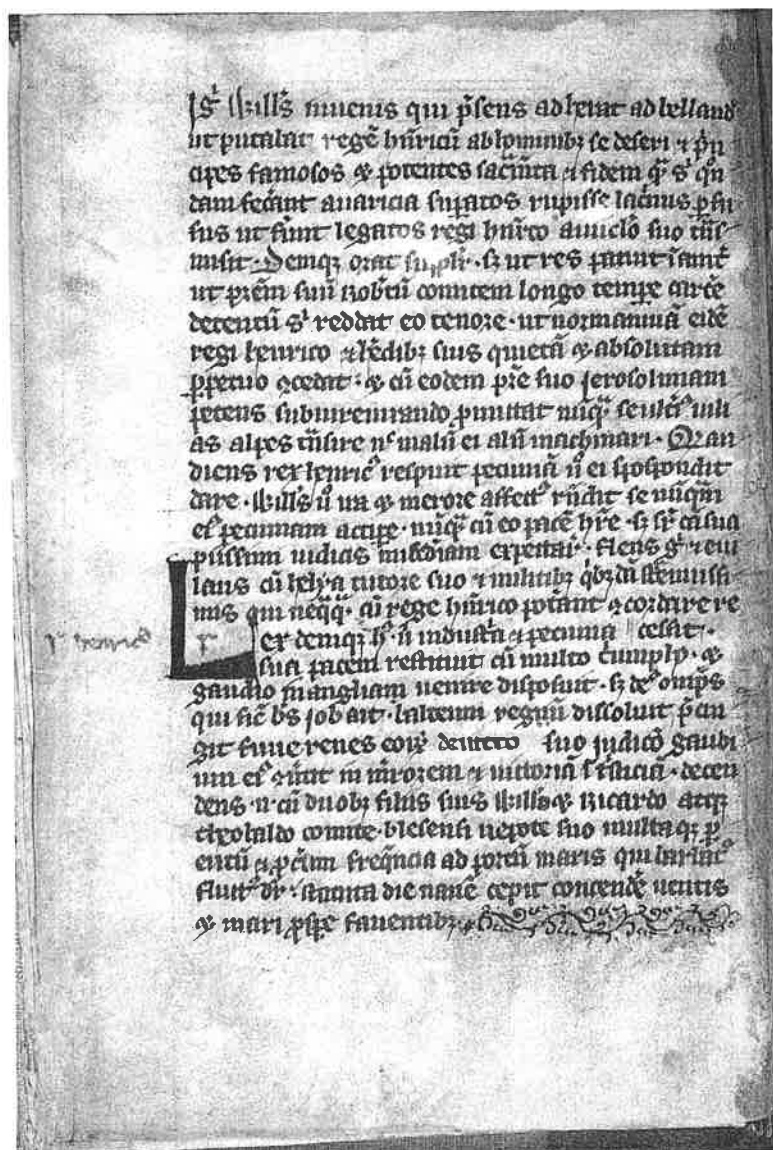




London, BL MS Cotton Domit. A xiv, fo. 21^v.
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THE WARENNE (HYDE) CHRONICLE

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fo. 4^r 1. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.^o .xxx.^o .v.^o Robertus comes Normannie Ierosolimam deuocionis gracia petens, Willelmo filio suo ex concubina progenito admodumque paruulo, paterne hereditatis principatum reliquit.¹ Fuit autem hic Willelmus septimus a primo illo Rollione qui prorsus a sanguine Francorum alienus,² classe conducta, secundum quosdam ex insula Norweia quondam Scanzia dicta, secundum quosdam autem ex Dacia, Gallias aduenit eiusque partem, que Neustria quondam dicebatur, armis optinuit gentique et loco sua ex natione nouum nomen indidit. Normanni enim boreales siue septentrionales homines interpretantur, Normannia uero borealium hominum regio.³

2. Anno ab incarnatione Domini octingentesimo .lxx.^o vi.^o .xv.^o kalendas Decembris, Rollius Dacus^a cum multa classe ad extremas Gallie partes aduentus est atque Neustriam, que oceano uicinior erat, ingressus eam crebris cum bellis multoque sanguine utriusque fuso sibi subiugauit, multisque annis uictor optinuit nouumque, ut prediximus, regioni nomen indidit.⁴ Defuncto Rollione filius suus Willelmus successit. Huic quoque discedenti successit Ricardus, qui Vetus dicebatur. Huic successit Ricardus secundus, cui successit Ricardus tercius. Et eodem, ut aiunt, anno Robertus filiam suam uocabulo Emmam Ethelredo regi Anglorum matrimonio copulauit,^b de qua rex idem filios suos Aluredum et Edwardum progeniuit.⁵ Irruentibus uero in Angliam Dacis ambo fratres ad auunculum suum in Normanniam confugerunt, materque eorum iam patre defuncto Cnuto regi Dacorum legali est federe copulata atque in Daciam postea deducta. Robertus autem cum principatum Normannie aliquantis annis optinuisset deuocione tractus Ierosolimam, ut

2 ^a Daco MS ^b Emma filia Roberti ducis Normannie copulata est Ethelredo regi Anglorum added in outer margin as heading

¹ The pilgrimage of Duke Robert the Magnificent (1027–35) to Jerusalem took place in 1035. By January he had decided to go (Fauroux, no. 90), and he probably left Normandy not long afterwards. He died on the return journey at Nicaea in July of the same year; see *GND* ii. 78–85. Note that throughout the chronicle the Norman rulers are referred to as counts, not dukes.

² Historically it is correct that William became the seventh ruler after Rollo (d. c.928). From the time of Robert of Torigni, c.1135×9, William's youngest son Henry I (1100–35) is said to belong to the seventh generation; see *GND* ii. 200–3 and i, pp. lxxxiv–lxxxv.

³ For Rollo's stay in Scanzia, see Dudo, pp. 143–5. The etymology of the word 'North-

1. In the year of the Lord's incarnation 1035, Count Robert of Normandy went to Jerusalem for the sake of devotion, and he left the dominion of his paternal inheritance to his son William, who had been born of a concubine, and was still quite young.¹ This William was the seventh ruler since that first one, Rollo, who, utterly foreign to the blood of the French,² having assembled a fleet, according to some, from the Norwegian island formerly called Scanzia, but according to others, from Denmark, came to Gaul and by force of arms occupied the region, which was formerly called Neustria, and gave a new name to the people and the place, derived from his own race. For 'Normans' means 'northmen' or 'northern men', and 'Normandy' means 'the region of the northmen'.³

2. In the year of the Lord's incarnation 876, on 17 November, Rollo the Dane arrived with a great fleet at the outermost parts of Gaul and entering Neustria, which was closer to the sea, by frequent battles and much bloodshed on both sides he brought it under his yoke, and, as victor, occupied it for many years and, as we have already said, gave the region a new name.⁴ When Rollo died, his son William succeeded. And when he passed on, he was succeeded by Richard, who was called 'the Old'. He in turn was succeeded by Richard II and he by Richard III. And in the same year, so they say, Robert joined his daughter, called Emma, in marriage to Æthelred, king of the English, and by her the king begot his sons Alfred and Edward.⁵ But when the Danes invaded England, both brothers fled to their uncle in Normandy, and their mother, now that their father had died, was joined by legal arrangement to Cnut, king of the Danes, and was afterwards taken to Denmark. When Robert had held dominion of Normandy for some years, inspired by devotion he headed for Jerusalem, as we have said

manni' can be found in *GND* as an interpolation of Robert of Torigni (i. 16), who took it from William of Apulia's *Gesta Roberti Guiscardi* (*La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. Mathieu, p. 98).

⁴ This paragraph contains in a few lines the succession from Rollo to William the Conqueror. 876 as the year for the arrival of the Normans can be found in *GND* i. 50.

⁵ Emma was the daughter of Richard I (943–96) and not, as said here, of Robert. She married King Æthelred II of England (978–1016) in 1002 (*GND* ii. 10 and *ASC s.a.* 1002) and not, as implied here, in 1027. The order in which Emma's sons by Æthelred are mentioned suggests erroneously that Alfred was the eldest. The Warene chronicler is not alone in this mistake; see also Henry of Huntingdon (HH, p. 372) and William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 336). The Warene chronicler is unique in saying that Emma, after her second 'union' to King Cnut (1016–35), was taken to Denmark.

prediximus, peciit et filium suum Willelmum, licet nothum et paruum, in successorem hereditatis principibus commendavit. Denique audientes Normannorum principes Robertum dominum suum in itinere Ierosolimitano uita decessisse commoti sunt et efferati, dicentes Willelmum filium eius non esse legitimum nec sibi ullo modo debere dominari. Coniuratione itaque aduersus eum facta Normannia timore percussum expellunt, suoque quisque in loco prout uiribus poterat dominari ceperunt. Willelmus autem amicis fo. 4^v ducentibus se Francorum | regi⁴ Henrico presentavit, et quod finibus propriis suorum uiolencia hominum expelleretur indicavit.⁶ Orat suppliciter eius uiribus proprie restitui hereditati spondetque se eius semper subiectum fore obediencia. Itaque rex Francorum nunc precibus, nunc promissionibus, nunc pietate commotus, omnem se ei defensionis curam auxillique constantiam collaturum promittit. Congregato denique exercitu Normannos nunc precibus, nunc minis, nunc uiribus pulsat.

3. Anno igitur .m.^o .xlvi.^o factum est atrocissimum bellum apud Walesdunum³ inter Normannos et Francos. In quo quidem bello, ut aiunt, rex Francorum de equo suo deiectus est impellente et urgente Hamone milite, patre Roberti et Hamonis dapiferi, mortisque sententia mox suscipiente.⁷ Tandem depressis aliquantulum Normannis Willelmum rex Henricus comitis honore per Normanniam sublimavit atque reputavit. At ubi Willelmus paternam adeptus est hereditatem tanta animi industria tantaque uirtute corporis paulatim exercuit ut optime nosset 'parcere subiectis et debellare superbos'.⁸ In tantam enim tunc temporis principes Normannorum rebellionem exarserunt, ut coniurati castrum Archartarum,⁹ quod ualli munimine

⁴ que MS ⁴ Willelmus bastardus [] Francie added across top margin as heading

3 ³ Walesdunum MS

⁶ There is no evidence that during his minority Duke William was expelled from Normandy, nor is there evidence for a visit to France accompanied by 200 men. However, Orderic Vitalis states that William's father Duke Robert had received the (French) Vexin from King Henry I of France (1031–60) as a reward for Norman support during the king's exile at Fécamp in 1033. There is no contemporary evidence to support Orderic's claim, which was probably formulated during William the Conqueror's reign after 1077 (OV iv. 76–7, xxx–xxxiii; Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 265–6; see also Introduction, p. lvii). Equally, there is no contemporary evidence to support the notion that William's claim to Normandy was invalid due to his illegitimacy, unease about which was a 12th-c. phenomenon; see Bates, 'The Conqueror's adolescence', 5–6.

⁷ King Henry I of France supported Duke William in 1047 during the battle of Val-ès-Dunes (GND ii. 120–3). The anecdote about the king's fall and the involvement of Haimo

above, and commended to his magnates his son William, although illegitimate and young, as successor to his inheritance. Then the Norman magnates, upon hearing that their lord Robert had departed this life on the road to Jerusalem, became agitated and rebellious, saying that his son William was not legitimate, and that he should not rule over them in any way. And so, having conspired against him, they expelled him, terror-struck, from Normandy, and every man, in as much as he could, began to rule in his own area by might. William, accompanied by his friends, presented himself to Henry, king of the French, and declared that he had been driven from his own borders by the violence of his men.⁶ He humbly begged to be restored to his own inheritance by the king's might and he vowed that he would always be subject to his obedience. Accordingly the king of the French, greatly moved, now by prayers, now by promises, now by piety, promised that he would take every precaution for his defence and provide constancy of aid. Then, when he had assembled his army, he smote the Normans, now with prayers, now with threats, now with force.

3. In the year 1047 a most terrible battle took place at Val-ès-Dunes between the Normans and the French. In this battle, they say, the king of the French was thrown from his horse, driven and hard pressed by the knight Haimo (father of Robert and Haimo the steward), who soon received the sentence of death.⁷ Finally, after the Normans had been more or less suppressed, King Henry raised up William and recognized him with the honour of count throughout Normandy. And when William had received his paternal inheritance, little by little he governed it with such diligence of mind and such bodily vigour that he learned extremely well 'to show mercy to his subjects and to subdue the proud'.⁸ For at that time the Norman magnates instigated such a great rebellion that the conspirators went into the castle of Arques,⁹

can be found in William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 428–9; ii. 221) and Wace (III, ll. 4020–50, pp. 190–1). Haimo Dentatus (d. 1047) was the father of Haimo dapifer, sheriff of Kent (d. before 1100), who in turn was the father of another Haimo, also dapifer and sheriff of Kent (d. 1129×30) and Robert fitzHaimo (*Domesday Monachorum*, pp. 55–6). Clearly the Warren chronicler skipped one generation.

⁸ Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi. 853.

⁹ The siege of Arques in 1053, where Count William of Arques, paternal uncle of Duke William, had withdrawn, is reported in GND ii. 102–5, and by William of Poitiers (WP, pp. 36–43). The anecdote about the skins belongs not to the siege of Arques in 1053, but to the earlier siege of Alençon (GND ii. 122–7). The details derive from Orderic Vitalis (GND ii. 124–5), who calls William's maternal grandfather a 'pollinctor', someone who prepares bodies for burial, rather than a skinner who works with animal hides. At this point the scribe seems to have omitted a word or otherwise mangled the text, to give the nonsensical

et loci asperitate fortissimum quoddam Normannie uidebatur esse presidium ingrederentur, atque in oculis obsidentis eos comitis pelles de muro uerberando excuterent, in contumeliam matris eiusdem que cuiusdam nobilis uiri pellice artis non ignari filia esse dicebatur. Qua iniuria comes permotus tribus ^bmensibus eorum^b castellum cingsit, ut saltem fame cogente dedicioni reddiderent omnesque quos tenere potuit tali nota mulctauit, ut nullum quelibet potestas nullum sanguinis nobilitas tam ualuerit quin digniore membrorum suorum porcione puniretur.¹⁰ Confirmatur igitur Willelmus in Normannia, affinitate coniunctus est Baldewino comiti Flandrensi. Filiam namque
fo. 5^r eius uocabulo Matildem uxor|rem accepit, tresque ex ea filios, Robertum uidelicet, Willelmum et Henricum, procreauit. Filiam uero suam Stephano Blesiensi comiti palatino, postquam regnum Anglorum optinuit, copulauit.^c De qua idem comes Tedbaldum et Stephanum progeniuit.¹¹

4. Eodem fere tempore Dacis qui Angliam, ut prediximus, irruperant, presumptionis sue penas luentibus ibidem, Angli rege destituti et nolentes nisi ex regio semine regem sibi preferri legatos comiti Normannie Willelmo transmittunt, orantes ut unum ex filiis domini sui qui apud eum exulabant transmittat asserentes eum regio sublimandum honore. Qui petitioni eorum acquiescens Aluredum natu maiorem cum multo comitatu Angliam transmittit.^a Quo perueniens nichil mali suspicatur securius atque incaucius quam deceret se agere cepit. Siquidem principes Anglorum pariter glomerati, instigante Godwino comite, patre regis Hareldi, omnium malorum intentore, cum multa manu eum aduenisse cernentes et Normannorum tyrannidem uerentes fallaci eum honore suscipiunt,

^{b-b} E; eos MS ^c Willemus bastardus accepit uxorem Matildem filiam comitis Flandrie added across top margin as heading for this section

4 ^a Alured mis(sus) est in angliam heading added in outer margin

'tribus eos castellum cingsit'; Edwards suggested the emendation 'tribus mensibus eorum castellum cingsit' which seems reasonable enough a length of time (other accounts do not specify the length of the siege).

¹⁰ This somewhat opaque circumlocution must allude to the fact that, as Orderic Vitalis described it, because of the beating of the pelts and furs, the mockers had their hands and feet cut off, as what was deemed to be an appropriate punishment (*GND* ii. 124-5).

¹¹ The date of the marriage of Duke William and Matilda of Flanders is unknown, but it may have been as early as 1049, when it was denounced as consanguineous at the council of Reims, but not later than 1051 (*GND* ii. 128-31 and 129 n. 5). Apart from the sons named here, Duke Robert (1087-1106, d. 1134), King William Rufus (1087-1100), and King

which was a fortress which seemed to be the strongest in Normandy because of the protection of its rampart and the harshness of its position, and before the eyes of the duke who was besieging them, they shook out skins from the wall and beat them, as an insult to his mother, who was said to be the daughter of a noble man not unconnected with the leather trade. Offended by this slight, the duke besieged their castle for three months, so that forced by hunger at the least they would give in to surrender, and all whom he could catch he painfully branded in such a way that no power of any sort, no nobility of blood, availed any man so much that he should escape being punished with respect to the more appropriate part of his limbs.¹⁰ Thus with his authority confirmed in Normandy, William was joined in kinship to Count Baldwin of Flanders. For he took that man's daughter, Matilda, as wife, and by her he had three sons, namely Robert, William, and Henry. After he had conquered England he married his daughter to Stephen, count palatine of Blois. The same count begot by her Theobald and Stephen.¹¹

4. At about the same time as the Danes who, as we have said already, had invaded England were paying the penalty for their presumption in that same place, the English were without a king, and not wishing to choose a king for themselves unless he was of royal blood, they sent envoys to Count William of Normandy, asking him to send one of their lord's sons, who were in exile at his court, confirming that he would be raised to royal honour. He agreed to their petition, and sent Alfred, the eldest, to England with a great company. Upon arrival Alfred was unaware of any danger and began to behave more carelessly and unguardedly than was appropriate. For indeed the magnates of England, having gathered together at the instigation of Earl Godwin, father of King Harold, and initiator of all evils, seeing that Alfred had arrived with a great force and, fearing the tyranny of the Normans, received him with false honour, and with deceptive subservience

Henry I (1100-35, duke from 1106), there was also a son called Richard who was killed sometime after 13 Apr. 1069 (Bates, *Acta*, no. 254). Of the various daughters only Adela is mentioned, though not by name. Note that the chronicler knew that she married Stephen of Blois (d. 1102) after the Conquest, in the early 1080s. Their sons were Theobald IV, count of Blois-Chartres (c. 1107-52) and from 1125 also Theobald II of Champagne, and Stephen, king of England (1135-54). In view of the fact that in the Introduction (pp. 1-11) it is suggested that the Warren chronicler knew a third brother Henry, bishop of Winchester (1129-71), it should be noted that he is not mentioned here. For the children of Adela and Stephen of Blois, see LoPrete, *Adela*, pp. 549-53 (Appendix 3).

et deceptorio famulatu hospicio inducunt, et detestanda nequicia omnibus arma subducunt. Deinde primo mane omnes armati quasi lupi fame stimulante agitati incautos circumueniunt, domo innocentes educunt, et decimo tantum ad testimonium tante crudelitatis uite reseruato ceteros omnes sicut sors efferebat numerandi miserande tradunt capitis abscisioni.¹² In qua decimacione quiddam mirabile dignumque relatione fertur accessisse.^b Siquidem cum quidam miles cum armigero subsequente in nouo ordine detruncandus produceretur, dominumque suum decapitandum armiger et se reseruandum intueretur, utraque manu dominum gladio dependenti subtraxit seque^c in eius loco feriendum supposuit. Hiis itaque gestis per ordinem paruipendentes principes Anglorum tantam interfectorum multitudinem et dolentes decimatorum plurimam superesse partem, iterum eos priori neci eodem ordine decimando fo. 5^v | submittunt.^d Quibus nephandissime gestis ipsum dominum suum postposito diuino humanoque timore terribili non dubitant morte mulctare. Oculos etenim ambos ei effoderunt et desub mento linguam extractam absciderunt.

5. Comes igitur Normanniae, hec ita gesta in Anglia certis nunciis audiens, nimio merore afficitur et si tempus et uires suppeterent ad ulciscendum tantum scelus libentissime pararetur. Principes autem Anglorum cum^e nisi ex regio semine regem sibi minime paterentur preferri, iterum legatos Normanniam mittunt rogantque sibi alium domini sui transmitti filium, spondentes se ei debitum exhibere famulatum et in nullo eis contristandum.¹³ Comes itaque Willelmus reminiscens in priorem fratrem peracte fraudis nullo modo uoluntati eorundem se satisfacere mandat, nisi nobilissimos quosdam ex suis et

^a decimatio normannorum heading added in outer margin ^c sicque MS ^d Fertur Aluredus [] emptus et frater suus Edwardus mit[] in Angliam heading added across top margin

5 ^e eum MS

¹² The GND (ii. 78) contains the story that King Cnut offered half the kingdom of England to one of the exiled æthelings in Normandy; the story of Alfred's ill-fated invasion of England in 1036 and the role of Earl Godwin can be found in GND ii. 106, William of Poitiers (WP, pp. 4-7), ASC CD (s.a. 1036), the *Encomium* (pp. 41-7), and the *Vita Edwardi* (pp. 32-4). The story of the tithing can only be found in 12th-c. sources. Henry of Huntingdon (HH, p. 372) says Alfred was the eldest and has the tithing story. John of Worcester (JW, ii. 522-4) refers to 600 deaths, torture, and scalping at Guildford but places Alfred's blinding at Ely. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 336; ii. 180) calls Alfred the eldest son who was blinded at Guildford and then sent to Ely. He reports the tithing, but says he cannot verify its veracity because he did not find it in the ASC. Wace (III, ll.

conducted him to a hostel and, with detestable wickedness stole the weapons from all his men. Then at first light, armed, they all, like wolves aroused by hunger, surrounded them unawares and brought those innocent men out of the house and, sparing the life of every tenth man, only as a witness to such great cruelty, they delivered all the others to be wretchedly beheaded, just as the luck of the counting dictated.¹² In this decimation a wonderful deed, worthy of mention, is said to have happened. For indeed, when one knight, with his squire following him, was brought forward to be beheaded in ninth place, and the squire saw that his lord was about to be decapitated and that he himself would be spared, with both hands he dragged his lord out from under the looming sword and positioned himself to be struck down in his place. Accordingly, after these things had been done in that order, the magnates of England, caring little about such a multitude of dead men and regretting that so many of the tenth persons remained, subjected them again to the previous manner of slaughter, decimating in the same way. When this had all been done most monstrously, they did not hesitate to inflict on their own lord a terrible death, setting aside fear of God and man. For indeed they gouged out both his eyes, dragged his tongue out from his lower jaw, and then cut it off.

5. Consequently when the Count of Normandy heard from his trusted envoys of the deeds done in this way in England, he was deeply afflicted with grief, and was prepared most willingly to avenge such a great crime, if time and strength would permit. The English magnates, since they would not in the least allow a king to be put at their head unless from royal blood, again sent envoys to Normandy and asked for their lord's other son to be sent, promising that they would offer the subservience owed to him and that he would no wise be harmed by them.¹³ Count William, mindful of the crime done to the first brother, sent word that he would not satisfy their wish in any way, unless they sent across to Normandy some of their noblest men, and in particular

7423-50, pp. 258-9) also mentions Guildford, Ely, and briefly the decimation in the context of William the Conqueror's speech to his troops at Hastings. The lack of explicit reference to any of the locations mentioned in other sources, combined with literary elaboration, suggests that the Warrenne Chronicle's version ought to be placed late in the tradition.

¹³ The story of Edward's return to England in 1041 (ASC s.a. 1039 for 1040) is a watered-down version of the 11th- and early 12th-c. chronicles, none of which, however, refers to hostages being exchanged at the time. No other source mentions Earl Godwin's departure from England and return with a fleet to London. It seems likely that the Warrenne chronicler mixes events of 1050/1 with those of a decade earlier.

precipue unum ex filiis Godwini comitis obsides in Normanniam transmittant. Quid multa? Nobilissimi quidam ex Anglis, et unus ex filiis Godwini comitis, ut pecierat, comiti Willelmo transmittuntur et Edwardus cum multa classe in Angliam remittitur. Qui adueniens multa probitate multaque animi industria cepit florere et Normannos quos adduxerat principes per Angliam constituere. Contra hunc quoque comes Godwinus pacis inimicus temptans rebellare ira commotus Anglia discessit, moxque repatrians usque in ipsam metropolim Londoniam classem suam aduexit. Denique se nichil posse preualere animaduertens, pacem cum Edwardo statuit componere, et ut nullius rebellionis suspicio remaneret filiam suam, Editham nomine,¹⁴ ei matrimonio copulauit,^b filiumque suum Haroldum eius dapiferum constituit.¹⁵ Fertur tamen regem Edwardum nunquam cum eadem carnis habuisse consorcium, sed mundissime uite semper dilexisse celibatum. Nec ab re ducendum propter precedencia et sequencia pauca de hoc Godwino disserere.

Fuit enim ex infimo Anglorum genere et plus sagacitate quam fo. 6^r animi probitate. Paulatim tamen apicem ascendit, | ut^c inter Anglorum principes plus possessionibus et diuiciis quam uite laudabilis meritis summus^d emeretur. Et licet per omnes fere Anglie partes potestas eius extenderetur principalis tamen comitatus eius australis erat regio, que lingua^e eorum dicitur Sudsexia.¹⁶ Sortitus autem uxorem uocabulo Getam, genus, ut aiunt, ex insula Norwegia ducentem, plures ex ea filios genuit, omni uersucia, temeritate, et audacia similes patri.¹⁷ Porro uxor eius magne sanctitatis multaque religionis tramitem incedens omni die duas ad minus missas studiose audiebat, omnique fere sabbato per duo aut amplius miliaria nudis pedibus uicina ambiebat monasteria largis muneribus cumulans altaria largisque donis pauperes recreans. Superuixit autem uiro

^a Editha filia Godwini copulata est Edwardo added in outer margin as heading

^b Godwinus fuit comes [] added across top margin as heading

^c lingnig MS

^d summus MS

¹⁴ The marriage of King Edward and Earl Godwin's daughter Edith took place on 23 Jan. 1045 (*ASC C s.a.* 1044 for 1045 and *E s.a.* 1043 for 1045). The story of the non-consummation of their marriage is only hinted at in the *Vita Edwardi*, p. 24 (and see discussion on pp. lxxvi–lxxviii), but emerges explicitly in Orderic's interpolations in the *GND* ii. 106–9 and William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 352–4; ii. 189).

¹⁵ Wace also refers to Harold as steward (*III*, l. 5572, pp. 220–1). Earl Godwin's humble background is also mentioned in Orderic's interpolations in the *GND*. For a recent discussion of medieval stories, including this paragraph, about Earl Godwin, see Rigg, 'Historical fiction in Walter Map: The construction of Godwin of Wessex', pp. 1001–10.

¹⁶ That the Warrenne chronicler was francophone is strongly suggested by his descrip-

one of Earl Godwin's sons, as hostages. What more need be said? Several of the noblest men among the English, and one of Earl Godwin's sons, were sent across to Count William as he had demanded, while Edward was sent back to England with a great fleet. When he arrived there, he began to flourish with great uprightness and great diligence of mind, and he installed the Norman magnates, whom he had brought with him, throughout England. Earl Godwin, who was hostile to peace, tried to rebel against him, and filled with anger, left England, but returning again quickly, sailed his fleet right up to the city of London. Then, realizing that he could not possibly prevail, he decided to arrange a peace with Edward and, so that no suspicion of rebellion would remain, he joined his daughter, named Edith,¹⁴ to him in marriage and established his son Harold as steward.¹⁵ It is said, however, that King Edward never had carnal union with his wife, but that he always cherished the celibacy of a most pure life. It is not out of place to insert a few details about this Godwin because of the things that have already been said and those that are to follow.

For Earl Godwin was from a humble English origin and had more shrewdness than uprightness of mind. Nevertheless, little by little he climbed to the top, so that he was in the highest position among English magnates more on account of his possessions and wealth than for the merits of a praiseworthy life. And although his power extended throughout nearly all parts of England, his principal county by far was the southern region, which in their language is called Sussex.¹⁶ Having chosen a wife, named Gytha, who was, so they say, descended from a family from the island of Norway, he had several sons by her, like their father in all cunning, rashness, and audacity.¹⁷ Moreover, his wife walked a path of great sanctity and abundant religion, and every day she zealously heard at least two masses and on almost every Sabbath she walked two or more miles on bare feet to nearby monasteries, piling up generous donations on the altars and refreshing the poor with generous gifts. She outlived her

tion of Earl Godwin's principal county as being in 'the southern region which in their language is called Sussex'; see Introduction, p. xxi.

¹⁷ Gytha, wife of Earl Godwin, was of Danish rather than Norwegian origin; see *Vita Edwardi* (pp. 10, 36, and 82), where she is called a sister of Cnut. In fact, she was probably a sister of Cnut's brother-in-law Ulf, husband of Estrith, sister of Cnut. For a discussion, see Barlow, *Godwins*, pp. 17, 22–4. According to the *ASC D* and John of Worcester (*JW* iii. 4–7) she went in 1067 to Saint-Omer in Flanders. The details of her piety are unique to the Warrenne chronicler, but it is difficult to say whether they point to Warrenne knowledge about Saint-Omer or whether they are simply elaboration.

cunctisque pene filiis. Nam mox ut Anglia Normannis est data, ut in sequentibus dicemus, uitans eorum consorcium nauem ascendit atque ad Sanctum Odmarum in Flandria deuenit ibique, ut aiunt, extremum uite diem clausit. Godwinus autem uir eius animaduertens animum regis Edwardi pro iniusta fratris sui interfectione erga se non esse sincerum,^f multis argumentis temptabat notam criminis a se repellere.¹⁸ Denique quodam sancto die Pasche dum cum eodem rege in ecclesia^g apud Lundoniam diuinis misteriis audiendis astaret, nullo cogente, sed ipso rege cum principibus uehementer admirante, audacter ad altare accessit, calicemque ipsum in quo celestia consecrata fuerant misteria manibus arripuit, cunctisque audientibus inaudito se iuramento constrinxit^h quod in nece Aluredi germani regis particeps minime exstitit. Quid plura? Ventum est ad prandium ubi cum iuxta regem assideret, bucellam manu arripuit, conuersusque ad regem ait: 'Domine mi rex, hec bucella hodie uite mihi fiat interitus si in nece fratris tui auctor fui uel conscius.'ⁱ Hec dicens bucellam ori inpositam urgente eum diuino iudicio nec glutire potuit nec reuertere, sed in amenciam uersus terribiliter cepit expirare.^j Quod uidens Haroldus filius suus, qui seruitoris officio regi astabat,¹⁹ desub mensa inclinans se per crura patrem a latere regis extraxit, et iam extremum spiritum trahentem foras asportauit.^k Hactenus ista; nunc ad propositum reuertamur.

fo. 6^v 6. Eodem^a fere tempore Haroldus Godwini comitis filius dapiferque, ut aiunt, Edwardi regis, quibusdam causis nauem ingressus uentis aduersantibus Ponteium est transuectus,²⁰ atque a Guidone comite

^f sincerum MS ^g ecclesiam MS ^h constrinxit MS ⁱ conscius MS

^j Godwinus diuino inspirauit [sic] iudicio heading added in margin ^k E; asportando MS

6 ^a Godwinus [] regni anglie added across top margin as heading

¹⁸ The story about Earl Godwin's death is a more elaborate, though not necessarily more detailed, version of the ones given by William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 354; ii. 189) and Henry of Huntingdon (HH, p. 378). All three versions, of which the Warrenne one is probably the latest, refer to Godwin dining with King Edward and exculpating himself for the murder of the king's brother Alfred. Wace also has the story that Godwin died as a result of choking on a morsel of food (III, ll. 5583–5, pp. 220–1). The story suggests elaboration of a more modest tradition which recounted that Godwin died in the king's presence on Easter Monday: *Vita Edwardi*, p. 46; *ASC CDE* (s.a. 1053 with minor variations) and John of Worcester (JW ii. 572), who shows the closest resemblance to *ASC C*. The development of the story, including the Warrenne version, is discussed by Wright, *The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 233–6, 296–8. See also the Introduction, pp. xix–xx.

¹⁹ Note that the Warrenne chronicler repeats his earlier assertion that Harold was a royal steward.

husband and almost all her sons. For as soon as England had been given to the Normans, as we shall tell in what follows, she avoided association with them and boarded a ship to go to Saint-Omer in Flanders, where, as they say, she spent the last days of her life. Her husband Godwin, noticing that King Edward was suspicious of him on account of the unjust killing of his brother, tried with many arguments to put aside the infamy of the crime from himself.¹⁸ Then, one Easter Day, while he was attending Mass with the king in a church in London, without any prompting, but to the great amazement of the king himself and the magnates, he boldly went up to the altar, seized with both hands the chalice in which the heavenly mysteries had been consecrated and, with everyone listening, he committed himself with an unheard-of oath, that he had not in the least been involved in the killing of Alfred, the king's brother. What more need be said? They came to the meal, where, as he was sitting beside the king, he picked up a morsel of bread in his hand and, turning to the king, said: 'My lord king, may this morsel be the death of me today, if I was the initiator of your brother's murder or if I had known of it.' As he was saying these words, having put the piece of bread in his mouth, with divine judgement bearing down upon him, he could neither swallow it nor spit it out, and driven to the point of madness he began to choke in a quite terrible way. Seeing this, his son Harold, who was present in the office of royal steward,¹⁹ bent under the table and pulled his father by the legs from the king's side and carried him, now drawing his last breath, outside. Enough of that; now let us return to the main theme.

6. At about the same time, Earl Godwin's son Harold and the steward, so they say, of King Edward, for some reason boarded a ship and was carried by adverse winds to Ponthieu,²⁰ and there he was thrown in

²⁰ Harold's pre-conquest visit to Count Guy of Ponthieu (d. 1100) and then Normandy is only given by *GND* ii. 160–1, William of Poitiers (WP, pp. 70–1, 76–7, 100–1), and *Bayeux Tapestry*, plates 1–27. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 446–7) mentions it, but adds that Harold felt he was not bound by his promises because the wedding contract had become invalid due to the girl's premature death and the fact that the oaths had not been made in England in the presence of a council and people. The Warrenne chronicler's unique version, namely that the marriage would come with William's gift of the whole kingdom to Harold, is closest to that told by Orderic in his interpolations in the *GND* ii. 160–1, where both the marriage alliance and William's promise of half the kingdom to Harold are mentioned. In his *Ecclesiastical History* Orderic (OV ii. 136–7) stuck to William of Poitiers's version of a marriage alliance without any reference to a promise of a gift of (part of) the kingdom.

carceri mancipatus dehinc comiti Willelmo Normannie precibus transmissus, qui ab eodem optime cognitus in multis familiariter est habitus, et ne in longum sermo noster pertrahatur ad hoc inter eos sermo progressus est, ut quia Edwardus rex Anglorum, consobrinus comitis Willelmi, heredem non habebat, regnum Anglorum Willelmus Haroldo concederet eo tenore, ut filiam ipsius matrimonio acciperet eique per omnia fideliter existeret. Quod cum Haroldus promptissime annueret ab eodem Anglorum fidem suspectam habente ad districta sacramenta est coactus.²¹ Infinitam namque sanctorum multitudinem reliquiarum deferri iussit, superque eas filacterium gloriosi martyris Pancracii, quod oculum bouis uocant, eo quod gemmam tam speciosam quam spaciosam in medio sui contineat, collocauit, certissime sciens tantum martyrem nulla temeritate posse deludi.²² Accedens itaque Haroldus tam restricto quam audaci super tanta sanctorum pignora iuramento se obligauit omnia scilicet sicut fuerat postulatus, constantissime se seruaturum et Normannis fidelem affuturum. Quibus gestis cum pace et muneribus Willelmi comitis repatriauit, seque suosque posteros cuncta que iurauerat transgrediendo iustissima^b pena mulctauit.

7. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.^o .lxxv.^o ^a Edwardus rex Anglorum 'uiam uniuerse carnis' ingrediens debito honore apud Londoniam in ecclesia beati Petri est sepultus.²³ Regnauit autem, ut aiunt, annis .xxv. uiteque honestate^b et obseruacione iusticie tempora sua multipliciter decorauit, leges quoque plures que usque hodie per Angliam obseruantur constituit, regnumque moriens Willelmo comiti consobrino suo reliquit.²⁴

^a iusticima MS

7 ^a .xliv. MS ^b honeste MS

²¹ The *Vita Edwardi*, p. 80, says that Harold was too generous with his oaths, a hint perhaps at Harold's promises to Duke William.

²² The Warrenne chronicler is unique in saying that Harold swore his oath on a reliquary of St Pancras, the patron saint against perjury. He agrees with the Battle author of the *Brevis Relatio*, p. 28, and Wace, however, that the reliquary was known as the ox's eye (III l. 5694, pp. 222–3). Although it has been suggested that the saint's name may be an indication that the chronicler was writing at St Pancras at Lewes, a Warrenne foundation, not far from Battle Abbey (Lewis, 'The earldom of Surrey and the date of Domesday Book', 332), it is more likely that he had access to the priory's heritage by being a clerk of the Warrenne household. If the author can be identified as Master Eustace of Boulogne (see Introduction, section II), it is significant that he was at St Pancras, Lewes in c.1148, where he could have

prison by Count Guy, but was then handed over to Count William of Normandy, at his supplication; Harold was well known to William and was in many ways welcomed as a friend, and, so that our discussion is not drawn out too long, their conversation came around to this matter, namely that because Edward, king of the English, and cousin of count William, had no heir, William would concede the kingdom of the English to Harold on condition that Harold would take William's daughter in marriage, and that Harold would stand faithfully by William in all matters. Although Harold agreed to this most promptly, he was forced by William, who doubted the faithfulness of the English, to confirm everything by solemn oaths.²¹ In fact, William ordered an infinite multitude of sacred relics to be brought out, and on top of them he arranged the reliquary of the glorious martyr Pancras, which is called 'the bull's eye', because in its middle it contains a gem as beautiful as it is large, knowing for absolute certain that a martyr as great as this could not be fooled by any audacity.²² And so Harold stepped up and bound himself over these great saints' relics by an oath which was as binding as it was bold, namely with regard to everything that had been demanded of him, that he would keep himself most constant and would be faithful to the Normans. When he had done these things, he returned home peacefully with gifts from Count William, and by transgressing all the things that he had sworn, he inflicted upon himself and those after him a most just punishment.

7. In the year of the Lord's incarnation 1065, Edward, king of the English, went 'the way of all flesh' and with due honour was buried at London in the church of Saint Peter.²³ He reigned, so they say, twenty-five years and adorned his times in manifold ways by the integrity of his life and his regard for righteousness; he also established many laws which are observed throughout England to this day, and when he died, he left the kingdom to his cousin Count William.²⁴

picked up this story. For the contemporary relevance of perjury in 1157, see the Introduction, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.

²³ Cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.), 2: 2 and also Josh. 23: 14. King Edward died on 4 or 5 Jan. 1066 (Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 250, n. 1). The date given in the manuscript, 1045 (for 1065), is clearly a scribal error.

²⁴ The reference to King Edward's laws resembles that of Orderic Vitalis in the *GND* ii. 108 and probably refers to the general belief that most laws in force in the time of the Warrenne chronicler dated from Edward's reign. It is unlikely to be a specific reference to the mid-12th-c. collection known as *The Laws of Edward the Confessor*.

8. Haroldus defuncto Edwardo mox regnum Anglorum, contradicente Editha regina sorore sua, usurpauit regiumque diadema sibi fo. 7^r imposuit.²⁵ Erat enim ipse | et statura corporis procerus et animi industria ornatus, sed temeritate atque audacia perniciosus. Quod audiens Willelmus comes Normannie per internuncios pacifice eum pulsare studuit ut sacramentorum in Normannia gestorum reminiscens fedus quod iurauerat persolueret, sciretque certissime si negligeret non sibi prospere cessurum. Quibus auditis remandat Haroldus Normannorum societatem non esse Anglis necessariam et ideo nullum ei iuramentum persolvere nullum cum eo consortium habere.²⁶ Videns igitur Willelmus tantam in uiro obstanciam tantumque diuini respectus contemptum, classem per Normanniam parari mandat uicinosque principes ad ulciscendam tantam rebellionis audaciam inuitat. Fama itaque percurrrens uicinas intonat regiones, Normannos scilicet classi studere et uiribus Angliam uelle irrumpere. Dei etenim nutu multorum fit concursus populorum ultro se nauibus ingerencium, quia audierant Angliam argenti et auri^a opulentam cibi et potus omniumque frugum uberimam, omnibus preterea bonis esse refertam.²⁷

9. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.^o .lxxvi.^o ^a apparuit in Normannia cometa mense Augusto, maximum cernentibus incuciens timorem radiosque suos uersus Angliam extendens.²⁸ Eodem tempore Willelmus comes, congregato exercitu classeque parata, circa festiuitatem sancti Michaelis uentis uela committens in Angliam transuehitur nulloque resistente inter duo castra, Hastings atque Peuenesellum,^b

8 ^a After this word omnibus underdotted for erasure

9 ^a .lxxvi. MS ^b Penenesellum MS

²⁵ GND ii. 160-1 and William of Poitiers (WP, p. 100) say that Harold usurped the crown of the English. This allegation is repeated by the Battle author of the *Brevis Relatio* (pp. 28-9) and Henry of Huntingdon (HH, p. 384-5). According to *The Miracles of St. Edmund*, based on the eyewitness account of Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds (1065-1097/8), who was King Edward's physician, Harold put himself on the throne (*Unge-druckte Anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen*, pp. 245-6). This implies that he may have crowned himself, which is what the author of the *Quedam Exceptiones* (GND ii. 302) and Wace say (III, l. 5837, pp. 226-7). However, the *ASC E* (s.a. 1066) and John of Worcester (JW, ii. 600-1) state that Harold was elected after having been appointed by King Edward. For Harold's usurpation of the crown, see Garnett, 'Coronation and propaganda: Some implications of the Norman claim to the throne of England', 110-11. William of Poitiers (WP, pp. 114-15) reports that Edith disagreed with Harold's accession. Queen Edith's own version of events is probably embedded in the *Vita Edwardi*, which says that King Edward entrusted Edith and the kingdom to Harold but says nothing about the coronation; cf.

8. Soon after Edward had died, against the wish of his sister, Queen Edith, Harold usurped the kingdom of the English and put the royal crown on himself.²⁵ For he was both tall in bodily stature and graced with diligence of mind, but he had too much rashness and audacity in him. When Count William of Normandy heard of this, he took pains to urge him peacefully, through envoys, reminding him to fulfil the covenant of the oaths he had sworn in Normandy, and to understand fully that if he neglected to do so, matters would not go prosperously for him. When he had heard these things, Harold sent back word that a bond with the Normans was unnecessary to the English and that therefore there was no oath to him to fulfil, no association with him to maintain.²⁶ When William realized the man's great obstinacy and profound contempt for respect to God, he ordered that a fleet be prepared throughout Normandy and he summoned neighbouring magnates to avenge such great audacity of rebellion. And so the news, travelling quickly, thundered through neighbouring regions, that the Normans were building up their fleet and wanted to attack England with all their might. For truly by God's will, an assembly of many people gathered willingly on board ships from all around, because they had heard that England is very rich in silver and gold, extremely abundant in food and drink and all kinds of crops, and filled with every kind of good thing besides.²⁷

9. In the year of the Lord's incarnation 1066, a comet appeared in Normandy in the month of August, striking the utmost fear into those who saw it, and extending its rays towards England.²⁸ At the same time, Count William, having assembled an army and readied his fleet, around the feast of Saint Michael entrusted his sails to the winds and crossed to England; without any resistance, between the forts of Hastings and Pevensey he entered the land of the English. This event is

Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, pp. 273-4. For the physical description and character of Harold, see *Vita Edwardi*, pp. 46-51.

²⁶ Between Jan. and Apr. 1066 King Harold and Duke William exchanged several messages, as is reported by the *Carmen* (ll. 196-354, pp. 12-21), GND ii. 160-1, and William of Poitiers (WP, pp. 100-1).

²⁷ William of Poitiers is the ultimate source for England's reputation as a gold mine which attracted so many mercenaries for the Conquest (WP, pp. 174-5), but for a 12th-c. appraisal of England's wealth, see HH, p. 10.

²⁸ The date 1046 (for 1066) in the manuscript is clearly a scribal error. Halley's comet, shown on the Bayeux Tapestry (pl. 32), was first seen on 24 Apr. (*ASC CDE* s.a. 1066) and two days later in Normandy (Fauroux, no. 229, p. 440). It remained in the western skies until 6 June (Yeomans, *Comets: A Chronological History of Observation, Science, Myth and Folklore*, p. 392).

terram Anglorum ingreditur. Cui rei astipulantur uersus^c illi quos dominum Lanfrancum eo tempore ferunt fecisse. Sunt autem hii:²⁹

Anno milleno sexageno quoque seno
Anglorum mete flammas sensere comete.

fo. 7^v 10. Eodem tempore Haroldus rex Anglorum in borealibus Anglie partibus constitutus, atque apud Eboracam ciuitatem contra fratrem dimicans, fraticida infelicitate euasit.³⁰ Nam, ut gestorum summam breuiter astringamus, quidam fratrum eius nomine Tostius genere et animo temerarius mox ut fratrem regium honorem usurpasse uidit, inter eos orta Anglia discessit atque cum multa manu et thesaurorum^b multitudine^c Flandriam ad sanctum Odmarum, ut aiunt, deuenit.³¹ Vbi commendata thesaurorum suorum copia nauem ascendens insulam Norweiam,³² quondam Scanciam dictam, et ut Gothorum hystoria testatur, 'multarum gencium officinam', petiuit.³³ Quam ingressus regem eius Haroldum cognomento Heruard, id est crine formosum (erat enim et statura corporis et forma decoris), tum precibus tum promissionibus in tantum illexit, ut congregato exercitu et classe parata cum eodem Angliam ad debellandum regem Haroldum festinus adueniret. Denique Angliam ingressi Eboracam^d opulentissimam ciuitatem et archiepiscopatus sedem obsidione cingunt tandemque eam capientes tanta in ea cede debachati sunt, ut ex numero presbiterorum qui in ea interfecti sunt quantus fuit ceterorum morientium numerus utrimque conici^e potuit.³⁴ Vndecies enim uiginti presbyteri feruntur ibi occidisse.^f Aliorum uero numerus non est comprehensus. Vrbe itaque capta quasi de totius Anglie subiectione

^c supplied in margin by corrector

10 ^a sumultate MS ^b after thesaurorum the words suorum copia underdotted for erasure ^c multitudinem MS ^d Eboratam MS ^e connici MS ^f (Vn)decies .xx. presbyteri [] added as heading across top margin, referring to this passage

²⁹ Both Henry of Huntingdon (HH, p. 394) and Orderic Vitalis (OV iii. 92) quote the verses, but do not attribute them to Lanfranc. Orderic's version contains an extra middle line: 'a genito uerbo contrito rege superbo' ('since the word was made flesh and the proud king died').

³⁰ All sources agree that in the summer of 1066 King Harold went to the north to fight against an alliance between his younger brother Tostig, exiled earl of Northumbria, and King Harold Hardrada of Norway (1047–66).

³¹ Tostig's exile at Saint-Omer is also mentioned by the *Vita Edwardi*, p. 82; *ASC C.s.a.* 1065, and John of Worcester (JW ii. 598), while Henry of Huntingdon (HH, p. 384) and William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 364) locate his refuge simply in Flanders.

in accord with the lines which are said to have been written by lord Lanfranc at that time; here they are:²⁹

In the year one thousand sixty and six
The English bounds saw the comet's flames.

10. At the same time, Harold, king of the English, had gone to the northern parts of England and in fighting against his brother at the city of York, unhappily he escaped, a fratricide.³⁰ For—to abridge the sum of these deeds briefly—one of his brothers, named Tostig, by birth and inclination rash in spirit, as soon as he realized that his brother had usurped royal office, with the consent of God who pursued the perjurer everywhere, after some argument had arisen between them, he left England and went to Saint-Omer in Flanders, so they say, with a great army and much treasure.³¹ After securing the wealth of his treasure there, he boarded a ship and headed for the island of Norway,³² formerly called Scanzia, which as the history of the Goths bears witness, is 'the forge of many peoples'.³³ When he had arrived there, by both entreaties and promises he enticed its king, Harold, nicknamed Hervard, that is, beautiful-haired—for he had both bodily stature and beauty's form—to come quickly with an assembled army and a prepared fleet with him to England to fight King Harold. Thereafter they entered England and laid siege to York, a most wealthy city and the seat of an archbishop, and finally seizing it, they were so savage in slaughtering there that from the number of the priests who died in the massacre one might be able to guess how great was the number of others who died on both sides.³⁴ For two hundred and twenty priests are said to have been killed there. But the number of others has not been counted. And so when the city had been captured, as if unconcerned about bringing the whole of England into subjection,

³² Orderic Vitalis in the *GND* (ii. 162–3) and his *Ecclesiastical History* (OV ii. 168) implies that Tostig went to see the Norwegian king in Norway. Wace (III, l. 6666, pp. 242–3) says that he went to Denmark. *King Harold's Saga*, pp. 135–6, mentions Tostig's trip to Norway and Denmark. All other sources say correctly that Tostig met Harold Hardrada in the north of England.

³³ Scanzia as 'a workshop of peoples and womb of nations' is first mentioned in the 6th c. by Jordanes in his *Getica*, IV. 25 (p. 60), from which William of Jumièges quoted it in his *GND* i. 14–15.

³⁴ The story of the 1066 siege of York is considerably different from that given by other 12th-c. authors, including Simeon of Durham, none of whom gives the number of priests killed, which seems an authorial exaggeration, nor do they mention that the heads of Tostig and King Harold Hardrada were sent to King Harold. The *Carmen*, pp. 10–11, ll. 137–8, says that King Harold decapitated Tostig and had his head and body buried.

securi exercitum dispergunt, et incaucius quam deberent arma custodiunt. Haroldus uero rex totius Anglie populo congregato inprouis cum magno impetu eis occurrit apud Eboracum et totis uiribus ciuitatem oppugnat. Factum est inibi eodem die horrendum atroxque bellum sanguine^e multo utrimque fuso. Siquidem Haroldus rex Norweie et Tostius frater Haroldi regis Anglorum qui eum^h adduxerat uicti occubuerunt, sectaque eorum capita regi Haroldo sunt deportata. Corpus uero defuncti regis hiis qui remanserant deportandum in proprium regnum rex Haroldus concessit, regnauitque Magnus filius eius pro eo.³⁵ Gesta sunt hec manifesto Dei iudicio in borealibus partibus insule mense Septembri, ut occupatus hoc bello rex Haroldus atque fatigatus Normannis mense Octobri in australibus Anglie partibus liberum applicandi terramque ingrediendi preberet effectum. Haroldo itaque apud Eboracum constituto et post multum laborem
fo. 8^r detestandumque fratricidium modicum respirante | fama Norman-
norum aduolat que nauibus eos egressosⁱ terramque Anglorum (in-
gressos) proclamat. Mox ira efferatus moreque inpaciens derelictis ibi
principibus suis summa cum uelocitate Londoniam aduenit, habitoque
sibi consilio et populo undique conuocato cum uallida manu Norman-
nis in loco, ubi nunc abbacia est, que Bellum dicitur, ab euentu ipsius
belli, occurrit. Fertur autem quod in ipso itinere ecclesiam illo
introeunte orandi gracia turris eiusdem post exeuntem solo tenus
corrui, regnumque Anglorum quam cicius corruere designauerit.³⁶
Comes igitur Willelmus aduenire eum cum impetu audiens Norman-
norum animos nunc precibus, nunc exemplis, nunc promissis erigit, et
ne ulla causa fugiendi aut spes euadendi remaneat naues in ipso litore
comminuit.³⁷ Dehinc nuncios Haroldo mittit orans, ut saltem diuine
respectu maiestatis fidem quam iurauit conseruet sciretque se Nor-
mannos iniuste bello appetere quippe illos iusticia ipsum autem

^e sanguinem MS

^h enim before correction in margin

ⁱ egressus MS

³⁵ That the English king allowed King Harold Hardrada's son Olaf to return is also told by John of Worcester (JW ii. 604–5), who does not mention the king's body. According to *King Harald's Saga*, p. 160, the king's body was returned to Norway one year after the battle. King Harold Hardrada's eldest son was Magnus. He succeeded him as king in Norway but shared the rule with his half-brother Olaf. Upon Magnus's death in 1069 Olaf became sole king until 1093.

³⁶ All sources agree about King Harold's speedy return to London, where he regrouped his army in order to counter Duke William's invasion in the south. The story of Harold's visit to the Holy Cross at Waltham is told in *The Waltham Chronicle*, pp. 46–7, though 'the broken tower' is not mentioned there. Broken Tower as a place name occurs in William of Poitiers (WP, pp. 144–5) in the context of William the Conqueror's journey from Hastings

they dispersed the army and kept their weaponry more incautiously than they should have. But King Harold, having assembled the people of all of England, rushed against them unexpectedly with a great assault on York and attacked the city with all his might. There on that day a dreadful and atrocious battle took place, with much blood spilled on either side. In fact, King Harold of Norway and Tostig, brother of Harold, king of the English, who had brought him, were overcome and met their death, and their severed heads were brought to King Harold. To those men who had survived, King Harold granted the body of the dead king, to be borne back to his own kingdom, and Magnus, that man's son, ruled instead of him.³⁵ These events took place, by God's clear judgement, in the northern parts of the island in the month of September, so that King Harold, occupied by this battle and exhausted, should allow the Normans free rein to land in the month of October in the southern parts of England and to invade the land. Accordingly, while Harold was at York and catching his breath a little after his great labour and detestable fratricide, the news about the Normans flew quickly and announced that they had gone out of their ships and gone into the land of the English. Soon Harold, infuriated with anger and impatient at any delay, leaving his magnates there, went to London with utmost speed, and after he had held counsel and had assembled people from everywhere, he rushed with a powerful force to the Normans in the place where there is now an abbey called Battle after the outcome of that same battle. It is said that on that journey he went into a church in order to pray, and after he left, its tower collapsed to the ground, and that this was a sign that the kingdom of the English would fall just as quickly.³⁶ When Count William heard that Harold was approaching at speed, he roused the minds of the Normans, now with prayers, now with examples, now with promises, and so that there would remain no reason to flee or any hope of escape, he had the ships destroyed on the very shore.³⁷ Then he sent envoys to Harold, asking that at least out of respect for divine majesty he might keep the faith that he swore, and that he should realize that he was attacking the Normans unjustly in battle; indeed justice would be on their side while

to London. Barlow, *Godwins*, p. 114, suggests that the place might have been Faversham, where later a Cluniac priory was founded by King Stephen (*Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, iii. 300).

³⁷ The unlikely story of the Conqueror's destruction of some of his ships is also told by Wace III, ll. 6594–8, pp. 240–1. In contrast, both the *Carmen*, l. 141 (pp. 10–11) and William of Poitiers (WP, pp. 116–17) stress the Conqueror's protection of his fleet.

iniustitia comitatur. Contradicit Haroldus nullo modo uelle cum eo consorcium habere sed mox aut sponte Anglia discedere aut bello interire.

11. Igitur dato Willelmus exercitui signo^a de bello subeundo omnes armari et per ordines ordinari iubet. Haroldus quoque exercitum suum nunc uultu, nunc uoce, nunc patria oracione hortatur. Ad quem accedens frater eius nomine Gerd et animo et corpore strenuus ait:³⁸ 'Frater karissime obsecro ut quia iniustam causam cum Normannis habes consiliis meis acquiescas et bello isto^b discedas atque omnes Anglie partes percurrans infinitum et insuperabilem congreges exercitum. Ego autem quia nullam cum eis habeo causam bellum istud pro te suscipiam et si necessitas occurrerit morti uoluntarie subcumbam.' Denique cum omnimodo Haroldus obsisteret et nunquam se Normannorum timore fugam inire responderet, principes Anglorum equum cui solus insidebat eneruauerunt, dicentes debere cum participem esse penarum qui tantum malum Anglie solus intulerit.³⁹ Quid multa? Pridie idus Octobris, ipso die sabbati, factum est bellum in Anglia inter Normannos et Anglos.⁴⁰ In quo bello quamuis uarii^c in primis utrimque fiunt euentus et nulla moriencium requies, tandem manifesto Dei | iudicio eodem die rex Haroldus corruens morte sua et bello et Anglorum regno finem imposuit.^d Willelmus igitur comes potita uictoria ipso sequenti die Natalis Domini apud Londoniam eleuatus est in regem, finitumque est regnum Anglorum et inchoatum regnum Normannorum.⁴¹

Sublimatus itaque regio honore Willelmus regnum Anglie quod quasi diuulsum et dilaceratum fuerat multa cura studuit in pristinum gradum reuocare et in summa pace disponere. Episcopos etiam et abbates in locis in quibus non fuerant absque ullius consideratione pecunie aut muneris suscepcione sed solo diuinitatis amore studiose

11 ^a signa MS ^b iusto MS ^c uarius MS ^d Haraldo perempto [] coronatus est rex Willelmus die natalis domini added as a later heading across the top margin

³⁸ Gyrrh's alleged speech to Harold is told by Orderic in the *GND* ii. 166–9 and the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (OV ii. 170–2), and is briefly alluded to by William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 450–2). Wace attributes various lengthy discussions to the two brothers (III, ll. 6903–7312, pp. 246–57). Orderic is alone in referring to Gytha's presence.

³⁹ The Warrenne chronicler's story of Harold's horse being injured by English nobles is also told by Wace (III, ll. 7043–6, pp. 250–1).

⁴⁰ The date for the battle of Hastings as 14 Oct. is given in ASC D (s.a. 1066), the *Quedam Exceptiones* (p. 302), the *Brevis Relatio*, pp. 32–3, Henry of Huntingdon (HH,

injustice would be on his. Harold said in return that he did not wish to engage with him in any way, but that soon William should either leave England voluntarily or die in battle.

11. Therefore, when the army had been given the signal for entering battle, William ordered everyone to be armed and drawn up in ranks. Harold also encouraged his army, now with looks, now by speech, now with fatherly words. Then his brother, named Gyrrh, vigorous in both mind and body, approached him and said:³⁸ 'Dearest brother, because you have unjust cause with the Normans, I implore you to assent to my advice, leave this battle, and hasten through all parts of England and assemble an infinite and unconquerable army. Since I shall have no cause with these men, I will take up this battle on your behalf, and if necessary, I will yield to death voluntarily.' Then, since Harold resisted this completely and responded that he would never flee for fear of the Normans, the English magnates lamed the horse on which he alone sat, saying that he ought to have a share in the punishment, he who alone had brought such evil on England.³⁹ What more need be said? On Saturday, the fourteenth of October, a battle took place in England between the Normans and the English.⁴⁰ In this battle, although at first various outcomes came about on either side, and there was no respite from the killing, at length, by God's clear judgement, on that same day King Harold met his death and so brought an end both to the battle and to the rule of the English. After Count William had achieved victory, on the following Christmas Day he was raised to the throne in London and the rule of the English had come to an end and the rule of the Normans began.⁴¹

When William had been elevated to royal honour, he applied himself with great care to the government of England which had been virtually torn up and pulled apart, to bring it back to its original standing and to rule it in utmost peace. He also began diligently to appoint bishops and abbots in places which were vacant, without any consideration for payment or receipt of remuneration, but solely for

pp. 394–5), and Orderic (*GND* ii. 168–9), who adds the day of the week. John of Worcester erroneously has Saturday, 22 October (JW ii. 604–5).

⁴¹ Duke William was crowned king of the English on Christmas Day 1066. It is interesting that the author notes this as the end of the English and the beginning of the Norman rule over England. Cf. *Gesta Regum*, i. 456–7, where William of Malmesbury speaks of the English defeat thus: 'Illa fuit dies fatalis Angliae' ('That was a day of destiny for England').

cepit ordinare.⁴² Denique abbaciam, in loco qui nunc Bellum dicitur, eo quod Anglos ibi bello superavit, in remissione peccatorum omnium illic defunctorum a fundamentis instituit monachosque in eo et ordinem regularem inuexit, abbatemque eis ex monachis Maioris Monasterii religione et discrezione precipuum nomine Gosbertum proposuit.⁴³ Igitur Willelmus rex cum regnum paci studendo modeste conaretur disponere, quidam principes Anglorum inuite subieccionis iugum excutere cupientes rebellare contra eum ad suum interitum non formidauere. Comes autem Waldeth, unus ex antiquis et ditissimis Anglie principibus, statura quoque corporis et forma^e tanti decoris ut alter^f esse Absalon uideretur, tanto iracundie igne est accensus ut nullis precibus, nullis muneribus, nec propter consanguineam regis Iuditham nomine pacis dote, ut fertur, sibi coniunctam, nisi simulatam cum rege potuerit habere concordiam.⁴⁴ Denique de coniuratione aduersus regem facta accusatus, confessus est atque iudicatus dehinc in pace dimissus. Item coniuratione facta ac deuicta secundum leges Anglorum et Dacorum apud Londoniam est dampnatus.⁴⁵ Mox autem carceri mancipatus totus conuertitur ad Dominum, ieiuniis, lacrimis assiduisque oracionibus intensis insistens, oratque suppliciter sed minime impetrat, quod ipsum regem postea penituit, ut monachus fieri posset, denique seruicio perpetuo mancipari. Itaque capite truncatus, corpus eius ad quamdam ecclesiam quam^g in maritimis locis construxerat defertur, crebraque ad se | pulcrum eius usque hodie, ut aiunt, fiunt miracula.⁴⁶

^e two letters erased after this word ^f three letters erased after this word ^g added by corrector in margin

⁴² Accusations of simony were made in respect of the appointment of Bishop Remigius of Dorchester/Lincoln (1067–92), formerly almoner of Fécamp, in 1067, which no doubt happened in return for Fécamp's naval contribution; see van Houts, 'The ship list of William the Conqueror', pp. 167–8, and Bates, *Bishop Remigius of Lincoln 1067–92*, pp. 5–6.

⁴³ For the foundation of Battle Abbey, see *The Battle Abbey Chronicle*, pp. 43–9: Gosbert of Marmoutiers (d. 1095) was elected abbot in 1076, nine years after the first monk of Marmoutiers, the potential abbot Robert Blanchard, died at sea. Abbot Gosbert's name is otherwise only given by Orderic (OV, ii. 192–3).

⁴⁴ The Warrenne chronicler's portrait of Waltheof is reminiscent of that by Orderic (OV ii. 320–1): 'Erat idem uir corpore magnus et elegans, largitate et audacia multis milibus praestans.' Yet, whereas Orderic (OV ii. 320–3) paints a positive picture of a Waltheof loyal to King William but wrongly accused of treachery, the Warrenne chronicler is more ambiguous. Orderic, too, mentions Waltheof's marriage to Judith, niece of the Conqueror, and attributes Waltheof's downfall to her (OV ii. 320–1). The reference to 'a second Absalom' alludes to King David's son, whose remarkable beauty is referred to in 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 14: 25.

love of the Godhead.⁴² Finally, in the place which is now called Battle, because he defeated the English in battle there, he established an abbey, from its foundations up, for the remission of the sins of all those who had died there, and he brought in monks living according to regular rule and put in charge of them an abbot named Gosbert, from among the monks of Marmoutiers, a man distinguished for his piety and discernment.⁴³ Although King William did his best to rule the kingdom moderately, intent upon peace, some English magnates wished to shake off the yoke of unwelcome subjection, and they were not afraid to rebel against him, aiming for his death. Earl Waltheof, from among the ancient and very wealthy nobles of England, and also in bodily stature and looks of such great beauty that he seemed to be a second Absalom, was enflamed with such a great fire of wrath that he could not live in harmony with the king unless it was feigned, neither for prayers or for gifts, nor on account of Judith, the king's kinswoman, whom it is said he had married with a peace-dowry.⁴⁴ At last, when accused of instigating a conspiracy against the king, he confessed, was sentenced and sent away from there in peace. Again he formed a conspiracy and it was suppressed, and he was condemned at London according to the laws of the English and the Danes.⁴⁵ Soon after he had been committed to prison, he surrendered himself completely to the Lord, intent upon fasting, tears, and persistent long drawn-out prayers, and he prayed humbly, but was not granted his wish (which the king regretted afterwards), that he might become a monk and then be bound in perpetual service. When he had been beheaded, his body was carried to a certain church, which he had built in regions near to the sea, and numerous miracles occur at his tomb up to the present day, so they say.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ The Warrenne chronicler is alone in referring to 'the peace dowry' ('paci dos') and in saying that Waltheof was sentenced according to the laws of the English and the Danes. For a discussion of this phrase, see Hudson, 'The fate of Earl Waltheof and the idea of personal law in England after 1066', 230–1.

⁴⁶ According to Orderic, who received his information from the monks of Crowland, after Waltheof's execution his widow Judith had his body transferred to Crowland Abbey (OV ii. 322–3). It is noteworthy that the Warrenne chronicler seems ignorant of the abbey's name. For Waltheof's burial at Crowland, see also *ASC D* (s.a. 1077 for 1076) and *ASC E* (s.a. 1076) and Henry of Huntingdon (HH, pp. 396–9). William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 468–71) adds that miracles took place there. John of Worcester (JW iii. 26–9) mentions Lanfranc's doubt about Waltheof's involvement in the conspiracy and has a similar story of Waltheof's piety. For Waltheof's historical career and reputation, see Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', and Huntington, 'The taming of the laity: Writing Waltheof and rebellion in the twelfth century'. His (modest) cult is discussed in Watkins, 'The cult of Earl Waltheof at Crowland'.

12. Alius quoque extitit, genere quidem infimus sed animo et uiribus precipuus uocabulo Herewardus, qui temptans rebellare conducta undique ualida manu mediterranea^a Anglie loca in quorum paludibus delitescebat die et nocte cede et rapina complebat.⁴⁷ Inter cetera autem scelera sua Fredericum, germanum comitis Willelmi de Warennia, genere et possessionibus insignitum, nocte quadam in domo propria fraudibus circumuentum occidit. Pro cuius nece tante inter ipsum et predictum Willelmum orte sunt discordie ut nulla satisfaccione nulla regia potuerint quiescere.⁴⁸ Fertur denique quia semel cum quoddam castrum uirtute uellet irrumpere nec posset, mortuum se finxerat⁴⁹ feretroque impositum cum fallaci^b luctu ad^h ecclesiam ipsius castri incautis habitatoribus deferri sepeliendum iusserat. Mox ut se 'de uiris' illatum animaduertit, feretro totus armatus exsiluit, castrumque cum habitatoribus fallaciter subiugauit. Post multas denique cedes atque sediciones multa pacis federa cum rege facta et temerarie uiolata, quadam die cum omnibus sociis ab hostibus circumuentus miserabiliter occubuit. Preterea rege in Normannia posito, comes Radulfus de Werh associatis sibi quibusdam principibus nupcias fecit inauditas regnumque dolo nisus est obtinere sed manifestatis eius insidiis ex Anglia fugiens,⁵⁰ et paulo post cum multa classe frustra reuertens perpetuo damnatus est exilio. Quo tempore comes Cistrensis decessit^c Gerbodus, frater Gondrade^d comitis, Flandriamque ueniens inimicorum preuentus insidiis miserabiliter periit.⁵¹ Eodem fere tempore Oddo, frater regis et episcopus Baiocensis comesque Cancie, in superbia elatus inter cetera presumptionis sue opera apostolatum

12 ^a in corrector's hand, over erasure ^{b-h} in hand of corrector, over erasure ^{c-c} securis MS, with de uiris supplied in margin by the corrector ^{d-d} Gerbodo fratre Gondrado MS

⁴⁷ The only sources to give the story of Hereward, although in a much more elaborate form, are the *Gesta Herewardi*, *passim* and the *Liber Eliensis*, pp. 173–88. Note that the Warrenne chronicler does not identify the marsh lands in East Anglia, Ely, or Peterborough, the places with which Hereward is normally associated.

⁴⁸ Hereward's murder of Frederick, brother-in-law of William I of Warenne (d. 1088), which probably took place c. 1070, is described by the *Gesta Herewardi*, pp. 369 and 379 in almost identical words: 'Frederick qui frater erat veteris comitis Willelmi de Warenne' and 'comes de Warenne cujus fratrem . . . Herewardus dudum occiderat'. The *Liber Eliensis*, p. 180, does not name Frederick: 'comes Willelmus de Warenne cuius fratrem Herewardus perendie interemit'. For Frederick, see also the Introduction, section VI. a and Appendix 2.

⁴⁹ The narrative of Hereward's capture of an unnamed castle is not based on anything in the *Gesta Herewardi* or the *Liber Eliensis*. Instead it resembles a story recurrent in Norman Latin historiography of the cunning Norman who pretends to be dead in order to be carried on a bier into a fortification, e.g. Hasting's conquest of Luni and Robert Guiscard's

12. There was also another man, humble in lineage but noble in mind and strength, named Hereward, who tried to rebel with a powerful troop assembled from all sides, and hiding away in the central areas of England, he filled them with killing and pillaging by day and night.⁴⁷ Among his other crimes, by trickery he killed Frederick, brother of Earl William of Warenne, a man distinguished by lineage and possessions, who one night was surrounded in his own house. On account of his murder, such discord arose between Hereward and the aforesaid William that it could not be settled by any reparation nor in any court.⁴⁸ Then, it is said that one time, when he wished to take a castle by force but could not do so, he had pretended that he was dead,⁴⁹ and had ordered that he be placed on a bier and carried with false mourning to the castle's church for burial by the unwary inhabitants. As soon as he could tell that he had been brought in by the men, fully armed he jumped from the bier and deceitfully subjugated the castle with its inhabitants. Then, after many killings and insurrections, after many treaties made with the king and then violated rashly, one day he died wretchedly with all his allies, surrounded by enemies. Moreover, when the king was in Normandy, Earl Ralph of Gael, in alliance with some other magnates, made an unheard-of marriage and tried to obtain the kingdom by deceit but, when his plots were revealed, he fled from England,⁵⁰ and returning a little later with a great fleet, all in vain, he was condemned to perpetual exile. At that time Earl Gerbod of Chester, brother of Countess Gundrada, also departed and came to Flanders, where he was met by enemy plots and perished wretchedly.⁵¹ At about the same time, Odo, brother of the king, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, puffed up in his arrogance, among other manifestations of his presumption had

conquest in Calabria. The Norman tradition is discussed in William of Apulia, *Gesta Roberti Guiscardi*, pp. 46–51; Davis, *The Normans and their Myth*, pp. 54–6, and Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, pp. 22, 124–5.

⁵⁰ The conspiracy of Ralph of Gael, earl of East Anglia, his brother-in-law Roger, Earl of Hereford, and allegedly Earl Waltheof (para. 11) took place in 1075; see *ASC s.a.* 1075, *Quedam Exceptiones* (GND ii. 303), Orderic Vitalis (OV ii. 310–21), John of Worcester (JW iii. 24–7) Henry of Huntingdon (HH, p. 398), and William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 472–3); see also Lewis, 'The early earls of Norman England', 221–3, and Marten, 'The rebellion of 1075 and its impact on East Anglia'.

⁵¹ The only other source to mention Gerbod of Chester as brother of Gundrada is Orderic Vitalis (OV ii. 264–5), where he correctly does not call her countess since her husband William was not made earl until 1088 (see para. 15), three years after Gundrada had died. Gundrada is also called countess in the Annals of Lewes Priory under the year of her death, 1085; note that according to Liebermann the entry was written in a hand of c. 1175 (Annals of Lewes, p. 86, n. 29).

Rome affectauerat.⁵² Etenim infinitam^c auri et argenti multitudinem quibusdam Romanis quos muneribus illexerat per oculos nuncios destinavit, sibi palacium summo decore tantoque edificio et uallo munitum fabricari fecit, ut nulla ei domus in Roma, ut aiunt, possit comparari. Denique ubi plures Normananglorum^f principes occulta persuasione et sacramento sibi associauit ignorante rege Anglia discedere | decreuit, sed manifestata eius uersucia ab eodem rege in consilium uocatur, deuincitur, carceri mancipatur. Postquam autem rex Willelmus uita descessit et filius eius Willelmus secundus regni gubernacula suscepit, egressus de carcere cum comitatum Cancie non posset recipere, nec ad episcopatum alio ordinato redire, Romam deuenit, ac deinde Ierosolimam petens, in Siciliam est pulsus, ibique obiit peregrinus.

13. Igitur Willelmus Normanglorum primus post multa probitatis clarique monumenti gesta quippe non solum Normanniam aut Angliam iterum Cenomanniam, Britanniam minorem, Scociam uiribus peciit, optinuit, subiugauit, nouissime expertus quid misera sors mortalium possit a domesticis intestinum bellum suscepit.⁵³ Rebellaui enim aduersus eum Robertus primogenitus filius suus ea de causa, ut aiunt, quia principatum Normannie, uiuente patre, non poterat optinere.⁵⁴ Denique iratus collecta et electa manu ualida iuuenum Normannia discessit, presidiumque in Gallia sibi constituit. Accidit autem quadam die, ut cum suis in Normanniam ingressus cedibus et rapinis^d insisteret, occurritque ei pater cum exercitu et fugientem persecutus castrum quoddam intrare compulit. Vbi dum rex cum suis obstreperet de foris sagitta in pede ex inproviso est percussus, cumque

^c infinitum MS ^f normamanglorum before correction

13 ^d rapinis before correction

⁵² The story about Bishop Odo's aspirations for the papacy and his alleged house in Rome can also be found in Orderic Vitalis (OV ii. 264-6 and iv. 40-4) and William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 506). Marjorie Chibnall's analysis of the story (OV iv, pp. xxvii-xxx) suggests that all three versions are independent but that Orderic's is the earliest, William's the second, and the Warrenne chronicler's the latest. According to Guibert of Nogent c.1109 and Wace c.1150-70, Odo's aspirations were to become king rather than pope (Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, p. 291, and Wace, III, ll. 9185-92, pp. 294-5). Bishop Odo died at Palermo in 1097; for a biographical study, see Bates, 'The character and career of Odo bishop of Bayeux (1049/50-1097)'. Note that the adjective *normananglorum* appears here for the first time (see Introduction, section VI.d).

⁵³ In this paragraph we find the first occurrence of the Warrenne chronicler's theme that a king's worst troubles are caused by his own men rather than by foreigners (see also paras. 21 and 30).

sought the papacy at Rome.⁵² For he sent an infinite amount of gold and silver to certain Romans whom he had seduced with bribes through secret messengers, and he had built for himself a richly decorated palace, a fortified and moated building so large that, they say, no house in Rome could compare to it. Then, when he had allied many Norman-English magnates to himself, by secret persuasion and oath, unknown to the king, he decided to depart from England, but once his trickery had been revealed, he was called to the council by this same king, bound in chains, and committed to prison. After King William had died and his son William II undertook the government of the kingdom, Odo came out of prison, but since he could not recover the county of Kent, nor return to the bishopric to which another man had been ordained, he went to Rome and then set out for Jerusalem, but was struck down in Sicily, where he died as a pilgrim.

13. After many deeds of uprightness and noble record, William the first of the Norman-English, by force sought, obtained, subjugated not only Normandy and England, but also Maine, Brittany, Scotland, and last of all he experienced what wretched fate can do to mortals, when he became caught up in an internal war with his own men.⁵³ For his own first-born son Robert rebelled against him for this reason, they say, that he could not obtain dominion of Normandy while his father was living.⁵⁴ Then in anger, with a strong troop of young chosen allies, Robert left Normandy and set up an encampment for himself in Gaul. One day it happened that he entered Normandy with his men, engaged in killing and pillaging, and his father met him with an army, pursued him when he fled, and forced him into a castle. As the king and his men were making a clamour outside the gates, he was unexpectedly struck by an arrow in his foot, and when he saw the

⁵⁴ Robert Curthose's hostile encounter with his father King William in 1079 at Gerberoy, during which the son unhorsed and wounded his father (here: by an arrow in his foot), is the most-elaborately embroidered version of a story told by various other sources: ASC D s.a. 1079 and John of Worcester (JW iii. 30-2) say that William was wounded in his hand; William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 478) reports the wound but not which part of the body and Orderic Vitalis (OV iii. 108-12) does not refer to any wound. Henry of Huntingdon (HH, pp. 398-9) has the story of fighting but says that William Rufus was wounded. He also says that King William cursed his son Robert. Clearly the Warrenne chronicler's explanation of the curse is a further elaboration. Its prophetic nature cannot have been finally proven until after Curthose's death in 1134. No other source tells of a hostile encounter during which the king died of cold water, which is a garbled version of King William's fatal wound at Mantes from which he died a little later in 1087. For historical context, see Aird, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 87-8.

sanguinem defluere cerneret terribiliter imprecatus est ne unquam Robertus filius suus hereditatis sue iura perciperet. Que imprecatio quantum ualuerit tempora sequencia satis ostendunt. Fertur autem quod dum eundem filium suum oppugnaret ualde fatigatus et sudore perfusus potum pecierit, aquamque frigidam sibi oblatam bibens simul cum frigore mortem, pro dolor, nimis cito potauerit.

14. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.^o .lxxx.^o .vii.^o, indictione .x., apostolice sedi presidente Papa Urbano, aduentus uero Normanorum in Angliam anno circiter .xxii.^o Willelmus rex Normanglorum primus 'uiam uniuerse carnis' ingrediens apud Rothomagum uita decessit.⁵⁵ Cuius corpus cum debita principum pompa Cadomum^a est delatum atque in ecclesia beati Stephani protomartyris, quam a
fo. 10^r fundamentis construxerat, | debito honore sepultum. In cuius exequiis quiddam admirabile dictu accidit dignumque relatu, quod bene consideratum satis ostendit, quanta res humana inuoluat fortuita quantumque sit temporalis paruipendenda potencia dum uir^b uirtutis tanteque dignitatis liberum non meruit habere sepulture locum.⁵⁶ Etenim dum exequiis regis sui principes Normananglorum luctuoso affectu astarent, occurrit quidam iuuenis satis infimus uoce clara proclamans iniuste regi in eodem loco exequias celebrari, suam quippe esse terram sibi parentibus iniuste protestatur ablatam. Quibus uocibus principes stupefacti accersunt hominem rebusque per ordinem inquisitis et agnitis, tamdiu eum precibus et pecunia placant donec locum eundem ab omni calumpnia quietum esse concederet.^c Audiant haec diuites et quam instabilis sit sors (qua) suis dominantur diuiciis quisue^d eos sequatur finis incertus animaduertant et sese uel sero penitendo conuertant.

15. Defuncto rege Willelmo et sepulture tradito, Willelmus filius eius in Angliam transuectus regnum occupat, regemque se uocari omnibus imperat.⁵⁷ Robertus quoque frater eius regressus a Gallia, Normanniam inuadit, et nullo resistente dicioni sue supponit.

14 ^a correction over an erasure ^b word erased after this, perhaps tantae ^c concedere MS ^d quis ne MS

⁵⁵ 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 2: 2; also Josh. 23: 4. King William I died on 9 Sept. 1087 at Saint-Gervais in Rouen and was buried at Saint-Étienne at Caen (*GND De obitu Willelmi*, ii. 184-91).

⁵⁶ The story about Ascelin, son of Arthur, who claimed that the burial ground was his, is told by Orderic Vitalis (*OV* iv. 106-9) and Wace (*III*, ll. 9285-340, vol. ii, pp. 296-7). William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 512), like the Warren chronicler, does not name the man in question.

blood flowing out, he made a terrible curse that his son Robert would never receive the rights of his inheritance. The ensuing times show sufficiently how effective this curse was. It is said that while he was fighting that same son, greatly fatigued and drenched in sweat he asked for a drink, and in swallowing the cold water offered to him, he too quickly, alas, drank down death along with the coldness.

14. In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1087, in the tenth indiction, with Pope Urban presiding on the apostolic see, in about the twenty-second year since the arrival of the Normans in England, William, first king of the Norman-English, went 'the way of all flesh' and departed this life at Rouen.⁵⁵ His body, with the pomp owed to princes, was carried to Caen and in the church of the blessed protomartyr Stephen, which he had built from its foundations, he was buried with due honour. At the funeral a remarkable thing happened which is worthy to be told, and, when well considered, illustrates clearly how human affairs revolve around so much that is accidental and how little value should be attached to temporal power when a man of vigour and such great status did not earn a free place of burial.⁵⁶ For while the Norman-English magnates with sorrowful hearts attended the funeral of their king, a young man who was quite of humble origins rushed up, proclaiming in a clear voice that the funeral-rites for the king were unjustly being celebrated on that spot, indeed he protested that it was his land that had been taken away from his parents unjustly. The magnates were astounded at these words and summoned the man and when these matters had been thoroughly investigated and understood, they placated him with prayers and money until he conceded the place quit of any false claim. Let rich men hear these things and let them take note of how unstable the fate may be by which they control their own wealth and of what an uncertain end may follow them, and let them turn their hearts, even if belatedly, by repenting.

15. When King William had died and had been taken to his grave, his son William sailed to England, took the kingdom and commanded everyone to call him king.⁵⁷ His brother Robert also came back from Gaul, invaded Normandy, and with no one opposing him, put it under

⁵⁷ In fact, William Rufus had gone to London before his father died; see Orderic Vitalis (*OV* iv. 96, 110). The *Brevis Relatio*, p. 35 is ambivalent, whereas Robert of Torigni (*GND* ii. 202-3) says that William Rufus crossed the sea after the death of his father.

Conuocatis autem principibus et consilio habito duos auunculos suos, comitem Moritanii et episcopum Baiocensem, cum ualida manu transmittit omnimodis decertatis Willelmo fratri regnum auferre sibi conferre. Qui uela uentis commitentes et cum pirratis obsistentibus in mari uiriliter decertantes, Angliam ueniunt urbemque Roffensem et castellum Peuenesellum intrantes rebellare contendunt.⁵⁸ Cuius rei fama tota Anglia concutitur, et rex Willelmus curis ingentibus angustatur. Videns igitur principes regni nutantes et exercitum a se dilabi sapienti usus consilio Willelmum de Warennia, uirum bellicosum, animo ferum et corpore strenuum famaque preclarum, in amicitia Asarum comitis honore sublimat, multa impendit multaue promittit.⁵⁹

16. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.^o .lxxx.^o .viii.^o, indictione .xi., Willelmus rex Normananglorum secundus^a congregato tocius |
fo. 10^v Anglie^b populo comitem Moritonii apud castrum Pereuenesellum obsedit, urbem quoque Roffensem cum hiis qui intus erant misso exercitu pari obsidione cingsit.⁶⁰ Videntes igitur qui in presidiiis inclusi manebant deesse sibi uirtutem repugnandi nec ullum tutum fugiendi locum, sed nec a Normannia sicut promiserat Robertus aliquod sibi subsidium uenire, dexteras a rege pecierunt et acceperunt.

17. Willelmus autem de Warennia apud obsidionem Peueneselli sagitta in crure ualde uulneratus Leuwias cum omnium merore

16 ^a correction over an erasure ^b [] rex Willelmus .ii. [] added as heading across top margin

⁵⁸ *ASCE s.a.* 1087 for 1088 states that Bishop Odo was supported by Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances and Bishop William of Durham; concentrating on Rochester, it reports that the siege of Pevensey, lasting six weeks, was followed slightly later by that of Rochester. John of Worcester (JW iii. 48–57) has a similar chronology, but adds that Pevensey castle was in the hands of Robert of Mortain. Orderic (OV iv. 124) mentions Bishop Odo of Bayeux, who as leader of this expedition crossed to England after Christmas 1087, but does not refer to Count Robert of Mortain; he concentrates on the siege of Rochester (OV iv. 128–34). For other versions of this episode, see Henry of Huntingdon (HH, pp. 412–15), who mistakenly refers to Roger of Mortain. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 542–9) has a slightly different version. A recent reconstruction, based on a new study of charters, proposes a tentative timing: the siege of Pevensey from mid-May until the end of June followed by the siege of Rochester in July 1088; see Sharpe, '1088—William II and the rebels', p. 146 and Aird, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 112–13.

⁵⁹ Orderic (OV iv. 128) is alone amongst these sources to mention William I of Warenne, whom he says remained faithful to William Rufus. He places the king's conferment of the title of earl at the royal council of Winchester, probably that of Easter 1088 (*EYC* viii. 5 and

his own authority. After the magnates were assembled and had held counsel, he sent his two uncles, the count of Mortain and the bishop of Bayeux, with a strong army to take away the kingdom from his brother William and to confer it on himself, after they had fought with William by all possible means. They entrusted their sails to the wind and fighting manfully with pirates who obstructed the route, they came to England and, entering the city of Rochester and the castle of Pevensey, they endeavoured to start a rebellion.⁵⁸ All of England was shaken by this news and King William was distressed by great worries. Seeing, therefore, that the magnates of his kingdom were wavering and that his army was melting away from him, making use of wise counsel, in friendship he raised William of Warenne, a warlike man, fierce in spirit, strong in body, and distinguished in reputation, to the honour of the earldom of Surrey, and he spent much and promised much.⁵⁹

16. In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1088, in the eleventh indiction, William the second king of the Norman-English, after he had gathered together the people of all of England, besieged the count of Mortain at the castle of Pevensey and surrounded the city of Rochester along with those men who were inside it, sending an equal part of his army to each siege.⁶⁰ The men, who remained shut up in the fortresses, saw that they lacked the strength to fight back and had no safe place to flee to, but also that no support for them was coming from Normandy, as Robert had promised, and they sought and received a pledge of friendship from the king.

17. At the siege of Pevensey William of Warenne was badly wounded in the leg by an arrow, and was carried to Lewes to the grief of

Sharpe, '1088', p. 146), and says that William died shortly afterwards (OV iv. 180). The Warenne chronicler agrees with Orderic in placing the conferment of the title of earl well before the sieges of Pevensey and Rochester. In view of the general dependency of the Warenne chronicler on Orderic, but bearing in mind the family tradition that underpins the text, it is impossible to decide who is the more correct. Lewis, 'The earldom of Surrey and the date of Domesday Book', pp. 330–1, drawing attention to the fact that the creation of the earldom occurs in a paragraph that is set in 1087 (King William's death is mentioned at the start), suggests that the chronicler may have used Lady Day reckoning and that therefore a time span between sometime before Christmas 1087 and Easter 1088 is the most likely. Sharpe, '1088', p. 147, suggests that both Henry of Beaumont and William of Warenne were created earls for similar reasons, i.e. support for William Rufus, but that William's promotion was the earlier of the two.

⁶⁰ The siege of Pevensey ended when the garrison surrendered to King William Rufus.

deportatus est.⁶¹ Cumque sibi mortem imminere uideret duos filios suos iuxta regis decretum heredes fecit, Willelmum uidelicet in Anglia et Reginaldum in Flandria, et sic in pace quieuit in Domino.⁶² Cuius corpus a beato patre Lanzo et tota congregacione sancti Pancracii debito honore est susceptum, et infra claustra monasterii iuxta coniugem ante annos defunctam tumulatum.⁶³

18. Willelmus itaque rex animo ferus, corpore strenuus, defensor quidem patrie cepit esse, sed non satis ydoneus procreator ecclesie.⁶⁴ Si enim ita studeret religioni quam uane curiositati nullus ei profecto deberet princeps comparari. Erat quidem operibus leuis sed uerbis, ut aiunt, in tantum stabilis, ut si cui bonum uel malum promississet, certus inde satis existere posset. Cum autem nimis amator esset pecunie quiddam tamen gessit semel dignum memoria.

19. Igitur defuncto quodam abbate in Anglia duo monachi eiusdem ecclesie congregata multa auri et argenti copia regem adierunt ut abbatis alter alterum supplantando teneret officium.⁶⁵ Cum quibus quidam tercius monachus ea sola intencione perrexit ut constitutum abbatem debita humilitate et reuerencia domum deduceret. Cumque coram rege astarent pariter et uno plura promittente alius pluriora

⁶¹ The Warrenne chronicler is the only historian to refer to the wound William I of Warrenne received during the fighting. That he might have been taken from Pevensey to nearby St Pancras at Lewes, the Cluniac priory founded by himself and his wife Gundrada (but note that the Warrenne chronicler does not identify them as founders) seems likely. He died probably on 24 June 1088, the date given by the Lewes cartulary London, BL MS Cotton Vespasian F. xv, fo. 105 (cf. *EYC* viii. 4). William Rufus's charter confirming the possessions of St Pancras at Lewes mentions the day on which William I was alive and dead; it can be dated to July, probably shortly after William I's death (*Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, i. 325, calendared, and no. li, pp. 131–2, printed; also printed in *EYC* viii. 5; for a discussion of the charter, see Sharpe, '1088', pp. 154–5). The Annals of Lewes Priory list his death under the year 1088 in an entry written c. 1175: 'Willelmus comes fundator huius loci obiit' (Annals of Lewes, p. 86, n. 29). For the priory, see Blaauw, 'On the early history of Lewes Priory and its seals'; Crook, 'General history of Lewes Priory in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries'; Anderson, 'St. Pancras priory, Lewes: Its architectural development to 1200'; and Anderson, 'Introduction'. For the foundation, see Appendix 1.

⁶² For the tombs and epitaphs of William I of Warrenne and Gundrada, both buried at St Pancras, see Appendix 1. William I was buried next to his wife, who is not named here. Orderic Vitalis gives the text of William's epitaph (OV iv. 180) but erroneously refers to Gundrada as his widow; William's second wife's name is unknown. He correctly names their sons William and Reginald. The Warrenne chronicler is unique in saying that William I of Warrenne by royal decree made his sons William II and Reginald his heirs in England and Flanders respectively. The Flemish lands were those inherited from Gundrada, who almost certainly belonged to the Flemish Oosterzele-Scheldewindeke family. Reginald and William can be found as advocates of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer in 1090s; see Appendix 1.

everyone.⁶¹ When he realized that his death was imminent, he made his two sons his heirs according to the king's decree, namely William in England and Reginald in Flanders, and thus in peace he rested in the Lord.⁶² His body was received by the blessed father Lanzo and the whole congregation of St Pancras with due honour, and was buried inside the cloisters of the monastery next to his wife who had died a few years previously.⁶³

18. Thus King William, fierce in spirit and strong in body, began to be the defender of the country, but he was not suitable enough as a provider for the Church.⁶⁴ For had he been as concerned about religion, as he was about vain care, absolutely no prince ought to have been compared to him. For he was easy-going in what he did, but, it is said, so steadfast in words that if he had promised good or evil to someone, it would thus be certain to follow. Although he was too much a lover of money, nevertheless he once performed something worthy of memory.

19. When a certain abbot in England had died, two monks of his church went to the king with a great abundance of gold and silver, so that one might hold the office of abbot by supplanting the other.⁶⁵ A third monk accompanied them with the sole intention that he would bring back home with due humility and reverence the designated abbot. When they stood together before the king and while one monk

For Earl Hamelin as advocate of Saint-Bertin, see Appendix 3. Note that here the Warrenne chronicler, reporting William I of Warrenne's bequest, does not refer to any lands in Normandy.

⁶³ For Prior Lanzo of St Pancras (1077–1107), see William of Malmesbury's eulogy in *Gesta Regum*, i. 788–94 and ii. 394–5; cf. *Gesta Pontificum*, i. 324–5. Lanzo's arrival, with three companions, at Lewes Priory is dated to 1078, while his death is entered under 1107 in the Annals of Lewes Priory (Annals of Lewes, pp. 86, 87).

⁶⁴ The Warrenne chronicler expresses an opinion on William Rufus common amongst Anglo-Norman chroniclers; see e.g. William of Malmesbury's in *Gesta Regum*, i. 554–64.

⁶⁵ The story of the three monks, the king, and the abbot's office has been identified by Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 183–4 as a variation of the story otherwise only told in much more detail by William Thorne, the 14th-c. historian of St Augustine's at Canterbury, about the election of Abbot Hugh of Flori to St Augustine's in Canterbury after the death of Abbot Wido in 1091 (*Chronica Guillelmi Thorne monachi S. Augustini Cant. De rebus gestis abbatum S. Augustini Cantuarie*, ii, cols. 1794–5). According to William Thorne, Abbot Hugh was a relative of William Rufus who had been a knight and then a monk, though not in holy orders, at Le Bec in Normandy. From there he came to Canterbury, where having been a novice, he became abbot of St Augustine's. He died in 1126 or 1127; see also John of Worcester (JW iii. 168–9 and 169, n. 4). Eadmer (*Historia Novorum*, pp. 188–91) relates the lengthy dispute between King Henry I and Archbishop Anselm about the location (St Augustine's or Lambeth palace in London) for the blessing of Abbot Hugh in 1108.

promitteret rex sagaciter cuncta perscrutans tacentem monachum
tercium quid offeret quesivit.^a Ille se nichil omnino promittere aut
dare respondit, sed ad hoc tantum uenisse ut abbatem suum cum
fo. 11^r honore suscipiendo domum deduceret. | 'Accede ergo', rex ait, 'et
abbatis officium suscipe. Solus enim ex tuis omnibus tali dignus es
honore.' Quod honus inuitus suscipiens, multis annis strenue
gubernauit.

20. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.^o .lxxx.^o .vii.^o, indiccione .iiii.,
aduentus uero Normannorum in Angliam anno circiter .xxx. primo,
factum est consilium apud Clarum Montem, presidente papa Urbano,
cum multitudine episcoporum multoque ecclesiastici ordinis gradu et
numerosa populi frequentia.⁶⁶ In quo consilio predictus papa iter
Ierosolimitanum primus instituit, cunctisque qui illuc gradientur
obtabilem dedit peccatorum remissionem. Cuius rei factus est causa
infinite populorum concursus utriusque sexus diuersi ordinis et
etatis. Preclari quoque principes occidentis laudabili deuocione ad
laudem Christi commoti sunt et ceteris sociati gloriosum perfecerunt
exercitum. Dux scilicet Godefridus cum duobus fratribus, comitibus
Eustacio scilicet Belonensi et Baldewino, qui postea in Ierosolimam
regnum post fratrem suscepit, Stephanus quoque Carnotensis sed et
comes Pictauensis, Robertus quoque Flandrensis et comes sancti
Egidii multique alii strenuissimi Christiani exercitus duces, quibus
associatus est Robertus comes Normannie^a tam necessitate quam
deuocione.⁶⁷ Postquam enim conatus suos ad optinendum regnum
Normananglorum uidit esse inanes, necnon rebellare contra se
Normananglorum^b principes, infinitam auri et argenti summam a
fratre Willelmo suscepit, et sic eidem Normannia commissa cum aliis,
ut diximus, Ierosolimam peciit.⁶⁸

19 ^a que sunt before correction in the margin

20 ^a Robertus senior frater Willelmi [] Ierosolima [] added as heading across top margin
^b normananglorum before correction

⁶⁶ This paragraph gives a sketchy account of the First Crusade (1096–1100). The Council of Clermont, gathered together by Pope Urban II (1088–99), took place from 18 to 28 Nov. 1095 (OV v. 10 n. 3). During his famous sermon the pope promised all participants remission of sins (OV v. 16–17 and *Gesta Regum*, i. 602). For a discussion of indulgences, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, pp. 27–30.

⁶⁷ The noble participants mentioned here were Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lotharingia, who was 'princeps' of Jerusalem, 1099–1100; Eustace III, count of Boulogne (c.1088–c.1125); Baldwin I, count of Edessa 1098–1100, king of Jerusalem 1100–18; Stephen, count

promised many things, the other promised even more, the king, wisely scrutinizing everything, asked the third silent monk what he had to offer. He answered that he could not promise or give anything, but that he had only come there so that accepting him with due honour he could bring his abbot back home. 'Come forward', said the king, 'and accept the office of abbot, for you alone of all are worthy of such an honour.' Accepting that burden unwillingly, he ruled vigorously for many years.

20. In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1097, in the fourth indiction, about thirty-one years after the arrival of the Normans in England, a council was held at Clermont, with Pope Urban presiding, attended by a multitude of bishops and a great presence from the ranks of ecclesiastical orders and numerous people.⁶⁶ At the council, the aforesaid pope first established the journey to Jerusalem and he proclaimed the desirable remission of sins to all who will go there. Because of this, there gathered an infinite assembly of people of both sexes and of various orders and ages. Distinguished magnates of the West also were moved with laudable devotion to the praise of Christ and, joined with others, they formed a famous army. They were Duke Godfrey with his two brothers, namely the counts Eustace of Boulogne and Baldwin, who later took up rule in Jerusalem after his brother, and Stephen of Chartres, but also the count of Poitiers, and Robert of Flanders and the count of Saint-Gilles and many others, who were most vigorous leaders of the Christian army, to whom Count Robert of Normandy was allied as much from necessity as by devotion.⁶⁷ For after he saw that his attempts to obtain the kingdom of the Norman-English were in vain and that also the magnates of the Norman-English were rebelling against him, he accepted an infinite sum of gold and silver from his brother William and thus entrusted Normandy to this same brother and, as we have said, with others made for Jerusalem.⁶⁸

of Blois and Chartres (d. 1102), who was married to Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror and father of King Stephen of England (1135–54); William IX of Aquitaine and Poitou (1086–1126); Robert II, count of Flanders (1093–1111); and Raymond IV of Saint Gilles, count of Toulouse (1093–1105) and Tripoli.

⁶⁸ All sources agree that Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy (1087–1106), mortgaged the duchy to his brother King William Rufus and left for Jerusalem in Sept. 1096 (OV v. 32–3; *GND* ii. 210–11; *Brevis Relatio*, p. 36; *ASC E* (s.a. 1096), Henry of Huntingdon (HH, pp. 422–3), and John of Worcester (JW iii. 84–5)); see also Aird, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 161–2 and Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 365.

21. Willelmus itaque accepta Normannia et fortissime regno confortato terribilis cepit esse uicinis principibus. Denique contra regem Francorum Philippum antiquum in Normannia dominatum exigentem acerime rebellauit, et Cenomanniam rebellantem proprie dicioni subiugauit.⁶⁹ Vt autem et ipse agnosceret quam 'Excelsus dominatur in regno hominum' et quia 'summos feriunt fulgura montes' a domesticis acrius quam ab hostibus est impeditus.⁷⁰ Rebellauerunt enim aduersus eum quidam principes Normananglorum ad suum tandem interitum.⁷¹ Et quidam Robertus Northamhumbroborum comes, uir diues et potens, qui regem Scottorum Malcolmum, patrem Matildis regine, bellando cum toto pene exercitu interfecit.⁷²

fo. 11^v | Dum bellare contra regem Willelmum temptat fortuitu ab eo est captus et carceri mancipatus. Willelmum quoque Oensem, plus genere quam probitate elatum, de coniuratione contra regiam potestatem facta puppice uictum idem rex oculis priuauit, et per omnia inutilem reddidit.⁷³ Willelmum etiam de Aldriato, eiusdem Willelmi dapiferum, de eadem coniuratione iniuste, ut aiunt, accusatum patibulo suspendi precepit.⁷⁴ Cumque principes dolore permoti—erat enim idem corpore et animo et genere preclarus—de eius uita regem rogassent, uolentes eum ter auro et argento ponderare, rex nullis precibus nullis muneribus ab eius morte potuit auerti.^a De quo quiddam relatu dignum fertur accidisse. Cum enim se morti

21 ^a E; aduerti MS

⁶⁹ For William Rufus and Maine in early 1098, see Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 381–4.

⁷⁰ 'Excelsus dominatur in regno hominum' recalls Daniel 4: 14; 'summos feriunt fulgura montes' echoes Horace, *Odes*, ii. 10. 11–12 ('feriuntque summos / fulgura montis'; a quotation identified by J. W. Binns), though the author may well have encountered it in an intermediary source such as the letters of Jerome (who quotes it, with the variant *montes*, as here, in letters 60 and 108). Note at the beginning of the paragraph the Warenne chronicler's theme that William Rufus's death was ultimately the result of his own subjects' rebellion (see also paragraphs 13 and 30). William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 505–6 and ii. 280–1) blames the rebellions on William's harsh treatment of his subjects.

⁷¹ The first three rebels, Robert of Mowbray, William of Eu, and William of Audrieu, occur in the same order as they are mentioned by William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 505–6). The fourth, Ernulf of Hesdin (d. 1098), is uniquely mentioned in the *Warenne Chronicle*.

⁷² The rebellion of Robert of Mowbray, earl of Northumberland c.1080–95, dates to the years 1093–5. Together with his nephew Morel of Bamburgh, sheriff of Northumberland, he killed King Malcolm III of Scotland (1058–93) on 13 Nov. 1093; see *ASC E* (s.a. 1093), John of Worcester (JW iii. 66–7), Henry of Huntingdon (HH, pp. 418–19), *GND* (ii. 214–15). Robert was captured in 1095 and died in prison twenty or thirty years later (*GND* ii. 214, n. 2). Note that the Warenne chronicler identifies King Malcolm as the father of Queen Matilda (d. 1118).

21. When William had therefore received Normandy and had established his rule very powerfully, he began to terrorize neighbouring magnates. Then he rebelled most fiercely against Philip, king of the French, who was demanding ancient authority in Normandy, and he subjugated rebellious Maine to his own control.⁶⁹ So that even he might acknowledge how 'the Highest rules in the kingdom of men', and that 'lightning strikes the highest mountains', he was hindered more severely by his own men than by enemies.⁷⁰ For some magnates of the Norman-English rebelled against him all the way to his death.⁷¹ There was Robert, earl of the Northumbrians, a wealthy and powerful man who killed the king of the Scots, Malcolm, father of Queen Matilda, in battle along with almost all of his army.⁷² When he tried to fight against King William, he was fortuitously captured by him and thrown into prison. Also William of Eu, a man elevated more by lineage than from uprightness, publicly defeated in a plot against royal power, the king deprived of his eyes and rendered him useless in every respect.⁷³ And William of Audrieu, steward of this same William of Eu, who was unjustly accused of the same plot, so they say, the king ordered to be hung from the gallows.⁷⁴ The magnates were distressed by grief, for this same man was distinguished in body, spirit, and lineage, but when they begged the king for his life, offering the king three times William's weight in gold and silver, the king could be dissuaded from his death neither by prayers nor gifts. Concerning this man something is said to have happened which is worthy of report. For

⁷³ William, count of Eu (c.1089×93–c.1096), like Robert of Mowbray, was involved in the conspiracy to place Stephen of Aumale, son of William the Conqueror's sister Adelaide I of Aumale, on the English throne c.1095; see *ASC E* (s.a. 1096), John of Worcester (JW iii. 76–7 and 82–3), and Orderic Vitalis (OV iv. 278–85). William of Eu not only had his eyes put out but was also castrated; see *Leges Willelmi*, c. 10: 'Interdico etiam ne quis occidatur aut suspendatur pro aliqua culpa sed eruantur oculi et testiculi abscedantur' (*Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i. 488). For his trial at Salisbury, see Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 357.

⁷⁴ William of Audrieu was steward of Count William of Eu (and not the king's steward, as is erroneously claimed in *Gesta Regum*, ii. 281). Both *ASC E* (s.a. 1096) and John of Worcester (JW iii. 82–83) call him the son of William of Eu's aunt, who has not been identified. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 564) describes him as the king's godfather. His origin can perhaps be traced to Audrieu cant. Tilly-sur-Seulles (Loyd, *Origins*, p. 3 and Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 358, n. 72). The Warenne chronicler's account is closest to that of William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 564–5 and ii. 281), whose monastery was not far from William of Audrieu's lands in Wiltshire (Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 358) and who was in a position to know of him. The Warenne chronicler, however, does not give the godparenthood relationship nor does he identify the bishop as Osmund of Salisbury (1078–99). The offer to buy William of Audrieu free in return for three times his weight in gold and silver is uncorroborated and reads like elaboration.

destinatum esse uideret totus ad Dominum conuersus nudis pedibus nudoque corpore cum manipulo uirgarum cuiusdam sacerdotis genibus se prouoluit, ueniam et absolucionem peccatorum humiliter peccit, seque acerrime flagellare fecit. Cumque ad mortem duceretur conuersus ad sequentes, dixit: 'Sciatis me a culpa qua acusor ita esse mundissimum sicut anime mee iam egredienti Deum opto propitium.' Hec dicens, priusquam ad locum ueniret, exspirauit. Ernulfus de Hednith statura procerus industria summus possessionibus suffultus, apud regem tam iniuste quam inuidiose est acusatus.⁷⁵ Denique cum se bello legitimo per unum ex suis contra unum ex hominibus regis facto defendisset atque uicisset, tanto dolore et ira est commotus, ut abdicatis omnibus que regis erant in Anglia, ipso rege inuito et contradicente, discederet. Associatus autem Christianorum exercitui, Antiochiam usque deuenit, ibique extremum diem clausit. Cumque ei infirmanti principes medicorum curam adhibere uellent, respondisse fertur: 'Viuit Dominus quia medicus me non continget, nisi ille pro cuius amore hanc peregrinationem suscepi.' Nunc congruum michi uidetur miraculum quod illis temporibus in transmarinis Galliarum partibus tam mirabile quam insolitum factum est ad laudem operantis Dei breuiter interserere.

22. Eodem tempore^a orta est discordia pro statu ecclesie inter regem Willelmum et spectabilem uirum dominum Anselmum archiepiscopum.⁷⁶ Cumque tanti antistitis ecclesiasticis^b rebus studiosa sanctitas et predicti regis in | secularibus illecebris superba curiositas concordare sibi inuicem non possent, elegit uoluntarium subire exilium Romamque tendens ad dominum papam uenit Vrbanum, et ab eo

22 ^a [] et discordia inter regem Willelmum et Anselmum [] added as heading across top margins, partly trimmed off ^b illecebris superba curiositas after this word, in error, but underdotted for erasure

⁷⁵ The Warrenne chronicler's account of Ernulf I of Hesdin, as another accomplice in the rebellion against William Rufus and condemned at the same trial, is unique. Ernulf I of Hesdin and his wife Emmeline were benefactors of St Peter's at Gloucester (Bates, *Acta*, nos. 154-5), Le Bec (nos. 167-8) and Saint-Pierre at Præaux (no. 218). Ernulf also acted as local witness for charters of William Rufus (*Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, i, nos. 315 and 319 and *Calendar*, ed. Round, no. 1326). He was a Domesday landholder in Wiltshire. Ernulf I's participation in the crusade may have been an act of penance as a result of his involvement in the rebellion (Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 358). The siege of Antioch took place from late 1097 until its fall on 3 June 1098. For Ernulf as crusader, based on the Warrenne chronicler's information, see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095-1588*, p. 15 and David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 95, 222. The Warrenne chronicler may have received information through Ernulf's descendants, for Ernulf's granddaughter Sibyl (by his

when he realized that he was destined for death, he totally committed himself to the Lord and, barefoot and naked, holding a bundle of twigs, he fell down at the knees of some priest, humbly begged for mercy and absolution of his sins, and made to beat himself most severely. And when he was being led to his death, he turned to those following him and said: 'Know that I am so cleansed of the crime of which I have been accused, that I pray that God will favour my soul as it passes over now.' Saying these words, before he could come to the spot, he died. Ernulf of Hesdin, tall in stature, most active, and rich in possessions, was accused before the king in a way that was as unjust as it was invidious.⁷⁵ Finally, having defended himself and won in a lawful fight between one of his men and one of the king's men, he was troubled by such grief and anger, that he renounced all of his properties held from the king in England, and notwithstanding the king's unwillingness and disagreement, went away. Joining the army of Christians, he went all the way to Antioch, and there ended his last day. And although magnates wished to administer medical care to the ailing man, it is said that he answered: 'As the Lord lives, no physician will touch me, unless it is He for whose love I have undertaken this pilgrimage.' Now it seems to me suitable briefly to insert a miracle which took place at that time in the overseas regions of Gaul, as marvellous as it was unusual, to the praise of the God who worked it.

22. At that time a quarrel arose concerning the condition of the Church between King William and that remarkable man, lord Anselm, the archbishop.⁷⁶ And because the great bishop's zealous sanctity in ecclesiastical matters and the aforesaid king's proud care for the world's enticements were irreconcilable, Anselm chose to enter into voluntary exile, and heading for Rome, he went to the lord Pope

daughter Maud married to Patrick of Chaworth) married Walter of Salisbury (d. 1147), sheriff of Wiltshire. Walter was a son of Edward I of Salisbury, tenant-in-chief and also sheriff of Wiltshire (d. c. 1120). Walter's brother Edward II of Salisbury was the standard bearer at Brémule in 1119 (see para. 34). Walter and Sibyl's son Earl Patrick of Salisbury married Ala, widow of Count William III of Warrenne (d. 1148). For the Salisbury family, see Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 105-7 and Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 192-3. For Ala of Warrenne, her daughter Isabel the Warrenne heiress, and Ala's second husband, see the Introduction, section IV.

⁷⁶ Archbishop Anselm's troubled relationship with King William Rufus is admirably discussed by Southern, *Saint Anselm*, pp. 250-3 (on disagreements surrounding Anselm's request to organize a council) and pp. 270-2 (on disputes arising out of the king's demands for military aid from Anselm's archiepiscopal estates in Canterbury). See also Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 373-6.

honorifice susceptus et aliquamdiu cum eo debita reuerencia est retentus.⁷⁷ Erat itaque hiis diebus facies ecclesie Normananglorum uirtus languida, quippe spiritali paterno uiduata, et falsis^c pastoribus desuper per incuriam regis Willelmi ingredientibus oppressa, ministris nichilominus eiusdem cedibus et rapinis inpune uacantibus ualde fatigata. Cuius dolorem ex alto Christus prospiciens misericorditer studuit lenire.

23. Igitur in quodam monasterio in Normannia posito, ut ueredicorum testatur relacio, quidam frater infirmitate preuentus ad extrema est deductus atque in agonia diu positus ad superos mirabiliter est raptus.⁷⁸ Vidit itaque Redemptorem omnium Dominum Iesum Christum excelso residentem solio tanto circumfultum lumine tantaque^a assistencium circumdatum multitudine, ut nullus sufficiat sermo referre. Cumque tam preclare uisionis studiosus spectator permaneret, uidit puellam, uultu sole speciosiore habitu uero super omnem stellarum disposicionem ornatam genibus Christi prouolutam, eamque ex precibus supplicantis et responsis Domini iudicantis sanctam ecclesiam esse animaduertit. Siquidem lacrimabilem de Normananglorum rege Willelmo protulit querimoniam et celerimam de eo expeciit uindictam, asserens se a canibus eius et lupis pocius quam ministris diu esse laniatam. Quam piissimus Christus consolando eleuauit, et terribilem imminere uindictam de eo spopondit. De abbate^b quoque suo in eadem uisione idem frater dolendam audiuit querimoniam, qui eadem nocte peccatum quoddam quod nimis deberet pertimescere agnoscitur perpetrasse. Quibus uisus et auditus monachus ad inferiora rediit, cunctis stupentibus oculos aperuit, et primum quidem suum abbatem ad se uenientem blande corripuit, et negare uolentem certis indiciis conuicit. Dehinc que de rege audierit omnibus pandit, fratremque unum cum literis ad eum dirigit, ut uel sero commonefactus iminentem Domini sentenciam

^c fassis MS

23 ^a tantoque MS

^b uisio monachi de abbate suo heading added in margin

⁷⁷ Anselm's request to go to Rome to ask advice from Pope Urban II was finally granted in the autumn of 1097. On 8 Nov. he crossed from Dover to Wissant and stayed one night at Saint-Omer, from where he travelled via Lyons to Rome. The paragraph's content is so vague that it is difficult to identify one of the many sources as the Warrenne chronicler's main source. It is, however, notable that he does not refer to Anselm's stop at Saint-Omer, mentioned by Eadmer, *The Life of St Anselm*, pp. 85–100, John of Worcester (JW iii. 86–7), Henry of Huntingdon (HH, pp. 444–5), William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 560 and 570), and Simon of Saint-Omer (*Gesta abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium*, p. 647).

Urban and was received by him honourably and for some time was given hospitality by him with due reverence.⁷⁷ Accordingly in those days, the face of the Church of the Norman-English was a languishing force, bereft indeed of a spiritual father and oppressed from above by the encroachment, through King William's lack of care, of false pastors, and very worn down by his officials, who were nevertheless free to engage in killings and pillaging with impunity. Christ, looking down from on high upon Her grief, was mercifully zealous to alleviate it.

23. Hence in a monastery situated in Normandy, as the report of truthful men witnesses, a certain brother, overcome by illness, had reached his last days, and lying for a long time in agony, was carried off to heaven miraculously.⁷⁸ There, he saw the Redeemer of all, the Lord Jesus Christ, sitting on a lofty throne, surrounded by such a great light and encircled by such a great multitude of attendants that no words are sufficient to relate it. And as the zealous observer of so splendid a vision lingered, he saw a girl more beautiful than the sun in her countenance, and dressed in clothing superior to all the arrangement of the stars, humbly fallen at Christ's knees, and he realized, from the prayers of the supplicant and the responses of the judging Lord, that she was the holy Church. In fact, she offered tearful complaints about William, king of the Norman-English, and asked for swift revenge upon him, claiming that for a long time she had been torn apart by his dogs and wolves rather than by officials. The most loving Christ consoled her and lifted her up, and promised that a terrible revenge hung over that man. Concerning his abbot, this brother also heard in the same vision a grievous complaint, that on that same night, he was known to have perpetrated a sin, for which he ought to be very much afraid. When he had seen and heard these things, the monk came back to earth, and opened his eyes to everyone's amazement, and first he gently accused the abbot who came to him, and with certain signs convicted that man of what he was wanting to deny. Then he revealed to everyone those things which he had heard concerning the king, and he directed a brother to him with a letter so that he would be warned, even if

⁷⁸ Seven different portents, announcing the death of King William Rufus, are listed in the various sources discussed by Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 426–8, who does not include the Warrenne Chronicle. This story here is very close to that given by Orderic Vitalis (OV v. 284–9) on the authority of Abbot Serlo of St Peter's at Gloucester, who wrote a letter about a vision of one of his monks. King William Rufus dismissed the monk's vision by ridiculing Serlo's worries, saying that he could not put off doing business by behaving like the English, who cancel commitments on the premonitions of little old women.

fo. 12^v placare studeret operibus penitencie. Itaque monachus regem adiit, et cum debita reuerencia alloquitur | sed uisione manifesta ab eodem expellitur et hiis uerbis irridetur: 'Quicumque sorti uel sompniis crediderit sicut semper uiuet suspiciosus et inquietus ita semper manebit stultus', sicque frater inhonorus et confusus reuertitur. Et Deus omnipotens telum quod diu uibrauerat misericorditer tandem super regem proiecit terribiliter. Willelmus igitur rex Normananglorum anno regni sui incipiente .xiii.^o .iiii.^o nonas Augusti, uenatum pergens uenatus est, et ex inproviso sagitta percussus, et inconfessus et incommunicatus est defunctus, et apud Wintoniam in ecclesia sancti Swithuni sepultus.⁷⁹ Regnauitque Henricus frater eius pro eo. Fertur autem quod eodem die uenatum pergenti optulit munus sagittarum quidam adueniens, quarum unam Waltero Tirello, uiro Ponteensi, in munere dedit, secumque uenire coegit. Denique siluam ingressi dum gregem bestiarum accingunt et inuicem trahunt, eadem sagitta idem Walterus regem uicinus, ut aiunt, percussit et subito extinguit.^c

24. Ceterum^a miraculum quod eadem die in finibus Burgundie apud Martiniacum contingit.⁸⁰ Igitur uenerabilis Anselmus archiepiscopus Roma reuersus et apud Martiniacum positus eadem die cum beato Hugone abbate familiariter loquens, inter cetera de rege Willelmo mencionem faciens, <abbas> intulit: 'Regem Normananglorum Willelmum hodie sciatis esse defunctum.' Cumque omnes obstupescerent et ualde admirarentur, predictus archiepiscopus cum debita reuerencia inquisiuit quomodo solus agnosceret quod omnes ignorarent. Tunc ille 'hac nocte' inquit: 'misericordem Redemptorem omnium et iustum Iudicem Dominum Iesum Christum sublimi solio residentem uidi, et infinitum iudicancium chorum assistentem, Willelmum uero regem in medium deductum et ab omnibus diiudicatum. Cum quibus quoque ego presens eum iudicaui et ita esse certissimum sciatis ut

^c extrinsit before correction

24 ^a Teterum MS due to the insertion of the wrong capital in the space at the start of a new paragraph

⁷⁹ King William Rufus died on 2 Aug. 1100 as the result of a hunting accident that was generally believed to have involved Walter Tirel, who fled from the scene. This is Frank Barlow's assessment of the various overlapping and conflicting reports in contemporary chroniclers. The version here is closest to that given by Orderic Vitalis (OV v. 288–90), who is alone with the Warrenne chronicler in relating the story of someone giving arrows to the king who in turn passed the fatal one to Walter Tirel. Lord of Poix and Pontoise, Walter was married to Adeliza, daughter of Richard fitzGilbert of Clare and Rohais, daughter of Walter Giffard I; see Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 355–62 and pedigree on pp. 338–9; and also Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 458.

belatedly, and through works of penance take pains to appease the sentence of the Lord hanging over him. And so the monk went to the king and addressed him with due reverence, but when he revealed the vision, he was driven away by the king and was ridiculed with these words: 'Whoever believes in fate or dreams will always live suspicious and unquiet, and thus will always remain foolish', and so the brother went back, dishonoured and confounded. At last, God omnipotent terrifyingly hurled at the king a shaft which He had for a long time brandished mercifully. And so, William, king of the Norman-English, in the thirteenth year since the beginning of his reign, on the second of August, while on a hunt, was hunted himself and struck unexpectedly by an arrow, and he died unconfessed and without the last rites, and was buried at Winchester in the church of St Swithun.⁷⁹ And his brother Henry ruled instead of him. It is said that on the same day a man came up and offered a gift of arrows to William as he was making his way to the hunt, one of which he [the king] gave to Walter Tirel, a man of Ponthieu, and urged him to come with him. Then, they entered the forest, and while they were alternately surrounding and leading on a herd of animals, this Walter, who was near the king, so they say, struck him with the same arrow and killed him instantly.

24. There was another miracle that happened on that same day on the border of Burgundy at Marcigny.⁸⁰ The venerable archbishop Anselm, returned from Rome and staying at Marcigny, on that same day was conversing familiarly with the blessed abbot Hugh, and, among other things, making mention of the king, the abbot added 'You should know that William, king of the Norman-English, died today.' And as everyone sat dumbstruck and marvelling greatly, the aforesaid archbishop enquired with due reverence how he alone knew what everyone else did not know. Then the abbot said: 'Last night I saw the merciful Redeemer of all and the just judge, Lord Jesus Christ, sitting on an exalted throne and an infinite chorus of judges sitting with him, and King William was led into the middle and judged by all. I too was present with them and I judged him, so you should know that it is most

⁸⁰ The miracle, in fact another vision announcing the death of William Rufus, recounted here is told first by Eadmer, *Vita S. Anselmi* (*Life of St Anselm*, pp. 123–4) and retold by others on his authority, e.g. by William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 572–3). The story involves Archbishop Anselm's visit to the Cluniac nunnery of Marcigny on 30 July 1100 while on his return journey from Italy. Abbot Hugh of Cluny (1049–1109) also used to tell the story; see Hildebert of Le Mans, *Vita sancti Hugonis Cluniacensis* (PL clx. 869–70) and Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh 1049–1109*, p. 194.

dixi.' Mox uenerabilis Anselmus tanti patris uoci credulus iter suum uersus Angliam accelerare iubet, Galliamque festinus aduenit. Ibi fama uolitante animaduertit eadem die qua predictus pater dixerat regem Willelmum esse defunctum. Igitur mortuo Willelmo rege commota est tota Anglia atque Normannia et pessimi quoque exteri
fo. 13^r gentes cedibus et rapinis in uigilabant. Vnde quidam principes apud Londoniam congregati Henricum fratrem iuniorem in regem eleuant, et totis uiribus regnum eius confortant.⁸¹ Quidam autem et maxime potenciores superbia elati, nec sicut dominum suum nominant, nec sicut regem suum honorant. Quod malum postmodum in capud eorum iusto Dei iudicio redundauit ut experrirentur quod per apostolum Paulum omnibus dicitur: 'Non est potestas nisi a Domino qui resistit potestati Dei ordinationi resistit' et per Salomonem: 'Quasi rugitus leonis sic ira regis, qui prouocat illum peccat in animam suam.'⁸² Comes enim Moritonii Willelmus et Robertus de Belerma et cum eis inprimis, ut aiunt, Willelmus de Warennia specie tenus quidem regem Henricum sequebantur animo autem longe ab eo alienabantur.⁸³ Itaque rex Henricus confortatus in regno inter cetera bone fidei opera domnum Anselmum archiepiscopum ab exilio reuertentem cum multo honore suscepit,⁸⁴ et cum debita reuerencia proprie sedi restituit.⁸⁴

Conuocato autem apud Londoniam consilio eiusdem antistitis consilio et principum suorum accepit uxorem dominam Matildem, Alexandri regis Scottorum sororem, filiam uero Malcolmi regis et Margarete,⁸⁵ que cum ex utraque parte regio esset sanguine decorata, multa tamen maiori mentis nobilitate apud Deum et homines existit ornata.⁸⁶ Nam cum ab infancia tota Domino fuerit deuota regium assecuta apicem tanto cepit esse deuocior, ut nulla suo in tempore

⁸¹ Anselmus ab exilio cum honore a rege Henrico susceptus est *heading added in margin*
[] filiam Alexandri regis Scottorum uocatam Matildem *added as heading across top margin, partly trimmed, referring to this event*

⁸² Henry I was crowned on Sunday, 5 Aug. 1100 at Westminster (*ASC E s.a. 1100*; Green, *Henry I*, pp. 43–4).

⁸³ Rom. 13: 13 and Prov. 20: 2.

⁸⁴ The Warrenne chronicler includes William II of Warrenne alongside William of Mortain and Robert of Bellême as (briefly) being alienated from Henry I. In this he agrees with Orderic Vitalis (OV v. 306–10, 308, n. 1 and 320–1) and Wace (III, ll. 10482–90, pp. 320–1), who state categorically that William II of Warrenne (briefly) supported Robert Curthose against King Henry. The three magnates singled out by the Warrenne chronicler (and Orderic and Wace) were in fact the only three who supported Robert Curthose; see Green, *Henry I*, pp. 63–4. For the chronology of William II of Warrenne's defection, see below, note 88.

certainly as I have said it is.' Soon the venerable Anselm, believing the word of such a great father, ordered that his journey towards England be brought forward and he hastily went to Gaul. There, from the news that flew in his direction, he realized that King William had died on the very same day which the said father had mentioned. When King William was dead, all of England and Normandy were shaken up and the most villainous foreign people were on the lookout for killing and pillaging. For which reason several magnates assembled at London and raised his younger brother Henry as king and strengthened his kingdom with all their might.⁸¹ Yet, various most powerful men were especially haughty in their pride, and they did not name him as their lord, nor did they honour him as their king. That evil, a little later, rebounded on their heads by God's just judgement, so that they experienced what is said to all men, by the apostle Paul: 'There is no power except from the Lord, and he who resists power, resists God's ordinance', and by Solomon: 'As the roaring of a lion, so is a king's anger, and he who provokes him, sins against his soul.'⁸² For Count William of Mortain and Robert of Bellême and with them, it is said, above all William of Warrenne, followed King Henry for the sake of appearance, but in spirit they were far away from him.⁸³ King Henry, thus strengthened in his kingdom, among other works of good faith, received with great honour lord archbishop Anselm who had returned from exile, and he restored him to his own see with due reverence.⁸⁴

When a council had been gathered in London, on the advice of this prelate and his magnates, he received as wife the lady Matilda, sister of Alexander, king of the Scots, and daughter of King Malcolm and Margaret,⁸⁵ and although she was graced with royal blood on each side, she was adorned with even greater nobility of mind before God and men. Since she had been totally devoted to the Lord from her infancy, when she attained the royal summit she began to be so much

⁸⁴ Archbishop Anselm returned to England on 23 Sept. 1100 and met Henry I at Salisbury a few days later (Southern, *Saint Anselm*, pp. 290–1).

⁸⁵ The marriage of Henry I and Edith/Matilda of Scotland took place on 11 Nov. 1100 (*ASC E s.a. 1100*; Green, *Henry I*, pp. 53–7). Matilda's English royal ancestry played a crucial part in Henry's decision to strengthen his legitimacy as king of the English (Huneycutt, *Matilda*, pp. 27–8). Matilda was the daughter of Malcolm III of Scotland (1058–93) and Margaret, daughter of Edward the 'Exile' (d. 1057), who was the grandson of King Æthelred II (978–1016). Considering the connections of the Warrenne family with the Scottish royal house, it is perhaps noteworthy that Matilda is here identified as the sister of King Alexander of Scotland (1107–24) and not as the sister of King David (1124–53), whose son Henry married Ada of Warrenne.

possit ei femina comparari. Fuit enim quamdiu uixit gloria monachorum, honor clericorum, refugium pauperum, consolatio miserorum, et omnibus ad se fugientibus in quantum licuit salutis presidium. Cuius meritis constat regem Henricum regnasse et regnum Normananglorum multipliciter excreuisse. Siquidem ipsius regis inimici cum multa reuerencia eam excolebant, et studiosius offendere cauebant.⁸⁶ Suscepit autem rex Henricus de ea filium uocabulo Willelmum, et filiam unam, quam Henrico imperatori Alemannorum matrimonio copulauit.⁸⁷

fo. 13^v Igitur^d Robertus comes rediens a Ierosolima cum adhuc longe positus, famam de morte regis Willelmi fratris sui audiret, accelerauit iter uenitque Normanniam, sperans regnum | omnimodis optinere.⁸⁸ Cumque missis nunciis Henricum fratrem suum pulsaret ut regnum debito honore et pace ei redderet, illeque totis uiribus contradiceret conducta classe Angliam festinus aduenit. Cui occurrit Henricus apud Wintoniam cum exercitu copioso factusque est motus magnus et timor per uniuersam Angliam quibusdam principibus turpi simulacione et feda adulacione nunc hinc, nunc illinc auxilia ferentibus. Quidam autem alcioris ingenii uidentes fedam esse discordiam, et bellum nephandum, et fratricidale et plusquam ciuile imminere, sapienti usi consilio de pace tractare ceperunt. Concordati itaque sunt fratres ambo et Normannia Roberto relicta regnum Anglie Henrico remansit eo tamen tenore, ut ad tante pacis confirmationem de redditibus Anglie census statutum omni anno

^d Robertus comes rediit a ierosolima *heading added margin*

⁸⁶ According to Orderic (OV iv. 272–3), after her parents' death, in the 1090s, William II of Warenne had tried for Matilda II's hand himself (Huneycutt, *Matilda*, p. 26; Green, *Henry I*, p. 54). Note that in the Warenne chronicler's eulogy of Matilda II (the first of two lengthy ones; see also para. 31) there is the hint that the king's enemies did not dare offend her.

⁸⁷ Of the two children mentioned, only William Adelin's name (born 1103, d. 1120) is given, not that of Empress Matilda (born in 1102, d. 1167), who married King Henry V of Germany (d. 1125).

⁸⁸ Duke Robert returned from the crusade via southern Italy to Normandy in late Sept. or Oct. 1100. His armed arrival in England took place on 20 July 1101, where he met Henry I at Winchester. Wace adds that Robert was dissuaded from using force against the king there on account of the queen's childbirth (III, ll. 10336–40, pp. 316–17; Huneycutt, *Matilda*, p. 74; Green, *Henry I*, p. 64). In fact, the queen may have suffered a near miscarriage. During this visit, at Alton, the two brothers concluded a treaty whereby Henry promised to pay Robert an annual sum of 3,000 marks of silver; see *ASC E* (s.a. 1101), John of Worcester (JW iii. 96–8), Henry of Huntingdon (HH, p. 450), William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 704), Orderic (OV v. 306–20), and the lengthiest account in Wace III, ll.

more devoted that no woman in her time can be compared to her. For as long as she lived, she was the glory of monks, the honour of clergymen, the refuge of the poor, the consolation of the wretched, and a fortress of safety to all taking refuge with her insofar as it was permitted. It is agreed that by her merits King Henry ruled and the kingdom of the Norman-English grew in manifold ways. In fact, enemies of that king worshipped her with much reverence and guarded most carefully against offending her.⁸⁶ King Henry received from her a son named William and one daughter whom he joined in matrimony to Henry, emperor of the Germans.⁸⁷

Then Count Robert, on his way home from Jerusalem, although still far away, heard the report of the death of his brother King William, hurried on his journey and came to Normandy, hoping to obtain the kingdom by all means.⁸⁸ He sent messengers to urge his brother Henry to hand over the kingdom to him with due honour and peace, but Henry refused him with all his might; and so he hastily approached England with an assembled fleet. Henry hurried to meet him at Winchester with a plentiful army, and great commotion and fear was stirred up throughout all of England, with various magnates with base pretence and foul adulation collecting troops, now from one side, now from the other. Some men of higher character, however, saw that there was foul discord, and that an impious, fratricidal, and more than civil war threatened, and taking wise counsel they began to discuss peace. Hence both brothers were reconciled and Normandy remained with Robert, leaving the kingdom of England to Henry, on this condition, that Henry would pay to Robert every year an established rent from the revenues of England as a confirmation of

10331–472, pp. 316–22. The chronology of William II of Warenne's defection from Henry I is not easy to establish. Orderic places William II at Duke Robert's side both at his arrival in England in mid-1101 (OV v. 314–15) and at his departure in the autumn of 1101; on the latter occasion, allegedly, because he had been disinherited in England on account of his support for Robert (OV v. 320–1). Charter evidence shows Henry I confirming the possessions of St Pancras in the autumn of 1100 in the presence of William II (*Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii. 510). One year later, in 1101 on 1 and 3 Sept., William was at the king's side at Windsor (*Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii. 544, 547–8; *EYC* viii. 7, n. 8). Yet, in between these occasions, some tension between king and earl may be noted. First, William II of Warenne's absence from the first Anglo-Flemish treaty concluded at Dover on 10 Mar. 1101 between Henry I and Robert II of Flanders (1093–1111) (*Diplomatic Documents*, ed. Chaplais, no. 1), presumably coincided with him being already at Curthose's side (see above). Second, on 29 Aug. 1101 Henry I ordered Roger Bigod to do justice against William II of Warenne's men in Norfolk (*Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii. 542). The only charter for Robert Curthose witnessed by William II (*Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii. 621) probably dates to 1102.

Henricus Roberto persoluerit.⁸⁹ Quibus gestis Robertus Normanniam reuertitur. Eodem tempore orta est discordia inter regem Henricum et dominum Anselmum archiepiscopum cuius causa secundum elegit exilium.⁹⁰

25. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.^o .c.^o .iiii.^o, indictione .xii., apostolice sedi presidente papa Paschali, anno et eiusdem Henrici incipiente quarto, orta est dissensio contra regem Henricum, que bene considerata, causa quedam principalis esse et radix quodammodo omnium malorum que eius temporibus et Normannia et Anglia gesta sunt inuenitur.⁹¹ Willelmus enim comes Moritonii, cognatus regis Henrici, iuuenis quidem etate, sed uiribus strenuus^a et animo ferus iusticieque tenax possessionumque ultraque citraque mare ditissimus, superbia elatus inplacabiliter commotus est contra regem Henricum.⁹² Nam cum eum rex multis modis pacare uellet in tantum ut Mariam sororem Matildis regine, filiamque regis Scottorum, matrimonio ei copulare cum summo honore uellet, respuit, contempsit, sed abdicatis omnibus que sub rege Henrico tenebat, Anglia decessit. Veniens autem ad Robertum comitem Normannie, stimulauit eum contra regem Henricum multisque hodiis concitauit. Quem secutus est Robertus comes de Belemia fo. 14^r Anglia | depulsus a rege Henrico causa rebellionis quam tam occulte quam studiose in Anglia parabat.⁹³ Hunc quoque secuti sunt duo fratres sui, comites Ernulfus et Rogerus; utrique^b commoti propter fratris expulsionem Anglia discesserunt.⁹⁴ Post hos autem Robertus^c

25 ^a stenuis before correction ^b utique MS ^c supplied by corrector in margin

⁸⁹ Orderic Vitalis (OV vi.14) and William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 704) identify Queen Matilda II, goddaughter of Robert Curthose, as a mediator between the brothers, as does Wace (III, ll. 10645–62, pp. 322–3). The queen's mediation dates to the meeting between the brothers in 1103 when Duke Robert renounced the promised sum (Orderic £3,000, *Gesta Regum* and *ASC* 3,000 marks) in return for the restitution of the English honour to William II of Warrenne; see Hollister, *Monarchy*, pp. 141–2; Strevett, 'The Anglo-Norman civil war of 1101 reconsidered', 160–1; Green, *Henry I*, p. 76. Robert of Torigni (*GND* ii. 220–1) says that in 1101 the sum agreed was 4,000 silver marks and that Duke Robert paid a similar amount to Queen Matilda, which, surely, must be a garbled reference to the duke's renouncing of the money two years later.

⁹⁰ Archbishop Anselm went into exile, with the king's agreement, after Easter 1103 (*ASC* s.a. 1103; Southern, *A Portrait*, p. 296; Green, *Henry I*, p. 74).

⁹¹ Although William of Mortain, Robert of Bellême, and William II of Warrenne (see para. 24) had been present at the treaty of Alton, they ultimately turned against Henry I and supported Robert Curthose. Of the three only William II of Warrenne became reconciled with Henry I in 1103 (Green, *Henry I*, p. 76); the other two had lost royal favour indefinitely. It is noteworthy therefore that in this paragraph the Warrenne chronicler sets out the grievances of

such a peace.⁸⁹ When these things had been done, Robert returned to Normandy. At the same time, discord arose between King Henry and lord archbishop Anselm, for which reason the latter chose exile for a second time.⁹⁰

25. In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1104, in the twelfth indiction, with Pope Paschal presiding over the apostolic see, in the fourth year since the beginning of Henry's reign, dissension arose against King Henry which, when well considered, will be found to have been a principal cause and in some way the root of all the evil things which were committed in his time in both Normandy and England.⁹¹ For Count William of Mortain, a relative of King Henry, a mere youth in years, but vigorous in strength, fierce in spirit, holding fast to justice, and most wealthy in possessions situated both across the sea and on this side of the sea, haughty in his arrogance, was implacably turned against King Henry.⁹² Although the king sought to pacify him in many ways and to such an extent that he wished to join to him in marriage with utmost honour Mary, sister of Queen Matilda, and daughter of the king of the Scots, Count William rejected and scorned her, and left England, having renounced all properties which he held under King Henry. He went to Count Robert of Normandy, aroused him against King Henry, and urged him with an outpouring of hatred. Count Robert of Bellême followed him, driven from England by King Henry on account of a rebellion which he had prepared both secretly and energetically in England.⁹³ Also, his two brothers followed him, Earls Ernulf and Roger; both stirred up on account of their brother's exile, they had departed from England.⁹⁴ After them, Robert of Stuteville

these two men plus Robert of Stuteville and Reginald of Warrenne, younger brother of William II, who had not followed his brother in seeking a reconciliation with the king. It can be suggested that Reginald's Flemish interests might have been thought to be more tolerated by Robert Curthose, in view of his own former refuge there, than by Henry.

⁹² William of Mortain was the son of Count Robert of Mortain, half-brother of William the Conqueror. For the Warrenne chronicler's phrase 'this side of the sea', see the Introduction, p. xxi. He is unique in reporting a marriage project between William of Mortain and Mary (d. 1115), sister of Queen Matilda II. This must have dated from before 1102 when, according to John of Worcester (JW iii. 102), she married Eustace III of Boulogne (d. c.1125), who in the previous year had been restored to the English possessions taken away from his father in 1088 (*ASC* s.a. 1101). For his captivity, see below, note 98.

⁹³ In 1102 Robert of Bellême had refused to appear before King Henry I at the royal court; a stand-off followed and in the end Robert went into exile and forfeited his English lands (OV vi. 20–30 and Thompson, 'Robert of Bellême reconsidered'; Green, *Henry I*, pp. 68–9).

⁹⁴ Robert of Bellême's brothers were Ernulf and Roger the Poitevin, the latter of whom owed his name to his wife Almodis de la Marche, in whose right he became count. Neither of them held land in Normandy, but both became earls in England (OV iv. 302–31; Green,

de Stuteuille et Reginaldus de Warenna alique plures suam tandem deiectionem contra regem Henricum furentes, qui pariter cum Roberto comite federati, Henricum regem quanto maiori odio tanto amplioribus conuiciis pocius quam dampnis impediabant.⁹⁵

26. Eodem tempore obpressa ecclesia Normannie lacrimabiliter^a undique erat descissa.^b Nam predicti principes, dum stipendia militibus non haberent, in ecclesias se precipitant et altaria spoliantes calices, texta, cruces, pallia, cetera ornamenta distrahunt, suisque ministris distribuunt.⁹⁶ Sed Deus omnipotens, qui ecclesiam suam consolari consuevit, tantamque oppressionem lenire misericorditer studuit, regem quippe Henricum excitauit, ut exercitu congregato Normanniam ueniret, et illatam sibi iniuriam potenter uindicaret et detrimentum ecclesiae subleuaret.

27. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.^o c.^o vi.^o, indictione .xiii., factum est bellum in Normannia inter regem Henricum et fratrem eius Robertum comitem, in quo quidem bello capto Roberto eodem et Willelmo comite Moritonii, sed et Roberto de Stuteuille aliisque plurimis uictoria pene "sine sanguine" deuenit Henrico.⁹⁷ Captos autem principes Angliam carceri mancipandos transmisit. Robertus autem de Belemia fugiens de prelio et cum Henrico se concordans dum post aliquot annos rebellare parat ab eodem rege est captus, et carceri deputatus.⁹⁸ Reginaldus quoque de Warenna

26 ^a infatigabiliter MS, with lacrimabiliter in margin as correction ^b decissa MS

27 ^{a-a} written by corrector over an erasure

Henry I, pp. 68–9). On account of their brother's behaviour King Henry I forfeited their lands too and expelled them (OV vi. 30–3). For Ernulf, see Thompson, 'Note de recherche: Arnoul de Montgomery'. For the restoration of some lands to Roger the Poitevin, see Lewis, 'The king and Eye', 583–4 and 588–9. Note that William IV of Warenne (d. 1159) held the honour of Eye for a while (Introduction, section IV), so it may have been through him that the author acquired the information given here.

⁹⁵ Reginald of Warenne, younger son of William I of Warenne, and Robert of Stuteville (or Étouteville) were supporters of Duke Robert (OV vi. 62, 72–3; Green, *Henry I*, pp. 88–9). In 1106 at Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, after the betrayal of the castle to King Henry I, they were captured by royal forces (OV vi. 80–3; see also Aird, *Robert Curthose*, p. 227). But around the time of the battle of Tinchebray (see para. 27) at least Reginald of Warenne was released.

⁹⁶ The Warenne chronicler's lamentation on the state of the Norman church under Duke Robert Curthose is also reflected in Orderic Vitalis (OV vi. 284–5), where it forms part of King Henry I's speech to Pope Calixtus II (1119–24) at Gisors in Nov. 1119 justifying his conquest of Normandy. Orderic there speaks of 'ecclesiae vero spoliabantur (churches were plundered)', whereas the Warenne chronicler elaborates that idea.

and Reginald of Warenne and many others who were furious at King Henry about their own eventual expulsion were equally allied with Count Robert [of Normandy], and hindered King Henry as much by greater hatred as by many more protests, rather than by inflicting harm.⁹⁵

26. At the same time the Church in Normandy was oppressed and was lamentably torn asunder everywhere. For the aforesaid magnates, when they did not have payments for knights, threw themselves at churches, and despoiling altars, took away chalices, cloths, crosses, palls, and other ornaments, which they distributed to their officials.⁹⁶ But Almighty God, who is wont to console his Church, was mercifully zealous to ease such great oppression and He roused King Henry up to come to Normandy with an assembled army and powerfully avenge the injury done to him and alleviate the damage done to the Church.

27. In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1106, in the fourteenth indiction, a battle took place in Normandy between King Henry and his brother Count Robert, in which battle this same Robert and Count William of Mortain were captured, but also Robert of Stuteville and many others, and victory came to Henry with scarcely any bloodshed.⁹⁷ He then sent the captured magnates to England to be thrown into prison. Robert of Bellême, however, fled from the battle and came to an agreement with Henry, even though a few years later he prepared to rebel, but was captured by the same king and sent to prison.⁹⁸ Reginald

⁹⁷ The battle of Tinchebray between Duke Robert Curthose and King Henry I took place on 27, 28, or 29 Sept. 1106 (Green, *Henry I*, p. 93) and formed the culmination of Henry I's campaign in Normandy that had started in July (Aird, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 238–44; Green, *Henry I*, pp. 91–5; Gazeau and Green, eds., *Tinchebray 1106–2006*. Note that the author does not mention the place of the battle. His vocabulary ('uictoria pene sine sanguine') echoes that of Robert of Torigni ('uictoria incruenta') in *GND* ii. 222–3, as noted by Strickland, 'Henry I and the battle of the two kings', p. 89, n. 54. In view of the fact that Orderic reports William II as commander of the third battle column, it is interesting that the Warenne chronicler does not take the opportunity to elaborate on William's participation in the same way he did for his account of the battle of Brémule; see para. 34.

⁹⁸ For Robert of Bellême's flight from the battle and the capture of William of Mortain and Robert I of Stuteville, see OV vi. 90–1; Green, *Henry I*, pp. 92, 99. The Warenne chronicler is alone in relating Robert of Bellême's 'arrangement with the king'. He was captured and imprisoned in Nov. 1112 (OV vi. 178; Green, *Henry I*, p. 125, and also para. 28). There is uncorroborated evidence from the *Annals of Bermondsey* that William of Mortain was released from the Tower of London in 1118 and that he entered Bermondsey as a monk in 1140 (Brett, 'The annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton', pp. 298 and 299). According to Henry of Huntingdon he had been blinded at the orders of Henry I (HH, pp. 698–9). The *Pipe Roll of 1130* (p. 143) shows him to be in the king's custody.

captus, fratri suo Willelmo deprecanti, ab Henrico, licet inuito, est redditus.⁹⁹

fo. 14^v 28. Dum itaque rex Henricus Angliam atque Normanniam uiriliter subiugatam deletis perturbatoribus hinc atque inde pace perpetua se possessurum putaret, oritur contra eum inopinatum malum, et contra posteros eius rogi quidam forte inextinguibilis multorum malorum.¹⁰⁰ Nam capto comite Roberto | Helias, unus ex Norman- glorum principibus, reminiscens^a sacramenti quod cum ceteris principibus fecerat quondam eidem Roberto, filium eiusdem paruul- um nomine Willelmum, quem ex legitima uxore susceperat, regi Henrico studiose eum perscrutanti subtraxit,¹⁰¹ et cum eodem fugiens omnibus abdicatis que in Anglia siue in Normannia posside- bat exul multis annis multas terras peruagauit.¹⁰² Denique defuncto Philippo Francorum rege et succedente Laodowico, sed et Roberto comite Flandrensi decedente et filio eius Baldewino strenuissimo iuene succedente,¹⁰³ Helyas oportunum tempus se inuenisse ratus eundem puerum tam adultum in quodam consilio predictis princi- pibus presentauit, lacrimabiles allegans querelas indignam scilicet Roberti relegacionem et filii expulsionem, oratque suppliciter ut tante iniusticie totis uiribus conentur obuiare et puero saltem paternam hereditatem restituere.¹⁰⁴ Hiis precibus, ut fertur, totum commotum

28 ^a remmnniscens MS

Robert I of Stuteville lost his English lands to the Mowbray honour of Nigel d'Aubigni (*Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107-1191*, pp. xxviii-xxx and *EYC*, ix. 1-5). His son and heir Robert II of Stuteville, also a supporter of Robert Curthose, probably never held lands in England, but by King Stephen's time Robert III de Stuteville, son of Robert II, held Cottingham (Yorkshire) in fee of the Mowbrays, proof that restitution of some land had been made, as stated in the charter recording a compromise between the Stutevilles and the Mowbrays in 1154×66, perhaps before 1157 (*EYC* ix. 4: 'postquam recuperaui hereditatem meam in Anglia'; cf. *EYC* ix. 42 and note on pp. 116-17; *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray*, no. 386, p. 247). The source for Stuteville may have been Orderic Vitalis, in whose monastery Robert II (d. 1136) and his second wife Emma were both buried (*ECY* ix. 2), or a Warrenne tradition, perhaps Gundrada of Gournay (d. 1154; daughter of Edith of Warrenne and her first husband Gerard of Gournay), second wife of Nigel d'Aubigni (d. 1129).

⁹⁹ Orderic (OV vi. 88-9) implies that Reginald's release from prison happened just before the battle of Tinchebray. The Warrenne chronicler's placement of his reference to Reginald's release, through the intervention of his brother, suggests that it happened after the battle, perhaps as a correction to Orderic's version; see also the Introduction, p. xlvii, n. 158.

¹⁰⁰ This paragraph is mainly concerned with Duke Robert's son William Clito, born 25 Oct. 1102 (OV vi. 38, n. 3), from Robert's marriage to Sibyl of Conversano (d. 1103).

of Warrenne, also captured, was reluctantly handed back to his brother William, who pleaded for him to Henry.⁹⁹

28. And so, just when King Henry thought that he would possess England and Normandy, which he had subjugated manfully, in perpetual peace with the removal of the troublemakers from here and there, an unexpected evil arose against him and a bonfire—perhaps inextinguishable—of manifold malice against his successors.¹⁰⁰ For when Count Robert had been captured, Helias, one of the Norman-English magnates, remembering the oath which he had once sworn with other magnates to that same Robert, took away Robert's small son named William, whom Robert had had by his legitimate wife, while King Henry was zealously keeping watch over him,¹⁰¹ and having renounced all his properties which he possessed in England and in Normandy, Helias fled with William, wandering as an exile through many lands for many years.¹⁰² At last, when King Philip of France had died and Louis had succeeded, and also when Count Robert of Flanders had died and his son Baldwin, a most vigorous youth, had succeeded,¹⁰³ Helias thought that the time was ripe to present that same boy, so much grown, to the aforesaid magnates in a council, where he alleged deplorable grievances, namely the unworthy banish- ment of Robert and the expulsion of his son; and he begged humbly that they would try to oppose such a great injustice with all their might and at least restore his paternal inheritance to the boy.¹⁰⁴ The council,

¹⁰¹ According to Orderic (vi. 92-3), William Clito was in Falaise when shortly after Tinchebray King Henry I entrusted him to Helias of Saint-Saens. For Helias and his family's origin, see Bouvris, 'Contribution à une étude de l'institution vicomtale en Normandie au XI^e siècle: L'exemple de la partie orientale du duché. Les vicomtes de Rouen et de Fécamp', 155-59.

¹⁰² Probably in 1110 (Green, *Henry I*, p. 122), King Henry made an unsuccessful attempt to capture his young nephew, referred to as 'infans' and 'puer' by Orderic, at Saint-Saens, after which event Helias fled with William (OV vi. 162-3). By this action Helias forfeited his Norman lands and his castle of Saint-Saens went to William II of Warrenne (OV vi. 164-5). However, by 1150 the lands were in the hands of a Matthew of Saint-Saens (Lot, *Études critiques sur l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille*, nos. 83-4, pp. 146-50). Note that the Warrenne chronicler refers to Helias's English lands, which are otherwise unknown.

¹⁰³ King Philip I of France (d. 1108) was succeeded by his son Louis VI (1108-37). Count Robert II of Flanders (d. Oct. 1111, see OV vi. 160-3, 162, n. 1), was succeeded by his son Baldwin VII (d. 1119), William Clito's staunch supporter (OV vi. 166 and 288).

¹⁰⁴ The Warrenne chronicler is unique for the account that Helias presented William Clito to a council where, supported by the northern French princes, King Louis VI returned Normandy to him.

est consilium et rex Laodowicus comitatum Normannie Willelmo filio Roberti comitis cunctis qui aderant audientibus reddidit, et totis uiribus donec illum optineat se illum adiuturum promisit. Comes quoque Flandrensis Baldewinus eidem quasi propinquo et consanguineo, omnem auxilii curam se conferre spondit.¹⁰⁵ Sed qualiter ista incepterint, qualiter defecerint, in sequentibus dicemus. Huic flammanti rogo coniuncte sunt duo faces forsitan inextinguibiles ex uno igne contra regem Henricum accense. Willelmus enim comes Pontei mox ut audiuit Robertum patrem suum de Belemia captum et carceri mancipatum efferatus est contra regem Henricum et tam suos quam comitem Andegauensem aduersus eum inflammauit.¹⁰⁶ Beardenses quoque milites strenuissimi et nepotes Willelmi comitis Moritonii^b carceri compediti, loco auunculi sui ira accensi assurgunt et totis uiribus rebellare contendunt.¹⁰⁷ Iste sunt principales cause odiorum contra regem Henricum in Normannia gestorum.¹⁰⁸

- fo. 15^r 29. Eodem tempore orta est discordia inter Laodowicum regem^a Francorum et Henricum regem Normannglorum cuius discordie causa extitit Theobaldus comes Carnotensis, nepos eiusdem Henrici.¹⁰⁹ Nam cum^b eum Lodowicus aduersus se superbientem acriter

^b Morotonii MS

29 ^a et regem MS ^b the scribe, misreading from the next line, wrote rex Henricus after this word

¹⁰⁵ This council can best be explained in the context of Clito's support from Flanders. Flemish charter evidence (*Actes des comtes de Flandre 1071-1128*, no. 66) mentions a Flemish expedition aimed at Normandy in preparation in 1114. A date of late 1113 or sometime in 1114 for Helias's presentation of William Clito to a French council would make sense (Green, *Henry I*, pp. 134-5), though whether this was, as the Warrenne chronicler claims, 'as an adult' seems an exaggeration given that the boy was born in 1103. According to Herman of Tournai (*Liber de restauratione*, p. 284) Baldwin knighted William at the age of 14, which would be in 1117.

¹⁰⁶ The Warrenne chronicler, with William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 720-1), identifies Robert of Bellême, whose captivity dates from Nov. 1112 (*ASC* s.a. 1113; OV vi. 178; HH, p. 459 (without year or date); JW iii. 132-3; and *Gesta Regum*, i. 724-5) and the supporters of William of Mortain, captured at Tinchebray (see para. 27), as the main instigators of discontent with Henry I. For the involvement of William, count of Ponthieu, son of Robert of Bellême, see Thompson, 'William Talvas, count of Ponthieu', pp. 169-84; Green, *Henry I*, p. 125. William Talvas's daughter Ala married William III of Warrenne (d. 1147/8); see also the Introduction, sections IV and V. The count of Anjou was Fulk V (1109-28, d. 1142), who in 1128 was succeeded by his son Geoffrey, husband of Empress Matilda.

¹⁰⁷ The Warrenne chronicler is alone in identifying the knights of Les Biards (d. Manche, c. Isigny-le-Buat), lands which according to Wace (III, l. 8468, pp. 278-9 and l. 8499, pp. 280-1) were held by the Avenel family. It is unknown from what time the Avenel connection dates; see Pouessel, 'Les Structures militaires du comté de Mortain (XI^e et XII^e')

it is said, was totally moved by these entreaties and, in the hearing of all those who were present, King Louis restored the county of Normandy to William, son of Count Robert, and promised that he would help him with all his strength until he would obtain it. Also Count Baldwin of Flanders vowed that he would confer all care and help to this same boy, since he was his relative and blood relation.¹⁰⁵ But we will tell in the following sections how those things began and how they ended. Two torches, perhaps inextinguishable, were joined to this flaming pyre, lit from one fire against King Henry. For as soon as Count William of Ponthieu had heard that his father Robert of Bellême had been captured and committed to prison, he was furious with King Henry and aroused both his own men as well as the count of Anjou against him.¹⁰⁶ Also the most vigorous knights of Les Biards and the nephews of Count William of Mortain, who was shackled in prison, were inflamed with anger about their uncle's predicament and they rose up with all their forces and strove to rebel.¹⁰⁷ These were the principal causes of the hateful deeds done against King Henry in Normandy.¹⁰⁸

29. At the same time a conflict arose between Louis, king of the French and Henry, king of the Norman-English, and the cause of this conflict was Count Theobald of Chartres, nephew of the same Henry.¹⁰⁹ For when Louis fiercely attacked this man, who was

siècles', pp. 49-56; Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 60, n. 212. For Rannulf Avenel as tenant of Robert of Mortain (but not at Les Biards), see Bates, *Acta*, nos. 204 and 215, p. 682. The unnamed nephews of William of Mortain, in that area, are probably the sons of his sister Agnes, married to André I of Vitry; his sister Emma, married to William of Toulouse, had only one daughter, and his sister Denise, married to Guy III of Laval, was childless; we owe this information to Kathleen Thompson. For William's sisters, see also Keats-Rohan, 'The prosopography of post-Conquest England: Four case studies', pp. 31-4 and 37-41. For the historical context, see Green, *Henry I*, pp. 125-6.

¹⁰⁸ On the whole this chapter is closest to Orderic Vitalis (OV vi. 164-6). William of Blois, son of King Stephen, was count of Mortain from 1153 to 1159, so his clerk Master Eustace of Boulogne would have had access to information about Mortain. Stephen himself was count from c.1112 (Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 59) or c.1113 (King, 'Stephen of Blois', 272). The title of count of Mortain was subsumed in that of duke of Normandy, which he acquired in 1135 (as Judith Green kindly pointed out to us). King Louis VI would have confirmed the title in 1137 when Eustace, on behalf of his father Stephen, did homage for Normandy (Torigni, p. 132) and also later in mid-1152 when Eustace was briefly given some concessions in eastern Normandy by the king (*Gesta Stephani*, p. 226). Due to the constant fighting on the southern borders of Normandy Mortain would have been controlled from c.1142 onwards by Count Geoffrey of Anjou, who was de facto duke of Normandy from 1144, and his son Henry (later King Henry II).

¹⁰⁹ The story of the war between King Louis VI of France and Count Theobald IV of Blois-Chartres (c.1107-52; from 1125 also of Champagne), who was supported by King Henry I, is also told by Orderic Vitalis (OV vi. 178-83) and Suger, pp. 152-68. The

oppugnaret, rex Henricus congregato exercitu ad succurrendum nepoti in Normanniam deuenit. Quibus permotus rex Francorum aduersus utrumque cepit uiriliter rebellare. Cumque multa hinc inde mala fierent consilio habito concordati sunt reges ad tempus.¹¹⁰ Nam ibi se rex Henricus obsidem quodammodo et fideiussorem Theobaldi, nullius scilicet ulterius rebellionis aduersus dominum suum regem Francorum posuit atque Angliam est reuersus.¹¹¹

30. Facta est dissensio^a inter regem Henricum et Laodowicum cuius dissensionis^b causam, que diuturna fuit et grauis, breuiter aperimus.¹¹² Igitur cum rex Henricus, ut superius diximus, in prima discordia per defensionem Theobaldi nepotis sui iram regis Laodowici incurrisset, idem rex ira commotus antiquum antecessorum suorum in Normannia dominatum debitam subieccionem ab Henrico exigere cepit. Cum Henricus rex satisfacere uellet habito consilio multam pecuniam obtulit, eo tenore ut Willelmo filio suo comitatum Normannie concederet, eique ex ea debitam faceret professionem.¹¹³ Quod cum Laodowicus libenter uellet^c annuere, habito cum suis consilio obstitit,^d¹¹⁴ comes Neuernensis asserens nullo modo debere id fieri nec regem Francorum decere^e esse tam mutabilem aut cupidum, ut Normanniam, quam coram principibus suis^f in

30 ^a dissensio MS ^b dissensionis MS ^c supplied in margin by corrector ^d et add. MS ^e supplied in margin by corrector ^f suis coram add. MS

hostilities followed their joint siege of the castle of Le Puiset, which according to the *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif* (p. 170; *Recueil des actes de Louis VI, roi de France* (1108–1137), iii. 206) dated to the spring and summer of 1112, but had begun the previous year (Green, *Henry I*, pp. 123–4; LoPrete, *Adela*, p. 313). For the active involvement of Countess Adela in her son's policies, see LoPrete, *Adela*, pp. 322–35. In Oct. 1112, King Louis VI sent Robert of Bellême as his envoy to King Henry I, who, as we have already seen in para. 28, promptly captured Robert (OV vi. 178–9, 256–7).

¹¹⁰ The peace treaty between the two kings was concluded in the last week of Mar. 1113 near Gisors (OV vi. 180–1; Suger, p. 170; Green, *Henry I*, pp. 126–7). But note that Orderic does not say anything about arrangements for Normandy.

¹¹¹ The Warren chronicler is unique in his information that King Henry I became a surety for his nephew Theobald. King Henry I returned to England in the summer of 1113 after having sent Robert of Bellême to be kept in custody in Wareham (*ASC E s.a.* 1113); for the historical context, see Green, *Henry I*, pp. 127–8.

¹¹² The chronology of this paragraph is difficult to establish. First of all the Warren chronicler refers to the first quarrel between the kings, which is clearly the one discussed above for the years 1112–13. The rest of the paragraph describes events preceding the battle of Brémule in 1119, and, in England, the death of Matilda II in 1118.

¹¹³ On the basis of *ASC E s.a.* 1115 and Henry of Huntingdon (HH, pp. 460–1; but note the editorial suggestion to date the entry to 1117), King Henry I's council probably

haughtily opposing him, King Henry came with an assembled army to help his nephew in Normandy. The king of the French, greatly disturbed by these things, turned against both of them and began to rebel forcefully. And when many evil things had been done on this side and that, when counsel had been held, the kings were reconciled for a time.¹¹⁰ For King Henry here in effect acted as a hostage and as surety for Theobald, that there would be no further rebellion against Theobald's lord, the king of the French, and returned to England.¹¹¹

30. Then dissension arose between King Henry and Louis, the cause of which dissension, which was long-lasting and serious, we shall reveal briefly.¹¹² When King Henry, as we have said above, had incurred the anger of King Louis in the first conflict as a result of his defence of Theobald his nephew, King Louis became furious and began to demand from Henry his ancestors' ancient authority, the subjection owed in Normandy. Because King Henry wished to satisfy him, after holding a council, he offered much money on this condition, that Louis would concede the county of Normandy to his son William, who in return would offer him [Louis] the fealty he owed.¹¹³ Although Louis wished to assent freely, after he had held a council with his men, he opposed it,¹¹⁴ for the count of Nevers asserted that it should not happen by any means, nor was it fitting for the king of the French to be so changeable or greedy that, on account of avarice, he should remove

took place in Normandy in early 1115. The Norman barons swore fealty to William Adelin, as mentioned by the dating clause in *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii. no. 1074 (attested by William II of Warrenne): 'in die qua barones Normannie effecti homines filii regis'. For a discussion of the ducal designation ceremony in Normandy, see Garnett, *Conquered England*, p. 206. John of Worcester (JW iii. 138) says that on 19 Mar. 1116 at Salisbury Henry had his magnates do the same for William Adelin in England (Green, *Henry I*, pp. 135–6; Garnett, *Conquered England*, pp. 206–7).

¹¹⁴ It is not clear at which French royal council in 1115 the most prominent speaker was William II count of Nevers (1100–48/9). He was the son of Count Rainald II (1097–1100) and the grandson of William I of Nevers (d. 1097), who in turn was a grandson of King Hugh Capet (Bouchard, 'Consanguinity and noble marriages in the tenth and eleventh centuries', 278 and n. 27, 284–5, and Bouchard, *Sword, Miter and Cloister*, pp. 342 and 346–7). The marriage of Rainald II's daughter Hawise (William II of Nevers's paternal aunt) to Count William of Evreux (d. 1118) had established the Norman connection. The Warren chronicler is the only source for William of Nevers's defence of William Clito's rights and the information that King Louis VI had already accepted King Henry's money but agreed to withhold Normandy for a while, i.e. refusing William Adelin's offer of homage for Normandy to himself. He is also unique in reporting, through the mouth of William of Nevers, that King Louis VI had already pledged Normandy to William Clito (cf. para. 28). King Henry was back in England in July; see *ASC E s.a.* 1115, John of Worcester (JW iii. 136–7), Hollister, *Henry I*, p. 240, and Green, *Henry I*, p. 135.

quodam consilio Willelmo filio Roberti quondam reddiderat, nunc auaricie causa auferat. Hac⁸ de causa et hoc consilio Neuernensis comitis contradicit Laodowicus petitioni Henrici in donacione Normannie sed accepta pecunia, ad tempus se cum eo concordat. Vnde et predictum comitem rex Henricus uehementer iratus Angliam, ut prediximus, remeauit. Contigit autem anno predicto ut Theobaldus, nepos Henrici regis, predictum comitem Neuernensem a curia domini regis sui reuertentem insidiis circumuentum caperet, carcer-
fo. 15^v ique maniciparet.¹¹⁵ Quod audiens rex Henricus ualde | letus effectus mandat Theobaldo ut comitem captum bene custodiat nec sine suo consilio carcere educat. Cuius rei causa rex Lodowicus furore succensus congregato exercitu Theobaldum undique oppugnat, protestans aut comitem iniuste captum reddere aut bellum sine intermissione imminere. Contradicit Theobaldus numquam eum sine iusta redempcione dimittere et quia idem comes tam sapientia quam religione, quam genere erat ornatus, commota est uniuersa Gallia. Qua de causa Theobaldus in Gallia a quodam cardinali et postea a toto consilio Romano est excommunicatus cum omnibus qui ei auxilium contra regem Francorum ferrent.¹¹⁶ Laodowico quoque regi mandauit, ut aiunt, papa Romanus ut per totam Quadragesimam in qua nec arma contingere licet, bellum cum omni securitate et obediencia gereret, et factum est. Videres eo tempore rem lacrimabilem cum per totam terram Theobaldi nec misse celebrarentur, nec mortui sepellirentur, et excommunicati cotidie morentur.¹¹⁷ Rex autem Henricus audiens Theobaldum oppressum nec contra regem Francorum posse subsistere, exercitu congregato Normanniam

⁸ E; hic MS

¹¹⁵ Count Theobald's capture of Count William of Nevers at Annay near Avalon took place after 11 Apr. 1115, in that year, as stated by the Warrenne chronicler, rather than in 1116, the year given by the annals of Vézelay (*Monumenta Vezeliacensia*, p. 224: 'Willelmus comes Niuernis apud Annacum captus est'). The captivity resulted from the war between Louis VI and Count Theobald's supporter Thomas Marle, which had started in Dec. 1114 (*Recueil des actes de Louis VI, roi de France (1108-1137)*, iii. 208); for a discussion, see LoPrete, *Adela*, pp. 352-8. William's capture is reported retrospectively by Orderic (OV vi. 258-9) as part of the speech attributed to King Louis VI in his address to Pope Calixtus on 23 or 24 Oct. 1119. For Orderic's reliability, see below, note 119. Importantly, the *Warrenne Chronicle* is the only narrative to give a more or less chronological account and to stress the captivity's importance for Anglo-French relations at the time.

¹¹⁶ William II of Nevers's capture and Theobald's excommunication are discussed by Bishop Ivo of Chartres in his letter to papal legate Bishop Cuno of Palestrina, 'the cardinal'

Normandy which he had formerly, in the presence of his magnates at a council, handed over to William, son of Robert. For that reason and as the result of the count of Nevers's counsel, Louis gainsaid Henry's request for the grant of Normandy, but having accepted the money, he reconciled himself with him for the time being. For this reason King Henry was also violently angry at the aforesaid count and, as we have previously said, returned to England. In the same year, however, it so happened that Theobald, nephew of King Henry, captured the count of Nevers in an ambush while he was returning from the court of his lord the king, and threw him into prison.¹¹⁵ When he heard this, King Henry was very pleased, and he sent word to Theobald to keep the captive count under close guard, and not to release him from prison without his counsel. On account of this matter, King Louis was enflamed with rage and, with an army assembled, attacked Theobald on all sides, demanding that he should return the count who had been captured unjustly, or otherwise battle threatened without delay. Theobald replied that he would never release him without a just ransom and, because Count Theobald was as adorned with wisdom as he was with religion and lineage, all of Gaul was unsettled. For this reason Theobald was excommunicated in Gaul by a certain cardinal and afterwards by the whole Roman council, along with all men who supported him against the king of the French.¹¹⁶ The Roman pope also gave leave to King Louis, so they say, to wage war in all security and obedience throughout all of Lent, during which time it was not permitted to bear arms, and so it was done. You would have experienced a deplorable situation at that time, because throughout the whole of Theobald's territory no masses were celebrated, nor were the dead buried, and every day people died excommunicate.¹¹⁷ When King Henry heard that Theobald was oppressed and could not resist the king of the French, he came to Normandy quickly with an assembled army, and he supported him with all his strength and

mentioned here (PL clxii, c. 277, no. 275 and Bur, *La Formation du comté de Champagne*, p. 284). Note the Warrenne chronicler's positive words on count Theobald, born not later than 1092 (LoPrete, *Adela*, p. 549), who then was in his twenties.

¹¹⁷ The Warrenne chronicler is alone to assert explicitly the papal dispensation for Louis VI's fighting during Lent. His testimony is supported by Guibert of Nogent, who reports that on Palm Sunday Bishop Godfrey of Beauvais incited the king to fight (Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, p. 414). The Warrenne chronicler's lamentations about the state of the church in France, and especially in Blois-Chartres, may also be a reflection of the activities of Bishop Cuno of Palestrina as papal legate in July of that year (1115); see Eadmer (*Historia Novorum*, pp. 232-4), William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Pontificum*, i. 206-7), and Brett, *The English Church*, p. 37.

festinus aduenit, totisque uiribus et consilio ei succurrit.¹¹⁸ Denique egresso de carcere per redempcionem comite Neuernense, rex Laodowicus tocius discordie malum super Henricum regem conuertit, asserens eius fiducia et auxilio Theobaldum tante rebellionis arcem conscendisse.^{h 119} Itaque conuocato apud Autisidorum consilio,¹²⁰ querelam rex Laodowicus inmensam de rege Henrico facit, seque de eo ulcisci uelle omnibus ostendit, et ut aliqua res effectum habeat, iurat ipse omnesque cum eo conuocati principes statuto se tempore ad debellandum regem Henricum Normanniam irrumpere. Huius igitur rei fama tota concussa est Gallia, et rex Henricus cum uniuersa Anglia commotus. Curis enim angebatur nimis animaduertens se bello non posse defendere, quippe cum proprii principes molestiores erant quam extranei et suspicioni
fo. 16^r pocius quam amori. Siquidem | principes Normananglorum, qui regem Henricum in Normannia specie tenus magis quam corde tenus sequebantur, eo quod dum pacem haberet nunquam eos honoreⁱ ut decebat et reuerencia^j habuisset, audientes factam aduersus eum coniuracionem et statute irrumpcionis tempus paulatim se ceperunt subtrahere et sibi pocius quam illi consulere. Et hae^k erant angustie regis Henrici cum se a suis magis deseri uideret quam amari.¹²¹ Vnde sapienti usus consilio dum se totum ad Deum conuertit manifestum a Domino auxilium suscepit. Mense igitur Iulio, rex Laodowicus, congregato exercitu minori quam putauerat, Normanniam circa fines Mortui Maris^l intrauit, et uno tantum die et nocte ociosus

^h concendisse MS ⁱ E; honori MS ^j E; reuerencie MS ^k E; hee MS
^l E; mortis MS

¹¹⁸ King Henry came back to Normandy in Apr. 1116 (*ASC s.a.* 1116 and HH, pp. 460–1; Green, *Henry I*, p. 135) and he remained there until 1120.

¹¹⁹ The date of William II of Nevers's release from captivity is unknown. He was definitely free in 1122 when he accompanied King Louis VI to Bourges (Suger, pp. 232–3); but since when was he set free? Orderic states that he was still in captivity when in Oct. 1119 Louis VI addressed Pope Calixtus, and when in Nov. of the same year Henry I promised Pope Calixtus II at Gisors to intercede with Count Theobald on William's behalf (OV vi. 288–91). Orderic's information, however, is problematic in the light of two letters concerning Count William II of Nevers. The first letter is by Pope Pascal II (1099–Jan. 1118) to the count himself, dated 21 Dec. 1117, asking him to refrain from attacking churches in his neighbourhood, especially the church of Vézelay (*Monumenta Vezeliacensia*, pp. 299–300). The papal admonition is hardly believable if the count were still in prison. The second letter is by papal legate Bishop Cuno of Palestrina to the bishop of Nevers, dated to Feb. 1119, urging him to persuade the count, 'whom we quite loved (*quem satis dileximus*)', to abstain from violence (*Monumenta Vezeliacensia*, pp. 362–5, at p. 362), a remark that does not make sense if the count was kept a prisoner. We suggest therefore that Count William II of Nevers was released from his

counsel.¹¹⁸ Then, when the count of Nevers had got out of prison by means of a ransom, King Louis turned the evil of all this conflict upon King Henry, asserting that it was with his trust and support that Theobald had scaled the heights of such a large rebellion.¹¹⁹ And so when a council was summoned at Auxerre,¹²⁰ King Louis made a huge complaint about King Henry and revealed that he wished to avenge himself upon him for everything, and in order for his resolve to be effective, he swore, and all the summoned magnates swore with him, that they, at an arranged time, would attack Normandy in order to subdue King Henry. Consequently all of Gaul was shaken by the report of this news and King Henry, along with all of England, was disturbed. For he was very much troubled by cares, realizing that he could not defend himself in battle, when his own magnates were more troublesome than foreign magnates, given more to suspicion than to love. Without doubt, the Norman-English magnates who followed King Henry in Normandy more on the surface than in the heart because, in times of peace, he had never held them in honour and reverence, as he should have, when they heard that a plot had been made against him and learnt the time of the appointed attack, gradually began to withdraw and to look after themselves rather than him. And these were distressing times for King Henry, when he realized that he was more deserted by his men than loved.¹²¹ Therefore, making use of wise counsel, he turned himself totally to God and received evident support from the Lord. For in the month of July King Louis, with an assembled army which was smaller than he had supposed, entered Normandy on the borders near Mortemer, and he remained for one day and night only, more idle than warlike, and

imprisonment sometime before Pope Pascal's letter, that is sometime before Dec. 1117, probably in the spring of that year (see next note).

¹²⁰ King Louis VI's council of Auxerre, for which the Warrenne chronicler is our only source (it is not mentioned in *Recueil des actes de Louis VI, roi de France (1108–1137)*, iii. 208–9), can be dated to before King Louis's arrival in Normandy in the summer of 1117 (see below, note 122), probably sometime in the late spring. The occasion may have coincided with King Louis VI's visit to the city for his reconciliation with the recently elected Bishop Hugh of Montaigu (1115–36). Supported by Count William of Nevers (from his prison), Hugh's election was initially contested by the king, who, following a papal appeal, eventually agreed (Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration: The Role of the Bishop in Twelfth-Century Auxerre*, pp. 37–8). The royal visit to Auxerre is reported, but not dated, in the *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium* (ii. 78–9): 'regem etiam Francorum qui prius ei [Hugo] aduersabatur, in aduentu suo quam cito eum uisitauit pacatum'). We are most grateful to Kimberley LoPrete, who alerted us to this passage.

¹²¹ In this paragraph the Warrenne chronicler stresses once again the betrayal of a king by his own men (cf. paras. 13 and 21).

magis quam bellicosus ibi permanens Galliam remeauit.¹²² Comes quoque Flandrensis cum deberet suis cum copiis ei succurrere per aliam partem intrauit, et non inuento rege repatriaui.¹²³ Et ita manifesto Dei iudicio factum est ut tantus apparatus tantusque incursus fieret inanis et rex Henricus Deo auxiliante maneret immobilis.

31. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.^o .c.^o xviii.^o, Henrico rege in Normannia constituto, uenerabilis regina Normananglorum domina Matildis secunda^a kalendas Maii, ut fides sperat fidelium, rapta est ad superos anno regni sui .xvii.^o, aduentus uero Normananglorum in Angliam anno circiter .liii.^o, femina uere incomparabilis in cuius uita floruit Anglia et in eius morte decidit flos eius, et omnis decor eius ablatus est ab ea.¹²⁴ Si enim beati Ieronimi mansisset temporibus, profecto^b cum ordinata illa facundia sua infinitis eam laudibus extulisset. Fuit namque gemmina | dilectione super omnes feminas in tantum referta, ut omnis eius intencio ad hoc intenderet Deo scilicet ubique placere et nulli hominum scandalum inferre.¹²⁵ Dominicum itaque seruicium omnibus diebus statutis horis tam deuote^c tam festiue persoluebat, ut putares capellam eius non curialium^d conuenticulum esse clericorum, sed feruentissimum religiosorum monachorum.¹²⁶ Ipsi etenim presules et nobilissimi clerici eius obsequiis studebant famulari eiusque colloquiis non poterant, ut ipsi fatebantur, satiari. Denique ad celebres eius exequias conuenerunt multo cum dolore omnes pene Anglie pontifices, principes, abbates, priores, promiscuum uero uulgi innumerabile multisque cum lacrimis eius sepulture interfuerunt. Exorante autem Rogero episcopo Salisbiriensi omnes summa cum deuotione optulerunt pro anima eius missarum, orationum, elemosinarum, ceterorumque

31 ^a secundo MS
^d curialium MS

^b E; perfectio MS

^c denocte uote before correction

¹²² King Louis entered Normandy in the summer of 1117 (*Recueil des actes de Louis VI, roi de France (1108-1137)*, iii. 209). The specification of the month (July) and the place (Mortemer-sur-Eaulne, incidentally a castle of William II of Warenne), is unique to the Warenne chronicler, who presumably relied on local information.

¹²³ Count Baldwin VII of Flanders (1111-19) invaded from the north, but unable to locate the French king, he withdrew; see *ASC E* (s.a. 1117) and Henry of Huntingdon (HH, p. 460). According to William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 732-3), King Henry I was at Rouen during King Louis's brief attack.

returned to Gaul.¹²² Also the count of Flanders, who was supposed to have supported him with his troops, entered Normandy in another area, and when he did not find the king, went back home.¹²³ And so by God's clear judgement it came about that so much recruitment and such an invasion came to nothing and with God's aid King Henry remained unshakeable.

31. In the year of the Lord's incarnation 1118, when King Henry was in Normandy, the venerable queen of the Norman-English, the lady Matilda II, on the 1st of May, as the faith of the faithful hopes, was swept up to heaven in the seventeenth year of her rule, and in the fifty-third year after the coming of the Norman-English to England.¹²⁴ She was a truly incomparable woman, in whose life England flourished and in whose death its flower was cut off, and all its beauty was taken away by her. For if she had lived in the times of blessed Jerome, certainly with that well-ordered eloquence of his, he would have extolled her with infinite praises. For she, above all women, was filled with twofold love to such an extent that it was her entire intention to please God everywhere and to be a stumbling-block to no man.¹²⁵ And so she rendered service to the Lord every day at the established hours, so devotedly, so joyously, that you would think that her chapel was not an assembly of court clerics, but a most fervent one of holy monks.¹²⁶ Indeed the bishops and her most noble clerics were eager to be of service to her and, as they themselves admitted, they could not hear enough of her discourses. So then, almost all of England's bishops, magnates, abbots, priors, and indeed the innumerable common masses assembled with great sadness for her crowded funeral, and with many tears they attended her burial. At the urging of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, all offered for her soul with utmost devotion an infinite

¹²⁴ Queen Matilda II died on 1 May 1118 at Westminster Palace and was buried at Westminster Abbey (*ASC E* (s.a. 1118), John of Worcester (JW iii. 142-3), Henry of Huntingdon (HH, pp. 462-3), Eadmer (*Historia*, p. 248), and Orderic Vitalis (OV vi. 188-9)). William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 754-9) devotes a long chapter to her, but the Warenne chronicler is unique in his information about her funeral and the commemorative gifts and prayers (Huneycutt, *Matilda*, pp. 145-6; Green, *Henry I*, pp. 139-40; see also the Introduction, section VI.c). The phrase *decidit flos eius* alludes to 1 Pet. 1: 24.

¹²⁵ The reference to 'twofold love' alludes to the commandment to love God and one's neighbour (as in Matt. 22: 36-40), and in referring to a 'stumbling-block', the author perhaps had in mind Rom. 14: 13 ('ne ponatis offendiculum fratri uel scandalum').

¹²⁶ The passage on her court clerics being like monks follows hagiographical topoi, but is nevertheless very interesting in that it reads like a partisan account of a clerk; see the Introduction, section III.

beneficiorum infinitam multitudinem.¹²⁷ Singulorum autem dona coram multitudine populi fecit idem episcopus describi, et licet elemosinarum pro ea gestarum <numerum>^c non immerito comprehendere possit nullus hominum, earum tamen infra dies octo fuerunt, hic breuiter collecta est summa: missarum scilicet .xlvii. m., psalteriorum .ix. m., tricennaria .lxxx., pauperes uero qui in die sustentati sunt .lxvii., m. .d. .ccc.^{ti} .xx.^{ti}, qui <in> anno .c. et .viii., et qui in uita .c. et .xxviii. Tantundem fertur pro ea in Normannia gestum esse, monachi autem tredecim pro ea facti sunt. Sepulta est autem in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli apud Westmonasterium, iussu regis Henrici, iuxta altare ad orientem, filia orientis.¹²⁸ In cuius tumulo isti uersus cernuntur inscripti:¹²⁹

Hic iacet insignis regina secunda Matildis
temporis ipsa sui superans iuuenesque senesque.
Morum norma, decus uite, |
fuit omnibus una.

fo. 17^r

Cuius laudem breui protestacione possum comprehendere, quia ex quo Anglia est primum esse subiecta regibus ex omnibus reginis non fuit inuenta illi similis, sed nec superuenturis seculis inuenietur consimilis, cuius memoria erit in laude et nomen eius benedicetur in secula. Tantus denique de eius absencia fuit dolor tantaque omnes impleuerat deuocio, ut nobilissimi quidam clerici quos multum in uita dilexerat, ad sepulcrum eius per triginta dies in uigiliis, oracionibus et ieuniis persistentes tam lugubres quam deuotas excubias persoluerent, sed et usque hodie memoria eius quasi noua habetur. Ceterum ut ostenderetur eius meritis Angliam ualuisse et regem Henricum eius precibus regnasse,¹³⁰ infra dies octo deposicionis eius orta est contra eum noua quedam et quasi inextinguibilis discordia.¹³¹

Duos enim principes Normananglorum ad se pacifice uenientes, comitem scilicet Oensem et Hugonem de Gurnai, in curia sua ex

^c add. E

¹²⁷ Bishop Roger of Salisbury (1102–39) was also ‘chancellor’ of the Exchequer (*Regesta*, ii, pp. xvii–xviii; Kealey, *Roger of Salisbury: Viceroy of England*, pp. 42–58). The Warrenne chronicler’s information is proof that some sort of written record was made following Matilda’s death. The specification that the details given relate to England but that a similar collection was also made in Normandy is important. Queen Matilda II’s commemoration by her brother King David of Scotland (1124–53) is particularly well documented; see *Regesta regum Scottorum*, i, nos. 6, 13, 154, 319; note that no. 154 is witnessed by Ada of Warrenne, widow of Henry, son of King David, who predeceased his father in 1152.

¹²⁸ The Warrenne chronicler does not discuss the disagreement over her place of burial

multitude of masses, prayers, alms, and other benefits.¹²⁷ That same bishop had the gifts of each written down in the presence of a large congregation, and although rightly no man can grasp the number of gifts of alms performed for her, yet here in brief is a summary of those collected within eight days: of masses, 47,000; of psalters, 9,000; of trentals, 80; and the poor who were sustained for a day, 67,820; those sustained for a year, 108, and those for life 128. It is related that at least as much was done for her in Normandy, and thirteen monks were made on her behalf. She was buried in the church of St Peter the apostle at Westminster, by order of King Henry, next to the altar on the east side, daughter of the rising Sun.¹²⁸ On her tomb these verses are to be seen inscribed:¹²⁹

Here lies the distinguished Queen Matilda the second,
who surpassed both young and old in her time.
Pattern of morals, life’s adornment,
she was for all.

I can sum up her praise in this brief declaration that from the time when England was first subject to kings, of all queens none was found like her, nor will a similar queen be found in coming ages whose memory will be held in praise and whose name will be blessed for centuries. So great was the sorrow at her absence and so great a devotion filled everyone, that several of the noblest clerics, whom she had much esteemed in life, stayed at her tomb for thirty days in vigils, prayers, and fasting, and they kept mournful and devoted watch, but also until the present day her memory is kept as new. Moreover, in order that it may be shown that England was made strong by her merits and that King Henry reigned by her prayers,¹³⁰ within eight days of her burial, a new and apparently inextinguishable conflict arose against him.¹³¹

For two Norman-English magnates, the count of Eu and Hugh of Gournay, came to him peacefully, but he, unexpectedly, ordered

between the canons of Holy Trinity Aldgate in London and Westminster Abbey, but simply refers to King Henry I’s order that she be buried at Westminster. For the claims to her body by the canons of Aldgate, see *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, p. 230, which records that she was buried three days after her death, and Huneycutt, *Matilda*, pp. 145–6.

¹²⁹ The Warrenne chronicle is the only narrative source for her epitaph.

¹³⁰ Matilda’s positive influence on Henry I is mentioned by other chroniclers as well; see Huneycutt, *Matilda*, pp. 83–5.

¹³¹ The war between Henry I and the Norman nobles flared up again in 1118. The Warrenne chronicler’s dating of the hostilities as starting eight days after Matilda’s funeral (= c.3 May), that is c.11 May, may conceivably be reference to a period of mourning.

inprouiso capi iussit et carceri mancipari.¹³² Cuius rei fama non solum Normannia aut Anglia commota est, sed etiam Gallia et tota Flandria. Vicini quoque principes ita efferati sunt circa regem Henricum ac si eatenus nichil esset actitatum. Nam primo principes et fratres comitis Oensis ira commoti, Baldwinum strenuissimum iuuenem, comitem scilicet Flandrensem, inuitant et cum toto exercitu infra castelli ambitum Oensis immittunt. Stephanus autem comes Albamarecensis inuitatus a rege Henrico uenire contempsit, sed conuocatis copiis et amicis inuitatis castella sua munit, et rebellare totis uiribus contendit. Principes quoque Hugonis Gurneacensis audientes dominum suum captum obfirmatis omnibus munitionibus suis a rege Henrico imitantes regem Francorum se alienant. Willelmus autem de Warennia, unus ex primis Normananglorum principibus, comperiens nepotem suum eundem Hugonem carceri mancipatum, regem conuenit Henricum et causa tante nouitatis uentilata utrosque principes industria sua et consilio uinculis eduxit et propriis honoribus restituit.¹³³ Denique Hugo de Gurnaico^f libertati^g redditus, iuuenis quidem etate sed animo ferus, tam doloris quam uerecundie impaciens, milites quos rex Henricus castellis eiusdem ob securitatem induxerat totis uiribus expugnat, occidit et exterminat et comitem Flandrensem ad debellandum eundem regem Henricum inuitat. Comes quoque Oensis pari exemplo a rege Henrico se subducens, hostibus eius ira commotus se sociauit.

32. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.^o .c.^o .xviii.^o tres ferocissimi principes cum subditis sibi populis uno animo, eadem sententia, commoti sunt et efferati, coniurati aduersus regem Henricum statuta scilicet die Normanniam irrumpere et eundem regem aut uita priuare

^f E; Burnaico MS ^g E; libertate MS

¹³² Count Henry of Eu (d. 1140) and Hugh of Gournay are also mentioned by Suger (Suger, pp. 190–1), who adds Stephen of Aumale. Orderic (OV vi. 188–9) does not mention Henry of Eu at this point, but lists the other two as well as Eustace of Breteuil, Richer of L'Aigle, and Robert of Neubourg. For Orderic, Hugh of Gournay, whom he says had been brought up by King Henry I at his court, was the main culprit (OV vi. 190–5, 200–3; Green, *Henry I*, p. 141). The captivity of Count Henry of Eu and Hugh of Gournay at Rouen is mentioned by Orderic (OV vi. 190–1), who reports that it stimulated the intervention of Count Baldwin VII of Flanders (1111–19). Stephen of Aumale also turned against King Henry I and fortified his castle; see English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086–1260*, pp. 14–16; Green, *Henry I*, p. 142; for Aumale as a frontier county, see Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 299–305.

them to be seized in his court and to be thrown into prison.¹³² Not only Normandy and England were disturbed by the report of this news, but also Gaul and all of Flanders. Moreover, neighbouring magnates were also exasperated by King Henry, as if nothing had been put in motion up to that point. First of all the magnates and brothers of the count of Eu, moved by anger, summoned that most energetic young man Baldwin, namely the count of Flanders, and they sent him with a full army to surround the castle of Eu. Count Stephen of Aumale was summoned by King Henry, and he scorned to come, but he fortified his castle with troops which he had assembled and friends he had called upon, and he endeavoured to rebel with all his might. When Hugh of Gournay's men heard that their lord had been captured, they, imitating the king of the French, withdrew themselves from King Henry, strengthening all their fortresses. When William of Warenne, one of the foremost Norman-English magnates, discovered that his nephew, this same Hugh, had been thrown into prison, he met King Henry and when the reason for such news had been argued to and fro, he got both magnates out of their chains by his own diligence and counsel and restored them to their rightful honours.¹³³ At last, when Hugh of Gournay was restored to liberty, being young in years but fierce in spirit, and impatient with his distress as well as his disgrace, he attacked with all his might the knights whom King Henry had brought to safeguard his castles, and he killed and drove them away, and he summoned the count of Flanders to make war on King Henry. Also, following his example, the count of Eu withdrew himself from King Henry, and moved by anger, he associated himself with his enemies.

32. In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1118, three most fierce magnates, along with the people who were subject to them, unanimously and with the same purpose were stirred up and exasperated, and conspired against King Henry to attack Normandy on a designated day in order either to deprive the king of his life or to drive him from

¹³³ The story that Henry of Eu and Hugh of Gournay were released from prison through the intervention of Hugh's (maternal) uncle William II of Warenne is told only by the Warenne chronicler, who clearly draws on family tradition. William II of Warenne was the brother of Edith, who had first married Gerard of Gournay (d. c.1098) and thereafter Drogo of Mouchy (GND ii. 214–15; OV vi. 192–3; Green, *Henry I*, p. 141).

iudicio dum apud castellum Oense cum suis aduersus milites regis Henrici militari ludo decertaret, tam ualidissimo gladii ictu a quodam percussus est ex inproviso subtus palpebras in confinio frontis et nasi, ut nisi duricia galee obstitisset, uitam cum capite funditus amisisset.¹³⁷

Denique plus dolore quam uulnere sauciatus cum sibi consulere deberet—posset enim, ut aiunt, | ex eodem ictu bene conualescere—mortem sibi miser accelerauit. Nam cum eodem die Pontetum ueniens, apud Abbatisuillam uenenatis cibis aliis scilicet et melle se ingurgitauit, et tocus corporis debilitatem incurrit, sicque ingrauescente infirmitate nec exercitum congregare nec statuite irrupcioni potuit occurrere. Comes etiam Andegauensis, qui Almarico auunculo suo contra regem Henricum auxilium ferebat qui propter comitatum Eborensem, quem sibi quidam auunculus suus moriens et liberis carens hereditario iure reliquerat, aduersus regem Henricum eundem comitatum sibi auferentem arma commouerat, quibusdam causis occupatus predictae irrupcioni adesse non potuit.¹³⁸ Sicque manifesto Dei iudicio factum est ut tantus belli apparatus tantorumque conatus principum frustraretur, et rex Henricus cum subdita sibi ecclesia propter digna humilitatis et penitencie opera misericordiam Domini et auxilium experiretur.¹³⁹

34. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.^o c.^o xix.^o, indictione .xii., apostolice sedi presidente papa Calixto secundo, mense Augusto, .xx. die mensis eiusdem, factum est bellum in Normannia inter Lodowicum regem Francorum et Henricum regem Normanglorum, cuius

¹³⁷ For the third time the Warrenne chronicler refers to Count Baldwin VII's invasion of Normandy in 1118 and now tells the main story of the count's ultimately fatal wound, which (in agreement with Suger, p. 194 and HH, p. 462–3) he says took place while besieging the castle of Eu (Green, *Henry I*, p. 142). Orderic (OV vi. 190–1), who does not specify the place, says that Hugh Boterel wounded the count, who retired to Aumale, where he ate freshly killed meat, drank mead, and slept with a woman. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 731–2) mentions Arques, specifies that the wound had been caused by a series of blows, and blames garlic and goose as well as sexual indulgence for his death. He adds that King Henry I sent Count Baldwin his physician. The Warrenne chronicler agrees with Herman of Tournai (*Liber de restauratione*, p. 284) on the count's facial wounds, but while the former says that he went to Abbeville, the latter mentions Arras. Abbot Simeon of Saint-Bertin writes that he died of a light blow ('leui ictu') delivered by an Englishman and that he died of his wound at Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer (*Gesta abbatum s. Bertini Sithiensium*, p. 656). Count Baldwin VII in fact died the following year on 17 June 1119 and was indeed buried at Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer (OV vi. 191, n. 4; Green, *Henry I*, p. 150).

¹³⁸ A bone of contention between King Henry I and King Louis VI was the succession to the county of Evreux. In 1118, after the childless death of Count William of Evreux, husband of the paternal aunt of Count William II of Nevers, Hawise (see para. 30), the county was claimed by Amaury III of Montfort-d'Amaury (d. 1137). Amaury was the son

divine judgement pursuing him—while he was at the castle of Eu with his men fighting against King Henry's knights in a tournament, was unexpectedly struck with such a very powerful blow with the sword by a certain man, below the eyelids somewhere between the forehead and the nose, that if the hardness of his helmet had not stood in the way, he would have utterly lost his life along with his head.¹³⁷ At last, impaired more by pain than by an open wound, although he should have looked after himself—for, so they say, he would have been able to convalesce well from the blow—the wretched man hurried his own death. Because on that same day he came to Ponthieu, near Abbeville, and gorged himself on poisoned food, namely on garlic and honey, and caused the weakening of his entire body and thus, as his illness grew worse, he could not assemble his army, nor could he join in with the planned attack. Similarly, the count of Anjou, who was supporting his uncle Amaury against King Henry, preoccupied for various reasons, could not take part in the said attack. He, Amaury, had by hereditary right been left the county of Evreux by his uncle, who died without issue, and, on account of that county, had taken up arms against King Henry, who was trying to take that same county away from him.¹³⁸ And thus by God's clear judgement it happened that such a great recruitment for battle and the effort of such great magnates were frustrated and King Henry, along with the Church subject to him, because of worthy acts of humility and penance, experienced the mercy and help of the Lord.¹³⁹

34. In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1119, in the twelfth indiction, with Pope Calixtus II presiding over the apostolic see, in the month of August, on the twentieth day of this same month, a battle took place in Normandy between Louis, king of the French, and Henry, king of the Norman-English, and we will reveal briefly its cause

of William of Evreux's sister Agnes, the third wife of Simon I of Montfort (we are most grateful to Kathleen Thompson for her help in unravelling the genealogical detail here). The involvement of both Count Fulk V of Anjou and King Louis VI originated in the fact that they were, respectively, the son and stepson of Bertrade, first wife of Fulk IV le Rechin of Anjou and later of King Philip I of France; Bertrade was the daughter of Agnes of Montfort and thus the sister of Amaury III. The Montfort-d'Amaury claims to the county of Evreux were understandably contested by Henry I, as duke of Normandy (Hollister, *Henry I*, pp. 244–7; Green, *Henry I*, pp. 144, 146), and worried the count of Blois–Chartres (LoPrete, *Adela*, pp. 363–4). For discussions of the county of Evreux as frontier land, see Power, *Norman Frontier*, pp. 61–6; Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 333–340.

¹³⁹ Note that this paragraph, like previous ones (30 and 32), ends with the Warrenne chronicler's opinion that King Henry I ultimately emerged as victor due to his support of the Church.

belli causam et euentum breuiter intimamus, quia in eo quodammodo arcus Francie superatus est et infirmitas Normannie roborata.¹⁴⁰ Igitur rex Henricus congregato exercitu, dum castella sua in confinio Francie et Normannie quadam die uisitaturus accessit, confisus peditum et militum multitudinem terminos Gallie intrauit, et uicina loca ultra etiam Caluum Montem peragrans rapinis et incendiis ubique grauantibus cum multa preda Normanniam deuēnit.¹⁴¹ Quod audiens rex Francorum ira | et indignacione repletus conuocatis principibus suis Normaniam ingreditur et missis cursoribus preda et flamma uicina loca replentur. Cuius rei fama rex Henricus commotus, conuocato exercitu^b totus anxius et suspectus a Rothomago exiuit, et paululum progressus regem Francorum in campestri planicie^c cum suis uagantem aspexit.¹⁴² Mox timore percussus et suorum principum tergiuersacione^d et infidelitate^e suspectus exercitum sistit, et reuerti Rothomagum decreuit. Quod animaduertens Willelmus, comes de Warennia, regi Henrico festinus occurrit, et hac oracione coram omnibus eundem conuenit.¹⁴³ 'Domine, mi rex, me parentesque meos uestra reuerencia diu suspectos habuit iniuste, cum nemo sit qui me de tradicionē aut periurio conuincere potuerit. Nunc itaque quoniam maiori uos uideo necessitate coactos^f quam in omni uita uestra fueritis, quippe cui rex Francorum suis cum copiis ita efferatus et superbia festinus occurrit, me parentesque meos hodie pro uobis contra eum in mortem oppono, ut certum habeatis me uobis esse fidelissimum, et quicquid maledicorum dictum^g audistis fictum et falsum esse sciatis.¹⁴⁴ Igitur

34 ^a roboratus MS ^b exercitus MS ^c planicie MS ^d correction over an erasure ^e infidelitatem MS ^f E; coactum MS ^g die MS

¹⁴⁰ Cf. 1 Sam. (1Kgs.) 2: 4 ('arcus fortium superatus est, et infirmi accincti sunt robore'). The battle of Brémule took place on 20 Aug. 1119; the date is given both by Orderic (OV vi. 234–5) and the Warrenne chronicler, but the place is only mentioned by Orderic (OV vi. 236–7). The battle is briefly reported in the ASC E (s.a. 1118), and perhaps alluded to in John of Worcester (JW iii. 144–5), and more fully mentioned in Suger, pp. 196–9 and Henry of Huntingdon (HH, pp. 462–5). The two fullest accounts are those of Orderic (OV vi. 234–42) and the Warrenne chronicler. Marjorie Chibnall has persuasively suggested that Orderic's main informant was probably Peter of Maule, who fought on the French side and later founded a priory of St-Evroult at Maule (OV vi. 236–7, n. 11). For historical context, see Green, *Henry I*, pp. 151–3 and Strickland, 'Henry I and the battle of the two kings'.

¹⁴¹ Chaumont-en-Vexin is mentioned by Orderic (OV vi. 234–5), who says that its knights encouraged King Louis VI to engage in battle. Later he refers to William of Chaumont as the son-in-law of King Louis (OV vi. 248–9). Orderic has King Henry come from Noyon-sur-Andelle in the Norman Vexin; the Warrenne chronicler agrees with Henry of Huntingdon that Henry I came from Rouen. Elsewhere, Henry of Huntingdon (HH, pp. 124–5) alludes to an omen of birds at this time in Rouen.

and effect, because as a result, the bow of France was somehow broken, and the weakness of Normandy strengthened.¹⁴⁰ Therefore when King Henry had assembled an army, one day he approached his castles on the frontier of France and Normandy in order to visit them, and confident in the multitude of his foot soldiers and knights, he entered the borders of Gaul and ranging through neighbouring places even beyond Chaumont with extensive pillaging and burning everywhere, he came back to Normandy with much booty.¹⁴¹ When the king of the French heard this, he was filled with anger and indignation, and having summoned his magnates, he entered Normandy and having dispatched messengers, the neighbouring places were put to plunder and fire. King Henry was provoked by the report of this matter and, having summoned his army, utterly uneasy and anxious he departed from Rouen, and having advanced a little he caught sight of the king of the French roaming with his men on a flat plain.¹⁴² Soon he was struck by fear, and suspecting the subterfuge and faithlessness of his own magnates, he halted his army and ordered it to return to Rouen. William, earl of Warrenne, noticed this and ran quickly to meet King Henry and accosted him with this speech in the presence of everyone:¹⁴³ 'My lord king, your reverence has for a long time held me and my relatives unjustly suspect, although no one has been able to convict me of treason or perjury. And so now that I see you under pressure of greater need than you have been in your entire life, since the king of the French, so exasperated and hasty with pride, hurries to meet you with his own troops, today I expose myself and my relatives on your behalf to death against him, so that you may certainly consider me to be most faithful to you, and whatever you may have heard said by slanderers, you will know that it is fictitious and false.¹⁴⁴ Therefore halt the army

¹⁴² Orderic also mentions the vast plain and identifies it as Brémule (OV vi. 236–7).

¹⁴³ Neither Suger nor Henry of Huntingdon mentions the role of William II of Warrenne; Orderic does, but the Warrenne chronicler alone provides the (probably imaginary) speech; cf. the Introduction, pp. lx–lxi.

¹⁴⁴ The Warrenne chronicler gives such a prominent place to William II of Warrenne that it is likely that he received information from a Warrenne source, possibly also through the Salisbury family because Edward II of Salisbury was, according to Orderic (OV vi. 236–7), standard-bearer of Henry I; Ala of Warrenne, widow of William III of Warrenne, married Patrick of Salisbury. The speech attributed to William II of Warrenne to encourage Henry I throws a very important light on the author's knowledge of the Warrenne family. The reference to royal suspicion of the Warrennes is based on William II's brief support for Robert Curthose in the early years of Henry's kingship, and to Reginald of Warrenne's much longer loyalty to Robert. The speech also alludes to rumours of slander against the Warrennes, which presumably refers to stories about William's early wooing of King Henry I's wife Matilda II in the 1090s (OV iv. 272), or William's jokes at Henry I's expense as related by Wace (III, ll. 10535–55, pp. 320–1).

exercitum sistite et acies contra eum dirigite eo pacto ut ego in prima acie positus cum meis eum suscipiam et pondus tocius belli in me recipiam. Licet enim antike dominacionis^h iure noster sit dominus, tamen quia iniuste nos oppugnat et oblatam a nobis iusticiam suscipere recusat, omni postposito timore audacter ei occurrere.' Quod audientes circumstantes principes, uerecundia simul et timore excitiⁱ eadem singuli offerre ceperant. Tunc rex Henricus ultra quam credi potest letus effectus eo quod tantam in principibus suis contra spem reperisset fidem, acies dirigi iussit, oculisque ad celum leuatis lacrimis profusus orauit: | 'Sacratissima Virgo Maria,^j ne me patiaris hodie indignum seruum tuum hostibus meis dari in opprobrium.' Sic fatus quattuor acies sapienti usus consilio disposuit.¹⁴⁵ Primam aciem instruxit Willelmus, comes de Warennia, associatis sibi Waltero Giffard et Rogero filio Ricardi ceterisque parentibus suis. Secundam quoque instruxerunt ceteri comites et principes regis Henrici. Terciam uero aciem rex Henricus prudenti fretus industria ex peditibus quasi densissimum^k cuneum instruxit, in qua et filios suos et fidenciores milites inseruit. Quartam autem aciem idem rex seipsum interponens et quosdam fortissimos principes multipliciter roborauit. Igitur rex Francorum animaduertens regem Henricum aciem disponere et bellum sine dubio uelle inire indignacione et ira permotus—estimabat enim superbia elatus nullo modo eum audere talia presumere—suos excitat, et more inpaciens cum omni impetu et sine ordine et mensura festinus ei occurrit. Fertur denique quia cum Normanni disposite et sapienter incederent, Franci timore inflati precipites et confusi currebant potius quam ambulabant secundum id sapientis: 'Qui preceps graditur sepe cadit.'¹⁴⁶ Itaque impetum facientes primam aciem conuertentes pertransierunt, secundam quoque eodem impetu contriuerunt. Ad terciam uero ut uenerunt, que ex peditibus densissime erat conserta, cum nullis

^h dominaciones MS ⁱ exciti MS ^j here the scribe copied celum leuatis lacrimis profusus again; the phrase was then marked for deletion with the word uacat
^k densissimum MS

¹⁴⁵ According to Henry of Huntingdon (HH, pp. 464–5), the Norman battle formation consisted of three lines, and not four as the Warrenne chronicler maintains: the first line under the command of the Norman nobles [unspecified], the second line under the command of the king and his household troops, and the third line under the command of the king's sons plus infantry. William Clito was in charge of the French contingent. Although Orderic does not give the precise line formation, he lists the names of the main participants, amongst whom are Walter Giffard III, earl of Buckinghamshire (1102–64), and Roger of Clare, son of Richard, who died in 1130 (GND ii. 270–1); see also Green, *Henry I*, p. 151.

and arrange the battle-lines against him in such a manner, that I, placed in the first line with my men, will take him on and I will receive the weight of the whole battle on myself. For although by the custom of ancient lordship he is our lord, because he attacks us unjustly and refuses to receive the justice offered by us, rush against him boldly with all fear set aside.' When the magnates who were standing around him heard this, they were aroused by shame and fear at the same time, and each one began to offer the same things. Then King Henry was made more happy than could be imagined, because against all hope he had discovered such great faith in his magnates, and he ordered the battle-lines to be drawn up and with his eyes lifted to heaven, filled with tears, he prayed: 'Most holy Virgin Mary, do not allow me, your unworthy servant, to be given today to my enemies as a disgrace.' So saying, making use of wise counsel, he arranged four battle-lines.¹⁴⁵ William, earl of Warrenne, drew up the first line, in company with Walter Giffard and Roger, son of Richard, and various other relatives. Other counts and magnates of King Henry drew up the second line. But King Henry, relying on far-sighted diligence, drew up the third line out of foot-soldiers, as it were in a very dense wedge shape, into which he placed both his sons and his most faithful knights. Placing himself in the fourth line, along with several most powerful magnates, he strengthened it in many ways. Then when the king of the French saw that King Henry was arranging his battle-line and without doubt intended to enter into battle, he was frenzied with indignation and anger, for, puffed up with arrogance, he thought that Henry would in no way dare to presume such things, and he roused up his men and, impatient of delay, he quickly rushed to meet him with all impetuosity and without order or proportion. It is said, then, that because the Normans advanced in an orderly manner and sensibly, the French were filled with fear and, headlong and confused, they ran rather than walked, according to that saying of the wise man: 'He who goes headlong often falls.'¹⁴⁶ Launching an attack, they hit and passed through the first line, and also crushed the second line with this same attack. But as they came to the third line, which was held together most densely by foot-soldiers, they could neither break through it with

¹⁴⁶ Saying untraced. There is general agreement amongst the chroniclers that the Norman side was exceptionally well organized, whereas the French troops attacked too hastily (Suger, pp. 196–8; Green, *Henry I*, p. 152). The latter began with a charge that scattered the first two lines, but then ran up against an impenetrable block formation of the Normans, which then precipitated the French withdrawal.

uiribus eam dirumpere possent nec retrorsum reuerti, quippe quos prime due acies quas pertransierant ira commote a tergo acerime persequabantur, necessitate cogente in duas se diuiserunt partes, et densam illam peditum aciem circumeundo ad quartam aciem, in qua rex Henricus erat prouenerunt ibi Franci undique circumuenti |
 fo. 20^r omnes aut fuga elabuntur aut inuiti capiuntur. Rex quoque Henricus bis super galeam a quodam milite est percussus, sed minime lesus.¹⁴⁷ Lodowicus rex Francorum uelocitate^l equi lapsus euasit, principes uero eius numero .c. .xiiii. capti sunt.¹⁴⁸ Rex quoque Henricus cum magno gaudio et insperata uictoria Rothomagum est reuersus. Lodowicus uero rex, toto pene exercitu capto aut fugato, cum multa uerecundia et dolore repatrians omnem Galliam incredibili merore concussit.

Stephanus etiam Albamarensis et Hugo de Gurniaco et Helyas et ceteri principes regis Henrici, qui ab eo discesserant^m et aduersus eum rebellabant cum presentes adessent nequaquam eo die bello inserere ausi sunt, ne forte in manus eius inciderent, sed seorsum tuto in loco euentum rei expectantes steterunt, superatis uero Francis pari cum dolore ad sua sunt reuersi.¹⁴⁹ "Huius itaque" uictorie fama uolitante uniuersa Normannia atque Anglia inopinata leticia estⁿ releuata et omnes hostes regis Henrici pudore pariter et timore sunt concussi. Lodowicus autem rex lacrimabiles querelas et causas suas undique allegans, iterum post mensem exercitum congregat et Normanniam irrumpere ad se ulciscendum festinat.¹⁵⁰ Quod audiens rex Henricus^o conuocatis principibus ex priori uictoria audacior effectus cum omni festinatione ei occurrit, bellumque cum eo statim suscepisset nisi idem rex cum suis a Normannia diuertisset. Huius rei causa inimici regis Henrici ab infestatione^q inquoata aliquamtulum ceperunt cessare et Normannia paulatim pacem habere.

^l uelociter before correction ^m discesserant MS ⁿ Huiusque before correction

^o et add. MS ^q after this word confestatione ei occurrit underdotted for crasure

^q infestatione MS

¹⁴⁷ King Henry I's assailant is identified as William Crispin by Henry of Huntingdon (HH, pp. 464–5) and Orderic Vitalis (OV vi. 238–9).

¹⁴⁸ According to Orderic, 140 Frenchmen were captured.

¹⁴⁹ No other source specifically mentions the whereabouts of Count Stephen of Aumale, Hugh of Gournay, or Helias of Saint-Saens. Since they are not listed amongst the many names given by Orderic, we must assume with the Warrenne chronicler that they did not take part in the battle. Hollister (*Henry I*, p. 264, n. 119) plausibly suggests that because of

force, nor could they turn back; indeed the first two lines which they had passed through, aroused in anger, pursued them most fiercely from behind, and forced by necessity, they divided themselves into two parts and by going around that dense line of foot-soldiers, they came to the fourth line where King Henry was and there the French, surrounded on every side, all either escaped by flight or were captured unwillingly. King Henry was twice struck on his helmet by a knight, but was not much harmed.¹⁴⁷ King Louis of the French, slipping away, escaped by the speed of his horse, but the number of his magnates who were captured was 114.¹⁴⁸ King Henry returned with great joy and unhopd-for victory to Rouen. But King Louis, with almost all of his army captured or routed, returning home with much shame and sorrow, smote all of Gaul with incredible grief.

Stephen of Aumale and Hugh of Gournay and Helias and several other of King Henry's magnates, who had left him and rebelled against him, though they were present on that day, did by no means dare to join the battle, out of fear that they would by chance fall into his hands; instead awaiting the outcome, they remained in a safe place apart, but when the French had been vanquished, they returned to their properties with equal sorrow.¹⁴⁹ And so when the report of this victory had flown ahead, all of Normandy and England were elated with unexpected joy and all the enemies of King Henry were smitten equally with shame and fear. King Louis, adducing tearful complaints and his own pretexts everywhere, assembled an army again after a month and hurried to attack Normandy in order to avenge himself.¹⁵⁰ When King Henry heard this, he called together his magnates, and made bolder by the previous victory, he hurried to meet Louis with all haste and would at once have engaged in battle with him if that same king had not turned away from Normandy with his men. For this reason, the enemies of King Henry began to leave off somewhat from the trouble they had started up, and Normandy gradually returned to peace.

the withdrawal of Flemish support they considered remaining neutral as their only viable option.

¹⁵⁰ Orderic reports that King Louis VI returned to attack Normandy (Ivry and Breteuil) in September of the same year 1119 (OV vi. 246–9; Green, *Henry I*, p. 153) and that the French were again defeated by a Norman army under the command of Richard, (illegitimate) son of King Henry I, with belated help from his father. For the presence of Louis VI at Breteuil on 17 Sept., see *Recueil des actes de Louis VI, roi de France (1108–1137)*, iii. 210.

fo. 20^v 35. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.^o c.^o xx.^o, indictione .xiii., ablata est discordia, gladius et contricio a Norma|nnia.¹⁵¹ Lodowicus enim rex Francorum uidens se bellando aduersum regem Henricum se nichil posse proficere cum eodem rege se concordauit et Willelmo filio eius Normanniam reddidit, debitamque ab eo professionem suscepit.¹⁵² Carolus quoque comes Flandrensis et comes Andegauensis, Willelmus quoque comes Pontei et Stephanus Albamarensis, Hugoque de Gurniaco, ceterique pene omnes aduersarii regis Henrici hinc inde intercurrentibus nunciis multisque muneribus qualitercunque pace ad tempus concordati sunt.¹⁵³

36. Eodem anno, mense octobri, circa sacrum Dominici Natalis aduentum, cecidit lacrimabilis et inopinata sors super regem Henricum insperatum de hostibus suis in Angliam reportantem triumphum. Willelmus enim iuuenis filius suus, rex Normananglorum ut putabatur futurus, cui rex Francorum iam Normanniam reddiderat, et qui ob longe pacis confirmationem filiam comitis Andegauensis cum multo fastu et honore desponsauerat, cui etiam omnes principes Normananglorum perseuerantem professionem atque subiectionem iurauerant, manifesto Dei iudicio cum multa nobilitate iuuentute in mari suffocatus interiit, quod qualiter gestum sit breuiter explicemus.¹⁵⁴ Igitur rex Henricus in Normannia positus cum^a pacem cum hostibus suis componere satageret, et Willelmo filio suo regnum conferre procuraret, mandans eum filiam comitis Andegauensis, ut diximus, disponere fecit, sicque ex illa parte Normannia pacem

36 ^a tum MS

¹⁵¹ Peace between Louis VI and Henry I was established in the early autumn of 1120; for a reconstruction of the events leading up to it, see Green, *Henry I*, pp. 158–60. First Henry I met Pope Calixtus II (1119–24) at Gisors on 22 Nov. 1119, then six months later, shortly after 20 May 1120, with Bishop Cuno of Palestrina, the papal legate, (*Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, iii. 212). Meanwhile, Thurstan, the exiled archbishop of York (1114–40), also acted as mediator between the two factions; see Hugh the Chanter, *History of the Church of York*, pp. 126–39 and Nicoll, *Thurstan Archbishop of York 1114–1140*, pp. 60–8. Eventually, in the early autumn of 1120, Henry I's son William Adelin met with King Louis VI and did homage to his very young son Philip (see below).

¹⁵² King Louis VI's grant of Normandy to William Adelin (withheld in 1115; see para. 30) and William Adelin's homage to the king are told in more detail in the next paragraph. Orderic remains, intriguingly, silent on this topic, presumably because he felt that as long as Robert Curthose was in prison he had the first claim to Normandy (Green, *Henry I*, p. 162).

¹⁵³ Count Charles of Flanders (1119–1127) was the son of Adela of Flanders and King Cnut IV of Denmark (d. 1086). For Fulk V (d. 1142), count of Anjou, and William Talvas,

35. In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1120, in the thirteenth indiction, discord, the sword, and grief were lifted from Normandy.¹⁵¹ For Louis, king of the French, realizing that he could not profit at all from making war against King Henry, reconciled himself with this same king and he returned Normandy to Henry's son, William, and received the fealty owed from him.¹⁵² Also Count Charles of Flanders, the count of Anjou, William count of Ponthieu, Stephen of Aumale, Hugh of Gournay, and almost all other enemies of King Henry, with messengers running to and fro between them, and with many gifts, for the time being, were reconciled in peace of a sort.¹⁵³

36. In the same year, in the month of October, around the holy Advent of the Lord's Birth, a lamentable and unexpected fate befell King Henry, when he was bearing his un hoped-for triumph over his enemies back to England. For his son William, a youth, future king of the Norman-English, as was thought, to whom the king of the French had now restored Normandy, and who for the sake of strengthening a long-lasting peace was betrothed to the daughter of the count of Anjou with much pride and honour, and to whom also all the Norman-English magnates had sworn enduring faith and subjection, by God's clear judgement, died, drowned in the sea, with many noble youths, and we will briefly explain how this happened.¹⁵⁴ In short, King Henry, present in Normandy while he was busy restoring peace with his enemies, and taking care to confer the kingdom on his son William, gave the order and had him marry the daughter of the count of Anjou, as we have said, and thus Normandy attained peace in that direction.

count of Ponthieu see Orderic (OV vi. 224–5). For Stephen of Aumale and Hugh of Gournay, see para. 34.

¹⁵⁴ William Adelin drowned on 25 Nov. 1120, and not in October as stated here, as a result of the White Ship disaster. His death is reported by all contemporary sources (Green, *Henry I*, pp. 164–7). In this paragraph the Warrenne chronicler jumps back in time to record the immediate run-up to William's death. William Adelin had married Matilda, daughter of Count Fulk V of Anjou, in June 1119 at Lisieux; see *ASC E* (s.a. 1119), John of Worcester (JW iii. 144–5), Orderic (OV vi. 224 and 302–3), *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii, no. 1204 (1119, Rouen, perhaps June; cartulary of St John's Colchester); see also Green, *Henry I*, p. 149. The reference to William Adelin as future king is reminiscent of Hugh the Chanter's phrase 'rex et dux iam designatus' (Hugh the Chanter, pp. 164–5), and that in *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii, no. 1204: 'Dei gratia rex designatus'. As Hollister (*Henry I*, p. 275) points out, since Hugh was probably in Normandy in 1120 as a member of Archbishop Thurstan's retinue, any information he had would have come from Henry I's immediate circles. Garnett, *Conquered England*, p. 207, n. 593 warns against an interpretation that the phrases indicate a status of co-duke or co-king.

optinuit. Cum rege quoque Francorum in se concordauit, censum statutum ex redditibus Anglie eidem singulis annis dare instituit,¹⁵⁵ ita ut quia idem rex fidem quam Willelmo filio Roberti comitis, qui causa erat tocius discordie, fecerat irrumperere non audebat, filium suum puerum concederet Willelmo, filio regis Henrici, Normanniam reddere et de ea idem Willelmus | eidem puero filio regis^b Francorum debitam subieccionem faceret.¹⁵⁶ Quibus gestis pax antiqua redit, et regis Lodowici ira quieuit. Itaque rex Henricus, pacem uolens undique reformare et Willelmo filio suo regnum quietum relinquere, Willelmum comitem Pontei et Almaricum Ebroensem, Hugonem de Gurniaco, ceterosque plures aduersarios, ut putabatur, inflexibiles largis muneribus flectere cepit et promissionibus,¹⁵⁷ et quia, ut ait Salomon 'omnia pecunie obediunt', restituens eis honores quos postulabant, et de immitissimis et periuris amicos fecit et familiares.¹⁵⁸ Hiis ita gestis iam quasi de uictoria securus congregato exercitu mense Octobris ad pugnandum Stephanum Albamarensem se conuertit, qui solus eius fiducia Caroli comitis Flandrensis acerime resistebat.¹⁵⁹ Castello itaque in planicie campestri celeriter facto ab ingressione Normannie cepit eum arcere.¹⁶⁰ Quibus auditis comes Flandrensis conuocatis undique militum copiis ad expugnationem eiusdem castelli festinus occurrit. Henricus quoque rex congregatis tocius Normannie uiribus in eodem loco ad defensionem sui presidii castra collocauit. Itaque rex Henricus plus pacem querens quam sedicionem Willelmum comitem de Warennia cum paucis ad hostium castra tractare cum eisdem de pace transmisit.¹⁶¹ Quid multa? 'Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames.'¹⁶² Illi qui sacramentis ineffabilibus construxerant, numquam cum rege Henrico se pacem habituros, numquam Willelmum filium

^b regem MS

¹⁵⁵ The Warrenne chronicler now gives more details for the account of the peace arrangements between King Henry I and King Louis VI, given in para. 35. He is the only source for the plausible information that King Henry gave the French king an annual sum of money out of his English taxation; presumably this is the same amount that had been agreed in 1115 (see para. 30).

¹⁵⁶ The Warrenne chronicler is the only source to give details about the arrangements for William Adelin's homage for Normandy to King Louis VI's young son, Philip, born on 29 Aug. 1116 (*Recueil des actes de Louis VI, roi de France (1108-1137)*, iii. 208), so that King Louis could not be accused of breaking his earlier promise of Normandy to William Clito (Green, *Henry I*, p. 163). For a pertinent discussion of this homage, though without reference to the *Warrenne chronicle*, see Garnett, *Conquered England*, p. 207.

¹⁵⁷ The Warrenne chronicler's reference to King Henry's (English) payments to William Talvas of Ponthieu, Amaury of Exreux, Hugh of Gournay, and others is entirely plausible.

King Henry also came to an agreement with the king of the French, and he decided to give a designated tax from the revenues of England annually to this same king,¹⁵⁵ and so, because the king of the French did not dare to break the promise that he had made to William, son of Count Robert (who was the cause of all the strife), the king of the French agreed that his son, a boy, would give Normandy to William, son of King Henry, and that this same William would do fealty owed for Normandy to the same boy, son of the king of the French.¹⁵⁶ When these things had been done, ancient peace returned and the anger of King Louis was quieted. And so King Henry, wishing to re-establish peace everywhere and to leave a peaceable realm to his son William, began to appease William, count of Ponthieu, Amaury of Evreux, Hugh of Gournay, and many more inflexible, as it was thought, enemies with large gifts and promises,¹⁵⁷ and since, as Solomon says, 'everything obeys money', he restored to these men the honours they claimed, and made friends and followers from the most merciless and perjured men.¹⁵⁸ Thus, when he had done these things, as if already secure in victory, in the month of October, with an assembled army, he turned to fight Stephen of Aumale, who was alone to offer strong resistance, confident in Count Charles of Flanders.¹⁵⁹ And so with a castle built quickly on a flat plain, Henry began to fortify it against an invasion of Normandy.¹⁶⁰ When the count of Flanders heard these things, he summoned troops of knights from everywhere and quickly hurried to attack the castle. King Henry, when he had summoned the might of all of Normandy in this same place for the defence of his fortress, built castles. And so, while King Henry sought peace more than dissension, he sent Earl William of Warennia with a few men to the castles of the enemy to negotiate peace with them.¹⁶¹ What more need be said? 'O sacred hunger for gold, what do you not compel mortal breasts to do?'¹⁶² Those who had claimed with ineffable oaths that they never would have peace with King Henry and never would abandon

¹⁵⁸ Eccles. 10: 19.

¹⁵⁹ For the war between King Henry I and Stephen of Aumale, supported by Count Charles of Flanders, see also Orderic (OV vi. 278-81), the only other chronicler who reports the enmities. Green, *Henry I*, pp. 157-8, dates these events to Oct. 1119.

¹⁶⁰ Orderic (OV vi. 278-81) locates King Henry's castle at Vieux-Rouen-sur-Bresle, approx. 8 km north of Aumale.

¹⁶¹ Orderic (OV vi. 280-1) blamed Stephen's wife Hawise, daughter of Ralph of Mortemer, for inciting Stephen. The Warrenne chronicler is the only authority to give a role to William II of Warennia in the resolution of this conflict.

¹⁶² Virgil, *Aeneid*, iii.56. Note also the Warrenne chronicler's remarks about perjury.

Roberti comitis relicturos cupiditate uicti falsam^c pacem periuri componunt, et eundem iuuenem solum relinquunt. Restaurat itaque rex Henricus comiti Flandrensi annuos redditus ex Anglia et fo. 21^v Stephano Albamarensi omnem terram.¹⁶³ Videns | igitur Willelmus iuuenis, qui presens adherat ad bellandum ut putabat regem Henricum ab hominibus se deserui, et principes famosos et potentes sacramenta et fidem quam sibi quondam fecerant auaricia superatos rupisse lacrimis perfusus, ut ferunt, legatos regi Henrico auunculo suo transmisit. Denique orat suppliciter, sed ut res patuit inaniter, ut patrem suum Robertum comitem longo tempore carcere detentum sibi reddat, eo tenore ut Normanniam eidem regi Henrico et heredibus suis quietam et absolutam perpetuo concedat, et cum eodem patre suo Ierosolimam petens sub iureiurando promittat numquam se ulterius Iulias Alpes transire nec malum ei alium machinari.¹⁶⁴ Quod audiens rex Henricus respuit, pecuniam uero ei sponndit dare. Willelmus uero ira et merore affectus respondit se numquam eius pecuniam accipere, numquam cum eo pacem habere, sed super causa sua piissimi Iudicis misericordiam expectare.¹⁶⁵ Flens igitur et eiulans cum Helya tutore suo et militibus quibusdam strenuissimis, qui nequaquam cum rege Henrico poterant concordare, recessit.

37. Rex^a denique Henricus ubi industria et pecunia sua pacem restituit cum multo triumpho et gaudio in Angliam uenire disposuit, sed Deus omnipotens, qui sicut beatus Iob ait: 'Balteum regum'^b dissoluit, precingit fune renes eorum',¹⁶⁶ 'de iusto' suo iudicio gaudium eius conuertit in merorem¹⁶⁷ et uictoriam in tristiciam. Descendens^d enim cum duobus filiis suis Willelmo et Ricardo atque Theobaldo, comite Blesensi nepote suo, multaque parentum et procerum frequentia ad portum maris qui Barbatus Fluctus dicitur,

^c falsem MS

37 ^a Lex due to insertion of the wrong capital in the space at the start of the paragraph
^b regnum before correction ^{c-c} deiuncto written indistinctly by corrector over an erasure
^d descendens MS

¹⁶³ The restoration of the annual stipend to Count Charles of Flanders presumably concerned the Anglo-Flemish arrangement, in place since 1101 and renewed in 1110, whereby the king of England paid the count of Flanders an annual sum in return for mercenaries (Diplomatic Documents, ed. Chaplais, nos. 1-2, pp. 1-4; also no. 1, trans. van Houts, 'The Anglo-Flemish treaty of 1101').

William, son of count Robert, overcome by greed, these perjurers established a false peace and they abandoned this same young man. And so King Henry restored annual rents from England to the count of Flanders and all land to Stephen of Aumale.¹⁶³ Then the young William, who was present there ready to make war, so he thought, against King Henry, seeing that he had been deserted by his men and that the renowned and powerful magnates, conquered by avarice, had broken their oaths and the faithful promise that they had once made to him, in floods of tears, so they say, he sent envoys to King Henry his uncle. Then he begged humbly but, as became clear, in vain, that Henry might return to him his father Count Robert, who had been detained in prison for a long time, on this condition, that he would concede Normandy to King Henry and his heirs quit and free in perpetuity, and with his father he would make for Jerusalem, and he promised under binding oath that he would never cross the Julian Alps again, nor would he scheme any evil against him.¹⁶⁴ When King Henry heard this, he refused it and promised to give him money. But afflicted with anger and grief, William replied that he would never accept his money, and never have peace with him, but would await the mercy of the most pious Judge regarding his cause.¹⁶⁵ Weeping and wailing, he departed with Helias his guardian and with several most vigorous knights, who by no means could be reconciled with King Henry.

37. At last King Henry restored peace with his diligence and money and decided to come to England with much triumph and joy, but God omnipotent, who, just as the blessed Job says, 'loosens the belt of kings, and girds their kidneys with a rope',¹⁶⁶ out of his just judgement turned the king's joy into grief and victory into sorrow.¹⁶⁷ Having descended with his two sons, William and Richard, and with Theobald count of Blois, his nephew, and with many relatives and a crowd of nobles, to

¹⁶⁴ The Warrenne chronicler is the only source for the information that a meeting took place between King Henry I and his nephew's envoys, where Clito apparently offered to take his father (as penitent?) to Jerusalem. The story resembles the one told by John of Worcester (JW iii. 296) how in 1141 King Stephen might have been persuaded to become a pilgrim or monk. Orderic reports that the Norman nobles reluctantly left William Clito's cause (OV vi. 282-3), events which Green, *Henry I*, p. 158, dates to late 1119.

¹⁶⁵ According to Orderic Vitalis, in a story embedded in King Henry I's speech to Pope Calixtus II at Gisors (22 Nov. 1119), at an (undetermined) earlier stage King Henry I had offered William Clito three English earldoms in return for his promise to cease hostilities (OV vi. 288-9).

¹⁶⁶ Job 12: 18.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Jas. 4: 9.

statuta die nauem cepit concendere uentis et mari prospere fauentibus . . .¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ At this point in the manuscript the text breaks off, clearly because the copyist's exemplar was wanting (see Introduction, section I). The king together with his sons William Adelin and Richard, as well as many other nobles, left Normandy on 25 Nov. 1120. The king and the earls set out to sea first. The others followed later the same day. At the last minute, according to Orderic (OV vi. 296-7), a number of the second group,

the seaport, called Barfleur, on the designated day he began to board his ship with favourable winds and a prosperous sea . . .¹⁶⁸

amongst whom were two monks of Tiron, Count Stephen of Mortain, William of Roumare, Rabel of Tancarville, and Edward of Salisbury, decided to leave the White Ship on account of the rowdiness of the other passengers, and sail separately. The White Ship was wrecked with the loss of more than 300 lives. According to Orderic, only one man, a butcher, survived.