consoled for its loss. In the  
 strength of his body and mind Harold stood forth among  
 the people like a second Judas Maccabeus: a true friend  
 of his race and country, he wielded his father's powers  
 even more actively, and walked in his ways, that is, in  
 patience and mercy, and with kindness to men of good  
 will. But disturbers of the peace, thieves, and robbers

predonibus leonino terrore et uultu minabatur gladiator iustus. Nec multo post tempore occubuit etiam moriens Northumbrorum dux Siwardus, cuius meminimus supra, sepultusque est in ea quam ipse a fundo construxerat in beati Olauī regis et martyris [honore] ecclesia.<sup>a 1</sup> Agentibusque amicis, potissimum autem et pro merito hoc eius fratre<sup>b</sup> Haroldo duce et eius sorore regina, et non resistente rege ob innumera ipsius fideliter acta seruitia, ducatum eius suscepit Tostinus, uir scilicet fortis,<sup>2</sup> et magna peditus animi sagacitate et sollertia.<sup>3</sup> Et quoniam occasio se intulit, de his duobus fratribus uitam et mores actusque eorum notitię subsequentium pro captu ingenioli nostri innotescere cupimus. Quod nos<sup>c</sup> agere uelle non putamus absque re, tum pro operis serie,<sup>d</sup> tum ut exempla imitabilia habeant ii qui in eorum successerint posteritate. Vterque satis pulchro et uenusto pollebat corpore, et, ut conicimus, non [in]ęquali robore, non disparis audacię. Sed maior natu Haroldus procerior statura, peritus<sup>e</sup> satis infinitis laboribus, uigiliis, et inedia, multa animi lenitate et promptiori sapientia.<sup>4</sup> Multum obloquia perferre, nam non facile prodere, non facile quoque, et in ciuem siue compatriotum, ut reor, nusquam, ulcisci. Cum quouis, quem fidelem putaret, interdum communicare consilium operis sui, et hoc interdum adeo differre, si debet dici,<sup>f</sup> ut minus conducibile a quibusdam uideretur fore suę com-

<sup>a</sup> ecclesię MS  
<sup>e</sup> patris MS

<sup>b</sup> fratre MS  
<sup>f</sup> duci MS

<sup>c</sup> non MS

<sup>d</sup> serię MS

<sup>1</sup> Siward died at York, before mid-Lent 1055, and was buried in his church at Galmanho in York (*ASC CDE*; Florence, I, p. 212; see Plummer p. 245). For the church, see B. Dickins, 'The cult of St Olave in the British Isles,' *Saga Book of the Viking Soc.*, XII (1939), pp. 56-7.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. 'Digara' like Siward; cf. above, p. 21.

this champion of the law threatened with the terrible face of a lion. Not long afterwards also died Siward, earl of the Northumbrians, whom we have mentioned before; and he was buried in the church he had built from its foundations in honour of St Olave, king and martyr.<sup>1</sup> And Tostig, a man of courage,<sup>2</sup> and endowed with great wisdom and shrewdness of mind, with the aid of his friends, and especially, and deservedly, his brother, Earl Harold, and his sister the queen, and with no opposition from the king because of innumerable services faithfully performed, assumed his earldom.<sup>3</sup> And since the occasion offers, we wish, to the best of our small powers, to inform posterity about the life, habits, and deeds of these two brothers. And we do not think our wish to do this unreasonable, both on account of the plan of the work, and also so that their posterity shall have models for imitation. Both had the advantage of distinctly handsome and graceful persons, similar in strength, as we gather; and both were equally brave. But the elder, Harold, was the taller, well practised in endless fatigues and doing without sleep and food, and endowed with mildness of temper and a more ready understanding.<sup>4</sup> He could bear contradiction well, not readily revealing or retaliating—never, I think, on a fellow citizen or compatriot. With anyone he thought loyal he would sometimes share the plan of his project, sometimes defer this so long, some would judge—if one ought to say this—as to be hardly to his advantage.

<sup>3</sup> But possibly against the violent opposition of Earl Ælfgar of East Anglia (cf. *ASC CDE*, and below, pp. 33, n. 2, 51, n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> According to William of Poitiers, II, c. 5, Duke William in 1066 acknowledged Harold's *sapientia*.

f. 46 moditati. Porro de uitio precipitationis siue leuitatis, quis hunc uel illum siue quemuis de Godwino patre genitum siue eius | disciplina et studio educatum arguerit? At dux Tostinus et ipse graui quidem et sapienti continentia, sed acrior paulisper in persequenda malitia, uirili peditus et indissolubili mentis constantia. Consilia animi sui prius per se plurimum perspicere, et eorum seriem ordinare, perspecto ex rei estimatione exitus fine, et hec cum quouis non facile communicare. Interdum quoque in his adeo factiosus caute, ut actus eius uideretur consilium preuenire, et hec in mundi theatro illi sepius contingebant prospere. Cum largiretur, liberali effundebat munificentia, et frequentius hoc hortatu religiose coniugis suę in Christi fiebat honore, quam pro aliquo hominum labili fauore.<sup>1</sup> In dicto uel facto suo siue promisso adamantinę dinoscabatur stabilitatis, preter eandem regie stirpis uxorem suam omnium abdicans uoluptatem, celebs moderatius corporis et oris sui prudenter regere consuetudinem. Inceptum suum uterque satis constanter urgere; sed hic fortiter, ille sapienter; hic in actu suo consum[m]ationem, ille intendebat pariter et felicitatem. Vterque interdum quędam simulare adeo egregie, ut qui eos non nouerit, incertius nil ęstimare poterit. At ut legentibus de eorum moribus dicatur tota summa, nulla ętas, nulla regio, eius pretii duos mortales eodem educauit tempore. Quod attentius considerans rex, eis sic in regno suo locatis omni uita sua securus utroque uixit latere, cum hic hostes repelleret a meridię,<sup>a</sup> ille

<sup>a</sup> meridię MS

<sup>1</sup> They were patrons of Durham, Symeon, *HDE*, p. 94. See also Plummer, p. 249; P. Grierson, 'The relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest,' *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., xxiii (1941), pp. 109-12.

Indeed, the fault of rashness or levity is not one that anybody could charge against him, or Tostig, or any son born of Godwin, or anyone brought up under his rule or instruction. And Earl Tostig himself was endowed with very great and prudent restraint—although occasionally he was a little over-zealous in attacking evil—and with bold and inflexible constancy of mind. He would first ponder much and by himself the plans in his mind, and when he had ascertained by an appreciation of the matter the final issue, he would set them in order; and these he would not readily share with anyone. Also sometimes he was so cautiously active that his action seemed to come before his planning; and this often enough was advantageous to him in the theatre of the world. When he gave, he was lavish with liberal bounty, and, urged by his religious wife, it was done more frequently in honour of Christ than for any fickle favour of men.<sup>1</sup> In his word, deed, or promise he was distinguished by adamantine steadfastness. He renounced desire for all women except his wife of royal stock, and chastely, with restraint, and wisely he governed the use of his body and tongue. Both persevered with what they had begun; but Tostig vigorously, Harold prudently; the one in action aimed at success, the other also at happiness. Both at times so cleverly disguised their intentions that one who did not know them was in doubt what to think. And to sum up their characters for our readers, no age and no province has reared two mortals of such worth at the same time. The king appreciated this, and with them thus stationed in his kingdom, he lived all his life free from care on either

terreret ab aquilone. Iuniorum quoque Gyrth, quem supradiximus,<sup>1</sup> immunem non passus est idem rex a suis honoribus, sed comitatum ei dedit in ipso uertice orientalis Angliæ,<sup>2</sup> et hunc ipsum amplificandum promisit, ubi maturior annos adolescentiæ exuerit.

At <sup>3</sup> ille superior mores, consilia, et uires Gallicorum principum<sup>a</sup> non tam per suos quam per se scrutatus, astutia et callido animi ingenio et diuturniori cum procrastinatione intentissime notauerat, quid in eis habiturus<sup>b</sup> esset, si eis opus haberet in alicuius negotii<sup>c</sup> administratione.<sup>4</sup> Adeo quoque consilio suo exhaustos pernouerat, ut nulla ab eis relatione falli posset. Attentius ergo considerata Francorum consuetudine, cum ipse quoque apud eos non obscuri esset nominis et fame, Romam ad confessionem apostolorum processit,<sup>5</sup> ibique [com]petenti<sup>d</sup> munificentia ueneratus sanctorum limina, per medios insidiantes cautus derisor more suo dei gratia peruenit ad propria. Alter quoque felici

<sup>a</sup> principium MS

<sup>b</sup> quidem in eis habiturus MS    <sup>c</sup> negotici MS

<sup>d</sup> L amends to potenti. If such a change were to be made potenti would be more attractive

<sup>1</sup> In the lost ch. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably Norfolk. It is noticeable that the author does not refer to an earldom (*ducatus*). It is generally believed that Gyrth received the earldom of E. Anglia after Ælfgar succeeded to his father's earldom of Mercia in 1057. Later he added Oxfordshire. See *FNC*, II, pp. 566–7, for a discussion of the problem. Of course, if Gyrth should have been given Norfolk while Ælfgar was still earl of E. Anglia, this would be another reason for enmity between the families.

<sup>3</sup> Of the following paragraph, Freeman wrote (*JC*, II, Appendix EE), 'the passage is most obscure, no doubt purposely obscure,' and that he did not profess to understand every word of it.

<sup>4</sup> Freeman (*loc. cit.*) declared that these words were the hardest of all to understand; but he threw out the suggestion that Harold formed, or contemplated, alliances with French princes, say with the count of Anjou or the king himself, in case mutual support against William of Normandy should ever be needed. According to William of Poitiers, II, c. 4, the hesitant Norman barons pointed out to William in 1066 that Harold

flank, for the one drove back the foe from the south and the other scared them off from the north. Also the king did not suffer their younger brother, Gyrth, of whom we spoke before,<sup>1</sup> to be left out of the honours, but gave him a shire at the extremity of East Anglia,<sup>2</sup> and promised to increase this when he was older and had thrown off his boyhood years.

The <sup>3</sup> senior brother studied the character, policy, and strength of the princes of Gaul not only through his servants but also personally; and adroitly and with natural cunning and at great length observed most intently what he could get from them if he needed them in the management of any business.<sup>4</sup> And he acquired such an exhaustive knowledge of them by this scheme that he could not be deceived by any of their proposals. Having carefully observed the Frankish customs, and being himself famous by name and reputation in that country, he made his way to the relics of the Apostles at Rome.<sup>5</sup> And when he had worshipped there with fitting bounty the threshold of the saints, by God's grace he came home, passing with watchful mockery through all ambushes, as was his way.

<sup>d</sup> thesauris . . . abundare, quibus partis [partis] suae duces et reges praepotentes conducantur.

<sup>5</sup> Freeman (*loc. cit.*) dates the journey 1058, and would connect it with Ælfgar's second outlawry and forcible return and with Stigand's receipt of the pallium from Benedict X. But we know that Harold was at St Omer in November 1056, when he witnessed a charter of the count to St Peter's of Ghent. P. Grierson suggested that either he was on his return journey from Rome and possibly about to visit Cologne to negotiate for the return of Edward the Exile, or he went from St Omer to Cologne and Bavaria and accompanied Pope Victor II to Rome ('A Visit of Earl Harold to Flanders in 1056,' *EHR*, LI (1936), pp. 90–7). Harold's visit to Rome is mentioned by no other reputable author. There is a reference to it in the most untrustworthy *Vita Haroldi* (ed. W. De Gray Birch, 1885), c. 7, where the story of Harold's search at Rome for relics for his proposed foundation at Waltham is weakened by an obvious confusion with Tostig's adventures.

f. 46<sup>v</sup> mentis intentione cum fausta<sup>1</sup> uxore et iuniore |  
fratre suo Gyrth, eodem quem paulo superius diximus,  
transfretauit, et per Saxoniam et superiores Rheni  
fines Romam tetendit.<sup>2</sup> Et quę lingua uel quis sermo  
digne explicabit, quanta deuotione et munificentia  
singula sanctorum loca in eundo uel redeundo uenera-  
tus sit? Romę ab apostolico Nicholao honore quo  
decebat susceptus, a latere eius in ipsa Romana sinodo<sup>3</sup>  
ab eo coactus sedit secundus. Venerat autem in eius  
comitatu Aldredus<sup>4</sup> Wirensis ciuitatis episcopus, tunc  
uero a piissimo rege Ædwardo Eboracensi archi-  
episcopatu donatus, ut ibi scilicet et regię legationis  
causam peroraret,<sup>5</sup> et usum pallii optineret. Perscruta-

<sup>1</sup> Luard printed *Fausta* as a proper name; but it seems an unlikely version of Judith. The Anonymous uses *faustus* as an adjective, below, p. 80. Likewise Goscelin in his *Liber de mirac. S. Augustini*, p. 530; and cf. 'quia Romam ad sanctorum apostolorum suffragia proficisceris, faustoque prouentu curarum et tristitiarum gratum remedium consequeris,' Goscelin, *Miracula S. Mildrethe*, f. 180.

<sup>2</sup> For this expedition, see *Vita Wulfstani*, pp. 16-17; *ASC D* 1061; Florence, I, p. 218; Wm. of Malmesbury, *GP*, pp. 251-2; *FNC*, II, pp. 455-9; Plummer, pp. 249-50. Freeman (*NC*, II, pp. 459, 629-30) includes in the party Burchard, a son of Earl Ælfgar, who died at Rheims; but the evidence seems very doubtful. Wulfwig, bishop of Dorchester, or his proctors, should be added to the company (see below, p. 35, n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Easter (15 April) 1061 synod of Nicholas II (December 1058-July 1061), as we know from the date of Bishop Giso's consecration. Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, IV, (Paris 1911), pp. 1204-05, maintain, wrongly, that the party transacted its business before Easter, and that the Easter council was convoked to deal with the complaint of robbery. No canons promulgated by the council have been preserved; but William of Malmesbury, *GP*, p. 251, writes that it met 'contra simoniacos.'

<sup>4</sup> Monk of Winchester; Abbot of Tavistock; Bishop of Worcester, 1046-62; Bishop of Worcester and York, Christmas 1060-1; Archbishop of York, 1061-9. He administered the see of Ramsbury during Bishop Herman's absence, c. 1055-8, and that of Hereford, 1056-60, and held the abbey of Winchcombe after 1053. Although a monk, he was the nearest to a prince-bishop that the Edwardian church produced. He ruled a sort of ecclesiastical palatinate on the Welsh marches and seems to have been responsible for their defence. He was entrusted with some of the most important royal diplomacy, and his stature as a statesman is proved by his relations with King William I. He was also a very distinguished bishop, a

The other brother too, with fruitful purpose, crossed the Channel with his fortunate<sup>1</sup> wife and his younger brother, Gyrth (him we spoke of just now), and travelled to Rome through Saxony and the upper reaches of the Rhine.<sup>2</sup> And what tongue or what words could properly tell with what devotion and generosity he worshipped on the outward and return journey each saint's shrine? At Rome he was received with fitting honour by Pope Nicholas, and at his command sat in the very synod of Rome<sup>3</sup> immediately next to him. There had come, however, in his party Ealdred,<sup>4</sup> bishop of the city of Worcester, who had just then been presented with the archbishopric of York by the most holy king Edward, so that at Rome he could both plead the business which the king had entrusted to him<sup>5</sup> and also obtain the use of the pallium. Wherefore he was examined on how he had

lavish builder and an active administrative reformer, who dazzled both contemporaries and later generations at York. He visited Jerusalem in 1058; but, although his private life was uncensured, he did not earn a reputation for holiness. Goscelin recalls that when Ealdred was in danger of shipwreck in the Adriatic, he was saved by the intercession of St Edith (*Vita S. Edithe*, pp. 279-80), a patron whom doubtless he had acquired while administering Ramsbury.

<sup>5</sup> Ealdred, with Herman, had also been to Rome in 1050 on the king's business (*ASC*). In 1061, according to Westminster tradition, Edward was seeking papal privileges for that abbey. However that may be, the obvious concern of the English court was the state of the English church, especially the position of Stigand. That two bishops had to go to Rome for consecration, that Ealdred had administered for four years the see to which one of them had now been appointed, and that this notorious pluralist was proposing to renew the custom of holding York with Worcester must have given a reforming Pope opportunity for much admonition. Moreover, a suit between York and Dorchester was heard and decided (see below), and it is likely that the party had transported Peter's Pence, and possibly discussed it, for after the party's misadventure Tostig threatened to withhold the tribute (Wm. of Malmesbury, *GP*, pp. 291-2; *Vita Wulfstani*, p. 16). Indeed, considerable business was transacted. The Pope refers to 'Edwardi regis legati atque litere, nostri uidelicet amici' in a Bull he issued to the Englishmen on 3 May (*Registrum Antiquissimum of the cathedral church of Lincoln*, ed. C. W. Foster (Linc. Rec. Soc., 1931), I, p. 186).



tus ergo qualiter ad sacros accessisset ordines, eo gratuito confitente inuentus est a primo ordinationis sue episcopio ad aliud<sup>a</sup> commigrasse contra canones.<sup>1</sup> Vnde apostolicis et pontificalibus decretis examinatis<sup>b</sup> et omni synodo censente, a petitione sua repulsus, non solum usum pallii non optinuit, uerum ab episcopatus gradu deiectus in hac confusione recedere habuit.<sup>2</sup> Venerant quoque pariter ex precepto regis duo ipsius presbyteri, Gyso et Walterius,<sup>3</sup> uiri in officio suo aptissime et excellenter eruditi, ut a domino papa ordinarentur episcopi. Qui, feliciter et ad uotum suum actis rebus, cum pariter redirent a Roma, in latrones incidunt eadem die,<sup>4</sup> dispoliatique et depredati, quidam etiam nudi, coacti sunt retrorsum redire. Ibi tunc quidam adolescens Gaius Patricius nomine, de eiusdem

<sup>a</sup> L, having read episcopo, amends to alium

<sup>b</sup> examinantibus MS

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Burchard, *Decretum*, I, cc. lxxii-lxxvii: 'Vt nullo modo de parochia ad aliam episcopus transeat.'

<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the Pope decided a complaint of Bishop Wulfwig of Dorchester that Archbishop Ailric (Ælfric Puttoc) of York had despoiled Dorchester of the diocese of Lindsey, in the complainant's favour (Papal Bull, dated 3 May 1061, *Eng. Hist. Docs.*, II, pp. 599-600; *Registrum Antiquissimum of the cathedral church of Lincoln*, I, p. 186).

<sup>3</sup> Giso of Wells (1060-88), who obtained on this occasion a Papal Bull confirming and protecting the possessions of his bishopric (*Eng. Hist. Docs.*, II, pp. 600-1), and Walter of Hereford (1060-79). Both were foreigners, the former a native of St Trond in the diocese of Liège (*Ecclesiastical documents*, ed. J. Hunter, Camden Soc., 1840, p. 16), the latter, who was chaplain to the queen, a Lotharingian (Florence, I, p. 218; *Historians of the church of York*, II, p. 346; Plummer, p. 249). They went to the Pope for consecration because of Stigand's incapacity; and William of Malmesbury (*GP*, p. 251) believed that all travelled together. Giso was consecrated 'in the very basilica of the patriarch' (Papal Bull, *ut sup.*). Walter came to a bad end (Wm. of Malmesbury, *GP*, p. 300).

<sup>4</sup> The captain of the robber band was the Tuscan nobleman, Gerard count of Galeria, a place 15 miles north-west of Rome on the River Arrone and the Via Clodia, a western fork from the Via Cassia. According to *Vita Wulfstani*, pp. 16-17, Ealdred and Tostig had reached Sutri before the attack occurred. But on Archbishop Sigeric's itinerary Sutri was the third

come to sacred orders; and by his own free admission he was discovered to have transferred from the bishopric of his first ordination to another, contrary to canon law.<sup>1</sup> And so when the apostolic and pontifical decretals had been considered, and the whole synod gave its judgment, he failed in his request; and not only did he not obtain the use of the pallium, but also he was even deposed from his episcopal rank; and he had to go away in this confusion.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time there had also come to Rome at the king's command two royal priests, Giso and Walter,<sup>3</sup> men most suitably and excellently trained in their office, so that they might be ordained bishop by the lord pope. After their business had been successfully completed according to their desire, they all left Rome together, and on the same day fell among thieves<sup>4</sup>; and, robbed and plundered, some even to nakedness, they were compelled to turn back again. On that occasion a young man named Gospatric, a kinsman of King

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station from Rome (Stubbs, *Memorials of St Dunstan*, p. 392), and Gerard was far from his castle if he attacked north of Lake Bracciano. The Anonymous is probably correct in placing the encounter on the very day on which the travellers left Rome, and Gerard must have intercepted the party on the Via Cassia, in the most desolate part of the Campagna, possibly at the road-fork itself. Gerard was one of the local nobility who were struggling to prevent the papacy escaping from their control. He had secured in 1058 the election of Benedict X, who later took refuge at Galeria (Franz Herberhold, 'Die Angriffe des Cadalus von Parma auf Rom in der Jahren 1062 und 1063,' *Studi Gregoriani*, II (Rome 1947), pp. 477 ff; F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome*, trans. A. Hamilton, IV (1896), pt I, pp. 111-15; A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, III, (1922), pp. 678, 702). Hence Gerard's behaviour could be regarded as an act of war against the pope, an aspect which was, no doubt, profitable to Ealdred. Pope Nicholas, shortly before he died, in full synod excommunicated Gerard for this attack and for robbing the party of about £1,000 (Pavian). See Peter Damiani, *Disceptatio Synodalis* (written June or July 1062), ed. L. von Heinemann, M.G.H., *Libelli de Lite* (Hanover, 1891), I, p. 91.



regis Ædwardi genere,<sup>1</sup> miles uero et comes in eadem uia predicti ducis Tostini, satis strennue egit in fidelitate domini sui. Nam cum iret aptioribus indumentis ornatus, ut eum pro nobilitate decebat, in ipsa peregrinantium fronte, interrogatur a latronibus quis eorum esset comes Tostinus. Ille autem continuo cuius officii essent coniciens, se esse aiebat, et duci nutu quo poterat ut recederet innuebat. Creditur pro ornatu uestium et situ corporis ut erat egregii, et sic cum reliqua preda abducitur spe satis inani. Vt uero ex remotiori discessu ducem in tuto suspicatus est, perscrutatusque de uariis rebus, tandem se non esse quem putauerant comprehendisse confessus est; licet in prima rei agnitione uite eius minitarentur<sup>a</sup> periculum, postremo tamen liberius quibusdam rem quam fecerat tractantibus, non solum abire permittitur, uerum etiam apud eosdem militares magno pretio et laude assignatus, suis propriis rebus donatus<sup>b</sup> et cunctorum uotis prosequentibus in pace conuiatur. Quodque supra intermisimus, cum causa Aldredi episcopi dux in Roma perhendinaret diutius, uxorem suam et omnem regie dignitatis sue comitatu[m] premiserat cum suis maioris numeri hominibus, et hi precessera[n]t prospere, ignari omnium que contigerant subsequentibus. Confuse ergo et miserabiliter reuersis Romana pietas indoluit, ueritusque domnus papa maxime<sup>c</sup> clarissimi

<sup>a</sup> imitarentur MS    <sup>b</sup> ? altered to donatis or donatur MS

<sup>c</sup> maxime MS

<sup>1</sup> Freeman suggested (*NC*, II, p. 457), reasonably enough, that this is a perversion of Gospatric. Orderic Vitalis gives it similarly (*Historia ecclesiastica*, II, iv, c. vi). Gospatric was not an uncommon name among the Northumbrian nobility, and a relationship between two of its bearers and King Edward can be established. Earl Uchtred married as his third wife Ælfgifu, a daughter of King Æthelred by the king's first marriage. Their daughter, Aldgitha, married Maldred son of Crinan. A son of this

Edward,<sup>1</sup> a knight who accompanied Earl Tostig on his journey, bore himself courageously in his service to his lord. For as he rode clad in garments suited to his noble rank in the very van of the pilgrims, he was asked by the robbers which of them was Earl Tostig. Realising immediately what was their trade, he said that he was, and signalled the earl with all possible signs to ride away. He was believed because of the luxury of his clothes and his physical appearance, which was indeed distinguished; and so he was taken away, in vain hope indeed, with the rest of the booty. When, however, he thought the earl far enough away to be safe, during his interrogation on various matters he confessed at length that he was not the man they thought they had captured. Although when the robbers first understood the case they put his life in jeopardy, finally, however, some of them treated his behaviour more generously, and not only was he allowed to depart, but, marked with these soldiers' great esteem and praise, and restored to possession of his own things, he was escorted back in peace, followed by the good wishes of all.

We forgot to say before that, as the earl's stay in Rome was protracted owing to Bishop Ealdred's case, he had sent his wife and her royal escort on ahead, together with most of his own men; and these had had a successful journey, in total ignorance of what had happened to the party which followed behind. When the latter returned in confusion and distress, sorrowful compassion was felt in Rome; and the lord pope, afraid

marriage was named Gospatric, and he had three sons, Dolfin, Waltheof and Gospatric ('De obsessione Dunelmi,' Symeon of Durham, *Opera Omnia*, I, pp. 215-20). As Ælfgifu was born, presumably, late in the tenth century, the elder Gospatric, Æthelred's grandson, would fit.

ducis petitionem,<sup>1</sup> presertim et rememorans gratuitam episcopi confessionem, et eam quam sibi intulerant in degradatione humiliter susceptam confusionem, consultus a Romanis patribus ne et depredatę et insuper confuse a beati Petri pietate spectabiles personę in tanto recederent merore, letificauit omnes in episcopi reconciliatione et dato pallii honore,<sup>2</sup> ut scilicet in regno suo in eiusdem apostoli persisterent ampliori fidelitate et ueneratione. Ducem autem consolatus est caritatiua allocutione, ablatis insuper magnis xeniis ex beati Petri largitate, sicque auctum apostolica absolutione et benedictione cum omnibus dimisit in pace. Reuersisque per longa interiacentium terrarum et interpositi equoris spatia ad sua propria, congauisa est omnis Anglia,<sup>3</sup> benedicens deum qui ducit et reducit suos confidentes in sua custodia.<sup>3</sup>

Hi duo nubigenę clarissima pignora terre,<sup>4</sup>  
 roboris Herculei, felicia robora regni,  
 prestant Angligenis unito federe pacis;

<sup>1</sup> Anglica MS

<sup>1</sup> Or, 'respecting Tostig's suit.' But Tostig is said to have spoken very roughly to the pope; see Wm. of Malmesbury, *GP*, pp. 251-2; cf. *Vita Wulfstani*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> On condition that he resigned Worcester. The Pope sent legates to enforce the condition—and, possibly, to investigate the state of the English church (*Vita Wulfstani*, pp. 16-18; Wm. of Malmesbury, *GP*, p. 252; and see next note). Wulfstan, later canonised, was substituted at Worcester, but was treated by Ealdred as a *chorepiscopus*. According to Florence, I, p. 220, one of the cardinal-legates was Armenfridus, bishop of Sion. R. R. Darlington (*Vita Wulfstani*, p. xv n) is inclined to think that there is confusion with Armenfridus's mission to England in 1070. It may well be that Armenfridus was not yet a cardinal; but it should be noted that he was Leo IX's legate to the council of Lisieux (? 1054) at which Duke William secured the deposition of Mauger archbishop of Rouen ('Historia archiep. Rothomagensium' in *Recueil des historiens de la France*, XI (Paris 1767), p. 70). He seems, therefore, to have been an expert on depositions. Hence it is surprising to find a report that he sat with Stigand at a meeting of the *witan* to appoint Ealdred's successor (*Vita Wulfstani*, p. 18).

most of all of an attack from so famous an earl,<sup>1</sup> and calling to mind especially the bishop's free confession and his humble acceptance of the mortification which they had inflicted by degrading him, and advised by the Roman fathers that important persons should not depart from the holiness of St Peter in such distress, both pillaged and embarrassed, made all rejoice by reinstating the bishop and giving him the honour of the pallium,<sup>2</sup> so that they would persevere in their kingdom in greater fidelity and worship of that apostle. The earl he soothed with loving words and, especially, with great gifts taken from the bounty of St Peter; and then let him and all his men depart in peace, enriched by the apostolic absolution and benediction. And when they had journeyed home across the great distances of the intervening countries and ocean, all England rejoiced, and blessed God who leads forth and brings back those of His people who trust in His keeping.<sup>3</sup>

These two great brothers of a cloud-born land,<sup>4</sup>  
 The kingdom's sacred oaks, two Hercules,  
 Excel all Englishmen when joined in peace;

<sup>3</sup> Giso returned without mishap to the royal court, 'ebdomada secunda post albas' (*Ecclesiastical documents*, ed. J. Hunter, Camden Soc., 1840, p. 16). As Albs were the week after Easter or Pentecost, the date was either 29 April-6 May or 17-24 June 1061, doubtless the latter. How long Ealdred and Tostig were detained at Rome is not clear. Some of the party were still there on 3 May (see above, p. 35, n. 2). All the sources agree that the business was completed by Pope Nicholas (who stayed in Rome until the end of June and died 27 July). But Florence (I, p. 220) has the papal legates to England dispatched by Nicholas's successor, Alexander II, and William of Malmesbury (*GP*, p. 252) has them follow after. However that may be, Ealdred had taken them on tour of England by Easter 1062 (*Vita Wulfstani*, p. 17). It would seem, therefore, that Ealdred and Tostig returned to England in the autumn of 1061.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 'Quis autem explicit hos nubigenas, scilicet ut nubes uolantes, angelum [? angelos] uiuentes,' Goscelin, *S. Augustini historia minor*, p. 61.

utque<sup>a</sup> fide ueterum partito pondere celum  
 sustinet hinc Athlas, illinc Cyllenius heros,<sup>1</sup>  
 ne ruat inferius subsidat et undique tellus,  
 hi sic angelici iunctis duo uiri[bus] Angli  
 seruant Angligenos sub eodem federe fines.  
 Quid super his geminis turbato felle minaris,  
 infelix fortuna, nimis liuore gemello  
 Thebanis accingta rogis hinc inde ministras  
 funereas intenta faces furialibus armis?<sup>2</sup>  
 Heu discors uitium fraternis cladibus ortum!  
 Non pudet urgueri super aucto pondere leti<sup>b</sup>  
 a primogenito prime genitricis ab aluo  
 mollius infectam germano sanguine terram?<sup>3</sup>  
 Tu tanto grauius celas hoc crimine uulnus,  
 quanto non aliam sed carnem scindis eandem;  
 ultra quam ualeat fari mala siue putari<sup>c</sup>  
 preis omne nefas. Caput es in corpore culpe.]  
 f. 47<sup>v</sup> Tu, grauis ira dei,<sup>4</sup> tu, detestatio celi,  
 flamma prior baratri, succendis scandala mundi.  
 Tu post crimina sex pietatem septima<sup>5</sup> ledis  
 altius, errores per se que diluit omnes.  
 Priscis nota satis tua sic contagia ludis.<sup>6</sup>  
 Inuidus hic prolis fraterne feda Thiestes  
 prandia dat fratri depasto corpore nati;  
 et licet ipsa fides nondum conscenderit orbem,

<sup>a</sup> Atque MS    <sup>b</sup> loeti MS    <sup>c</sup> ? amend to putare

<sup>1</sup> Southern (*First Life*, p. 396 n) thinks that the epithet 'Cyllenius' (i.e. for Hermes) is used mistakenly for Hercules. But Cyllene was the highest mountain in Morea.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the Seven against Thebes, the war between the twins Polynices and Eteocles, which ended when each mortally wounded the other. There are reminiscences here of Statius, *Thebaid*, xi, especially l. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis 4:8-12.

<sup>4</sup> Or, amending to *deo*, 'anger grievous to God.'

And as of yore the sky's divided weight  
 Was held by Atlas here and Hermes<sup>1</sup> there,  
 Lest heaven fall and earth sink all around,  
 So these angelic Angles with joined strength  
 And like agreement guard the English bounds.  
 Why then, Ill Fortune, menace these two men  
 With thickened gall, with more than double spite,  
 And, set for Theban pyres, intent on dreadful war,  
 From both sides furnish torches for the dead?<sup>2</sup>  
 Ah, vicious Discord sprung from brother's strife!  
 Have you no shame that earth, less deeply stained  
 With brother's blood by Eve's firstborn,<sup>3</sup> should be  
 Oppressed e'en more with greater weight of death?  
 You hide a wound by this crime worse because  
 You cleave the same and not another flesh.  
 You push all crimes beyond man's power to think  
 Or utter evil. Head of mischief's trunk  
 You are, God's heavy anger,<sup>4</sup> heaven's hate,  
 First fire of hell, kindling the world's misdoings,  
 The seventh wrath,<sup>5</sup> which wounds too much that ruth  
 Which of itself will wipe all errors out.  
 Your plagues are noted in the ancient plays.<sup>6</sup>  
 Thyestes, jealous of his brother's sons,  
 Serves up for him his boy as foul repast.  
 And though True Faith had not yet reached the earth

<sup>5</sup> *Septima* presumably agrees with *ira*, *detestatio*, and *flamma*, and this seventh sin is probably the fatal duel of Polynices and Eteocles. See Statius, *Thebaid*, xi, 57 ff.

<sup>6</sup> It is not clear which play about the house of Atreus the Anonymus is following (? Seneca's *Thyestes*); but he confuses. It was, of course, Atreus who murdered the sons of his brother Thyestes, including Tantalus the second, and served parts of them up to Thyestes. The Anonymus then turns back to the myth of Tantalus, the grandfather of Atreus and Thyestes, who served up his son, their father, Pelops, at a banquet for the gods.

monstrans quid frater fratri, quid amicus amico,  
proximus inde suo quid debeat,<sup>1</sup> hoc<sup>a</sup> tamen error  
credidit esse scelus, testatur sidera celi,  
et pariter celum nigra fuligine tectum,  
conscia ne tanti sceleris sint. Contio diua  
horruit has epulas, et tum pro crimine penas  
multiplicant<sup>b</sup> meritis, brachium concordia reddit  
tegmine non carnis sed eburnei fortius ossis,  
quod pie seruauit dum non mandenda notauit.<sup>2</sup>  
Fit Pelops rediuius homo per iussa deorum,  
insons transfertur celestibus. Inferus illos  
rupibus accensis penaliter occupat ignis.  
Hec quoque tempestas scindit nequissima flammæ  
fratribus impositis per mutua uulnera lapsis.<sup>3</sup>  
Hęcine gentilis sine re descripserit error?  
Doctrinę plenum figmentum tale probatur.  
Hanc cladem reprobatur scriptura uetus, noua  
dampnat,<sup>4</sup>

atque caret uenia fratris diuturnior ira.  
Pro dolor enormis si tantos<sup>c</sup> riserit orbis  
federe seiunctos! Succurre, deifica custos,  
sancta fides, lotis baptismate, crismate tactis;  
infer signa crucis, Herebique fugetur Erynis.  
Tuque<sup>d</sup> boni fomes primi, uia prima salutis,  
nos con[n]ecte tibi per uinc[u]la federis almi,

f. 48 sedans pace tua, mater, concordia sancta,

<sup>a</sup> hic MS

<sup>b</sup> ? amend to multiplicans

<sup>c</sup> L suggests tanto

<sup>d</sup> Tuquoque MS

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Horace, *Ars poet.* 312 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ceres/Demeter (why *Concordia*?), while distracted by grief, ate the shoulder of Pelops, and later, after Tantalus had been punished in various ways and Pelops re-assembled, replaced the missing part with ivory. The passage is difficult and does not seem to make sense: 'which it (the divine

And taught what brother owed to brother, friend  
To friend and neighbour,<sup>1</sup> even Error thought  
This was a crime, and calls the stars to vouch,  
As well the heavens, draped with black, lest they  
Should countenance a crime so dire. The gods'  
Assembly loathed this feast, then multiply  
The culprit's pains; while Concord gives an arm,  
Not fleshed, but strong with ivory, for him,  
Kept back devoutly from th'unlawful food.<sup>2</sup>  
Pelops revived by order of the gods  
Is guiltless borne to heaven. Hell-fire, with rocks  
A-glow, deals punishment to those. A wind,  
Most wanton, parts in twain the flames above  
The pyre for brothers killed by mutual blows.<sup>3</sup>  
Would pagan error without fact write thus?  
The story full of lessons earns our trust.  
Old Scripture blames this scourge, the New condemns<sup>4</sup>:  
No pardon for a brother's hate too long.  
O woe! if earth should mock such men  
Divided in their troth. Aid, guardian spirit  
And holy faith, the baptised and the chrismed,  
And banish with the Cross the gods of Hell.  
You, tinder of first good, first way of life,  
Embrace us in your bonds of loving troth;  
O mother, Holy Concord, soothe with peace,

assembly, or Concord) religiously preserved, while it/she did not notice what it/she had to eat,' or, '... preserved, as it/she branded with infamy the improper food.' The desired meaning is that Pelops' remains were preserved when identified.

<sup>3</sup> When Polynices and Eteocles were burned on the same pyre, the flame parted symbolically in two. Cf. Lucan, I, 550-2, 'flamma ... scinditur in partes geminoque cacumine surgit Thebanos imitata rogos'; Statius, *Thebaid*, XII, 431.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Matt. 5:21-4.

ne de pignore regali seu stirpe fideli  
ignis perpetuam stipulam sibi rideat hostis  
collegisse suis incendia longa fauillis.

## [cap. vi]

Regno<sup>1</sup> igitur his principibus undique confirmato, benignissimus rex Ædwardus uitam agebat in securitate et quiete, plurimumque temporis exiebat circa saltus et siluas in uenationum iocunditate. Diuinis enim expeditis officiis quibus libenter co[t]idiana intendebat deuotione, iocundabatur plurimum coram se allatis accipitribus uel huius generis auibus, uel certe delectabatur applausibus multorum motuum canibus.<sup>2</sup> His et talibus interdum deducebat diem, et in his tantummodo ex natura uidebatur aliquam mundi captare delectationem. Cetera uir deo uoluntarie deditus in squalore mundi angelum<sup>a</sup> uiuebat,<sup>3</sup> et *accepto tempore*<sup>4</sup> quam<sup>b</sup> assidue<sup>c</sup> esset in christiana religione strenue manifestabat. Abbates religiosos et monachos, potissimum autem transmarinos, quos deuotius atque strictius deo cognouerat inseruire, quam benigne suscepit, quam humiliter se eis in colloquio iunxerit, et a se redeuntibus quanta munificentia se illis effuderit, quæ lingua uel quæ pagina secundum rei ueritatem et

<sup>a</sup> angl'm MS; uiuebat angelum, Wm. of Malmesbury, GR, I, p. 271; Anglorum L.

<sup>b</sup> quas MS    <sup>c</sup> ? amend to assiduus

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wm. of Malmesbury, GR, para. 220, I, p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> The passage seems to be corrupt; cf. 'Vnum erat quo in seculo animum oblectaret suum, cursus canum uelocium, quorum circa saltus latratibus solebat laetus applaudere,' Wm. of Malmesbury, ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Goscelin was partial to this elegant accusative: cf. 'mauult uiuere scortum quam mori martyrem,' *Liber confort.*, p. 98; 'hos . . . ut . . . angelum uiuentes,' *S. Augustini historia minor*, p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Cor. 6:2.

Lest from the royal kin and loyal stock  
The hostile fire should laugh to have procured  
An endless stubble—fuel for its sparks.

## [Chapter vi]

And so,<sup>1</sup> with the kingdom made safe on all sides by these princes, the most kindly King Edward passed his life in security and peace, and spent much of his time in the glades and woods in the pleasures of hunting. After divine service, which he gladly and devoutly attended every day, he took much pleasure in hawks and birds of that kind which were brought before him, and was really delighted by the baying and scrambling of the hounds.<sup>2</sup> In these and such like activities he sometimes spent the day, and it was in these alone that he seemed naturally inclined to snatch some worldly pleasure. Otherwise this man, of his free will devoted to God, lived in the squalor of the world like an angel,<sup>3</sup> and 'at the accepted time'<sup>4</sup> he zealously showed how assiduous he was in practising the Christian religion. What tongue or what page could unfold, in accordance with reality and true accounting, how kindly he received religious abbots and monks, above all foreign, whom he knew to be very devout and strict in their service to God, how humbly he joined in their conversation, and, at their departure, with what generosity he lavished himself on

numerum explicauerit?<sup>1</sup> Hoc omni tempore quo regnauit frequentabat, et quia hoc eum uelle fama ubique diffuderat, huiusmodi hospitalitatem non frequentem modo sed continuam agebat. Tales quoque abbatibus et monachis regni sui in exemplo esse ut pius pater monebat, quibus recentior et ob hoc minus stricta monastica religio prouenerat.<sup>2</sup> Inter ipsa diuinorum misteriorum et missarum sacrosancta officia, agnina mansuetudine stabat et mente tranquilla cunctis fidelibus spectabilis christicola, inter quę, nisi interpellaretur, rarissime cui loquebatur. Ipsa quoque regalium ornamentorum pompa qua ex officio regie uxoris suę ambiebatur, tacite et temporaliter, utique satis expresse dictum sit, nulla animi delectatione utebatur, et non curaret quicquam si non tanto sumptu illi amministrarentur. Officiositatem tamen ipsius reginę gratam in talibus ducebat, et quibusdam familiarioribus sedulitatem eius in plurimas gratias cum quadam mentis benignitate annotabat. Pauperibus et corpore debilibus multa condescendebat misericordia, et tales quam plures non solum cotidie | in sua regali curia, uerum per plurima regni sui loca ad necessaria uite habebat dispendia.<sup>3</sup> Postremo in quibuscumque

f. 48<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Freeman (*NC*, II, p. 535) devotes an appendix to 'Edward's fondness for foreign churchmen.' We know some details of the generosity of Edward, Edith and their Breton staller Ralf (together with his son, Ralf de Gael) to Gervinus I, abbot of St Riquier in Ponthieu, on his visits to England. See Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, IV, cc. 22-4, ed. F. Lot (Paris 1894), pp. 237-8, 240-1, 243-5. Another visitor to the English court, after 1054, was John abbot of Fécamp, sent by William of Normandy. See J. Leclercq and J.-P. Bonnes, 'Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Jean de Fécamp,' *Études de théologie et d'histoire de la spiritualité*, IX (Paris 1946), pp. 14, 17. But by referring only to monks the Anonymous distorts. Edward seems to have been as generous to foreign secular clerks, e.g. Leofric, Herman, Helinand of Pontoise, Regenbald, and Albert of Lorraine. William of Poitiers (I, c. 47-53) is no less enthusiastic about William of Normandy's piety: cf. especially, 'Clerici siue monachi,

them?<sup>1</sup> This he used to do throughout his reign; and since the news spread widely that such was his pleasure, he kept hospitality of this kind not only frequently but all the time. Moreover, like a good father, he exhibited such men as models to the abbots and monks of his own kingdom, for monastic discipline had come to these more recently, and was on that account less strict.<sup>2</sup> He used to stand with lamb-like meekness and tranquil mind at the holy offices of the divine mysteries and masses, a worshipper of Christ manifest to all the faithful; and at these times, unless he was addressed, he rarely spoke to anyone. Moreover, it was quietly, and only for the occasion—in any case, it should be distinctly said, with no mental pleasure—that he displayed the pomp of royal finery in which the queen obligingly arrayed him. And he would not have cared at all if it had been provided at far less cost. He was, however, grateful for the queen's solicitude in these matters, and with a certain kindness of feeling used to remark on her zeal most appreciatively to his intimates. He stooped with great mercy to the poor and infirm, and fully maintained many of these not only daily in his royal court but also at many places in his kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Finally, his royal consort did not restrain

cuius a professione uitam non discrepare testimonio probabili comperit, caram habebat collucutionem precatui totam uoluntatem inclinabat' (I, c. 52). Also William favoured foreigners, e.g. Lanfranc of Pavia and Maurilius (archbishop of Rouen, 1055). And William likewise hoped to escape purgatory: 'ad seruitium tamen regis omnium regum cor propensius habebat; . . . a quo gloriam interminabilem, ubi temporalem finiret, expectabat' (ibid. II, c. 30).

<sup>2</sup> It is related that after Gervinus I of St Riquier had refused to receive a kiss of greeting and peace from the queen, Edith recovered from her initial displeasure and ordered the English bishops and abbots to act likewise. See Hariulf, op. cit., IV, c. 22, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Among these were, presumably, those whom he had cured; cf. below pp. 61 ff.

bonis ipse preire parabat, regia coniunx eum non retrahebat, sed potius ad prouectum anteriorem hortabatur, plerumque etiam ipsa<sup>a</sup> preire uidebatur. Nam cum ipse interdum daret, illa largiebatur, et honestate hanc<sup>b</sup> intendebat largitionem, ut ad regis quoque plurimum spectaret honorem. Cui cum ex more et iure regia sedes assidue pararetur a regis latere, preter ecclesiam et regalem mensam malebat ad pedes ipsius sedere, nisi forte manum illi porrigeret, uel nutu dextere iuxta se ad sedendum inuitaret siue cogeret. Mulierem inquam cunctis nobilibus matronis siue regie et imperatorię dignitatis personis in exemplo uirtutis et honestatis anteponendam, tam ad christiani cultus<sup>c</sup> religionem quam ad mundi dignitatem seruandam. Quibus cum tanta in terreno regno arrideret prosperitas, interdum tamen ex quorundam rebellium insidiis non leuis pulsabat aduersitas. Non tamen ea que sub tanto rege regnum debilitaret, quippe quam citius per supradictos germanos duces, suos scilicet nutricios, aut sedaret, aut bellica uirtute contereret.

Insurrexerunt enim uno ferme tempore hinc rex occidentalium Britonum Griphinus, illinc rex Scottorum nomine barbarus.<sup>1</sup> Prior uero agente Haroldo duce Anglorum exercitum frequenter uictus, postremo autem est interfectus.<sup>2</sup> Sed <sup>3</sup> hanc historiam, quoniam prolix[i]or est et uarie multiplex et longis euoluenda relationibus, ad certiore[m] notitiam ex industria

<sup>a</sup> ipse MS

<sup>b</sup> ? amend to at honestate hac; cf. above, p. 23

<sup>c</sup> add ad MS

<sup>1</sup> Macbeth. See Plummer, pp. 243-4.

<sup>2</sup> For Harold's wars against Gruffydd, see Plummer, pp. 250-1; J. E. Lloyd, 'Wales and the coming of the Normans, 1039-93,' *Cymmrodorion* (1899-1900), pp. 122-47, and *A history of Wales* (3rd ed. 1939), pp. 358-71.

him in those good works in which he prepared to lead the way, but rather urged speedier progress, and often enough seemed even to lead the way herself. For while he would give now and then, she was prodigal, but aimed her bounty to such good purpose as to consider the highest honour of the king as well. Although by custom and law a royal throne was always prepared for her at the king's side, she preferred, except in church and at the royal table, to sit at his feet, unless perchance he should reach out his hand to her, or with a gesture of the hand invite or command her to sit next to him. She was, I say, a woman to be placed before all noble matrons or persons of royal and imperial rank as a model of virtue and integrity for maintaining both the practices of the Christian religion and worldly dignity. Although in the earthly kingdom great prosperity smiled upon them, occasionally, however, in the plots of certain insurgents adversity struck with force. But not such as could cripple a realm ruled by so great a king; indeed, the kingdom, employing the brother earls mentioned before as its protectors, most quickly either assuaged it or with military valour stamped it out.

There rose, for example, almost at the same time, on this side Gruffydd, king of the West Britons, and on the other the king of the Scots with an outlandish name.<sup>1</sup> The former, however, with Earl Harold directing the English army, was often defeated, and in the end was killed.<sup>2</sup> But <sup>3</sup> we deliberately reserve this story for a more faithful treatment in the future. It is rather protracted and complicated, and can be explained better

<sup>3</sup> The following sentence, full of verbal conceits, is involved and corrupt, and the reconstruction attempted here is not wholly satisfactory.



reseruamus, et quia is<sup>a</sup> qui in huius narrationis textu ex pondere illati laboris et singularitate industrie suę a nobis promittitur describi, non modice [ad] sollicitudinem nostro cordi, non leui quoque labore uel breui relatione demonstrari potest ad satisfactionem lectorum, res studiose et laboriose gestas pleniter scire uolentium. Alter uero primum a Siwardo duce usque ad internitionem pene suorum deuictus, et in obscenam fugam est uersus<sup>1</sup>; secundo ducatum agente duce Tostino cum eum Scotti inte[m]ptatum haberent, et ob hoc in minori pretio habitum, latrocinio potius quam bello sepius lacerarent; incertum genus hominum et leue, siluisque potius quam campo, fuga<sup>b</sup> quoque magis fidens quam audacia uirili in prelio, tam prudenti astutia quam uirtute bellica et hostili expeditione cum salute suorum predictus dux attriuit, ut cum rege eorum delegerint ei regique Ædwardo magis seruire quam rebellare, id quoque per datos obsides ratum |  
f. 49 facere.<sup>2</sup> Huius etiam historie seriem scribere nunc supersedimus, dum ad eius euolutionem uacare donauerit indago certior et competens tempus.<sup>3</sup> Omittere autem omnino uita comite et hanc et superiorem ad utrorumque ducum gloriam et honorem nequimus, quia ex eorum merito precedente plurimum eis debemus. Redeamus interim ad regem Ædwardum

<sup>a</sup> his MS    <sup>b</sup> fuge MS

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ASC CD*. For Siward's war with Macbeth in 1054 and the successful placing of Malcolm Canmore on the throne, see *FNC*, II, pp. 362-6, Appendix X, 'The war with Macbeth.'

<sup>2</sup> Freeman (*NC*, II, p. 618) was uncertain whether Tostig fought against Macbeth or Malcolm. But Macbeth seems to have been killed in 1058, after his power had been limited to the north; and the reference here is to border disturbances. In 1059 Malcolm came to Edward's court at Gloucester with Tostig, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Durham (Symeon of Durham, *HR*, II, p. 174). But in 1061 he ravaged the earldom of

in a longer report. Besides, the man whom we, impressed by the burden of the labour he undertook and his unusual industry, have undertaken to describe in this book (but not without uneasiness of mind), cannot be portrayed with slight effort or in a short essay to the satisfaction of those readers who want to know in more detail about things done with great love and labour.

The Scottish king, too, was first defeated with the destruction of almost all his men by Earl Siward and forced to take to shameful flight.<sup>1</sup> Then, when Earl Tostig ruled the earldom, the Scots, since they had not yet tested him and consequently held him more cheaply, harassed him often with raids rather than war. But this irresolute and fickle race of men, better in woods than on the plain, and trusting more to flight than to manly boldness in battle, Tostig, sparing his own men, wore down as much by cunning schemes as by martial courage and military campaigns. And as a result they and their king preferred to serve him and King Edward than to continue fighting, and, moreover, to confirm the peace by giving hostages.<sup>2</sup>

But this story also we refrain from writing now until a surer investigation and a suitable time gives us the opportunity to unfold it.<sup>3</sup> We cannot, however, while life lasts, entirely disregard these two episodes which reflect honour and glory on both these earls, for, owing to their surpassing merit, we are greatly in their debt. But now let us turn again to King Edward and his royal

his 'sworn brother' (ibid. II, pp. 174-5; and for artificial brotherhood, see Plummer pp. 25-6), possibly while Tostig was absent at Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Goscelin, *Libellus contra inanes sancte uirginis Mildrethe usurpatores*, f. 264: 'Alii quoque quibus notior erat Anglicarum scripturarum indago ac temporum ratio, stimulati notę ueritatis iniuria, proclamabunt.'



eiusque regiam coniugem Ædith, cui potissimum nunc hac famulamur descriptione precedenti,<sup>a</sup> et quanto studio deuotionem fidei suę exhibuerint in ecclesia Christi, pro posse et nosse nostro explicemus adiuuante gratia et propitiatione dei.

Extra muros urbis Lundonię supra predictum amnem Temesin erat monasterium in honore beati Petri, paruo quidem opere et numero, paucioribus ibi congregatis monachis sub abbate<sup>b</sup> in seruitio Christi<sup>1</sup>; res quoque eorum usibus a fidelibus date tenues et ipse erant in amministrazione uictus cotidiani. Intendit ergo deo deuotus rex locum illum, tum uicinum famose et opulente urbi, tum satis apricum ex circumiacentibus fecundis terris et uiridantibus prediis atque proximo decursu principalis fluuii, a toto orbe ferentis uniuersarum uenialium rerum copiosas merces subiecte ciuitati<sup>2</sup>; potissimum autem ob amorem principalis apostoli, quem affectu colebat unico et speciali, eligit ibi habere sibi locum sepulchri. Precipit deinde ex decimis omnium reddituum suorum initiari opus nobilis edificii, quod deceret apostolorum principem, quatinus propitium sibi pararet<sup>c</sup> deum post huius uite cursum labilem, et pro gratia pietatis suę, et pro oblatione

<sup>a</sup> If dative, must agree with cui; if ablative (cf. merito precedente, above), and agreeing with descriptione, it presumably means 'preceding.'

<sup>b</sup> abbatę MS

<sup>c</sup> alteration in MS; ? reads pararaet

<sup>1</sup> For the early history of Westminster, see Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 286–9, and for the site, Walter Besant, *Westminster* (1897), pp. 4–16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, c. 3. Goscelin has described his journeys down the Thames to London: 'Quotiens nauigabamus per Tamesum [sic] cum episcopo Lundoniam, ubi uentum est ad piscosas fauces, quo angustior unda uiolentiori impetu exestuat, tunc clamore naute quasi pro uita certabant. Alii longis cordis per ripas trahebant, alii curtis uel crebris remorum ictibus cum unda pugnantes nauim impellebant, quia, si brachia remisissent nec uiriliter egissent, uis fluminis repulsam nauim in

consort Ædith—the illustrious mistress whom we chiefly serve in this present account—and display with all the power and understanding we have, and with the aid of God's grace and favour, with what zeal they showed their devout faith in the church of Christ.

Outside the walls of London, upon the River Thames, stood a monastery dedicated to St Peter, but insignificant in buildings and numbers, for under the abbot only a small community of monks served Christ.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the endowments from the faithful were slender, and provided no more than their daily bread. The king, therefore, being devoted to God, gave his attention to that place, for it both lay hard by the famous and rich town and also was a delightful spot, surrounded with fertile lands and green fields and near the main channel of the river, which bore abundant merchandise of wares of every kind for sale from the whole world to the town on its banks.<sup>2</sup> And, especially because of his love of the Prince of the Apostles, whom he worshipped with uncommon and special love, he decided to have his burial place there. Accordingly he ordered that out of the tithes of all his revenues should be started the building of a noble edifice, worthy of the Prince of the Apostles; so that, after the transient journey of this life, God would look kindly upon him, both for the sake of his goodness

profundum precipitasset' (*Liber confort.*, p. 49). He has also described London and Westminster in his *Vita S. Wlslini*, 'in principali Anglorum urbe Londonia est generatus, que insigni fluuio Tamesio irrigua amplitudine sua et opulencia transmarina gencium suscepit commercia. . . . Lucet sub ipsius menibus urbis celestis clauigeri templum regio opere et opibus nunc magnificum, quod Anglica lingua ab occidentali hora uocatur Westmonasterium' (c. i).

prediorum<sup>1</sup> et ornamentorum quibus eundem locum disponit nobilitare. Ad regis itaque preceptum opus nobiliter ceptum feliciter preparatur, nec impensa siue impendenda pensantur, dummodo deo et beato Petro dignum et acceptum probetur.<sup>2</sup> Principalis arę domus altissimis erecta fornicibus quadrato opere parique commissura circumuoluitur<sup>3</sup>; ambitus autem ipsius edis dupplici lapidum arcu ex utroque latere hinc et inde fortiter solidata operis compage clauditur.<sup>4</sup> Porro crux templi<sup>5</sup> quę medium canentium deo chorum ambiret, et sui gemina hinc et inde sustentatione medię turris celsum apicem fulciret, humili primum et robusta fornice simpliciter surgit, *cocleis* multipliciter ex arte *ascendentibus*<sup>6</sup> plurimis tumescit, deinde uero simplici muro usque ad tectum ligneum

<sup>1</sup> For Westminster's claims based on this alleged gift, see Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 289-94, 326, 540, and for Edward's writs in favour of Westminster, *ibid.* pp. 294-337. It is possible that the monastery manufactured charters later because the untimely death of the king had defrauded them of authentic instruments. For similar behaviour at Durham, see F. Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars* (1950), pp. 1-8; and cf. G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset* (1956), Appendix iv.

<sup>2</sup> The following architectural description has been variously translated and explained. For a discussion of some earlier interpretations and a new exposition, with plans, see W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey re-examined* (1925), pp. 3-19. For a better plan of the nave, see Laurence E. Tanner and A. W. Clapham, 'Recent discoveries in the Nave of Westminster Abbey,' *Archæologia*, LXXXIII (1933), pp. 227-36. It is generally accepted that the model for Westminster was the church of Notre-Dame, Jumièges, consecrated in 1067, most of which was built by Edward's friend, Robert Champart, who was buried in the presbytery. In 1927 Georges Lanfry discovered by excavation that the presbytery of two bays, terminated by an apse, was surrounded by an ambulatory (like Mont St-Michel, Rouen cathedral, and Fécamp), a discovery which is disturbing for Armitage Robinson's and Lethaby's views on Westminster's east-end, and affects the interpretation of this description. For Lanfry's views, see 'Fouilles et découvertes à Jumièges: le déambulatoire de l'église romaine,' *Bulletin Monumental*, LXXXVII (1928), pp. 107-37, and *L'abbaye de Jumièges, Plans et documents* (Rouen, 1954). For Edward's 'church-wright,' Teinfrith, see Harmer, *Writs*, p. 573.

<sup>3</sup> Or, 'The house of the high altar.' The space under the tower, according to Lethaby (pp. 10-11), who insists that the lantern was the

and because of the gift of lands<sup>1</sup> and ornaments with which he intended to ennoble the place. And so the building, nobly begun at the king's command, was successfully made ready; and there was no weighing of the costs, past or future, so long as it proved worthy of, and acceptable to, God and St Peter.<sup>2</sup> The princely house of the altar, noble with its most lofty vaulting, is surrounded by dressed stone evenly jointed.<sup>3</sup> Also the passage round that temple is enclosed on both sides by a double arching of stone with the joints of the structure strongly consolidated on this side and that.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the crossing of the church,<sup>5</sup> which is to hold in its midst the choir of God's choristers, and to uphold with like support from either side the high apex of the central tower, rises simply at first with a low and sturdy vault, swells with many a stair spiralling<sup>6</sup> up in artistic profusion, but then with a plain wall climbs to the wooden

dominating feature of such churches. The eastern limb—the two-bayed presbytery and apse—according to J. Armitage Robinson, 'The Church of Edward the Confessor at Westminster,' *Archæologia*, LXII (1910), pp. 81-100. But it is possible that the passage refers to the whole lofty interior of the church, which at Jumièges was not perceptibly broken by the crossing of the transept. The ashlar used at Westminster was Reigate stone (Tanner and Clapham, *op. cit.* p. 234).

<sup>4</sup> The aisles of the presbytery (Lethaby); the nave (Armitage Robinson). But possibly the aisles of the nave and the ambulatory, which at Jumièges formed a continuous and unbroken passage all round the church. Excavations at Westminster have shown that the nave-arcading was supported, as at Jumièges, by alternating compound and simple piers, forming six double bays (two longer than Jumièges). See Tanner and Clapham, *op. cit.* Hence the 'double arches' of the text may describe this arrangement. Or it is possible that they refer to the vaulting of the aisles supporting the triforium gallery. It is less likely that they allude to the triforium openings, which are so large and impressive at Jumièges.

<sup>5</sup> The transept under the lantern. The 'low and sturdy vault' must refer to the arches (continuing the line of the nave-arcading) and vaults which supported the triforium galleries across and over the transepts (as at Jumièges and the first cathedral at Bayeux) and which lay directly beneath the great north and south arches of the tower.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 3 Kings 6:8 (Vulg.).

plumbo diligenter tectum peruenit. Subter uero et supra disposite educuntur domicilia, memoriis apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum, ac uirginum consecranda per sua altaria.<sup>1</sup> Hec autem multiplicitas tam uasti operis tanto spatio ab oriente ordita<sup>a</sup> est ueteris templi, ne scilicet interim inibi commorantes f. 49<sup>v</sup> fratres uacarent a seruitio | Christi, ut etiam aliqua pars spatiosae subiret interiendi uestibuli.<sup>2</sup>

Vt<sup>b</sup> uero solus rex non operaretur, ad emulationem eiusdem deo acceptę intentionis thori eius consocia<sup>c</sup> probabilis<sup>d</sup> regina pertrahitur. Prosequitur et ipsa e uestigio affectum regis affectu suo, deuotionemque cordis sui in sancta ecclesia probat et ipsa in suę educationis loco. Wiltuni enim tunc temporis licet cenobium esset ancillarum Christi, chorus<sup>e</sup> quoque non minus antiquitatis ueteris,<sup>f</sup> ibique competenter locata ueneraretur eius equiuoca sancta Ædith, de cuius progenie idem rex Ædwardus descenderat,<sup>3</sup> lignea tamen adhuc illic ecclesia stabat.<sup>4</sup> Nullum siquidem

<sup>a</sup> orditum MS

<sup>d</sup> ? space for one word, MS

<sup>b</sup> At MS

<sup>e</sup> chorus MS

<sup>c</sup> consocia MS

<sup>f</sup> ueteri (rhyming) MS

<sup>1</sup> At Jumièges the triforium gallery, which ran all round the church above the aisles and ambulatory, also covered the transepts, thus providing a floor space of some magnitude with adequate room for many chapels. Armitage Robinson has identified some of the Westminster altars and has suggested their location; but since he posited five apses and no ambulatory (against the three apses and ambulatory of Jumièges) his sitings must be received with caution. They are as follows: St Mary in one of the north apses, St Paul in the north gallery, the main altar of St Peter, St Nicholas in the apse of the south aisle, St Benedict in the south transeptal apse, Holy Trinity unlocated, and Holy Cross in the nave (op. cit. pp. 88-92). For Edward's gifts of relics, see *Flete's History of Westminster*, ed. J. Armitage Robinson (1909), pp. 68-73.

<sup>2</sup> Lethaby suggests that this may refer not to a western porch, but to the nave (p. 15), which otherwise, according to his interpretation, finds no mention. In any case, he points out, in a monastic church the nave was unimportant (p. 13). Laurence E. Tanner supports this view with hesitation (op. cit. pp. 229-30). The interpretation is favoured especially by

roof which is carefully covered with lead. Above and below are built out chapels methodically arranged, which are to be consecrated through their altars to the memory of apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the whole complex of this enormous building was started so far to the East of the old church that the brethren dwelling there should not have to cease from Christ's service and also that a sufficiently spacious vestibule<sup>2</sup> might be placed between them.

But so that the king should not labour alone, the queen, his worthy spouse, was drawn to emulate that project of his, so pleasing to God. She instantly imitated the king's love with her own, and demonstrated her own heart's devotion for the holy church in the place of her up-bringing. For at Wilton at that time, although there was a convent of the handmaidens of Christ, a choir, too, of the greatest antiquity, and her namesake saint, adequately housed, was worshipped there—Ædith, from whose stock King Edward himself was descended<sup>3</sup>—the church was still of wood.<sup>4</sup> And she judged no place

those who believe that Edward left the church unfinished. It should be noticed, however, that Jumièges has a most important western porch flanked with towers. It may be, of course, that, in characteristic English fashion, the original intention was simply to add a second church to the existing one. Cf. P. Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (1959), pp. 148-50, where a plan of St Augustine's, Canterbury, with its three churches, is given.

<sup>3</sup> For Wilton and St Edith, see below, pp. 94 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In his *Vita S. Edithę* (pp. 86-7), Goscelin gives a careful description of the oratory which Edith built in 984 adjacent to the abbey church, and which, he says, was still there at the time of writing: 'quam de lignea quidem materia construxit, sed instar operosi atque formosi templi produxit. Trina porticu in crucis scemate ampliavit, fundamenta lapidibus firmavit, desuper postes et parietes erexit, totos equinis coriis obduxit, totam regiam tabulatis desuper cameravit, totam uero basilicam, tam solaria quam parietes omnicolore pictura per manum artificiosi Benne decoravit, passionis dominice monumenta, ut in corde depinxerat, imaginata exposuit.'

locum magis estimavit meritum deuotionis suę labore et studio, quam eum quem meminit elaborasse in sui documento, et ibi<sup>a</sup> potissimum eas uirtutes add[id]icit, per quas ut Anglorum regina fieret idonea inueniri meruit. Nusquam quoque credidit elemosinam magis iri saluam, quam ubi infirmus sexus et minus in edificiis efficax altius penuriarum sentit angustiam, et minus per se ad hanc proficit pellendam. Quod clementius intendens per se, utpote qui<sup>b</sup> per spiritum dei misericordię uisceribus affluebat, hic regio opere lapideum monasterium inchoat,<sup>1</sup> feruentiusque instans operarios maturat. Contendunt hinc rex illinc regina contentione deo grata, in inuicem quoque non iniocunda; sed hoc tanto citius ad perfectum surrexit, quanto a sapiente regina moderatius ceptum. Nulla enim mora huic perficiendo innectitur,<sup>2</sup> sed breui elabente annorum curriculo omnibus tanto operi necessariis et condecantibus regio simul decore et honore nobiliter consummatur. Ad cuius dedicationem propere agendam moras non patitur benedicta uirago<sup>3</sup>; uerum ad hanc celebritatem die statuto, premonitoque ad hoc opus Herimanno, eiusdem dioceseos clarissimo et competenter erudito pontifice,<sup>4</sup> sumtus qui necessarii essent parat intentissime, cum ecce *diabolus inuidus*, persecutor totius uoluntatis bone,<sup>5</sup> ne ad perfectum prodiret quod bene tractatum est conatur perturbare. Nam breui

<sup>a</sup> ? corrected from, and amend to ubi

<sup>b</sup> ? amend to que

<sup>1</sup> In his *Vita S. Edithę* (pp. 300–01), Goscelin relates a miracle which happened during the re-building, about midsummer: 'Accidit autem ut in edificatione ecclesie, que in honore Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi eiusque sacratissime genitricis et prefate uirginis Edithę construebatur, a dispensatore ministeriorum et procuratore domus inter operarios qui portandis preerant lapidibus deputaretur [Sericus, mutus et elinguis].'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, iv, 51, Statius, *Thebaid*, v, 743.

more deserving her devoted labour and zeal than that which, she recalled, had taken pains with her education, and where above all she had learned those virtues which deservedly made her seem suitable to become queen of the English. Also, nowhere did she believe alms better bestowed than where the weaker sex, less skilled in building, more deeply felt the pinch of poverty, and was less able by its own efforts to drive it away. Benignly she planned this herself, as one abounding in the bowels of mercy through the Holy Spirit, and began here royally to build a monastery in stone.<sup>1</sup> Impetuously she urged the workmen to make haste. Thus here the king and there the queen strove in a contest which was pleasing to God and not disagreeable to them. But the prudent queen's building, because it was more modestly planned, was completed more quickly. No delays she wove for this undertaking<sup>2</sup>; and when a few years had slipped by it was finished nobly with all things necessary to, and becoming, such a work and also royal honour and glory. In having a speedy dedication performed the woman blessed by God<sup>3</sup> would suffer no delay. Indeed, she warned in advance Herman, the famous and well-educated bishop of the diocese,<sup>4</sup> for this task, and prepared most earnestly all the things that would be required on the appointed day for the ceremony. When lo! 'the envious devil, the enemy of all good intentions,'<sup>5</sup> sought to upset what had been well done so that it should not come to completion. For, a short time before the

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 'deuota uirago,' applied to the mother of a dumb girl, Goscelin, *Liber de mirac. S. Augustini*, p. 532; 'prudens uirago' = 'matrona honesta,' *ibid.* p. 541.

<sup>4</sup> For Herman, see above, pp. xlv ff.

<sup>5</sup> An unidentified quotation; cf. *S. Henrici uita*, auct. anon., *MPL*, cxi, col. 121, and Berno abbas Augensis, *Vita S. Vdalrici*, *MPL*, cxlii, col. 1193.

ante constitutum diem tempore flammis predicto inicit oppido, et quicquid parati illic erat cum omnibus pene domibus preter illud templum uasto concrematum est incendio. Sed hæc diabolica illusio non terruit mentem fidelis femine, nec retraxit ab ea quam intenderat sacri propositi perfectione. Acceleratis uero aliis amplioris opulentię sumptibus, cum magna episcoporum, abbatum, monachorum, clericorumque multitudine, ceterorumque fidelium concursu<sup>1</sup> dedicationis f. 50 celebritatem perficit | deuotius, nouamque dei sponsam munerat nouis et regia celsitudine condignis largitionibus. Et quoniam idem monasterium amenum occupat locum, in eius deo dedicata celebritate nouę dei nupte cum musica symphoniarum melodia typicum concinamus epitalam[i]um.

Inclita mater, aue, prolem paritura beatam,  
quam dum concipies, nulla maculabere culpa,  
in cuius partu nullum patiere dolorem,  
nec numero rara merebis de genitura,  
intereatue tuo quisquam de uentre creatus<sup>a</sup>;  
sed iungere tuo per federa casta marito,  
eterno sociata deo complexibus almis;  
cuius fusa tua sata celica germen in aluo  
uiuificante suo reddunt de flamine sancto;  
nec partu maris letabere siue puellę,  
sed centum prolis<sup>b</sup> cunis circumdata mille,  
non quorum fletu tribulentur uiscera matris,  
sed quibus angelicas clare modulantibus odas  
uel pulsu citharę toto resonabis in orbe.

<sup>a</sup> creatam *MS*

<sup>b</sup> pl'is *MS*; populis *L*

<sup>1</sup> Goscelin was at this ceremony with Eve, see below, p. 98.

appointed day, he set fire to the town, and all that had been prepared there, together with almost all the houses, except for this church, was burned in one vast conflagration. But this diabolical mockery did not affright this faithful woman's mind, nor did it deter her from completing the divine project she had planned. She made haste with other preparations of even greater splendour, and, with a multitude of bishops, abbots, monks, and clerks and a concourse of all the faithful,<sup>1</sup> she devoutly performed the ceremony of dedication, then bestowed on the new bride of God new gifts worthy of her royal highness. And since that monastery is sited in a charming spot, let us sing together with musical melody and harmony a metaphorical epithalamium on the occasion of the dedication ceremony of this new bride of God.

Hail, peerless mother, blessed babes to bear,  
Conceived immaculate from any sin,  
And at whose bringing-forth you'll feel no pangs.  
Nor will you grieve at scanty progeny,  
Nor will one fashioned in your womb expire:  
But you will make chaste marriage vows, and lie  
In the sweet arms of everlasting God;  
Whose heavenly seed, in your womb cast, returns  
A crop from his life-giving Holy Ghost.  
Nor will you joy in man child or in girl:  
But surrounded by a hundred thousand cots,  
With babes not rending mother's heart with tears,  
But singing clear angelic odes or with  
The harp, you will resound throughout the world.

Tum<sup>a</sup> pro defectu non sollicitabere lactis,  
 nempe dator uitę diues genitor deus ipse  
 de celis escas pluēt, hos ut in ęthere pascas.  
 Nec te de numero tedet, uexantue labores,  
 sed magis exoptas tot iugiter his super addi.  
 Tempore nec tardo tardam profers genituram,  
 decursis longo tot mensibus ordine pigris.  
 Cotidie potius celebras natalia multa,  
 certe cara tuo, quia sic fecunda, marito.  
 Sed nec tot natis habitacula tot uariabis,  
 ne[c] cogere pati caros a te segregari;  
 sed magis in lata fulchris renitentibus aula  
 te coram melius discumbet leta iuuentus,  
 quam speciosa tuę reseras hęc claustra tabernę.<sup>1</sup>  
 Hęc desiderat omnis homo conamine toto; |

f. 50<sup>v</sup> huc est carnis iter, huc, cordis amor, pie tendis,  
 in te letari cupiens uitaque potiri.  
 Hic passer mitis querit sibi tecta quietis,  
 turtur item modicis nidos parat anxia pullis.  
 O deus eterne, felices terque quaterque  
 qui resident parte per celsa palatia uite.  
 Vir felix ille, cui preueniet fauor abs te.  
 Hic bene dispositis gradibus de ualle doloris,  
 tendit ad alta Syon regemque uidere supremum;  
 presta[t] hic una dies mundanis mille diebus;  
 hisque manens domibus cunctis habitantibus unus  
 diuitias regum spernit per secla potentum;  
 quod qui presidet his, clemens iustusque probatur,  
 datque suis sanctis totam summam pietatis,  
 insontesque bonis summi non priuat honoris  
 uirtutum deus, in quo speret quisque beatus.

<sup>a</sup> Cum MS

Nor will you fear for lack of milk, for life's  
 Rich giver, Father God himself, will rain  
 Manna from heav'n, that you may feed them there.  
 Nor do the numbers tire or labours vex:  
 You long, indeed, for ever-growing brood.  
 Nor in slow time do you produce slow birth  
 By ordered lapse of those long, lazy months:  
 Loved by your spouse for your fecundity,  
 Each day you celebrate the many births.  
 Nor will you take a new abode for each,  
 Nor drive your darlings into banishment:  
 But rather let the happy children rest  
 In the great shining pillared hall with you  
 Than ope the lovely doorways of your inn.<sup>1</sup>  
 All men long for these things with all their might.  
 O loving heart, here is the way of flesh,  
 The goal, the joy, the mastery of life.  
 Here the sparrow finds a house of gentle rest,  
 And the coy swallow nests its scanty young.  
 O blessed, blessed men, eternal God,  
 Who dwell in these high courts of life anew.  
 And blessed that man whom your love prevents.  
 Here where the steps from Sorrow's Vale are laid  
 He mounts to Sion and the sovran king.  
 Here one day far excels a thousand on the earth;  
 Here one man dwelling in a common house  
 Contemns the wealth and secular power of kings;  
 For this lord is both merciful and just.  
 He gives his saints all grace, nor will withhold  
 From those who walk uprightly their reward,  
 The God of Hosts, in whom the blessed trust.

<sup>1</sup> The rest is a paraphrase of Ps. 83, from *taberna* (= *tabernacula tua*).

## [cap. vii]

Acta ergo huius ecclesie consecratione, in beati monachorum patris et institutoris Benedicti honore, anno domini millesimo sexagesimo quinto, ad iustitiam totius patrie hec regni subsecuta est perturbatio.<sup>1</sup> Erat eodem tempore supradictus dux aquilonalium Anglorum Tostinus in curia regis,<sup>2</sup> diutiusque comoratus est cum eo eius detentus amore et iussis in disponendis regalis palatii negotiis,<sup>3</sup> cum interea quorundam nobilium factione quos ob nequicias suas graui presserat dominatus sui iugo, coniurant in inuicem in eius preiudicio.<sup>4</sup> Nec mora; domum eius inuadunt, milites eius, qui ex inproviso aufugere nequeunt, interficiunt,<sup>5</sup> postremo omnia que eius erant igne et ferro in deuastatione[m] redigunt. Utque effere temeritatis haberent auctoritatem, caput sibi et dominum faciunt ducis Alfgari filium iuniorem, eiusque fratrem natu maiorem ad hanc societatem dementie sue inuitant, quod inter eos regie stirpis pueros et eundem ducem Tostinum ex ueteri simultate odia<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> odio MS

<sup>1</sup> For the Northumbrian revolt, see *FNC*, II, pp. 481–501 and Appendix HH; Plummer, p. 252; B. Wilkinson, 'Northumbrian separatism in 1065 and 1066,' *BjRL*, xxiii (1939), p. 504.

<sup>2</sup> At Britford (*ASC* C 1065), which, together with the woodland, was royal demesne (DB, *VCH Wilts*, II, p. 116). Edward and his court had been at Windsor on 15 August, 'Heremanni archidiaconi miracula S. Eadmundi,' Liebermann, *Ungedruckte*, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> Copsig, whom William I appointed earl in 1072, was Tostig's deputy (Symeon, *HDE*, I, p. 97). If we can trust the witness lists of 'royal' charters as a reliable guide to the composition of the royal court (but see my review of T. J. Oleson's *The witenagemot in the Reign of Edward the Confessor in Journal of Eccles. Hist.*, VII (1956), pp. 86–7), the great earls spent much of their time out of their earldoms.

<sup>4</sup> After Michaelmas (*ASC* C 1065), 3 October (Florence, I, p. 223, who

## [Chapter vii]

The consecration of this church in honour of St Benedict, the father and instructor of monks, performed in the year 1065, was followed, to the distress of the whole country, by a disturbance in the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> At this time the earl of the Northern Angles, whom we have often mentioned, Tostig, was at the king's court<sup>2</sup>; and he stayed with him for some time, detained by his love of the king and while he dealt with some palace business which had been put on him.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, a party of nobles, whom he had repressed with the heavy yoke of his rule because of their misdeeds, conspired among themselves against him.<sup>4</sup> Without delay they broke into his house, killed those of his knights who were surprised and could not get away,<sup>5</sup> and finally with fire and sword laid waste all his possessions. To give them authority for their savage rashness, they made the younger son of Earl Ælfgar their leader and lord, and invited his elder brother to join their mad conspiracy, for there was ill-will from long-standing rivalry between these boys of

gives the fullest account). According to *ASC*, Tostig was charged with robbing churches, robbing men of life and lands, and acting against the law. Florence specifies a great tax that he had unlawfully laid on the whole of Northumbria, and his treacherous murder of two thegns, Gamel son of Orm and Ulf son of Dolfin. He adds that the queen had had a thegn, Gospatric, murdered at court the previous Christmas in Tostig's interest. There was an Orm son of Gamel who married the sister of Earl Siward's wife, and Dolfin and Gospatrics occur in several branches of the Northumbrian nobility (cf. above, p. 36, n. 1). It is quite clear that Tostig had become involved in feuds.

<sup>5</sup> Florence (I, p. 223) names two of Tostig's Danish housecarles who were killed. The total number of the victims from his household is put at 200. The rebels also seized the earl's treasure.



f. 51<sup>1</sup> erant.<sup>1</sup> Nullus ergo modus fit in occasione<sup>a</sup> ; rapitur hic et ille ad necem etiam pro familiari odio | cuiusque. Quemcunque odio sui ascripserat quivis eius contubernii, aut manifesta uiolentia aut ex insidiis iubetur interfici. Fit cedes multorum in Eboraca uel Lincolnia ciuitate, in plateis, in aquis, in siluis, et in uiis. Quicunque poterat notari quod de eius aliquando fuerit curia, ad necis cruciatum trahitur absque controuersia. Et quę tam diu in tranquillitate pacis quieuerat clarissimi ducis rigore et iusticia, in familiare sui excidium uersa est tota illa regio paucorum nobilium malitia. Nam antequam idem dux eiusdem regionis ducatu ex dono regis potiretur, licet antecessor eius dux Siwardus ex feritate iudicii ualde timeretur, tamen tanta gentis illius crudelitas et dei<sup>b</sup> incultus habebatur, ut uix triginta uel uiginti in uno comitatu possent ire, quin aut interficerentur aut depredarentur ab insidiantium latronum multitudine. Quos pacis deifice filius et amator eximius dux adeo illo adtenuauerat tempore, patriam scilicet purgando talium cruciatu uel nece, et nulli quantumlibet nobili parcendo qui in hoc deprehensus esset crimine, ut quivis solus etiam cum quauis possessione ad uotum possent commeari, absque alicuius hostilitatis formidine. Eiecto autem eo, ad

<sup>a</sup> ? *amend* to hac occasione or occisione

<sup>b</sup> ? *i* erased, MS

<sup>1</sup> Tostig's promotion to the earldom of Northumbria after Siward's death in 1055 is connected in all the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles chronologically, if not causally, with Earl Ælfgar's outlawry for 'treason.' It is, therefore, possible that Ælfgar coveted this promotion, although his father, Leofric, earl of Mercia, was close to death. See also above, p. 33, n. 2. It is likely, too, that the Mercian family opposed this encirclement of their territory by Godwin's sons, and that Ælfgar suffered for his opposition. Ælfgar disappears from the records after 1062, but the date of his death or of the succession of his son Eadwine to the earldom is unknown. Harold and Tostig were campaigning in Wales in 1062-3, which suggests that they were administering Mercia. Eadwine's younger brother, Morkere, was

royal stock and Earl Tostig.<sup>1</sup> Therefore no bounds were kept in this opportunity. This man and that were hurried to death even for someone's private grudge. Whomsoever any of that band had put down as a personal enemy was ordered to be killed either by open force or in ambush. Many were slaughtered in the cities of York and Lincoln, in the streets, on water, in woods, and on roads. Whosoever could be identified as having been at some time a member of Tostig's court was dragged to the torments of death without debate. And all that region, which had for so long rested in the quietness of peace through the strength and justice of the famous earl, by the wickedness of a few nobles was turned upside down for his own personal undoing. For before Tostig had become earl of this region by the king's gift, although his predecessor, Earl Siward, was greatly feared for the severity of his justice, such, however, was the cruelty of that people and their neglect of God that even parties of twenty or thirty men could scarcely travel without being either killed or robbed by the multitude of robbers in wait. But this distinguished earl, a son and lover of divine peace, had in his time so reduced the number of robbers and cleared the country of them by mutilating or killing them and by sparing no-one, however noble, who was caught in this crime, that any man, even with any of his goods, could travel at will even alone without fear of attack. But when Tostig was driven out, they

still without a portion in 1065. Harold seems to have been less involved in the feud. He married their sister, Edith, the widow of Gruffydd of Gwynedd, possibly in 1066. It should be noticed that the rebels did not rise in favour of Waltheof, Siward's son, evidence that Siward had been no more popular than Tostig. It is also remarkable, in view of what is usually held about Northumbrian 'separatism,' that the rebels chose as leader a Mercian with no apparent connexion with their earldom, despite his Scandinavian name.



f. 51<sup>v</sup>

uomitum reuersi sunt ueteris malitię, amissoque freno discipline, furorem adoriuntur maioris insanie. Nam conglomerati in infinitum numerum,<sup>1</sup> more turbinis seu tempestatis, hostili expeditione perueniunt ad Axoneuorde opidum, satis scilicet peruagati ultra medie Anglie terminum. Rex uero Eadwardus, uir deo dignus, putans indomitum uulgus solita sedare sapientia, pia per legatos illis mittit mandamina, ut scilicet quiescerent ab incepta dementia, et ius legemque reciperent de omni quam in eum demonstrare possent iniuria.<sup>2</sup> Deo itaque regique suo rebelles, spreta pietatis legatione, remandant regi aut eundem ducem suum citius a se et a toto Anglie<sup>a</sup> regno amitteret, aut eos in commune hostes hostis ipse haberet. Cumque benignissimus rex item et tercio missis legationibus eos ab insana intentione diuerso consiliorum conatu amouere temptaret, nec perficeret, a siluestribus locis, ubi more suo causa assidue uenationis morabatur, secessit | ad Bretheuorde regium uicum, oppidoque regio Wiltuni proximum. Accitisque undique regni primatibus, habebat ibi consilium quid super tali negotio esset opus. Culpabant nonnulli eundem gloriosum ducem nimie feritatis, et magis [quam] amore iustitie inquietos punisse arguebatur cupiditate<sup>b</sup> inuadende eorum facultatis.<sup>3</sup> Dice-

<sup>a</sup> Anglice MS; or read Anglico. Twenty-four lines below, Anglice has been corrected to Anglie

<sup>b</sup> cupiditati MS

<sup>1</sup> According to Florence (I, p. 223; and see Plummer, p. 252), there were about two hundred knights, under leaders whom he names, gathered (according to ASC) from both Northumberland and Yorkshire.

<sup>2</sup> Meetings were held at Northampton and Oxford, round 28 October (ASC; Florence, I, p. 223).

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 50, n. 4. It was a common charge. Cf. William of Poitiers, 'Specie uindicandi reatus auaritiam plerumque uelat regnans iniquitas, supplicio addicit innocentem, ut possessionem addicti rapiat' (II, c. 33). For Tostig's severity to malefactors, see 'Historia transla-

turned to the vomit of their old wickedness, and, with the rein of discipline loosened, they started on the fury of even greater madness. For they gathered together in an immense body,<sup>1</sup> like a whirlwind or tempest, and, having passed some distance beyond the boundary of the Middle Angles, they came in hostile array to Oxford town. King Edward, a man worthy of God, thinking to appease the untamed mob with his usual wisdom, sent them through messengers goodly orders, that is to say, to desist from the madness they had begun and receive right and justice for every injury which they could prove against him.<sup>2</sup> But those in revolt against their God and king rejected the conciliatory message, and replied to the king that either he should straightway dismiss that earl of his from his person and the whole kingdom, or he himself would be treated as an enemy and have all them as enemies. And when the most gracious king had a second and third time through messengers and by every kind of effort of his counsellors tried to turn them from their mad purpose, and failed, he moved from the forests, in which he was as usual staying for the sake of regular hunting, to Britford, a royal manor near the royal town of Wilton. And when he had summoned the magnates from all over the kingdom, he took counsel there on what was to be done in this business. Not a few charged that glorious earl with being too cruel; and he was accused of punishing disturbers more for desire of their property which would be confiscated than for love of justice.<sup>3</sup> It

tionum S. Cuthberti,' chap. v, in *Symeonis Dunelmensis opera et collectanea*, ed. Hodgson Hinde, Surtees Soc., LI (1868), pp. 168-70. Freeman, *NC*, II, p. 493, n. 1, writes, 'I suppose I have caught the meaning of this stiff bit of Latin.' For the word *facultas*, which is used by Osbert (below, p. 73), see Eric John, *Land Tenure in Early England* (Leicester 1960), pp. 12-14.

batur quoque, si dignum esset credere, fratris sui Haroldi insidioso, quod absit, suasu hanc dementiam contra ducem suum aggressos esse; sed ego huic detestabili nequitie a tanto principe in fratrem suum non audeo nec uellem fidem adhibere. Ipse tamen dux Tostinus, coram rege eiusque frequentibus palatinis publice testatus, hoc illi imposuit, sed ille citius ad sacramenta nimis, proh dolor, prodigus,<sup>1</sup> hoc obiectum sacramentis purgavit. Multotiens ergo a rege per legatos consulti, cum non adquiescerent, sed potius incepta dementia amplius furerent, ferro disponit eorum contumacem proteruiam compescere, commotis regali edicto uniuersis totius reliquiis Anglię. Sed quia ex asperiori hieme iam tunc aeris incumbibat inequalitas, tum non facile erat ad contrariam expeditione[m] sufficientes educere exercituum copias, et quia in eadem gente horrebat quasi bellum ciuile, instabant quidam feruentem regis animum sedare, et ne expeditio procederet suadere. Obluctatique diutius regem proficisci uolentem non tam auertunt, quam eo inuito perperam deficiunt.<sup>2</sup> Quo dolore decidens in morbum, ab ea die usque in diem mortis sue egrum trahebat animum. Contestatusque deum cum graui merore, ipsi conquestus est quod suorum debito destitueretur obauditu ad comprimendam iniquorum superbiam, deque super eos imprecatus est uindictam.

At regina, quę hinc dissidio confundebatur fratrum,

<sup>1</sup> This phrase is usually regarded as a covert reference to the oath at Bayeux. But it should also be taken as a general observation: Harold, unlike Tostig, had the 'smoothness' of their father.

<sup>2</sup> The author is on the side of Tostig. According to *ASC DE*, Edward at his capitulation renewed for the Northumbrians the law of Cnut. R. H. C. Davis, 'East Anglia and the Danelaw,' *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser., v (1955), p. 38, has suggested that the Danelaw was an administrative area created by

was also said, if it be worthy of credence, that they had undertaken this madness against their earl at the artful persuasion of his brother, Earl Harold (which heaven forbid!). But I dare not and would not believe that such a prince was guilty of this detestable wickedness against his brother. Earl Tostig himself, however, publicly testifying before the king and his assembled courtiers, charged him with this; but Harold, rather too generous with oaths (alas!),<sup>1</sup> cleared this charge too with oaths.

When the rebels, after many negotiations with the king through messengers, would not agree, but rather raged more furiously in their mad purpose, Edward stirred up the whole population of the rest of England by a royal edict and decided to crush their impudent contumacy by force. But because changeable weather was already setting in from hard winter, and it was not easy to raise a sufficient number of troops for a counter offensive, and because in that race horror was felt at what seemed civil war, some strove to calm the raging spirit of the king and urged that the attack should not be mounted. And after they had struggled for a long time, they did not so much divert the king from his desire to march as wrongfully and against his will desert him.<sup>2</sup> Sorrowing at this, he fell ill, and from that day until the day of his death he bore a sickness of the mind. He protested to God with deep sorrow, and complained to Him, that he was deprived of the due obedience of his men in repressing the presumption of the unrighteous; and he called down God's vengeance upon them.

The queen was, on the one hand, confounded by the

Cnut. Tostig may have been guilty of introducing West-Saxon law (cf. above, p. 50, n. 4).

f. 52 illinc regis mariti impotentia destituebatur, cum consilio, quo potissimum ex dei gratia eminebat si audiretur, non proficeret, lacrimis suis presagia futurorum malorum plenius edocebat, quibus inconsolabiliter fuis totum palatium in luctum deciderat. Irruentibus enim ante id aliquibus aduersis, ipsa presidio adesse solebat, quę et aduersa cuncta efficaci consilio depelleret, et regem eiusque frequentelam serenaret. Nunc uero peccatis exigentibus re in contrarium lapsa, ex uisis presentibus quique futura colligebant mala.<sup>1</sup> At deo dilectus rex cum ducem suum tutare non posset, gratia sua multipliciter donatum merens nimium quod in hanc impotentiam deciderit, a se dimisit.<sup>2</sup> Qui breui post tempore merentem matrem<sup>3</sup> et quosdam amicorum affectus,<sup>4</sup> cum coniuge et lactentibus liberis<sup>4</sup> plurimaque nobilium suorum manu transfretauit, et ad antiquum Anglice gentis amicum comitem Balduuinum<sup>5</sup> peruenit. Huius eximii principis fides et potentia tunc temporis pensabatur precipua supra omnes qui principari uidebantur in Francia. Quę attentius in eo expertus rex Francorum Henricus, eius consilio et uiribus attriuerat rebelles suos quosque in finibus suis. Obiens autem tenerioris etatule filios suos ei nutriendos reliquit, regnumque Francorum, dum illi in uiros adoluerent, in eius tutela commisit.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ? *amend to amplexus or affectu amplexus*

<sup>1</sup> Note the start of the prophesying.

<sup>2</sup> After 1 November (Florence, I, p. 224).

<sup>3</sup> As the text stands, the passage would mean, 'Tostig together with his wife and infant children and a goodly company of his thegns carried across the Channel his sorrowing mother and some of his dearest friends.' But no other writer mentions Gytha's departure; and a textual emendation appears generally desirable. Gytha was at Exeter in 1068 (*ASC D* 1067). For her later history, see *FNC*, iv, pp. 158-60, 756.

quarrel of her brothers and, on the other, bereft of all support by the powerlessness of her husband, the king. And when her counsels came to nought—and by God's grace she shone above all in counsel if she were heard—she plainly showed her foreboding of future evils by her tears. And when she wept inconsolably, the whole palace went into mourning. For when misfortunes had attacked them in the past, she had always stood as a defence, and had both repelled all the hostile forces with her powerful counsels and also cheered the king and his retinue. Now, however, when, owing to sin, things had turned against them, all men deduced future disasters from the signs of the present.<sup>1</sup> But the king, the beloved of God, when he could not save his earl, graciously heaped on him many gifts and then let him depart,<sup>2</sup> profoundly distressed at the powerlessness that had come upon him. And a short time after, Tostig took leave of his sorrowing mother<sup>3</sup> and some of his friends, and with his wife and infant children<sup>4</sup> and a goodly company of his thegns crossed the Channel and came to that old friend of the English people, Count Baldwin.<sup>5</sup> The loyalty and power of this famous prince were considered at this time superior to all those who were rated as princes in Francia. Henry king of the Franks had thoroughly tested these qualities, and with his advice and strength had worn down all the rebels in his kingdom. When Henry died he left to him his children of tender age to bring up, and put in his charge, until they should grow to manhood, the kingdom of the Franks.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> If Tostig and Judith were married in 1051, there seems some exaggeration here. <sup>5</sup> A phrase used before (above, p. 22).

<sup>6</sup> Henry I died 4 August 1060. His elder son, Philip I, who had been crowned 23 May 1059, was at most eight years old.

Quod tunc temporis tanta curabat diligentia, ut res monarchię suę affligeret, illis ex suo sumptus amministrans regali affluentia. Susceptum ergo sororis sue maritum honorifice et gratanter more suo, iussit morari et quiescere a tot laboribus in castro<sup>a</sup> quod ex nomine beati Audomari inibi principaliter quiescentis nuncupatur,<sup>1</sup> quod precipuis diebus sollempnis eius curia ibi conueniat, Brittannieque oceanum permensis primum occurrat. Hic ergo ei et domum et mansionem dedit, redditus eiusdem castri ad uictus necessaria ei in manus posuit, suoque loco et uice presidentis seruituti quosque militares eidem oppido adiacentes adesse precepit. Contigit hoc ante ipsum domini natale paucis diebus, cum mox intra ipsos natalicios dies idem deo carus rex Ædwardus ex contracta animi egritudine languescens obiit quidem mundo, sed feliciter assumptus est uicturus cum deo.

<sup>a</sup> castra *MS*

<sup>1</sup> So *ASC C* 1065; Florence, I, p. 224. Cf. the description of Cnut's visit to St Omer, *Enc. Emmae*, p. 36.

Baldwin then looked after this with such care that he harmed the affairs of his own principality, and maintained the children out of his own pocket with royal profusion. He received the husband of his sister honourably and graciously, as was his wont, and bade him dwell and rest from his labours in a town which is named after the famous St Omer who lies honourably within,<sup>1</sup> because it was there that his solemn court met on special days and it was the first place met by those who have crossed the British ocean. Thus he gave him there both a house and an estate, and put in his hands the revenues of the town for his maintenance; and he ordered all the knights who were attached to that place to be at the service of Tostig, his deputy commander. This happened a few days before Christmas; and soon, within the festal days, King Edward, the beloved of God, languishing from the sickness of soul he had contracted, died indeed to the world, but was joyfully taken up to live with God.

[Poeta]

Quid, rogo, quid scribis tot circumsepta [sepulchris],<sup>a</sup>  
 celsa Clio, regum saucia morte ducum? <sup>1</sup>

Quo sunt tot promissa michi tua ditia rerum  
 ordine? Nempe operis omne decus periit.

Quicquid ad ornatum calami collegimus ambo,  
 dispersit nobis fraus inimica nimis. |

f. 52<sup>v</sup> [E]heu quid dices? Vix sane decentia uerba  
 repperies, arto<sup>b</sup> undique septa loco.

Dictabas pueros, regum de stirpe decenter  
 moribus instructos, omne boni specimen

et columen regni studio creuisse uirili,  
 Elisii quattuor fluminibus similes <sup>2</sup>;

et nunc Thebaidos <sup>3</sup> fedo sub scemate carmen  
 hoc opus horrenti discipulo retegis.

Rebar principium<sup>c</sup> lepidum deducere textum  
 de nimio caris corde meo dominis;

nunc hostile nefas in fratrum uiscera torrens  
 confundit letam carminis historiam;

Emathium furiis ciuili<sup>d</sup> peste regressum—  
 heu germana nimis pectora dura—tulit.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *L supplies tenebris; sepulchris or sepultis preserve better the assonance and alliteration* <sup>b</sup> *arta MS* <sup>c</sup> *? despite the rhyme, amend to principio*

<sup>d</sup> *iuriis ciuile MS*

<sup>1</sup> King Edward; Harold Hardrada, an Irish king, and Tostig at Stamfordbridge; Harold, Gyrth, and Leofwine at Hastings.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 4, 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Thebaidis* is the title of Statius' epic.

[EDWARD'S RELIGIOUS LIFE]

[Poet]

Amid the many graves, hurt by the death  
 Of kings,<sup>1</sup> what, Clio, are you writing now?  
 Where are the riches that you pledged to me?  
 For all the value of the work is lost.  
 Unfriendly guile has scattered all those gems  
 That we two gathered to adorn our pen.  
 Alas! What will you say? You will not find,  
 Hemmed in so tightly, the appropriate words.  
 You told us that those boys of royal blood,  
 Formed in good manners, grew to virtue's mould  
 And, with their manhood zeal, the kingdom's prop,  
 Like to the four Elysian streams.<sup>2</sup> And now  
 You show your shrinking pupil that his work  
 Becomes a Theban song <sup>3</sup> with horrid form.  
 I thought at first to make a pretty piece  
 About my lords so dear unto my heart.  
 But now the hate which sears the brothers' flesh  
 Confounds the joyful progress of the song;  
 With raging civil war Thessalian change  
 It got.<sup>4</sup> Alas, those brothers' hearts too hard!

<sup>4</sup> A reference to the battles of Pharsalia (in which Caesar defeated his kinsman Pompey) and Philippi (in which Octavian and Anthony defeated Brutus and Cassius). There are many echoes of Lucan here; cf. especially 'Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos . . . canimus' (I, 1-2) and 'sed retro tua fata tulit par omnibus annis/Emathiae funesta dies' (VII, 426-7).

Nec paradysiacos uirtutum cursibus amnes,  
 infernale chaos sed magis hic memoras.  
 Vsque sub extremum deuoti codicis unguem  
 rebamur sanctam dicere progeniem;  
 nunc, ut prisca canunt,<sup>1</sup> fetē telluris in aluo  
 dentibus<sup>a</sup> insertis prodiit horrida stirps,  
 nata neci subite; grauis et—proh!—portio<sup>b</sup> dira,  
 nobis inuisa!—proh dolor!—id tamen est.<sup>2</sup>  
 Quis canet<sup>c</sup> occiduos modulator in orbe Brittannos,  
 gentem Caucaseis rupibus ingenitam,<sup>3</sup>  
 indomitam fortemque nimis regnante Griphino,  
 nec iam contentam finibus occiduis?  
 Vltra sed sceleris cursum tulit arma Syuerne,<sup>d</sup>  
 uimque eius regnum pertulit Angligenum,  
 donec preclari meritis [et]<sup>e</sup> nomine regis  
 Ædwardi iussis erubuit sceleris,<sup>4</sup>  
 cum uolucres Angli sub Haroldo preside iuncti  
 Tostini cuneis agminibusque citis<sup>f</sup>  
 tunc usque inpauido terrore[m] milite multo |  
 f. 53 flammis et ferro cominus incutiunt.  
 Qui licet in precio uarię probitatis auitam  
 prodiderit famam militię celebris,  
 his tamen est ueritus conferre manum nimis impar  
 congressu,<sup>5</sup> longe abdita queque petens.  
 Gnarus inaccessis scrobibus se credere miles,  
 tutius hostiles inuolet unde acies,  
 saltibus et scopulis fretus regione maligna,  
 sic uexat longa lite duces geminos;

<sup>a</sup> Gentibus MS      <sup>b</sup> proportio MS      <sup>c</sup> canit MS

<sup>d</sup> A more natural word-order would be obtained by amending to cursu and Syuernem.      <sup>e</sup> [in] L      <sup>f</sup> scitis MS

<sup>1</sup> ? Ovid, *Met.* III, 100–30.

<sup>2</sup> Luard (p. 425, n. 2), writes, 'Of the meaning of the two previous lines . . . I have no idea.'

Not here of Eden's streams with flows of strength,  
 But of hell's Chaos you remind. We thought  
 To the last page of this devoted book  
 To tell of blessed progeny. But now,  
 As ancients sang,<sup>1</sup> teeth put in fertile earth's  
 Recess produce a horrid people, born  
 To sudden death, a heavy and dire lot,  
 A curse to us; and yet, alas, 'tis so! <sup>2</sup>  
 What tumid bard will Western Britons praise,  
 A race bred in Caucasian rocks,<sup>3</sup> untamed,  
 And very strong when Gruffydd was their king,  
 And discontented with the western bounds?  
 He carried wrongful war across the Severn,  
 And England's realm endured his hostile blow,  
 Until King Edward, marked by worth and fame,  
 Compelled him to regret the crime.<sup>4</sup> For when  
 The English hastening under Harold joined  
 Fast columns and platoons of Tostig's men  
 They terrified the foe, till then so bold,  
 With close attack in strength, with fire and sword.  
 And though with many virtues he displayed  
 Th'ancestral glory of his chivalry,  
 Gruffydd, unequal to this fight,<sup>5</sup> did fear  
 T'engage with these, and sought remote retreats.  
 Inured to lurk in distant dikes, from which  
 He can with safety fly upon the foe,  
 Exploiting barren lands with woods and rocks,  
 He galls the brother earls with drawn-out war.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Aeneid*, IV, 366–7.

<sup>2</sup> For the campaigns of 1062–3, see J. E. Lloyd, 'Wales and the coming of the Normans, 1039–93,' *Cymmrodorion* (1899–1900), pp. 134–8, and *A history of Wales*, pp. 369–73.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Aeneid*, I, 475.

qui non expertes rationis in ambigua re  
 uno profligunt interitu patriam.  
 Diruitur inimica domus, redimita suppellex  
 diripitur, prede regia pompa patet.  
 Hinc reduces Angli clara cum laude triumphi  
 sub tantis ducibus hoc retulere decus.  
 Nam fractis ratibus, quarum par non fuit usus  
 huius uel regnum<sup>a</sup> oceanique ducum,  
 proram cum puppi, pondus graue scilicet auri,  
 artificum studio fusile multiplici,  
 Ædwardo regi donant sua signa trophei,  
 direptas gazas nobiliumque uades.<sup>1</sup>  
 Quis canet equoreo uastum feruore tumentem  
 Humbram<sup>2</sup> congressum<sup>b</sup> regibus equiuocis<sup>3</sup>  
 sanguine barbarico per milia multa marinos  
 tinxisse<sup>c</sup> fluctus flente polo facinus?<sup>4</sup>  
 Quis demens scribet? quo mens languescit et horret  
 auditus, tanti<sup>d</sup> fama pudet sceleris.  
 Et cui nunc scribam? Regine quippe sorori  
 non placet hec talis pagina plena necis.<sup>5</sup>  
 Eheu quid dicam cunctis desertus amicis,  
 ut uacuo solus domate pellicanus?<sup>6</sup>  
 Proscribam tabulas et te quecumque magistra  
 a puero nobis sumpsimus auxilio. |

<sup>a</sup> If regnum is the correct reading, it must be used in the sense of regimen

<sup>b</sup> ? amend to congressis      <sup>c</sup> Cinxisse MS      <sup>d</sup> ? amend to tantum

<sup>1</sup> 'and his (Gruffydd's) head was brought to Earl Harold, and Harold brought it to the king, and the figurehead of his ship and the ornaments with it' (ASC D 1063; cf. Florence, I, pp. 221-2).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 'Humbram uastissimum fluuium,' Goscelin, *Vita S. Augustini*, col. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 46, 'equiuoca sancta'; 'priori aequiuoco,' Goscelin, *Vita S. Yvonis*, col. 86; 'uicina sua conmater aequali generositate et opulentia clara sibi aequiuoca, nam utrique nomen erat Eudochia,' Goscelin, *Liber de mirac. S. Augustini*, p. 542; 'coepiscopus atque equiuocus,' Goscelin, *Vita S. Wlani*, c. x.

And these, resourceful in a doubtful case,  
 Throw down the country in one general ruin.  
 The enemy's house is sacked, the girded chests  
 Are broached, and royal pomp exposed to loot.  
 In blaze of glory, ably led, the men  
 Return, and bring back this fine ornament:  
 They smashed a fleet—for Welsh control and lore  
 Was not the equal of the Ocean's chiefs—  
 And take a prow and stern of solid gold,  
 Cast by the smiths' assiduous skill, and this,  
 With looted treasures and the hostages,  
 As proof of victory they give their king.<sup>1</sup>  
 And who will write that Humber, vast<sup>2</sup> and swoll'n  
 With raging seas, where namesake<sup>3</sup> kings had fought,  
 Has dyed the ocean waves for miles around  
 With Viking gore, while Heaven mourns the crime?<sup>4</sup>  
 What madman write of this, at which the mind  
 Grows faint and ears are shocked? Report feels shame  
 At such a crime. For whom shall I write now?  
 This murderous page will hardly please the queen  
 Their sister.<sup>5</sup> Reft of friends, a lonely pelican  
 Without a home,<sup>6</sup> alas, what shall I say?  
 The tablets I'll renounce, and all that help  
 I've gained from childhood from your tutelage.

<sup>1</sup> Tostig and Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, entered the Humber, sailed up the Ouse, and landed at Riccal. Earls Eadwine and Morkere gave battle on the north bank of the Ouse (Gate Fulford) on 20 September. Many Englishmen were drowned. On 25 September Harold king of England defeated the Norwegians at Stamford Bridge, on the River Derwent, near their ships (Florence, I, pp. 225-6; cf. ASC). According to a poor and confused tradition Earl Gyrth was with Harold at the latter battle (*The foundation of Waltham Abbey*, ed. W. Stubbs (Oxford 1861), p. 25).

<sup>5</sup> The author of the *Enc. Emmae* cuts his narrative short in one place to avoid hurting his patron (p. 44).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ps. 101: 7-8 (Vulg.).

f. 53<sup>v</sup>

Musa

Hic meror ratione caret, dementia mentem  
 impedit, et luctus nescit habere modum.  
 Te propius nostris admouit nostra papillis  
 delectum pietas, amplius ut biberes,  
 altius et saperes non a ratione dolere,  
 sed pressus nostro uincere consilio.  
 Nempe manent quecumque tibi promissimus; ordo  
 euoluendus adhuc nobilior superest.<sup>1</sup>  
 Queque manent dicenda decent, et gloria rerum  
 est in preconio numinis etherei.  
 Si non describes<sup>a</sup> hostilia bella Griphini,  
 uel Ousam<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup> uetitum corporibus fluere,  
 scribes Ædwardum forma meriti[sque] decorum,  
 quę uiuens gessit, quę moriens retulit.  
 Scribes reginam primo tibi subuenientem,  
 et quicquid scribes, laus et honor sit ei.<sup>3</sup>  
 Eius honore fuit quod, quę supra titulantur,  
 dicere malebas, cumque uelit repetes.  
 Quod fratres eius uel ei uicina colebas  
 eius amore fuit, et bene promeruit.  
 Scribere ne cesses; leget atque relecta reuoluet,  
 in lepidis scriptis nec monitoris eget.  
 Grator est illi nec pagina codicis ulla,  
 Ædwardum quam quę continet eximium.<sup>4</sup>  
 Num meminis quod eum patrem tibi sepe loquendo

<sup>a</sup> describis MS<sup>b</sup> busam MS<sup>1</sup> This is not an allusion to the Norman Conquest, as some have thought, but to the signs of Edward's sanctity.<sup>2</sup> Although much has been made of the author's use of a Flemish word, *busa* (? a canal; but Freeman, *NC*, III, p. 728, translated it as busses, keels) (Luard, p. 427; H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie* (Leipzig 1899), p. 75, n. 4; Southern, *First Life*, p. 398, n. 1), it is a departure

Muse

This sadness lacks a reason, madness stops  
 The mind, and sorrow does not know its bounds.  
 We drew in mercy you, our dear-beloved,  
 Still closer to our breasts, that you might drink  
 More deeply, learn to grieve with temperance,  
 And, when oppressed, to conquer through our aid.  
 In fact, all that we promised you remains;  
 Ev'n nobler pages wait to be unrolled <sup>1</sup>;  
 The story's end is good; 'tis glorious  
 To herald a great spirit now in heaven.  
 If you will not describe King Gruffydd's wars  
 Or River Ouse <sup>2</sup> with corpses choked, you'll paint  
 King Edward fair in form and worth, what he  
 Did in his life and what when dying said.  
 You'll write of Edith who first aided you:  
 Let all you write be noble praise of her.<sup>3</sup>  
 It was to honour her you chose to write  
 The part above, and, since she wills, proceed.  
 It was through love of her you loved her kin  
 And all near her; and well she merited.  
 Write on, for she will read, re-read, and brood,  
 Nor need a prompter in your charming work.  
 No page of any book could please her more  
 Than one which tells of Edward's qualities.<sup>4</sup>  
 Do you forget that often when you talked

from his usually orthodox vocabulary. Bloch (*Osbert*, p. 41, n. 6) suggested that it might conceal a river name; and, indeed, it looks very like *Ousa*, which is acceptable on every count except that of metre. *Flumen* itself would suit; but its corruption seems unlikely.<sup>3</sup> Cf. above p. 2.<sup>4</sup> Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* VI, 11-12.



nuncupet, et natam quam pie se referat? <sup>1</sup>  
 Si tabulas nostras et cetera meque magistram  
 reicis inmeritam, hic tibi casus erit.  
 Nec iam repperies qui te totiens releuabit,  
 et tot dona feret, predia talia det.  
 Num recolis supra nostra suadentia dicta,<sup>a</sup>  
 'Ædwardi regis carmine primus eris'? <sup>2</sup>  
 Hic codex eius gestis describitur, illi  
 regineque die hunc<sup>b</sup> uoueo titulum.  
 Hic quibus hunc signis pietas manifesta tonantis |  
 f. 54 prodiderit uiuum carne sibi placitum,  
 e[t] quibus in tumulto pausantem uiuere celo  
 declarat fidei continuis precibus.  
 Mente serenata paulo plus incipe supra,<sup>3</sup>  
 officioque stili sane placebis ei.

## Poeta

Pareo suadenti, nimium sed corde dolenti,  
 tot tantisque miser orphanus a dominis.

Ergo <sup>4</sup> quoniam ad scribendum obitum eiusdem  
 gloriosi regis peruenimus, de superiori eius uita prius  
 aliqua succincte dicamus. Felicissime mentionis rex  
 Ædwardus ante natalis sui diem deo est electus, unde  
 ad regnum non tam ab hominibus quam, ut supra  
 diximus,<sup>5</sup> diuinitus est consecratus. Cuius consecra-  
 tionis dignitatem sancta conseruans castimonia, omnem

<sup>a</sup> The metre is wrong but the sense is sound

<sup>b</sup> ? amend to pie hunc or die hoc

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. lxxvi, n. 3; cf. also Ovid, *Met.* x, 468-9, 'Forsitan aetatis quoque nomine "filia" dixit, dixit et illa "pater," sceleri ne nomina desint.' It is possible that Edith's deferential deportment, whether individual or due to quasi-imperial etiquette, was interpreted too literally by the Anonymous.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 3.

She called him father and herself his child? <sup>1</sup>  
 If you reject our tablets, things, and me,  
 Your guiltless mistress, you will badly err.  
 Nor find so soon another who will cheer,  
 Bring gifts so many or grant lands like those.  
 Do you forget our suasive words above,  
 'You shall be first to sing King Edward's song'? <sup>2</sup>  
 This book is writ about his deeds; to him,  
 And goodly Edith I devote this part.  
 It tells with what clear signs God's goodness showed  
 That Edward when alive had pleased him well,  
 And that, when resting in the grave, he lived  
 In heaven with never-ceasing prayers of faith.  
 With mind grown calm, turn back and start again,<sup>3</sup>  
 And surely you will please with duteous pen.

## Poet

I yield to counsel, but with broken heart,  
 Sad and bereaved of all those famous lords.

And so,<sup>4</sup> as we got so far as to record the death of this  
 glorious king, let us first briefly say something about his  
 earlier life. King Edward of happy memory was chosen  
 by God before the day of his birth, and consequently  
 was consecrated to the kingdom less by men than, as we  
 have said before,<sup>5</sup> by heaven. He preserved with holy  
 chastity the dignity of his consecration, and lived his

<sup>3</sup> Although, in view of the first sentence of the next chapter, the phrase probably has this literal meaning, it could also mean 'begin on a slightly higher level.' Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* iv, 1; Wm. of Poitiers, i, c. 23 (p. 50).

<sup>4</sup> Osbert, c. xiii, pp. 92-3.

<sup>5</sup> Above, pp. 7-8. There is perhaps also an echo of the coronation *ordo* in the idea that the real elector was God. Cf. P. E. Schramm, *A history of the English Coronation*, pp. 148-9.

uitam agebat deo dicatam in uera innocentia.<sup>1</sup> Quam deus in holocaustum acceptionis approbans, ex affectu intimo eum fecit carum hominibus, et uenerabilem cum supernis ciuibus. Nam sicut bonis et idoneis uiris contestificantibus comperimus,<sup>2</sup> his in hac corruptibili uita signis glorificauit eum deus.<sup>3</sup> Iuuenula quedam<sup>4</sup> iam maritum sortita, sed nullo maritali fructu iocundata, patiebatur circa fauces et sub ipsis maxillis, quas ad similitudinem glandis nuncupant glandulas, quę ita totam faciem corruperant morbo et nimio fetore,<sup>5</sup> ut uix alicui loqueretur absque grandi confusione. Hęc sompnio edocetur, quia si a rege Æduardo aqua lauaretur, ab illa infestissima lue sanaretur. Ergo doctrinam sompni cum certitudine manifestat fidei, quo rex audito non dedignatur infirmo adesse sexui. Erat dulcissime mentis et cunctis poscentibus plurime affabilitatis. Allato aque uase rex manum intingit, porrectisque digitis faciem mulierculę et contacta morbo loca perungit; hocque agens frequentius iterat, interdum etiam cruce signat.<sup>6</sup> Et mirum in modum mira dicturo credite. Liniente rege

<sup>1</sup> Osbert's version: 'Dignitas uero tante consecrationis semper in dies capiebat augmentum, quam iugis castimonia comitabatur ad gloriam, ne per licitam quoque carnis copulam uerteret ad ruinam' (p. 93).

<sup>2</sup> Edith's miracles were attested by the abbess 'cum aliis idoneis testibus' (Goscelin, *Vita S. Edithe*, p. 37). As Dom Wilmart remarks, *ibid.* n., Goscelin is claiming to follow principally oral tradition.

<sup>3</sup> Goscelin, who related so many miracles, rarely commented on them. In his *Vita S. Werburgae* (col. 103), however, he wrote, 'Sed iam forsitan lectorem lassamus, dum miracula suspendimus. Maiora miraculis sunt merita, quibus ipsa sunt miracula: quia possunt esse perfecta merita absque signis, signa uero nichil sunt absque meritis.'

<sup>4</sup> Osbert, c. xiii; Wm. of Malmesbury, *GR*, para. 222.

<sup>5</sup> This disease was already known as the 'King's evil' in 1080, for Goscelin, in his *Vita S. Edithe*, pp. 294-5, tells of a miraculous cure by St Edith of Abbess Ælfgifu (1065-7), whose condition he describes as 'oculum dextrum regis morbo inflata, non solum de uisu, uerum etiam de uita

whole life dedicated to God in true innocence.<sup>1</sup> God approved this as an acceptable burnt offering, and with profound love made him dear to men and worshipful among the citizens of heaven. For, as we have learned from the joint testimony of good and fitting men,<sup>2</sup> God glorified him in this life of corruption by these signs.<sup>3</sup>

A certain young woman,<sup>4</sup> already provided with a husband, but gladdened with no fruit of the marriage, had an infection of the throat and of those parts under the jaw which, from their likeness to an acorn, are called glands. These had so disfigured her face with an evil smelling disease<sup>5</sup> that she could scarcely speak to anyone without great embarrassment. She was informed in a dream that if she were washed in water by King Edward she would be cured of this most troublesome pox. She then, with the certainty of faith, revealed the dream's instructions. And when the king heard of it, he did not disdain to help the weaker sex, for he had the sweetest nature, and was always charming to all suitors. A dish of water was brought; the king dipped in his hand; and with the tips of his fingers he anointed the face of the young woman and the places infected by the disease. He repeated this action several times, now and then making the sign of the cross.<sup>6</sup> And believe in wonder one about to relate wonders! Those diseased parts that had been treated by the smearing of

periclitabatur.' Wulfstan of Worcester cured a man suffering from *regium morbum* with water in which he had washed his hands after mass (*Vita Wulfstani*, p. 30).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Helgaud's description of the cure of a leper performed by Robert II of France, 'Tantum quippe gratiam in medendis corporibus perfecto uiro contulit diuina uirtus, ut, sua piissima manu infirmis locum tangens uulneris, et illis imprimens signum sanctae crucis, omnem auferret ab eis dolorem infirmitatis.' *Epitoma uitae regis Rotberti pii*, MPL, cxli, col. 931.

f. 54<sup>v</sup>

morbus medicatus a crusta mollescit et soluitur, ducen-  
teque manu e diuersis foraminibus uermes<sup>a</sup> plene cum  
sanie et sanguine egrediuntur. Item pius rex sancta  
infirmam muliere hunc pati fetorem, donec medicante  
manu omnem illam noxiam elicuit pestem. Iubet  
deinde eam cotidie regia stipe ali, donec integre  
restitueretur sanitati. Vix in curia perseptimanat, cum  
dei gratia deteresa omni obscenitate eam uenusto decore  
informat. Et quæ prius uel ob eandem uel aliam  
infirmam sterilis erat, eodem anno et marito fecunda  
extitit,<sup>1</sup> et deinceps uixit cunctis cohabitantibus non  
iniocunda. Quod licet nobis nouum uideatur, hoc  
eum in adolescentia cum esset in Neustria, quæ nunc  
Normannia nuncupatur, sepius egisse Franci testantur.<sup>2</sup>

Quidam etiam cecus<sup>3</sup> sompno<sup>b</sup> suum sibi asti-  
pulabatur,<sup>4</sup> quia si ex aqua qua rex manus abluisset  
ceca eius facies lauaretur, et cecitatem pelleret, et  
amissum lumen induceret. Quod ad aures eius a  
secretis ei famulantibus peruenit,<sup>5</sup> qui primo eis  
contradicens, et increpans quod hoc crederent uerum  
esse, instanter poscentibus ne dei resisteret uoluntati  
tandem placide assensit. Erat tunc, ut pro certo  
aiunt, dies uigiliarum celebritatis omnium sanctorum,

<sup>a</sup> uermibus *MS*; uermibus cum sanie profluentibus, *Wm. of Malmesbury*;  
glandule cum uermibus egrediuntur, *Osbert*

<sup>b</sup> altered from sompni, *MS*; ? understand sompno

<sup>1</sup> 'geminam prolem enixa,' *Wm. of Malmesbury* (*GR*, I, p. 273).

<sup>2</sup> *Wm. of Malmesbury* adds the important observation (*ibid.*), 'unde  
nostro tempore quidam falsam insumunt operam, qui asseuerant istius  
morbi curationem non ex sanctitate, sed ex regalis prosapiæ hereditate,  
fluxisse.'

<sup>3</sup> *Osbert*, c. xiv; *Wm. of Malmesbury*, *GR*, para. 223, but rather  
altered. Cf. the miracle performed by Robert II of France on Easter day  
at a banquet in his palace at Paris, Helgaud, *op. cit.* col. 915.

the king softened and separated from the skin; and,  
with the pressure of the hand, worms together with pus  
and blood came out of various holes. Again the good  
king kneaded with his holy hand and drew out the pus.  
Nor did he shrink from enduring the stench of the sick  
woman until with his healing hand he had brought out  
all that noxious disease. Then he ordered her to be fed  
daily at the royal expense until she should be fully  
restored to health. And hardly had she been at court a  
week, when, all foulness washed away, the grace of God  
moulded her with beauty. And she, who formerly  
through this or some other sickness had been barren, in  
that year became pregnant by the same husband,<sup>1</sup> and  
lived henceforth happily enough with all around her.  
Although this seems new and strange to us, the Franks  
aver that Edward had done this often as a youth when he  
was in Neustria, now known as Normandy.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise a certain blind man<sup>3</sup> was going about  
claiming<sup>4</sup> that he had been advised in sleep, that if his  
blind face were washed in the water with which the king  
rinsed his hands, he would both overcome the blindness  
and restore his lost sight. When Edward heard of this  
from his privy councillors,<sup>5</sup> at first he contradicted them  
and blamed them for believing it to be true. But when  
they demanded urgently that he should not resist God's  
will, at length he courteously agreed. It was then, as  
they say for certain, the day of the vigil of the festival of  
All Saints, when the king, having made his morning

<sup>4</sup> Eadmer supplies several examples of *astipulatio* in the sense of 'testi-  
mony' (cf. *Historia Nouorum*, pp. 74, 125). *Wm. of Malmesbury*, *GR*, I, p.  
273, reads, 'rumorem frequentem in curia seuerat [? asseuerabat].'

<sup>5</sup> 'cecus . . . ad cubicularios regis accessit,' *Osbert*, p. 94.

cum rex summo mane ablutus<sup>1</sup> intrauit oratorium, ministrique eius interim ex eadem aqua abluunt cecum, inducuntque<sup>a</sup> post regem in orationis domum. Egresso itaque rege post canonica officia ob uenerationem omnium sanctorum festiue decantata, renuntiatur ei a suis familiaribus qualiter uideret ille qui erat cecus. Intrat ergo pia curiositate ad eum in oratorio, accersitumque ad se interrogat utrum sic uideat. Ille ita esse dicebat, et deo gratias agebat. Vt autem columbine puritatis rex experiretur dictorum fidem, extendit manus sue uolam, et interrogat actus sui sententiam. 'Extendis,' inquit, 'domine mi rex, manum tuam.' Rursum rex indicem et medium digitorum bicorni forma in faciem illi inferens, interrogat quid faceret, et ille responso prosequitur quid uideret. Tercio quoque barbam manu comprehendens, item quid faceret consulit, et ille ut erat causa[m] inquisitam<sup>b</sup> respondit. Et tunc satis scrutatum putans, paulisper procedit oratum, genuque ter flexo ante altare deo gratias agit, eumque regia stipe suis commendat sustentandum quamdiu uelit. Hic diutius in eius commoratus curia, testimonio fuit uirtutis quam a dei accepit gloria. Eodem etiam modo cuidam Lincolnę ciuitatis<sup>2</sup> |

<sup>a</sup> word, ? ablutum, erased, MS; L. reads solum

<sup>b</sup> causam reserat inquisitam, Osbert; causa inquisita, Böhmer; cf. ad inquisita illorum respondendo, Berthold, Hermann contracti Vita, MPL, cxliii, col. 27; nedum ad inquisita daret responsum, Bernard, Miracula S. Fidis, MPL, cxli, col. 149

<sup>1</sup> 'diluculo' (at dawn), Osbert, p. 94, which may be correct, for the sun rises about 7 a.m. on 31 October. The king may have been to tierce at about 8. Cf. St Wulfstan: 'Crebro enim summo mane diurnis expeditis officiis, conspicuum se praebebat ante fores ecclesiae' and often remained until sext (midday) or vespers (about 3), Vita Wulfstani, p. 12. 'Tum quadam die summo mane cum, matutina synaxi celebrata . . .', Berthold, Hermann contracti Vita, MPL, cxliii, col. 29. After matins Abbot Herluin of Bec 'summo mane omnes diei horas coram se dici rogauit,' Vita Herluini,

ablutions,<sup>1</sup> entered the chapel. Meanwhile his servants washed the blind man with the same water, and conducted him after the king into the house of prayer. When the king left after the canonical offices had been solemnly sung in honour of all the saints, word was brought to him by his courtiers that he who was blind now saw. The king, therefore, with pious curiosity, came unto him in the chapel, and, calling him to him, inquired whether he could indeed see. This the man began to affirm and gave thanks to God. To test the truth of the words, however, the king, as pure as a dove, stretched forth the palm of his hand, and asked for an account of his action. 'You stretch out your hand, oh my lord king,' the man replied. Once more the king, sticking his forefinger and middle finger like a pair of horns before the man's face, asked what he did. And the man answered what he saw. Also, a third time, the king, grasping his beard in his hand, again asked what he did. And the man furnished correctly the information that was sought. Then the king considered that he had been sufficiently examined, and went forward for a little while to pray; and, having thrice bowed his knee before the altar, he gave thanks to God and entrusted the man to his servants to be maintained as long as he lived at the royal charge. The man lived for a long time at court, a witness to the virtue that he had received by the glory of God.

In the same way (it happened) to a certain man of the city of Lincoln<sup>2</sup>

J. Armitage Robinson, Gilbert Crispin abbot of Westminster (1911), p. 109. In Miracula S. Adalardi abb. Corbeiensis, II, c. v (MPL, cxlvii, col. 1076), 'summo diluculo' = 'summo mane' = 'matutinalis hora.'

<sup>2</sup> The MS is defective (see above, pp. xxxviii ff.). The gap can be filled from Osbert of Clare, Wm. of Malmesbury and Sulcard of Westminster (see above, pp. xxx ff.). Suspected additions to the source are in brackets.

(Osbert of Clare)

f. 148<sup>v</sup> xv. De altero ceco per aquam lauature eius sanato.<sup>1</sup>

Reuelatum est iterum certa uisione cuidam per tres annos penitus excecato et ex Linconie<sup>a</sup> urbis ciuibus trahenti<sup>b</sup> originem, quod apud sanctum dei Eadwardum sideris utriusque reperiret claritatem. Ex unda namque manibus regis infusa precipitur ablui, et sic demum pristine cecitatis caligine uacuari. Festinat ocius cecus ad curiam et quam<sup>c</sup> tempore diuturno non habuit a ministris regis sibi impertiri postulauit. Eodem igitur modo quo cecus superior facie lota, sospitati restituitur et pristine salutis innouata ei gloria restauratur. Adhuc usque in diem assertor permanet hodiernum, qui eum multo tempore prius cecum uidit et postea uidentem discussa caligine cognitum habuit. Sic Christus Iesus dei filius per christum suum operatur Eadwardum, sic gloriam miraculis adiecit miraculorum.

xvi. De ceco per x et ix annos tenebrato et ad tactum regis sanato.<sup>2</sup>

Honor eterni regis est de sancto rege Eadwardo festiua sollempniter opera cudere et ad dei laudem et gloriam eius gesta fideliter nouis titulis commendare. Vnde inter cetera materiae tela contextitur qua ad tanti regis amorem populus dei diuino igne succendatur. Rex igitur gloriosus apud Bruhellam<sup>3</sup> precepit construi regale palatium, hacque de causa ad siluam confluxit cum securibus copiosa multitudo rusticorum. Estiuum namque tempus instabat quo pastis uisceribus festinatur ad requiem et rursus post meridiem properatur acrius<sup>d</sup> ad laborem. Inter ceteros autem edificii regalis operarios adolescens, Wlwinus uocabulo, amisso uisu a sompno surrexit, qui a consumptione tritici 'Vastans annonam'<sup>4</sup> agnomen habuit; et x et nouem annis<sup>5</sup> in ipsa cecitate permansit. Aliquando dei super eum respexit miseratio, et qui tanto tempore caruit oculis, oculos recepit respectu superne uisitacionis. Adiit ergo quedam materfamilias hominem mirabili laborantem incommodo,

<sup>a</sup> altered from Linconie, MS<sup>b</sup> trahens MS<sup>c</sup> ? = claritatem; et a cubiculariis desideratum sibi munus et dari petiit et promeruit, Ailred<sup>d</sup> altered by expunction from alacrius, MS; alacriter, Ailred<sup>1</sup> Wm. of Malmesbury, GR, para. 223, reduces to one sentence.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. para. 224.<sup>3</sup> Brill, Bucks, on the royal demesne (VCH, Bucks, I, p. 239b), for the hunting in Bernwood Forest. Cf. the hunting lodge built by Earl Harold

(Osbert of Clare)

xv. About another blind man cured by the king's washing water.<sup>1</sup>

Again it was revealed by a sure vision to a man who had been completely blind for three years, and who sprang from the citizens of Lincoln town, that he would recover the sight of both eyes from St Edward. For he was ordered to be washed in the water poured on the king's hands, and so be freed at length from the darkness of his former blindness. The blind man hastened quickly to court, and asked the king's servants to grant him that which he had not had for a long time. And so, when his face had been washed in the same way as the previous blind man, he was restored to health, and the renewed glory of his former condition was given back to him. There still survives to this day a witness who saw him long ago as a blind man and afterwards knew him clear-sighted, with the darkness dispelled. Thus Jesus Christ, the son of God, works through Edward, his anointed, and thus adds glorious miracles to miracles.

xvi. About a blind man, sightless for nineteen years, and cured by the king's touch.<sup>2</sup>

We do honour to the eternal King religiously to compose joyful books about King Edward and, in God's praise and glory, faithfully commit his deeds to new writings. For from these, among other things, the web of the stuff is woven with which God's people may by the divine fire be kindled to love so great a king. The glorious king ordered a royal palace to be built at Brill,<sup>3</sup> whereupon a great crowd of rustics poured into the wood with axes. It was summer time, when men, after they have filled their bellies, are quick to rest, and then, in the afternoon, hasten back more eagerly to work. Among the other labourers on the royal building was a young man named Wulfwi, who, from his greediness for wheat, was surnamed 'Spillecorn.'<sup>4</sup> He rose from sleep having lost his sight, and remained blind for nineteen years.<sup>5</sup> At length God's mercy looked upon him, and he who had lacked sight for so long a time regained it through a heavenly visitation. A citizen's wife approached this

for Edward in 1065 at Portsuket in Wales (ASC CD 1065, Florence, I, pp. 222-3).

<sup>4</sup> 'Wulfwinus quidam, cognomento Spillecorn, filius Wulmari de Nutegaresheale' [? Lutegaresheale, Ludgarshall, 1½ m. N. by W. of Brill], Wm. of Malmesbury, GR, I, p. 273.<sup>5</sup> 'decem et septem annis,' ibid.

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et quod in uisu de eo didicerat sermonibus ei apertis explanat. 'Ad lxxx<sup>ta</sup>,'<sup>1</sup> inquit, 'ecclesias, dilectissime, nudis pedibus ibis laneis tantum circumdatus uestimentis; sicque in euacuatione cecitatis tuę sanctorum merita senties, quorum patrocinia fideliter exquires; specialiter tamen sancto regi Eadwardo hoc reseruatum est priuilegium, ut ablutio manuum suarum lumen tibi restituat oculorum tuorum.' Inpiger, his auditis, ecclesias totidem repetit. Ad ultimum causam suam cubiculariis regis ostendit. Distulerunt illi regem reppetere et necessitatem pauperis eius auribus intimare. *Pauper enim ubique iacet*,<sup>2</sup> et ubi pecuniarum deficiunt expense, nomen perire solet et fructus amicitie. Pulsabat tamen attentius ille qui mendicabat ad ostium clementie dei, ut per sanctum regem Eadwardum lumen reciperet oculorum. Victus tedio et importunitate ceci, cubicularius adit quamtocius principem, relatum ex ordine indicat uisionem. Rex ut adducatur imperat, suamque pauperi misericordiam deus ostendit. 'Dei genitrix,' inquit, 'domina mea et semper uirgo Maria testis assistat,<sup>3</sup> quod maxima michi exultatio proueniet si per me deus co[o]peratur in eo quod relata uisio docet.'<sup>3</sup> Liquido igitur rex<sup>4</sup> intinctis digitis elemento oculos excecatos misericorditer tetigit, cum protinus ubertim inter manus principis sanguis effluxit. De ceco autem factus incolumis exclamauit et ingenti gaudio exhyllaratus ait, 'Video, rex, serenam faciem tuam; uideo gratiosam uite personam; illuminauit me deus, et Eadwardus christus eius!' Quod uir dei factum considerans omnipotenti deo gratias retulit, per cuius misericordiam ceco serenitatis dies illuxit. Apud regale municipium, quod Windelesorias nuncupant, hoc actum contigit domino dispensante miraculum, sicut ei per uisionem femine ante fuerat reuelatum<sup>5</sup>: [quod rex gloriosus opidum beato Petro apostolo in Westmonasterio tradidit, et priuilegii sui libertate confirmauit.]<sup>6</sup> Homini

<sup>a</sup> astistat MS

<sup>1</sup> 'octoginta et septem ecclesias,' ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 218.

<sup>3</sup> 'Per dominam meam sanctam Mariam, multum grate feram si deus uoluerit per me misero misereri,' Wm. of Malmesbury. Osbert heightens this, owing to his interest in the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

<sup>4</sup> 'Itaque, quanquam nichil de miraculis audiret, coactus a ministris . . .,' Wm. of Malmesbury, *GR*, I, p. 274.

<sup>5</sup> Wm. of Malmesbury concludes, ibid. 'Ita uidens, regali palatio multis temporibus apud Windeleshores, nam ibi curatus fuerat, praeuit, sanatoris annos longaeuitate uitae transcendens.'

man who laboured under so wondrous a disability, and told him in clear words what she had learned about him in a vision. 'Dear man,' she said, 'visit eighty churches,<sup>1</sup> bare-footed and wearing only woollen clothes; and thus you will experience the merits of the saints, whose patronage you seek with faith, in the purging of your blindness; but the privilege is reserved specially to St Edward the king that the water in which he washes his hands should restore to you the light of your eyes.' No sluggard after hearing this, he visited that number of churches, and finally he put his case to the king's chamberlains. These made no haste to seek out the king and acquaint him with the poor man's requirements. 'For the poor man is always despised'<sup>2</sup>; and when money runs out the name and fruits of friendship are wont to perish. The mendicant, however, battered diligently at the door of God's mercy, in order to recover the sight of his eyes through St Edward the king. At length, worn out by the insistence of the blind man, a chamberlain went straight to the prince and related from beginning to end the vision which had been told him. The king ordered that he should be brought in, and God showed his mercy to the poor man. 'Mother of God,' said the king, 'my Lady and always virgin Mary, stand witness that I shall be exalted beyond measure if God should work through me that of which the vision told.'<sup>3</sup> Then the king<sup>4</sup> dipped his fingers in the liquid element and mercifully touched the sightless eyes. And lo! blood poured copiously through the hands of the prince. The man, cured of his blindness, cried out, and, filled with a great joy, exclaimed, 'I see, O king, your bright countenance. I see the gracious face of life. God has given me light, and Edward, his anointed.' The man of God, contemplating this deed, gave thanks to almighty God, by whose mercy a day of brightness had dawned for the blind man. This miracle was performed by the dispensation of the Lord, just as it had once been revealed to him by the woman's vision, at the royal town called Windsor.<sup>5</sup> [This town the glorious king granted to the blessed apostle Peter at Westminster, and confirmed it with his charter.]<sup>6</sup> To the blind man, miraculously made

<sup>6</sup> Westminster claimed that Windsor was among the estates given it by King Edward on the occasion of the dedication of the church (for refs., see above, p. 45, n. 1, especially, Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 326-7, 516-17). Osbert knew the forged charters purporting to warrant these grants, for he quotes from them, pp. 77-8.

uero celitus illuminato suum commisit principale palatium totius uite sue tempore deinceps custodiendum. [Hic usque ad tempora regis Willelmi, qui de Anglis in prelio uictor triumphauit, aulam Westmonasterii seruauit regiam; et qui per annos unum de xx<sup>ti</sup> cecus extiterat claro uidit intuitu usque ad mortem suam.]

xvii. De aqua regis manibus asportata<sup>a</sup> et clam cuidam subministrata.<sup>1</sup>

Adhuc maiora referenda sunt de uiro dei magnalia, que ad laudem eius et gloriam a recta fide nemo discretus existimabit aliena. Conspecto namque tanto quidam de palatinis miraculo, quo cecus a caligine per regem absoluitur, quod de lauaturę regis superest reliquiis religiose<sup>b</sup> nititur ut furetur. Asportata de foris aqua quatuor mendicos repperit quorum tres oculorum amissione grauati erant, quarto<sup>c</sup> uero unum tantummodo sidus illuxit. Vir autem palatinus eorum inde cecitatem fideliter abluuit, quibus in curia tanti principis vii<sup>tem</sup> amissa lumina dei uirtus restaurauit. Obstupescunt ex admiratione de facto, qui utrique interfuere miraculo. Magnum estimant quod per regem cernunt impletum, set maius pronunciant quod per manum alterius ex manuum suarum ablutione seruum suum deus glorificauit Eadwardum.

[xviii. De uisione que ei die sancto Pasche facta est celitus de sanctis vii dormientibus.<sup>2</sup>

f. 149<sup>v</sup> *Zelus domus dei*<sup>3</sup> gloriosi principis animum a secularium remouebat repressione curarum, ut liberius | diuinorum feruidus existeret indagator studiorum. Noxia quantum poterat reiciebat onera, et spiritualibus mens eius uigebat stipendiis occupata. Vnde *rex regum et dominus dominantium*<sup>4</sup> tantam ei dilectionem exhibuit, quod multa de secretis suis archana regi familiariter insinuauit. Accidit ergo in die resurrectionis dominice quod narro apud

<sup>a</sup> apposita MS    <sup>b</sup> religiose MS    <sup>c</sup> altered from quartum, MS

<sup>1</sup> Wm. of Malmesbury, *GR*, para. 224, reduces to one sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Wm. of Malmesbury, *GR*, para. 225. For this miracle, which was probably not in the original work, see above, pp. xxxviii ff. There is a considerable literature on the legend of the Seven Sleepers. See especially P. Michael Huber, *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern* (Leipzig 1910). For the controversy over the origin of the legend, see Paul Peeters, 'Le texte original de la Passion des Sept Dormants,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, xli (1923), pp. 369-85. The festival was observed in England on 27 July

to see, he entrusted the custody of his chief palace for the term of his whole life. [And this man kept the royal hall at Westminster up to the time of King William, who triumphed over the English in battle; and he, who had been blind for a score of years less one, saw with clear sight until his death.]

xvii. About the water for the king's hands which was carried away and secretly served to someone.<sup>1</sup>

Still greater marvels must be told about the man of God; and these things to his praise and glory no prudent man will consider alien to the true faith. When one of the courtiers had witnessed this great miracle, in which a blind man was freed from darkness by the king, he endeavoured reverently to steal what remained of the king's washing water. Having carried the water out of doors, he came upon four beggars, of whom three were burdened with the loss of their eyes, and on the fourth only one eye was bright. But the courtier, a man of faith, washed their blindness, and the power of God restored to them, in the court of the great king, the seven lost eyes. Those who were present at both these miracles stood amazed at the marvel of the event. What they had seen performed by the king they deemed great, but they pronounced it even greater that God had glorified his servant Edward through the hands of another man in the water in which he had washed his hands.

[xviii. About a vision sent from heaven on Easter day concerning the seven sleeping saints.<sup>2</sup>

The zeal of the house of God<sup>3</sup> freed this glorious prince's soul from the weight of worldly cares, so that he might more easily be an eager explorer of divine studies. As far as he could, he put off harmful tasks, and his mind thrived, busy with spiritual duties. Accordingly 'the King of kings and the Lord of lords'<sup>4</sup> showed him so much love that he intimately instilled in him many of his hidden secrets. The story I have to tell happened on the day of the Lord's

(*English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, ed. Francis Wormald, HBS, 1934, *passim*), and the legend was familiar. Ælfric's homily (*The homilies of Ælfric*, ed. B. Thorpe, Aelfric Soc., II, 1846, pp. 424-7) and passion (*Ælfric's Lives of the Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS, 76, pt. I, 1881, pp. 488-541) have survived.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. 68:10 (Vulg.).

<sup>4</sup> 1 Tim. 6:15.



Westmonasterium, in regali palatio. Egregius princeps diademate pariter ornatus et sceptro in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli mysteriis sanctis diuine seruitutis interfuit, quem paschalis agni uictima salutaris spiritualiter saciauit. Inde regressum maiestatis excepit regie domicilium, copiosamque pariter cum eo multitudinem uirorum qui dominice mense adorauerant mysteria et corporis christi ac sanguinis secum susceperant sacramenta. Cumque rex prediues in imperio, gloriosus in palatio, terribilis in regno, circumdatus sue militie optimatibus<sup>1</sup> incederet, et iam mensis regalibus sollempniter assedisset, uocem suam subito promouit in risu, ut ab omnibus patulo perciperetur auditu.<sup>2</sup> Quieuerunt cuncti silentio, nec cuiuspiam regem interrogatio mouit, nec questio super hoc aliqua pulsauit. Peractis autem tante sollempnitatis regalibus epulis, ut tante dignitatis exoneraretur ornamentis ingreditur princeps continuo thalamum, diadema pariter depositurus et sceptrum. Dux igitur Haroldus ei pre ceteris famil[iar]ior et ad interrogandum omnibus audacior, pontifice tantum comitatus et abbate, tali regem egregium alloquitur sedulitate: 'Mirati sunt hodie tuo qui interfuere conuiuio, quibus ualde uidetur insolitum quod omnes sensus anime tue excitati sunt adeo uehementer in risum. Intemperantem audiuius, quem nusquam hactenus sine temperantia experti fuimus.<sup>3</sup> Que igitur causa huiusmodi? Saltem edissere quid risisti. Non sine causa factum arguimus, quod in causam uenisse non ignoramus.' 'Ne turbemini,' rex ait, 'dilectissimi, quia mira uidi. Derisum quem inquiritis confictum fortuitu ne teneatis.' Instant heroes causam letitie postulantes, quia uidisse regem non dubitabant in spiritu, unde quoddam gaudium proferebatur in risu. Exponit tandem certius quod rogant audius et

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the story in the longer saga of Olaf Tryggvason that 'King Edward made it his custom to relate the saga of King Olaf Tryggvason to his great men and his bodyguard on the first day of Easter; and he chose that day rather than any other for the telling of the saga, saying that Olaf Tryggvason was superior to other kings as much as Easter day is superior to the other days of the whole year.' (C. E. Wright, *The Cultivation of Saga in A.S. England*, p. 67.)

<sup>2</sup> A similar incident forms the prelude to a miracle about Edward's vision of the death of Svein of Denmark by drowning, which Osbert had interpolated earlier (c. v, p. 75). Both are Westminster stories, and the opening words of the other should be compared: 'In die gloriose festiuitatis, quam in aduentu sancti spiritus missus de supernis serenauit ignis, rex insignis Eadwardus apud Westmonasterium in ecclesia beati Petri apostolorum principis agebat in sceptris; eoque totius Anglie duces confluxerant et

resurrection at Westminster in the royal palace. The excellent prince, arrayed in his crown and sceptre, was present in the church of St Peter the apostle at the holy mysteries of divine service, and partook spiritually of the life-saving victim of the paschal lamb. On his return, the household of his royal majesty welcomed him together with the great multitude of men who had worshipped the mysteries of the Lord's table and had taken with him the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. And when this king, exceeding rich in his empire, glorious in his palace, awesome in the kingdom, entered, surrounded by his most important knights,<sup>1</sup> and had already taken his seat with dignity at the royal tables, he suddenly burst into laughter which could be clearly heard by all.<sup>2</sup> Everyone fell silent; but no-one's questioning moved the king, nor did any enquiry about it affect him. When the ceremonial royal banquet was over, the prince went directly into his chamber to unburden himself of the ornaments of his great office and put off his crown and sceptre. Then Earl Harold, more intimate with him than the rest, and bolder at questioning than all, in the company only of a bishop and an abbot, spoke to the excellent king urgently: 'All those who were present today at your banquet were amazed, for it seemed most unusual to them that all the senses of your soul should have been provoked to such strong laughter. We heard one unrestrained whom hitherto we have never found intemperate.<sup>3</sup> What then is the cause of this? Tell us at least why you laughed. Not without cause we blame a deed which we know has caused controversy.' 'Be not troubled, dear ones,' the king said, 'for I have seen marvels. Do not think the laugh you are asking about was produced accidentally.' The illustrious men demanded urgently the cause of his delight, because they did not doubt that the king had seen in spirit something joyful which had caused his laughter. At length the prince answered

pontifices, sollempnitatem regiam uariis diuitiarum suarum delitiis in fimbriis aureis decorantes. Circa horam uero eandem qua salutaris uictima agni paschalis a populo percipitur, in cachinnum rex gloriosus erupit immoderatum. . . . The story of the solemn king who is forced to laugh is another theme entering the legend; cf. Huber, op. cit. pp. 134-5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, p. 73 and the words in the other miracle, 'Quia uero solide grauitatis idem princeps extiterat et in illo nulla inconstantia uel leuitas apparere consueuerat, post acta sollempnia a suis inquiritur que in risu significatio teneatur' (pp. 75-6). The king was less reticent on that occasion.



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ostendit eis princeps in specie quod tanta exultatio non proces-  
serat de mundi uanitate. 'Ducentos,' inquit 'et eo amplius  
pertransisse nouimus annos,<sup>1</sup> quod sancti vii dormientes apud  
Ephesum, in monte Celio<sup>2</sup> introeuntes speluncam, super dextrum  
latus quiescentes in pace, condignam meruerunt sepulturam.  
Veruntamen hodie, postquam cepimus epulari, super sinistrum  
latus mirum in modum sunt conuersi, et usque ad lxx iiiior annos<sup>3</sup>  
sic erunt assidue, ut interim non releuentur altera mutatione.  
Dirum enim omen mortalibus iminet, sicut in euangelio dominus  
docet. *Nam surget gens contra gentem, et regnum aduersus regnum, et  
terre motus magni erunt per loca, et pestilentie et famas terroresque de celo et  
signa magna erunt.*<sup>4</sup> Hec uero aliis lxx<sup>ta</sup> iiiior annis persistent  
incom[m]oda, quibus humano generi tantę clades imineant et  
oppressiones gentium mundum tormentis et ruinis affligant.  
Alternis uicibus gentiles catholici et christianos nichilominus per-  
sequentur christi nominis inimici.' Mirantur ista qui audiunt, et  
uehementer obstupescunt. Querunt<sup>5</sup> qui vii dormientes extiterint,  
quod genus, quos mores, quam natalem patriam, quamue tenue-  
rint professionem; quibus egregius dei famulus respondit  
Eadwardus, 'Temporibus Decii Cesaris<sup>6</sup> inhorruit procella per-  
secutionis. Hi uero vii uiri, apud Ephesum comprehensi, plurima  
pro Christo tormenta sunt perpassi. Sub monte tandem Celio  
ingressi sunt speluncam, quibus ministri imperiales lapidibus  
obstruxerunt hostium, ne liberum Christi testes haberent egressum.  
In cauerna autem illa dei sibi prouidentia preparata ducentis lxx  
iibus annis tamquam nocte una obdormierunt incolumes et adhuc  
requiescunt, eiusdem loci principatum suis exequiis dedicantes. Si  
nomina eorum desideratis agnoscere, iam certius potestis audire:  
Maximianus, Malcus, Martinianus, Dionisius, Iohannes, Serapion,  
et Constantinus. Hi sunt triumphatores egregii, hi Christi milites  
preciosi, quorum michi decus et formas ostendit et qualitates

<sup>1</sup> See Huber, op. cit. p. 102, for the various calculations of the period before the sleepers were discovered in the reign of Theodosius, who built a temple on the site to honour their resurrection. The period 'more than 200 years' represents one tradition; but the figure 272 (below) probably represents a harmonised version of the 372 of another tradition (cf. Ælfric's homily).

<sup>2</sup> *Χελαιον*. See Paul Peeters, op. cit. p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> The vision is said to have occurred in the year that Henry King of the Franks died (below, p. 70), i.e. 1060, on Easter Day (26 March). Seventy-four years takes us to 1134, the penultimate year of King Henry I. But as

properly what they asked so anxiously, and showed them in detail that his exceeding joy had not sprung from worldly vanity. He said, 'We know that more than two hundred years<sup>1</sup> passed before the seven sleeping saints at Ephesus, entering the cave on Mt Celius,<sup>2</sup> and resting in peace on their right sides, earned a worthy sepulchre. But today, after we started to dine, they turned in wonderful wise on to their left sides; and will continue thus for three score and fourteen years,<sup>3</sup> and get no ease from another change in the meanwhile. This dread omen is a threat to mankind, just as the Lord teaches in the gospel, for "Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines, and pestilences; and fearful sights and great signs shall there be from heaven."<sup>4</sup> These disasters will last for another three score and fourteen years, in which great calamities will threaten the human race and the violence of the nations afflict the world with torments and ruin. Turn by turn the Catholics will persecute the Gentiles and then the enemies of Christ's name the Christians.' His hearers wondered and were greatly amazed. They asked<sup>5</sup> who the seven sleepers were, and what origin, what customs, what native land, and what profession they had. To whom Edward, the excellent servant of God, replied, 'In the days of Decius Caesar<sup>6</sup> a storm of persecution broke. These seven men, arrested at Ephesus, endured many torments for Christ. At length they entered a cave under Mt Celius, and the servants of the emperor shut up the entrance with stones so that Christ's witnesses should not escape. In that cavern, prepared for them by God's providence, they slept unharmed for two hundred and seventy two years as though it were one night, and still rest there, consecrating the rule of that place to their relics. If you wish to know their names, you can have them even more exactly: Maximian, Malcus, Martinian, Denis, John, Serapion, and Constantine. These are the excellent victors, the precious soldiers of Christ, whose virtue has both shown me their appearance and revealed their qualities.'

the term is also given by Wm. of Malmesbury, who was writing in 1125, it can have no historical significance. Nor is the symbolism of the number apparent.

<sup>4</sup> Luke 21:10-11; cf. Matt. 24:7, Mark 13:8.

<sup>5</sup> This question and Edward's answer (i.e. the rest of the paragraph) do not appear in Wm. of Malmesbury.

<sup>6</sup> A.D. 249-251.

patefecit.' Retulit ergo rex singulas eorum et proprietates in uultu, et species discretas in habitu ac si semper eorum addictus fuisset consortio dum Cesari militarent in natali solo. Auditores autem huius nouitatis obstupescunt miraculo, nec de sanctitate uiri dubitant, de quo mirantur pariter et exultant. Patet lippis etiam hunc prophetie spiritum dītescere, quem in collegio sanctorum regum Daud, Ezechie et Iosie dignatus est numerare.

Accingitur unusquisque qui interfuit et legatos dirigere et rei geste ueritatem euidentius ind[ag]are<sup>1</sup>: episcopus clericum, abbas monachum, dux militie militem cum litteris dirigunt regis sigillo signatis. Erat eisdem diebus Maniches<sup>2</sup> Constantinopolitanę urbis administrans imperium, cui in longinquam regionem profecti Anglorum regis Eadwardi litteras detulere legati, in quibus vii dormientes ostendi suis nuntiis postulat, ut in dilectione et deuotione sanctorum fidem cordis ardentius figat. Imperator autem hospites de regnis tam longinquis aduentantes benigne suscipit, et supplicationes eorum et uota effectum copioso perficit. Ad urbem namque Ephesiorum suo transmittuntur imperio, ut peregrini in Grecia discerent si ea quę rex Eadwardus in Anglia predixerat a deo sibi reuelata constarent. Mittit ergo eos ad episcopum, mandans ut procedat ad monumenta sanctorum et nuntii secum conspiciant in integra carnis gloria quid expectare debeant in

<sup>1</sup> For the relations between Byzantium and the West in the early Middle Ages, see the papers of G. P. Bognetti, Franz Dölger, and R. S. Lopez, and the contributions of W. Ohnsorge and others, to the X Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche, Roma 4-11 Settembre 1955, *Relazioni*, III, pp. 3-163, *Atti*, pp. 287-94. For Anglo-Byzantine diplomatic relations, see R. S. Lopez, 'Le problème des relations Anglo-Byzantines du septième au dixième siècle,' *Byzantion*, XVIII (1948), pp. 139-62. There is no evidence for official contacts in the eleventh century. But the number of English pilgrims who went to Jerusalem, and who may have visited Constantinople, was not inconsiderable. Besides Earl Swegn and Bishop Ealdred, we notice Wythman, abbot of Ramsey, in 1020 (*Hist. Ramsey*, p. 124), Leofgyfa, who died on the way in Edward's reign (K. 808), and Ulf and his wife Madselin, who were about to set off in 1066-8 (D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, 1930, no. 39). One we know called at Constantinople. Æthelwine, monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, visited Jerusalem in Stigand's time (? 1055, for he met an imperial army in Lombardy), and returned by way of Constantinople (where he bought a splendid pall for St Dunstan), Apulia, Rome, and Lombardy (Eadmer, 'Mirac. S. Dunstani,' *Memorials of St Dunstan*, pp. 245-6). Thus it is easy to account for news about the Eastern Empire in England. After the Norman Conquest a number of English thegns joined the Varangian Regiment of the Imperial Guard or obtained other posts at court. See A. A. Vasiliev, 'The opening stage of the Anglo-Saxon

The king then described their individual features and their different clothes, as though he had been a member of their fellowship when they served in Caesar's army on their native soil. His hearers were amazed at the strangeness of this miracle; nor did they doubt the sanctity of this man, a thing for wonder and exultation. Even the blind could see that he was rich in the spirit of prophecy, and should be numbered with David, Hezekiah, and Josiah in the company of saintly kings.

Each man there undertook to send legates to investigate thoroughly the truth of the event.<sup>1</sup> The bishop sent a clerk, the abbot a monk, and the commander of the army a knight, with letters signed by the royal seal. In those days Maniches<sup>2</sup> governed the empire of Constantinople; and the legates, having travelled into distant parts, delivered to him the letters of Edward, king of the English, in which he asked that the seven sleepers should be shown to his messengers, so that he might direct the faith of his heart even more zealously to the love and devotion of those saints. The emperor received with kindness guests arriving from such distant kingdoms, and satisfied completely their petitions and desires. By his command they were dispatched to the town of the Ephesians, so that as pilgrims in Greece they could learn if those things, which King Edward had declared in England had been revealed to him by God, were in fact true. He sent them to the bishop, with orders that he should go to the tomb of the saints, and, with the legates, behold in the full glory of the flesh what they should hope for in the

immigration to Byzantium in the eleventh century,' *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov (Seminarium Kondakovianum)*, IX (Prague 1937), pp. 39-70. Goscelin tells us about the adventures of one of them, a man formerly connected with St Augustine's, in his *Liber de mirac. S. Augustini*, pp. 541-3. Then about 1090 Joseph, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, returned from Jerusalem by way of Constantinople, where, with the help of English friends resident in the city, he tried to obtain relics of St Andrew for Rochester (C. H. Haskins, 'A Canterbury monk at Constantinople,' *EHR*, XXV (1910), pp. 293-5). Hence new details could easily be added to old stories.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably George Maniaces, a famous soldier who rebelled in Italy in 1042 against Michael V and marched on Constantinople, but was defeated and killed in 1043. He was dead before Edward's coronation and was never in control of the Empire. His fame in Western Europe may be due to the fact that in his Sicilian campaign of 1038 he had the Varangian regiment under his command and the Norwegian Harold Fairhair distinguished himself.

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resurrectione futura. Paruit mansuetudo pontificis iussis imperatoris, et clero et populo comitantibus speluncam adiit, atque ubi vii dormientes quiescebant, cum aromatibus legatos introduxit. Angligene uero, uidentes signa et mirabilia domini, omnia in sanctis dei contemplabantur inditia que a sancto rege Eadwardo didicerant in terra sua. Beatos autem martires muneribus honorantes oblati, ad natalem cum prosperitate regressi sunt patriam nec uspiam in itinere perpassi sunt detrimentum aut ruinam. Ephesiorum uero ciues et cuncti prouinciam inhabitantes de collata celitus gratia letantur et deum collaudantes uehementer admirantur. Magnum quiddam fore suspicantur in munere quod ad mensam regi Lundonie residenti diuinitus est ostensum qualiter in spelunca montis Celii glorificata sint a Christo suorum corpora sanctorum. Huius rei testes facti sunt transmarini Saxones,<sup>1</sup> quos rex Eadwardus misit ut sanctos cernerent et reuertentes ad fines Anglię eorum gloriam predicarent; in quorum reditu tripudiant qui eos transmiserant regemque suum confitentur summo regi proximum, cuius dono gratie spiritum prophetię sibi sciunt attributum.

Imminent itaque iuxta regis uaticinium maxime pestes regnorum, et terrarum<sup>a</sup> principes experti sunt moriendo quod princeps Eadwardus protulit prophetando. Eodem namque Francorum rex anno Henricus obiit, cui filius eius puer Philippus in regno successit.<sup>2</sup> Hic dum phisicę artis quereretur in potione remedium, inreparabile uite sue incurrit detrimentum.<sup>3</sup> Decessit et ille augustus toto orbe laudabilis et uenerandus Cononis filius imperator Henricus,<sup>4</sup> qui sic [se] in armis et in probitate circumferebat militem ut etiam in liberalibus philosophię exercitiis non desereret uatem. Cui successit Henricus eiusdem Cesaris filius, probitate minor, uirtutibus inferior, cuius temporibus grauissimas perturbationes pertulit ecclesia et pestem sustinuit uastatricem ciuitas Romana. In septem namque annorum numero tres Romane pontifices obierunt ecclesie et sedem apostolicam alterno relique-

<sup>a</sup> punctuated after terrarum, MS

<sup>1</sup> The expression is not only characteristic of a foreigner but of one living on the Continent (cf. *ultramarini Saxones*, above, p. xlv). It suggests that there is a dislocation in the narrative.

<sup>2</sup> This event comes last in Wm. of Malmesbury's list of misfortunes, and is followed by an account of 'Halley's' comet and a prophecy of Ailmer, a monk of his monastery, who flew like Daedalus.

resurrection to come. The obliging bishop obeyed the imperial command, and with the clergy and people went to the cave, and took the legates in with spicery to where the seven sleepers were lying. The Englishmen, beholding the signs and marvels of the Lord, saw on the saints of God all the marks of which they had learned from St Edward the king in their own country. Honouring the blessed martyrs with gifts, they returned safely to their native land, without suffering any harm or disaster on the journey. The citizens of Ephesus and all the inhabitants of the province rejoiced at the favour bestowed on them from heaven, and, praising God, wondered exceedingly. They thought that they would receive a great reward, because at the table of a king staying in London it had by divine providence been shown how in a cave on Mt Celius the bodies of his saints were glorified by Christ. Witnesses of this event were the overseas Saxons,<sup>1</sup> whom King Edward sent to regard the saints, and, on their return to England, to proclaim their glory. Those who had sent them rejoiced at their return, and acknowledged their king to be close to the greatest King, through whose grace they knew the spirit of prophecy had been bestowed on him.

Thus, according to the king's prediction, disasters threaten mightily in the kingdoms; and the princes of the lands have proved by their deaths what Prince Edward declared in his prophecy. For in the same year died Henry king of the Franks, to whom his young son Philip succeeded as king.<sup>2</sup> He incurred incurable damage when he sought a remedy in a dose of medicine.<sup>3</sup> Also died the august, generally praised, and venerable emperor, Henry, the son of Conrad,<sup>4</sup> who not only soldiered in arms and goodness, but even in the liberal exercises of philosophy did not fail the poet. To him succeeded his son Henry, his inferior in goodness and virtue, in whose time the church endured the gravest disturbances and the city of Rome suffered a devastating plague. For in the span of seven years three pontiffs of the Roman church died and their

<sup>3</sup> Henry I died 4 April 1060. His death is mentioned in *ASC DE*.

<sup>4</sup> The Emperor Henry III died 5 October 1056. He is called 'Cona' in *ASCC* 1056, where the father and the son are confused; and see Plummer, p. 247.

runt funere destitutam.<sup>1</sup> Grecia quoque innumeris afflicta iniuriis tantas sustinuit oppressiones et ludibria ut paruo sub tempore suorum sanguine sit imperatorum crudeliter fedata. Nam quinque fuerunt qui sese de imperiali sede mutua precipitauerunt uicissitudine, quorum nomina recto subter ordine curauimus annotare. Post Manichetis obitum Diogenes imperium subiit, set a Michaelae peremptus citius defecit. Michael uero paruo temporis durauit interuallo quem Butinacius ex urbe proiecit et sceptrum imperii sibi fortiter usurpauit. Huic Alexis preripuit coronam, facteque sunt strages infinite per Greciam, et principes regnorum multi ad interitum sunt uersi et ruinam.<sup>2</sup> Agareni et Arabes et Parthi<sup>3</sup> et ceterae barbarae gentes Christo resistentes Siriam et Liciam et uicina sibi regna depredati sunt et in christianos insurgentes ecclesias dei destruxerunt. Ipsa quoque maior Britannia, suorum fuso sanguine filiorum, peccatis aggrauata, populo subcubuit alieno, qui eam diademate spoliauit et sceptro, cuius consiliarii uincti sunt, et principes iugulati. Igitur morte gloriosi regis interueniente hanc infelix Anglia suscepit perniciem que perniciosam in innatis Anglis hodie patitur deiectionem.

Set quia traiediam non proposuimus describere, set historiam,<sup>4</sup> ad gloriosi principis obitum uertamus articulum, eique nostre seruitutis persoluamus tributum. Quicquid enim monarchos idem predixit, totum post mortem suam in diuersis regnis dei prouidentia terminauit.]

(Sulcard: *The History of Westminster*)<sup>5</sup>

- f. 16 Apparantur interea regio uti par erat sumptu tanti operis dedicacioni necessaria, et conuenitur eo a tota Britannia, conuenitur, inquam, | ut in natali domini sicut ad regis curiam uel ad celebrem Christo consecrandam ecclesiam; et hoc, uti solet fieri,

<sup>1</sup> According to Wm. of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 276, these were Victor II, Stephen IX, and Nicholas II (13 April 1055–27 July 1061). Their deaths are recorded in *ASC*.

<sup>2</sup> A gap has been left between George Maniaces and Diogenes (Romanus IV Diogenes), proclaimed December 1067—another sign of dislocation. In 1071 Michael VII Ducas Parapinakes overthrew Romanus; in 1078 Michael was dethroned by Nicephorus III Botaniates, who in 1081 lost his throne to Alexius I Comnenus. Wm. of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 276, adds that Alexius, 'ad nostra tempora usque durans' (he died 1118), was succeeded by his son, John. It is known that Varangians from the island of Thule were already serving Nicephorus Botaniates (Vasiliev, *op. cit.* p. 55).

successive deaths left the apostolic see vacant.<sup>1</sup> Moreover Greece was afflicted by countless wounds and suffered such violence and abuse that in a short time it was cruelly fouled by the blood of its emperors. For there were five who successively deposed each other from the imperial throne, whose names we have taken care to give now in their correct order. Diogenes succeeded to the empire after the death of Maniches; but, slain by Michael, soon departed. Michael lasted a short time; then Butinacius ejected him from the city and boldly usurped the sceptre of the empire. From him Alexis snatched the crown, and there was great carnage throughout Greece, and many princes of the kingdoms suffered death and ruin.<sup>2</sup> Hungarians, Arabs, and Parthians,<sup>3</sup> and other barbarians opposed to Christ, devastated Syria and Lycia and the neighbouring kingdoms, and, rising against the Christians, destroyed the churches of God. And Great Britain herself, wet with the blood of her sons, burdened with sins, succumbed to a foreign race, who despoiled her of her crown and sceptre; her counsellors were chained and her princes slain. Therefore, after the death of the glorious king, unhappy England sustained this disaster, and today suffers a degradation ruinous to the native English.

But since we propose to write not tragedy, but history,<sup>4</sup> let us turn our hand to the death of the glorious prince, and pay him the tribute of our service. For whatever that monarch foretold, God's providence brought it all to pass in many kingdoms after his death.]

(Sulcard: *The History of Westminster*)<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile all the things necessary for the dedication of such a great building were prepared at the royal charge, as was right, and from the whole of Britain men assembled there, assembled, I say, as at Christmas for a royal court or for consecrating a famous church to Christ. And they expected this to be done, as it should be, with

<sup>3</sup> *Turchi*, Wm. of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. below, p. 90, col. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. xxxiv–xxxv, xxxviii. Wm. of Malmesbury (*GR*, para. 282, p. 280) contents himself with the brief statement, 'rex in natale [? natali] domini apud Londoniam coronatus est; ibidemque morbo ictus, quod se morituum sciret, ecclesiam Westmonasterii die Innocentium dedicari praecepit.'

putabant fieri cum gaudio; sed *faciens pacem et creans malum*<sup>1</sup> nostris exagitata peccatis aliter disponit diuina comminatio.<sup>2</sup> Nam in ipsa natalis domini nocte cepit ingrauare rex benignissimus; dissimulans tamen ipsam diem tam in ecclesia quam in palacio ducit exultanter cum suis principibus; secunda uero die, cum iam non posset celare, cepit secrecius requiescere et per internuncios curiam suam letificare dedicac[i]onemque monasterii sui per eos quos decebat consummare.<sup>3</sup>

(Osbert of Clare)

f. 150<sup>v</sup> xix. De sancti regis infirmitate et dedicatione ecclesie beati Petri apostolorum principis Westmonasterii. |

f. 151 Instante igitur anno dominice incarnationis millesimo sexagesimo quinto, *zelus domus dei*<sup>4</sup> beati regis animum feruentius occupauit, et ad celebrandas celestis regis et noue sponse eius nuptias medullitus accendit. Neque enim hanc ei iusticiam sceptrum regale contulit, set penes eum reconditam inuenit. In sublimem itaque structuram surgente edificio edis apostolice, cepit rex gloriosus de titulo tante consecrationis officiosa sedulitate tractare. Sentiebat autem appropinquantem sibi mortalis uite terminum, et antequam metas eius attingeret bone uoluntatis trahebatur ad effectum. Imminebant tunc temporis dies dominice natiuitatis, et utriusque sollempnitatis gaudia congeminauerant, quibus in toto regno tante dedicationis preconiā personabant. In ipsa autem nocte qua uirgo puerpera his qui in umbra mortis caligauerant lucem superne claritatis ministravit<sup>5</sup> et sine dolore regem seculorum intacta progenuit, aduersa ualitudine rex gloriosus affligitur, et iocunditas diei plaga recenti in palatio prepeditur. Dissimulauit tamen suam supra uires uir sanctus egritudinem, triduoque<sup>6</sup> dum licuit uultus adhibuit serenitatem. Ad mensam

<sup>1</sup> Isa. 45: 7.

<sup>2</sup> As Goscelin remarks in his *Liber de miraculis S. Augustini*, p. 542, 'Nam homo proponit sed deus disponit.'

<sup>3</sup> The dedication took place on 28 December (below, p. 73; ASC; Florence, I, p. 224). Sulcard was so little impressed by Edward that he ignored the miracles and concluded with, 'Paucis, proch dolor! superuiuens diebus, sacro munitus uiatico, extremum clausit diem, sepultusque est, ut uidetur, ante ipsum altare principis apostolorum, cedente non solum Anglia set omnibus uicinis regnis in gemitum' (Osbert, p. 131).

<sup>4</sup> Ps. 68:10 (Vulg.).

joy. But 'making peace and creating evil,'<sup>1</sup> divine indignation, aroused by our sins, disposed otherwise.<sup>2</sup> For on Christmas eve itself the most kindly king began to get worse. Concealing the fact, however, he spent Christmas day both in the church and in the palace rejoicing with his nobles. But on the morrow, when he could hide it no longer, he began to rest apart, and sent messengers to bid his court be of good cheer and to carry out the dedication of his monastery through fitting persons.<sup>3</sup>

(Osbert of Clare)

xix. About the sickness of the holy king and the dedication of the church of St Peter, the prince of the apostles, at Westminster.

When the one thousand-and-sixty-fifth year of the Lord's incarnation approached, the zeal of the house of God<sup>4</sup> took possession of the king's mind even more warmly, and fired him to the marrow to celebrate the marriage of the heavenly King and his new bride. For it was not the royal sceptre which aroused this love of justice: he found it hidden within him. And so, while the building of the apostolic church rose into a lofty structure, the glorious king began with duteous zeal to devote himself to the business of this important consecration. He had also become aware of the approaching end of his mortal life and was drawn to the execution of his good purpose before he should reach life's bourn. At that time the days of the Lord's nativity were approaching, and those men for whom throughout the kingdom the heralds of this great dedication were sounding, had added the joys of the one festival to the other. But on the very night on which the Virgin in childbed gave the light of heavenly glory to those who had been darkened by the shadow of death,<sup>5</sup> and, unstained, brought forth without travail the King of Ages, the glorious King Edward was afflicted with an indisposition, and in the palace the day's rejoicing was checked by a fresh calamity. The holy man disguised his sickness more than his strength warranted, and for three days<sup>6</sup> he was able to produce a serene countenance. He sat at table clad in

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Luke 1: 79.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. he fell ill on Christmas Eve and retired from the festivities on Boxing Day (as Sulcard states).

festiuo residebat indutus amictu, set delicias fastidiebat appositas. Hylarem circumstantibus ostendebat faciem, quamuis eum intolerabilis urgeret infirmitas. Sumptis autem epulis interioris cubiculi secreta petebat, grauiterque in dies crescentem pacienter tolerabat laborem. Circumdabant eum densa suorum fidelium agmina, ipsaque regina futuri doloris in luctu presaga. Dies autem illa celebris aderat quam sanctorum Innocentium preciosa passio decorabat,<sup>1</sup> cum princeps egregius accelerare precipit<sup>a</sup> dedicationem ecclesie, nec in tempus aliud ulterius differre. Querulus tamen Eadwardus incumberebat lamentis quod illuc conuenire non posset cum ceteris, decoctus incendio aduersi languoris. Collateralis autem eius<sup>2</sup> quam habebat ex specie, cuius secreta uir dei non nouit in carne, iuxta regis magnifici desudat imperium, ut sacre consecrationis impleatur sacramentum. Assunt pontifices et proceres regni, clerus et populus frequentant dei laudem et gloriam, et nouis dotibus agno sponsam copulant incorruptam.<sup>3</sup>

xx. De facultatibus et ornamentis et possessionibus que in consecratione collata sunt ecclesie.

Cumulatur uariis basilica beati principis apostolorum sufficienter ornamentis, sacrorumque uasorum instauratur utensilibus preciosis. Que cotidiano in ecclesia dei congruant ministerio, queue magna resplendeant in die festo, liberalis munificentia regis ad copiam contulit, et domum domini larga uenustate sollempniter decorauit. In auro et preciosis lapidibus nescitur modus, et qui in rebus temporalibus modum non excesserat,<sup>4</sup> in regalibus donatiuis mensuram non seruat. Adiecit et his in diuersarum prouinciarum territoriis ditia regalium fiscorum predia,<sup>5</sup> opulentisque dotibus noua dei sponsa reffloruit, et sicut intus in moribus, sic extra in facultatibus, uberius coruscavit. [Quot prata, quot pascua, quot siluas, quot aquas, quot rura, quot

<sup>a</sup> altered from precepit, MS

<sup>1</sup> 28 December; see above, p. 72, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> This is a not uncommon title of the queen in charters; cf. A. Campbell, *Enc. Emmae*, pp. 58-9.

<sup>3</sup> Goscelin was at the ceremony with Eve, see below, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 67 and n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> For these gifts, see above p. 45, n. 1. As there are no extravagant claims here, it is likely that Osbert is still following the Anonymous. But in a forged Westminster charter (K. 824, p. 178) occur the words, 'posui

a festal robe, but had no stomach for the delicacies which were served. He showed a cheerful face to the bystanders, although an unbearable weakness oppressed him. But after the banquet he sought the privacy of his inner bedchamber, and bore with patience a distress which grew severer day by day. The close ranks of his vassals surrounded him, and the queen herself was there, in her mourning foretelling future grief. When that celebrated day, which the blessed passion of the Holy Innocents adorns,<sup>1</sup> had come, the excellent prince ordered then to hasten on with the dedication of the church and no more to put it off to another time. Edward gave himself up to complaints and lamentation that he, being consumed by the fire of his illness, could not attend with the rest. But his consort,<sup>2</sup> whom he had possessed only in appearance and whose secrets this man of God had not known in the flesh, exerted herself on the orders of the noble king so that the sacrament of the holy consecration should be completed. The pontiffs and nobles of the kingdom were present, the clergy and people worshipped in praise and glory of God, and with new dowry gifts they joined the chaste bride to the Lamb.<sup>3</sup>

xx. About the properties, ornaments, and possessions which were granted on the occasion of the consecration of the church.

The basilica of the blessed prince of the apostles was amply heaped with ornaments of all kinds, and stocked with all the precious vessels and sacred utensils. The king's liberal bounty gave in abundance both those that would be suitable for daily service in God's church and those sumptuous things that would shine gloriously on festive days, and religiously adorned the house of the Lord with much beauty. Measure was not observed with the gold and precious stones, and he who in temporal affairs had not transgressed due measure,<sup>4</sup> in his royal gifts gave no heed to amount. And to these he added rich estates situated in the territories of various provinces and pertaining to the royal treasury.<sup>5</sup> With these rich dowry gifts the new bride of God bloomed again, and, as much internally in conduct as externally in possessions, shone out more fruitfully. [What gifts of meadowland, pasture, woodland,

in dotalicium . . . super altare uaria ornamentorum genera quibus ecclesie seruiretur, uel in quotidianis uel solennibus ministeriis.'



sata contulit ecclesie!<sup>a</sup> Adhuc hodie in rebus ablatiis uel imminutis testatur tirannorum uiolentia quanta fuerit eius integritas in possessione primitiua.] Magna uero et iocunda sollempnitas, qua *regina Saba in uestibus deauratis a dextris astitit* ueri Salomonis,<sup>1</sup> ineffabile tripudium contulisset patrie, si non esset prepediitum grauante regis infirmitate. Ea de causa *filie Tyri*,<sup>2</sup> quas intincta precioso muricis sanguine circumdare purpura consueuerat, sollempnem ornatum commutant in cilicium et mollem corporis habitum uertunt in lamentum. Set quia decurse sunt nuptię in quibus *Ethiopissa* Moysi nostro est coniuncta, quę ex sponsi decore contraxit speciem qua suam nigredinem mutauit in candorem,<sup>3</sup> nos ad regis exequendum accingamus obitum et quomodo ad brauium<sup>4</sup> peruenerit post uitę temporalis<sup>b</sup> excursum.

f. 55 Vbi uidet fide plenus rex Ædwardus ex instanti morbo urgueri se ad exitum, fune[b]ribus exequiis attitulat se commendatione et precibus summorum dei fidelium.<sup>5</sup> Namque exemptus rebus secularis tyranni ex aduocatione spiritus dei, liberius fruitur uisione futurorum ex contemplatione celesti. Cum<sup>6</sup> inter manus deuotorum in funerea expectatione corpus sustentatur fragile, corporeo sopitus pondere, eorum edocetur certitudine, quę pro peccatis nostris presenti patimur tempore. Angustiam siquidem patientis animę cum dormiret presentes senserunt in sopito corpore, excitatusque eisdem adeo territis hoc utitur uerborum ordine. Nam ante id biduo uel amplius

<sup>a</sup> interrogation point, MS

<sup>b</sup> cor, i.e. corporalis, interlined, MS

<sup>1</sup> Ps. 44:10 (Vulg.); cf. 3 Kings 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. 44:13 (Vulg.).

<sup>3</sup> Num. 12:1, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Phil. 31:4.

<sup>5</sup> The deathbed scene is portrayed on the Bayeux Tapestry, pl. xxxii: 'Hic Eadwardus rex in lecto alloquitur fideles.' A woman weeps at the king's feet, a priest and a nobleman (? Harold) are on either side of the bed, and a third man (? Rodbert) is at the king's head, supporting him so that he can sit up. Edward stretches out his hand to Harold (?). Below, Edward is shown dead: 'Et hic defunctus est.' Two men lay out the corpse, while a priest prays. From our writer's description we would naturally expect the priest to be Stigand; but, as F. R. Fowke has pointed

waters, farms, and crops he made to the church! Still today the violence of the despoilers, seen in things taken away or encroached upon, bears witness to what its entirety was when first possessed.] This great and joyful occasion, when on the right hand of the true Solomon did stand the queen of Sheba in clothing of wrought gold,<sup>1</sup> would have conveyed ineffable joy to the country, had it not been checked by the sickness oppressing the king. For that reason the daughters of Tyre,<sup>2</sup> whom it was the custom to array in purple dipped in the precious blood of the mussel, changed their festal raiment into sackcloth and their gentle postures into lamentation. But since the marriage, joining to our Moses that Ethiopian woman (who through the virtue of the bridegroom contracted an appearance in which she changed her blackness into white)<sup>3</sup> has now been celebrated, let us gird us up to describe the death of the king and how, after the course of this earthly life, he gained the prize.<sup>4</sup>

When King Ædward, replete with faith, perceived that the power of the disease was forcing him to his end, with the commendation and prayers of the most important of God's faithful he resigned himself to the funeral rites.<sup>5</sup> For, indeed, being now freed by the protection of the spirit of God from the affairs of a secular ruler, he could through heavenly contemplation enjoy more easily a vision of the future. While<sup>6</sup> his frail body was being sustained by the hands of the devout awaiting his death, becoming drowsy because of his body's heaviness, he was instructed infallibly about those things which we for our sins bear at the present time. While he slept those in attendance felt in his sleeping body the travail of his unquiet soul, and, woken by them in their terror, he spoke these words. (Up till then,

out (*The Bayeux Tapestry*, 1898, p. 79), in both these pictures the priest is bald and bearded, whereas Stigand, when named (pl. xxx), is shown as clean-shaven and, except for the tonsure, with plenty of hair. Neither the priest nor Stigand wears the pallium.

<sup>6</sup> Osbert, c. xxi; Wm. of Malmesbury, *GR*, para. 226.

adeo eum languor fatigauerat, ut uix cum loqueretur quid diceret intelligi posset. 'Deus,' inquit, 'eterne, si per te ea quę nunc michi reuelata sunt didici, concede pariter et uirtutem eadem referendi. Sin quiduis fuit fantasticum, premat me pristinus morbus ad tuum placitum.' Et mox, sicut testantur hi qui aderant presentes,<sup>1</sup> tanta usus est loquendi copia, ut cuius sanissimo nichil opus esset supra. 'Nunc,' inquit, 'duo aderant monachi, quondam cum in Normannia adolescens essem michi notissimi, multe scilicet sanctitatis uiri, rebusque mundanis<sup>a</sup> iam multo tempore exempti, sicque ex dei legatione me sunt affati. "Quoniam," inquit, "hi qui in hoc regno Anglico in culmine<sup>b</sup> prelationis conscenderunt, duces, episcopi, et abbates, et quique sacrorum graduum ordines adepti, non sunt quod uidentur esse, sed econtra ministri diaboli, tradidit deus post obitus tui<sup>c</sup> diem anno uno et die una omne hoc regnum a se maledictum in manu inimici, peruagabunturque diaboli totam hanc terram igne, ferro, et depredatione hostili." Tum ego ad illos hoc modo: "Ostendam," inquam, "hec ex uoluntate dei populo,<sup>2</sup> et penitentibus eis dei miserebitur propitiatio. Misertus est enim Niniuitis, cum peniterent ad audientiam diuinę comminationis."<sup>3</sup> "Non penitebunt," aiunt illi, "nec proueniet illis miseratio dei." "Et quid," inquam, "erit, uel quando tantę comminationis remissio sperari poterit?"

<sup>a</sup> munda/danis MS

<sup>b</sup> ? amend to culmina

<sup>c</sup> mei MS

<sup>1</sup> 'Affuerunt idonei testes textum rei geste ueraciter exprimentes, qui eodem ordine quo reteximus presentia retulerunt ornata relatione peracta,' Osbert, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> 'Archana uoluntatis dei iudicia populo gentis mee patefaciam,' Osbert, p. 107; 'Cumque ego haec me ostensurum populo dicerem,' Wm. of Malmesbury, *GR*, I, p. 277.

<sup>3</sup> Jonah 3.

for the last two days or more, weakness had so tired him that when he spoke scarcely anything he said had been intelligible.) 'O eternal God,' he said, 'if I have learned those things which have now been revealed to me from you, grant also the strength to tell them. But if it was only an illusion, let my former sickness burden me according to your will.' And then, as they who were there testify,<sup>1</sup> he used such resources of eloquence that even the healthiest man would have no need of more.

'Just now,' he said, 'two monks stood before me, whom I had once known very well when I was a young man in Normandy, men of great sanctity, and for many years now relieved of earthly cares. And they addressed me with a message from God. "Since," they said, "those who have climbed to the highest offices in the kingdom of England, the earls, bishops, and abbots, and all those in holy orders, are not what they seem to be, but, on the contrary, are servants of the devil, on a year and one day after the day of your death God has delivered all this kingdom, cursed by him, into the hands of the enemy, and devils shall come through all this land with fire and sword and the havoc of war." Then I said this to them, "I will show God's designs to the people,<sup>2</sup> and the forgiveness of God shall have mercy upon the penitents. For he had mercy on the people of Nineveh, when they repented on hearing of the divine indignation."<sup>3</sup> But they said, "These will not repent, nor will the forgiveness of God come to pass for them." "And what," I asked, "shall happen? And when can a remission of this great indignation be hoped for?" "At that time,"



f. 55<sup>v</sup> "Tunc," inquit,<sup>1</sup> "si arbor uiridis a medio sui succidatur corpore, et pars abscisa trium iugerum spatio a suo deportetur stipite, cum per se et absque humana manu uel quouis amminiculo suo connectetur trunco, ceperitque denuo uirescere et fructificare ex coalescentis su[c]i<sup>a</sup> amore | pristino, tunc primum tantorum malorum sperari poterit remissio." Auditis<sup>2</sup> his qui aderant, ipsa uidelicet regina terre assidens, eiusque pedes super gremium suum fouens, eiusque germanus dux Haroldus,<sup>3</sup> et Rodbertus regalis palatii stabilator et eiusdem regis propinquus,<sup>4</sup> Stigandus quoque archiepiscopus,<sup>5</sup> cum paucis aliis quos idem beatus rex a sompno excitatus aduocari iusserat,<sup>6</sup> terrentur nimium utpote qui plenum de tot malis et denegata spe pietatis audierant uerbum. Cunctisque stupentibus et terrore agente tacentibus, ipse archiepiscopus qui debuerat uel primus pauere, uel uerbum consilii dare, infatuato corde submurmurat in aurem ducis senio confectum et morbo, quid

<sup>a</sup> sui MS; cf. below, pp. 78, 88

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A, below, p. 88. A green tree occurs in the prophecy of Jesus when about to be crucified (Luke 23:31); but the vision seems to be based on the dream of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 4. After the dream and its interpretation, a voice from heaven said that he would be punished 'until thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men and giveth it to whomsoever he will' (4:29); and this recalls Bishop Brihtwald's vision (above, pp. 8-9). The prophecy has caused some commentators unnecessary trouble. It is, as it is described below, p. 78, 'a vision of something impossible,' and should be compared with Edward's grimly-jesting judgment on Godwin in 1051 (above, p. 22). Its original meaning was later perverted; see Appendix B, below, pp. 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> Osbert, c. xxii; Wm. of Malmesbury, *GR*, para. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Osbert adds, 'in cuius audientia rex cum se regni terrestris animaduertet exulem, filium fratris matris sue Willelmum ducem Normannie reliquit heredem,' p. 108 (f. 152<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> Robert fitzWimarch: see Harmer, *Writs*, p. 571; Round, *Feudal England* (1895), p. 331. He is called after this mother, and was possibly a bastard. Dr Harmer, as many others, regard his mother's name as Breton

they answered,<sup>1</sup> "when a green tree, if cut down in the middle of its trunk, and the part cut off carried the space of three furlongs from the stock, shall be joined again to its trunk, by itself and without the hand of man or any sort of stake, and begin once more to push leaves and bear fruit from the old love of its uniting sap, then first can a remission of these great ills be hoped for."

When<sup>2</sup> those who were present had heard these words—that is to say, the queen, who was sitting on the floor warming his feet in her lap, her brother, Earl Harold,<sup>3</sup> and Rodbert, the steward of the royal palace and a kinsman of the king,<sup>4</sup> also Archbishop Stigand<sup>5</sup> and a few more whom the blessed king when roused from sleep had ordered to be summoned<sup>6</sup>—they were all sore afraid as men who had heard a speech containing many calamities and a denial of the hope of pity. And while all were stupefied and silent from the effect of terror, the archbishop himself, who ought either to have been the first to fear or give a word of advice, with folly at heart whispered in the ear of the earl that the king was broken

(OBret Wiuhomarch). But Osbert (f. 126) reads, 'regii constabulator Robertus palatii, qui et propinquus eiusdem regis consanguineus, et ex Normannorum gente preclarus erat natalibus oriundus,' probably following William of Poitiers (ii, c. 10), who calls him, 'Diues quidam . . . natione Normannus, Rodbertus filius Guimarae nobilis mulieris,' a vassal and kinsman of Duke William; and Miss Foreville (ibid. p. 170, n. 1) maintains that his mother was a Norman. Despite Robert's insolent warning to the Norman invader (ibid. ii, c. 10), William made him sheriff of Essex. In Edward's reign he was a staller. He is described as 'regis consanguineus' in K. 813, and as *procurator* [*Calendar of the MSS of the Dean and Chapter at Wells* (Hist. MSS Comm., London, 1907), i, pp. 428-9]. Cf. Esgar's titles; *minister* (thegn), K. 801, 806, 810, 811; *staller*, K. 809, 822, 956; and *regiae procurator aulæ*, K. 813.

<sup>5</sup> Osbert adds, 'quem potius inmeritum quam emeritum Cantuariensis pallii fibula decorabat et plurima sibi monasteria impudenter usurpauerat,' p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> The author, or his informant, could have been among these.

diceret nescire.<sup>1</sup> At ipsa regina et quorum mens deum consueuerat nosse et timere, quique pro se altius audita pensare, et longe aliter ut par<sup>a</sup> erat sentire. Cognoscebant enim per sacri ordinis personas christiani cultus religionem maxime uiolatam, hocque frequentius declamasse tum per legatos et epistolas suas Romanum papam, tum in frequentibus monitis ipsum regem et reginam, sed diuitiis et mundana gloria irrecuperabiliter quidam diabolo allekti, uite adeo neglexerant disciplinam ut non horrerent iam tunc imminentem incidere in dei iram. Quę licet ad tempus greges puniat innocuarum ouium,<sup>2</sup> pastoribus et nobis qui peccauimus non est dissimulandum, quia si non punimur in tempore, timendum ualde est ne peccatorum nostrorum uindicta nobis reseruetur in ęternitate. Sed qui et ubi sunt hi qui tanti discriminis horrorem uel perpendant sibi, uel ex officio pastoralis *ascendant e diuerso* et *opponant* se pro *muro* ad placandum *in die* tam grauis *prelii*?<sup>3</sup>

Legimus sanctum Dauid peccasse, eiusque peccati uindictam super populum diuinitus irruisse<sup>4</sup>; sed quibus gemitibus, quanta afflictione, quanta cordis contritione se testatus est reum; in se dei petiit retorqueri gladium. Vnde citius et peccati promeruit ueniam, et a populo seuientem *ammouit plagam*.<sup>5</sup> Imensa enim dei pietas fidelibus testatur: *petite, et*

<sup>a</sup> pars MS

<sup>1</sup> Wm. of Malmesbury follows with his commentary on the prophecy, for which, see below, Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2 Kings 24:17.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. 13:5. Osbert follows with his commentary on the prophecy, for which, see below, Appendix B.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Kings 24.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ps. 38:11, and 2 Kings 24:25, where the AV has 'plague' for the Vulg. 'plaga.'

with age and disease and knew not what he said.<sup>1</sup> But the queen, and those who had been wont to know and fear God in their hearts, all pondered deeply the words they had heard, and understood them quite otherwise, and correctly. For these knew that the Christian religion was chiefly dishonoured by men in Holy Orders, and that both the Pope of Rome by means of legates and letters and the king and queen by frequent admonition had often proclaimed this. But there were some men, irreparably attracted to the devil by riches and worldly glory, who had so neglected the conduct of their lives that they did not fear to fall into the wrath of God which then was already threatening them. For though this should take vengeance for a time on the flocks of harmless sheep,<sup>2</sup> it is not to be hidden from the pastors and those of us who have sinned that, if we are not punished in this world and in purgatory, it is greatly to be feared that vengeance for our sins will be reserved for us in eternity. But who and where are those who either ponder the horror of this dilemma for themselves or of their pastoral office 'go up into the gaps and make up the hedge for appeasing him in the day of this great battle?'<sup>3</sup>

We read that holy David sinned, and that vengeance for his sin fell from heaven upon the people.<sup>4</sup> But with what groans, what affliction, and what contrition of heart he declared that it was he who was guilty! He asked that against him the sword of God should be turned. Wherefore he soon earned pardon for his sin and also removed the raging strokes<sup>5</sup> from the people. For God's great mercy testifies unto the faithful: 'Ask,

f. 56 *dabitur uobis; pulsate, et aperietur.*<sup>1</sup> Sed, pro dolor, peruenerunt in nos illa grauia tempora, de quibus ingemiscens ait | propheta: *Et erit qualis populus talis et sacerdos.*<sup>2</sup> Sub ipsis enim ferientis dei uerberibus ad multa milia populus sternitur, regnum igne et depredatione deuastatur, hocque peccato sacerdotum fieri iamdudum demonstratum est, et nullus, pro dolor, in nobis timor uel penitudo uel fletus uel ad deum clamor et pietatis petitio est. Vnde non inmerito demonstratur benedicto regi a nobis migraturo reuelatio impossibilitatis, ad similitudinem, inquam, nostre infinite et obdurate iniquitatis. Neque enim arborem abscisam per se mouere, uel semel suci sui gratia destitutam, solide trunco suo incorporari et uirescere et fructificare *apud homines est possibile.*<sup>3,4</sup> Nos quoque cum ob nostrorum scelerum meritum deum uidemus irasci populo, nec a nobis aliqua procedit saltem pro nobis penitudo uel confessio, quæ uel quando tantorum malorum sperari poterit remissio? Si ad nos deus respicit, nichil, pro dolor, in nobis inuenit, unde a feriendo cessare possit. Aut sero aut nunquam penitebit, qui beatum regem prophetico spiritu ex merito felicitis uite plenum senio uel morbo er[r]asse putauerit.<sup>5</sup> Sed cum nondum terremur ex impossibilitate predictæ reuelationis, et adhuc non sedamus uel penitendo uel ad deum clamando iram suæ indignationis, quid prestolamur preter infelicem exitum internitionis, nisi illa infinita et inestimabilis domini clementia, cui *omnia sunt possible,*<sup>6</sup> solito [more] duritiam nostram

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 7:7; Luke 11:9.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. 24:2; Hos. 4:9.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. 19:26.

<sup>4</sup> See below, Appendix B. The Anonymous, in his commentary on the prophecy, confines himself to the physical effects of the Norman Conquest and ignores the long-term political results.

and it shall be given you; knock, and it shall be opened.’<sup>1</sup> But, alas, there have come upon us those evil times of which the prophet says with sighs, ‘And it shall be as with the people so with the priest.’<sup>2</sup> For under these scourges of the chastising God many thousands of the people are thrown down, the kingdom is ravaged by fire and plunder; and this in times past has been shown to have come from the sins of priests; and, alas, there is no fear in us or penitence or weeping or crying to God and asking for mercy. Hence there was revealed to the blessed king, when about to leave us, not undeservedly, a vision of something impossible, a symbol, I say, of our infinite and obdurate wickedness. For ‘with men it is impossible’<sup>3</sup> for a felled tree to move of itself, or, once deprived of the service of its sap, to join itself firmly to its trunk and push leaves and bear fruit.<sup>4</sup> When we too see God angered against the people on account of our deserving iniquities, and from us no penance or confession goes, not even for ourselves, what remission of these great ills can be hoped for, and when? If God looks down upon us, he will find, alas, nothing in us to cause him to cease from smiting. That man<sup>5</sup> will repent too late or not at all who thought that the blessed king, filled with prophetic spirit by virtue of his auspicious life, rambled owing to age and disease. But since we do not yet feel fear at the impossibility of that revelation, and still do not appease the wrath of God’s indignation by repenting or crying to him, what can we expect but a miserable end in slaughter unless the infinite and inestimable mercy of the Lord ‘with whom all things are possible,’<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Archbishop Stigand.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. 19:26.

preueniat illa remissione et benedictione sua gratuita.<sup>1</sup>

Omisso<sup>2</sup> interim hoc fletu, redeamus ad alterum, et explicemus qualiter hec dei gemma terreni corporis exuerit sterquilinum, et in diademate superni regis et[er]num splendoris optinuerit locum. Adgrauato ad mortem cum sui starent et flerent amare, 'Nolite,' inquit, 'flere, sed deum pro anima mea rogate, michique eundi ad deum licentiam date. Non enim michi ne moriar propitiabitur, qui sibimet propitiari noluit ne non moreretur.' Ad reginam uero pedibus suis assidentem, hoc ordine extremum perorauit sermonem: 'Gratias agat deus huic sponse mee ex sedula officiositate seruitutis sue. Obsecuta est enim michi deuote, et lateri meo semper propius astitit in loco carissime filie,<sup>3</sup> unde a propitio deo uicissitudinem optineat f. 56<sup>v</sup> felicitatis eterne.' Porrectaque manu ad predictum nutricium<sup>4</sup> suum fratrem Haroldum, 'Hanc,' inquit, 'cum omni regno<sup>5</sup> tutandam tibi commendo, ut pro domina et sorore ut est fidei serues et honores obsequio, ut, quoad uixerit, a me adepto non priuetur honore debito.<sup>6</sup> Commendo pariter etiam eos qui natuam

<sup>1</sup> Bloch believed that this was the escape clause of someone who knew that the evils came to an end ('paroles d'espoir,' Osbert, p. 39). But it seems simply an expression of Christian hope in the abounding mercy of God, based on the text, Matt. 19: 26.

<sup>2</sup> Osbert, c. xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> 'Regine uero laudabilem suis castis usibus approbans seruitutem, omnipotentem dominum . . . obsecrat' (ibid. p. 110).

<sup>4</sup> Although it is tempting to translate *nutricius* here, in an inverted sense, as 'foster-son,' meaning 'adopted heir,' it must be remembered that it is the stock term used by the Anonymous to characterise the family of Godwin. When applied to Harold and Tostig (above, p. 42), and certainly when applied to Godwin (above, p. 30), it bears the sense of 'protector,' and was understood by Wm. of Malmesbury in that way (see above, p. 17, n. 3).

<sup>5</sup> So Florence (I, p. 224), 'subregulus Haroldus, . . . quem rex ante suam decessionem regni successorem elegerat,' and ASC; even William of Poitiers (II, cc. 11 and 25) admitted that Harold had been bequeathed the throne—William had a better right which he was prepared to prove. But

should, as is His wont, prevent our hardness of heart with that remission and his blessing freely given?<sup>1</sup>

But<sup>2</sup> leaving this sorrow for a while, let us return to the other, and describe how this gem of God stripped off the corruption of his earthly body and obtained a place of eternal splendour in the diadem of the heavenly king. When he was sick unto death and his men stood and wept bitterly, he said, 'Do not weep, but intercede with God for my soul, and give me leave to go to Him. For He will not pardon me so that I shall not die who would not pardon Himself so that He should not die.' Then he addressed his last words to the queen who was sitting at his feet, in this wise, 'May God be gracious to this my wife for the zealous solicitude of her service. For she has served me devotedly, and has always stood close by my side like a beloved daughter.<sup>3</sup> And so from the forgiving God may she obtain the reward of eternal happiness.' And stretching forth his hand to his governor,<sup>4</sup> her brother, Harold, he said, 'I commend this woman and all the kingdom<sup>5</sup> to your protection. Serve and honour her with faithful obedience as your lady and sister, which she is, and do not despoil her, as long as she lives, of any due honour got from me.<sup>6</sup> Likewise I also commend those men who have left their

Osbert modified our author's words to read, 'Assignat et eidem fratrem suum ducem Haroldum in temporalibus prouisorum.' See *FNC*, III, Appendix B, 'Eadward's bequest of the Crown to Harold.' T. J. Oleson, *The Witenagemot in the reign of Edward the Confessor* (1955), p. 85, and 'Edward the Confessor's promise of the throne to Duke William of Normandy,' *EHR*, LXXII (1957), p. 227, disbelieves in the bequest, and holds that Edward never forgot his promise to William.

<sup>6</sup> 'rebus dotabilibus,' Osbert, p. 110. Cf. the deathbed scene of St Henry II of Germany (1024), when he hands back his wife Kunigund to her parents, 'Hanc ecce, inquit, mihi a uobis imo per Christum consignatam ipso Christo domino nostro et uobis reconsigno uirginem uestram,' *S. Henrici Vita*, auct. anon., *MPL*, CXL, col. 127.

terram suam reliquerunt causa amoris mei, michique hactenus fideliter sunt obsecuti, ut, suscepta ab eis, si ita uolunt, fidelitate, eos tuearis et retineas, aut tua defensione conductos, cum omnibus quę sub me adquisierunt, cum salute ad propria trans[fr]etari facias. Fossa<sup>1</sup> sepulchri mei in monasterio paretur, in eo loco qui<sup>a</sup> uobis assignabitur. Mortem uero meam queso ne celetis, sed celerius circumquaque annuntietis, ut quique fideles pro me peccatore deprecentur clementiam dei omnipotentis.' Reginam quoque indesinenter lugentem interdum consolabatur ut insitum leuaret merorem. 'Ne,' inquit, 'timeas, non moriar modo, sed bene conualescam propitiante deo.' Nec in hoc dicto diligentem, utique se, fefellit; non enim mortuus est, sed cum Christo uicturus de morte ad uitam migravit. His itaque et huiusmodi perueniens ad extremum, sumpto a celesti mensa uitę uiatico, deo creatori suum reddidit spiritum, pridie scilicet nonas ianuarii,<sup>2</sup> funereum et lugubre presignans caput, ut ita dicamus, initiantis anni, per quod totum corpus mensium perpendere haberemus tribulatione languidum iri et clade multiplici.<sup>3</sup> Erat tunc uidere in defuncto corpore gloriam migrantis ad deum anime, cum scilicet caro faciei ut rosa ruberet, subiecta barba ut lilium canderet, manus suo ordine directę albescerent, totumque corpus non morti sed fausto sopori traditum<sup>b</sup> signarent. Parantur ergo illa funebria regio,

<sup>a</sup> quo MS    <sup>b</sup> traditumque MS; set fausto datum sopori, Osbert

<sup>1</sup> Osbert, c. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> For the conflict of authorities over the date of Edward's death (4 or 5 January), see Harmer, *Writs*, p. 560. But Dr Harmer errs in regarding 4 January as the Westminster tradition. St Augustine's, Canterbury, celebrated Edward's *depositio* on 5 January (Brit. Mus. MS Cotton Vitellius C. XII, f. 114v).

native land for love of me, and have up till now served me faithfully. Take from them an oath of fealty, if they should so wish, and protect and retain them, or send them with your safe conduct safely across the Channel to their own homes with all that they have acquired in my service. Let<sup>1</sup> the grave for my burial be prepared in the minster in the place which shall be assigned to you. I ask that you do not conceal my death, but announce it promptly in all parts, so that all the faithful can beseech the mercy of Almighty God on me, a sinner.' Now and then he also comforted the queen, who ceased not from lamenting, to ease her natural grief. 'Fear not,' he said, 'I shall not die now, but by God's mercy regain my strength.' Nor did he mislead the attentive, least of all himself, by these words, for he has not died, but has passed from death to life, to live with Christ.

And so, coming with these and like words to his last hour, he took the viaticum from the table of heavenly life and gave up his spirit to God the Creator on the fourth of January,<sup>2</sup> foreshowing a funereal and mournful head, if we may use the expression, of the new year, on account of which we would be obliged to observe the whole body of months become weak with tribulation and manifold disaster.<sup>3</sup> Then could be seen in the dead body the glory of a soul departing to God. For the flesh of his face blushed like a rose, the adjacent beard gleamed like a lily, his hands, laid out straight, whitened, and were a sign that his whole body was given not to death but to auspicious sleep. And so the funeral rites were

<sup>3</sup> Osbert omits the passage concerning the year of tribulation (p. 111).

ut decebat, sumptu et honore, et cum omnium infinito merore. Deferunt eius felices exequias a domo palatii in aulam dei, precesque et gemitus cum psalmodiis celebrant tota illa die cum nocte succedenti. Orta interim die<sup>a</sup> funeste celebritatis, decantatione missarum et recreatione pauperum officium beatificant perficiendi funeris, sicque coram altare beati Petri apostoli conditur corpus patrię lacrimis lotum ante conspectum dei. Totum quoque a primo die tricesimum<sup>1</sup> celebratione missarum, decantatione<sup>b</sup> prosecuntur psalmodiorum, expensis pro redemptione ipsius animę multis  
f. 57 auri libris | in subleuatione diuersi ordinis pauperum.<sup>2</sup> Reuelatum uero, ut supra texuimus, sanctum adhuc uiuentem in mundo, ad eius quoque tumbam propitia deitas his signis reuelat sanctum uiuere secum in celo, cum obtentu eiusdem ibi illuminantur cęci, in gressum solidantur claudi, infirmi curantur, merentes consolatione dei reparantur, et pro fide cuiusque deum inuocantis insignia pietatis suę rex regum deus operatur.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> diei MS

<sup>b</sup> decantatione MS

<sup>1</sup> *tricenarium*, a month of prayers for the dead, would seem more likely. Cf. Léopold Delisle, *Rouleau Mortuaire du B. Vital, abbé de Savigni* (Paris 1909), p. 6. But, within the month, the third, seventh or ninth, and particularly the thirtieth day were specially honoured. See Theodore's Penitential, II, v and Daniel Rock, *The Church of our Fathers*, ed. G. W. Hart and W. H. Frere, II (1905), p. 258 and n. 82, p. 416.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'poor people of a different class.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Ad tumbam eius diuersa fiunt a Christo ipso intercedente miracula et odoris eius suauitas et fragrantia membra reddit inualida celesti medicine solidata. Ex quibus aliqua subter anectere sollerter instituimus, unde prodesse per dei gratiam cunctis audientibus ualeamus,' Osbert, p. 112. He then gives five miracles (cc. xxv-xxix).

arranged at the royal cost and with royal honour, as was proper, and amid the boundless sorrow of all men. They bore his holy remains from his palace home into the house of God, and offered up prayers and sighs and psalms all that day and the following night. Meanwhile, when the day of the funeral ceremony dawned, they blessed the office of the interment they were to conduct with the singing of masses and the relief of the poor. And so, before the altar of St Peter the Apostle, the body, washed by his country's tears, is laid up in the sight of God. They also caused the whole of the thirtieth day following<sup>1</sup> to be observed with the celebration of masses and the chanting of psalms, and expended many pounds of gold for the redemption of his soul in the alleviation of different classes of the poor.<sup>2</sup> Having been revealed as a saint while still living in the world, as we wrote before, at his tomb likewise merciful God reveals by these signs that he lives with Him as a saint in heaven. For at the tomb through him the blind receive their sight, the lame are made to walk, the sick are healed, the sorrowing are refreshed by the comfort of God, and for the faith of those who call upon Him, God, the King of kings, works the tokens of his goodness.<sup>3</sup>

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