

9. EDITORIAL POLICY

The text is edited from the single known medieval manuscript, BnF MS latin 10940. Significant variant readings are noted from Labbe's 1657 transcription which was transmitted through Fowler's printing of 1891, since these are witness to later uses and also misunderstandings of the text.²²¹ All manuscript abbreviations are extended silently. The scribe uses both 'n' and 'm' in words such as 'compulsionēs', 'imperia', 'compellere' where these are written in full. As the majority of such forms use 'm' rather than 'n', abbreviated forms of such words are here extended with 'm'. The letters u/v are rendered as 'u' in lower case and 'V' in upper case, and 'i/j' are rendered as 'i' except in the case of a final roman numeral. Roman numerals in the text are preceded and followed by a full stop; those under 100 are spelled in full. Capitalization, punctuation, and paragraphing follow modern conventions. 'Deus' and 'Dominus', when they refer to the Christian deity, are capitalized. The symbols () indicate an editorial addition. Editorial deletions are removed silently and explained in the textual notes. The textual notes use the conventional abbreviations *om.* (omitted), *del.* (deleted), and *add.* (added). Unless otherwise indicated in the textual notes, interlineations and corrections are in the scribe's hand. There are a number of instances of verse in the text. The three elegies are written as verse in the manuscript and that arrangement has been followed in this edition. Most of the shorter verses are embedded in the text rather than arranged as verse, but in this edition they have been presented in such a way as to highlight the fact that verse is intended.

²²¹ For instance, a consistent failure to recognize a standard abbreviation for 'est'.

HISTORIA SELBENSIS MONASTERII

fo. 3^r 'In nomine Domini incipit historia Selebiensis monasterii,⁶ quod fundatum est in honore sancti Germani Autisiodorensis episcopi, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo sexagesimo nono.'

Dilectionis tue precibus infinitis uirorum michi⁴ carissime, quibus me historiographum⁵ creare non desinis, plurima sunt que me hucusque parere uenerunt. Talibus siquidem ac tantis passim obedire rogatibus etas immatura me⁷ uetuit, paruitas imperita prohibuit, ignorantia tenebrosa retraxit. Hee sunt mee obstinationis cause precipue, hee excusationes iuste silentii, hee ad excusationem compulsionem uolente. Ceterum tua sagacitas quod amica simplicitate non ualuit impetrare per se, astuta calliditate pene uiolenter extorsit per alium. Quippe dum tuis precibus illius domni scilicet prioris¹ imperia sociasti, cuius iussionibus obuiare nec patitur ratio, nec sinit institutio regularis. Sic coniunctis uiribus tu precibus amicis inuitas ad studium, ille imperiali obedientia² compellit ad obsequium. Tibi quippe quia amicus es resistere obstinate nec debeo, illi quia dominus et pater est, obuiare nec uolo nec ualeo. Negotium igitur curabo quod imponitis, aggrediarque opus arduum hebes et inscius, uestra sane merita meis uiribus anteponeus, et plus | in uestris orationibus quam in mea possibilitate confidens. Aggrediar, inquam, opus egregium puer et paruulus, qualiterque ecclesia Selebiensis fundata sit que causa quis modus fundationis extiterit, qui etiam fundatores fuerint, sicut ex ipsius domni prioris ceterorumque seniorum relatione inuestigare potuero, Domini Dei nostri gratia adiuuante, litteris

fo. 3^v

Prologue and chapter headings⁸ Monasterii S. Germani Autisiod in later hand in top margin⁹ Eboracen⁷ dioces in later hand in right-hand margin¹⁰ Labbe adds auctore anonymo qui scribebat anno MCLXXXIV¹¹ interlined and place for insertion indicated¹² historiographum with o¹³ interlined¹⁴ written in left margin¹⁵

¹ It is not known who the prior of Selby was in 1174. The text was composed during the abbacy of Gilbert de Vere (c. 1161–83); on him see above, pp. vi–vii. Roger of London was appointed abbot of Selby by Richard I in 1189 (*Head*, i, 69). The *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* (ii, 85) and Roger of Howden (*Chronica*, iii, 15) record that Roger was prior of Selby at the time of his elevation, and it is possible that he was prior fifteen years earlier, and was thus the unnamed patron who commissioned the Selby *Historia*. Against this, that he seems not to have been an obvious immediate successor to Gilbert may suggest that his tenure of the office of prior was not of long standing.

² 'Obedientia' is used here in the specific sense of 'obedience to a monastic rule' (DMLBS, *obediencia* (3)). The force of the phrase seems to be that the prior is demanding the obedience due to the abbot under the Rule of St Benedict, but doing so in a high-

In the name of the Lord here begins the history of the monastery of Selby, which was founded in honour of St Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1069.

Many things have so far prevented me, oh dearest of men to me, from submitting to your countless loving prayers, in which you ceaselessly ask that I make myself a historian. My tender age has altogether prevented me from obeying requests of this kind and intensity, my untried youth has forbidden me, my profound lack of knowledge has held me back. These are the main reasons for my stubbornness, these the justifiable excuses for my silence, these the strong constraints which have led me to excuse myself. However, what your wisdom was not able to accomplish through friendly candour by its own efforts it has, with cunning subtlety, extracted—almost violently—through someone else. For now to your own entreaties you have added the commands of that lord—the prior¹—whose orders reason does not allow, nor does the monastic rule permit, me to resist. Thus, with your power joined to his, you encourage me to this endeavour with friendly prayers, while he compels me to compliance by demanding obedience² in imperious fashion. I ought not to oppose you stubbornly because you are a friend. I do not wish, neither am I able, to resist him because he is my lord and my father. Therefore I will embark on the task that you have both placed upon me and I will undertake this difficult enterprise, dull-witted and ignorant as I am, truly placing your merits above my powers and trusting more in your prayers than in my ability. I will embark on the illustrious task, I repeat, as a boy and as one of little worth, and I will endeavour, with the help of the grace of the Lord God, to commit to writing in what way the church of Selby was founded, what were the causes and the method of its foundation, who the founders were, as I may be able to discover from the account of the lord prior himself and

handed way. See, for instance, RB, ch. 4: 'Obey the abbot's orders in all things, even if, God forbid, he himself does otherwise, remembering the teaching of the Lord: "Do what they say, not what they do"', and ch. 5, 'Obedience'. The topos of the author's reluctance to write, and the way in which he is compelled to do so by the dictates of obedience, is a commonplace of hagiographical writing; see, for instance, Constantine's letter to Bishop Patiens, which prefaces his life of Germanus (*Constantine de Lyon: Vie de Saint Germain*, ed. Bortus, pp. 112–13; trans. Hoare, *Western Fathers*, pp. 284–5; trans. Noble and Head, *God's Warriors*, p. 77). The Selby author also echoes Constantine's remarks about his rusticity and lack of ability. See also, for instance, *Liber Eliensis*, trans. Fairweather, pp. 1–2.

insinuare curabo.³ Precor autem omnes huius opusculi nostri lectores, eorum uestigijs mente prouolutus et animo, quatinus meam pusillitatem in caritate que Deus est supportantes, mee infirmitati compatiētes, nec inordinate positīs obloqui, nec puertiliter student derogare tractatis. Satis est me meo proprio iudicio iudicari.⁴ Praeterea rusticitatis est et inclemente illum accusare uel ei⁵ obloqui, qui primitus accusator est sui.⁵ Presumptionis autem calumpniam obedientia regularis que ad hoc opus me compulsi refrenabit, simplicitatemque calami agrestis etas tenella que uix uicesimum secundum annum ingreditur⁶ excusabit.

Incipiunt capitula.

Capitulum primum. Qualiter monachus digitum sancti Germani dicerpit.

II Quam admirabilem ultionem idem¹ perculit pro reatu.

III De sacri² presulis corporis repositione et obsequii diligentia.

IV Qualiter Benedictus monachus effectus sit et postea subsacrista creatus.⁴

V Qualiter ei³ sanctus Germanus tertio⁷ apparuit et in Angliam ad Selebiam cum digito suo transf(r)etare⁸ monu|it.

VI Qualiter Benedictus ab Autissiodoro recessit et in Angliam peruenit.

VII Qualiter pro Selebia Salesbiriā adiuit et ab Eduuardo susceptus et honoratus sit.

VIII Qualiter ei sanctus Germanus ibidem apparuit et per usum ei Selebiam ostendit.

IX Qualiter perueniens Linnam nauem repperit que quindecim diebus illic onerata iacuerat.

X Qualiter Selebiam in eadem nauī perueniens, habitaculum sibi⁹ construxit.

XI Quam gaudenter locum ipsum amplexatus sit et de ipsius loci situ.

XII Qualiter mutus digito sacratissimo presulis consignatus loquelam promeruit.

¹ written in right margin and place for insertion indicated in text
² dotted for deletion
³ isidem with s dotted for deletion
⁴ sancti Labbe
⁵ om.
⁶ interlined
⁷ transicare
⁸ sancti Labbe
⁹ om.

³ This is a conventional opening to a monastic history, and may be compared, for instance, to Abbot Stephen's history of the abbey of St Mary's, York, written before 1113: 'qualiter

other elderly men.³ Hastening in their footsteps in mind and spirit, I entreat all those who read this small work of ours, that, sustaining my weakness, in the love which is God, and having compassion on my infirmity, they will not condemn those things that I have put down in a disorderly fashion, nor try to disparage those that I have dealt with in a childish manner. It is enough for me to be judged by my own judgement.⁴ Moreover, it is a sign of uncivilized behaviour and lack of compassion to accuse or blame him, who is the first to accuse himself.⁵ Moreover, obedience to the Rule, which compels me to undertake this task, will keep in check any false accusation that I am acting presumptuously, and my tender age, which has scarcely entered its twenty-second year, will compensate for the artlessness of my rustic pen.

Here begin the chapters.

The first chapter: How a monk tore away the finger of St Germanus.

2 What a wonderful vengeance he suffered for his offence.

3 Of the reburial of the body of the holy bishop and the careful observance of his service.

4 How Benedict became a monk and was afterwards appointed subsacrist.

5 How St Germanus appeared to him a third time and instructed him to sail to England, to Selby, with his finger.

6 How Benedict left Auxerre and came to England.

7 How he went to Salisbury instead of Selby and how he was taken in and honoured by Edward.

8 How St Germanus appeared to him there and showed him Selby in a vision.

9 How, coming to Lynn, he found a ship which had lain at anchor there loaded with its cargo for fifteen days.

10 How he came to Selby in the same ship, and built a dwelling for himself.

11 How joyfully he occupied that place, and about its site.

12 How a mute, having been marked by the sign of the cross by the most sacred finger of the bishop, earned the power of speech.

ecclesia sancte Marie Eboraci cui, Deo auctore, primus abbas datus sum, fundata sit, ad posterorum memoriam literis mandare curavi, ut sciant presentes et futuri posteri nostri, qui vel quales huius nostre ecclesie fundatores, et quantas invidiorum turbidibus impulsas sustinuerint perturbaciones' (London, BL Additional MS 38816, fo. 29^v; Mon., iii, 545).

⁴ There may be an echo here of Titus 3: 11: 'et delinquit proprio iudicio condemnatus'.
⁵ Prov. 18: 17: 'iustus prior est accusator sui'.

- XIII Qualiter Hugo uicecomes Benedictum uisitauit et in familiaritatem et amicitiam suscepit.
- XIII Qualiter uicecomes tenitorium suum extantum illic dereliquit et capellam construere fecit.
- XV Qualiter rex locum et licentiam fundandi monasterium et alias terras Benedicto dedit.
- XV⁹ Qualiter acceptis que rex dederat conuentum sibi fratrum⁹ Benedictus congregauit.
- XVII Qualiter latronis dextera qui capellam uolebat infringere parieti adhesit.
- XVIII Qualiter filius uicecomitis a caduca gutta curatus per digitum sit.⁹
- XIX Qualiter Benedictus abbas ordinatus prece et precio⁶ ubicunque potuit terras acquisiuit.
- XX Exemplar carte Willelmi regis Benedicto ad confirmationem questuum collate.
- XXI Quam prudens et quam studiosus circa sui et fratrum profectum Benedictus fuit.
- XXII Quomodo Benedictus fratres qui pecuniam asportauerant crudeliter affligens plurimos aduersum se commouit.
- XXIII Quomodo lesi | fratres in monasterio discordiam seminantes et abbatem per prouinciam diffamantes ad regem accusauerunt.
- XXIII Quomodo Benedictus Abbatem Stephanum Eboracensem iussu regis ipsum capere uolentem repulit.
- XXV Quomodo Benedictus dans locum⁷ inuidie de Selesia dicebat.
- XXVI Quomodo Hugo Abbas Benedicto succedens monasterium plurimis extrulit incrementis.
- XXVII Quomodo fundamenta monasterii longius ab aqua iaciens ipse cotidie cucullo indutus operario laborabat.
- XXVIII Quomodo caritate plenus et affluens in omnibus se sicut Dei minister exhibuit.
- XXIX Quomodo finem suum precognoscens sese ab⁹ abbatia deposuit.
- XXX Quomodo post depositum onus pastorale plurima

- 13 How Hugh the sheriff visited Benedict and took him into his household and friendship.
- 14 How the sheriff left the pavilion he had erected there and caused a chapel to be built.
- 15 How the king gave the site to Benedict, and permission to found a monastery, and other lands.
- 16 How, having accepted what the king had given him, Benedict gathered a community of brethren around him.
- 17 How the right hand of a thief who wanted to break into the chapel stuck to the wall.
- 18 How the son of the sheriff was cured of epilepsy by the finger.
- 19 How Benedict, having been ordained abbot, obtained lands wherever he could, by entreaty or for payment.⁶
- 20 A copy of the charter of King William bestowed on Benedict to confirm the property he had acquired.
- 21 How prudent and how assiduous Benedict was about his own advancement and that of his brethren.
- 22 How Benedict, cruelly humbling brothers who had stolen money, stirred up very many against him.
- 23 How the injured brothers, sowing discord in the monastery and denouncing him throughout the region, accused Benedict before the king.
- 24 How Benedict warded off Abbot Stephen of York, who wished to arrest him on the order of the king.
- 25 How Benedict, giving way to ill will,⁷ left Selby.
- 26 How Abbot Hugh, succeeding Benedict, advanced the monastery with many acquisitions.
- 27 How, laying out the foundations of the monastery further away from the river, he used to work each day, dressed in a labourer's cowl.
- 28 How, being filled with charity and abundant in all virtues, he showed himself to be a servant of God.
- 29 How, realizing that his end was near, he laid down the office of abbot.
- 30 How, after he had relinquished the burden of pastoral office, he

⁹ *there appears to be cropping here. The place is indicated by a rubricated sign in the text, in Labbe*

⁶ *This is the only number in the sequence that is not rubricated and it appears to have been added later. All subsequent chapter numbers have been corrected in brown ink. For discussion, see above, pp. xiii-xiv.*

⁷ *sancti Francisci Labbe* ⁹ *This entry written in right margin.*

⁶ See *DMIBS*, *prez* 1(b), *pretium* 1(c). The phrase has the force 'for love or money'.

⁷ See *DMIBS*, *locus* 28 (b), 'locum dare', with the sense 'to yield'.

sanctorum loca uisitauit, et postea domum reuersus¹
felicter obijt.

XXXI Versus uice epitaphii de eodem scripti.

XXXII De Abbate Herberto et eius² moralitate.

XXXIII Qualiter laborem infinitum sibi³ cernens⁴ incumbere se⁵ de
regimini loco transiit.

XXXIV Quod illi successit Abbas Durannus et de aqua que capelle
gradum transire nequit.

XXXV Qualis idem⁶ Durannus fuit, et quam ob causam pastorem
et honorem et onus ammisit.

Primum Capitulum

(P)rima⁷ quidem lectione⁸ de uenerandi patris et patroni nostri
Germani⁹ digito qui totius pene nostre | narrationis causa est et
materia, qualiter eum de dextera presulis olim uiolenter quidam
dicerpserit, manifestare¹⁰ dignum duxi. Quod quidem, tibi lector,
ideo prima lectionis fronte insinuare curauit, ut cum historicam
narrationem inchoauero sine digressionis hiatus continetur oratio,
nec sit necesse de historia ad alia narranda digredi, cum quod scire
oportet de digito, tibi precedenti relatione fuerit antea patefactum.
Fuit in Autissiodorensi cenobio ubi beatissimi Germani corpusculum
in corruptum requiescit et integrum¹¹ frater quidam, qui etiam inibi
subsecretarii fungebatur officio. Qui in beatissimi confessoris amorem
specialis igne dilectionis accensus exiit, in eius laude continuus, in
memoria¹² sedulus, in obsequio studiosus. Hic ut ei esset memoria
presulis de frequenti frequentior, spes ex certa certior, cultus ex

¹ reuertens with sus interlined over tens dotted for deletion ² illius Labbe
³ interlined and place for insertion indicated ⁴ interlined and place for insertion indicated
⁵ om. Labbe ⁶ idem with s dotted for deletion
⁷ a rima with a space left for an enlarged three-line initial ⁸ ma written before
manifestare but not deleted

⁹ A 'lectio' might be a lesson read as part of the liturgy; it could also be a passage read from a book as a public reading. See *DMLBS*, *lectio* 6, esp. 6(c), for the monastic context of reading during work or collation, citing *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, p. 120.

¹⁰ St Germanus (c.375-440), bishop of Auxerre, was an imperial governor of part of Gaul until his election to the see of Auxerre in 418. On him, and his 'vitiæ' and 'miracula', see Introduction, pp. xix-xxii.

¹¹ For the translation of the body of Germanus in 8, r and the dedication of the crypt in 859, and the discovery that his body was in corrupt and his clothes whole, as if he were

visited very many saints' shrines and afterwards returned home and died blissfully.

31 Verses written as an epitaph for that same man.

32 Concerning Abbot Herbert and his character.

33 How, perceiving that endless duty weighed upon him, he resigned the rule of that place.

34 How Abbot Durand succeeded him, and about the water that was not able to cross the step of the chapel.

35 What kind of a man this Durand was, and the reason for which he lost both the honour of holding pastoral office and its burden.

The first chapter

For the first reading,⁸ I have thought it fitting to make known the story of the finger of our father and patron, Germanus,⁹—who is worthy to be venerated, and who is the origin and theme of almost all our narrative—and of how someone once violently tore his finger away from the bishop's right hand. I have taken care to introduce this at the very beginning of the reading for you, my reader, for this reason, so that, when I begin the narrative of past events, the discourse may continue uninterrupted without a break caused by deviation, and it will not be necessary to digress from telling one story to another, because what you need to know about the finger will have been made clear to you in the account which has been already been set out. There was in the monastery at Auxerre, where the little body of the blessed Germanus lay in corrupt and whole,¹⁰ a certain brother who discharged the office of subsacrist there. Fired by the flame of particular devotion in his love for the most blessed confessor, he never stopped praising him, he was diligent in his commemoration,¹¹ most zealous in his service. This man, in order that, for him, the memory of the bishop might grow from constant to more constant, hope from certain to

recently dead ('Adhuc tunc quoque meritorum eius argumenta praecepna, non absque miraculorum privilegis sollemnibus commendata. Pretiosi denique sepulcri intimis patefactis, ita demum corpus venerabile cum omni cultu vestium integrum, intermentum, atque omni incorruptione genere speciosum apparuit'), see Heintz, *Miracula*, ii, 2 (Dunn, ii, 104-5; *PL*, cxxiv, 1252-3). Germanus's body was positioned in the crypt of St Stephen, and eventually surrounded by the tombs of other bishops. The *Gesta* of the bishops of Auxerre also note that the body was found in 841 to be in corrupt: *Les Gestes des évêques d'Auxerre*, ed. Sol, Lobrichon, and Goulet, i, 152-3.

¹¹ The word 'memoria' can mean 'commemoration', as translated here, or it can have the more specialized meaning of shrine, which is a possible alternative: see *DMLBS*, *memoria* 6(b).

deuoto deuotior, nescio cuius spiritus suggestione concepit ut aliquid monimenti de sanctissimo sancti corpore futurius inuasor abstraheret.¹² Nec facile quidem crediderim hunc animum sinistri spiritus persuasione conceptum, cum eum et amoris incendium ad culpam compulerit, et ad presumptionis ausum simplex et pia intentio animauerit. Huiscemodi igitur affectu mente concepto ad effectum opus affectatum perducere totis desiderijs hanelabat. Temporis opportunitatem expectat, hore congruentiam prestolatur. Nec mora. Nocturnum silentium, monachorum¹ absentia, sociorum et custodum subtractio, ad conceptam animo rem exequendam horam congruam, constantem animum, silentii fidem contulerunt. Credebat homo latere debere rem factam sub tenebris, mortaliunquē deuotare noticiam, quod sub solius Dei perfereret aspectu. Hac spe confirmatus animatus² ad factum, locum quo sanctissimi presulis corpus requieuit adiuit, premeditatusque, ut credo, quid eripere uoluisset, digitum medium manus dextere sacrilegii reus, uel morsu uel abscissione detraxit.¹³

II

Vix se temerarius ab ausu presu(m)ptuoso⁴ retraxerat, cum confessoris offensi admirabilem et inauditam seculis in se presensit ultionem. Quae tam admirabilis est et plena stupore ut difficile sit agnoscere utrum in ea plus ira presulis quam clementia, plus misericordia quam iudicium commendetur. Mox nanque ut reatum reus admiserat, diuinitatis quodam agnatus impulsu uirtuteque coactus reum pectus infatigabiliter pugno tundere cepit utroque, semper uoce flebili continua lamentatione declamans, 'Sancte Germane miserere mei, ⁵Sancte Germane

¹ monachorum followed by et custodum dotted for deletion; deleted phrase retained *Labbe interlineat*, in anima *Labbe* ² destruxit *Labbe*

II ³ presumptuoso ⁴ om. *Labbe*

¹² On the theft of relics see esp. Geary, *Fortia Sacra*. Geary's discussion highlights the various reasons for which relics were stolen—by individual relic mongers, by monasteries, and by cities such as Venice and Bari. The *Historia Selebenensis monasterii* offers no reason for the desire of the subscrist to steal something from the tomb of Germanus, other than personal devotion to the saint.

¹³ There is no direct source for this passage in the recorded miracles of Germanus. The nearest parallel is *Miracula*, II, 2 (Durr, II, 169; PL, cxciv, 1257). One feast day of St Amator, predecessor of Germanus (1 May), his body was translated to the basilica. 'Et spectaculo beati quoque Germani collegium absterere, non tam esset indecens quam nefarium. Reliquias sacri corporis accepturi nil compententius postulandum decreuerunt, quam dextrae digitos manus, quibus quondam violentus Germano crimem decerpserat.'

more certain, reverence from devout to more devout, took it into his head—through the instigation of some spirit—that, as a secret intruder, he would steal some token of remembrance from the most holy body of the saint.¹² I would not easily believe that this intention was conceived at the instigation of a perverse spirit—for it must have been a sincere and devout purpose which drove him and the fire of his love to sin and inspired his daring presumption. With this intention planted in his mind, he strove eagerly with all his desires to bring to pass the task that he had set himself. He looked for an opportune time; he waited for a fitting hour. There was no delay! The silence of the night and the absence of the monks, the withdrawal of his companions and the guardians of the shrine, all brought to the pursuit of the plan he had conceived an appropriate hour, a steadfast spirit, confidence in the silence. The man believed that a deed committed in the darkness ought to remain unknown and to escape the attention of mortals, since it would be brought to completion under the gaze of God alone. Emboldened by this hope and inspired to carry out the deed, he went to the place where the body of the most holy bishop lay, and—as I believe—having thought in advance what he wished to snatch, the one guilty of sacrilege removed the middle finger of the right hand, either by biting or by cutting it off.¹³

Chapter 2

Scarcely had the audacious man drawn back from his presumptuous deed of daring when he felt that he was about to experience the astonishing vengeance of the confessor he had violated, a vengeance that was unheard of before in the history of the world. This vengeance is so extraordinary and awe-inspiring that it is difficult to know whether in what happened the anger of the bishop is more worthy of commendation than his clemency, his mercy more than his judgement. For indeed, as soon as the guilty one had committed his crime, shaken by some sort of an attack of ecstasy and driven on by virtue, he began tirelessly to strike his guilty breast with both fists, continually crying out in a voice which was tearful with ceaseless weeping: 'St Germanus, have pity on me, St Germanus, have pity on

This refers to the incident recorded in the *Gesta pontificum* when Bishop Amator, wishing to designate Germanus as his successor, seized him and tonsured him: *Les Gesta des évêques d'Autun*, ed. Sor, Lobrichon, and Goulet, I, 28-9. This may have inspired the narrative of the theft of the finger of Germanus. See above, pp. lxxxiii-iv.

miserere mei'. Nec sciuit⁶ postea quamdiu superfuit ab hoc mirabili satisfactionis genere cessare nec potuit, nisi cum corpusculum aut soporis quiete foueret, aut ciborum perceptione reficeret. Respice, queso, et mirare mirabilem Germanum fecisse mirabiliter, respice et mirare clementem pontificem erga | filium non nisi misericorditer iniuria commoueri. Et si commotus iniuria, sat tamen clementer et paterne commotionis repressit incendium, dum non ad salutis virtutis dispendium, sed ad optentum uenie, ad satisfactionem offense, ad beatitudinis meritum, ultionis exercuit disciplinam. Sic igitur dum se reus deprehensum a diuinitatis maiestate sentiret, digitum super altare necessitate coactus reposuit, in satisfactione prenotata continua lamentatione perdurans. Nec intercessit dilatio, cum ad eum quosdam de fratribus fortuna conduxit. Aspiciunt et mirantur miraculum, omnibus seculis admirandum. Non diu celari potuit res digna spectaculo. Paucis primo precognita, ad plurimorum noticiam in momento peruenit. Accurrunt monachi, dumque passim accelerant singuli, in hora congregantur uniuersi. In conuentu publico reus de euentu conuentus causam exposuit, modum edisserit, confitetur admissum. Ostenditur digitus in altari quem rapuit, manifestatur sententia quam ex rapina promeruit. Plangunt monachi presulem tam uehementer offensum, plangunt errorem fratris immensum, plangunt filii patris iniuriam, plangunt fratris^{d 14} reatus incuriam.

III

Communi subinde fratrum consilio corpus presulis in^a tali loco reponitur, sic aptatur, ut sine | plurimorum consensu nec aspicere ualeat, nec adiri.¹⁵ Circumcluditur siquidem usquequaque forti muro

^c followed by edisserit dotted for deletion

^d fratrem; fratrem Labbe

III ^a interlined, om. Labbe

¹⁴ The emendation of 'fratrem' to 'fratris' is demanded by the sense and balances the construction 'patris . . . iniuriam' / 'fratris . . . incuriam'. An alternative emendation would be to the nominative plural 'fratres', making 'the brothers' the subject of the clause. The modulation from the past to the present tense in the final lines of this paragraph may be designed for rhetorical effect, to make the discovery of the loss of the finger and the confession of the culprit more immediate.

¹⁵ When Germanus was first buried it appears that there was no crypt, and Gregory of Tours remarked that pilgrims could easily approach the stone sarcophagus on an altar in the church; see I. Louis, *Aluissodorum Christianum*, p. 35. It was not until 841 that the sanctuary of the Merovingian basilica was demolished, as a result of which the tomb had to be moved (*ibid.*, p. 38). The building at Auxerre is notable, and the 'confessio' at the heart of the shrine may date to the 6th c. It has three barrel-vaulted aisles with columns reused from a

me.' Afterwards, for as long as he lived he did not know how to bring this wondrous type of reparation to an end, nor was he able to do so, except when he sustained his frail body with the refreshment of sleep, or nourished it by the taking of food. Be mindful, I entreat you, and wonder how the marvellous Germanus performed this miracle, be mindful and wonder how the merciful bishop was moved only to pity towards his son by the injury. And, moved by injury as he was, he so mercifully and in such fatherly fashion quelled the fire of his agitation that he exercised the discipline of vengeance not in order to cause the loss of health and strength, but to obtain pardon, to ensure reparation for the offence, and to bestow the reward of blessedness. And thus it was that, when the guilty one felt himself detected by divine majesty, compelled by necessity he replaced the finger on the altar, continuing to endure the said reparation with endless lamentation. Nor was it long before he was discovered, for fortune led certain of the brothers to him. They see him and are amazed at the miracle, which would be wondered at for the rest of time. The matter, worthy of wonder, could not be concealed for long. Revealed at first to a few, in a short time it came to the notice of many. The monks come running and, while they hurry one by one from every direction, they all come together within the hour. In full assembly the guilty one revealed the reason, declared the method, and confessed the crime he had committed. The finger which he has stolen is displayed on the altar and the judgement which he has merited for the theft is made plain to them. The monks lament the bishop who has been so violently injured, they lament the grave error of their brother, the sons bewail the insult done to their father, they bewail the recklessness of the brother's crime.¹⁴

Chapter 3

Immediately, and by common consent of the brethren, the body of the bishop was put back in such a place, and so positioned, that it might not be seen or approached without the consent of the majority.¹⁵ The tomb was enclosed on every side by a strong wall,

Gallo-Roman building (Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, p. 150). Stalley further states that the Carolingian crypt at Auxerre was significant in two respects. First, the Carolingian additions (c.841-59) to the earlier crypt were made to the exterior of the existing church, producing an 'outer crypt'. Second, it once had upper storeys, so that the crypt would have resembled a two-storey building wrapped around the east end of the church' (*ibid.*). The crypt was consecrated in 859 and the body of Germanus translated in the presence of Charles the Bald. See *ibid.*, p. 151, for a plan of the crypt and an illustration of the 'confessio'. In 859, as described by Heitric, the tomb of Germanus was in the western apse of

sarcofagus, uno tantum hostio ferro admittente accessum.¹⁶ Ad⁴ requiescentis honorem, indeficienti lumine lampas ibi perseuerat accensa, que ut illius cuius deseruit honori circa sacri sepulcri ambitum presentiam commendaret, uisa est⁵ quindecim diebus ferme totidem que noctibus dum semper arderet, nichil imminutionis peruisse. Nec illud silendum est quod si fortuito casu per noctem illam exstingui contigerit, sicut in libro miraculorum eius scribitur,¹⁷ nulla indigeatur custodiibus requies, nulla potendi somno facultas, donec defecti luminis obsequium reparetur. Interdum cuiusdam manus impulsu molestius impetuntur, ut nemini impune dubitare liceat debita loco seruata non inepte, non segnit⁸er exerceunda. Dignus autem in eburnea pixide compositus honorifice uice corporis altario superpositus eminebat. Qui ad incorrupti corporis inuincibile argumentum, ita carnis et cutis integritate perseuerat ornatus, ut pili etiam infra mediam iuncuram tam firmiter cuti adhererant, quod ad intuentium admirationem per eos insulime digitus possit et soleat eleuari.¹⁸ His ita digestis ad historice narrationis accedamus exordium.

III

60. 7^r Eodem ferme tempore quo Angliam dux Norman|nie Willelmus inuaserat, potentique dextera suo subiunguit imperio,¹⁹ fuit in predicto Autissiodorensi cenobio frater quidam nomine Benedictus. Nec immerito sane tali nomine uocitatus, nam tanquam de re nomen sortitus habere meruit benedictionem a Domino, et misericordiam a Deo saluari suo.²⁰ Hic in eodem educatus cenobio, loci illius abbati sub seculari habitu diu multumque seruierat.²¹ Iamque tempus

⁴ The A occurs at the far left of the line and the first tail of the letter is enlarged, descending over three lines, presumably to give prominence to this passage

⁵ interlined

the 'confessio', but it was moved for greater security deeper into the crypt, possibly when invasion threatened in c.885. For detailed discussion see Louis, *Autissiodorum Christianum*. See also King, 'The Carolingian frescoes'.

¹⁶ It is possible that this is inspired by Heiric, *Miracula*, i, 2 (Duru, ii, 125; *PL*, cxxiv, 1217-8); *Les Gestes des évêques d'Auxerre*, ed. Sor, Lobrichon, and Goulet, i, 38-9. In the *Gesta abbatum Sancti Germani Autissiodorensis*, begun in 1290 but drawing on earlier traditions, Abbot Guy describes how, in 864, Abbot Lothar, son of Charles the Bald, replaced the cypress coffin, which was already decayed, with a wooden shrine reinforced with gold and precious stones, and established a lamp to burn perpetually before the tomb (MS latin 10940, fo. 68^v; *Les Gestes des Abbés de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre*, ed. and trans. Dehou-Leca and Sasser, p. 71; Louis, *Autissiodorum Christianum*, p. 42).

¹⁷ 'In libro miraculorum' refers to the *Miracula* of Heiric of Auxerre; the close verbal parallels with this source are discussed above, pp. lxxxi-ii.

¹⁸ For the significance of this detail see below, I, 18.

with only one iron door allowing access.¹⁶ To the honour of the one who lay there a lamp was burning steadily and constantly with an unfailing light. So that it might enhance its effect, all around the circumference of the tomb to the honour of the one whom it served, the light seemed to experience no diminution of its power while it continued to burn for almost fifteen days and as many nights. Nor should I fail to mention how, if by any chance it had been extinguished during that period of night, as it is written in the book of his miracles,¹⁷ the custodians were said to have been allowed no rest, no opportunity for enjoying sleep, until the service of the failing light was restored. Sometimes, they were attacked quite grievously by the blows of a certain hand, so that no one should with impunity be allowed to doubt that the services due to that place must not be carried out improperly, or lazily. The finger, however, was set in an ivory casket and was placed reverently high on the altar in an exalted position beside the body. It was irrefutable proof of the incorrupt body that the finger remained clothed with its flesh and skin intact, so that the hairs in the middle of the joints even stuck fast to the skin and thus, to the wonder of those who looked on, the finger could be, and was habitually, lifted into the air by them.¹⁸ Now that I have explained these things we can move on to the beginning of our historical narrative.

Chapter 4

At about the time that Duke William of Normandy invaded England and brought it under his yoke by his strong right hand,¹⁹ there was in the aforesaid monastery of Auxerre a certain brother by the name of Benedict. Indeed, it was not undeserved that he used to be called by this name for, just as if the name had been chosen by lot, he deserved a benediction from the Lord, and mercy from God his saviour.²⁰ He had been brought up in the monastery and had for a long time given great service to the abbot of that place in a secular habit.²¹ But now

¹⁹ William of Normandy defeated the English king at Hastings on 14 Oct. 1066.

²⁰ Ps. 23 (24): 5: 'Hic accipiet benedictionem a Domino et misericordiam a Deo saluari suo'.

²¹ The abbot of Auxerre in 1066 was Walter, a former monk of Fleury. He was elected by the monks in 1064 after a vacancy which had lasted nearly twelve years on account of a dispute between the duke of Burgundy and the count of Auxerre, and during which the prior, Boso, took charge of the monastery (1052-64). Abbot Walter died in 1074. See MS Latin 10940, fos. 57^v-58^r; *Les Gestes des Abbés de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre*, ed. and trans. Dehou-Leca and Sasser, pp. 28-33; *Gallia Christiana*, xii (Paris, 1770), cols. 286-7, 378-9.

aduenerat quo et egregii iuuenis obsequia sua sibi premia postulabant, et benignus Dominus²² non eius ingratus obsequiis, illum honorifice remunerare parabat. Et ne remuneratio iuuenis animum uel uotum offenderet, duarum illi rerum²³ proposuit optionem, ut scilicet quod mallet e duobus eligeret, uel militie cingulum in seculo, uel miliciam monachatus in monasterio. Optionem ergo huiusmodi proponenti, respondit abbas Benedictus. 'Melior est', inquit, 'dies una in atris tuis Domine super milia. Elegi proinde abiectus esse in domo Dei mei magis quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum, quia misericordiam et ueritatem diligit Deus. Gratiam et gloriam dabit Dominus.²⁴ Infinita est in seculo militantium multitudo, uerum quod pudor est dicere, uiciis potius quam uirtutibus seruientium. Infamis est milita solo nomine militare et dedecus indecens, uitis et inerte seruire sub armis. Ad hec spiritalia castra me confero, ubi nec uirtus premio nec honestas reuerente | carebit honore. Illi Domino militabo, qui suos milites uirtute corroborat, quiete iustificat,²⁵ gloria et honore coronat.²⁶ Nec mora. Monachicis disciplinis Benedictus iniectus, literisque appositus, ordinem monachorum et seruicium in breui didicit, quia in lege Domini uoluntas eius, et in mandatis eius meditabatur die ac nocte.²⁷ Sic ergo dum ambularet de uirtute in uirtutem,²⁸ dum ascensiones in corde suo disponderet,²⁹ dedit ei Dominus fungi sacerdotio, et habere laudem in nomine ipsius.³⁰ Ac deinde tanquam moribus et genere fuerit Leuita, sacrorum et secretorum custos et conscius, eius pro uite merito pro morum honestate creatus est.³¹

III ^{interlined} Labbe adūs Domini ^{virtutem Labbe} ^{interlined}
^{prelatus Labbe} ^{om. Labbe}

²² It is not clear if 'Dominus' refers to the Lord God, or to the lord abbot. Either interpretation is possible. However, in the text that follows the abbot gave Benedict the choice of entering the monastery as a monk or choosing secular knighthood, and I have therefore taken 'dominus' to refer to him, although in his reply Benedict addresses the heavenly Lord.

²³ Ps. 83 (84): 11-12: 'Quia melior est dies una in atris tuis super milia; elegi abiectus esse in domo Dei mei magis quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum / quia misericordiam et ueritatem diligit Deus, gratiam et gloriam dabit Dominus.'

²⁴ This may be an echo of Ps. 42 (43): 4: 'ad Deum, qui laetificat inuentum meum.'
²⁵ Ps. 8: 6 and Heb. 2: 7: 'Gloria et honore coronasti eum.'

the time had come when the services of this distinguished youth demanded their rewards and the kindly lord,²² not being ungrateful for these services, was preparing to repay him with honour. And, so that the reward would not displease either the spirit or the wishes of the young man, he laid before him the choice of two things, so that he might choose from the two which he preferred, either the belt of knighthood within the world, or the monastic army within the cloister. Benedict replied to the abbot who laid this choice before him. 'One day in your halls, O Lord, is better than a thousand elsewhere', he said. 'I have therefore chosen to be humble in the house of God rather than to live in the tents of sinners, because God loves mercy and truth. The Lord will give grace and glory.'²³ The throng of those who fight in the world is boundless but, shameful as it is to say it, they serve vices rather than virtues. It is a disgraceful kind of military service, to fight in name alone, and it is a shameful disgrace to serve in arms vices and idleness. I dedicate myself to the spiritual camps, where virtue will not lack reward, or integrity the honour of being held in reverence. I will fight for that Lord who strengthens his soldiers with virtue, gladdens them with peace,²⁴ and crowns them with glory and honour.²⁵ There was no more delay. Benedict threw himself into his training as a monk, applied himself to his letters, and, in a short space of time, he learned about the monastic way of life and service, because his will was in the law of the Lord and he thought on his mandates day and night.²⁶ And so, while he proceeded from virtue to virtue,²⁷ while he set his heart on the stages of spiritual progress, the Lord granted it to him to exercise the priestly office, and to have praise and glory in His name.²⁹ And then he was just like a Levite in his ways and in his behaviour, and was made guardian and associate of holy things and secrets, in return for the merit of his life and the honesty of his ways.³⁰

²⁶ Ps. 1: 2: 'sed in lege Domini uoluntas eius, et in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte.'

²⁷ Ps. 83 (84): 8: 'Ibunt de uirtute in uirtutem.'

²⁸ Ps. 83 (84): 6: 'beatus vir cuius est auxilium abs te, Ascensiones in corde suo disposuit.'

²⁹ Ecclus. 45: 19: 'Fungi sacerdotio, et habere laudem, et glorificare populum suum in nomine eius.'

³⁰ The Levites were one of the twelve tribes of Israel, descended from Levi, one of the sons of Jacob. They were set apart as ministers of the sanctuary. See Num. 1: 47-54 and 3: 15-39; also 1 Chron. 9: 26-34.

tanti a te habitus sum ut iussionem¹ meam digneris implere? Iam tercio tibi frustra aparui, uotum et uelle meum aperui, nec tamen hacenus imperitis meis parere parasti. Predico igitur tibi et in ueritate preunio, quod nisi citius iussionem meam adimpleueris, inobedientie tue grauem excipies et perferes ultionem.²

VI

fo. 8^v Hic Benedictus uoce perterritus exinde cepit secum de profecione tractare. | Et quoniam discessionem suam rationis et licentie libertate munire uolebat, ingressus capitulum licentiam petit abeundi, causam tamen discessionis miraculumque uisionis omnino dissimulans. Nec impetrare ualens uice prima quod petit patienter suspendit negotium, dieque crastina licentiam iterum satis auide postulabat. Reclamant singuli, resistunt uniuersi, et in contumelias monachi monachorum omnium uoces una prosiiliunt, clamores perstrepunt, iurgia proferuntur.³⁵

Voces innites conuicia iurgia lites,
Lis creat ordo mouet fert furor ira fouet.⁴

Contumeliosam itaque passus repulsam, necessitate compulsus, clamulo discedere cogitabat. Digitum gloriosi presulis sicut ei iusserat ipse nocturno silentio rapuit, apertoque brachio suo, digitum infra reposuit. In quo solo facto miracula plurima choruscant, quia nec uulner⁵ inuenit sanguinem,³⁶ nec uulneratus cruciatus incommodum. Accessit etiam ad hec non inferioris prodigii splendor et gloria, quia cum preciosum pignus ad brachium admoisset, ad illius susceptionem continuo se uulnus hiatu citissimo sufficienter aperuit, susceptoque digito, iterum se decenti⁷ reclusionem recepit. Ligauit tamen ille uulnus lintheolis ac si brachium cauteratum⁸ haberet. Quo facto factisque ceteris que facere compulsi itineris apparatus, Deo se

³⁵ *interlined and place for insertion indicated; uisionem Labbe*

VI ¹ *A later hand has written uersus in the margin, the lines are not presented as uersus*
² *uulnus* ³ *recenti Labbe* ⁴ *at interlined and place for insertion indicated*

³⁵ According to the Rule of St Benedict a monk vowed stability in the monastery where he made his profession, and was not allowed to leave; however, 'if he ever gives in to the Devil's urging that he should leave the monastery, God forbid, then let him be thrown out, stripped of the monastery's clothes' (RB, ch. 58). Journeys could be undertaken with the permission of the abbot (chs. 51, 55, 67) but a monk who left by his own fault ('proprio uito') was allowed back three times only, returning to the lowest place (RB, ch. 29).

said, 'Am I not held in such regard by you that you deign to obey my order? Already I have appeared to you a third time to no avail, I have revealed to you my solemn promise and my desire, but you have not as yet made any preparations to obey my commands. I warn you, and in truth I predict that, unless you carry out my order more quickly, you will receive and suffer a weighty revenge for your disobedience.'

Chapter 6

Benedict was terrified by this voice and now began to consider carefully how he might leave. And since he wanted to secure his departure with the authority of reason and permission he entered the chapter and sought licence to go away, though he kept very quiet about the reason for his departure and the miracle of the vision. Not being able to obtain what he wanted on the first occasion he asked, he patiently postponed the matter and on the following day eagerly enough he asked for permission a second time. Each one of the monks cried out, united they opposed him; the voices of all of them burst forth as one in reproach of the monk, their protests resounded and their invectives came forth.³⁵

A dispute creates ungentle voices, reproaches, invectives,
arguments,
The rule of the order encourages them, anger sustains them,
rage promotes them.

And so, having suffered a humiliating rebuff and driven by necessity, he planned to leave secretly. Under the silence of night he snatched the finger of the glorious bishop, as he himself had ordered him, and, opening up his arm, he placed the finger inside. In this one action alone many miracles shone forth, because he neither discovered any blood from the wound,³⁶ nor, although injured, did he suffer affliction. In addition to this, there was the magnificence and glory of no less a miracle because, when he had moved the precious relic towards his arm, the wound straightaway opened itself, with an aperture just sufficient to receive it, and, once it had taken in the finger, again it received it with just the right closure. However, he bound the wound in linen cloths as if he had a burnt arm. When he had done this and made all other preparations which the needs of his journey demanded, he

³⁶ The emendation from the nominative or accusative (*uulnus*) seems to be demanded by the sense.

60. 9^o commendans et sanctissimo patrono suo Germano, melodia nocte monasterium egressus, iter ingreditur, quod gallicana ducebat ad litora. Langue crastina dies illuxerat, nec illius absentia diutius latere ualebat. Et primo quidem sociis³⁷ et sacrorum custodibus, ac deinde fratribus omnibus illius discessus innotuit. Queritur in monasterio nec inuenitur, inquitur per ciuitatem, nec ulla de eo certitudo cognoscitur. Exploratur per ecclesiam sat sollicito si salua sint omnia, si illo discedente cuncta que sub cura eius fuerant intacta remanserint. Dum ergo considerantur omnia, singula pertractantur, ad extremum preciosum presulis digitum abesse comperunt. Tunc clamor per ecclesiam oritur, tunc turbatio per monasterium funditur, tunc gemitus et lamenta per ciuitatis ambitum eleuantur.³⁸

Tunc doluit quibus mulier mas aduena cuius,
Hinc gemitus iuuenum personat inde senum.
Doctus hebes stultus sensatus paruus adulus,
Femina uir flebant fletuque fluente madebant.

Ad persequendum postremo monachum per itinera plurima plurimi destinantur. Insequitur monachum monachorum turba furentum, atque minans cedes hinc eques, inde pedes. Vnum plurimi persequuntur unanimes, persequentes inueniunt, inuenientes capiunt, capientes inclementer arguunt, indignanter increpant, uehementer oburgant.

Sacrilegii denum Benedictus arguitur de digito sacratissimo | 60. 9^o secrete palamque conuenitur. Differtur imposita constanti ratione, se nec sacrilegum, nec sacrilegii conscium uina uoce testatur. Sed illi quorum cor induratum,³⁹ quorum fuit manus extenta,⁴⁰ nec eius excusationem accipiunt, nec ullam approbant rationem. Ceterum uim et uolentiam ingerentes manus iniungunt, uestibus eum⁴¹ expoliant,⁴¹

³⁷ A later hand has written versus in the margin, the imitation here is as it is in the MS
³⁸ A later hand has written versus in the margin, it is not clear that verse is intended here
³⁹ A later hand has written 'the' for 'Iesus' in the margin, probably recognising the biblical allusion here

⁴⁰ It is not clear to whom the word 'socii', here translated as 'his close associates', refers in this context.

⁴¹ This is possibly an echo of Jer. 31: 13 (Matt. 27: 18): 'Vox in excelsis audita est lamentationis, luctus, et fletus Rachel plorantis filios suos, et nolentis consolari super eis.'

⁴² Exod. 7: 13, 22; 8: 19: 'induratumque est cor Pharaonis.'

⁴³ The phrase 'manus extensa' may be an allusion to Isa. 14: 26: 'et haec est manus extensa super universas gentes'. It may also be a reference to the torturing of Christ: Matt. 27: 27-31; Mark 15: 16-20.

⁴⁴ 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 19: 24: 'Et exspoliavit etiam ipse vestimentis suis', 1 Macc. 10: 62: 'et

commended himself to God and to his most holy patron Germanus and, leaving the monastery in the middle of the night, he took the road which led to the coast of France. Already the following day had dawned and his absence could not be concealed for much longer. His departure became known first to his close associates,³⁷ then to the guardians of the relics, and finally to all the brothers. They looked for him in the monastery but could not find him. They asked after him throughout the city but no one knew anything for certain about him. They searched the church carefully enough to see whether everything was safe and whether—as he had gone—all those things that had been under his care remained untouched. While they were examining all these things carefully and investigating them one by one they finally discovered that the precious finger of the bishop was missing. Then an outcry arose throughout the church, then confusion poured forth throughout the monastery, then weeping and lamentations were raised throughout the whole of the city.³⁸

Then everyone grieved: woman, man, stranger, citizen.
On this side the groaning of young men resounded, on that the groaning of old men.
The learned man, the dull-witted one, the fool, the intelligent one, the young boy, the grown man,
The woman, the man—all were weeping and becoming sodden with their flowing tears.

At last, a host of men was chosen to pursue the monk along many routes. A crowd of enraged monks followed the monk, threatening slaughter, some on horseback and some on foot. Many men with one intention pursued one man, pursuing him they found him, finding him they seized him, seizing him they harshly accused him, indignantly they rebuked him, strongly they reproved him.

At length Benedict was accused of sacrilege (there was both private and public agreement concerning the theft of the finger). He denied it with persistent argument and he swore out loud that he was not a sacrilegious person or an accessory to sacrilege. But they, whose hearts were hardened,³⁹ whose hands were held out,⁴⁰ did not accept his justification nor believe any of his argument. Instead, laying hands on him they began to treat him with force and violence, they tore his garments from him,⁴¹ they searched him thoroughly. However, their iussit spoliari Ionathan vestibus suis.⁴² This is probably also an allusion to the stripping of Christ: Matt. 27: 35; John 19: 24 (see also Ps. 21 (22): 19, 'Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea').

omnia perscrutantur. In cassum tamen consummato labore quia scrutati sunt inique, dispendioso defecerunt scrutantes scrutinyo.⁴² Nec super eum quod querebant reperire valentes maxima perturbatione confusi Auissiodorum redierunt. Benedictus autem ad mare perueniens prospero et felici cursu cum precioso tesouro deuenit in Angliam.

VII

Secundis itaque uentorum affatibus anglica Benedictus deuectus⁴ ad littora, pro Selebeia Salesbiriā⁴³ cepit inquirere quam ab insularis edoctus, ad eam quasi ad locum sibi diuinitus predestinatum festinabat. Dum citius accelerat, ut quod mens, pes quoque querat, consummans breuiter, abbreviauit iter.⁴ Fuit tunc temporis in Salesbiriā cuius quidam Edwardus nomine, uir omni morum honestate prefulgens, et inter secularia uitam et morem difficiens secularem.⁴⁴ Habitu tamen et specie, specimen in eo secularitatis apparebat, qui etiam non minus census quam sensus locupletatus honore propter diuersarum opum affluentem congeriem 'Dives'⁴⁵ cognomine natus. Hic ergo Salesbiriā aduenientem Benedictum sollempni suscepit officio, susceptum deuoto releuauit obsequio, releuatum fidei et amico confortauit consilio. Cumque diebus paucis apud eum perendinaret Benedictus tam familiaris tam amicus ei effectus est, ut eum semper dereliquo quamdiu superfuit predictus Eduardus ut amicum coleret, ut fratrem diligeret, ut patrem ut dominum honoraret.

VII ^a om. Labbe ^b A later hand has written versus in the margin, it is not clear that verse is intended here

⁴² Ps. 63 (64). 7: 'Scrutati sunt iniquitates, defecerunt scrutantes scrutinyo.'

⁴³ Salisbury has 11th- and 12th-c. Latin forms 'Salesberia', 'Santsberia', etc.; see Gover, Mawer, and Stenton, *The Place Names of Wiltshire*, pp. 18-19. Old Sarum was an important administrative centre in the Anglo-Saxon period, and the location of a royal castle. Its ecclesiastical importance increased in 1075, when the Council of London ordered the transfer there of the see of Sherborne (itself the product of the union of two Anglo-Saxon dioceses of Sherborne and Ramsbury in 1058). Hereafter, bishop of Ramsbury from 1045 to 1055, and bishop of Sherborne in 1058, saw the beginnings of the new cathedral at Old Sarum before his death in 1078. In the 1220s the cathedral was removed from Old Sarum to Salisbury.

⁴⁴ Edward of Salisbury cannot be identified with certainty. However, the description would fit the sheriff of Wiltshire of that name, recorded between 1070 and 1087; see Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, p. 85. Certainly he is described here as a wealthy individual, which would accord well with the historical figure. Edward was the richest English tenant-in-chief recorded in Domesday Book (Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 186). Edward held 312½ carucates at the Domesday Survey, and his wealth has in the past led to some doubts that he

labour was expended to no purpose because they searched him unjustly and the searchers failed in their hurtful investigation.⁴² When they were unable to find on him what they sought they returned to Auxerre perplexed and in great confusion. Benedict, however, reached the sea and, with a favourable and propitious passage, came to England with his precious treasure.

Chapter 7

Benedict was carried by favourable winds to the coast of England and began to ask for Salisbury⁴³ instead of Selby and, when he had learnt where it was from the people of the island, he hastened there, as if to the place divinely appointed for him. While he hurried there swiftly, so that the place his mind sought out, his feet should seek too, he shortened his journey time by taking his meals in haste. There was at that time in Salisbury a certain citizen by the name of Edward, a man resplendently upright in every aspect of his character and though among the things of this world, disavowing the life and ways of the world.⁴⁴ However, in his dress and outward appearance he seemed a model of worldliness. Rich no less in possessions than in character, he bore the honorary nickname of 'Rich Man'⁴⁵ on account of the abundant accumulation of various treasures. This man received Benedict when he came to Salisbury with his customary kindness, having received him, he refreshed him with devout service, and, having refreshed him, he gave him advice as a faithful servant and friend. While he remained with him for a few days Benedict became so much like a member of his household and a friend to him, that, for ever after and for as long as he lived, the aforesaid Edward cherished him as a friend, loved him as a brother, and honoured him as a father and lord.

was an Anglo-Saxon. However, Ann Williams argues that he was indeed of English provenance; the Ramsey Chronicle records that Edward of Salisbury 'and many other *fideles* and thegns of the king' heard a dispute in the shire court of Lincolnshire before 1066 (*Chronicon abbatie Ramskiensis*, ed. Macray, pp. 153-4), and he is most likely to have obtained his wealth through service to Edward the Confessor (Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 98-9, 105-6). The bulk of Edward's lands lay in Wiltshire, and he also had estates in Dorset, Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, and Somerset, and a manor in Hertfordshire, held of the abbey of St Albans. Most of these lands came from Wulfwynne, who was probably his mother. Edward attested a number of royal charters, or was the addressee of royal writs, as 'Eduardus viccomes', E. the sheriff, or as sheriff of Wiltshire: Bates, nos. 39, 60, 154, 160, 176, 177, 194, 195, 277, 323, 328, 339, 340, 341.

⁴⁵ The name 'Dives' recalls the rich man of Luke 16: 19-25, though the connotations in the Selby text are more positive than the biblical account of the rich man and the beggar.

Hec tria ueridicum seruant constanter amicū,
Vnus in hīs clamat semper amicus amat.⁶

Testantur hoc illius non minus preciosa quam spetiosa munuscula, que caritate ductus ad decorē domus Domini ad sanctissimi presulis Germani reuerentiam Benedicto postea delegauit. Siquidem ei consultit ad preciosi digiti repositionem phylaterium quoddam aureum rotundum, quantitate precipuum, qualitate perspicuum, celatura mirificum, opere preciosum, quod usque hodie in monasterio Selebiensi conseruatum, omnes se contemplantes non minus in sui ipsius laudem quam admirationem pro antiqui operis accendit dignitate. Dedit ei etiam ad altaris operimentum lintheum quoddam opere mirifico, decoratum maiestatis Domini cum euangelistis quatuor, sed et crucifixi Domini, necnon etiam duodecim apostolorum continens imagines opere plumario⁴⁶ supertextas. Longum est⁴⁷ omnia retexere que Benedicto contulit. Hec tantum ad fideis uiri monimentum memorasse sufficiat, maxime cum usque hodie in monasterio conseruetur utrumque.⁴⁷ | Cum igitur ut dicere ceperam ab hoc uiro perheni memoria digno Salesbiriā adueniens Benedictus exciperetur hospicio, uenerabili hospiti suo cuncta que sibi contingerant scriatim exposuit, gloriosi scilicet presulis apparitionem, apparentis allocutionem, alloquentis iussionem, iussionis executionem. Suspenderit tamen aliqua, nec plura de uisionis iussione narrauit, quam uera et firma experientia certa probauerat. Summa totius narrationis hoc exiit, quod eum beatus Germanus in Angliam ad Salesbiriā delegauerat. Sic quippe putabat dixisse confessorē, quia nomen Salesbiriē percelebre fuit, Selebie uero tunc temporis satis incognitum. Et quia Salesbiriā prius sepe nominat⁴⁸ Benedictus audierat, illo se putabat a beato Germano transmissum. Igitur ut fidem audientibus faceret Benedictus brachium suum ostendit digitum presulis continens preciosum. Grates summas et gratias omnes Deo et beato Germano persoluit,⁴⁹ illum bene uenisse proclamant, felicem fore locum tam gloriosi presulis patrocinio proficentur. Ac

⁴⁶ 'A later hand has written versus in the margin; the lines are not presented as verse om. *Labbe* ' nominari *Labbe* ' I interlined

⁴⁷ See *DMLBS*, *plumarius*, 3: 'concerned with decoration or embroidery in a feathered pattern'.

⁴⁸ There is no other evidence of Benedict's stay in Salisbury, and given the likely channel crossing from France an accidental visit is implausible. Edward of Salisbury witnessed William I's charter for Selby (see below, I. 20) and it is possible that at that point he gave the relics which the author claimed were still at Selby in 1174. Accordingly the diverting

These three things keep a friend steadfast and constant.
A friend claims benefits in these matters and a friend always loves.

The little gifts—no less precious than beautiful—which Edward, driven by love, afterwards entrusted to Benedict to beautify the house of the Lord and pay reverence to Bishop Germanus, are witness to this. Indeed, he gave him a round golden reliquary in which to place the precious finger, which was of excellent size and quality, wondrously engraved, and of expensive workmanship, and to this day it is preserved in the monastery of Selby, and kindles in all those who look on it no less praise of the object itself than wonder at the grandeur of its ancient artistry. He also gave him as a covering for the altar a certain linen cloth of wonderful craftsmanship, embellished with the four evangelists of the Lord's majesty and with the crucified Lord. It also contained images of the twelve apostles woven in feather stitching.⁴⁶ It would take too long to tell of all the things he gave Benedict. It is enough to recall these matters as a memorial to this faithful man, especially since both these objects are still kept in the monastery to this day.⁴⁷ And so—as I had begun to tell you—when Benedict had come to Salisbury and was being supported as a guest of this man who deserves enduring memory, he explained to his worthy host all the things that had happened to him in due order: that is, the apparition of the glorious bishop, the words of the one who appeared to him, the command of the one who spoke to him, the carrying out of the command. However, he kept some things back, and did not tell him any more about the order he received in this vision than real and actual experience had demonstrated to be certain. This was the sum total of his narrative, that is, that the blessed Germanus had sent him to England, to Salisbury. Indeed, he thought that this is what the confessor had said, because the name of Salisbury was famous, whereas that of Selby was at that time almost unknown. And, because Benedict had formerly often heard Salisbury mentioned by name, he thought that he had been sent there by the blessed Germanus. Therefore, so that he might win the belief of his listeners, Benedict showed his arm containing the precious finger of the bishop. They all gave the highest thanksgiving and praise to God and to the blessed Germanus; they cried out that it was fortunate that he had come, they declared that the place would be blessed as the tale of the mistaken visit to Salisbury might have been included to explain this association. See above, pp. xxxi–ii.

tum putabat Benedictus se ad locum sibi a Deo predestinatum peruenisse cum neque ciuitatem Eboracam, neque Ysam fluuium in illis finibus esse deprehendit. Tunc admodum constrictatus cepit intra se ualde scandalizari et a fide deficere, maxime quia locum quem per uisionem ut putabat audierat, sed loci signa non inuenisset. ^{fo. 11^r} Leticiam | tamen et gaudium uultu preferens anxietatem et scandalum quod paciebatur callide dissimulabat.

Wltus leticia mestos simulata serenans,
Scandala dissimulat mentis amara uiri.⁸

VIII

Iam exorto uespere se tardior hora protraxerat, et Benedictum inieris fatigatio, mentis anxietas, cogitationum molestia, ad refectionem, ad soporem, ad requiem inuitabant.

Cum labor anxietas uaga mens monuere soporem,
Dormit homo ualeat ut sic reparare uigorem.⁹

Quem altius sopore depressum beatus Germanus apprensus, surtidensque paululum, talibus est¹ allocutus affatibus. 'Quid', inquit, 'Benedicte, tam nouus hospes et aduena, tam habundanti tristitia, subitioque merore confunderis?

Dic quid agis quid habes dic que tibi causa doloris,
Sunt mala que pateris intus aperta foris.⁶

Num tue habitationi locum congruum inuenisti? Si sedule petisses, sollicito quesisses, instanter pulsasses, de acceptione certissima, de inuentione promptissima, de apertione latissima⁴ congauderes. Non dixi tibi Salesbiriā, sed ut requireres Selebeiam.⁵ Quod nomen beatus Germanus sepius sillabatum⁷ producendo repetens, 'Verum', inquit, 'ne tibi rursus elapso loci nomine error auertat a peruiro, iam tibi locum ipsum ostendam, ut cum ad illum iterato peruenieris,

⁸ A later hand has written versus in the margin; the lines are not presented as verse
VIII ⁹ A later hand has written versus in the margin; the lines are not presented as verse
¹ om. Labbe ⁴ A later hand has written versus in the margin; the lines are not presented as verse
⁵ written in right margin and place for insertion indicated by mark interlined and repeated in margin; om. Labbe ⁶ sepiem sillabarum Labbe

special territory of the glorious bishop. Benedict thought that he had arrived at the place predestined for him by God—yet he could find neither the city of York nor the River Ouse within its boundaries. Then, greatly saddened, he began to be inwardly tempted to stumble, and to lose faith, especially because this was, as he thought, the place he had heard of in his vision, but he had not found the signs of the place. However, displaying happiness and joy in his face he artfully concealed the fear and doubt that he was feeling.

Pretended joy, brightening sad countenances,
Hides temptations, the bitter thoughts of a man's mind.

Chapter 8

Already the evening star had appeared and the hour had grown later, and tiredness from his journey, the anxiety in his mind, and the vexation of his thoughts were summoning Benedict to refreshment, to sleep, and to rest.

When trouble, care, an unsettled mind urge sleep
The man sleeps—and may be able thus to restore his strength.

When he had sunk into a deep sleep the blessed Germanus appeared to him, and smiling a little, he spoke to him in these words: 'Oh Benedict', he said, 'why are you so weighed down by such a wealth of sorrow and sudden grief, you who are such a newly come guest and stranger?

What are you doing? What is the matter? Tell me, what is the reason for your distress?

There are troubles that you are suffering inside, but they are shown outwardly.

So you have not found a suitable place to live? If you had looked carefully, if you had sought diligently, if you had struck out determinedly, you would now be rejoicing in a very warm welcome, a very speedy discovery, and every opportunity you could wish for. I did not say "Salesbury" to you, but that you should look for "Selby". The blessed Germanus repeated this name again and again, drawing it out syllable by syllable. 'Indeed', he said, 'lest error again divert you from the path because the name escapes you, I will now show you that very place, so that next time you get there you will understand how to

fo. 11^v cespitem⁴⁸ scias quem elegi cognoscere? Sic factus | raptum hominem, siue in corpore siue extra corpus, nescio, Deus sci, ⁴⁹ uniuersum loci situm illi demonstrans, 'hec', inquit, 'requies mea in seculum seculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam'. ⁵⁰ Hiis dictis uisio disparuit confessoris.

IX

fo. 12^r Mane autem facto, cuncta que uiderat hospiti suo Benedictus exposuit. Interiectisque diebus non plurimis, accepto ab eodem hospite suo clerico quodam Tedbald nomine qui scilicet interpretis eius esset Linnam⁵¹ Benedictus usque peruenit. Quo cum peruenisset, nauem inibi reperi onerariam, que cursum Eboracam destinabat ad urbem. Verum inclementia demorata uentorum quindecim dierum intercessu uel amplius illic onerata iacuerat. Crediderim sane nec immerito uentorum hanc aduersitatem celitus commoueri, quatinus sic rate retenta Benedicto illuc aduenienti non euectionis presto dedit obsequium. Quod ex ipsa aeris immutatione sat patenter datur intelligi, quia in secunda die qua illo Benedictus aduenerat, mox aere mutato uentorum opportunitas, aure serenitas, equoris tranquillitas, ad nauigationem prouocabat ituros. Asserit se dominus prior hec apud Linnam a quadam matrona ualde decrepita didicisse, que se inuenculam in domo patris sui Benedictum uidisse perhibuit hospitatum. Et cum eundem Benedictum infirmitas fortasse⁵² coegisset ut balneis uteretur, brachium suum dextrum in quo digitus gloriosus continetur iugiter ab aquis in sullime suspendens, precauit summopere ne aquarum iniuria digitus offenderetur. Quod cum uidissent qui aderant, et cur hoc faceret inquirerent, prius infirmitatem quandam se habere dixit in brachio, sed postmodum rei ueritatem et ordinem hospiti suo narrauit, se que illo dixit aduenisse, ut ibi nauem conscendens per aquam locum⁵³ sibi predestinatum adiret.

IX • *interlined* • *aquarum fluxum Labbe*

⁴⁸ The word used here, 'cespes', can have the specialized meaning of a sod or turf, a token of seisin: DMLBS, *caespes*, b.

⁴⁹ 2 Cor. 12: 2, 'siue in corpore nescio siue extra corpus nescio. Deus scit'.

⁵⁰ Ps. 131 (132), 14: 'Haec requies mea in saeculum saeculi. Hic habitabo, quoniam elegi eam'.

recognize the ground⁴⁸ that I have chosen for you.' Having spoken thus, he seized the man either in body or outside his body—I do not know, though God does⁴⁹—and, showing him the whole situation of the place, said: 'This is the place where I will rest for ever more. Here I will live because I have chosen it.'⁵⁰ And with these words the vision of the confessor disappeared.

Chapter 9

In the morning Benedict revealed to his host all the things that he had seen and, not many days later, after receiving from that same host a clerk named Theobald who would be his interpreter, Benedict journeyed as far as Lynn.⁵¹ When he got there he found a ship near at hand, a merchant vessel bound on a journey to the city of York. However, it had lain there, fully loaded, for the space of fifteen days and more, delayed by unfavourable winds. Indeed, it is my belief—not without cause—that these contrary winds were stirred up by heavenly intervention for, because the boat had been delayed, when Benedict arrived there a means of transport was ready at his service. This can be clearly understood from the very change in the weather, because, on the second day after Benedict had arrived, the atmosphere soon changed and the favourable state of the winds, the calmness of the air, the serenity of the sea, all encouraged them to set sail. The lord prior maintains that he himself learned these things at Lynn from a very old woman, who told how she, as a very young girl, had seen Benedict when he was a guest in her father's house. When sickness perhaps compelled Benedict to go to the baths he held aloft his right arm in which the most wonderful finger was enclosed so that it was always clear of the water and prayed very fervently that the finger should not be damaged by any injury through the waters. When those who were there saw this and asked why he did it he at first said that he had injured his arm in some way, but afterwards he told his host the truth of the matter and gave an account of it, and he explained that he had come for this reason, to board a ship there and cross the water to arrive at the place predestined for him.

⁴⁸ Dobson identified this as either Lyme Regis in Dorset or King's Lynn, Norfolk, saying that there was 'probably regular water-traffic to York from the latter (Dobson, 'The

⁴⁹ 'I return abey in northern England', p. 165, n. 13). For King's Lynn, the forms 'Lena' and 'Lina' occur in Domesday Book, and Lynn (c. 1105) and Lyma (c. 1140). See Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 310.

⁵¹ Lynn is identified as the 'Lynn' mentioned in the text.

X

Igitur naute predictae nauis Benedicti uoluntatem cognoscentes, et se ad illius ingressum benedicti confidentes, illum cum maximo gaudio secum¹ suscipiunt, omnia que ei erant obiter necessaria deuote conferentes. Benedicto itaque eorum aggregato consortio,

Aura datur lenis uolat undis cimba serenis,

Transuolat alta ratis equora sana satius.

Nil graue nil triste monstrat mare te duce Christe rector

Vt optarat equora pinus² arat.³

Sicque prospero uentorum impulsu mare peruolantes, in Vsam fluuium elapsi sunt. Nec mora. Loco qui Selebeia dicitur appropinquant. Quem eminus Benedictus intuitus, eumque continuo ex pristina uisione recognoscens, 'Hic', inquit, 'hic, ad terras reduce, quia hic est⁴ locus quem elegit Dominus'.⁵² Sicque ad terram cum sociis demissus a nautis, euestigio super ripam fluminis ad honorem Domini signum crucis eleuauit. Ac deinde sub quadam mire magnitudinis quercu, que a patris Strihac | uocabatur, in regali possessione frondibus et foliis sibi paruulum construxit habitaculum, anno circiter ab incarnatione Domini millesimo sexagesimo nono, qui est annus quartus Willelmi primi regis.⁵³

XI

Loci deinde situm uniuersum usquequaque Benedictus explorando perlustrans, territoriorum confinia, prediorumque et possessionum metas et terminos perambulans, quid cuius adiaceret domino diligenter addidit. Vidensque locum amississimum tam frequenti nemore consitum tam habundanti diuersoque flumine coronatum, tanquam terrenum quendam paradysum illum amplexatus, non minus de illius utili opportunitate quam ex inuentione ceteri congratulatur. Ceterum quoniam se prebet occasio, specialius aliquid et aperitur.

X¹ in eam Labbe¹ primus Labbe² margin, the lines are not presented as verse

A later hand has written om. Labbe

⁵² Deut. 12: 5: 'ad locum, quem elegerit Dominus'; Deut. 16: 6: 'hic locus, quem elegerit Dominus'.

⁵³ The author is cautious here about the date. William I was crowned on 900 and so his fourth year would have run from 25 Dec. 1069 to 24 Dec. 1070. The date is uncertain.

Chapter 10

When the sailors of the said ship found out about Benedict's wish, trusting that they would be blessed by his presence, they received him among them with the greatest joy, and en route they devoutly bestowed on him everything that he needed. So Benedict was added to their company.

A gentle wind is provided, the boat flies on the calm waves.

The vessel flies across the deep seas safely enough.

The sea reveals nothing dangerous, nothing sad, with you,

O Christ, as helmsman.

The ship ploughs the seas as well as may be wished.

And so, flying quickly across the sea with the favourable winds driving them on, they slipped into the River Ouse. There was no delay! They approached the place which is called Selby. As he saw it from some way away, Benedict immediately recognized it from his earlier vision. 'Here! Put to land here', he said, 'for this is the land that the Lord has chosen'.⁵² Having been put on land with his comrades by the sailors, he instantly raised the sign of the cross in honour of the Lord. Then, under an oak tree of wondrous size which was called 'Strihac' by the people of that land, he built a small dwelling for himself with branches and leaves, on a royal estate. This happened around the year of the Lord's incarnation 1069, which was the fourth year of the reign of King William I.⁵³

Chapter 11

Next Benedict wandered all through the whole of that area, exploring it thoroughly everywhere, pacing out the boundaries of the district and the limits and bounds of its estates and properties, and he carefully learnt more about what was adjacent to the demesne. When he saw that the place was very pleasant, that it was planted with a well-stocked grove and crowned with such a full-flowing river, he embraced it like some kind of earthly paradise, and because of the advantageous opportunities it offered him that he had found it so quickly. Moreover, since I now have the opportunity to do so, I must say something more specifically

⁵² Bede's *Gesta regum* notes that in 1069 'cenobium Sancti Germani de Selby' was founded. *Synonymis monachi opera omnia*, ii. 186.

loci situ, uel qualitate dicendum est. Cuius nomen Selebi dicitur anglice quod interpretatum latine dicitur 'marini uituli uilla', quod uocabulum eo sortitus est, quia pisces huiusmodi frequenter ibi capi solebant antiquitus.⁵⁴ Situs est super ripam Vse fluminis, ad australem scilicet plagam Eborace ciuitatis, ab eadem distans non plurimum, sed quasi spatio miliariorum decem interiacente. Nemorum et siluarum multiplici circumstantia ex omni parte coronatur, que ameno loco multum decoris conferunt, plus tamen utilitatis impendunt | inter que nemora plurima sunt quantitate, qualitate precipua, que proprie eiusdem loci dominio adiacent et appendent. Aquarum etiam tanta uicinitate fruuntur, tot et tantis cursibus circumcinctus munitur, ut exceptis lacis et stagnis que piscibus copiosa proxima sunt, quibus etiam molendina curantur, trium regaliū fluminiū, Vse scilicet, Derepente, et Air, proximitate locus gaudeat, utilitate uigeat, copia sustentetur. Sunt namque predicti tres fluuii ualde insignes et omni genere piscium qui in aquis dulcibus inueniuntur habundantes. Harum igitur duarum rerum, nemorum uidelicet et aquarum commoditate, Selebe(e)ia⁵⁵ prepollens tercie rei non minus utilis lapidis scilicet insignissimi copia ad omnem structuram nobilissimam, ad omnem celatram⁵⁶ apertissimi preditur. Quid plura? Habentur in eodem loco uel in locis eidem loco pertinentibus quecumque ut ita dixerim ad regni gubernacula postulantur. Monasterium preterea tam pulchre, tam insigniter in illo suo secreto sedet recessu, ut ex omni parte per uias publicas a longe gradientibus ecclesie turris et cetera quedam officinarum tecta, que aliquantulum in sullime consurgunt appareant et ostendantur. Quidquid etiam ad Eboracum de transmarinis partibus uel ex ullis Anglie portibus aduehitur nauigio uel ab illa deportatur, ante portas monasterii Selebi|ensis transire consuevit. Sed quoniam hec de loci qualitate per diuissum⁵⁷ exponentes aliquantulum ab incepta narratione recessimus, his omissis ad ea prosequenda que cepimus redeamus.

XI 'There appears to be an erasure between b and ia

digressum Labbe

⁵⁴ This is the only instance I have located of the explanation of the etymology of Selby by reference to the seal. The place name 'Seleby(a)' occurs in a survey of c.1030 (see below, n. 64) and as 'Selebi', 'Saleby(a)'/'Salebi(a)' in late 11th-c. documents, with the adjectival forms 'Salebiensis' and 'Selebiensis' (EPNS, *WR*, iv, 31-2). It is there conjectured that Selby may be identified with the Old English place name 'Seletum', recorded by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*ASC*, s.a. 779), as the location of the burning of Ealdorman Beorn of Northumbria, with the first element cognate to a personal name; there are other examples of

and fully about the site of the place and its nature. Its name in English is 'Selby', which translated into Latin means 'the vill of the sea-calf', and it obtained this name because, in days gone by, fish of this kind were often caught there.⁵⁴ It is located on the bank of the River Ouse, that is, to the south of the city of York, not very far distant from it, but only about ten miles away. It is crowned on all sides by wide swathes of groves and woods which endow this pleasant spot with great beauty, though they bestow even more usefulness. Among these groves there are very many of outstanding quality and quantity which lie beside and adjoin the demesne of the estate itself. It enjoys such close proximity to water, and is surrounded and protected by so many and such great water courses that, in addition to lakes and pools—which are nearby and full of fish, and which even power mills—the place rejoices in the nearness of three royal rivers, namely, the Ouse, the Derwent, and the Aire. It flourishes with their benefits and is sustained by their abundance. For these three rivers of which I have spoken are very remarkable, and are full of all kinds of fish which are found in their fresh water. So then, Selby, which is outstanding because of the usefulness of these two things—that is, the woods and the rivers—is endowed with a third asset no less useful, that is, an abundance of very famous stone, most excellent for every type of construction and most suitable for every type of engraving.⁵⁵ What more can I say? Whatever things were needed, so to speak, for the direction of his rule were to be found in that very place or in the places belonging to it. Moreover, the monastery lay in its hidden retreat, so beautifully and so finely situated that the tower of the church and also the roofs of the other monastic buildings—which rose up quite high in the air—were visible and plain from afar to people coming along the public highways from every direction. Indeed everything that was brought by ship to York from foreign countries or from other ports in England, or was taken by boat from York, used to pass in front of the gates of the monastery of Selby. But since in digressing to describe these aspects of the quality of the place we have departed a little from the story which I have begun, we should leave them now and return to follow up what we have started.

the replacement of the element 'tun(e)' with 'by'. However, the editors prefer the derivation from 'sele' meaning a willow copse, which, they suggest, would be supported by the location of Selby on the banks of the River Ouse (EPNS, *WR*, iv, 32).

⁵⁵ See *DMLBS*, *caelatura*: carving, engraving, citing *Gesta abbatum Sancti Albani*, i, 233, 'textus in quorum uno . . . alio uero Majestas, cum quatuor Evangelists, elegantissimis caelaturis inculpantur'.

XII

Cum itaque sicuti prelibatum est sibi parvulum tugurium uel potius umbraculum Benedictus construxisset, illo precioso pigneri digito scilicet sacratissimo continuas laudes persolvens, iuges excubias administrans, attendit summopere, ne unquam reliquiis venerandis diuina deessent obsequia. Exhibet officium sacris satis officiose, prouidet obsequium ne desit eis studiose. Verum ne diutius illa preciosa lucerna sub modo posita in illa deserti solitudine lateret abscondita,⁵⁶ sed potius in publico sublimata, lucensque quamplurimis⁵⁷ ab omnibus coleretur, ad habitaculum Benedicti mutum quandam fortuna conduxerat, qui nutu annuens benedictionem aliquam sibi fieri postulabat. Quod Benedictus intuitus ibique materiam sue demonstrationis et profectus intelligens, conuersus ad patronum benignissimum. 'En', inquit, 'beatissime Germane, in peregrinatione barbara positi non cognoscimur, in siluestri gremio demersi non uidemur, in heremi solitudine detrusi ab omnibus ignoramur. Ostende ergo super hunc miserum tuam misericordiam⁵⁷ ut cognoscamur, declara tuam misericordiam⁵⁷ ut uideamur, exalta tuam potentiam ne ulterius ignoremur.' Sic factus digitum | presulis pretiosum apprehendens, super os muti salutare crucis signum expressit. Sicque predampnate lingue retinaculis dissolutis, in usum loquendi modo mirabili oris officium relaxatur.⁵⁸

Os sic dum tangit digitus sua uincula frangit,
Passio uicta iacet non mage lingua tacet,
Purgantur uene nocue rumpuntur habere,
Os patet affatur lingua loquela datur.^c

Hoc deinde per regionis amplitudinem usqueunque diuulgato miraculo, non minus in Benedicti quam in beatissimi Germani reuerentiam et amorem omnium comprouincialium affectus accenduntur et animi. Ingens etiam raritas monachorum que tunc temporis exitit, duplo ad Benedictum honorandum et colendum studia cunctorum excitauit. Per totam enim Eboraci syriam excepta Dunelmensi XII^a quam *interlined* ¹⁻⁴ *om. Labbe, probably through oversight from ut to ut* ¹⁻⁴ *later hand has written versus in the margin; the lines are not presented as verse*

⁵⁶ Luke 11: 33: 'Nemo lucernam accendit, et in abscondito ponit, neque sub modio'; see also Matt. 5: 15, Mark 4: 21.

⁵⁷ Ps. 84 (85): 8: 'Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.' The plural here refers to Benedict and those who joined his company in King's Lynn (l. 10).

Chapter 12

Accordingly, when—as I have mentioned before—Benedict had built a small hut or rather a shelter for himself, he gave continual praise for that precious pledge, that is, the most sacred finger and, keeping unceasing vigils, he was very careful that the divine services owing to the veneration of the relics should not be lacking. He fulfilled his duty to the relics diligently enough; he cared for their service zealously so that he did not fail them. Indeed, so that the precious lamp placed under a bushel should no longer lie hidden in that desert waste,⁵⁶ but rather be raised on high in a public place and, shining out, be venerated by very many people, fortune brought a certain dumb man to Benedict's dwelling. The man indicated by a nod that he sought for some blessing to be conferred on him. Benedict, reflecting on this and realizing that he had to hand the opportunity for a demonstration to his advantage, turned to his most kindly patron. 'See here, most blessed Germanus', he said, 'we are not known here, having been set down here on this journey among barbarians. Hidden away here in the depths of this wood, we are not seen. No one pays attention to us, exiled as we are in this solitary desert. Therefore, show your mercy on this wretch so that we may be known,⁵⁷ make manifest your mercy so that we may be seen, and demonstrate your power, that we may no longer be overlooked.' Having spoken thus, he took the precious finger of the bishop and made the sign of the saving cross on the mouth of the dumb man. The chains which had previously held his tongue condemned were burst, and the power of the mouth restored in wonderful manner, so that it could be used to speak.⁵⁸

Thus when the finger touches the mouth it breaks its bonds,
Suffering is conquered and the tongue is silent no more,
The veins are cleansed, the harmful reins are broken,
The mouth opens, the tongue speaks, and speech is granted.

When this miracle became known far and wide throughout the breadth of the region the hearts and minds of all the people of the land were kindled with reverence and love no less for Benedict than for the blessed Germanus. At the time this was happening it was very rare to see a monk, and this stirred doubly the eagerness of all the people to honour and reverence Benedict. For throughout the whole

⁵⁸ For the biblical miracle of Jesus' healing of the mute by casting out demons, see Matt. 9: 32-3.

congregatione nec monachus nec monachorum locus aliquis in illis diebus facile ualuit reperiri.⁵⁹

XIII

Contigit autem eodem tempore ut uicecomes Eboracensis, Hugo scilicet filius Baldrici, iuxta Selebeiam euectus nauigio pertransiret.⁶⁰ Qui cum super ripam fluminis crucis eleuatum conspexisset signaculum, interrogauit quam ob causam ibi crux eminere elata. Cumque rem didicisset continuo iussit ad terram nauem reducere, ut Dei seruum allocutus exiret. Comitabatur autem eum non modica milicie multitudo, quia bellice cladis immanitate perdurante, non adhuc perfecte pacis tranquillitas ab armis et acie militem absoluerat. Egit hoc in illis finibus Anglorum indomita ferocitas et inuicta constantia, qui semper ad uindictam suam in Gallos insurgentes, ultra uires et posse, ubicunque sibi inuicem obuiabant, quis eorum plus posset in uiribus experiri nitebantur. Hac de causa tanta militum multitudine predictus uicecomes constipatus incedebat.⁶¹ Qui cum ad Benedicti cellam

XIII * Fregit Læbbe

⁵⁹ Selby was the first post-Conquest monastic foundation in the North and would remain so until the refoundation of the Anglo-Saxon monastery at Whithy by Reinfrid c.1074. The author is mistaken in supposing that Benedict's arrival post-dated that of the foundation of the Benedictine monastery at Durham. Around 1073 or 1074 Reinfrid and Ælfrwig, monks of Evesham, and Aldwin, prior of Winchcombe, left their abbeys to travel north to the former monastery of Jarrow, which was well known to them from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. They found the buildings in ruins, but stayed there, attracting followers. Aldwin moved on to Melrose, a site associated with St Cuthbert, while in due course Reinfrid left for Whithy. It was not until 1083 that the 'Community of St Cuthbert', the hereditary priors who served the shrine of St Cuthbert, was replaced at Durham by Benedictine monks from Jarrow—a full fourteen years after Benedict's arrival at Selby. See Janet Burton, 'The monastic revival in Yorkshire'.

⁶⁰ Hugh Fitz Baldric's first documentary appearance is in a charter in favour of St Amand de Rouen in c.1067 (Kears-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 267–8). His Yorkshire lands, comprising twenty-eight demesne manors, were strategically placed, allowing him to control the road and river approaches to York. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 34–9, and map at p. 36; see also Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, pp. 155–8, 160, 168. Hugh appears to have been among the earliest Norman settlers in Yorkshire, whose lordships were created in the aftermath of the 1069 rebellion in the North, and there is independent evidence for his tenure of the post of sheriff of Yorkshire, in which he apparently succeeded William Malet, at about the same time as his encounter with Benedict. Domesday Book records that William de Percy claimed to have taken a house in York into the castle on the orders of Hugh Fitz Baldric, sheriff of Yorkshire, in the first year after the destruction of the castles of York, that is, in 1070 (*Domesday Book*, ed. Farley and Ellis, i, 298). Hugh was still in office in 1074 and had been succeeded as sheriff by Enrico de Burun by 1080. On Hugh see also Green, *English Sheriff*, p. 89. Hugh was later deprived of his lands, either at the death of the Conqueror (1066) or for

of Yorkshire neither a monk nor a monastery could easily be found in those days, except for the congregation at Durham.⁵⁹

Chapter 13

At the same time, it happened that the sheriff of Yorkshire, Hugh Fitz Baldric, was travelling by boat and passed near to Selby.⁶⁰ When he caught sight of the sign of the cross raised on the bank of the river he asked the reason why the cross stood there, raised up on high. On learning the reason he immediately ordered the boat to put to land so that he might disembark and speak to the servant of God. A not inconsiderable band of soldiers was travelling with him because the barbarity of warlike destruction still persisted and the tranquillity of perfect peace had not yet released soldiers from arms and the line of battle. The cause of this in those regions was the savage brutality and ungovernable obstinacy of the English, who were constantly in revolt to take vengeance on the French and, wherever they encountered them, strove beyond the limits of their own force and power to see who could demonstrate greater strength. It was for this reason that the aforesaid sheriff travelled surrounded by such a great band of soldiers.⁶¹ When

participation in the 1088 revolt against William II: Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 81–3.

⁶¹ When Hugh spotted Benedict's settlement, he was patrolling the Ouse. The reference is to the warfare and violence that followed in the aftermath of the rebellions of 1069. The North did not acquiesce easily to Norman rule. In early 1067 William the Conqueror appointed Copsi as earl of Northumbria but he was killed during a rebellion in Mar. 1067. His successor, Gospatrick, son of Maldred, himself joined the rebellion by Earls Edwin and Morcar (shortly after May 1068), which resulted in an expedition led by William himself, the building of castles, the obtaining of the submission of leading rebels, and the appointment of William Malet as sheriff of Yorkshire (Green, *English Sheriff*, p. 89). Yet another appointment as earl of Northumbria, the Frenchman Robert de Comines, who was based at Durham, had no greater success, and was murdered scarcely a month after arriving in the North. This was the signal for a major rebellion, the murder of William's castellan at York, and the siege of York castle. A further expedition north by William led to the establishment of a second castle there and dispersal of the rebels. However, by Sept. 1069 the dissidents had joined with Danes sent by King Swein Estrithson, mounted a further attack on York, and slaughtered the garrisons there. William marched north again, and on reaching York ordered the campaign known as the 'Harrying of the North', the destruction of the infrastructure of the shire so that it could no longer sustain rebels or Danish invaders. William was in York for Christmas 1069, when he reinforced his authority by wearing his crown, and the harrying continued over the winter, the main rebels either submitting or withdrawing. It has been suggested that it was in the aftermath of the events of 1069 that Hugh Fitz Baldric, along with William de Percy, was installed in Yorkshire, supported by the confiscated lands of the rebels. Not only was Hugh made sheriff of Yorkshire in place of William Malet (who died sometime between 1069 and 1071), but the estates created for Hugh and William de Percy (the latter's including some of William Malet's lands) encircled York (Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 65–6; see also

peruenisset, reperit eum fortuito ante sacras reliquias in oratione procumbentem, et orationis fine prestolato ab oratione surgentem monachum humiliter salutavit, illumque bene venisse deuotissime proclamauit. Quem Benedictus gratanter resalutans aduentus sui causam et modum illi seriatim exposuit, dignum sanctissimi presulis Germani quem attulerat illi et⁶¹ omnibus patenter ostendens. Dicebat se aduenam et peregrinum⁶² nullum in illis regionibus notum habere, nullum precognitum, se nullus nisi solius Dei et beati Germani adiutorio roborari. 'Quamobrem', inquit, 'tue protectioni me subiciens, tuo consilio me committens, tuam suppliciter exoro clementiam, ut ad id quod cepti consummandum pro Dei amore tuo me informes consilio, tuo me prosequaris auxilio, tua me sollicita consolentis.' Annuit illico uir fidelis, et ad preces serui Dei aurem inclinans benignissime, 'Faciam', inquit, 'libentissime que precaris | quia Deo mihi incolunitatem largiente me habebis cooperatorem in questibus, fautorem in uotis, cultorem in prosperis, adiutorem in aduersis'.

XIII

Hec dicens iussit mox tentorium suum extendere ut hospicii uice dignum gloriosum exciperet, et susceptionis honoraret obsequio. Quod cum perfecisset nec eum plus inibi demorari cure sue pateretur officium, tentorium sicut erat extentum hospiti quem in eo suscepit offerens dereliquit, asserens inuitatum esse remanente hospite, hospiciu[m] deportare. Ac sic cum ceteris proceribus qui laus eius ambiebant, Benedicto ualedicens, mox omnes coniugibus suis mandauerunt ut carpentarios ad capellam construendam Benedicto delegarent, et omnia que eis erant necessaria ministrarent. Quod ille mox deuotissime prosequentes missis carpentariis, oratoriolum in honore beati Germani in eodem scilicet loco quo⁶³ usque huc capella uille perseuerat erecta construere fecerunt.

⁶¹ *Labbe reads illis for illi et*

XIII ' ubi *Labbe*

Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, pp. 159-60, 167-8). The picture that the author of the *Historia* here constructs is convincing. It is entirely credible that Hugh Fitz Baldric, newly appointed sheriff, would have been patrolling the River Ouse, an entry point into England for ships from across the North Sea. If he was indeed appointed as sheriff in the aftermath of the failed rebellion of late 1066 then his encounter with Benedict either took place very late in 1066 or in 1070.

⁶² 1 Pet. 2: 11: 'obsecro vos tanquam aduenas et peregrinos'. See also Ps. 38 (39): 13: 'quia aduenia ego sum apud te, et peregrinus'.

he reached Benedict's little cell, he found him by chance lying in prayer before the sacred relics. He waited for him to finish and then humbly greeted the monk as he rose from his prayer, declaring most devoutly that his arrival was welcome. With joy Benedict greeted him in turn, and explained to him, step by step, why and how he had come there, showing openly the finger of the most holy Germanus which he had brought there to him and to all who were there. He said that, as a stranger and a pilgrim,⁶² he knew no one in these parts, he had no previous knowledge of them, and that he was protected by the support of no one but God alone and the blessed Germanus. 'Therefore', he said, 'I am placing myself under your protection, entrusting myself to your counsel, and I humbly beg your mercy, so that, in order to complete that which I have begun for the love of God, you will instruct me by your advice, continue to attend me with your help, and comfort me with your resourcefulness.' Instantly the faithful man agreed and in a most kindly fashion giving his attention to the prayers of the servant of God he said, 'I will most willingly do what you ask because, if God keeps me safe, you will have me as a co-labourer in your endeavours, a protector in what you wish for, a supporter in good times and a helpmeet when times are bad'.

Chapter 14

Speaking thus, he soon ordered them to erect his pavilion in the manner of a guest house, so that it might receive the glorious finger, and might honour it by extending hospitality to it. When he had completed this task and the duty of his command would not allow him to stay there any longer, he presented his pavilion, just as it had now been erected, to his guest, whom he had received in it, and bequeathed it to him. He maintained that it would be extraordinary to take away the guest house while the guest was still there. And thus, with the other magnates who flanked him, he bade Benedict farewell, but soon afterwards they all ordered their wives to dispatch carpenters to build a chapel for Benedict and provide all things that were necessary for them. These women followed through these orders most devoutly, sent carpenters, and caused them to build a small oratory in honour of St Germanus, in that same place in which to this day the chapel of the vill remains standing.⁶³

⁶³ The author records that Abbot Hugh, Benedict's successor, moved the site of the abbey further away from the waters of the Ouse (L. 27), and it would appear from this

XV

Vicomes autem predice promissionis sue non immemor Benedictum in omnibus que poterat secundum vires et posse suum promovere nitebatur. Sed quoniam in regali possessione⁶⁴ rege nesciente defixerat habitaculum consilium habuit ut quam citius ualeret regi se Benedictus ostenderet, ut illius autoritate munitus securus inchoata perficeret. Perducusque a uicomite ante regem Willhelmum primum, | cum aduentus sui causam modumque regi narrasset,⁶⁵ concessit ei rex benignissime ut monasterium in sua possessione fundaret, dans ei de propria mensa fundationis locum, unam scilicet carrucatam terre in qua monasterium et uilla que Selebeia dicitur constructa sunt, et nemus quoddam⁶⁶ uocatum Flaxley,⁶⁶ et uillam quandam uocatam Roupecli⁶⁷ et aliam dimidiam carrucatam terre in Brayton,⁶⁸ et cum hiis omnibus piscariam unam que dicitur Witegift.⁶⁹

XVI

Hiis acceptis a Rege Willelmo, reuersus cum pace Benedictus officinas regulares circa capellam suam institit edificare. Ceperunt ilico sensim plurimi ad eius se conferre consortium, depositaque XV * *dam interined*

statement that the chapel built by Benedict came to be used by the inhabitants of Selby. The chapel is mentioned again (l. 34) in the time of Abbot Durand, when it was saved from flooding. It is clear from the second passage that the chapel was on the banks of the river. The Ordnance Survey map of the 1890s shows a chapel on Ousegate, on the southern bank of the Ouse, to the east of the swing bridge, about 300 metres from the east end of the abbey church. It is not shown on maps from the early 20th c.

⁶⁴ In the early 11th c. part of Selby was a possession of the archbishop of York; it is recorded in a survey of the estates of the archbishops in Sherburn in Elmet, Otley, and Ripon from c. 1030. This is printed in Stevenson, 'Yorkshire surveys', and reprinted in EYC, i, 21-3, no. 7. 'Upper Selby' was then part of the soke of the manor of Sherburn in Elmet; 'pis is seo soen into Seyre-burna mid folc-rithe: twa dæl of Cauda; one Wicstow eal; ond ufer Seleby eal . . . ' (Yorkshire surveys, p. 15). The survey also included under the soke of Sherburn other lands that came into the possession of Selby, namely, Flaxley, Brayton, and Fyston. *The Yorkshire Domesday*, p. 18, gives the date of the survey as about 1030. Domesday Book recorded that the abbot of Selby held seven carrucates of land of the archbishop of York in Sherburn in Elmet (*Domesday Book*, i, 302³) though it does not give the names or numbers of the berewicks (Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000*, p. 27).

⁶⁵ Hugh is here said to have conducted Benedict into the king's presence in person and though it is not so stated this meeting might have taken place in York. For an itinerary of William I see Bates, pp. 73-84. In 1068 William spent most of the year campaigning in England, and Orderic Vitalis (OV, ii, 218-19) suggests that he was in York in late 1068 after the death of Copsi and the first northern rising. He was in Normandy at the beginning of

Chapter 15

The sheriff, not forgetting his aforesaid promise, endeavoured to help Benedict in all matters to the best of his power and ability. Because Benedict had established his settlement on a royal estate⁶⁴ without the knowledge of the king he advised him that as quickly as possible Benedict should make himself known to the king, so that, being protected by his authority, he might the more safely bring to completion what he had started. He was brought by the sheriff before King William I and, when he had explained to the king for what and how he had come there,⁶⁵ the king most graciously granted him permission to found a monastery on his land, giving him from his own demesne the site for the foundation, that is, one carrucate of land on which the monastery and vill called Selby were built, a wood called Flaxley,⁶⁶ a vill called Rawcliffe,⁶⁷ and another half carrucate of land in Brayton.⁶⁸ With all these he gave a fishery which is called Witegift.⁶⁹

Chapter 16

When he had received these gifts from King William, Benedict returned in peace, and began to construct the buildings of the monastery around his chapel. Gradually very many people began to

1069, but returned to England and journeyed to York some time before Easter to deal with the rebellion following the murder of Robert de Commines (28 Jan. 1069). He then spent Easter at Winchester, after which he may have made a visit to Normandy, and was in the Forest of Dean by September. The remainder of the year was spent quashing the northern rebellion and in the 'harrying of the North'. William spent Christmas 1069 at York, after which he journeyed north to the Tees, visiting Hexham, returning via York to the south. Thus there would have been an opportunity for him to have met Benedict in York either in late 1069 or early 1070 and to have conferred lands on him. However, if Hugh was appointed sheriff in the aftermath of the 1069 rebellion, then the encounter between Benedict and Hugh would have had to take place within a short space of time, to allow for Hugh to return to York with Benedict. Nevertheless, there is nothing in the text to suggest that the meeting with the king took place in York, and a later date, and an alternative location, is possible. The confirmation by the king would have marked the formal foundation of the abbey and this may account for the foundation date of 1070, rather than 1069, given in a 12th-c. manuscript of Easter tables from Selby: London, BL. Additional MS 30652, fo. 5^v.

⁶⁶ Flaxley is now represented by the place name Flaxley Lodge in Selby; the derivation of the name being 'a clearing used for flax' (EPNS, *WR*, iv, 33).

⁶⁷ Rawcliffe; given the derivation of the 'red bank' (on the River Aire): EPNS, *WR*, ii, 22-3.

⁶⁸ Brayton: EPNS, *WR*, iv, 24, with the derivation 'broad farm', or 'Breit's farmstead'.
⁶⁹ Witegift: EPNS, *WR*, ii, 11-12, the name deriving from 'dowryland'.

secularitatis imagine, suavi iugo Christi sui cordis et corporis humiliate ceruices.⁷⁰ Quos Benedictus aduenientes prudenter excipiens, sed et alios, maximeque illos quos indole bona polleere callebat, plurimis exhortationibus alliciens, infra breue tempus conuentum sibi fratrum congregauit.⁷¹ Fuit namque uir bona sapientie dote ditatus, et in sua lingua specialiter eloquens et disertus, licet non satis artibus liberalibus esset edoctus.

Cui mens lingua gene consula diserta serene,
Prestant ad^e morem facienda loquenda decorem,
Tullius⁷² est^d ore Cato^e ⁷³ mente Parisque⁷⁴ decore,
Intus habens decoris munera^d ⁷⁵ signa foris.^e

XVII

60. 16^r Fuit autem eodem tempore quidam princeps latronum nomine Swani filius Sigge, qui in uicinis memoribus cum adherentibus sibi conplicitibus assiduus discursibus uagabatur. Ex cuius consortio quidam maledictus Benedicto inuidens et insidians nequam spiritus instigatione corruptus ut ea que habebat Benedictus furtiuus predodiriperet, ad capellam nocturno silentio uiolentus accessit. Deinde uim et uiolentiam sacris ambiens inferre sacrilegis ut hostium eleuaret de cardine, manuum temerariam incautanter iniicit. Nec distulit ulterius suam potentiam uirtuosam potentemque uirtutem ostendere beati Germani prouocata benignitas. Quippe mox ut contigit maligna dextera^d capelle parietem adhesit tam firmiter ut et

XVI ^a followed by a letter, possibly a partially erased ^b om. Labbe ^c Labbe adds sed ^d munia ^e This is not presented as verse; there is no later marginal note

XVII ^a Labbe adds ad

⁷⁰ Matt. 11: 30: 'iugum enim meum suauis est'.

⁷¹ That Benedict consciously attempted to gather together talented men to join his community reinforces the argument that Selby was not intended to be an eremitical retreat for one monk. See above, pp. xxix-xxxviii. The acquisition of land and privileges, and the beginning of the construction of the abbey, such as described in this chapter, Remensnyder sees as a stage in the legendary foundation of monasteries. These actions represented the construction of an abbey's physical identity and the ordering of its relations with the outside world' (*Remembering Kings Park*, p. 65).

⁷² Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC), Roman orator and statesman whose ideas had a profound influence on ideas and literature from the early Middle Ages onwards.

⁷³ There were three notable men by the name of Cato. Marcus Porcius Cato, Cato the Elder (234-149 BC), was a Roman politician and orator, who wrote treatises on various subjects. The sayings of Cato ('Dicta Catonis') were collections of maxims and formed a popular textbook during the Middle Ages. Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis (95-46 BC) was a

join themselves to his company there and, putting aside the appearance of the world, to submit in heart and body to the gentle yoke of Christ.⁷⁰ As they arrived Benedict wisely took them in, but he also won over with much encouragement others, especially those whom he understood by experience were rich in natural abilities, and within a short space of time he gathered a community of brothers to himself.⁷¹ For he was a man endowed with the good gift of wisdom and he was especially articulate and eloquent in his speech, even though he had not been very much versed in the liberal arts.

His prudent mind, his eloquent tongue, and his calm countenance

Furnish forth actions and words in a comely manner.

He is a Cicero⁷² in speech, a Cato⁷³ in mind, and a Paris⁷⁴ in fine appearance.

Inwardly he has the gifts⁷⁵ of honour, outwardly its signs.

Chapter 17

At that time there was a certain prince of thieves by the name of Swain, son of Sigge, who constantly prowled around and roved the neighbouring woods with the confederates who attached themselves to him. One cursed member of this band, regarding Benedict with ill will and provoked by the urging of some evil spirit, plotted to take Benedict's possessions stealthily from him as booty, and entered the chapel impetuously at dead of night. Then, desiring to inflict force and violence on the relics through his sacrilegious acts he unhesitatingly stretched forth his rash hand to lift the door off its hinge. He did not have to wait any longer for the bounty of the blessed Germanus to be roused to show its virtuous power and powerful virtue. Indeed, as soon as the wicked right hand touched the wall of the chapel it struck to it so

supporter of Pompey, who committed suicide after the defeat of Utica. A third Cato was the scholar poet Valerius Cato (born between 100 and 90 BC). The name 'Cato' was used generically to denote a person resembling Cato (especially Uticensis) for his moral integrity or rigidity. See *Oxford Latin Dictionary* and *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

⁷⁴ Paris was a figure in Greek myth, the son of Priam, king of Troy, and Queen Hecuba. He was exposed at birth but rescued by shepherds and kept sheep on Mount Ida until he was recognized as the son of the king. He was famed for his beauty, so much so that he was chosen to deliver the 'Judgement of Paris' as to which goddess, Hera, Athena, or Aphrodite, was the most beautiful. He chose Aphrodite and with her assistance carried off Helen, wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, thus precipitating the Trojan War.

⁷⁵ The manuscript reading 'munia' makes no sense. The most likely source of error is a mistaking of an abbreviation for 'et' as 'i' in 'munera', gifts.

uites amitteret ne dampnum perferet, et posse perderet ne se a scelere non ostensus auerteret. Sic is qui aliena uenerat tollere, nec cum semet ipso tantum abire permissus, diei iubar, monachorum aduentum tremulus et inuitus expectabat. Denum inuentus a monachis crimenque confessus, uoti se etiam interpositione constringens, quod nunquam illis malefaciendo beatum Germanum offenderet, orantibus pro se monachis uix promeruit ut liber abire sineretur.

XVIII

Ex multis et magnis miraculis que tunc temporis sepiissime refulserere pauca sunt admodum que ad nostre posteritatis potuerunt peruenire fo. 16^r noticiam. | Vnde cauendum summopere ne aliquod irrelatum remaneat, quod ex illis ueridica seniorum ualimus relatione cognoscere. Ab Erniso de Burun tunc Eboracensi uicecomite⁷⁶ centum marcas eo tempore Benedictus assumens, digitum ei pretiosum loco pigneris pro tanti precii quantitate commisit. Et cum predictum pondus argenti coram testibus erat suscepturus, pignus illud preciosum de loculo producens, et per pilos qui infra mediam iuncturam cuti adherebant, coram uniuersis eleuans insublime, 'Ne',⁷⁷ inquit ad uicecomitem, 'tibi catum' tradam in sacculo,⁷⁷ diligenter atende quod uel quale tue pecunie pignus suscipias. Cuius est profecto sine estimatione quantitas, sine diffinitione qualitas, sine precio precium, sine comparatione uirtus et subsidium.' Sicque digitum sacratissimum⁷⁸ reponens in loculo uicecomitis commisit diligente. Quem ille cum summa suscipiens reuerentia, deuotione tanta coluit, honore tanto seruauit, ut hinc et inde duo semper ardentia luminaria illius prouideret et procuraret obsequio. Nec sine pietatis mercede tante uenerationis reuerentiam reliquis insignissimam⁷⁸ confessoris exhibuit. Recepit illico beneficium quod fidei pietas, quod deuotionis reuerentia promeruerat. Habebat siquidem filium etatis satis acerbe Hugonem nomine,⁷⁸ qui lacrimabili infirmitatis genere pergrauatus caduca

⁷⁶ offensus *Labbe* ⁷⁷ ostenderet *Labbe*
XVIII ⁷⁸ quam *Labbe* ⁷⁹ artham *Labbe* ⁸⁰ pretiosissimum *Labbe* ⁸¹ insigni
hummodi *Labbe*

⁷⁶ Ernise de Burun appears to have been the successor of Hugh Fitz Baldric as sheriff of Yorkshire: see Green, *English Sheriff*, p. 89. He had succeeded to that post by 1086 and had been replaced by Ralph Paynel by spring 1088, when as sheriff Ralph refused safe conduct to William of St Calais, bishop of Durham (*Symonis monachi opera omnia*, i. 172). See Bates, p. 822; Keate-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 191.

firmly that he was deprived of his strength and could not complete his damage, and he lost the power to turn unseen away from his crime. And so the one who had come to take away what did not belong to him was not allowed to leave with so much as himself. He waited for the brightness of the day, trembling and reluctant, for the monks to arrive. At last he was found by the monks and, confessing his crime, he bound himself by the taking of a vow that he would never again offend the blessed Germanus by committing evil deeds against them. With the monks praying for him, he barely succeeded in being allowed to go free.

Chapter 18

Of the great and many miracles that shone forth very frequently at that time very few have been able to come down to the notice of our posterity. We must therefore take great care lest any of these which we can find out from the reliable account of our elders remain untold. At that time Benedict acquired one hundred marks from Ernise de Burun, then sheriff of Yorkshire,⁷⁶ and entrusted the most precious finger to him as a pledge for such a great sum. When he was about to take this weight of silver in the presence of witnesses Benedict brought out the precious pledge from its casket and holding it aloft by the hairs which stuck to the skin below the middle joint, in the presence of them all he said to the sheriff, 'Lest I hand over to you a cat in a bag,⁷⁷ pay careful attention to what you are getting as a pledge for your money and to what it is like. Its quantity is assuredly without estimation, its quality without definition, its worth without price, its virtue and support without compare.' And thus, putting the most holy finger back into its casket, he gave it into the care of the sheriff. He received it with the greatest reverence and cherished it with such great devotion, and protected it with such great honour that he provided and maintained for its service two lamps, one on each side, that were always burning. He did not go unrewarded for his devotion and for the reverence and such great veneration that he showed to the relics of the most holy confessor. Immediately he received the favour that his pious faithfulness and his reverent devotion had deserved. He had a son of quite immature years named Hugh,⁷⁸ who, oppressed by

⁷⁷ This reads as if it were a proverb, the equivalent of the modern proverb, 'pig in a poke'.

⁷⁸ Hugh, probably the son of Ernise de Burun, occurs as a witness to a charter for St Mary's Abbey, York, in 1089 x 93: *EYC*, iv. 3, no. 2.

fo. 17^r solebat passione uexari. | Qui patris et iussu et monitu cum quadam nocte reliquiis deuotas exsoluisset excubias, clementissimi Germani meritis tali saluus et incolumitatis dono ditatus est, ut tocius passionis exemptus incomodo nunquam dereliquo illius passionis molestia graueretur.

XIX

Postquam igitur ut predixi conuentum sibi fratrum congregasset Benedictus, uolente et iubente Rege Willelmo, a pie memorie Thoma seniore archiepiscopo Eboracensi,⁷⁹ Domini Dei abbas grata ordinatus est.⁸⁰ Ac postea sicut antea totis uiribus ad questus et ad profectus domus sue semper attentus, ubicunque terras uel possessiones adquirere uel prece uel precio se posse sperabat, illuc se totis uiribus et studiis inclinauit et contulit. Vnde Gausfridi de Lawrice⁸⁰ noticiam et familiaritatem adeptus, magna prece sed multo maiori precio adquisiuit ab eo Cru⁸¹ uillam egregiam, cum omnibus pertinentiis.⁸¹ Acquisiuit et aliam de Widone de Raincurt⁸² que dicitur Stanford.⁸³ Bone uero memorie Thomas archiepiscopus supradictus Deo et sancto Germano duas uillas Fristunam scilicet et Selebiam Minorem in puram et perpetuam contulit elemosinam.⁸⁴

XIX * *om. Labbe* *om. Labbe*

⁷⁹ Archbishop Thomas I of York was nominated on 24 May and consecrated 25 Dec. 1070, the latter date providing the earliest possible date for Benedict's benediction. See *EEA*, v. xxi, 109.

⁸⁰ Geoffrey (Gosfrid) was a Breton and the younger son of Bishop Sylvester of Rennes. He married *Ælfgytha*, daughter of his Anglo-Saxon antecessor, *Leofric* of Nuneham (Kears-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 226), through whom he obtained the Leicestershire and Warwickshire lands of the Anglo-Saxon Leofwine. There is no trace of Geoffrey after 1093. Geoffrey's lands passed to Robert de Stueville, and, after he forfeited his lands in 1106, to Nigel d'Aubigny. Nigel also obtained a third lordship of Geoffrey, that of the Isle of Asholme, which 'was not an inheritance of the pre-Conquest period, but had been created between 1066 and 1086 from the holdings of at least eight pre-Conquest tenants' (*Charters of the Honour of Monbray*, ed. Greenway, p. xxi). See also Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, p. 292.

⁸¹ Crowle is located in the Isle of Asholme (Lincolnshire), and the author here makes the point that this was sold to the monks by Geoffrey de la Wirche: for his charter see *Selly Couther*, ii. 279-80, no. MCXCVI, for a confirmation by Nigel d'Aubigny see *ibid.*, ii. 280, no. MCXCVII, and *Charters of the Honour of Monbray*, ed. Greenway, no. 1. Geoffrey's own charter makes no reference to a sale ('concessi, nutu Regis Benedicto Abbat... et fratribus secum ibidem habitantibus'), his only demands being that there should always be one monk of Selly praying for him, and one pauper fed. Nigel d'Aubigny stated that he quickened to the monks all claim he might have in the land of St Germanus in the vill of Crowle and the wood that belonged to the vill, which had been sold to them by Geoffrey de

a lamentable kind of illness, used to be plagued by epilepsy. When one night, on the order and advice of his father, he kept devout vigil with the relics, he was enriched through the merits of the most merciful Germanus with such a gift of health and well-being that, being delivered from all the misfortune of this suffering, he was never again troubled by the discomfort of his affliction.

Chapter 19

After, as I described earlier, Benedict had gathered a community of brothers around him, at the wish and on the order of King William, he was by the grace of the Lord God ordained abbot by Thomas the elder, archbishop of York of holy memory.⁷⁹ And afterwards, as before, he applied himself the whole time and with all his might to acquire alms for, and to increase the prosperity of, the house. He hoped that he would be able to acquire lands or possessions wherever he could, either by entreaty or for a price, and to this end he applied and dedicated himself with all his strength and his zeal. Wherefore, having obtained the notice and friendship of Geoffrey de la Wirche,⁸⁰ he acquired from him—through great entreaty but for an even greater price—the important vill of Crowle with all its appurtenances.⁸¹ He acquired from Guy de Reinbuecurt⁸² another vill called Stanford.⁸³ Archbishop Thomas of blessed memory whom I mentioned above granted to God and St Germanus two vills, that is, Fryston and Lesser Selby, as a free and perpetual gift.⁸⁴ When he had obtained all

la Wirche (Guerehe) Domesday Book recorded that in Crowle Alwine had held six carucates of land less one bovate, and that now 'a certain abbot of St German of Selby' held it of Geoffrey: *Domesday Book*, i. 369.⁷⁹

⁸⁰ On Guy (Wido) de Reinbuecurt, who derived from Raimbeauourt near Donai, see Kears-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 464-5. For his grant to Selby see *Selly Couther*, ii. 258, no. MCCLIV.

⁸¹ Stanford on Avon (Northamptonshire). Domesday Book states that Benedict purchased the vill: 'The same Guy holds 2 hides, less a virgate, in Stanford on Avon, and Abbot Benedict bought them of him' (*Domesday Book*, i. 226⁷⁹).

⁸² Monk Fryston: EPNS, *WFR*, iv. 41, notes that the name occurs as 'Friston' (without the prefix 'Monk') before the 16th c. Selby Minor: EPNS, *WFR*, iv. 33, notes that the name of Little Selby, or Selby Minor, is no longer in use. For the grant of Thomas I see *Selly Couther*, i. 289-90, no. CCCCLXXXVIII, *EYC*, i. 49, no. 41; *EEA*, v. 7, no. 4. The latest date for the issue of the charter is provided by the witness Odo, bishop of Bayeux, who was imprisoned in 1082. A second confirmation to 'cenobiali ecclesie Salebiensi que in honore beatisimi Germani confessoris in diocesi mea fundata est', made on the advice of his clerics and the cathedral chapter of York, included Monk Fryston and Selby Minor, and also land in Hilliam: see *Selly Couther*, i. 291, no. CCCXC, *EYC*, i. 49-50, no. 42; *EEA*, v. 8, no. 5.

His itaque omnibus adquisitis adiuit Abbas Benedictus Lundonias ubi tunc temporis Rex Willelmus aderat, postulauitque regem ut possessiones et terras quas adquisierat sui priuilegii et cartule collatione confirmaret, et ut abbaciam suam cuius uellet libertatis dignitate |¹⁷ donaret. Annuit illico rex benignissime petitionemque Benedicti scribendo taliter adimpleuit.

XX⁸⁵

Willelmus⁴ fortissimus immo potentissimus rex omnium regum illorum a quibus eo tempore sceptrum⁵ regalia⁶ sub diuo⁷ gubernabantur, maximum imperium anglie terre regens, quod permissione atque uoluntate Dei primum signis mirabilibusque prodigiis, ac deinde magnis uiribus, bellisque debellando Anglos, tandem adquisitum gubernans, uiris tam ecclesiasticis quam suis comitibus, baronibusque ac⁸ ministris omnibus salutes. Diuina providente Dei misericordia et mea bonitate diuina clementia inspirata, deuote postulanti Benedicto abbati deuotissimo cenobium⁹ in honore Domini nostri Iesu Christi et beatissime eius genitricis et uirginis Marie et sancti Germani Autissiodorensis episcopi¹⁰ fundare concessi.⁸⁶ In quo fundamine

¹ At the extreme left-hand margin of fo. 17^v there is a series of letters, probably 'y', written vertically, 23 for 24 lines of text, slightly cropped at the lower third of the folio

XX. ^a Variants are here given from the earliest surviving copy of William's supposed charter as printed in Bates, no. 272, where designated 'B'. This version of the charter opens with the sentence in nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. ^b W rubricated, with the remainder of the name in thickened capitals in brown ink. ^c Cepra B. ^d regalis B. ^e diuino Labbe. ^f scenobium B. ^g Bates adds in Salebia

⁸⁵ This charter is printed in Bates, pp. 818–21, no. 272. Bates notes several copies of this charter, the earliest of which is St Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, Archiv LOII AN SSR, Z-Er-sekt-sia, koll. 18, kart. 381, ed. Khr. 1v. He describes it as a 'supposed original in a hand of the second third of the 12th cent' (p. 818), and designates it 'B', which is followed in the critical apparatus to I. 20. The seal has been lost. Further copies survive in TNA C52/15, CAR 15, m. 2 (entrolled copy of the early 13th c.), the present chapter of the *Historia* (the manuscript of which Bates dates to the 13th c.), the 14th-c. Selby cartulary (BL Additional MS 37771, fo. 11^v), two copies entrolled in the charter rolls (TNA C53/105, 115), and two post-medieval copies. Bates bases the dating of the earliest of these copies (B) to the second third of the 12th c. (i.e., c. 1135 × 1170) on paleographical grounds, linking the production of the charter to 'the context of the historical writing which took place at Selby in the second half of the twelfth century' (p. 819), referring to the *Historia*, for which he follows the erroneous internal date of 1184 given in the text printed by Fowler. As Bates points out, the authenticity of William's confirmation has been disputed, with Davis on the one hand (*RRAN*, i, 48–9, no. 178, note) drawing attention to the inflated preamble as a likely forgery, and Farrer on the other (*EYC*, i, 358–60, no. 468, note) arguing that there is no doubt about the authenticity of the grants, all of which occur in the later records of

these grants Abbot Benedict went to London where King William was at that time, and requested the king to confirm the lands and possessions he had acquired by the conferring of his privilege and charter, and to endow his abbey with the honour of whatever freedoms it might wish. The king straight away fulfilled Benedict's request most bounteously, by putting in writing what he had asked.

Chapter 20⁸⁵

William, the most strong and most powerful king of all those who were at this time wielding royal sceptres under God—ruling the very great kingdom of England, which, with the licence and will of God, he eventually acquired and then governed, at first through signs and marvellous wonders and then through great might and the battles which he fought against the English—to all his men, both his ecclesiastical lords and his counts and barons, and all his ministers, greetings. With divine providence and the mercy of God, and by my own goodness, inspired by divine mercy, I have granted the faithful request of the most devout Abbot Benedict, that he should found a monastery in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and his most blessed mother, the Virgin Mary, and St Germanus, bishop of Auxerre.⁸⁶ I have

Selby. Bates's conclusion is that the lands which this charter claims to confirm were likely to have been acquired over a period, not—as presented here—in quick succession, and, moreover, that the charter 'is written in a form which is inconceivable in the eleventh century' (p. 819). He demonstrates (p. 820) that the preamble has some similarities with the Battle forges, and that the form 'data carta et confirmata' is not a feature of 11th-c. documents, becoming common only in the mid-12th c. Bates's dating of the forged charter to the second third of the 12th c. (between c. 1135 and c. 1170) makes it just possible that its fabrication coincided with the production of the *Historia* in 1174, though a date of 1174 may seem a little late. Moreover, as Bates points out, that William's charter is first specifically mentioned in a confirmation for the abbey issued by King Stephen at nearby Drax in 1154 (*RRAN*, iii, 300, no. 817) makes it more likely that the charter was written for that occasion. The variants between the supposed original and the copy in the *Historia* are few. Most comprise minor spelling variants, one variant in word order, and—perhaps the most significant of all (not noted by Bates)—the addition of a line, which suggests that the earliest surviving copy omitted a line through eyeskip ('que . . . que') from another early copy—used by the author of the *Historia*—which has not been identified. The *Historia* omits the opening line of B and the last eight witnesses.

⁸⁶ Binns states that this is the only instance in the Selby cartulary of a charter specifying the dedication of the abbey to St Mary as well as St Germanus (Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales*, p. 85). This is incorrect, since the charters of Henry de Lacy, lord of Pontefract, for instance, refer to grants to God and St Mary and St Germanus of Selby. BL Additional MS 37771, fos. 70^v, 90^v, 95^v (*Selby Cartulary*, i, 202, 283, 300, nos. CCXC, CCXC1, CCCCLXXVI, DX), as does one charter of Roger de Mowbray (*Selby Cartulary*, i, 321, no. DLVII, *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, ed. Greenaway, no. 254). However, the dedication to St Mary is certainly unusual in respect of Selby.

coniec et regali liberalitate posui, et dedi de propria mea mensa ipsam Selebiam, uidelicet unam carruciam terre de Snaith,⁸⁷ et sex bouatas de Flaxley,⁸⁸ et Roupeclif,⁸⁹ et dimidiam carruciam in Braintun,⁹⁰ et unam piscariam Witegift,⁹¹ et terras a Thoma archiepiscopo eidem ecclesie datas, uidelicet Fristunam et Selebiam Minorem, tam secundum unam uocem quam secundum breuis eius tenorem.⁹² Eodem modo Crul⁹³ scilicet unum hundret qui iacet in uicecomitatu⁴ Lincolnie quam dedit Gaufridus de Lawriche, et Stanford que est in uicecomiatu Hantome quam dedit Wido de Ramecurt,⁹⁴ sine ullo¹⁸ retentu confirmauit, et dando concessi, et cuncta cum hiis, "que undecunque tam in terris et in possessionibus quam in aliis oblationibus," que instinctu spiritus sancti⁹ a deuotis benefactoribus offerri, et quaua uersum iure, prece, et precio adquiri possunt, sub regali munere, ab omni exactione et molestia, et uexatione, solute et quiete et libere, prout decet elemosinam regiam, et propriam abbatiam regis interminabili et perpetua pace tenere, et curtam⁹⁴ suam cum saca et soca, et tol, et tem, et infangenhef,⁹⁵ et cum omnibus consuetudinibus quas meliores habet ecclesia sancti Petri Eboracensis, habere et perpetuo possidere. Ad testimonium et confirmationem huius elemosine donationis⁶ pro salute anime mee, et tam precelestium meorum quam subsequenrium data carta hac et confirmata⁹⁶ apud Lundonias in presentia istorum scilicet Odonis Baiocensis episcopi,⁹⁶ Edwardi de Salesb,⁹⁷ Hugonis de Portu⁹⁸ et tocius curie regis.

Dedit etiam et ei aliam subsequenti tempore cartulam huiusmodi. Willelmus rex Anglorum Thome archiepiscopo et uicecomitibus

¹ Rodeclif B; Roupeclif Labbe ¹⁴ om. Labbe ⁴ uice interlined and place for insertion indicated ¹⁴ Lincolnie, et Stanford que est uicecomitatus Hamtonie, quas dederunt Gaufrid(us) de la Wirchi et Wido de Ramecurt B ^m At the extreme right-hand margin of fo. 18^r there is a series of letters, probably 'y' written vertically, 26 for 26 lines of text. This corresponds to the marginal marks on fo. 17^v. ⁹ om. B, possibly through eyeskip (que . . . que) ⁶ Sancti Spiritus B ⁹ curiam B, amended from curiam; curtem Labbe ⁹ writen confirmationem with r interlined above t ⁹ dominionis Labbe ¹ consummata Labbe ¹ Hugonis de Portu, Rodb(er)ti de Olli, Ricardi filii comitis, Gilleb(er)ti, Baldewini fratris eius, Remigii episcopi, Radulfi Talebois, Rodb(er)ti de Tenu, Gaufridi de la Wirchi B

⁸⁷ Snaith was a royal manor. EPNS gives the derivation as 'piece of land cut off', suggesting that the origin is a piece of land cut off from the rest by the River Aire or some stream (EPNS, WRA, ii. 25). It lies about seven miles from Selby. Henry I granted the churches of Snaith to the abbot (EYC, i. 364, no. 473), and a cell was established there.

⁸⁸ See above, n. 66.

⁸⁹ See above, n. 68.

⁹⁰ See above, n. 84.

⁹¹ See above, n. 81, 82 and 83.

contributed to this foundation, and endowed it with kingly generosity, and have given from my own demesne Selby itself, that is one carucate of land in Snaith,⁸⁷ and six bovates in Flaxley,⁸⁸ and Rawcliffe,⁸⁹ and half a carucate in Brayton,⁹⁰ and a fishery in Whigif. I have granted the lands given by Archbishop Thomas to that same church, that is, Friston and Lesser Selby, according to his oral grant as well as his written grant.⁹² In the same way I have confirmed and granted without any reservation Crowle, that is, one hundred which is located in the county of Lincoln, which Geoffrey de la Wirche gave, and Stanford, which is in the county of Northampton, which Guy de Reinbucourt gave,⁹³ and, with these, everything else which is offered—in lands and possessions as well as other forms of gift—by devout benefactors under the impulse of the Holy Spirit, and whatever they can acquire, by right, by entreaty, or by payment, to hold in endless and perpetual peace under royal protection, freely, peacefully, and undisturbed by any exaction, molestation, or vexation—as befits a royal gift and the king's own abbey. I grant that they should have their court⁹⁴ with sac and soc, tol and team, and infangenhef,⁹⁵ and with all the other customs which the church of St Peter of York enjoys in even greater degree, to enjoy and possess in perpetuity. In confirmation and testimony of these gifts and donations, for the salvation of my soul and of all those who have gone before me and will come after me, the charter is given and confirmed at London in the presence of these men: Odo, bishop of Bayeux,⁹⁶ Edward of Salisbury,⁹⁷ Hugh de Port,⁹⁸ and all the king's court.

He also gave him another charter of this kind at a later date. William, king of the English, to Archbishop Thomas and to his

⁹⁴ The reading 'curiam' has been amended by Bates to 'curiam' but 'curia' is a recorded form of 'court', which has a primary meaning of enclosure, but a further meaning of court (royal or ecclesiastical), the equivalent of 'curia': *DMLBS*, *cours* 2.

⁹⁵ From the mid-10th c. these jurisdictional privileges frequently accompanied grants of land from the king to secular and ecclesiastical lords. Their origin is unclear. 'Sac and soc' implied general rights of jurisdiction exercised through a court; 'tol' related to the right to take toll on goods sold on the lord's estate, and 'team' to the legal right to sell goods; 'infangenhef' was the right to apprehend and hang a thief caught red-handed on the holder's estate. See, for instance, Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 129, 162.

⁹⁶ Odo, bishop of Bayeux, was half-brother of the Conqueror, and earl of Kent. He was imprisoned in 1082: Keats-Rohan, *Domestay People*, pp. 309–10.

⁹⁷ Edward of Salisbury is probably the sheriff of Wiltshire and, if there is any authenticity in the account in the *Historia* the man who befriended Benedict in Salisbury; see above, n. 44.

⁹⁸ Hugh du Port was originally from Port-en-Bessin, Calvados. He was a tenant-in-chief in Hampshire and became a monk of Gloucester shortly before his death in 1096: Keats-Rohan, *Domestay People*, pp. 266–7.

sus ceterisque fidelibus suis francigenis et anglicis salutem. Volo et precipio ut ecclesia sancti Germani de Selebi ita bene amodo habeat omnes consuetudines suas sicut melius habet ecclesia sancti Petri suas de Eboraco," et ita volo ut terras suas sanctus Germanus quietas habeat, sicut sanctus Petrus de Eboraco⁹ habet suas. Et hoc concedo pro Dei amore et salute anime patris mei," et mee, et tam precedentium meorum, quam subsequenitum.⁹⁹

IXX

fo. 18^r Superioris itaque dote privilegii a regia munificentia donatus Benedictus domum reuersus omnia sibi credita cum pace et tranquillitate regebat. Ambulabat sane de uirtutibus in uirtutes, de bono in melius, de profectibus in profectus, semetipsum uirtutibus et meritis, fratres religione et ordine, domum possessionibus et substantiis extollendo.

Questibus ecclesiam se moribus ordine fratres,
Exulit ornauit glorificauit herus.
Diuicias domui meritum sibi religionem,
Adquirens cumulus instituensque gregi.

Sic quippe cum Iacob inter Rachel et Liam alternis vicibus discurreret, ut nec pro negotiis exterioribus animarum lucra negligeret,⁹ nec russum pro animarum curis exteriora negotia minus curaret,¹⁰⁰ sed ad utrumque semper attentus neutrum negligeret,^a prout rerum vel temporum varietas exigebat, utrisque se prudenter adaptans^b et

" BL. Add. 37771 (Selby cartulary) *reads* Eueyck
 cartulary *reads* Eueyck " BL. Add. 37771 (Selby
 cartulary) *ends here and adds* Tesc
 Iuone Talebois
 XXI ^a *om. Labbe, probably through oversight from negliget* ^b *eo aptans*
 Labbe

I. It can be dated to 1093/4 and is therefore likely to be related to the grant, by William II, of the church of Selby to the archbishop of York (see above, p. xxxviii). A second charter of William I entered into the cartulary (BL Additional MS 57771, fo. 14^v, from where printed in Bates, no. 273; EY.C, iii, 124, no. 1414; *Selby Couche*, i, 25, no. 24), is addressed to Archbishop Thomas of York, Ernais de Burun, and all his barons of Yorkshire, and orders that the abbot and monks of Selby are to hold in peace the vill of Hambleton, with its appurtenances, as given by Ilbert de Lacy. The act was given at Winchester and attested by Ilvo Taillebois. On the basis of the address to Ernais de Burun, who although he was not described as such was presumably sheriff, Bates, following Farre, dates this to the very end of the reign of William I, or, possibly, the very early part of the reign of William II. Ernais had been replaced as sheriff of Yorkshire by Ralph Paynel by Spring 1088.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ This is an allusion to Gen. 29, in which Jacob, son of Isaac, fell in love with Rachel,

accommodans. Reddebat sane que sunt Cesaris Cesari, et que sunt Dei Deo,¹⁰¹ cum Paulo apostolo factus omnibus omnia ut omnes lucrificaceret.¹⁰² Sic itaque:

Pax intus tutela foris pater hic ibi quaestor,¹⁰³
A uiciis^f intus seruat ab hoste foris.
Pacificis plus pace fuit plus hostibus hoste,
Plus cruce crudeli plus pietate pio.^f

XXII

Verum quam se semper rebus prosperis admiscere conatur aduersitas, et prosperitatis gaudium infortunium frequenter intercipit, qualiter de sinu pacis | et portu tranquillitatis exciderit breuiter insinabo. Ad communes usus monasterii octoginta ferme libras argenti in ecclesie thesauro congregauerat. Quod duo cognoscentes de monachis quorum alter Radulfus, alter Randulfus uocabatur, auaricia temptati et temptatione superati, predictum pondus argenti furantes asportauerunt. Quorum abbas ut cognouit crimen ingemiscens et facinus eorum euestigio uestigia^f cum manu ualida persecutus est persecutos^f denique prope Northamptoniam¹⁰⁴ comprehendens, tantum iracundie, tantum furoris ex eorum iniquitate concepit ut discrecionis et equitatis moderamine derelicto, eos et famulos etiam qui eorum fugam comitati fuerant omnes primo uariis afflictos iniuriis, postremo dampnatione membrorum genitalium euirauerit.¹⁰⁵ 'Zelum'^f quidem ut ait apostolus, 'habens Dei, sed non secundum scientiam',¹⁰⁶ iuste quidem persecutus est facinus, sed iniuste, quia crudeliter facinoris exercuit ultionem. Vnde factum est ut omnes qui prenotate crudelitatis factum audirent, tantam illius tirannidem detestantes, plurimum erga eum commouerentur.

^f duntius *Labbe* ^f A later hand adds in the left-hand margin the word 'trastictyon', i.e., *tetrastich*, or *quatrain*. These lines are not written as verse
XXII ^f om. *Labbe* ^f om. *Labbe* ^f There is a sketch of a finger in the margin drawing attention either to this word or to the biblical reference

¹⁰¹ Matt. 22: 21; Mark 12: 17: 'Reddite ergo quae sunt Caesaris, Cesari: et quae sunt Dei, Deo.'

¹⁰² I Cor. 9: 19-23, especially verse 22: 'omnibus omnia factus sum ut omnes facerem saluos.'

¹⁰³ During the Roman republic a quaestor belonged to one class of Roman magistrate, elected annually, with duties that were mainly financial. See *Oxford Latin Dictionary*,

to Caesar the things that were Caesar's and to God the things that were God's,¹⁰¹ and, like the apostle Paul, he made himself all things to all men, so that he might win all men.¹⁰² Thus:

Peace within, protection without, here a father, there a
quaestor,¹⁰³
He protected from sins within, from enemies outside.
He was more peaceful than the peacemakers, more hostile than
the hostile,
More cruel than the cross, more pious than piety itself.

Chapter 22

I shall now briefly make known how true it is that adversity always tries to meddle in prosperous times and often snatches away the joy of good fortune with misfortune, how it escapes from the bosom of peace and the haven of tranquillity. He had collected nearly eighty pounds of silver in the treasury of the church for the common purposes of the monastery. When two of the monks realized this—one of them was called Ralph and the other Ranulf—being tempted by avarice and overcome by temptation they stole and carried away that mass of silver. When the abbot got to know of their crime, lamenting the outrage, he instantly followed their tracks with a considerable band, and, eventually overtaking the men he was following near Northampton,¹⁰⁴ he was seized by such anger and such fury at their wicked deed that he lost all control of his discernment and fairness. First he inflicted various injuries on them and even on all the servants who had accompanied them on their flight; then he emasculated them by removing their genitals.¹⁰⁵ He avenged the crime justly, but also unjustly, because he inflicted punishment for the deed in a cruel manner, as the apostle says, 'Having the zeal of God but not acting according to his wisdom'.¹⁰⁶ And so it happened that everyone who heard about this act of cruelty, hating this great tyranny of his, was greatly stirred up against him.

'quaestor'. The use of the word here is probably intended as an allusion to Benedict's financial prudence.

¹⁰⁴ The abbot of Selby held two houses in the borough of Northampton at the time of the Domesday Survey: *Domesday Book*, i. 219^f.

¹⁰⁵ On this punishment see above, p. xlvii and n. 112.

¹⁰⁶ Rom. 10: 2: 'Testimonium enim perhibeo illis quod aemulationem Dei habent, sed non secundum scientiam.'

XXIII

Per monasterium deinde predicatorum fratrum oblocutionibus oritur iurgia, crescunt scandala, murmura conualescunt, dissensiones turbant, detractiones seuiunt, pax extinguitur, discordia uiuit et regnat. Sic modicum fermenti totam massam | solet corrumpere,¹⁰⁷ sic unius ouis morbide ualetudo totius gregis salutem inquinat et destruit sanitatem,¹⁰⁸ sic denique unius fratris murmur et detractio totius congregationis concordiam dissipat, unitatem diuidit, caritatem enervat. Hinc quippe per Salomonem dicitur: 'Maledictus omnis susurro et bilinguis, multos enim turbauit pacem habentes.'¹⁰⁹ Quod illi discordie seminatores uirulentis oblocutionibus facientes abbatem per provincias et monasteria diffamare non cessauerunt, donec apud regem ipsum Willelmum secundum crimen imponentes illum accusauerunt. Qui sicut illius moris erat semper ad sinistram declinans, in accusatum abbatem Benedictum sicut in quamplures fecerat, crudelitatis sue cogitauit exercere tiranidem. Vnde factum est¹¹⁰ ut Abbati Stephano Eboracensi¹¹⁰ qui tunc fortasse presens aderat imperaret ut Abbatem Benedictum caperet, captumque custodiret, usque dum aliud de eo fieri eius coegisset imperium.

XXIII * *om. Labbe*

¹⁰⁷ Gal. 5: 9: 'Modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit'; see also 1 Cor. 5: 6. The meaning of 'corrumpere' in classical and medieval Latin is 'to spoil', or 'to corrupt', although the usual translation of the word in this biblical passage is 'to leaven'.

¹⁰⁸ RB, ch. 28: 'ne una ouis morvida omnem gregem contageat'. The context in RB is the punishment of those monks who refuse to improve or amend their ways, even after frequent correction.

¹⁰⁹ The allusion is to Solomon, the son of King David and Bathsheba, whose succession to the kingdom is noted in 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 2: 12. The quotation is from Eccles. 28. 15 ('Susurro et bilinguis maledictus, multos enim turbabit pacem habentes').

¹¹⁰ Abbot Stephen, first abbot of St Mary's, York, entered the monastic life in the community that gathered around the hermit Reinfrid in the ruins of the former Anglo-Saxon monastery at Whitby. According to his own account Stephen soon became abbot there at the command of William I and with the consent of both archbishops (c.1078), and subsequently (c.1080) led part of the community to Lastingham on the North Yorkshire Moors, where he received the church from the king (BL Additional MS 38816, fo. 30^v, *Mon. iii*, 546). By the time of the compilation of Domesday Book the abbey had moved to York. The community first occupied St Olave's church in Marygate, which had been founded by Earl Siward of Northumbria (who died in 1055) and which was offered to Stephen by Count Alan of Richmond and Brittany. According to Abbot Stephen, Count

Chapter 23

Then quarrels arose throughout the monastery from disagreements about the said brothers, temptations increased, murmurings grew stronger, disputes disturbed order, slanders raged, peace was destroyed, discord flourished and prevailed. Just as a small amount of yeast can destroy the whole mass,¹⁰⁷ as the sickness of one sheep can contaminate the welfare of the whole flock and destroy its health,¹⁰⁸ so at length the complaint of one brother and the backbiting of the whole congregation destroyed harmony, split unity, weakened charity. Indeed on this account it was said by Solomon: 'Every tale-bearer and double-tongued man is accursed, for he destroys many men who enjoy peace.'¹⁰⁹ Those who sowed this violent discord by their remarks did not cease defaming the abbot throughout the provinces and the monasteries until, imputing this crime to him, they accused him before King William II himself. As was always his way, the king was inclined towards evil, and he planned to exercise the tyranny of his cruelty over the accused Abbot Benedict, as he had done to very many others. And so it happened that he ordered Abbot Stephen of York,¹¹⁰ who chanced to be present at the time, to arrest Abbot Benedict and, having arrested him, to keep him in custody, until he had given him further orders about what to do with him.

Alan was well known to him. In 1088, on a visit to York, King William II granted Stephen a more spacious site adjacent to Marygate, where the ruins of St Mary's now stand. What might have occupied that site before 1088 is uncertain: see Norton, 'The buildings of St Mary's Abbey, York'. St Mary's thus passed from the patronage of the counts of Richmond into royal patronage, a transition acknowledged by Count Alan just before his death in 1089: 'advocationem abbacie nostre in manu regis tradens ut deinceps defensor et advocatus noster existeret' (BL Additional MS 38816, fo. 33^v). William II, who received Alan's surrender, spoke of him as 'post me et patrum meum huius abbacie inceptor et institutor' (*EYC*, i, 264-7, no. 350, from BL MS Harley 236, fo. 2^v), and, with a less inflated preamble, BL Additional MS 38816, fos. 21^r-22^v) in a charter confirming the possessions of the abbey. That William II should have entrusted the arrest of Benedict to the abbot of what was now a royal abbey, and a symbol of royal authority in the North, is entirely understandable. Abbot Stephen was dead by 1113, when he was commemorated in the roll of Martild, daughter of King William I and abbess of Holy Trinity, Caen: *Rouleau des morts de IX^e au XV^e siècle*, ed. Delisle, pp. 196-9: 'Titulus sanctae Martae Eboracensis', followed by a number of Latin verses, and 'scilicet domno Stephano, primo ecclesie nostre abbate et fundatori, Reinfrido priori, Hildeberto priori, Raimundo monacho', sixteen other named monks, 'Alano comiti, ecclesie nostre benefactori', and fifteen named monks.

XXIII

Abbas ergo Stephanus necessitate coactus uellet nollet id ipsum se facturum esse spondidit. Et cum domum reuerteretur, in campo qui Segeswald¹¹¹ dicitur Abbati Benedicto illum^a contigit obuiare, et cum se inuicem salutassent, sic Abbas Stephanus Benedictum allocutus est. 'Mallem', inquit, 'te, domine Benedicte, albi quam hic inuenisse. Coartat me quippe regis imperium ut te capiam, et ad illius te presto teneam iussionem.' Quod Benedictus audiens resiliuit, et | uehementer indignans baculum pastorem de manu famuli cicius arripuit, taliterque locutus est. 'Heu pro pudor!', inquit, 'quod hanc diem uidere supersum. Tanquam latronem comprehendere me uenistis. Nunc ergo gladios et fustes arripite,¹¹² quia uiribus utendum est.' Apparebit inter uos quis sit audacior, quia per dominum meum sanctum Germanum, quandiu michi uigor inerit,^d non impune michi uestrum aliquis appropinquare temptabit.' Quod ut uidit Abbas Stephanus sicut erat uir sapiens et maturus surridens retrocessit, et deflexo loro per aliam uiam reuersus est in regionem suam.¹¹³

XXV

Videns autem postea Benedictus plurimorum aduersum se maliciam commoueri, nec facile se posse ad pacem pristinam et tranquillitatem peruenire presentiens maxime, cum aduersam partem plurimorum fauor et consensus armaret in crimine, locum inuidie dare disposuit. Probo siquidem et sapienti fretus consilio, discordie pestem discendendo^a maluit extinguere, quam resistendo procaciter liuoris crimen augere. Pudendum quippe duxit dominium si sic presset ut non prodesset, si custodiret illorum corpora quorum animas amittebat et animos, si uiribus illorum extorqueret obsequium, quorum uirtutibus non allicere ualebat affectum. Vniuersis itaque congregatis, monasterium et omnem monasterii substantiam eorum cure committens,

XXIII ^a illum apparently altered to illum ^b dolor Labbe ^c om. Labbe ^d fuerit Labbe

XXV ^a discendendo with nⁱ dotted for deletion

¹¹¹ This name is not recorded in EPNS, *WA*. The compound suggests a derivation from a personal name and 'wald' ('high forest ground' or 'wood', EPNS, *WA*, vii. 265). There is a possible link with the Swan son of Sigge mentioned in an earlier chapter (I. 17), but this is tenuous. Stephen's remark is that he would have preferred to meet Benedict anywhere but there is enigmatic, and there seems to be some lost local significance here.

Chapter 24

Abbot Stephen, forced by necessity, promised that he would do this whether he wanted to or not. As he was returning home he happened to meet Benedict in the plain which is called 'Segeswald',¹¹¹ and, when they had greeted one another, Abbot Stephen spoke to Benedict thus. 'I would have preferred to have come across you elsewhere rather than here, Lord Benedict', he said. 'The king's order compels me to arrest you, and I am ready to carry out his command.' When Benedict heard this he sprang back and, full of righteous anger, he quickly snatched the pastoral staff from the hand of a servant, and spoke thus. 'Alas, for shame! That I should live to see this day! You have come to capture me like a thief. Now take up your swords and staves,¹¹² for you will need them to give you strength. You will all soon see who may be the bolder, since, by my St Germanus, for as long as my strength does not fail me, not one of you will try to approach me without punishment.' When Abbot Stephen saw this, because he was a wise and seasoned man, he retreated, smiling, and, turning his rein, he went into his own land by another way.¹¹³

Chapter 25

After this Benedict, seeing that the malice of very many men had been stirred up against him, and fully realizing that he could not regain the former peace and tranquillity, since the favour and consent of the majority armed the hostile faction in their slander, decided to give way to their ill will. Relying on excellent and wise advice, he preferred to destroy the disease of discord by leaving rather than to feed it by boldly resisting the charge that had been brought out of spite. He thought his rule would be shamed if he exercised it in such a way that he was not of benefit to it, if he kept safe the bodies of those whose minds and souls he was losing, if he attracted by force the allegiance of those whose love he was not able to attract by his virtues. When he had gathered everyone together, he committed the monastery and all the goods of the monastery to their care and sought

¹¹² Matt. 26: 55; Mark 14: 48; Luke 22: 52: 'Tanquam ad latronem exisitis cum gladiis et fustibus comprehendere me.'

¹¹³ Matt. 2: 12: 'per aliam uiam reuersi sunt in regionem suam'. The biblical context is the return of the magi to their own land after visiting the Christ Child, rather than returning to King Herod as they had promised.

licentiam petit abundi. Quod licet multis displicuisset,¹ et plurimi reclama|rent, nullatenus remanere consensit, sed unicuique benedictionem quam meruerat derelinquens, flentibus et dolentibus quibus erat mens melior discessit. Adiuit autem ut dicunt quidam Roucestriam,¹¹⁴ ubi quamdiu superfuat, honestissime conuersatus est,² et post obitum illius sicut abbatem decebat honorabiliter tumulatus. Prefuit autem monasterio quod fundauerat sicut ex subsequenti illius temporibus potest colligi, septem et viginti annis scilicet ab anno quarto Willelmi primi Regis usque ad decimum Willelmi secundi.¹¹⁵

XXVI

Taliter itaque sicut prelauiamus Abbate Benedicto de abbatia remoto, uir pie recordationis Hugo¹¹⁶ curam suscepit pastoralis officii, qui multo tempore prius in monasterio prepositus¹¹⁷ congregationis electione, regis fauore, Archiepiscopi (Thome)¹¹⁸ approbatione, promotus et ordinatus est. Fuit namque uir simplex, timens Deum

¹ There is a semi-circular hole at the bottom edge of of approximately 38 mm measured along the final line of text

XXVI ² Girardi

³ om. Labbe

¹¹⁴ Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names*, notes 'Roucestria' as a recorded version of both Rochester in Staffordshire (p. 386) and Rochester in Kent (p. 390). There is no clear reason why Benedict should have gone to either, though Rochester, as a seat of a bishopric and a Benedictine cathedral priory, is probably more likely. The bishop at the time was the energetic Gundulf, former monk of Bec and then of Caen, who accompanied Lanfranc to England in 1070 and was made bishop of Rochester in 1077, dying in office in 1108. See Rund, 'Monks in the world'. Gundulf seems to have ceased to be a presence at court during Anselm's exile, which began in 1097, just around the time Benedict resigned.

¹¹⁵ It is not clear from what point the author was reckoning: the arrival of Benedict at Selby (1069), the beginning of the formal grant of Selby by William I (1069 or 1070), or the ordination of Benedict as abbot, which cannot have been earlier than very late 1070, more likely 1071: see above, n. 79. If the author reckoned from 1069 the date of his resignation would have been 1096, if from 1070, the date would have been 1097. William II's tenth year would have been 26 Sept. 1096 to 25 Sept. 1097. It is usual, therefore, to give a date of 1096/7 for Benedict's resignation (*Heads*, i. 66). Benedict was commemorated in the roll of Matilda, daughter of William I and abbess of Holy Trinity, Caen (1113): *Requiescat des monts de IX^e au XV^e siècle*, ed. Delisle, p. 195: 'Titulus sancti Germani Salisbiensis coenobii', followed by a Latin verse, and 'Orate pro nostris, pro abbate videlicet Benedicto, ecclesie nostre primo fundatore, et pro ceteris quorum nomina scripta sunt in libro viventium'. His name also appears on the roll of Vitalis, abbot of Savigny (1122): 'Anima eius et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum requiescant in pace. Amen. Orate pro nostris, Benedicto abbat, et ceteris' (*ibid.*, pp. 314-15).

¹¹⁶ Hugh has traditionally been associated with the Lacy family of Pontefract, but there

permission to leave. Although there were many who were displeased and even more who cried out loudly against him, he would in no way agree to stay, but, giving to each one the blessing that he deserved, he departed, whilst those who were better disposed towards him wept and grieved. Some people say that he went to Rochester,¹¹⁴ where as long as he lived he spent his time most virtuously, and, after his death, he was honourably buried, as befitted an abbot. He ruled the monastery he had founded, as far as can be ascertained from the dates of those who followed him, twenty-seven years, that is from the fourth year of King William I to the tenth year of King William II.¹¹⁵

Chapter 26

As we have mentioned already, when Benedict was removed from the abbey Hugh,¹¹⁶ a man of blessed memory, took up the care of the pastoral office. He had been prior¹¹⁷ of the monastery for a long time before, and was promoted and ordained by election by the congregation and with the favour of the king and the approval of Archbishop [Thomas].¹¹⁸ He was a sincere man who feared God and shunned

is no medieval evidence to support this connection. The earliest to make such a claim appears to have been John Burton (*Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 405), citing the first edition of *Mon.*, vi. 371 (although Dugdale did not, in fact, call Hugh 'de Lacy'). However, the identification was accepted by Fowler (see *Selby Cathedral*, introduction and index) and by Hohl, 'Une fille de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre?'. Farrer (*EYC*, iii. 119) suggested that Hugh was a son of Ilbert I de Lacy. However, in his study of the Lacy family W. E. Wighman could find no evidence to support the identification: see Wighman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy*, p. 58.

¹¹⁷ The word used to describe Hugh's position at Selby is 'prepositus', the word used in the Rule of St Benedict for the prior (*RB*, ch. 65; see also ch. 21). *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, which probably date to c. 1077, state: 'seruata abbat in omnibus reuerentia, prior, qui et prepositus in regula nominatur, honorabilior est reliquis ministris domus Dei' ('saving the reverence due in all things to the abbot, the prior, who is also called the provost in the Rule, is to be honoured above all other servants in God's house'). See *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. Knowles and Brooke, pp. 112-13. The word is also used by the Winchester annals, s. a. 1082, to describe Simon: 'ex praeposito Wintoniae, quem nos priorem vocamus' (*Annales de Wintonia*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Laard, ii. 33) and by Symeon of Durham: 'cui . . . beatus scilicet Cuthbertus successit in preposito (id est prioris) officium. Nam qui nunc prior, a beato Benedicto prepositus monasterii appellatur' ('the blessed Cuthbert succeeded him in the office of provost (which means prior), for the person nowadays called prior was formerly called provost by the blessed Benedict'; Symeon of Durham, *Liellius de eboraco*, pp. 246-7).

¹¹⁸ Hugh is said to have been elected with the favour of the king and the approval of Archbishop Gerard. The latter must be an error for Thomas I, for Gerard did not become archbishop of York until 1100, being translated from Hereford in April of that year. He died on 21 May 1108. Hugh is said to have ruled from the tenth year of William II (see I, 29 below).

et recedens a malo,¹¹⁹ caritate precipuus, humilitate mirabilis, pietate laudabilis, continentia gloriosus. Talem quippe eum suo tempore et ostendit moralitas, et fama celebravit. Vnde factum est ut ab omnibus qui eum nosse poterant magnificaretur et a singulis predicaretur, a populis honoraretur, a clericis diligeretur, a principibus coleretur, a sacerdotibus amaretur. Supererat quippe adhuc per illos dies bone fo. 21^r boni seculi reliquie, uigebat probitas, bonitas^r enitebat, ualor | et uirtus conregnabant, honorabantur serui Dei, religio deuote colebatur, et ut hanc exaltarent certatim sua studia singuli conferebant. Tantum denique se quisque lucratum fuisse gaudebat, quantum pro Dei amore Dei seruis beneficii contulisset. Inde contigit, ut in suo tempore monasterium idem^r Abbas Hugo plurimarum plurimisque rerum adaugeret incrementis. Abbatiam siquidem suo questu redditibus exultit, ecclesiis quamplurimis insigniuit, ornauit honoribus, ornamentis honorauit, decorauit substantiis, prediis et possessionibus ampliavit.

XXVII

Eccliesie quoque sed et omnium officinarum regularium fundamenta in loco ubi nunc est^r abbatia deuotus architectus ipse locauit. Nam usque ad suum tempus omnes officine lignee fuerant, sed et flumini omnes contigue, quarum ille sicut prediximus aliquantulum ab aqua longius fundamenta coniecit. Circa quod opus tantus ei ardor inerat, tanta deuotio, ut omnia que ipsi operi conferre poterat, nichil sibi uiderentur, nisi eciam ipse aliquid proprie de suo contulisset. Ducebat quippe satis exiguum illud tamen operariis amministrare, quod larga deuotio fidelium beneficii offerebat, si non aliquid ex se et pro se ipse impenderet. Sed tamen quid ex suo posset impendere, quid habuit quod non accepit, oblationes fidelium, redditus possessionum non sua sed beati Germani | esse sciebat. Illa prudenter et utiliter dispensare, non tam uirtutis esset et meriti, quam dissipare, uel ad libitum tractare, sacrilegii et rapine. Hec igitur prudenter

^r There is a corresponding gap at this point (see XXV, note b) ^r isdem with s dotted for deletion

¹¹⁹ Job 1: 8: 'homo simplex et rectus, ac timens Deum, et recedens a malo'.

evil,¹¹⁹ outstanding for his charity, remarkable in his humility, praiseworthy for his holiness, and renowned for his abstemiousness. Indeed, his moral character revealed him to be such a man in his own time, and his reputation proclaimed it. Therefore it came about that he was highly esteemed by all who had been able to get to know him and praised by each one; he was held in honour by the people, valued by members of the clergy, cherished by princes, loved by priests. Indeed there have survived to this day from those days good remembrances of a good era; righteousness flourished and goodness shone forth; courage and virtue reigned together, the servants of God were honoured; religion was cherished devoutly and each man contended with the rest to contribute his endeavours to exalt it. Then each one rejoiced that he had profited to the same extent that he, for the love of God, had given help to the servants of God. And so it happened that in his time this same Abbot Hugh enhanced the monastery by adding to it in many ways. He advanced the abbey with revenues he had acquired, he distinguished it by adding very many churches, he adorned it with honours, he honoured it with ornaments, he graced it with riches, he increased it with goods, estates, and possessions.

Chapter 27

As a dedicated architect, Hugh also moved the foundations of the church and of the monastic offices to that site where the abbey now stands. For, until his time, all the domestic buildings were constructed of wood and moreover all were situated next to the river. As we have said, he laid new foundations for these a little further away from the water. He had so much passion for and such great devotion to this task that everything which he could contribute to the work seemed to him as nothing, unless he himself could also give something of his own to it. Indeed, he considered it little enough to make available to the workmen what the generous devotion of the faithful offered by way of a contribution, unless he could expend something from and on behalf of himself. But what could he contribute from his own means, what did he have that he had not received? The offerings of the faithful, the rents from properties were, he knew, not his own possessions but those of the blessed Germanus. To spend them wisely and to good effect would not be so much a virtue and a merit as it would be a sacrilege and theft to waste them or use them for pleasure.

intelligens tale studuit operi beneficium impendere, quod conferre magni esset virtutis et meriti, retrahere uero nec culpe nec uicii. Cotidie siquidem cucullo indutus operario lapides, calcem, et queque operi necessaria humeris suis superposita, cum ceteris operariis ad murum solebat aduehere. Et omni sabbato mercedem sibi sicut unus ex operariis accipiens, pauperibus erogauit, ut illud scilicet impleteret quod scriptum est: 'De tuis iustis laboribus da pauperibus.'¹²⁰ Tandem ergo maxima ecclesie parte Dei adiutorio perfecta,¹²¹ regularibus etiam officinis regulariter circumdificatis uigilia beati patroni Germani suas oues caulis pastor deuotus induxit.¹²² Hec igitur ad admirabilem eius humilitatem¹ et deuotam circa domus sue prouectum sollicitudinem ostendendam breuiter enolata.

XXVIII

Ceterum de caritate eius et pietate quid dicam cum utraque semper uirtute plenus et affluens, gauderet cum gaudentibus, et fletet cum fletibus?¹²³ Numquam sine illius pena puniri potuit aliquis uel suis successibus prosperari. Aliorum successus suos profectus estimabat, aliorum infortunium suum damnum esse credebat. Quis enim uel sine illius merore passus est noxia, uel sine illius gaudio meruit profutura? O quam sepe suis uotis restitit ut aliorum uoluntati satisfaceret, quam sepe penuriam passus est, ut aliorum inopiam subleuaret. Nam si aliquando contigisset ut uestem minus idoneam aliquis haberet e

¹⁻⁴ om. *Labbe*

¹²⁰ This may be an allusion to Prov. 3: 9: 'Honora Dominum de tua substantia', or 'Honora deum de iustis laboribus'. There may also be an echo of Eccles. 14: 13: 'et secundum vires tuas exporrigens da pauperi'. Jerome in Letter 71 'ad Lucinum Baeticum' cites 'honora dominum de tuis iustis laboribus'. See Jerome, *Epistulae* lxxi (p. 5).

¹²¹ Parts of the surviving church at Selby date from the time of Abbot Hugh. One noteworthy aspect is the close correspondence between the architectural features of Selby Abbey and those of Durham Cathedral. E. C. Fernie notes that the parts of the church of Selby Abbey, that is, the transept arms, the crossing, and the easternmost bays of the nave, follow Durham even more closely than Durham's dependent priory at Lindisfarne, in the overall layout, the elevation of the nave, the alternating piers and attached responds on the cylindrical supports, etc. The Selby builders introduced the chevron pattern at a similar point in the east bays as at Durham. This all suggests that although Selby was begun later than Durham (the foundation stone of Durham was laid in 1093) it might have been constructed at the same time. See Fernie, 'The architectural influence of Durham Cathedral', 269-70. Fernie also comments on Hugh's preference for Durham as a model over Thomas I's new cathedral at York. Hugh was among an impressive gathering, which also included the abbot of Secz, Abbot Richard of St Albans, and Abbot Stephen of St Mary's, York, at Durham in 1104, to witness the translation of the body of St Cuthbert to

Therefore, because he prudently understood these things, he applied himself to make a contribution to the work of the sort which would be a sign of great virtue and merit to give—though not blameworthy or sinful to withdraw. Each day, dressed in the cowl of a workman, he used to carry stones, lime, and whatever was needed for the work on his shoulders to the wall, like the other workmen. And each Saturday he took his wages like one of the workers but he gave them to the poor, so that what is written might be fulfilled: 'From your just labours give to the poor.'¹²⁰ At last, with the help of God, the greatest part of the church was constructed,¹²¹ and the monastic offices were laid around it in a regular fashion, and the devout shepherd led his sheep into the fold on the vigil of the blessed patron Germanus.¹²² These things have been briefly narrated to demonstrate his praise-worthy and devout concern for the advancement of his house.

Chapter 28

What more can I say about his charity and his holiness, when, always full and overflowing with both virtues, he would rejoice with those who rejoiced and weep with those who wept?¹²³ No one could ever be punished without causing him pain or fail to benefit from his successes. He reckoned the successes of others to be to his own advantage, and considered the misfortune of others to be an injury to himself. For who either suffered harm without causing him grief, or won benefits without bringing him joy? Oh how often did he not give in to his own wishes so that he might satisfy the wishes of others, how often did he suffer poverty that he might alleviate the want of others! For if at any time it happened that one of the brothers had a garment

his new shrine: *Capitula (liber) de miraculis et translationibus sancti Cuthberti*, in *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, i. 229-61 and ii. 333-62 (i. 258). While York was closer than Durham geographically Hugh may have seen Durham, which was home to St Cuthbert and centre of his cult, as a more fitting model for his own church, potential centre for a cult of St Germanus, than York. See also Fernie, 'The Romanesque church of Selby Abbey', which discusses in detail architectural similarities between Selby and Durham and between Durham and other churches, notably Waltham, Lindisfarne, Dunfermline, Kirby Lonsdale, and Tynemouth, which constitute 'a family of buildings directly dependent on Durham, with a terminus ad quem of 1097, four years after the start of Durham'. See also S. Harrison and M. Thurlby, 'Observations on the Romanesque crossing tower, transcripts and nave aisles at Selby', which draws parallels with architectural features at St Etienne, Caen, St Albans, Norwich Cathedral, Ramsey Abbey, and Southwell Minster.

¹²² The feast of St Germanus's death fell on 31 July, so the vigil would have been 30 July. He was also celebrated on 22 Sept. and 1 Oct.; see above, p. xxii.

¹²³ Rom. 12: 15: 'Gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum fletibus'.

fratribus confestim eum ad se secreto aduocans suam solebat abstrahere, et ei tribuere meliorem uidelicet pro peiore¹²⁴ communtans.¹²⁴ Sic de cibo, sic de potu, sic de ceteris rebus facere solebat. Erat autem ei consuetudo cotidie quando domi esset, antequam fratres pransuri refectorium intrarent, primum pulmentum per omnes mensas circumferre et apponere. Et omni die duorum pauperum cibum de coquina accipiens, ad suam ipsius mensam solebat afferre et cum suo componere, ut tanto scilicet sibi districtiorem indiceret abstinentiam, quanto per presentem elemosinam pauperum maiorem cogitaret inopiam.¹²⁵ Pretermitto quam fuerit in orationibus sedulus, quam in canticis et ymnis spiritualibus assiduus, quam in psalmorum modulatione deuotus. In huiusmodi namque studiis tanta fuit ei delectatio, tanta deuotio, ut sepiissime matutinis expletis officiis domum infirmorum soleret adire, et ibi cum quodam clerico Alwino nomine, qui in eadem domo famulabatur, psalterium et letanias decantare. Quod et solebat facere cum iter quouis ageret, adiunctis scilicet sibi clericis quos famulorum loco secum ducebat, tota die psallendo et orando proficisci. Sed quia longum est omnia que de illo sunt bona referre, hec pauca ad illius honestissimam morfo. 22^a alitatem demonstrandam | memorasse sufficiat. Nunc ad illius finem se narratio nostra retorqueat.¹²⁶

XXIX

Cum namque uiginti et sex annis monasterio prefuisset, ab anno uidelicet decimo Willelmi secundi, usque ad annum uicesimum tercium Henrici regis, finem suum, ut credo, per spiritum innimere prenoit.¹²⁷ Et quia noluit in prelacione finire Archiepiscopum Tursinum¹²⁸ de cura pastoralis absolutione, nemine sciente, XVIII^a priore *Labbe*

¹²⁴ On the clothing of Benedictine monks, see RB, ch. 55.

¹²⁵ RB, ch. 56, 'de mensa abbatibus: Mensa abbatibus cum hospitibus et peregrinis sit semper. Quotiens tamen minus sunt hospites, quos uult de fratribus vocare in ipsius sit potestate. Seniores tamen unum aut duo semper cum fratribus dimittendum propter disciplinam' ('Let the abbot always eat with the guests and pilgrims. But when there are no guests, let him have the power to invite whom he will of the brethren. Yet, for discipline's sake, let one or two seniors always be left with the brethren.') This was, as Knowles pointed out (*The Monastic Order in England*, p. 404), the only exception to the full common life of St Benedict's monastery. At other times it was assumed that the abbot would eat with the community. In England from the reign of Henry I there was a gradual separation of abbot and community, and it was only on occasions such as major feast days that the abbot dined with the monks (ibid.). The point being made here is that Hugh was accustomed to eat apart from the monks and partake in a diet that equated with that of the poor.

that was less than adequate, he used immediately to summon him in secret, and take off his own garment and give it to him, exchanging the better for the worse one.¹²⁴ And he used to do the same with food, with drink, and with other matters. When he was at home it was his daily custom, before the brothers entered the refectory to eat, to carry the first course round to all the tables and serve it out. And each day, taking food for two poor people from the kitchen, he used to bring it to his table and set it with his so that, the more, through the presence of these alms, he thought about the greater neediness of the poor, the more strict an abstinence he imposed upon himself.¹²⁵ I will forgo telling how painstaking he was in his prayers, how constant he was in canticles and sacred hymns, how devout in the singing of the psalms. For his delight in—and devotion to—this kind of pursuit were so great, that very often, when the morning offices were over, he would go to the infirmary and there, with a certain clerk named Alwin, who served in his household, he would sing the psalms and litanies. And he also used to do this when he made a journey anywhere, choosing clerks to accompany him, whom he took in the place of servants, to spend the whole day in saying the psalms and in prayer. But, because it would take too long to relate all the good things about him, it must suffice to recall these few to demonstrate how very admirable was his way of life. Now let our story return to its conclusion.¹²⁶

Chapter 29

Now, when he had been in charge of the monastery for twenty-six years, that is, from the tenth year of William II to the twenty-third year of King Henry, he foresaw, as I believe, through a spirit, that his end was drawing near.¹²⁷ Because he did not wish to die in office, he visited Archbishop Thurstan¹²⁸ without anyone knowing in order to

¹²⁶ This sentence reinforces the claim made in the transition passage (below, pp. 84–5) that the author had intended to finish the narrative in 1135.

¹²⁷ Hugh's rule is given as the tenth year of William II (1066/7—see above, n. 115) to 23 Henry I (5 Aug. 1122 to 4 Aug. 1123).

¹²⁸ The son of a married priest of Bayeux, Thurstan was a chaplain of Henry I and prebendary of Consumpta-per-Mare in the cathedral church of St Paul, London. Thurstan was appointed archbishop of York by Henry I at Winchester on 15/16 August 1114. According to Hugh the Chanter he was already a subdeacon and was ordained deacon by the bishop of Winchester in December of that year. He was enthroned at York later in December by the bishop of Coventry, after which he visited Hexham and Durham, and spent some time in his diocese, taking the opportunity to consult the York chapter about the profession of obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury (Hugh the Chanter, *History of the Church of York*, pp. 56–61). However, as Thurstan had returned to the south to embark

conuenit, qui licet inuitus plurimumque reluctans, abbatibus tandem uoluntati consensit. Adiuunctisque sibi religiosiis et honestis patrie personis Ranulfo scilicet Dunelmense episcopo,¹²⁹ Radulfo episcopo Orcadum,¹³⁰ Gaufrido abbate Eboracensi,¹³¹ priore Pontefractensi,¹³² et aliis plurimis quos enumerare longum est, Selebiam tanquam de alia causa tractaturus aduenit.¹³³ Quibus in capitulo considerantibus, surgens ex improviso Abbas Hugo solo prostratus absolutionem sue petiuit obediencie. Tunc metor et luctus omnium, tunc planctus et gemitus una prostrant, tunc dolor subitus tanto uehementius, quanto et repente monachorum omnium mentes affecit et animos. Reclamabant episcopi, uniuerse persone resistebant, dissuadentes, deprecantes, obsecrantes,¹³⁴ ne pastor oues desereret, ne filios pater inconsultos relinqueret, ne monasterium moderamine rectoris orbatum raptoribus exponeret et predonibus. Quorum precibus et lacrimis dum ille non moueretur, cum festinatione absoluit eum archiepiscopus. Non enim pure Abbatem Hugonem dilexerat, quia ille unus fuit ex eis qui in electione eius reclamauerant.¹³⁴ Et ideo se facilius ad absolutionem eius inclinauerat, sed tamen non sine timore. Timebat quippe se regis indignationem incursum, si ad illius noticiam penueniret, quod in abbatiam suam manus contra rationem

XXIX * obseruantes *Labbe*

for Normandy with the king by Christmas, his ordination as deacon may have taken place earlier, perhaps in September (*ibid.*, pp. 58-9, n. 2). Thurstan refused to be ordained priest by the archbishop of Canterbury or any of the southern metropolitan bishops, and waited until Whitsuntide 1115 to receive orders from his own suffragan, the bishop of Durham. He resigned at Salisbury in Mar. 1116, was at York in 1117, and was on the continent from Dec. 1118. As a result of his refusal to profess obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury he remained unconsecrated until 1119, although during this period he continued to be addressed as archbishop. In Oct. 1119 Pope Calixtus II consecrated Thurstan as archbishop at Reims and as a result of the anger of Henry I at the pope's action Thurstan was not able to return to England until 1121. He entered York for the first time as consecrated archbishop in February of that year. For a brief account of Thurstan's career see *EEA*, v. xxvi-xxx, and for a full study, see Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York 1114-1140*. The acceptance of the resignation of Abbot Hugh came, therefore, fairly early in his York career. If the year was 1123 then Hugh's resignation must have been placed before May, when Thurstan visited Rome (Hugh the Chanter, *History of the Church of York*, p. 111), or later in the year after he had returned to England via Normandy.

¹²⁹ Like Thurstan, Ranulf Flambard was a royal clerk. He was nominated to the bishopric of Durham on 29 May 1099 and consecrated on 5 June of that year, and died on 5 Sept. 1128. For his colourful career see Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard', and Prestwich.

¹³⁰ Ralph Nowell, bishop of Orkney, was consecrated by Archbishop Thomas II of York (1109-14); Hugh the Chanter, *History of the Church of York*, pp. 52-3. He was never received in his diocese (Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, p. 15) and appears to have been a regular companion of Archbishop Thurstan. For acts that he attested see *EEA*, v.

discuss laying down the pastoral office. Although he was unwilling and very reluctant, Thurstan at length consented to the wish of the abbot and, accompanied by religious and honourable persons of the country, that is, Ranulf, bishop of Durham,¹²⁹ Ralph, bishop of Orkney,¹³⁰ Geoffrey, abbot of York,¹³¹ the prior of Pontefract,¹³² and very many others whom it would take too long to list—he came to Selby as if he were going to discuss another matter.¹³³ When they were all sitting in chapter, Abbot Hugh stood up without warning and, prostrating himself on the ground, begged to be absolved from his profession. Then sadness and lamentation, and weeping and groaning, burst forth from them all as one, then sudden grief seized the minds and souls of all the monks as vehemently as it did unexpectedly. The bishops protested, the whole assembly opposed him, discouraging him, imploring him, entreating him, that, as a shepherd, he should not leave his flock, as a father should not leave his sons without counsel, should not leave his monastery bereft of the governance of a leader, exposed to thieves and robbers. When he was not moved by their prayers and tears the archbishop quickly released him, for he had not esteemed Abbot Hugh highly, because he was one of those who had protested again his election.¹³⁴ It was for this reason that he had been readily inclined to let him go—but not without fear. He was afraid that he would incur the anger of the king if it came to his notice that he had exercised power in his abbey without good

¹²⁹ 38-40, 53-4, 72-4, 78-9, nos. 43 (possibly spurious), 63 (consecration of Robert, bishop of St Andrews), 91, 100. In 1138 Thurstan made him spiritual adviser to the army which faced the Scots at the Battle of the Standard.

¹³¹ Geoffrey was the third abbot of St Mary's, York, after Stephen (who was dead by 1113) and Richard (1113/14-18). He succeeded c.1119 and died in c.1138 (*Head*, i. 84). Geoffrey was abbot as the time of the secession from St Mary's (1132) which led to the foundation of Fountains Abbey.

¹³² The Cluniac priory of Pontefract was founded by the Lacy family, lords of Pontefract, c.1090. The prior, who is not here named, may be Walter, the first recorded prior of the monastery, who went on himself to become abbot of Selby in 1137 (see below, II, 1-2).

¹³³ That Thurstan was accompanied on his visit to Selby by two suffragans and two of the three heads of Benedictine or Cluniac houses in Yorkshire suggests the importance of Selby as a location for the transacting of episcopal business.

¹³⁴ The author here hints at tension between Thurstan and Hugh, stating that Hugh had been one of those who had objected to his election. Hugh the Chanter, who would have been well placed to know of such opposition, makes no mention of any resistance to Thurstan's election by Abbot Hugh or anyone else. It is worth remembering that Hugh would have been the senior Benedictine abbot in Yorkshire at the time, since Abbot Stephen of York died before 1113, and Whithy had only recently been elevated to the status of abbey. See Burton, 'Monastic revival in Yorkshire'.

iniciisset. Vnde factum est¹ ut absoluto a cura pastorali Abbate Hugone, omnem exteriorem curam domus non cuiuslibet ex suis sed priori, Willielmo scilicet Magno, commendaret. Sed et baculum pastorem cum ei uellet Abbas Hugo reddere non adqueuit accipere, set super altare iussit deponere.

Capitulum XXX

Sic itaque pastoralibus curis feliciter uir ille felix exoneratus, multa sanctorum loca per Angliam orationum gratia uisitauit. Et cum eum apud sanctum Albanum¹³⁵ et apud Dunelmum¹³⁶ honorabiliter et cum magna reuerentia sicut uirum sanctissimum uellent retinere, nunquam sibi ipse persuadere potuit ut a beato Germano aliquantum temporis moraretur. Domum ergo reuersus, uitam heremiticam in predio quodam Scaolm nomine, non longe a monasterio, honorabiliter cepit exercere.¹³⁷ Cumque duos annos post degradationem² suam peregrisset spatianti gratia quodam tempore domum aduenit. Tunc incommode repente corripitur, langore deprimitur, febribus aggrauatur.¹³⁸ Tanquam manifeste | daretur intelligi maximam de eo curam beatum Germanum habuisse, quem suo sic instinctu ad se reuocauerat ut ibi uidelicet corpore³ requiesceret ubi eternam requiem multis beneficiis promeruerat. Cum itaque diebus paucis acerrima ualetudine uexaretur, rebus denum exemptus humanis appositus est⁴ ad patres suos, et ab Herberto tunc abbate monasterii cum magna reuerentia, sicut talem ac tantum decebat uirum, in capitulo tumulatus est. De quo uice epitaphii sic cecimus elegiace.

¹ om. Labbe

XXX ² degradationem is written in darker ink over what appears to be an erasure; a later hand has added deponem in the margin ³ corpus Labbe ⁴ om. Labbe

¹³⁵ On the connection between St Germanus and St Albans, and St Albans and Selby, see Introduction, pp. xxi–ii, xlix, lv–vi.

¹³⁶ Hugh's connection with Durham is noted above (see n. 121). Selby was in confraternity with Durham: Liber vitae, fo. 52^v(1) ('Pro monachis de Seleb' sicut pro fratribus de Glestunbyri'). See Burton, 'Confraternities in the Durham Liber Vitae', p. 74. See also Burton, 'Commemoration and memorialization', pp. 224, 229.

¹³⁷ In leaving his monastery to live as a hermit Hugh was following the pattern laid down by Benedict for a minority of monks in ch. 1 of RB. This chapter described the progression from the cenobitic to the eremitical life: 'the anchorites, that is, hermits, those no longer

cause. And so it happened that, when Abbot Hugh was released from his pastoral care, the archbishop entrusted all the administration of the external affairs of the monastery not to any one of his own men but to the prior, that is, William 'the Great'. However, he would not agree to accept the pastoral staff when Abbot Hugh wished to return it to him, but ordered it to be placed on the altar.

Chapter 30

And so that fortunate man, fortunately relieved of the burdens of his pastoral cares, visited many shrines of the saints throughout England to pray there. Although they wished to keep him with them at St Albans¹³⁵ and at Durham¹³⁶ honourably and with great reverence as befitted so holy a man, he could never convince himself that he should stay away from the blessed Germanus even for a little while. Returning home he began honourably to live the life of a hermit in an estate called 'Scaolm' not far from the monastery.¹³⁷ When he had completed two years outside the monastery after he had stepped down for the sake of travelling around, he came home at a certain time. Then he is suddenly seized by physical affliction, he is weighed down by weariness, he is oppressed by fevers.¹³⁸ At length, it is granted to him clearly to understand that the blessed Germanus had taken very great care of him, when, by some prompting, he had called him back to himself, so that he might lie in body there where he had deserved eternal rest for his many good deeds. After he had thus been troubled for a few days by this most painful sickness, he was finally freed from human concerns, and he was gathered to his fathers and buried in the chapter house by Herbert, who was then abbot of the monastery, with great reverence, as befitted a man of such quality and stature. We have celebrated him in an elegy instead of an epitaph.

fresh in the fervor of monastic life but long tested in the monastery, who have learned, by now schooled with the help of many, to fight against the Devil. Well trained among a band of brothers for single combat in the desert, by now confident even without another's encouragement, they are ready, with God's help, to fight the vices of body and mind with hand and arm alone.' 'Scaolm' has not been identified but there may be a survival of the name in Scaolm Lane and Scaolm Park to the west of the town of Selby.

¹³⁸ This is an instance where the author, for effect, moves from the past to the present tense.

XXXI

VERSUS DE ABBATE HUGONE^a

Hugo decus morum decor orbis flos monachorum
 Cum ruit omne ruit quod monachile fuit.
 Lux anime uia uia uite pacis oliua,
 Cum fugit et uadit ius decus ordo cadit.
 Hic uir uirtutis decoris uas unda salutis,
 Gloria dum steterat religionis erat,
 Pre cunctis humilis alius carus sibi uilis
 Mente minor puero plusque rigore fe(r)ro.¹³⁹
 Non homo sed uernis sibi non uir res sed inermis,
 Mens sibi^b mors finis terra fauilla cinis.
 Mos sibi flere mens sternere uota ualere.
 Sic uiuere Christe tibi uelle morique sibi.^c
 Nolle malo mori uiuere uelle mori,
 Regere^d mens esse sibi cunctis uota subesse.
 Cor prodese gregi lex ratione regi.
 Simplicitas puerum probat hunc ars sensus Homerum.¹⁴⁰
 Vis probitas iuuenem consiliumque senem,
 Libertas socium dominum ualor actio dium,
 Gratus amor fratrem sollicitudo patrem.
 Sic monachile decus par cunctis omnibus equus,
 Cuique coaptatur cui comes ipse datur.
 Diuiciis superis teneris pietate seueris,
 Iudicio pueris mente decore meris.
 Iusticia iustis spe sanctis ore uenustis,
 Actibus ingenuis ingeniisque suis.
 Questibus hic primus et optimis rebus opimus,

XXXI ^a This title is rubricated, and the first letter of the opening word of each line of verse (except for ll. 12 and 13) is in brown ink, but marked or picked out in red. The 'r' of line 14 appears to be a correction. ^b Labbe adds se ^c interlined; om. Labbe ^d R has been added over the original letter

¹³⁹ 'fero' seems likely to be an error for 'ferro'.

¹⁴⁰ The Greek poet, who probably lived in the 8th c. B.C. and to whom were attributed the epic poems the Iliad and the Odyssey.

Chapter 31

VERSES ABOUT ABBOT HUGH

Hugh, distinguished for his conduct, an ornament to the world,
 the flower of monks,
 When he was overthrown, everything monastic was overthrown.
 The living light of the soul, the way of life, olive branch of peace,
 When he fled away and left, justice, honour, and order fell.
 This man of virtue, vessel of honour, wave of safety
 Had been the glory of his religion while he still lived.
 Humble before all others, dear to other men, cheap to himself,
 In mind, less than a boy, and harder than iron.¹³⁹
 To himself he was not a human being but a worn, not a man but
 a helpless thing.
 To him intellect was death, the end, earth, embers, ashes.
 It was his custom to weep, for his mind to extend itself, for
 prayers to prevail.
 Thus he wanted to live for you, Christ, and to die to himself.
 He refused to live a bad way of life, he wished to die.
 His mind to rule, to be to himself as to all, for prayers to be
 present,
 His heart to benefit his flock, law to be governed by reason.
 His simplicity proves this man to be a boy, his art and ideas a
 Homer.¹⁴⁰
 His strength and honesty prove him a young man, his counsel an
 old man.
 His frankness a companion, his worth a lord, his actions blessed,
 His pleasant love a brother, his care a father.
 So he was an ornament to the monastic life, equal to all, fair
 to all.
 He adapts himself to everyone to whom he is given as a
 companion.
 With riches with the mighty, with piety with the gentle,
 With judgement with the stern, with reason with boys, with
 honour with the pure,
 With justice with the just, with hope with the holy, with his
 countenance with the charming,
 By his ingenious actions and by his talents
 This man was the foremost in making acquisitions, and rich in
 rich things.

Plura sue domui contulit arte sui.
 Ecclesiam fecit cuius fundamina iecit,
 Cui tulit et dona plurima larga bona.
 Sic uir plusque uiro uirtutum munere uiro,
 Dum uiruit perijt dum stetit interijt.
 Cum cadit is cadimus et eo pereunte perimus,
 Cum premit hunc finis fit decus omne cinis.
 Se caro dat terre quod sumpsit iussa referre,
 Semina missa metit spiritus astra petit.

30

XXXII

Igitur postquam se Abbas Hugo de sede pastoralis transulerat, successit ei in monasterii regimine Herbertus, uir ualde monachus, et ordinis obseruatione probatissimus. Qui ex sancto Albano electus,¹⁴¹ et a rege collaudatus,¹⁴² bene sibi pastoris et nomen et officium perpetuo uendicasset, si columbinam in se simplicitatem serpentis prudentia temperasset.¹⁴³ Sed quia simplicitatem suam nec ornauit | ad plenum prudentia, nec discreto temperauit, ei plus obfuit, quam profuit, quantum tamen ad pastorem curam exercendam. Fuit quippe uir admodum simplex et satis plusquam rectorem decebat ecclesie, quia sic quietem Marie diligebat et partem, ut omnem Marthe sollicitudinem desereret et laborem.¹⁴⁴ Nulla de rebus exterioribus ei cura, nec sollicitudo de possessionibus, de substantiis monasterii nichil agebat, nichil cogitabat. Nesciuit de hiis iudicare nec uoluit, recolens quia nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis secularibus.¹⁴⁵ Sedebat in clauastro solarius et tacebat, psallebat, orabat, legit, et decerpit

¹⁴¹ Herbert was the first of two abbots appointed from St. Albans, and in this case his was a royal appointment. There may have been a link between Hugh's visit to St. Albans and Herbert's appointment, that is, Hugh may have gone to St. Albans to negotiate for the appointment of Herbert to Selby. The abbot of St. Albans at the time of Herbert's promotion to the abbacy was Geoffrey de Gorron, former prior, elected in 1119; *Heads*, i. 66-7.

¹⁴² *DMLBS, conferte* (7): to confer, bestow or grant (office), especially (c) to collate to ecclesiastical office. The use of the term here may be intended to reinforce the status of Selby as a royal abbey.

¹⁴³ *Matt.* 10: 16: 'Esote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae.'

¹⁴⁴ The reference is to the sisters Mary and Martha of Bethany, who were visited by Jesus (*Luke* 10: 38-42). Mary sat at the feet of Christ listening to his words, while Martha attended to the practical aspects of the visit. Christ told her that Mary had chosen the best part ('optima pars'). For a detailed discussion of different interpretations of his words, and the importance of the sisters in medieval thought see Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, pp. 1-141. In monastic terms Mary could be taken to

By his skill he contributed many things to his house.
 He built a church, whose foundations he laid,
 And to which he gave gifts which were very many, plentiful, and good.
 Thus this man who was more than a man, wonderfully endowed with virtues,
 As he flourished, perished, as he lived, died.
 When he falls, we fall, and as he perishes, we perish.
 When the end bears down on him, all beauty becomes ash.
 His flesh commits itself to the earth, commanded to give back what it has taken.
 He reaps the seeds which have been scattered, his spirit seeks the stars.

30

Chapter 32

So, after Abbot Hugh had resigned his pastoral office, Herbert succeeded him in the government of the monastery. He was a man intensely monastic in his lifestyle and most excellent in his observance of the monastic order. He had been elected from St. Albans¹⁴¹ and collated by the king,¹⁴² and he could well have claimed for himself the reputation and office of a good shepherd for ever, if only he had tempered his dove-like artlessness with the wisdom of the serpent.¹⁴³ But, because he neither fully embellished this artlessness with practical sense, nor did he moderate it with discernment, it hindered more than it profited him in the administration of his pastoral office. He was indeed a wholly ingenuous man—more than befitted the ruler of a church—because he loved the quiet life and the part of Mary, so that he could leave behind all the care and work of Martha.¹⁴⁴ He had no care for external matters, no concern about possessions; he took no action or thought about the goods of the monastery, and thought nothing about them. He did not know how to make judgements in these matters nor did he want to, recalling that no one who fights for God involves himself in secular business.¹⁴⁵ He used to sit in the cloister alone and keep silence; he said the psalms, prayed, read, and culled flowers from the

represent the eremitical and Martha the cenobitic tradition within the monastic life. It also became common to view abbots as fulfilling both roles—the burden of office (Martha) and the spiritual (Mary)—and to see a need to reconcile both functions in one person. Some, like Herbert, failed to achieve such reconciliation or balance.

¹⁴⁵ 2 Tim. 2: 4: 'nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis secularibus'.

flores de scripturis. Ipse primus ingrediebatur ad horas, ultimus exibat. Quid plura? Sic in interioribus profusus est¹⁴⁵ monachum, ut in exterioribus omnino differetur abbatem. Ex hoc accidit ut res exteriores certo procuratore carentes, non bene ceperint administrari. Inculti agri, horrea demolita, mansionum extirpata pecunia,¹⁴⁶ summam inopiam monachis pollicebantur imminere. Consultur ille, sed consulentibus se consulere nesciebat. Querimoniis huiusmodi frequenter eius corrumpitur lectio, prepeditur oratio, contemplatio defraudatur. Et ad hec accessit afflictionis grauioris incommodum, quia nec apud eum querela solatium, nec necessitas inuenit remedium.

XXXIII^a

Cum itaque quatuor annis uix in regimine perdurasset, cernens sibi |
 60, 25^r laborem infinitum incumbere, unum sibi uidit superesse consilium, ut
 se uidelicet de tali cura transferret. Aduenerat in Angliam eo tempore
 cardinalis quidam apostolice sedis legatus, Iohannes nomine,¹⁴⁷ quem
 Herbertus apud Eboracum allocutus, de officii sui cura consulit.
 Cumque illius moralitatem cardinalis didicisset, 'Nichil', inquit, 'tibi
 frater, hoc tempore uel tuis moribus cum pastoris officio, simplicitas
 hoc tempore reputatur ignorantia, humilitas ignobilitas, mansuetudo
 stulticia. Quam ob causam in ueritate tibi consulo ut onus pastorale
 deponas et sarcinam.' Et cum se diceret Herbertus hoc ratum habere
 consilium, hoc querere, hoc desiderare, absoluit eum cardinalis.
 Veniens itaque domum continuoque uale dicens fratribus, et mon-
 asterium eorum cure committens, ad sanctum Albanum reuersus est.

XXXII^a om. LabbeXXXIII^a altered from XXXVI

¹⁴⁶ An echo of Joel 1: 10-11: 'Depopulata est regio, luxit humus, quoniam devastatum est triticum, confusum est vinum, clanguit oleum, confusi sunt agricolae, uilauerunt vinitores super frumento et hordeo, quia perit messis agri'.

¹⁴⁷ This chapter refers to the visit of John of Crema, papal legate (here just called John), cardinal-priest of St Chrysogonus. See Tillman, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in England*, pp. 27-30; Brett, *English Church under Henry I*, pp. 42-7; *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, pp. 730-41; *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, iii, ed. and trans. McGurk, pp. 157-65. John of Crema was granted a papal legation over England and Scotland by Pope Calixtus II in 1124, but his visit was delayed and he was not able to carry it out before the death of the pope in December of that year. In April the new pope, Honorius II, issued bulls authorizing John to act as legate in England and Scotland. He arrived in England in Lent 1125, accompanied by the archbishops of Canterbury (William of Corbeil) and York (Thurstan) and the bishops-elect of Worcester and Chichester. He performed mass at Canterbury on 29 Mar. and attended the consecration of Bishop Seftred of Chichester on 12 Apr. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle the legate then 'went

Scriptures. He himself was always the first to enter for the canonical hours and the last to leave. What more can I say? He so completely professed himself a monk inwardly that, in outward matters, he completed disowned the office of abbot. As a result of this it happened that external affairs, lacking a purposeful steward, began to be badly managed. The uncultivated fields, the derelict barns, the squandered wealth of the dwellings,¹⁴⁶ all promised that very great need would threaten the monks. He was asked for advice, but he did not know how to advise those who sought his counsel. His reading is often marred by complaints of this kind, prayer is obstructed, and contemplation is denied. To these things were added the misfortune of an even more serious affliction because complaint found in him no comfort, nor did necessity find a remedy.

Chapter 33

When he had lasted scarcely four years in office, seeing that this task would always weigh heavily upon him, he realized that there was only one course of action, namely that he should resign his post. At that time a certain cardinal, a legate of the apostolic see by the name of John,¹⁴⁷ had come to England, and Herbert spoke to him in York and consulted him regarding his concern about his office. When the cardinal had learnt what manner of man he was, he said: 'There is no room for you or your way of life these days, brother, since, at this time for the office of pastor, artlessness is considered as ignorance, humility as lack of breeding, gentleness as foolishness. For this reason, in truth I advise you to lay down the weight and burden of pastoral office.' When Herbert said that he thought this to be good advice, that this was what he sought, this was what he longed for, the cardinal released him. He came back home and immediately said goodbye to his brothers, committed the monastery to their care, and went back to St Albans.

over all England to all the bishoprics and abacies that there were in the country and he was received with honour everywhere, and they all gave him great and splendid gifts' (*ASC*, E', s.a. 1125). The legate's journey took him north to Durham and to Roxburgh, where he met with King David of Scotland. He held a legatine council at Westminster in September, shortly after which he left for Normandy and then Rome. His meeting with Herbert at York therefore took place sometime between Apr. and Sept. 1125. Henry of Huntingdon recorded some inappropriate behaviour by the legate, alleging that having dealt severely in the council with the issue of married priests he was discovered with a whore after Vespers on a day when he had celebrated mass: Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Greenway, pp. 472-5. For comment on the significance of John's mission see Hicks, 'The Anglo-papal bargain of 1125'.

XXXIII

Post^r cuius discessionem electus est^r Durannus quidam monachus sancte Marie Eboraci, qui nouem annis prefuit monasterio, scilicet usque ad annum nouissimum Regis Henrici. In cuius Duranni tempore res magna contigit et plena stupore que ut paginis inserta preluceat, breuiter hanc memorabo. Niuus et glaciei dissolutione mirabilii Vsa fluuius mirabiliter excresecens, ripas suas uehementer excesserat, cuius inundatio tam repentina fuerat et insolita, ut cum matutinorum signo pulsante¹⁴⁸ nichil | apparet, antequam fratres matutinas percantassent, per totum claustrum et officinas se aqua diffudisset. Tunc uille capella que fluminis alueo fuit contigua, tanto plus aquarum impulsibus periclitata est, quanto maiori fluminis rigore concussa. Circa quam satis se presentem ostendit beati Germani potens benignitas et benigna potestas. Nam cum aqua per quindecim fere dies excresecens se super capelle parietes que uirgulis contexte fuerant tribus^r fere cubitis extrulisset, nunquam tamen ualuit infra capellam unum gradum qui ante altare fuit excedere. Quamuis parietibus usquequaque carie consumptis foramina per circuitum et plurima paterent et maxima. Visum est^r ergo et diligentius exploratum, et inuenta est^r aqua duobus cubitis esse altior extra quam intus. Hoc miraculum tam cognitum est^r et diuulgatum, ut adhuc etiam quasi prouerbum euoluit per ora cunctorum. Dicunt etiam in eadem capella luminaria ardentia sepius uisa fuisse, sepe uoces psallentium et cantantium auditas et intellectas, sed in diebus Abbatis Duranni hoc quod retulimus contigit de aqua miraculum.

XXXV

Erat autem isdem Durannus uir in exterioribus ualde prudens, sed in interioribus et sibi et aliis longe plusquam oportuit negligenter. Erat siquidem multimoda gratiarum dote donatus, liberali scilicet scientia

XXXIII ^a P is a five-line rubricated initial, the addition of which obliterated the o, which was then restored in red ink ^a om. Labbe ^a quinquae Labbe ^a om. Labbe

¹⁴⁸ For the striking of the bell ('signum pulsare') see *Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, pp. 122-5, where it was the duty of the sacrist to ring the bells or instruct others how to do so: 'Ipsius est signa pulsare, uel qualiter pulsantur aliis indicare.' The office of Matins was that also known as Vigils or Nocturns, the Night Office, which

Chapter 34

After his departure Durand, a monk of St Mary's, York, was elected, and he was head of the monastery for nine years, that is, up to the last year of King Henry. In Durand's time a momentous event occurred, full of wonder, and I will mention it briefly here, so that it might brighten these pages by its inclusion. Because of an extraordinary thaw of snow and ice, the River Ouse, swelling in remarkable fashion, had greatly overflowed its banks. This kind of flooding was so sudden and so unheard of that, although nothing could be seen when the first signal was sounded for Matins,¹⁴⁸ before the brothers had finished singing that office the water had spread throughout the cloister and the monastic buildings. Then, the more the chapel of the vill, which was next to the river channel, was pounded by the stronger force of that river, the more it was in peril from the onslaught of the waters. The powerful bounty and the bountiful power of the blessed Germanus showed itself to be present at this time. For though the water, which had been swelling for almost fifteen days, had risen almost three cubits above the walls of the chapel, which were constructed with wattle, within the chapel it did not manage to advance above the one step that was in front of the altar. The walls on all sides were wasted away with decay and very many large holes appeared on every side. This was observed and carefully investigated and it was discovered that the water was two cubits higher on the outside than the inside. The miracle became so well known and widespread that, even now, it flies out of the mouths of everyone, just like a proverb. They even say that quite often lamps were seen burning in that same chapel, and that you could frequently hear and discern the voices of people chanting the psalms and singing. But this miracle which we have related concerning the water happened in the days of Abbot Durand.

Chapter 35

This Durand was a very experienced man in external affairs, but heedless in internal matters with regard to himself and to others, very much more than was appropriate. He was endowed with the gift of

was celebrated some time between 2.00 and 3.00 a.m. (depending on the time of year) and which was followed by Lauds, sung at first light.

sufficenter eruditus, forensium sapientia bene consummatus. ^{fo. 26'} Preterea facundus eloquio, acutus ingenio, | munificus dextera, decorus facie, expensis nobilis, nobilitate conspicuus, uerum ad tot instrumenta uirtutum que habuit corruptenda, accessit fermentum erroris, noxia uidelicet familiaritas ⁴ 'suspectarum personarum.' Amabat quippe Rex Salomon mulieres alienigenas multum, que subuerterunt cor eius, ¹⁴⁹ et eum errare fecerunt. ¹⁵⁰ Vnde publice diffamatus et notatus per prouinciam laicis fuit scandalum, ordinatis obprobrium. Corruptus autem sepius et increpatus a monachis, cum nulla ratione malus usus inolitus ualeret aboleri, tandem suadente et consulente supradicto Archiepiscopo Turstino pastoris honorem cum onere a conuentu deserere compulsus est. ⁵ Cum autem ei per omnia archiepiscopus restitisset ne amissum recuperaret honorem, adiuit ille Cluniacum, ubi sub religionis et ordinis professione honeste cepit conuersari. ¹⁵¹ Vnde postea abbas Cluniacensis collatione nobilem et excellentem in Anglia adeptus est prioratum, ¹⁵² regnante Domino

XXXV ¹ apparently written over erasure

⁶ om. *labbe*

⁷ om. *labbe*

¹⁴⁹ 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 11: 1-2: 'Rex autem Salomon adunauit mulieres alienigenas multas ... certissime enim auertent corda uestra' (see also Num. 32: 9, 'subuerterunt cor filiorum Israel'). The force of the analogy is that the foreign marriages of Solomon, contracted for political reasons, subverted his religion and ultimately led to the division of the kingdom.

¹⁵⁰ Isa. 19: 14: 'Dominus miscuit in medio eius spiritum vertiginis; et errare fecerunt Aegyptum.'

¹⁵¹ Durand's decision to go to Cluny is an interesting choice because he has no previous known connection with a Cluniac house. The abbot of Cluny is not named in the text, but would have been Peter the Venerable (1122-56), who visited England in 1130 (*ASC*, 4E, 5A, 1130). Thurstan, too, had an association with Cluny, for it was to a Cluniac house, Pontefract, that he would retire in 1140, allegedly in fulfilment of a vow made years earlier to end his life as a Cluniac monk.

¹⁵² The abbot of Cluny, as head of the entire congregation, had the power to appoint the priors of dependent priories, though this often led to tension with lay patrons, who were deprived of one of the traditional benefits of monastic patronage, that is, influence in the election of the head of the house. On this see Steber, *Late Medieval Monasteries*, pp. 93-9, and Heale, *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries*, pp. 64-113. The English Cluniac monastery to which Durand returned as prior is not certain. *Heads*, i. 69, tentatively suggests Montacute. The evidence is not clear, however, and there are a number of Cluniac houses for which there are no recorded heads at this period. The 14th-c. annals of Montacute include in a list of heads a prior named Durand at a likely point (*ibid.*, pp. 121-2 and p. 260), but the list is unreliable. There may have been more than one prior of Montacute named Durand. Durand, prior of Montacute, witnessed two charters of Matilda Peverel granting the church of Ermington to the monks of Montacute serving God at Kerswell. Of the three women called Matilda Peverel listed by Keats-Rohan (*Domtday Descendants*, II 1067) this must be the wife of Robert Fitz Martin of Devon (who was dead by 1159), and aunt of Hugh Peverel of Sampford, Ermington, and Kerswell (Devon).

manifold charms, well enough versed in knowledge of the liberal arts, very accomplished in knowledge of public affairs. Moreover he spoke easily and eloquently, he had a sharp mind, he was generous, fair in appearance, celebrated for what he spent, distinguished for his noble birth. But, to spoil the many gifts of virtues which he had, there appeared the leaven of error, namely, the poisonous company of untrustworthy persons. King Solomon, to be sure, greatly loved foreign women who led his heart astray ¹⁴⁹ and caused him to fall into error. ¹⁵⁰ Slandered publicly and notorious, Durand became a source of scandal to lay people throughout the province, and a source of disgrace to those who were in holy orders. Since, however, his deeply rooted bad behaviour, though very often the subject of reproof and chiding by the monks, could not be checked by any means, he was finally compelled by the convent, at the urging and advice of Archbishop Thurstan, whom I mentioned earlier, to abandon the dignity of pastor together with its burden. But when the archbishop stood firm against him in all things to ensure that he should not recover the office he had lost, he went to Cluny, where under the profession of its religion and order, he began to live an honourable life. ¹⁵¹ For this reason he afterwards obtained, by collation of the abbot of Cluny, a noble and excellent office of prior in England, ¹⁵² under the rule of our Lord Jesus

Matilda was enfeoffed of the honour of Plympton at Ermington by Richard I de Redvers. Keats-Rohan identifies the latter as Richard I de Redvers, who succeeded to the honour in 1155 and died in 1162. Matilda had no heirs and died childless between c. 1150 and 1156. This makes it unlikely that she was enfeoffed by the Richard de Redvers who only succeeded in 1155. Moreover, Keats-Rohan also states that Matilda founded the cell of Montacute at Kerswell for the soul of Richard de Redvers in 1129/30 (*ibid.*). It is likely, therefore, that Matilda was enfeoffed by the earlier Richard de Redvers who received the manor of Plympton shortly after the succession of Henry I in 1100, married Adeliz, daughter of William Peverel, and died in 1107, to be succeeded by his son, Baldwin de Redvers. Matilda's charters which Prior Durand witnessed are calendared in *Two Cartularies of the Augustinian Priory of Bruton*, pp. 171-2, nos. 141-2. The second of these, no. 142, was edited in full in *Charters of the Redvers Family*, ed. Bearman, Appendix I, no. 3 (p. 157). This charter makes it clear that Matilda granted the church of Ermington to Kerswell/Montacute 'pro salute anime mee et pro anima Ricardi de Reuers qui dedit michi manerium de Ermintrun'. Bearman dates the grant by Richard to Matilda to between 1100 and 1107—over forty years, that is, before her death, and suggests (though on which basis is not clear) a date of 1119 × 1120 for Matilda's grant; this is the date given for the foundation of Kerswell in *MRI*, p. 97. If this is correct Prior Durand of Montacute cannot be the same as the ex-abbot of Selby. In her edition of the acts of the bishops of Bath and Wells Frances Ramsey included a statute issued by Bishop Savaric in 1199 or early 1200 granting to the abbey of Bec a prebend in the church of Wells. This was attested in one of the surviving copies by 'Durando priore Montis Acaui' (*EEA*, x. 149, no. 196, noted in *Heads*, i. 269). This is too late to be the former abbot of Selby.

nostro Iesu Christo, cui cum patre et spiritu sancto, honor, virtus et gloria, nunc et per omnia seculorum secula.^d

Superioris exaratione voluminis iam ex utraque parte sceda decursa, presentis opusculi proposueram finire laborem. Quod me facere dum non permittitis, factis indiscrete, quia et meam tenuitatem tam inuenero excitatis. Odiosum me factis Chanaanitis et Pherezais habitatoribus terre huius.¹⁵³ Illis siquidem materiam augetis inuidie, dum honoris mihi causas amministratis et glorie. Vnde tremulus satis et dubius istud prosequor uestre iussionis opusculum, quia timeo quod futurum presentio, ne scriptoris causa contempnatur pagina, ne occasione utilis historiographi, preciosa subsannetur et respuatur historia. Sunt enim quam plurimi in hoc tempore qui non quid sed quis dicas attendunt, qui peruersam metonymiam facientes non personam ex dictis, sed ex persona dicta uolunt approbare. Timeo quod innuere iam uideo, ne hi tales ob meam paruitatem a me scriptam subsannent historiam, ne dignentur legere, que tam uilem personam cognouerint edidisse. Quam ob rem ab hoc labore manum retrahere proposueram, sed uos qui pene uiolenter hic coegistis incipere, uiolencius cogitis et implere. Factus sum insipiens, uos me coegistis.¹⁵⁴ Siquidem non ueni uoluntatem meam facere, sed eius qui misit me,¹⁵⁵ meis uotis resiti ut uestris satisfacerem, meam uoluntatem adnichilo, dum uestram implere laboro. Neque iniquitas mea neque peccatum meum, sine iniquitate cucurri et direxi.¹⁵⁶

fo. 27^r

Inuidorum insane scandala^f pusillorum que ex hoc nostro studio fortasse contrahentur, uos arbitror in capite debere respicere, quia uos huius operis auctores^f estis, ego minister. Ceterum sunt aliqui quibus respondendum est^f | qui suam inuidiam uolentes palliare, quasi iusta ratione hoc opusculum nostrum nituntur reprobare, dicentes a

^a Labbe has an editorial heading Monium Auctoris, seu Praefatio in sequens opusculum. The transitional passage between the two parts of the text has no heading but the scribe has left a gap of approximately 25 mm following the end of the previous chapter to indicate that this should be read as a separate section

scandalis Labbe

f auctores Labbe

s om.

¹⁵³ The Canaanites and Perezites were among the ancient inhabitants of Palestine. Gen. 13: 7 mentions strife between them and the herdsmen of Abraham. The Perezites were driven out by the descendants of Abraham (Gen. 15: 20) and named among the conquered tribes (Josh. 24: 11). See also Exod. 3: 8 and 33: 2, Deut. 20: 17, and Josh. 9: 1. The allusion here is to Gen. 34: 30: 'Quibus patrias audacter, iacob dixit ad Simeon et Levi: "Turbastis me, et odiosum fecistis me Chanaanitis et Pherezais habitatoribus terrae huius. Nos pauci sumus, illi congregati percutient me, et delebor ego et domus mea".'

Christ, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, virtue and glory, world without end.

With the composition of the above volume now having run on to the page on both sides, I had intended to complete the task of the present little work. When you do not allow me to do this, you act unwisely, because you harass my feebleness by demanding too much labour of me, and stir up against me the envy of any enemies that I may have. You make me an object of hate to the Canaanites and Perezites, the inhabitants of this land.¹⁵³ You increase the reasons for their ill will when you give me opportunities for honour and glory. Therefore, I am following up this small work compiled on your orders, trembling and in doubt, because I am afraid of what I sense will happen, that the book will be despised because of its author, that, on the pretext of his worthlessness as a historian, his precious history will be mocked and rejected. For there are very many people in our times who pay attention not to what is said but to who is saying it, who, employing a perverse metonymy, do not wish to judge a person by what he says, but what is said by the person. I am afraid of what I see is threatening to happen—that such people as these will deride the history that I have written because of my insignificance, will not deign to read what they know to have been composed by such a worthless person. For this reason I had proposed to withdraw my hand from this task but you—who almost forcibly compelled me to begin it—now even more forcibly compel me to finish it. I am made a fool; you have compelled me.¹⁵⁴ Thus, since I have not come to fulfil my own will but the will of him who sent me,¹⁵⁵ I have resisted my own wishes so that I may satisfy yours. I have taken no account of what I want while I labour to carry through your will. Neither my wickedness nor my sin, I have hastened and prepared without wickedness.¹⁵⁶ I think you ought, on this account, to consider the follies of the envious and the stumbling blocks of the petty-minded, which might perhaps result from this effort of mine, because you are the author of this work and I am the servant. But there are some people to whom a retort must be made, people who, wishing to disguise their ill will, strive to disparage this our small work as if with just reason, saying that no event should be

¹⁵⁴ 2 Cor. 12: 11: 'Factus sum insipiens, uos me coegistis.'

¹⁵⁵ John 6: 38: 'non ut faciam uoluntatem meam, sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me.'

¹⁵⁶ Ps. 58: 5: 'neque iniquitas mea, neque peccatum meum, domine, sine iniquitate cucurri et direxi.'

nemine debere rem scribi nisi a quo potuit et uideri, nec aliquem debere credere tamen ex auditu, quod probare non potuit ex usu. Quid ergo? Nonne fides ex auditu? Quanta audiuius et cognouimus ea, quia patres nostri opera Dei et uirtutes eius narrauerunt nobis ne sint occultata a filiis eorum in generatione altera.¹⁵⁷ Et tamen maiorem historie partem ab Abbate scilicet Hugone usque ad calcem uidisse potius quam audisse me iudico, quia illorum ore locutus sum, qui uiderunt. Testem inuoco consciium secretorum me non aliud narrasse quam ab illis audiui, qui etiam tales sunt ut eorum maturitati discredere infidelitatis signum sit et nota perfide. Hec me paucis dixisse non sine magno cordis dolore lior et oblocutio compulit inuidorum. Ceterum bene facient si se ab huiusmodi uicio correxerunt, qui sibi conscii se cognouerint hic notari, si autem peccator adiciat ad peccandum ad nos illius non pertinebit excessus, sit sanguis eius super eum,¹⁵⁸ nos preuium⁴ habentes apostolum Christi bonus odor erimus et in hiis qui salui fiunt, et in hiis qui pereunt.¹⁵⁹

De electione Abbatiss Walteri

Capitulum II De moralitate eiusdem et predicationis instantia.

III Versus de eodem.

III De Abbate Helia.

fo. 27^v

V De homine qui ecclesie fores in guerra uolebat effringere⁶ | qualiter percussus sit.

VI De milite qui equum de cimiterio rapuit.

VII De milite qui in⁷ ecclesia quendam rapuit et eduxit.

VIII De eo quod nullus sine alicuius experientia flagelli potest euadere, qui sanctum Germanum quoquo modo offenderit.

IX De capella que inter incendia permansit illesa.

X Quod milites nullum in guerra captiuum tenere propter sanctum Germanum ualebat.

XI De pellipario qualiter sanctum Germanum inuocans a uinculis liberatus est.⁸

⁴ autum *Labbe*

Chapter headings to Part II ^a *Labbe adds et* ^b *de Labbe* ^c *om. Labbe*

¹⁵⁷ Ps. 77 (78): 3-4: 'Quanta audiuius et cognouimus ea, et patres nostri narrauerunt nobis. Non sunt occultata a filiis eorum in generatione altera.'

¹⁵⁸ An allusion to Lev. 20: 9: 'Qui maledixerit patri suo, aut matri, morte moriatur; patri, matricque maledixerit, sanguis eius sit super eum.'

set down in writing except by someone who has also been able to see it, and that no one should believe on report anything he has not been able to see. So what now? Can we not believe what we hear? How much have we heard and known, because our fathers have told us about the works of God and his virtues, so that they should not be hidden away from their children from generation to generation.¹⁵⁷ In any case the greater part of the history, that is, from Abbot Hugh up to the end, I judge that I have seen rather than heard because I have spoken by the mouths of those that saw. I call as witness the keeper of secrets that I have not related anything other than what I have heard from these men, who are of such status that it would be a measure and mark of lack of faith faithlessly not to believe their understanding. Malice and contradiction on the part of the envious has compelled me to say these things in a few words, not without great grief of heart. For the rest, may they prosper if they have corrected this vice in themselves, and, knowing themselves, recognize that they have been mentioned here. If, however, the sinner adds to his sinning, the excess will not be our fault; let his blood be upon him.¹⁵⁸ We have the Apostle showing us the way: we are the sweet fragrance of Christ both in those who will be saved and in those who will perish.¹⁵⁹

[1] Concerning the election of Abbot Walter.

2 About his character and his zeal in preaching.

3 Verses about the same.

4 About Abbot Elias.

5 About the man who in time of war wanted to break down the doors of the church, and how he was struck down.

6 About the knight who stole a horse from the cemetery.

7 About the knight who captured someone in the church and took him away.

8 About the fact that no one who injured St Germanus in any way could escape without undergoing some sort of punishment.

9 About the chapel which remained untouched in the midst of fire.

10 That knights were not able to hold anyone captive during the war because of St Germanus.

11 How a skinner called on St Germanus and was freed from his chains.

¹⁵⁹ 2 Cor. 2: 15: 'quia Christi bonus odor sumus Deo in his qui salvi fiunt, et in his qui pereunt.'

- XII De paruulo qui sancti Germani inuocatione liberatus est.
 XIII De muliere que se pro uiro suo obsidem dederat qualiter euasit.
 XIII De clerico qui pro patre obses tenebatur qualiter meruit liberari.
 XV De uiris septem^d quos sanctus Germanus uisibiliter apparens absoluit et eduxit.
 XVI De quodam Willelmo qui de summitate castelli mirabiliter euasit.
 XVII De rustico qui sanctum Germanum inuocans nullius cruciatus sciuit sentire supplicium.
 XVIII De Martino qui hominem sancti Germani uolens calumpniari loqui non ualuit.
 XIX Quomodo illum a militibus suspensum sanctus Germanus a morte saluauit.
 XX Quomodo isdem Martinus usque ad mortem uulneratus infra diem terciū restitutus est^e sospitatu.
 XXI De eo quod plurima abbreviationis gratia sunt ommissa.
 XXII Quomodo Abbas Helias degradatus est^f et Germanus ecclesie prelatu.
 XXIII Quomodo Abbas Germanus redeunt Hele cessit et iterum auctoritate legati rediit.
 XXIII De moralitate Ab|batis Germani et illius obitu.
 XXV Versus uice epitaphii de eodem scripti.
 XXVI De cistellis que in flumine ceciderant quomodo illa que reliquias continebat sicca inuenta est.^g
 XXVII De puero bimo quem carri rota contriuit.
 XXVIII De reclusa cui sanctus Germanus apparuit et Selebeiam per uisum ostendit.^h
 XXIX De femina quam sanctus Germanus per uisum increpauit cur famulos suos non attentius honorasset.
 XXX De canonico a quartano febrim incommodo ante feretrum liberato.
 XXXI De muliercula que quindecim annis in infirmitate laborauerat quomodo sanata est.ⁱ
 XXXII De paruulo contracto et sanato.
 XXXIII De puella morti proxima quomodo sanitatem ante feretrum recepit.

^d om. Labbe ^e om. Labbe ^f om. Labbe ^g om. Labbe ^h The headings for chapters XXVII and XXVIII are reversed in Labbe

- 12 About the little boy who, when he called on St Germanus, was freed.
 13 How the woman who had given herself as a hostage for her husband escaped.
 14 How a cleric who was held as a hostage for his father earned his freedom.
 15 About seven men whom St Germanus, appearing to them in full view, freed and led away.
 16 About a certain man called William who miraculously escaped from the highest point of the castle.
 17 About the peasant who, calling on St Germanus, did not feel any torment when he was tortured.
 18 About Martin, who wished to slander a man of St Germanus but was unable to speak.
 19 How St Germanus saved from death that man who had been hanged by the knights.
 20 How that same Martin being wounded to death was restored to health within three days.
 21 That many things have been omitted for the sake of brevity.
 22 How Abbot Elias was removed from office and German made abbot of the church.
 23 How Abbot German resigned when Elias returned and was restored a second time by the authority of the legate.
 24 About the moral character of Abbot German and his death.
 25 Verses written about him instead of an epitaph.
 26 About the chests which had fallen into the river and how the one that contained the relic was found dry.
 27 About the two-year-old boy whom the wheel of a carriage crushed.⁵
 28 About the recluse to whom St Germanus appeared and showed Selby in a vision.
 29 About the woman whom St Germanus chided in a vision, asking why she had not honoured his servants more carefully.
 30 About the canon freed from the misfortune of fever before the shrine.
 31 How a little woman who had suffered for fifteen years was healed.
 32 About a small boy who was crippled and saved.
 33 How a girl near to death was healed before the shrine.

XXXIII De homine languido quomodo nocte sancti Germani sanitati restitutus est.⁷

XXXV De homine uexato a demone quomodo per reliquias mundatus sit.

XXXVI De rustico cuius manibus uanga adhesit.

XXXVII De homine inflato quomodo sanctum Germanum inuocans sanatus sit.

Primum

Postquam Abbatem Durannum de regiminis excellentia sua culpa deiecerat, pastorali moderamine per duos annos abbata uiduata permansit.¹⁶⁰ Egit hoc de abbate eligendo inter monachos exorta dissensio, quia dum unusquisque alterius uoluntati restitit, nullius ad effectum ualuit uelle perducere. Fuerunt siquidem eo tempore plurimi in monasterio qui ad prelationis fastigium | suspirabant, unde dum unusquisque promotioni proprie intendebat, alterius electioni frustra uiderent, et se ab inuicem prepediri mutua infestatione dolerent, tandem sub una se colligentes sententia domni Archiepiscopi Thurstini¹⁶¹ precedente⁸ consilio priorem Pontefractensem Walterum elegerunt.¹⁶²

II

Fuit autem isdem Walterus moribus et etate bene maturus, artium liberalium assertione precipuus, religionis⁹ grauitate prouectus, fame

⁷ *om. Labbe*

Primum ⁸ *procedente Labbe*

II ⁹ *There is a small hole here; the reading 'religion' is clear; the ending may be 'religionis', religionum Labbe*

¹⁶⁰ The two-year vacancy after Durand's resignation in 1134/5 to 1137.

¹⁶¹ A papal bull of 22 Apr. 1136 from Pope Innocent II to Archbishop Thurstan enjoined the archbishop to see that the vacancy at Selby was filled: 'Iherum autem monasterio Saloberiae more boni pastoris, Deo propitio, consulas; et qualiter idonea persona ibidem in abbatem eligatur, nihilominus studeas' ('In the manner of a good pastor, with God's favour, you should moreover provide for the monastery of Selby, and however suitable the person may be who is elected as abbot there you should nevertheless take a close look'). *HCY*, iii. 66. See above, pp. 1–11.

¹⁶² Walter is the first recorded prior of the Cluniac monastery at Pontefract, founded c. 1100 near the castle there. Apart from the period in which the Lacy family was in exile from England (see below, n. 184) the priory was in Lacy patronage. Walter occurs in a

34 How a sick man was restored to health after one night in the presence of St Germanus.

35 How a man possessed by an evil spirit was made clean by the relics.

36 About the peasant whose hand stuck to his spade.

37 How a man who was swollen up called on St Germanus and was saved.

Chapter 1

After his own fault had cast down Abbot Durand from the leadership of his order the abbey remained bereft of pastoral guidance for two years.¹⁶⁰ This was caused by a dispute which arose among the monks concerning the election of an abbot, because each one of them opposed the wishes of the other and no one was able to win over anyone else to his side. There were at that time very many in the monastery who aspired to the summit of power, with the result that, while each one strove for his own promotion, he resisted the election of another. However, when they saw that they were being drawn in different directions by this long-lasting struggle to no effect, and grieved that that they were being held back by the troubles they were inflicting on one another, at last they united in the same way of thinking and, after seeking the advice of Archbishop Thurstan,¹⁶¹ they elected Walter, prior of Pontefract.¹⁶²

Chapter 2

This man Walter was fully mature both in character and in age. He was outstanding for his championship of the liberal arts, well advanced in the esteem of his order, and distinguished by the character (which is, however, of dubious authenticity) of 1100 × 1121, possibly c. 1121, or 1135 × 1137 (*EEA*, v. 26–7, no. 28, *EYC*, iii. 162–3, no. 1468, a confirmation by Archbishop Thomas II or Thurstan to Prior Walter and the monks of Pontefract of the vill of Dodworth, granted by Robert de Lacy); see also Clay, 'The early priors of Pontefract', 456. He may have been the unnamed prior of Pontefract who was at Selby for the resignation of Abbot Hugh (see above, I. 29) and is likely to have been one of the 'Cluniacenses monachi' who were summoned by Abbot Geoffrey of York to be present at his meeting with the dissident monks who went on to found Fountains Abbey in 1132 (Hugh of Kirkstall, 'Narratio de Fundatione of Fountains Abbey', in *Memoriale of the Abbey of Fountains*, ed. Walbran, Raine, and Fowler, i. 11–29, at p. 24). Thurstan's recommendation of Prior Walter is interesting, as it came three years before his own retirement to Pontefract (John of Hexham, *Historia regum*, in *Synonymi monachi opera omnia*, ii. 304–5). As the career of Durand also attests, movement from the headship of a Benedictine abbey to that of a Cluniac house, or vice versa, does not seem to have posed any problems.

celebratione specialis. Denique nichil imperfectionis in eo moralis plenitudo dereliquerat, nisi quod aliquantulum iracundus extitit et festinus. Sed eius ira uix ei cessit ad uicium, quia ad modum stipule quanto facilius solebat accendi, tanto citius consuevit extinguī. Quippe nec inuenit in eius sinu requiem, nec in eius pectore¹⁶³ reperit mansionem. Igitur electus a monachis et a sepe dicto antistite Tursino consecratus, multarum ornamento uirtutum, multorum privilegio meritorum, prelationis honore se dignissimum¹⁶⁴ esse monstraui. Tanta siquidem sollicitudine tanta deuotione spiritualibus rebus curam adhibuit, ut cum Maria ad pedes Iesu¹⁶⁴ sedere iocundans, omnem exteriorum cenobii administrationem cuidam ex monachis Willelmo scilicet Grandi commendaret, | quatinus ipse tanto liberius spiritualibus uacare posset profectibus, quanto a terrenarum rerum impedimentis esset absolutus, Moysi uidelicet in hac parte secutus exemplum, qui pro se uiros septuaginta supra populum constituit,¹⁶⁵ ut quanto se ab exterioribus causis absconderet, tanto ardentius interna penetraret. Regule cotidie lectionem in capitulo solebat exponere,¹⁶⁶ ne se de ignorantia quis fratrum excusaret, predicabat uerbum Dei, instabat oportune, importune arguebat, increpabat, obsecrabat, in omni patientia et doctrina.¹⁶⁷ Proferebat doctus scriba de thesauro suo noua et uetera, gaudium et penam, supplicium et gloriam, ut promittendo gaudium excitaret ad meritum, et minando supplicia, a subditorum moribus noxas omnes extirparet et uicia. Preterea predicationis instantiam honeste conuersationis auctoritate in se ipse roborabat, et uocis libertatem collatione discipline moralis ornabat. Sicut enim defendebat loquendo quod uixit, sic ornabat profecto uiuendo quod dixit. Castigauit cum apostolo corpus suum, et seruituti subiecit, ne aliis forsitan predicans ipse reprobis efficeretur.¹⁶⁸ Quos uerbo genuit nutriti exemplo, quia

¹ corpore *Labbe* ² dignum *Labbe*

¹⁶³ 2 Cor. 2: 13: 'non habui requiem spiritui meo'.

¹⁶⁴ Luke 10: 39: 'Maria, quae etiam sedens secus pedes Domini...'. For discussion, see above, pp. 76-7, n. 144.

¹⁶⁵ In Gen. 45: 27 the house of Jacob numbered seventy when it entered Egypt. The reference here is to the way in which Moses set seventy elders over the people, and thus shared his responsibility as leader. See Exod. 24: 1, 24: 9; Num. 11: 24, 25. The Rule of St Benedict allowed the abbot of large communities to devolve responsibilities onto deans: RB, ch. 21.

¹⁶⁶ See *Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, pp. 164-7, for the daily chapter, including the reading, the customary lesson and notices, and the sermon, followed by the disciplining of faults.

¹⁶⁷ 2 Tim. 4: 22: 'praedica uerbum, in qua oportune, importune, argue, obsecra, increpa in

honour in which his reputation was held. In short, his moral integrity left no room in him for imperfection, unless perhaps he was a little easily moved to anger, and hasty. But his wrath rarely made him yield to sin, because, like a blade of straw, as quickly as it used to flare up, so just as quickly it was accustomed to die down. For in fact it found no peace in his bosom,¹⁶³ nor did it find a dwelling place in his heart. Accordingly once he was elected by the monks and consecrated by Archbishop Thurstan, of whom mention has often been made, he showed himself to be very worthy of the honour of prelate through the distinction won by his many virtues, and the privilege earned by his many merits. He devoted care to spiritual matters with so much attention and so much devotion that, rejoicing to sit with Mary at the feet of Jesus,¹⁶⁴ he entrusted all the running of the external business of the monastery to one of the monks, William 'the Tall', so that he might be freed for spiritual pursuits the more fully because he was absolved from the impediments of earthly concerns. Indeed in this matter he followed the example of Moses, who in his own place set seventy men over the people,¹⁶⁵ so that, the more he might hide himself away from earthly matters, the more keenly he might enter into interior things. Each day he used to expound on the reading of the Rule in chapter¹⁶⁶ lest any one of the brethren should make excuses for himself through ignorance; he preached the Word of God; he encouraged them, whether the time was favourable or unfavourable; he censured them; he chided them; he begged them, with all possible patience and erudition.¹⁶⁷ Being a learned teacher he quoted from his treasury old and new, joy and pain, suffering and glory, so that by promising them joy he might urge them to merit, and by threatening punishment he might root out all evil and vice from the characters of his subjects. Moreover, in his very own person he reinforced the vehemence of his preaching by the authority of his honourable way of life, and adorned his frankness of speech by the addition of moral teaching. For just as in what he said he defended the way he lived, so indeed did he adorn what he said by the way that he lived. With the apostle, he chastised his body and kept it subject to slavery lest perhaps, in preaching to others, he might himself become false.¹⁶⁸ Those men whom he had brought to spiritual birth by his

omni patientia et doctrina'. This is quoted in RB, ch. 2, which describes the qualities required in an abbot.

¹⁶⁸ 1 Cor. 9: 27 'sed castigo corpus meum, et in seruitutem redigo, ne forte cum aliis praedicauerim, ipse reprobis efficiar'.

quod uocibus predicauit, moribus adimpleuit. Sed tamen quamuis interioribus curis tanta se studiositate contulisset, nequaquam tamen omnimodis a causis forensibus se subtraxit, sed quando necessitas enter inseruit. Summa siquidem prudentia dispersa congregans, et modesta temperantia congregata conseruans, precauit summo pere ne in suo tempore domus alicuius incommode dispendium, uel alicui(us) dampni periculum pateretur. Sic itaque constanti uigilantia dum et interiora purgaret a uiciis, et exteriora protegeret ab inimicis, fortiter et suauiter disponens omnia,¹⁶⁹ pacifice et tranquille perficiens uniuersa, cursum pastoralis officii sex annorum curriculo terminauit.¹⁷⁰ Diuturno quippe attenuatus incommode pridie kal. Martii hominem exuens migravit a seculo, et in monasterii capitulo, cum summe uenerationis obsequio, cum magne deuotionis reuerentia traditus est sepulture. Ad cuius laudem sic elegiaco carmine dictum est.

(III)^a

Stella^b cadit cleri perit heres almus Homeri,^c 171
Dum mors Walteri^d demeit ora meri.
Tullius¹⁷² herede parili Cato¹⁷³ Pallas¹⁷⁴ et ede,
Priuatus sede¹⁷⁵ Neupina^a Minerva¹⁷⁶ pede
Claudicat ars dia titubat iam philosophia,
Cumque theoria iuncta sophia pia.
Plangite Pierides¹⁷⁷ uester ruit almus Atrides¹⁷⁸
Quemque premunt lapides plangat amica fides
Ars perit et clerus quia corrui alter Homerus.

^a interlined ^c om. Labbe
III ^a chapter number om. ^b S is rubricated and tell is in brown ink overwritten in red for emphasis; the initial letter of each line is rubricated. ^c The final syllable of the rhyming couplets is written once only, between the lines, and joined to the previous syllable in each line by a wavy brown line ^d Walteri written in brown ink then overwritten in red for emphasis
^e Musa Labbe

¹⁶⁹ Fortiter et suauiter disponens omniaⁱ is part of the great Advent anaphon recited on 18 Dec.

¹⁷⁰ Walter's rule lasted from 1137 to 1143. He was the first abbot of Selby in seventy-four years to die in office.

¹⁷¹ See above, n. 140.

¹⁷² See above, n. 73.

¹⁷³ Another name for the Greek goddess Athene, sometimes known as Pallas Athene.

¹⁷⁴ See above, n. 72.

words he nourished by example because what he preached in his sayings he put into practice by his actions. However, although he always applied himself with such great devotion to the concerns of his interior life, he did not by any means withdraw from all kinds of external matters, but when necessity demanded he intervened gently for the benefit of those nearest to him with the seemliness of love. In short, bringing together through his wisdom those things which had been scattered apart, and keeping them united by his mildness and moderation, he prayed fervently that in his time his house might not suffer the expense of any injury or the danger of any damage. Thus, with constant vigilance, so that he might both purge himself inwardly and protect the external things from enemies, vigorously and agreeably arranging all things,¹⁶⁹ and peacefully and quietly accomplishing all tasks, he completed the course of his pastoral office after a rule of six years.¹⁷⁰ Worn out by a lengthy illness he left his mortal body and passed into Heaven on the twenty-eighth of February and was buried in the chapter house of the monastery with great devotion and reverence. In his praise the following has been composed in elegaic verse.

Chapter 3

The star of clergy falls, the gracious heir of Homer¹⁷¹ perishes
When death cuts off the words of Walter the pure.
Heir to Cicero,¹⁷² equal to Cato,¹⁷³ a Pallas¹⁷⁴ in his temple,
A private citizen in his dwelling place,¹⁷⁵ a spirit, a Minerva
in poetry,
The sacred art limps, now Philosophy falters
As does philosophic speculation, joined to holy wisdom.
Mourn, O Pierides,¹⁷⁷ your sweet Atrides¹⁷⁸ falls.
Let friendly faith mourn him on whom the stones press.
Art perishes, as do the clergy, because the other Homer has
fallen.

¹⁷⁵ 'Priuatus sede' could also mean 'deprived of his dwelling place, or sanctuary'; this would be an alternative translation. As in other places the intention of the verse is not altogether clear.

¹⁷⁶ Minerva was the Roman goddess of wisdom, the equivalent of the Greek Athene, and also the patron of poetry and music. With Jupiter and Juno she formed the Capitoline triad.
¹⁷⁷ Another name for the Muses, derived from Pieria near Mount Olympus in Greece, which was the original seat of their worship.

¹⁷⁸ The descendant of Atrides, the son of Pelops. The name is used for Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, and in the plural for him and his brother Menelaus, king of Sparta.

fo. 30^r

Orbis honor uernus religionis herus.
 Artibus armatus morum probitate probatus.
 Legibus ornatus artibus arte datus.
 Artibus omnigenis pollens titulusque serenis.
 Consiliis plenius sensibus ore genis.
 Sic sibi quoque dato uirtutum munere grato.
 Est Paris¹⁷⁹ ore Cato moribus arte Plato.¹⁸⁰
 Flos decor ecclesie cleri decus aula sophie.
 Regula iusticie mentis honore pie.
 Digna sit orbe coli Walero laus data sol(o).^{f 181}
 Qui demptus soli transit ad astra poli.
 Est caro facta cinis laus eius nescia finis.
 Quem cum diuinis uiuere Christe sinis.

(III)^o

Huic successit Helias Paganellus, prior sancte Trinitatis Eboraci, qui omnino pene laicus excepto psalmorum recordatione, utpote conuersus ex milite, pro morum (tanta)¹ honestate, et exteriorum scientia qua bene pollebat, electionem omnium promeruit, et affectum illexit.¹⁸² Ordinatus autem bene prefuit, quia in multis profuit, et

^f soliIII ^o chapter number om.¹ tam with nra interlined and position indicated; tanta Labbe¹⁷⁹ See n. 74.¹⁸⁰ The Greek philosopher, disciple of Socrates, and teacher of Aristotle.¹⁸¹ The reading 'soli' had been amended to 'solo' as the ablative case seems necessary in this context.

¹⁸² Elias Paynel is the third recorded prior of the York house of Holy Trinity, after Seward, who was dead by 1113 (*Roulaux des Morts de l'X^e au X^{iv} siècle*, ed. Delisle, p. 194) and Hincmar/Herner, who occurs between 1109 and 1114 (*Head*, i. 113, which finds no firm evidence for Priors Martin and Robert at this early date). The *Historia* is the only source referenced by the editors for Elias's tenure. *Head*, i. 31, follows *EYC* in identifying Elias as a son of Ralph Paynel, Domesday Book tenant-in-chief in six counties. Holy Trinity, York, was an alien Benedictine house, founded by Ralph Paynel c.1086 from Marmoutier, the abbey which had earlier sent a colony to establish William the Conqueror's abbey at Battle (see *EYC*, vi. 66–9, no. 1). It was located in Micklegate and thus the only York monastery until the arrival of the mendicants to occupy a site within the city walls. Charter evidence suggests that it was the successor to an Anglo-Saxon church known as Christ Church. See Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, pp. 45–51. Ralph Paynel's Yorkshire estates may have been acquired c.1067 when the lands of his antecessor, Mercleswein, were confiscated, and some of his Yorkshire manors lay in the valley of the River Ouse to the north and south of Selby (Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 55, 69). He may have been sheriff of Yorkshire early in the reign of William II (Green, *English Sheriff*, p. 89; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 342) and seems to have held the post until

The true honour of the world, the master of religion.
 Armed by the arts, honoured for the honesty of his character,
 Adorned by the laws, given to the arts by art,
 Outstanding in all kinds of arts and in his fair claims to fame,
 In his counsels, in his sturdy opinions, in his speech and in his gaze.

Thus, endowed as he was with the pleasing gift of the virtues, He was Paris¹⁷⁹ in his speech, Cato in his ways, Plato¹⁸⁰ in his art. The flower, the ornament of the church, the glory of the clergy, the hall of wisdom.

The rule of justice, with the beauty of a pious mind. May the praise given to Walter alone be worthy to be honoured by the world.

He who, bereft of the sun,¹⁸¹ passes to the stars of heaven.

His flesh has become ash, his praise knows no end,

He whom, O Christ, you allow to live with the angels.

Chapter 4

He was succeeded by Elias Paynel, prior of Holy Trinity, York. He was almost entirely a lay person—except for the fact that he could call to mind the psalms—having been a knight before he became a monk, but he was deservedly elected by all the monks and attracted their support on account of the respectability of his character and for his experience in worldly matters, which he possessed in abundance.¹⁸²

no later than 1093. It was therefore as sheriff of Yorkshire that he founded Holy Trinity, and he was dead by the time of the Lindsey Survey (1115 × 1118). He was a benefactor of Selby and St Mary's Abbey, York. In a charter which can be dated to between 1125/6 and 1134/5 Ralph's son, William, confirmed to Selby the grant made by his father of land, meadow, and woodland 'que sunt sita et posita contra Roudedint ex altera parte Eyr', by the boundaries which William had made in the presence of his men and of Abbot Durand and the monks of Selby (*EYC*, vi. 89, no. 14). Clay assumed that Elias, one of the sons of Ralph Paynel, who with Ralph's wife, Matilda, and his brothers, William, Jordan, and Alexander, lent his assent to the foundation of Holy Trinity (*EYC*, vi. 66–9, no. 1) was the Elias Paynel of these charters. However, the relationship between Elias, prior of Holy Trinity and abbot of Selby, and the Paynel family is not clear. If the foundation charter of Holy Trinity, witnessed by Elias, was granted, as it may have been, as early as 1090, then Elias son of Ralph Paynel would have succeeded as abbot of Selby in his mid-fifties, and held the post until removed after nine years, only to return eighteen months later (see below, II. 23). This suggests that Elias son of Ralph who witnessed the foundation charter was not the same man as Prior Elias. On the other hand, that a son of the founder should have held the headship of the family monastery is not uncommon. A similar pattern can be discerned at Whithy, where Serio de Percy, brother of the founder, William de Percy, became first prior and another William de Percy, their nephew, became first abbot (see *Cartularium Abbatiae*

maxime in hoc quod monasterii possessiones ab hostium et predonum uiolentia uiriliter protegebat. Quamquam eo tempore bellice cladis immanitate ubique regnante tyrannorum et predonum insania quemque opprimeret, rebusque spoliaret, quem uiribus imparem cognoscebat.¹⁸³ Sed quoniam ad alia que digna memoria in illius tempore contigerunt festinamus, hoc de illo compendiose dixerimus, quod omnia sibi credita uiriliter et uigilanter seruauerit, prudenterque seruando bene et fideliter usus monachorum ministrauerit.

V capitulum

fo. 30^v Contigit igitur in eius tempore ut Henricus de Laci,¹⁸⁴ qui eiusdem cognatus exiit, communicato cum eo consilio, in Selesia castellum eleuaret. Nec preterit ebdomada cum hoc cognoscens Comes Will-elmus Albemarie¹⁸⁵ cui fuit cum Henrico congressus, inceptum castellum obsidere festinavit. Villam ergo primum anxiis inpetens et furibundis insultibus cum diu pugnantium repelleretur instantia, tandem aditum clandestinum per monachorum habuit officinas.

V * A gap has been left here in *Labbe*

de Whiteby, i. 2; Burton, 'Monastic revival in Yorkshire', pp. 48-9), and at the Augustinian priories at Gainsborough and Kirham. At the former William de Brus, brother of the founder, became first prior (*Cartularium Prioratus de Gynelune*, ed. Brown, i. 214-16; *Heads*, i. 164), as at Kirham did, according to tradition, William, rector of Garton and uncle of Walter Espec, founder of the priory. *Heads*, i. 168, notes the occurrence of Prior William, and on p. 280 notes his position as rector, and his relationship to Walter, referring to Baker, 'Patronage in the early twelfth-century church', 95. Elias is described here as a former soldier and the author is doubtful about his ability as a monk, though not as an administrator of his house. Accordingly he does not appear to have entered the church as a young man.

¹⁸³ On the ways in which the civil war of Stephen's reign affected the Selby area, see above, pp. ix-lxiv.

¹⁸⁴ Henry was a member of the Lacy family, lords of the Honour of Pontefract. The earliest member of the Lacy family to acquire lands in Yorkshire was Ilbert I. Under him and his son, Robert de Lacy, the town of Pontefract grew in importance. Sometime around 1116—the date is not clear—Robert was banished from his English estates and retired to Normandy, and the Honour of Pontefract was granted to Hugh de Laval. After Hugh's death in 1129 his lands, and his widow, passed to William Maltrevers, who was, however, fatally wounded in 1135 and died having retired to Pontefract Priory (Richard of Hexham, *De gestis regis Stephani*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, iii. 149; see also Wightman, *Lacy Family in England and Normandy*, pp. 68-73). William Maltrevers's death—occurring as it did after the death of Henry I and the succession of King Stephen—provided an opportunity for the return of the Lacy family in the person of Ilbert II, son of Robert. Ilbert, who married Alice de Gant, disappears from record after the Battle of Lincoln in Feb. 1141, and was succeeded by his brother, Henry, mentioned here. Henry held the Honour of Pontefract until his death in 1177. Henry de Lacy is here

When he had been ordained he ruled well because he was an asset in many ways and in particular because he manfully protected the possessions of the monastery from violent attack by enemies and robbers, although, in this time of warlike strife, with brutality reigning on every side, tyrants and thieves in their madness were aware of all those whom they might be able to oppress and despoil of their goods because they did not equal them in strength.¹⁸³ But since we must hurry on to other things that happened in his time and that are worthy of memory, we will say this about him briefly, that he kept safe all the things that had been entrusted to him boldly and carefully, and that, by looking after them prudently, he served the needs of the monks well and faithfully.

Chapter 5

So then, in his time it happened that Henry de Lacy,¹⁸⁴ who was a kinsman of his, taking common counsel with him, built a castle at Selby. A week had not passed when Earl William of Aumale,¹⁸⁵ who was engaged in a dispute with Henry, got to know about this and hurried to lay siege to the castle that Henry had begun. First, however, he attacked the town with oppressive and furious assaults and, when for a long time the onslaughts of the fighters had been

described as a relative of Elias, Wightman (*Lacy Family in England and Normandy*, pp. 57-8 and n. 7) conjectured that Ilbert I de Lacy may have had a daughter who married Ralph Paynel, or that Ilbert's sister may have married him; in other words that Ralph was either Ilbert I's brother-in-law or son-in-law, and that this would explain the two families being related by the 1140s.

¹⁸⁵ William of Aumale was lord of Holderness in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and King Stephen's earl of York. At a date before Sept. 1087 William I granted Holderness in the East Riding of Yorkshire to Odo, count of Champagne. Through his marriage to Adelaide, sister of William the Conqueror and widow of Enguerrand, count of Pontieu and lord of Aumale (north-east Normandy), Odo held Aumale, which had been Adelaide's dowry, 'tunc uxoris'. Their son, Stephen, inherited Aumale. In 1095 Odo lost Holderness, which was confiscated for rebellion against King William Rufus, and it was granted to Arnulf of Montgomery. Arnulf was removed by Henry I from possession of the lordship of Holderness in 1102, and Stephen was restored to the lands which had been held by his father, Odo. Both Stephen and his son, William, were therefore both counts of Aumale and lords of Holderness. Stephen was dead by 1130 and his lands passed to William, known as William le Gros. King Stephen created William earl of York after the Battle of the Standard (1138): see English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260*, pp. 6-28; Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 82, 93, 146, 152. William of Aumale was a man of great power in the troubled reign of King Stephen, being described by William of Newburgh as 'rex vector' in Yorkshire (William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, i. 103). For assessments of William of Aumale's career, see Dalton, 'William earl of York'.

Interea propter metum inuadentium hostium, propter predonum effrenem incursum, ad cimiterii refugium, ad ecclesie presidium se cum sua suppellectili quisque contulerat. Villam igitur hostium et predonum ingressis agminibus, ad prede raptum, ad rapine congeriem singuli vires et studia conferebant. Sed cum domos rebus et habitatore uacuos¹⁸⁶ et uacantes reperissent, plures ex eis ad inuasivum ecclesie crudelitatem rapacitatis attraxit. Quorum unus ceteris in malum audacior ut ecclesie fores de uectibus eiceret, palum leuatorium hostio submisit in limine. Tunc una uox omnium foris astantium in celum deferretur, ut se ipsum defenderet, suam domum protegeret, suis inimicis resisteret, beatus Germanus postulat. Nec plus in scelere processerat sceleratus ille sacrilegus. E uestigio diuinitatis attritus iudicio cecidit resupinus, eductus procul dubio non plus sapere quam oportuit, sed sapere ad sobrietatem.¹⁸⁶ Cepit illico tam uehementi tumore | per omnes artus miser grescere, ut ipsa sua inflatione¹⁸⁷ pene cutis extensa rumpere, ac deinde perseuerante tumore tam deformi nigredine obtusari, ut mauro similis pice uel fuligine cacabatus putaretur. Denique leuatus et ad hospitium delatus a sociis, in doloris lecto collocatus est. Tunc aliquantulum passione suspensa doloreque laxato in se reuersus, nomine Benedictum monachum qui operi prefuit,¹⁸⁷ ut absolutus res suas ei tribueret, fecit accersiri. Qui cum aduenisset et illum uidisset, tam repentino horrore et timore correptus est¹⁸⁷ ac si demonem ibi facie ad faciem conspexisset, rogatus autem ut res languentis ad operis usus acciperet, ita respondit: 'Oblationes', inquit, 'impiorum abominabiles Domino que offeruntur ex scelere. Traditus est¹⁸⁷ hic totus Sathane, nec habet in eo partem Deus¹⁸⁷ desuper, aut hereditatem omnipotens de excelsis.' Vix uerba compleuerat, et mox rediit uia calamitas adeo miserum fatigabat, ut ei presente monacho nescio qua diuina uirtute protinus unum ex oculis uis doloris eiceret. Tunc metu et horrore cogente cum monachus festinasset exire, priusquam peruenisset ad hostium, oculus qui misero remanserat de capite sicut prior erupit. Ad modum namque pruni prematuri quod cum manu premitur lapidem

¹⁸⁶ *vacuus Labbe* ¹⁸⁷ *om. Labbe* ¹⁸⁸ *inflammatione Labbe* ¹⁸⁹ *om. Labbe*
¹⁹⁰ *om. Labbe* ¹⁹¹ *om. Labbe* ¹⁹² *dominus Labbe*

¹⁸⁶ Rom. 12. 3: 'non plus sapere quam oportet sapere, sed sapere ad sobrietatem'.
¹⁸⁷ The monk who had supervision of the building work.

repelled, at length he found a secret way in through the offices of the monks. Meanwhile, on account of their fear of the invading enemies and of the unbridled attack of the robbers, everybody had taken themselves with their belongings to the refuge of the cemetery and the protection of the church. The bands of enemies and robbers therefore entered the town for the taking of plunder, for the amassing of booty, and so each of them applied his strength and zeal. But when they saw the houses bereft of their goods and inhabitants, empty, cruel greed drew several of them to break into the church. One of these, who was bolder in his evil designs than the rest, placed a stake on the lintel of the door as a crowbar, in order to wrench the doors of the church from their bolts. Then a cry was carried up from all those standing by the doors into the heavens, and Blessed Germanus was summoned to protect himself, defend his house, and confound his enemies. That sacrilegious sinner did not proceed any further with his crime. Instantly struck down by divine judgement, he fell on his back, being undoubtedly instructed not to overreach himself in his thoughts, but to think with sober judgement.¹⁸⁶ Right there the wretched man began to swell with such a powerful tumour throughout his limbs, that stretched with this swelling, his skin almost burst, and then, as the tumour continued to rage, to turn dark with such a hideous blackness that he might be reckoned to be like a moor, black with pitch or soot. At length he was raised up and carried by his comrades to the guest house and placed on his sickbed. Then, when he came to himself a little, his suffering being a little alleviated and his pain abating, he had them fetch a monk named Benedict who was the master of the building work,¹⁸⁷ so that, having received absolution, he might give him all his goods. When Benedict had come and seen him he was seized with such sudden horror and fear as if he had seen a devil there face to face. However, when he was asked if he would receive the goods of the sick man for the purpose of the building works, he replied: 'The gifts of the wicked, which are offered from their crime, are hateful to God.' He said: 'This man has been given to Satan, and God on high has no part of him, nor is the Almighty in the heavens his heir.' Scarcely had he spoken these words when misfortune sprang up anew and exhausted the wretch to such an extent that in the presence of the monk—by some divine power—immediately the intensity of his pain made one of his eyes fall out. Impelled by fear and horror the monk hurried to leave but before he reached the door the eye that the wretch had left burst from his head just like the first one. Just as a ripe plum which is squeezed in the hand is accustomed to spew

fo. 31^r solet euomere, sic illius oculi passionis anxietate depressi, cum sanguinis constipatione migratiⁱ de suis sedibus eruperunt. Et notandum quod fortasse uicia que in eo percussa sunt | ipsius percussiois qualitatibus sunt notata, dum per tumorem corporis mentis superbia, per obfuscationem nigredinis conscientie malicia, per oculorum amissum cordis cecitas est ostensa. Ideo quippe, sicut dicit Gregorius, fiunt exteriora miracula ut mentes hominum ad interiora perducantur quantum per hoc quod mirum uisibiliter ostenditur, ea que mirabilia sunt inuisibilia credantur.¹⁸⁸ Volens ergo confessor eximius per unius interitum plurimos ab offensa saluare, causas uerberis denotauit in uerbere, ut hoc cognoscentes homines uicia regnare timerent in se, que tam districte puniri cognouissent in alio. Vexatus itaque miser ille tante passionis pena, tanti cruciatus incommodo, uix diem tertium in langore sustinuit, quin ei sicut oculos, sic et animam cum magna cruciacionis anxietate ualutudo passionis auferret. Sicque factum est ut plurimi a talibus ausis illius cohiberentur interitu, nec aliquis beatum Germanum auderet offendere, qui illius dampnati uel uidisset uel audisset admirabilem et infelicem euentum.

VI Capitulum

Fuerunt tamen aliqui qui eodem die priusquam illius manifestaretur interitus, ad opus simile, licet ad non tam omnino tenerarium manus extenderant,^a quorum fortasse sacrilega potuisset latere presumptio, si non eam ultio subsequens diuina propalaret. Quidam namque ex milibus Paganus | Foliot¹⁸⁹ nomine eodem die equum de cimiterio rapuit et eduxit, sed non impune reuerentia postposita confessoris hoc presumpsit, cuius profertus indignationem perculit, et expertus est iram. Ad uindictam quippe malefacti mox antequam cimiterium

ⁱ the reading appears to be *migrati*, possibly intended as a past participle *migrati*, migrating *Labbe*

VI ^a *extenderet Labbe*

^b *om. Labbe*

¹⁸⁸ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, CCSL, cxliii, xxvii, 18, p. 1358: 'nisi quod idcirco fiunt exteriora miracula ut mentes hominum ad interiora perducantur, quatenus per hoc quod mirum uisibiliter ostenditur ea quae admirabilia sunt inuisibilia credantur?'

¹⁸⁹ The author might here be relying on oral tradition since he names an individual who was alive at the time of the fighting, Pain or Pagan Foliot. Foliot was the name of a local family. Along with his brothers Richard and Jordan, Pain (Paganus) Foliot attested two charters of Lucy, countess of Chester and widow of Earl Ranulf I, in favour of Spalding Priory (*The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester c. 1071-1237*, ed. Barraclogh, no. 16 (also printed EYC, iii, 184, no. 1490) and no. 17). The Foliot family held a tenancy of

forth its stone, so that man's eyes, squeezed by the anguish of his suffering, turned black with the accumulation of blood and burst out of their sockets. It should be remarked that perhaps the sins that were punished in him were marked out by the characteristics of the punishment itself, since the pride of the mind was exposed through the swelling of the body, the malice of the conscience through the obfuscation of the blackness, and the blindness of the heart through the loss of the eyes. Indeed it is for this reason, as Gregory tells us, that outward miracles are performed so that people's minds may be turned to inward matters because, through that which is shown visibly to be a wonder, those things which cannot be seen but which are even more miraculous can be believed.¹⁸⁸ The excellent confessor, wishing through the ruin of one man to save many from their mistakes, pointed out the causes of the scourge in the scourge itself, so that, understanding this, people might be afraid that those vices would hold sway in them which they had recognized as having been so severely punished in others. That miserable wretch, tormented by the pain of such great suffering, wracked by such great misfortune, scarcely endured to the third day in his sickness before, just as the power of that suffering had snatched away his eyes, so it took away his soul, with great anguish and torment. And so it happened that, by the death of that one man, many were restrained from such rash deeds, and no one who either saw or heard of the wonderful and unfortunate fate of that damned man dared to offend the blessed Germanus.

Chapter 6

There were, however, some people who on that same day, before the death of that man was made public, turned their hand to a similar task, even though it was not quite so rash. Their sacrilegious audacity might perhaps have remained hidden had not the divine vengeance that followed been made manifest. For on that day one of the knights by the name of Pain Foliot¹⁸⁹ seized a horse in the cemetery and led it away—but not without punishment did he presume to do this. Having disregarded the reverence due to the confessor he instantly suffered his indignation and felt his wrath. As revenge for his sin, just

the Lacys of Pontefract (EYC, iii, 210). Jordan Foliot held three fecs of Guy de Laval and two of Henry de Lacy in 1166. Pain's involvement in the fighting around Selby is therefore not surprising. However, the story told here results in Pain's death, whereas there is evidence that he was still alive at a later date.

egredi potuisset, uulnus recepit letale, cuius irremediabili dampnatus incommodo, et mentis et corporis salutem amisit. Sicut enim corpus languorem ex uulnere, sic et animus amentiam contraxit ex languore, sed hac in re hoc mirabile uidebatur, quod licet tam acerimo fuisset uulnere sauciis, qualiter tamen uel a quo fuisset uulneratus, penitus ignorauit. Cum itaque perseueranti ualitudine graueretur, omnemque modum et mensuram accrescens languor excederet, infra¹⁹⁰ dies paucos singulari calamitate¹ uiam uniuerse carnis ingrediens,¹⁹⁰ presentis uite miseriam terminauit.

VII

Equitem alium ad tantam dementiam² auditas rapine protraxerat, ut ex ipsa ecclesia ui et uiolentia quendam abstraheret, abstracumque captiuum deducere, cuius temeritatem temporis postposita dilatione comes ultio prosecuta est.³ Diuinitatis namque sententia contractis et conflexis artibus membrorum et usu et officio priuatus emarcuit. Qui percussus doluit, attritusque suscepit disciplinam, quia⁴ tanto⁵ melius profecit ex uerbere, quanto deterius affligebatur ex scelere. Donansque | subinde libertate captiuum, notique se promissione constringens, quod confessorum quem offenderat satisfaciurus ex offensa requireret, monachorum pro se intercedente conuentu pristinae restitutus est⁶ sospitati.

VIII

Hiis igitur tribus prelibatis exemplis diligenter, obsecro, prudens lector, aduerte, quam sui quam suorum iniurie districtius ultor beatus Germanus existat. Hoc in libro miraculorum¹⁹¹ eius legimus, hoc exemplis inibi suppositis discimus, hoc in hostium nostrorum euentibus frequenter approbamus. Hoc quasi uulgaris proverbum habentes in ore asserunt nostri seniores, dicentes aut uix aut nunquam aliquem se uidisse qui beatum Germanum uel furto uel fraude, uel alicuius rei ablatione prouocasset, qui sine alicuius experientia flagelli potuisset

¹ intra *Labbe* ² calamite with ta interlined and position for insertion indicated
VII ³ amentiam *Labbe* ⁴ om. *Labbe* ⁵ qui with a interlined and position for insertion indicated
tantum *Labbe* ⁶ om. *Labbe*

¹⁹⁰ 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 2: 2: 'Ego ingredior uiam uniuersae terrae'; Josh. 23: 14: 'Ego hodie ingredior uiam uniuersae terrae.'

¹⁹¹ This is probably a reference to the *Miracula* of Heiric of Auxerre: see above, pp. xx-xxi, lxxx-lxxxiv.

before the evil one could leave the cemetery he received a fatal wound and, wretched because of the irreparable harm it had done him, he lost the health of both his mind and his body. For, just as his body suffered weakness from his wound, so too his mind suffered madness from his weakness. But in this matter something wonderful can be seen, and that is that, although he was injured by such a terrible wound, he was completely unaware of how or by whom he had been injured. Since he was oppressed by his continuing illness and his increasing sickness exceeded all bounds and measure, within a few days, in a remarkable disaster, he went the way of all flesh¹⁹⁰ and completed the misery of this present life.

Chapter 7

Greed for plunder had also drawn another horseman to such great madness that he snatched someone from the church itself by force and violence, and led off the man he had taken away as a captive. Divine vengeance followed his rashness as a companion after only a short lapse of time. For, by the judgement of the Godhead, his joints shrank and ground together and he withered away, deprived of the use and function of his limbs. Struck down in this way he lamented, and wasting away he accepted the punishment because, the more he benefited from the chastisement, the less he would suffer for the crime. Thereupon he set his captive free and bound himself by the promise of a vow that he would make satisfaction to the confessor whom he had injured by whatever means he required, and, with the consent of monks praying for him, he was restored to his former health.

Chapter 8

I beg you, wise reader, that, having savoured these three cautionary tales well, you will observe what a stern avenger the blessed Germanus was of injury done to himself or to his own. We read this in the book of his miracles,¹⁹¹ we learn this from the examples set out there, and we may often confirm this by what has happened to our enemies. Our elders confirm this, like a well-known proverb they keep on the tip of their tongues. They say that they have scarcely—or indeed never—seen anyone who had provoked the blessed Germanus, either by theft or by deceit, or by stealing anything, who has been able to escape without experiencing retribution of some

euadere. Alii puniuntur inopia, alii ualitudine et infirmitate flagellantur, quidam quod durius est¹⁹² ante mortem integritate memorie, quidam sensus sanitate priuantur. Quod nos tanto liberius et indubitanter asserimus, quanto, inquam, plurimis licet minores simus, hoc uiderimus approbatum. Sed hec peccatorum percussio utrum clemente confessoris deputanda sit an furori, non temere quisquam definire presumat. Percussionum quippe diuersa genera sunt, sicut pro peccatis percussorum diuersa sunt scelera. Et sunt aliqui quos clementia iudicis flagellis atterit ut purget, quidam uero quos furor affligit ut da(m)net.¹⁹³ Omnis namque diuina percussio | secundum Gregorium aut in nobis purgatio presentis uite est, aut initium pene subsequens.¹⁹² Sed infeliciores sunt quicumque sine pena uel flagello punienda committunt, quia iuxta Augustinum nichil infelicius felicitate peccantium, qua penalis nutritur impunitas et mala consuetudo uelut hostis interior roboratur.¹⁹³ Verum sicut beatus Germanus in sui uel suorum iniurias ulciscendo districtus esse probatur, sic insubueniendo de se presumentibus omnino clemens est et benignissimus. Quod quidem satis euidenter miraculorum subsequens enarratio declarabit.

IX

Hostes namque postquam uillam inuaserant, inuasamque rapacitatis uiolentia depredati fuerant, tandem se de tam dissoluta diffusione congregantes in aciem collegerunt. Castellum autem unius Henrici¹⁹⁴ tantummodo munitum presidio cum tota die coniunctis uiribus oppugnassent, nichil proficientes inani labore se diem illam exegisse doluerunt ad uesperam. Repulsam ergo suam alicubi uindicare studentes accensis ignibus uillam incendio dampnauerunt. Ignis igitur alimentum ex omni parte reprens, non acquieuit¹⁹⁵ accensus, donec totius pene uille fabricam in unum redigeret quasi fornacis incendium. Tunc circa preciosi presulis Germani capellam cuius

VIII ^a om. Labbe ^b om. Labbe ^c om. Labbe, probably due to *eye-skip* from sunt to sunt ^d dapnet ^e om. Labbe

IX ^a quicuit with ac interlined

¹⁹² Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* (CCSL, cxliii, xviii, 22), p. 908: 'Omnis ergo diuina percussio, aut purgatio in nobis uite presentis est, aut initium poenae sequentis.'

¹⁹³ Augustine, *Epistulae CI-CXXXIX* (CCSL, xxxi, Letter 138, p. 284): 'quoniam nihil est infelicius felicitate peccantium, qua poenalis nutritur impunitas et mala uoluntas uelut hostis interior roboratur.'

kind. Some were punished by helplessness, others were lashed by weakness or sickness; some—which is worse—were deprived before their death of soundness of memory, some of the health of their senses. The more we affirm this openly and without doubt, the more I say that—young though we are—we see that it is approved by many people. But whether this striking of sinners is to be attributed more to the mercy of the confessor than to his anger no one should rashly presume to judge. Indeed, there are various kinds of punishment, just as, among the sins of those punished, there are various kinds of crime. And there are some whom the clemency of the judge grinds down and purges with scourgings, and others whom madness afflicts and damns. For according to Gregory all divine punishment is either to cleanse us in this present life, or is the beginning of punishment in the life to come.¹⁹² The more unfortunate ones are those who commit sins worthy of punishment but do not suffer retribution or beating, since, as Augustine says, there is nothing more wretched than the good fortune of sinners, which encourages unjustified impunity from punishment and strengthens bad practice like an enemy within.¹⁹³ Truly, just as the blessed Germanus is proved to be harsh in punishing insults to himself and to his own, so he is merciful and most generous in helping those who trust in him. The tale of his miracles that follows will show this clearly enough.

Chapter 9

After the enemies had invaded the town and, having overrun it, pillaged it with the violence of their greed, at last they came together from their scattered activities and assembled together in the line of battle. After besieging the castle of one Henry,¹⁹⁴ which was only protected by a garrison, for a whole day with their joint forces, and achieving nothing, they lamented that they had spent all that day up to the evening in this vain pursuit. Therefore, anxious to take revenge wherever they could for their rebuff, they condemned the town to fire with flames they had kindled. The fire, searching out nourishment on all sides, did not stop burning once it had been lit until it had reduced the fabric of almost the whole town like the fire of a furnace. Then a clear and wonderful miracle was amply displayed around the chapel of the precious Bishop Germanus, which we mentioned in the

¹⁹⁴ Henry de Lacy, lord of Pontefract: see above II. 5 and n. 184.

superius in superiori libello meminimus,¹⁹⁵ ostensum est satis evidens et insigne miraculum. Estuantibus quippe circumcincta flammarum incendiis permansit intacta, ignium | seientium periculata fulminibus, perseveravit illesa, quamvis ei tanta proximitate hinc et inde domorum adhererent edificia, ut propinquiora cum accendisset incendium, ultra capellam quasi in unum crinem eduerso ueniens se flamma colligere uideretur. Que res ipsos etiam hostes adeo stupore⁶ repleuit, ut mirantes loquerentur adinuicem, si super hoc tugurium congereremus incendium, antea liquesceret quam arderet. Fidenter dixerim illum clementem scilicet Germanum esse presentem, illum hanc capellam combustionis eripuisse discrimini, qui attriti pedis olim pregauatus incommodo hospicium suum ab exustione protegens a periculo saluauit incendi.¹⁹⁶ Et hoc pro maximo habere debemus honore pro summo tenere solatio, cum speciali deuotione venerari, quod antiqua miracula que gessit in corpore, quadam reiteratione dignatur apud nos clemens innuare patronus.¹⁹⁷ Vno siquidem uirtutis genere, eademque miraculi qualitate, expauescens illic flamma presulis hospicium, hic ecclesiam, utrobique presentiam, transiit ultra citraque deseuens, et inter globos flammantis incendi incolune tabernaculum quod inclusus habitator seruabat, emicuit.¹⁹⁸ Nec hoc preterire debemus quod cum crux quedam, que in eadem⁷ adoratur capella foris contra ignem fuisset allata, contin(u)o⁸ se repressit incendium, et se in seipsum retorquens fo. 34^r crucem illam ubicunque portaretur | quasi fugere conabatur.

X

Igitur cum predictus comes¹⁹⁹ post dies aliquot castellum obtinisset, Henrici milites inde deciens, suos infra constituit, qui rapinis uacantes et provincie depredationibus insistentes, omnes opprimebant quibus uiribus preualebant. Sed grauen in beatum Germanum est crudelitas eorum sortita uicinum, qui eis in omne dampnum imminere solebat. Nam aut raro aut nunquam aliquem captiuium

⁶ interlined and place for insertion indicated approximately 2 mm ⁷ There is a small gap here of

¹⁹⁵ The chapel marked the original site of Benedict's settlement: see above, I, 14 and n. 63, and I, 34.

¹⁹⁶ Constantinus, *Life of Germanus*, in Borius, *Vie de Saint Germain*, pp. 152-5; Hoare, *Western Fathers*, pp. 299-300; Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, pp. 58-9; Bede, *HE*, I, 19.

previous book.¹⁹⁵ Surrounded by the burning blazes it remained unharmed, endangered by the destructive power of the savage fires it continued to be undamaged, even though the houses built there clung to it so closely on all sides that, when the fire set light to the nearer ones, the flame, coming from all directions, was seen to gather itself together beyond the chapel, as if in one single comet's tail. This filled the enemy themselves with such amazement that they said to one another in wonder, 'if we were to bring together the fire above this shack it would melt away before it burned'. I will say confidently that the merciful Germanus was present, that he snatched this chapel from the danger of the fire, just as long ago, when he was encumbered by the misfortune of an injured foot, he protected his guest house from burning and saved it from the danger of the flames.¹⁹⁶ We ought to regard this as a very great honour, to hold on to it for the highest comfort, to venerate it with special devotion, that the ancient miracles which he performed in body our generous patron deems worthy to renew among us in a sort of re-enactment. Through the same sort of virtue and the same miraculous quality, the flame, as if terrified, leapt over the guest house of the patron¹⁹⁷ on one side, the church on the other, and his presence on both sides, as it raged all around. Amongst the balls of flaming fire, there shone forth the undamaged temple which the inhabitant who was shut up within it was keeping safe.¹⁹⁸ Nor ought we to fail to mention that, when a certain cross that was worshipped in the said chapel had been taken outside to oppose the fire, the blaze held itself in check and, turning back on itself, tried, as it were, to escape from that cross wherever it was carried.

Chapter 10

Well then, when after several days the said earl¹⁹⁹ had taken the castle, he expelled Henry's knights and placed his own men there. Lacking booty and being intent on plundering the region, they oppressed everyone with whatever force they could. But their cruelty found a dangerous neighbour in the blessed Germanus, whose custom it was to threaten them with every sort of injury. For rarely—indeed never—

¹⁹⁷ The patron here refers to Germanus.

¹⁹⁸ Constantinus, *Life of Germanus*, in Borius, *Vie de Saint Germain*, ed. and trans. Borius, pp. 152-5; Hoare, *Western Fathers*, pp. 299-300; Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, pp. 58-9; Bede, *HE*, I, 19. For discussion of this passage, see above, pp. lxxiv-v.

¹⁹⁹ William of Ansnale, earl of York.

qui uel minimam in beatum Germanum fidem conceperat retinere ualebant, quin eum perderent ereptum piissimi clementia confessoris, quod exemplis suppositis satis liquido comprobauimus.^{a 200}

XI

Pelliparium²⁰¹ quendam ex Pontefracto crudelitas eorum infauista rapuerat, a quo cum pro redemptione precium exigent quod dare nequirit, quasi uotis eorum uoluntatique contrarium, diu multumque diuersis eum cruciatibus afflixerunt. Qui sibi deesse senciens ad euadendi remedium humanum omne solatium ad diuinum se totis desideriis inclinuit auxilium. Sanctum Germanum iugi lamentatione proclamat, assiduis gemitibus inuocat, continua deuotione requirit. Vnde custodibus furore commotis, quadam die cum ad discursum omnes procederent, uinculis eum omnimodis quam firmitus potuerunt artantes, taliter illum hironica subsumatione^a deridebant. 'Clama', inquit,^b | 'ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta uocem tuam.'²⁰² Ne sileas antequam uincula clamore dissoluas, si quid potest, adiunget te miseris tui, tuus sanctus Germanus ille quem inuocas.' Sicque festinantes ad predam illum custodem hospicii reliquerunt, pondere grauatam catenarum. Post quorum egressum uix hora preterit, cum ei manus, que post tergum uinciebantur, ceperunt repente dissolui. Quas ad se retrahens et ad notum expandens, uincula gaudis est sui clamoris uirtute disrupta. Cumque secum de facto cogitaret, uidit subito de lignis que pedes eius compresserant,^d clauos emergere, ligna abinuicem dissolui, laxari uincula, seras amoueri. Pedes ergo satagens ad se retrahere nullius obstaculi sensit retinaculum. Surgens itaque quam cicius quasi de sua salute sollicitus, ad ecclesie se presidium contulit modo mirabili confessoris adiutorio liberatus.

X ^a altered from comprobauimus

XI ^a subnotatione with san written below the line in bottom margin and place for insertion indicated ^b inquit Labbe ^c om. Labbe ^d There seems to be an erasure here of approximately two letters

²⁰⁰ For similarities between the miracles that follow and those in other northern miracle collections, which are located chronologically to the reign of King Stephen, see above, pp. lxxxvi-vii.

²⁰¹ 'pelliparius' can mean a skinner, tanner, or parchment maker: *DMLBS, pelliparius*.

were they able to keep a captive who had even the smallest faith in the blessed Germanus, but rather they would lose him, snatched away by the mercy of the most pious confessor. This we can prove plainly enough by the examples that follow.²⁰⁰

Chapter 11

Their unpropitious cruelty had snatched a skinner²⁰¹ from Pontefract. When they demanded from him a fee for his redemption which he was not able to pay, as though refusing their demands and wish, for a long time they tortured him greatly with various torments. He, knowing that he would be able to find no human assistance for escape, concentrated all his efforts on obtaining divine aid. He called on St Germanus from the sorrow of his bondage; he cried out with continual groans, he sought him with constant prayer. His jailors were moved to anger by this and one day, when they were all on their way out, they bound him with all kinds of chains as firmly as they could and mocked him with ironical derision thus: 'Cry out aloud! Do not stop! Raise your voice like a trumpet',²⁰² they said. 'Do not fall silent before you dissolve your chains with your din. If he can, let your St Germanus help you and take pity on you, he on whom you call. And so they hurried off to plunder, leaving him as keeper of the guest house, weighed down by the weight of his chains. Scarcely an hour had gone by since their departure when his hands, which were bound behind his back, began suddenly to be freed. Drawing them back to him and spreading them out to pray, he was delighted that his chains had fallen off by virtue of the noise he had made. And while he was thinking about what had happened he suddenly saw emerging the keys for the posts which clamped his feet, his bonds falling apart, the chains falling off, and the bars of the doors being removed. Hastening to draw himself to his feet, he felt that there was no obstacle holding him back. And so he got up as quickly as he could, concerned as it were, for his own safety, and betook himself to the protection of the church, freed in a wondrous fashion by the assistance of the confessor.

²⁰² Isa. 58: 1: 'Clama, ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta uocem tuam', cited in Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam Liber XVI*, p. 659.

XII

Item filium parvulum quidam ex^u captivis obsidem pro sua redemptione cuidam militi dereliquerat. Qui parvulus edoctus sanctum invocare Germanum, eodem modo quo superior a vinculis meruit liberari.

XIII

Quedam mulier quoad usque uir suus debitum redderet, obsidem se pro eodem dederat inimicis. Sed cum venisset terminus quo novem marcas uir suus reddere constituerat, novem coniugi sue denarios delegavit. Quos cum illa militi cui debebatur | obtulisset, in indignationem illum vehementer commovit, et accendit in iram, que tam fuit effera pleneque furore, ut mamillarum vel manuum abscissionem prenotatus eques ei minaretur. Tunc solito asperior hiemps inhorruerat, que niuium et uentorum exasperata^u procellis quenuque felicem fecerat qui sub tectorum presidio meruit inueniri. Quod cernens miles, vel potius miser ille, quia nichil miserabilius quam nescire miseri, mulierculam illam pece nudam tota nocte sub diuo^u constituens, hiemalis rigoris totum sustinere coegit horrorem. Namque manibus a tergo ligatis pedibusque per medium parietem intro^u compedum et cathenarum artatione restrictis, duplicem miseram perferre fecit cruciatum, cum brumalis scilicet tempestatis incommodo, nexuum et cathenarum flebilium afflictionem. Vnde totis visceribus ad clementem Germanum illa conuersa, eo deuocius quo et opportunius adiutorium illius postulabat. Nec mora manibus et pedibus diuina virtute vinculis absolutis, ad ecclesiam nocte media cum fratres matutinos ymnos cantassent, incolumis et leta peruenit.²⁰³

XVIII

Item clericus quidam pro genitoris redemptione obres tenebatur in vinculis. Tanque prestiturus terminus preterierat cum neque pater eius debitum reddiderat^u nec reddendi protelationem expetere.

fo. 35^v Cuius fidei falsitas fraudisque fallacia in detrimentum | et supplicium

XII ^u et *Labbe*

XIII ^u aspirata *Labbe*

^u diu *Labbe*

^u om. *Labbe*

XVIII ^u nec pater eius debitum reddiderat, iam praestiturus terminus praetererat *Labbe*

Chapter 12

Furthermore, one of the captives had left his small son as a hostage with a certain knight for his own redemption. The little boy was taught to call on St Germanus and in the same fashion as we related above he won freedom from his chains.

Chapter 13

A certain woman gave herself to her husband's enemies as a hostage for him until he repaid a debt. But, when the deadline came at which her husband had agreed to pay nine marks he handed over nine pence to his wife. When she handed them over to the knight to whom they were owed he was violently angry and exploded with wrath, which was so wild and full of savage fury that that the aforesaid knight threatened to cut off her breasts or her hands. At that time there raged a much harsher winter than usual, and it was made worse by the tempests of snow and winds, and made everyone who had succeeded in finding the shelter of dwellings seem fortunate. When the knight—or rather that wretch, because there is nothing more wretched than being unable to feel pity—realized this he left that little woman almost naked for the whole night in the open air, and compelled her to put up with all the horror of the winter harshness. With her hands tied behind her back and her feet bound by the restriction of shackles and chains through the middle of an internal wall, she was made to suffer double torment, that is, the horror of the winter weather and the pitiable affliction of her bonds and chains. So she turned with all her strength to the merciful Germanus and begged both devoutly and fittingly for his aid. And without any delay by divine virtue her chains fell from her hands and feet and she came safe and happy to the church in the middle of the night when the brothers were singing the morning hymns.²⁰³

Chapter 14

Furthermore, a certain cleric was held hostage in chains for the redemption of his father, and already the agreed time had passed when his father had neither paid the debt nor had sought postponement of the payment. His false faith and stratagem of deception

²⁰³ For an analogous episode in which tortures are inflicted on victims, see Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio*, pp. 298–301. For the night office see RB, chs. 8, 9, 10, and 11.

innocentis filii tota redundabat. Pro paterne quippe transgressionis incuria nati puniuntur innocentia,²⁰⁴ qui pudore confunditur, opprobriis euiratur,¹ suppliciis atteritur, minis predampnatur. Quadam namque die cum manus miles pransurus ablueret, iuuenis ut manicas teneret abluentis accessit. Quem cum ille indignationis rancore repellens, 'Quid', inquit, 'inter homines te canis pessime presumis immergere? Fuge uelocius, et hoc interim habeto solatium, quod non cicius mihi mensa tollitur e gremio, quin de te dignam et grauem capiam ultionem.' Repulsus taliter inter manducandum petta licentia ex parte curie cum custode uinctus² exiuit. Vidensque ecclesiam, 'O', inquit, 'sancte Germane mee miserie dignare misereri. Experiar in me, queso, quam clemens 'es, qui tuam' erga alios tam benignam audiui sepe clementiam.' Vix hec intra se uerba compleuerat, et ecce compedis anulum de pede subito sensit descendisse, quem manu subleuans, uoluerique cursu per mediam domum exiliens, ad ecclesiam quam citius potuit properauit. Insequuntur eum ex omni parte quamplurimi, et licet eum attingere multi potuissent, nullus tamen in eum ut retineretur manus ualebat inicere. Sicque beati Germani se protegente clementia presidium ecclesie nemine subiuit obstante.

XV

Ex unius pagi consortio uiri fuere septem, qui sub una custodia simul in uinculis tenebantur afflicti. Ad quos seruandum tanto proces|serat custodia durior, cura sollicitior, uigilantia cautior, quanto de illis sperabatur redemptio dicio|ris, census profusior, pecunia maior. Pedes ligna, manus uincla constrinxerant. Affligebantur tam immenso catenarum pondere, ut eos potius ferrea moles opprimeret, quam ambitus coartaret. Nec tamen milites securos reddidit huiusmodi captiuis illata captiuitas. Semper eos dubios et suspectos fecerat solita miseratione Germani clementissimi, et illum iugiter innocens mirabilis fides et deuotio captiuorum. Qui semper illum in corde tenentes et

¹ euiratur *Labbe*
² om. *Labbe*

³ ea *Labbe*

⁴ uinctum *with* ⁵ *interined*, uinctus *Labbe*

²⁰⁴ Possibly an allusion to Matt. 27: 25: 'Sanguis eius super nos, et super filios nostros'.

completely rebounded, causing harm and punishment to his innocent son. The innocence of the son was punished for the careless sin of the father.²⁰⁴ The son was confounded by shame, unmanned by insults, worn out by punishments and damned by threats. One day, when the knight, who was about to eat, was washing his hands the young man hurried to hold back the sleeves of the man who was washing. As he pushed him aside in malicious anger he said, 'What! Do you, most wretched dog, presume to insinuate yourself among men? Go away quickly and in the meantime console yourself with this thought, that no sooner will the table be taken away from my knees than I will take a deserved and dreadful revenge on you.' Thus repulsed, he went out whilst the knight was eating, with the permission of the court, in chains, and with a guard. When he saw the church he cried, 'O St Germanus! In your compassion take pity on me in my wretched state. May I learn for myself, I beg, how merciful you are, I who have often heard how bountiful and compassionate you are towards others.' Scarcely had he finished saying these words when—behold!—suddenly he felt the links of the chain falling from his feet. He held them up in his hands and, rushing through the midst of the house in swift flight, he hurried to the church as quickly as he could. Very many people followed him from every side and, although many of them were able to touch him, no one was able to take hold of him and keep him. Thus under the protection of the mercy of St Germanus, he reached the stronghold of the church with hindrance from no one.

Chapter 15

There were seven men in a company from one district who were being held in custody together, wretched and in chains. The more it was expected that the ransom paid for them would be plentiful, the payment lavish, and the sum of money large, all the greater was the rigorous custody, careful attention, and cautious vigilance to keep them safe. Wooden posts had held fast their feet and chains their hands. They were distressed by such a great weight of chains that the mass of iron crushed them more than the circumference restricted them. However, this sort of captivity that they had inflicted on their captives did not bring security for the soldiers. The continual compassion of the most merciful Germanus always caused them to be doubtful and suspicious, as did the wonderful faith and devotion of the captives who called on him constantly. They always held him in their hearts and never wished