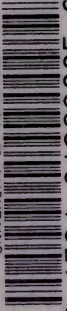


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In the year of grace 1181, being the twenty-seventh year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king was at Le Mans, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord. After this festival, he enacted throughout all his territories, beyond sea, that every man who had a hundred pounds of money Anjouin, in chattel property, should keep a horse and a complete set of military accoutrements; that every man who had chattel property to the amount of forty, thirty, or twenty-five pounds Anjouin, at the least should have a hauberk, an iron head-piece, a lance and a sword; while all other persons were to have a gambeson,¹ an iron head-piece, a lance and a sword, or a bow and arrows; and he forbade any person to sell or pledge his arms; but on his death he was to leave the same to his next heir. When Philip, king of France, and Philip, earl of Flanders, came to hear of this, they ordered that their men should arm themselves in a similar manner.

In the same year, after the Purification of Saint Mary, Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, came into Normandy, bringing with him the son of Roderic, king of Connaught, and delivered him to the king of England as a hostage for the performance of the treaty made between him and the king of Connaught, as to the payment of tribute by Ireland; shortly after which the said archbishop of Dublin died at Auc, in Normandy, and was buried there. After his decease, the king of England sent to Ireland

¹ The gambeson, or wambais, or subarmale, was made of quilted stuff, and formed the body armour of the burgesses.

Geoffrey de Haye, his own secretary, and the secretary of Alexis, the legate in Ireland, to take possession of the archbishopric of Dublin, and also sent with them John, the constable of Chester, and Richard of the Peak, to take charge of the city of Dublin, of which Hugh de Lacy had had the keeping. For our lord the king was unwilling that he should any longer have charge of it, because he had, without his permission, married the daughter of the king of Connaught, according to the usage of that country.

In the same year, our lord the pope most strictly commanded Richard, the archbishop of Canterbury, all pretexts and excuses laid aside, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, to compel Geoffrey, the bishop elect of the church of Lincoln, and son² of our lord the king of England, either to renounce his election, or without delay to take priest's orders, and assume the dignity of the pontifical office. On this, Geoffrey being placed in a dilemma, sensible of his own insufficiency, and considering that he was not competent to perform the duties of so arduous an office, preferred to renounce the episcopal office, rather than undertake to bear a burden which he could not support. Accordingly, he wrote to Richard, the archbishop of Canterbury, to the following effect.

The Letter of Geoffrey, bishop of Lincoln elect, on his resignation of that bishopric.

“To the venerable father and lord Richard, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, and legate of the Apostolic See, Geoffrey, son and chancellor of our lord the king of England, health and all due and duteous respect. It has pleased his Apostolic Majesty to instruct your holiness to call upon me within a certain time to take priest's orders and to assume the dignity of the pontifical office. Now upon considering how many bishops of more mature years, and more advanced in wisdom, are still hardly of an age to prove themselves equal to the requirements of such a weighty office, and are scarcely able to fulfil the duties of their pontificate without danger to souls, I have been alarmed at myself, who am so much younger, assuming a burden, which those more advanced in years are unable to bear, not doing so from any levity of feeling, but from a feeling of respect for my vows. Having therefore had an interview hereon, with our lord the king, my father, and my lords and brothers the king

² Illegitimate son. He was afterwards archbishop of York.

and the earls of Poitou and Brittany, and Henry, bishop of Bayeux, Froger, bishop of Seez, Reginald, bishop of Bath, Sigfred, bishop of Chichester, who were present, I have come to a different determination as to my mode of life and profession, wishing for a time to serve in a military capacity under the orders of the king, my father, and to refrain from interfering in episcopal matters. Accordingly, most holy father, I do spontaneously, freely, and entirely, resign into your hands all rights consequent upon my election, as also the see of Lincoln; requesting of you as being my metropolitan, and for this purpose especially delegated by the Apostolic See, absolution both from the said election and from holding the said bishopric. Farewell."

In like manner, the said bishop elect of Lincoln wrote to the canons of the church of Lincoln, asking of them absolution both from the said election and from holding the said bishopric. After this, our lord, the king, by whose advice his son Geoffrey had resigned his election into the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, gave him his chancellorship and a yearly revenue of five hundred marks in England, and the same in Normandy.

In this year, Saladin, the king of Babylon, seeing that Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, being smitten with leprosy, had not strength to resist him, raising a great force, came into the land of Jerusalem, and laid it waste, and there was no person to make any resistance to him. In the same year, the king of England was at Chinon during the festival of Easter; and after Easter returned into Normandy, and held a conference with Philip, king of France, at Vé Saint Remy, on the fifth day before the calends of May, being the second day of the week; at which the Templars and Hospitallers of Jerusalem presented to the before-named kings letters from Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, to the following effect:

The Letter of pope Alexander on the necessity of giving aid to the land of Jerusalem.

"Alexander, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved sons, those noble men, the dukes and princes, earls, barons, and all the faithful servants of God, to whom these letters shall come, health and the Apostolic benediction. The sinister rumours which, according to the universal report of those passing this way, have reached us from the land of

Jerusalem, have afflicted our heart and those of all our brethren with excessive grief; inasmuch as any one who has the name of Christian can hardly even hear, without tears and sighs, the recitals that are given as to the wretched state of that country. For it is (and with grief we own it) trodden down under the inroads of the infidels, and so utterly bereft of the prowess of men of might, and the prudent counsel of men of probity, that unless the people receive from the Christian kings and princes of the earth speedy and powerful succour, we fear, which may God forbid, the speedy desolation thereof, thus working to the disgrace of the Lord, and to the contempt of the Christian faith. For there is no king to rule that land, inasmuch as Baldwin, who now holds the helm of state, has been (as we believe you are aware) so grievously scourged under the righteous judgments of God, that he is hardly able to endure the incessant torments of his body. Indeed, the heavy losses and the shocking misfortunes, both in men and property, which that land (for which our fathers and ancestors shed their blood in the battles which they formerly waged with the heathens) has, in consequence of its sins so requiring it, endured, we can neither without great sorrowing at heart call to our recollection, nor can any who are zealous for the law of the Lord, endure with feelings of patience calamities of the faithful so mighty; and the more especially so, as this most abominable nation of the pagans, in consequence of the losses and dangers which they have inflicted upon the nation of the Christians, are said to be inspired with such audacity as impudently to boast that they will, which God forbid, gain possession of that land. Therefore let the zeal of the Lord move you, and let not the Christian religion sleep in its sorrow over such mighty evils as are threatening that land; but, on the contrary, manfully defend all those places which our Saviour and Redeemer has sanctified by His bodily presence, and despise the nations which reject the Lord, and strive to sweep away the Christian name from off the earth. For indeed, there is no Christian who is not moved at the misfortunes of the before-named land, and who does not prepare for the purpose of defending it from the attacks of the infidels, while they are striving to possess it, and, which God forbid, to profane it by their abominations. Therefore, those among you who are valiant and fit for waging war, ought, as a matter of duty, to undertake a work as pious as it is necessary and the labours of this pilgrimage, clothed no less with the shield of faith

and the breastplate of justice than with worldly arms, and to defend those places in which the Redeemer of mankind has been willing to die for us and has undergone a temporal death, with powerful might, so that in our times Christianity may suffer no detriment in those parts. For inasmuch as Christ for our salvation endured many insults, and, last of all, suspension on the cross, that He might make an offering of us to God, mortified in the flesh and justified in the spirit, it is most conducive to the salvation of the faithful that on His behalf we should expose our bodies to perils and to labours, that so we may not seem to be forgetful of the price of His blood which He shed for us. Give heed therefore, my beloved sons in Christ, and consider how disgraceful it would be, and how deserving of the grief of all Christians, if at last the enemies of the cross of Christ should prevail against the dwellers in that land ; and that they will prevail we have no small dread, unless assistance is brought in all haste from the different parts of Christendom to those who dwell there. Therefore, take precaution and exert all your endeavours that Christianity may not succumb to heathenism, inasmuch as it is better to meet an impending evil before it comes, than to seek a remedy after the cause has been injured. To those also, who in behalf of Christ shall undertake the labours of this expedition, we do, by the Apostolic authority, grant and confirm that remission of sins, which the fathers, our predecessors, Urban and Eugenius, the Roman Pontiffs, gave by their enactments. The wives also, and children of such persons, and their goods and possessions, we do decree to be under the protection of Saint Peter and of ourselves, as also of the archbishops and bishops and other prelates of the Church ; strictly forbidding, that after the assumption of the cross, any claim shall be entertained with reference to the things of which they are in peaceable possession, until such time as they shall return, or certain information shall have been brought of their death. Let it also be lawful for them, after their relations, or even their superior lords, to whom the fee belongs, have shown themselves unwilling or unable to lend them money thereon, to pledge their lands or other possessions to churches or to ecclesiastics or others of the faithful, freely and without any challenge thereof, in order to defray the expenses of the said expedition. Moreover, such men, accustomed to arms and fitted for the defence of that land, as shall, in the fervour of their devotion,

repair to those holy places, and serve there for a period of two years against the Saracens, in defence of the Christian name, trusting in the merits of Jesus Christ and in the authority of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, we do give them absolution for all those sins of which with a contrite and humble heart they shall make confession, unless they shall happen to have taken property that belongs to another, or to have extorted usurious interest, or to have committed thefts; for all which offences due reparation ought to be made. But if those who are guilty thereof have not the means of making such reparation, nevertheless they shall obtain pardon for their offences, as we have already mentioned. And those who shall have remained there but one year, as we have previously mentioned, shall obtain an indulgence for one half the penance enjoined them and remission of their sins. And, further, to all, who, by reason of urgent necessity, are wishful to visit the sepulchre of our Lord, whether they die on the road, or whether they arrive at that place, we do enjoin that the labour of the said journey shall be in place of penance, and obedience, and for the remission of all their sins, that so by the bounty of God, they may arrive from the turmoils of this life at that state of blessedness, 'Which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man,'¹⁵ and which the Lord hath promised to those who love Him. Given at Tusculanum, on the seventeenth day before the calends of February."

The said pope also wrote to the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of churches with reference to the same subject, to the following effect:—

Another Letter of pope Alexander on the same subject.

"Alexander the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops, and to his dearly beloved sons the abbats and other prelates of churches to whom these letters shall come, health and the Apostolic benediction. Inasmuch as the eastern lands, by reason of the attacks and assaults of the infidels, have been deprived of the prowess of men of valour and the counsel of men of probity, and are stricken with exceeding dismay, the archbishops, bishops, and other chief men of the land, have thought proper to send to your parts our dearly beloved sons, the knights of the Temple, the bearers of these presents, religious men, and who

¹⁵ 1 Cor. ii. 9.

fear God, in order to implore your aid ; wherefore we, whom the calamities of that land afflict with intense sorrow, after the example of our fathers and predecessors, being anxious for the preservation thereof, do by this healthful warning exhort the Christian kings and princes of the world to the defence of those places in which the feet of the Lord have stood ; and for that purpose, we do proclaim to all sinners, who, in the cause of Christ, shall undertake the labour of aiding Jerusalem, and shall with faithful duteousness make it their care to fight against the Saracens, that remission and forgiveness of sins, which the fathers, our predecessors, Urban and Eugenius, the Roman Pontiffs, gave by their enactments. We do therefore advise and strictly enjoin the whole of you, to receive with kindly feelings the brethren who have been sent for this purpose, and after learning through them the state of the countries of the east, and the necessities thereof, to labour by frequent and anxious exhortations to induce the princes, earls, and others of the faithful in Christ in your respective dioceses, to repair with all haste to these lands, for the delivery of which their fathers and ancestors have shed their own blood, and to fight with might and valour against the enemies of the cross of Christ. The letters which for this purpose we send, addressed to all generally, you will cause to be publicly read in all churches and will explain the tenor thereof, and will announce the remission of sins which we grant to those who shall engage in a work so pious and so necessary, and so advise all persons to do that which we suggest. And may, through your anxiety and your exhortations, that land speedily be sensible of the aid and succour of the faithful, and may you yourselves in return for it, gain from Almighty God an everlasting reward. Given at Tusculanum,¹⁶ on the sixteenth day of January."

On hearing of this, Philip, king of France, and Henry, king of England, greatly lamenting the adversities and the desolation of the land of Jerusalem, promised that they would, with the aid of the Lord, give speedy succour thereto ; upon which, the interview was brought to a close.

In the meantime, William, king of Scotland, by the command of our lord the king of England, came into Normandy, and by his counsel and advice the said king of Scotland gave liberty to return to Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, and John, bishop of Saint Andrew's, whom he had banished from Scot-

¹⁶ The modern Frascati.

land. An agreement was entered into between them, in presence of the king of England, to the following effect:— That Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, should freely and without any opposition, under the safe conduct of the king of Scotland, return to his own see, and if anything should have been taken from him, the same should be restored; and John, who had been consecrated bishop of Saint Andrew's, in order to regain the favour of his lord the king of Scotland, agreed that he would give up to him the said bishopric, if he should be allowed to choose whatever bishopric he might please in the kingdom of Scotland, and if in addition thereto, the king of Scotland should give him his chancellorship and all the revenues which he had held before his consecration, together with forty marks of yearly revenue from the church of Saint Andrew's. Upon this the king of Scotland sent his envoys to pope Alexander, to request that for the sake of peace, he would allow this change of episcopal sees to take place; this, however, our lord, the pope, would not allow.

After these transactions, the king of England gave to John Fitz-Luke, his clerk, the bishopric of Exeter, and to Ralph de Warnville, who was his chancellor and treasurer of the church of York, the bishopric of Lisieux, which Arnulph, bishop of Lisieux, had vacated in consequence of the dislike which the king had taken to him; for when he found that he could at no price obtain the royal favour, he preferred resigning the bishopric, to enduring the king's hatred any longer. Accordingly, after getting in his gold and silver from every quarter, of which he was said to have a large quantity, and having received from the king of England a large sum of money for vacating his bishopric, he went to Paris, and remained at the church of Saint Victor there until the day of his death. After this, while the king of England was making a stay at Barbeflet,¹⁷ with the intention of passing over to England, a dispute arose between Philip, king of France, and Philip, earl of Flanders, concerning the count of Claremont, whom the earl of Flanders greatly disliked. The king of England, therefore, at the request of the king of France, attended a conference between them at Gisors, and made peace between the king of France and the earl of Flanders. After this, the king of England came to Cherbourg, and, passing over to England, landed at Portsmouth, on the seventh day before the calends of August, being

¹⁷ Harfleur.

the Lord's day, with William, king of the Scots, who accompanied him.

Shortly after this, the king of England made the following assize as to keeping arms throughout England :

“Whoever has a single knight's fee must keep a cuirass, a helmet, a shield, and a lance, and every knight must keep as many cuirasses, helmets, shields, and lances as he has knights' fees in his demesne. Every free layman, who shall have in chattels or in rental to the amount of sixteen marks, must have a hauberk, an iron head-piece, and a lance; and all burgesses, and all companies of freemen must keep a gambeson, an iron head-piece, and a lance; and every person may make oath that before the feast of Saint Hilary he will provide such arms, and will do fealty to our lord the king, namely, Henry, the son of the empress Matilda, and will hold the said arms at his service in obedience to his command, and in fealty to his lord the king and to his realm. And no person, after he shall have provided the said arms, is to sell the same, or to make a pledge thereof, or to lend them, or in any way to part with them; nor is the lord in any way to take them from his homager, either by way of fine, gift, or pledge, or in any other way whatsoever. And if any person having the said arms shall die, his arms shall remain with his heir; and if his heir be not of such an age that he can use arms, if required, then the person who shall have the guardianship of him, shall in like manner have the guardianship of such arms, and shall find a man to use the said arms in the service of our lord the king, if needs be, until the heir shall be of such an age as to be able to bear arms, and then he is to have them. And further, whatever burgesse shall have more arms than according to this assize he ought to have, he is to sell the same, or give them away, or part with them to some person who shall wield them in England in the service of our lord the king. And no one of them is to retain more arms than in conformity with this assize he ought to have. Also, no Jew is to keep in his possession a cuirass or hauberk; but he is to sell the same or give them away, or in some other manner dispose thereof, but so that they continue to be used in the service of our lord the king of England. Also, no person is to carry arms out of England except with the leave of our lord the king, and no one is to sell arms to any person for him to carry them out of England, and no merchant or other person is to carry them out of England. Also,

the justices are to cause oath to be made by lawful knights, or by other free and lawful men of hundreds, visnets,¹⁸ and burghs, as may seem most expedient to them, that those who have the value in chattels to the amount above stated, shall provide, as they ought, a cuirass, helmet, lance, and shield, according to what has been mentioned above; and that for the said purpose they will name all those of their hundreds, visnets, and boroughs, who have sixteen marks' value either in chattels or yearly rental; and after that, the justices are to cause all of them to be registered, both jurors and the others, both who they are and what chattels or rental they have, and what arms each ought to provide, according to the value of the chattels or rental; and after that, in their presence and in the hearing of them all, they are to cause this assize to be read as to keeping arms, and to cause them to make oath that they will provide such arms according to the aforesaid value of the chattels or rental, and will hold the same at the service of our lord the king in conformity with the aforesaid assize, in obedience to the command of and in fealty to their lord, king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, and to his realm. And if it shall so happen that any one of those persons who ought to provide such arms shall not be in the county at the time when the justices shall be in that county, then the justices are to appoint a time for him to appear before them in another county. And if the said persons shall not come to them in any county through which they shall pass, and shall not be in those districts, then they are to name a time at Westminster, on the octave of Saint Michael, that each may then be there for the purpose of making oath, as he loves himself and all that belongs to him; and orders are to be given to him before the feast of Saint Hilary before-named, to provide arms according as he is bound to provide the same. And further, the justices are to cause proclamation to be made throughout all counties through which they shall pass, that those persons who shall not provide the said arms as herein commanded, the king will lay hands on their bodies, and will on no account take from them their lands or chattels. Also, no person is to be sworn as of the free and lawful men who has not sixteen marks or ten marks in chattels. Also, the justices are to give orders throughout all the counties through which they shall pass, that

¹⁸ "Neighbourhoods;" from the Norman "vesiné;" probably, small communities not unlike the "frith-borgs" of the Anglo-Saxons.

no person, as he loves himself and all that belongs to him, shall buy or sell any ship for the purpose of transport from England; and that no person shall carry timber, or cause it to be carried, out of England. The king has also ordered that no person shall be admitted to the oath of arms unless he is a free man."

In the same year, Henry, king of England, son of the empress Matilda, gave to John Cumin, his clerk, the archbishopric of Dublin, in Ireland, at Evesham, on the eighth day before the ides of September. In the same year William, archbishop of Rheims, came to England on a pilgrimage to the Martyr Saint Thomas of Canterbury. In the same year Dufenauld, the son of William, the son of Dunecan, who had often laid claim to the kingdom of Scotland, entered Scotland with a large army, and laid waste the parts near the sea-coast. In this year also, John, bishop of Saint Andrew's, pronounced sentence of excommunication against Richard de Morville, the constable, and Richard de Prebendâ, and others of the household of the king of Scotland, who had caused a breach of the peace between himself and the king. In addition to this, Roger, archbishop of York, the legate in Scotland, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, by the authority of our lord the pope, commanded the prior of Saint Andrew's and the ecclesiastical personages throughout the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, to go to John, their bishop, and pay him the respect of their dutious submission, declaring that if they refused, they would pronounce upon them, as being contumacious and rebellious, sentence of suspension. On this, some of the ecclesiastics of the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, through fear of suspension, came to the before-named bishop John; on which William, the king of Scotland, expelled them from his kingdom, with their sons and kinsmen, and even those who, hanging at their mother's breasts, were yet crying in the cradle. Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, seeing the shocking proscription of these persons, acted in obedience to the mandate of our lord the pope; for Roger, archbishop of York, excommunicated William, king of Scotland, and both he and Hugh, bishop of Durham, pronounced sentence of interdict on all the territories of the king of Scotland, ordering the bishops, abbats, priors, and other ecclesiastical persons strictly and inviolably to observe the said sentence of interdict, and carefully to avoid the king himself as an excommunicated person.

In the same year died pope Alexander the Third, in the twenty-second year of his papacy, and on the twelfth day before the calends of October, being succeeded in the papacy by Imbald, cardinal bishop of Ostia, who took the name of pope Lucius the Third. In the same year, Rôger, archbishop of York, being attacked with a severe illness, on perceiving the last day of his life at hand, called together the abbats, priors, and other ecclesiastical persons of his diocese, and with becoming considerateness distributed his property for the use of the poor, and among other wondrous deeds of his power,¹⁹ to perpetuate his praises, he sent to William, archbishop of Rheims, and the other bishops of the kingdom of France, more than five hundred pounds of silver to be distributed among the poor. In like manner he left a similar sum to the archbishop of Rouen and the other bishops of Normandy; and the same to the archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops of England. Having thus made distribution of all his property, he removed from Cowda, where he was taken ill, to York, the metropolitan see of his archiepiscopate, where on the tenth day before the calends of December, being Saturday, at twilight, he departed this life, full of days, after having happily ruled his archbishopric twenty-seven years and six weeks. His body was buried by Hugh, bishop of Durham, in the choir of the canons secular of the metropolitan church at York; William, the king of Scotland, still remaining under the sentence of excommunication which the before-named archbishop of York had pronounced against him.

Upon hearing of the death of the archbishop of York, William, king of Scotland, was greatly delighted; and holding a council with the bishops, earls, and elders of his territories, sent Jocelyn, bishop of Glasgow, and Arnulph, abbat of Melrose, and other wise and discreet ecclesiastics of his kingdom to Rome, to Lucius, the Supreme Pontiff, in order that he might be absolved from the said sentence of excommunication, and that his lands might be released from the interdict, and in order that, if in any way it could be brought about, John, bishop of Saint Andrew's, might be deposed.

When word was brought to the king of England that the before-named archbishop had gone the way of all flesh, he sent his servants throughout all the archbishopric of York, giving orders that all of which the said archbishop in his illness had made distribution should be confiscated; which was accordingly

¹⁹ Charity rather, one would think.

done. For the entire devise, which in his illness he had made, was, by the king's command, rendered null and void; as our lord the king asserted that the before-named archbishop of York had pronounced an opinion in his lifetime that it was not lawful for any ecclesiastical person to make a devise except at a time before he was taken ill.

In the same year, count Stephen, the uncle of Philip, king of France, seized the lands of a certain person his neighbour, and withheld them by force, and did homage for them to Philip, earl of Flanders; on doing which, the king of France laid hands on them, and the earl of Flanders claimed restitution thereof to be made to himself and earl Theobald; and the king of France, refusing to accede thereto, the earl of Flanders entered the territories of the king of France with a hostile hand, and ravaged them. In the same year, Hugh, earl of Chester, departed this life, and was succeeded in the earldom by his son Ranulph.

After the death of Roger, archbishop of York, our lord the king gave orders to his justices in England to make diligent inquisition as to the monies left by the before-named archbishop, and wherever such were discovered, in his name, to make demand thereof. In consequence of this, the said justices demanded of Hugh, bishop of Durham, three hundred marks of silver, which the said bishop had received out of the monies of the archbishop, for the purpose of distribution among the poor; on which he made answer to them:—"I distributed the three hundred marks of silver which you demand of me, during the lifetime of the archbishop who gave them to me, among the lepers, the blind, the lame, the dumb, and the rest of the necessitous, and in the repair of churches and bridges, for the salvation of his soul, according as he himself had ordered; therefore let him who wants them collect them, for by me they will never be collected." Accordingly, an answer of this nature exasperated the feelings of our lord the king beyond measure, so much so, that he ordered the castle of Durham to be seized in his name, in order that the bishop might be harassed by every kind of persecution.

In the year of grace 1182, being the twenty-eighth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king was at Winchester, in England, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which took place on the sixth day of the week. In the same year died the count of Zelders, who had married

the eldest daughter of Matthew, earl of Boulogne; also the countess of Flanders, daughter of Ralph de Peronne, and wife of Philip, earl of Flanders. In the same year, Henry, king of England, the father, crossed over from England to Normandy, in consequence of the annoyances and vexations which his son king Henry was causing him. For, having gone with his wife to Philip, king of France, he was devising all the evils he possibly could to the detriment of the king, his father, contrary to good faith and the oaths of fealty which he had often taken to him; demanding of him, in conformity with the advice of Philip, king of France, his wife's brother, the whole of Normandy, or else some other part of his territories, in which he and his wife might take up their abode, and from which he might pay his knights and servants for their services. However, the Divine grace inspiring him so to do, he returned to his father, and swore that for the future he would not oppose his wishes or designs, or demand anything more of him than a hundred pounds of money Anjouin per day for his expenses, and ten pounds per day of the same money for his wife's expenses; in addition to which the king, the father, agreed with the king, his son, that in the same year he would give him the services of a hundred of his knights.

After this, the king, the father, held a conference, at which were present the king of France and the earl of Flanders; on which occasion an arrangement was made between them to the following effect; that the lands of which the earl of Flanders demanded restitution to be made to himself, should be restored to the knight who had lost them, and that the earl of Flanders should make good for the king of France the injuries that he and his people had done in France, with reference to the destruction by fire, and the booty that had been carried off. In addition to this, the said earl quitted claim to the king of France of the services of the count of Claremont, and delivered up to the king of France the city of Amiens with its appurtenances, and all the lands extending thence to the waters of the Lys after his own decease, together with his niece, the daughter of the earl of Hainault; and the said earl made confession that lawfully Peronne with its appurtenances was only in pledge to himself, and agreed that the king of France should have possession thereof for sixty thousand pounds of silver. At the same conference, the said earl of Flanders delivered into the possession of the king of England, the father, the agreement entered into

in writing by the king his son, and released him and his brothers from all covenants made between them in the time of the war.

In the same year, pope Lucius the Third ordained John Cumin priest, on the third day before the ides of March, at Veletri; and afterwards consecrated him archbishop of Dublin at the same place, on the sixth day before the calends of April, being Palm Sunday. In the same year, at the urgent request of the envoys of the king of Scotland, namely, Jocelyn, bishop of Glasgow, Arnold, abbat of Melrose, Osbert, abbat of Kelso,²¹ and Walter, prior of Saint Columba of the Isle, pope Lucius the Third absolved William king of Scotland from the sentence of excommunication, and his kingdom from the interdict, at the palace of the Lateran, at Rome, in presence of his cardinals, namely, Peter de Pavia, bishop of Tusculanum, the bishop of Præneste, Albert, his chancellor, Jacinto, Hugesun, Peter de Bova, master Vivianus, Reiner the Great, Chinchapel, Reiner the Little, Hardsrun, Hardewin, and Matthew of Anjou. After having so done, he delivered letters of absolution to the before-mentioned envoys of the king of Scotland, to the following effect:—

The letter of pope Lucius on the absolution of William, king of Scotland.

“Lucius, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren the bishops, and the abbats, clergy, and people throughout Scotland, health and the Apostolic benediction. Inasmuch as the Apostle has directed that deference shall be paid to kings as being of exalted station, it is worthy and consistent with reason that we should pay them the highest honor as our most dearly beloved sons, and, in performance of our duty to Saint Peter and the holy Church of Rome, give all attention to their just desires. And whereas we have heard that because our dearly beloved son in Christ, William, the illustrious king of the Scots, was inexorably opposed to the election and consecration of our venerable brother bishop John, by virtue of letters of pope Alexander, our predecessor, of holy memory, Roger, archbishop of York, of happy memory, and the before-named bishop pronounced sentence of excommunication against him and his realm, and certain persons in his kingdom. And whereas our venerable brother Jocelyn,

²¹ Called “Kelron” in the text. The abbat is called “Kalkoensis” shortly after.

bishop of Glasgow, and our dearly beloved sons, Arnold, abbat of Melrose, Osbert, abbat of Kelso, and Walter, prior of Saint Columba of the Isle, after coming for the said purpose to the Apostolic See, have, by their declarations, made proof and shewn before us and our brethren that the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the said archbishop upon the king, and that of interdict upon his kingdom, and the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the said bishop upon certain persons of his kingdom, ought reasonably and upon numerous grounds to be set aside. Wherefore, paying due deference to the before-named king as our most dearly beloved son in Christ, we have, by the common consent of our brethren and with the Apostolic authority, remitted all the sentence which was pronounced by the before-named bishop²² for the cause before-mentioned, against him or his people, or his kingdom, and have enacted that he and his people shall not be held to be excommunicated, nor his kingdom to be under interdict, in consequence of our sentence above-written. Wherefore, we do by our precept, by these Apostolic writings, command the whole of you that you will in no way hesitate to treat with him as a Catholic king and as holding communion with the Apostolic See, but will rather in all things pay him the honor that is his due. For the more assured we feel of the sincerity of his duteness to the churches and ecclesiastical persons of his realm, the more abundantly do we wish him to be honored in all things in which, with due respect to God, we can be honored. Given at Velletri, this sixteenth day before the calends of April."

In the same year, the king of England sent his envoys, namely, William de Mandeville, earl of Aumarle, and some other persons of his household, to Frederic, the emperor of the Romans, in order that, if possible, they might avert his anger and displeasure from Henry, duke of Saxony. Although this could not be fully brought about, the emperor granted to all who had chosen to depart with him, leave to return to their country. In addition to this, the said emperor granted to Matilda, duchess of Saxony, in consideration of the love he bore to the king of England, her father, permission to remain at perfect liberty and under his protection, and to enjoy all her dowry freely and quietly; and the emperor further agreed that, if she should prefer to go into exile with her lord, he

²² Rather "bishops," although the bishop elect alone was now surviving. It is singular that the bishop of Durham is not mentioned.

would place keepers for the purpose of protecting her dowry. The time therefore drawing nigh at which the before-named duke was to withdraw from his country and kindred, he and his wife, with their sons and daughters, and his counts and barons, and the richest men of his territories, departed from their country and kindred, and came to Normandy, to Henry, king of England, the father of the before-named duchess, who joyfully received them. Shortly after, the before-named duke gave to his counts and barons, and the richer men of his territories, permission to return home, and the king of England, the father of the duchess, bestowed on them many presents and then dismissed them. The duke himself set out on a pilgrimage to Saint Jago,²³ and the duchess his wife being pregnant, remained with the king, her father, at Argenton in Normandy, where she was shortly after delivered of a son.

In the same year, the Welch slew Ranulph Poer, the king's sheriff of Gloucestershire. In this year also, Roland, the bishop-elect of Dol and subdeacon of the Roman Church, came into England on behalf of pope Lucius, for the purpose of making peace between the king of Scotland and John, bishop of Saint Andrew's; and proceeded to the court of the king of the Scots, together with Silvanus, the abbat of Rievaulx, his colleague, where, after having for a long time negotiated upon making peace between them, at their request the following terms were made between the king and the before-named bishop:—Hugh was to abjure the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, and bishop John was to release the said bishopric from all claims whatever on his part and, instead thereof, he was to have the bishopric of Dunkeld, and all the yearly revenues which he had had before his election, as also the chancellorship to the king, and forty marks of yearly revenue arising from the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, during his life. Hugh, however, when called upon by his lord the king of Scotland to abjure the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, made answer that he would rather receive judgment thereon at the Roman court, than in this way abjure a bishopric to which he had been consecrated: and immediately charged the letters which bishop John had obtained against him from the Roman Pontiff with being forged, and appealed to the Roman Pontiff: upon which the before-named Roland and the abbat Silvanus, being unable to proceed as they ought, wrote to the Supreme Pontiff to the following effect:—

²³ Of Compostella.

The Letter of Roland, bishop-elect of Dol, and Silvanus, abbat of Rievaulx, to pope Lucius.

“To the reverend father and lord, Lucius, by the grace of God, supreme and universal Pontiff, Roland, by the like grace, bishop-elect of Dol, servant of his Holiness, the foster-child of the Apostolic See, and the least of the sub-deacons, and Silvanus, appointed abbat of Rievaulx, the respect of duteous obedience. After we had presented to bishop Hugh the letters which that bishop charges with being forged, and those in which the case is stated at length, and proposed, on receiving leave of our lord the king of the Scots, to return home with all haste, our lord the king entreated me, the bishop-elect of Dol, with earnestness and anxiety, to pass by the way of the lord bishop John, and, as a mark of his favour, to make him an offer on his behalf of the bishopric of Dunkeld, with the yearly revenues which he had before received in the bishopric of Saint Andrew’s, together with an increase of forty marks to be received yearly, as also the office of chancellor to the king; and he further added that he would restore to him and his every thing he had taken away, with the exception only of what he knew to have already come to his hands, and would restore them to the fulness of his favour, in the same manner as had been previously offered him. He also desired that the said bishop John would burn all documents that had been obtained upon the matter of Saint Andrew’s from your predecessor Alexander, of pious memory. He also gave his sanction that bishop Hugh should be transferred to the bishopric of Glasgow, if bishop John should refuse to consent on other terms, and if that could not be brought about, still he would agree to what he had offered. On making offer of all these things in presence of Hugh, the lord bishop of Durham, to our lord John, he courteously acceded thereto on these terms: namely, that he would never allow bishop Hugh to remain in the enjoyment of the bishopric of Saint Andrew’s. He was also willing that the documents before-mentioned should be put aside in some place, so that he could never make use of them against the king’s wishes. Upon this, we returned to the king’s presence, while bishop John waited for us near Rokelburg;²⁴ on which the king informed us that it would give him great pleasure if bishop Hugh could remain in the bishopric

²⁴ Roxburgh.

of Saint Andrew's, and requested me to use my best endeavours to prevail upon bishop John to admit of this; and when I made answer to him that I would never again make any request of him upon that point, because I had not been able to make any impression upon him on the subject, his answer was, 'I am fully persuaded that since the lord John has returned to reconciliation and favour with me, he will, on consideration of my favour, and at the urgency of my entreaties, admit of this, and I would gladly confer with him thereon;' and the king requested me to advise him to come and have a conference with him. The king's clerks being accordingly sent to bishop John, he made answer that he would not come, because he had heard from certain advisers of our lord the king, that the king was always endeavouring, in every possible way, to gain his point that Hugh should remain in the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, and asserted that, if he should be inclined to come, they were not able to give him a safe conduct. When this answer was returned him, our lord the king sent a bishop, and some abbats, earls, and barons to the said bishop, requesting that he would come to him for the purpose of an interview, and ordered them to guarantee to the said bishop entire security. These, on their return, stated that the lord John, inasmuch as he had a presentiment that his lord the king wished bishop Hugh to remain in the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, made answer that he would never come to the king unless they should first make oath that their lord the king would observe everything that through me he had offered to him; this, however, they were unwilling to do, upon which, the lord John returned home. We, however, have appointed a stated time, on the calends of October, for the before-named bishops, John and Hugh, to come to you, and to submit to your judgment. Farewell."

In the same year died Walter, bishop of Rochester, and was succeeded in the bishopric by Waleran, archdeacon of Bayeux. In this year, while Walter, a servant of Eustace, the lord abbat of Flaye, was one night asleep, he heard a voice from heaven, saying to him a first, second, and third time, "Go and say to Henry, king of England, 'In the name of Christ, annihilate and destroy,' and say to him that so he must do, and, if he does not do so, both his sons and himself shall die." On this the before-named Walter made answer and said, "Who am I, that I should carry thy commands unto the king?" To which he received for answer, "Go to Rotrod, the archbishop of Rouen,

and to his chaplain, and to Eustace, the abbat of Flaye, and they shall remove the thorns and briars from out of thy path, and, unless thou shalt make haste, thou shalt die." After the third warning, therefore, the said Walter came to the before-named archbishop of Rouen, and to his chaplain, and to abbat Eustace; and whereas, the archbishop and his chaplain, being worn out with sickness and old age, could not attend to the matter, they deputed the abbat of Flaye to act in their behalves; on which, he with his servant went to the king, and the servant related to the king his vision and the accompanying threats; but the king, not being able to understand any part thereof, and there being no one to interpret the vision to him, paid no attention whatever to it; and, shortly after, his son king Henry died, and then his son Geoffrey, earl of Brittany. About the time at which this vision took place many of the Manichæan heretics²⁵ were burned in many places throughout the kingdom of France, a thing that the king would in nowise allow in his territories, although there were great numbers of them.

In the year of grace 1183, being the twenty-ninth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king of England was at Caen, in Normandy, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord; the [young] king also, and Richard and Geoffrey, his sons, and Henry, duke of Saxony, and his wife, together with their sons and daughters, and a large retinue, together with Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, and John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, and many bishops, earls, and barons were there with him. After the Nativity of our Lord, the king ordered the king, his son, to receive homage from Richard, earl of Poitou, and from Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, his brothers; on which, in obedience to his father, he received the homage of his brother Geoffrey, and was willing to receive it from his brother Richard, but Richard refused to do homage to him; and afterwards, when Richard offered to do homage to him, the king, the son, refused to receive it. Richard, feeling greatly indignant at this, withdrew from the court of the king, his father, and going to Poitou, his own territory, built there some new castles and fortified the old ones.

At the request of such of the earls and barons of Poitou as

²⁵ "Publicani." Under this name the Albigenses, who were said to be Manichæans, are alluded to.

adhered to him, and who inflicted many losses on earl Richard, the king, his brother, pursued him. Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, also came to Poitou, with a large force, to assist the king, his brother. On Richard perceiving that he could not make head against his brothers, he sent for assistance to the king, his father, who, raising a great army, came in all haste, and laid siege to the castle of Limoges, which had been a short time before surrendered to the king, his son.

The cause of the dissensions between the king and his sons.

In order, however, that the cause may be known of these shocking dissensions that took place between the father and his sons, it ought to be stated that, on the holy day of the Circumcision of our Lord, king Henry, son of our lord the king of England, of his own accord, and no one forcing him thereto, touching the Holy Gospels, and in presence of a large body of the clergy and laity, made oath that he would from that day forward all the days of his life maintain his fealty unblemished to Henry, king of England, as being his father and his liege lord, and would show him all due honor and obedience. And because, as he asserted, the king wished to retain no rancour and malice in his mind, by reason of which his father might possibly be afterwards offended, he declared to him that he had entered into a compact with the barons of Aquitaine against his brother Richard, being influenced by the fact that his said brother had fortified the castle of Clairvaux, which was part of his own inheritance after his father's death, contrary to his own wishes. Wherefore he earnestly entreated his father to take the said castle from Richard, and keep it in his own charge.

Richard, being admonished by our lord the king relative thereto, at first refused to do so, but afterwards freely delivered it to be disposed of at his father's pleasure. Accordingly, the three sons of our lord the king, namely, the [young] king, Richard, and Geoffrey, came to Anjou, with the king, their father, for the purpose of entering into a final treaty of peace between them; and each of the three made oath that they would observe their fealty at all times towards the king, their father, against all men, and would pay him all honor and lasting obedience. They also made oath, in accordance with the directions of their father, that they would observe lasting peace between themselves. On a given day, therefore, for ratifying the peace made between

them, at a place called Mirabel, under the direction of their father, because the barons of Aquitaine, to whom the king, the son, had engaged himself by oath, were not present, the king, the father, sent his son Geoffrey to them that they might come to the said conference for the establishment of peace and reconciliation, and in the meantime cease from all hostilities.

But the said Geoffrey, utterly forgetful of God and of respect for his father, and unmindful of his commands, did not bring peace, but the sword, and, slighting his oath, his homage, and the fealty which he had so often sworn to his father, entered into a compact with the enemies of his father, for the purpose of harassing him, and induced a sacrilegious race, and one detested by the Church of Rome,²⁶ to ravage the territories of his father. The king, the son, on hearing of this, entreated his father to establish peace between his brother Richard and the barons of Aquitaine. In answer to the entreaties of his son, our lord the king promised that he would preserve peace, and that, for this purpose, in the manner that had been agreed upon in the preceding summer, reparation should be made for all excesses committed by either party, or else, if that should not please the barons, he would judge them in conformity with the opinions pronounced by his court. This offer was quite to the satisfaction of the king, the son; on condition, however, that the castle of Clairvaux should remain safe in the hands of the king, his father.

Upon this, the king, the son, having gained of his father all that he had requested, with his father's permission set out for Limoges, for the purpose of inviting both his brother Geoffrey and the barons of Aquitaine to come to terms, and in the meantime sent his wife to France, to her brother, the king of that country, for the purpose of being in safety. The king, the father, also, at the request and by the advice of the king, the son, came with a few followers by another road to Limoges, in safety from his sons and in safety from his subjects; but when he had come to this territory that was his own, his own subjects received him most shamefully, for they aimed their arrows against him, so much so that they even wantonly pierced his coat armour, wounded one of his knights before his eyes, and violently prevented the king from entering either the city or

²⁶ The hireling Brabanters mentioned below. They formed part of the "ruptuarii," or "Routiers," the employment of whom was forbidden by the Church of Rome.

the castle; in consequence of which, he and his son Richard were obliged to depart.

After this, our lord the king effected an entrance into the city of Limoges; but when he was departing therefrom, for the purpose of conversing with his sons in a fatherly manner, in presence of his sons, the garrison of the castle before-mentioned aimed their deadly arrows; in consequence of which, they wounded the horse which bore the king, the father, in the head, and if the horse had not lifted its head just at the approach of the arrow, it would have pierced the king's breast to a considerable depth. This his sons Henry and Geoffrey thinking lightly of, took no pains to punish the offender; and, notwithstanding, returned to the deadly foes of their lord and father.

Shortly after, the king, the son, came to his father, and promised him, that, if the barons of Aquitaine would not come to his feet to sue for peace, he would utterly abandon them, and return to obedience to him under all circumstances. On this, the king the father, being moved at the entreaties of his son, again made promise of the peace which he had previously promised to the barons. Wherefore, the king the son, as he said, went to his brother Geoffrey and the barons of Aquitaine, and, returning from them to his father, asserted that they were utterly disobedient and rebellious, for which reason, he had returned to his duty and obedience to his father's will. This, however, as appeared in the sequel, was done fraudulently, in order that in the meantime the perfidious race of the Brabanters, and Geoffrey, that son of perdition, might with lawless violence the more easily ravage his father's territories, and nefariously lay them waste, carrying off the ornaments of the churches, burning towns and villages to the ground, emptying the fields and the sheepfolds by their ravages, so as to cause utter destruction in every quarter; sparing neither age, nor sex, nor rank, nor the religious profession; on the contrary, as it appeared, aiming at the perpetration of homicide, sacrilege, and rapine alone.

Shortly after these things had taken place, the king, the son, on hearing what had been done by his brother Geoffrey, told his father, that whatever he had done in this matter had been done by the counsel of his brother Geoffrey, and giving his arms and his horse in his father's charge, remained with him some days. But after he had eaten at the same table with his father, and had dipped his hands into the same

dish, he withdrew from him, and again leagued himself by oath with his father's enemies, and then returning to his father, declared that he could in no way see how he was to inflict upon the men of the castle the punishment they had deserved; after which, leaving his father, he set out for Dorat.

But his father, thinking him peaceably inclined, recalled him; on which, returning and entering the castle, and not being able to bring the wickedness which he contemplated to the wished-for result, he swore by the body of Saint Martial, that he would assume the cross. His father, however, thinking that he had done this more through indignation than religious feeling, in an affectionate manner used all his endeavours to recall him from this rash vow, asking of him on his knees, and weeping, whether that vow had proceeded from rancour, indignation, poverty, or religious feelings. To this the son made answer, with all kinds of oaths, that he had made the vow solely for the remission of the sins which he had been guilty of towards his father; and added, when he saw his father opposing it and shedding tears, that he would slay himself with his own hands, unless his father should cease to dissuade him from his purpose of assuming the cross, inasmuch as the body of the Lord which he had that day beheld, consecrated before his eyes, testified that he ought a long time before that to have assumed the cross, but it had not till then been disclosed to him; hoping and trusting that he should be in the more full enjoyment of his father's favour, as he was unwilling to go on the pilgrimage without his favour. On this, his father learning his holy and fixed determination, replied; "The will of God and your own be done. I will be your supporter and assistant in acquiring the earldom, and will provide you, by the help of God, with such plentiful supplies, that no one, of whom I have heard going to the land of Jerusalem, could at any time have done his service to God on a more bounteous scale."

On this, the king the son returned many thanks to his father, and entreated him to deal mercifully with the men in the castle and the barons of Aquitaine; to which his father, in tears, made answer, and promised that he would act in every one of those matters quite according to his pleasure. The king the son, again returning thanks, sent for the men of the castle, and, though against his father's will, threw himself with the burgesses at his father's feet, and asked for peace in their

behaves, which request was granted, hostages however being required to ensure the peace being kept. The king the father sent some of his followers to receive the hostages, but they were nearly slain by those who were to give them. This was in nowise punished by the king the son, but, disregarding his oath to assume the cross, he became, together with them, the enemy and persecutor of his own father.

Shortly after, the king the son, pretending that he wished for peace, requested his father to send to him Maurice de Crouy with a truce, and some other barons; and while some of their followers were conversing with him, they were slain in the presence of the king the son, by the enemies of our lord the king. Some days after this, Geoffrey, that son of iniquity, with evil intent, entreated that he would send to him Oliver Fitz-Ernest and Jerome de Mustervol with a truce; on which, one of them, Jerome namely, was pierced with a sword through his head-piece, his coat-armor, and his shirt, not without a considerable loss of blood; while Oliver, the other, was thrown from a bridge into the water, in the presence of Geoffrey himself, who took no pains to punish this misdeed. After this, the same son, being again desirous to hold a conference with his father, came in perfect security to his father, and, deceitfully treating about making peace, requested of his father leave to enter the castle in order that he might prevail upon the king his brother, and the other enemies of our lord the king, to comply with the wishes of the king. Permission was accordingly given him, on which he entered the castle, spoiled the shrine of Saint Martial, and carried off the other vessels of that monastery, both gold and silver, and then, returning with the booty, requested his father to prolong the truce till the next day. The truce was accordingly granted him, and, passing over the bridge, he the same day renounced the truce with his father as being at an end, and out of the proceeds of the sacrilege and robbery, of which he had been guilty towards Saint Martial, paid their wages to his Brabanters. The amount of this theft was, according to the estimate made by worthy men, fifty-two marks of gold and twenty-seven marks of silver.

In the meantime, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, Henry, bishop of Bayeux, John, bishop of Evreux, Ralph, bishop of Lisieux, Froger, bishop of Seez, and Waleran, bishop of Ro-

chester, together with the abbats and clergy of Normandy, and a great number of people, came to Caen, and there, in the monastery of Saint Stephen, solemnly, in the universal hearing of all the people, pronounced sentence of excommunication against all who should prevent peace and reconciliation being made between our lord the king and his sons, the person of the king, the son, alone excepted.

Money now failing him, the king, the son, proceeded to Saint Mary de Roche Andemar, stripped the tomb of Saint Andemar, and carried away the treasures of the church. In the course of a few days after this, the king, the son, seeing that he could not do any material injury to the king, his father, in consequence of indignation and rancour of mind, was attacked by a severe malady at a village called Martel, not far from the city of Limoges. He was first attacked with a fever, and then by a flux of the bowels, which reduced him to the point of death. On seeing that his death was impending, he sent for our lord the king, his father, who refused to come to him, as he dreaded his treachery. The king, the son, having, therefore, summoned the bishops and religious men who were there, into his presence, having first secretly, and afterwards before them all, made confession of his sins, received absolution and remission of his sins, and gave to William Marshal, one of his household, his cross to bear to Jerusalem [in his stead]. After this, laying aside his fine garments, he placed upon him haircloth, and fastening a cord around his neck, said to the bishops and other religious men who stood around him: "By this cord do I deliver myself, an unworthy, culpable, and guilty sinner, unto you, the ministers of God, beseeching that our Lord Jesus Christ, who remitted his sins to the thief when confessing upon the cross, will, through your prayers and His ineffable mercy, have compassion upon my most wretched soul." To which all made answer, "Amen." He then said to them: "Drag me out of this bed by this cord, and place me on that bed strewed with ashes," which he had caused to be prepared for himself; on which they did as he commanded them, and placed under his head and feet two large square stones; and, all things being thus duly performed, he commanded his body to be taken to Rouen, in Normandy, and there buried. After saying this, being fortified with the viaticum of the holy body and blood of

our Lord, in the fear of the Lord, he breathed forth his spirit.

When news was brought of his death to our lord the king, his father, bursting into tears, he threw himself upon the ground, and greatly bewailed his son. O how dreadful a thing it is for sons to persecute a father! for it is not the sword of the man who fights, not the hand of the foeman that avenges the injury of the father; but it is fever that deals its retribution, flux of the bowels, with ulceration of the intestines, that exercises vengeance. The son laid prostrate, all return to the father. All are overjoyed, all rejoice, the father alone bewails his son. Why, glorious father, dost thou bewail him? He was no son of thine, who could commit such violence upon thy fatherly affection. This defence of thee has wrought security for fathers, and has checked the audacity of parricides. For it was his due to perish by a severe retribution, who wished to introduce parricide into the world; because the Judge of all minds, in the same way that He avenges the tribulations of the righteous, so does he sometimes punish the persecutions of the wicked.

The king's servants, after having extracted the brain and the entrails, and buried them at Martel, sprinkled the body of the dead king with large quantities of salt, and then wrapped it in bulls' hides and lead, that they might take it to Rouen for burial there, and accordingly set out on their way with the royal body; but when they had come to the city of Le Mans, and had passed the night in the church of Saint Julian the Confessor and Pontiff, singing hymns and psalms in its vicinity, and wished in the morning to depart thence with the body, the bishop of the city and the clergy, together with the common people, would not allow them to carry it away, but buried it in an honorable manner in the church of Saint Julian.

On this being told to the people of Rouen, they were indignant thereat, and resolutely demanded his body, swearing that they would take it by force, unless it was instantly given up to them; upon which the king, the father, ordered that the body should be given up to the people of Rouen, as the king, his son, had, while living, commanded; which was accordingly done; and they dug up the king's body from the spot

where it had been buried, and, carrying it to Rouen, buried it in the church there of Saint Mary.

The king, the father, after the death of the king, his son, every day made more violent assaults upon the castle of Limoges, to which he had laid siege, and at length both the castle and the city of Limoges were surrendered to him, besides all the castles of his enemies in that neighbourhood; some of which he retained in his own hands, and some he levelled with the ground, not leaving one stone upon another. After the death of the king, the son, Philip, king of the Franks, demanded of our lord the king of England, the dowry which his son, the king, had given to his sister, and the whole of the land of the Vexin, together with the castles and fortresses which Louis, king of France, his father, had given them on their marriage. Whereupon, a conference being held between them, between Gisors and Trie, an arrangement was made in the following manner:—That Margaret, the sister of the king of France, who had been the wife of the king, the son, should receive, for quitting claim of all the above demands, one thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds of money Anjouin, each year at Paris from our lord the king of England and his heirs, so long as she should live.

In the same year our lord the king gave the bishopric of Lincoln to Walter de Coutances, his clerk, whom Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated at Anjou, and sent to England to his see, which had now been vacant for a period of eighteen years, namely, from the time of Robert de Chennay, bishop of Lincoln, until now. Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, the king's son, now returned to his father and made peace with him and with his brother, Richard, earl of Poitou.

In the same year, John and Hugh, the bishops, of whom we have previously made mention, came to Velletri to have an audience of Pope Lucius, and each of them stated, in presence of our lord the pope and of all his cardinals, the claims that he asserted upon the bishopric of Saint Andrew's. After hearing them, our lord, the pope, by the common advice of his brethren, took the bishopric from them both, and they freely and absolutely resigned the said bishopric of Saint Andrew's into the hands of the Supreme Pontiff, and then withdrew from the court, awaiting the mercy of the Supreme Pontiff; and a few days after, by the advice of all his cardinals,

the Supreme Pontiff gave to bishop Hugh the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, and confirmed him in possession thereof; and granted to bishop John the bishopric of Dunkeld, together with all the things before mentioned that had been offered him on part of the king of Scotland, and confirmed him therein. On this, Hugh returned home and received the bishopric of Saint Andrew's. Bishop John also received the bishopric of Dunkeld; but as the king of Scotland declined to restore to him what he had taken away, he again put forward his claims against bishop Hugh as to the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, as stated in the sequel.

In the same year, our lord the king commanded Richard, his son and heir, to receive the homage of his brother John for Poitou, but he declined receiving it. In the same year a grievous dissension arose between the Romans and pope Lucius, relative to certain customs which his predecessors had been in the habit of following, but which the pope above-named swore he would never comply with. At this the Romans were indignant, and were frequently guilty of ravages and incendiarism in the territories of our lord the pope; on which, the pope flying from place to place, took refuge in his castles and fortified cities. To defend him there came Christian, archbishop of Mentz, chancellor of the lord Frederick, emperor of the Romans, having levied a large army for that purpose. The Romans, being unable to oppose him, returned to Rome, on which the before-named chancellor, pursuing them, laid waste every thing that belonged to the Romans, and followed them even to the very gates of the city of Rome, setting fire to all the suburbs thereof.

On this, the Romans, seeing that they were devoted to ruin, devised how they might slay the before-named chancellor by stratagem; and, as all other modes were wanting to them, they determined to take him off by means of poison, and did so. For when the said chancellor and his army were at a distance of nearly ten miles from the city, the Romans sent envoys, clad in the garb of poor men, to learn the state of the court, who, after learning all particulars relating thereto, discovered, among other matters, one thing which they made choice of in order to effect his destruction. For there was near that spot a spring of water exceedingly limpid, the water of which, mixed with wine, the chancellor and his army were in the habit of drinking. Accordingly, these wicked traitors went to the spring,

and drugged it thoroughly with poison, so that the water flowing therefrom was corrupted. Consequently, on the chancellor drinking thereof, he died by a speedy death. There also died after him more than a thousand men who had drank of the said spring. When the death of the chancellor became publicly known, his army was dispersed and put to flight, on which the Romans rose in rebellion with still greater acrimony against our lord the pope.

In the same year, Philip, earl of Flanders, married the sister of Sancho, king of Portugal. In this year, also, our lord the king of England gave the archbishopric of Rouen to Walter de Coutances, bishop of Lincoln, and Lucius, our lord the pope, sent him the pall. The said pope, not being able successfully to oppose the Romans, sent his ambassadors to the kings and chief men of the various countries, both secular and ecclesiastical, to gain assistance in the defence of Saint Peter against the Romans: upon which his envoys came to Henry, king of England, to ask him, and the clergy of England, to afford him assistance. Accordingly, the king consulted his bishops and the clergy of England, as to the prayer of the Supreme Pontiff; on which the bishops and clergy advised him, according to his own inclination and honor, to give assistance to our lord the pope, both on his own behalf as well as on theirs; inasmuch as it would be more endurable to them, and would please them better, that their lord the king should, if he so pleased, receive from them a recompense for such assistance, than if he should allow the nuncios of our lord the pope to come to England to receive assistance from themselves; as, if any other step than the one named were taken, it might possibly be turned into a precedent, to the detriment of the kingdom. The king acquiesced in their advice, and gave considerable assistance to the pope, in gold and silver.

Accordingly, by means of this money, and other sums of money lent to him by other princes from all quarters, our lord the pope made peace with the Romans, which was necessary for him and the Church of Rome.

In the same year, died Rotrod, archbishop of Rouen, and was succeeded by²⁷ Walter, bishop of Lincoln. In this year also died Richard Pecche, bishop of Chester, who was suc-

²⁷ This has been mentioned already.

ceeded by Gerard Lapucelle.²⁸ In the same year, Gilbert, surnamed Assaili, grand master of the house of the Hospital at Jerusalem, came into Normandy to king Henry, and was honorably entertained by him. Having obtained the king's permission to cross over to England, he came to Dieppe, and, before the feast of Saint Michael, embarked on board of a ship which had been lying for nearly a year upon the sands of the sea-shore, shattered and dried up, and had lately been a little repaired and refitted, and launched again, together with many other persons, clergy as well as laity, who had become tired with waiting: but shortly after, when the vessel had got out of harbour into the open sea, the seams opening, it went down into the deep, just like a stone; on which Gilbert, and all the rest who were on board of it, with the exception of eight only, who escaped by means of a boat, were drowned, on the thirteenth day before the calends of October. In the same year, Henry, king of England, a conference being held on the day of Saint Nicholas, between him and Philip, king of France, between Gisors and Trie, did homage to Philip, king of France, for all his lands beyond sea, whereas before this he had never been willing to do homage to him.

In the year of grace 1184, being the thirtieth year of the reign of Henry, king of England, son of the empress Matilda, the said king was at Le Mans on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which took place on the Lord's day. In the same year, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life on the fourteenth day before the calends of March; to whom, before he was taken ill, the Lord appeared in a vision, saying, "Thou hast wasted the property of my church, and I will root thee from out of the earth." Being greatly terrified at this vision, he immediately fell ill, and died on the eighth day after. In the same year, the king of England, having made peace between Philip, king of France, and Philip, earl of Flanders, with reference to the disputes that existed between them concerning the land of Vermandois, passed through the middle of Flanders, and crossed over from Witsand to Dover, in England, where he landed on the fourth day before the ides of June; his daughter, the duchess of Saxony, crossing over with him.

²⁸ Roger of Wendover says, that he died within ten weeks of his consecration.

In the same year, and the same week in which the king landed in England, a spring of running water, near the church of Saint Winin, in the western parts of the territories of the king of Scotland, below Tynningham, and not far from the castle of Irwine,²⁹ flowed with blood, without intermission, for eight days and as many nights. In the same year, the king's daughter, the duchess of Saxony, was delivered of a son at Winchester. In this year also, Theobald, count of Blois, uncle to Philip, king of France, came into England on a pilgrimage to Saint Thomas, at Canterbury. In this year also, Henry, duke of Saxony, the king's son-in-law, came to England. In the same year died Simon, earl of Huntingdon, on whose decease the king gave the said earldom to William, king of the Scots; immediately on which, in presence of the king, he conferred the earldom on his brother David.

In the same year, Gilbert de Plumpton, a knight of noble birth, being led in chains to Worcester, and accused of rape before our lord, the king of England, by Ranulph de Glanville, justiciary of England, who wished to condemn him, he was by an unjust judgment condemned to be hanged on a gibbet; and when he was led forth to the gibbet, there met him a multitude of men and women, crying aloud and saying, that a righteous and innocent man ought not thus to suffer. Upon this, Baldwin, the bishop of Worcester, a religious man and one who feared God, hearing the shouts of the people, and learning the injustice that was being perpetrated against this wretched man, ran after him; but the ministers of wickedness, hastening to perpetrate their crime, fastening a rope round his neck had suspended him aloft, when lo! the bishop of Worcester came up in all haste, and said to the executioners; "In behalf of Almighty God, and under pain of excommunication, I forbid you to put that man to death this day, for it is the Lord's day, and the feast of Saint Mary Magdalen." At these words the executioners stood astounded, hesitating what to do, for they feared the king's justice, and dreaded sentence of excommunication. However, the Divine power prevailed, and from respect for the solemnity of the day, they loosed the rope and let him come to the ground, to be kept until the next morning; when he was to undergo the same punishment. That same night, our lord the king, being moved with pity, and influenced

²⁹ Irving.

by the counsels of his followers, commanded that he should remain as he was, until he should give further orders what was to be done with him; for he was aware that Ranulph de Glanville had thus acted towards him from feelings of dislike, and wished to put him to death on account of his wife, the daughter of Roger Gulewast, whom the said Ranulph wished to give in marriage, together with her inheritance, to his friend Reiner, the sheriff of York. Accordingly, the knight, being rescued from death, was kept in prison by Ranulph de Glanville, until the king's death.

After this, our lord the king came to Reading, and holding a council there as to choosing a pastor for the Church of Canterbury, a strife and contention arose between the monks of Canterbury and the bishops of England. For the monks claimed to have the first voice in the election, and produced a charter of our lord the king, by which he had granted and confirmed to them freedom of election. The bishops, on the other hand, used their best endeavours to prove that that charter ought not to be observed, both because it was made contrary to law, and tended to the injury of the Church of England, as also, because the election of their own metropolitan belonged to themselves. In consequence of this dispute, no terms could be come to between them on the present occasion.

By command of our lord the king, the bishops of England and the monks of Canterbury met at London, in the king's presence, for the election of an archbishop of Canterbury; and, the contention still continuing, Gilbert, bishop of London, who, according to the ancient right of his see, had the first voice in the election, made choice of Baldwin, the bishop of Worcester, as archbishop of Canterbury, on the fourth day before the nones of December; upon which all the bishops gave their assent to that choice; the monks of the Church of Canterbury, being the only persons who made any opposition, departed for the purpose of appealing to our lord the pope, and the bishops of England presented to the king the person whom they had elected. On their presentation and election, our lord the king received him with the kiss of peace and love; which example was followed by Richard, Geoffrey, and John, the king's sons.

After this, our lord the king came to Canterbury, for the purpose of putting an end to the angry feelings of the monks,

and, holding a conference with them, prevailed upon them to elect as their archbishop the before-named Baldwin, which they accordingly did; for Alan, the prior of the church of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury, came to London with the less infirm part of his chapter, and with letters of confirmation. On their meeting together in the Chapter house of the monks of Westminster, they elected for themselves and the Church of Canterbury, the before-named Baldwin as archbishop; and then, that they might not appear to have assented to the election of the bishops, sang their own "*Te Deum Laudamus*," and led him to the altar, and, receiving him with the kiss of peace, presented him to the king, who again received him with the kiss of peace and love; as did Richard, earl of Poitou, his son. After this, the king confirmed the treaty and final reconciliation by writing, and ratified the same, after its confirmation, by oath on part of his sons Richard, Geoffrey, and John, in presence of queen Eleanor their mother, Henry, duke of Saxony, and many others.

In the same year, the archbishop of Cologne came to England on a pilgrimage to Saint Thomas of Canterbury, on which the king of England met him with congratulations, and prevailed upon him to lay aside his anger and displeasure towards Henry, duke of Saxony, and receive him into the favour which he had formerly enjoyed when honored with his esteem. The before-named archbishop of Cologne also, at the entreaty of the king of England, agreed that the daughter of Frederic, emperor of the Romans, should be given in marriage to Richard, earl of Poitou, the king's son: for he knew that this was the especial wish and desire of the emperor. After this, the before-named archbishop, and Philip, earl of Flanders, who had come with him over to England, returned to Flanders, and, having levied a great army, invaded the territories of the earl of Hainault, and ravaged them, in revenge for the injuries which he had inflicted on the earl of Flanders.

In the same year, died the empress of the Romans, the wife of the emperor Frederic. In this year also, died Gilbert de Ver, abbat of Selby, and Gerard,³⁰ surnamed La Pucelle, bishop of Chester. In the same year also, died Waleran, bishop of Rochester, Clement, abbat of Saint Mary's at York, Simon, earl of Huntingdon, Jocelyn, bishop of Salisbury, Bartholomew,

³⁰ See the note at page 31.

bishop of Exeter, and the earl of Warwick. In this year also, died the daughter of Frederic, emperor of the Romans, who, as above stated, was to have been married to Richard, earl of Poitou. In this year also, the church of Saint Julian, at the city of Le Mans, was destroyed by fire. The abbey of Glastonbury was also burnt in this year.

In the same year, our lord the king of England, being anxious to make peace between the duke of Saxony and the emperor Frederic, by the advice of the archbishop of Cologne, sent his envoys, Hugh de Nunant, archdeacon of Lisieux, and some others of his clerks, and of the members of his household, to Lucius, the Supreme Pontiff, in order that through his aid the before-named emperor might receive the duke of Saxony into favour. Accordingly, the king's envoys, coming to the court of our lord the pope, found him at Verona in Italy; and while they were staying there with him, Frederic, emperor of the Romans, came thither for the purpose of holding a conference with the pope; at whose urgent request the before-named emperor gave the duke of Saxony permission to return to his country, and released him from all the oaths which he had taken as to remaining in exile; our lord the pope also absolved him from the oath which he had taken to the emperor.

In the same year, Thomas Fitz-Bernard departed this life, who, after the decease of Alan de Neville, had been appointed by our lord the king chief justiciary of all the forests in England; upon whose decease our lord the king divided his forests in England into different parts, and over each part appointed four justices, namely, two clerks and two knights; also two yeomen of his household to be guardians of vert and venison, over all the other foresters, both those of the king as well as of the knights and barons; and he sent them to hold pleas of forestal matters, in conformity with the Assize of the Forests previously mentioned.

In the same year, our lord the king came to Worcester, for the purpose of marching thence with a large army into Wales, to wage war against the Welch, who had ravaged his territories and slain his subjects. Rees,³¹ the son of Griffin, however, dreading his attack, having obtained a safe-conduct from the king, came to Worcester, and there swore fealty to the king of England, and that he would give his son and nephews as hostages

³¹ Rice, or Rhys ap Griffyd.

to the king; but, on his attempting to bring them, they refused to accompany him.

In the same year, our lord the king gave to William, the prior of the church of Saint Augustin, at Bristol, the bishopric of Bangor. In the same year, the priest Swerre, who was also called Birkebain, slew Magnus, king of Norway.

In this year also, the astrologers both of Spain and Sicily, as also the diviners throughout almost the whole world, both Greek and Latin, wrote and set forth nearly one and the same opinion as to the conjunction of the planets. On this occasion, a certain astrologer, Corumphira by name, wrote to the following effect:

Auguries from the Conjunction of the Planets.

“In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Almighty God hath known and the science of numbers hath disclosed, that the planets, both superior as well as inferior, will come in conjunction in Libra, that is to say in September, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, the eternal and true God, one thousand one hundred and eighty-six; and in the year of the Arabians five hundred and eighty-two.³² During the year this conjunction will be preceded by a partial eclipse of the sun, which will be of a fiery colour; this, taking place on the first hour of the twenty-first day of the month of April, will be preceded by a total eclipse of the moon, in the said month of April; that is to say, on the fifth day thereof, and at the first hour of the night that shall precede Wednesday; this, if God shall so will, nay rather because He does so will, shall so will, hath so willed, and will not cease so to will. Therefore, in the year before-named, the planets being, by the will of God, in Libra, that is to say, in an aërial and windy sign, the Dragon also contributing as a cause thereto, a wondrous earthquake will take place, and especially in those regions in which such things have been in the habit of taking place, and will destroy certain places that have been subject to earthquakes and liable to the mischances of utter ruin. For in the parts of the East there shall arise a mighty wind, and with its strong blasts it shall blacken the air and shall corrupt it with its

³² If he alludes to the Hegira, he is wrong here; A.D. 1186 would be the 564th year of the Hegira.

poisonous stench. In consequence, a mortality and sickness will attack great numbers, and loud peals will be heard, and voices in the air that shall terrify the hearts of those who hear them, and the wind shall raise aloft the sands and the dust from the face of the earth, and shall utterly overwhelm the cities situate on the plain, and especially those in the sandy regions, those in the fifth climate, to wit; as Mecca, Barsara, Baldac,³³ and Babylon; nor shall any land be left otherwise than covered with the sand and dust, and be utterly ruined thereby; so much so, that the regions of Egypt and Æthiopia shall become almost uninhabitable. And from the West this calamity will extend to all parts of the East. In the regions of the West also shall arise dissensions; and seditions of the people shall take place, and there shall be one of them who shall levy armies innumerable, and shall wage war on the shore of the waters, on which a slaughter so vast will take place that the flow of the blood so shed will equal the surging waves. Let each person feel assured that the conjunction about to take place, whatever others may say, signifies to me, if God so wills, the mutation of kingdoms, the superiority of the Franks, the destruction of the Saracenic race, with the superior blessedness of the religion of Christ, and its especial exaltation, together with longer life to those who shall be born hereafter."

In like manner, William the Astrologer, clerk to John, the constable of Chester, wrote concerning the before-mentioned conjunctions of the planets to the following effect:—

"In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord one thousand one hundred and eighty-six, in the month of August, on the completion of the thirtieth day thereof, and in the following night, at the ninth hour, in the twenty-ninth degree of Virgo, which is called the degree of periods and the period of woes, Leo being in the ascendant, this conjunction, which is called a minor conjunction, is most portentous. Evil is predominant in this figure. This is followed by a conjunction of Mars and Saturn, in the fourth degree of Libra, on the seventh day of September, at the fourth hour, being the first day of the week; the Sun being the lord of the hour, and Sagittarius the horoscope. This conjunction is called a mid-conjunction. In this conjunction good fortune is predominant; and in this inclination

³³ Probably Bassora and Bagdad.

evil is mitigated. Then follows a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, which is styled a major conjunction, in the eighth degree of Libra, on the tenth day of October, being the sixth day of the week, at the ninth hour. Mercury is then the lord of the hour, Capricorn the horoscope; Mars being in conjunction in the fourteenth degree with the Tail of the Dragon. This conjunction portends wondrous events; thunder and lightning, with fiery flashes running to and fro in the air. But not regarding the conjunction of these, be it our part to record by figure what other persons have couched under an enigmatical form, as to the conjunction of all the planets in Libra, which will have an effect in our day before unknown, and not to be known in times to come. This conjunction will take place on the sixteenth day of September, being the third day of the week, at the first hour; Mars being the lord of the hour, and the Sun in the East, and the planets in their several places, as follows: Libra being the horoscope,^{33*} and beginning in the first degree [of longitude]; the Sun being in the thirtieth degree of Virgo; Jupiter in two degrees three minutes; Venus in three degrees forty-nine minutes; Saturn in eight degrees six minutes; Mercury in four degrees ten minutes; Mars in nine degrees eighteen minutes; the Tail [of the Dragon] in eighteen degrees twenty-three minutes; the Part of Warfare in fifteen degrees; the Moon in seventeen degrees eight minutes; the Part of Fortune in nineteen degrees. The second [horoscope] is Libra, beginning at its twenty-fifth degree. The third is Scorpio, beginning at its twenty-fourth degree. The fourth is Capricorn, beginning at its first degree. The fifth is Aquarius, beginning at its fifth degree. The sixth is Pisces, beginning at its seventh degree. The seventh is Aries, beginning at its first degree. Now, as Saturn is most elevated in orbit, let us first treat of him. He signifies the Pagans, and all who are opposed to the laws of Christianity. Now, inasmuch as in the figure of the sphere Saturn is in the mid-heaven governing the [airy] triplicity, from the triplicity of the figure the Saracen magicians³⁴ are auguring victory on their side, especially as the Sun

^{33*} Also called "the house" by more recent astrologers.

³⁴ It is possible that this may be the meaning of the mystic letters which here occur; Tr. G. F. S. M. standing for "Triplicitate figuræ gentis Saracenæ magi." If not, those who are skilled in judicial astrology may, possibly, be able to give a better translation.

at his setting is seeking the superior conjunction of the planets. However, from an estimate of the figure we form a very different opinion. For the Sun signifies the potentates of Christendom, and in this figure is seeking conjunction with Jupiter; but Jupiter, being powerless, seeks conjunction with Venus, and she with Saturn. Mercury then, by retrograding, cutting it off,³⁵ would naturally appear by his retrograde motion to indicate the elevation of their religion and the depression of our own. But as Mercury imparts this same disposition to Jupiter, and Jupiter imparts it to none,³⁶ this marks the lasting nature of our faith. Now since the Sun is of the greatest influence in this figure, a man, a Christian, is arising among us, one of great fame, whose name will be exalted until the end of the world.³⁸ But because this conjunction takes place in a changeable sign, the career of this person will be closed before Saturn shall have passed through this sign; and inasmuch as Jupiter denotes power of prophecy, he will at last be enumerated among the prophets. In this figure, Mars being separated from Saturn, transfers the properties of Saturn to the Tail [of the Dragon]; which not retaining this position, as though by a retrograde movement, carries back again towards Mars what has been so entrusted to it. But, inasmuch as Mars is being scorched by the orb of the Sun, being thus impeded and embarrassed between two evils, Saturn and the Tail [of the Dragon], he becomes infected with their nature, and signifies by his properties, sorrows, contentions, alarms, catastrophes, murders, and spoliation of property. The Tail also signifies separations, losses, dangers, and diminution of possessions; and because Mars forms an evil conjunction with the Tail [of the Dragon] in the ascendant, I do therefore contradict the judgment pronounced by Albu-masar upon this figure in his Hundred Discourses.³⁹ Turn your eyes from the figure in which Mars is at the greatest angle when Scorpio is in the ascendant, or when he is with the Tail;⁴⁰ and as it is evident to every astrologer that Saturn has an influence over this climate, the Moon participating with him, I am of opinion that he cannot be considered as exempt

³⁵ Conjunction with Saturn. ³⁶ Being powerless, as stated above.

³⁸ In the text it is "usque ad finem arin." It is possible that the last word may have some cabalistic meaning. It hardly seems to belong to the European families of words. It is also very possible that it may be a misprint for, "ævi," "of time."

³⁹ Centiloquio."

⁴⁰ Of the Dragon.

from the evil before-mentioned. Wherefore, the only remedy remaining is, for princes to be on their guard, to serve God and eschew the devil, that so the Lord may avert their imminent punishments. Amen."

Again, with reference to the before-mentioned conjunction of the planets, the following was written:—

"To all literate men, and especially to scholars, to whose presence this present page shall come, Anselm, the humble brother in the Lord, of the monastery at Worcester, greeting. Marvellous is God in His Saints and in His works, who never ceases to work miracles in behalf of His people. And, inasmuch as no man places a light under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may give light to all, a miracle, wondrous beyond measure, took place in our house on the day before the calends of November; which, in order that it might come to the knowledge of those not present, by writing at least, I have committed to writing. Be it known then unto your discreetness, that one of our lay brothers, falling into a trance, lay nine days and nine nights like one dead before a certain altar, prostrate there in the form of a cross;⁴¹ and as he was a religious man, and a brother of a holy mode of life, no one of us dared to remove him thence. On the tenth day, at the third hour, in a low voice, and with a wailing tone, still in a wondrous lament, he chaunted the following lines ten times or even more, in the same order in which they are here written:

⁴² "The fall of mankind and the sudden ruin of this world, a pernicious fatality is hurrying on. Children of tender age one universal slaughter overwhelms; by the same death young and old must die. The water shall be tainted by the corruption of the substance of the air, and with deadly dew shall the whole ground be drenched. Hence shall a dreadful mortality arise, and universal carnage. A universal cause is there of death, a universal cause of woe. For as soon as the Sun shall touch the back of the Lion slain by Hercules, a two-fold heat shall parch the entrails dried-up. Then, though there shall be a thousand like Lachesis, and even hands as many to each, still, at the same instant will Atropos cut all their threads. For with the sword of death will the just vengeance of God visit the sins of the people. Ah wretched

⁴¹ With his arms extended.

⁴² This pretended prophecy is couched in sixty-six hexameters and pentameters, of no merit whatever.

me! alas! what will be my lot? Behold! the sword is gleaming, which will the whole world destroy. Behold the hand of the Lord! Ah wretched me! whither shall I fly? Behold the wrath of the Lord! shall I take to flight, or here conceal myself? Whither shall I fly from God, for God is everywhere? If the Divine will cannot be moved by prayer, then the seed with the chaff will the wrath of God beat down. That all things must return unto their ancient Chaos, the opinions of the philosophers prove. Still, thus it cannot be, as it is clear that whatever has been, and most things that now are, must remain as they are.⁴³ Now, above the stars am I borne, and though my eyes are closed, lifted up to the stars, either house of the Sun do I behold. There is night without the stars and Moon, and day without the Sun: but though so it is, why so it is I cannot tell. The stars of Mercury, of Venus, and of Jove, now lie concealed. They exist not, or if they do exist, they have forsaken the sky. Through the whole Zodiac they roam at large, both Mars and the noxious star of the scythe-bearing old man who wields the scythe.⁴⁴ Mars smites with his sword, Saturn smites with his hurtful scythe;⁴⁵ he strives to inflict ruin on the interests of men. Hence am I now borne to the dubious realms of the Stygian tyrant, in which there is, and will be, everlasting gloom. Amid gloom so great, neither Sun, nor Moon, nor fire, in this place of wretchedness are able to direct the eyes. Here is toil, and grief, and anxiety inextricable: here for the wretched guilty are grievous punishments prepared. Here resounds everlastingly the direful dirge, woe! woe! The gloom how great! woe, woe is me! woe! woe!⁴⁶ Cerberus is raging before the gates, and is yawning with his three throats; three dreadful sounds from his mouth at the same instant does he send. Three Furies guard the portals, Alecto, Megæra, and Tisiphone, on whose features horror is impressed. Horrid is their aspect, and foul the breath of

⁴³ These lines are in their present state incapable of being reduced to sense—perhaps, indeed, it was never intended they should have any. They are as follows;—

“ Sic tamen esse nequit, quia constat quæque fuisse,
Pluraque quæ veluti sunt modo, semper erunt.”

⁴⁴ Saturn.

⁴⁵ “ Falce;” more properly “ sickle.”

⁴⁶ This pentameter is worth preserving as a curiosity:

“ Quantæ sunt tenebræ! væ mihi, væ mihi, væ!”

their mouths, and their hoarse voices sound like thunder in their throats. In all there is an innate propensity to wickedness in their minds; in all there is a disposition prone to every crime. In the midst of the water stands Tantalus, thirsting with it up to his throat; while, that he may not drink thereof, it ever retreats from his mouth. Here is mighty Sisyphus rolling the stone that rolls everlastingly back; so that his is a labour without an end. Continually does the devouring vulture gnaw at the liver of Tityus; which, that it may be for ever perishing, is ever on the point of perishing. Some dreadful famine, some severe drought attacks, and labour without cessation fatigues. Some are frozen by cold, others are scorched by the heat of flames; each as he has deserved is here visited with a punishment his own. An entrance is open to all, an exit to none; all does that place devour, and to the Furies consign. Tisiphone, in conjunction with those dreadful sisters, awards the punishments which they have been found to deserve to endure. Now to the guilty do I leave Styx, now Lethe, now Acheron; once again with much ado do I retrace my steps to those above.'

“When he had recited this last line, at length returning to himself, and aroused, as it were, from sleep, he raised his head, and said to one of the brethren, who, for the purpose of seeing the miracle, had come with the rest, eyeing him most intently: ‘Wonder not at my features, for die thou shalt. A grievous and sudden end shall overtake thee.’ After this, turning his eyes upon the assemblage of the brethren, not less elegantly than if he had been gifted from his infancy with the eloquence of Tully⁴⁷ did he foretell in the Latin tongue certain events which were then to come to pass. And, as these things afterwards did come to pass, just as he had foretold, being filled ourselves with the greatest astonishment, in order that others, as well as ourselves, may admire the lines which this lay brother composed, who was never in any degree acquainted with letters, we have determined, on account of the stories there interwoven, to send them from school to school, in order that, by their judgment, this assertion of ours may be thoroughly sifted. Some indeed there are, who, in consequence of the fables inserted, despise the rest; while some

⁴⁷ At all events, he may be safely pronounced Tully's equal in demerit as a poet.

endeavour to prove (since in many things it has fallen out as he predicted) that under a kind of veil, these fables bear the impress of truth; and, as in no respect it fell out otherwise than he had predicted, the very same day, gnashing his teeth, that same brother whose death he had predicted, ended his life in the greatest agony. Upon this, the brother who had pronounced those prophetic lines, bursting into tears in the presence of all, was not ashamed to confess, in the contrition of his heart, whatever during his life he had been guilty of; and, as befitted a religious man, received the communion with the greatest devoutness; after receiving which, he immediately breathed forth his spirit, saying, 'Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit.'"

Now when the public had heard of these things, and others of a similar nature, they were greatly alarmed, and the nearer that pestilential season, which the before-named astrologers had predicted, drew nigh, the more did exceeding terror come upon all, both clergy and laity, rich and poor, and drove great numbers of them to a state of desperation. A certain writing however, which Pharamella, the son of Abdallah of Cordova, sent to John, bishop of Toledo, gave them some comfort; it was to the following effect:

"Pharamella, son of Abdallah of Cordova, an Arabian by parentage, and brought up in the palace of the great king Evenjacob, who is called 'El Emir Amimoli,' to John, bishop of Toledo, bishop of those persons who are called Christians, health, beyond all those who call upon God. They who fear God, the Creator of all things, shall be exalted, and they also who adore Him with pure hands and with a heart entirely cleansed. We have seen some men of your persuasion, dissimilar to ourselves in dress and in language, who were merchants, and had very good woollen cloths of various colours on sale. They stated that they had come from a far distant land, which is called the 'land of the Elders,' that is to say, the kingdom of the Franks. Among other matters, we learned from them through an interpreter, Ferdinand by name, a fellow-citizen of yours, and at present a captive with us, that certain false astrologers of the west, who were ignorant of the virtues of the heavenly bodies⁴⁸ and the effects produced by the five wandering ones,⁴⁸ and the two lights⁴⁹ which move of themselves in epicycles and eccentric circuits, through their houses and dignities, have

⁴⁸ He probably alludes to the name of the planets. ⁴⁹ The sun and moon.

alarmed the hearts of you believers in Christ, and not only of such as are simple-minded, but even of those among you who are believed to be wise. For they say that in the year which is the five hundred and seventy-second of the Alligera,⁴⁹ and the one thousand one hundred and eighty-sixth from the Incarnation of your Lord Christ, in the month which you call September, there is to be a very mighty wind, such as is not often experienced, which shall destroy cities and towns, and overthrow everything it meets on the earth in its course. This wind shall come, they say, from the West, and shall extend even unto the East; and after the wind a most dreadful stench, that shall destroy human beings. Of this circumstance they allege no further cause than that the planets will come in conjunction in Libra, which is an aërial sign, and therefore a cause of windy weather. Now, it may at once be answered these persons, by even our children, that not only is Libra an aërial sign, but so also are Gemini and Aquarius aërial signs; in both of which, many planets have come in conjunction, and still no danger of winds or of pestilential exhalations or of mortality has ensued. But while Saturn and Mars are two unfortunate stars, Jupiter and Venus are fortunate ones and propitious; wherefore, if they shall happen to be in the same sign with the others, without any setting or attractions,⁵⁰ or shall keep themselves duly balanced, their beneficent effect will temper the evil effects of the former ones. But on the day of the month in which they say that this will take place, Mars will not be in Libra, but in the thirteenth degree of Virgo; while Venus in Scorpio, which is the house of Mars, will entirely do away with all the evil influence of Mars, both as regards his house in which she is reigning, as also in consequence of the respect due to her sex, by means of which she attracts Mars to feelings of courtesy towards her. Jupiter also, will assuage the disastrous influence of Saturn, Mercury being nearer to Jupiter than Saturn. Such persons ought also to recollect, that inasmuch as Saturn performs his revolution once in thirty years, he remains two years and a half in each of the signs;⁵¹ whereas Mars accomplishes his course through each

⁴⁹ Clearly meaning the Hegira. See the note to page 36. ⁵⁰ It may appear doubtful, except to those versed in astrological lore, what is meant by "Si in eodem signo fuerint cum eis sine respectu, aut applicatione."

⁵¹ In each revolution.

of the signs in little less than a year and a half. Since then, it is a matter of necessity, that in every thirty years Saturn must always make a stay of about two years and a half in Libra; by the same necessity⁵² it comes to pass, that before Saturn goes out of Libra, Mars must be in the same sign of Libra together with Saturn. If then, Mars and Saturn have already hitherto been every thirty years once together in Libra, and are so to be in future, either these pestilential winds have happened before, or will happen from their evil influence when in a windy sign, or the converse. But that they have happened at any previous time, we neither read in the writings of the masters, nor have we witnessed the fact in our own times. Consequently, we ought to feel assured that they will not happen, since upon similar combinations it has never fallen out that any thing of a like nature has happened. Therefore, let your astrologers peruse the tables of the Inner Persians, and of the Arabians, Hermes, Astalius, and Abidemonus, as well as of Albumasar, of more modern date; and let them compute proportionally the influences of the stars, their settings, attractions, separations, equalities, and other matters which it were tedious to recount to those even who have time to listen thereto; and when they have found that from a like conjunction of the stars that is false which they are dreaming of, either let them relinquish opinions based upon such idle stories, or else be converted to the religion of Ishmael which we profess. However, according to the judgment of Messehella and Alkandus, unless God shall ordain it otherwise, there will be a scanty vintage, crops of wheat of moderate average, much slaughter by the sword, and many shipwrecks."

In the year of grace 1185, being the thirty-first year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, that king was at Windsor in England, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord. In the same year, on the day of the Circumcision of our Lord, died Gilbert, the son of Fergus, who had taken his brother Uchtred, the father of the noble man Roland, and had caused him to be deprived of his eyes, tongue, and virility, by his own son Dunecan; and who had also given up his son the before-named Dumecan, to the king of England as a hostage to ensure the preservation of the peace. After his death, Roland,

⁵² This is the first attempt at reasoning, which has been met with in all this astrological parade.

the son of Uchtred, invaded all the lands of the before-named Gilbert, and gained possession of them.

In the same year, Baldwin the Leper, king of Jerusalem, and the Templars and Hospitallers, sent to the king of England, the son of the empress Matilda, Heraclius, the Patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the grand Masters of the Hospital and Temple, together with the royal standard, and the keys of the Sepulchre of our Lord, of the Tower of David, and of the city of Jerusalem, asking of him speedy succour, as being the heir and lord of the land of Jerusalem.⁵³ For it ought to be known, that Fulk, the brother of Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, the father of the said Henry, was king of Jerusalem, as we have previously mentioned. Wherefore, when the before-named Patriarch and Master of the Hospital came to England, the king of England met them at the town of Reading, and received them with great joyousness; on which, immediately falling at the king's feet, with great weeping and sobbing, they uttered the words of salutation on behalf of the king, and principal men, and the whole of the people of the land of Jerusalem, and, explaining the cause of their coming, delivered to him the royal standard, and the keys of the Sepulchre of our Lord, and those of the Tower of David and of the city of Jerusalem, in behalf of the king and the principal men of the city of Jerusalem, besides letters from pope Lucius, to the following effect:—

The Letter of pope Lucius on giving aid to the land of Jerusalem:

“Lucius, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Henry, the illustrious king of the English, health and the Apostolic benediction. Inasmuch as all your predecessors have been especially distinguished above all the other princes of the earth for glory in arms and nobleness of spirit, and the people of the faithful have been taught to look upon them in their adversity as their defenders; deservedly is application made to you, the heir not only of your father's kingdom but of his virtues, a certain degree of security being assured therefrom, at a

⁵³ The true version of the story is, that Baldwin the Leper had recently died, and his son Baldwin, a child five years of age, had ascended the throne. Of course these political envoys would not let him stand in the way of their gaining their object by flattering Henry's ambition. Indeed, Roger of Wendover distinctly says, that they were despatched for the purpose of offering Henry the throne of Jerusalem.

time when peril or even extermination is dreaded as impending over the Christian people ; that by the arm of your royal mightiness, protection may be granted to the members of Him who has in His mercy allowed you to reach such a height of glory and pre-eminence, and has rendered you an invincible wall of defence against those who wished to impugn His name. In the first place, be it known to your serene highness how that the land of Jerusalem has been here buffeted by frequent and vexatious disputes on these matters, the special inheritance of Him who was crucified, and the place in which the mysteries were foretold of our salvation, and brought to a completion by the carrying out of that event, and of which He who comprehended all things in His death, by a peculiar privilege made it the scene ; and how being now trampled under foot, and hemmed in by the pressure of a perfidious and most abominable race, it stands nodding to its downfall ; and how, which God forbid, the Christian religion must thereby sustain irreparable loss. For Saladin, the most inhuman persecutor of that holy and fearful name, has now risen to such a pitch in the spirit of his fury, and is to such a degree putting forth all the might of his wickedness for the destruction of the people of the faithful, that, unless the vehement onset of his wickedness is checked as though by barriers placed in his path, he may entertain an assured hope and belief that Jordan will flow before his face, and that the land that was consecrated by the shedding of the vivifying blood, will be polluted by the contact of his most abominable superstitions, and the country which your glorious and noble predecessors, amid many labours and perils, rescued from the dominion of the unbelieving heathens, will once more be subjected to the accursed dominion of this most nefarious tyrant. In consequence, therefore, of the urgency of the necessity, and of the sorrows thus imminent, we have deemed it advisable, by these Apostolic letters, to entreat your mightiness, or rather with a palpitating heart to call upon you with the loudest voice, showing regard for the honor of Him who has set you upon high, and, in comparison with the name of the mighty ones who are on earth, has bestowed upon you a glorious name, in the earnestness of your pious zeal, to give your attention to the desolate state of the before-named land, and, to the end that, in those parts, the confusion of Him may be put an end to, who, in your behalf, submitted to be held in

derision in that self-same land, to afford efficacious aid. Wherefore, following in the footsteps of your predecessors, by the aid of the Lord, let that land be preserved in the worship of the great God by means of your diligence, which they rescued from the jaws of the prince of darkness. In such straits of oppression it befits your highness to labour with the more earnest zeal, inasmuch as you are aware that the land is deprived of the protection of a king, and the powerful men have thought proper to centre all their hopes of defending it in the protection of your mightiness. And this your serene highness may be the better enabled to understand, from the fact that they have despatched to your excellency the chief men of that land and the mighty defenders thereof, namely, our venerable brother Heraclius, the Patriarch, and our dearly beloved son, the Master of the Hospital, that from their dignified presence you may be enabled to take under consideration the present state of affairs, and to see how great and extreme is the necessity, on account of which they have so long endured to be without protection; to the end that in person they might the more easily incline your devotedness to comply with their desires. Receive, therefore, the persons before-named with all kindness, as though sent to you by the Lord Himself, treat them in all things with that brotherly love which is their due, and show yourself ready to acquiesce in their requests, according as, having regard to their weight and their probity, you shall think them deserving of your grace and favour. And further, let your prudence call to mind, and with anxious meditation thereon ponder over those promises by which you have so often bound your highness as to undertaking the protection of the land so often named; and show yourself in this respect so wary and so zealous, that, at the terrible day of judgment your conscience may not accuse you, and the question put to you by that searching Judge who is not to be deceived, may not lead to your condemnation."

After hearing these requests, our lord the king made answer that, God willing, all things would yet be well, and appointed a time for his answer, namely, the first Sunday in Lent, at London. Accordingly, on this day,⁶⁴ our lord the king, the Patriarch, the bishops, abbats, earls, and barons of the kingdom of England, William, king of Scotland, and his brother David, together with the earls and barons of his kingdom, met at

⁶⁴ This council was held at Clerkenwell.

London, and after a conference had been held thereon with due deliberation, it pleased all that our lord the king should consult thereupon Philip, king of France, his liege lord; upon which the council breaking up, our lord the king gave to all his subjects, both clergy and laity, permission to assume the cross. Accordingly, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Ranulph, justiciary of England, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, together with many others of the bishops from both sides of the sea, and nearly all the earls, barons, and knights of England, Normandy, Aquitaine, Brittany, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, assumed the cross; at the period of the assumption of which a certain miraculous event took place.

For on a certain day, a woman who had secretly become pregnant, finding that the time of her labour was approaching, fled from the house of her father, in consequence of her wish to avoid being detected in her transgression; when behold! a mighty tempest of wind and rain overtook her in her flight, as she was wandering alone in the fields and begging the Lord for His assistance and a place of refuge. Upon finding that her prayers were not instantly listened to by the Lord, she fell into a fit of desperation, saying, "If thou, God, dost despise my prayers, then may the Devil succour me;" immediately upon which the Devil made his appearance to her under the form of a young man, barefoot and girt up as though for a journey, and said to the woman, "Follow me." As they passed along the road they met with a sheepfold in a field, on which the Devil ran before and got ready a fire in the sheepfold, and a seat made of fresh straw, upon which the woman followed him, and, entering the place, warmed herself before the fire. While so doing, she said, "I am thirsty, and am quite famished with hunger;" to which the Devil made answer, "Wait a little, and I will bring you bread and drink." While he was gone [to fetch this], two men, who happened to be passing along the road, seeing a fire in the sheepfold, wondered what it could be, and coming nearer, entered the sheepfold; where, finding the pregnant woman lying down near the fire, they asked her who it was that had made the fire for her, to which she made answer, "The Devil." On this they enquired of her where he was, when she replied, "I was hungry and thirsty, and he has gone to find me some victuals and drink." On hearing this, they said to her, "Have

faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and in the glorious Virgin Mary, His mother, and they shall deliver you from the hand of the enemy; and be sure to enquire of him what shall come to pass;" after saying which, they went to a village that was near at hand, and related to the clergy and the people what they had seen and heard upon the road.

In the meantime, the Devil returned, and bringing with him bread and water, refreshed the woman; after which, stooping down, she gave birth to a male child, which the Devil taking up, performed the duties of midwife, and was warming it before the fire, when, lo! the priest of the village before-mentioned came to the sheepfold, armed with the Catholic faith, the cross, and holy water, and attended by the clergy and a great number of people. Finding that she was delivered, he was sprinkling the child, which the Devil was holding in his arms, with holy water, in the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, when the Devil, being utterly unable to endure it, took to flight, and, carrying the child away with him, appeared to them no more. On this, the woman, returning to herself, exclaimed, "Now do I know of a truth that the Lord hath delivered me from the hands of the enemy;" and she then related to them that she had been informed by the Devil, that, since the time when Jesus Christ prevailed over hell, there had not been so great sorrow or lamentation in hell as there was now, in consequence of the assumption of the cross: but, said she, his sorrow will be turned into joy, because so great will be the iniquities and offences of the Crusaders, that the Lord will blot them out of the Book of Life, and many of them, forsaking the religion of the cross, will become persecutors of the cross and of the name of Christ—a thing that afterwards proved to be the case.

Our lord the king next came to Windsor, and there, on the Lord's day on which is sung⁵⁵ "*Lætare, Jerusalem,*" ["Rejoice, O Jerusalem,"] which this year fell on the day before the calends of April, he dubbed his son John a knight, and immediately after sent him to Ireland, appointing him king thereof. In the meantime, a mighty earthquake was heard⁵⁶ throughout nearly the whole of England, such as had not been heard in that

⁵⁵ The commencement of the introit on the Fourth Sunday in Lent.

⁵⁶ The word is "auditus;" at the present day we speak of *feeling* an earthquake, and, in general, not of *hearing* one.

land since the beginning of the world; for rocks were split asunder, houses of stone fell down, and the metropolitan church of Lincoln was rent from top to bottom. This earthquake took place on the day after Palm Sunday, that is to say, on the seventeenth day before the calends of May; and on the day after the said earthquake our lord the king of England, Heraclius, the Patriarch, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, with many of the principal men of England, crossed over between Dover and Witsand. After his arrival in Normandy, our lord the king of England raised a considerable army, and then sent word to his son Richard, earl of Poitou, who had fortified Poitou against him, and had taken prisoner his brother Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, that unless he delivered up to his mother Eleanor the whole of Poitou freely and quietly, he would visit him with a rod of iron, and war against him with all the power of his might. Upon receiving this command, the said Richard, ceasing all hostilities, delivered up Poitou to his mother, and, returning to his father, remained with him like an obedient son.

In the meantime, on the calends of May, being the day of the Apostles, Saint Philip and Saint James, about mid-day, a total eclipse of the sun was seen, which was followed by thunder and lightning, and a mighty tempest; from the effects of which men and animals perished, and many houses, being set on fire thereby, were burned to the ground. After this, Philip, king of France, and Henry, king of England, holding a conference as to giving aid to the land of Jerusalem, promised that they would afford it ample assistance both in men and money: but, for all this the before-named Patriarch cared but little, as he had been in hopes that he should be enabled to bring back with him, for the defence of the land of Jerusalem, the before-named king of England, or one of his sons, or else some other person high in authority; but, being unable to effect this, he retired from the court in sorrow and confusion on his return to his country.

In the same year, Walter, the archbishop elect of Rouen, received the pall from pope Lucius, and immediately consecrated Gilbert de Glanville, who had been presented with the bishopric of Rochester by the king of England. In this year also, John, the king's son, coming into Ireland, was honorably received by John, the archbishop of Dublin, and the other

subjects of his father, who had preceded him; however, as he thought fit to shut up everything in his own purse,⁵⁶ and was unwilling to pay their wages to his soldiers, he lost the greater part of his army in several conflicts with the Irish, and being at last reduced to want [of troops], after appointing justices and distributing his knights in various places for the defence of the country, he returned to England.

In the month of December, in this year, pope Lucius departed this life; and was succeeded in the papacy by pope Urban the Third; who immediately thereupon, in order that notice thereof might be universally given, wrote to the prelates of the Holy Church to the following effect:

The Letter of pope Urban on his Election.

“Urban, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops, and to his dearly beloved sons the abbats, priors, and other prelates of churches, to whom these letters shall come, health and the Apostolic benediction. The exalted counsels of heaven, retaining in their dispensations a constant supervision thereof, have founded the Holy Church of Rome, to the governance whereof, insufficient as we are, we have been chosen, upon a rock which is based upon the solidity of the faith; bestowing upon her that foundation in the strength of the Apostolic confession, that so neither the outbreaks of the storm, nor the winds of the tempest can prevail against her. Wherefore it is that the universal Mother Church, ever retaining with her the Saviour, even unto the end of the world, has so, as expressed in the Song of Solomon,⁵⁷ “embraced him whom she loved,” that, by reason of no change of events or of times, can she be separated from the singleness of her faith, or the fixedness of her affection. For although, by reason of the repeated changes of her pastors as they depart, she has frequently fallen into various perils, or in consequence of the attacks of the wickedness of this world has endured persecutions and labours innumerable, still, never has the Divine favour forsaken her, any further than that she might perfect her strength in some temptation, and thence obtain the joyous fulfilment of her hope, on receiving thereby a strengthening of her faith. The Lord thus dealing towards her, within these few days as a mark of His goodness, although no slight grief and sorrow affected her for the death of the pious

⁵⁶* He more than once alludes to the avarice of John.

⁵⁷ Probably

in allusion to ch. vii. 10.

father Lucius, Divine Providence has preserved her in the unity of the spirit and in the bond of peace, so that after the sorrow of the evening joy came in the morning, and she, like a most beauteous dove, rejoicing amid her sighs, retained her beauty without a ruffle even or a spot upon her whiteness. Now, after the decease of the father of pious memory, our predecessor, Lucius, our lord the pope, when his most venerable body had been honorably entombed, there was held by the brethren a conference as to the election of a successor, at which there was such unity among all, and such concord of each with the other, that He may be supposed to have wrought upon them, in whose hands are the hearts of all men, and through whom the diversity of minds is reconciled. But, while in the church of God, there were many venerable and prudent men, of whom it is our belief that their votes might have more prudently and more worthily have made choice, inefficient as we are, they turned their eyes upon us; and it was done accordingly as it pleased the Lord, in that they made choice of us as their father and shepherd, who have neither strength nor merits to suffice to the elevation of a dignity so great. However, although we were fully conscious to ourselves of our own infirmities, so as to believe that we might, not without good reason, have offered resistance to their proposals; still, to the end that through delay in the transaction or pertinacity in making resistance, no danger might ensue to the Church, although unwillingly, we consented to undertake the labour of the burden entrusted to us; hoping that our steps would be guided by Him who bestowed on Saint Peter, when sailing on the waves, faith even to that degree that he went down into the sea, and went forth to meet Him in the midst thereof, that doubting he might not perish. Now therefore, being placed in such a position and office, as to require to be aided therein by the suffrages of all the faithful, to you do we resort, as especial sons of the Roman Church, with full confidence and security, and, prefacing with the salutation of the Apostolic benediction, we do by these familiar letters admonish you, and do earnestly request and exhort you in the Lord, that, attending the death of our before-named father and lord Lucius, with the devout suffrages of your prayers, you will especially pay to ourselves that fidelity and duty which is owed to us, in virtue of your respect for Saint Peter and Saint Paul the Apostles and the Apostolic See, by all of you in common, that by so doing, you may be enabled both to obtain your

reward of God, and always be enabled to find more abundant grace in my eyes, and prove yourselves deserving before the whole Church. Given at Verona, on the second day before the ides of January."

In the same year, Henry, king of England, sent envoys to pope Urban, and obtained many things of him, which pope Lucius had stoutly refused; one of which was that such one of his sons as he should think fit should be crowned king of Ireland. This was acceded to by our lord the pope, who confirmed the same by his bull, and, as a proof of his assent and confirmation thereof, sent him a crown made of peacock's feathers, embroidered with gold. In this year, shortly before the feast of Saint Peter *ad Vincula*, the before-named Patriarch, having returned to Jerusalem, and brought with him no aid for the defence of that land, great fear came upon the inhabitants of the land of Jerusalem. Consequently, a certain brother of the Temple, an Englishman by birth, whose name was Robert de Saint Alban, having forsaken the Christian faith, went to Saladin, king of Babylon, and promised him that he would deliver up to him the city of Jerusalem; and, on his giving him security for the same, Saladin gave him his niece in marriage, and a considerable body of troops, and put him in command of his army, making him general thereof. Upon this, he immediately went forth with his army to the plains of Saint George, and there divided it into three detachments, two of which he sent into the parts adjacent to lay them waste; on which they ravaged the whole country, from Montreal to Neapolis, while Jericho, and the city of Sebaste, with some other cities, were destroyed.

But the before-named Robert, with the third part of his army, marched against the city of Jerusalem; on which the few inhabitants who were in the city, trusting in the Lord, went forth by the postern gates, and, carrying before them the wood of the Cross of our Lord as a standard, by the might of the Lord smote the army in which was the before-named Robert; on which, taking to flight, he turned his back on the smiters, while the men of Jerusalem followed him and his army, and slew many of them with the edge of the sword: Robert, however, though with considerable difficulty, made his escape.

After this, on Saladin purposing a fresh attack upon the land of Jerusalem, the Templars and Hospitallers and other chief men of that land, gave him sixty thousand besants for a truce until the octave of the ensuing Easter. In the

meantime, William de Marchis, earl of Joppa, having died, William the Leper, the king of Jerusalem, abdicated the throne of the kingdom, and, naming the boy Baldwin, son of the before-named William and Sibylla, who was his sister, his heir, caused him to be crowned king in the Holy City of Jerusalem; shortly after which he died, on which the boy Baldwin reigned in his stead for nearly two years, and his mother Sibylla married Guido de Lusignan, and by him had two daughters.

In the year of grace 1186, being the thirty-second year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king was at Damfront, in Normandy, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord; after which festival a conference was held between him and Philip, king of France, at Gisors, where he made oath that he would give Alice, the sister of the king of France, in marriage to his son Richard, earl of Poitou. The king of France also promised to the before-named Richard, together with his said sister, Gisors, and all that his father Louis had promised, together with his daughter Margaret, to Henry, the son, the king of England; and he further made oath that he would never after that advance any claim against them in respect thereof.

After having held this conference, the king of England crossed over to England, and gave to Hugh, prior of the house of Wicham, which is of the Carthusian order, and in the bishopric of Bath, the bishopric of Lincoln; whom Baldwin, the archbishop of Canterbury, shortly after consecrated. After this, the king proceeded with a large army to Carlisle, intending to go still further to wage war against Roland, the son of Uctred, son of Fergus, for the injuries and spoliations which he had been guilty of towards Dunecan, the son of Gilbert, son of Fergus; but the said Roland came thither to the king and made peace with him. The king also, while there, caused Paulinus of Leeds to be elected to the bishopric of Carlisle; which, however, the said Paulinus declined. On this, in order that Paulinus might be willing to accept of that bishopric, the king offered him to enrich it with revenues to the amount of three hundred marks yearly, arising from the church of Bamborough, the church of Scarborough, the chapelry of Tickhill, and two of the king's manors near Carlisle.

In the same year, Philip, king of the Franks, gave to Bela,

king of Hungary, his sister Margaret in marriage, who had been the wife of Henry, the son of the king of England. In the same year, Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, son of Henry, king of England, died at Paris from bruises which he had received from the hoofs of horses at a tournament, and was buried in the cathedral church of that city. In this year also some of the Irish cut off the head of Hugh de Lacy in Ireland. In the same year, our lord the king of England gave Ermengard, his kinswoman, daughter of Richard, viscount de Beaumont, in marriage to William, king of Scotland; and caused them to be married in his chapel at Woodstock by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, where he held in their honor great nuptial festivities at his palace for a period of four days. Our lord the king also there presented the king of Scotland with the castle of Edinburgh; which the said king immediately gave to the before-named Ermengard his wife as a marriage portion, and by way of increasing the same he gave her one hundred pounds of yearly revenue, and forty knights' fees.

In the same year, while the king of England was staying at Carlisle, Robert Buteville, dean of the church of York, departed this life, and was succeeded in the deanery by Hubert Fitz-Walter, clerk to Ranulph de Glanville, at the king's presentation. In the same year, our lord the king of England gave to William de Northale the bishopric of Worcester, and to John, subdean of Salisbury, the bishopric of Exeter; who were accordingly consecrated by Baldwin, the archbishop of Canterbury.

In the same year, after pope Urban, upon the complaint of John, the bishop of Dunkeld, had heard the dispute that existed between him and Hugh, the bishop of Saint Andrew's, he wrote to the king of Scotland to the following effect:—

The Letter of pope Urban to William, king of Scotland.

“Urban, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to William, the illustrious king of the Scots, health and the Apostolic benediction. Inasmuch as, by the duties enjoined upon us by God in virtue of our office, we are bound to give our earnest attention to all the churches, both those near to us, as also those at a great distance, and, if we know of any unreasonable attempts made by them or by their ministers, to recall them to a more suitable line of conduct, the princes of

this world ought not to feel themselves aggrieved in consequence thereof, if sometimes we think proper to extend our hands for the correction of those things which they have done amiss; inasmuch as they themselves also, in conformity with the power that has been entrusted to them, ought to aid us herein, and, when it is necessary and the obstinacy of any stands in need thereof, stoutly to resist the contumacy prompted by a spirit of wickedness. Your royal excellency is not unaware what a grievous dissension has arisen between our venerable brethren, John, bishop of Dunkeld, and Hugh, bishop of Saint Andrew's; and although either party has undergone great labours, and submitted to great expenses, and, in the time of pope Lucius of blessed memory, our predecessor, held a long discussion thereon at the Apostolic See, they still were unable to bring the matter in dispute to a conclusion. And whereas lately the said bishops came to our presence, and discussed the said matters at length, in our hearing, upon which, by the advice of our brethren, we gave to the before-named bishop of Dunkeld power to act in the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, in opposition to the said bishop Hugh, and the said bishop of Saint Andrew's was sufficiently instructed in our presence, to return to his own place within a period named, upon the understanding that if he should not do so within the said time, our venerable brother Jocelyn, bishop of Glasgow, and our dearly beloved sons, the abbats of Melrose, Newbottle, and Dunfermline, should from thenceforth suspend him from the episcopal duties, and if he should after that prove contumacious, should place him under the ban of excommunication, and not revoke their sentence until such time as he should have come into our presence. For it is our wish, that this matter should no longer remain in a state of suspense, in order that thereby the said church of Saint Andrew's may incur no grave detriment to its interests, but rather that, the truth being known, with the aid of the Lord, by our means it may be brought to a suitable conclusion. We have also ordered the before-named bishop of Glasgow and his colleagues, relying upon our authority, to extend their protection to our dearly-beloved sons, Aiulph, dean of Lothian, Odo, the seneschal, Roger de Feric, and other clerks, friends of the before-named bishop of Dunkeld, from all molestation whatsoever, and not to allow their possessions or other goods, or the reve-

nues of the said bishop to be seized upon by any person. And if any one shall presume to disregard this prohibition hereon, they are, by means of canonical censure, to restrain them in such course, no appeal to the contrary withstanding. To the end, therefore, that what we have ordered may without any difficulty whatever be complied with, we do advise your royal excellency, and exhort you in the Lord, and, for the remission of your sins, enjoin you, out of your love of justice, and your reverence for Saint Peter and for ourselves, to allow proceedings to be taken in this matter in conformity with the tenor of our mandates, and with your royal protection to defend the before-named dean and seneschal, and Robert de Fedic, and the rest of the kinsmen and friends of the before-named bishop of Dunkeld, as also the bishopric, and the rest of his revenues, and neither in any way to aggrrieve them nor suffer them to be aggrrieved by others; that so this dispute may without any hindrance be brought to a conclusion, and your royal mightiness may for this work of justice gain a never-failing reward from God, and a good name among men. You are to know also, that we have enjoined the before-named bishops, in virtue of their obedience to us, not to receive anything from the churches or clergy subject to them in respect of the expenses which, in the transaction of the matters before-named, they are liable to incur, but to make it their care to supply the necessary expenses from their own revenues alone. For we are unwilling that by their deeds the churches, or any persons in your kingdom, should incur any detriment whatever. We also wish it not to escape your royal excellency, that the before-named bishop of Dunkeld has so honorably conducted his cause, and has paid such deference to your kingly dignity, that he has made no proposition whatever, which might by any possibility redound to the derogation of your royal name, or, by reason of which, your serene highness ought to feel angered against him. Wherefore, if anything to the contrary shall be suggested to your highness by his opponents, you must not lend your royal ear to the words of such persons. Given at Verona, on the second day before the calends of August."

The Letter of the same Pope to John, bishop of Glasgow, and the abbats, his colleagues, on the same subject.

“Urban, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother, Jocelyn, bishop of Glasgow, and his dearly-beloved sons, the abbats of Melrose, Newbottle, and Dunfermline, health and the Apostolic benediction. Inasmuch as, by the duties enjoined upon us by God in virtue of our office, we are bound to give our earnest attention to all the churches, both those near to us as also those at a great distance, and if we know of any unreasonable attempts made by them, or by their ministers, to recall them to a more suitable line of conduct; the princes of this world ought not to feel angered in consequence thereof. Your discreetness is not unaware what a grievous dissension has arisen between our venerable brethren, John, bishop of Dunkeld, and Hugh, bishop of Saint Andrew’s; and although either party has undergone great labours and submitted to great expenses, and, in the time of pope Lucius, of blessed memory, our predecessor, held a long discussion thereon at the Apostolic See, they still were unable to bring the matter in dispute to a conclusion. And whereas lately the said bishops came to our presence and discussed the said matters at length in our hearing, upon which, by the advice of our brethren, we gave to the before-named bishop of Dunkeld power to act in the bishopric of Saint Andrew’s, in opposition to the said bishop Hugh, and the said bishop of Saint Andrew’s was sufficiently instructed in our presence to return to his own place within a period named. And to the end that our most dearly beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of the Scots, may not by his power impede the prosecution of this business, we have warned him by our letters that he is to allow proceedings to be taken in this business according to the tenor of our mandate, and to defend with his royal protection our dearly beloved sons, Aiulph, dean of Lothian, Odo, the senechal, and Robert de Fedic, and the other kinsmen of the above-named bishop of Dunkeld, and neither to aggrieve them in any way himself, nor suffer them to be aggrieved by others. To the end, therefore, that the business before-named may no longer remain in suspense, and the church of Saint Andrew’s

thereby incur detriment to its own interests, we do, by these Apostolic writings, enjoin your discreetness, and do, in virtue of your obedience, order you, reducing to writing whatever you shall know of yourselves or through other persons on the subject of this business, to make it your care to inform us of the same, sending it to us under the protection of your seals, in order that we, being instructed by your intimations thereon, using the advice of our brethren, may proceed in the business in such manner as it is our duty to do. And if any persons shall with rash daring lay hands upon the before-named dean, Odo, the seneschal, Robert de Fedic, or any other friends of the bishop of Dunkeld, and their possessions or other property, or the bishopric and other revenues of the said bishop, then, fully relying on our authorization, you are, by canonical censure, to restrain them, without any obstacle thereto by way of appeal. Also, you will, on our behalf, forbid the said bishops, as we have also done orally, to receive anything whatever from the churches or clergy subject to them, in respect of the expenses which they are liable to incur in the prosecution of the before-named business; as they are to supply the necessary expenses from their own revenues alone. For we are unwilling that, by their deeds, they should cause detriment to the Church, or to any other person of your kingdom. Wherefore, by our authorization, you are strictly to warn the before-named bishop of Saint Andrew's, that, having received sufficient notice, he is to repair to our presence, within a time appointed by us for both parties. And if he shall not come, then you are, all appeal set aside, immediately to suspend him from his episcopal duties. And if even then he shall not show obedience thereto, you are to place him under the ban of excommunication, and not to relax your sentence, until such time as he shall have presented himself before us. Also, you are to intimate to his royal excellency that the before-named bishop of Dunkeld has so honorably conducted his cause, and has paid such deference to his kingly dignity, that he has made no proposition whatever which may by any possibility redound to the derogation of his royal name, or by reason of which he ought to feel angered against him. Wherefore, make it your care, by unceasing exhortations, to persuade him, that if any thing should be suggested by his opponents to the contrary,

he is not to lend his royal ear to their words. Given at Verona, on the second day before the calends of August."

On the authority therefore of this letter, Jocelyn, bishop of Glasgow, and his colleagues, when the time drew nigh which had been appointed by the Supreme Pontiff for the hearing of the before-named bishops of Dunkeld and Saint Andrew's, summoned the before-named bishops a first, second, and third time to set out upon their journey: on which the bishop of Dunkeld came, but the bishop of Saint Andrew's, staying beyond the time, delayed coming, whereupon the above-named judges delegate suspended him from the episcopal duties, and then, in consequence of his contumacy, according to the tenor of the Apostolic mandate, excommunicated him.

In the same year, Philip, king of France, demanded of Henry, king of England, the charge of the daughter of Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, whom at his death he left his heir; a thing which the king of England would on no account comply with, but sent to him Walter, archbishop of Rouen, William de Mandeville, earl of Aumarle, and Ranulph de Glanville, the justiciary of England, at whose instance the king of France made a truce, and promised to keep the peace until the feast of Saint Hilary then next ensuing. In the same year, Richard de Vals, a knight of the king of France, fortified a castle in his vill of Vals, between Gisors and Trie; on seeing which, Henry de Vere, constable of Gisors, under the before-named William, earl of Aumarle, took it amiss, and, wishing to impede the work if he possibly could, came thither with his people; on which the men of the before-named Richard de Vals went out to meet him, and an engagement taking place, Rader, the son of Richard de Vals, was slain, and after many men of the said Richard had been wounded, they took to flight. The said Henry de Vere, however, not daring to return to Gisors, went to Richard, earl of Poitou. On this becoming known to the king of France, he ordered that all who belonged to the territories of the king of England, both clergy and laymen, who should be found in his dominions, should be taken in custody, together with all their chattels. On the other hand, the bailiffs of the king of England, in the parts beyond sea, did the like as to the subjects of the king of France and their chattels, which were found in their respective bailiwicks. But shortly after, at the suggestion of his followers, the king of France gave orders that the subjects of

the king of England should be liberated, and that their chattels should be restored to them; on which the bailiffs of the king of England did the same as to the subjects of the king of France and their chattels.

In the same year, Constance, the countess of Brittany, daughter of earl Conan, whom Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, her husband, had left pregnant at the time of his decease, was delivered of her eldest son on the holy night of Easter, and his name was called Arthur. In the same year, Baldwin, the boy-king of Jerusalem, son of William le Marchis, departed this life, and was succeeded in the kingdom by his mother Sibylla, by hereditary right; but before she was crowned, a divorce was effected between her and Guido de Lusignan, her husband, by the Patriarch Heraclius and the Templars and Hospitallers, who wished her to marry Walran, earl of Tripolis, or some nobleman of the principal people of the land of Jerusalem; she, however, by a wonderful piece of cunning, deceived them, saying: "If a divorce takes place between me and my husband, I wish you to make me sure, by your promises and oaths, that whomsoever I shall make choice of you will choose for your head and lord."

Accordingly, after they had so done, they led her into the Temple, and the before-named Patriarch crowned her; shortly after which, when all were offering up their prayers that God the Lord Almighty would provide a fitting king for that land, the before-named queen took the royal crown in her hands, and placed it on the head of Guido de Lusignan her husband, saying, "I make choice of thee as king, and as my lord, and as lord of the land of Jerusalem, for those whom God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

At these words all stood in amazement, but on account of the oath which they had made, no one dared oppose her, and the Patriarch, approaching, anointed him king; and then, Divine service having been celebrated, the Templars escorted the king and queen to their abode, and provided for them a sumptuous entertainment. The earl of Tripolis, however, vexed and sorrowful that the queen had rejected him, went to Saladin, king of Babylon, and, entering into an alliance with him, devised many evils for the destruction of the king and queen. Saladin, however, requested that the truce before-mentioned, which he had made until the ensuing Easter, should be pro-

longed for the three years next ensuing; to which proposition king Guido, by the advice of the Templars, assented, although it was evident to him that there would shortly come a vast number of pilgrims, both from England and other kingdoms, in consequence of the preaching of the Patriarch. Accordingly, after Easter, there came to Jerusalem an immense multitude of men-at-arms and other pilgrims; but as the truce had been prolonged, very few of them chose to remain. However, Roger de Mowbray and Hugh de Beauchamp remained there in the service of God.

In the year of grace 1187, being the thirty-third year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, that king was at Guilford, in England, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord. In the same year, after the Nativity of our Lord, pope Urban sent to England Octavianus, a cardinal-subdeacon of the Holy Church of Rome, and with him Hugh de Nunant, to whom he gave the legateship to Ireland, for the purpose of there crowning John, the king's son; but our lord the king put off that coronation, and took the before-named legates with him to Normandy, to a conference to be held between himself and Philip, king of France. Accordingly, the king of England crossed over and landed at Witsand, in Flanders, and with him the legates before-named, and shortly after, a conference was held between him and the king of France at Vè Saint Remy, but they could come to no agreement, in consequence of the exorbitant demands made by the king of France, and parted without any hopes of peace and reconciliation.

In the same year, after Pentecost, Philip, king of France, levying a large army, besieged Richard and John, the sons of the king of England, in Chateau Raoul; hearing of which, the king of England came thither with a great army to succour his sons so besieged. On this, the king of France met him with his army, and drew up his troops in battle array; but, by the mercy of God and the injunction of Urban the Supreme Pontiff, and by the advice of the archbishops, bishops, and other influential men of both kingdoms, they agreed to a truce for two years, and that the king of France should hold Yssoudon and Urse de Fretteval till the end of the truce; and upon these terms they desisted from hostilities and returned home.

After peace was thus made, Richard, earl of Poitou, remained with the king of France, though much against the will of

his father, and the king of France held him in such high esteem, that every day they ate at the same table and from the same dish, and at night had not separate chambers. In consequence of this strong attachment which seemed to have arisen between them, the king of England was struck with great astonishment, and wondered what it could mean, and, taking precautions for the future, frequently sent messengers into France for the purpose of recalling his son Richard; who, pretending that he was peaceably inclined and ready to come to his father, made his way to Chinon, and, in spite of the person who had the custody thereof, carried off the greater part of his father's treasures, and fortified his castles in Poitou with the same, refusing to go to his father.

This is supposed to have taken place through the Providence of God, in order that his father might not be deceived by the pretended affection of his son, nor be in too great haste to promote him to the helm of state, in the same way that he had promoted the other one,⁶² who, as already mentioned, had caused him endless troubles by his unrighteous and vexatious conduct. At length, however, through the mercy of God, it came to pass that Richard, earl of Poitou, neglecting the counsels of the wicked, returned to his father, and once more did homage to him in presence of a great number of people, both clergy and laity, and swore fealty to him upon the Holy Evangelists against all men, and promised that he would not forsake his counsels. These matters being concluded, the king of England set out for Brittany, and took the castle of Montrelais by siege, of which Hervey de Lyons and his brother Guimar had taken possession after the death of Geoffrey, earl of Brittany.

In the same year, Donald, the son of William, son of Duncannan, an enemy of William, king of Scotland, and whom the Scotch called MacWilliam, was slain in Moray. In the same year, Isabella, the queen of France, and daughter of the earl of Hainault, was delivered of her first-born son on the third day before the nones of September, being the fifth day of the week, who was named Louis. In the same year, Saladin, king of Babylon, with an immense multitude of his Turks, on pretext of the disunion which existed between the king and the earl of Tripolis, entered the land of Jerusalem; on which the brethren of the Temple and of the Hospital went

⁶² His eldest son, Henry.

forth against him with a great multitude of people, and on an engagement taking place between them, the army of the Pagans prevailed against the Christians, on which the latter betook themselves to flight, and many of them were slain and many taken prisoners. On the same day also, being the calends of May, sixty brethren of the Temple, and the Grand Master of the Hospital, together with sixty brethren of his house, were slain.

Saladin, on gaining this great victory, attacked and took a considerable number of the castles, cities, and fortresses of the Christians; after which, returning to his own country, he levied a great army, and, by the advice, it is said, of the earl of Tripolis, who was an enemy to the king, entered the territory of Jerusalem, on the Friday after the feast of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, with eight hundred thousand men or more; on which he took Tiberias, with the exception of the keep of the castle, to which place the lady of the castle had retreated, together with a few knights. On king Guido being informed of this, by the advice of the earl of Tripolis, who had lately, with fraudulent intent, entered into a treaty of peace, the king proceeded one day's march towards Tiberias, when the earl of Tripolis, who was the leader and guide in the march, halted the whole army on an elevated and craggy spot. Being there threatened with an attack of the enemy on every side, the king, urged by necessity, and compelled by the advice of his barons, thought proper to engage, and, at their entreaty, gave the honor of striking the first blow to the Master and knights of the Temple.

Upon this, the brotherhood of the Temple, rushing upon the foe with the bravery of lions, put some to the sword, and forced others to take to flight. The rest, however, neglecting the king's commands, did not join the battle, or give them any succour whatever; in consequence of which, the knights of the Temple were hemmed in and slaughtered. After this, the troops of Saladin surrounded the army of the Christians, worn out with the fatigues of the march, exhausted by the intense heat of the climate, and utterly destitute of water, and, in a great measure, of food as well. At this conjunction, six of the king's knights, namely, Baldwin de Fortune, Raymond Buck, and Laodicius de Tiberias, with three companions, being seized with a diabolical spirit, fled to Saladin, and spontaneously became Saracens, informing him of every particular as to the

present state, intentions, and resources of the Christians. On this, Saladin, who before was in anxious doubt as to the result of the warfare, took courage, and with trumpets sounding, made an attack with an infinite multitude of warriors on the Christians, who, in consequence of the rocky and inaccessible nature of the spot, were unable to fight; and so, assailing them with every possible method of attack, he utterly routed the Christians. At last, Thekedin, the nephew of Saladin, took Guido, king of Jerusalem, while flying, and the wood of the Cross of our Lord, after slaying Rufinus, bishop of Acre, who was carrying it. And this was done through the righteous judgment of God; for, contrary to the usage of his predecessors, having greater faith in worldly arms than in heavenly ones, he went forth to battle equipped in a coat of mail, and shortly after he perished, being pierced by an arrow. Nearly all the others, being utterly routed, were taken prisoners and either slain or loaded with chains, the Persians, oh, great disgrace! remaining masters of the camp.

The earl of Tripolis alone, who was the designer of this treachery, escaped with his men unhurt. Immediately after the battle, Saladin ordered the knights of the Temple and of the Hospital to be separated from the rest, and to be decapitated in his presence, he himself with his own hand slaying Raymond de Castiglione, their chief. After this he took the city of Acre and the places adjacent, with nearly all the fortified spots in those parts.

In the meantime, Conrad le Marchis, brother of the above-mentioned William, earl of Joppa, having been guilty of murder in the city of Constantinople, took to flight, deserting his wife, the niece of Isaac, emperor of Constantinople; and on the very same day on which Saladin gained this victory over the Christians, Conrad came to Tyre and found it deserted, for nearly all the citizens of the place were slain in the before-mentioned battle. On Saladin coming thither, expecting to have free ingress, Conrad offered a stout resistance, and refused him permission to enter; on which, Saladin, seeing that he could effect nothing by staying there, took his departure, and captured the city of Beyrout, and both the cities which are called Gibelet, with Sidon, and the city of Cæsarea, as also Joppa, Saint George, Saint Abraham, Bethlehem, the New Castle of Caiaphas, Saphet, Jaunay, Mount Tabor, Faba, and Caffarmundel, the Cave of the Temple, Calenzun, Marle of the

Temple, the Castle on the Plain, Ramah, Bethurun of the Knights, Castle Arnald, Castle Bourgoing, Tarentum, Blanche-warde, Galatia, Gasseres, Darin,⁶³ Rouge Cisterne, the Castle of Saint Peter, Saint Lazarus of Bethany, Saint Mary of Mount Sion, and the City of Jerusalem.

On this, the queen, the wife of Guido, betook herself, with her two daughters and her household, to the city of Ascalon, and fortified it with provisions and soldiers; these, however, in the second year after, she surrendered to Saladin for the ransom of her husband Guido, and thus liberated him from the custody of Saladin. All those, however, who had fled to Acre, and a multitude of Christians who had taken to flight, betook themselves to Tyre, and made Conrad their ruler and protector; Antioch also, and Margat, with nearly all the lands of the prince thereof, stoutly fortified themselves against Saladin.

While the earl of Tripolis was endeavouring to wean his nation from the worship of God, and to betray his country to Saladin, he was found dead in his bed just as though fast asleep; on which his wife, with all her people, surrendered herself and the city of Tripolis to Raymond, prince of Antioch, and he appointed his son Jocelyn lord thereof.

Now when pope Urban heard that in his time the king of Jerusalem had been taken prisoner, as also the Cross of our Lord, and the Holy City of Jerusalem, he was greatly afflicted, and fell ill, and died on the thirteenth day before the calends of November, at Ferrara; being succeeded in the papacy by Albert his chancellor, who was called pope Gregory the Eighth. On this, the cardinals, with the sanction of our lord the pope, strictly pledged themselves to each other, disregarding all wealth and luxuries, to preach the cross of Christ, and that not in word only but by deed and example, and to be the first, assuming the cross, to go begging for succours, and to precede the rest to the land of Jerusalem. They also, with the consent of our lord the pope, established a most strict truce between all the princes of Christendom, to last for a period of seven years; on the understanding that whoever in the meantime should commence war against a Christian, should be subject to the curse of God, and of our lord the pope, and the excommunication of all the prelates of the Universal Church. They also solemnly promised each other, that from thenceforth they would receive presents from no one who had a cause to try

⁶³ A great portion of these names are most probably incorrect.

in the court, but would only receive as much as should be given, or sent to supply their necessities and for their sustenance ; as also that they would not mount a horse so long as the land on which the feet of the Lord had stood should remain under the feet of the enemy.

It is also worthy of observation, and to be ascribed to the Divine Providence, that at the time when the city of Jerusalem and Antioch had been rescued from the power of the Pagans, on the expedition headed by Audemar, bishop of Puy, and many other bishops and religious men, as also Hugh, brother of Philip, king of France, Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, Stephen, count of Chartres, Robert, duke of Normandy, brother of William the Second, the king of England, then reigning, (which Robert conquered in battle, Colbrand, the chief of the knighthood of the Pagans), Robert, earl of Flanders, Eustace, earl of Boulogne, and Baldwin, the two brothers of duke Godfrey, Raymond, earl of Saint Gilles, Boamund, son of Robert Guiscard, and many other noblemen, the pope who was then living was named Urban, the Patriarch of Jerusalem was called Heraclius, and the emperor of Rome was called Frederic ; and so now, when the land of Jerusalem was taken from the hands of the Christians by the people of Saladin, the pope was called Urban, the patriarch of Jerusalem Heraclius, and the Roman emperor Frederic. It also deserves to be known, that between the time when Jerusalem was rescued from the hands of the Pagans by the warriors before-named, and the time when king Guido was deprived of it, a space of eighty-seven years intervened.

The Letter of Terricius, Master of the Temple, on the capture of the land of Jerusalem.

“ The brother Terricius, so called Grand Master of the most impoverished house of the Temple, and of all the brethren himself the most impoverished, and that brotherhood all but annihilated, to all commanders and brethren of the Temple to whom these presents shall come, greeting, and may they lift up their sighs to Him at whom the sun and moon are astounded. With how many and how great calamities, our sins so requiring it, the anger of God has lately permitted us to be scourged, we are unable, O sad fate ! either in writing or in the language of tears to express. For the Turks, assembling together an immense multitude of their nations, began with bitter hostility to invade the territories of us Christians ; and accordingly, uniting the

forces of our nation against them, we ventured, before the octave of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, to attack them; and for that purpose ventured to direct our march towards Tiberias, which, leaving their camp unprotected, they had taken by storm. After repulsing us among some most dangerous rocks, they attacked us with such vehemence, that after they had captured the Holy Cross and our king, and a whole multitude of us had been slain, and after two hundred and thirty of our brethren, as we verily believe, had been taken by them and beheaded, (besides those sixty who had been slain on the first of May), with great difficulty, the lord the earl of Tripolis, the lord Reginald of Sidon, the lord Ballovius, and ourselves, were enabled to make our escape from that dreadful field. After this, the Pagans, revelling in the blood of us Christians, did not delay to press on with all their hosts towards the city of Tyre; and, taking it by storm, spread themselves over nearly the whole of the land, Jerusalem, Tyre, Ascalon, and Berytus being alone now left to us and to Christendom. These cities also, as nearly all the citizens have been slain, we shall not be at all able to retain in our hands, unless we speedily receive the Divine assistance, and aid from yourselves. For at the present moment they are besieging Tyre with all their might, and cease not to assault it either night or day, while so vast are their numbers, that they have covered the whole face of the land from Tyre, as far as Jerusalem and Gaza, just like swarms of ants. Deign, therefore, with all possible speed, to bring succour to ourselves and to Christianity, all but ruined in the East, that so through the aid of God and the exalted merits of your brotherhood, supported by your assistance, we may be enabled to save the remainder of those cities. Farewell."

In the same battle in which Guido, king of Jerusalem, was made prisoner, Roger de Mowbray was also taken; whom in the following year the brethren of the Hospital and the Temple ransomed from the hands of the Pagans; shortly after which he died. In the same battle also, Hugh de Beauchamp was slain.

In the same year, the king of England gave Constance, countess of Brittany, the mother of Arthur, in marriage to Ranulph, earl of Chester. In this year also, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, erected new buildings and a church⁶⁴ near the walls of the city of Canterbury, and assigned thereto prebends in the churches of the monks at Canterbury; but

⁶⁴ Akington, or Hackington, in the suburbs of Canterbury.

the said monks complaining in consequence thereof, pope Urban forbade that this should be done, and thus the persons who had built the place expended their labour in vain. However, the said archbishop transferred this building to Lamhe,^{64*} which is on the other side of the Thames, opposite to Westminster. In the same year, Richard, earl of Poitou, assumed the cross of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The Letter of pope Gregory the Eighth to all the faithful in Christ.

“Gregory, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the faithful in Christ, to whom these presents shall come, health and the Apostolic benediction. On hearing of the severity of the tremendous judgment which the hand of God has inflicted upon the land of Jerusalem, both we and our brethren have been put to confusion with terror so extreme, and afflicted with sorrows so great, that it did not readily suggest itself to us what we were to do, or what indeed we ought to do. We only called to mind the words of the Psalmist, where he laments and says, ⁶⁵ ‘O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance: thy holy temple have they defiled, they have laid Jerusalem in heaps.’⁶⁶ The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth.’ For, taking advantage of the dissensions, which, through the wickedness of men, at the suggestion of the Devil, had arisen throughout the earth, Saladin came with a multitude of troops to those parts, and, being met by the king, the bishops, Templars, Hospitallers, earls, and barons, with the people of the land, together with the Cross of our Lord (through which, by the remembrance of Christ and faith in Him who hung therefrom and redeemed mankind, there used formerly to be assured protection, and a defence now vainly regretted against the assaults of the Pagans) part of our people were there slain, the Cross of our Lord was captured, the bishops slaughtered, the king made prisoner, and nearly all either slaughtered with the sword or taken by the hands of the enemy, so much so, that it is said that but very few escaped. The Templars also, and Hospitallers, were beheaded in his presence. How, after they had vanquished our army, they subsequently attacked and gained possession of all

^{64*} Lambeth. ⁶⁵ Psalm lxxix. 1, 2. ⁶⁶ These words in our version appear in the text as “in pomorum custodiam.”

quarters, so that only a few places are said to be remaining which have not fallen into their hands, we do not think requires to be set forth in our letters. However, although we may now say with the Prophet, 'Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep night and day for the slain of my people ;'⁶⁷ still, we ought not to be so utterly cast down as to fall into distrustfulness, and to believe that God is so angered with His people, that what in His wrath He has allowed to be done through the multitude of our sins in common, He will not speedily, when appeased by our repentance, in His compassion alleviate, and will, after our tears and lamentation, cause gladness and rejoicing. Whatever person then, amid such vast grounds for lamentation, does not, if not in body, still in heart, condole with us, is not only forgetful of the Christian faith, which teaches us to grieve with all who grieve, but even of his own self and of our common humanity, as every person of ordinary discretion is able well to estimate both the very magnitude of the danger, the fierceness of the barbarians who thirst for Christian blood, and exert the whole of their might in profaning the holy places, and using their endeavours to sweep away the name of God from off the earth, points on which we will not enlarge. And whereas the Prophets first laboured with all their zeal, and after them the Apostles and their followers, that the worship of God might exist in that land, and flow thence unto all regions of the world, aye, and even more than that, God (who was willing to become flesh, by whom all things were made, and who in his ineffable wisdom and his incomprehensible mercy was willing thus to work out our salvation, through the infirmity of the flesh, through hunger, fasting, thirst, the cross, and His death and resurrection, according to the words, 'Of himself he wrought out our salvation in the midst of the earth ;') also deigned here to undergo labours as well, neither tongue can tell, nor sense can imagine what grief it causes to us and to all Christian people to think what this land has now endured, and what under its former people it is read of as having suffered. Still, we ought not to believe that it is through the injustice of the judge who smites, but rather through the iniquity of the sinful people that these things have come to pass ; since we read that when the people turned unto the Lord, one thousand pursued, and twelve thousand fled ; nay more, that, while the people slept, the army

⁶⁷ Jer. ix. 1.

of Sennacherib was cut off by the hand of the angel of the Lord. Still, however, that land devoured its inhabitants, and was never able to remain in a state of quietude, or to retain its people, as being transgressors of the laws of God; thus giving a lesson and an example to those who are aiming at gaining a heavenly Jerusalem, that they cannot possibly attain the same but by the exercise of good works and through many temptations. These events, in fact, might have been already apprehended when Arroaise and other lands passed into the hands of the Pagans, and proper prudence would only have been used if the people who survived had returned to repentance, and by their conversion appeased God, whom by their transgressions they had offended. Nor yet did His wrath come suddenly upon them, but He delayed His vengeance and gave time for repentance. At last, however, He who loses not justice in mercy, has exercised His vengeance in the punishment of the transgressors, and in thus giving a warning to those who wished to be saved. Moreover, we, who amid such great sorrow for that land, ought to give our attention not only to the sins of the inhabitants thereof, but also to our own and to those of the whole people, and to be in dread lest what still remains to us of that land may be lost, and their might may rage to the detriment of other nations as well, as we hear in all parts of dissensions and offences between kings and princes, cities and cities, may well mourn with the Prophet and say: 'There is no truth——nor knowledge of God in the land. By——lying, and killing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood toucheth blood.'⁶⁸ Wherefore this is imperative upon all, and is to be thought upon and to be done; making atonement for our sins by a voluntary chastisement, we ought, through repentance and works of piety, to turn to the Lord our God, and first to amend in ourselves those matters in which we have done amiss, and then to stand prepared for the fierceness and malice of our enemies, and those attacks which they do not fear to make upon God, inasmuch as we ought on no account to hesitate to act in the cause of God. Think, therefore, my sons, how you have come into this world, and how you are to depart therefrom, how transitory are all things, and how transitory are you yourselves as well; and with thanksgiving receive, so far as in you lies, this opportunity for repenting and doing good, and both offer your possessions, and offer yourselves

⁶⁸ Hos. iv. 1, 2.

as well, because you are not of yourselves, nor have you anything of yourselves, who are not able to make so much as a single fly upon the earth. And we do not say, 'leave behind you,' but rather 'present beforehand' to the garner of heaven what you possess, and lay it up with Him, with whom 'neither rust nor moth destroy, nor thieves break through and steal,' labouring for the recovery of that land in which for our salvation the Truth of the earth was born, and did not disdain for us to bear the cross. And devote not your thoughts to lucre or to temporal glory, but to the will of God, who in His own case has taught you to lay down your lives for your brethren, and give unto Him your riches, which, whether willingly or unwillingly, you know not to what heirs you are at last to leave. For indeed it is no new thing that that land is chastised, nor in fact is it unusual that scourgings and chastisements should accompany mercifulness. God indeed by His will alone can save it; but still, we have no right to ask him why He has acted thus: for perhaps He has wished to make trial, and to place this before the notice, of others, if any there are who are of good understanding or who seek for God, and who will with joy embrace the opportunity offered them for repentance, and, laying down their lives for their brethren, will compress and include the deeds of a long life in a small compass. Consider how the Maccabees, influenced with zeal for the Divine law, submitted to every extremity of peril for the purpose of liberating their brethren, and showed how that, for the safety of their brethren not only their substance but also their lives were to be laid down, exhorting one another, and saying, 'Arm yourselves, and be valiant men—For it is better to die in battle than to behold the calamities of our people and of our sanctuary.'⁶⁹ And yet these were under the control of the law only, whereas you, through the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, being led by the light of truth, and being instructed by many examples of the Saints, ought to act without any hesitation, and not to fear to give your earthly things, few in number, and destined to last for a short time only; you to whom those good things have been promised and reserved, which 'Neither eye hath seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man;'⁷⁰ and as to which the Apostle says, 'The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.'⁷¹ Where-

⁶⁹ 1 Macc. iii. 58, 59.⁷⁰ 1 Cor. ii. 9.⁷¹ Rom. viii. 18.

fore, to those who with a contrite heart and humble spirit shall undertake the labour of this expedition, and shall die in repentance for their sins and in the true faith, we do promise plenary indulgence for their offences, and eternal life. And whether they shall survive or whether die, they are to know that they will have, by the mercy of Almighty God and of the authority of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and of ourselves, remission of penance imposed for all sins of which they shall have made due confession. The property also of such persons, from the time that they shall have assumed the cross, together with their families, are to be under the protection of the Holy Church of Rome, and of the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the Church of God, and no person is to make any claim against the property of which, on assuming the cross, they were in quiet possession, until it is known for certain as to their return or death, but their property is to remain in the meantime untouched, and in their quiet possession; they are also not to pay interest to any person, if they have so bound themselves; nor yet are they to go in costly apparel, or with dogs or hawks, which seem rather to minister to ostentation and luxury than to our necessities; but they ought to be seen with plain apparel and equipments, by which they may appear rather to be acting in penitence than affecting an empty pomp. Given at Ferrara, on the fourth day before the calends of November, in the sixth year of the indiction."

The Letter of pope Gregory the Eighth to all the faithful, upon the same subject.

"Gregory, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the faithful in Christ, to whom these presents shall come, health and the Apostolic benediction. Never is the wrath of the Supreme Judge more successfully appeased, than when, at His command, carnal desires are extinguished within us. Wherefore, inasmuch as we do not doubt that the disasters of the land of Jerusalem, which have lately happened through the irruption of the Saracens, have been expressly caused by the sins of the inhabitants of the land and of the whole people of Christendom, we, by the common consent of our brethren, and with the approval of many of the bishops, have enacted that all persons shall, for the next five years, on every sixth day of the week, at the very least, fast upon Lenten fare, and that, wherever mass is performed, it shall be chaunted at the ninth

hour: and this we order to be observed from the Advent of our Lord until the Nativity of our Lord. Also, on the fourth day of the week, and on Saturdays, all persons without distinction, who are in good health are, to abstain from eating flesh. We and our brethren do also forbid to ourselves and to our households the use of flesh on the second day of the week as well, unless it shall so happen that illness or some great calamity or other evident cause shall seem to prevent the same; trusting that by so doing God will pardon us and leave His blessing behind Him.⁷² This therefore we do enact to be observed, and whosoever shall be guilty of transgressing the same, is to be considered as a breaker of the fast in Lent. Given at Ferrara, on the fourth day before the calends of November."

Upon this, the princes of the earth, hearing the mandates and exhortations of the Supreme Pontiff, exerted themselves with all their might for the liberation of the land of Jerusalem; and accordingly, Frederic, the emperor of the Romans, and the archbishops, bishops, dukes, earls, and barons of his empire, assumed the sign of the cross. In like manner, after their example, great numbers of the chief men of all the nations of Christendom prepared to succour the land of Jerusalem.

There was a certain clerk named master Berther, a native of Orleans, who aroused the spirits of many to assume the cross by repeating the following lines:⁷³ "In the strains of Jeremiah the ways of Sion mourn indeed, that no longer is there one upon the solemn day to visit the Holy Sepulchre, or to recall the fulfilment of that prophecy; the prophecy in which the poet writes that from Sion the law shall go forth. Never shall the law perish there or have an avenger,⁷⁴ where Christ drank of the cup of passion. The wood of the cross, the banner

⁷² Sic in original. Probably the real presence in the Eucharist is referred to.

⁷³ This Leonine dirge begins as follows:—

" Juxta threnos Jeremiæ
Vere Sion lugent viæ;
Quod solemni non sit die
Qui sepulchrum visitet,
Vel casum resuscitet
Hujus prophetiæ."

The enthusiasm of the composer seems to have considered a meaning as comparatively unnecessary in his lines.

⁷⁴ The meaning of these lines is involved in obscurity.

of the chieftain, the army follows, which has never given way, but has gone before in the strength of the Holy Spirit. To bear the burden of Tyre it is now the duty of valiant men to try their strength, and daily to contend; spontaneously to be graced with the glories of the warfare. But as to the persons who are about to engage in this conflict, there is need of hardy champions, not effeminate epicures. For it is not those who pamper their flesh with many luxuries who purchase God with their prayers. The wood of the cross, &c. [*as before.*]⁷⁵ Fresh Philistines once more, the cross captured of Him who was condemned, have taken the ark of God, the ark of the New Testament, the substance of the ancient type, in succession the type of the substance. But as it is clear that these are the forerunners of Antichrist, to whom Christ would have resistance made, what answer at the coming of Christ is he to make who shall not have resisted them? The wood of the cross, &c. The despiser of the cross is trampling on the cross, whence overwhelmed the faith sends forth groans. Who for vengeance does not shout aloud? At the same value which each man sets upon the faith let him ransom the cross, if by the cross any one has been ransomed. Those who have but little silver, if found to be faithful, with pure faith let them be content. Sufficient provision for the journey is the body of the Lord for him who defends the cross. The wood of the cross, &c. Christ, on delivering himself to the torturer, has made a loan to the sinner; if then, sinner, thou wilt not die for Him who died for thee, thou dost but poorly pay the debt to thy Creator. Well may he be indignant to whom thou dost refuse to bend, while, tortured in the wine-press of the cross as a victim for thee, to thee he extends his arms, and thou wilt not receive his embrace. The wood of the cross, &c. When thou hast listened to what is my request, take up thy cross and make thy vow and say, 'To Him do I commend myself, who gave His body and His life, as a victim to die for me.' The wood of the cross, &c."

A Letter of the same pope to the prelates of churches.

"Gregory, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all prelates of churches to whom these presents shall come, health and the Apostolic benediction. Inasmuch as it is especially the duty of bishops to aid the afflicted and distressed, and God,

⁷⁵ This is the refrain of the composition.

albeit our merits are but deficient, has willed that we should be one of them, we are bound and are willing to use all due care, that no person through fortuitous circumstances, in consequence of a visit to the Church of Rome, should be deprived of the due results of the labour which he has expended in coming to us. Wherefore, it has come to pass, that we, wishing to have due regard for the expense which many have incurred, and to alleviate their labours, have, in conformity with the customary clemency of the Apostolic See, thought fit to enact that the letters of our predecessor pope Urban, sent at any time previous to three months before his decease, for the purpose of pronouncing judgment and putting an end to litigation, (supposing always that they do not contain anything to the manifest prejudice of any person, or any breach of equity), shall have the same effect in the time of our administration, which they would have had if he had been still living. Wherefore, waiving all exceptions as to the death of him who so directs, do what he has directed to be done, and let no one for an excuse of this sort, be compelled to have recourse to us in his disappointment, after having placed full confidence in obtaining justice by these means. Given at Ferrara, on the sixth day before the calends of September."

In the same year died pope Gregory the Eighth, in the month of December, after having held the papacy hardly two months, and was buried at Pisa. He was succeeded by Paulinus, bishop of Palestrina, who was called pope Clement the Third. In the same year, nearly the whole of the city of Chichester was burnt, together with the cathedral of the see, and the houses of the bishop and canons.

In the same year, Saladin laid siege to Jerusalem, and offered the people of that city a truce till the middle of the month of May, if they would permit him to plant his standard in the Tower of David, and remain there eight days. This being accordingly done, many of the Christians who had before stoutly resisted the Saracens, surrendered their castles and houses to Saladin. In the same year died Gilbert, bishop of London.

In the same year, cardinal Jacinto, at this time legate of the whole of Spain, degraded many abbats, either because they deserved it, or prompted by his own determination. But on his attempting to degrade the bishop of Coimbra, Alphonso, king of Portugal, would not allow that bishop to be degraded, but im-

mediately ordered the before-named cardinal to leave his kingdom, or else he would cut off his foot. On hearing this, the legate departed on his return to Rome, and the bishop of Coimbra remained in peace in his see.

It is also worthy to be known, that the before-named Alphonso, king of Portugal, took from the Pagans by force, and with mighty prowess, six cities, namely, Lisbon, Coimbra, the city of Ferenza, and a most excellent castle, which is called Santa Herena,⁷⁷ with many other castles besides. But while he was besieging the city of Silves, and had gained possession of it as far as the fortresses of the city, the Pagans who were in the fortresses made an arrangement with him, that if they should not have succours within six days, they would surrender the forts to him. In the meantime, on the third day, having given his army leave to make a sally into the adjacent parts of the province, while he was asleep in his tent as being in perfect security, Ferdinand, king of Saint Jago, (who had married the daughter of the said king of Portugal) came in one direction with a large army, while the Saracens came in the other. At the approach of these, the king of Portugal, awaking from his sleep, fled on a swift horse, but, when going through the gate of the city, broke his thigh against the bar of the gate, and then, having passed right through the enemy, who pursued him twenty-five miles, and could not overtake him, he and his horse fell into a deep pit. Some shepherds, seeing this, dragged him out, and gave him up to king Ferdinand, to whom he gave for his ransom twenty-five towns which he had taken from him, besides fifteen sumpter horses laden with gold, and twenty chargers; to other persons, also, who gave assistance to that king, that he might be the more speedily liberated, he made numerous presents.

In the year of grace 1188, being the thirty-fourth year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said king was at Caen in Normandy, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord; going from which place, he went to Harfleur, with the intention of crossing over to England. On hearing of this, Philip, king of France, levied a great army, shamelessly boasting that he would lay waste Normandy and the other lands of the king of England beyond sea, unless he should surrender to him Gisors with its appurtenances, or make his son Richard, earl of Poitou, marry his sister Alice.

⁷⁷ Now Santarem.

The king of England, on hearing of this, returned into Normandy, and a conference being held between him and the king of France, between Gisors and Trie, on the twelfth day before the calends of February, being the day of Saint Agnes the Virgin and Martyr, they met there, together with the archbishops, bishops, earls and barons of their kingdoms. At this interview, the archbishop of Trie was present, who, filled with the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, in a wonderful manner preached the word of God before the kings and princes, and turned their hearts to assuming the cross; and those who before were enemies, at his preaching, with the aid of God, were made friends on that same day, and from his hands received the cross; while at the same hour there appeared the sign of the cross above them in the heavens; on beholding which miracle multitudes of persons rushed in whole troops to assume the cross.

The kings before-named, on assuming the cross, for the purpose of recognizing their various nations, adopted distinguishing signs for themselves and their people. For the king of France and his people wore red crosses; the king of England with his people white crosses; while Philip, earl of Flanders, with his people, wore green crosses. After this, they departed, each to his own country, for the purpose of providing all necessaries for themselves and the expedition. Accordingly, Henry king of England, after he had thus assumed the cross, came to Le Mans, where, on his arrival, he gave orders that every one should give a tenth part of his revenues in the present year, and of his chattels, by way of alms, as a subsidy to the land of Jerusalem, the following articles being excepted therefrom: the arms, horses, and garments of men-at-arms, and the horses, books, clothes, vestments, and all kinds of sacred vessels belonging to the clergy, as also all precious stones belonging to either the clergy or laity; excommunication having been first pronounced by the archbishops, bishops, and rural deans,⁷⁸ in each parish against every one who should not lawfully pay his before-mentioned tithe in the presence and at the assessment of those whose duty it was to be present thereat.

Further, the said money was to be collected in each parish in the presence of the priest of the parish, the rural dean, one Templar, one Hospitaller, one member of the household of our

⁷⁸ It is not improbable that at this period these were the persons called "Archipresbyteri." At an earlier time, they were the bishop's deputies in the performance of the cathedral duties.

lord the king, a clerk of the king, and a yeoman of the baron's household, his clerk, and the clerk of the bishop; and if any one should give less, according to their conscientious assessment, than he ought, four or six lawful men of the parish were to be chosen, who, on oath, were to state the amount that he ought to have stated, on which he would be bound to add the amount by which it was deficient. Clerks, however, and knights who should assume the cross, were not to pay any such tithes; but the revenues from their demesnes, and whatever their vassals should owe as their due, were to be collected by the above-named persons, and to be remitted to them untouched.

The bishops, also, were by their letters in each parish of their respective dioceses, to cause notice to be given on the day of the Nativity, of Saint Stephen, and of Saint John, that each person was to collect the before-mentioned tithe due from him by the day of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, and, on the day after the same, was lawfully to pay it to those present of the persons named, at such place as should be appointed.

In addition to this, it was decreed by our lord the pope, that whatever clerk or layman should assume the cross, he should, on the authority of God and of the holy Apostles, Saint Peter and Saint Paul, be free and absolved from all sins as to which he should have repented and made confession. It was also enacted by the kings, archbishops, bishops, and other princes of the land, that all those persons, both clerks and laymen, who should not go on this expedition, should pay tithes of their revenues and moveables for the present year, and of all their chattels, both in gold and silver, and of all other things, with the exception of the garments, books, and vestments of the clerks and priests, and with the exception of the horses, arms, and clothing of men at arms, pertaining to the use of their own persons. It was also enacted that all clerks, knights, and yeomen who should undertake the said expedition, should have the tenths of their lands and of their vassals, and should pay nothing for themselves. Burgesses, however, and villeins, who, without the permission of their superior lords, should assume the cross, were still to pay tithes.

It was also enacted that no one should swear profanely, and that no one should play at games of chance or at dice; and no one was after the ensuing Easter to wear beaver, or gris,⁷⁹ or sable, or scarlet; and all were to be content with two

⁷⁹ Grey fur; the word is used by Chaucer.

dishes.⁸⁰ No one was to take any woman with him on the pilgrimage, unless, perhaps, some laundress to accompany him on foot, about whom no suspicion could be entertained; and no person was to have his clothes in rags or torn. It was also enacted that whatever clerk or layman should, before assuming the cross, have mortgaged his revenues, he was to have the income of the present year in full, and after the expiration of the year the creditor was again to have the revenues thereof, upon the understanding, however, that the revenues which he should then receive should be reckoned towards payment of the debt, and that the debt, from the period of the debtor assuming the cross, should not bear interest, so long as the debtor should be absent on the pilgrimage.

It was also enacted that all clerks and laymen who should set out on the said pilgrimage, should be at liberty legally to mortgage their incomes, whether ecclesiastical, or lay, or otherwise, from the Easter, when they should set out, for a period of three years, upon the understanding that the creditors should, in whatever case they should be due to the creditors, take in full, for three years from the Easter before-mentioned, all the profits of the revenues which they should so hold in mortgage. It was also enacted that whoever should die on the pilgrimage, should leave his money which he must have taken with him on the pilgrimage, to be divided for the maintenance of his servants, for the assistance of the land of Jerusalem, and for the sustenance of the poor, according to the judgment of certain discreet men, who were to be appointed for the performance of that duty.

All the above-mentioned statutes were framed and enacted at Le Mans, by Henry, king of England, in presence of his son Richard, earl of Poitou, William, archbishop of Tours, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and in presence of John, bishop of Evreux, Ralph, bishop of Anjou, R., bishop of Le Mans, and M., bishop of Nantes, as also in presence of Hugh de Nunant, bishop of Chester elect, Lisardus, bishop of Sez elect, and in presence of the barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine.

These matters being accordingly arranged beforehand, the king of England appointed servants of his, clerks and laymen, to collect the before-mentioned tithes throughout all his terri-

⁸⁰ "Exempto," "except," follows this word: the passage appears to be mutilated.

tories beyond sea, and shortly after crossed over and landed in England, at Winchelsea, on Saturday, the third day before the calends of February. In the meantime, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, who had come to England before the king, consecrated Hugh de Nunant bishop of Coventry.

Immediately upon his landing in England, our lord the king held a great council of bishops, abbats, earls, and barons, and many others, both clergy and laity, at Gaintington, where, in the hearing of the people, he caused all the above-mentioned ordinances to be proclaimed, which he had enacted on the subject of assuming the cross. After they had been proclaimed, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, his deputy, delivered wonderful sermons on the same day before the king and his chief men, on the subject of the Word of the Lord and the mysteries of salvation gained by the cross.

After this, our lord the king sent his servants, the clerks and laymen, throughout all the counties of England, to collect the tithes according to his order made as above-mentioned in his territories beyond sea. But in each of the cities throughout England he caused all the richest men to be selected, namely, in London two hundred, in York one hundred, and in other cities according to their quantity and numbers, and made them all appear before him on days and places named; on which he received from them the tenths of their property, according to an estimate made by trustworthy men who were acquainted with their incomes and possessions; and if he found any inclined to be contumacious, he immediately caused them to be imprisoned and kept in irons until they had paid the last farthing. He did the same with the Jews in his territories, and received from them an immense sum of money.

After this, he sent Hugh, bishop of Durham, and others of the clergy and laity, to William, king of the Scots, to collect the tithes in his kingdom; on hearing which the king of Scotland met them between Werk and Brigham, in Lothian, and would not allow them to enter his kingdom to collect the tithes, but offered to give to his liege lord the king of England five thousand marks of silver instead of the above-named tithes, and on condition that he might have his castles back again; but to this the king of England would not agree.

Philip, king of the Franks, also caused the tenths of the incomes and property of his subjects to be collected throughout all his territories. In the same year, Richard, earl of Poitou,

Raymond, count of Saint Gilles, Aimar, count of Angoulême, Geoffrey de Rancon, Geoffrey de Lezivant,⁸¹ and nearly all the more powerful men in Poitou, engaged in war, all against the before-named Richard, and he against all; he, however, was victorious. Among other persons whom he took prisoners in the territory of the count of Saint Gilles, he captured Peter Seillun, by whose advice the before-named count of Saint Gilles had taken some traders of the territory of the earl of Poitou, and had done many injuries to him and his lands. Accordingly, earl Richard placed this Peter in close confinement and in most rigorous custody. The count of Saint Gilles being able on no terms to ransom him, he set spies throughout his cities and castles, to arrest any persons they could find belonging to the household of the king of England, or of earl Richard his son; and it so happened that, a few days after, as Robert Poer and his brother Ralph, two knights of the household and retinue of our lord the king, were passing through the territories of the count of Saint Gilles, from Saint Jago,⁸² which they had been visiting on a pilgrimage, the men of the count of Saint Gilles laid hands on them, and carried them in chains to the count; on which, the count said to them, "Unless Richard, the earl of Poitou, delivers up to me my servant Peter, and sets him at liberty, you shall not escape from my hands." On hearing this, earl Richard made answer, that he would neither make entreaties or give money for their ransom, inasmuch as the respect due to their character as pilgrims, ought to suffice for their liberation.

Upon this, the king of France ordered them to be set at liberty, not for his love or respect for the king of England, or for his son Richard, but out of respect and esteem for Saint James the Apostle. However, earl Richard entered the territories of the count of Saint Gilles with a great army, laid it waste with fire and sword, and besieged and took his castles in the neighbourhood of Toulouse. Upon this, the king of the Franks, hearing the lamentations of the people of Toulouse, sent his envoys to England to the king of England, to enquire if the mischief which was being done by his son Richard was being done by his direction, and to demand reparation for the same. To this the king of England made answer, that his son Richard had done none of these things by

⁸¹ Roger of Wendover calls him "de Liziniac."

⁸² Saint Jago of Compostella, in Spain.

his wish or advice, and that the said Richard had sent word to him, by John, archbishop of Dublin, that he had done nothing in respect thereof, but by the advice of the king of France.

In the same year, the Patriarch of the city of Antioch wrote to the king of England to the following effect:—

The Letter of the Patriarch of Antioch to Henry, king of England.

“ By the grace of the Holy God, and of the Apostolic See, the Patriarch of Antioch, to Henry, by the same grace, the most illustrious king of the English, his beloved lord and friend— may he govern in Him, through whom kings govern. With tears and with sighs by these presents we announce to your excellency, the dire and inexpressible grief which we feel for the unexpected and terrible disaster that has lately befallen us, or, indeed, all Christendom we may rather say. Let all the world listen, with yourself, to this our grief, that it may know whence proceed our tears and our lamentations, or what is their end. On the fourth day of the month of July, in the year of the Word made incarnate one thousand one hundred and eighty-seven, Saladin, having gathered together a multitude of our foreign foes, engaged with those of the Christians who were in the land of Jerusalem, and, having routed their forces, triumphed over them to his heart's content; the vivifying Cross being exposed to the ridicule of the Turks; the king being taken prisoner, and the Master of the Temple, as also prince Raymond, being slain by this accursed Saladin with his own hands; while bishops, Templars, and Hospitallers, in all a multitude of nearly twelve hundred, and thirty thousand foot were slaughtered in the defence of the Holy Cross, besides a considerable number who were afterwards slain, or made prisoners in the cities which he took. After this, being quite satiated with the blood of the Christians, he took Tiberias and fortified it; and then, he had laid siege to the noble city of Acre, to Caiphaz, Cæsarea, Joppa, Nazareth, Sebaste, Neapolis, Lydda, Ramatha, Assur, Hebron, Bethlehem, and, last of all, the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the Sepulchre of our Lord, vowing that he would cut it into pieces and throw its fragments into the deep. As for the rest, fearful anxiety possesses us every day and every hour, amid our doubts whether these various places may not be subjugated to his dominion, and their inhabitants slain or made captive, especially as it is well

known that they are deprived of provisions, horses, munitions of war, and defenders. By reason of this mighty anger and indignation of God poured forth upon us from above, with tears we eat our bread, and are alarmed with dreadful apprehensions, lest the Sepulchre of our Lord may be delivered to strange nations, and lest we few, who still remain in this Christian land, may, if succours are tardy in their arrival, and our enemies press on, have to bow our necks to the swords of the smiters. Now as, in prudence, counsel, and riches, you surpass the other kings of the West, your aid we have always looked for; and we therefore pray that you will hasten to bring your powerful succour to the Holy Land. If you delay so to do, then the Sepulchre of the Lord, with the noble city of Antioch, and the territory adjacent thereto, will exist as an everlasting reproach to foreign nations. Be mindful of your glories and of your name, that so, God, who has raised you to a throne, may through you be exalted; and if you are ready to give your assistance to so worthy an object, either coming yourself to us, or sending to us the wished-for succours, then to you, after God, will be imputed the liberation of the Holy Land. We ourselves, with all possible contrition, and smiting our guilty breast, cry unto God that He will give to you both the will and the ability of thus acting to the praise and glory of His name; wherefore, at this, the last gasp of life, in your clemency lend your aid to the Holy Land and to ourselves. Otherwise, we who, subjected to various perils, have been afflicted with a lingering illness, shall have nothing to expect but immediate death for ourselves, and that after the blood of the Christians has been poured forth, the Sepulchre of our Lord, with the noble city of Antioch, and the country thereto adjacent, will, to the eternal disgrace of foreign nations, be captured. We do further entreat, that you will receive our recommendations of our dearly beloved brethren, the bishops of Gabalus and Valenia, whom on this matter we have despatched to you. Farewell."

The Letter of Henry, king of England, to the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch, and Raymond, prince of Antioch.

"To the venerable fathers in Christ, and his friends, A. and E., the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, and to Raymond, prince of Antioch, and to all the Christian people of the Church in the East, Henry, by the same grace, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, health and consolation in Christ. Inasmuch as, our sins so requiring it,

the Lord has in our times visited our iniquities with the rod of His vengeance, and has, by the Divine judgment, permitted the land which was redeemed with His own blood to be polluted by the hands of the unbelievers; it is therefore becoming, that we, and all who belong to the Christian religion, and are professors of that name, should attend with pious zeal to the desolate state of the said land, and make it our endeavour with all our might to impart thereto our aid and counsel. Wherefore, as A., by the grace of God, the venerable bishop of Valenia, has, with a profusion of tears and deep sighs, disclosed unto us the griefs and calamities with which the Eastern Church is afflicted, the greater the danger we behold impending, the more strenuous and immediate is the assistance which we are prompted by compassion to give. Having, therefore, faith and confidence in Him, who never forsakes those who put their trust in Him, act manfully, and let your hearts be strengthened in the Lord; for we believe that now is the prophecy of Isaiah fulfilled; "Jerusalem, lift up thine eyes round about and see; all they gather themselves together, they come to thee —; Then thou shalt see, and flow together, and thine heart shall fear, and be enlarged; because the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee."⁸³ For now, the Lord, who looks down upon the sons of men, that He may see if man is of good understanding or seeks God, has so aroused the feelings of the Christians, which were before asleep, to His own service, that every one who is of the Lord's side, has now girded his sword to his thigh, and each one reckons himself as blessed and faithful, who leaves his father and his mother and all things besides, that he may be able to avenge the injuries done to Christ, and to the Holy Land. Wherefore, be ye firm, and you shall speedily see the assistance of the Lord which is now preparing for you. For sooner than you could believe, such vast multitudes of the faithful will by land and sea come to your rescue, as 'Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive;' and whom the Lord has prepared for the deliverance of your land. Among other princes as well, I and my son, rejecting the pomps of this world, and setting at nought all its pleasures, and all things that belong to this world being laid aside, will shortly, by the assistance of the Lord, visit you in our own persons. Farewell."

In the same year, Philip, king of France, levying a large

⁸³ Is. lx 4, 5.

army, entered Berry, and took Chateau Raoul, which the burgesses surrendered to him; and, proceeding thence, nearly the whole of Berry was delivered up to him, with the exception of Luches, and the other castles, demesnes of the king of England. Buchard of Vendôme also surrendered to the king of France, with his lands and castles, and became his adherent. On the king of England making enquiry why this was done, he was told that the king of France was acting thus in revenge for the injuries that Richard, earl of Poitou, had done to himself and the count of Saint Gilles. Having, therefore, held counsel with his trusty advisers, the king of England sent Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, to the king of France; that they might, at least, by words and exhortations, assuage the anger and indignation which, in his mind, he had conceived against him.

These prelates being unable to succeed in their object, the king of England crossed over from England to Normandy, and landed at Harfleur on the fifth day before the ides of July; and going thence to Alençon, levied a great army in Normandy and the rest of his territories. Many of the Welch also accompanied him to Normandy as mercenaries. In the meantime, Richard, earl of Poitou, having raised a considerable force, marched into Berry; on hearing of whose approach, the king of France gave Chateau Raoul into the charge of William des Barres, and he himself returned into France. On this, earl Richard ravaged the lands of the earls and barons who had given in their adhesion to the king of France, and took many of them prisoners. The king of France, however, in consequence of the arrival of the king of England, did not dare to move out of France, but directed his army to lay waste the territories of the king of England.

On this, Philip, bishop of Beauvais, entered Normandy with an army, and ravaged with fire Blangeville, a town belonging to the earl of Auch, and Aumarle, a castle of William, earl of Mandeville, together with the adjoining provinces. The king of France also burned the town of Trou, and the whole of the fortress there, but could not gain possession thereof; however, he took forty of the knights of the king of England. On the other hand, Richard, earl of Poitou, took an extremely well fortified place, which is called Les Roches, beyond Trou, towards Vendôme, and captured in that place twenty-five knights and sixty yeomen.

On this, Henry, king of England, sent Walter, archbishop of Rouen, John, bishop of Evreux, and William Marshal to the king of France, to demand reparation for the injuries which he and his people had done him; and if he should refuse to restore what he had taken away, he defied him. To this the king of France made answer that he would not desist from his purpose until the whole of Berry, and the whole of the Norman vevin should have been subjected to himself and to his kingdom. Having, therefore, now got an excuse, by reason of the injuries done to him by the king of France, Henry, king of England, levying a large army, entered the lands of the king of France, on the Tuesday after the beheading of Saint John the Baptist, and, burning many villages, rode the same day to the town of Mante, where the king of France was said to be. Here William des Barres and Drago de Merlou, accompanied by a few French knights, met Richard, earl of Poitou, and William, earl of Mandeville, and some others of the household of the king of England; upon which, William des Barres was taken prisoner by earl Richard, and given in charge to his men; but while the people of the king of England were intent on other matters, the said William des Barres made his escape upon his page's horse.

On the Wednesday following, the king of England made a halt at Ivery, on which earl Richard set out for Berry, promising the king his father that he would serve him well and faithfully. On the Thursday after, being the feast of Saint Gilles, the Welch troopers of the king of England entered the territories of the king of France, and burned Daneville, the castle of Simon Daneth, together with many villages, and carried off considerable booty, after slaying many men. The same day, earl William de Mandeville burned the town of Saint Clair, which belongs to the demesnes of the king of France, and laid waste a very fine shrubbery which the king himself had planted.

On the same day, the king of England, having with a few knights entered the territories of the king of France, that he might ascertain the weak points of those parts, there came to him envoys from the king of France to sue for peace, and offer him the lands which he had taken from him in Berry. Upon this, a conference was held between them at Gisors, where they were unable to come to terms as to making peace; the king of France, aroused to anger and indignation thereat, cut down a very fine elm situate between Gisors

and Trie, where conferences had been usually held between the kings of France and the dukes of Normandy, vowing that thenceforth there should be no more conferences held there. The earl of Flanders, however, and earl Theobald, and other earls and barons of the kingdom of France, laid down their arms, saying that they would never bear arms against Christians until they should have returned from their pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Upon this, the king of France, being deprived of the aid of his allies, requested an interview with the king of England; which being acceded to, it was accordingly held at Chatillon, on the morrow of the day of Saint Faith, where terms of peace were to have been agreed to between them, as follows; the king of France was to restore to the king of England whatever he had seized in his territories after the truce was broken, and earl Richard was to restore to the count of Saint Gilles whatever he had taken from him by force of arms. The king of France also, prompted by his faithlessness, demanded of the king of England the castle of Pascy in pledge; and, because the king of England refused to assent thereto, they separated mutually dissatisfied; and the king of France, leaving the place, took the castle of Palud; then passing through Chateau Raoul, he led thence a Rout of Brabanters as far as Bourges, promising them ample pay; but on arriving at Bourges they were seized, and the king took from them their horses, arms, and the whole of their money, and turned them adrift unarmed and stripped.

Earl Richard, however, made an offer to the king of France to come to his court and to take his trial as to the matters that had taken place between him and the count of Saint Gilles; that so at least peace might be made between the king of France and the king of England, his father; a thing which greatly displeased the king, his father.

After this conference, Nevolun Fitz Urse de Fretteval swore fealty to the king of England, and faithful service against all men; on which the king of England secured to him by charter the honors of Lavardin and Faye; he also gave to the king of England his son as a hostage, and many of the sons of his relations.

The Letter of Terricius, Master of the Temple, to Henry, king of England.

“To his most dearly beloved lord, Henry, by the grace of God, the illustrious king of the English, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, the brother Terricius, formerly Grand Master of the house of the Temple at Jerusalem, health in Him who gives health unto kings. Be it known to you that Jerusalem, with the Tower of David, has been surrendered to Saladin. The Syrians, also, have possession of the Sepulchre until the fourth day after the feast of Saint Michael, and Saladin himself has given permission to ten of the brethren of the Hospital to remain in the Hospital for one year to attend the sick. The brethren of the Hospital of Bellivier are still making a stout resistance to the Saracens, and have already taken two caravans of the Saracens; by the capture of one of which they have manfully recovered all the arms, utensils, and provisions that were in the castle of Faba, which had been destroyed by the Saracens. The following places also still show resistance to Saladin, Cragus of Montreal, Montreal, Saphet of the Temple, Cragus of the Hospital, Margat, Castel Blanco, the territory of Tripolis and the territory of Antioch. On the capture of Jerusalem, Saladin ordered the Cross to be taken down from the Temple of our Lord, and had it carried about the city for two days in public view, and beaten with sticks. After this he ordered the Temple of our Lord to be washed inside and out with rose-water, from top to bottom, and his laws to be promulgated with regard to it in four different places amid wondrous acclamations.⁸¹ From the feast of Saint Martin until the Circumcision of our Lord he besieged Tyre, while thirteen stone engines day and night were incessantly hurling stones against it. At the Vigil of Saint Sylvester, our lord the Marquis Conrad arranged his knights and foot-soldiers along the city walls, and, having armed seventeen galleys and ten smaller vessels, with the assistance of the house of the Hospital and of the brethren of the Temple, fought against the galleys of Saladin, and, routing them, took eleven, and captured the high admiral of Alexandria together with eight other admirals, slaying vast numbers of the Saracens. The rest of the galleys of Saladin, escaping from the hands of the Christians, fled to the army of the Saracens; on which, by his com-

⁸¹ He perhaps alludes to the opinions expressed by Mahomet in the Koran, as to the sanctity of the Temple.

mand being drawn on shore, Saladin with his own hand had them reduced to ashes and embers; and, moved with excessive grief, after cutting off the ears and tail of his horse, rode upon it in the sight of all through the whole army. Farewell.”

In the same year, John, bishop of Dunkeld, after the Purification of the Virgin Mary, returned from the court of our lord the pope, Hugh, bishop of Saint Andrew's, having been deposed, bringing with him letters from our lord the pope to the following effect:—

The Letter of pope Clement to the bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen.

“Clement, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren Jocelyn, bishop of Glasgow, Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, and to his dearly beloved sons Everard, abbat of Melrose, and Bertram, prior of Coldingham, health and the Apostolic benediction. Lest what has been done might cause scruples by reason of distrust, it is proper that the same should be committed to writing, and be introduced by a public and truthful intimation to the notice of those whom it may seem to interest. Now we bear in mind that pope Urban, of blessed memory, our predecessor, enjoined Hugh, formerly styled bishop of Saint Andrew's, to appear in his presence on a certain day, to make answer in the Apostolic court, respecting the dispute which existed between him and our venerable brother, bishop John, under penalty of excommunication if he should neglect so to do. But, inasmuch as he was conscious of his deeds, and dreaded the result of the investigation, he contumaciously refused to appear; wherefore, for this and for many other things which, according to frequent reports, had created scandal to the Church of God, with the advice and consent of our brethren, we have adjudged him, on the authority of the Apostolic See, to be for ever removed from the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, and suspended from the episcopal office until such time as the Apostolic See shall think fit to determine otherwise respecting him, absolving those subject to him from the fealty which they have been bound to pay to him; and further, inasmuch as the rules of the holy canons forbid that churches should be deprived too long of the pastoral control, we do command your discretion, by these Apostolic writings, diligently on our behalf to advise our dearly-beloved sons, the chapter of Saint Andrew's, to choose for themselves such a bishop and pastor, as may be

able worthily to enjoy the dignities of the episcopal office; and more especially, you are to labour to induce them, as far as in you lies, to make choice, without any scruple or difficulty, of the before-named bishop John, a man of good character, and for his virtues acceptable to us and our brethren, for the governance and prelacy of that church. And if all of you shall not be able to take part in the performance hereof, then any two of you may carry out the same. Given at Pisa, on the seventeenth day before the calends of February, in the sixth year of the indiction."

The Letter of the same pope to William, king of the Scots.

"Clement, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to William, the illustrious king of the Scots, health and the Apostolic benediction. We are of opinion that it must shock the eyes of the majesty of God in no small degree if we leave without due correction those excesses of prelates which, with a safe conscience, we may not, through carelessness, neglect. Wherefore, inasmuch as pope Urban, of blessed memory, our predecessor, commanded Hugh, formerly styled bishop of Saint Andrew's, under pain of excommunication, to appear in his presence on a certain day, to make answer in the Apostolic court respecting the dispute which existed between him and our venerable brother bishop John; but he, being conscious of his own deeds, and not without reason dreading the result of the investigation, through contumacy, neglected to come, for this and for many other things, which, according to frequent reports, have caused scandal to the Church of God, with the advice and consent of our brethren, we have adjudged him, on the authority of the Apostolic See, to be for ever removed from the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, and suspended from the episcopal office until such time as the Apostolic See shall think fit to determine otherwise respecting him, absolving those subject to him from the fealty which they have been bound to pay him. For although, so far as with God's assistance we may, we firmly purpose to consult your honor and your interest; and, in the case of the before-named Hugh, the Roman court, not without the censure of many, has hitherto paid deference to your royal highness, still, inasmuch as the reports about him have, on undoubted authority, reached our ears, we have been unable, under any pretext, by closing our eyes thereto, any longer to forbear noticing his errors; for which reason we do

not think that anything has been done in his respect as to which your royal feelings ought on any account to be incensed. Therefore we ask your duteousness with prayers and affectionate entreaties, that you will receive, on our recommendation, the above-named bishop John, (whom we and our brethren love with sincerity of heart for his virtues,) with the bowels of brotherly love, as you respect the Apostolic See and ourselves; and that laying aside the offence which, if any, in your indignation you have conceived against him, you will treat him in all respects with your royal clemency and kindness. And further, it is our belief that from his diligence and probity much benefit will accrue, by the aid of God, to yourself and your kingdom; and it will always be a subject of gratification to us, if our prayers shall with the royal ears have the desired effect. Given at Pisa, on the seventeenth day before the calends of February, in the sixth year of the indiction."

The Letter of the same pope to Henry, king of England.

"Clement, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Henry, the illustrious king of the English, health and the Apostolic benediction. When your royal excellency, authority, and power has received prayers preferred by the Apostolic See, to which it is expedient effect should be given both for preserving the churches in their present state, and for ensuring the salvation of many, it is the duty of your royal highness diligently to listen thereto; and the more strenuously and zealously to use all endeavours to give effect to the same, the more certain it is that duteous attention thereto, and the diligent execution thereof, equally concerns your kingly glory and your salvation. Hence it is that we have thought fit that our Apostolic letters and prayers should be addressed to your serene highness in behalf of our venerable brother John, bishop of Saint Andrew's, with full confidence, therein entreating and advising, and for the remission of the sins of all, enjoining, your exalted royal highness with all the affection we possibly can, that, in consideration of your veneration for Saint Peter and ourselves, as also in consideration of the persecutions which there is no doubt he has endured, you will earnestly advise William, the illustrious king of the Scots, our most dearly-beloved son in Christ, and induce him, and if necessary compel him with that royal authority in which you are his superior, and which has been conceded by him to your royal highness, to cease, by setting

aside every pretext for the same, all the rancour of his indignation which, through the malice of certain whisperers, he has entertained against the said bishop, thus shewing due regard for his own royal dignity and the healthful works of piety; and, for the future to allow him quietly and without challenge to hold the diocese of Saint Andrew's, which, by the common counsel and consent of his brethren, the Supreme Pontiff has confirmed unto him for ever; and this the more especially, as he is ready to prove himself obedient and faithful in all respects to his royal majesty so far as shall be consistent with reason. Given at Pisa, on the seventeenth day before the calends of February, in the sixth year of the indiction.

The Letter of pope Clement in behalf of John, bishop of Saint Andrew's.

“Clement, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the clergy of the see of Saint Andrew's, health and the Apostolic benediction. Although in doubtful matters some persons may be able to show their subtlety or artfulness, still, when all scruples and grounds for doubt are removed, and by manifest signs the tracks of truth are disclosed, all devious paths ought to be entirely forgotten, and the traces of the right path to be both sought for and observed; lest, which God forbid, acting otherwise, and persisting in their own contumacy, after the scourges of this world, and its condign punishments, they may be inwardly destroyed by the everlasting punishments of eternal death. Wishing, therefore, in our paternal anxiety to provide for your salvation, your interests, and your quietude, we do, by these Apostolic writings, command and order, and in virtue of your obedience, enjoin the whole of you, within fifteen days after the receipt hereof, humbly and duteously to receive as your father and pastor our venerable brother John, your bishop, who has been canonically elected to the pontifical office, and, all pretexts whatsoever laid aside, not to hesitate henceforth to pay due reverence and obedience to his wholesome advice and commands; being hereby informed that if, after Hugh, the man who was formerly styled the bishop, was removed from the dignity of your bishopric by the Church of Rome, or after his decease,⁸⁵ the above-named John, your bishop, still surviving, you shall have by chance made choice of any other bishop, we do, by the Apostolic authority, pronounce that elec-

⁸⁵ In case that may have happened before the letter reaches the clergy.

tion to be null and void. But if, which may God forbid, you have presumed, by the persuasion of the enemy of mankind, to be guilty of any conspiracy against the said bishop John, then both yourselves, as also the whole see, we are determined to subject to sentence of interdict until such time as, acknowledging your transgressions, you shall have returned to obedience to the commands of the said bishop John. Given at Pisa, on the seventeenth day before the calends of February, in the sixth year of the indiction."

Another Letter of the same pope on the same subject.

"Clement, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren, Jocelyn, bishop of Glasgow, Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, and Richard, bishop of Moray, and his dearly-beloved sons Ernulph, abbat of Melrose, Hugh, abbat of Newbottle, and the abbats of Holyrood, Stirling, and Scone, health and the Apostolic benediction. Although it is our belief that, even without our advice, it is incumbent upon you to give your serious and diligent attention, in conformity with the duties of your office, to those things which concern a good life and conduce to the salvation of souls, still, we have thought fit, by these Apostolic letters, to exhort your diligence to manifest greater anxiety in these respects; to the end that the more fervently you devote yourselves to those works so worthy of all praise, the more healthful it may be for you in these respects to apply yourself with all diligence to comply with the exhortations of the Apostolic See. And whereas it is clear that some prelates of churches must, together with those who have been offended, submit to the heat of persecution, and be weak with those who are weak, in obedience to the rule laid down by the Apostle⁸⁶—how great the persecutions which the church of Saint Andrew's has lately sustained, how great the calamities and oppressions it has endured! how much, also, has it been disturbed and shaken of late under the shadow of the indignation of his royal highness! and, above all, how many and how great the dangers which our brother John, the bishop of Saint Andrew's, has endured! how many the perils to which he has been exposed, and what have been his labours in preserving the liberties of the church entrusted to his care, and confirmed to him by ourselves and our two predecessors! but inasmuch as all this is well known to you, it seems needless to reiterate the same to your hearing.

⁸⁶ Alluding to the words in 1 Cor. ix. 21, 22.

But inasmuch as it is universally agreed upon as being most expedient, it befits us to give all due attention both to the king's salvation, to the reformation of the state of the before-named church, and to the preservation of peace for the bishop himself, we deem it proper that we should employ your circumspection to aid us therein; therefore we do, by these Apostolic writings, command and enjoin your discretion, that, on receiving these our letters, meeting together, as befits prudent and discreet men, you will repair to the presence of our most dearly-beloved son in Christ, William, the illustrious king of Scotland, and diligently advise, and urgently press him to put an end to the rancour of his indignation against the before-named bishop, and herein not to despise the Church of Rome, which has now for a long time deferred to the wishes of his serene highness, but without delay wholesomely to obey and humbly to assent to the advice of it and of yourselves, in such manner as befits his royal glory and his salvation, and to allow the before-named bishop to hold in peace the above-mentioned diocese of Saint Andrew's; inasmuch as he is bound by the duties of the kingly dignity not to disperse the churches with their shepherds, but rather to cherish them; not to despise them, but to love them; not to persecute them, but to defend them. But if, which God forbid, he shall, to the peril of his own salvation, think proper to resist this Apostolic advice, then, by the Apostolic authority, you are to inform him, that, within twenty days, without any obstacle arising from appeal, sentence of interdict will be pronounced by you against the kingdom of his highness, and against his own person, as also all the abettors of his majesty. Those also who have remained obedient to Hugh, and have given him encouragement in his obstinacy, after the Apostolic See had removed him for ever from the diocese of Saint Andrew's, and had pronounced sentence of excommunication against him, you are to smite with a like sentence, and, publicly pronouncing them to be excommunicated, are to cause them to be strictly avoided by others, until they shall have returned to obedience to the Church, and sought the benefit of absolution from the said bishop: and further, you are, in conformity with the usage of the Church, to make purification and sanctification of the altars and chalices, with which the said Hugh has, since he has been placed under sentence of excommunication, celebrated Divine service. You are also in like manner to repair to the church of Saint Andrew's, and, convoking the

brethren to enter the chapter-house, and make diligent enquiry as to the order and state of the church; and if you shall find anything in the said church changed by the before-named Hugh, or enacted by him, you are, of our authority, to place it again in its proper state; and if anything therein shall stand in need of correction, you are zealously to endeavour to change the same for the better. But if, and may it not be so, you shall find any of the canons reluctant to receive their before-named pastor humbly and devoutly, and contumaciously inclined, you are most earnestly to advise them to shew due respect and obedience to him, their father, and to cease to persist in their malignant and damnable purpose. And if they shall continue to be contumacious, you are to suspend them both from their duties and their benefices, and to check them by the ban of excommunication, under which you are to hold them, until they shall have listened to the mandates and advice of the Church. And if all of you shall not be able to take part in the performance hereof, then let the rest carry out the same. Given at Pisa, on the seventeenth day before the calends of February, in the sixth year of the indiction."

On hearing these things, the king of Scotland, being prevailed upon by the counsels and entreaties of his people, received the before-named bishop John into his favour, and allowed him peaceably to hold the bishopric of Dunkeld, and all the revenues which he had held before his consecration, on condition, however, that the said John should give up all claim to the bishopric of Saint Andrew's. Accordingly, the bishop, though protected in the assertion of his claim by the before-mentioned letters of our lord the pope, obeyed the king's will in all respects, and released the bishopric of Saint Andrew's from all claims of his, throwing himself upon the mercy of God and of the king, well knowing that "Better is a dry morsel and quietness therewith, than a house full of sacrifices with strife."⁸⁷

Hugh, however, who was formerly styled bishop of Saint Andrew's, on being degraded and excommunicated, proceeded to Rome. Here, having given security to abide by the decision of the Church, he was, in his clemency, absolved by our lord the pope, but only survived a few days. For, in the month of August, there was such a great pestilence at Rome and in its territories, that many of the cardinals and most wealthy men in the city died, with a countless multitude of the lower classes:

⁸⁷ Prov. xvii. 1.

on which occasion this Hugh, with nearly the whole of his household, and Henry, the bishop elect of Dol, with his household, died there. On this, the king of Scotland gave the bishopric of Saint Andrew's to Roger, son of the earl of Leicester, his chancellor, John, bishop of Dunkeld, being present, and making no objection thereto. The king of Scotland also gave his chancellorship to Hugh de Roxburgh, his clerk.

In the same year, on the twelfth day before the calends of October, being the third day of the week, and the vigil of Saint Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist, nearly the whole of the town of Beverley, with the noble church of Saint John the Archbishop, was burnt. In the same year, master John Gilbert, of Sempringham,⁶⁸ first founder and pastor of the order which is called the order of Sempringham, departed this life, and was buried in his church at Sempringham, among the nuns.

In the same year, Gilbert de Ogleston, a brother of the Temple, who had been elected and appointed by our lord the king of England, together with some others, clerks and laymen, to collect the tenths, was detected in the mal-appropriation thereof; but as the king could not, by the ordinary mode of trial, pass sentence upon him, he handed him over to the Master of the Temple, at London, in order that he might be dealt with according to the statutes of his order. On this the master of the Temple placed him in irons, and inflicted on him various punishments; but as to what those various punishments were, it is for you to enquire, who feel an interest in the concerns of that order.

In the same year, a thing took place at Dunstable, in England, very wonderful to be mentioned and glorious to be seen, on the vigil of Saint Lawrence the Martyr, being the second day of the week; for, about the ninth hour of the day, the heavens opened, and, in the sight of many, both clergy and laity, a cross appeared, very long and of wonderful magnitude, and it appeared as though Jesus Christ was fastened thereto with nails, and crowned with thorns; His hands also were stretched out on the cross, and the wounds of His hands, and feet, and sides were bloody, and His blood was flowing down, but did not fall upon the earth. This appearance lasted from the ninth hour of the day till twilight.

⁶⁸ In Lincolnshire—called "Semplingham" in the text. This order was, from its founder, called "the Gilbertines." Both men and women lived in their houses, but separated by high walls.

In the same year, the king of England and the king of France held a conference, between Bonimolt and Sulenne, on the fourteenth day before the calends of September, being the sixth day of the week. At this conference the king of France offered to restore to the king of England whatever he had taken from him in war, upon the following conditions: That he should give his sister Alice in marriage to his son Richard, and should allow homage and fealty to be done to the said Richard, his heir, by the people of his territories. But the king of England, not forgetful of the injuries which the king, his son, had done to him in return for a similar promotion, made answer that he would on no account do so. At this, earl Richard being greatly indignant, without the advice and wish of his father, did homage to the king of France for all the possessions of his father beyond sea, and, swearing fealty to him against all men, became his adherent: on which, the king of France gave to him Chateau Raoul, and Yssoudun, with the whole honor thereof, in return for his homage and fealty. However, the before-named kings made a truce between them until the feast of Saint Hilary; but Henry, the cardinal-bishop of Albano, whom our lord the pope had sent to put an end to the dispute between the before-named kings, excommunicated earl Richard, because he had broken the peace, and then, returning to Flanders, he died at Arras.

In the same year, the envoys of the king of France, whom he had sent to Isaac, the emperor of Constantinople, on their return home, reported that the sultan of Iconium had given his daughter in marriage to the son of Saladin, and that Saladin had given his daughter to the son of the sultan; and that Daniel, a prophet of Constantinople, had prophesied that in the same year in which the Annunciation of our Lord should be on Easter day,⁸⁸ the Franks should recover the Land of Promise, and should stall their horses in the palm groves of Baldack,⁸⁹ and should pitch their tents beyond the trees of the desert, and that the tares should be separated from the wheat. They also reported that in the palace of the emperor of Constantinople more honor was paid to the envoys of Saladin than to any other persons of the very highest dignity; and that, with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople, Saladin had sent his idol to Constantinople, in order that it might there be publicly worshipped; but, by the grace of God, before it arrived

⁸⁸ The latter being a moveable feast.

⁸⁹ Probably meaning either Baalbec or Bagdad.

there the Venetians captured it at sea; on which, together with the ship, it was taken to Tyre. They also reported that a certain old man, a Greek by birth, from Astralix, had informed them that the prophecy was about to be fulfilled which was written on the Golden Gate, which had not been opened for two hundred years past; which was this, "When the Yellow-haired King of the West shall come, then shall I open of my own accord, and then shall the Latins reign, and hold rule in the city of Constantinople." They also stated that the emperor had promised Saladin a hundred galleys, and that Saladin had promised him the whole of the land of promise, if he should impede the passage of the Franks; and that, in consequence of this, the emperor had forbidden any one throughout all his territories to assume the cross; and if by chance any one in his territories did assume the cross, he was immediately arrested and thrown into prison. There was also a prophecy and astrological prediction among the Greeks and Turks, that within the next three years one third of the Turks should perish by the sword, another third should fly beyond the trees of the desert,⁹⁰ and the remaining third be baptized.

In the same year, a certain monk, of the Cistercian order, a religious man and one who feared God, beheld a vision of this nature relative to Henry, king of England. There appeared to him in his sleep a man of wonderful magnitude and noble features, and clothed in white garments, who said to him, "Observe and read these things about the king: 'I have set my seal upon him; the womb of his wife shall swell against him, and in torments he shall suffer torments, and among the veiled women he shall be as one wearing the veil.'"

In the same year, Frederic, emperor of the Romans, having assumed the cross at the hands of Henry, the cardinal-bishop of Albano, as befitted a prudent and circumspect man, made all necessary provisions for himself and his journey; for, in the first place, he reconciled himself to God and the Holy Church, and then wrote to Saladin to the following effect:—

The Letter of Frederic, emperor of the Romans, to Saladin, ruler of the Saracens.

"Frederic, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans, ever august, and the mighty triumpher over the enemies of the

⁹⁰ "Arborem siccam;" perhaps in allusion to the oases of Baalbec or Palmyra, on the north-eastern side of Syria.

empire, to Saladin, ruler over the Saracens; may he take warning from Pharaoh, and flee from Jerusalem. The letters which your devoted services addressed to us a long time since, on matters of importance to yourself, and which would have benefitted you, if reliance could have been placed on your words, we received, as became the mightiness of our majesty, and deemed it proper to communicate, through the medium of our letters, with your mightiness. But now, inasmuch as you have profaned the Holy Land, over which we, by the authority of the Eternal King, bear rule, solicitude for our imperial office admonishes us to proceed with due rigour against audacity so rash, so criminal, and so presumptuous. Wherefore, unless before all things you restore the land of Judæa, Samaria, and Palestine, which you have seized, with the addition thereto of due satisfaction to be adjudged for excesses so nefarious according to the Holy Constitutions, that we may not appear to wage an unlawful war against you, we give you the space of the revolution of one year from the beginning of the calends of November, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord one thousand one hundred and eighty-eight, after which time you must make trial of the fortune of war on the plains of Tanis,⁹⁰ by virtue of the vivifying Cross and in the name of the true Joseph. For we can scarcely believe that you are ignorant of what, being testified by the writings of the ancients and the histories of antiquity, we are to presume is to be the course of events in our time. Do you pretend not to know that both the Æthiopia, Mauritania, Persia, Syria,⁹¹ Parthia, where our⁹² dictator Marcus Crassus met with a premature death, Judæa, maritime Samaria, Arabia, Chaldæa, Egypt itself as well, where, shameful to repeat! a Roman citizen, Antony, a man endowed with distinguished virtues, passing the limits of propriety and temperance, and, acting otherwise than as became a soldier sent from the mistress of the world, became enslaved by his sensual passion for Cleopatra—do you pretend not to know that all these and Armenia and innumerable other lands

⁹⁰ Roger of Wendover says, "the field of Zoan," which, if correct, may possibly allude to Psalm lxxviii. 12. It is more probable, however, that he alludes to the city of Tanais, or Tanis, in Saladin's kingdom of Egypt, which was situate at the Tanaitic mouth of the Nile, and was rebuilt by the Caliphs of the line of the Ommiades.

⁹¹ More probably "Scythia," with Roger of Wendover

⁹² He speaks in his capacity of emperor of Rome.

became subject to our sway? Too well is this known to the kings in whose blood the Roman sword has been so often drenched; you too, God willing, shall learn by experience what our conquering eagles, what the troops of the various nations can effect. You shall now become acquainted with the rage of Germany, who even in peace brandishes her arms—the untamed head of the Rhine⁹³—the youths who know not how to flee—the tall Bavarian—the cunning Swede—wary France—cautious England—Albania⁹⁴—Cambria—Saxony, that sports with the sword—Thuringia—Westphalia—active Brabant—Lorraine, unused to peace—restless Burgundy—the nimble inhabitants of the Alps—Frisonia, darting on with javelin and thong—Bohemia,⁹⁵ delighted at braving death—Polonia, fiercer than her own wild beasts—Austria—Styria⁹⁶—Rutonia—the parts of Illyria—Lombardy—Tuscany—the March of Ancona⁹⁷—the pirate of Venice—the sailor of Pisa; and lastly also, you shall learn how effectually our own right hand, which you suppose to be enfeebled by old age, has learned to brandish the sword on that day full of reverence and gladness which has been appointed for the triumph of the cause of Christ.”

In the same year, on the feast of Saint Thomas the Apostle, before the Nativity of our Lord, William, bishop of Winchester, departed this life. In the same year also, Frederic, emperor of the Romans, having given his kingdom of Germany to his son Henry, leaving his city, which is called Rainesburg, being unwilling to trust himself to the winds and waves, determined to proceed by land; and when he arrived at Constantinople, the emperor Isaac received him very courteously, and supplied him and his people with all necessaries.

After this, with a strong hand and outstretched arm, he passed through the territory of the sultan of Iconium, and when he had come into Armenia, the territory of Rupin de Lamontaine, at a river which bears the name of Salef, when half of his army had forded the stream, he, while accompanying the rest,

⁹³ “Regni,” “of the kingdom,” in the text, is clearly erroneous.

⁹⁴ Probably Scotland. ⁹⁵ In this and the next instance we have adopted the words of Roger of Wendover, instead of those in our author, which are “Reemia,” and “Boemia.” It seems impossible to say what country is meant by “Reemia;” but it is most probably a misprint.

⁹⁶ Incorrectly in the text, “Frisia.”

⁹⁷ This absolutely stands in the text as “Amonitana Narcia,” instead of “Anconitana Marcia!!”

fell from his horse into the river, and was the only person drowned. Accordingly, they drew him on shore, and there disembowelled him; after which, his entrails, brains, and flesh, which had been boiled in water, and thus separated from the bones, were buried in the city of Antioch. His bones being wrapped in clean linen, Conrad, duke of Suabia, his son, carried them with him to the city of Tyre,⁹⁸ where he buried them.

In the same year, it was enacted by our lord the pope and the cardinals that prayers should be put up to the Lord by the Church Universal, without intermission, for the peace and deliverance of the land of Jerusalem and of the Christian captives who were confined in chains by the Saracens. Mass was performed each day in the church of Saint Paul in the following form: when the priest had said "*Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*" [*the peace of the Lord be with you always*], and the choir had made answer "*Et cum spiritu tuo*" [*and with thy spirit*], before the "*Agnus Dei*" [*the Lamb of God*] was begun, the priest or præcentor commenced with this antiphone, "*Tua est potentia, tuum regnum. Domine, tu es super omnes gentes. Da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris*" [*Thine is the power, thine is the kingdom. O Lord! thou art above all nations. Grant peace, O Lord, in our days.*] On the Lord's day, this was accompanied with the following Psalm, beginning "*Quare fremueunt gentes*" [*Why do the heathen rage?*];⁹⁹ on Monday, with this Psalm, "*Deus, in nomine tuo, salvum me fac*" [*Save me, O God, by thy name*];¹ on Tuesday, with this Psalm, "*Deus repulisti nos et destruxisti?*" [*O God, Why hast thou cast us out?*]² on Wednesday, with this Psalm, "*Ut quid Deus, repulisti in finem?*" [*O God, why hast thou cast us off for ever?*]³ on Thursday, with this Psalm, "*Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam*" [*O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance*];⁴ on Friday, with this Psalm, "*Deus quis similis erit tibi*" [*God, who shall be like unto Thee?*]⁵ and on Saturday, with this Psalm, "*Deus, ultionum Dominus*" [*O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth*].⁶ After having repeated these Psalms and the antiphone before-mentioned, the "*Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison*"⁷ was to follow, and then the "*Paternoster*" and the prayer "*Et ne nos;*"⁸ [after which the following sentences were

⁹⁸ Menzel, Hist. Germ. says Antioch.

⁹⁹ Psalm ii.

¹ Psalm liv.

² Psalm lx.

³ Psalm lxxiv.

⁴ Psalm lxxix.

⁵ Psalm lxxxii.

This Psalm begins differently in our version.

⁶ Psalm civ.

⁷ "Lord have mercy upon us. Christ have mercy upon us.

⁸ "And lead us not."

to be repeated] “O Lord, shew unto us thy mercy. Let thy mercy, O Lord, be shewn upon us. O Lord, deal not with us after our sins. Remember not our former iniquities. Assist us, O Lord of our salvation. Save thy people, O Lord. Be thou to them, O Lord, a tower of strength. Let not their enemies prevail against them. Let there be peace through thy might, O Lord. O Lord God of might, correct us. O Lord, hear our prayer. The Lord be with you.” “Let us pray.” “Almighty and everlasting God, in whose hands are the power and rule of all kingdoms, in thy mercy look upon the Christian armies, that the heathen who put trust in their own valour may be vanquished by the might of thy right hand.”

In the same year, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, by means of the influence of the king, seized into his own hands the priory of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury; and having expelled the monks who held offices therein from their said offices, placed his own servants in their room, and refused sustenance to the monks. In this year also, Honorius, prior of the church of Canterbury, having gone to Rome to procure the restitution of his house, departed this life at Rome, together with all the monks whom he had taken with him. In the same year, Hugh, bishop of Durham, having assumed the cross, gave the priory in charge to the prior and convent of Durham, for which they were bound to pay two hundred marks or more, and which he for the profits thereof had retained in his hands for a period of two years.

In the same year, our lord the pope, hearing of the death of Henry, the cardinal-bishop of Albano, whom he had sent for the purpose of settling the dispute between the king of France and the king of England, sent cardinal John of Anagni for the same purpose. In the same year, William, king of the Scots, sent envoys to Clement, the Supreme Pontiff, and obtained from him letters of protection to the following effect:—

The Letter of pope Clement to William, king of the Scots, as to the exemption of the churches of his kingdom.

“Clement, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearly-beloved son in Christ, William, the illustrious king of the Scots, health and the Apostolic benediction. Whereas all persons subject to the yoke of Christ ought to find favour and protection at the Apostolic See, it is most especially proper that those should be supported with our defence and protection whose fidelity and dutifulness have been experienced on the

most occasions, to the end that a stronger inducement may be held out to obtain the favours consequent upon such a choice, and duteous affection and reverence to the same may be more generally extended, from the fact of its being known that they will certainly obtain the pledges of its benevolence and favour. Wherefore, most dearly-beloved son in Christ, considering the reverence and dutifulness which for a long period we know you to have felt towards the Church of Rome, by the pages of this present writing we have thought proper to enact that the Church of Scotland, as an especial daughter thereof, shall be subject to the Apostolic See, with no intermediate party thereto;⁹ in which Church the following are recognized as episcopal sees; namely, the churches of Saint Andrew's, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Dumblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, and Caithness. And it is to be lawful for no one but the Roman Pontiff or his legate *a latere* to pronounce against the kingdom of Scotland any sentence of interdict or excommunication; and if such shall be pronounced, we do hereby decree that the same shall not be valid; we do also declare that it shall not be lawful for any person in future who is not a subject of the king of Scotland, or one whom the Apostolic See shall have especially appointed from its body for that purpose, to hold courts in the said kingdom for the settlement of disputes therein. We do moreover forbid that any disputes which may exist in the said kingdom as to its possessions, shall be brought for judgment before judges out of that kingdom, except in cases of appeal to the Roman Church. And further, if any written enactments shall appear to have been obtained in contravention of the liberties hereby granted by enactment, or if in future, no mention being therein made of this concession, any such shall happen to be granted, nothing to the prejudice of yourself or of your kingdom is thereby to arise with reference to the concession of the above-mentioned prerogative; but we do enact that the liberties and immunities that have in their indulgence been granted to you or to the said kingdom or to the churches therein existing by our predecessors the Roman Pontiffs, and hitherto observed, shall be hereby ratified, and shall at all future times remain untouched. Let no man therefore deem it lawful to infringe upon the tenor of this our constitution and prohibition, or in any way to contravene the same. And if any person shall presume to attempt so to

⁹ Without any archbishop holding intermediate authority.

do, let him know that he will thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God and of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Given at the Lateran, on the third day before the ides of March, in the first year of our pontificate."

In the year of grace 1189, being the thirty-fifth and last year of the reign of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, the said Henry was at Saumur, in Anjou, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which fell on the Lord's day, and there he kept that festival; although many of his earls and barons, deserting him, had gone over to the king of France and earl Richard against him. After the feast of Saint Hilary, the truce being broken, which existed between the before-named kings, the king of France, and earl Richard and the Bretons, (with whom the said king of France and earl Richard had entered into covenants, and had given sureties that if they should make peace with the king of England, they would not omit to include them in that peace,) made a hostile incursion into the territories of the king of England, and ravaged them in every direction.

On this, the cardinal John of Anagni came to the before-named kings in behalf of our lord the pope, and sometimes with kind words, sometimes with threats, exhorted them to make peace. Moved by his urgent entreaties, the said kings, by the inspiration of the Divine grace, gave security that they would abide by the decision of himself, and of the archbishops of Rheims, Bourges, Rouen, and Canterbury, and named as the day for a conference to be held near La Fertè Bernard, the octave of Pentecost; on which the before-named cardinal, and the four archbishops above-mentioned, pronounced sentence of excommunication against all, both clergy and laity, who should stand in the way of peace being made between the said kings, the persons of the kings alone excepted.

On the day of the conference, the king of France, and the king of England, earl Richard, the cardinal John of Anagni, and the four archbishops before-mentioned, who had been chosen for the purpose, and the earls and barons of the two kingdoms, met for a conference near La Fertè Bernard. At this conference, the king of France demanded of the king of England, his sister Alice to be given in marriage to Richard, earl of Poitou, and that fealty for his dominions should be sworn to the said Richard, and that his brother John, assuming the cross, should set out for Jerusalem. To this the king of England made answer that he would never consent to such a

proposal, and offered the king of France, if he should think fit to assent thereto, to give the said Alice in marriage to his son John, with all the matters previously mentioned more at large, more fully and more completely than the king demanded. The king of France would not agree to this; on which, putting an end to the conference, they separated, mutually displeased. However, the cardinal John of Anagni declared that if the king of France did not come to a complete arrangement with the king of England, he would place the whole of his territory under interdict; to which the king of France made answer, that he should not dread his sentence and that he cared nothing for it, as it was supported upon no grounds of justice. For, he said, it was not the duty of the Church of Rome to punish the kingdom of France by its sentence or in any other manner, if the king of France should think fit to punish any vassals of his who had shewn themselves undeserving, and rebellious against his sway, for the purpose of avenging the insult to his crown; he also added, that the before-named cardinal had already smelt the sterling coin of the king of England. Then closing the interview, the king of France departed thence, and took La Fertè Bernard, and then Montfort, and next Malestroit, Beaumont, and Balim.

After this he came to Le Mans, on the Lord's day, pretending that he was going to set out for Tours on the ensuing Monday; but when the king of England and his people seemed to have made themselves at ease as to the further progress of the king of France, he drew out his forces in battle array, for the purpose of making an assault upon the city. This being perceived by Stephen de Tours, the seneschal of Anjou, he set fire to the suburbs. The fire, however, rapidly gaining strength and volume, running along the walls, communicated with the city; seeing which, the Franks approached a bridge of stone, where Geoffrey de Burillun and many with him of the party of the king of England met them with the intention of pulling down the bridge; on which, a desperate conflict took place, and a great part of the armies were slain on both sides, and in the conflict, the before named Geoffrey was taken prisoner, and wounded in the thigh; many others also of the king of England's army were taken, while the rest immediately took to flight, with the intention of betaking themselves to the city, but the Franks entered it with them.

The king of England seeing this, and being in a state of desperation, contrary to his promise when he came, took to flight with seven hundred of his knights. For he had promised the inhabitants of that city that he would not forsake them, giving it as his reason, that his father rested there, as also, the circumstance that he himself was born there, and loved that city more than all others. The king of France pursued him for three miles; and if the stream which the Franks forded had not been very wide and deep, they would have pursued them as they fled with such swiftness, that they would have been all taken prisoners. In this flight, many of the Welch were slain. The king of England, however, with a few of his men, got to Chinon and there took refuge within the fort. The rest of the household of the king of England who were surviving, took refuge within the tower of Le Mans; immediately on which, the king of France laid siege to the town, and, partly through his miners, partly the assaults of his engines, the tower was surrendered to him within three days, together with thirty knights and sixty men at arms.

Marching thence, he took Mont Double by surrender of the castle and its lord. For the viscount of this castle had been the means, indeed, the especial cause, of this catastrophe; for, lying in ambush, he had, armed, fallen upon Geoffrey, the earl of Vendôme, who was unarmed, and had wounded him so seriously, that at first his life was despaired of, though by the grace of God he afterwards entirely recovered from the effects thereof. The king of France was the more vexed at his acting thus, because the before-named viscount had strictly bound himself to the king of France, by a promise that he would injure none of his people either in going or returning, or annoy him while engaged in the siege of Le Mans. The king departing thence, the castle of Trou was surrendered to him, together with Roche l'Eveque, Montoire, Chateau Carcere, Chateau Loire, Chateau Chaumont, Chateau d'Amboise, and Chateau de Roche Carbon.

At length, on the sixth day of the week after the festival of the Nativity of Saint John, on the day after the feast of Saint Peter and Saint Paul the Apostles, the king of France came to Tours. On the Lord's day next after this, Philip, earl of Flanders, William, archbishop of Rheims, and Hugh, duke of Burgundy, came to the king of England, who was then at Saumur, for the purpose of making peace between him and the

king of France. The king of France had, however, sent him word before they set out, that from Chateau Saint Martin, whither he had betaken himself by fording the Loire, he should make an attack upon the city. Accordingly, on the ensuing Monday, at about the third hour, applying their scaling ladders to the walls on the side of the Loire, which on account of the small quantity of the water, was much contracted and reduced, the city was taken by storm, and in it eighty knights and a hundred men at arms.

To their great disgrace, on the one side, the Poitevins were planning treachery against their liege lord the king of England, and on the other the Bretons, who had joined the king of France, and had obtained from him letters patent, to the effect that he would never make peace with the king of England unless the Bretons were included in the treaty. Accordingly, the king of England, being reduced to straits, made peace with Philip, king of France, on the following terms:—

Conditions of peace made between Henry, king of England and, Philip, king of France.

“ Upon this, the before-named king of France and king of England, and Richard, earl of Poitou, with their archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons, about the time of the feast of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, held a conference between Tours and Arasie, where the king of England wholly placed himself under the control and at the will of the king of France. The king of England then did homage to the king of France, although¹¹ at the beginning of the war he had renounced the lordship of the king of France, and the king of France had quitted all claim of his homage. It was then provided by the king of France that Alice, his sister, whom the king of England had in his charge, should be given up and placed in the charge of one of five persons, of whom earl Richard should make choice. It was next provided by the king of France that security should be given by the oath of certain men of that land that his said sister should be delivered up to earl Richard on his return from Jerusalem, and that earl Richard should receive the oath of fealty from his father's subjects on both sides the sea, and that none of the barons or knights who had in that war withdrawn from the king of England and come over to earl Richard should again return to the king of England, except

¹¹ Meaning that it was done previous to the war breaking out.

in the last month before his setting out for Jerusalem; the time of which setting out was to be Mid-Lent, at which period the said kings and earl Richard were to be at Vezelay. That all the burgesses of the vills, demesne of the king of England, should be unmolested throughout all the lands of the king of France, and should enjoy their own customary laws and not be impleaded in any matter, unless they should be guilty of felony. The king of England was to pay to the king of France twenty thousand marks of silver; and all the barons of the king of England were to make oath that if the king of England should refuse to observe the said covenants, they would hold with the king of France and earl Richard, and would aid them to the best of their ability against the king of England. The king of France and earl Richard were to hold in their hands the city of Le Mans, the city of Tours, Chateau Loire, and the castle of Trou; or else, if the king of England should prefer it, the king of France and earl Richard would hold the castle of Gisors, the castle of Pasci, and the castle of Novacourt, until such time as all the matters should be completed as arranged above by the king of France.

While the before-named kings were conferring in person hereon, the Lord thundered over them, and a thunderbolt fell between the two, but did them no injury; they were, however, greatly alarmed, and separated accordingly, while all who were with them were astonished that the thunder had been heard so suddenly, seeing that no lowering clouds had preceded it. After a short time the kings again met together for a conference, on which a second time thunder was heard, still louder and more terrible than before, the sky retaining its original serenity; in consequence of which, the king of England, being greatly alarmed, would have fallen to the ground from the horse on which he was mounted, if he had not been supported by the hands of those who were standing around him. From that time he entirely placed himself at the will of the king of France, and concluded peace on the terms above-written, requesting that the names of all those who, deserting him, had gone over to the king of France and earl Richard, should be committed to writing and given to him. This being accordingly done, he found the name of his son John written at the beginning of the list.

Surprised at this beyond measure, he came to Chinon, and,

touched with grief at heart, cursed the day on which he was born, and pronounced upon his sons the curse of God and of himself, which he would never withdraw, although bishops and other religious men frequently admonished him so to do. Being sick even unto death, he ordered himself to be carried into the church, before the altar, and there devoutly received the communion of the body and blood of Christ; and after confessing his sins, and being absolved by the bishop and clergy, he departed this life in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, on the octave of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, being the fifth day of the week; after a reign of thirty-four years, seven months, and four days.

After his death, having plundered him of all his riches, all forsook him; so true it is that just as flies seek honey, wolves the carcase, and ants corn, this crew followed not the man, but his spoils. At last however, his servants returned, and buried him with royal pomp. On the day after his death, when he was being carried out for burial in the Church of the Nuns at Fontevraud, earl Richard, his son and heir, came to meet him, and, smitten with compunction, wept bitterly; immediately on which the blood flowed in streams from the nostrils of the body at the approach of his son. His son, however, proceeded with the body of his father to the abbey of Fontevraud, and there buried him in the choir of the Nuns, and thus it was that he was "among the veiled women as one wearing the veil."¹²

RICHARD THE FIRST.

THE king being thus buried, earl Richard, his son, immediately laid hands on Stephen de Tours, the seneschal of Anjou, and, throwing him into prison, loaded him with heavy fetters and iron manacles, and demanded of him the castles and treasures of the king, his father, which he had in his possession; and, after the same had been delivered up, earl Richard¹³ took ransom from him to the uttermost farthing. Just the time at which the before-named king of England died, Matilda, duchess of Saxony, his daughter, died.

After this, the said earl Richard came to Rouen, and was girded with the sword of the dukedom of Normandy by Walter, the archbishop of Rouen, in presence of the bishops, earls, and

¹² Alluding to the prophecy of the Cistercian monk, mentioned before in p. 100.

¹³ So called, as not yet being crowned king of England.

barons of Normandy, on Saint Margaret's day, being the fifth day of the week, and the thirteenth day before the calends of August. Having then received the oaths of fealty from the clergy and the people of the dukedom of Normandy, he gave to Geoffrey, son of Rotrod, earl of Perche, his niece, Matilda, daughter of the duke of Saxony, in marriage.

On the third day after this, that is to say, on the feast of Saint Mary Magdalen, Philip, king of France, and Richard, duke of Normandy, met to hold a conference between Chaumont and Trie. Here the king of France urgently requested that the duke of Normandy would restore to him Gisors, and many other places, which it would be tedious individually to mention. But Richard, seeing that if he did so, it would redound to his everlasting loss and disgrace, added to the before-mentioned twenty thousand marks of silver, which the king, his father, had covenanted that he would pay to the king of France, another four thousand marks of silver, and by these obtained his favour and regard; and the king of France restored to him everything that he had taken in war from the king, his father, both castles as well as cities, and other fortified places, and vills and farms as well.

In the meantime, queen Eleanor, the mother of the before-named duke, moved her royal court from city to city, and from castle to castle, just as she thought proper; and sending messengers throughout all the counties of England, ordered that all captives should be liberated from prison and confinement, for the good of the soul of Henry, her lord; inasmuch as, in her own person, she had learnt by experience¹⁴ that confinement is distasteful to mankind, and that it is a most delightful refreshment to the spirits to be liberated therefrom. She, moreover, gave directions, in obedience to the orders of her son, the duke, that all who had been taken in custody for forestal offences should be acquitted thereof and released, and that all persons who had been outlawed for forestal offences should return in peace, acquitted of all previous offences against the forest laws; and further, that all persons who had been taken and detained by the will of the king, or of his justice, and who had not been detained according to the common law of the county or hundred, or on appeal, should be acquitted; and that those who were detained by the common law, if they could find sureties that they would make due re-

¹⁴ She had been kept sixteen years in close confinement by her husband, king Henry.

dress at law, in case any person should think proper to make any charge against them, should be set at liberty; if, also, they should make oath that they would make due redress, if any person should think proper to make any charge against them, even then they were to be set at liberty just as much. Those, also, who, on appeal, had been detained in custody upon any criminal matter, if they could find sureties that they would make due reparation and in full, were to be set at liberty. Those, also, who were outlawed at common law, without appeal, by the justices, were to return in peace, on condition that they should find sureties that they would make due reparation at law, if any person should think proper to allege anything against them; and if they had been convicted¹⁵ upon appeal made, if they could make peace with their adversaries, they were to return in peace. All those persons, also, who were detained upon the appeal¹⁶ of those who knew that they were evildoers, were to be set at liberty, free and unmolested. Those evildoers who, for their evidence, had been pardoned life and limb, were to abjure the territory of their lord, Richard, and to depart therefrom; while those evildoers who, without any pardon of life or limb, had accused others of their own free-will, were to be detained in prison, until their cases should have received due consideration.

It was further ordered, that every free man throughout the whole kingdom should make oath that he would preserve his fealty to his lord Richard, king of England, son of our lord king Henry and queen Eleanor, his wife, with life and limb, and worldly honors, as being his liege lord, against all men and women whatsoever, who might live and die, and that they would be obedient to him, and would give him aid in all things for the maintenance of his peace and of justice.

In addition to this, the said duke of Normandy restored to Robert, earl of Leicester, all his lands, which his father had taken from him, and restored all persons to their former rights, whom his father had deprived of their possessions. All those persons, however, clergy as well as laity, who, leaving his father, had adhered to himself, he held in abhorrence, and banished from his acquaintanceship; while those who had

¹⁶ The word "appellatio," "appeal," is used in these several instances in its sense of an accusation made of the commission of a heinous crime, by one subject against the other. In this sense it is derived from the French verb "appeller," "to summon," or "challenge."

faithfully served his father, he retained with him, and enriched with numerous benefits.

After this, the said duke passed over to England from Harfleur on the ides of August, being the Lord's day before the Assumption of Saint Mary, the Mother of God, while Walter, archbishop of Rouen, Henry, bishop of Bayeux, and John, bishop of Evreux, who had preceded him to England, were there awaiting his arrival. There came also from Normandy, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, and Hugh, bishop of Chester, on which the duke and his brother John crossed over: at the arrival of whom, their kingdoms rejoiced, because they trusted that through them they might be brought to a better state. And although some, though but very few, were hurt at the death of the king, still it was some consolation that, as the poet says, "Wonders I sing, the sun has set, no night ensued;"¹⁷ for truly no night did ensue after the setting of the sun. For a ray of the sun,¹⁸ occupying the throne of the sun, spreads its own lustre more brilliantly, and to a greater distance than its own original sun. For when the sun has set below the earth from his throne, his ray, still remaining, and subject to neither eclipse or setting, being suddenly cut off from the body of the sun, and wholly reflected back upon itself, as though a sun itself, it becomes much greater and much more brilliant than the sun, of which it was a ray, by reason of no clouds intervening and no impediment obstructing its course. But, in order that no difficulties may harass the mind of the reader, the meaning of this may be more fully ascertained on reading the following pentameter:

"Sol pater, et radius filius ejus erat."¹⁹

And thus, the son becoming greater and greater, enlarged the good works of his father, while the bad ones he cut short.

¹⁷ Mira canam, sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est. ¹⁸ The meaning of this passage is very obscure, indeed it seems solely framed as a quaint conceit, for the purpose of punning upon the words "sol," "solum," and the like. It is as follows, "Nam radius solis solium solis seriens, sole suo jubar lucidius ac latius spargit. Cum enim sol a suo solio in solum deciderit, stans tamen ejus radius, occasum vel eclipsim nesciens de corpore solari. repente divisus, et in se solide reverberatus sol, sole, cujus fuit radius, nulla nubium interpolatione vel injuriâ impediante multo major, et lucidior est effectus." He seems obscurely to allude to the superior prosperity of Richard over his father, in consequence of having no domestic grievances through undutiful children, who had brought clouds over his sunshine. ¹⁹ "The father was the sun, his son his ray."

For those whom the father disinherited, the son restored to their former rights; those whom the father had banished, the son recalled; those whom the father kept confined in irons, the son allowed to depart unhurt; those upon whom the father, in the cause of justice, inflicted punishment, the son, in the cause of humanity, forgave.

Accordingly, as already stated, Richard, the said duke of Normandy, son of Henry, king of England, lately deceased, came over to England; on which he gave to his brother John the earldom of Mortaigne, and the earldoms of Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby, Lancaster, and the castles of Marlborough and of Luggershall, with the forests and all their appurtenances; the honor also of Wallingford, the honor of Tickhill, and the honor of Haya; he also gave him the earldom of Gloucester, together with the daughter of the late earl, and caused her to be immediately married to him, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, forbidding it, because they were related by blood in the fourth degree. He also gave to him the Peak and Bolsover; but the duke retained some castles of the before-named counties and honors in his own hands.

In addition to this, the said duke gave to Andrew de Chauvigny the daughter of Raoul de Dol, with the honor of Chateau Raoul, in Berry, (she having been the wife of Baldwin, earl of Rivers), and had them immediately married at Salisbury, in presence of queen Eleanor; he also gave to William Marshal the daughter of Richard, earl of Striguil,²⁰ with the earldom of Striguil; and to Gilbert, son of Roger Fitz-Rainfray, he gave the daughter of William de Lancaster. To Geoffrey, his own bastard brother, who had been formerly bishop-elect of Lincoln, he gave the archbishopric of York; the canons having, with the king's consent, elected him to the archbishopric of York. And although Master Bartholomew, acting as the deputy of Hurbert Fitz-Walter, the dean of that church, both before the election and after it, appealed to the presence of the Supreme Pontiff, because Hugh, bishop of Durham, and an especial son of that church, and Hubert Fitz-Walter, dean of the said church, to which parties belonged the first votes in the election, were absent, still, the said canons were determined not to abandon their purpose, but elected the person above-named, and under their seals confirmed the said election.

²⁰ Strongbow, earl of Pembroke.

However, on the bishop of Durham and Hubert Fitz-Walter making complaint as to this illegal conduct on the part of the canons, the duke gave orders that all things relative to the church of York should be in the same state as they were on the day on which his father had been living and dead; and accordingly the ecclesiastical rights of the archbishopric returned into the hands of Hubert Fitz-Walter and his deputies as before, while the secular benefices of the said archbishop returned into the charge of the servants of the duke.

In the same year, Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, departed this life at Winchester, on the twelfth day before the calends of September, and being carried to Ely was buried there; on which duke Richard took possession of all his treasures. The said duke also sent his bishops, earls, and barons to all the treasuries of the king, his father, and caused all the treasures found, consisting of gold and silver, to be counted and weighed; the number and weight of which it would be tedious to mention, inasmuch as this amount of treasure far exceeded in tale and weight one hundred thousand marks. After this, he sent his servants and bailiffs throughout all the seaports of England, Normandy, Poitou, and others of his lands, and caused the largest and best of all the ships to be selected for himself, which were able to carry large freights, and then distributed some of them among those of his friends who had assumed the cross for the purpose of setting out for Jerusalem, while the others were reserved for his own use.

The duke then came to London, the archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons, and a vast multitude of knights, coming thither to meet him; by whose consent and advice he was consecrated and crowned king of England, at Westminster, in London, on the third day before the nones of September, being the Lord's Day and the feast of the ordination of Saint Gregory, the pope (the same being also an Ægyptian day²¹), by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, who was assisted at the coronation by Walter, archbishop of Rouen, John, archbishop of Dublin, Formalis, archbishop of Treves, Hugh, bishop of Durham, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, Hugh, bishop of Chester, William, bishop of Hereford, William, bishop of

²¹ Ægyptian days were unlucky days, of which there were said to be two in each month. It is supposed that they were so called from an Ægyptian superstition, that it was not lucky to bleed or begin any new work on those days.

Worcester, John, bishop of Exeter, Reginald, bishop of Bath, John, bishop of Norwich, Sefrid, bishop of Chichester, Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, Peter, bishop of Saint David's, the bishop of Saint Asaph, the bishop of Bangor, Albinus, bishop of Ferns, and Concord, bishop of Aghadœ, while nearly all the abbats, priors, earls, and barons of England were present.

The Order of the Coronation of Richard, King of England.

First came the bishops, abbats, and large numbers of the clergy, wearing silken hoods, preceded by the cross, taper-bearers, censers, and holy water, as far as the door of the king's inner chamber; where they received the before-named duke, and escorted him to the church of Westminster, as far as the high altar, in solemn procession, with chaunts of praise, while all the way along which they went, from the door of the king's chamber to the altar, was covered with woollen cloth. The order of the procession was as follows: First came the clergy in their robes, carrying holy water, and the cross, tapers, and censers. Next came the priors, then the abbats, and then the bishops, in the midst of whom walked four barons, bearing four candlesticks of gold; after whom came Godfrey de Lucy, bearing the king's cap [of maintenance], and John Marshal by him, carrying two great and massive spurs of gold. After these came William Marshal, earl of Striguil, bearing the royal sceptre of gold, on the top of which was a cross of gold, and by him William Fitz-Patrick, earl of Salisbury, bearing a rod of gold, having on its top a dove of gold. After them came David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of the king of Scotland, John, earl of Mortaigne, the duke's brother, and Robert, earl of Leicester, carrying three golden swords from the king's treasury, the scabbards of which were worked all over with gold; the earl of Mortaigne walking in the middle. Next came six earls and six barons, carrying on their shoulders a very large chequer, upon which were placed the royal arms and robes; and after them William de Mandeville, earl of Aumarle, carrying a great and massive crown of gold, decorated on every side with precious stones. Next came Richard, duke of Normandy, Hugh, bishop of Durham, walking at his right hand, and Reginald, bishop of Bath, at his left, and four barons holding over them a canopy of silk on four lofty spears. Then followed a great number of earls, barons,

knights, and others, both clergy and laity, as far as the porch of the church, and dressed in their robes, entered with the duke, and proceeded as far as the choir.

When the duke had come to the altar, in presence of the archbishops, bishops, clergy, and people, kneeling before the altar, with the holy Evangelists placed before him, and many relics of the saints, according to custom, he swore that he would all the days of his life observe peace, honor, and reverence towards God, the Holy Church, and its ordinances. He also swore that he would exercise true justice and equity towards the people committed to his charge. He also swore that he would abrogate bad laws and unjust customs, if any such had been introduced into his kingdom, and would enact good laws, and observe the same without fraud or evil intent. After this they took off all his clothes from the waist upwards, except his shirt and breeches; his shirt having been previously separated over the shoulders; after which they shod him with sandals embroidered with gold. Then Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, pouring holy oil upon his head, anointed him king in three places, on his head, breast, and arms, which signifies glory, valour, and knowledge, with suitable prayers for the occasion; after which the said archbishop placed a consecrated linen cloth on his head, and upon that the cap which Geoffrey de Lucy had carried. They then clothed him in the royal robes, first a tunic, and then a dalmatic; after which the said archbishop delivered to him the sword of rule, with which to crush evil-doers against the Church: this done, two earls placed the spurs upon his feet, which John Marshal had carried. After this, being robed in a mantle, he was led to the altar, where the said archbishop forbade him, in the name of Almighty God, to presume to take upon him this dignity, unless he had the full intention inviolably to observe the oaths and vows before-mentioned which he had made; to which he made answer that, with God's assistance, he would without reservation observe them all. After this, he himself took the crown from the altar and gave it to the archbishop; on which, the archbishop delivered it to him, and placed it upon his head, it being supported by two earls in consequence of its extreme weight. After this, the archbishop delivered to him the sceptre to hold in his right hand, while he held the rod of royalty in his left; and, having been thus crowned, the king was led back to his seat by the before-named bishops of Durham and Bath, pre-

ceded by the taper-bearers and the three swords before-mentioned. After this, the mass of our Lord was commenced, and, when they came to the offertory, the before-named bishops led him to the altar, where he offered one mark of the purest gold, such being the proper offering for the king at each coronation; after which, the bishops before-named led him back to his seat. The mass having been concluded, and all things solemnly performed, the two bishops before-named, one on the right hand the other on the left, led him back from the church to his chamber, crowned, and carrying a sceptre in his right hand and the rod of royalty in his left, the procession going in the same order as before. Then the procession returned to the choir, and our lord the king put off his royal crown and robes of royalty, and put on a crown and robes that were lighter; and, thus crowned, went to dine; on which the archbishops and bishops took their seats with him at the table, each according to his rank and dignity. The earls and barons also served in the king's palace, according to their several dignities; while the citizens of London served in the cellars, and the citizens of Winchester in the kitchen.

While the king was seated at table, the chief men of the Jews came to offer presents to him, but as they had been forbidden the day before to come to the king's court on the day of the coronation, the common people, with scornful eye and insatiable heart, rushed upon the Jews and stripped them, and then scourging them, cast them forth out of the king's hall. Among these was Benedict, a Jew of York, who, after having been so maltreated and wounded by the Christians that his life was despaired of, was baptized by William, prior of the church of Saint Mary at York, in the church of the Innocents, and was named William, and thus escaped the peril of death and the hands of the persecutors.

The citizens of London, on hearing of this, attacked the Jews in the city and burned their houses; but by the kindness of their Christian friends, some few made their escape. On the day after the coronation, the king sent his servants, and caused those offenders to be arrested who had set fire to the city; not for the sake of the Jews, but on account of the houses and property of the Christians which they had burnt and plundered, and he ordered some of them to be hanged.

On the same day, the king ordered the before-named William, who from a Jew had become a Christian, to be presented to

him, on which he said to him, "What person are you?" to which he made answer, "I am Benedict of York, one of your Jews." On this the king turned to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the others who had told him that the said Benedict had become a Christian, and said to them, "Did you not tell me that he is a Christian?" to which they made answer, "Yes, my lord." Whereupon he said to them, "What are we to do with him?" to which the archbishop of Canterbury, less circumspectly than he might, in the spirit of his anger, made answer, "If he does not choose to be a Christian, let him be a man of the Devil;" whereas he ought to have made answer, "We demand that he shall be brought to a Christian trial, as he has become a Christian, and now contradicts that fact." But, inasmuch as there was no person to offer any opposition thereto, the before-named William relapsed into the Jewish errors, and after a short time died at Northampton; on which he was refused both the usual sepulture of the Jews, as also that of the Christians, both because he had been a Christian, and because he had, "like a dog, returned to his vomit."²²

On the second day after his coronation, Richard, king of England, received the oaths of homage and fealty from the bishops, abbats, earls, and barons of England. After this was done, the king put up for sale every thing he had, castles, vills, and estates. Accordingly, Hugh, bishop of Durham, bought of the king his good manor of Sedbergh,²³ with the Wapentake and knight's fees thereof, for six hundred marks of silver, by way of a pure and perpetual alms; and the said purchase was confirmed by charter to the following effect:

The Charter of king Richard, confirming the sale of the Manor of Sedbergh to Hugh, bishop of Durham.

Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, [earls], barons, sheriffs, and all his bailiffs and servants throughout all England, greeting. Know ye that we have given and granted, and by this present charter do confirm to God, and to Saint Cuthbert and the church of Durham, and to Hugh, bishop of Durham, our dearly beloved cousin, and to his successors, as a pure and perpetual alms for the soul of our father, as also of our predecessors and successors, and for the salvation of ourselves and of our heirs, and for the

²² Prov. xxvi. 11; 2 St. Pet. ii. 22.

²³ Roger of Wendover says it was "Segesfield;" meaning probably Sedgely, in Durham.

establishment and increase of our kingdom, our manor of Sedbergh, together with the Wapentake to the said manor belonging, and all other things thereto appurtenant, both men, and lands, sown and unsown, ways, paths, meadows, pastures, ponds, mills, waters, piscaries, as also the services of Peter Carou, and his heirs, for one knight's fee, held at Seton and Oviton; the services of Thomas de Amudeville, and his heirs, for one knight's fee, at Cotton and Treyford; and the services of Godfrey Baarde, and his heirs, for two halves of one knight's fee, at Middleton and Hartburn, which lands they held of us between the Tyne and the Tees, together with all other things to the aforesaid fees pertaining, in exchange for the services of three knight's fees, which Philip de Kimber has held of the said bishop in Lincolnshire, and two knights' fees which Gerard de Camville has also there held of the said bishop, and one knight's fee which Baldwin Wake and Roger Fitz-Oseville also held there of the same bishop. Therefore we do will and command that the before-named Hugh, bishop of Durham, and his successors, shall have, hold, and enjoy, freely, quietly, and with all due honor, the said two knights' fees and the said two halves of one knight's fee, together with the before-mentioned manor of Sedbergh and the Wapentake as hereinbefore named, with all things thereto pertaining in wood and plain, with soc, and sac, and tol, and them, and infangtheof, and with all other liberties and free customs, and with the pleas belonging to the crown, in such manner as we hold the same in our own hands, and in such manner as the said bishop has and holds the other lands and knights' fees in his bishopric, and so that the said bishop, as also his successors, may dispose of the men and lands to the same manor pertaining according to his own pleasure and free will, in such manner as he does with respect to his other men and lands in the said bishopric. Witnesses hereto: Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, John, archbishop of Dublin, Reginald, bishop of Bath, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, John, bishop of Norwich, Hugh, bishop of Coventry, Sefrid, bishop of Chichester, Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, John, bishop of Exeter, the lord John, brother of our lord the king, William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, Robert, earl of Leicester, Hamelin, earl of Warenne, Waleran, earl of Warwick, William, earl of Arundel, Richard, earl of Clare, William, earl of Salisbury, Roger Bigot, William Marshal, lord of Striguil. Given in the first year of our reign, on the eighteenth day of September,

at Eatingert, by the hand of William de Longchamp, our chancellor."

Also the said bishop gave to the before-named king — marks of silver for receiving the earldom of Northumberland for life, together with its castles and other appurtenances.

After this, the king proceeded to an abbey called Pipewell,²⁴ where he was met by the following persons: Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, John, archbishop of Dublin, Formalis, archbishop of Treves, Hugh, bishop of Durham, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, Hugh, bishop of Chester, John, bishop of Norwich, John, bishop of Evreux, John, bishop of Exeter, William, bishop of Hereford, William, bishop of Worcester, Reginald, bishop of Bath, Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, Sefrid, bishop of Chichester, Henry, bishop of Bayeux, Peter, bishop of Saint David's, in Wales, Albinus, bishop of Ferns, Concord, bishop of Aghadoe, together with nearly all the abbats and priors of England. Here the king gave to Godfrey de Lucy the bishopric of Winchester; to Richard, archdeacon of Ely, his treasurer, the bishopric of Lincoln; and to Hubert Fitz-Walter, dean of York, the bishopric of Salisbury; the abbey of Selesby²⁶ to Roger, prior of that abbey; the abbey of Glastonbury to Henry de Soilly, prior of Bermondsey; and to Geoffrey, his brother, the former bishop-elect of Lincoln, the archbishopric of York. To Henry, the brother of William Marshal, he gave the deanery of York, and to Bucard de Pudsey, nephew of Hugh, bishop of Durham, the treasurership of the church of York. To William de Chuneli he gave the archdeaconry of Richmond, and to William de Saint Mary L'Eglise, the prebendal stall which had belonged to Herbert Fitz-Walter in the church of York, with the deanery of Saint Martin, at London.

When Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, saw that the archbishopric of York had been given to the said Geoffrey, he claimed the consecrating of him, and forbade that he should receive consecration, or priest's orders, at the hands of any one but himself, and appealed in the matter to our lord the pope, producing before the king and all the bishops and clergy, and people, the charter of king William the Bastard, in which was stated the dispute which formerly took place between the churches of Canterbury and York, with respect to the primacy of England and certain other dignities.

²⁴ In Northamptonshire.

²⁶ Selby, in Yorkshire.

In this charter also it was stated that Thomas, at that time archbishop of York, had received priest's orders and episcopal consecration at the hands of Lanfranc, at that time archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England, and paid to him canonical obedience, and came to his synods with the bishop of the church of Lindisfarne and his other suffragan bishops, and showed him all respect as being his primate. This charter also attested that all the above things had taken place before king William, at the general council held at London, in accordance with the final sentence pronounced thereon by pope Alexander the Second.

On the following day, John, bishop elect of Whitherne, was consecrated bishop by John, archbishop of Dublin, at Pipewell, it being the Lord's Day, and the fifteenth day before the calends of October. At the same council also, our lord the king appointed Hugh, bishop of Durham, and William, earl of Aumarle, chief justiciaries of England, and associated with them in the government of the kingdom William Marshal, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William Bruyere, Robert de Whitfield, and Roger Fitz-Rainfray.

Geoffrey, the archbishop elect of York, immediately made complaint against Henry, the brother of William Marshal, Bucard, the nephew of Hugh, bishop of Durham, William de Saint Mary L'Eglise, and Roger, abbat elect of the abbey of Saint German, at Selby, on whom the king had conferred the honors above-mentioned, and swore that these presentations of the king should not hold good, unless with his consent and will. In consequence of this, the king deprived him of the see of York, and a great dissension arose between them, so much so, that the king went so far even as to deprive him of all his possessions on either side of the sea. However, shortly after, the said archbishop elect of York received priest's orders from John, bishop of Whitherne, his suffragan, on the fourth day before the calends of September, at Swale.²⁷

In the meantime, Richard, king of England, sending his envoys to pope Clement, obtained from him letters patent, that such persons as he should think fit to excuse and leave in charge of his dominions, should be exempt from assuming the cross, and proceeding to Jerusalem; by which means he obtained an immense sum of money.

²⁷ In the text "Suuelle."

Henry, the brother of William Marshal, to whom the king had given the deanery of York, came to Burton, in Lindsey, and there received orders as subdeacon and deacon on the same day, from Concord, bishop of Aghadoe. But when the said Henry came to York with the king's letters, in order to receive his deanery, he found no one to instal him as dean: as the clergy of the see of York asserted that no person but the archbishop ought to instal him as dean. However, Hamo, the præcentor of York, installed him in the prebendal stall which the king had conferred on him: but when Bucard de Pudsey, the archdeacon of Durham, to whom the king had given the treasurership of the church of York, came with the king's letters directed to Hamo the præcentor, requesting him to instal the said Bucard, he was unwilling to obey the king's commands. For he asserted that Roger, the archbishop of York, had given to him the said treasurership, and that king Henry had confirmed it to him; and he appealed thereon to the Apostolic See; and thus, both missing the objects of their desire, took their departure.

In the same year, Formator,²⁸ archbishop of Treves, departed this life at Northampton, in England. In this year, also, in the month of September, the men of London, and many others who had taken ship on their way to Jerusalem, laid siege, in Spain, to a certain city of the Saracens, which is called Silvia, and took it; and, after clearing it of the abominations of the Saracens, they ordained that the Christian law should be there observed for ever, and built a church in honor of God and Saint Mary, the Mother of God, and caused it to be dedicated by the neighbouring bishops, and had a certain clerk of Flanders, who had come with them, consecrated bishop of the said city, and then delivered it up to Sancho, king of Portugal.

In the same year, Godfrey de Lucy, bishop of Winchester, purchased of Richard, king of England, two excellent manors, namely, Wargrave and Menes, which formerly belonged to the bishop of Winchester, as was generally said; and Samson, abbat of Saint Edmund's, bought of him the manor which is called Mildenhall, for a thousand marks, and which, of ancient right, was said to belong to the abbey of Saint Edmund's. All the rest as well, whoever chose, bought of the king their own rights and those of others; by which the king acquired a very large sum of money.

²⁸ Properly "Formalis."

²⁹ More commonly "Silves"

Geoffrey, the archbishop elect, coming to York, was received with a solemn procession by the clergy and people. There came also to York, Henry, the brother of William Marshal, to whom the king had given the deanery of York, and Bucard, the nephew of Hugh, bishop of Durham, to whom the king had given the treasurership of York; but the archbishop of York refused to receive or instal them, declaring that he would not do so until such time as his election had been confirmed by the Supreme Pontiff.

In the same year, in the month of October, Henry, duke of Saxony, the son-in-law of Henry, king of England, returned to Saxony, his own country, and, having levied a large army, attacked those to whom the emperor had given his territories, and defeated them, taking more than thirty castles. In the same year, in the month of November, William de Mandeville, earl of Aumarle, died at Rouen, in Normandy, and Hugh de Pudsey, count de Bar sur Seine, nephew of Hugh, bishop of Durham, died at Aclea, and was buried in the place at Durham which is called the Galilee.²⁹

In the same month, Rotrod, count de Perche, and other envoys of Philip, king of France, came into England, to Richard, king of England, to say that, at a general council held at Paris, the king of France, touching the Holy Evangelists, had made oath, as had all the chief men of his kingdom who had assumed the cross, that, God willing, they would, without fail, be at Vezelay, at the close of Easter, for the purpose of setting out for Jerusalem; and, in testimony of the said oath, the king of France sent to the king of England his letters, requesting of him that he and his earls and barons would in like manner give him assurance that, at the same period, they would be at Vezelay.

Accordingly, Richard, king of England, and his earls and barons who had assumed the cross, met at a general council at London; and, touching the Holy Evangelists, made oath that, with the help of God, they would, without fail, be at Vezelay at the close of Easter, prepared to set out thence for Jerusalem; upon which the before-named count de Perche, and the other envoys of the king of France, made oath, at the council, upon the soul of the king of France, in presence of the king of England, to the same effect, and William Marshal and some others

²⁹ A portion of the cathedral, at the east end of it, overlooking the banks of the Wear.

made oath at the same council to the like effect, upon the soul of the king of England, in presence of the envoys of the king of France; and the king of England sent to the king of France his agreement binding himself so to do.

In the same year, Sibylla, queen of Jerusalem, gave Ascalon to Saladin, as the ransom of her husband, Guido de Lusignan; on which Saladin set him at liberty, and gave him leave to depart, with a safe conduct as far as the city of Tyre; on his arrival at which place, the marquis Conrad would not allow him to enter. Consequently, the king, having no place where to lay his head, remained outside of the city of Tyre in his tents; on which, there flocked to him the Templars and Hospitallers, and all the Christians, who, through fear of the pagans, had been dispersed in that neighbourhood, and gave in their adhesion to him as their lord and king.

Upon this, king Guido, by the advice of Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and of those who were with him, set out on his way to the city of Acre, to which he laid siege, at a spot which is called [Mount] Turon, in the month of August, on the octave of the Assumption of Saint Mary, that is to say, on the eleventh day before the calends of September; but, as the king had but a small army, the pagans, who were in the city of Acre, did not shut the gates of the city either by day or night, but went to and fro, with their camels, carrying provisions and other things that were necessary to them.

On the third day after, there landed at Acre, Robert, count de Drués, and his brother Philip, bishop of Beauvais, count Erard de Breines, and Jacques d'Avennes, with the landgrave of Germany, and many other Christian pilgrims, at whose arrival the king, and all who were with him, greatly rejoiced with exceeding gladness. Accordingly, Saladin, after levying a large army, approached the army of the Christians, and fought a battle with them, on the fourth day of the week, being the day after the feast of Saint Michael, on the plain between Acre and Casale l'Eveque, in which battle Saladin was defeated and put to flight, so that he left all his tents in the hands of the Christians, and lost one half of his best troops; the Christians also lost a great part of theirs.

After a time, in consequence of their sinfulness, Saladin again got the better of the Christians, who were repulsed and driven to their camp, and Gerard de Bedford, the Grand Master

of the Temple, and the Marshal of the Temple, with eighteen of the brethren, who had behaved most valiantly, were slain; the Christians also lost many other soldiers, and among them forty knights and one hundred Turcoples.³¹ Saladin, however, lost Mirsalim, his eldest son, and his nephew Tekehedin, Migemal, his seneschal, and a hundred of the choicest of his troops, besides many others, whose numbers were not ascertained. On the fourth day of the week, Saladin again approached with his army; but when the Christians showed a readiness to engage with him, he hastily retreated, and, on the third day after, shifted his camp, and hastened to a place which has the name of Saftan, while his army occupied the whole space that lies between Casale-l'Eveque and Docus; as, from the time that Saladin was born, he had never levied such a mighty army as this. For, throughout the whole of his territories, there was not a person fitted for war who was not included in this army. Nor do I believe that any person could ever have set eyes upon so large and so valiant a band of Christians as he might have seen on this occasion. In addition to this, after the battle was over, there arrived five hundred most valiant Christian knights and ten thousand men, brave warriors, well provided with all kinds of arms. In the same year, also, there came to those shores ships and busses,³² more than five hundred in number, besides numerous galleys and cutters, which immediately returned to Apulia, that they might bring further supplies of men and provisions. The ships, however, of the Germans and of the Danes remained at Acre, for the purpose of fuel: as the Christians there had no fuel with which to cook their food, except such as the ships had brought, and the ships themselves.

It deserves to be described how the city of Acre was besieged;—Guido, king of Jerusalem, with the queen, his wife, and his two daughters, was lodged at Turon, looking towards the sea, and near the summit of the mountain, Heraclius, the Patriarch, and Geoffrey, the king's brother, being with him. The whole sea-line, which extends to Caiaphas, was

³¹ Sons of Christian mothers by Saracenic fathers.

³² "Burciæ," or "bussæ," "busses," were a kind of large merchant ships, rounded fore and aft, and with capacious hulls. Spelman thinks that they took their name from the English word "buss," signifying "a box." It has been, however, suggested that they were so called from their resemblance to a wine-cask, which the Greeks of the middle ages called βέρζιον.

occupied by the camp of the Pisans, so much so, that no one could escape from the city on that side. On the other side of [Mount] Turon, where Maconiatum is situate (called Lama-humheria by the Saracens), the lord landgrave and the said Jacques de Avenes, and all the Germans and the Genevese, had pitched their tents. Beyond these, the Temple with its brotherhood took up its quarters at the spot where were the gardens and the Tanks of the Latins. The Hospital, with its brethren and people, pitched its camp on the spot where were the gardens and land of the said Hospital. In the other direction, the whole space, as far as the sea, was occupied by the marquis Conrad, and many of the people from beyond the Alps, quite as far as Mount Musard. Count Robert de Drués,³³ the bishop of Beauvais, and the count Erard de Breines, as also the Franks and Campanians, together with the king's people, took up their quarters towards Mount Turon, and near the town; the archbishop of Pisa, the archbishop of Nazareth, the archbishop of Besançon, the archbishop of Arles-le-blanc, and the archbishop of Montreal being with them.

The Christians next made a large trench from sea to sea,³⁴ where the foss of the Temple was already in existence, lying between them and the army of the pagans. They also made another trench between themselves and Acre, so that they were in no fear of assault from the persons in Acre, and none of the pagans could go forth from Acre without falling into their hands. The engines also and stone batteries of the Christians were masked behind them, so that no one could do them any injury from the opposite side; but the Christians there were exposed to the winds and rain, having neither houses nor cabins in which to shelter themselves; nor indeed, if they had sworn so to do, could they have retreated, but there they must live or die. In this way, as previously mentioned, was siege on all sides laid to Acre; so strictly that no person whatever could possibly escape therefrom, while day after day they made assaults against it.

On the other hand, on one side of the Christians was Acre, full of pagan warriors, and on the other was Saladin with his mighty army. And, with all truth do I assert it, never were the Christians in a similar position, or one full of such anxious

³³ Such is the inaccuracy of the text, that it is doubtful whether this name is Drués or Arves; as the same person is first called by one name and then by the other.

³⁴ Across the Peninsula.

expectation, as no provisions could be brought them but by sea. In the meanwhile, prayers were put up for them without ceasing by the Church to the Lord.

In the same year, in the month of October, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, William, bishop of Ely, Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, and Richard, bishop of London. In the same month Rees, the son of Griffin,³⁵ king of South Wales, came into England as far as Oxford, under the safe conduct of John, earl of Mortaigne, the king's brother; but because the king of England declined to come to meet him, he was greatly indignant, and returned to his country without an interview with the king.

In the same year, in the month of November, cardinal John of Anagni, who had been sent as legate *a latere* by our lord the pope to put an end to the disputes which existed between Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury, landed at Dover, in England; on which he was forbidden to proceed any further without the king's command, and, accordingly, he remained there till our lord the king sent for him. In the meantime, our lord the king went to Canterbury, and made peace and a final reconciliation between Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks, on the following terms: Roger le Norreys, whom the before-named archbishop, against the wishes of the monks, had made prior of the church of Canterbury, was to be deprived of the office, and the church,³⁶ which the said bishop had built in the suburbs against the wish of the monks, was to be pulled down, while the monks were to pay canonical obedience and make profession thereof to the said archbishop, in the same manner in which they had been accustomed to do to his predecessors. Thus were matters arranged; and, at the prayer of the archbishop of Canterbury, our lord the king gave to the before-named prior, after his deposition, the abbacy of Evesham, and he was elevated to the rank of abbat thereof. The archbishop also placed a prior over the church of Canterbury with the king's assent, and with the sanction of the chapter. The monks of Canterbury, however, after the death of that archbishop, deposed him. In the meantime, the archbishop built a church at Lamhe,³⁷ opposite to Westminster, and the prebends which he had given to the

³⁵ Rice ap Griffydd.
previously mentioned. See p. 69.

³⁶ Akington or Hackington church, previously mentioned.
³⁷ Lambeth.

church built by him in the suburbs of the city of Canterbury, he gave to this new church which he had built at Lambeth.

At this treaty of peace and final reconciliation there were present Richard, king of England, and queen Eleanor, his mother, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, John, archbishop of Dublin, Hugh, bishop of Durham, John, bishop of Norwich, Hubert,³³ bishop of Salisbury, Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, Reginald, bishop of Bath, Hugh, bishop of Coventry, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, William, bishop of Worcester, the abbat of Saint Augustin's at Canterbury, Benedict, abbat of Burgh, Sampson, abbat of Saint Edmund's, the abbat of Battle, the abbat of Westminster, Guarine, abbat of Saint Alban's, and many other priors and abbats, all of whom set their seals to the writing in which was set forth the said agreement.

After this, the king sent for cardinal John of Anagni, who came to Canterbury, and was received with a solemn procession, but was greatly offended that in his absence a reconciliation had been effected between the archbishop of Canterbury and his monks.

In the same year, in the month of November, Geoffrey, the archbishop elect of York, together with the barons of Yorkshire, and the sheriff of York, by command of our lord the king, went as far as the river Tweed, and there received William, king of the Scots, and paid him all due honor, and gave him a safe conduct to the king of England. Accordingly, William, king of the Scots, came to the king of England at Canterbury in the month of December, and did homage to him for his dignities in England, in the same manner that his brother Malcolm had held them. Richard, king of England, also restored to him the castle of Roxburgh and the castle of Berwick, freely and quietly to be held by him; and he acquitted and released him and all his heirs from all homage and allegiance, for the kingdom of Scotland, to him and the kings of England, for ever. For this gift of his castles and for quitting claim to all fealty and allegiance for the kingdom of Scotland, and for the charter of Richard, king of England, signifying the same, William, king of the Scots, gave to Richard, king of England, ten thousand marks sterling. The charter, executed by the king of England, was to the following effect:—

³³ This is the proper reading, and not John, as it stands in the text.

The Charter of the king of England as to the liberties granted by him to William, king of Scotland.

“Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbats, earls, barons, justices, and sheriffs, and all his servants and faithful people throughout the whole of England, greeting. Know ye that we have restored to our most dearly-beloved cousin William, by the same grace king of the Scots, his castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, to be held by him and his heirs for ever as his own of hereditary right. We have also acquitted and released him of and from all covenants and agreements which Henry, king of England, our father, of happy memory, extorted from him by new charters, and in consequence of his capture; upon condition, however, that he shall in all things do unto us as fully as Malcolm, king of the Scots, his brother, did as of right unto our predecessors, and of right was bound to do. We likewise will do for him whatever of right our predecessors did and were bound to do for the said Malcolm, both in his coming with a safe-conduct to our court, and in his returning from our court, and while he is staying at our court, and in making all due provision for him, and according to him all liberties, dignities, and honors due to him as of right, according as the same shall be ascertained by four of our nobles who shall be selected by the said king William, and four of his nobles who shall be selected by us. And if any one of our subjects shall, since the time when the said king William was taken prisoner by our father, have seized upon any of the borders or marches of the kingdom of Scotland, without the same being legally adjudicated to him; then we do will that the same shall be restored to him in full, and shall be placed in the same state in which they were before he was so taken prisoner. Moreover, as to his lands which he may hold in England, whether in demesne or whether in fee, that is to say in the county of Huntingdon, and in all other counties, he and his heirs shall hold the said counties as fully and freely for ever as the said Malcolm held or ought to have held the same, unless the said Malcolm or his heirs shall have since enfeoffed any one of the same; on the further condition also that if any one shall be hereafter enfeoffed of the same, the services of the said fees shall belong to him or his heirs. And if our said father shall have given anything to William, king of the Scots, we do will that the same shall be hereby ratified and con-

firmed. We have also restored to him all allegiances of his subjects and all charters which the king our father obtained of him by reason of his capture. And if any other charters shall chance, through forgetfulness, to have been retained by us or shall hereafter be found, we do hereby order that the same shall be utterly void and of no effect. He has also become our liegeman as to all the lands for which his predecessors were liegemen to our predecessors, and has sworn fealty to ourselves and to our heirs. The following being witnesses hereto:—Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, Hugh, bishop of Durham, John, bishop of Norwich, Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, Reginald, bishop of Bath, Hugh, bishop of Coventry, William, bishop of Worcester, Eleanor, the king's mother, John, earl of Mortaigne, the king's brother, and many others."

On the same day, there came thither, namely, to Canterbury, Hugh, bishop of Durham, and Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, to appeal to the presence of our lord the pope, against Geoffrey, the archbishop elect of York, before the said cardinal and the above-named archbishops and bishops, wishing to prove that his election ought not to hold good, because they themselves to whom the first votes in the election belonged were not present at his said election. Bucard also, the treasurer of the church of York, and Henry, the dean of the said church, appealed against the said archbishop elect of York to the presence of our lord the pope, affirming that he was not canonically elected, and was a murderer, born in adultery, and the son of a harlot. But although all these allegations were made against him, the before-named cardinal John of Anagni, the legate of the Apostolic See, confirmed his election.

After this, Richard, king of England, gave to his brother John, earl of Mortaigne, by way of augmentation, the earldoms of Cornwall, Devon,³⁹ Dorset, and Somerset. The king of England also gave to his mother, queen Eleanor, the whole of the dower which queen Matilda, the wife of king Henry the Elder,⁴⁰ had enjoyed, the whole of the dower which Alice, the wife of king Stephen, enjoyed, and the whole of the dower which Henry, king of England, son of the empress Matilda, had given to her.

³⁹ These have been previously mentioned as given to him, except that of the county of Devon. See p. 115 of this Volume. ⁴⁰ Henry the First.

King Richard departed from the city of Canterbury, on the fifth day of December, for Dover, in order to cross over; for there many ships had assembled by his command from different parts of England. On the day after his arrival at Dover, Roger, the abbat elect of Saint German's, at Selby, received his benediction at Dover, on Saint Nicholas' day, from Hugh, bishop of Durham, by the king's command, notwithstanding the prohibition of Geoffrey, archbishop elect of York.

On this, Geoffrey, the archbishop elect of York, becoming sensible that without the intervention of money he would in nowise be able to gain his brother's favour, promised him three thousand pounds sterling, for the purpose of so ingratiating himself: on which, the king restored to him the archbishopric of York, and confirmed the same to him by his charter, and restored to him all the lay fees which king Henry, his father, had given him, on either side of the sea; namely, in England, the vill of Wycombe, with its appurtenances, the county of Giffard, in Normandy, and in Anjou, the honor of Blauge, with its appurtenances. The said king also released to God and Saint Peter of York, and to the said Geoffrey, archbishop elect of York, and to all that were able to succeed him in the archbishopric of York, all his lands and those of his canons in York and Nottingham for ever, both from forestal regard,⁴¹ and all other demands and impositions of forest and foresters, and gave them free power, and by his charter confirmed the same, to take venison throughout all their prebends in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire.

In addition to this, Hugh, bishop of Durham, Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, Henry, dean of the church of York, and Bucard, treasurer of the same church, by the king's command, withdrew the appeals which they had made against the said archbishop elect of York; and the said archbishop elect, at the king's request, confirmed to the said Henry, the deanery of York, and to Bucard, the treasurership; and to Hugh, bishop of Durham, he confirmed all the privileges and covenants which had been made between the said bishop and Roger, archbishop of York, and promised, by the seal of his consecration, that he would confirm the same.

After these matters were arranged, Richard, king of Eng-

⁴¹ A fee to the court of regard, which was holden for each forest every three years, for the purpose of expeditation, or cutting off three claws of the fore-feet of dogs, to prevent them from killing the deer.

land, on the eleventh day of December, being the second day of the week, crossed over from Dover to Calais, in Flanders, whither Philip, earl of Flanders, came to meet him, and, receiving him with congratulations, escorted him with a safe conduct to Normandy. There also crossed over with the king, the cardinal John of Anagni, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, Henry, bishop of Bayeux, and John, bishop of Evreux. Hugh, bishop of Durham, and William, bishop of Ely, remained in England as chief justiciaries; with whom, before his departure, the king had associated Hugh Bardolph, William Marshal, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, and William Bruyere. The king also delivered to William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, one of his seals, by virtue of which he ordered his commands to be carried out in his kingdom; he also gave into his charge the Tower of London. He also gave into the charge of Hugh, bishop of Durham, the castle of Windsor, with the forests and the earldom of the county.

Immediately after the king had passed over, a dispute arose between the before-named bishops of Durham and Ely, which of them was to occupy the highest place; for the thing that pleased the one, displeased the other. So true it is that "All authority is impatient of a partner;" and, not to go further for an illustration, "The first walls were steeped in a brother's blood."⁴²

In the month of November, in the same year, without issue, died William, king of Sicily, the dukedom of Apulia, and the principality of Capua, at Palermo, in Sicily. This William, king of Sicily, a long time before his death, had given Constance, the daughter of Roger, the former king of Sicily, his aunt, in marriage to Henry, king of Germany, and afterwards emperor of the Romans, and had made her his heir to succeed him on the throne of Sicily, if he should die without issue; and this he caused to be confirmed by the oaths of the principal men of the kingdom. However, on the death of king William, Tancred, count de la Liche, his cousin, usurped the kingdom of Sicily, contrary to the oath of fealty which he had taken to the before-named Constance. On this, Henry, emperor of the Romans, sent a large army into Apulia, under the command of the archbishop of Mentz and Henry Teste; who, after burning many cities, and overthrowing many towns,

⁴² "Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri;" alluding to the death of Remus at the hands of his brother Romulus, or of Celer, his lieutenant, on the walls of infant Rome.

returned home without effecting their purpose. On their withdrawal, Richard, count de Cirne, brother of the queen of Sicily, the wife of king Tancred, made war upon count Roger de Andria, on the ground that he had given aid to the king of Germany against king Tancred, and took him prisoner, and delivered him to king Tancred. Moreover, Joanna, the sister of Richard, king of England, who had been the wife of William, king of Sicily, lately deceased, remained in the custody of king Tancred.

In the year of grace 1190, king Richard was at Burun, in Normandy, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which took place on the second day of the week, and kept that festival there with the chief men of the territory; for this Nativity of our Lord was the first since the coronation of the said king. After the Nativity, the said Richard, king of England, and Philip, king of France, held a conference at Vè Saint Remy, where they agreed to a lasting peace between them and their respective kingdoms, and, committing the treaty to writing, ratified it by their oaths and seals, on the feast of Saint Hilary. The archbishops and bishops also of both kingdoms agreed to the same on their word of truth; while the earls and barons of those kingdoms made oath and swore that they would faithfully observe the said treaty of peace and keep the same unbroken. The tenor of this treaty was to the effect that each of them would maintain the honor of the other, and would keep faith with him for life, limb, and worldly honor, and that neither of them would forsake the other in the time of need; but that the king of France would aid the king of England in defending his territories as he himself would defend his own city of Paris, if it were besieged, and that Richard, king of England, would aid the king of France in defending his territories as he himself would defend his own city of Rouen, if it were besieged. The earls and barons also of both kingdoms made oath that they would not depart from their fealty to the said kings or wage any war in their territories, so long as they should be on their pilgrimage. The archbishops also and bishops strictly promised, on their word of truth, that they would pronounce sentence of excommunication against such as should be guilty of a breach of the said treaty of peace and compact.

The said kings also made oath that if either of them should die on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the one who should survive should have the treasures and forces of him who had died,

to employ the same in the service of God. And because they could not be in readiness at Easter, the time previously appointed, they postponed setting out for Jerusalem till the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, determining that then without fail they would be at Vezelay.

In the same year, on the vigil of the Epiphany of our Lord, a great dissension arose between Geoffrey, archbishop elect of York, and Henry, the dean of that church, and Bucard, the treasurer. For the said archbishop elect having expressed a desire to be present at vespers in the metropolitan church on such a solemn occasion, the said Henry and Bucard would not wait for him, but began vespers; consequently, when the said archbishop elect came into the choir, together with Hamo, the præcentor, and some other canons of the church, he was greatly indignant thereat, and immediately ordered silence, the præcentor ordering to the like effect; while, on the other hand, the dean and treasurer gave orders that they should sing on; however, in consequence of the orders of the archbishop elect and præcentor, all kept silence; on which the archbishop elect was beginning vespers again, when the treasurer ordered the tapers to be extinguished. These being put out and the vespers brought to a close, the archbishop elect complained before God, the clergy, and the people, of the injury which the dean and treasurer had done him, and suspended them and the church from the celebration of Divine service, until such time as they should have given him satisfaction for the same.

On the following day, when all the people of the city resorted after their usual custom to the metropolitan church, that there, on account of the solemnity of the day, they might more becomingly hear Divine service, both the archbishop elect and the said dean and treasurer ought to have been in the choir, together with the canons of the said church, to make peace and reconciliation between themselves; however, the dean and treasurer refused to make any satisfaction to their archbishop elect for such and so great a transgression, but spoke contemptuously of him; in consequence of which the populace were enraged against them, and were desirous to make an attack on them, but the archbishop elect would not allow them. On this, in great alarm, they fled from before the face of the people, and one of them took refuge at the tomb of Saint William, and the other betook himself to the house of the dean; while

the archbishop elect pronounced them excommunicated. In consequence of this, Divine service ceased from that day in the metropolitan church.

In the same year, after the Purification of Saint Mary, queen Eleanor, the mother of king Richard, Alice, the sister of Philip, king of France, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, John, bishop of Norwich; Hugh, bishop of Durham, Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, Reginald, bishop of Bath, William, bishop of Ely, Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, Hugh, bishop of Chester, Geoffrey, archbishop elect of York, and John, earl of Mortaigne, the king's brother, by order of our lord the king crossed over from England to Normandy; and after holding a council with them, our lord the king appointed William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, chief justiciary of England; while he made Hugh, bishop of Durham, justiciary from the river Humber to the territory of the king of Scotland. He also compelled Geoffrey, archbishop elect of York, and John, earl of Mortaigne, his brothers, to make oath, touching the Holy Evangelists, that they would not enter England for the next three years, except with his permission. However, he immediately released his brother John from the oath which he had made, and gave him permission to return to England, after swearing that he would faithfully serve him.

The king also sent to England William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, to make the preparations necessary for him and his expedition; and, as he wished to exalt him above all other persons in his dominions, both clergy as well as laity, he sent envoys to pope Clement, and prevailed upon him to entrust to the before-named chancellor the legateship of the whole of England and Scotland. On the chancellor arriving in England, he caused the Tower of London to be surrounded with a moat of very great depth, hoping that so the river Thames might pass around it. After this, the chancellor received, for the necessities of our lord the king, from each city of England two palfreys and two sumpter horses by way of aid; from each abbey throughout England one palfrey and one sumpter horse; and from each of the king's manors one palfrey and one sumpter horse.

In the same month of March, on the seventeenth⁴³ day before the calends of April, being the sixth day before Palm Sunday, the Jews of the city of York, in number five hundred men, besides women and children, shut themselves up in the

⁴³ A various reading has "the eighteenth."

tower of York, with the consent and sanction of the keeper of the tower, and of the sheriff, in consequence of their dread of the Christians; but when the said sheriff and the constable sought to regain possession of it, the Jews refused to deliver it up. In consequence of this, the people of the city, and the strangers who had come within the jurisdiction thereof, at the exhortation of the sheriff and the constable, with one consent made an attack upon the Jews.

After they had made assaults upon the tower, day and night, the Jews offered the people a large sum of money to allow them to depart with their lives; but this the others refused to receive. Upon this, one skilled in their laws arose and said: "Men of Israel, listen to my advice. It is better that we should kill one another, than fall into the hands of the enemies of our law." Accordingly, all the Jews, both men as well as women, gave their assent to his advice, and each master of a family, beginning with the chief persons of his household, with a sharp knife first cut the throats of his wife and sons and daughters, and then of all his servants, and lastly his own. Some of them also threw their slain over the walls among the people; while others shut up their slain in the king's house and burned them, as well as the king's houses. Those who had slain the others were afterwards killed by the people. In the meantime, some of the Christians set fire to the Jews' houses, and plundered them; and thus all the Jews in the city of York were destroyed, and all acknowledgments of debts due to them were burnt.

In the same year died Isabella, queen of France, and daughter of the earl of Hainault, before her husband Philip, king of France, had set out for Jerusalem. In the same year, the Annunciation of our Lord fell on Easter day, a thing that had not happened for a long time previously. In the meantime, the king's envoys, whom he had sent to Rome to obtain the legateship of England and Scotland for William, his chancellor, returned to him with letters of our lord the pope relative thereto. Accordingly, on the strength of his legateship, the said bishop of Ely, legate of the Apostolic See, chancellor of our lord the king, and justiciary of all England, oppressed the clergy and the people, confounding right and wrong; nor was there a person in the kingdom who dared to offer resistance to his authority, even in word.

After Easter, the said chancellor of the king came to York

with a great army, for the purpose of seizing those evil-doers who had destroyed the Jews of that city; and, on learning that this had been done by command of the sheriff and the keeper of the tower, he deprived them both of their offices; while he exacted of the citizens of the city a hundred hostages, as security for their good faith and keeping the peace of the king and the kingdom, and that they would take their trial in the court of our lord the king for the death of the Jews. After this, the said chancellor placed in charge of Osbert de Longchamp, his brother, the jurisdiction of the county of York, and ordered the castle, in the old castelry which William Rufus had erected there, to be fortified. The knights, also, of that county who would not come to make redress, he ordered to be arrested.

The said chancellor, by virtue of his legateship, next suspended the canons, vicars, and clerks of the church of Saint Peter at York, because they had refused to receive him in solemn procession; and laid the church itself under an interdict until the canons, vicars, and clerks of the church of Saint Peter should come and throw themselves at his feet; he also caused the bells of that church to be laid upon the ground.

In the meantime, Richard, king of England, gave to Hugh, bishop of Durham, leave to return to his country: who, on meeting the chancellor at the city of Ely,⁴⁴ presented to him the king's letters, in which the king had appointed him justiciary from the river Humber to the territories of the king of Scotland; on which the chancellor made answer, that he would with pleasure execute the king's commands, and took him with him as far as Suwelle,⁴⁵ where he seized him, and kept him in custody until he had surrendered to him the castle of Windsor and others which the king had delivered into his charge. In addition to this, the bishop of Durham delivered to the chancellor, Henry de Pudsey, his son, and Gilbert de la Ley, as pledges that he would keep faith to the king and his kingdom; on which, the bishop of Durham, being liberated from the custody of the chancellor, came to a vill of his, which bears the name of Hoveden.⁴⁶ While the bishop was staying at this place for some days, there came to Hoveden Osbert de Longchamp, brother of the chancellor, and William de Stuteville, with a considerable body of armed people, intending, by

⁴⁴ Erroneously called "Blie" in the text.

⁴⁵ Southwell.

⁴⁶ Howden, in Yorkshire, the native place of our author,

command of the chancellor, to seize the bishop; however, the bishop gave them security that he would not depart thence, except with the permission of the king or of the chancellor. Accordingly, the bishop of Durham sent messengers to the king of England, to inform him of everything that had happened to him through the chancellor.

In the meantime, the king of England marched into Gascony, and laid siege to the castle of William de Chisi, and took it; on which he hanged William, the owner of the castle, because he had plundered pilgrims from Saint Jago,⁴⁷ and other persons, as they passed through his lands. After this, the king of England proceeded to Chinon, in Anjou, where he appointed Gerard, archbishop of Auxienne, Bernard, bishop of Bayonne, Robert de Sabul, Richard de Camville, and William de Fortz de Oleron, chiefs and constables of the whole of his fleet which was about to proceed to the land of Syria, and gave them ordinances to the following effect: ⁴⁸

The Charter of Richard, king of England, containing ordinances for those who were about to proceed by sea.

“Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to all his subjects about to proceed by sea to Jerusalem, greeting. Know ye, that we, with the common consent of fit and proper men, have made the enactments under-written. Whoever shall slay a man on ship-board, he shall be bound to the dead man and thrown into the sea. If he shall slay him on land, he shall be bound to the dead man and buried in the earth. If any one shall be convicted, by means of lawful witnesses, of having drawn out a knife with which to strike another, or shall strike another so as to draw blood, he shall lose his hand. If, also, he shall give a blow with his hand, without shedding blood, he shall be plunged in the sea three times. If any man shall utter disgraceful language or abuse, or shall curse his companion, he shall pay him an ounce of silver for every time he has so abused him. A robber who shall be convicted of theft, shall

⁴⁷ Saint Jago de Compostella.

⁴⁸ These are a small portion of what are known as the “Oleron Laws,” from having been made by king Richard when his fleet was lying at Oleron, an island at the mouth of the river Charente. They form the basis of a large part of the sea-laws in use at the present day.

have his head cropped after the manner of a champion,⁵⁰ and boiling pitch shall be poured thereon, and then the feathers of a cushion shall be shaken⁵¹ out upon him, so that he may be known, and at the first land at which the ships shall touch, he shall be set on shore. Witness myself, at Chinon."

The king also gave orders, in another writ of his, that all his subjects who were about to proceed to sea should pay obedience to the orders and commands of the before-named justices of his fleet. After this, the king proceeded to Tours, and there⁵² received the scrip and staff of his pilgrimage from the hands of William, archbishop of Tours; but it so happened that, while the king was leaning on the staff, it broke asunder.

After this, the said king, and Philip, king of France, met at Vezelay, where rests the body of Saint Mary Magdalen. Here they stayed two days, and left the place on the octave of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist. When they had arrived at the city of Lyons on the Rhone, after they with the greater part of their households had passed over the bridge across that river, the bridge, being thronged with men and women, broke down, not without doing injury to great numbers. Here also the two kings separated, in consequence of the multitude of men who followed them, as one place was not sufficient to hold them. Accordingly, the king of France, with his troops, went on to Genoa, while the king of England proceeded with his to Marseilles.

*A Lament on the Expedition to Jerusalem.*⁵³

"Most grievous are the days which have come upon us, and worthy to be graced with no white stone. For the woes have ministered to our grief which Holy Jerusalem is known to

⁵⁰ Champions, before commencing the combat, had the hair cut close, probably for the purpose of offering no unfair advantage to the antagonist, by reason of the length of the hair and the facilities thereby offered for pulling them to the ground.

⁵¹ This is a very early instance of the practice of tarring and feathering.

⁵² Roger of Wendover says that he received it at Vezelay.

⁵³ This lament consists of thirty-two monkish lines, in rhymes of four. The first four will serve as a specimen :—

"Graves nobis admodum dies effluxere
Qui lapillis candidis digni non fuere.
Nam luctus materiam mala præbuere,
Quæ sanctam Jerusalem constat sustinere."

It is not improbable that this was a song generally sung by the Crusaders.

endure. For who can do other than grieve for the slaughter of so many of the Saints, so many sacred houses of the Lord profaned, princes led captive, dwellings destroyed, and nobles hurled at the feet of slaves? And yet these things shall not escape the eyes of Him who beholds them. The Lord, looking on, has beheld the woes of our race, has heard the groans of this innocent people, and has descended to crush the head of the serpent. For the God of the Hebrews has aroused the Christian princes and their knights to avenge the blood of his Saints, and to succour the sons of the slain. The illustrious king of England and the king of the Franks are onward marching with many thousand men-at-arms. 'Tis a glorious sight to behold the band of senators with the arms of justice and with the worshippers of God.⁵⁴ 'Tis more pleasing still to hear of Frederic, lord of the empire of Rome, joining them in war against the enemies of the Cross, that he may restore his country to its ancient glory. The Cross going before, they march on towards the East, and all the West they lead on with them. An army they lead that differs in language, rites, manners, and customs, but fervent in the faith. That they may return victorious, let us offer up our prayers to God; that so, entering Jerusalem, they may root out from the midst of the earth the Canaanite, and expel the Jebusite, and so bear away the palm of Christian prowess."

While Richard, king of England, was staying at Marseilles, there came to him the messengers of Hugh, bishop of Durham; and, on hearing from him the injuries which the before-named chancellor had inflicted on him, the king ordered the earldom of Northumberland and the manor of Sedbergh to be delivered to the bishop of Durham; relative to which, the king gave him his charter to the following effect:—

⁵⁵ *Another Charter of Richard, king of England, as to the conveyance of Sedbergh to Hugh, the lord bishop of Durham.*

"Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbats, carls, barons, sheriffs, and all his servants and faithful people throughout the whole of England, greeting. Know ye that we have given to God, and to Saint Cuthbert and the church of Durham, and to Hugh, the bishop,

⁵⁴ "Deorum," "of the Gods," seems to be used instead of "Dei," as suiting the rhyme. It may possibly allude to the Trinity. ⁵⁵ See p. 120.

and his successors, for ever, the manor of Sedbergh, together with the Wapentake and knights' fees which we formerly gave him, and by our charter confirmed, by way of a pure and perpetual alms, for six hundred marks, which he paid us. Wherefore we do will and command that he shall freely, quietly, and honorably enter upon and enjoy the said manor, together with the said Wapentake and knights' fees, and all other its appurtenances, as a pure and perpetual alms, in such manner as is set forth in our charters, which the said bishop now holds. We do also will and grant, so far as relates to ourselves, that, if any person shall use against him force or molestation in respect hereof, contrary to the tenor of our charters and confirmations, he shall incur the anger and curse of God and ourselves. Witness myself, at Marseilles."

When the king of England had waited eight days at Marseilles, in hope and expectation from day to day of the arrival of his fleet, finding himself deceived in his wishes, he hired ten large busses and twenty well-armed galleys, and embarked on board them with his household in sorrow and dejection, on account of the delay of his fleet. Accordingly, on the seventh day of August the king of England set sail from Marseilles, in the galley Pombone, and passed by the island of Saint Stephen and Aquila and Mont Noir, the island of Saint Honoratus, the city of Nice, and the city of Vintimiglia. It deserves to be known that between the city of Nice and that of Vintimiglia is the division of the territories of the king of Arragon and of Italy.

After this, the king of England passed Santa Maria de Funz, and Noli. On the thirteenth day of August the king of England passed a castle which is called Swene,⁵⁵ and on the same day arrived at Geneva, where he had an interview with the king of France, who was lying ill at a house near the church of Saint Laurence. On the fourteenth day of August the king of England arrived at Portofino, it being the vigil of the Assumption of Saint Mary, and there he stayed five days. While he was there the king of France sent to ask him for the loan of five galleys, on which the king of England offered him three, which the king of France refused. On the nineteenth day of August he left Portofino, and came to Porto Venere, and on the day after arrived at the port of Pisa. Here he was met by Walter, archbishop of Rouen, John, the bishop of Evreux, then lying ill in the city of Pisa.

⁵⁵ Probably the present Savona.

On the twenty-first day of the month of August the king of England passed by the island of Gorgona, and on the twenty-second day of the month of August the king came to Porto Baratto. On the twenty-third day of August, being the vigil of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, the king proceeded two leagues by land, and a few knights with him, on hired horses, and came to a port, near a castle, called Piombino, to meet his galleys; and here the king embarked on board the galley of Fulk Rustac, in which he had not previously sailed. Being gratified with a favourable wind, he next passed an island which is called Ferraria, and another called Argentaria, as also an island called Genit; after which he arrived at a port called Talemunde.

On the twenty-fourth day of August the king came to a port which is called Portocarrero, which lies midway between Marseilles and Messina. On the same day the sails were split of the galley on board of which the king was, on which he again embarked on board the galley Pombone, and then passed the city of Corneto, the city of Civita Vecchia,⁵⁶ and the place which is called the Faro di Roma; after which he entered the Tiber. At the entrance of this river there is a fine tower, but deserted, and there are also very considerable remains of ancient walls. Here Octavianus, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, came to meet him; to whom the king uttered many reproaches, charging the Romans with simony, because they had agreed to take seven hundred marks for the consecration of the bishop of Le Mans, and fifteen hundred marks for the legateship of the bishop of Ely, and a large sum of money that the archbishop of Bordeaux might not be degraded, who was criminally accused by his clergy.

On the twenty-sixth day of August the king passed by a certain forest which is called Silvadena, in which there is a marble road, made like a pavement, which extends through the middle of the wood twenty-four miles, the wood abounding with deer, roebuck, and fawns. On the same day the king passed by a castle which is called Nettuno. Here is a quay which was formerly covered with copper; here also was the entrance to a subterraneous passage, through which money brought from all quarters was conveyed to Rome. After this, the king passed by a castle which is called Estura. On the twenty-

⁵⁶ This place can be but faintly recognised under the name given in the text, "Senes la Veile."

seventh day of August the king passed by a rock projecting into the sea, which is called the Capo di Cercel,⁵⁶ and an island called Parmerola, and another island called Ponza, and another called Palmera. On the top of the mountain called Capo di Cercel, is a castle in which robbers and pirates often take refuge.

The king next came to a city called Terracina, in which was formerly a pier covered with copper. He next came to Garilla, and then to a castle which bears the name of Capo del Espurun.⁵⁷ Here is the division of the territories of the Romans and of those of the king of Sicily, in that portion thereof which is called the principality of Capua. After this, the king passed an island which is called Pantea, and is distant from the city of Gaeta forty miles. Pantea was the native place of Pilate, and in it there was formerly a pier covered with copper. The king next passed an island called Istellemania, which is always smoking. This island is said to have been set on fire from the island called Volcano, the fire from it flying and burning up, as they say, both sea and fish. Not far distant from this island is the island of Girun, where there is a good castle and harbour.

The king next passed an island called Baterun, and the port of Baiæ, where are the baths of Virgil; it is ten miles distant from Naples. He then passed Capua and Capo di Maverba, which lies midway between Naples and Salerno. On the twenty-eighth day of August the king arrived at Naples, and proceeded to the abbey of Saint Januarius, to see the sons of Naimundus, who lie in the crypt⁵⁸ there, skin and bone. Here he made a stay till the Nativity of Saint Mary the Virgin, the Mother of God, and on the same day, hiring horses, he proceeded to Salerno, where he stayed a considerable time.

In the meantime, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, and Ranulph de Glanville, who had come with the king of England as far as Marseilles, there embarked on board ship; and the Lord gave them a prosperous voyage, so that in a short time, without any accident, he led them over a vast tract of sea to the siege of Acre. John, bishop of Norwich, however, went to the pope, and, receiving from him permission to return, gave up the cross, and returned

⁵⁶ The place now called "Circello," or "the Tower of Circe."

⁵⁷ Now called Sperlonga.

⁵⁸ These mummies being preserved by the antiseptic properties of the crypt.

home absolved therefrom. After this became known to our lord the king, he exacted from him, by the hands of the Templars and Hospitallers, a thousand marks for excusing him.

In the meantime, the fleet of the king of England, which was commanded by the archbishop of Auxienne, the bishop of Bayonne, Robert de Sabul, Richard de Camville, and William de Forts, set out immediately after Easter on its way for Jerusalem from the various ports of England, Normandy, Brittany, and Poitou. One part of this fleet assembled at the port of Dartmouth, and, after staying there some days, the said ships, ten in number, set sail for Lisbon, and after passing a certain headland which projects into the sea, called Godestert,⁵⁹ passed Brittany, having Saint Matthew of Finisterre, or de Fin Posterne, on the left hand side of the fleet, and the Great Sea along which is the route to Ireland on the right, and left Poitou, Gascony, and Biscay on the left hand side of the fleet. When they had now passed through the British Sea and the Sea of Poitou, and had come into the Spanish Sea, on the holy Day of the Ascension of our Lord, at the third hour of the day, a mighty and dreadful tempest overtook them, and in the twinkling of an eye they were separated from each other. While the storm was raging, and all in their affliction were calling upon the Lord, the blessed Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury and Martyr, appeared at three different times to three different persons, who were on board a London ship, in which was William Fitz-Osbert, and Geoffrey, the goldsmith, saying to them, "Be not afraid, for I, Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the blessed Edmund the Martyr, and the blessed Nicholas, the Confessor, have been appointed by the Lord guardians of this fleet of the king of England; and if the men of this fleet will guard themselves against sin, and repent of their former offences, the Lord will grant them a prosperous voyage, and will direct their footsteps in His paths." After having thrice repeated these words, the blessed Thomas vanished from before their eyes, and immediately the tempest ceased, and there was a great calm on the sea.

And now the London ship, in which the blessed Martyr Thomas had appeared, had passed by the port of Lisbon and Cape Saint Vincent, and had neared the city of Silva,⁶⁰ which in those days was the most remote of all the cities of

⁵⁹ Probably "Good start;" meaning what we now call "Start Point."

⁶⁰ Now called "Silver."

Christendom, and the Christian faith was as yet but in its infancy there, as it was only the year before that it had been wrested from the hands of the pagans, and had become Christian, as already mentioned. The people, therefore, on board the ship, being ignorant where they were, putting out a boat pulled for land, and learned, by certain indications, that the land was inhabited by Christians, and that there was no further [inland] any safe road for them without a good and sufficient escort. Accordingly they approached the city; and on learning the cause of their arrival, the bishop of the city of Silva, and the clergy and people, received them with congratulations, giving thanks to God for their arrival; for there were in the ship a hundred young men of prowess and well armed.

In the meantime Botac El Emir Amimoli, emperor of Africa and of Saracenic Spain, levying a large army, marched into the territories of Sancho, king of Portugal, to take vengeance for the emperor of Africa, his father, who had died six years before while besieging Santa Erena, a castle of king Alphonso, father of the said Sancho, king of Portugal. On this, the citizens of Silva, being alarmed, refused to allow these young men of London to leave them, but broke up their ship, and with the timbers of it made bulwarks for the city, promising and giving them all kinds of security that the king of Portugal would pay them well for the delay thus occasioned them, and the injury received in consequence of the loss of their ship; which was accordingly done.

The other nine ships of the fleet of the king of England which had been out in the same storm, made land in different parts of Spain; after which, by the guidance of God, sailing up the river Tagus, they at last arrived at the city of Lisbon. In this city of Lisbon rests the body of Saint Vincent the Martyr. Before they had arrived there, the before-named emperor of Africa, on the day of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, forded the river Tagus, and all his army with him, and laid siege to a castle of Sancho, king of Portugal, which is called Torresnovas. On this, the king of Portugal sent envoys to the strangers who had come in the ships to the city of Lisbon, and asked succours of them against the Saracens.

Accordingly, five hundred men, well armed, and selected from all the ships that had arrived, as being the bravest and most courageous, preferred to die in war for the name of Jesus Christ, rather than behold the misfortunes of their race and its

extermination; and, leaving their ships and companions, proceeded up the river Tagus to Santa Erena, which is distant from the city of Lisbon two days' march, where they found Sancho, king of Portugal, utterly destitute both of resources and counsel; for he had but few soldiers, and nearly all of those without arms, and the emperor had already taken the castle of the king which he had besieged, and had laid siege to another castle, which is called Thomar, and is a castle of the Templars. On hearing of the arrival of the foreigners, the emperor was greatly alarmed, and, sending ambassadors to the king of Portugal, demanded of him Silva, on obtaining which, he would depart with his army, and restore to him the castle which he had taken, and would keep peace with him for seven years; but when the king of Portugal refused to do this, he sent him word that on the following day he would come to lay siege to Santa Erena.

On this, the king of Portugal, taking counsel with the strangers who had come in the ships, placed his men in the towers, and at the strongest bastions of the walls; while the foreigners who had come in the ships chose for their position the weaker parts of the city, employing their own courage as their walls. On the following day, when all were prepared for the attack, and there was every moment a murmuring at the gates, to the effect that he would be there that instant and without delay, a messenger came on a sudden, and thus said: "The emperor has been dead these three days, and his army is taking to flight!" and, while he was still speaking, there came two, and then three, and then still more, all of whom spoke to the like effect.

Accordingly, the king and all the people believed them, and the city was filled with gladness and exultation; and, on the next day, the king gave to the men who had come from the ship leave to return to them, promising that he would handsomely reward them for their labours. However, before they had arrived at their ships, Robert de Sabul and Richard de Camville came to Lisbon with sixty-three great store-ships of the king of England; (a store-ship is the same as a transport-ship).⁶¹ Some, however, of the men who had come under the command of Robert de Sabul and Richard de Camville were evil-doers and vicious persons; for, on disembarking from the ships, they made their way into the city of Lisbon, and as they went through the streets and lanes, talked to the people

⁶¹ "Storium"—"navigium."

of the city giving themselves airs, and then committed violence upon the wives and daughters of the citizens. They also drove away the pagans and Jews, servants of the king, who dwelt in the city, and plundered their property and possessions, and burned their houses; and they then stripped their vineyards, not leaving them so much as a grape or a cluster.

When this became known to the king of Portugal, the lord of the city of Lisbon, he came with all haste with a powerful hand; but on finding there Robert de Sabul and Richard de Camville, with the fleet of the king of England, he manifested towards them a cheerful countenance and a peaceful disposition, bearing with patience the injuries done to himself and his people. On the day after the king's arrival, the commanders of the fleet exacted an oath from all the men of the fleet that they would faithfully keep and inviolably observe the before-mentioned statutes enacted by the king of England.

However, in the course of three days, a quarrel ensued between the people of Lisbon and some of those who had come in the ships, in consequence of which, many persons were slain on both sides in a skirmish that ensued, and the noise of the people came to the king's ears. On this, the gates of the city were immediately closed, and all who had gone from the ships into the city, for the purpose of obtaining provisions and drink, were taken and thrown into prison, in number seven hundred men. Before they were released from the custody of the king, the king of Portugal made peace with Robert de Sabul and Richard de Camville on such terms as he pleased, that is to say, to the following effect: that past injuries should be mutually overlooked, and that they should strictly keep the peace towards the pilgrims throughout all his territories; and it was further agreed that the arms and all other things which had been lost in the affray should be given up on either side.

This having been done, Robert de Sabul and Richard de Camville left the city of Lisbon with the fleet of the king of England, on the vigil of Saint James the Apostle, being the fourth day of the week, and, on the same day, came to the inlet where the Tagus falls into the sea. On the same day also, William de Forts de Oleron arrived there with thirty great ships of the fleet of the king of England; in consequence of which, there were together at the same place one hundred store-ships of the king of England, and six great ships laden with warriors, provisions, and arms. On the day after the

feast of Saint James the Apostle, being the sixth day of the week, Robert de Sabul, Richard de Camville, and William de Forts de Oleron left the port of Lisbon with the fleet of the king of England, and passed by a great mountain which projects into the sea, and is called Espichel, as also the port of Dalchatht,⁶² and Palmella, and Sinnes, formerly a sandy tract of land extending into the sea; they then passed the port of Deordunite, and then a great and lofty mountain which extends into the sea, and is called Cape Saint Vincent; on which the body of Saint Vincent lay many ages entombed, until it was transferred to the city of Lisbon.

After this, they passed the port of Silva, which at that time was the most remote city of the Christians in those parts of Spain. They next passed a city of the pagans, which is called Santa Maria de Hayrun; and it is worthy of remark why this city is called Santa Maria de Hayrun. Hayrun is the name of the place in which the city was founded, while the Christians who built it gave it the other name, and, in memory of Mary, the blessed Mother of God, they placed a stone image of her on the walls. After this, when the pagans prevailed over the Christians, they gained possession of this place, and, on finding the image standing upon the walls, they cut off its head, feet, and arms, in contempt of the faith of Christ and of Saint Mary, and threw it at a distance into the sea. On this being done, the sea and land became unproductive, and famine prevailed in that land to such a degree, that nearly every thing, men and animals, died of hunger; upon which, all the elders of the people, and the youths, from the highest to the lowest, weeping day and night, and doing penance in sackcloth and ashes, recalled to mind the image whose head, hands, and feet they had cut off, and said: "We have sinned, we have acted unrighteously, we have done iniquitously, inasmuch as we have cut off that head, and those hands and feet. For what evil had they done? Let us, therefore, seek them, and let us put them in their places, that thus, at least, God may turn away His wrath from us, and from this city." Thus saying, they threw their nets into the sea, where they had thrown the head, and hands, and feet of the image, and, drawing them upon land in their nets, they placed the head on the neck, the hands

⁶² It is hardly necessary to say, that many of the places here mentioned cannot be recognized, as being no longer in existence, even if the names were correctly given in the text, which is far from being the case.

on the arms, and the legs on the thighs, and soldered them with gold and silver of the finest and purest quality; after which, they placed the image in an honored locality, and it is held in great veneration even to the present day. Immediately upon this, the famine ceased, and the earth yielded her increase.

After this, they passed the castle which is called Merell, and then the port of Hodiene; they next passed the port of Calice,⁶² and then a mountain, which is called Montaluc. They then passed a sandy piece of land projecting into the sea, which is called Cape Almilan, and then a castle and port, the name of which is Saltis; after which, they arrived before the Port of Seville, the name of which is Windelkebir; between Seville and the Port there is a castle midway, which is called Captal.

They now came to the Straits of Africa, and passed through these Straits on the first day of August, being the feast of Saint Peter ad Vincula, and the fifth day of the week. Here the Mediterranean Sea begins, which Sea is so called, because it is surrounded by land on every side, with the exception of one inlet and one outlet; the one of which is called the Straits of Africa, and the other the Arm of Saint George,⁶³ at the city of Constantinople. It is also worthy of remark, that, from the entrance to the Straits of Africa, as far nearly as Ascalon, on the right-hand side of the ship [as it sails], lie the territories of the pagans; and on the opposite side, from the entrance of the Straits of Africa as far as the great mountain which is called Muncian,⁶⁴ is Saracenic Spain, which you leave behind to the left of the ship. It is also worthy of observation, that, according to calculations made by mariners, the entry to the Straits of Africa, from one shore to the other, is not more than six miles in width, on each side of which there is a large mountain, the one in Spain, called Calpe, the other in Africa, opposite to it, called Atlas. At the entrance of these Straits there are several cities in Africa near the sea-shore, the names of which are Bethe, Dudenardi, Esparte, Thange, Cacummin, Muee, Botoos, and Scep,⁶⁵ which is the most noble of all the cities of Africa. In Spain, on the opposite side, are several cities and castles, the names of which are Beche, Dudemar bait, Leziratarif, Gezehakazera,⁶⁶ the island of Jubaltaria,⁶⁷ Mertell,

⁶² Now Cadiz.

⁶³ The Bosphorus, or Straits of Constantinople, were so called from the church of Saint George, which was built on the shore in the suburbs of Constantinople.

⁶⁴ Probably Montserrat.

⁶⁵ Perhaps Ceuta.

⁶⁶ By this and the preceding name, Algeiras and Tarifa are probably meant.

⁶⁷ Gibraltar.

and Swail, a castle of the Moors. At the foot of the mountain of Jubaltaria are two fine cities, one of which is called Alentia, and the other Jubalar.

Next to these comes the city of Magga;⁶⁷ and after the fleet of the king of England had passed the above-named cities of Spain, it next passed the city of Salamame,⁶⁸ and then Vilages, a large city enclosed with a wall, in the circuit of which there are one hundred and sixty towers of stone. It next passed a great and lofty mountain, which is called the Cape of Melich, and then a castle called Munaca.⁶⁹ It next passed a noble city which is called Almeria, where the valuable and fine silk is manufactured, which is called silk of Almeria; and then a great and lofty mountain that extends into the sea, and is called Cape Almeria. It then passed Carthagera, a fine city, situate on the sea-shore; next after which came Penisele, a fine and handsome castle. The fleet then passed a sandy piece of land projecting into the sea, called Alascerat;⁷⁰ after which came a piece of land projecting into the sea, which is called Cape Martin. It next came before a large city which is called Denia, and then before the port of Valentia. It deserves to be known that Valentia is a fine city, distant seven miles from the entrance to its harbour. It then passed the castle of Baiane, and then the castle of Peniscola on the sea-shore, which is the last castle belonging to the pagans in Spain on this side of the sea.

They then passed a great and lofty mountain projecting into the sea, which is called Muncian; this mountain divides the territories of the pagans from those of the Christians, and here begins the territory of the king of Arragon. Near this mountain, among the mountains, and at a distance from the sea, is situate a fine city, the name of which is Cervera; and at the foot of the same mountain, on the sea-shore, stands a castle, which is called Amposta, in the territory of the kingdom of Arragon, and occupied by the Hospitallers. Here also is a great river of fresh water, which has the name of Ebro, and a noble city called Tortosa; which stands upon that river, and is distant from the entrance to the harbour thirty miles.

After this, they passed a populous city on the sea-shore, called Taragutia,⁷¹ the see of an archbishop, and near it a great mountain extending into the sea, called Cape Salut, beneath which mountain lies a good harbour. They next came before a

⁶⁷ Probably Malaga.

⁶⁹ Now Almuecar.

⁶⁸ Perhaps the place now called Salobrena.

⁷⁰ Probably Alicant.

⁷¹ Tarragona.

great episcopal city, situate on the sea-shore, the name of which is Barcelona. They then passed a castle situate on the sea-shore, called San Felice, where there is a good harbour. They next passed the territory of count Ponce, opposite a fine city, the name of which is Ampurias, where there is a good harbour. They then passed a great mountain projecting into the sea, which is called Cape Castiglione, where there is a good harbour, called Port Castiglione, and as you go up the river, there is a castle called Castiglione. They next passed a harbour, fine and large, the name of which is Cadakis, and then a great mountain extending into the sea, which is called Cape de Creus, at the foot of which there is a good harbour. They then passed a fine castle situate on the sea-shore, which is called Cockeliure,⁷² where there is a good harbour called Port Vendres.

They next passed some sand-banks extending into the sea, called Cape Leucare, which make a conspicuous landmark, on which, near the sea-shore, is a fine episcopal city, the name of which is Narbonne, and a monastery, called Saint Mary de Mer. They then passed a projection of the land into the sea, which is called Brescou; after which they came to the territory of the count de Agde, passing a fine city situate on the sea-shore, the name of which is Agde. They then passed near Villeneuve, the episcopal see of Magalona, near which is the port of Montpellier, the name of which is Lates. They next passed an island called Odur, which lies at the mouth of the Rhone, going up which river you come to a fine archiepiscopal city, which is called Arles-le-Blanc; and still higher up the same river, you come near to Saint Gilles, and still higher again, you come to the fine city which is called Lyons sur Rhone.

They then came to Marseilles, which is twenty miles distant from the mouth of the Rhone, and is a city subject to the king of Arragon. Here were the relics of Saint Lazarus, the brother of Saint Mary Magdalene and of Martha, who held the bishopric of this place, after Jesus had raised him from the dead. In this city there is a fine harbour, able to contain many ships of a large size, almost shut in by high hills, and on one side of it rises the episcopal city; opposite to which, on the other side of the harbour, is the abbey of Saint Victor, in which a hundred black monks serve God; and here,

⁷² Now Collioure.

as they say, are the hundred and forty bodies of the Innocents who were slain for Christ, as also the relics of Saint Victor and his companions, the rods with which our Lord was scourged, the jaw-bone of Saint Lazarus, and one of the ribs of Saint Laurence the Martyr. Between Marseilles and this abbey, not far from the high road, is a monastery, in which is kept the arm of Saint Margaret the Virgin; and near the abbey of Saint Victor are two lofty hills, one of which is called Mount Roland, and the other Mount Hospinel.

It is worthy of remark, that from Marseilles to Acre is only fifteen days' and nights' sail,⁷³ with a fair wind; but in such case you must go straight through the main sea, so that after the hills of Marseilles are lost out of sight, land will not be seen either on the right hand or on the left, if you keep straight onward in your course, until the land of Syria is seen; and if on the right side of the ship any land should chance to be seen, it is the territory of the pagans, while if land should be seen on the left side of the ship, it is the territory of the Christians. It is also as well to be known, that there are many islands belonging to the Saracens between the Straits of Africa and Marseilles, one of which is called Majore,⁷⁵ and another Eniuce,⁷⁶ both of which are tributary to the king of Arragon, the island of Majore paying him a yearly tribute of three hundred silken cloths of Almeria, while the island of Eniuce pays him a yearly tribute of two hundred silken cloths of like quality.

The Division of the Kingdoms on the sea-coast.

In the first place, it ought to be known that the whole land extending along the sea-shore from England to Spain, namely, Normandy, Brittany, and Poitou, belongs to the dominions of the king of England; and this extends as far as the port which is called Huartz,⁷⁷ which divides the territories of the count of Bayonne from those of the king of Navarre. The territories of the king of Navarre begin at the port of Huartz, and extend to the river which is called Castre, and which divides the territories of the king of Navarre from those of the king of Castille. The territories of the king of Castille begin from the river Castre, and extend as far as the mountains of Sora, which

⁷³ "Scinglaturæ ad bonum ventum:" qy. whether this word may not be a misprint for some such word as "schiplaturæ."

⁷⁵ Majorca.

⁷⁶ Probably Iviza.

⁷⁷ Qy. Ustaritz.

divide the territories of the king of Castille from those of the king of Saint Jago. The territories of the king of Saint Jago begin from the mountains of Sora and extend to the river Mina,⁷⁸ which divides the territories of the king of Saint Jago from those of the king of Portugal; while the territories of the king of Portugal begin at the river Mina, and extend beyond the city of Silva.

After you come to the city of Silva, the land of the pagans begins, along the sea-coast of Spain, and subject to the dominion of the emperor of Africa, which extends as far as the great mountain known by the name of Muncian. In Saracenic Spain there are four powerful kings: one of whom is called the king of Cordres, or Corduba,⁷⁹ respecting which Lucan says,⁸⁰ "Corduba was my birth-place, Nero caused my death; the wars I sang which the father^{80*} and the son-in-law rivals, did wage." A second is called the king of Gant;⁸¹ while the third is styled the king of Murcia, and the fourth is the king of Valentia, whose territories extend as far as the mountain called Muncian. This mountain divides the land of the Pagans from the land of the Christians, that is to say, from the territories of the king of Arragon; and the territories of the king of Arragon begin at this mountain called Muncian, and extend beyond the city of Nice.

At the city of Nice begin the territories of the emperor of the Romans, in which there is a fine city called Vintimiglia; from this the territory of the emperor extends along the sea-shore as far as Gaeta, in Apulia, the territory of the king of Sicily. This land is also called the principality of Capua. It also deserves to be mentioned that midway between Marseilles and Sicily there are two large islands; Sardena⁸² is the name of the larger one, while the other is called Corzege.⁸³ There are also many islands round Sicily, some of which are burning islands.⁸⁴ In this sea, in the neighbourhood of Sardena and Corzege, are fish, resembling cuttle-fish, which, coming forth from the sea, fly in the air, and when they have flown about the distance of a furlong⁸⁵ they descend again to the sea; there are also many falcons there flying after these fish, and pur-

⁷⁸ Minho.⁷⁹ Cordova.⁸⁰ "Corduba me genuit; rapuit Nero, prælia dixi,
Quæ gessere pares, hinc socer, inde gener."

The name of Lucan is omitted by an oversight in the note to p. vi of the Preface to Vol. I.

^{80*} Cæsar and Pompey.⁸¹ Probably Jaen.⁸³ Sardinia.⁸³ Corsica.⁸⁴ The Lipari islands.⁸⁵ A "stadium," in the text, which is rather more.

suing them, in order to feed upon them. A person who has seen this has borne witness to the same, and his testimony is true,⁸⁶ for he himself was sitting at table in a ship high out of the water, when one of these flying fish fell on the table before him. It is also worthy of remark that one of the islands in the vicinity of Sicily, which is larger than the rest, is called Mount Gebel,⁸⁷ and used to burn with such an intense heat that it dried up a great part of the sea in its vicinity and burned the fish; but it has now for some time ceased to burn, through the merits and prayers of Saint Agatha the Virgin and Martyr. For one day, when the fire was coming forth from the crater of Mount Gebel more furiously than usual, and had approached the city of Cattanna, where rests the holy body of Saint Agatha, a multitude of the pagans, flying to her sepulchre, carried her veil before them facing the fire; on which the flames returned to the sea, and, parching it, dried it up for nearly a mile, and scorched the fish, many of which were half burnt, and there are to this day many fish there of the same kind, which are called the fish of Saint Agatha. If any of these fish happen to be taken by a fisherman, they are immediately let go, out of respect to Saint Agatha, and to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is always wonderful and glorious in His saints.

Accordingly, Robert de Sabul, Richard de Camville, and William de Fortz de Oleron, passing with the fleet of Richard, king of England, between Africa and Spain, after many tempests which they suffered on the voyage, arrived at Marseilles on the octave of the Assumption of Saint Mary, being the fourth day of the week. Not finding their master the king there, they made a stay of eight days, for some necessary repairs to the fleet; after which they set out in pursuit of the king, and on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, being the sixth day of the week, arrived at Messina, in Sicily.

On the Lord's day following, Philip, king of France, arrived there, it being the sixteenth day before the calends of October; on which, Margarete, the admiral, Jordan de Pin, and the other governors of the city, received him with all due honor, and assigned him the palace of Tancred, king of Sicily, for his abode. Now when king Richard heard that his fleet had arrived at Messina, he left Salerno on the thirteenth

⁸⁶ He no doubt alludes to what we call flying-fish.

⁸⁷ He probably means Stromboli.

day of September; and, passing an archiepiscopal city called Amalfi, and another archiepiscopal city called Cosenza, arrived on the eighteenth day of September at a city and castle called Escala. Near this castle is a small island, where are said to have been the schools of Lucan, and there is still a fine chamber beneath the ground, in which Lucan used to study.

The night following the king slept in a village, the name of which is Lacerart, in the priorate of Monte Cassio. On the nineteenth day of September the king passed through the priorate which is called Saint Michael de Josaphat, to another priory of the same order, which is called Santa Maria de Fosses, where there is a castle called Saint Luke. On the twentieth day of September the king, passing by a castle which is called Lamante, came to a town called Saint Euphemia. On the twenty-first day of September the king came to Melida, and was there honorably received and entertained at the abbey of the Holy Trinity. Here there is a tower of wood close by the abbey, by means of which Robert Guiscard attacked and took the castle and town of Melida.

On the twenty-second day of September, the king of England, departing from Melida with a single knight, passed through a certain small town, and, after he had passed through, turned towards a certain house in which he heard a hawk, and, entering the house,⁸⁷ took hold of it. On his refusing to give it up, numbers of peasants came running from every quarter, and made an attack on him with sticks and stones. One of them then drew his knife against the king, upon which the latter giving him a blow with the flat of his sword, it snapped asunder, whereupon he pelted the others with stones, and with difficulty making his escape out of their hands, came to a priory called Le Baniare; but, making no stay there, he crossed the great river⁸⁸ which is called Le Faro de Meschines, and passed the night in a tent near a stone tower which lies at the entrance of the Faro, on the Sicilian side. At the entrance of the Faro, near Labinaria, lies that peril of the sea which is called Scylla, and at the outlet of the same river is another peril of the sea which is called Charybdis.

On the twenty-third day of September, Richard, king of England, arrived at Messina, in Sicily, with many busses and galleys, in such state and with such a noise of trumpets and clarions, that alarm seized those who were in the city. The king

⁸⁷ For a churl to keep a hawk was contrary to the rules of chivalry.

⁸⁸ He means the Straits of Messina.

of France and his people, and all the chief men of the city of Messina, together with the clergy and people, stood on the shore, admiring what they saw and heard respecting the king of England and his might. On his landing, he immediately held an interview with Philip, the king of France; after which conference, the king of France, on the same day, immediately, embarked on board of his ships, intending to proceed towards the land of Jerusalem; but after he had got out of harbour, on the same day, the wind shifted, and with sorrow and reluctance he returned to Messina.

The king of England, however, proceeded to the house of Reginald de Muhec, where a lodging was prepared for him, in the suburbs of the city, among the vineyards. On the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth days of September the king of England went to the lodging of the king of France, to hold a conference with him, and the king of France visited the king of England. In the meantime, Richard, king of England, sent his envoys to Tancred, king of Sicily, and delivered from his custody his sister, Joanna, the former queen of Sicily. On the twenty-eighth day of September the king of England went to meet his sister Joanna, who the same day arrived at Messina, from Palermo, with some gallies sent by king Tancred.

On the twenty-ninth day of September, that is to say, on the day of Saint Michael, the king of France went to the lodgings of the sister of the king of England, and saw her and offered her his congratulations. On the thirtieth day of September the king of England crossed the river del Faro, and took a place which is extremely well fortified, called Le Baniare, and on the first day of October brought his sister Joanna to that place, and, leaving her there with some knights and a considerable number of men-at-arms, returned to Messina. On the second day of October the king of England took possession of a monastery of the Griffons, a very well fortified place, lying in the middle of the river del Faro, between Messina and Calabria. Having expelled the monks and their servants, he placed in it the provisions which had come from England and his other territories, and garrisoned it with some knights and others.

When the citizens of Messina saw that the king of England had placed knights and men-at-arms with his sister in the castle of Le Baniare, and had taken possession of the monastery of the Griffons, they had suspicion of him, believing that he would seize the whole of the island, if he could: consequently they were disposed to be easily excited against him. Ac-

cordingly, on the third day of October, a disagreement arose between the army of the king of England and the citizens of Messina, and to such a pitch did the exasperation on both sides increase, that the citizens shut the gates of the city, and, putting on their arms, mounted the walls. On the king's troops perceiving this, they made a vigorous attack on the city gates; but our lord the king rode to and fro through the army on a steed of the greatest swiftness, beating back with a staff such of his men as he could reach, trying to restrain them from making the attack. However, he was unable so to do; and at last returned to his lodging, where, putting on his armour, he went out again to put an end to the affray if he possibly could. He then embarked in a boat and repaired to the palace of king Tancred, to consult with the king of France on the affair that had taken place. In the meantime, however, through the mediation of the elders of the city, the discord was allayed; and arms being laid down on both sides, each party returned home.

On the ninth day of October there came to the king of England, Richard, archbishop of Messina, William, archbishop of Montreal, William, archbishop of Risa, Margarite, the admiral, Jordan de Pin, and many others of the household of the king of Sicily, who brought with them Philip, king of France, Reginald, bishop of Chartres, Manasseh, bishop of Langres, Hugh, duke of Burgundy, Peter, count de Nevers, and Geoffrey, count de Perche, and, of the household of the king of England, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and Gerard, archbishop of Auxienne, together with many others, in whom they placed confidence, for the purpose of making peace between them and the king of England.

Now when the terms of peace had been for some time under consideration, and they had nearly come to a conclusion thereon, the citizens of Messina, collecting in great multitudes, proceeded to the mountains, and waited in readiness, treacherously to fall upon the king of England; while others made an attack on the lodging of Hugh Le Brun. On this, their shouts, which were far from subdued, came to the ears of the king of England, who immediately leaving the conference with the king of France and the other persons above-named, ordered all his men to put on their armour, and he, with a few followers, climbed a steep hill, which no one could have supposed he could possibly have done, and having, with

great difficulty, reached the top of the hill, there took to flight with all possible speed and re-entered the city, the king pursuing them with the edge of the sword.

On this, the knights and men-at-arms of the king of England bravely attacked the citizens at the gates and walls of the city, and, suffering many hard blows from stones, at one moment effected an entrance into the city gates, while at another they were driven out. Here there were slain five knights of the king of England's people, and twenty men-at-arms, while the king of France was looking on, and giving them no assistance, although they were of one brotherhood with him in the pilgrimage. As for the king of France, he and his people entered the city, and made their way through them in perfect safety.

However, the men of the king of England at last exercised their strength with such effect, that by main force they burst open the city gates and mounted the walls in all directions, and so having entered the city, they took possession thereof, and immediately hoisted the banners of the king of England on the fortifications around the walls. At this the king of France was greatly indignant, and demanded that the banners of the king of England should be lowered, and his own set up; this, however, the king of England would not permit, but still, that the wishes of the king of France might be satisfied, he lowered his own banners and gave the city into the charge of the knights Hospitallers, and the Templars, until everything should have been complied with that he demanded of Tancred king of Sicily.

Respecting the agreement made between Philip, king of France, and Richard, king of England, at Messina.

On the eighth day of October, the king of France and the king of England, before their earls and barons, and the clergy and people, made oath upon the relics of the Saints, that the one would defend the other in that pilgrimage, both in going and returning, with good faith, and the earls and barons swore that they would strictly and inviolably observe the same. After this, by the advice and consent of the whole of the army of the pilgrims, the said kings enacted that all pilgrims who should die on their journey on the said pilgrimage, might at their pleasure dispose of all their armour, horses, and apparel which they should

make use of, and of a moiety of their possessions which they might chance to have with them on the journey, at their own option, provided only they should send nothing back to their own country; while clerks might give such orders as to their chapels and all utensils belonging to such chapels, and all their books, as they should think fit. The other moiety was to be at the discretion of Walter, archbishop of Rouen, Manser, bishop of Langres, the Master of the house of the knights Templars, the Master of the Hospital, Hugh, duke of Burgundy, Raoul de Coucy, Drogo de Merlou, Robert de Sabul, Andrew de Chauvigny, and Gilbert de Wascuil; who were to employ the said money towards the relief of the land of Jerusalem, as they should think necessary. This also the kings in their own persons swore strictly and faithfully to observe throughout the whole expedition, on both sides of the sea, with regard to all the pilgrims of both kingdoms, both those who should come, as well as those who had come already. The archbishops and bishops promised on their word of truth to observe the same. The Masters of the Temple and the Hospital agreed that the same should be observed on behalf of their respective orders, while the earls and barons in their own persons swore that the same should be observed.

Further, no man in all the army was to play at any kind of game for money, with the exception of knights and the clergy, who, in one day and night, were not to lose more than twenty shillings; and if any knight or clerk should lose more than twenty shillings in any natural day, as often as such persons should exceed twenty shillings they were to pay one hundred shillings to the before-named archbishop, bishop, earls and barons, who were to add the before-mentioned sums of money to the said sums. The kings, however, were to play at their good pleasure; and in the lodgings of the two kings their men-at-arms might play as far as the sum of twenty shillings, with the permission of the kings. Also, in presence of archbishops, bishops, earls and barons, with their sanction men-at-arms might play as far as the sum of twenty shillings. But if any men-at-arms or mariners, or others of the lower orders, should be found playing of themselves, men-at-arms were to be whipped naked three days through the army, unless they should be prepared to ransom themselves at the arbitration of the persons before-named; and the same as to other servants of a like degree. But if mariners should so play, they were

to be plunged the first thing in the morning into the sea, on three successive days, after the usage of sailors, once each day, unless they should be able to ransom themselves at the arbitration of the persons before mentioned.

Further, if any pilgrim, while on his journey, should borrow anything of another person, he was to pay back what he had borrowed; but as to what he had borrowed before setting out, he was not to be bound to make repayment during the pilgrimage.

Further, if any mariner hired for wages, or any men-at-arms or any other person whatever, clerks and knights excepted, should leave his master while on the said pilgrimage, no one else was to receive him, unless the same should be done by the consent of his master. And if any one, against the will of his former master, should receive him, he was to be punished at the discretion of the persons before-mentioned. And if any person should rashly attempt anything in contravention of the statutes thus solemnly enacted, he was to know that he thereby rendered himself subject to the excommunication of the archbishops and bishops of the whole army; and all transgressors were to be punished as before mentioned, at the discretion of the parties before-named, according to the nature of each case.

It was also enacted by the said kings, that the merchant in each article of merchandize was to be the seller thereof, and that no one in the army was to be allowed to buy bread to sell the same again; nor yet flour, unless some stranger should have brought the same, and a person should have made bread thereof; nor yet fine corn, unless in like manner he should have made bread thereof, or should keep it by him to carry beyond sea. All dough was entirely forbidden to be purchased; and all these things were forbidden to be bought within a town and within a league from a town.

But if any person should buy fine corn, and make bread of the same, he was bound to make profit of but one farthing in the measure,⁸⁹ besides the bran.

As to other dealers, in whatever commodity they should deal, they were bound in every ten pence to make but one penny profit.

No person was to ring any money of our lord the king upon which the impression should be visible, unless it should be broken within the rim.

⁸⁹ The "salina," or "sayma," was a measure, the capacities of which are not known.

No person was to buy any dead flesh to sell the same again, nor yet any living beast, unless he should kill it within the camp.

No person was to sell his wine at too dear a rate after proclamation⁹⁰ once made.

No person was to make bread for sale except at one penny the loaf, and all dealers were to understand that bread-corn was alone to be used within a league of the town.

Of the money of England one penny was to be given in all dealings for four pence of money Anjouin.

It ought also to be known, that all the above enactments were made and ordained by the advice and consent of the king of France, the king of England, and the king of Sicily.

On the third day after the capture of the city of Messina, the chief men of that city and of the whole province gave hostages to the king of England as pledges that they would keep the peace towards him and his people, and freely deliver into his hand the city of Messina, unless Tancred, king of Sicily, their master, should publicly make peace with him, as to all the points on which he demanded satisfaction. For he had demanded of king Tancred Mount Saint Angelo, with the whole earldom and its other appurtenances, on behalf of his sister Joanna, which William, the former king of Sicily, her husband, had assigned her for her dower, as also a gilded chair for the said Joanna, according to the custom of the queens of that kingdom; and for his own use a gilded table twelve feet in length, and a foot and a half in breadth: also, a large tent of silk, of such size that two hundred knights might sit at table beneath it, and two gilded tressels to support the said gilded table, besides four-and-twenty cups, and as many dishes, of silver, and sixty thousand measures⁹¹ of corn, as many of barley, and as many of wine, and a hundred armed galleys, with all their equipments, and victuals for the galley-men for two years. All these things the king of England demanded for his own use, as being the heir of king Henry, for whom the above-named king of Sicily had provided all the things above mentioned, and had bequeathed the same to him on his last illness.

Tancred, king of Sicily, made answer to him to the following effect: "I gave to your sister Joanna ten hundred thousand pieces of money, arising from lands, in satisfaction of

⁹⁰ This "conclamatio" was probably a proclamation made for regulation of the prices.

⁹¹ Salonæ.

her dower, before she left me, and as to the rest of your demands, I will do whatever I shall feel myself bound to do, in conformity with the customs of this kingdom." Accordingly, by the advice of prudent counsellors, the king of Sicily gave to the king of England twenty thousand ounces of gold, in satisfaction of the dower of his sister, and another twenty thousand ounces of gold, by way of compromise for all the other particulars before mentioned, which he had demanded of right as the bequest of William, king of Sicily, deceased, and agreed that a marriage should be had between Arthur, duke of Brittany, his nephew, and a daughter of king Tancred. These concessions being made on either side, Richard, king of England, wrote to Tancred, king of Sicily, to the following effect:—

The treaty of peace made between Richard, king of England, and Tancred, king of Sicily.

“To Tancred, by the grace of God the illustrious king of Sicily, and of the dukedom of Apulia and the principality of Capua, Richard, by the same grace, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, health in Him who bestows health upon kings. Whereas, while on our pilgrimage, the Lord inspiring us thereto, we were passing through your lands for the purpose of aiding the land of Jerusalem, which, its sins so demanding, the incursions of the pagans have in a great measure overrun, and the sword of the enemies of Christ laid waste, we were compelled to make some stay at your city of Messina, the inclemency of the winds, and of the sea, and of the season, preventing us from setting sail, on which, a dissension chancing to arise between our people and the citizens of the said city, great loss resulted to both parties both in property and men: in consequence whereof, it seemed probable to many that our brotherly love and affection might receive some check: we have therefore taken due care to observe the purpose and intention of our pilgrimage, and have resolved that both by ourselves, and by our dearly-beloved and faithful friends, as also by your venerable archbishops, to wit, Richard, archbishop of Messina, William, archbishop of Montreal, William, archbishop of Risa, and Richard, son of the venerable man Walter, your chancellor, and other excellent men delegated on your behalf, the bonds of inviolate peace should be drawn still closer between

us; the tenor of which should be preserved to last to future ages by being reduced to writing. Therefore, we have promised to you, and to your realm, and to all lands under your dominion, that we will, both by land and sea, both of ourselves and of our people, observe a lasting peace, all questions whatsoever being set at rest, which, by our envoys to you, we had raised, both as to the dower of the queen, our sister, as also other matters; this, also, being added thereto, that, so long as we shall stay in your kingdom, we will be everywhere in readiness for the defence of your territories, and give you our assistance, whoever may wish to invade the same, or wage war against you. To the tenor and form of this treaty of peace, which it is our wish and our purpose, with unbroken faith, to observe towards you and your people, we have, by Walter, archbishop of Rouen, Gerard, archbishop of Auxienne, John, bishop of Evreux, Bernard, bishop of Bayonne, Jordan de Humez, our constable, William de Courcy, Richard de Camville, Gerard Talbot, Robert de Sabul, Guido de Croum, Guarine Fitzgerald, Bertram de Verdun, William Chamberlain de Tankerville, Robert de Newburgh, Hugh Bardolph, Wigain de Cherbourg, Gilbert de Wascuill, Hugh le Bruin, John de Piller, Amauri de Montfort, Andrew de Chauvigny, William de Forts de Oleron, Geoffrey de Rancune, Amauri Torel, and many others of our household, made oath, upon our soul, in presence of the before-named archbishops appointed by you for the said purpose, and others of your illustrious men, to confirm and ratify the same, according to the tenor of the articles therein contained. And further, to the end that this peace and brotherly love may be knit together by bonds as multiplied as stringent, the before-named principal men of your court treating thereon on your behalf, and the Lord so disposing, we have agreed that a marriage shall be contracted, in the name of Christ, between Arthur, the excellent duke of Brittany, our nephew, and, if we shall chance to die without issue, our heir, and your daughter; so that when she shall, by the will of God, have arrived at marriageable years, and you shall have sent her to such place as shall have been agreed upon by either side, our said nephew shall, within fifteen days from the time of his meeting her, be espoused to her as his lawful wife; or if it shall please your highness that she shall be married before she arrives at marriageable years, our said nephew shall so do according to your pleasure therein, if the Supreme Pontiff shall grant a

dispensation for the same. And as it is our wish that such a dower shall be assigned to her as shall befit an illustrious lady and the daughter of a mighty king, we do engage, on behalf of our said nephew, that such a dower shall be provided for her out of the dukedom of our said nephew, and the same we have caused to be sworn at the present time by our faithful servants before named, and do engage that the same shall be given by our said nephew; and we admit that we have received for the use of our nephew, from your mightiness, a sum for the said marriage, that is to say, twenty thousand ounces of gold; this also being a part of the agreement, that if, which may heaven prevent, either shall die in the meantime, or if, through the fault of our nephew, or of ourselves, or of his people, the said marriage shall not take place, then, in such case, we or our heirs will, without any demur thereto, repay to you or to your heirs the above-mentioned sum of money in full. Moreover, as to the said matters, that is to say, the treaty of peace which we have ratified and confirmed with you, and as to repayment of the said sums of money, in case from the before-named causes intervening the said marriage shall not take place, we do give our lord the pope and the Church of Rome as our sureties; to the end that if, which may God forbid, the said peace should chance to be violated on our part, the Church of Rome shall have power, by stringent measures, to coerce both ourselves and our territories. In like manner, also, he shall have full power to compel ourselves and our nephew to contract the said marriage, or in case, by reason of the causes before-mentioned, the said marriage should not take place, to compel us, or our heirs, or territories, to repay the said sum of money. That this, also, we will do, the Roman church being our surety, we have bound ourselves by the oaths of the persons above named, according to the tenor of the words contained in the instrument which we have sent to you, sealed with our seal. Moreover, if, in case of our dying without heirs [our issue], he shall succeed to our throne by hereditary right, then we do assign to her from our kingdom the following dower, that is to say, the ancient and customary dower of the queens of England."

The form of the treaty made upon oath between Richard, king of England, and Tancred, king of Sicily.

"I, N., do swear upon these Holy Gospels of God, that my lord Richard, king of England, shall from this hour forward

preserve with the lord Tancred, king of Sicily the dukedom of Apulia and the principality of Capua, and his realm, and all the lands under his dominion, lasting peace, both himself and his, by land and by sea; and that, so long as my said lord shall be in the kingdom of king Tancred, he shall give him his assistance in defending his territories wheresoever he shall happen to be in the territories of the lord Tancred, king of Sicily, and what person soever may attempt to invade, or make war, against the same; and that my lord shall, with his own hand, swear to observe this same treaty of peace, if the lord, king Tancred, shall, in like manner, with his hand, swear to observe the said treaty of peace. And if, at any time, which may heaven prevent, my lord shall attempt to break the said peace, I will place myself in the custody of the said lord, the king Tancred, wheresoever he shall think fit; and all these things my lord Richard, king of England, and I myself, will observe in good faith, and without fraud and evil intent; so help us God, and these Holy Gospels of God, and the relics of the Saints. Amen."

It is also worthy to be remarked, that the archbishops, bishops, and other subjects of king Tancred swore to the same effect, upon his soul, that he and his people would keep the peace towards Richard, king of England, and his people, by sea and by land, so long as they should be in his territories; and if the said Tancred, king of Sicily, and his people, should not keep the peace, then the said archbishops, and others, who had taken that oath on behalf of king Tancred, would place themselves in the custody of the king of England wheresoever he should think fit. It is also to be observed, that king Tancred gave to Richard, king of England, another twenty thousand ounces of gold in satisfaction of all questions which he had raised, both as to the dower of his sister, the queen, as also concerning all his other demands; and, to the end that king Tancred might be made more secure as to all the covenants above mentioned, Richard, king of England, wrote to the Supreme Pontiff to the following effect:—

The Letter of Richard, king of England, to pope Clement, relative to the peace made between him and king Tancred.

"To his most reverend lord and most holy father Clement, by the grace of God, Supreme Pontiff of the Holy Apostolic See, Richard, by the same grace, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, health and

sincere dutifulness in the Lord. The actions of princes are blessed with more prosperous results when they receive strength and favour from the Apostolic See, and are directed by communication with the Church of Rome. Wherefore, we have deemed it proper to transmit to the knowledge of your Holiness the matters which have been lately arranged between ourselves and the lord Tancred, the illustrious king of Sicily, by public treaty, which indeed was suggested by necessity. We have then established with him brotherly love and lasting concord, and the same, by the oaths of our nobles, archbishops, bishops, and very many illustrious men, we have promised that we will with inviolate fidelity observe towards him and his people, and all the territories of his dominions. And for the further purpose of binding this treaty of peace and friendship with a still more stringent tie, we have thought proper to make a contract of marriage between Arthur, the excellent duke of Brittany, our most dearly-beloved nephew, and heir, if we shall chance to die without issue, and, with the will of God, his illustrious daughter; and, by the bounty of the Lord, the same shall be brought to a due consummation when the illustrious damsel shall have arrived at marriagable years, or when it shall have pleased the said lord, the king Tancred, for her, before she has arrived at marriageable years, to be given in marriage to our nephew, if the Holy Church of Rome shall, in like manner, think fit to grant a dispensation for the same. And, further, the sum of money which for the said marriage we have received for the use of our nephew from the said lord, the king Tancred, namely, twenty thousand ounces of gold, in case, which heaven forbid, by reason of the death of either, or through the fault of ourselves, or of our nephew, or of his people, the said marriage shall not take place, we, or our heirs, are bound on our part by oaths made to that effect to repay in full to the lord the king Tancred, or his heirs. To the end, therefore, that the terms of the said treaty of peace so concluded, and full acquiescence in the marriage thus contemplated, may, with all due integrity, be secured on the part of ourselves and our nephew, in such manner as we have upon oath promised to the lord the king Tancred, we do earnestly entreat your Holiness, and the Holy Church of Rome, that the Holy See will undertake to be surety on our behalf towards the lord the king Tancred and his heirs, for our constant observance of the peace thus established between us, and for the

due fulfilment of the said contract of marriage; or, in case, from the reasons before mentioned, the said marriage should not take place, for the repayment of the said sum of money. And that, with due confidence the Church of Rome may undertake conjointly with you to share the burden of the said surety, we do upon the testimony of these present letters grant to yourselves, and to the Holy Church of Rome, free power with all stringency to coerce ourselves and our heirs and territory, if either we shall contravene the terms of the said treaty of peace, or if, the marriage, from the causes before mentioned, not taking place, we, or our heirs, shall refuse repayment of the said sum of money. Your Holiness well knows how to show due regard to the honor of us both; and that, if through the mediation of the Church of Rome, the advantages of peace and of the intended marriage shall be duly served, numerous benefits will at a future day ensue therefrom. Witness ourselves, on this eleventh day of November, at Messina."

However, before this treaty of peace was fully concluded and ratified between the king of England and the king of Sicily, Margarite, the admiral, and Jordan de Pini, members of the household of the king of Sicily, to whom he had given charge of the city of Messina, left it by night, taking with them their families and the substance which they possessed in gold and silver. The king of England, however, on their departure, seized their houses, and galleys, and other possessions, into his own hands.

After this, the king of England caused a wide and deep trench to be cut through the middle of the island on which is the monastery of the Griffons, in the middle of the river del Faro, where his treasures and provisions were stored: which trench ran right across the width of the whole island, from one shore to the other, and terminated in Charybdis.

It is worthy of remark, that in this river, called the Faro di Messina, are those two most noted perils of the sea, Scylla and Charybdis, the one of which, namely, Scylla, is at the entrance of the Faro, near the priory of Le Baniare, and the other, namely, Charybdis, is near the outlet of the Faro; for the purpose of knowing which, a tower of stone was erected in the above-named island near the trench made by the king of England. It is also to be observed, that Scylla is always vomiting forth and casting its waves on high, and consequently it is necessary that those who pass should keep themselves at a

considerable distance, for fear lest they should be overwhelmed by the fury of the tide. On the other hand, Charybdis is unceasingly drawing towards it and sucking in the waves; wherefore, those who pass by, ought to take care that they are not sucked in by it. Still, some incautious persons, while trying to avoid Scylla, fall into Charybdis.

The king of England, while the final completion of the treaty of peace between him and king Tancred was being delayed, built a strong castle for himself on the brow of a lofty hill outside of the walls of the city of Messina, which they called Mate Griffon. The Griffons, before the arrival of the king of England, were more powerful than any of the inhabitants of those parts, and held in extreme hatred all the people who lived beyond the mountains, so much so, that they thought but very little of killing them, and there was no one to help them. But from the time that the king of England came there, their mischievous exploits were brought to a termination, and, their power being crushed, they became more contemptible than any other of the inhabitants of that land; for, hoping that they could do to the king of England as they had been able to do to others in days of yore, they fell into the pit which they themselves had dug, and became outcasts in the land.

On the other hand, the English nation was held in the highest esteem in the kingdom of Sicily. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy which was found inscribed in ancient characters on tables of stone near a vill of the king of England, the name of which is Here; which Henry, king of England, gave to William Fitz-Stephen, and where the said William built a new house, on a pinnacle of which was placed the figure of a stag; which is supposed to have been done in order that the prophecy might be fulfilled, which said—

⁹² *Whan thu seches in Here hert preret ;
 Than sulen Engles in thre be ydeted.
 That han sal into Orland altolate waie,
 That other into Puille mid prude be seue,
 The thridde into Airhahen herd alle Wreke ydrechegen.*

After this, the king of England, in his love for God and for

⁹² Verbatim as in the original. These lines are evidently corrupt. They seem to refer to the erection of the figure of the hart, the expedition to Ireland, and the feats of king Richard in Apulia and Sicily. The release of the right to wreck is perhaps alluded to in the last.

the salvation of his soul, abandoned all claims whatsoever on his part for ever to wreck throughout the whole of his territories, and enacted that every shipwrecked person who should reach shore alive should freely and quietly have all his property. And if a person should die on board ship, then his sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters, were to have his property, according to the degree in which they should be able to prove themselves his nearest heirs. But if the person so dying should have neither sons nor daughters, nor brothers nor sisters, then the king was to have his chattels. This release of right to wreck, Richard, king of England, made and confirmed by his charter in the second year of his reign, at Messina, in the month of October, in the presence of Walter, archbishop of Rouen, Gerard, archbishop of Auxienne, John, bishop of Evreux, Bernard, bishop of Bayonne, and many others of the clergy and laity of the household of the king of England, and the charter was delivered by the hand of Master Roger Malchien, the king's vice-chancellor.

In the same year, more than a hundred thousand pagans who were in the kingdom of Sicily, and servants of king William, after his death indignantly refused to serve under king Tancred, both because Henry, king of the Germans, had laid claim to the throne of Sicily, as also because Richard, king of England, entering the kingdom of Sicily, had taken possession of a great part thereof. They consequently retired to the mountainous parts with their wives, sons, daughters, and cattle, and there lived, attacking the Christians, and doing them considerable injury.

However, when they heard that a treaty of peace and a final reconciliation had been made between the king of England and king Tancred, they returned into the service of king Tancred, and after giving him hostages as sureties that they would keep the peace, came back to their homes, and cultivated the land as they had cultivated it in the time of king William, and so became the servants of king Tancred.

In the same year, after his father, Frederic, emperor of the Romans, had lost his life by drowning, Conrad, duke of Suabia, was made king of the Germans and Alemanni, and the other nations subject to his father, and repaired to the siege of Acre with a great army; immediately on which a great famine arose among those besieging Acre, and increased to such a degree, that a loaf of bread which used to be sold before

their arrival for one penny, was soon after sold at the price of sixty⁹³ shillings. Upon this, great numbers of the army died of famine, as one horse-load of corn was being sold for sixty-four marks, English money; and in consequence, the principal men present at the siege were obliged to feed on horse-flesh, eating it as a delicacy.

Now when the famine had increased to an extraordinary degree of severity, the clamour of the people reached Hubert Fitz-Walter, bishop of Rouen,⁹⁴ and the other bishops in the expedition, on which they made a collection of money to relieve the necessities of the poor, and the Lord gave such increase to the sums so collected, that they sufficed for the sustenance of all who were in want, until such time as God, the giver of all good things, looking from on high, sent them an abundance of corn, wine, and oil; for the third day after the collection was distributed among the poor, there came to Acre ships laden with corn, wine, and oil, and made so plentiful a market, and on such moderate terms, that a measure of wheat which before was sold for two hundred besants, was shortly after to be had for six.

In the same year, on the day of Saint James the Apostle, ten thousand youths of prowess and well armed, came forth from among the troops besieging the city of Acre, in spite of the prohibition of the king, the Patriarch, and the leader of the army, with the intention of engaging with Saladin and his army; but Saladin, on seeing them, retreated with his army, leaving behind his tents and provisions. On this, the young men entered the tents of the pagans, and ate and drank of what they found therein; after which they carried away with them whatever they could find of value, and loaded themselves therewith; but, when they were returning towards the force besieging Acre, Saladin and his army fell upon them and put them to the edge of the sword, and they were nearly all slain by the pagans; a few of them, however, leaving their loads behind, escaped by the aid of Ralph de Hautereve, arch-deacon of Colchester.

In the same year, Sibylla, queen of Jerusalem, wife of Guido of Lusignan, and his two daughters, departed this life at the siege of Acre; upon whose death, Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, lord of Tyre, seeing that there was no nearer heir to the throne of Jerusalem than Milicent, the wife of Amfrid

⁹³ Another reading says "forty."

⁹⁴ Clearly a mistake for "Salisbury."

de Tours, sister of the said Sibylla, held a conference with the Patriarch Heraclius before mentioned, and the mother of the lady before named, and all the chief men of the army of the Christians, and demanded that the sister of the deceased queen should be given him to wife, promising that for the future he would faithfully and zealously promote the interests of the army of the Christians, and would from that time forward hold no communication whatever with Saladin. On this, the mother of the lady, the Patriarch, and a considerable number of the chief men of the army, yielded assent to his requests, and, effecting a divorce between the said lady and Amfrid de Tours, her husband, gave her in marriage to Conrad; who immediately laid claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem against Guido, in right of his wife; upon which Guido offered to abide by the lawful decision of the court of the kings of France and England, who were shortly about to arrive; but Conrad, being unwilling to wait so long a time, usurped all power in the kingdom, and banished king Guido.

In the same year, while Philip, king of the Franks, and Richard, king of the English, were staying at Messina, in Sicily, in the month of December, on the fourteenth day before the calends of January, being the fourth day of the week, loud thunder was heard at Messina, and many and terrible flashes of lightning were seen; a thunderbolt also fell in one of the galleys of the king of England and sank it, striking the walls of the city of Messina, of which it levelled a great part. The knights also and men-at-arms of the king of England, who were keeping guard in the monastery of the Griffons, in which were the treasures of the king of England, asserted as a truth that they saw a ball of fire on a pinnacle of that monastery, not burning but sending forth a light, which remained there as long as the tempest raged, and after that ceased the ball of fire disappeared. On their expressing surprise at this, and making careful enquiries what it could possibly mean, the Griffons there serving God made answer with one accord, that this always happened whenever a storm arose.

The king of England in the meantime, while he was staying at Messina, caused all the ships of his fleet to be hauled ashore and repaired, as many of them had become damaged in consequence of being eaten away by worms. For in the river Del Faro there are certain thin worms, which in the language of the people are called "Beom," whose food is every kind

of wood. Whenever these have once adhered to any kind of wood, they never leave go thereof, except through main force, until they have pierced right through; they make narrow straight holes when they have effected an entrance, and then from gnawing away the wood they become so increased in size and bulk, that in coming forth they make wider holes. In the mean time, Richard, king of England, caused stone engines and other engines of war to be prepared, for the purpose of taking the same to the land of Jerusalem.

In the same year, William, bishop of Ely, legate of the Apostolic See, chancellor of our lord the king and justiciary of all England, oppressed the people entrusted to his charge with heavy exactions. For in the first place he despised all his fellows whom the king had associated with him in the government of his kingdom, and disregarded their advice. Indeed, he considered no one of his associates in the kingdom his equal, not even John, earl of Mortaigne, the king's brother. Accordingly, he laid claim to the castles, estates, abbeys, churches, and all the rights of the king as his own. On the authority also of his legateship, he came to take up his lodging at bishoprics, abbeys, and priories, and other houses of the religious orders, with such a vast array of men, horses, hounds, and hawks, that a house where he took up his abode for only a single night, was hardly able within the three following years to recover its former state. From the clerks and laity he also took away their churches, farms, lands, and other possessions, which he either divided among his nephews, clerks, and servants, or else, to the loss of the owners, retained possession of them himself, or squandered them away to supply his extraordinary expenses.

Did not this wretched man consider that he should one day have to die? Did he not think that the Lord would demand of each an account of his stewardship, or honorable conduct in his government? But well is it said as to such men as this: "Nothing is more unendurable than a man of low station when he is exalted on high. On every side he strikes, while on every side he fears; against all does he rage, that they may have an idea of his power; nor is there any beast more foul than the rage of a slave let loose against the backs of the free."⁹⁴

⁹⁴ "Asperius humili nihil est cum surgit in altum,
Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet, desævit in omnes,
Ut seposse putent; nec bellua tetrior ulla,
Quam servi rabies in libera terga furentis."

In the same year, on the third day after the feast of Saint Michael, about four thousand armed Saracens came forth from the city of Acre, and burned four of the stockades with Greek fire; but they were manfully repulsed by the soldiers of the army, and lost twenty Turks who were slain, and many wounded. After this, at the feast of Saint Martin, the Saracens again sallied forth from the city of Acre, and made an attack upon the Christians, who manfully withstood them. Baldwin de Carun, Walter de Oyri, and Baldwin de Dargus, valiantly withstood their attack, until count Henry and Geoffrey de Lusignan had come up with the Templars, and compelled the pagans to give way with such a mighty charge, that they lost in their flight forty Turks who were slain, and many wounded.

After this, between the feast of Saint Andrew and the Nativity of our Lord, the whole army of the Christians was in arms, for the purpose of making an assault upon the city of Acre, and the Germans and English drew their scaling-ladders to the trenches, that they might place them against the walls; on which the pagans went out of the city by the postern gates, and took their scaling-ladders from the Germans, and drove the English away from the trenches, and then fastened ropes to the scaling-ladder of the English, with the intention of drawing it into the city; but Ralph de Tilly, Humphrey de Veilly, Robert de Lanlande, and Roger de Glanville, mounted the scaling-ladder of the English, and four times extinguished the Greek fire that was thrown down; and Ralph de Tilly coming nearer than the others, cut asunder the ropes with his sword, and so rescued the scaling-ladder from the hands of the pagans. Shortly after, between the feast of Saint Andrew and the Nativity of our Lord, the famine already mentioned began in the army of the Christians, and continued until the Purification of Saint Mary.

In the same year, Henry, king of the Germans, on hearing of the death of Frederic, emperor of the Romans, his father, restored to Henry, duke of Saxony, all that his father had taken from him, and, by way of addition thereto, gave him ten most excellent castles. He also did the like to all others from whom his father had taken anything away, restoring to each person what was his own. All his subjects therefore being now reconciled to him, he sent his envoys to pope Clement, and the cardinals and senators of the city, demanding

the Roman empire, and promising that he would in all things maintain the laws and dignities of the Romans unhurt. On this, pope Clement, having with due deliberation held council with the cardinals and senators and Roman people, respecting the demand of the king of the Germans, granted the king what he asked for, saving always the dignities and customs of the Romans, and appointed for him as the time for coming to Rome the following Easter; but before he arrived there, pope Clement died.

In the same year, David, brother of William, king of Scotland, took to wife Matilda, sister of Ranulph, earl of Chester. In this year also, a dispute again happened between Geoffrey, archbishop elect of York, and Bucard, the treasurer of the same church, in consequence of which the archbishop elect excommunicated the before mentioned Bucard, who went to pope Clement, and was deemed worthy by him to be absolved therefrom; while with the Supreme Pontiff he threw such difficulties in the way of the business of the archbishop elect of York, that the Supreme Pontiff would neither confirm his election nor allow him to be consecrated. In addition to this, the Supreme Pontiff conferred on Hugh, bishop of Durham, the privilege of not making any profession or submission throughout his life to Hugh, the archbishop elect of York, not even though he should be consecrated to the archbishopric; on the ground that the said bishop of Durham had once already made profession to the church of York, and to Saint William, at that time archbishop of York, and his Catholic successors.

In the same year, Richard, king of England, the Divine grace inspiring him thereto, being sensible of the filthiness of his life, after due contrition of heart, having called together all the archbishops and bishops who were with him at Messina, in the chapel of Reginald de Moyac, fell naked at their feet, and did not hesitate to confess to God, in their presence, the filthiness of his life. For the thorns of lustfulness had departed from his head, and it was not the hand of man who rooted them out, but God, the Father of Mercies, who wisheth not for the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live, looked upon him with the eyes of mercy and gave him a heart to repent, and called him to repentance, for he received the penance imposed by the bishops before named, and from that hour forward became a man who feared God, and left

what was evil and did what was good. O happy the man who so falls as to rise with greater strength still! O happy the man who after repentance does not relapse into faultiness and a course of ruin!

In the same year, Richard, king of England, hearing, by common report and the relation of many persons, that there was a certain religious man in Calabria, of the Cistercian order, called Joachim, abbat of Curazzo, who had a spirit of prophecy and foretold to the people things to come, sent for him and willingly listened to the words of his prophecy, and his wisdom and learning. For he was a man learned in the Holy Scriptures, and interpreted the visions of Saint John the Evangelist, which Saint John has related in the Book of Revelation, which he wrote with his own hands; in hearing which, the king of England and his people took great delight.

The following was one of the visions of Saint John the Evangelist: "The kings are seven in number; five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come."⁹⁵ And elsewhere in the Revelation there is another vision of the same Evangelist. "A woman clothed with the sun,⁹⁶ and the moon beneath her feet;" which signifies the Holy Church, the sun of justice. Also, "the woman was clothed with the sun, and the moon was under her feet, and upon her head was a crown of twelve stars, and, being with child, she was in pain to be delivered; and, behold! a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his head: and his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth; and he stood before the woman who was about to be delivered, to devour her child as soon as it was born. And the woman brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron, and her child was caught up unto the Lord, and to His throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness of Egypt, where she had a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days."⁹⁷

Now of this vision the following is the interpretation, according to Joachim, abbat of Curazzo. "The woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet," signifies the Holy Church, the sun of justice, who is Christ our God, shadowed forth and typified under that name; under his feet is the world, always to be trodden under foot with its vices and lusts. And "upon her head was a crown of twelve stars." Now

⁹⁵ Rev. xvii. 10.⁹⁶ Rev. xii. 1.⁹⁷ Rev. xii. 1, 6.

the head of the Church is Christ, His crown is the Catholic faith which the twelve Apostles have preached. "The woman was in pain to be delivered." So the Holy Church, which ever rejoices in new offspring, suffers pain from day to day, to the end that she may gain souls for God, which the devil attempts to snatch away and to drag with himself down to hell. "And behold! a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns." Now this dragon signifies the devil, who is properly said to have seven heads. For all the heads of the devil are replete with iniquity, and he uses the figure 7 as something finite for what is infinite; for the heads of the devil are infinite in number; that is to say, those who are persecutors of the Church, and the wicked. Of these, although they are infinite in number, the said Joachim, in his explanation, made mention of seven principal persons who were persecutors of the Church, whose names were as follow: Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahomet, Melsermut, Saladin, and Antichrist.

"Saint John also says in the Book of Revelation, 'There are seven kings; five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come:' which the said Joachim thus explained. The seven kings are Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahomet, Melsermut, Saladin, and Antichrist. Of these, five have perished; namely, Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahomet, and Melsermut; one is, namely, Saladin, who is now oppressing the Church of God; and, together with it, the Sepulchre of our Lord, and the Holy City of Jerusalem and the land on which stood the feet of our Lord are kept in his possession; but he shall shortly lose the same. On this, the king of England asked the question, "When shall this take place?" To which Joachim made answer, "When seven years shall have elapsed from the day of the capture of Jerusalem." Upon which, the king of England remarked, "Why, then, have we come so much too soon?" When Joachim made answer, "Your arrival is very necessary, inasmuch as the Lord will give you the victory over His enemies, and will exalt your name beyond all the princes of the earth."

"The words then follow, "One of them is not yet come," which is Antichrist. Now as to this Antichrist, Joachim said, "He is already born in the city of Rome, and will be elevated to the Apostolic See; and it is respecting this Antichrist that the Apostle says, 'He is exalted, and strives against every

thing that is called of God.' And then shall the wicked one be revealed whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of His mouth, and shall destroy by the dazzling brightness of his approach." On this, the king turned to him and said, "I thought that Antichrist was to be born in Antioch, or at Babylon, of the descendants of Dan, and was to reign in the Temple of the Lord at Jerusalem, and was to walk in that land in which Christ walked, and was to reign therein three years and a half, and was to dispute against Elias and Enoch, and was to slay them, and was afterwards to die, and after his death the Lord was to give sixty days for repentance, during which those persons might repent who had wandered away from the paths of truthfulness, and had been seduced by the preaching of Antichrist and his false prophets."

"It then proceeds, "And there are ten horns." Now the ten horns of the devil are heresies and schisms, which heretics and schismatics oppose to the ten precepts of the law and the commandments of God. "And upon his head were seven crowns." By the crowns are signified the kings and princes of this world, who are to believe in Antichrist. "And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven." This refers to the great number of persons who shall believe in him. "And did cast them to the earth." By the name of stars he calls the lower orders of men who are to believe in Antichrist; and he mentions the third part of the stars of heaven by reason of the great multitude of men who shall believe on him. "And he did cast them to the earth;" that is to say, he sent all those to the bottomless pit who had perished in believing on him. "And he stood before the woman, who was about to be delivered, to devour her child as soon as it was born." The devil ever lies in wait for the Church, that he may carry off her offspring, and, after so carrying it off, devour it. He is well said "to stand;" inasmuch as he never turns aside for evil, but always stands steadfast in wickedness and inflexible in the crafty wiles of his deceit. Or, according to another interpretation, his tail will signify the end of this world; at which time certain wicked nations shall arise, which shall be called Gog and Magog, and shall destroy the Church of God, overthrow the Christian race, and then forthwith shall come the day of judgment.

"But in the days of this Antichrist there shall be many Christians who shall live in the caverns of the earth, and in the

solitary places of the rocks, and shall preserve the Christian faith in the fear of the Lord, until the consummation of Antichrist; and this is meant where it is said: "The woman fled into the wilderness of Egypt, where she had a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there, a thousand two hundred and sixty days; and her man child shall rule all nations with a rod of iron." This is especially our Lord Jesus Christ, who after His Passion and Resurrection, has ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and shall come to judge the living and the dead, and the world by fire; of whom, if we are followers, and shall continue to obey His commands, we shall be caught up into the air to meet him, and shall always be with him."

But although the said abbat of Curazzo gave these opinions in relation to Antichrist, still Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and the archbishop of Apamia, Gerard, archbishop of Auxienne, John, bishop of Evreux, Bernard, bishop of Bayeux, and other ecclesiastical men of great learning in the Holy Scriptures, endeavoured to prove the contrary; and although they brought forward many arguments on both sides, with strong indications of truthfulness, the dispute is still undecided. For the ancients, when making mention of Antichrist in their writings, have written to the following effect:

"Those persons who wish to know something about Antichrist, ought first to mark why he has been so called. The reason is, because he will be the opposite of Christ in all things, and will do what is contrary to Christ. Christ came in humility, he will come in pride. Christ came to raise the humble and to justify sinners; on the other hand, Antichrist will cast down the humble, and will magnify sinners, will exalt the unrighteous, and will always teach those vices which are opposed to virtues, will destroy the law of the Gospel, will recall to the world the worship of devils, will seek his own glory, and will call himself "the Almighty God." This Antichrist will therefore have many to serve him in his wickedness, of whom many have already preceded him in the world; such as Antiochus, Nero, and Domitian; in our times too we know of many Antichrists. Whatever person, whether layman, whether monk, or whether canon, lives contrary to the laws of righteousness, and impugns the rules of his order, and blasphemes that which is good, he is Antichrist and a minister of Satan. But now as to the origin of Antichrist." What

I am saying, I am not coining out of my own imagination, or inventing; for in reading over books with care, I find all these things there written.

According to what our authors say, Antichrist shall be born after the example of the Jews, namely, of the tribe of Dan, according to the prophecy that says: "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path;"⁹⁸ for like a serpent shall he lie in the way, and be in the path, that he may smite those who walk in the path of justice, and may slay them with the venom of his malice. He shall also be born from the intercourse of a father and mother, just like other men, and not, as some say, of a virgin alone. But still, in sin shall he be wholly conceived; in sin shall he be begotten, and in sin shall he be born. At the very moment of his conception, the devil shall at the same time enter the womb of his mother; and by means of the Devil will he be cherished and protected in the womb of his mother, and the power of the Devil will always be with her. And just as the Holy Ghost came upon the Mother of our Lord, and overshadowed her by his efficacy, and filled her with his divine power that so she might conceive by the Holy Ghost, and that what should be born might be sacred and holy; so also the Devil shall descend upon the mother of Antichrist, and shall fill her entirely, surround her entirely, hold her entirely, possess her entirely, within and without, to the end that, the devil working through man, she may conceive; and what shall be born shall be entirely noxious, entirely evil, entirely wicked.

In consequence hereof, this man is also called "the son of perdition;" because, so far as he possibly can, he shall bring mankind to perdition, and last of all he himself shall come to perdition. Behold! now you have heard how he shall be born, hear also the place where he shall be born. For, as our Lord and Redeemer in His foresight provided Bethlehem as the place where He should deign to assume humanity in our behalves, and be born, so the Devil knows of a fitting place for that wicked man who is called Antichrist, from which the root of all evils may take its rise, that is to say, the city of Babylon. For in this city, which was formerly a renowned and glorious city of the Gentiles, and the capital of the kingdom of Persia, Antichrist will be born, and it is said that he will be nourished and brought up in the cities of Bethsaida and Chorazin; to

⁹⁸ Gen. xlix. 17.

which cities our Lord speaks in terms of censure, saying: "Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! woe unto thee, Chorazin!"

Antichrist will also have magicians, sorcerers, diviners and enchanters, who, the Devil so inspiring them, will nurture him and educate him in all iniquities and falsehood, and in the foul art, and evil spirits shall be his guides, associates, and sole companions. Then shall they come to Jerusalem, and all Christians whom he shall not be enabled to convert to his own ways, he will slay with various torments, and will prepare to make his abode in the holy Temple. The Temple also which was destroyed, and which Solomon dedicated to God, he shall restore to its former state, and shall circumcise himself, and shall lyngly assert that he is the son of Almighty God. Kings and princes also will he first make converts of, and then through them, of other persons; while he will travel over the places where our Lord Christ walked, and will first lay waste what the Lord so rendered glorious. Then, throughout the whole world will he send forth his messengers and his preachers. And his preaching and power shall extend from sea to sea, from east to west, from north to south. Many signs therefore will he give, great and unheard-of miracles; he will cause fire to come in a dreadful manner from heaven, trees to blossom in a moment and then to wither away, the sea to be aroused and suddenly to be tranquillized, the natural forms of things to be changed into various shapes; the courses and tides of rivers to be changed, the air to be agitated with winds and commotions, besides innumerable other things of wondrous nature. The dead shall even be raised in the sight of men, so that, if possible, even the elect may be led into error. For when they shall behold signs so great and of such a nature, even those who are perfect and the elect of God, shall be in doubt, whether or not this is Christ, who, according to the Scriptures, was to come at the end of the world.

But he shall cause persecution in every clime against the Christians and all the elect; and shall upraise himself against the faithful in three ways; that is to say, by terror, by gifts, and by miracles. To those who believe in him he will give abundance of gold and of silver; those whom he shall not be able to corrupt with bribes he will conquer by terror: those whom he shall not be able to conquer by terror, he will attempt to lead astray by signs and miracles; and those upon whom by signs and miracles he can make no effect, he will

torment, and, in the sight of all, destroy by a cruel death. Then shall there be tribulation, such as has not been upon the earth from the time when nations began to be, until that time; then shall those who are in the field flee to the mountains, and he who shall be above shall not come down into his house, to take anything away therefrom.

Then shall every faithful Christian who shall be found, either deny God, or die by the sword, or by the fire of the furnace, or by serpents, or by beasts, or by some other kind of torment, if he shall persist in the faith. This terrible and fearful tribulation shall continue throughout the whole world three years and a half. Then shall the days be shortened on account of the elect; for if the Lord should not shorten the days, all flesh would not be saved.

The time also when Antichrist shall come, as well as when the day of judgment shall begin to appear, the Apostle Paul points out in his Epistle to the Thessalonians, where he says, "We beseech you by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ;"⁹⁹ and he reveals in the passage where he says, "Except there be a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition."¹ We know also that after the kingdom of the Greeks, as also after the kingdom of the Persians, each of which, at its own season, gained great glory, and flourished amid great power, at length, after other kingdoms as well, the kingdom of the Romans began, and that it was more mighty than all the former kingdoms, and held all the kingdoms of the earth in subjection to it, and all nations and peoples were tributary to the Romans. Hence it is that the Apostle Paul says that Antichrist will not come into the world, "Except there be first a falling away;" that is, unless all the kingdoms of the world should first revolt from the Roman empire to whom they were before subject. This time, however, has not come as yet; for although we see the Roman empire in a great measure destroyed, still, so long as the kings of the Franks hold dominion, who are bound to uphold the empire of Rome, the dignity of Rome will not entirely perish, for by its kings will it be upheld.

Some, indeed, of our learned men assert that one of the kings of the Franks will hold the Roman empire afresh, and in all its integrity, who will exist at a very late period of time; and he himself will be the greatest and the last of all the kings, and

⁹⁹ 2 Thess. ii. 1.

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 3.

after he shall have happily ruled over his own kingdom, shall come at last to Jerusalem, and shall lay down his sceptre and his crown on the Mount of Olives. This will be the end of the empire of the Romans, and of the Christians, and immediately, according to the words of Saint Paul the Apostle quoted above, they say that Antichrist will come, and then will be revealed Antichrist, the man of sin, who, though he shall be but a man, shall still be the source of all sinfulness and the son of perdition, which means the son of the Devil, not, indeed, by nature, but by reason of imitation; for in everything will he fulfil the wishes of the Devil; because the fulness of the diabolical power, and of the whole of his evil disposition, shall corporeally find an abode in him, in whom will be all the treasures of wickedness and iniquity stored away, and who shall strive against Christ, that is to say, shall be opposed to Him, and all his members. "And he is exalted," meaning that he is elated with pride; "above everything that is called God," which means "above all the gods of the Gentiles;" Hercules, to wit, and Apollo, Jupiter, and Mercury; above all those whom the pagans suppose to be divinities Antichrist shall be raised; for he will make himself greater and more powerful than them all. And not only above these will he be raised, but above everything that is worshipped; above the Holy Trinity even, which alone ought to be worshipped and adored by all creatures he shall so raise himself, that he shall sit in the Temple of the Lord, and show himself as though he were a God. For, as we have said above, being born in the city of Babylon, he shall come to Jerusalem, and shall circumcise himself, and shall say to the Jews, "I am the Christ who was promised to you again and again, who have come for your salvation, to the end that I may gather together and defend you who are dispersed."

Then will all the Jews resort to him, thinking that they are receiving God, whereas they will be receiving the Devil. But even in the Temple of God shall Antichrist sit, that is to say, in the Holy Church, making martyrs of all the Christians; and he shall be exalted and shall be magnified, because in him shall be the Devil, the source of all wickedness, who is also king over all the sons of vanity. But in order that Antichrist may not come suddenly and unexpectedly, and at the same moment deceive the whole of mankind with his errors, and so bring them to ruin before his rising, two great prophets shall be

sent into the world, Enoch and Elias, who, against the attacks of Antichrist, shall fortify the faithful of God with Divine arms, and shall provide them, and shall strengthen and prepare the elect for battle; and they shall teach and preach for three years and a half. The sons also of Israel, such as shall at that season be found, these two great prophets and teachers, shall turn to the grace of the faith, and on the side of the elect shall render them insuperable by the force of a whirlwind of such mighty power. Then shall be fulfilled that which the Scripture says, "Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved."² After they shall have fulfilled the time of their preaching three years and a half, then shall the persecution by Antichrist begin to rage, and against them the first thing of all shall Antichrist take up arms, and shall slay them, as we read in the book of Revelation; "And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them and kill them."³ Then, after these two shall have been slain, he shall persecute the rest of the faithful, that so he may make them either glorious martyrs or apostates, and then shall those who believe in him receive the impression of his mark on their foreheads.

But as we have spoken thus at large about his rise, let us now say what end he is to have. Now, this Antichrist, the son of the Devil, and the most vile contriver of all wickedness, shall, for three years and a half, as already mentioned, harass the whole world with great persecutions, and shall with various punishments torment all the people of God; and after he shall have slain Elias and Enoch, and shall have crowned the rest with martyrdom, who remain in the faith, at last shall come upon him the judgment of God, as Saint Paul writes, saying, "Whom the Lord Jesus shall consume with the spirit of His mouth;"⁴ or else the Lord shall kill him there with the power of his command, or Michael, the Archangel, shall slay him with the might of the Lord; for he shall be slain by the might of some angel or Archangel. They say also that Antichrist shall be slain on a mountain in Babylon, upon his throne, in that place opposite to which the Lord ascended into heaven. But you should know that after Antichrist shall have been slain, the day of judgment will not come immediately, the Lord will not come immediately to judge us; but, as we understand from

² Rom. ix. 27.³ Rev. xi. 7.⁴ 2 Thess. ii. 8.

the book of Daniel, the Lord will give a day to the elect, that they may perform penance, because they have been led astray by Antichrist. But after they shall have duly performed this penance, there is no one who knows how long a space of time shall intervene before the Lord shall come to judge mankind; but it remains subject to the determination of God at what hour God shall judge the world, inasmuch as before the world began He pre-ordained that it should be judged.

John the Apostle and Evangelist, one of virgin purity and the chosen of the Lord, and more beloved than the rest, asked the Lord as to the end of the world, and the Lord made answer,⁵ "The sun shall be turned to darkness, and the moon to blood, and from the trees blood shall drop; the stones shall send forth voices, the people shall be aroused, and Antichrist, that is, the Devil, shall reign, and shall work miracles and great signs in the people; no one shall be able to escape from him. He shall be born of a woman who is a harlot of the tribe of Dan in Israel. All those who believe in him he shall mark with his mark on the forehead, and no one shall be able to blot out the work of his hands. He shall be brought up in Chorazin, and shall afterwards dwell in the city of Bethsaida; and in a few days both all those whom he shall kill, as also those who shall die under his power of famine and thirst, shall be the elect of God; he will raise the false ones who are dead,⁶ he will turn back rivers in their course, he will pluck up trees by the roots, and will turn the branches to the earth, and their roots upwards, and by his diabolical arts make them blossom. Many he will lead astray. On the day on which he shall be born, all who dwell in the four quarters of the world will know that he has been born; the Scripture bearing witness thereto, which says, "In every house the carcase of one dead man shall be a sign."⁷

Then in his time shall the father slay the son, and the son the father, and the brother the brother, and the faithful shall be found wanting in all things. Women shall be menstruous, and shall not hide themselves from men; the churches shall be destroyed, the priests shall mourn, no memorials will be preserved

⁵ It need hardly be said that this answer, given to Saint John, only existed in the author's imagination, or was conveyed in some monkish legend. It is probably based on Rev. vi. 12.

⁶ This seems to be the meaning of "suscitabit falsos mortuos."

⁷ Probably alluding to the words of Gen. xii. 30.

of the places where the bodies of the Saints have rested; people shall adore profane idols, like pagans, and Jews, and Saracens. Nation shall arise against nation, and one kingdom against another, and there shall be great earthquakes in divers places, and pestilence and famine, and the stars shall fall down upon the earth; rivers shall be changed into blood, and all the waters which are below the heavens.

In his reign two prophets, namely, Enoch and Elias, shall wage war against him, who are now sorrowing in Paradise at the contemplation of death, and Antichrist shall slay them, and they shall lie dead in the streets of the city during three days and three nights, and on the fourth day they shall rise again to life everlasting. At the last, Almighty God, who wishes that all should be saved, shall send Michael, the Archangel, having a sharp two-edged sword in his hands, that is to say, the sword of the Holy Spirit, and shall slay him, and shall cleave him into two parts from head to foot, that so the world may not be destroyed, but may be renewed for the better; three years and six months shall it thus be in the bringing of the world to a state of perfection.⁸

In the same year, Richard, king of England, gave to his nephew Otho, son of his sister Matilda, formerly duchess of Saxony, the earldom of Evreux, and although many would have received him and have done to him homage and fealty, still many resisted him, declaring that they would not withdraw from their fealty to the king, before they had spoken to him face to face. In consequence of this, our lord the king gave to the said Otho the earldom of Poitou by way of exchange for the earldom of Evreux.

The names of the nobles who died this year at the siege of Acre.

Queen Sibylla, the wife of Guido, king of Jerusalem, and her two daughters, Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of Nazareth, the archbishop of Besançon, the archbishop of Arles-le-blanc, the archbishop of Montreal, the bishop of Sidon, that is to say, of Saeta, the new bishop of Acre, the bishop of Baruth, the bishop of Saint George, the bishop of Saint Abraham, the bishop of

⁸ It is not improbable that this wearisome and nonsensical piece of jargon may have formed part of one or more sermons on the subject of Antichrist; and, in the enthusiasm of our chronicler, been deemed worthy of a place in his compilation.

Tiberias, the abbat of the Temple of our Lord, the abbat of Mount Sion, the abbat of Mount Olivet, the abbat of Forde, the prior of Saint Sepulchre, Ralph de Hautereve, archdeacon of Colchester, Roger le Abbè. Frederic, emperor of the Romans, died on the journey to the land of Jerusalem, being drowned in the river which is called Salef, and Conrad, his son, duke of Suabia, died at the siege of Acre; Robert, earl of Leicester, also died in Romania, in going to the land of Jerusalem; the Landgrave of Germany died in Romania while returning home; John, constable of Chester, also died at Tyre, in the land of Jerusalem: Rotrod, count of Perche, also died at the siege of Acre, the count de Puntif, Theobald, earl of Blois, and Stephen, count de Sancerre, his brother; William, count de Ferrers, the duke Bertold of Germany, Roger, earl of Apulia, and Jocelyn, earl of Apulia, as also the count de Brenes and his brother Andrew, who was slain. Among the slain were also Ingelram de Fenes, Louis de Arseles, Hugh de Hoiry, Walter de Moy, Guido de Dancy, Odo de Gunesse. The butler of Santstlir was taken by the pagans, as also the marshal of count Henry, Reginald de Magny being slain.

In the same year, there died besides the above at the siege of Acre, the viscount of Touraine, the lord de Wancy, Gilbert de Tileres, Florence de Angest, Jocelyn de Montmorenci, the viscount of Chastel Heraud, Anselm of Montreal and all his household, the viscount of Chatillon and his mother, John, count of Vendôme, Æstellan de Ypres, Geoffrey de la Bruyere, Robert de Boives, Adam, chamberlain of the king of France, Adam de Leun, Boves de Juvenny, William de Pinkim, Roger de Polebare, and Robert, the constable, seneschal of earl William de Mandeville. Ranulph de Glanville, justiciary of England, also died at the siege of Acre, as also Bernard the younger, of Saint Valery, Richard Clare, Guido de Chatillon, Walter de Kime, son of Philip de Kime, John de Lamburne, and Walter de Ros, brother of Peter de Ros.

In the same year, Sancho, king of Portugal, gave his daughter Tarsia in marriage to Alphonso, king of Saint Jago, his nephew; he had by her three sons, and though pope Celestinus used all possible endeavours that they might be separated, he still adhered to her in spite of God and the prohibition of our lord the pope for a period of five years; accordingly, our lord the pope Celestinus placed the said king of Saint Jago under an interdict, and so he remained for five years. In the meantime,

however, Alphonso, king of Castille, arose against the said king of Saint Jago, and compelled him to relinquish his wife, the daughter of the king of Portugal, and by the persuasion of pope Celestinus, for the sake of peace, gave him his own daughter to wife.

In process of time, the daughter of Boyac El Emir Amimoli, emperor of Africa, having heard from common report of the prowess of Sancho, king of Navarre, brother of Berengaria, queen of England, fell in love with him to such a degree, that she greatly longed to have him as her husband. When she was unable any longer to conceal her designs, she told her father, the emperor, that she would hang herself unless Sancho, king of Navarre, would have her for his wife; on which her father made answer, "How can that be effected, seeing that you are a pagan⁹ and he a Christian?" To this his daughter made answer, "Indeed I am quite ready to embrace the Christian faith, and to live conformably to their laws, if I only have the king of Navarre for my husband, a thing which, my dear father, can easily be brought about by you. For all stand in awe of you, and extend their arms to you; still, there is need of blandishment; away with all fury and intimidation; send entreaties and gifts to this man, that by such means you may gain him for me. 'Believe me, 'tis a noble thing to give.'¹⁰ Send also to his mother and sister, and the rest of his family, bounteous presents, in order that they may allow him to assent to your proposals. 'The prey that's sought by many hands is speedily obtained.'"¹¹

On this, her father made answer: " 'While you were guileless, I loved your body and your mind; now, is your beauty blemished by the vices of your disposition.'¹² What to do I know not, for I am in difficulties on every side. For if the king of Navarre shall fail to return your passion, then you will hang yourself. I will therefore attempt to prevail upon him by entreaties and various presents, that so I may gain him in some way or other as a husband for you. Still, I would much rather that you would take a husband of our own nation." The

⁹ "Follower of Mahomet," he would be more likely to say.

¹⁰ "Crede mihi res est ingeniosa dare." A singular thing, for a Mahomedan lady to quote Ovid.

¹¹ A quotation from Ovid—

"Fit cito per multas præda petita manus."

¹² From Ovid—

"Donec eras simplex, animum cum corpore amavi,
Nunc mentis vitio læsa figura tua est."

answer of the damsel to this was, “ ‘May I be rather devoured by the yawning earth, I pray, or burned by the gleaming flames of the hurled thunderbolt,¹³ than that I should take any man for my husband but the king of Navarre.’ ”

Accordingly, the emperor of Africa sent envoys to Sancho, king of Navarre, by whom he begged that he would come to him, for the purpose of marrying his daughter, and he would give him as much money as he should desire, besides the whole of the land that lies between the extremities of the territory of the king of Portugal and the mountain of Muncian, which divides the territories of the Pagans in Spain from those of the king of Arragon. But while the king of Navarre was on the way to him, Boyac El Emir Amimoli, emperor of Africa, died; so that when the said king of Navarre arrived in Africa he found the emperor dead, and the son of the emperor as yet but a little child, and not fit to govern the kingdom; while there were many competitors with him for the empire.

On the king of Navarre coming to him, fully expecting that he should receive the damsel before-mentioned as his wife, the boy who was to reign said to him, that if he was ready to assist him and to serve him in his endeavours to obtain the empire, he would give him his sister in accordance with the promises of his father; but if not, he would place him in confinement, from which he should never be released. Seeing himself thus placed in a dilemma, he chose to serve under him rather than be placed in confinement; in conformity with the maxim of Saint Augustin; “ ‘When a person is shut up within walls that he may not escape, let him precipitate himself from the part where the wall is lowest.’ ” Accordingly, the Lord granting it, and Sancho, king of Navarre, using his best endeavours, the son of the Emir Amimoli within three years subdued all his adversaries, and became emperor. In the meantime, Alphonso, king of Castille, and the king of Arragon, invaded the territories of the said king of Navarre, one of them on one side, the other on the other; in consequence of which, Alphonso, king of Castille, took from him twenty-four towns, and the king of Arragon eighteen.

In the year of grace 1191, being the second year of the reign of king Richard, the said king Richard, and Philip, king of the Franks, were together at Messina, in Sicily, on the day of

¹³ “ *Devor ante precor subito telluris hiatu,
Aut rutilo missi fulminis igne cremer.* ”

the Nativity of our Lord, which fell on the third day of the week. On the same day, after dinner, the Pisano and Genevese seditiously made an attack upon the galley-men of Richard, king of England, and a slaughter took place on both sides. The noise of this accordingly reached the ears of the king of England, who was still sitting at table in his castle of Mate Griffon; and on this day there were feasting with him Reginald, bishop of Chartres, Hugh, duke of Burgundy, William count de Nevers, William count de Juvigny, Geoffrey count of Perche, and many others of the household of the king of France. The tables being instantly set aside, all these persons arose, and went out with the king fully armed, for the purpose of putting an end to the fight, which, however, they were unable to do; but, night coming on, the parties were separated from each other till the morning. On the following day, when the people had assembled in the church of Saint John of the Hospital, to hear Divine service there, a certain Pisan, drawing his knife, slew one of the galley-men of the king in the church; on which a conflict took place a second time between the Pisans and the galley-men, and multitudes were slain on both sides. Upon this, the king of France and the king of England came with a large body of armed men, and made peace between them.

After this, in the month of February, on the day of the Purification of Saint Mary ever a Virgin, being Saturday, after dinner, Richard, king of England, and many of his household, and some of the people of the household of the king of France, assembled after their usual manner, outside of the walls of the city of Messina, to view the games of the people; and when they were returning home, as they passed through the middle of the city, they met a peasant coming from the country with an ass laden with reeds which they call "canes;" of which the king of England and the others who were with him each took one, and engaged with one another. It so happened that the king of England and William de Barres, one of the bravest knights of the household of the king of France, engaged with each other, and broke their reeds, while the head-piece of the king of the English was broken by a blow from William de Barres; at which the king being enraged, made an attack upon him with such violence that it made him and his horse stumble; but, while the king was trying to throw him to the ground, the king's saddle slipped,

on which he dismounted in all haste, and another horse was brought him, stouter than the first. Mounting it, he again made an attack upon William de Barres and tried to throw him down, but was not able, as he kept fast hold of the horse's neck, on which the king uttered threats against him.

Upon this, Robert de Breteuil, son of Robert, earl of Leicester, whom the king the previous day had girded with the sword of his father's earldom, was for laying hands on William de Barres that he might help his master, but the king said to him, "Hold, and leave me and him alone." After William and the king had contended for a considerable time, both in words and deeds, the king said to him, "Away with you hence, and take care that you never appear in my presence again, for at heart I shall for everlasting be the enemy of you and yours." Upon this, William de Barres departed from the king's presence grieved and in confusion, in consequence of the king's indignation, and went to his lord the king of France, to ask his advice and assistance upon the matter that had thus happened on the road.

On the next day the king of France came to the king of England, on behalf of William de Barres, with humble entreaties on his part, asking for peace and mercy on behalf of William de Barres, but the king refused to listen to him. On the third day after this, William de Barres took his departure from the city of Messina; for his lord, the king of France, was unwilling to keep him any longer with him, contrary to the wish and prohibition of the king of England. However, after a considerable time had intervened, and the time for embarking was drawing nigh, the king of France and all the archbishops, bishops, earls and barons, and chief men of the army, again came to the king of England, and, falling at his feet, asked for peace and mercy on his part on behalf of William de Barres, showing the losses and inconveniences that might result in consequence of the absence of a knight of such character and prowess; and after great difficulty they obtained from the king of England that the said William might return in peace, and the king of England would do no harm to either him or his, or make enquiry about them so long as they should be in the service of their lord.

After this, the king of England made present of many ships to the king of France and his own people, and distributed his treasures with such profuseness among all the knights and men-at-arms of his whole army, that it was said by

many that not one of his predecessors had ever given so much in a whole year, as he gave away in that month. And certainly we have reason to believe that by this munificence he gained the favour of Him who sends his thunders, as it is written: "God loveth a cheerful giver."¹⁵

In the same month of February, the king of England sent his galleys to Naples, to meet queen Eleanor his mother, and Berengaria, daughter of Sancho, king of Navarre, whom he was about to marry, and Philip, earl of Flanders, who was coming with them. However, the king's mother and the daughter of the king of Navarre went on to Brindisi, where Margarite, the admiral, and other subjects of king Tancred, received them with due honor, and showed them all consideration and respect. The earl of Flanders, however, came to Naples, and finding there the galleys of the king of England, embarked in them and came to Messina, and in many matters followed the advice and wishes of the king of England; at which the king of France being enraged, prevailed upon the earl to leave the king of England and return to him.

In the mean time, a serious difference happened in England between the king's chancellor and John, earl of Mortaigne, the king's brother, and the other principal men of the kingdom; which increased to such a pitch that they all wrote to the king relative to the state of his kingdom, and the excesses that the said chancellor was guilty of toward the people of his kingdom. Accordingly, when the king heard of the excesses and annoyances that the chancellor was guilty of towards his people, he sent to England from Messina, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and William Marshal, earl of Striguil, with commands to the chancellor that in all business of the kingdom he should have the said archbishop of Rouen, and William Marshal, Geoffrey FitzPeter, William Bruere, and Hugh Bardolph, as his associates and witnesses. On their arrival in England, these persons did not dare deliver their letters to the chancellor, fearing lest they should rather incur his hatred, than derive honor therefrom. For the chancellor set at nought all the king's commands, and would have no one an equal with himself, or any associate in the kingdom.

On the first day of the month of March, Richard, king of England, left Messina, and proceeded thence to the city of Catania (where rests the most holy body of Saint Agatha the

¹⁵ 2 Cor. ix. 7.

Virgin and Martyr), for the purpose of holding a conference with Tancred, king of Sicily, who had come thither to meet him. Accordingly, king Tancred, on hearing of the approach of the king of England, went forth to meet him, and with the greatest reverence and the honor due to his royal excellency received and introduced him into the city. As they were going together towards the tomb of Saint Agatha the Martyr, at the entrance of the church, they were met by the clergy and people, praising and blessing the Lord who had united them in the bonds of such brotherly love. After having offered up his prayers at the tomb of Saint Agatha, the king of England entered the palace of king Tancred, together with him, and stayed there three days and nights.

On the fourth day the king of Sicily sent to the king of England many presents of great value, consisting of gold and silver, horses and silken cloths; but he would receive nothing from him except a little ring, which he accepted as a token of their mutual esteem. On the other hand, the king of England gave to king Tancred that most excellent sword which the Britons called "Caliburn," and which had been the sword of Arthur, once the valiant king of England. King Tancred also gave to the king of England four large ships, which they call "ursers," and fifteen gallies; and when the king of England left him, he escorted him back to Taverni, two long days' journey from the city of Catania.

On the following day, when the king of England was preparing to take his leave, king Tancred gave him a certain document, which the king of France had sent to him by the duke of Burgundy, and had therein stated that the king of England was a traitor, and had not kept the treaty of peace which he had made with him, and that if king Tancred was willing to go to war with the king of England, or to attack him by night, he and his people would give him aid against the king of England, for the purpose of destroying his army.

On this, the king of England made answer, "I am not a traitor, nor have I been, nor will I be; the peace which I made with you I have in no way broken, nor will I break it so long as I live; and I cannot easily bring myself to believe that the king of France did send you this about me, as he is my liege lord, and my sworn associate in this pilgrimage." To this king Tancred made answer and said, "I give you the letter which he himself sent me by the duke of Burgundy; and

if the duke of Burgundy denies that he brought me that letter on behalf of his lord the king of France, I am quite ready to make proof of the same against him by one of my captains." Upon this, with the letter so received at the hands of king Tancred, the king of England returned to Messina.

On the same day, the king of France came to Taverni, and had an interview with king Tancred, and after remaining with him one night, on the next day returned to Messina. The king of England, being aroused to anger against the king of France, showed him a countenance neither joyous nor betokening peace, but sought an opportunity of withdrawing from him with his people. Consequently, the king of France made enquiry why this was done; on which the king of England, by Philip, earl of Flanders, informed him of every word that the king of Sicily had said to him about the king; and, as a proof of the fact, showed the letter already mentioned. On this becoming known to the king of France, having a bad conscience on the matter, he at first held his peace, not knowing what to say in return. At length, however, having recovered his self-possession, he said:

"Now do I know of a truth that the king of England is seeking pretexts for speaking ill of me, for these words are forged and false. But he has invented these evil charges against me, I suppose, that he may get rid of my sister Alice, whom he has sworn that he will marry; but let him know this for certain, if he does put her aside and marry another woman, I will be the enemy of him and his so long as I live." On hearing this, the king of England made answer, that he would on no account whatever take his sister to wife; inasmuch as the king of England, his own father, had been intimate with her, and had had a son by her; and he produced many witnesses to prove the same, who were ready by all manner of proof to establish that fact.

When this became known to the king of France, through the information of many persons, by the counsel of the earl of Flanders and others of his faithful advisers, he acquiesced therein; and that all disputes between him and the king of England, both on this point as well as on all others, might be put an end to, he released the king of England from his promises and oaths, and all covenants which he had entered into with him as to being united in marriage with his sister

Alice: and, in consideration of this treaty, the king of England promised that he would pay yearly, for the next five years, two thousand marks sterling; of which, at the beginning of the treaty, he paid to the king of France two thousand marks. Also, when they should have returned to their own territories, the king of England was to deliver to the king of France his sister Alice, and Gisors and all the other places that the king of France had granted him as a marriage portion with his sister. Also, by virtue of this treaty, the king of France gave to the king of England leave to marry whomsoever he should choose; and granted to him, and conferred the same by his charter, that the dukedom of Brittany should always belong to the demesne of the duke of Normandy, and that the duke of Brittany should always be a liegeman of the duke of Normandy, and be answerable to him as his liege lord, and the duke of Normandy should be answerable to the king of France both as to the dukedom of Brittany as well as the dukedom of Normandy. Accordingly, on that day the king of France and the king of England were made friends, and confirmed all those covenants with good faith, and upon oath, with the testimony of their seals.

In the same month of March, on the third day before the calends of April, being Saturday, Philip, king of France, left the port of Messina with all his fleet; and on the twenty-second day following, that is to say, the Saturday in Easter week, he arrived with his army at the siege of Acre. The king of England, however, and his army remained at Messina after the departure of the king of France. On the same day also on which the king of France left Messina, queen Eleanor arrived there, the mother of Richard, king of England, bringing with her Berengaria, daughter of Sancho, king of Navarre, whom the said king of England was to marry: on the fourth day after which, the said queen Eleanor again returned on her way to England, with the intention of passing through Rome, to treat of the business of Geoffrey, the archbishop elect of York; for, through her the king of England sent word to the Supreme Pontiff, and humbly entreated him to confirm the election of the said Geoffrey and consecrate him archbishop of York, or else to allow him to be consecrated by some one else. On the departure of queen Eleanor, the daughter of the king of Navarre remained in the charge of the king of England, with Joanna, queen of Sicily, the sister of the said king.

In the month of April, on the fourth day before the ides of the said month, being the fourth day of the week, pope Clement the Third departed this life, and was succeeded by Jacinto,¹⁶ cardinal deacon of the church of Saint Mary in Cosmedim; and on the vigil of Easter he was ordained priest, and on Easter day, which fell on the eighteenth day before the calends of May, was consecrated Pontiff of Rome, by Octavianus, bishop of Ostia, being called pope Celestinus the Third. On the day after his consecration, our lord the pope went from the Lateran to the church of Saint Peter, where he was met by Henry, king of Germany, with his wife Constance, and a large body of men-at-arms. The Romans, however, shut the city gates, and guarded them with a strong hand, and in arms, and would not allow them to enter.

Accordingly, our lord the pope, before the door of the church of Saint Peter, upon the steps, received the oath of the said king of the Germans, that he would faithfully preserve the Church of God, and the rights of the Church inviolate, and would observe strict justice, and would, if anything should be taken thence, replace the patrimony of Saint Peter in its former integrity, and would restore to him Tusculanum.¹⁷ Our lord the pope then led them into the church, and anointed him emperor, and his wife empress. The pope sat in the pontifical chair, holding the imperial crown of gold between his feet, and the emperor, baring his head, received the crown, and in like manner the empress received her crown, at the feet of our lord the pope. Our lord the pope also suddenly struck the crown of the emperor with his foot, and overturned it on the ground, signifying thereby that he possessed the power of casting him down from his throne if he should show himself unworthy; but the cardinals, immediately picking up the crown, placed it on the head of the emperor.

In order that the reason may be known why our lord the pope Celestinus restored to the Romans their city of Tusculanum, we must repeat a few circumstances that had previously transpired. When the lord Clement, the bishop of Palestrina, was elected and consecrated Supreme Pontiff, according to custom, at Pisa, where Gregory the Eighth, of pious memory, had departed from this world unto the Lord, the said lord Clement, without delay, sent his envoys to the citizens of Rome, repre-

¹⁶ The Italian form of the Latin name "Hyacinthus."

¹⁷ Now Frascati.

senting that a most strict treaty of peace ought again to be entered into between them. For a dispute had arisen with reference to Tusculanum, which is a city that belongs to our lord the pope, about ten miles distant from Rome, and which the Romans were attacking incessantly in war, that they might render it subject to themselves. By means, also, of these conflicts that took place between Rome and Tusculanum, more than five thousand Romans had in one day fallen by the sword, and, from the time of pope Alexander to that of the said Clement, these disputes had lasted between the Church and the Romans. The envoys, on coming to the city, entreated the Romans, like affectionate sons, to turn their hearts to their spiritual father, and most dutifully make it their care to receive him, on his return to them, as a kind father, and represented that it was befitting that they should be, as it were, but one for the future. To this the Romans made answer, to the following effect: "This, inasmuch as it is holy and becoming, with ardent desire we greatly wish to be done, without any delay whatever, even more than our lord and father does, and like true and humble sons; but still, only on condition that, equally with ourselves, he shall wish reparation to be made for our losses, and our injuries and affronts to be avenged, which, in consequence of the war with Tusculanum, we have in the times of our fathers endured, and do still endure; and shall be ready, if there shall be necessity for so doing, to send his soldiers at his own expense, if peace cannot be made between us on terms honorable to this city, for the subjection of Tusculanum; an agreement being entered into in writing for a yearly tribute to be paid by Tusculanum to our city. He must also promise that, in case there is a refusal on their part to make peace with us on the terms before-mentioned, if at any future time he shall be able to get Tusculanum into his power, he will be ready to give it up to us, for the purpose of our wishes already expressed being complied with."

Accordingly, on these and some other liberties being at length conceded by that said pope Clement to the Romans, the said Clement came to the city, of which he was a native; and as the lord Clement did not find himself able, in conformity with the above-stated request made by the Romans, to render Tusculanum subject to them, he made severe attacks upon that place, exposing it to the assaults of the Romans. Yet, although he enjoyed the papacy for nearly four years, he was unable to

bring this war with the Romans to a conclusion; although the Romans, posting themselves in ambush, took nearly the greater portion of the people of Tusculanum prisoners, outside of their fortifications, and slew them with various pains and tortures. For some of those whom they took prisoners they put to death at once, while others, first deprived of their feet, others with their eyes put out, and others with their hands cut off and hung from their necks, they sent back home: yet all these evils they most resolutely affirmed they would endure, in preference to being subjected to the severity of the Romans.

After the death of Clement, when the lord Jacinto, the cardinal priest of Saint Mary in Cosmedim, afterwards called Celestinus, was elected Supreme Pontiff in his stead, and Henry, the then king, was hastening to Rome, having been invited by pope Clement for that purpose, to receive the crown of the empire, the Romans, before the said king had arrived at the city, entreated the lord Celestinus, before he anointed the said king emperor, to prevail upon him to restore to them the city of Tusculanum, which was under his control; (for its people had betaken themselves to him, and had entreated his protection, from the time that the above-named Clement had, as already mentioned, left them to the mercy of the Romans). They asserted to the said pope, with the greatest energy, that this was the method by which Tusculanum would fall again into their hands, and that he was bound by the compact already mentioned so to do; and this was accordingly conceded to them.

Upon this, envoys from our lord the pope were sent to the king, and most strongly urged him that, as the treaty before-mentioned had been made relative to Tusculanum between the Supreme Pontiff and the Romans, necessity consequently demanded that Tusculanum should be given up to our lord the pope. Upon the king finding this to be the case, and perceiving that, otherwise, great difficulties might easily be thrown in the way of his coronation, he freely granted the request of our lord the pope as to the delivery up to him of Tusculanum; and, accordingly, the king having been crowned emperor, on the following day Tusculanum was delivered by the said emperor to our lord the pope, and, on the third day after, was, by the said pope and the citizens of Rome, levelled with the ground; so much so, that not one stone remained standing upon another.

In the meantime, in the month of April, Richard, king of England, destroyed and levelled with the ground his castle called Mate Griffon, before departing from Messina, in conformity with the promise he had made to king Tancred: and on the fourth day of the week, before the Supper of our Lord, he, with the whole of his army, and his fleet, sailed out of the harbour of Messina, with a hundred and fifty large ships and fifty-three galleys, well armed; but, on the day of the Preparation¹⁸ of our Lord, about the ninth hour of the day, a dreadful wind arose from the south, and dispersed his fleet. The king, with a portion of the fleet, arrived at the island of Crete, and afterwards at the island of Rhodes. A large buss, however, in which were the queen of Sicily and the daughter of the king of Navarre, with many of the king's household, and two other busses, while the tempest was raging, reached the island of Cyprus, the king being ignorant as to what had been the fate of these busses.

After the tempest had abated, the king sent some galleys in search of the busses on board of which was the queen, his sister, and the daughter of the king of Navarre, and they found them outside of the harbour of Limezun; but the other two busses which had accompanied them, and had arrived before the harbour of Limezun, had gone down, having on board many knights and men-at-arms of the king's household; among whom, sad to tell! Master Roger Malchen, the king's vice-chancellor, was drowned; the king's seal, however, which he wore suspended from his neck, was found. Upon this, Isaac, emperor of Cyprus, laid hands upon the property of those who were wrecked, and took and threw into prison all the persons who had escaped from the shipwreck, and seized their money; and, in a spirit of more than diabolical cruelty, he would not allow the buss on board of which were the queen of Sicily and the daughter of the king of Navarre to enter the harbour.

On the king of England being informed of this, he came with all haste to their assistance, with a great number of galleys and a vast fleet of ships, and found them outside the harbour of Limezun, exposed to the winds and waves. Being greatly enraged at this, he sent messengers to the emperor of Cyprus, a first, second, and third time, begging and asking with humble entreaties that, out of regard for the love of God,

¹⁸ "Parasceues Domini." The day after Good Friday.

and respect for the Cross, the giver of life, he would allow His pilgrims, whom he was keeping captive in chains, to depart unhurt, and restore to them their property, and give up to him the property of such of his subjects as had been drowned, that with the same he might perform service to God for their souls : to which, however, the emperor haughtily made answer, and said that he would neither give up the pilgrims nor the property of the drowned.

The king, upon hearing that this wicked emperor would do nothing for him unless forced so to do, commanded the whole of his army to take up their arms, and, being fully armed, to follow him, saying to them : " Follow me, that we may avenge the injuries which this perfidious emperor has done to God and to ourselves, who thus, against the justice and equity of God, keeps our pilgrims in chains ; and fear them not, for they are without arms, and better prepared for flight than for battle ; whereas we are well armed, and to him who wields arms, he yields up everything who denies him what is his right. We are also bound to fight manfully against him, in order to deliver the people of God from perdition, knowing that we must either conquer or die. But I have full confidence in God, that He will this day grant us the victory over this perfidious emperor and his people."

In the meantime, the emperor with his people had taken up their position in every direction on the sea-shore ; but a few only of them were armed, and they were nearly all utterly unskilled in the art of warfare ; however, they stood on the shore, armed with swords, and lances, and staves ; and having in front of them logs and beams, and benches and chests, as a defence. When the king of England and his people had armed themselves, they disembarked from the great ships into boats and galleys, and, rowing on, made for shore with exceeding swiftness ; on which the archers, landing first, made way for the others. After landing, the king leading the way, with one accord they made an attack upon the emperor and his Griffons,¹⁹ and like a shower upon the grass did the arrows fall upon those who fought ; but after the combat had lasted a considerable time, the emperor and his people took to flight : upon which the king of England pursued them with the edge of the sword, and, making a great slaughter of them, took pri-

¹⁹ This seems to have been the name given by the people of the west of Europe to the Greeks of Byzantium.

soners many of those who offered resistance; and had not the night come on, in all probability, on that day the king would have taken the emperor prisoner. But, as the king and his people were on foot, and did not know the paths across the mountains by which the emperor and his men took to flight, they returned with a great booty to the city of Limezun, which the Griffons had deserted; and found in it an abundance of corn, wine, oil, and flesh meat.

On the same day, after the victory gained by the king of England, his sister, the queen of Sicily, and the daughter of the king of Navarre, entered the harbour of Limezun with the rest of the king's fleet. The emperor, however, collecting his men, who had been dispersed in the valleys among the thickets there, on the same night pitched his camp about five miles from the army of the king of England, affirming, with an oath, that he would the next day give battle to the king. On the king being informed of this by means of his spies, long before daybreak he had himself and his troops fully armed, and, going forth without any noise, came up to the army of the emperor, and found his people buried in sleep.

Upon this, he rushed into their tents with a loud and terrible shout, on which, aroused from their slumbers, they became as though dead men, not knowing what to do or whither to fly; for the army of the king of England came upon them like ravening wolves, and made immense havoc among them. The emperor, however, with a few of his people, made his escape in a state of nudity, leaving behind him his treasures, horses, arms, and tents of extreme beauty, together with his imperial standard, embroidered all over the surface with gold, which the king of England immediately determined to present as an offering to Saint Edmund, the king and glorious Martyr. Accordingly, the king of England, having gained a complete victory, returned to Limezun, a mighty triumpher over his foes.

On the third day after this, there came to the king of England, in the isle of Cyprus, Guido, king of Jerusalem, Geoffrey of Lusignan,²⁰ his brother, Amfrid de Tours, Raymond, prince of Antioch, and Boamund his son, the earl of Tripolis, and Leo, the brother of Rupin de la Montaigne, and, offering to the king their services, did homage to him, and swore fealty to him against all men. On the same day, the emperor of Cyprus,

²⁰ V. r. Lenizant.

seeing that he was entirely destitute of all valour and efficacious aid on the part of his troops, sent envoys to the king of England with suppliant entreaties, and offered him peace on the following terms, namely; that he would give him twenty thousand marks of gold in satisfaction of the monies that had been lost²¹ in his ships, and would set at liberty those persons who had been taken after the shipwreck, together with their property, and would himself attend him personally to the land of Jerusalem, and remain with him in the service of God and of himself, together with one hundred knights, and four hundred Turcopole horsemen, and five hundred foot soldiers well armed; in addition to which he would give him his daughter, who was his sole heir, as a hostage, and deliver up to him his castles by way of security, and would swear to observe his fealty to him and his for ever, and hold his empire of him.

These terms being accordingly agreed to on both sides, the emperor came to the king of England, and, in presence of the king of Jerusalem, and the prince of Antioch, and his other barons, did homage to the king, and swore fealty to him. He also made oath that he would not leave him until all things had been performed that had been so covenanted. Accordingly, the king assigned tents to the emperor and his people, and appointed knights and men-at-arms to keep guard over them. On the same day, however, after dinner, the emperor repented that he had made such terms with the king of England, and while the knights, whose duty it was to keep guard over him, were taking their mid-day nap, by stealth he took his departure, and then sent word to the king that, thenceforth, he would not be on terms of peace or concord with him; a thing that, as it appeared, greatly pleased the king.

For he, like a wary and circumspect man, immediately gave a part of his army to Guido and the prince of Antioch, and the others who had come to him, and commanded them to follow the emperor, and take him prisoner if they possibly could; while the king himself, dividing his galleys into two parts, gave one half of them to Robert de Turnham, and commanded him to surround the island on one side, and if he should find any ships or galleys, to take them; which was accordingly done: while the king, with the remaining portion

²¹ The reading is more probably "submersorum," and not "submersarum;" alluding to the money of which the bodies of the drowned had been plundered.

of his galleys, surrounded the other side; and he and Robert took all the ships and galleys they could find in the vicinity of the island. On this, the garrisons of the cities, and castles, and harbours, deserted them in every direction, wherever the king and the said Robert came, and, taking to flight, concealed themselves in the mountains. After this was done, the king and Robert de Turnham returned to Limezun; and king Guido, and those who were with him, being unable to accomplish their object, rejoined the king. In the meantime, the subjects of the emperor flocked from all quarters to the king of England, and acknowledged themselves his subjects, and held their lands of him.

One day, when the above-named emperor was sitting at dinner, and his nobles with him, one of them said to him, "My lord, we advise you to make peace with the king of England, that the whole of your nation may not be destroyed;" on which the emperor, being greatly enraged at these words, struck at him with a knife which he was holding in his hand, and cut off the nose of the person who had given him this advice; whereupon, after dinner, the person who had been struck, left him to go to the king of England, and became his adherent.

On the fourth day before the ides of May,²² being the Lord's day and the feast of Saint Nereus, Saint Achilleus, and Saint Pancratius the Martyrs, Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, was married to Richard, king of England, at Limezun,²³ in the island of Cyprus, Nicholas, the king's chaplain, performing the services of that sacrament; and on the same day the king caused her to be crowned and consecrated queen of England by John, bishop of Evreux, he being assisted in the performance of the ceremony by the archbishops of Apamea and Auxienne, and the bishop of Bayonne.

After the celebration of the nuptials, the king of England moved onward his army, and a fine city was surrendered to him, which is called Nichosis; and when the king had arrived with his army before an extremely well fortified castle, which is called Cherin, and in which was the emperor's daughter, she went out to meet the king, and fell upon the ground before his feet, and surrendered to him the castle, imploring his mercy; on which the king took compassion on her, and

²² The twelfth of May.

²³ This place is called Limesol at the present day.

sent her to the queen. After the king had moved onward in his march, the castle was surrendered to him which is known by the name of Baffes, as also the castle called Buffevent, the castle called Deudeamur, and the castle called Candare; after which all the cities and fortresses of the empire were surrendered to him. The wretched emperor, in the meantime, concealed himself in an extremely well fortified abbey, called Cap Saint Andrew; but, upon the king coming thither for the purpose of taking him, the emperor went forth to meet him, and throwing himself at his feet, placed himself at his mercy for both life and limb, no mention being made of the kingdom, as he knew that every thing was now in the hands and power of the king; but his only request was, that he might not²⁴ be placed in fetters and manacles of iron; on which the king listened to his request, and delivered him into the charge of Ralph Fitz-Godfrey, his chamberlain, and ordered fetters and manacles of silver and gold to be made for him. All these things took place in the island of Cyprus in the month of July, on the first day of that month, being Saturday, and the vigil of Pentecost.

All these matters being brought to a conclusion, the king of England sent the emperor, with his guards, to the city of Tripolis, and gave the island of Cyprus into the charge of Richard de Camville and Robert de Turnham. On the same day, that is to say, on the vigil of Pentecost, Philip, earl of Flanders, died at the siege of Acre, and the king of France, his liege lord, seized all his treasures and property, and kept them in his own possession, and from that hour sought an excuse for withdrawing from the siege of Acre, and returning to his country, that he might subjugate the earldom of Flanders. On the same day also, that is to say, on the vigil of Pentecost, the queen of England and the queen of Sicily, the sister of the king of England, and the daughter of the emperor of Cyprus, arrived before Acre with the greater part of the fleet of the king of England.

In the meantime, the king of England received from all the inhabitants of the island a moiety of all their goods, and confirmed for them the laws and institutions which they had in the time of Manuel, the emperor of Constantinople. After this, on the fourth day of the week of Pentecost, the king of England left the island of Cyprus with his galleys, and on

²⁴ "Non" is omitted in the text, evidently by mistake.

the following day arrived at Tyre, in the land of Sulia. However, the garrison of Tyre would not allow him to enter Tyre, saying, that the king of France and Conrad, marquis of Tyre, had forbidden his entrance into the city; consequently he was obliged for that night to lie in tents outside of the walls of Tyre.

On the following day, being the sixth day of the week of Pentecost, when he was on his way towards Acre, he saw at sea before him a large buss laden with troops, and decked out with the banners of the king of France and his associates; on which he sent two galleys to it and enquired whose ship it was, and whence it came. They made answer, that they were subjects of the king of France, and had come from Antioch, with the intention of going to the siege of Acre; on which those who had been sent returned with this answer to the king of England; when the king replied, "If they are subjects of the king of France, go and tell them to wait and speak to me." While they were on their road back, the men in the buss, being conscience-stricken, as in reality they were all pagans, armed themselves, and received the messengers of the king in a most hostile manner, discharging arrows against them and Greek fire. Upon the king observing this, he came nearer, and said to all who were about him, "Give chase to them, and overtake them, and if you capture them, all their property shall belong to you; but if they get away, you will forfeit my regard for ever." Upon this, they all, with one accord, made an attack upon the buss, and pierced it on every side with the beaks of their galleys, on which, the water effecting an entrance, it went to the bottom. When the pagans found that they were beginning to sink, they threw their arms into the sea, and breaking the vessels, poured forth the Greek fire, and leaving the ship, leaped naked into the sea; on which the king's galley-men slew some of them, and took many alive; for there were in this buss one thousand four hundred pagans, whom Saladin had chosen from all the pagans, for the purpose of sending them to the city of Acre. These being thus conquered and slain, the king distributed all their property among his galley-men.

On the following day, which was Saturday, in the week of Pentecost, he arrived at the siege of Acre, and distributed many of the pagans, whom he had taken in the ship, among

the king of France and the chief men of the expedition. But when the pagans, who were in the city of Acre, heard that the pagans in the buss had been most of them drowned, and that the king of England, the mighty triumpher over them, had come to the siege, having entertained great hopes of them, they dreaded him exceedingly, and from day to day sought opportunities for surrendering the city to him, on condition that they might depart therefrom with safety to life and limb. The king of France, however, who on the Saturday in Easter week had come to the siege, had before the arrival of the king of England erected a stone tower and prepared his stone engines and covered ways, and other engines of war, and placed them in suitable positions; but he effected nothing with them, as he was awaiting the arrival of the king of England, who immediately upon his coming erected his own engines of war.

The Pisans and the Genevese at this period came to him and made offer of their services; on which he retained the Pisans and declined the offer of the Genevese, because they had sworn fealty to the king of France and the marquis Conrad; the Pisans, however, did homage and fealty to the king of England; on which the king of England, by his charter, confirmed their liberties and customs which they had previously enjoyed in the land of Jerusalem. On the third day after the arrival of the king of England, the king of France dismissed all the servants whom he previously had for the purpose of keeping guard over his engines of war, on which the king of England took into his service those whom the king of France had dismissed; the consequence of which was, that the pagans in the city, finding that the engines of the king of France were left without guards, burned them.

After this, both of the kings were attacked with a malady known by the name of "Arnaldia," in which they were nearly reduced to the point of death, and lost all their hair. However, by the mercy of God, it came to pass that they both recovered from this sickness, and became stronger and more hearty than ever in the service of God. On king Guido making complaint to them that the marquis Conrad had violently and unjustly deprived him of the revenues and rights of his kingdom, they placed the revenues arising from articles sold in market and the revenues of the port of Acre in the hands of the Templars and the Hospitallers, for them to collect and take

care of, until it had been determined which of them was of right entitled thereto.

Geoffrey of Lusignan, the brother of king Guido, also accused the marquis Conrad of breach of faith, and perjury, and treason, against the king, his brother, and against the army of the Christians, and gave his pledge that he would make good the accusation. Conrad, however, being conscience-stricken, declined to take his trial, but made his way through the crowd, and left the place, the people crying after him, and saying, "He is a traitor who refuses to take his trial." However, no person laid hands upon him, for fear lest there might chance to be a tumult among the people. On this he went to Tyre, and a dissension immediately ensued between the kings on account of them, the king of France, as far as he possibly could, taking the part of Conrad, and the king of England that of king Guido; in consequence of which, quarrels and strifes often arose between the kings. A considerable time after, the king of France sent for Conrad and made him chief in his household and his confidential adviser, and in consequence of his advice and counsel, the king of France did many things against God and the salvation of his soul; for he even received presents from Saladin, and became friendly with him.

The next thing was, that the king of France made demand of half of the isle of Cyprus and of all the things that the king of England had gained on his way to Acre; as a counterpoise to which, the king of England demanded of the king of France one half of Flanders, one half of all the property of the earl of Flanders, and of the other vassals of his who had died at the siege of Acre, as also one half of Tyre, which Conrad had presented to him. But the demands of both were frivolous and invidious, for the agreement made between them was only that they should halve between them all that they should acquire in the land of Jerusalem. This same agreement they now renewed in the presence of the leaders and the principal men of the expedition, and confirmed the same by their charters and oaths, appointing the Templars, and the Hospitallers, and other prudent men in whom they placed confidence, to receive and halve between them all they should take; after which they became reconciled.

In the meantime, Saladin, the leader of the armies of the pagans, frequently sent to the king of France and the king of

England pears, Damascene plums, and abundance of other fruits of his country, besides other little presents, that this way at least he might render them disposed to make peace with him. For he had often made them offers of peace and concord, both in consequence of his apprehensions of the sons of Noureddin, who had laid claim against him to the whole of the territories of their father which Saladin had seized and retained in his possession, and had, with the aid of the lord Musse, their uncle, lately entered the territory of Saladin, and taken possession of it as far as the great river Euphrates; as also because he wished to rescue his people who were being besieged in the city. However, he would not entirely come to terms with the kings, for he wished to retain in his hands the city of Jerusalem and the Crag of Montreal, while the kings refused to make any agreement with him on those terms. In consequence of this, the stone engines of the kings and of the other chieftains, never ceased hurling stones against the walls of the city and its fortifications, and the miners of the kings did not cease day or night undermining the city walls.

In the month of June, on the Lord's Day, being the vigil of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, and the twenty-seventh day of the moon, at the ninth hour of the day, there was an eclipse of the sun, which lasted three hours; so much so, that the sun was obscured, and darkness came over the earth, and the stars appeared in the heavens; when the eclipse had passed, the sun was restored to its former brightness.

In the city of Acre there was a man, a worshipper of God, though in secret from fear of the pagans, who frequently sent letters to the armies of the Christians, written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and by them signified to the Christians all the circumstances and intentions of the pagans; in consequence of which, the Christians, being often forewarned, avoided the stratagems of the pagans. However, it was a cause of great vexation to the Christians that they did not know this man, nor yet his name, though in all the letters that he sent he declared that he was a Christian, and in his writings he always commenced with, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." However, it is a thing greatly to be wondered at, that, neither before the taking of the city nor yet after it was taken, he thought fit to discover himself to the Christians.

In the same month of July, the Christians filled up a great part of the fosse, that they might plant their ladders against the walls. On the pagans seeing this, who were being besieged, they offered to surrender to the kings their city, with their arms and provisions, on condition of safety to life and limb, and leave to depart. However, the kings were not willing to take it in this way, but demanded of them the Holy Cross, and the whole of the land of Jerusalem, in the same state it was in before the capture of king Guido. Saladin, however, would not agree to these terms.

In the same month of June, Richard de Camville, whom the king of England had appointed one of his justiciaries in the island of Cyprus, was taken ill, and, without asking leave, came to the siege of Acre, where he died. After his decease, the Griffons and the Armenians, who had not yet made peace with the king, appointed a new emperor to rule over them, a monk of the family of the emperor Isaac. But Robert de Turnham, the only one of the king's justiciaries remaining in the isle of Cyprus after the death of Richard de Camville, collected a large army and engaged with the new emperor, and, defeating him and his people, took him prisoner, and hanged him on a gibbet.

In the same month of June, Ralph Fitz-Godfrey, to whom the king had given charge of the emperor of Cyprus, departed this life, and was buried at Tripolis; after whose death, the king gave the emperor into the charge of the Hospitallers, who took him to the castle of Margant, and there placed him in confinement.

In the same month of June, the miners of the king of England undermined the foundations of the walls of the city of Acre, the pagans who were inside being in ignorance thereof; and, placing logs of wood beneath, they set them on fire; on which a great part of the walls fell down.

In the meantime, the stone engines of the king of France, the Templars, and the Pisans, had made a great breach in the wall, near a tower which is called Maledetta, and the people of the king of France ran towards the breach, hoping, by force, to effect an entrance into the city. However, the pagans met them with a strong hand, and drove them back; and, as the way was steep and narrow, many of the people of the king of France were there slain. The king of England, however, and his men were keeping guard in the meantime over the outer

trenches, which lay between the army of the Christians and that of Saladin; for an agreement had been made between the kings that, whenever one of them should be making an assault upon the city, the other should in the meantime keep strict guard over the outer trenches, in order that the army of Saladin might not be able to do any injury to those making the assault, by attacking them in the rear. This arrangement was also made between the kings, because in every affair in which the said kings and their people had united, they were less successful than they would have been if they had acted separately, for the king of France and his men looked contemptuously on the king of England and his people, while he and his people did the same to the others.

In the month of July, on the third day of that month, being the fourth day of the week, a great part of the walls of the city of Acre fell down, near the tower before-mentioned: upon which, Alberic Clement, the marshal of the king of France, ran with a large body of armed men towards the wall, with the standard of the king of France, the marquis Conrad running with the rest towards the wall; on reaching which, they planted their ladders for the purpose of scaling. The said Alberic then mounted the wall: but the pagans, throwing over him an iron hook, dragged him within the walls, and slew him, and crushed forty more with stones: on which, Conrad with his people retreated, as he and they were unwilling to discharge either stones or arrows against the enemy, and the pagans against him and his people; besides which, the pagans who had come for the purpose of defending the walls, remained, in the same spot waving the banner of Conrad himself, which he had given them as a sign of peace, in the sight and to the admiration of all.

On the day after this, the chief men who were in the city, namely, Mestoc and Karakois, came to the king of France and the king of England, and offered them the city, and the arms, and gold, and silver that belonged to themselves and all the others who were in the city, in return for leave to depart with safety to life and limb. However, the kings declined to accede to these terms; but required, as the price of their ransom, all the territory that Saladin and the other pagans had taken from the Christians since the time that Louis, king of the Franks, was at Jerusalem, as well as the Holy Cross, and the Christians whom they kept in captivity.

To this Mestoc and Karakois made answer, "These exorbitant demands we cannot comply with, except with the assent and will of our lord Saladin, and our other principal men. But give us a truce of three days, and allow us to go to our principal men, that we may confer with them on the nature of your demands." Accordingly, giving hostages as a security for their return, they went to Saladin, but, on informing him of the demands of the Christians, could not prevail upon him to give anything for their ransom; and so, in confusion, they took their departure and entered the city. On the following night, at about midnight, Saladin made an assault upon the guards of the outer trenches, with the intention that while the Christians were giving their attention to the defence of the trenches, the pagans who were in the city might more easily escape by flight. But the kings, forewarned of this by a message from the man of God before-mentioned, who was in the city, placed guards around the walls, so that there was no safe egress for any of the pagans.

Upon this, a great alarm was raised throughout the army of the Christians, who, on being aroused from their sleep, quickly snatching up their arms, hastened to the trenches, and, making an attack upon the pagans, slew multitudes of them, and put the rest to flight. On the fifth day of the month of July, being the sixth day of the week, a breach in the walls was again set fire to, which had been made by the men of the king of England; and, on the following night, the bastions fell, with a great part of the walls, leaving a wide gap. On the day after this, the king of England and his army, having armed, approached with the view of making an assault on the city; on which the pagans immediately made a signal that they wished to make peace with them: whereupon, laying aside their arms, the Christians returned to their camp, and Mestoc, Karakois, Hessedin, and Ordich came out of the city for the purpose of having an interview with the kings, and offered them the city, with all the other articles above-mentioned.

After the kings and they had conferred upon the matter for a considerable time, leave was given them to go to Saladin and return. Accordingly they went, and prevailed upon Saladin to offer to the kings the city of Jerusalem, and the Holy Cross, and all the cities and castles which he had taken after the capture of king Guido, and to repair and place them in the same state

in which they then were; on condition, however, that the said kings should either go with him, or send with him six thousand knights and twenty thousand foot soldiers, to defend his territories against the lord Musse and the sons of Nouredin, who had conquered his uncle Thekedin in battle, and taken possession of all his territory, although they had permitted them to depart uninjured. However, the kings declined to do this, and the pagans before-named entered the city disconsolate and in confusion; their friends, however, deserting Saladin, loaded him with censures.

On the seventh day of the month of July, being the Lord's day, the king of France and his army made an assault upon the city, near the tower called Maledetta, at the same spot at which they had previously so done, but lost forty men, and were able to effect nothing whatever. On the eighth day of the month of July, Saladin burned Caiaphas, and destroyed the vineyards in its vicinity. On the following night, when many of the knights and men-at-arms of the Christian army were watching before the tower of Maledetta, a light from heaven shone around them, in which appeared to them the blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of Christ; on which, from fear, the guards were exceedingly alarmed, and became as though dead men. But the blessed Virgin benignantly comforted them, saying, "Be not terrified, for the Lord has sent me hither for your safety. As soon as the day shall have dawned, go and tell your kings, in the name of Jesus Christ my Son and Lord, and in my name, to cease levelling the walls of this city, as, on the fourth day from this, the Lord shall deliver it into their hands." At the same hour also at which the Mother of Christ was speaking to the guards, a great earthquake took place in the city, and so terrified the pagans, that they wished rather to die than to live. In like manner shall the Lord, when He shall come to judgment, appear gentle to the good, and terrible to the wicked. After the Virgin Mary had thus spoken, she was severed from before their eyes, and with her the light departed which had shone around them.

Accordingly, in the morning the guards related to the kings and the chief men of the army the vision which they had seen and the words which the Mother of the Lord had spoken unto them; and immediately all the words which she had spoken were spread throughout the army, and there was great rejoicing among the people of God. Moreover, on the ninth and tenth

days of July, Saladin caused all the vines and fruit-bearing trees to be rooted up which were in the vicinity of Acre, and all the cities and castles to be destroyed in which he felt no confidence as being able to resist the attacks of the Christians. On the eleventh day of the month of July, the Pisans and the army of the king of England made an assault on the city of Acre, and, having mounted the walls, a Pisan, Leonardus by name, was slain; immediately after which the pagans made a signal that they would surrender the city, and make peace with the kings on their own terms. Accordingly, the chief men of the pagans above-named came to confer with the kings as to making peace, and, immediately after the conference, returned to the city.

On the twelfth day of the month of July, being the sixth day of the week, Philip, king of France, Richard, king of England, and all the principal men of the Christians, assembled in the morning at the tent of the Templars, where they were met by the principal men of the pagans besieged in the city; and, with the sanction of the army of the Christians, the said kings made peace with the pagans on the following terms—The pagans were to surrender to the said kings the city of Acre, with everything therein, and to set at liberty five hundred Christian captives who were there. They also covenanted with the kings that they would deliver up to them the Holy Cross, and one thousand Christian captives, and two hundred Christian knights who were in captivity, according as the said kings should make choice from among all the captives who should be found in the possession of Saladin; and that they would give for the use of the kings two hundred thousand besants.²⁵ They were also to remain as hostages in the hands of the kings, upon the understanding that, if they should not within forty days then next ensuing comply with the terms above-mentioned, they should be at the mercy of the kings for life and limb.

These covenants being made, and these terms being agreed to by both sides, and confirmed by oath, the kings sent their knights and men-at-arms into the city, and selected one hundred of the richest and most noble of the pagans, and placed them in a tower under a strong guard; while the rest they caused to be guarded in the houses and streets of the city, and supplied them with necessaries, making it a rule that all who should receive baptism and embrace the Christian faith should be set at liberty. Being influenced, accordingly, by their apprehen-

²⁵ Roger of Wendover says "seven thousand."

sion of death, many of the pagans received baptism; but, as soon as they possibly could, they forsook the Christian religion and betook themselves to Saladin; on which the kings gave orders that, from that time forward, no one should receive baptism. On Saladin hearing of the peace which had been made with the Christians, he pretended that it had not been made with his sanction. On the thirteenth day of the month of July, the king of France and the king of England divided between themselves the city of Acre, and everything that was in it, both the pagans as well as the gold and silver, and all other articles of property; on which Drogo de Merlou and a hundred knights were named on behalf of the king of France to receive his share; and Hugh de Gurnay and a hundred knights were appointed on behalf of the king of England to receive his proportion.

On the fourteenth day of the month of July, Saladin withdrew himself and his army, and pitched his tents at a place called Saphora, and messengers on his part went and returned to the kings, with fruits and other presents; by whom Saladin made offer to the kings of the whole of the land of Judea, with the exception of the Crag of Montreal, which was beyond the river Jordan, on condition, however, that they would lend him two thousand knights and five thousand men-at-arms, for one year, for the purpose of defending his territories against the lord Musse and the sons of Noureddin. However, the kings declined to accept these proposals on his part.

On the fifteenth day of the month of July, the kings ordered their stone engines and other engines of war to be taken down. On the sixteenth day of July, messengers came to the kings, on behalf of the lord Musse and the sons of Noureddin, and made the kings many and ample offers for the assistance of their subjects against Saladin. On the same day, Alardus, cardinal-bishop of Verona and legate of the Apostolic See, and the archbishops of Tours, Pisa, and Aire, Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, John, bishop of Evreux, Bernard, bishop of Bayonne, the bishop of Tripolis, Philip of Chartres, and the bishop of Beauvais, and other bishops of dioceses, consecrated the principal churches of the city of Acre, which the pagans had polluted, and built altars to the Lord, and celebrated mass thereon. In the meantime the kings and the people gave due attention to the repair of the walls. On the seventeenth and eighteenth days of the month of July, the Pisans, and money-dealers,²⁶ and

²⁶ Probably the Lombards.

others who followed mercantile pursuits, received dwellings within the city, in the open market, which the kings' servants allotted to them, on the understanding that they were to pay, yearly, the customary and proper rents for the same.

On the nineteenth day of the month of July, the earls and barons, who had been now staying there nearly two years besieging Acre, seeing that the kings had put every thing that had been taken upon the surrender of the city into their own purses, and were willing to give them no share thereof, had a meeting beyond the outer trenches, and holding a conference there, sent word to the kings that they would no longer continue with them, unless they were sharers in the gain as they had been in the labour; on which the kings made answer, that they would satisfy their wishes; but as they delayed so doing, many, being compelled by poverty so to do, left them. On the twentieth day of the month of July, being the feast of Saint Margaret the Virgin, Richard, king of England, made a proposal to the king of France that they should both make oath that they would remain with their armies three years in the land of Jerusalem, for the purpose of subjugating the land; to which the king of France made answer, that he would make no oath about the matter.

On the twenty-first day of the month of July, the king of England first entered the city of Acre; on which he and his wife and sister took up their abode in the king's palace, while the king of France was lodged in the mansion of the Templars. On the twenty-second day of the month of July, being the feast of Saint Mary Magdalene, the king of France sent to the king of England Robert, bishop of Beauvais, Hugh, duke of Burgundy, Drogo de Amiens, and William de Merlou, and through them asked his sanction to his return to his own country; on which the king of England made this answer to them: "It will be a shame and a disgrace for my lord if he goes away without having completed the business on which he came hither. But still, if he finds himself ailing, or in bad health, and is afraid lest he should die here, his will be done." On the twenty-third day of the month, when it was spread through the army that the king of France was about to depart, the principal men of his army came to him, and besought him with tears not in this shameless manner to desert the service of God. On the twenty-sixth day of the month of July, by the advice of the king of France, Conrad came to the king

of England, and falling on the ground at his feet, asked his forgiveness, on which the king of England put an end to all his anger and displeasure against him. On the following day, also, the king of France came, and all the principal men of the army, to hear the matters in dispute between king Guido and the marquis Conrad. Accordingly, having taken their seats, the marquis Conrad arose, and standing in the midst of them, demanded the kingdom of Jerusalem in right of his wife; while Guido of Lusignan, who had been king before its capture, and escaped from it when it was taken, and had commenced the siege of Acre, demanded restitution thereof to be made to him, showing that he had done nothing for which he deserved to lose his kingdom. After much bandying of words on both sides, they each of them submitted themselves to the award of the court of the kings, by whose advice and judgment peace and final reconciliation were effected between them, on the following terms:

In the first place, they both made oath, that is to say, king Guido and the marquis Conrad, that they would abide by the judgment of the kings, and faithfully observe the same. On which, the said kings and the whole army adjudged to the said king Guido, for his life, the kingdom of Jerusalem; on the understanding that if he should take a wife and have sons or daughters, they should have no right to claim succession to the kingdom as of hereditary right. But if the marquis Conrad and his wife, the sister of queen Sibylla, should happen to survive him, they should succeed him in the kingdom, and their heirs should in succession wield the sceptre and possess the same by hereditary right. And, in the meantime, all the revenues of the kingdom were to be halved between them, the royal dignity excepted, which was to belong to Guido alone, so long as he should live. Conrad, also, was to have Tyre, Sidon, and Baruth, and to hold the same by hereditary right; while he and his heirs were always to perform the due and customary services for the same to the king of Jerusalem. Geoffrey of Lusignan, also, the king's brother, was to have the earldom of Joppa and Cæsarea, and to hold the same by hereditary right; and he and his heirs were always to perform the due and customary services for the same to the king of Jerusalem.

On the twenty-ninth day of the month of July, Philip, king of France, gave to Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, the moiety of the city of Acre that belonged to himself. On the same

day, the king of France again asked the king of England to agree to his return home, but he could on no terms obtain his sanction to his withdrawal, unless he should first swear upon the Holy Evangelists that he would well and faithfully protect the territories and subjects of the king of England until his return, and would inflict no injury or grievance upon them, or allow the same to be done by any one else. After this, the king of France appointed the duke of Burgundy chief of his army, giving up to him a great part of his treasure. Before his departure, he also gave to Raymond, prince of Antioch, one hundred knights and five hundred men-at-arms for the defence of his territory against the pagans, and gave to each of the knights forty marks of silver as his pay from the feast of Saint Michael until Easter, appointing Robert de Quincy their governor and captain. The king of England also, on the same day, gave to the prince of Antioch five great ships, laden with horses, arms, and provisions. On the thirtieth day of the month of July, the king of France and the king of England divided among themselves all the pagans who had been captured at Acre. On the thirty-first day of the month of July, that is to say, on the last day of that month, on the feast of Saint German, the king of France departed from Acre, and, taking with him Reginald, bishop of Chartres, and Peter, count de Nevers, went to Tyre; whither he also took Karakois and all the other pagans belonging to him, and made a stay there of two days.

On the third day of the month of August, the king of France left Tyre, giving into the charge of the marquis Conrad all his pagan prisoners. On the same day, the king of England caused his ships to be laden, saying that he would go to Ascalon to lay siege to it, and ordering all to follow him. On the fifth day of the month of August, the king of England sent Hubert Fitz-Walter, bishop of Salisbury, to Tyre, for the pagans whom the king of France had taken thither, in order that he might bring them back; but Conrad refused to let them go. On his return, he related to the king the answer he had received from Conrad, on which the king was enraged, and swore that he would personally go to Tyre for the purpose of bringing them away by force, unless Conrad should speedily let them go. On this, the duke of Burgundy made answer to the king, saying: "My lord, allow me to go, and I will bring them back;" and accordingly, he went and brought them back.

For the day that had been named was now approaching upon

which the pagans were to perform their stipulation, and to be set at liberty. However, upon that day, the pagans neither produced the Holy Cross, nor the Christian captives, nor yet the money which they had promised for the safety of their life and limbs: in consequence of which failure, all those pagans were sentenced to undergo capital punishment. When this was told to Saladin, he sent word to the king of England and the whole army of the Christians, that if they cut off the heads of his pagan subjects, he himself would strike off the heads of all the Christians whom he had in his power.

On the fourteenth day of the month of August, being the fourth day of the week, on the vigil of the Assumption of Saint Mary, the Mother of God and ever a virgin, the king of England went beyond the outer trenches and pitched his tents near the army of the pagans, and remained there some days, having issued orders that all his army should attend him; few, however, did so, in consequence of the deficiency of horses and arms. On the same day, Saladin sent to the king of England costly presents, and requested him to put off the day on which he had proposed to cut off the heads of the pagans; but the king declined to put off the day any longer, or to accept the presents of Saladin. On Saladin seeing and hearing this, he caused the heads of all the Christians, whom he had in his hands, to be cut off; which was accordingly done on the eighteenth day of the month of August, being the Lord's day. On the same day, the king of England moved his army, and drew near to the army of Saladin, and had an engagement with him, on which occasion many fell on both sides both killed and wounded, among whom, Peter Mignot, one of the household of the king of England, was slain.

The king of England, although he heard of the death of the Christians who had been slain, was still unwilling to anticipate the time which he had fixed upon for taking off the heads of the pagans. However, on the seventeenth day of the month of August, being the third day of the week and the thirteenth day before the calends of September, the king of England caused all the pagans who belonged to him from the capture of Acre to be led out before the army of Saladin, and their heads to be struck off in the presence of all. The duke of Burgundy also caused the heads of the pagans to be cut off who had belonged to the king of France, both within the city, and without, and near the walls of the city.

Still, the king of England and the duke of Burgundy preserved some of the pagans for their ransom, whose names were as follow: Mestoc, Karakois, Hessedin, the son of Caulin, Hessedin Jordic, Passelari, Kamardoli, and Kaedin. The number of the pagans thus slain was five thousand, all of whom the Christians disembowelled, and found much gold and silver in their entrails, while they preserved their gall for medical purposes. On the twenty-first day of the month of August, after the slaughter of the pagans, the king of England delivered into the charge of Bertram de Verdun the city of Acre, and the queen of England, the queen of Sicily, and the daughter of the emperor of Cyprus. On the twenty-second day of the month of August, being the fifth day of the week, the king of England crossed the river of Acre with his army, and, pitching his tents between that river and the sea, on the sea-shore between Acre and Cayphas, remained there four days. After this, he proceeded along the sea-shore towards Joppa, while his ships sailed near him on the sea with his provisions and engines of war, in order that if he had any necessity for so doing, he might be enabled to return to his ships. Saladin and his army in the meantime proceeded along the mountain passes, not far from the king's army, that he might impede his passage.

In the month of September, on the third day after the exaltation of the Holy Cross, when the king of England and his army had passed the straits of Merle, and the duke of Burgundy with the Templars and Franks was keeping the rear-guard, and the king of England had hoisted his standard in the midst of them, and had delivered his dragon²⁷ to Peter de Pratelles to carry, against the claim of Robert Trussebut, who had claimed to carry the same according to the right of his predecessors, Saladin made a fierce attack upon the duke of Burgundy and those who were with him. But no Christian was slain on that occasion, with the sole exception of Jacques de Avenes, who, with a few men withstood Saladin and his army; as the duke of Burgundy took to flight. On this, the king of England, hearing the noise in the rear, wheeled about and manfully engaged with the army of Saladin, and gained a victory over him, slaying three thousand of the pagans; after which he remained there three days. The king then wrote to his deputies and friends to the following effect:—

²⁷ The royal standard.

The Letter of Richard, king of England, on the departure of the king of France from Acre.

“Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to N., his dearly beloved and faithful subject, greeting, Know, that after the capture of Acre, and after the departure of my lord the king of France from us at Acre, who there basely abandoned the purpose of his pilgrimage, and broke his vow, against the will of God, to the eternal disgrace of himself and of his realm, we took the road to Joppa; and when we approached near Assur, Saladin met us with a mighty host of his Saracens, and made an attack upon us. However, by the mercy of God, we lost not a man on this day, with the exception of one of extreme valour, and much endeared to the whole army by his merits, namely, Jacques de Avennes, who was ever ready and devoted, like a stay and support to the army, in all holiness and in the sincerity of the faith, for many years past, to serve God in the army of the Christians. After this, by the will of God, we arrived at Joppa. We fortified that city with trenches and a wall, making it our purpose everywhere, to the very best of our power, to promote the interests of Christianity. Also, on a second day, being the vigil of the Nativity of Saint Mary, Saladin lost an infinite number of his great men, and taking to flight, as though bereft of the benefit of all aid and counsel, laid waste the whole of the land of Sulia. Further, on the third day before the rout of Saladin, we were wounded in the left side with a javelin, but by the grace of God have now recovered from the effects thereof. Know, also, that by the grace of God, we hope within twenty days after the Nativity of our Lord, to recover the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the Sepulchre of our Lord, after effecting which we shall return home. Witness ourselves at Joppa, on the first day of October.”

The Letter of the king of England to the abbat of Clairval, on the same subject.

“Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to the venerable man and his most dearly-beloved friend in Christ, the abbat of Clairval, health and a succession of continued prosperity. After the mournful and universally bewailed loss of the Holy

City of Jerusalem, the City of the living God, in favour of which his name was invoked, the earth was alarmed and trembled, because the King of heaven had lost His own land, the land upon which His feet had stood. But the blessing of God being diffused from the Apostolic See throughout the whole earth, the friends of the Cross of Christ, as your holiness is not unaware, vying with each other, pressed onwards to assume the sign of the Cross on their foreheads and on their shoulders, and to avenge the injuries done to that Holy Cross. Among these and ourselves was divided the task undertaken by us of thus serving the living God, on assuming the sign of the Cross for the purpose of defending the scenes of His death which had been made holy by His precious blood, and which the enemies of the Cross of Christ had hitherto disgracefully profaned; and within a short time after the arrival of my lord the king of the Franks at Acre, there, by the guidance of the Lord, did we also arrive; shortly after which the noble city of Acre was surrendered to my lord the king of the Franks and ourselves, the lives being saved of the Saracens who had been sent for the purpose of defending and protecting it, and an agreement being fully confirmed on the part of Saladin that he would give up to us the Holy Cross, and one thousand five hundred captives alive, a day being appointed for the due performance of the said covenants. However, the time having expired, and the stipulation which he had agreed to being utterly disregarded, we put to death about two thousand six hundred of the Saracens whom we held in our hands, as we were bound to do; retaining, however, a few of the more noble ones, in return for whom we trusted to recover the Holy Cross and certain of the Christian captives. After this, the king of the Franks having returned home, and the ruins and breaches in the walls of the city of Acre being duly repaired, and the city properly fortified with trenches and a wall, we agreed that at Joppa we would promote the interests of Christianity and pursue the object of our vow; and, together with ourselves, the duke of Burgundy with the French placed under his command, the count Henry with his men, and many other earls and barons, and an innumerable body of people, determined to proceed. As between Acre and Joppa there was a very considerable distance, and a very long road, we at length, after much toil, and a severe loss of men, came down to Cæsarea. Saladin, also, on the same march lost a great number of his men. After the people of God had taken breath for a

time at that place, we pursued our intended route towards Joppa. Our vanguard having gone before and pitched their tents at Assur, Saladin with a mighty host of Saracens made an attack upon our rear-guard; on which, by the favouring grace of the Divine mercy, he was put to flight by only four battalions who faced about against him, and for a whole league was pursued in his flight by the entire troops of the Christians; in consequence of which, such a slaughter took place of the more noble Saracens whom Saladin had with him, namely, in the vicinity of Assur, on the vigil of the Nativity of Saint Mary the Virgin, being Saturday, that Saladin had experienced none like thereto on any one day in the preceding forty years. We, however, by the grace of God, lost not one that day, with the exception of one very valiant man, Jacques de Avennes, and much endeared to the whole army by his merits, who was ever ready and devoted, like a stay and support to the army, in all holiness and in the sincerity of the faith, for many years past, to serve God in the army of the Christians. After this, by the guidance of the Lord, we arrived at Joppa, and strengthened that city with trenches and a wall, making it our purpose in every quarter to promote the interests of Christianity to the utmost possible extent. Since the day of the discomfiture of Saladin above-mentioned, he has not dared to engage with the Christians, but, like a lion in his den, has been secretly lying in ambush in the more elevated places for the purpose of slaying the friends of the Cross like sheep destined for slaughter. Accordingly, on hearing that we were marching towards Ascalon with hasty steps, he overthrew that place and levelled it with the ground, and has now deserted and set at nought the whole land of Syria, as though he had been utterly bereft of the benefit of all counsel and assistance; in consequence of which, we consider it to be a ground for sanguine hopes, that in a short time, by the bounty of God, the inheritance of the Lord will be entirely regained. And as the inheritance of the Lord has already in some measure been regained, and we have in the recovery thereof endured all the heat and burden of the day, and have now exhausted all our money, and not only our money, but our strength and body as well; we do notify unto your brotherhood that we are not able to remain in the country of Syria beyond the festival of Easter. The duke of Burgundy, with the Franks placed under his command, count Henry, with his men, and the other earls, barons, and knights, who, in the service of God have

expended their means in behalf of God, will return home, unless through the skilful effects produced by your preaching, timely provision shall be made for them, in men, by whom the land may be peopled and defended, and in money, which they may expend more freely in the service of God. Wherefore, falling at the feet of your holiness and shedding tears, we do proffer our humble entreaties, and do most earnestly beseech you that in such manner as becomes your duty and your honor, you will make it your endeavour to induce the princes and noblemen throughout all Christendom, and the rest of the people of God, to give their services to the living God, and to prompt them so to do. And therefore, after the said festival of Easter, let it be for them to defend and protect the kingdom of the Lord, of which we, by the mercy of God, will, by the said time of Easter, more fully gain possession. And be it the care of your diligence to act with such earnestness in this respect, that nothing may through neglect on your part be lost, of that which the common advantage of all Christendom so ardently awaits. And for this reason it is that we do at this early period direct to your holiness our letters with reference to the interests of Christianity; to the end that we may not be reproached with slothfulness and negligence, in case we had in any way neglected to forewarn a man of such position and of so holy a life on the urgent interests of Christendom. Therefore, in such manner as before we had resolved on this expedition, you encouraged us and the rest of the people of God to enter the service of God, and to restore His inheritance to Him, so now as well does the most urgent necessity call upon you, with all earnestness to arouse the people of God to act as hereinbefore mentioned. Witness ourselves, at Joppa, on the first day of October."

It is also to be observed that, immediately after the rout of Saladin, the pagans who were in Ascalon and Joppa abandoned those places, not daring to await the arrival of the king of England; accordingly, the king of England found them both deserted, and fortified them with castles and trenches. Shortly after this, the king of England having gone one day to some gardens about a mile from Joppa, to walk there, he fell asleep, on which a multitude of pagans surprised him, and aroused the king from his slumbers; immediately on which, he mounted his horse, and manfully withstood the Saracens. However, William de Pratelles, one of his household, was there

taken prisoner, and Reginald, his comrade, was slain; one also of the king's chargers was taken there, and its leader slain, and the king only escaped through his prowess. When the king was mounting his horse, his belt, enriched with gold and precious stones, fell off, which was found by William de Cornenburg, and afterwards restored to the king. Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, also sent back his horse to the king, who returned to Joppa. After this, the king fortified the castle of Planes, and the castle of Maen, and stayed at Joppa till nearly the Nativity of our Lord.

In the meantime, a serious dissension arose in England between the king's chancellor and John, earl of Mortaigne, the king's brother, relative to the castle of Lincoln, which the chancellor besieged, having expelled Gerard de Camville from the keepership and the office of sheriff of Lincoln; which former office the chancellor gave to William de Stuteville, and made him sheriff as well. But while the said chancellor was besieging the castle of Lincoln, the castle of Nottingham and the castle of Tickhill, which belonged to the king, were surrendered to earl John, who immediately sent word to the chancellor that, unless he quickly gave up the siege, he would visit him with a rod of iron.

Consequently, the chancellor, being alarmed at the commands of John, earl of Mortaigne, broke up the siege; and, through the mediation of many of the bishops, and other faithful servants of our lord the king, they appointed a day for an interview, at which an agreement was made between them on the following terms:—

“Be it known to all men to whom this present writing shall come, that the dispute that has arisen between the earl of Mortaigne and our lord the chancellor has been, through the mediation of the archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops of Durham, London, Winchester, Bath, Rochester, and Coventry, and other faithful servants of our lord the king, set at rest; inasmuch as the earl of Mortaigne has restored to our lord the king, by the hands of the lord archbishop of Rouen, the castles of Tickhill and of Nottingham, to be given into the charge of William Marshal and of William de Wendenal; that is to say, the castle of Nottingham to William Marshal, and the castle of Tickhill to William de Wendenal; which said castles they shall, having made oath thereto, keep to the honor of and in fealty to our lord the king, until such time as

he shall return; and when he shall return, then they shall do therewith according to his will and command. And if, which God forbid, it shall so happen that our lord the king shall depart this life during the pilgrimage, then the said persons shall, without detaining the same or any delay, deliver up the before-mentioned castles to the said earl. And if it shall so happen that, in the meantime, our lord the chancellor shall be guilty of any excesses against the said earl, and, on being requested to make amends for the same without delay, in conformity with the advice and opinion of the said lord archbishop of Rouen and others of the household of our lord the king and of his court, shall refuse so to do, then they shall restore and give up the said castles to the said earl. These other castles also, with the honors thereof granted to him by our lord the king, have been delivered into the charge of faithful servants of our lord the king; that is to say, the castle of Wallingford has been given up to the lord archbishop of Rouen, the castle of Bristol to the lord bishop of London, the castle of the Peak to the lord bishop of Coventry, the castle of Bolsover to Richard of the Peak, and, if the said Richard should decline it, the lord bishop of Coventry is to take it, the castle of Eye to Walter Fitz-Robert, the castle of Hereford to earl Roger Bigot, the castles of Exeter and of Launceston to Richard Revel; who have in like manner sworn that, as they owe fealty to our lord the king, they will faithfully keep the same for his service. And, further, three castles, which belong to the crown of our lord the king, have been delivered in trust as follows: the castle of Windsor to the earl of Arundel, the castle of Winchester to Gilbert de Lacy, and the castle of Northampton to Simon de Pateshull, who have in like manner sworn that, as they owe fealty to our lord the king, they will faithfully keep the same for his service. It has been further agreed, that bishops, abbats, earls, barons, vavasors, and freeholders shall not, at the will of justices or deputies of our lord the king, be disseised of their lands and chattels,²³ but shall be dealt with by judgment of the court of our lord the king, according to the lawful customs and assizes of the realm, or according to the command of our lord the king. And in like manner the lord John shall cause similar provisions to be made in his lands. And, if any person shall presume to do otherwise, at the prayer of the before-

²³ "Caballis," in the text, is clearly a mistake for "catallis."

named earl, the same shall be rectified by the lord archbishop of Rouen, if he shall be in England, and by the justices of our lord the king, and by those who have thus sworn to keep the peace; and, in like manner, at their prayer, the said John shall cause due reparation to be made. All new castles built after the departure beyond sea of our lord the king on his pilgrimage, whether begun or whether finished, shall be razed, and no other new ones shall be fortified until the return of our lord the king, except in manors demesne of our lord the king, if need there shall be, or in case such shall be done in the service of some person named by the precept of our lord the king, conveyed hither by letter or by some trusty messenger. Gerard de Camville shall be reinstated in the office of sheriff of Lincoln, and on the same day a proper day shall be appointed for him to make his appearance in the court of our lord the king, there to abide his trial; and if in the judgment of the court of our lord the king proof can be given that he ought to lose that office as also the keepership of the castle of Lincoln, then he is to lose the same; but, if not, he is to keep it, unless in the meantime an agreement can be come to relative thereto on some other terms. And the lord John is not to support him against the decision of our lord the king, nor is he to harbour such outlaws, or enemies to our lord the king, as shall be named to him, nor allow them to be harboured on his lands. But if any person shall be accused of any offence committed against our lord the king, it shall be lawful for the earl to harbour him in his lands so long as he shall offer to make due redress in the court of our lord the king. To maintain and observe this treaty of peace in good faith and without evil intent, the said earl, and chancellor, and fourteen barons, on the two sides, have made oath at the hand of the said lord archbishop of Rouen; namely, on the part of the chancellor, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Salisbury, the earl Roger Bigot, the earl of Clare, Walter Fitz-Robert, William de Braove, and Roger Fitz-Remfray; and, on the part of the earl, Stephen Ridel, his chancellor, William de Wendenal, Robert de la Mare, Philip de Lurcester, William de Kahannes, Gilbert Basset, and William de Montacute. And if within the time of the truce anything shall have been taken or intercepted on either side, it shall be lawfully returned and made good. And this treaty has been made, saving in all things the authority and commands of our lord the king; but so that if, before his re-

turn, our lord the king shall be unwilling that this treaty shall hold good, the before-named castles of Nottingham and Tick-hill shall be restored to the lord John, whatever commands our lord the king may give relative thereto."

In the same year, a short time after the above-mentioned treaty of peace made between the chancellor and the earl, Geoffrey, the archbishop elect of York was consecrated by William, archbishop of Tours, by command of Celestinus, the Supreme Pontiff; and, immediately after his consecration, being unmindful of the oath which he had made to the king, his brother, to the effect that he would not return to England till after the expiration of three years from the time that the king left England, he hastened to return to England. However, on his arrival at Witsand, in Flanders, for the purpose of crossing over to England, he was forbidden on part of the chancellor to presume to return to England, contrary to the tenor of the oath which he had taken before the king; but the archbishop refused at his command to abandon his purpose; wherefore, the chancellor ordered him to be seized, if he should come into England.

Accordingly, the archbishop of York came over to England, and landed at Dover, in the month of September, while the servants of the chancellor were standing on the shore for the purpose of laying hands on him. Being, however, forewarned of this, before he left the ship he changed his clothes, and mounting a horse in whose speed he had confidence, fled to a monastery of monks in that town. It was about the sixth hour of the day, and the monks had begun mass, and the Epistle was being read, in which they had just come to the passage where the holy Apostle says: "He that troubleth you shall bear his judgment, whosoever he be;"²⁹ and again, in the same Epistle, "I would they were even cut off which trouble you,"³⁰ when the archbishop of York entered the church, putting his trust in the Lord; and he received the same as a pleasing omen, referring it to the lasting quiet of his own holy office, and the approaching confusion of the chancellor.

Upon this, the servants of the chancellor whom he had sent to apprehend him, besieged the church on all sides, so that he could not come forth without falling into their hands; and one day, after the celebration of the mass, while the said archbishop, clad in his sacerdotal habiliments, was still standing

²⁹ Gal. v. 10.

³⁰ Gal. v. 12.

at the altar, these sinister satellites effected an entrance into the church, and laid violent hands upon him, and dragged him forth from the church. After dragging him out, or rather tearing him away therefrom, they vilely and ignominiously led him through the mud of the streets, and along the lanes, while the people stood shouting after them: "O cowards! why do you take him in this manner? What harm has he done? He is an archbishop, the brother of a king, and the son of a king!"

However, not attending to the words of the people, they took him to Dover castle, and delivered him into the custody of Matthew de Clare, the constable thereof. When this was told to earl John, the brother of the said archbishop, he enquired of the chancellor if this had been done by his order, on which he admitted that it was, and did not deny it; whereupon the earl gave orders that the archbishop should be set at liberty, which was done accordingly.

On his arrival at London, he made complaint to earl John, and the bishops, and other nobles of the kingdom, respecting the injuries done to him and his people by the chancellor and his men; and the earl gave orders that the chancellor should take his trial in the king's court for the injury which he had done to his brother the archbishop of York, and to Hugh, bishop of Durham. On the chancellor delaying to do this from day to day, the earl John, and the archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops and principal men of the kingdom, named a peremptory day for his appearance at Reading: on which day there came thither the earl of Mortaigne, and nearly all the bishops, earls, and barons of the kingdom; but though they waited there after the peremptory day, expecting the arrival of the chancellor, he declined to come, or even to send a message. Upon this, earl John, and the bishops who were with him, prepared to set out for London, that being there met by a more considerable number of persons, they might enjoy the benefit of the advice of the citizens of London, what to do as to their chancellor, who had created this confusion in the kingdom, and refused to take his trial.

On the chancellor hearing this, he left Windsor and hastened to London, and, while on the road, it so happened that his household and knights met the knights of earl John, on which a sharp engagement took place between them. In this affair one of the knights of earl John, by name Roger de Planis, lost his life; however, the earl prevailed, and the chancellor and

his men taking to flight, he entered London, and took refuge with his people in the Tower of London. Earl John, and nearly all the bishops and earls of England, also entered London on the same day, namely, the third day after the octave of Saint Michael, and, on the following day, the said earl John, the king's brother, and the archbishop of Rouen, and all the bishops, and the earls, and barons, met the citizens of London in Saint Paul's Churchyard, and there made accusation against the said chancellor of many offences, and especially the injuries he had done to the lord archbishop of York and the lord bishop of Durham.

The associates also of the said chancellor whom the king had associated with him in the government of the kingdom, accused him of many offences, saying that, despising their advice, he had transacted all the affairs of the kingdom according to impulse and his own will. The archbishop of Rouen also, and William Marshal, earl of Striguil, then for the first time produced before the people the sealed letters from our lord the king, in which the king had sent orders from Messina that they should be associated with him in the government of the kingdom, and that, without the advice of them and the other persons so appointed, he was not to act in the affairs of the king and the kingdom, and that if he should do anything to the detriment of the kingdom, or without the consent of the persons before-named, he should be deposed, and the archbishop of Rouen substituted in his place.

It seemed good therefore to John, the king's brother, and all the bishops, earls, and barons of the kingdom, and to the citizens of London, that the chancellor should be deposed, and they accordingly deposed him, and substituted in his place the archbishop of Rouen, who was willing to do nothing in the government of the kingdom except with the will and consent of the persons assigned to him as associates therein, and with the sanction of the barons of the exchequer. On the same day, also, the earl of Mortaigne, the archbishop of Rouen, and the other justiciaries of the king, granted to the citizens of London the privilege of their commonalty; and, during the same year, the earl of Mortaigne, the archbishop of Rouen, and the other justiciaries of the king, made oath that they would solemnly and inviolably observe the said privilege, so long as the same should please their lord the king. The citizens of London also made oath that they would faithfully serve their lord

king Richard, and his heirs, and would, if he should die without issue, receive earl John, the brother of king Richard, as their king and lord. They also swore fealty to him against all men, saving always their fealty to king Richard, his brother. Upon this, the chancellor, being deposed, made oath that he would surrender all the castles throughout England, and immediately surrendered to him the Tower of London; and he delivered it to the archbishop of Rouen, as also Windsor, and some other castles, but not all of them.

On this occasion, Hugh de Nunant, the bishop of Coventry, wrote to the following effect:—

The Letter of Hugh, bishop of Coventry, on the deposition of William, bishop of Ely, the king's chancellor.

“The things that are committed to writing are beyond doubt bequeathed to posterity, to the end that the page that is confirmed by the testimony of a few, may either advise for the safety, or redound to the benefit of, many: and may what is here set down be considered as an illustration of the truth of the same. For many things are committed to writing by way of caution, that the same may be done; and many, again, that they may not be done; that so the church of Christ may profit on either side, and may both seek what is to be coveted and shun what is to be avoided. For this reason it is our wish that the fall of the bishop of Ely should, by letters attesting the same, be brought to the notice of all; to the end that in this illustration humility may always find that by which to profit, and pride that which to hold in dread. For he was a great man among all the people of the west, and, as though gifted with a twofold right hand, wielded the power of the kingdom and the authority of the Apostolic See, and was in possession of the king's seal over all lands, so as to be enabled to govern according to his own will, and of his own power to bring all things to completion; even in the same degree of estimation as both king and priest together was he held: nor was there any person to be found to dare to offer resistance to his will. For he said, and the thing was done, he commanded, and all means were discovered. In his hands were the royal treasures, the whole of the king's riches, and the entire exchequer, so much so that all property whatsoever that swam beneath our skies was no longer said to belong to the king, but to him. For

there was neither that which is hunted for on land, fished for in the water, or flying in the air, which was not compelled to be at the service of his table, insomuch that he appeared to have shared the elements with the Lord; leaving the heaven of heavens alone to the Lord, and reserving the other three to advantage by the use or rather abuse and luxurious enjoyment thereof. All the sons of the nobles acted as his servants, with downcast looks, nor dared they to look upwards towards the heavens, unless it so happened that they were addressed by him; and if they attended to anything else, they were pricked with a goad, which their lord held in his hands, fully mindful of his grandfather of pious memory, who being of servile condition in the district of Beauvais, had for his occupation to guide the plough and whip up the oxen;³¹ and who at length, to gain his liberty, fled to the Norman territory. The grandchildren and relatives of this man, even any females whatsoever who were akin to him, though sprung from a poor cabin, earls, and barons, and nobles of the kingdom, longed with the greatest avidity to unite with themselves in marriage; thinking it a matter for pride, under any title whatever, to acquire the favour of his intimate acquaintanceship; nor was there a churl who longed for a field, a citizen who longed for a farm, a knight who longed for an estate, a clerk who longed for a benefice, or a monk who longed for an abbey, who was not obliged to become subservient to his power and influence. And although all England, bending the knee, was ever at his service, still did he always aspire to the free mode of life of the Franks, and removed his knights and yeomen, and all his household, to Oxford; where, slighting the English nation on all occasions, attended by a troop of Franks and Flemings, he moved pompously along, bearing a sneer in his nostrils, a grin on his features, derision in his eyes, and superciliousness on his brow, by way of fit ornament for a priest. For his own aggrandizement and for the glorification of his name, he was in the habit of getting up verses that he had picked up by begging, and adulatory jingles, and enticed jesters and singers from the kingdom of France by his presents, that they might sing about him in the streets; and but lately it was everywhere said that there was not such a person in all the world. And really, if it had been the time of the Cæsars, he would with Liberius³³ have had himself styled

³¹ This is said in a spirit of caustic malevolence.

³³ A misprint for Tiberius.

the living God. But when the king had given him certain earls as his associates, in order that at least the more weighty concerns of the realm might be managed by their counsels in common, he could not at all endure to have any partner therein, as he thought that the greater part of his glory would be thrown into the shade, if he should stand in need of the advice of any mortal being. Therefore he ruled alone, therefore he reigned alone, and from sea to sea was he dreaded as though a God; and were I to say still more, I should not be telling a falsehood, because God is long-suffering and merciful; while he, ruling every thing according to his own impulses, was neither able to observe justice when acting, nor to endure delay in waiting the proper time. Hence it arose that he set at nought all the letters and mandates of his lord; that he might not seem to have a superior, nor be supposed to be subject to any one, having always made every one act as the servant of his own will. Therefore, after England had for a considerable time suffered under so heavy a burden and a yoke so insupportable, at length, while groaning at his deeds, she cried aloud with all her might. Her cries went up to the Lord, and He, rising, looked down on her from on high, who by His own might treads under foot the necks of the proud and haughty, and exalts the humble by the might of His arm. The sun of justice, indeed, may shine upon the good and the bad, still the eyes of the overwise it dazzles, and by the brilliancy of its light brings forth fruit in the minds of the humble. For although this chancellor may perchance have read that it is denied us long to dwell on high,³⁴ and that 'He who stands must take care lest he fall,'³⁵ and that, 'He who exalteth himself shall be abased,'³⁶ and that before a downfall the heart is elated; still, being forgetful of the lot of mankind, which never remains in the same condition, and of the volubility of the wheel that elevates the lowly man, and, when elevated, is wont to depress him, he was never willing to understand that he ought to act virtuously; but meditating iniquity in his bed, where he was sleeping with the ministers of wickedness, and with youths in his chamber, he added iniquity to iniquity, so as by his pride and his abuses, through the just retribution of God, to precipitate himself into the powerful hands of the Lord; so that now there was no longer any room for mercy for him, but

³⁴ Perhaps alluding to Is. xxvi. 5.

³⁵ Alluding to 1 Cor. x. 12.

³⁶ St. Luke xiv. 11, and xviii. 14.

solely for the exercise of power. Nor indeed was there an opportunity for taking compassion on him or sparing him. For it was he himself who dictated the sentence against himself, who goaded vengeance on, who aimed at crimes so great, that he thereby provoked the anger not only of men, but still more, of God. For although the Lord can do all things, still He is unable to condemn a man who is innocent, or to save one who is guilty, nor would He spare him if the guilty man should chance to be obstinate in his guilt. For against an obstinate mind and the forehead of a harlot may be brought the hardness of real adamant, so as to be worn away thereby; for nothing is there so strong but that it must give way before what is stronger. As, therefore, a man so powerful could not be overcome by man, the Father of mercies and the God of all consolation came to the aid of the people who supplicated God, and supplanting the hand of mercy in his case, hurled him down from his power, and brought this accuser, or rather destroyer, to such a pitch of giddiness of mind, that he was unable to recover or arouse himself therefrom; but He so hardened his heart, blinded his mind, and infatuated his counsels, that he first besieged the archbishop of York in a church, then seized him, and after seizing him, violently tore him away; after tearing him away, strongly bound him; after strongly binding him, dragged him along; and after dragging him along, threw him into prison. And although there was a concourse of people who exclaimed, 'What has this righteous man and friend of God been guilty of, that he should be taken to prison? his innocent blood is condemned without a cause,' still, pity could not listen where pride reigned, and God was not heard where the tyrant held sway. For the said archbishop was coming from the country of Normandy with his pastoral staff and mitre, and ring, and superhumeral, which in later times has been styled the pall. And although he was the son of king Henry, of happy memory, and the brother of king Richard, who now reigns, and the brother of John, earl of Mortaigne, still, his royal blood could be of no service to him; and although he had been recently consecrated, the recent performance of that sacrament could not avail him. Consequently, it was in public the universal cry of the laity throughout the whole island, 'Perish he who hastens on the ruin of all things! that he may not crush all, let him be crushed. If he has

done this in a green tree, what will he do in a dry one?"³⁷ And behold! under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, all persons meet together from the north, and from the sea, and from all parts of the whole island, and flock in crowds, that the archbishop may be set at liberty. But the cords of his sins tightening apace around the chancellor, and his conscience strongly accusing him, clad in a coat of mail, he flies from before the faces of men, and hides himself, and shuts himself with his people in the Tower of London. As we entered the city at a late hour, many of his household in arms attacked us with drawn swords, and slew one of our knights, a noble man, and wounded a great number. However, in the morning a council was held by nearly all the nobles of the kingdom, in presence of the lord John, the king's brother, the archbishops of Rouen and York, and the bishops of Durham, London, Winchester, Bath, Rochester, Norwich, Lincoln, Hereford, Saint David's, and Coventry; and in the presence of all the people of the city, and of the justiciaries of our lord the king, who approved thereof, we did, with the assent of all, agree that such a person should thenceforth no longer rule in the kingdom of England, by whom the Church of England was reduced to a state of ignominy, and the people to want; for, to omit other matters, he and his revellers had so exhausted the whole kingdom, that they did not leave a man his belt, a woman her necklace, a nobleman his ring, or anything of value even to a Jew. He had likewise so utterly emptied the king's treasury, that in all the coffers and bags therein, nothing but the keys could be met with, after the lapse of these last two years. On the third day he positively promised, and gave his word by one of his followers, in the presence of all, that he would not leave the island until certain castles which he kept in his own hands, and had given into the charge of some foreigners, unknown and obscure persons, and which were then named, should have been fully surrendered by him and given into the charge of certain persons named; for the performance of which he gave his brothers and his chamberlain as hostages. He then hastened to Canterbury, that there, as became him, he might assume the cross of pilgrimage, and lay aside the cross of the legateship, which for a year and a half since the death of pope Clement, he had wielded to the prejudice of the Church of Rome, and to the detriment of that of England. For all the

³⁷ St. Luke xxiii. 31.

churches of England had that cross put to their ransom; that is to say, had compelled them to submit to the extortion of fines; nor was there any one exempt from feeling the blows of that cross. And then, besides if by chance it happened that he entered the house of any bishop, you will be able to learn from him that his entertainment cost him the price of one or two hundred marks. After he had remained in the castle of Dover some days, unmindful of his profession and of the obligation of his promise which he had given, forgetful also of his brothers, whom, having given as hostages, he was disgracefully exposing to peril of death, he determined to set sail, and as he did not care to do this openly, he hit upon a new kind of stratagem, and pretending to be a woman, a sex which he always hated, changed the priest's robe into the harlot's dress. Oh shame! the man became a woman, the chancellor a chancelloress, the priest a harlot, the bishop a buffoon. Accordingly, although he was lame, he chose to hasten on foot from the heights of the castle down to the sea-shore, clothed in a woman's green gown of enormous length instead of the priest's gown of azure colour;³⁸ having on a cape of the same colour, with unsightly long sleeves, instead of a chasuble, a hood on his head instead of a mitre, some brown cloth in his left hand, as if for sale, instead of a maniple,³⁹ and the staff of the huckster in his right in place of his pastoral staff. Decked out in such guise the bishop came down to the sea-shore, and he who had been accustomed much more frequently to wear the knight's coat of mail, wondrous thing! became so effeminate in mind, as to make choice of a feminine dress.⁴⁰ Having seated himself on the shore upon a rock, a fisherman, who immediately took him for a common woman, came up to him; and, having come nearly naked from the sea, perhaps wishing to be made warm, he ran up to this wretch, and embracing his neck with the left arm, with his right began pulling him about, upon which he almost immediately discovered⁴¹ that he was a

³⁸ "Hyacinthina" in the text.

³⁹ The "manipulum," "fanon," or "sudarium," was either a napkin or a short sleeve worn over the left wrist by the priesthood when officiating.

⁴⁰ "Animum" is probably a mistake for "amicum."

⁴¹ This passage has been necessarily modified in the Translation; it stands thus in the text—"Cucurrit ad moustrum, et manu sinistrâ collum complectens, dexterâ partes inferiores rimatur. Cumque tunicam subito sublevasset, et nimis inverecunde ad partes verecundas manum extendisset andacter, femoralia sensit et virum in fæminâ certis indicis agnovit." The story is not told with all these cir-

man. At this he was greatly surprised, and, starting back, in a fit of amazement, shouted out with a loud voice, 'Come all of you and see a wonder; I have found a woman who is a man!' Immediately on this, his servants and acquaintances who were standing at a distance came up, and with a gentle kind of violence pushed him back and ordered him to hold his tongue; upon which the fisherman held his peace and the clamour ceased, and this hermaphrodite sat waiting there. In the meantime a woman, who had come from the town, seeing the linen cloth, which he or rather she, was carrying as though on sale, came and began to ask what was the price, and for how much he would let her have an ell. He, however, made no answer, as he was utterly unacquainted with the English language; on which she pressed the more; and shortly after another woman came up, who urgently made the same enquiry, and pressed him very hard to let her know the price at which he would sell it. As he answered nothing at all, but rather laughed in his sleeve, they began to talk among themselves, and to enquire what could be the meaning of it. Then, suspecting some imposture, they laid hands upon the hood with which his face was covered, and pulling it backward from his nose, beheld the swarthy features of a man, lately shaved, on which they began to be extremely astonished. Then rushing to the dry land,⁴² they lifted their voices to the stars, crying out, 'Come, let us stone this monster, who is a disgrace to either sex.' Immediately a crowd of men and women were collected together, tearing the hood from off his head, and ignominiously dragging him prostrate on the ground by his sleeves and cape along the sand and over the rocks, not without doing him considerable injury. In the meanwhile his servants made an attack two or three times on the multitude for the purpose of rescuing him, but were not able, as all the populace were inflicting vengeance upon him with insatiate eagerness, reviling him, inflicting blows and spitting upon him; and after much other disgraceful treatment, they dragged him through the whole of the town, and then, dragging him, or rather dragging him to pieces, they shut him up in a dark cellar with a guard over him, for a prison. Thus

cumstances by all the chroniclers, and no doubt the bishop of Coventry was wishful that it should lose nothing in his way of telling it. The first part of this extract is exceedingly improbable.

⁴² "Terram," in contradistinction to the sea-shore.

was he dragged who had dragged another, made captive who had been the captor, bound who had been the binder, incarcerated who had been the one to incarcerate, that so with the extent of the offence the extent of the punishment might seem to be commensurate. For he became an object of extreme disgrace to his neighbours, of dread to his acquaintances, and was made a laughing-stock for all the people. I only wish that he had polluted himself alone, the priest, and not the priestly office. May, then, the Church of Rome make due provision that such great guiltiness may be punished in such a way, that the offence of one may not contaminate all, and that the priestly authority may not be lessened thereby. And further, may the king of England take all precaution to appoint such a person over his realm, that by him the royal dignity may be preserved, and his authority may suffer no diminution through him; but rather that the clergy and the people may have cause to congratulate themselves upon his government."

*The Letter of Master Peter of Blois on behalf of William, bishop of Ely.*⁴³

"To his former lord and friend, Hugh, so called, bishop of Coventry and Chester, Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, may he remember God with fear. The excesses of a traitorous faction this day reveal to what lengths malice may proceed, what envy may be guilty of. The bishop of Ely, one beloved by God and men, a man amiable, wise, generous, kind, and meek, bounteous and liberal to the highest degree, had by the dispensations of the Divine favour, and in accordance with the requirements of his own manners and merits, been honored with the administration of the state, and had thus gained the supreme authority. With feelings of anger you beheld this, and forthwith he became the object of your envy. Accordingly, your envy conceived vexation and brought forth iniquity; whereas he, walking in the simplicity of his mind, received you into the hallowed precincts of his acquaintanceship, and with singleness of heart, and into the bonds of friendship and strict alliance. His entire spirit reposed upon you, and all your thoughts unto him were for evil. 'Woe,' says Ecclesiasticus, 'to a double

⁴³ The Editor of the "Pictorial History of England" remarks, respecting this letter, "Peter of Blois took Hugh to account for this satire, which was evidently intended to put Longchamp in a more ridiculous and degrading light than archbishop Geoffrey had been in at the same place, Dover."

heart and to wicked lips, and to the sinner that goeth two ways.⁴⁴ The face of the hypocrite veiled the wickedness of the conscience within with a kind of pretence of friendship, and in secret you were inflicting upon an innocent man the injuries caused by a seditious and petulant tongue. Solomon says, 'Curse the whisperer and double-tongued: for such have destroyed many that were at peace.'⁴⁵ All his inward thoughts did he pour forth into your bosom: you he looked upon as a second self, and yet you, to find a pretence for causing his fall, thought fit to ply him with the adulation of a betrayer. Oh detestable treachery! Judas betrayed with a kiss, you with words; without, you made a show of the regard of an attentive friend, and your tongue was planning treachery. As you sat, you spoke against your brother, and in the way of the son of your mother did you lay a stumbling-block. 'Woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.'⁴⁶ This guilty conduct, indeed, has branded you with the lasting stain of bad opinion, and if by the bounty of nature you had received any commendable points, this fault has done away with them for ever. In like manner, Joab acted valiantly on many occasions, but his treachery to Amasa and Abner, blackened in him all the glories of his valorous deeds. Oh lips of detraction! Oh tongue of abuse and treachery! What, O Lord shall be applied to this treacherous tongue? Would that arrows might be applied thereto, that they might pierce it through and through, and that desolating coals of fire might consume it; would that thou, Seraph, who with the live coal from heaven⁴⁷ didst purge the lips of the prophet, wouldst with the flames of hell, in purging his whole face and tongue, destroy the same, that so we might be able to sing and say, 'In cleansing him thou hast destroyed him.' Lips consecrated by the Gospel, are never ceasing to babble forth their lying words to the winds. That is entirely devoted to vanity which was due and owing to truth. But the man of froward tongue will not be guided on the earth; wherefore, 'let him that standeth take care lest he fall,' for before ruin the heart is exalted. Do you exult, unhappy man, and make it your boast that you have supplanted an innocent man? But know beyond a doubt, that he has been thus laid low for both the downfall and the uprising of many, for the uprising of himself and of his people,

⁴⁴ Eccus. ii. 12. Our version has it, "Woe be to fearful hearts and faint hands."

⁴⁵ Eccus. xxvii. 31.

⁴⁶ St. Matt. xviii. 7.

⁴⁷ Alluding to Isaiah vi. 6, 7.

and for the downfall of yourself and your accomplices. This punishment will fall upon your own head.⁴⁷ For every deceit suffers from its own recoil: from your treachery⁴⁸ nought but the fruit of sorrow will you gather; and you have commenced the web, that you may be wrapped in a double cloak. It is Isaiah who says, 'Ye who begin the web and put your trust in the darkness of Egypt, await the day of bitterness.'⁴⁹ You publicly make it your boast and vaunt that it was you who created this tumult, that it was you who deceived him when not on his guard, and that it was you induced the multitude to attack with arms an unarmed man, and an innocent man with insidiousness. Why boast of your malice, you, who are so powerful in your iniquity? Why vaunt of your malice, which in most countries, as your infamous character has become circulated, is in the mouths of all classes? But about you and persons like you it may justly be said, 'They rejoice when they have done evil, and they exult at things that bring the greatest disgrace.' Besides, it is the remark of the wise man, that he 'who rejoiceth at the ruin of another, shall be punished';⁵⁰ and Solomon says, 'Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth—lest the Lord see it, and He turn his wrath upon thee.'⁵¹ Indeed, it was always the usual accomplishment, and one peculiar to your family, to sow the materials for dissension; and the pestilent branch has contracted its evil qualities from the root of the noxious tree. Oh evil generation! Oh provoking race! 'Oh generation of vipers, who hath taught you to flee from the wrath to come?'⁵² Do you think that God will not behold this, and require an account thereof? It was for this same reason that the wicked man caused the anger of the Lord, 'For he said in his heart, he will not require the same.'⁵³ But, beyond a doubt, the Lord will require it; He will also require to know as to whose misfortunes you are now boasting; and at a future day, by the bounty of the Lord, he shall breathe again. For wisdom will not forsake the righteous man when sold, and in time shall he gain respect. It rather befitted the gravity of your rank to promote peace among the people, to allay sedition, and espe-

⁴⁷ "Faba hæc recudetur in caput tuum." It is not improbable that the archdeacon was a reader of Terence.

⁴⁸ He puns upon the resemblance between "dolo" and "dolore."

⁴⁹ This passage does not appear in our version. It may perhaps allude to chap. xix. 9. ⁵⁰Alluding probably to Eccl. viii. 7. ⁵¹ Prov. xxiv. 17. 18.

⁵² St. Matt. iii. 7. St. Luke iii. 7.

⁵³ Ps. x. 13.

cially in England, which, receiving you poor enough, amplified you with mighty honors. Also, when speaking to those who were in the Babylonish captivity, he says: 'Seek the peace of the city, in which the Lord hath caused you to be carried away captives, for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace.'⁵⁴ On another occasion I wrote to you, and with salutary warning entreated you to abstain from such courses. However, the harp of David never fully allayed the madness of Saul; and your hand has been extended to the commission of such deeds as these. Therefore, remember, man, if only man you are, remember, I say, your condition; remember the shortness of this life; remember the strict and dreadful judge; remember the punishment so fearful, so terrible, so interminable, and so intolerable, which is reserved for you to everlasting, if you desist not from such a course of wickedness."

In eight days after this, John, earl of Mortaigne, gave orders that the chancellor should be liberated from prison, and should take his departure. Accordingly, he took his departure, and, crossing the sea, landed at Witsand, in Flanders. But while he was on his road, some nobles of that country, whom he had injured while in England, laid hands upon him, and kept him till he had made satisfaction to them. Proceeding thence, he arrived at Paris, and gave to Mauricius, the bishop, sixty marks of silver, upon condition that he should be received there with a procession, which was accordingly done. After this, he returned into Normandy; but, by the command of the archbishop of Rouen, he was considered there as an excommunicated person, and in every place to which he came, throughout the whole of the archbishopric of Rouen, an end was put to Divine service as long as he was staying there.

On this, he sent messengers to pope Celestinus, and to his lord the king of England, informing them, how John, earl of Mortaigne, and his accomplices, had expelled him from the kingdom; and, complaining of the injuries done him, he demanded restitution of what had been taken from him, at the same time making offer, on his part, to obey the law, and further stating, that if his acts and expenditure should not prove satisfactory to his lord the king, he would in all things give satisfaction according to his demands. Upon this, the Supreme Pontiff was provoked to anger, and wrote, to the following effect, to all the archbishops and bishops of England:—

⁵⁴ Jer. xxxix. 7.

The Letter of pope Celestinus to the prelates of England, in behalf of William, bishop of Ely.

“Celestinus the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops throughout the kingdom of England appointed, health, and the Apostolic benediction. Whereas our dearly beloved son in Christ, Richard, the illustrious king of the English, having assumed the cross, and prepared himself for avenging the injuries done to the Redeemer, has therein, like a prudent man and one who seeks the Lord, considered that the cares of governing his kingdom ought to be postponed to the performance of his duty, and has left the same under the Apostolic protection: it is, therefore, our wish and our duty, with the greatest zeal, to preserve the integrity and the rights of his realm, and the honor of himself, in the same degree that, trusting in our protection, he has exposed his person and his property to the greatest danger for the upholding of the holy religion, and is known, in obedience to the Creator, to have behaved himself in a praiseworthy manner, the Lord dealing with him and giving good tokens of success, and most zealously, as is manifest from his exploits. Therefore, inasmuch as we have heard that certain attempts have been made upon his kingdom itself, as well as against your venerable father, William, bishop of Ely, the legate of the Apostolic See, to whom he has committed the government of his kingdom, both by John, earl of Mortaigne, and certain other persons, which in themselves contain some grounds of suspicion, and, if they are true, are known to redound in no slight degree to contempt of the Apostolic See, we have deemed it our duty at this early period to meet such presumption, inasmuch as from delay very great injury might possibly accrue to the king before-named and the land of Jerusalem, and to ourselves and the Roman Church. Wherefore, by these Apostolic writings, we do command the whole of you, and in virtue of your obedience enjoin you, that if (as has been reported to us) the said earl or any one else has dared to lay violent hands on the bishop before-mentioned, or to seize him, or to extort from him any oath by means of violence, or to keep him in confinement, or in any way to change the state of the kingdom from the position in which it was placed by his serene highness at his departure, in such case, all pretexts and excuses laid aside, you will meet together,

and, with candles lighted and bells ringing, all appeals and excuses, and all respect for persons on your part utterly laid aside, publicly announce as under the ban of excommunication the said earl, and all his counsellors, advisers, accomplices, and abettors in the said acts of presumptuous daring. You are also to cause them, when thus excommunicated, to be strictly avoided by all, both in their own lands as also in others which they may have invaded, and you are entirely to forbid the celebration there of divine service, except penance and the baptism of children, all obstacle thereto by appeal being entirely removed; until such time as, the said legate having been released from confinement, as well as from the stringency of his oath, and the kingdom having been replaced in the same position in which it was left by the said king at his departure, envoys shall come to the Apostolic See, with the testimony of letters from him and from yourselves as well, for the purpose of absolution. And know for certain that if, in the execution of this our precept, you shall be negligent or remiss, we have resolved, with the help of God, to inflict upon you no less a punishment than if the said injury had been done to our own person, or to one of our brethren. Given at the Lateran, on the fourth day before the nones of December, in the first year of our Pontificate."

Upon the authority, therefore, of these letters of the Supreme Pontiff, the said bishop of Ely wrote to Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, to the following effect:

"William, by the grace of God, bishop of Ely, legate of the Apostolic See, and chancellor of our lord the king, to his venerable brother and most dearly beloved friend, [Hugh], by the same grace, bishop of Lincoln, health, and sincere love and affection. The more full the confidence that we feel in your affection, the greater the constancy we have found in you, so much the more confidently do we entrust to your discreetness, and to that of the Church of God, the interests of our lord the king, and our own, to be duly watched over; putting our trust in God as to you, that your brotherly love will, in your pontifical character, show all due regard to the Apostolic precepts and our own. We do, therefore, in virtue of your obedience, enjoin, and, on the strength of the authority which has been conferred upon us, command you, that, for the purpose of performing the Apostolical mandate issued to all the archbishops and bishops of England, as also to all other your brethren whatsoever, you will with all speed convene the

same, to the end that the iniquity of the laity may no longer cast a slur on the Church of God and its priesthood, and lest, through any tergiversation or dissimulation, their malice may be imputed as a crime to yourselves. But as to the order which our lord the pope has given with regard to the person of John, earl of Mortaigne, we have modified the same, deferring the occasion until the Lord's day when "*Esto mihi*"⁵⁵ is sung; to the end that, if in the meantime he shall think fit to repent, we may return thanks to God for the same, and in his behalf, in the sight of our lord the pope, and of our lord the king of England, the champion of Him who was crucified, pour forth our affectionate prayers, that he may be deemed deserving of pardon for his offence, and give him our strenuous aid and all efficacious attention, saving always our fealty to our lord the king, and the honor of our priestly office. But, on the lands of those excommunicated, you are to permit the celebration of no Divine service, the baptism of children and penance excepted. The names of those who have been excommunicated by our lord the pope, and have been denounced as such by ourselves, of whose doings the evidence is so notorious that it cannot by any equivocation on their part be invalidated, are as follows: Walter, archbishop of Rouen, Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, Hugh, bishop of Coventry, William Marshal, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William Bruyere, Hugh Bardolph, Richard Malebisse and his brother Hugh, James and Simon Fitz-Simon, Simon de Avranches, Roger Fitz-Remfray, Gilbert and Rainfrid his sons, Gerard Camville, earl of Salisbury, John Marshal, earl of Mellent, Gilbert Basset, Thomas Basset, Henry de Vere, Jocelyn Fitz-Remfray, Stephen Riddel, chancellor of the earl of Mortaigne; whom, both as bishop and as his legate, we do denounce to you as excommunicated; as also Master Benedict, who, contrary to the statutes of the king and the kingdom, and against our prohibition, has dared to employ the seal of our lord the king, together with John, archdeacon of Oxford. In addition to this, we do distinctly and in especial order you publicly to denounce, as excommunicated, Hugh, bishop of Coventry, whom we have solemnly excommunicated, not only because in word and deed he has disowned the bishop, and because he gave his bodily oath at the hand of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, of pious memory, as to not holding courts, but also because he has been

⁵⁵ Quinquagesima Sunday; when the introit begins "*Esto mihi in Deum protectorem:*" "*Be thou, O God, a protector to me.*"

manifestly a counsellor and adviser to the entire subversion of the realm of England, a disturber of the peace, and a public advocate against the royal dignity and interests; and to cause him to be strictly avoided by all, that in future a sheep so diseased may not be able to blemish and corrupt the flock of the Lord. But Hugh Bardolph, who took no part in our expulsion and confinement, we do except from the said sentence of excommunication, if, immediately upon being warned, he shall surrender the castles of Scarborough, and those throughout the whole of Yorkshire and Westmoreland which he holds in his hands, to William de Stuteville. You are also to forbid all persons in your diocese, under pain of excommunication, to do anything in obedience to those who conduct themselves in England as though they were justices, or in any way to obey a power founded on violence and usurpation. Farewell."

The said bishop of Ely also wrote to Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, to the following effect:

"William, by the grace of God, bishop of Ely, legate of the Holy Apostolic See, and chancellor of our lord the king, to his venerable brother and friend, by the same grace, bishop of Lincoln, greeting. By that authority which has been conferred upon us, we do command you, and in virtue of your obedience enjoin, that you seize and take into your own hands, and retain possession of, the archdeaconry and all the revenues of John, archdeacon of Oxford, until such time as you shall have received commands from the Apostolic See, or from ourselves; inasmuch as with his uncle, the Pilate of Rouen, he is disturbing the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom of England, and is seeking to do whatever mischief he possibly can to our lord the king and to his realm, as being an enemy of the realm and to ourselves. For, by the authority of our lord the pope, we have placed him under the ban of excommunication. Farewell."

The said bishop of Ely also wrote to a similar effect to some others of the bishops of England; though not one of them performed the commands of either the Apostolic See or of himself; as they did not consider him as legate, or as the king's chancellor. But the said archbishop of Rouen, and the other justices of England, deprived him of his bishopric, and collected his revenues for the behoof of the king, in return for the king's treasures which he had made away with.

After this, the said justices and all the bishops, earls, and

barons of England joined in a letter, and wrote word to the king how his chancellor had laid waste the kingdom of England and his treasures, and how, by the common consent of the kingdom, he had been deposed. On the other hand, the chancellor wrote to the king, signifying how that his brother John had taken possession of his kingdom, and would place the crown on his own head, unless he should make haste and return with all speed.

Of the return of Philip, king of France, from Acre, and of his journey.

But now let us return to the king of France, who, in the meantime, leaving the object of his pilgrimage unperformed, had departed from the land of Jerusalem with fourteen galleys, and had passed before the city of Baruth, which was then in the hands of the pagans; but he did not attack them. He next passed before the city of Sibelet and before the castles of Bitterus and of Hesse, and then came to the city of Tripolis, where he made a stay of some days. Departing thence, he passed before the castle of Arches, the castle of Albe, and Le Culiat, a castle of the Hospitallers. He next came to the episcopal city of Turcusa. It is worthy of remark, that before Turcusa there is an island in the sea, Aredosa by name, for which reason Turcusa is called the "Aredosan city." He next came to the good harbour of Maureda, departing from which place he passed before Margat, a castle of the Hospitallers, where Isaac, emperor of Cyprus, was kept confined in chains. He next came to the city of Valentia, then to the city of Sibel, then to the city of Melida, and then to the port of Saint Simeon. He next arrived before the city of Antioch, departing from which he came to the port of Bunel, then to the port of Alexandrietta. After this, he entered the land of the Armenians, which is called Armenia, and is the territory of Rupin de la Montaigne, being held under the prince of Antioch. He next came to a large river, the name of which is Thil, where there is a good city, which in like manner is called Thil. He then came to a large river called Curk, where there is a fine city deserted, also called Curk. He next came to a third large river, which is called Salef, where, upon this river, there is a large city, which is in like manner called Salef. It was in this river Salef that Frederic, emperor of the Romans, was drowned, when he was leaving the territories of the sultan of Iconium.

It is also worthy to be known, that from this territory came those three kings who offered to our Lord Jesus Christ three precious gifts, namely, gold, frankincense, and myrrh. Their names were as follow : Jesphar, Pabtrar,⁵⁵ and Melchior ; of whom one was king of Salef, which is called the 'Island,' another the king of Malnustre, and the third was the king of Terzol, that is to say, Tarsis, as to which it is said in the Psalms,⁵⁶ "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents." It is also worthy to be known, that these three rivers, Salef, Curk, and Thil, rise in Turkia, which is the name of the land of the Turks, who are subjects of the sultan of Iconium ; these divide the land of the Turks from the land of Rupin de la Montaigne, and fall into the sea near the gulf of Satalia. The river also, which is called Salef, is opposite to the island of Cyprus, and is not distant from it more than fifty miles, according to the calculations of mariners, as people can easily see from one shore to the other.⁵⁷

When the king of France had left this river Salef, he passed near some very high mountains, which are called Cathimerdes. He next passed before a castle, the name of which is Nessekim, and then came to a fine city called Stamere, in which there is a noble abbey of the Griffons. He next passed a deserted castle, which is called the castle of Rote, and then came to a river, which is called Scalendros : this river divides the territories of the Armenians from those of the emperor of Constantinople. Here, on one side of this river, in the territory of the emperor of Constantinople, is a castle, which is called Antiochet,⁵⁸ while on the other side of the same river, in Armenia, there is a castle, the name of which is Isanci. When the king of France arrived at the castle of Antiochet, Constantine, the lord of the castle, received him with marks of joy, and supplied him and his people with all necessaries. The king of France made a stay there of eight days, and dubbed the eldest son of the said Constantine a knight. It is also worthy to be known, that the whole land which extends from the river Scalendros towards the north as far as the sea is the territory of the emperor of Constantinople, which is called Romania, that is to say, Græcia.

⁵⁵ V. r. Pabtizar, or Paptizar ; evidently a corruption for Balthazar, The first name stands for Gaspar, or Jasper.

⁵⁶ Psalm lxxii. 10.

⁵⁷ He must here allude to mountains on either side.

⁵⁸ V. r. Annechet.

After taking his departure thence, he immediately entered the gulf of Satalia. It is called a gulf, when water extends inward between two lands, and forms a bay. Satalia is a very fine castle, and from it the gulf takes its name. Upon this gulf are two castles and cities, both of which are called Satalia; but one of these is deserted, and is called Old Satalia, while the other is called New Satalia, and was founded by Manuel, emperor of Constantinople. Crossing the gulf of Satalia, the king of France passed a mountain, which is called Siredune, at the end of the gulf of Satalia. He then passed a very high mountain, the name of which is called Resut. He next came to a river, which is called Winke,⁶⁹ upon which there is a deserted castle, which is in like manner called Resut. This river Winke is also called the Port of the Pisans, because the Pisan pirates often frequent the harbour. When the king of France came thither, he found there four galleys belonging to the pirates, which he took; but the pirates, leaving the galleys, fled to the mountainous parts, and so escaped from his hands.

He next came to the city of Mirrhea, of which Saint Nicholas held the bishopric, and which the Greeks call Stamira; after which he arrived at a good harbour, and one secure from all winds and tempests, the name of which is Karkois; on both sides of which harbour there were in ancient times fine and populous cities, the names of which were Cake; there are also vast ruins there of walls to the present day, but no one lives there, through fear of the pirates. They next passed the Isles of Yse, in one of which there is a castle which is called the castle of Ruge.

Here formerly dwelt a damsel, whose name was Yse, and from whose name these islands were so called. The natives tell the story that a certain knight loved this damsel, but she declined to assent to his wishes so long as she lived. However, on her death, the knight came and lay with her, saying, "What I could not do with her when alive, I have done with her when dead;" on which Satan immediately entered into her, and said, "Behold, thou hast begotten by me a son, and when he is born I will bring him to thee." After nine months, when the time of travail came, she brought forth a still-born son, and brought him to the knight, and said, "Behold thy

⁶⁹ There can be no doubt that most of these names are in a most corrupt state.

first-born son, whom thou didst beget; cut off his head and keep it in thy possession. And whensoever thou shalt wish to vanquish thine enemy, or to lay waste his lands, let the features of the head so cut off be disclosed, and let them look upon thy enemy or his lands, and immediately they shall be destroyed; and when thou shalt wish to cease so to do, let the features be covered up again, and tribulation will cease;" which was accordingly done. Now, a considerable time after this, the knight married a wife, who often made enquiry of him, by what art or device he thus destroyed his enemies without arms and without an army; however, he was unwilling to tell her, but rebuked her, and made her hold her peace. But it so happened, that one day, when the knight was away from home, she approached a chest, in which she hoped to find this secret of her lord, by means of which he wrought such mischiefs, and accordingly found in the chest this abominable head; on which she immediately ran away, and threw it into the gulf of Satalia. The mariners have a story that whenever this head lies with the face upwards, the gulf is in such a state of commotion that no ship can possibly cross it; but when the head lies with the face downwards, then a ship can pass over. "Let the Jew Apella believe this, I will not."⁶⁰

There is also another wonderful thing that takes place once a month in every year. It seems as though a black dragon of vast size comes in the clouds of heaven, and plunges his head into the gulf of Satalia, and sucks up the water, drawing it up with such violence, that if any ship should chance to be there, even though it should be laden, it is drawn up and carried aloft. It is therefore necessary for those who wish to avoid this peril, as soon as they have seen the monster, immediately to make a great tumult and raise loud cries, beating pieces of wood together, in order that on hearing the noise the dragon may be driven away from them. We, however, affirm that this is not a dragon, but the heat of the sun, that attracts to itself the waters of the sea.⁶¹

After the king of France had left the Isles of Yse, he passed near a great mountain, on the summit of which is situate the city of Patara, upon which Saint Nicholas was born, and where he lived for a long time. He next passed near a very lofty mountain, Turkia by name, which divides the territory

⁶⁰ From Juvenal. ⁶¹ He evidently alludes to waterspouts, and the method of breaking them by means of sound.

of the emperor of Constantinople from that of the sultan of Iconium. After this begins Romania, which is also called Græcia. The whole of Romania is land on the continent, and under the dominion of the emperor; in the sea there are also many islands, which are called the Isles of Romania. The capital of Romania is the city of Constantinople. Romania is joined to Sclavonia, Hungaria, Istria, and Aquileia.

The names of some of the principal islands which are in the Grecian sea are as follow: The island of Sicily, which belongs to the king of Sicily; the island of Crete, which is large and fertile, and in the middle of which is a large mountain, called the Mountain of the Camel; the island of Rhodes; the island of Cyprus; the island of Biscopia; the island of Ischia, in which island grows abundance of the substance called mastic; the island of Ysania; the island of Ynexea; the island of Stuple; the island of Mil; the island of Quales; the island of Cuuerfu;⁶² the island of Serfent; the island of Sasent; the island called Falede-Campan; the island of Andros, and the island called Tine. Many however, of these, are deserted, through fear of the pirates, and in many of them pirates dwell. There are also some other islands, of which we have previously made mention, and many besides which are not mentioned in this book.

When the king of France had passed the Cape of Turkia, he came to the isle of Rhodes, and remained there some days at the city called Rhodes, which was built by Herod, who caused the head of Saint John the Baptist to be cut off, and given to the dancing damsel in a charger. Between the isle of Rhodes and Romania there is a broad expanse of sea, twenty miles wide, according to the mariners. It is also worth knowing, that when the isle of Rhodes has been reached, one third of the voyage has been accomplished between Acre and Brindisi. Between Acre and Brindisi the distance is computed at one thousand eight hundred miles; and between Marseilles and Sicily it is computed at one thousand six hundred miles; and between Sicily and Acre the distance is computed at one thousand six hundred miles. In the middle of the passage between Marseilles and Sicily lies the island of Sardinia; and in the middle of the passage between Sicily and Acre is the island of Crete. It is also worthy to be known, that, if they have a fair wind who are desirous to proceed from Marseilles

⁶² Here we *can* recognize a name known to us, Corfu.

to Acre, they will leave the island of Sardinia, the island of Sicily, and the island of Crete at a great distance on the left side of the ship; and, if they keep straight on in their course,⁶³ will not see land until they see the land of Sulia. This way also is the shorter and safer one; but they must take care not to steer their course too much to the right hand side of the ship, on account of Barbary and many other islands in which the pagans live under the rule of the emperor of Africa. But galleys cannot go by that route, or even attempt it; for, if a storm overtakes them, they will quickly founder; for which reason they are obliged always to coast along the shore. The person, too, who wishes to pass along the coast of Romania, from the Cape of Turkia, will have to pass a very lofty mountain, which is called Serfent, near which mountain begins the Arm of Saint George, through which you pass to the city of Constantinople.

Next, on the coast of Romania, is Maluaise, a large mountain. Then comes the gulf of Witun, at the head of which gulf is a fine and well-fortified castle, which is called Maine. At the head of this gulf also is a fine large episcopal city, which is called Curun, where grow such large quantities of olives, that it is said that in the whole world there is no place where there is made such vast quantities of olive oil. At the mouth of the said gulf of Witun is the deserted city of Muscun, which was destroyed by Roger, king of Sicily; and, before the entrance of this city are two islands: one of which is called Sapientia, and the other the Isle of Vultures. After passing this, not more than about twenty miles from the land there is a crag of round form, and very dangerous, being nearly sunk in the waves, the name of which is Tiffat. Between this crag and Muscun, the distance is computed to be fifty miles. It is necessary for those who pass this way not to take their ships out to too great a distance from the shore, until they have passed this dangerous spot.

Beyond this, about a hundred miles from this perilous spot, is an island out at sea called Serfent: this, and two other islands, one of which is called Cephalenia, and the other Jagert, are islands belonging to Margarite. Next comes port Guiscard. It deserves to be known that Robert Guiscard was born in Normandy, and, being made a knight, was long one of the

⁶³ He has already said this, in giving an account of the voyage of king Richard.

household of Henry, king of England, son of William the Bastard. Although he was a knight of prowess in arms, he was still unable to find any favour with the king, whereby to enrich himself. In consequence of this, with his wife and children and brother, he left Normandy and went to Rome; where, having received from the Supreme Pontiff permission and advice to subjugate the barbarous nations, a great multitude of valiant men resorted to him as his adherents. On this, he departed thence, and, entering Apulia, on seeing that it was a fine and fertile country, and that its inhabitants were unskilled in arms, he often attacked them with a strong and armed hand, and conquered them, and took possession of their territory. The whole of Apulia, Calabria, and the principality of Capua he also subjugated, and, taking them out of the hands of the emperor of the Romans, gave them to his son Tancred.

He then collected a large fleet, boasting that he would invade the empire of Constantinople, and subjugate the whole thereof. In the meantime, while his fleet was being equipped, it happened that he, and Tancred, and Boamund, his sons, on the same day, fought with our lord the pope, the emperor of the Romans, and the emperor of Constantinople; Robert Guiscard himself engaging with the emperor of Constantinople, one of his sons with the pope, and the other with the emperor of the Romans; and he, and each of his sons, gained a victory on one and the same day. After this, Robert Guiscard embarked on board of his fleet, and his wife with him, and subjugated the island of Cuverfu, the island of Crete, the Isle of Rhodes, and many other islands, which he took from the emperor of Constantinople. He next came to the harbour which now, after his name, is called Port Guiscard. While he was preparing to proceed thence, and to enter Romania, the emperor of Constantinople, being in great dread of his approach, sent word to his wife, that, if she would put to death the said Robert Guiscard, and so free his territories from all dread of him, he would marry her, and make her empress of Constantinople.

On this, the woman agreed to what the emperor requested; and, having gained an opportunity both as to time and place, gave her husband, Robert Guiscard, poison to drink: on which he died, and was buried in the island which to this day is called Port Guiscard, and the whole of his army was dispersed. The woman fled to the emperor of Constantinople, who immediately fulfilled all his promises, and married her, and had her

crowned empress; and when all the proper solemnities had been performed, both as to the marriage, the coronation, and the nuptial ceremonies, so becomingly, that she said to the emperor, "My lord, you have now graciously performed all the terms of our agreement," the emperor caused silence to be made, and in the presence of all, showed the agreement which he had made with her, and how she had put her husband to death, and then requested them to pronounce judgment upon her; on which, they condemned her to death. Accordingly, she was removed from the nuptial ceremony to the place of punishment, and was thrown upon a lighted pile, and reduced to ashes.

Roger, the brother of the said Guiscard, waged war with the people of Sicily, and subjected the whole of that island, and became the earl of Sicily. This Sicily is a large island, and, before the said Roger subdued it, was inhabited by pagans, and under the dominion of the emperor of Africa. But Roger before-mentioned, having expelled the pagans, established the Christian religion, and erected in it two archbishoprics and six bishoprics. After this, he married a wife, by whom he had an only son, whom, after his own name, he called Roger, and made him duke of Apulia, and gave to him Calabria and the principality of Capua, after the decease of Tancred, the son of Robert Guiscard, without issue. The said Roger, earl of Sicily, then died; on which, his son Roger, duke of Apulia, succeeded him in the earldom of Sicily, and shortly after, with the consent of his earls and barons, caused himself to be crowned king of Sicily; and thus the said Roger was crowned the first king of Sicily. He married a wife, and by her had two sons and one daughter; the first of whom was called Roger, and the other William,⁶⁴ while his daughter was called Constance. He gave to his eldest son the dukedom of Apulia and the principality of Capua. This son married against the will of his father, and by his wife had an only son, whom he called Tancred; after which he died, in the lifetime of his father.

After this, his father died, who was king of Sicily, and was succeeded in the kingdom by his son William, who married, and by his wife had an only son, whom he called William, after his own name. This William, last-mentioned, succeeded his father in the kingdom, and gave to Tancred, the son of his

⁶⁴ V. r. Walter.

uncle, the earldom of Laleche. He also gave Constance, the sister of his uncle, in marriage to Henry, king of the Germans, son of Frederic, emperor of the Romans. He also caused the kingdom of Sicily to be secured to him on oath in succession to himself, in case he should die without issue; shortly after which, William, king of Sicily, married Joanna, daughter of Henry, king of England, son of the empress Matilda; he died however, without issue.

On his decease, Tancred, the earl of Laleche above-mentioned, unmindful of the oath which, with the rest, he had taken to Henry, king of the Germans, usurped the kingdom of Sicily, and was crowned king thereof. On Henry, emperor of the Romans, hearing of this, he levied a large army and entered the territory of king Tancred, bringing with him his wife Constance, who was heir to the kingdom of Sicily; and then laying siege to Salerno, within fifteen days, that place was surrendered to him and his wife, whom he left there. Proceeding thence he laid siege to Naples, where having stayed six weeks, in that time he lost nearly the whole of his army through pestilence; he himself also fell sick and nearly died. When he saw that he could not effect his object, he took his departure, and went to his city of Milan. On the people of Salerno hearing of this, they laid hands on their mistress, the empress Constance, and detaining her, delivered her to Tancred, king of Sicily; on which the emperor of Germany, grieving and in confusion at the loss of his wife, wrote to pope Celestinus, that by his aid he might recover her: and after some time, by the intervention of our lord the pope, he was restored to him.

When Philip, king of France, had taken his departure from the isle of Rhodes, and had come to the coast of Romania, he passed a great mountain which has the name of the Cape of Melia; after which he came to the gulf of Witun, and passed by the castle of Maine. He next came to a city which is called Curun, and then to a deserted city, the name of which is Munzum, which lies at the end of that gulf. He then passed by the island of Triffat, and then came to the islands, of which the one is called Cephalenia and the other Fale de Compar. These two islands are called⁶⁶ Port Guiscard. On the opposite side, in Romania, there is a town called Saint Salvator, where, at nearly all seasons, pirates are lying in wait for passers-by.

⁶⁶ This does not agree with what he has said before as to Cephalenia and Port Guiscard. See p. 251.

On the king of France departing thence, he came to the island, the name of which is Cuuerfu. At the entrance of the isle of Cuuerfu, towards the land of Sulia, there are dangerous sands, extending through the middle from the island of Cuuerfu to the coast of Romania; the sea being not deeper upon the sands than four ells and a half. The island of Cuuerfu is large and fertile, and yields a yearly revenue to the emperor of Constantinople of fifteen quintals of gold—a quintal being a hundred pounds. The island of Cuuerfu is six miles distant from Romania, and in some places the sea is so narrow between Cuuerfu and Romania, that from one shore to the other one man may be heard by another. The length of Cuuerfu is fifty miles; and between Cuuerfu and Apulia, the distance is computed to be one hundred miles. Cuuerfu can easily be seen by those in Apulia, but not the converse, because Apulia lies low, and Cuuerfu is high land.

At the extremity of the island of Cuuerfu, in Romania, there is a deserted castle, the name of which is Butentrost, in which the traitor Judas was born. After this, when you have almost come to the entrance of the straits, there is a deserted city at the extremity of the island of Cuuerfu, which is called Gaszope, in which there is such a vast quantity of serpents that no one dares to land near it on that side. Just opposite to it, on the coast of Romania, is a deserted city, the name of which is Santa Carenta, where there is a good harbour, wide and deep. At the mouth of this harbour, at the entrance of the straits, there is a rock resembling a half-ruined tower, which extends almost to the middle of the harbour and lies concealed beneath the waves, so that it is necessary for those passing by to hug the shore of the island of Cuuerfu. At the extremity of the island of Cuuerfu are four islands, the name of one of which is Fanum. After this, about forty miles from the island of Cuuerfu, there is a lofty mountain on a cape of Romania, which is called Paxo; from this mountain to Octrente,⁶⁷ an archiepiscopal city in Apulia, is a distance of fifty miles; and from this mountain to Brindisi, a hundred miles.

At this mountain, called Paxo, begins the Gulf of Venice, which is a hundred and fifty miles in length and a hundred in width. Persons passing up this gulf, on their way to Venice, will leave behind Romania, Selavonia, and Istria. In Apulia, on the sea-coast, are the ports known by the following names :

⁶⁷ Otranto.

the first port of Apulia is called Leuke; next to which is a port called Castre, then the port called Octrente, next the port called Leliche, and then the harbour called Brandiz, the same as Brindisi. After this, you come to the port of Monopola, and the port of Bar, where Saint Nicolas reposes; then the port of Trani, and next the port of Barlet. You next come to the port of Sipontum, then the port of Bestia, and then that of Tremula. This port of Tremula is the last port of Apulia. After this comes Ortona, the first port of the territory of Venice; then the port of Atri, and then the port of Pescara; after which you come to the ports of Ancona, and of Ravenna, and then to Venice, a splendid city with a fine harbour.

When the king of France had arrived at Cuverfu, he sent envoys to king Tancred, and asked his permission to pass through his territories, which was accordingly granted him. He then came to Apulia, where he landed at Octrente, on the sixth day before the ides of October, being the fifth day of the week. Proceeding thence, he sent his forerunners to Henry, emperor of the Romans, and asked his leave to pass through his territories; which permission was granted him. On his arrival at Rome, he said many evil things of the king of England, in presence of our lord the pope and of all the cardinals, asserting that the king of England had forced him to leave the land of Jerusalem, and accusing him of treachery. However, neither our lord the pope nor the cardinals put any faith in his words, knowing that this proceeded rather from envy than from any bad conduct on the part of the king of England. Our lord the pope, however, received him with all honor and attention, and supplied him with all things necessary for a period of eight days. Moreover, in consideration of the love of God and his own affection, he devised a new method of relief for the pilgrims; for, both the king, and all who had come with him, or who came after him, he absolved from their vows, and from going on the expedition to Jerusalem, and, even though they had not performed their vows, he still distributed palms among them, and hung crosses from their necks, thus enacting that they were pilgrims. After this, the king of France prevailed upon the emperor of the Romans to lay hands upon the king of England, in case he should pass through his territory.

The king of France, upon arriving at length in his own terri-

tory, defamed the king of England with his neighbours, making many charges against him. Producing also the charter of the king of England which had been executed at Messina, he demanded of William Fitz-Ralph, the seneschal of Normandy, his sister Alice, whom the king of England was to have taken to wife; the seneschal of Normandy, however, refused to give her up.

In the same year, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, while making his visitation of the houses of the religious in his diocese, came to the abbey of the nuns at Godstow, which lies between Oxford and Woodstock. On entering the church to pray, he saw a tomb in the middle of the choir, before the altar, covered with cloths of silk, and surrounded with lamps and tapers; on which he asked whose tomb it was, and was told that this was the tomb of Rosamond, who had formerly been the mistress of Henry, king of England, son of the empress Matilda, and that he, for love of her, had shown many favours to that church. On this the bishop made answer: "Take her away from here, for she was a harlot; and bury her outside of the church with the rest, that the Christian religion may not grow into contempt, and that other women, warned by her example, may abstain from illicit and adulterous intercourse;" which was accordingly done.

In the same year, Hugh, bishop of Coventry, expelled the monks of Coventry from the cathedral church of his diocese, and placed canons secular therein. In the same year also, the monks of Canterbury made choice of Reginald, bishop of Bath, as their archbishop; but just then he fell ill and died, fifteen days after his election, and was buried at Bath. In the same year, Hugh, bishop of Durham, in consequence of the feelings of indignation which he entertained towards Geoffrey, archbishop of York, used every possible endeavour to obtain a release from all subjection to him, on which the said Geoffrey wrote to him to the following effect:—

The Letter of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, to Hugh, bishop of Durham.

"Geoffrey, by the grace of God, archbishop of York and primate of England, to Hugh, by the same grace, bishop of Durham, greeting. While, with all ardour you have been hastening onward with impetuous career to reach the highest position among the clergy, you have made choice to become the master of all others, and wish to be subject to no one. And

indeed in your case we see the words fulfilled, 'I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will be like the most High;'⁶⁹ while you do not keep in mind the words, 'God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble;'⁷⁰ and that 'He that exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.'⁷¹ For both ourselves and our church of York you are zealously, indeed with the ardour of an enemy, attacking, contrary to your own profession and the obedience due to ourselves and to the church of York; desiring to withdraw and exempt yourself, which may God prevent, from our jurisdiction. Wherefore we, wishing, as becomes us, to consult the rights of our church and our own dignity, do, by the Apostolic authority and our own, strictly enjoin you, as being our suffragan, on the Monday next ensuing after the feast of Saint Michael, to be present at York at the synod held there in our mother church, and on no pretext whatsoever to delay so to do, for the purpose of shewing due reverence to ourselves, and of paying canonical obedience, in conformity with the Apostolic mandate oftentimes shewn to you by our letters and in our behalf; as also to make answer why for the last two years you have presumed, contrary to the ordinances of the law, to deprive our church of York of the processions from ancient times its due, and the oblations due on the day of Pentecost, from Hovedenshire and Alvertonshire,⁷² and why, not dreading to put your sickle in the harvest of another, you have usurped the power to administer in spiritual things to our clergy and those of our diocese."

On hearing this, Hugh, bishop of Durham, would neither come to him nor do obedience or make profession thereof to him. For he said that he had once already done obedience and made profession to the church of York, and to Roger, archbishop of that see, and that he was not by law bound to repeat it; and, in order that the said archbishop might not oppress him as to this matter, he appealed to the presence of the Supreme Pontiff a first, second, and third time, submitting himself and the cause of his church to the decision of our lord the pope and of the Roman Church. The archbishop, however, not paying any regard to the appeal of the bishop of Durham, in the spirit of his wrath pronounced sentence of excommunication against

⁶⁹ Is. xiv. 13, 14.

⁷⁰ James iv. 5. 1 Pet. v. 6.

⁷¹ St. Luke xiv. 11, xviii. 4.

⁷² The districts of Howden and North Allerton.

the bishop of Durham, relying on the mandate of our lord the pope, in which it was stated, that if the bishop of Durham should either be unwilling, or should improperly delay to pay to him due obedience, he was, all appeal removed, to compel him by ecclesiastical censure so to do. However, the bishop of Durham, though he saw that sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him, after appeal made by him to the presence of the Supreme Pontiff, determined not to observe it, but celebrated Divine service, and caused it to be celebrated just as boldly as before.

On this, the archbishop broke down the altars where the bishop of Durham had celebrated divine service, and broke the chalices with which any one had performed service in his presence in his own diocese; he also held as excommunicated his brother John, earl of Mortaigne, because he had eaten in company with the bishop of Durham after that sentence was pronounced, and refused to hold communication with him till he should come to be absolved, and to make due satisfaction.

When the bishop of Durham found that most people avoided speaking, and eating or drinking with him, he sent messengers to pope Celestinus, to relate to him, first in private, and afterwards in presence of all the cardinals, how rashly the archbishop of York had pronounced sentence of excommunication against him, paying no regard whatever to his appeal. On learning this, our lord the pope and all the cardinals pronounced the sentence to be null, and that it should not be observed. Accordingly, our lord the pope wrote to the following effect:—

The Letter of pope Celestinus, nullifying the sentence pronounced upon the bishop of Durham.

“ Celestinus, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren the bishops of Lincoln and Rochester, and to his dearly beloved son the abbat of Burgh, health and the Apostolic benediction. Whereas the things which are enacted by our venerable brethren our fellow bishops, with prudent circumspection and due precaution, we ought to preserve inviolate, so in like manner those things which are done inconsiderately, it is our bounden duty to correct with a more extended foresight, and to reinstate the same in their proper position. Now inasmuch as our venerable brother Geoffrey, archbishop of York, has pronounced sentence of excommunication

against our venerable brother Hugh, bishop of Durham, and certain other persons, and, messengers from them having come to our presence, a full discussion has been held on both sides in our consistory in relation to the said sentence and certain other matters; we, considering that the sentence that has been fulminated against him as well as against the other persons, has been inconsiderately pronounced, and corroborated by no grounds of reasonable cause for the same, have, by the advice of our brethren, publicly pronounced that the same shall not hold good, nullifying the same, and forbidding that it shall have any authority whatever. To the end, therefore, that what we have decreed may in your country be publicly promulgated, we do, by these Apostolical writings, command you to declare throughout your churches, that the said sentence has been nullified by the authority of the Apostolic See; that the faithful may in security live in brotherly communion both with the others as well as with the bishop so unjustly put under the said ban, and may not in any way avoid intercourse with them on account thereof. Given at the Lateran."

In addition to this, our lord the pope, by other letters, directed the said bishops of Lincoln and Rochester and abbat of Burgh, that if they should ascertain that, after appeal made to the Roman Pontiff, the archbishop of York had broken the altars and chalices with which the bishop of Durham, either himself or by means of another, had celebrated the mass, then, by reason thereof the bishop of Durham should not be bound to make any submission to the said archbishop of York so long as the two should live. When the said archbishop and bishop had come into the presence of the said delegates at Northampton and a long discussion had taken place on both sides in relation to the above matters, at length, by the advice and suggestion of the lord bishop of Lincoln, the discussion was postponed till the octave of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, in order that, mutually anticipating the decision, they might, by the grace of God, be more easily induced to agree to a full reconciliation, all things in the meantime in dispute between them remaining in the same state in which they then were. It was further resolved, that if a reconciliation could not in the meantime be effected, the letters directed by our lord the pope to the delegates, should have the same force that they would have had, if the said space of time had not intervened; for such time all exceptions on both sides being saved

and reserved ; it being also arranged that the citation, if it should be necessary to be made, should be made at the end of the said intervening time, and in like form to that used on the day on which it had first been made, that is to say, on the day of Saint Calixtus.

In the same year, Roger, the constable of Chester, in whose hands the chancellor had placed the castles of Nottingham and Tickhill, took two prisoners, Alan de Lec and Peter de Bouencourt, of the number of those to whom he had entrusted the charge of the said castles, and hanged them both, because they had consented to the treachery of Robert de Crokston and Eudo de Diville, who had delivered those castles to John, earl of Mortaigne. The earl of Mortaigne, being exasperated at this, laid waste the whole of his lands which were in his jurisdiction.

In the same year, William, king of the Scots, sent his envoys to Celestinus, the Supreme Pontiff, for the purpose of confirming the liberties of the churches of his realm, and found grace in the eyes of our lord the pope ; upon which our lord the pope wrote to him to the following effect :

“Celestinus, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dearly beloved son in Christ, William, the illustrious king of the Scots, health, and the Apostolic benediction. Whereas all who are subject to the yoke of Christ ought to find favour and protection with the Apostolic See ; still those, in especial, is it right to strengthen, with every possible encouragement, whose fidelity and dutifulness have been in many instances experienced ; to the end that they may be more fully induced to gain the favour of His love, and with more duteous affection show Him all reverence, the more they feel assured that they shall obtain the pledge of His benevolence and favour. Wherefore, most dearly beloved son in Christ, holding in mind the feelings of reverence and dutifulness which, for a long time past, we have known you to entertain towards the Roman Church, in the page of this present writing we have thought fit to enact that the Scottish Church shall be subject to the Apostolic See, as an especial daughter thereof, without the intervention of any person whatever ; in which the following are recognized as the episcopal sees, namely, the churches of Saint Andrew’s, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Dumblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, and Caithness. Also, it is to be lawful for no one but the Roman Pontiff, or his legate ‘*a latere*,’ to

pronounce against the kingdom of Scotland sentence of excommunication or interdict; and, if such shall be pronounced, we do hereby decree that the same shall be of no effect. We do also add that to no one in future, who is not a native of the kingdom of Scotland, shall it be permitted to exercise the office of the legateship therein, except such person as for that especial purpose the Apostolic See shall have commissioned from its own body. We do also forbid that the disputes which shall have arisen as to possessions in that kingdom shall be brought for judgment before judges appointed out of that kingdom, except in case of appeal to the Church of Rome. And further, if any writings shall appear in contravention of this statute of liberties which have been already obtained, or if hereafter such shall happen to be obtained, mention not being made therein of this concession; in such case nothing shall hence arise to the prejudice of yourself or your kingdom in relation to the concession of this prerogative. And further, the liberties and immunities granted to you, or to your kingdom, or to the churches established therein by the Pontiffs of Rome, our predecessors, and hitherto observed, we do hereby ratify, and do enact that the same shall remain, to all future time, inviolate. Let no man, therefore, presume to infringe upon the enactments of this page of our constitution and prohibition, or in any way to contravene the same. And if any one shall presume so to do, let him know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God and of the holy Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Given at the Lateran, on the third day before the ides of March, in the first year of our pontificate."

In the same year, after the rebuilding of Cesaræa and Joppa, the king of England gave them both to Geoffrey de Lusignan, brother of king Guido. After this, the king of England fortified the castle of Planes, and then the castle of Maen; and on the second day before the Nativity of our Lord, he came to Tours des Chanalets, and remained there during the Nativity of our Lord; after which, he wished to proceed to lay siege to the city of Jerusalem; but the duke of Burgundy and the French refused to follow him: saying, that the king of France, their lord, forbade them at his departure to stay any longer in that land. In consequence of this, the king of England was forced to desist from his purpose, as both men and money failed him.

In the same year, Boyac El Emir Amimoli, the emperor

of Africa, (who in the previous year had entered the territory of the king of Portugal with a large army, and had taken a castle called Torrenova, and laid siege to a castle called Thomar, and abandoned them both to the Christians, through fear of the pilgrims who had come in the fleet of the king of England, and who, taking to flight, had pretended that he was dead, as already mentioned,⁷²) after all the fleet of the king of England had passed by, assembled a large army, and again entered the territories of the king of Portugal, and took by storm the city of Sylves, and Alcaz, and Almada, and Palmella, and laid waste the territory of the Christians. The king of Portugal, however, was unable to make head against his forces, and Boyac El Emir Amimoli gave the before-named cities which he had taken, to his brother, the king of Cordres, or Corduba.

It is worthy of remark, that in the territories of the king of Navarre there is only one episcopal city, the name of which is Pampeluna; but there are many castles in this territory; one of which is Tudela, situate on the river Ebro, another is called L'Estella, and there are many others besides. In the territories of the king of Castille there is only one archiepiscopal city, the name of which is Tulette,⁷³ and which lies on the river Tagus, and has the primacy of Spain; in the same state there is also an episcopal city, the bishop of which is called the bishop of Muscerause, that is to say, Suriens.⁷⁴ In the same city there is a mountain from which every day there are taken more than a hundred camel loads [of earth], and yet it never decreases; for although a cavern of very great depth is thereby made, still by the next day it is filled up if rain had fallen upon it. The earth that is taken thence is carried throughout the adjoining provinces, and is sold for the purpose of washing the hands and clothes of men, both Christians and pagans.

The archbishop of Toledo has under him eleven suffragan bishops; namely, the bishop of Muscerause, the bishop of Alarchas, which is near Cordres, or Corduba, the bishop of Plazencia, the bishop of Trugel,⁷⁵ the bishop of Avila, the bishop of Segovia, the bishop of Alarches, the bishop of Siguenza, the bishop of Soyra, the bishop of Osma, the bishop of Palencia, and the bishop of Bursa. In the kingdom also of

⁷² See p. 148. ⁷³ Toledo. ⁷⁴ It does not appear what place is meant, but it may possibly be Servienza. The text here is very defective.

⁷⁵ Perhaps Teruel.

the king of Castille there are more than two hundred fine castles, of which one is called Le Gruin.

In the territory of the king of Saint Jago there is one archbishopric, namely, that of Saint Jago;⁷⁶ which has under it eleven suffragans, namely, the bishop of Leon, the bishop of Sturghe,⁷⁷ the bishop of Auzemore,⁷⁸ the bishop of Salamanca, the bishop of Citras Rodrike,⁷⁹ the bishop of Cooire,⁸⁰ the bishop of Santa Maria de Lugo, the bishop of Saint Salvador de Wede, the bishop of Villamaur, the bishop of Orense, and the bishop of Tiue.⁸¹ In the kingdom of the king of Saint Jago there are also many castles.

In the territory of the king of Portugal there is one archbishopric, at a city called Braga; which has seven suffragans, namely, the bishop of Portigal,⁸² the bishop of Cuvillana, the bishop of Lamego, the bishop of Wiscou,⁸³ the bishop of Cunumbre,⁸⁴ the bishop of Evere,⁸⁵ on the borders of the Saracens, and the bishop of Lisbon, on the river Tagus.

Thence extends the part of Spain, which is called Saracenic, under the dominion of the emperor of Africa; and here begins the territory held by the king of Cordres, or Corduba, the brother of El Emir Amimoli before-named; the same place as Corduba, the city of which Lucan says,—

“Corduba me genuit, rapuit Nero, prælia dixi,
Quæ gessere pares, hinc socer, inde gener.”⁸⁶

Here are also the cities of Palmella, Almada, Alchaz, Sylves, and Santa Maria de Hairun, the city of Badeluz, upon the river Guadiana, Merida, which was formerly an archiepiscopal city, Sibylla,⁸⁷ which also was formerly an archiepiscopal city, and which, with Corduba, is situate on the river Guadalquivir, the city of Granada, and the city of Jubellaria.⁸⁸

Next begins the territory of the king of Gahang, likewise in Spain, and under the emperor of the Africans; this king also is brother of El Emir Amimoli, and has under his rule the castle of Gehem, and the city of Baence, the city of Aubdene, the city of Segurra, as also the city of Malaga, where large quantities of red morocco leather are made, and the city of Melita, on an inlet of the sea; each of which is situate on a river which is called Segura. Next, still in Saracenic Spain, begins the ter-

⁷⁶ Or Compostella.

⁷⁷ Astorga.

⁷⁸ Probably Zamora.

⁷⁹ Ciudad Rodrigo.

⁸⁰ Coira.

⁸¹ Tuy.

⁸² Oporto.

⁸³ Viseu.

⁸⁴ Coimbra.

⁸⁵ Evora.

⁸⁶ This has been

previously translated in p. 155.

⁸⁷ Seville.

⁸⁸ Gibraltar.

ritory of the king of Murcia, who is a brother of the said El Emir Amimoli; and in whose rule are the city of Murcia, the castle of Oriola, the castle of Urgelet, the city of Almeria, the city of Carthagená, the castle of Chinchele, and the castle of Lapanne de Scumpere. Next, still in Saracenic Spain, begin the territories of the king of Valencia, who is brother of the said Emir Amimoli, and under whose rule are the castles of Oedeeb, and Stuve, the city of Valencia, the city of Burriánz, and Peniscle, and many other fortified places.

Next begins the territory of the king of Arragon, in Spain; at the commencement of whose kingdom is the castle of Ampost, and next the episcopal city of Tortosa. Then comes Saragossa, an episcopal city, then the castle of Caletau, then the castle of Doroque, then the castle of Torol, and then Santa Maria Abenrazin, a city on the borders of the Christians and the pagans. Next comes Tarragona, an archiepiscopal city, then Tarragona, an episcopal city, then the city of Oske, then the city of Jake, and then the city of Ride, upon the river Segre. After this comes the city of Wike, then the city of Barcelona, then Sain de Urget,⁸⁸ then the city of Girona, then the castle of Turezla, the name of which once was Purpallar Beyond Sea. After this come the high mountains called Portas de Laduse, then Chastillon, and, after that, the castle d'Empires.

Next to this comes the land called Roussillon, in which there is a fine city called Alne, and then the city of Narbonne, after which come the cities of Bediers, and of Agde, and then Villeneuve, the bishopric of Magdalena, near to which is the port of Montpellier, which is called Lates.⁸⁹ There are also many other castles and cities in the kingdom of the king of Arragon, as already mentioned.

In the year of grace 1192, being the third year of the reign of Richard, king of the English, Philip, king of France, was in France safe and sound, at Fontaine Bland,⁹⁰ on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which fell on the fourth day of the week, insolently boasting that he would before long lay waste the territories of the king of England. On the same day of the Nativity of our Lord, John, earl of Mortaigne, brother of Richard, king of England, was at Hovedene, together with Hugh, bishop of Durham. On the same day of the Nativity

⁸⁸ Seu d'Urgel.

⁸⁹ Probably a misprint for Cette.

⁹⁰ Now Fontainebleau.

of our Lord, queen Eleanor, mother of Richard, king of England, was at Normandy, at Bonville sur Toke.

On the same day of the Nativity of our Lord, Richard, king of England, was in the land of Sulia, at Tours, of Ascalon, intending, after the Nativity of our Lord, to lay siege to the city of Jerusalem; and, on the day of Saint Hilary, he held a conference there with the Templars and Hospitallers and the whole army, as to besieging the city of Jerusalem. However, they were of opinion that he ought not to move onward, but that he should return for the purpose of fortifying Ascalon; on which, he proceeded to Ascalon, and fortified it, and in fortifying it expended a considerable time.

Fifteen days before Easter, the duke of Burgundy and the Franks left him, saying that they would stay no longer with him, unless he would supply them with necessaries; but the king declined to supply them with anything. During Lent, the king of England fortified Blanchward, Galatia, and Gazere; and on Easter day he held there a general festival, in tents outside of the town. After Easter, he rode through the territories of the pagans, and found their corn ripe; on which, he caused it all to be gathered by the Christians, as forming half their supply of corn. He made a stay on the plains of Ascalon until Pentecost, and, on the last day of Pentecost, rode to Le Darun, a strongly-fortified castle, near the great river Euphrates, and in this excursion took prisoners twenty-four pagans and one Renè, who had formerly been a Christian, and had denied our Lord Jesus Christ; on which, the king set him up as a mark for arrows, and he was pierced to death. On the Monday after the close of Pentecost, he laid siege to Le Darun, and on the Friday following took it by storm, and found there nineteen hundred pagans alive, whom he at once gave to Henry, count of Champagne.

In the meantime, after Easter, a great dissension had arisen between the Pisans and the Genoese who were before Acre; so much so, that they slew one another; and the duke of Burgundy, at the request of the Genoese, sent to Tyre for the marquis Conrad, wishing to appoint him king. On this, the Pisans sent to the king of England, who at this time was staying at Ascalon, and informed him of the intentions of the duke of Burgundy. Accordingly, the king came to Acre, and demanded of the duke of Burgundy fifteen hundred pounds of silver which he had lent him; on which, the duke, not having

wherewithal to pay, delivered to the king Carakois, the Saracene, in full satisfaction of the debt.

After this, the king returned to Ascalon; and, while he was staying there, two of the servants of the king of the Accini, or Assassins, who had for a long time served at the court of the marquis Conrad, and had been members of his household, slew the said Conrad, in his city of Tyre; on which, they were immediately arrested by the bystanders. This took place on the fifth day before the calends of May. On being interrogated, they said that they had done this by command of the king of the Accini, their master; upon which, one of them was immediately put to death, while the other was flayed alive. The Franks, however, averred that this was entirely done by the suggestion of the king of England. After the assassination of Conrad, his wife married Henry, count of Champagne, the nephew of the king of England and the king of France; immediately on which, by the choice of the whole army, the said Henry was elected king of the land of Jerusalem. The king of England also gave to king Guido the island of Tyre, in exchange, to hold the same for life. After the capture of Darun, that is to say, on the same Friday on which the king of England had taken it, the Franks returned to Ascalon, and placed themselves at the mercy of the king of England: on which, the king came there to meet them, and afterwards, with the consent of the whole army, marched forward to lay siege to Jerusalem.

When they had come as far as Bethonople, the king rode on with some of them to view Jerusalem; and then proceeded to the chapel of Saint Elias, which is three leagues distant from Jerusalem. Here he found a certain cross of wood, said to be made of the wood of that of our Lord, sealed up within the walls of a chapel, which was called the Cross of the Syrians; upon which, he carried it away, and returned to his army. In the meantime, his spies returned to the king of England, and informed him that a caravan of Saladin was coming from Babylon to Jerusalem, for the purpose of supplying it with provisions and arms: the king, accordingly, believed them, and, taking with him five thousand picked men, went to meet the caravan, which was escorted by eleven thousand pagans. The king met them on the vigil of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, at about the first hour of the day, and, engaging with them, gained a victory, and slew nearly the whole of them, taking possession

of their spoils, with three thousand camels, and four thousand horses and mules and she-mules, besides those that were killed.

After having gained this victory, the king returned to Bethonople, whence he had set out, and gave to the knights of the army a portion of the spoils of the slain. After this, holding a conference with the duke of Burgundy and the Franks, he offered to make oath that he would proceed to Jerusalem and lay siege to it, and not depart therefrom as long as he had a single horse left to eat, until he had taken the city, and requested that the Franks and the whole of the army would take the same oath. On this, the duke of Burgundy and the Franks made answer that they would not take the oath, or remain any longer in the land, but would depart from it as soon as they could, in obedience to the commands given to them by the king of France, their master. Accordingly, they left the king upon bad terms, and returned to Acre, the king following them. On this, Saladin immediately came down from the mountains, and laid siege to Joppa, which the king of England had delivered into the charge of Alberic de Rains; and, as he found himself unable to defend it, he surrendered it to Saladin, upon condition that he might depart with safety to life and limb. However, after having received from Saladin the selected arrow as a sign of the treaty with him, on hearing of the approach of the king of England, he returned to Saladin, and gave back to him his arrow, and renounced the treaty. Upon this, Saladin immediately took him prisoner, and captured the whole of the city, with the exception of the fortress of the castle; to which a few retired and sent word to the king of England to inform him of these recent events: immediately upon which, he gave his troops, consisting of horse, to Henry, count of Champagne, for the purpose of being led thither by land, while he himself, with only seven galleys, proceeded by sea. On the third day, being Saturday, he arrived at Joppa, on the morning after the feast of Saint Peter ad Vincula; on which, he entered the castle, and had an interview with his people there, instructing them to follow him. After this, he went forth and a few with him, and suddenly made an attack upon the army of Saladin, and, shouting his war-cry, he valiantly charged them, and drove them out of the city, and slew many of them with the edge of the sword, and so liberated the city from their hands.

Three days after this, Saladin sent word to the king that he

would fight him in a pitched battle; which message greatly pleased the king. But, just as everything had been ready prepared for the pitched battle, five galleys arrived from Acre with soldiers, by way of succour for the king: upon which, Saladin declined to engage with him.

In the meantime, Hugh, duke of Burgundy, Ralph de Courcy, and the viscount de Pinkenny, died at Acre, on the eighth day after their arrival there. Shortly after, Saladin sent word to the king of England that he would repay him all his expenses which he had been put to in fortifying Ascalon, and would make with him and the other Christians who should remain in the land of Jerusalem a truce to last for three years, from Easter then next ensuing, and would keep the peace with them until the said time, if he would reinstate Ascalon in the same condition in which he himself had left it. Accordingly, the king of England, seeing that both men and money and health were failing him, by the advice of the Templars and of the whole army, closed with the said offer which Saladin had made him: on which, upon oath, they agreed that peace should be observed for that period.

After this, the king of England placing everything in the hands of Henry, count of Champagne, hastened to return to his kingdom, by reason of the sinister reports which he had heard both as to the king of France and the expulsion of his chancellor, as also the earl of Mortaigne, his brother, who had seized the castles of the kingdom, and would have taken possession of the whole thereof if he could have found the opportunity. Accordingly, the king of England came to Caiaphas, where he fell sick, and proceeded thence to Acre. Here, after the feast of Saint Michael, being the eighth day before the ides of October, and the fifth day of the week, he embarked on board of a large buss, and, within a month from that day, arrived at the island of Cuverfu, where he went on board a boat, and sailed towards three galleys which he saw on the opposite side off the coast of Romania, and hired them to take him as far as Ragusa, for two hundred marks of silver; after which, he returned to his buss, and the said galleys with him; and, having made terms with them, he took with him Baldwin, the advocate of Bethune, and twenty other companions, and embarked on board one of the said galleys; and on landing at Gazera, near Ragusa, declined to tell them that he was king of England, but said that they were pilgrims. However, although he had a

long beard and long hair and garments, and everything else to resemble the people of that country, he was unable to remain unknown, in consequence of his great expenditure, which was quite foreign to the usage of the people of that country.

Immediately, the people of the province guessing that he was the king of England, prepared to capture him and deliver him to the emperor of the Romans, who hated him, on account of the aid he had given to king Tancred, and for the death of his kinsman, the marquis Conrad. Upon the king of England being informed of this by one of his followers, he placed his retinue in charge of Baldwin, the Advocate of Bethune, and ordered him to remain the next four days at that place, making a more lavish expenditure than he himself had done; after which, he himself, with a single attendant, having mounted a swift horse, his attendant doing the same, set out late at night, and, hastening day and night, arrived in the neighbourhood of Vienna; at a little village, not far from which place he and his attendant took up their abode. While the king's attendant was gone to buy food, the king, being fatigued by the labour of his journey, immediately threw himself upon a bed and fell asleep. In the meantime, his attendant, while endeavouring to exchange some money, was recognized by a servant of the duke of Austria, and taken prisoner, and brought before the duke; and, when he could conceal it no longer, disclosed to him the lodging of the king; on which, they came, and, finding him asleep, took him prisoner. As for the Advocate of Bethune, and those who were with him, on attempting to leave the town, they were taken prisoners, and not allowed to depart.

In the meantime, the king of France, holding a conference with the seneschal and nobles of Normandy, demanded of them his sister, Alice, whom they had in their charge in the castle of Rouen: he also demanded the castle of Gisors, the county of Auch, and the county of Aumarle, and showed him the written agreement made between him and the king of England, at Messina. To this, the nobles of Normandy made answer that they had received no commands upon the subject from their master, and were, therefore, unwilling to comply with his demands.

Upon this, the king of France, levying a large army, was desirous to invade Normandy in a hostile manner, but the nobles of his kingdom would not agree thereto, saying that our

lord the pope had excommunicated all those who should make war on the territory of the king of England before his return, and that they had sworn to keep the peace towards him and his territory until his return.

During Lent, in the same year, the archbishop of York came to London by command of the king's justices; but when he came to Westminster with his cross, he was forbidden by the bishop of London and the other bishops of England thenceforth to presume to carry his cross in the province of Canterbury. On this, he contumaciously made answer that he would not lay it aside for them; but, listening to the advice of his own people, he hid it from before the face of the people, lest a tumult might arise among the clergy. The bishop of London, however, holding him as an excommunicated person, in consequence of this transgression, suspended the New Temple, at which place the said archbishop of York had taken up his abode, from the performance of Divine service and from the ringing of bells, and in consequence, he was obliged to leave the city; but before he left, queen Eleanor, the archbishop of Rouen, himself, and all the nobles of the kingdom, met together and swore fealty and faithful service to Richard, king of England, and his heir, against all men.

During the same Lent, the bishop of Ely, the chancellor, returned to England, by command of the earl of Mortaigne, and remained some days in the castle at Dover, not daring to proceed any further. The earl of Mortaigne, however, in consideration of five hundred pounds of silver which the chancellor had promised him for the restoration of his office, tried in every way to induce the chief men of the kingdom to receive the chancellor in his former position; but they refused, and sent word to the chancellor, that if he did not make haste and leave the kingdom with all speed, they would take him prisoner. On hearing this, the chancellor, not daring to stay in England against the will of the chief men, crossed over at the Supper of our Lord.

In the same year, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, gave, and by his charter confirmed, the priory of Saint Clement's, at York, to the abbey of Godstow. But the nuns of Saint Clement's, who had always been free from the very foundation of that church, refused to pay obedience to the abbey of Godstow, and appealed to our lord the pope in behalf of the liberties of their church.

In the meantime, the clerks of the archbishop of Rouen,

whom he had sent to Rome to oppose the chancellor, wrote to him to the following effect:—

The Letter sent by his clerks to Walter, archbishop of Rouen.

“To Walter, by the grace of God archbishop of Rouen, their most dear lord and father, his clerks, greeting. We will omit the perils and labours which in our journey we have oftentimes been obliged to endure, and how, after having frequently escaped from dangers by the way, we at length fell into the hands of robbers, and, being despoiled of all our property, except a few horses and our letters, arrived destitute of all provision whatever in this magnificent city, on the third day before the ides of February, the court then staying at the church of Saint Peter. Here we found the clerks sent by the chancellor, uttering many boasts, and, as it appeared to us, exulting in complete success. For the office in full of legate having been granted to him, our lord the pope and certain of the cardinals had sent letters to the bishop of Ely addressed therein as legate, but the principal letters conferring the legateship under the authority of the bull not having been yet delivered, the deputies before-mentioned were preparing for their speedy departure. Moreover, we found the pope fully inclined to take the part of the chancellor; while those who, as his familiar friends, are much in the society of our lord the pope, and are constantly at his side, were promoting his interests as though they were their own. However, by the grace of God, in consequence of our arrival, those letters were detained, some persons who zealously attend to our interests, often and repeatedly remarking that the presence of your deputies had hitherto been much needed. After this, as soon as we had obtained permission, having gained an audience, in the presence of our lord the pope and the whole of the cardinals, we presented the letters sent by you, and by the bishops, prelates, and justiciaries of England, with due care adding thereto all other things that we believed were consistent with your intentions. After the deputies of the bishop of Ely had made an attempt to raise objections both to our answers and our assertions, our lord the pope made many remarks militating against your interests, with indignation and bitterness, inculcating in many words, and affirming as follows:—We know that the illustri-

ous king of the English left the administration of the whole of his kingdom to our lord of Ely, and left no one his equal or superior. We have seen letters of our lord the king to that effect; those which revoke them or are contrary thereto we have not seen, nor do we see, nor yet a signed copy thereof with the seals thereto appended and duly authenticated. However, many venerable persons have written against the lord chancellor; and in favour of the lord chancellor we have received letters from many venerable persons. But the letters that you bring are from those who have expelled the lord chancellor; and we are not very much surprised if they do seem to write in their own favour. We know that our lord the king never showed to any mortal so much love, or paid such high honor, as he has done to our lord of Ely. He made him not only bishop of the venerable and most wealthy see of Ely, but his chancellor as well, and, besides, has entrusted to his sole charge the whole of the kingdom of England. And yet, with all this our lord the king was not content, but begged our lord Clement of happy memory, and ourselves as well, to bestow the office of legate upon the lord chancellor. Consider how affectionately he loved him; what man is there whom he loves as much, or has loved? At the entreaty of our lord the king, and at his urgent request, we have granted the legateship for the present to the lord bishop of Ely. That the king has withdrawn such great favour thus suddenly from the man whom he used to love we can hardly believe, unless we see his letter and the royal seal. And what we have granted to our lord the king, to wit, the legateship of our lord of Ely, we cannot possibly suspend or take away without suffering the stigma of falsehood. Moreover, all the bishops of England have sent us letters begging us to confirm him in the office of legate, and, unanimously supplicating us, have put forward many recommendations in favour of the chancellor. And that now, the contrary should be asked by them, seems to us to deserve to be imputed to a feeling of levity. Even your own master, too, the archbishop of Rouen, sent to us letters, full of professions of devotion, in favour of the bishop of Ely; inasmuch as he could write in his favour as long as he enjoyed prosperity. Consequently, it is a hard matter to listen to those against him, when oppressed with the calamity of exile, as to whom it has been written, 'So long as you are fortunate, you will reckon many a friend; if the times become cloudy,

then you will be alone.’⁹¹ Moreover, when he was exulting in his former state of prosperity, and was performing the duties of legate among you, what church, what monastery, what beneficed clergyman, what person of low station or of high, ever sent word or complaint to us about the exactions of the lord bishop of Ely, or any grievances of the churches? All applauded him when prosperous, all murmur against him when fallen. These were friends of fortune, who took their leave together with the favour of fortune.” These and many other objections made by our lord the pope could not be otherwise than of great weight and moment, as being put forward by one who has no superior, a Supreme Pontiff and a judge, and one whose will there is no one to resist. Still more, it seemed to some to make very greatly against us, that our lord the king of England, upon your return, had begged in your behalf that your legateship might be transferred to the parts of Normandy and other parts beyond sea; consequently, at the first blush it seemed likely to no one that it was the king’s wish that you should hold authority in England, and the office of legate in Normandy, inasmuch as for one and the same man to hold authority in England and the office of legate in Normandy, seemed a thing neither easy nor convenient. Moreover, the intimation of the royal wish, which had been sent in your behalf to the chancellor by the king, was said to have been transmitted by the king to the seneschal of Normandy, in order that he might in Normandy enjoy the benefit of your counsel. Although we made suitable answers to these objections and the like, still the favour of our lord the pope and his predilections leaned on the other side. However, being at length forced to feel some hesitation, both at our instance as also at that of some of the cardinals whom we had got to favour our views, having called all the cardinals together, he required the opinion of each; and, after our business had been discussed in many deliberations, adjourned from time to time for a long period, our lord the pope, sitting in judgment, pronounced sentence to the following effect, that is to say, to state it shortly and in a condensed form; he absolved the chancellor from your denunciation and that of our lord the dean of Rouen, and, conversely, he publicly adjudged to be null and void the sentence which the bishop of

⁹¹ A quotation from Ovid:—

“Dum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos;
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.”

Ely had pronounced under the pretext of certain letters⁹² against you and the dean and certain others who were obnoxious to the chancellor. Moreover, our lord the pope, proceeding in his sentence, pronounced the chancellor excused for the injury he had done to the archbishop of York without any prescribed form [of trial]. He also declined to take away from him either his legateship or the powers attached thereto, as he had but lately conferred the same at the urgency of the king's entreaties, and at the request of yourself as well as of all the bishops of England. However, he pronounced that he should perform the duties of the legateship with this exception thereto appended, that in the meantime he should not have the power of pronouncing sentence of suspension or excommunication against you, or against the dean of Rouen, or against the bishops of England, or the justiciaries and nobles thereof. Of this sentence we trust that we shall have a more precise version, and that we shall be enabled to transmit to you the very words themselves in the letters of the pope himself. To the said judgment he also added, that, convoking a council of the cardinals, and inviting ourselves thereto as well as the deputies of the lord bishop of Ely, he will nominate some venerable persons in your parts through whose mediation peace and reconciliation may possibly be effected between you and the lord chancellor, at least so far as to assuage the rancorous feelings that exist between you. From the tenor, however, of the deliberation that took place, and from the form of the sentence which we have mentioned, we believe that for certain those letters will be entirely revoked, which, although they were directed to the bishops of the whole of England, still upon the pretence thereof the said chancellor pronounced you and many others under the ban of excommunication. With reference, however, to this denunciation, when, in conformity with the request of our lord the dean of Rouen, we laid open his complaint in full consistory before all the cardinals and the people, on the said letters being read and examined, the pope protested with the loudest voice possible, in the presence of

⁹² It is not clear what the meaning of the adjective "probabilium" here is. It may possibly signify "of letters probably written by you;" or it may stand for the Norman legal term "probalium," and allude to the letters written by the pope to the bishop of Ely, in which case it would mean, "under the pretext of the pope's letters made public by him." The latter is most probably the meaning, from the reference to this letter at the end of the present letter.

all, that the said letters had never originated in his conscience, while the assemblage of cardinals shouted aloud to the same effect as regarded themselves in most emphatical terms; and when the deputies of the bishop of Ely most urgently exclaimed against those statements, he refused to lend an attentive ear to any of them. Farewell."

On the following night the deputies of the bishop of Ely went to our lord the pope, and censured him, for thus, in the presence of all the cardinals, protesting that the confirmation of the sentence which the chancellor had pronounced against the archbishop of Rouen and his accomplices who had abetted him in procuring his overthrow, had not proceeded from his conscience; and entreated him, for the love of God and the honor of the Roman Church, to recall to mind the services that the chancellor had dutifully performed for him and the Church of Rome, and that, testifying to the truth, he would remove this opprobrium from the chancellor and his people, in order that their enemies might not exult at their unjust condemnation.

Our lord the pope, on being applied to with these exhortations and others of a like nature, sitting the next day in judgment in presence of the cardinals and all the people, confessed that those letters which the day before he had on oath disowned had been written by his command, and sent to England to confirm the sentence of excommunication which the chancellor had pronounced against the archbishop of Rouen and his accomplices who had expelled him from the kingdom.

In addition to this, the clerks of the archbishop of Rouen sent word to him that they had conversed four days at Rome with Hugh de Gurnay, William de Pessy, Drogo de Troubleville, and many others whom the king of England had sent to his dominions; and that fifteen days after, Andrew de Chaveny came to say that the king was much pleased that the chancellor had been deposed, but that he was also much displeased that the corporation of London and the whole of England had been pledged by oath to earl John. The king also requested that our lord the pope would make null and void all donations of ecclesiastical revenues which the chancellor had made after the king's departure; but our lord the pope was unwilling so absolutely to nullify those donations, though he nullified in common all donations of ecclesiastical revenues that belonged to the king, by whomsoever they had been made,

and on this matter our lord the pope appointed the bishops of Lincoln and London judges. On the letters being given to the clerks of our lord the archbishop of Rouen, they came to our lord the pope, and said to him, alluding to the chancellor, "Behold how he loved him!"⁹³

In the same year, our lord the pope sent two cardinals as legates *a laterè*, namely, Octavianus, bishop of Ostia, and Jordan de Fossa Nova, to put an end to the dissensions that existed between the chancellor and the archbishop of Rouen. On their arrival at Gisors, in Normandy, the gate was shut against them, and they could not obtain admittance. When they ascertained that this was done by William FitzRalph, seneschal of Normandy, they excommunicated him and all his accomplices and coadjutors, advisers and abettors in the said piece of presumption, and laid the whole of Normandy under interdict. On this being told in England, queen Eleanor and the archbishop of Rouen sent to them Hugh, bishop of Durham, that they might revoke the sentence they had pronounced against the seneschal of Normandy and Normandy itself. At first the bishop of Durham found them at Paris, after which he followed them to Vezelay, but they would by no means remit the sentence until they had been received in Normandy. However, our lord the pope revoked the interdict placed upon Normandy, and caused it to be revoked by the legates; but still they did not enter Normandy.

In the same year, while the seneschal of Gascony lay ill, the count de Perigord and the viscount de Marke and nearly all the barons of Gascony, began to ravage the territories of the king of England; and in the meantime, the seneschal could neither obtain peace nor truce, although he frequently, and more than frequently, requested it. Having at length recovered, he attacked the castles and fortresses of the said count, and besieged and took them all, fortifying some on behalf of the king, and levelling others with the ground. In like manner, he took all the castles of the said viscount, and reduced the whole of that county to final subjection to the king. Shortly after, the son of the king of Navarre came to his assistance with eight hundred knights; on which, they together entered the territory of the count of Toulouse, and took many castles in the vicinity of

⁹³ St. John xi. 36. This they spitefully and ironically said, in allusion to the impression entertained by the pope relative to the affection of the king for the bishop of Ely.

Toulouse, and, after taking them, fortified them in the king's behalf, and levelled many other fortresses with the ground, after which they proceeded as far as the gates of Toulouse, and passed the night almost under its very walls.

In the same year, many pilgrims who had come away with the king of England from the land of Sulia, returned before the Nativity of our Lord to England, hoping there to find the king; and, on being asked about the king, where he was, they made answer, "We know not, but his ship on board of which he embarked, we saw nearing the shore at Brindisi, in Apulia." In the meantime, Leopold, duke of Austria, who had taken the king of England, delivered him into the hands of Henry, emperor of the Romans; in consequence of which, the said emperor wrote to Philip, king of the Franks, to the following effect:

The Letter of Henry, emperor of the Romans, to Philip, king of France, in reference to the confinement of Richard, king of England.

"Henry, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans and ever august, to his beloved and especial friend Philip, the illustrious king of the Franks, health and sincere love and affection. Inasmuch as our imperial highness does not doubt that your royal mightiness will be delighted at all things in which the omnipotence of the Creator has honored and exalted ourselves and the Roman empire, we have thought proper to inform your nobleness by means of these presents, that while the enemy of our empire and the disturber of your kingdom, Richard, king of England, was crossing the sea for the purpose of returning to his dominions, it so happened that the winds brought him, the ship being wrecked on board of which he was, to the region of Istria, at a place which lies between Aquileia and Venice, where, by the sanction of God, the king, having suffered shipwreck, escaped, together with a few others. A faithful subject of ours, the count Maynard of Gortze, and the people of that district, hearing that he was in their territory, and calling to mind the treason and treachery and accumulated mischief he had been guilty of in the Land of Promise, pursued him with the intention of making him prisoner. However, the king taking to flight, they captured eight knights of his retinue. Shortly after, the king proceeded to a borough in the archbishopric of Saltzburg, which is called Frisi, where Frederic de Botesowe took six of his knights, the king hastening on by

night, with only three attendants, in the direction of Austria. The roads, however, being watched, and guards being set on every side, our dearly-beloved cousin Leopold, duke of Austria, captured the king so often mentioned, in an humble house in a village in the vicinity of Vienna. Inasmuch as he is now in our power, and has always done his utmost for your annoyance and disturbance, what we have above stated we have thought proper to notify to your nobleness, knowing that the same is well pleasing to your kindly affection for us, and will afford most abundant joy to your own feelings. Given at Creutz,⁹⁴ on the fifth day before the calends of January."

On these rumours being spread through England as to the capture of the king of England, Walter, archbishop of Rouen wrote to Hugh, bishop of Durham, to the following effect:—

The Letter of the archbishop of Rouen to the bishop of Durham, relative to the captivity of Richard, king of England.

"To his venerable brother in Christ and his most dearly-beloved friend Hugh, by the grace of God, bishop of Durham, Walter, by the same grace, archbishop of Rouen, health in all that is truly healthful. Various rumours having been spread abroad relative to the arrival of the king, at length, as the truth could no longer be concealed, everything relative thereto has become known to us. But, whether in adversity or in prosperity, it behoves us to display equanimity, as we cannot avert the will of God; and inasmuch as His judgments are secret, we commend the fortuitous results of things to His mercy and providence. With grief of mind are we compelled to confess that it has befallen the lord our king otherwise than would have been expedient for his realm and all his faithful subjects; and if we look more fully into his meritorious deeds, this misfortune is in no way the due of his actions. For he, who, for the sake of God exhausted all his patrimony, and indifferently entrusted the blood of himself and of his subjects to the fortune of war, deserved in all his wanderings to have received the protection of God. But this adversity, which is so opposed to our good wishes, is a test of his virtues, and not a mark of censure. And why are we obliged to say more than we could have wished? We have thought proper to transmit to you a copy of a letter of the em-

⁹⁴ This place in Slavonia may possibly be meant by "Rithencie," as a misprint for "Riscensis."

peror of Germany which he has sent to the king of the Franks, relative to the capture of our lord the king of England, folded within this present page. Now, there is need not of your tears but of your promptness, as we must not meet the attacks of fortune with lamentations, but, concealing our sorrow, must endeavour to make trial of our prowess; perhaps 'Weeping may endure for a night, but joy will come to us in the morning.'⁹⁵ And inasmuch as, next to the mercy of God, the greatest portion of our hope is reposed in your bosom, with a breast bedewed with tears, and with our entire heart, we do suppliantly, devotedly, and as being most dear to you, entreat you that in this trouble which, thus momentous beyond all conception, has befallen our lord the king, you will with all your energies act the part of diligence and of circumspection, and that, through no consideration of difficulty, no prospect of adversity, no pretext, no consideration of temporal benefits or of your own welfare, you will refuse to us and to our lord, or rather to yourself, your counsel, which with all our bowels we are longing to receive. And whereas the mind is more fully opened to one present than to a person when absent, and in the presence of persons counsel under present difficulties will shine forth with greater effulgence, and the Lord will bestow on the same a more healthful effect, we do consequently beg of you, tearfully and with all the affection before expressed, all excuse as to difficulties laid aside, to meet us and other faithful servants of our lord the king at Oxford, on the Lord's day before '*Lætare Jerusalem*'⁹⁶ is sung. For the present matter requires that degree of prompt attention, that all excuses whatsoever should be laid aside; and it is our belief that the love which is due to our lord the king, should, in the case of which we speak, be fully made proof of. You must also know that the lord bishop of Bath has already had several interviews with our lord the emperor, on the subject of setting our king at liberty; for he is using every labour and exertion to show him all due obedience, and to pay that homage which is due from his respect for the crown, acceptable to the king's honor, and as advantageous under present circumstances, as it has also been on other occasions; this we have learned from those persons who were present at the interview which the lord bishop of Bath had with

⁹⁵ Psalm xxx. 5.

⁹⁶ The introit for the fourth Sunday in Lent, which begins "Rejoice, Jerusalem, and meet together, all you who love her."

our lord the prince respecting the liberation of our master. And whereas, under all circumstances, the Divine aid of God ought to be implored, we beg that throughout the whole of your diocese you will cause prayers to be put up for him to the Most High. 'The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much,'⁹⁷ and the importunate woman in the Gospel was deemed deserving to be heard, and, as it is there said, Christ raised her son, because for him many tears were shed. Farewell."

Accordingly, upon hearing of the confinement of the king, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and the other justiciaries of our lord the king, sent the abbat of Boxley and the abbat of Pont Robert to Germany, to seek the king of England. After having passed through the whole of Germany, and not finding the king, they entered Bavaria, and met the king at a town, the name of which is Oxefer, where he was brought before the emperor, to hold a conference with him, on Palm Sunday. On hearing that the before-named abbats had come from England, the king showed himself courteous and affable to them; making enquiries about the state of his kingdom and the fidelity of his subjects, and the health and prosperity of the king of Scotland, in whose fidelity he placed a very strong reliance: on which they testified to what they had heard and seen. A conference accordingly taking place between them, the king made complaint of the treachery of his brother, John, earl of Mortaigne, on whom he had conferred so many favours and boundless honors, and who had thrown himself into the hands of the king of France against him, and, having broken the ties of brotherhood, had made a league with death and a compact with hell. The king, though greatly afflicted upon this subject, suddenly broke forth into these words of consolation, saying, "My brother John is not the man to subjugate a country, if there is a person able to make the slightest resistance to his attempts."

During his journey of three days, while on the road to meet the emperor, it was the admiration of all, how boldly, how courteously, and how becomingly he behaved himself, and they judged him worthy of the imperial elevation who so thoroughly understood the arts of command, and how, with uniform self-possession, to rise superior to the two-faced events of fortune. On a day named, after he had held a conference by messengers with the emperor, they were unable on that day to have an

⁹⁷ James v. 16.

interview with him, because the emperor had made of him many demands, to which the king had determined not to yield, even though his life should be perilled thereby. On the morrow, however, while all were despairing, with joyous success ensued joyous consolation.

For, on the emperor accusing the king of many things, and charging him with many misdeeds, both with his betrayal of the land of Sulia, and with the death of the marquis of Montferrat, as also with reference to certain covenants made between them and not observed by him, the king made answer with such frankness, such self-possession, and such intrepidity, that the emperor thought him worthy not only of his favour and pardon, but even of his praise. For he raised the king when bending before him, and received him with the kiss of peace, and made a treaty of friendship with him, and, loading him with honors and succour (the people standing around and bursting into tears for very joy), made a promise that he would reconcile the king of England with the king of France. After this, with the mediation of the duke of Austria, the king of England promised that he would pay to the emperor for his liberation, by way of ransom, one hundred thousand marks. The emperor also promised that, if by his means the king of England and the king of France could not be reconciled, he would send the king of England home without exacting the money.

In the same year, pope Celestinus, thinking that the king of France and the earl of Mortaigne, the brother of the king of England, were waging war against the king of England, wrote to the bishops of England to the following effect:

The Letter of pope Celestinus to the archbishops and bishops of England.

“Celestinus, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren, the archbishops and bishops throughout England appointed, health, and the Apostolic benediction. Whereas, for the purpose of repelling the injuries done to the people of Christendom, and wiping away that stain to our common faith which the pollutions of the pagans, in the capture of the Holy Land, which has been named the inheritance of the Lord, had perniciously and violently imprinted thereon, and for cleansing the Holy City and the Sepulchre of our Lord from the abominations of the Saracens and others, who held possession thereof, as also for the purpose, with the assistance

of the Divine mercy, of rescuing it from their power, the Apostolic See, remembering what was its bounden duty, sent its nuncios to different parts of the world, and letters of admonition, and, putting its trust in the Divine clemency, granted great indulgences to those proceeding thither; although, as your brotherhood may have perceived, to do this at its exhortations, very many manfully and duteously devoted themselves, and oftentimes, in parts beyond sea, so many of the faithful ones of Christ were for this purpose assembled together, that their multitude seemed in no slight degree to exceed the numbers of their antagonists, and also to be superior in resources and strength, they were still unable to effect much, or to make head against those who were fighting against them, because (as one may perceive from the result) the attempts and the actions of those who had set out for those parts were, in a great measure, displeasing unto the Lord. Wherefore, on the ground of their other offences, because they trusted not in God but in their own strength, and the fear of God was not before their eyes, by reason of their preconceived vanity, their heart was allowed to be darkened, that so they might do other things as well, which were by no means befitting, thus provoking against themselves, by their perversity, the Divine vengeance. But, inasmuch as the mercies of the Lord are manifold, although, in order to bend the refractoriness of the wicked, and to bow the necks of stiff-necked men, for the purposes of correction He makes heavy the weight of his hand in administering discipline, and depresses that He may raise, and smites or scourges that He may heal, if, with due humility we return unto Him, fully chastened for our sins, and if we resolutely make it our purpose with more fervent zeal to observe for the future the commands of our Creator, we may then, without any hesitation, conceive hopes that He will more abundantly and more graciously assist us, and will, with His indulgence, grant us from heaven a full victory over the enemies of Christ; so much so, that all the grievances which we have hitherto suffered may be committed to oblivion, all those being turned back, and falling with deserved confusion, who hate Zion, and have presumed to defile her with the pollutions of the heathen. When we consider, however, and examine the matter with diligence and earnestness, what was the nature of the threats which the Divine power pronounced against the people of Israel, when, according to promise, they

entered the land above-mentioned, there cannot be a particle of doubt to present itself in this our examination why it is that our attempts thus begun on behalf of God have not been crowned with the hoped-for success. For they were told to abstain from the impurities and filthiness of the inhabitants of that land, and not to deem their vices worthy of imitation, which might redound to the ruin of themselves, but to observe the law of the Lord with firmness of purpose and with every effort of zeal and earnestness; and that, if they should dutifully and humbly obey these admonitions, one of them should conquer a thousand, and ten of them ten thousand. And this they shortly after became sensible of from a more assured experience, inasmuch as a few of them slew a vast and almost infinite multitude of their enemies; and, so long as they dutifully obeyed the Divine commands, there was not a city or a fortified place that was able to withstand their attacks, or by any resources or counsels to be rescued from becoming subject to their power. And yet, when their sons, who, as it is there said, 'knew not the Lord,' had, in their rashness, begun to fall away from the observance of those things which in the promulgation of the law had been enjoined them, then did their foes, rallying their forces against them, often subject them to their power; whom once again, by the Divine aid, they conquered, when, being penitent for the excesses committed by them, and acknowledging their guilt, with pious devotion they humbly turned to God. And you may know beyond a doubt, that it was in consequence of the discords that arose, that the achievement of the hoped-for victory was taken away from the Christian chivalry by reason of the quarrels and frequent rancours that had sprung up in the army, and because they had made the flesh their arm, and had withdrawn their hearts from the Lord. If, then, it is our wish without great labour to obtain a glorious triumph in all things, with the downfall of our adversaries, let us not faint in spirit by reason of the grievances hitherto endured; but, with all humility and contrition of heart, seeking the mercy of the Creator, to their lasting confusion we shall be enabled to hope agreeably to our deserts for a complete victory, in reliance upon the accustomed beneficence of the supreme mercy. Induced, therefore, by this consideration, we have entreated all the princes of the world, for the remission of their sins, that, out of regard for the Divine love and their own salvation, if any one has on

any ground entertained feelings of rancour against another, and has despised the advice of man, he will for the Creator do away with the same; lest grounds for mutual dissension may still exist, which have hitherto, as you are well aware, deprived us of the achievement of victory, and have, without any advantage, brought the greater part of this multitude into peril of death. And, among themselves, let them make it their care, with all earnestness of mind, to consider the means by which, in the meantime, that little of the land, the portion of the Lord, which is still held under the sway of the Christians, may be yet preserved unshaken, and without any fear defended against the attacks of the wicked, that so it may not fall into the hands of the unbelievers; and that, lastly, a multitude of the faithful may put themselves in readiness, who may with all due and dutious humility proceed thither, and, conquering and utterly treading under foot the frantic might of those in possession thereof, liberate the land and the Sepulchre of the Lord. And further, inasmuch as there hence arises too abundant cause for tearfulness to ourselves and all Christian people, and we are bound in every way to be sorrowful and not to rejoice, so long as the land, on which have stood the feet of the Lord and where the sacraments of our salvation were revealed, is held in the occupation of the Gentiles, we do utterly forbid tournaments, which were invented for the sake of mirthfulness and for the exercise of the prowess of novices in the art of war, to the end that he who wishes to exercise himself may repair to that land, where the prowess of his mind and his body may both manfully and healthfully be proved. Let them also so make it their care to maintain unity, peace, and concord one with another, that there may be no one to wage war against another, or to presume to avenge an injury with arms, but rather let them make it their common study, what means may, through zeal and diligent attention, soothe all conflicting spirits. But if any one, a thing we do not believe, laying aside all fear of God and respect for ourselves, and through contempt for the Christian faith, shall with any rashness presume to act contrary hereto, then let him know that we do strictly command yourselves and the other archbishops and bishops to place under ecclesiastical interdict the lands of such persons as shall think proper contumaciously to follow a course of this kind, as also, if there shall be a necessity, to place under the ban of excommunication their persons as well, and to cause both sentences to be

inviolably observed. We do therefore by these Apostolic writings strictly enjoin and command you, that you will prepare yourselves with all haste to fulfil what we have above mentioned, all tardiness and hesitation laid aside, and will make it your endeavour throughout your dioceses, no delay or appeal being allowed, to put the same into execution. Given at St. Peter's, at Rome, on the third day before the ides of January, in the second year of our pontificate."

Richard, king of England, being still detained in captivity by Henry, emperor of the Romans, in order that he might escape from this captivity, by the advice of Eleanor, his mother, abdicated the throne of the kingdom of England, and delivered it to the emperor as the lord of all, and with his cap invested him therewith. However, the emperor, as had been pre-arranged, immediately restored to him, in the presence of the nobles of Germany and England, the said kingdom of England, to hold the same of him for five thousand pounds sterling, yearly, payable as tribute; and the emperor invested him therewith, with a double cross of gold. However, the said emperor, at his death, released Richard, king of England, and his heirs from these and all other covenants whatsoever.

In the year of grace 1193, being the fourth year of the reign of Richard, king of England, Philip, king of France, was in France on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, being the sixth day of the week, in great sorrow and confusion, because the seneschal of Normandy refused to deliver up to him his sister Alice; he also frequently sent messengers to England, to John earl of Mortaigne, the king's brother, telling him how the king was detained in captivity, and would never escape from the custody of the emperor of Germany; adding, that if he would acquiesce in his wishes and designs, he would give him his sister Alice in marriage, and restore to him Normandy, Aquitaine, and Anjou, and all the other territories beyond sea, that his father, Henry, king of England, had ever possessed, and would secure for him the kingdom of England; for Richard, the king of England, was still kept in confinement by the emperor of Germany.

Upon this, immediately after the Nativity of our Lord, John, earl of Mortaigne, the king's brother, crossed over to Normandy, upon whose arrival the seneschal of Normandy, and other faithful subjects of the king of England, went to meet him, and requested that he would come with them to a con-

ference at Alençon, to treat on the affairs of the king and his liberation. To this he made answer, "If you will receive me as your lord, and swear fealty to me, I will come with you and will be your defender against the king of France; but if not, I will not come to you." On hearing this, the nobles of Normandy refused to obey him, or to swear fealty, trusting that by the help of God, their lord, the king of England, would return safe and sound.

Upon this, John, the king's brother, repaired to the king of France and did homage to him for Normandy, and for the other territories of his brother beyond sea, and for England as well, as some said. He also made oath that he would marry his sister Alice, and released to the king of France all claims upon Gisors and the whole of the Vexin, in Normandy; on which the king of France gave to him, with his said sister, that part of Flanders which belonged to him, and swore to him that he would, to the utmost of his ability, assist in gaining England and the other territories of the king of England on his behalf. After this, the said earl of Mortaigne returned to England, bringing many foreigners with him; immediately on which, the castles of Wallingford and Windsor were surrendered to him. The earl next came to London, and demanded of the archbishop of Rouen and the other justiciaries of England the kingdom, and the fealty of the subjects of the realm, asserting that the king of England, his brother, was dead. However, they did not place any confidence in his words.

On this, being repulsed by the justiciaries and the other nobles of the kingdom, he withdrew, and, excited by indignation, fortified his castles and fortresses, and in his hostility invaded the lands of the king, his brother. Accordingly, multitudes resorted to him, deceiving themselves; on which, being scourged by the deserved retribution of God, they lost everything that they possessed. For the justiciaries of England and the faithful subjects of our lord the king manfully resisted the said earl of Mortaigne, and inflicted upon him much loss; they also strengthened with garrisons the seaports and all the maritime places, with such care, that the Franks and Flemings, and many others, who had promised their aid to the before-named earl, did not dare to land in England. Some, however, of their number who did land in England, were taken prisoners and placed in chains.

The king of France, also, unmindful of the oath which on his departure from the land of Sulia he had made to the king of

England, as to maintaining peace, entered Normandy in a hostile manner, and ravaged the king's territories with fire, and carried off much spoil. However, Robert, earl of Leicester, who had shortly before returned from the land of Sulia, and the other nobles of Normandy, made a stout resistance against him.

In the meantime, the above-named abbats of Boxley, and of Pont Robert, whom the justiciaries of England had sent in search of the king, returned to England after Easter, informing them that peace had been made between the emperor and the king of England, on the day of the Supper of our Lord, upon the following terms:—"The king of England shall give to the emperor of the Romans one hundred thousand silver marks as his ransom, and shall find fifty galleys, with all their equipments, and twenty knights for his service for one year:" and stated that they themselves were present at the said treaty.

After this treaty had been made, there arrived envoys from the king of France, who, on his behalf, defied our lord the king. To them the emperor immediately made answer, that whoever should molest the king of England would also offend the emperor himself; such great love and lasting concord had been established between them. And because the king of England made offer to obey the demands of justice in the court of his lord the king of France, as to all matters with which the king of France or any other person of his party might charge him, the emperor attempted to have a conference held between him and the king of France, but it was not proceeded with. The king of England, on this, sent to England for ships, and for Alan Trenchemere, the pilot of his own ship, as also for hostages to be given to the emperor as a security for his performance of the treaty made between them. These commands he gave, and they were all complied with; after which, Robert de Turnham, one of the king's household, came to London, being sent to England with the king's armour.

Upon this, all the principal men of the kingdom met together, and laid siege to Windsor, the castle of the earl of Mortaigne. Geoffrey, archbishop of York, Hugh Bardolph, the king's justiciary, the sheriff of York, and William de Stuteville, assembling their forces, came to Doncaster, and fortified it. But when the archbishop of York wished to proceed thence, and lay siege to Tickhill, a castle belonging to the earl of Mortaigne, Hugh Bardolph and William de Stute-

ville would not agree thereto, because they were liegemen of earl John; on which the archbishop of York left them, with his people, calling them traitors to the king and his realm.

In the meantime, the king of France, with a strong hand, entered Normandy, and laid siege to Gisors; on which Gilbert de Guascoil, who had charge of the castle of Gisors and the castle of Nefle, surrendered them both to the king of France, and became his adherent. However, he was despised among them for the treason he had been guilty of to his master the king of England, who had, in the fulness of his favour, sent him from Messina to take charge of the said castles. After this, the king of France came to Rouen, and said to the inhabitants of that place: "John, earl of Mortaigne, has done homage to me for England, and has given up to me Normandy and all other lands on this side the sea; and I have come hither to take possession of this city, which is the capital of the whole of Normandy; allow me to enter peaceably, and I will prove a kind and just master to you."

To this they made answer: "See, the gates are open; enter if you like; no one opposes you." On which the king replied: "I will speak to my people about it;" and then, after consulting his people on the matter, declined to enter. Accordingly, the king of France being thus deceived in his hopes, retired from Rouen with his army, and burned his stone-engines, twenty-four in number, which he had posted around the city: he also broke his wine-casks, and having poured forth all the wine, took his departure, sending word to the citizens that he would visit them with a rod of iron.

The king of England still remaining in the custody of the emperor of the Romans, all people were surprised at his thus delaying; and some, in consequence of the predictions of the earl of Mortaigne, who always predicted that he would never return, doubted about him and his ever returning. In consequence of this, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and the other justiciaries of England, although they had compelled the earl of Mortaigne to surrender, and had nearly taken his castle of Windsor, to which they had been laying siege, made a truce with the earl of Mortaigne until the feast of All Saints, the castles of Nottingham and Tickhill remaining in the charge of the earl, as before. But the castles of Windsor, and of Wallingford, and of the Peak, were given into the hands of queen Eleanor, the mother of the said earl of Mortaigne, and of some

other custodians, who were to deliver them into his hands if the king, his brother, should not come in the meantime. When Hugh, bishop of Durham, who had in the meantime been laying siege to the castle of Tickhill, heard of this, he was greatly vexed, as he now felt sure of taking it; but, by the command of the said justiciaries, he took his departure, leaving his task incomplete.

Shortly after this, there came messengers to England with letters from the king, addressed by him to all the archbishops, bishops, abbats, earls, barons, clerks, and freeholders; and by them the king humbly entreated that all persons, both clergy as well as laity, would give such assistance in ransoming him as should secure his grateful thanks to them; and, in order that they might do this with the more full assurance, the emperor of the Romans wrote in general terms to all the subjects of the king of England, informing them that their lord the king of England had come to an agreement with him as to the sum to be paid for his ransom; but he did not state the amount of the sum. Our lord the pope Celestinus also wrote in like manner, in behalf of the king, to all the ecclesiastics of the kingdom of England, to the effect that the emperor and the whole of his empire would be placed under interdict unless the king of England were speedily liberated from his custody. He likewise issued a command that the king of France and his kingdom should be laid under interdict unless he should desist from persecuting the king of England, so long as he remained in the emperor's hands. Moved by these and other admonitions of our lord the pope, and the whole of the cardinals, and the advice of prudent men, the Roman emperor and the king of England became reconciled: on which the king of England wrote to his faithful servants throughout England, to the following effect:—

The Letter of Richard, king of England, to queen Eleanor, his mother, and his justiciaries in England.

“Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to Eleanor, by the same grace, queen of England, his much-loved mother, and to his justices, and all his faithful servants throughout England, greeting. Be it known unto you all, that, after our beloved servants, the venerable Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, and William, of the Church of Saint Mary, our prothonotary, had

departed from us, our most dearly beloved chancellor, William, bishop of Ely, came to us, and, he faithfully negotiating between our lord the emperor and ourselves, the result was, that we came from the castle of Trevelles, in which we were confined, to meet the emperor at Haguenau, where we were honorably received by the emperor and the whole of his court. Here, too, our lord the emperor and our lady the empress honored us with many and various presents, and, what is of especial importance, a mutual and indissoluble bond of friendship was formed between our lord the emperor and ourselves; whereby each of us is bound to aid the other against all living men in gaining his rights and in retaining possession of the same. For becoming reasons it is that we are prolonging our stay with the emperor, until his business and our own shall be brought to an end, and until we shall have paid him seventy thousand marks of silver. Wherefore we do beg of you, and by the fealty by which you are bound to us, do adjure you, that you will use all earnestness in raising the said sum of money, and that you, our justiciaries, who are placed above the others in our kingdom, will set an example to others; that so you may honorably and nobly afford of your own means for our assistance, and also raise what you can on loan from others, in order that you may set an example to our other faithful subjects for doing the like. The whole of the gold and silver, also, of the churches, you are with careful attention, and with a written inventory, to receive from the prelates of those churches; and you are to assure them by your oath, and by that of such others of our barons as you shall think fit, that full restitution shall be made for the same. You are also to receive hostages from all our barons, in order that when our most trusty chancellor, as soon as our business has been settled in Germany, shall come to England, he may find the same hostages with our much-beloved mother, that so he may with all expedition transmit to us such of them as may have been agreed upon between ourselves and the emperor; to the end that our liberation may not suffer any delay in consequence of the absence of the hostages and your neglect. Also, money there collected is, in like manner, to be delivered to our mother and such persons as she shall think proper. He whom, in the moment of our necessity, we shall find to be prompt, in his necessity will find us a friend, and ready to reward; and it will be more pleasing to us if, in our absence, any person shall in any way assist us,

than if, in our presence, he should give us twice that amount of aid. We do also desire that the names of each of the nobles, and their subsidies which shall be made on the present occasion, shall be signified unto us under the seal of our mother, that we may know how far we are bound to return thanks to each. Know for certain that, if we were now in England, free and at our own disposal, we would give as great or a greater sum of money to our lord the emperor than we now give for obtaining the terms which, by the grace of God, we have gained: and, moreover, if we had not such sum of money in our possession, we would deliver up to the emperor our own body until the said money should be paid, rather than that which has been agreed upon should be left incomplete. Under the golden bulla of our lord the emperor, our chancellor brings to you the attestation above-mentioned. Witness ourselves, at Hagenau, the thirteenth day before the calends of May."

Accordingly, upon the authority of this letter the king's mother and the justiciaries of England determined that all the clergy as well as the laity ought to give the fourth part of the present year's revenue for the ransom of our lord the king, and to add as much from their chattel property, whereby the king would be bound to know whom he had to thank. They also exacted from each knight's fee twenty shillings, and from the abbeys of the Cistercian order and the houses of the order of Sempringham the whole of their wool for the current year, and the whole of the gold and silver of the churches, as the king by his mandate had directed. After this, his said chancellor came to England on behalf of our lord the king, bringing a letter from his lordship the emperor, ratified by the golden bulla, and to the following effect:

The Letter of the emperor Henry to the nobles of England, on behalf of king Richard.

"Henry, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans and ever august, to his loving friends the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, nobles, and all persons throughout England to whom this present page shall come, greeting and good will. We have deemed it proper and reflecting credit upon our high estate, most earnestly to engage the whole of you in every way that we possibly can, to take those steps which are due to the honor of our most dearly beloved friend your lord Richard, king of England, to the end that the constancy of your dutiful

attachment, and the merits of your fidelity, may not seem to be dead as regards his advantage, but rather may appear to live in obedience to himself and to his rule. Wherefore to all whose duty shall be proved to be sincere and pure to their said king in his absence, we shall return most abundant thanksgivings, wishing it to come to the knowledge of you all that his imperial highness is upon terms of concord and lasting peace with his royal nobleness. Wherefore, whatever shall be said to his disparagement, will be productive of annoyance and inconvenience to ourselves equally with him. Accordingly, to the honor and advantage of his duteous and faithful subjects, and to the condemnation and uprooting of those who molest him, we will always give our zealous assistance; and, because in heart and soul we are united, shall always fully consider the acts of your king to be especially our own and those of our empire, and shall look upon injuries done to him as offered to ourselves and to our imperial crown; nor, with the will of God, will we pass over the same without vengeance and the heavy punishment and destruction of those who have been guilty of the same. Given at Hagenau, on the thirteenth day before the calends of May."

After this treaty of peace was made between the emperor and the king of England, the emperor proposed an interview between him and the king of France, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between him and the king of England, through the mediation of William, archbishop of Rheims, uncle of the king of France, and a kinsman of the king of England; on which they appointed a day for an interview on the morrow of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, being the sixth day of the week, between Vaucouleurs and Toul.

The king's chancellor, on his arrival in England, went to Saint Alban's with great humility, where our lady the queen, the king's mother, with the lord archbishop of Rouen, and the other justiciaries of our lord the king, met him. There also the said chancellor gave to the justices the golden bulla of the emperor, containing the indissoluble treaty made between his lordship the emperor with our lord the king, asserting that neither as justiciary, legate, nor chancellor, but as a simple bishop, he had come to England; not as a dweller therein, but as a stranger; indeed, as a messenger only from our lord the king. He also enjoined certain of the barons to accompany him to the king, namely, Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, Sefrid,

bishop of Chichester, Benedict, abbat of Burgh, Richard, earl of Clare, earl Roger Bigot, Geoffrey de Say, and several others.

Here, also, it was arranged in whose hands the money, when collected, was to be placed, namely, in the charge of Hubert Fitz-Walter, archbishop elect of Canterbury, the lord bishop of London, William, earl of Arundel, Hamelin, earl of Warenne, and the mayor of London, under the seal of our lady the queen, and the seal of the lord archbishop of Rouen. Here it may be remarked, that after the arrival of Hubert Fitz-Walter, bishop of Salisbury, in England, the monks of the metropolitan church of Canterbury met together, and elected as their archbishop the said Hubert, bishop of Salisbury. Against this election Hubert, archdeacon of Canterbury, appealed to the Supreme Pontiff, both because the king was in confinement, as also because the bishops of England, whose duty it was to be present at the election, were not present at that election.

In the same year, while the king of England was in the custody of the emperor, Saladin departed this life in the first week of Lent; upon which occasion the duke of Venice wrote to the said king of England to the following effect:

The Letter of Dandolo, duke of Venice, Dalmatia, and Cherum,⁹⁸ to Richard, king of England, on the death of Saladin.

“To his most serene lord Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, Henry Dandolo, by the same grace, duke of Venice, Dalmatia, and Cherum, health, and sincere and duteous affection. Know ye that it has been intimated to us from a source that can be relied on, that Saladin, that enemy of the Christian religion, is dead: and one of his sons, whom he is said to have appointed heir to the whole of his dominions, is at present in Damascus, while the other one is ruling at Babylon⁹⁹ and Alexandria. His brother is in the vicinity of Babylon with a numerous army, and the greatest dissension exists between them. Farewell.”

In the meanwhile, as the time approached for the interview between the emperor and the king of France, the king of England found, through other signs, that if this interview should take place, the emperor and the king of France would form a confederacy against the archbishops of Cologne and Mentz,

⁹⁸ Probably a misprint for Croatia.

⁹⁹ In Egypt; the seat of the Fatimite Caliphs.

and the dukes of Louvain, Lemberg, and Saxony, and many other chieftains and nobles who had conspired against the emperor, on account of the death of the bishop of Liege, brother of the duke of Louvain, which had been contrived by the emperor. The king of England was also apprehensive that if this conference should take place, he himself would without doubt be delivered into the hands of the king of France. Consequently, the king exerted himself to the utmost of his power that the conference might be broken off, and that peace should be made between the emperor and the said nobles.

Accordingly, at his urgent entreaty, the emperor and the said nobles concluded between themselves a treaty of peace and reconciliation to the following effect: The emperor caused a great number of bishops, earls, and barons to make oath upon his own soul that he had neither commanded nor wished that the said bishop of Liege should be put to death, and that when he knew it, he was greatly grieved thereat; and, by way of satisfying them, he restored to every one of the persons aforesaid, who had conspired against him, all the castles that his father or he himself had taken from them; on which they became reconciled, with the sole exception of the duke of Saxony. The interview, also, which was to have taken place between him and the king of France at Vaucouleurs was broken off, and did not take place.

These matters being thus arranged, on the Friday next after the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, the emperor came to Worms, where our lord the king of England then was. Here a conference was held between them for four days, at which were present the bishops of those parts, the dukes of Louvain and of Lemberg, and many earls and barons. Of the king of England's party, there were present the bishops of Bath and Ely; and on the fourth day, which was the vigil of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, there came to the king of England William Bruyere and Baldwin de Brun; for as yet all quite despaired of the liberation of the king of England. But, by the mercy of God, on the day of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, matters were finally arranged between the emperor and the king in the following manner: "Our lord the king will pay to the emperor one hundred thousand marks of pure silver, Cologne weight, and another fifty thousand marks of silver, instead of the assistance which he was to have given the emperor in regaining Apulia. Also, the king will give the sister of Arthur, duke of Brittany, his

nephew, in marriage to the son of the duke of Austria, and will set at liberty the emperor of Cyprus, but without restoring to him his empire; and, in like manner, will liberate the daughter of that emperor, whom he will cause to be delivered up to the duke of Austria, as being her uncle. The said hundred thousand marks, our lord the king is to bring at his own risk to the borders of the empire, and so soon as they shall have entered any part of the empire, our lord the king shall freely and quietly return with a safe conduct to England." To this, the bishops, dukes, earls, and all nobles who were then present made oath upon the soul of the emperor: on which, the agreement was reduced to writing, as made between the emperor and the king of England to the following effect:—

The form of the agreement made between the emperor Henry, and Richard, king of England.

"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. This is the form of the agreement made between our lord the emperor, ever august, and our lord Richard, the illustrious king of England. Our lord the emperor shall send his messengers with the messengers of the king of England, who shall proceed to London, and there receive one hundred thousand marks of pure silver, Cologne weight; which money, on being received by the messengers of the emperor, and duly weighed, shall be sealed in the presence of his messengers, and shall be escorted under the king's charge through the territories of his kingdom; so that if it shall chance to be lost in his kingdom, it shall be so lost at the said king's risk. After the said money shall have come to the borders of the empire, it shall be handed over by the messengers of the king to the messengers of our lord the emperor, who shall immediately there receive it, and if it shall happen to be lost within the territories of the empire, it shall be so lost at the risk of the emperor, and the king shall not be damnified, nor yet his hostages, thereby. The king shall also give another fifty thousand marks of silver to the emperor and the duke of Austria, and shall give hostages for the same, namely, to our lord the emperor, sixty hostages for thirty thousand marks, and to the duke of Austria, seven hostages for twenty thousand marks. And when the hundred thousand marks shall have been paid and the hostages given, the king shall be at liberty

to depart. But if our lord the king shall keep the promise which he has made to our lord the emperor as to Henry, the former duke of Saxony, the emperor will then release and discharge the king from payment of the said fifty thousand marks, and, for the king, will give to the duke of Austria twenty thousand marks; and the king shall not be bound to give to the duke of Austria the seven hostages, or to the emperor the sixty. When, therefore, the king shall have fulfilled his aforesaid promise as to Henry, the former duke of Saxony, and shall have paid the said hundred thousand marks, he shall be at liberty to depart. Moreover, the king has caused oath to be made upon his soul, that he will deliver his niece, the daughter of the duke of Brittany, in marriage to the son of the duke of Austria, within seven months after he shall have been set at liberty, and shall have returned into his own territory, and will send her to the entrance of the empire, if they shall think fit to receive her; and if they shall not, he shall be released therefrom. Also, if the promise as to Henry, the former duke of Saxony, shall not be fulfilled, the fifty thousand marks, remaining unpaid, shall be paid within seven months after he shall have been set at liberty, and shall have returned to his territory. When the king shall have been set at liberty, and shall wish to return, the emperor shall give him a safe conduct through his dominions to the limits of his empire, and in the harbour where he shall embark, so long as he shall there remain, and until he shall depart with a fair wind. Moreover, all things, both in these as also in other familiar letters, sealed with the emperor's seal, with reference to the contracts that have been made between them, each according to his own ability, will ratify and confirm, and will with good faith observe."

When the king of France heard of this, he immediately sent word to earl John that he must take care of himself, for the devil was now let loose. Accordingly, earl John, understanding that this was said in reference to the king, his brother, immediately crossed over from England to Normandy, and became an adherent of the king of France, not daring to await the arrival of the king, his brother, in England. After this, the king of England sent William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, and William Bruyere, and other discreet men to make peace on some terms or other with the king of France; who accordingly made a treaty of peace with him to the following effect:—

The Form of the Treaty of Peace made between the kings of France and England.

“Know all men to whom these present letters shall come, that William, chancellor of Richard, king of England, bishop of Ely, and legate of the Apostolic See, and, with him, William de Roches, John de Pratelles, and William Bruyere, have come to the king of France, on behalf of the king of England, with letters patent to the said king, in which it is stated that such terms as they shall agree to and conclude with him, the said king of England will fully ratify and confirm. Wherefore they have agreed to the following effect, and have, on behalf of their lord the king of England, made the following covenants with the king of France. Richard, king of England, agrees with his liege lord, the king of France, as to the whole of the land which the king of France has taken from him and his subjects, and which is held by himself and his subjects, that he shall retain as much of the same as he shall think fit for himself and his people. And, as to earl John, the following shall be the terms agreed to. If the men of the king of England shall be able fully to make proof in the court of our lord the king of France that the said John has sworn to obtain money for the liberation of the king of England, and has made agreement to that effect, then the said John shall be held bound to pay the same; also, the whole of the lands which he held, when the king of England, his brother, took his departure to go beyond sea, he shall hold, on both sides of the sea, as freely as he previously held the same; excepted always, that he shall be released from the oath which he made as to not entering the territory of England; and, on this point, the said king of England shall give to the lord John security, both by himself and by the barons,⁹⁸ archbishops, and bishops of his dominions, as also by the king of France. But, if the said earl John shall attempt to deny that the said letters were his, or that he swore to that effect, the men of the king of England shall sufficiently prove in the court of the king of France, by fit and proper witnesses, that he did swear to obtain money to procure the liberation of the king of England. And if it shall be proved, as has been said, that the said earl swore to seek money for the liberation of the king, or if he shall fail in making his proof, then the king of France shall not interest

⁹⁸ By oath made by them to that effect.

himself about earl John, if he shall think fit to make peace in relation to his own territory above-named. As to count Louis, the following shall be the terms agreed to: The king of England shall, according to the advice and to the satisfaction of the king of France and the archbishop of Rheims, assign to him a yearly revenue in his own territory of five hundred pounds Anjouin, or more if more there shall be, and shall cause promise to be made to him on oath that he will render to count Louis the rights and services that his father rendered to count Theobald; and the king of England shall repay to count Louis as much money as he retained after the death of count Theobald, and which he ought to have paid him. As to Hugh de Gurnay, the following shall be the terms agreed to: Hugh shall hold all the lands which he has anywhere held of the king of France, unless it shall so be that the said Hugh, of his own free will, and without compulsion, and without desertion of the king of France, shall wish to return to the king of England; and the king of France shall be ready to interrogate the said Hugh thereon, without employing force and losing any rights of his own thereby. But, if Hugh shall be unwilling to return to the king of England with the lands which he holds of the king of France, and shall wish to hold other lands of his in England and Normandy of the king of England, and not to receive anything in exchange for such land, nor to accede to any terms entered into by the king of France and the king of England relative thereto, then the king of England shall be bound to make to the said Hugh a reasonable warranty relative thereto. The count of Angoulême and his people shall be set at liberty, and shall safely return to his territory, and he and his people shall be in the same state in which they were before the war; nor shall he or his receive any detriment for anything that shall have taken place during the war. The count of Perche shall hold his revenues in full in England, and the king of England and his people shall preserve the peace towards him. The count of Mellent shall again enjoy his lands in the territory of the king of England. When the king of England shall have made peace with the king of France, he shall do service and pay all lawful dues, in the court of the king of France, for every fee which he holds of him, in such manner as each fee is bound to pay. Also, the king of England shall pay to the king of France twenty thousand marks of silver, good and pure, Troy weight, payable to him in two years,

at the following periods : at the end of the first half year, from the day of his liberation from the custody of the emperor, five thousand marks ; at the end of the next half year, from that period, five thousand marks ; at the end of the next half year, from that period, five thousand marks ; and at the end of the next half year from that period, the remaining five thousand marks of silver. As security for the observance of all these covenants, the king of England shall deliver to the king of France Loches and Chatillon sur Saone, and to the archbishop of Rheims, Driencourt and Arches. These four castles also shall be maintained at the expense of the king of England on the following terms : William des Roches, or he who shall be in his place, shall deliver to the king of France two thousand pounds Anjouin each month, which shall suffice for a month ; and he shall always place in the said castles as much provisions as shall suffice for two months ; in Loches, for eleven knights and a hundred and forty men-at-arms ; in Chatillon, for four knights and forty men-at-arms. For Driencourt and Arches, the seneschal of Normandy shall make arrangements for provisions and garrison according to the will and option of the archbishop of Rheims. In case all the aforesaid covenants shall be fully observed to the king of France, then, when five thousand marks of silver shall have been paid on behalf of the king of England to the king of France, the king of France shall restore to him such one of the aforesaid castles as the king of France shall think fit. And, again, when five thousand marks of silver shall have been paid on behalf of the king of England to the king of France, the king of France shall restore to him another such one of the aforesaid castles as the king of France shall think fit. But, if ten thousand marks shall be paid at the same time to the king of France, on behalf of the king of England, the king of France shall restore to him such two⁹⁹ of the said four castles as the king of France shall think fit. And, if fifteen thousand marks shall be paid at the same time to the king of France, the king of France shall restore to him such three of the said four castles as the king of France shall think fit. And, if the whole twenty thousand marks shall be paid at the same time to the king of France, the said four castles shall be restored to the king of England. The king of France, however, shall restore not one of the said four castles unless the said covenants as to paying the afore-

⁹⁹ "Domino," is clearly a misprint for "duo."

said sum of money, as to earl John, as to count Louis, as to the count of Angoulême and his people, as to the count of Perche, and as to the count of Mellent, shall be duly observed by him and his. Also, when the king of France shall have received possession of Loches and Chatillon, and the archbishop of Rheims of Driencourt and Arches, the king of France will receive the king of England into his favour for the carrying out of the aforesaid covenants, according to the tenor of this present instrument, and will entreat the emperor to set the king of England at liberty. The said chancellor, and William des Roches, John de Pratelles, and William Bruyere, have also sworn upon the soul of the king of England that the king of England shall observe the covenants which are contained in the present instrument, and that, when the king of England shall return, he shall, in his own person, make oath within a reasonable time after he shall have been summoned by the king of France, that he will observe the aforesaid covenants, and will give to him his letters patent thereon. In addition to this, the four persons aforesaid, and with them the constable of Normandy, Robert de Harencourt, and Stephen de Longchamp, have made oath that, if the king of England shall not observe the aforesaid covenants, they will, at Paris, place themselves in the custody of the king of France. Such of the archbishops, bishops, and barons of the territory of the king of England, as the king of France shall think fit, shall, when called upon, make oath that they will, at Paris, place themselves in the custody of the king of France, if the king of England shall not observe the aforesaid covenants, according to the tenor of this present treaty. And if the king of England shall chance to die before the king of France shall have restored the said four castles, then the king of France shall restore the said four castles to his right heir, in consideration of his performing the said covenants, according to the tenor of this present treaty, saving always the rights of the king of France. To the end that all the matters aforesaid may remain ratified and inviolate, I, William, bishop of Ely, chancellor of the king of England, and I, William des Roches, and I, John de Pratelles, and I, William Bruyere, have, by command of our lord the king of England, corroborated the same with the attestation of our respective seals. Done at Mayenne, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord one thousand one hundred and ninety-three, on the eighth day before the ides of July."

In the same year, Richard, king of England, while he was still in the custody of the Roman emperor, gave to Hubert Fitz-Walter, archbishop of Salisbury, the archbishopric of Canterbury, to Savaric, archdeacon of Northampton, the bishopric of Bath, and to Henry Marshal, dean of York, the bishopric of Exeter; also, to Master Philip of Poitiers, his clerk, the king gave the archdeaconry of Canterbury, to Henry, abbat of Glastonbury, he gave the bishopric of Worcester, and to the said Savaric, bishop of Bath, he gave the abbey of Glastonbury. Accordingly, on Henry Marshal, the dean of York, being elected to the bishopric of Exeter, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, who was at this time staying at Ripon, gave to his brother Peter the deanery of York, in presence of Hamo, the præcentor, Simon of Apulia, and a considerable number of his other clerks. But because the said Peter was at this time at Paris, and Richard, king of England, most urgently demanded that the archbishop would give the deanery to John, prior of Douay, brother of the Advocate of Bethune, the said archbishop, by the advice of his people, gave the deanery to Simon of Apulia, his clerk, and by this method evaded the king's request.

But, some time after, the archbishop wanted to undo what he had done; and told the said Simon that he had only given the deanery into his charge to be kept in behalf of his brother Peter; on which the canons of the church of York, with one consent, elected the said Simon as their dean, though contrary to the wishes of the archbishop. In consequence of this, the said archbishop, in order that he might please the king, gave to the aforesaid master Philip,¹ clerk to the king, and one of his household, the said deanery; on which a dissension broke out between the archbishop of York and his canons; of which the following was the cause and origin.

At the time when Richard, king of England, on his return from the land of Jerusalem, had been made prisoner and detained in Germany, and an agreement had been entered into between him and the emperor, as to obtaining his release by ransom, the king had, by his letters, especially entrusted to the archbishop of York the charge of his territories and the liberation of his person. On receiving this command, being moved with sorrow for his brother's captivity, he called upon those canons with whom he was most familiarly acquainted,

¹ Philip of Poitiers, archdeacon of Canterbury, before mentioned.

and whom he had enriched and exalted, and advised and entreated them to give the fourth part of their revenues towards the liberation of the said king, as had been already done in other parts of the kingdom. To this they objected, and, getting the other canons to join their party, asserted that, in this case and other similar ones, he was wishful to subvert the liberties of their church; and accordingly withdrew from his acquaintanceship, and all converse and communication with him.

At this time, as already-mentioned, the deanery of the church of York was vacant, the presentation to which the archbishop asserted to belong to himself, while the chapter declared that the election lay in their hands. Consequently, an appeal was made on behalf of the archbishop to the Apostolic See; but for all this, the chapter proceeded to the election of master Simon of Apulia as dean; after which, the said Simon crossed over to the king, who, as previously mentioned, was at this time in Germany. Messengers were also sent by the archbishop to the Apostolic See for the purpose of urging the appeal, but so as to pass through Germany and see the king on their road. On their coming before the king and paying their respects to him, and declaring the causes of their journey, the king forbade either side going for this reason to the Roman Court, and forbade the person who should attempt to do so, without his consent, to enter his kingdom, declaring that he would, without delay, effect a reconciliation between them.

Accordingly, one of the messengers of the archbishop returned to him with letters from the king, signifying that he was, with all haste, to come to him, as, indeed, he had purposed, but was hindered by circumstances of an emergent nature. For, in the meantime, the canons of York had suspended the great church from the usual celebration of Divine service, and the bells from being rung as usual; on account of which the whole city was in commotion. They also stripped the altars, and placed a lock on the archbishop's stall in the choir; they also locked up the door by which he entered the church when coming from his palace and chapel thither, and did many other things for the purpose of insulting him.

Consequently, when he was just ready to embark, he returned to his church from the coast, and sent before some of his clerks to warn and command the servants of the church, to observe the ancient forms, and to perform the service therein; but, setting at nought his warning and commands, they left the church

empty, and deprived of the celebration of Divine service therein.

In the same year, pope Clement sent the pall to Hubert Fitz-Walter, the archbishop elect of Canterbury. In the same year, Philip, king of France, married Botilda,² daughter of Waldemar, the former king of Denmark, and sister of Canute, the then reigning king of Denmark, at Amiens, on a Saturday, in the month of September; and on the following day had her crowned and consecrated queen of France before the envoys of the king of Denmark who had escorted her to him, with the intention that the said king of Denmark might be induced to invade England with a naval armament. But, on the morrow after the first night on which the said king of France had known his said wife, after having consummated the marriage, he wished to send her away. However, when he wanted to place her in the hands of the envoys of her brother, they declined to receive her, but departed in all haste and returned to their own country, while she remained in the hands of the king of France, her husband; and, shortly after, a divorce was effected between them by William, archbishop of Rheims, and, upon the oaths of Reginald, bishop of Chartres, Philip, bishop of Beauvais, Robert, count de Drués, the count de Nevers, Walter, the chamberlain of the king of France, and many other persons, who swore that the said daughter of the king of Denmark was cousin of the earl of Hainault, whose daughter the said king of France had previously married. But the reason for the king of France acting thus, was, that he might marry the daughter of the count Palatine of the Rhine, in Germany, the uncle of the before-named emperor of the Romans. However, when she was offered by her father and her other relations to the king of France, she refused to have him; and, by the advice of her mother, she married Henry, duke of Saxony, nephew of Richard, king of England.

In the meantime, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and the other justiciaries of England, received for the king's ransom, from every knight's fee, twenty shillings, and the fourth part of all the incomes of the laity, and all the chalices of the churches, besides the other treasures of the church. Some of the bishops, also, took from the clergy the fourth part of their revenues, while others took a tenth, for the ransom of the said king. The same was done throughout all the king's ter-

² Roger of Wendover calls her "Ingelburg."

ritories beyond sea, and in this way they amassed an endless amount of money. After this, the emperor's messengers came to London, and there received the greater part of the king's ransom by weight and measure, and delivered the same, under the attestation of their seals, to persons who were to take it to the borders of the empire, at the risk of the king of England. The said emperor also gave to the king of England the lands under-written: Provence, Vienne, the Viennais, Marseilles, Narbonne, Arles-le-Blanc, and Laon-sur-Rhone, as far as the Alps, and whatever the emperor possessed in Burgundy, as also the homage of the king of Arragon, the homage of the count of Diziers, and the homage of the count of Saint Gilles. It deserves to be known that in these territories there are five archbishoprics and thirty-three bishoprics. It ought also to be known that the emperor was never able to establish his dominion over the said territories and subjects, nor would they, upon the nomination of the emperor, accept of any superior lord.

The king of England immediately sent to England for queen Eleanor, his mother, and for Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and many other persons, to come to him in Germany, and appointed Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, chief justiciary in England. In the meantime, Henry, emperor of the Romans, by the advice of the principal men of his empire, named as the day for the liberation of Richard, king of England, the second day of the week ensuing after the expiration of three weeks from the day of the Nativity of our Lord;³ on which the king of England wrote to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, to the following effect:—

The Letter of Richard, king of England, to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, on his liberation.

“Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to the venerable father in Christ, and his most dearly-beloved friend, Hubert, by the same grace, archbishop of Canterbury, health and the fullness of his sincere affection. Inasmuch as we feel certain that you greatly long for our liberation, and that our liberation will very greatly delight you, we do therefore desire that you should be partakers of our joy. For this reason it is that we have thought proper to make known to your affection. that his lord-

³ The next Monday three weeks.

ship the emperor has appointed a certain day for our liberation, namely, the Monday next ensuing after the twentieth day from the day of the Nativity of our Lord; and on the Lord's day then next ensuing, we shall be crowned king of the kingdom of Provence, which he has given unto us. Wherefore, we do send into England to you the letters patent of our lord the emperor relative hereto, as also to the rest of our friends and well-wishers; and do you in the meantime, to the best of your power, endeavour to console those whom you know to love us, and whom you know to long for our release. Witness myself at Spires, this twenty-second day of September."

The Letter of the emperor Henry to the nobles of England, on the liberation of Richard, king of England.

"Henry, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans, and ever august, to his dearly-beloved friends, the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, and all the faithful subjects of Richard, the illustrious king of England, his favour and every blessing. We have thought proper to intimate to all and every of you, that we have appointed a certain day for the liberation of our dearly-beloved friend, your lord, Richard, the illustrious king of the English, being the second day of the week next ensuing after the expiration of three weeks from the day of the Nativity of our Lord, at Spires, or else at Worms; and we have appointed seven days after that as the day of his coronation as king of Provence, which we have promised to him; and this you are to consider as certain and undoubted. For it is our purpose and our will to exalt and most highly to honor your aforesaid lord, as being our especial friend. Given at Thealluse, on the vigil of Saint Thomas the Apostle."

But before this treaty was confirmed between the emperor and the king, the king sent William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, and other envoys, into France, to earl John, his brother, and prevailed upon him to return to Normandy, and to swear fealty and peace to the king, his brother, against all men. The king also gave orders that all the castles of the honors which he had given to him, on either side of the sea, should be delivered up to him; but their keepers, notwithstanding the king's writ, refused to deliver up to him any of the said castles. The earl, being enraged at this, returned to the king of France, and became his adherent; on which the king of France delivered

to him the castle of Driencourt, and the castle of Arches, which were to have been delivered to William, archbishop of Rheims.

In the same year, Berengaria, queen of England, Joanna, queen of Sicily, and the daughter of the emperor of Cyprus, came to Rome, under the charge of Stephen de Turnham, and were honorably received by our lord the pope, Celestinus, and the nobles of Rome; and they stayed there nearly half a year, through fear of the emperor. When they departed thence, our lord the pope gave them into the charge of Master Mellur, a cardinal; on which they proceeded to Pisa, thence to Genoa, and thence to Marseilles. At Marseilles they were received by the king of Arragon, who paid them all due honor and respect, and escorted them to the borders of his kingdom, on which the count of Saint Gilles escorted them through his territory; and thus they arrived in Poitou.

In the year of grace 1194, being the second year of the captivity of Richard, king of England, the said Richard was still in the custody of the emperor of the Romans, at Spire, in Germany, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which took place on a Saturday; and there he remained until the time of his liberation which the emperor had appointed for him, that is to say, the second day of the week after the expiration of three weeks from the day of the Nativity of our Lord. After the emperor had arrived there, together with the archbishops, bishops, dukes, and nobles of his empire, and had discussed at length the liberation of the king of England, there came to the emperor envoys from the king of France, and envoys from John, earl of Mortaigne, brother of the king of England; and they made offer to the emperor, on behalf of the king of France, of fifty thousand marks of silver, and on behalf of earl John of fifty thousand marks of silver, on condition that he should keep the king of England in his custody until the Feast of Saint Michael the Archangel next ensuing; or, if the emperor should prefer it, they would pay him at the end of every month, so long as he should detain the king of England in his custody, one thousand pounds of silver; or, again, if the emperor should prefer it, the king of France would give him one hundred thousand marks of silver, and the earl John would give him fifty thousand marks of silver, on condition that he would deliver up to them the king of England, or at least detain him in his custody for the space of one year from that time. Behold, how they loved him! After hearing them, the emperor

put off the day of the liberation of the king of England, and appointed another day for his liberation, namely, the day of the Purification of Saint Mary, and at Mentz.

In the meantime, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, on the eighth day before the Nativity of our Lord, came to York, and, by the advice of prudent men, appointed ministers for the metropolitan church of York, which he found deserted, in order that they might, as was fitting, perform Divine service in the said church. And this was accordingly observed, until the canons and their chaplains, by means of the influence and violence of the laity, were restored. After this, four of the chief men of the church, who, in consequence of the suspension of service in the said church, had been excommunicated, crossed over to the king who was then set at liberty, and, receiving permission from him, because he was angry that the archbishop had not come as he had been commanded by him, set out for Rome. Against them, deputies were also sent thither by the archbishop.

Each side accordingly appearing in presence of pope Celestinus, the election of the dean was discussed at great length, and after due deliberation, as it was acknowledged to have taken place after appeal duly made, it was therefore to be annulled, or rather to be pronounced as having been null and void. Our lord the pope, also, being wishful for the present to avoid pronouncing a decision in the matter, whether the presentation to the deanery of right belonged to the archbishop or to the chapter, relying on his own power, the extent of which it is lawful for no one to question, saving always for the future the rights both of the archbishop as also of the chapter, gave the deanery to the before-named Simon of Apulia, and confirmed, and with his golden ring invested him with the same.

This matter being thus disposed of, they immediately proceeded to slander and accusations against the said archbishop, declaring that he was a violent spoliator of themselves and the other clergy, a dishonest extortioner, that he had with an armed band broken open the doors of churches, had simoniacally divided and retained in his own hands ecclesiastical benefices, that he had paid no regard to appeals, and had set at nought the privileges of the Roman Pontiff, and, to express it in a few words, asserted that he quite despised his duties as archbishop, and was devoted to hawking, hunting, and other military pursuits. For these, and for other reasons, they sought

to depose him ; and they in especial, whom he had enriched with the greatest honors, and with inestimable wealth and revenues in the church of York, and beyond what, with due regard to God, he ought to have done. Of such it is, that the Lord saith, "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me."⁴ Therefore, let them beware, lest the just Judge despise them, and lest with the traitor Judas they be condemned to hell.

These allegations being made, our lord the pope wrote to Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, and his fellow judges, that if there should be any to accuse the archbishop on these charges, they should carefully hear what was alleged on either side, and after enquiry into the truth thereof, send their report, sealed with their seals, to the Apostolic See. But, if no accuser should appear, and the archbishop should be attacked by public rumour, they were to call upon him to clear himself by the testimony of three bishops and as many abbats. But, as the archbishop had appealed before the citation of the judges, and had proceeded on the road for the purpose of urging his appeal, the said judges, in accordance with the contents of the rescript of our lord the pope, assigned him a space of three months for the said appeal, appointing the calends of July as the day for his appearance. The archbishop, however, did not appear at the time so named, both on account of the king's prohibition, as also by reason of the unwholesomeness of the atmosphere that then prevailed at Rome. His clerks, however, who were at this time staying at the court of Rome, alleging the above as the causes of his absence, obtained of the pope, that whatever had been done against the archbishop in the meantime, after his appeal, should be revoked, as being null and void ; because it was not his fault that he had not come to the court of Rome ; and the time on which he was to present himself in the Apostolical presence was fixed by our lord the pope, upon the octave of the feast of Saint Martin, then next ensuing. But because not even then he appeared in the Roman court, either personally, or by sufficient proxy, he was at the Nativity of our Lord next ensuing, suspended from the performance of all episcopal duties.

The liberation of Richard, king of England.

In the meantime, Henry, emperor of the Romans, with the

⁴ Is. i. 2.

nobles of his empire, and Richard, king of England, with queen Eleanor, his mother, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, and Savaric, bishop of Bath, met at Mentz, on the Purification of Saint Mary, and, a conference being there held as to the liberation of the king of England, the emperor wished, in his eagerness for the money which the king of France and earl John had offered him, to recede from his agreement. Bringing with him the envoys from the king of France and the envoys from earl John, in whose number was Robert de Nunant, brother of Hugh, bishop of Coventry, he delivered to the king of England the letters of the king of France and of earl John for him to read, which they had sent to prevent his liberation. On seeing and reading these, the king was very much disturbed and confused, and despaired of his liberation.

Accordingly, by his summons, the emperor convened on this subject the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Saltzburg, the bishops of Worms, Spire, and Liege, the duke of Suabia, the brother of the emperor, the dukes of Austria and Louvain, the count Palatine of the Rhine, and the other nobles of the empire who had been sureties on behalf of the emperor between him and the king of England for his performance of the articles agreed upon between them. These boldly appeared before the emperor, and reproved him most severely for attempting in so shameless a manner to recede from his agreement, and prevailed upon him to release and dismiss the king of England from his custody: a stipulation, however, having been made that the king of England should deliver to the emperor Walter, archbishop of Rouen, Savaric, bishop of Bath, Baldwin Wac, and many others of his earls and barons, as hostages for the payment of the remainder of the money due for his ransom, and for his keeping the peace towards the emperor and his empire, and all the lands of his dominions.

Accordingly, the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne delivered him, free and released by the emperor, into the hands of his mother Eleanor, on the day before⁵ the nones of February, being the sixth day of the week, an Egyptian day, or what the people of modern times call an unlucky day; and so, upon an unlucky day, the Lord restored him to liberty. On the said king asking Robert de Nunant, brother of Hugh, bishop of Coventry, to be one of his hostages, Robert made answer that

⁵ The 4th February: other writers say that it was the 2nd February.

he was a liegeman of earl John, and, therefore, declined to be a hostage for him; at which the king being incensed, ordered him to be seized and thrown into prison, which was accordingly done.

On the same day on which the king was set at liberty from the custody of the emperor, he sent one Salt de Bruil, as his messenger, to his nephew, Henry, count of Champagne, in Sulia, and the other Christian princes, informing them of the day of his liberation; and that, if God should grant him vengeance against his enemies, and peace, he would come by the time appointed to succour them against the pagans. He also promised to the said Salt de Bruil that he would give him lands to the value of forty pounds on his return from the land of Sulia. On the same day, the king, by his letters, summoned Hugh, bishop of Coventry, to appear in his court, and to take his trial before the bishops, because he himself was a bishop, and before certain laymen, because he held under him a layman's office, upon the charges that were made against him.

On the same day, the emperor of the Romans, and the archbishops, bishops, dukes, and counts of the empire, joining in a letter in common, and appending their seals thereto, sent word to the king of France and to earl John, immediately upon sight of the said letter to restore to the king of England the castles, cities, fortresses, towns, lands, and all other things which they had taken from him, while he had been in the custody of the emperor; and, unless they did so, they were to know for certain that they would aid the king of England to the utmost of their power, in recovering everything that he had lost. After this, the king of England made promise of, and by his charters confirmed, to certain archbishops, bishops, dukes, and counts, and many of the barons of the empire, yearly revenues, for their homage and fealty, and aid against the king of France. He accordingly received the homage of the archbishop of Mentz, the archbishop of Cologne, the bishop of Liege, the duke of Austria, the duke of Louvain, the marquis of Montferrat, the duke of Nemburg,⁶ the duke of Suabia, the brother of the emperor, the count Palatine of the Rhine, the son of the count of Hainault, the count of Holland, and many others, saving always their fealty to the emperor.

It ought also to be known that the king of England was in captivity with the emperor during a period of one year, six weeks, and three days.

⁶ Probably meaning Mecklenburgh.

On the king being set at liberty, all who were present shed tears of joy. The emperor then gave to the king a safe conduct as far as the port of Antwerp. On the king reaching Cologne, the archbishop of Cologne received him with joy; and, in his delight at his liberation, celebrated the following mass: —“ *Nunc scio vere, quia misit Dominus angelum suum, et eripuit me de manu Herodis, et de expectatione plebis Judæorum,*” &c.⁷ And, when the king took his departure thence, the said archbishop escorted him as far as the gate of Antwerp, where the river Rhine falls into the sea.⁸ On the king arriving at this place, he embarked on board the galley of Alan Trenchemere, in order that in it he might more easily pass among the islands; but each night he left the galley and went on board a large and very fine ship which had come from Rye, and lay on board of it at night, and then, in the daytime, returned on board the galley, until he arrived at the port of Swiene, which is in Flanders, in the territory of the count of Hainault, having been four days on his voyage from the port of Antwerp to the port of Swiene; and he made a stay of five days in the port of Swiene. On the sixth day, about the third hour, he left the port of Swiene; and, on the day after, about the ninth hour, landed in England, at the port of Sandwich, it being the third day before the ides of March,⁹ and the Lord's Day.

In the meantime, there came into England, not long before the king's arrival, Adam of Saint Edmund's, a clerk, and one of the household of earl John, being sent by him to England with letters for the purpose of fortifying his castles against the king, his brother. Having come to London, and it being in his power to cross over without any hindrance, he went to the mansion of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and dined with him; where he uttered many boasts about the prosperous circumstances of his master, and the familiar acquaintanceship that existed between the king of France and his master, and mentioned that the king of France had delivered up to him the castle of Driencourt and the castle of Arches, which were to have been placed in the hands of the archbishop of Rheims, according to the terms of the writing above-mentioned, and

⁷ “ Now I know of a surety that the Lord hath sent his angel, and hath delivered me out of the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the people of the Jews.” Acts xii. 11. The commencement of the introit on the feast of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

⁸ Our Chronicler is at fault in his geography here. ⁹ The 12th March.

said that he would have delivered still more to his master, if his master had had men in whom he could place confidence.

The consequence was, that with these and similar boasts he exasperated the lord archbishop of Canterbury, and all who heard these speeches; but still, from respect to the table, no one laid hands on him. However, after dinner, when the before-named Adam was on his return to his lodging, the mayor of London laid hands on him, and detained him, and took possession of all his documents, in which were contained the commands of earl John, and gave them up to the archbishop of Canterbury. On the following day, having convened in his presence the bishops, earls, and barons of the kingdom, he shewed them the letters of earl John, and the purport thereof; immediately on which, by the common consent of the council of the kingdom, it was decided that earl John should be dis-seised of all his lands in England, and that his castles should be besieged; which was accordingly done.

On the same day, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, Richard, bishop of London, Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, the bishops of Worcester and Hereford, and Henry, bishop elect of Exeter, together with the abbats and many of the clergy of the province of Canterbury, met together in the chapel of the Sick Monks at Westminster, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against earl John, and all his abettors and advisers, who had disturbed the peace and kingdom of the king of England, or should disturb the same, unless, desisting from their hostilities, they should come to give him satisfaction. They then appealed to the presence of our lord the pope, against William, bishop of Ely, in order that he might not in future discharge the duties of the legateship in England, and, confirming their appeal with their seals, sent the same to our lord the king, and then to the Supreme Pontiff, for his confirmation. This appeal was made on the fourth day before the ides of February, being the fifth day of the week.

Upon this, all the persons who had charge of the siege of the castles belonging to earl John, returned to their homes.¹⁰ Accordingly, the bishop of Durham, to whom had been entrusted the siege of the castle of Tickhill, levied a large army in Yorkshire and Northumberland, and other parts of his lands,

¹⁰ This seems contradicted by what follows, unless we take "patrias suas" to mean "their respective districts."

and laid siege to it. Earl David, also, brother of the king of Scotland, with Ranulph, earl of Chester, and the earl of Ferrers, with a great army, laid siege to Nottingham castle. The archbishop of Canterbury, also, with a large force, laid siege to Marlborough, which was in a few days surrendered to him, safety to life and limb being granted to the garrison. In like manner, the castle of Lancaster, of which Theobald Fitzwalter, his brother, had charge in behalf of earl John, was surrendered to him; Saint Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, was also surrendered to him, which Henry de la Pomeroy, after expelling the monks, had fortified against the king; and the said Henry, on hearing of the king's arrival, died of fright.

These three castles, however, Marlborough, Lancaster, and Saint Michael's Mount, were surrendered before the king's arrival; while the other two, namely, Nottingham and Tickhill, made a stout resistance to the besiegers. But, on hearing of the king's arrival, the people in the castle of Tickhill, with the permission of the bishop of Durham, sent two knights to see if the king really had returned, and to offer their castle to him. The king, however, refused to receive it, unless they would place themselves at his mercy, without any exception; and accordingly they returned, and told Robert de la Mare, the constable of the castle, and the rest of the garrison, the king's intentions. Upon this, after conferring with the bishop of Durham, who had promised them safety to life and limb, they surrendered to him, in the king's behalf, the castle of Tickhill.

The garrison, however, of the castle of Nottingham did not send any of their number to meet the king. The king, being consequently much exasperated, came to Nottingham on the day of the Annunciation of our Lord, being the sixth day of the week, with such a vast multitude of men, and such a clangor of trumpets and clarions, that those who were in the castle, on hearing and seeing this, were astonished, and were confounded and alarmed, and trembling came upon them; but still they could not believe that the king had come, and supposed that the whole of this was done by the chiefs of the army for the purpose of deceiving them. The king, however, took up his quarters near to the castle, so that the archers of the castle pierced the king's men at his very feet. The king, being incensed at this, put on his armour, and commanded his army to make an assault on the castle; on which a sharp engagement took place between

them and the people in the castle, and many fell on both sides, killed and wounded. The king himself slew one knight with an arrow, and having at last prevailed, drove them back into the castle, took some outworks which they had thrown up without the gates, and burned the outer gates.

On the same day came thither Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, having his cross carried before him. Geoffrey, archbishop of York, however, did not have his cross carried, but made complaint to the king about the archbishop, who had caused his cross to be carried in the diocese of York. When the archbishop of Canterbury heard this, and saw that the archbishop of York did not have his carried, he made answer, "I carry my cross throughout the whole of England, and I ought to carry it, as being primate of the whole of England; whereas you do not carry your cross, and, perhaps, you ought not to carry it; and therefore, matters standing as they do, I make appeal to my lord the pope."

On the twenty-sixth day of the month of March, the king of England ordered his stone-engines to be put together, having come to the determination that he would not make another assault on the castle until his engines of war had been got in readiness; but he ordered gibbets to be erected near the castle, on which he hanged some men-at-arms of earl John, who had been taken prisoners outside of the castle.

On the twenty-seventh day of the month of March, Hugh, bishop of Durham, and those who were with him at the siege of the castle of Tickhill, came to the king at Nottingham, bringing with them the prisoners who had been taken in the castle of Tickhill; on which the king went forth to meet them. On seeing the king the bishop of Durham dismounted, and the king, in like manner, went to meet him and embraced him; after which, remounting their horses, they repaired to the siege. On the same day, while the king was sitting at dinner, Ralph Murdac, and William de Wendeval, constables of the castle or Nottingham, sent two of their companions to see the king; who after having seen him, returned to the castle, to tell those who had sent them what they had heard and seen respecting the king and his preparations.

When William de Wendeval and Roger de Montbegum heard of this, they went forth with twelve others, from the castle, and threw themselves upon the king's mercy, and returned to the castle no more. On the twenty-eighth day of

March, through the mediation of the archbishop of Canterbury, Ralph Murdac, Philip de Worcester, and Ralph de Worcester, his brother, and all the rest who were in the castle, surrendered the castle to the king, and threw themselves on the king's mercy, for life, and limb, and worldly honor.

On the twenty-ninth day of March, Richard, king of England, went to see Clipston and the forests of Sherwood, which he had never seen before, and they pleased him greatly; after which, on the same day, he returned to Nottingham. On the thirty-first day of March, being the fourth day of the week, Richard, king of England, held the first day of his council at Nottingham, at which were present queen Eleanor, the king's mother, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, who at that council sat on the king's right hand, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, who sat on his left hand, Hugh, bishop of Durham, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, William, bishop of Ely, the king's chancellor, William, bishop of Hereford, Henry, bishop of Worcester, Henry, bishop of Exeter, John, bishop of Whitherne, earl David, brother of the king of Scotland, Hamelin, earl of Warenne, Ranulph, earl of Chester, William, earl of Ferrers, William, earl of Salisbury, and Roger Bigot.

On the same day, the king dispossessed Gerard de Camville of the castle and shrievalty of Lincoln, and Hugh Bardolph of the shrievalty of Yorkshire, and of the castle of York, and of Scarborough, and of the custodianship of Westmoreland, and set up all the offices before-mentioned for sale. Accordingly, after the chancellor had offered to give the king for the shrievalty of Yorkshire, the shrievalty of Lincolnshire, and the shrievalty of Northamptonshire, one thousand five hundred marks at the beginning of the agreement, and every year an additional hundred marks for each of the said counties, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, offered the king three thousand marks for the shrievalty of York, and every year an additional hundred marks; on which, the chancellor being outbid, the archbishop obtained the shrievalty of York, and accordingly became a servant of the king, and threw himself into the king's power.

On the thirty-first day of the month of March, that is to say, on the day before the calends of April, the king of England held the second day of his council, at which he demanded judgment to be pronounced against earl John, his brother, who,

against the fealty which he had sworn to him, had taken possession of his castles, laid waste his lands on both sides of the sea, and had made a treaty against him with his enemy, the king of France. In like manner, against Hugh de Nunant, bishop of Coventry, he demanded judgment to be pronounced, who, being aware¹¹ of their secret plans, had devoted himself, and had given his adherence to the king of France and earl John, his enemies, devising all kinds of mischief to the injury of his kingdom. Judgment was accordingly given, that earl John and the bishop of Coventry should be peremptorily cited, and if they should not come within forty days to take their trial, they pronounced that earl John had forfeited all rights in the kingdom, and that the bishop of Coventry would be subjected to the judgment of the bishops, because he himself was a bishop, and of the laity, because he had been a sheriff under the king.

On the calends of April, being the first day of that month, the said king of England held the third day of his council, on which he enacted that there should be granted to him, out of every carucate of land throughout the whole of England, the sum of two shillings, which, by the ancients, was called *Temantale*.¹² He then commanded that every man should render to him the third part of a knight's service, according as each fee would bear, in order to make preparations for crossing over with him to Normandy. He then demanded of the monks of the Cistercian order all their wool for the current year; but as this was to inflict a grievous and insupportable burden upon them, they made a pecuniary composition with him.

On the second day of the month of April, being Saturday, he held the fourth and last day of his council, upon which all, both clergy as well as laity, who wished to make complaint to him of the archbishop of York, made their complaints, which were many in number, as to his extortions and unjust exactions; the archbishop of York, however, gave them no answer. After this, by the advice and artifices of the chancellor, as it is said, Gerard de Camville was arraigned for harbouring some robbers, who had plundered the goods of certain merchants

¹¹ "Conscium" appears to be a mistake for "consciuis."

¹² Holinshed calls this "Tee men toll," or "Theynae toll." There is some doubt as to the origin of the name, whether it is derived from "tenementum," or, more probably, from the Saxon, meaning "a toll paid by ten men," or "decenniers," the whole of which would amount to a pound.— See vol. i. p. 550.

going to the fair of Stamford; and it was said that they had set out from his residence for the purpose of committing the robbery, and after committing it, had returned to him. They also accused him of treason, because he had refused to come at the summons of the king's justices, or take his trial as to the aforesaid harbouring of the robbers, or produce them before the king's justices; but made answer that he was a vassal of earl John, and would take his trial in his court. They also arraigned him for having taken up arms, and aiding earl John, and others of the king's enemies, in taking the castles of Tickhill and Nottingham. Gerard de Camville, however, denied all these charges which were so made by them against him; on which they gave pledges to follow their suit, and Gerard de Camville gave pledge to defend himself by one of his freeholders.

On the same day, our lord the king appointed as the day of his coronation, at Winchester, the close of Easter. On the same day, the king also proceeded to Clipston, to meet the king of the Scots, and gave orders that all who had been taken at the castle of Nottingham, the castle of Tickhill, the castle of Marlborough, the castle of Lancaster, and at Mount Saint Michael, should come and meet him at Winchester the day after the close of Easter. On the third day of the month of August, namely, Palm Sunday, the king of England stayed at Clipston, and the king of the Scots at Worksop, on account of the solemnity of the day. On the fourth day of the month of April, the king of England and the king of Scotland came to Sewell. On the fifth day of the month of April, the king of England and the king of Scotland came to Malton, where the king of Scotland demanded of the king of England the dignities and honors which his predecessors had enjoyed in England. He also demanded that the earldoms of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and the earldom of Lancaster, should be given up to him, as of right enjoyed by his predecessors: to which the king made answer, that he would satisfy him according to the advice given by his earls and barons.

On the sixth day of the month of April, the said kings came to the house of Peter the Forester of Rutland. On the seventh day of the month of April, the said kings came to Gainsdinton. On the eighth day of the month of April, the said kings stayed at Gainsdinton, out of respect for the day of the Preparation¹³ of our Lord. On the ninth day of the month

¹³ "Parasceue,"—Good Friday.

of April, on the vigil of Easter, the said kings arrived at Northampton; and on the tenth and eleventh days of the month of April, the said kings stayed at Northampton, where the king of England, taking counsel with his bishops, earls, and barons, after due deliberation in the council, made answer to the king of Scotland that he ought on no account to do what he had requested as to Northumberland, and especially in those times, at which nearly all the powerful men of the kingdoms of the Franks were at enmity with him. For, if he were to do so, it would seem that this was rather the effect of fear than of affection.

However, in the presence of his mother Eleanor, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, Hugh, bishop of Durham, Jocelyn, bishop of Glasgow, and many others, both clergy and laity, of both kingdoms, the king granted, and by his charter confirmed, to William, king of the Scots, and his heirs for ever, that whensoever they should, at his summons, come to the court of the king of England, the bishop of Durham and the sheriff of Northumberland should receive them at the river Tweed, and should, with a safe conduct, escort them as far as the river Tees, and there the archbishop of York and the sheriff of York should receive them, and escort them, with a safe conduct, to the borders of the county of York, and so, by the respective bishops and sheriffs, they should be escorted from county to county, until they should have arrived at the court of the king of England; and that, from the time that the king of Scots should enter the territory of the king of England, he should have daily from the king's purse one hundred shillings for his livery; and when the king of Scotland should have arrived at the court of the king of England, so long as he should be staying at the court of the said king of England, he should have daily thirty shillings for his livery, and twelve wastels¹⁴ for the lords' table, twelve simnels for the lords' table,¹⁵ and four gallons of wine for the lords' table, and eight

¹⁴ Wastels were a peculiar kind of delicate bread, probably something like the rusks of the present day. "Dominicus" is added to describe the quality, as probably meaning that these articles of provision were to be of the best kind, and suited for the lords' table.

¹⁵ Simnel cakes were probably so called from being made of "simila," the finest wheat flour. There were the "siminelli sali," and the "siminelli dominici," the inferior, and the best bread, the latter being unfermented. They were made in the shape of plates, or cups, and were sometimes marked with the figure of the Virgin Mary. They are made in Shropshire at the present day.

gallons of household wine, two pounds of pepper, four pounds of cinnamon, two stone of wax or else four waxen links, forty long and thick lengths of best candle, such as is used by the king, and eighty lengths of other candle for household purposes: and that, when he should wish to return to his own country, he should be escorted by the bishops and sheriffs from county to county, until he should have arrived at the river Tweed: and should in like manner have daily one hundred shillings from the purse of the king of England for his livery.

The charter of this grant and confirmation of the king of England was delivered to William, king of Scotland, in the town of Northampton, on the second day of Easter, by the hand of William, bishop of Ely, the king's chancellor.

In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1194, which was also the fifth year of the reign of king Richard, on the twelfth day of the month of April, being the third day in Easter week, Richard, king of England, departed from Northampton, and proceeded as far as Selveston; and Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, proceeded to Brackley, where was a lodging prepared for the bishop of Durham, which he had held for thirty years past at the award of the marshal of king Henry. When his entertainment had been prepared, the servants of the king of Scotland came up and attempted to expel the servants of the bishop, but were unable. However, they purchased provisions for the king, and prepared the same in a house belonging to the same estate. When the bishop of Durham came thither, and was told by his people what had taken place, he was determined not to move a step thence, but boldly entered his lodging, and ordered the tables to be set. While he was at dinner, Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, came and offered him his lodging, and advised him to leave that one to the king of Scotland, and quit the house.

When the king of Scotland, at a late hour, returned from hunting, and was informed of what had happened, he was greatly offended, and refused to go there, but ordered all that had been prepared for him to be given to the poor, while he himself went to the king at Silveston, and made complaint to him of the insult he had received from the bishop of Durham; on which, the king, being greatly vexed, censured the bishop of Durham.

On the thirteenth day of the month of April, the king came to Woodstock. On the fourteenth day the king came to Free-

mantle. On the fifteenth day of the month of April, the king of England came to Winchester, and on the same day dispossessed Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, of the castle and county of Winchester, and of the two manors which the bishop had bought of him before his departure for Jerusalem, and of a great part of his inheritance. On the sixteenth day of the month of April, after dinner, the king of England left the castle of Winchester for the priory of Saint Swithin, and lay there that night, and took the bath; and he sent word to Geoffrey, the archbishop of York, not to come next day to his coronation with his cross, lest there might happen to be a dispute between him and the archbishop of Canterbury. Because he was forbidden to carry his cross, he declined to be present at the king's coronation.

The Coronation of Richard, king of England, after his liberation.

On the seventeenth day of the month of April, being the Lord's day, and the octave of Easter, there being assembled in the church of Saint Swithin, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, John, archbishop of Dublin, Hugh, bishop of Durham, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, Richard, bishop of London, Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, William, bishop of Ely, Sefrid, bishop of Chichester, Henry, bishop of Exeter, William, bishop of Hereford, and the bishops of Worcester, Saint David's and Bangor; and, many of the abbats, clergy, and people being there present, Richard, king of England, arrayed in royal robes and having a crown of gold on his head, proceeded from his chamber, carrying in his right hand the royal sceptre, on the top of which was a representation of the cross, and in his left hand a wand of gold, on the top of which was the figure of a dove. On his right hand walked William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, and on his left Richard, bishop of London. A procession also preceded them in due order, of archbishops, bishops, abbats, monks, and clerks. The earls also, and barons, and knights, and a great multitude of the common people, followed the king. A canopy of silk, supported on four lances, was carried over the king, by these four earls, Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk, William, earl of the Isle of Wight, the earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Ferrers. Three swords also, taken from the king's treasury, were borne before the king, one of which was carried by William, king of the Scots, while Hameline, earl of Warenne, carried another, and Ranulph, earl of Chester, carried the third;

in the middle of them walked the king of the Scots, with the earl of Warenne on his right hand, and the earl of Chester on his left. And thus, wearing the crown, he was led into the metropolitan church of Saint Swithin up to the altar; where, falling on his knees, he devoutly received the benediction from Hugh, archbishop of Canterbury, and was then led to his seat. Eleanor, the queen's mother, was seated with her maids of honor on the northern side of the church, opposite the king. The archbishop of Canterbury also celebrated the mass; and the king was led by the before-named bishops to the offertory, and was then re-conducted to his seat.

After the celebration of the mass, the king was re-conducted to his chamber, the procession going before him in the order above stated. Having taken off his more weighty vestments and his crown, the king put on lighter garments and a lighter crown, and then entered the refectory of the monks to dine there; on which the before-mentioned archbishops and bishops, with the king of Scotland, and the earls and barons, took their seats at table, each according to his rank and dignity, and feasted magnificently. The citizens of London, having made the king a payment of two hundred marks, served in the cellars, notwithstanding the claim of the citizens of Winchester. The citizens of Winchester, however, served in the kitchen. On the same day, at a late hour, after dinner, the king returned to his mansion in Winchester castle.

On the eighteenth day of the month of April, being the day after the king's coronation, Jollan,¹⁶ brother of Henry¹⁷ de la Pomeroy, was accused of having traitorously taken part in the capture of Saint Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, and he chose rather to be banished from England than take his trial on the charge in the king's court. On the nineteenth day of the month of April, Hugh, bishop of Durham, of his own accord, no one compelling him so to do, gave up to the king the county of Northumberland, with its castles and other appurtenances; and the king ordered him to deliver the same to Hugh Bar-dolph.

When William, king of Scotland, heard of this, he immediately offered the king of England fifteen thousand marks of silver for Northumberland and its appurtenances; saying that earl Henry, his father, held it by gift of king Henry the

¹⁶ V. r. John.

¹⁷ The word "regis" after this word is superfluous, and evidently a typographical error.

Second, and that after him, king Malcolm, his son, held it in peace for five years. Upon this, the king of England, after taking counsel with his people, made answer to the king of Scotland that he would give him the whole of Northumberland, excepting the castles, for the said sum; but the king of Scotland declined to receive it without the castles. On the twentieth day of the month of April, the king of England caused the more wealthy persons to be separated from the rest of those who had been taken prisoners in the castles of Tickhill and Nottingham, and the other castles of earl John, and to be placed in prison to be ransomed; while the others he let go, on their finding sureties that they would appear at his summons, and abide by the judgment of his court; on which each of them found sureties for a hundred marks, if he should not return to the court of the king.

On the twenty-first day of the month of April, William, king of the Scots, again made an attempt to see if he could in any way obtain the earldom of Northumberland with the castles; but it did not suit the purpose of the king of England to trust him with any castles. However, he gave him hopes of obtaining them at a future time, after his return from Normandy. On the twenty-second day of the month of April, being the sixth day of the week, William, king of Scotland, left the court of the king of England, sorrowful and in confusion at the repulse he had there received. On the same day, the king of England left Winchester, on his way to the sea, for the purpose of crossing over, on account of the unfavourable reports which he had heard from Normandy, and lay at Waltham.

On the twenty-third day of the month of April, the king of England remained at Waltham, and Geoffrey, archbishop of York, came thither to the king, and caused his cross to be carried before him. On this, Hubert Fitz-Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, greatly complained to the king; but the king made answer that the matter was not one for him to decide, but rather our lord the pope. On the same day, the king restored to Geoffrey, archbishop of York, Baugy and Langis, in Anjou, and by his charter confirmed the same.

On the twenty-fourth day of April, the king made peace and a final reconciliation between Geoffrey, archbishop of York, and William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, as to all the matters in dispute between them, both the arrest of the arch-

bishop of York, at Dover, as also the expulsion of the chancellor from England, upon condition that the said bishop of Ely should, at the summons of the archbishop of York, make oath, at the hands¹⁸ of one hundred priests, that he had neither ordered nor desired that the said archbishop of York should be arrested. After this reconciliation was effected, on the same day, the king departed from Waltham, and proceeded to Portsmouth, for the purpose of crossing over, and queen Eleanor, his mother, with him.

On the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh days of the month of April, the king was staying at Portsmouth. On the twenty-eighth day of the month of April, the king left Portsmouth, and proceeded as far as Stansted, for the sake of hunting; but, after his departure, the Welch and the Brabanters had a hostile meeting, and slew one another. On the twenty-ninth day of April, the king returned to Portsmouth, for the purpose of quelling the dissensions of the Welch and the Brabanters, which was accordingly done.

On the thirtieth day of the month of April, and the first day of the month of May, on the feasts of the Apostles Saint Philip and Saint James, the king was staying at that place; which appeared to him to be very tedious. On the second day of the month of May, being the second day of the week, the king ordered all his fleet to be laden with men, horses, and arms, and, against the advice of his mariners, entered one of his long ships, hoping to be able to sail across; and although the wind was unfavourable, he refused to return. The other ships, however, remained in harbour, while the king and those with him were tossed about on the waves; for there was a mighty tempest, and their hearts became fearful. On the following day, the king returned to the Isle of Wight, and then to Portsmouth. After a stay there and in that county of eight days, on the ninth day, being the fifth day of the week, and the feast of Saint Nereus, and Saint Achilleus, and Saint Pancratius, the Martyrs, he again embarked on board of his ships with his army, and passed over to Normandy, and landed at Harfleur with a hundred large ships, laden with warriors, horses, and arms: on which he immediately hastened to Verneuil, to which the king of France had laid siege. On hearing of his approach, the king of France, without the knowledge of his army, left the siege of Verneuil on the vigil of Pentecost, after having made a stay there of eighteen days at the siege. In the

¹⁸ One hundred priests making oath with him to this effect.

meantime, John, earl of Mortaigne, the king's brother, returned to the king his brother, and through the mediation of queen Eleanor, their mother, the king and he became reconciled : but the king refused to restore to him any castle or lands. As to the army of the king of France, which he had left besieging Verneuil, on seeing that their king had taken his departure, his troops followed him on Monday, in the week of Pentecost.

The king of England, being full of activity, and more swift than the discharge of a Balearic sling, on hearing that the king of France was laying siege to Verneuil, hurried on to that place with all haste, and on not finding the king of France there, pursued his retreating army with the edge of the sword. The king of England then hastened to Verneuil, and fortified the parts that were most unprotected. After so doing, the king hastened to Montmirail, to which the people of Anjou and Maine were laying siege ; but, before he arrived, they had taken it and levelled it with the ground.

The king of England next hastened with all speed to the castle of Loches, passing by the castle of Tours, where he received two thousand marks from the burgesses as a voluntary gift. The knights of Navarre, however, and the Brabanters, laid siege to the castle of Loches. The chieftain and leader of these was Aufuns, son of Sancho, king of Navarre, and brother of Berengaria, queen of England ; but he did not lead them as far as Loches, for, before he had arrived there, word was brought to him that his father, the king of Navarre, was dead ; for which reason he returned to his country, and was received as king by the people of that kingdom.

On the king of England arriving before the castle of Loches, he there found the before-mentioned Navarrese and Brabanters, amid watchings, and hunger, and other hardships, labouring in vain at the capture of that castle : on which, immediately with his own men and the others who were there, making assaults upon it day and night, he at length took it by force of arms, and captured in it five knights and four-and-twenty men-at-arms, on the second day of the week after the feast of Saint Barnabas the Apostle.

In the meantime, messengers from the king of France appointed a conference with the seneschal, and constable, and nobles of Normandy, at Pont d'Arches. Accordingly, on the day appointed, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, together with the said seneschal, constable, and nobles, came to the place ap-

pointed for the conference, and with them awaited the arrival of envoys from the king of France; but to no purpose. The king of France, with no small army, came before a small castle, four miles distant from Rouen, called Fontaines, and laid siege to it; and after labouring at the siege for four days, more than could be conceived, he at length took it, and it was levelled with the ground.

In the meantime, earl John, the brother of the king of England, with Robert, earl of Leicester, and many other barons, had met at Rouen; but as they had no one under whose guidance in especial to act as they would under our lord the king, and because they were much inferior in numbers and strength to the king of France, they did not dare attack that king. But when the king of France had destroyed the above-mentioned castle, and was on his road thence, he found the earl of Leicester off his guard; he having gone forth from Rouen by night for the purpose of laying an ambush against him, and made a rash sally into the lands of Hugh de Gournay for the purpose of laying them waste; upon which, with a few of his men, he was made prisoner by the king of France.

After this, by the common consent of both kings, William, archbishop of Rheims, the count de Nevers, the count de Bar, master Anselm, the dean of Tours, and many others, on behalf of the king of France, and Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and seneschal and constable of Normandy, and many others, on behalf of the king of England, met near the Val Rodol, on the sixth day of the week after the feast of Saint Barnabas the Apostle, for the purpose of making a truce between the said kings. Accordingly, after a long deliberation held between them, they at length agreed to the following terms:—

The king of England (it being in nowise against the will of the king of France) was to hold all the lands that he then held in his own hands, and in like manner the king of France was to hold in peace the castles which he had taken or then held; and, in the meantime, they were each to be at liberty to fortify and strengthen all the fortresses which whole and unhurt he then held in his hands; but those that had been destroyed, neither was in the meantime to be at liberty to rebuild. But if any other person besides them should wish, in rebuilding his castle, to build houses that had been destroyed or burnt, he was to be at liberty unmolested to make all provision for himself, either in erecting buildings, or in getting in crops of

corn, or other fruits of the earth. It was also agreed that all churches and ecclesiastical persons who, by the ravages of the said war, had been deprived of their property or incomes, everywhere throughout the territories of both kings, should have full compensation made them.

But, because the king of France wished that all those who had adhered to him or to the king of England should be included in the said truce, so as to receive molestation from neither of them, as also, that no one of those who had changed sides, should be subject to hostile proceedings, the truce was broken off. For the king of England was unwilling to violate the customs and laws of Poitou, or of any other of his territories, in which, from ancient times, it had been the custom of the nobles to settle their own disputes with the sword.

Accordingly, the matter being broken off, they all separated who had begun the said conference, and from that day the said kings became still more hostile, and with greater violence made attacks on each other with ravages and excessive conflagrations. The king of France came to the city of Evreux, and utterly destroyed it, and levelled its churches, sparing neither age nor sex, and carrying off the relics of the saints. This he did because the citizens of Evreux, having left him, had returned to their duty and allegiance to their lord the king of England. After the king of France, having destroyed the city of Evreux, was on his departure thence, and had appeared before a town called Freteval, the king of England came to Vendôme, to lie in wait for him; and, as that place was not surrounded by a wall, or suited for defence, the king ordered his tents to be pitched outside the town; and in them he awaited the approach of the king of France, who had sent him word that that day he would visit him with a hostile band, as unconcernedly as if he had been shut up within walls. The king of England joyously receiving his message, sent word back to him that he would wait for him, and, if he should not come, would pay him a visit on the following morning. On the king of France hearing this, he did not visit the king of England that day.

Accordingly, early next morning, the king of England ordered his troops to arm, and went forth for the purpose of engaging with the army of the king of France: on hearing of which, the king of France and his army fled before the face of the king of England, who pursued them; and, in the flight, many of the troops of the king of France were slain, and many

taken prisoners. Vast treasure of the king of France was also taken, with the furniture of the king's chapel, and the papers of all the subjects of the king of England who had deserted him and become adherents of the king of France and earl John.

In the flight, however, the king of France left the multitude and entered a certain church, at a distance from the high road, for the purpose of hearing mass; but the king of England, not knowing that the king of France had concealed himself, still pursued his course, breathing forth threats and slaughter against the men of the king of France, and sought him, that he might either put him to death or take him alive.

Being informed by a certain Fleming that the king of France had now got to a considerable distance, the king of England was deceived thereby, and proceeded on a horse of the greatest swiftness a little beyond the territories of France and Normandy; on which his horse failing him, Marcadès, the chief of his Brabanters, gave him another horse. However, the king of England, not meeting with the king of France, returned to Vendôme with a vast amount of booty in prisoners, and horses, and large sums of money. After this, the king proceeded to Poitou, to attack Geoffrey de Rancon and the viscount d'Angoulême, who had gone over to the king of France and earl John against him, and he defeated them: on which, he wrote to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, to the following effect:—

“Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to the venerable father in Christ, Hubert, by the same grace, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, greeting. Know that, by the grace of God, who in all things has consideration for the right, we have taken Tailleburge and Marcilliac, and all the castles and the whole of the territories of Geoffrey de Rancon, as also the city of Angoulême, and Neufchatel, Munciniac, La Chese, and all the other castles, and the whole of the territories of the viscount of Angoulême, with all things thereto appendant and appurtenant. The city of Angoulême and the borough we took in a single evening; while on the lands which we have captured in these parts, we have taken full three hundred knights and forty thousand armed men. Witness, myself, at Angoulême, on the twenty-second day of July.”

In the meantime, some members of the household of the king of France and of that of the king of England, by the

consent of both kings, met between Vernucil and Tiliers, for the purpose of a conference, in order to treat upon a truce between them; on which an agreement was made between them upon the terms hereafter stated.

The Letter of Drogo and Anselm on the truce made between the kings of France and England.

“Drogo de Merlot, constable of France, Anselm, dean of Saint Martin at Tours, and Ursin, chamberlain of our lord the king of France, to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that, by command of our lord Philip, king of France, we have made oath, and have, as his envoys, by our hand pledged our faith, that our lord the king of France shall observe the truce as here underwritten, and the covenants of the said truce. Now, the said truce has been made on the following terms:—Our lord the king of France, God so disposing him, at the prayers of the cardinal and of the abbat of Cisteux, grants to the king of England and his people a truce, and further grants that he may, if he shall be so disposed, fortify Nieubourg, Driencourt, Concas, and Breteuil. The other fortresses which were dismantled in the war, either by the king of France or by their own people, shall not be repaired during the time of this truce, unless it shall so happen that they are repaired during a peace which shall be made between the king of France and the king of England. The king of France and his people shall be in all respects in the same position as to their tenures in which they were on the day on which the truce was made. As to the Val Rodol, the following shall be the terms agreed on: The king of France shall hold the Val Rodol in such manner as he has hitherto done, that is to say, Rodol itself, and the whole of that town, with the churches; also Lovers, Aquigenere, Laire, and the other places as far as Haie Malherbe, and as far as Pont d’Arches. But from Haie Malherbe and beyond, and from Pont d’Arches and beyond, shall belong to the king of England. Also, as to all the fortresses which the king of France shall hold on the day of this truce, it shall be agreed as follows: the king of France shall, during the continuance of the truce, fortify, or destroy, or burn the same if he shall think fit; and he shall be at liberty to act according to his will and pleasure as to all the lands which he holds. The king of England shall in like manner fortify, or destroy, or burn all the fortresses which he shall

hold on the day of this truce; but the king of England shall not be at liberty to fortify any one of the fortresses that have been dismantled by the king of France or by his own people, with the exception of those four which have been mentioned above. Further, the king of France includes in this truce all those who before the war were more liegemen of himself than of the king of England; as also these [places] which were [held by] vassals of the king of England, whom we will here name: Arches, and Driencourt, as the king himself now holds the same and his people; the county of Auge, as he now holds the same and his people; Mortemer, and the lands which William de Chahou holds; the lands of the earl of Boulogne, which he held on the day on which the truce was made; Hugh de Gournay, and Aumarle, and the feud of Beauvais and its lands, as he now holds the same; Neumarche and the lands thereof, as William de Garland and his people now hold the same; Gisors, and Vexin, in Normandy, as the king of France and his people now hold the same; Vernon and Gallon, and the lands thereto belonging, as the king of France and his people now hold the same; Pascy and the lands thereto belonging, as the king and his people now hold the same; Ilers and Marcilliac, and the lands thereto belonging, as the king and his people now hold the same; Loy and the lands thereto belonging, as the king and his people now hold the same; Novancourt and the lands thereto belonging, as the king, and earl Robert, and his people, now hold the same; Thiellerie and the lands thereto belonging, as the king, and Gervaise, and their people, now hold the same; Nevelon and his people, and Fretteval and the lands thereto belonging, as they now hold the same; the count of Bruttie, and his people and lands, if he has any, as he now holds the same; the count of Angoulême, and his people, his lands, and his fee, as he now holds the same; also, John de Rouvere, Baldwin de Aquigny, and the count of Mellent, and his lands, as he now holds the same: both the lands aforesaid, as also the people that are upon them; and the said truce shall remain in force for one year from the feast of All Saints next ensuing. The king of France has mentioned all the persons aforesaid by name, because he wishes the king of England to mention by name those men of consequence whom he shall wish to be comprehended in the truce, within a period of fifteen days from the said truce: for if, after the fifteenth day from the said truce being made, he shall wish to name any, the king of France will decline to include them;

and if they shall confess that they have aided the king of England, they shall be included in the truce. All supporters of either side within fortified places shall also be included in the truce. The king of France has chosen two arbitrators, and, in like manner, the king of England two, by whose award, or by that of the greater part of them, if either of the kings shall take anything from the other, or any one of their subjects shall do so, reparation shall be made for the same within forty days therefrom. And the said arbitrators shall make oath on the holy Evangelists, that they will neither for love, hate, fear, nor reward, be guilty of any omission, but will with good faith make their award. And if it shall so happen that any seizure shall be made beyond the Loire, in the direction of Bourges, then the arbitrators shall meet between Exodun, and Chateau Raoul, for the purpose of compensation being made, and the arbitrators of the territory in which the seizure shall have been made shall summon the other arbitrators; and they, on hearing the summons, shall with good faith meet on fitting days at one of the places above named; and if any seizure shall happen to be made on this side the Loire, in the direction of Normandy, then the arbitrators shall meet between Vernueil and Tiliers, for the purpose of compensation being made. And if there shall happen to be any misunderstanding between the arbitrators, then Master the legate of the highest standing,¹⁹ shall, with good faith and at peril of his soul, enquire into the truth thereof, and shall pronounce upon him who shall refuse to make satisfaction for the seizure and the offence, sentence of excommunication, all right of appeal being withdrawn, and shall place his lands under interdict. But if the evildoer shall belong to the territory of the king of France, then the king of France shall, in good faith, aid in obtaining reparation for the same, without any loss to himself; and the king of England shall do the same, in good faith, as to his subjects. If the king of France shall make any aggression upon the king of England, or the king of England upon the king of France, then the cardinal shall place an interdict upon the lands of the party making the aggression, if he shall refuse to make amends for such aggression, at the award of the arbitrators, or the major part of them. Richard, king of England, and his people, shall hold their lands on this side the Loire, towards Normandy, in the same manner in which they were holding them on the day

¹⁹ The legate of France or of Normandy.

on which the truce was made, and beyond the Loire they shall hold them in the same manner in which they held them on the day on which he and his people were able, within so many lawful days, to hear of the truce being made.²⁰ The king of England includes in the truce all those who were more liegemen of himself than of the king of France before the truce. As to the prisoners, it shall be thus agreed on both sides : those prisoners whom the king of France detains, shall be rescued upon giving such security as they shall offer, if it shall so please the said king ; but if it shall not please him, then his arbitrators shall upon oath declare what security shall be given in addition thereto, in order that the king of France may be secure that the prisoner will return to the custody of the king of France fifteen days before the end of the truce, if the prisoner is then alive ; and the same shall be done as to the prisoners of the king of England by his arbitrators. All these things both kings shall swear to observe with good faith, and shall make oath at the hand of the cardinal ; and they shall give their letters patent as to keeping and observing the aforesaid truce and covenants. Before us, on part of the king of France, Gervaise de Chatillon has made oath and sworn, on behalf of the king of France, that this truce shall be observed ; such persons also shall make oath, both clergy as well as laity, subject to the arbitration of the umpires, as the king of England shall require. In addition to which, be it known to you that we who have sworn to this agreement for a truce, have hereupon had letters patent on behalf of the king of France for the confirmation of the same, expressing that whatever we shall ordain as to observing the truce, that same he will ratify and confirm. Done between Vernueil and Tiliers, in the year from the Word made Incarnate one thousand one hundred and ninety-four, on the twenty-third day of July."

After the king had crossed over, on Hugh, bishop of Durham, returning home, Hugh Bardolph demanded of him the earldom of Northumberland, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and the castle of Bamborough, which the said bishop had promised to the king that he would deliver up. However, the bishop delayed doing this, because his messenger, by whom he had made offer to the king of two thousand marks of silver for retaining the said earldom and the above-mentioned castles, had not yet returned. When he returned, he brought with

²⁰ Probably a certain distance being reckoned for each lawful day.

him a letter from the king, by which the king informed Hugh Bardolph that if the said bishop of Durham should give him security for the payment of the said two thousand marks, he was to deliver to the said bishop the before-named earldom, together with the castles.

On the king's letter being delivered to Hugh Bardolph, he accordingly made answer to Hugh, bishop of Durham, saying: "If you wish me to act according to the king's commands, deliver up to me the castles and the earldom, and I will re-deliver them to you, as the king has commanded, if you give me security for the receipt of these two thousand marks, on behalf of the king." To this the bishop of Durham replied: "There is no need for me to deliver them to you to deliver them to me again, as I have got them, and hold them in my possession." On hearing this, Hugh Bardolph immediately sent word to our lord the king, what answer he had received from the bishop; at which the king being incensed, ordered the bishop of Durham to be disseised of the castles and the earldom above-mentioned, and the two thousand marks to be demanded of him. The king also, in the fury of his anger, ordered the bishop of Durham to be dispossessed of the manor of Sedbergh, with the knight's fees and wapentake which the said king had given to Saint Cuthbert and the Church of Durham, and the said bishop, as a pure and perpetual alms-gift, and by his charter had confirmed the same, in manner previously stated; which was accordingly done.

In the meantime, the canons of the church of York, making complaint to the archbishop of Canterbury, the king's justiciary, of the injuries that had been done them by the archbishop of York, the archbishop of Canterbury, by the royal authority with which he was invested, sent to York, earl Roger Bigot, William de Warenne, William de Stuteville, Hugh Bardolph, William Bruyere, Geoffrey Habet, and William Fitz-Richard, a clerk, to hear the dispute between the archbishop of York and his canons, and to settle the same as justice should require. Having accordingly come thither, and heard the appeals of the canons, and the answer of the archbishop and his adherents, they ordered the men of the archbishop who had been charged with robbery, to be seized and thrown into prison. And although the archbishop was ready to give his warranty for what they had done, he still was unable to bail them. After this, they summoned

the archbishop to come and receive their judgment, and, because he refused, they dispossessed him of all his manors, with the sole exception of the manor of Ripon, to which the archbishop had retired; after which, they caused the canons to be reinstated in their stalls of which the archbishop had dispossessed them. On their departure, they appointed William de Stuteville, and Geoffrey Haget, to exercise supervision in Yorkshire over the archbishop and his shrievalty.

Shortly after, in the month of September, justices itinerant were sent in the king's behalf throughout each of the counties of England, and proceeded, in giving their judgments, in conformity with the tenor of the heads hereunder stated.

THE FORM²⁰ OF PROCEDURE IN PLEAS OF THE CROWN OF THE KING.

“ In the first place, four knights are to be chosen from out of the whole county, who, upon their oaths, are to choose two lawful knights of every hundred and wapentake, and these two are to choose upon their oath ten knights of every hundred or wapentake, or, if there shall not be knights sufficient, free and lawful men, in order that these twelve may together make inquisition on each of the following heads in every hundred or wapentake.

Heads of Pleas of the Crown of the King.

“ Of Pleas of the Crown, both new and old, and all those which have not yet been concluded before the justiciaries of our lord the king. Also, of all Recognizances and all Pleas on which summons has been issued before the justiciaries, by writ of the king or of the chief justice, or which have been sent before them from the supreme court of the king. Also, of Escheats, what these now are, and what they have been, since the king set out on his expedition to the land of Jerusalem, and what there were at that time in the king's hands; and again, what there are now in his hands or otherwise; and of all Escheats of our lord the king, if they have been taken out of his hands, how, and by whom, and into whose hands they have come, and of what kind, and if any person has had any profits from the same, and what they are, and what was the value thereof, and what is the present value; and if there is any Escheat, which belongs to our lord the king, which is not at present in his hands. Also, of Churches which

²⁰ The text of Wilkins has been followed here.

are in the gift of our lord the king. Also, of Wardships of children, which belong to our lord the king. Also, of Marriages²¹ of maidens, or of widows, which belong to our lord the king. Also, of Malefactors, and their harbourers and abettors. Also, of forgers. Also, of Murderers of the Jews, who they are, and of the pledges of Jews so slain, their chattels, lands, debts, and writings, and who has the same; and how much each person owes them, and what pledges they had, and who holds the same, and how much they are worth, and who has the profits thereof, and what they are; all the pledges and the debts of the Jews so slain are to be seized for the king; and those who were present at the murder of the Jews, who have not made a composition thereon with our lord the king, or with his justiciaries, are to be arrested and are not to be liberated except by our lord the king, or his justiciaries. Also, of all Aids given for the ransom of our lord the king, how much each person promised, and how much he has paid, and how much is still due from him. Also, of the adherents of earl John, and such of them as have made a composition with our lord the king, and such as have not. Also, of the Chattels of earl John or his adherents, which have not been converted to the use of our lord the king; and how much the sheriffs and their bailiffs have received; and who has given anything contrary to the ancient customs of the kingdom. Also, of all the Lands of earl John, of his Demesnes, and Wards, and Escheats, and his gifts, and for what reason the same were given to him, and all the gifts to earl John are to be seized for our lord the king, except those which have been confirmed by the king. Also, as to the Debts and Fines which are due to earl John, and for what causes; and all the same are to be demanded on behalf of our lord the king. Also, of Usurers, and the Chattels of such of them as are dead. Also, of Wines sold contrary to the assize, and of false measures for wine as also for other things. Also, of such Crusaders as have died before setting out for the land of Jerusalem; and who possesses their chattels, and what they are, and to what extent. Also, of Grand Assizes, which are of lands a hundred shillings in value or less.

Also, in every county there are to be three knights chosen, and one clerk, who are to be keepers of the Pleas of the Crown;

²¹ "Maritagii," the right of giving them in marriages and receiving a fee for the same.

and no sheriff is to be justice in his shrievalty, nor yet in any county which he has held since the first coronation of our lord the king. Also, an inventory is to be made of all the Cities, and Boroughs, and Demesne Lands of our lord the king.

Also, the said justices, together with the bailiffs of William of the Church of Saint Mary, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William de Chimelli, William Bruere, Hugh Bardolph, and the sheriff of each place, are to cause the knights mentioned on the roll to be summoned in their respective counties, to appear at a time and place which they shall signify to them, and to make them swear in their presence that they will use all their lawful endeavours to restore the Lands and Escheats belonging to our lord the king, and to value the same to the advantage of our lord the king, and not through hatred, favour, or regard for any person, to omit so to do. And the said knights before-named shall, upon their oath, make choice of twelve lawful knights, or free and lawful men, if knights shall not be found for the purpose, in the different parts of each county on the circuit of the said justices itinerant, as shall seem expedient; who shall, in like manner, make oath that they will use all their lawful endeavours to restore, and to value and establish the rights of Wardship and Escheat in those parts, and will give their counsel and assistance to advantage the king therein, as before-mentioned. The said jurors shall also, upon oath, choose from free men as many and such as they shall think necessary for the performance of the aforesaid business of our lord the king as to Escheats and Wardships, in such manner as may be best done for the advantage of our lord the king. It is also to be known, that the said Wardships and Escheats shall be made good out of the revenues arising therefrom up to the feast of Michaelmas, as also from the revenues at that time due; and, if they shall not suffice, then the deficiency shall be supplied by a toll of our lord the king: it being understood that those who hold the said Wardships and Escheats to farm, shall, after the feast of Saint Michael, answer for the same thenceforward as for farms in husbandry. And as for those who shall hold the said Wardships and Escheats to farm, our lord the king shall give them warranty for the same from year to year until the termination thereof; so that, although our lord the king should give any of them to any person, the farmer shall still hold his farm, to hold the same by farm till the end of the year, by paying to

him to whom our lord the king shall have so given it, the rent which shall be due from him for the same until the end of the year. The right to the escheat, however, which he shall have so given is to remain with our lord the king, unless our lord the king shall have given it by name. The farmer, when he shall give up his farm, is to have all his stock which he shall have placed upon the farm, and all his property over and above the property of the king there, freely and without diminution. They shall also have letters patent of our lord the archbishop, containing the tenor of the charter of our lord the king made relative thereto.

Most diligent enquiry shall also be made what is the rental assessed upon each manor in demesne, and the value of all other assessments in the said manors, and how many carucates there are, and how much they are each worth, not estimating them at a fixed value of twenty shillings only,²² but, according as the land is good or bad, whether the value is likely to increase or decrease. Those persons who shall take these farms shall stock their farms as already mentioned, according to the sum named as to the revenues of the escheats and wardships. Enquiry is also to be made with how many oxen and plough horses each carucate ought to be stocked; and how much stock, and to what amount each manor is able to support; and the result thereof is then to be speedily and distinctly reduced to writing. The price set upon a bull shall be four shillings, and upon a cow the same, upon a plough-horse the same, upon a sheep with fine wool ten pence, upon a sheep with coarse wool six pence, upon a sow twelve pence, and upon a boar twelve pence; and when the farmers give up their farms they shall be answerable in the aforesaid sums, or in animals payable for the same, at the option of the farmers; and when all the aforesaid stock shall be placed thereon and duly valued, they shall all be enrolled openly and distinctly, and the register thereof shall be deposited in the exchequer. From this assize are to be excepted bishoprics and abbeys, and lands of barons who are nearly of age. Also, let enquiry previously be made, by the oath of the parties aforesaid, as to all wardships and escheats which are not in the hands of

²² Probably the rental of each carucate, or plough land of one hundred acres, was assessed at twenty shillings, for the purpose of collecting the carucage or land tax levied thereon.

our lord the king, and they are to be taken possession of by our lord the king, and dealt with as other lands and escheats.

Heads as to the Jews.

All debts and pledges of Jews are to be enrolled, as also their lands, houses, rents, and possessions. Any Jew who shall make concealment of any one of these things, shall forfeit to our lord the king his body, as also the thing concealed, and all his possessions, and all his chattels; and no Jew shall ever be allowed to recover what he has so concealed. Also, let six or seven places be appointed at which they shall make their loans, and let two lawful Christians and two lawful Jews and two lawful scribes be appointed, and in their presence, and in that of the clerks of William of the Church of Saint Mary and of William de Chimelli, let such loans be made, and let a deed describing the loan be made, after the manner of an indenture. One part²³ is to remain in the hands of the Jew, sealed with his seal to whom the money is paid, while the other part is to remain in the common chest; on which there are to be three locks; whereof the two Christians are to keep one key, the two Jews another, and the clerks of William of the Church of Saint Mary and of Master William de Chimelli the third; as also three seals, those who have the keys setting thereon their seals. The clerks also of the two Williams aforesaid are to have a register containing copies of all the deeds, and as the deeds are altered so shall the register be altered. For each deed shall be paid three pence; a moiety thereof by the Jew, and a moiety by him to whom the money is lent; of which the two scribes are to have two pence, and the keeper of the register the third: and, for the future, no loan shall be made, no payment made to Jews, no alteration of the deeds, except in presence of the persons aforesaid, or the major part of them, if all shall be unable to be present. The said two Christians also are to have a register of receipts for payments made henceforth to Jews, and the two Jews are to have one, and the keeper of the register one. Also, every Jew shall make oath upon his register that he will cause all his debts, pledges, rents, and all his property and possessions to be enrolled, and that, as above stated, he will not conceal anything; and that, if he shall be able to learn that any one has concealed anything, he will secretly disclose the same to the

²³ The *script*, the other part being the *rescript*.

judges sent to them, and that forgers of deeds and clippers of money, when he shall know of such persons, he will give information against, and detect the same, and the like with regard to the deeds so forged.

Also, inquisition shall be made relative to the holdings of and seizures made by all bailiffs of the king, both justices as well as sheriffs, and constables, and foresters and their servants, since the time of the first coronation of our lord king Richard, and why such seizures were made, and by whom; and of all the chattels, gifts, and promises made on the occasion of seizure of the lands of earl John and his supporters; and who received the same, and what they were, and what delay was caused by command of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, at that time the king's chief justice."

In the meantime, Richard, king of England, having settled his affairs in Poitou to his satisfaction, returned to Anjou, and fined all his bailiffs, that is to say, forced them to pay a fine; and did the same in Maine. After this, he came into Normandy, and was vexed with what had been done in relation to the truce above-mentioned, and imputing it to his chancellor that this had been done through his agency, took away from him his seal, and caused a new seal to be made, and had proclamation made throughout all his territories, that nothing would be held as ratified that had been done by means of his old seal, both because his chancellor had wrought more indiscreetly with it than was becoming, as also because that seal had been lost when Roger Malchine, his vice-chancellor, was drowned at sea, before the island of Cyprus. The king also gave orders that all persons who had charters should come to renew the same with the new seal.

The king also ordered tournaments to be held in England, and by his charter confirmed the same; upon condition that whoever should wish to tourney, should pay him a sum according to the terms underwritten, namely; an earl was to give, for permission to tourney twenty marks of silver, a baron ten marks of silver, a knight, holding land, four marks of silver, and a knight, not a landholder, two marks of silver; and the king gave orders that no knight should come near the places where the tournaments were held unless he had first paid him the said sum of money. The charter of this grant the king delivered into the custody of William, earl of Salisbury; and Hubert Fitz-Walter, the king's chief justice, appointed

his brother, Theobald Fitz-Walter, to be collector of this money.

In the same year, Roger, the son of Tancred, king of Sicily, whom his father had caused to be crowned king of Sicily, and who had married the daughter of Tursac, emperor of Constantinople, departed this life; after whose decease, king Tancred caused his son William, brother of the said king Roger, to be crowned king of Sicily. Shortly after this, the said Tancred died: on hearing of which, Henry, emperor of the Romans, assembling a large army, entered Apulia in the beginning of the month of August, and subdued it, and, fifteen days before the feast of Saint Michael, took Salerno by storm; and because the people of Salerno had behaved treacherously towards him, as above stated, in delivering the empress Constance into the hands of king Tancred, to avenge the said betrayal he either put to death all the more powerful citizens of that city, or else condemned them to exile, and put up their wives and children for sale to his troops. He also found in the great Tower there a large treasure, valued at two hundred thousand ounces of gold, and his army was enriched by the spoils of the people of Salerno. After this, the emperor proceeded to the city of Amalfi, which was immediately surrendered to him; and, while he was staying there, all the cities of Apulia were surrendered to him, three of which he levelled with the ground—Salerno, Spinchola, and Polichore.

Before the feast of All Saints, he came to the city of Messina, in Sicily, with such honor and glory, that it had never been heard of any person entering that territory with greater honor and glory. Here he was honorably received by the archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons of the kingdom of Sicily, and departing thence proceeded to Palermo; having arrived at which place, the queen of Sicily, formerly the wife of king Tancred, and Richard de Therne, her brother, surrendered to him the palace of the king of Sicily, as also, king William, son of king Tancred, the widow of king Roger, daughter of Tursac, emperor of Constantinople, and the king's treasure of gold and silver inexhaustible, which the kings of Sicily had laid up. After this, all the cities and fortresses of the kingdom of Sicily were delivered up to him, and the admiral Margarite surrendered to him the castle at the port of Palermo, on which the emperor gave him the dukedom of Durazzo, the principality of Tarento, and the principality of La

Mare. There also came to the before-named emperor of the Romans all the pagans and Jews who were in the kingdom of Sicily, and, paying him certain sums, remained in the kingdom of Sicily, each in his own place, in the same condition in which he had been before.

The emperor then caused himself and the empress Constance, his wife, to be crowned at the city of Palermo, in presence and with the consent of the archbishops, bishops, and principal men of the kingdom. The emperor then caused the bodies of king Tancred and king Roger, his son, to be disinterred, and spoiled them of their crowns and sceptres, and other royal ornaments, saying that they were not kings by right, but rather usurpers of the throne, and holders thereof by violence. The emperor next gave in marriage to Philip, his brother, duke of Suabia, the above-mentioned daughter of Tursac, emperor of Constantinople, and put out the eyes of king William, son of king Tancred, and had him emasculated.

In the same year, the citizens of Rome elected fifty-six senators, and placed them in authority over themselves: whereas, previously, they had had but a single senator, whose name was Benedict, a worthy man, who had ruled over them two years, and after him they had had another senator, who was called John Capuche, and had similarly reigned over them another two years; in whose times Rome was better governed than at the present day, in the time of the fifty-six senators.

In the same year, Swere, prince of Norway, contrary to the prohibition of our lord the pope, had himself crowned king of Norway; on hearing of which, Eustace, archbishop of Drontheim, chose rather to go into exile than be present at his coronation; he accordingly departed, and the said Swere, son of Siward, king of Norway, gave orders that all the bishops of Norway should meet together at Bergen, on the feast of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, for the purpose of crowning him. Among these was the bishop of Wie, whose name was Nicholas. He declared that he was unwilling to be present at the coronation, because of the absence of the archbishop; on hearing which, Swere caused the bishop to be seized, and to be bound on the sea-shore on a small eminence, so that the waves of the sea, flowing on, nearly entered his mouth; upon which, the bishop being terrified, assented to the wishes of Swere Birkebain, and crowned and consecrated him king at Bergen, on the feast of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul,

the bishops, Martin of Bergen, Eric of Stavangre, Thore of Burgunde,²⁴ and Absalom, being present and assenting thereto. On the same day, when the said Swere, the king and priest, was dining in regal state with the bishops and principal men of his kingdom, he caused the head of Siward, the son of Adestan, the former king of Norway, to be cut off, and to be brought before him and his guests, as they sat at table. It is worthy of remark that this Swere Birkebain conquered fifteen kings in fifteen naval battles, and slew them, with all their followers, before he was able to secure the crown; their names were as follows,—king Magnus, king Borgher, king Siward, king Ordus, king Guthrum, king John Cuvelung, king Belue, king Zether, and six others, with the above Siward, son of Adestan. It also deserves to be known, that it is the custom of the kingdom of Norway to the present day that every one who is known to be the son of any king of Norway, although illegitimate, and the issue of a bondwoman, has equal right to lay claim to the kingdom of Norway with the son of a king legally married, and being the son of a free woman; the consequence of which is, that there are battles going on between them without ceasing, until one of them is conquered and slain.

The same year, a little before the feast of Saint Michael, there came to York, Hamo, præcentor of the church of York, Geoffrey de Muschamp, archdeacon of Cleveland, and Master William Testard, archdeacon of Nottingham, who had gone to Rome with Master Simon of Apulia, and Ralph, the archdeacon of the West Riding, relative to the injuries which Geoffrey, archbishop of York, had inflicted on them and their fellow-canons, he having excommunicated them and all who held communion with them, and, on their appeal to the Supreme Pontiff, laid an interdict on their churches. They also brought with them letters of absolution both from the excommunication and the interdict, and letters for the restitution of what had been taken from them; undertaking the execution of which at the mandate of pope Celestinus, Hugh, bishop of Durham, came to York, and on Saint Michael's day celebrated mass in the mother church there, declaring before the clergy and the people, that the sentence which Geoffrey, archbishop of York, had pronounced upon his canons and those holding communion with them was null and void.

²⁴ Perhaps meaning Alborg.

But Ralph, the archdeacon of the West Riding, died while on his return from Rome; on which, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, gave his archdeaconry, first, to his own brother, Peter, and afterwards to Peter de Nunant. The said archbishop then making appeal against his canons and their acquisitions, crossed over from England to Normandy, to Richard, king of England, his brother, and obtained from him a letter to the following effect:—

The Letter of Richard, king of England, on the reconciliation of the archbishop of York.

“Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to his dearly beloved and faithful subjects, William of the Church of Saint Mary, and Hugh Bardolph, greeting. We do hereby inform you, that Geoffrey, archbishop of York, our brother, has come to us, and over and above those thousand marks which he paid us in England, has done our will as to the other thousand marks; and, as he has informed us by a certain person, would willingly have before this made satisfaction for the debt if he had been able so to do, and has long been greatly vexed that he has thus long delayed so to do. Accordingly, we have received him into our favour and protection, and have granted him in the fullest manner our kind interest in his behalf. We have also sent our messenger to England with his messenger, to the end that he may see in what way he makes satisfaction to us for the remaining thousand marks; for he has made a promise to us that he will satisfy us thereupon as soon as he possibly can. Wherefore we do command you to make restitution to him of his lands and all his property in full, without delay; and whatever of his rentals or of his property shall have been sold on account of the said debt, whatever of the same we have had, you are reasonably to set off the same against the residue of his debt; and if any part thereof shall have been sold at a less price than it ought, either through love or hatred for any person, you are to cause reparation to be made for the same by those who have so done, and the same to be credited to the archbishop on account of his debt. His men also who have been taken or detained, both clergy as well as laity, you are to cause to be held on bail and set at liberty without delay, according to the custom of England. Also, you are not to allow

the lay power to disturb him in exercising his right of ecclesiastical censure throughout the whole of his archiepiscopate, as in reason he ought. You are also to compel the men of Beverley to make good the injuries they have done him, and to do towards him what they are bound to do, and what they have been accustomed to do to his predecessors. Witness myself, at Mamerz, on the third day of November."

The said archbishop of York also obtained another letter from our lord the king to the following effect:—

"Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to William, of the Church of Saint Mary, and Hugh Bardolph, greeting. Know ye, that we have learned, that at the time of the death of our father, without our command and consent, Geoffrey de Muschamp obtained letters under his seal to hold the archdeaconry of Cleveland; and William de Stigandby and Master Erard, similarly obtained letters to hold prebendal stalls in the church of York, which were then vacant, and at our disposal. Wherefore, we do command you, without delay, to deprive the persons aforesaid of the archdeaconry, and the said prebends, and exact from them whatever they have received, since they have so fraudulently and surreptitiously gained possession of the said revenues. Witness myself, at Mamerz, on the third day of November."

Oh shameful disgrace! "'Tis base for the censurer to be himself convicted of the fault."²⁵ For the said archbishop, while still chancellor of the king, his father, had that seal in his own possession; by means of which the said archdeaconry and those prebendal stalls had been given to the persons before-named.

In the same year, John Belesme, archbishop of Lyons sur Rhone, resigned his archbishopric; and, being content with a revenue of one hundred pounds sterling belonging to the archbishopric of Lyons, lived an unspotted life, pleasing to God and man, to the end of his existence, in the house of Clairval.

In the same year, while Leopold, duke of Austria, was still remaining under the sentence of excommunication which our lord the pope had pronounced upon him for the captivity of Richard, king of England and, not repenting thereof, the Lord

²⁵ "Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum." The reason for his saying this, is shown in the following lines.

scourged his territories in the following manner. In the first place, all of the cities of his dominions were destroyed by fire, and yet the cause of none of these fires was known. In the second place, the adjoining country was overflowed by an inundation of the river Danube, in which ten thousand persons or more perished. In the third place, whereas all the earth in the middle of summer ought to, and usually does, possess vitality, at that period the whole of his territory, contrary to the usual and ordinary course of things, became parched up. In the fourth place, when the seeds of corn ought to have shot up into blade, they were changed into worms. In the fifth place, the most noble persons in his dominions were smitten with a mortality.

Although the Lord had smitten his territory with plagues so many and so great, he still was unwilling to repent, but his heart was hardened, so much so, that he took an oath that all the hostages of the king of England whom he had in his hands should undergo capital punishment, unless all the covenants were speedily performed which the king of England had made with him. Consequently, Baldwin de Bethune, who was one of those who had been given as hostages to the duke of Austria for the ransom of the king of England, by the common consent of the hostages, was sent to the king of England to declare to him the duke's purpose; and, on his arrival, the king, taking compassion on them, delivered to him the sister of Arthur, duke of Brittany, and the daughter of the emperor of Cyprus, to escort to the duke of Austria; the sister of Arthur for the purpose of being married to the son of the duke of Austria, and the daughter of the emperor of Cyprus to be delivered into the hands of the duke.

In the year of grace 1195, being the sixth year of the reign of Richard, king of England, the said king Richard was at Rouen, in Normandy, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which fell on the Lord's Day, being intent on supplying himself with all things necessary, in money and men, against Philip, king of France. For the truce which had been agreed upon between them as to last until the feast of All Saints was far from observed, the subjects of both kingdoms making excessive ravages. On the same day of the Nativity of our Lord, Henry, emperor of the Romans, was crowned at Palermo, in Sicily, with the crown of the kingdom of Sicily.

In the same year, before the Nativity of our Lord, on the

day of Saint Stephen the Protomartyr, when the heart of Leopold, duke of Austria, was hardened, nor could be softened by means of the plagues previously mentioned which the Lord inflicted on his territories, the Lord scourged his body in the following manner. Having convened the elders of his territory to celebrate the festival of the Nativity of our Lord, while the said duke was on his road, on Saint Stephen's day, to take recreation with his knights, his horse fell upon him and crushed his foot, in such a manner that the bones, being broken on both sides, projected through the middle of the skin, and were exposed to the extent of the palm of one's hand: the surgeons, however, when they came, applied to the foot what they thought best for it. On the following day the foot was found to have turned black, and to be in such a state that it ought, in the opinion of the surgeons, to be taken off; but, upon his ordering this to be done, there was not a person found to acquiesce in his wishes: for no one dared, or could for sorrow, lay a hand on his master.

At length, he sent for his son and heir, and begged and commanded him to cut off his foot, and put an end to his pain; and, on his refusal as well, he sent for his chamberlain, who being compelled so to do, the duke himself, with his own hand, held an axe close to the bone of the leg, while the chamberlain, wielding a mallet, after three blows, with great difficulty, cut off the foot; the surgeons, however, after applying remedies, on visiting him the next day, found in him no hopes of life. The duke, being consequently reduced to despair, caused the archbishops, bishops, and great men of his dominions, who had come to be present at the festival, to be assembled together; and, on asking to be absolved from the sentence which our lord the pope had pronounced against him, for the injuries which he had done to the king of England, was answered by the whole of the clergy that he could, under no circumstances, procure absolution, unless, by making oath, he should give security that, as to the said injuries, he would abide by the judgment of the Church; and, unless others of the chief men of his dukedom should join him in the said oath: and if he should be overtaken by the common destiny of man, they would use their exertions in every way that satisfaction might be made to the Holy Church, in order that the judgment of the Church might not be carried out with respect to him. Accordingly, being absolved through means of the judgment of the Church, he ordered

all the hostages of the king of England that he had in his possession to be set at liberty, and forgave the sum of money owing to him from the king of England. After his decease, his heir, with some of the nobles, opposed the things before-mentioned being done; on which, the clergy would on no account allow the body of the duke to be buried: consequently, his body was kept above ground for eight days, until all the hostages given by the king of England had been set at liberty; some of whom, on their coming to England, related all these things as what they had seen and heard. They also asserted that, at their departure, there was produced and offered to them, four thousand marks and more, money belonging to the king of England, to be brought back; but that, on account of the perils of the journey, they had not dared on any account to take charge thereof.

All these things were done by God, that He might abase the haughty, and manifest His power before mortals; and when He pursues with His deserved vengeance the injuries done to Him and His, we are to believe that the same has happened not only for our sakes, but also to assert His power; nor must we boastfully ascribe to ourselves what has been wrought solely by the mercy of the Lord. In the meantime, when Baldwin de Bethune had come near the territories of the said duke of Austria, and heard of his death, he did not proceed any further, but returned to the king of England, and brought back the ladies before-named, and restored them to the king.

In the same year, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, gave to Philip, king of France, one thousand pounds of money Anjouin for the ransom of his lands, which the said king of France had taken possession of during the war; and, at the same time, Robert, earl of Leicester, offered to Philip, king of France, for his ransom, one thousand pounds sterling, and to release him from all claim for ever, by himself and his heirs, to the castle of Passy with all its appurtenances, and to ask a confirmation of the same from our lord the pope, and a confirmation from the king of England. But, as there was not yet an end of the war between himself and the king of England, he put off for the present the consideration of the offers which the earl of Leicester had made him.

In the same year, in the month of January, being the Lord's Day next after the octave of the Epiphany, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, Master Winmer, archdeacon of Northampton, and Hugh, prior of Pontefract, to whom our lord the pope, Ce-

lestinus, had entrusted the charge of enquiring into the excesses of which Geoffrey, archbishop of York, was accused by his canons of the church of York before the pope and cardinals, arrived at York, and proceeded in conformity with the mandate of our lord the pope; which was to the following effect:

The Letter of pope Celestinus, directing an inquisition to be made into the alleged excesses of the archbishop of York.

“Celestinus, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother, the bishop of Lincoln, and his dearly beloved sons, the archdeacon of Northampton, and the prior of Pontefract, greeting. Jesus Christ, the mediator between God and man, whose foresight in His ordinances is not deceived, has willed that the source of the discipline of the whole Church, and the direction of the holy Church of Rome should be reserved for Himself, and that all other [churches] should also be subject to His government and supervision: that so, the plenitude of power being expressly reserved unto Him, it may belong to Him to correct the excesses also of other [churches], and, with the authority of the Apostolic sway, approve of what is done in a manner deserving of praise. Wherefore, inasmuch as by Divine providence we have been chosen to the governance thereof, it is our wish so to love our brethren and fellow-bishops, with due considerateness and discretion, that we may not seem to prefer their affection and friendship to the duties unto which we are called; and the more especially, as love has its limits, and each is bound to love the man, but not the errors of the man. And whereas, it has come to our hearing, from the information of the clergy and the chapter of the church of York, and the testimony of our dearly beloved sons Robert of York, and Roger of Selby, and of eleven other abbats of the Præmonstratensian order, seems manifestly to declare the same, that our venerable brother, Geoffrey, the archbishop of York, disregarding the oaths of the office entrusted to him, being uselessly engaged in hunting, hawking, and other military pursuits, has given neither hand nor thought since his promotion to the ordination of the clergy, the dedication of churches, or the celebrations of synods, nor yet has pronounced a blessing upon any abbat, although with sufficient indiscretion he has accustomed his tongue at his own pleasure to pronounce maledictions against and to excommunicate both clerks and abbats;

the liberties and approved customs of his church he nullifies and subverts; appeals which are wont to be the refuge of the oppressed, he has, to the injury of the Roman See, brought into contempt. Many, because they have made appeals to ourselves, he has ordered to be thrown into prison and placed in irons; the beneficed clergy of his church, after appeal made to us, he has spoiled of honors and benefices, and some of the canons, despising their appeal, he had subjected to excommunication. In his presence, the privileges of the Roman Pontiffs are utterly deprived of all authority; and he, who otherwise would probably have been safe by pleading our privileges in his presence, loses the benefit of the protection he thereby hoped to gain. When it so happens that any one has been restored to a church or²⁶ possession by the judges delegated by our authority, the person by whom the said judgment is to be put in execution, he immediately looks upon as an enemy. Indeed, many so restored, he has reduced to destitution; and entering their churches by force, by means of his servants, is said to have broken down the doors of the churches, and to have by violent means expelled them. Many persons also he has perniciously made to incur the danger of perjury, withdrawing them by means of violent compulsion from the obedience which by oath they had canonically promised his archdeacons to observe. Still more, attacking the greater church with a multitude of armed men, he has caused the doors of the chapter-house to be broken open by force and carried away; the property of the canons, and that of many other persons who had deposited their possessions in the church as in a treasury, he has caused by violence to be withheld from them; respecting all which matters, the chapter of York has made appeal to our presence. We have also understood from the testimony of the persons before-named, that sometimes when churches have been vacant, he has not admitted fit and proper persons when presented by those to whom the presentation belongs, but has given the same to either youths or persons of bad character, thus discharging the duty both of him who presents and of him who institutes; or else at his own sole will he causes them to be vacated, in order that their revenues may be applied to his own use, and that which was intended for the sustenance of some worthy clerk, he does not hesitate to retain in his own hands. They

²⁶ "Ut" is probably a misprint for "aut."

have also stated in addition, that, whereas spiritual gifts ought to be bestowed without reward and without corruptness, frequently, when he gives a benefice, he either splits it into two parts, contrary to the canonical statutes of the church, or else retains upon it a new and unusual charge; many, too, who have been excommunicated or suspended, he has absolved, through the intervention of nothing else than money. In his sight, religious and honest men are despised and contemned; while low and suspected persons easily obtain his familiar acquaintanceship and favour. Wherefore, if such is his mode of life, and among such is his conversation, it is to be feared lest he may prove to the flock entrusted to his charge, rather a rock of offence and a stumbling-block, than an example of erudition, or a solace or protection against spiritual wickedness. Wherefore, inasmuch as the things that have been here stated, demand the care of an enquiry, we have thought proper to entrust to your discretion, in which we have full confidence, the enquiry into these matters, giving you, by these Apostolic writings, our commands forthwith to repair to the church of York, and, convoking the abbats, priors, and other ecclesiastical persons of the diocese of York, to make diligent enquiry whether he has thus negligently and perniciously treated the church and province of York. And if, upon the matters above stated, lawful accusers shall come forward, you are to hear what they shall think proper to allege against the aforesaid archbishop, and, after diligently hearing and learning the same, to make it your care to transmit to us their attestation, enclosed under your seals, assigning to the parties a fitting time within which, being sufficiently instructed thereon, they are to appear at the Apostolic See, there to receive, the Lord so providing, what is directed by the canons of the Church. If, however, accusers shall not be forthcoming, and if public report shall be in his disfavour, then you are, by our authority, to call upon him to clear himself by [the oaths of] three bishops and as many abbats, all obstacle of appeal removed. And if he shall chance to make any default therein, you are to cause him to be suspended from his archiepiscopal duties and administration, and to appear in the Apostolical presence, to the end that, the Lord instructing him, he may there be taught how it befits him, and those like him, to minister in the house of the Lord. And if the said archbishop shall think fit to allege

anything against them, you are to hear the same as well, and to transmit it to us, enclosed under your seals, in order that a determination may, in due conformity with the canons, be come to thereon. Moreover, if the said archbishop shall, for the purpose of eluding our mandate, before your citation shall reach him, have interposed an appeal, or have commenced his journey on his way to the Apostolic See, you are to appoint him a time within three months, upon which he is to be bound, in his own person, to appear in our presence. And if he shall fail so to do, you shall, by our authority, from that period, pronounce him suspended from all pontifical duties, and from the administration of the archbishopric, all power of appeal set aside. And if you shall be unable all of you to take part in carrying out these instructions, then any two of you shall carry out the same. Given at Saint Peter's, at Rome, on the sixth day before the ides of June, in the fourth year of our pontificate."

Accordingly, upon the authority of these letters, the said bishop of Lincoln and his colleagues came to York for the purpose of making the said enquiry, and, having summoned before them in the cathedral church, the abbats, priors, and ecclesiastical personages of the diocese of York, proceeded, according to the tenor of this Apostolic mandate, to make diligent enquiry upon all the heads which were contained in the said writing. Many abbats, priors and other persons of good character, accused the said archbishop on all the above heads, in presence of the clerk and people of the household of the said archbishop, who excused him as far as they could, and said that before their citation the said archbishop had made an appeal, and had set out on his road to the Supreme Pontiff: after hearing whom, the said bishop of Lincoln and his colleagues, attentively hearing the accusations of the adversaries of the archbishop of York, and having committed the same to writing with all care, had the same transmitted to the Supreme Pontiff, enclosed under the testimony of their seals, assigning the archbishop a time within three months, in obedience to the precept of the Supreme Pontiff; and of their own kindness they gave him an additional term of six weeks, within which he was personally to appear in the Apostolical presence: adding, that if he should not do so, he was to know that he was from thenceforth suspended from all pontifical duties by the Apostolic authority, as also from the administration of the archbishopric. They also assigned to the adversaries of the archbishop a time at the

beginning of the calends of June, by which, having made all sufficient preparations, they were to present themselves at the Apostolic See, there to receive, the Lord so providing, what is adjudged by the canons of the Church.

Accordingly, the aforesaid adversaries of the archbishop appearing at Rome in the presence of our lord the pope, at the time named, urgently made accusation against their archbishop; but the archbishop did not come at the time appointed, both by reason of the king's prohibition, and the pestilence which at that time prevailed at Rome. His clerks, however, appeared at the given time at the Roman court, and alleging these as the causes of his absence, obtained that whatever had in the meantime been done against the archbishop since his appeal, should be repealed as null and void: and the pope then appointed as the time for his coming to Rome, the octave of Saint Martin next ensuing. But because not even then did he make his appearance at the Roman court, either himself or by a sufficient proxy, at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord next ensuing, he was suspended from all episcopal duties.

During the before-mentioned meeting of abbats, that took place at York, to oppose the archbishop, Roger, abbat of Selby, died, and was buried at Selby; and, at the presentation of king Richard, was succeeded by Richard, prior of the same house, who received his benediction from Hubert Fitz-Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, at this time, legate of all England.

In the same year, while the king of England was staying at Chinon, in Anjou, certain assassins, fifteen in number, came to the king's court. But when they attempted to approach the king of England, for the purpose of killing him, some of them were taken and made prisoners, on which they stated that the king of France had sent them to assassinate the king of England; but the king of England pretending not to know that these had been the designs of the king of France, deferred pronouncing judgment upon them, until such time as their associates should have been arrested.

In the same year, in the month of February, Master Simon of Apulia, dean of the church of York, returning from the parts beyond sea, with the plenitude of the king's favour, and his confirmation of his appointment to the deanery of the church of York, on his approaching the city of York, there went forth to meet him the clergy and people of the city in

great multitudes; among whom were some of the household of archbishop Geoffrey, namely, Master Otui and William de Bonville, and two others, who forbade the said dean, on behalf of our lord the pope and the archbishop of York, to approach the mother church as dean thereof, until the dispute which existed between the archbishop and himself, as to the said deanery, should have been duly disposed of by the Roman Pontiff, and appealed thereon to our lord the pope. And because the said dean would not desist from his purpose, they laid violent hands on him; but being immediately excommunicated themselves, on account of this violence, they allowed him to go; on which he proceeded on his way and came to the mother church, and the canons of the church received him in solemn procession, this taking place on the Lord's day next before the beginning of Lent: and, at the beginning of Lent, Hugh, bishop of Durham, came to York, and confirmed the sentence of excommunication pronounced upon those who had laid violent hands upon the dean. While the said bishop of Durham was on his road thence to London, and had arrived at Doncaster, he fell ill, and being unable to proceed any further, was carried by ship to his vill of Hoveden.

In the same month of February, in the country of the king of Scotland, died Gregory, bishop of Ross, who was succeeded by Reginald, surnamed "the Lean," a monk of Melrose. It is stated, that in the cathedral church of the bishopric of Ross, which is called Rosmarein, Saint Boniface, the pope who was the fourth from Saint Gregory, was buried. About this Boniface we read in the Ecclesiastical histories, that he prevailed upon Phocas Cæsar, the emperor of the Romans, to present the Temple at Rome, which was previously called the Pantheon, to the church of God; and, after banishing therefrom the abominations of Devils, he dedicated it in honor of the blessed Mary, the Mother of God and ever a virgin, and of all the Saints, appointing that festival to be celebrated every year, at the beginning of the calends of November.

In the same year, in the month of March, on the third day of that month, being the sixth day of the week, Hugh, bishop of Durham, departed this life, at his vill of Hoveden, and was buried at Durham, in the chapter house of the monks; but before his body had entered Durham, Walter de Ferlington delivered to Hugh Bardolph the castle of Durham, and hung up the keys of the castle over the shrine of Saint Cuthbert.

Rodolph de Stavely inconsiderately rushing on for the purpose of seizing them, fear suddenly came upon him, and, going back, he hung up the keys over the shrine where they previously were; but before leaving the church, by the judgment of God he was scourged with a severe attack of illness, and died in a few days after. The said keys, however, were afterwards delivered by the hands of the prior and of the monks to Hugh Bardolph, who made oath that he would faithfully keep them to the honor of Saint Cuthbert and the king. After this, Hugh de Ferlington delivered to Hugh Bardolph the castle of Northampton, by command of the king's justiciary.

In the meantime, at the instance of the canons of York, pope Celestinus wrote to the following effect to Roger de Leicester and Winemer de Northampton, archdeacons of the church of Lincoln:—

The Letter of pope Celestinus against Geoffrey, archbishop of York.

“Celestinus, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved sons, Haimo, dean of Lincoln, Roger de Leicester, and Winemer de Northampton, archdeacons appointed in the diocese of Lincoln, health and the Apostolic benediction. Our most dearly beloved sons, Simon, the dean, and the chapter of the church of Saint Peter at York, have informed us that, after appeal made to us, the clerks of the chapel of our venerable brother, the archbishop of the said church, and some other persons, have been intruded into the cathedral church of the said city, to the great prejudice of the canons, the vicars and clerks of the said church being excluded therefrom, for the purpose of ministering therein, and, contrary to the ancient and approved custom, usurping the places and stalls of the clergy in the choir and chapter, have presumed to contravene the regulations of the church. Wherefore, wishing, as is right and proper, to put an end to presumptuous acts of this nature, we do by our precept, by means of these our Apostolical writings command, that, if what we have before stated is true, you will compel these presumptuous persons, by force of ecclesiastical censure, all power of appeal being taken away, in your presence to make due satisfaction for these matters to the church of Saint Peter, and the canons thereof. You are also to cause reparation to be made for the losses which shall appear to have been inflicted by the same clerks upon the aforesaid chapter in

such manner as shall be just. And if you shall not be able all of you to take part in the performance hereof, then two of you are to carry out the same. Given at Saint Peter's, at Rome, on the second day before the calends of June, in the fourth year of our pontificate."

Accordingly, on the authority of these letters, the said dean of Lincoln and his colleagues appointed for the parties a time and place, first at Torkesey, and next at Avechester, where, in their presence, they proved the losses of the priors and canons of the church of York, which they had sustained by the archbishop of York and his intruders, to be of the value of one thousand marks of silver.

In the same year, Richard, king of England, forgave his brother, John, all the wrath and displeasure he felt towards him, and restored to him the earldom of Mortaigne, the honor of Eye, and the earldom of Gloucester, and all the appurtenances thereto belonging, with the exception of the castles: and, instead of all his other earldoms and lands, the king gave him eight thousand pounds of money Anjouin per annum.

In the same year, the Supper of our Lord approaching, on John, bishop of Whitherne, the suffragan and deputy of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, coming near to York, that he might there, according to usual custom, consecrate the chrism and the oil at the Supper of our Lord, the dean and clergy of the church of York refused to receive him. Consequently, he went to Sewell, and there consecrated the chrism and oil at the Supper of our Lord, and delivered them to the officials of the archbishop to distribute to the churches in the archbishopric. It is even said that Geoffrey de Muschamp, archdeacon of Cleveland, received the chrism and oil, and immediately threw them upon a dunghill. However, the other canons of the church of Saint Peter declined to receive any part thereof, but sent to Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, to obtain the oil and chrism of him; they were deceived, however, in their expectations: for Peter, archdeacon of Lincoln, brother of archbishop Geoffrey, forbade the bishop to give them the oil and chrism, and appealed on the matter to the Roman Pontiff.

In the same year, the king forgave his wrath and displeasure against Hugh, bishop of Coventry, and restored to him the bishopric, for five thousand marks of silver, which he paid to him; but Robert, the brother of the said bishop, died in the custody of our lord the king, at Dover.

In like manner, our lord the king forgave his brother Geoffrey, archbishop of York, his wrath and displeasure, and received him with the kiss of peace; in consequence of which, the said archbishop being beyond measure elated, so exasperated the king by his insolent speeches, that he ordered him to be deprived of his archbishopric and the shrievalty of York. Would that the archbishop had read the warning of the philosopher, who says: "Stir not the fire with the sword." The Lord, also, inculcating humility in us, says, by the mouth of His Apostle, "Servants, be obedient to your masters in the Lord."²⁸ I say not only to the wise and modest, but also to the morose: "Be ye subject to the king as pre-eminent, and to his ministers sent by him for the punishment of the wicked and the praise of the good. Behold the ships! large though they be, and are threatened by mighty winds, by a small helm are they turned round, wherever the intention of him who steers shall guide them: so, too, though the tongue is a small member, it leads to great results. Behold! the fire, however small, how great the wood it can burn! The tongue is truly a fire, and from the tongue all iniquity is carried into effect, which pollutes and inflames the whole body; and no one is able to control the tongue, but he who is wise and circumspect. Therefore, let us circumcise our hearts; for, from the uncircumcised heart proceed fornications, adulteries, murders, thefts, false-witness, blasphemies, contentions, and strifes, and the like to these, which are the things that defile a man;²⁹ and on the contrary to this, out of the clean and circumcised heart proceed charity, cheerfulness, peace, patience, long-suffering, kindness, benignity, meekness, fidelity, modesty, continence, chastity, and other things like unto these, which are the fruits of the soul, and lead it unto God its Creator, for 'out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh,'³⁰ whether it be good or whether bad."

In the same year, there came a hermit to king Richard, and, preaching the words of eternal salvation to him, said: "Be thou mindful of the destruction of Sodom, and abstain from what is unlawful; for if thou dost not, a vengeance worthy of God shall overtake thee." The king, however, intent upon the things of this world, and not those which are of God, was not able so readily to withdraw his mind from what was un-

²⁸ Eph. vi. 5, not quite correctly quoted.

²⁹ According to St. Matt. xv. 19, and St. Mark, vii. 21, 22.

³⁰ St. Matt. xiii. 34. St. Luke, vi. 45.

lawful, unless the revelation should come to him from above, or he should behold a sign. For he despised the person of his adviser, not understanding that sometimes the Lord reveals to babes the things that are hidden from the wise; for the lepers announced good tidings to Samaria,³¹ and the ass of Balaam recalled its master from the unlawful way. Wherefore, the hermit, leaving the king, went his way, and hid himself from before his face. In process of time, however, although the before-named king despised the admonition of the poor hermit, still, by the inspiration of the Divine grace, he retained some part of his warning in his memory, having faith in the Lord that He who recalled the publicans and the Canaanitish woman to repentance, in His great mercy would give to him a penitent heart.

Hence it was, that on the Lord's day in Easter week, the Lord visited him with a rod of iron, not that he might bruise him, but that he might receive the scourging to his advantage. For on that day, the Lord scourged him with a severe attack of illness, so that, calling before him religious men, he was not ashamed to confess the guiltiness of his life, and, after receiving absolution, took back his wife, whom for a long time he had not known: and, putting away all illicit intercourse, he remained constant to his wife, and they two became one flesh, and the Lord gave him health both of body and of soul. Oh! happy the son, whom, in this pilgrimage, the father's severity chastens for his correction, and not for his destruction! For the father corrects his son sometimes in kind words, and sometimes in harsh, that, by the one means or the other, he may recall him to do what is right. And thus, in the furnace of justice does the Lord try His gold; there does He in adversity prove His holy one, that He may promote him to a crown. Truly, great and inexpressible are the works of the Lord, and His mercies are over all His works. For this king, over whose head his iniquities had passed away, was adopted by Christ as His son, and turning from his wickedness unto the Lord, was received by Him as a son.

For God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, and who turneth them whichever way He thinketh fit, instilled it into the heart of the king, that he should so quickly change his life and conversation for the better: for, rising early every day, he first sought the kingdom of God and its justice, and did not

³¹ Alluding to 2 Kings, vii.

depart from the church until, after the usage of the Church, the whole of the Divine service had been performed. A glorious thing indeed is it for a prince to begin his daily actions, and to finish them in Him who is the beginning without beginning, and who judges the limits of the earth.

The said king, mindful also of those words which say, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble,"³² ordered each day, many poor to be fed, both in his court, as also in cities and in his vills, whom he daily increased, according as there was need. For there was a great famine in this land, and the poor resorted to him that they might be fed. By the example of such, is faith confirmed, hope upraised, charity nourished, humility protected, devotion increased, and a desire to do good excited. The said king also caused many chalices of gold and silver to be made, which he distributed among the churches, from which their chalices had been taken for the purpose of paying his ransom. "Woe unto that man through whom the offence cometh;"³³ for it ought not to be imputed to the king that through him those chalices had been given for his ransom, but rather it ought to be laid to the charge of those who gave such counsel to him, inasmuch, as "Evil communications corrupt good manners,"³⁴ and we read in the Gospel,³⁵ "Wherefore he hath the greater sin who hath delivered me up unto thee."

In the same year, pope Celestinus, at the prayer of Richard, king of England, appointed Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the whole of England; on which occasion, the said pope wrote to him to the following effect:

The Letter of pope Celestinus on the legateship of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury.

"Celestinus, the pope and bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the Apostolic See, health and the Apostolic benediction. That sincerity in its duteousness and in its established faith, which the church of England has always maintained towards the holy Church of Rome, has, as we fully trust, flourished once again under your energy and prudence, and has received an acceptable increase of tranquil fervour. For such an opinion of your brotherhood has gone forth to the Church of Rome, that by the odour of your good works we are

³² Psalm xli. 1. ³³ St. Matt. xviii. 7. ³⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 33. ³⁵ St. John, xix. 11.

refreshed, and are strengthened by the vigour of the constancy which you manifest; so much so, that we may now more openly by our deeds disclose the confidence we have placed in your probity. Wherefore, at the entreaty of our most dearly beloved son in Christ, Richard, the illustrious king of the English, and all the suffragans of the church of Canterbury, that the church of England might have a legate from the Apostolic See, for its own advantage, as also that of the kingdom; as also, in consideration of the feelings of devotion which we entertain towards the church of Canterbury for the merits of its glorious martyr, and out of respect for your virtues and honesty, we have given our assent and favour to their prayers; and this in especial, because we believe that it will greatly conduce to the advantage of the Church and of the kingdom if she receives such a person, acting in the above-named kingly office, as the urgent prayers of the said king and of others pronounce you to be, in commendation of the meritoriousness of your life, and of your devotion to the faith. Therefore we do for the honor of God, for the safety of the church of Canterbury, and for the peace of the whole kingdom of England, all exceptions or privileges granted to our venerable brother, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, or to his church, or any other, notwithstanding, grant unto you the office of legate, enjoining you by these Apostolic writings, to receive the same with the humility of fraternal obedience, and, in accordance with the powers granted you by heaven, for the purpose of amending the things that require amendment, and of enacting what requires to be enacted, to apply the hand of diligence to the exercise of the authority of the legateship: so observing in all things, with ready dutifulness, the respect due to your mother, the Roman Church, that, through the profitableness of the ministry, which with joy she entrusts to you, you may, by your acts, render her even more joyful. Given at the Lateran, on the fifteenth day before the calends of April, in the fourth year of our pontificate."

The said pope Celestinus wrote also to the following effect to Geoffrey, archbishop of York, and all the bishops, abbats, priors, and others, appointed prelates of churches throughout the kingdom of England:—

"Celestinus, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren in Christ, the archbishop of York, and all bishops, abbats, priors, and others, appointed prelates of

churches throughout the kingdom of England, health and the Apostolic benediction. The inscrutable depths of the Divine wisdom have established the Holy Church throughout the breadth of this world, and have, in its inimitable foresight, so willed its rule and governance to be carried out, that, for the purpose of its healthful governance, many should be associated in the care thereof, although, for the purpose of establishing ecclesiastical unity, the Roman Church has received the fulness of power therein. For it has willed that, in accordance with what is said by the Prophet in reference to the Church, some should be born unto the fathers, who, being appointed princes over the earth, might by the merits of their virtues, and by the words of doctrine, train those ignorant of the faith, when more advanced, to righteousness. Wherefore, the holy Church of Rome, to which Church the Lord has given rule over the others, has, in her motherly care, had regard for the others from the beginning, and has with a laudable practice, hitherto used all watchfulness, that she might from different parts of the world appoint prudent men to undertake the ministry of them, whose authority and doctrine, under the control of the Roman Pontiff, may minister to churches far distant those things which he himself is not able. Accordingly, we, who, insufficient as our merits may be, have been raised to the lofty elevation thereof, following in the footsteps of our forefathers, so endeavour with the help of God to perform the duties enjoined on us in reference to the neighbouring churches, that a due and proper foresight may not be withdrawn from those, from which, by distance, we are far separated. Wherefore in especial, looking with the eye of our fatherly regard at the present state of the English Church, for its safety and for its especial advantage in Christ, we have, by the common advice of our brethren, decreed that our venerable brother, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, in whose merits and virtue, wisdom and learning, the whole church rejoices, taking upon himself the duties of the legateship, shall, at will, perform our functions to the honor of the Church, and the safety and peace of the entire realm, throughout the whole kingdom of England, all exceptions or privileges granted to you or to your church, or to any other brother archbishop, notwithstanding. Therefore, by our authority, we do command the whole of you, through these Apostolic writings, to show to him all due reverence and honor as legate of the Apostolic See, and humbly to receive

his healthful warnings and commands, and to obey the same, steadfastly observing the things that, by the authority of the legateship, which by the will of the Lord he holds, he shall think fit and proper to ordain. Given at the Lateran, on the fifteenth day before the calends of April, in the fourth year of our pontificate."

Accordingly, upon the authority of these letters, the said archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the Apostolic See, sent to York Master Peter, the prior of Bineham, in Norfolk, and Master Gervaise, with the letters of our lord the pope, and letters from himself to the canons of York, and to the officers of the archbishop of York, sending word to them, that he should shortly come thither on the authority of his legateship, for the purpose of amending the things that required to be amended, and of enacting the things that, with the sanction of the Lord, required to be enacted; and he commanded them, convoking the clergy, to show to him, as the legate of the Apostolic See, due honor and obedience, adding, that he had already pronounced sentence of excommunication upon all those who in this respect should contravene the mandates of our lord the pope. He also sent, relative thereto, his letters patent to Simon, the dean of York, instructing him, if he should find any rebellious against the said mandate of our lord the pope, to denounce them as excommunicated. Accordingly, both the canons, as also the officers of the archbishop of York, answered the messengers of the legate, that they would receive him in his character of legate of the Apostolic See, but not as archbishop of Canterbury, or primate.

The legate arrived at York, on the feast of Saint Barnabas the Apostle, being the Lord's day, and was received by the clergy in solemn procession; and, being escorted to the church of the Cathedral See, on the Monday following caused assizes to be held by his servants, of all pleas of the crown of the king, and of novel disseisin and of mort d'ancestor; while he himself and his officers held pleas of spiritual matters. On the following day, being the third day of the week, the legate proceeded to the abbey of Saint Mary of York, and was there received in solemn procession by the monks of the said church. He then entered the chapter-house of the monks, and on the monks making complaint to him that Robert their abbat could not, by reason of sickness, and his bad state of health, discharge his duties to the house, he removed him from his pastoral charge,

and from the government of the house, protesting against the same, and appealing thereon to the Supreme Pontiff.

On the two following days, namely, the fourth and fifth days of the week, there being assembled in the church of Saint Peter at York, Simon, the dean of that church, Hamo, the præcentor, William Testard, and Geoffrey de Muschamp, the archdeacons of Nottingham and Cleveland, John the chancellor, and Robert, the prior of Beverley, together with some of the canons of the said church, and nearly all the abbats, priors, officers, deans, and parsons of the churches of the diocese of York, the legate sat installed in an elevated place, and held a full synod; in which he enacted that the following statutes should be observed.

The Decrees of the Synod of York.

“Whereas, among the other Sacraments of the Church, the host of salvation is pre-eminent in importance, therefore ought the devoutness of the priesthood to pay the more earnest attention thereto, that the same may be made with humility, be received with fear, and be dispensed with reverence; and the minister at the altar ought to be certain that the bread and wine, and water, are placed ready for the sacrifice, nor should it be celebrated without a literate minister officiating thereat. Care is also to be taken, that the host is kept in a clean and fair pyx, and is received on each Lord’s day.”

“As often as a communion is to be celebrated for the sick, the priest in his own person, in a clerical dress befitting a Sacrament so important, is to carry the host, a light going before him, unless the inclemency of the weather, or the difficulty of the way, or some other reason shall prevent it; because the mystery of the mass is frequently found to be corrupted, either by errors in the writing, or through the age of the books, so as not to be able to be distinctly read.

“The attention of the archdeacon is also to provide that in each church the canon of the mass is compared with all diligence, with a true and approved copy thereof.

“We do also forbid any priest through cupidity to enjoin any layman when he comes to receive absolution, to have masses performed; and we have thought proper to forbid that any priest shall make a bargain for the celebration of mass at a stated price, but he is to receive that alone which is offered at the mass.

“ We do also enact, that in baptism not more than three sponsors shall receive a child from the holy font, two males and one female a male child, and two females and one male a female child.

“ Also, where a child, the fact of whose previous baptism is unknown, is found exposed, whether with salt or whether without salt,³⁶ it is to be baptized, since ‘ that is not known to be repeated which is not known to have been already done.’

“ We do also decree, that, unless under the pressure of great and urgent necessity, no deacon shall baptize, or shall dispense the body of Christ to any person, or shall impose penance on one making confession; as, according to the tenor of the canons of our forefathers, antiquity determines to have these things of right to belong to the order of the priesthood.

“ According to the tenor of the same institutions, we do also enact, that as often as a priest is called upon to baptize a child, or to communicate with a sick person, he shall not presume to be guilty of delay.

“ Whereas, in the house of prayer, which is called ‘ The house of God,’ there ought to be nothing unbecoming, nothing left unprepared, we do order that the parsons and vicars of churches shall make it their object to provide, in proportion to their incomes received, according as reason demands, and approved custom requires, in order that those churches which stand in need of repair may be repaired.

“ Also, Divine service is to be performed with the furniture suitable to that service.

“ Also, the sacrament of the Eucharist is to be celebrated with a silver chalice, where there are means for so doing; and as the time for carrying out this ordinance, we do appoint one year from the beginning of our legateship; and if, in the meantime, this ordinance shall not have been carried into execution, we do decree that before the expiration of that time our order shall, out of the revenue of the churches, be carried into effect.

“ We do also enact, that clerks who have received the tonsure from the bishops, shall retain that tonsure and shorn head; and if they shall neglect to retain the same, then they are to be

³⁶ By the decrees of the church, salt was ordered to be placed about the persons of children exposed, signifying that they had not been baptized. Judging from the present enactment, it seems to have been considered that no confidence could be put in the observance of this order; and, indeed, it was not likely that those who exposed their children, would be very particular about their welfare in another existence.

compelled so to do by deprivation of their benefices, if they have any; and as for those who have not any benefices, let them, whether they will or no, be shorn by the archdeacon or by the deans.

“We do also command that priests shall not go in hoods with long sleeves, but rather in vestments suited to their order; that in the same degree in which they excel others in dignity of station, they may more fully set the pattern and example of propriety.

“Inasmuch as the Scripture testifies that he is blessed ‘who shaketh his hands from holding of bribes,’³⁷ attention must be paid with earnest zeal that justice is done without reward, and no one is to presume to receive any reward whatever for doing the same in causes ecclesiastical, or for withholding it, or for accelerating it, or for deferring it, that so at the fitting time the just Judge may give him the reward of justice.

“Inasmuch as tithes are the tribute of souls that stand in need, and are bound to be given in obedience to the command of God, it is not for him that pays them to diminish the same. We do therefore enact, that of those which are yearly renewed, the due and customary tithes shall be paid entirely and in full; so that in the first place tithes are to be given without any diminution to the Church, and after that, out of the remaining nine parts, the wages of the reapers and of the other servants are to be paid at discretion.

“The profession of religious sanctity demands that monks and canons regular and nuns should be kept religiously and in obedience to rules. To the end, therefore, that all opportunity of going astray may be taken away from them, we do forbid that they shall hold those revenues to farm which go under the name of obediences,³⁸ or shall go upon distant pilgrimages, or beyond the monasteries, without a certain and reasonable cause, and they are not to go without the society of other persons whose character is assured and beyond all doubt. Also, as to nuns, we do especially add, that they are not, without the society of the abbess or prioress, to go beyond the precincts of the monastery.

“We do also, in addition, forbid any layman to take any church

³⁷ Isaiah xxxiii. 15.

³⁸ “Obedientiæ” was the name given to cells, farms, and granges that paid certain rentals to abbeyes, and were often presided over by monks delegated for that purpose from the abbey.

or tithes to farm, whether solely, or whether in partnership with a clerk.

“That the dishonesty of calumniators, and the wickedness of rash swearers may be checked, through fear of the Divine judgment, we do order that, for the future, every priest, three times in the year, with candles lighted and bells ringing, shall solemnly excommunicate those who, in recognizances and other matters of testimony, shall have knowingly and wilfully been guilty of perjury, and those who shall wickedly cause others to be guilty of perjury, and shall on every Lord’s day denounce them as excommunicated; to the end that the frequent repetition of the malediction may withdraw those from their iniquity, whom the accusation of their own conscience does not deter therefrom. But if they repent of their perjury, let them be sent before the archbishop or bishop, or, in the absence of the archbishop or bishop, general confessor of the diocese, for the purpose of receiving absolution from him. But in cases where persons are in the last extremity, penance is to be suggested, and not to be enforced; and they are to be strictly enjoined, if they shall survive, to go before the archbishop or bishop, or, in the absence of the archbishop or bishop, the general confessor of the diocese, to the end that due penance may be imposed on them.

“Because it is the word of the Lord, ‘If any priest shall sin, he will make my people to sin,’³⁹ and ‘A wicked priest is the ruin of the people,’ the excellence of so high an order requires that priests should abstain from public drinkings, and from taverns, and that those who are bound by a vow of chastity, should by no means give way to acts of uncleanness. We do, therefore, forbid them to have harlots in their houses, or, when expelled therefrom, in fraud of our enactments, to have access to them in the houses of others. But if they shall persist in their uncleanness, and the superiors, concealing it, shall not bring the same to the notice of their prelates, they shall be suspended from their duties; but those who, inflamed by zeal for God, have told the prelates of their excesses, shall obtain the favour of the Divine blessing.

“Also, the punishment of those who publicly keep harlots, shall be as follows: as being infamous, they shall be disabled from making accusation against others, and from bearing

³⁹ These words do not appear in Scripture; though, of course, the meaning of them is to be found there.

witness: but if, not even through a fear of this punishment they shall come to a sense of their duty, then let them know that they shall be suspended from their offices and benefices.

“A person who is suspected of a crime by common report, or by probable tokens, is to be admonished in a friendly manner by the superior of the place, a first, second, and third time, to amend his life; and if he shall not do so, then the superior, taking with him two or three others, to whom the common report in his disfavour is known, shall rebuke him for the same; and if even then he shall not seem to be changed for the better, let it be told unto the Church, that is to say, let him be accused in the chapter, in order that, being convicted, or having confessed, he may be canonically punished. But if he cannot be convicted, then let him be called upon to make canonical purgation of himself; so however, that the number of his witnesses may not exceed twelve, within which number, more or less may be received according to the condition of the person, and the nature and extent of the infamy, according to the opinion of those giving judgment. And forthwith, on the first day on which he, who is under the stigma of infamy, shall be in a condition to exculpate himself, let the purgation take place, that, through fear of vexation arising from delay, money may not be extorted. This and the above enactments we have made, saving in all things the authority and dignity of the Holy See.”

At this synod, also, Master Peter De Dinant demanded full restitution to be made to him of the archdeaconry of the West Riding, which Geoffrey, archbishop of York, had given him, instructing the chapter of York, by his letters, to receive and instal him; on which Simon, the dean, and the chapter of York, made answer, that the archbishop could not give that archdeaconry to any one, because he had delayed to present to it beyond the time appointed by the statute of the council of the Lateran, in which council pope Alexander the Third enacted that when it shall happen that prebends, livings, or any offices shall be vacant in any church, they shall not remain too long in a state of suspense, but shall, within six months, be conferred on persons who shall be able worthily to discharge the duties of the same. And if the bishop, when the presentation shall belong to him, shall delay to present, then be it performed by the chapter; and if the election belongs to the chapter, and, within the time prescribed, it shall not so do, then let the bishop, with the aid of the Lord, and with the counsel of religious men,

perform that duty : or in case all shall happen to neglect so to do, let the metropolitan of the bishops, with the aid of the Lord, dispose thereof, without any gainsaying on their part.

Accordingly, on the authority of this enactment, and under the protection of the privilege granted to the church of York by the indulgence of pope Celestinus the Third, the said dean and chapter of York asserted that to them belonged the presentation of the aforesaid archdeaconry, and of the other benefices vacant in the church of York, to which their archbishop had not presented within the time fixed by the council of Lateran. But the deputies of the archbishop of York, namely, Master Gerard de Rowelle, and Master Honorius, made appeal against this privilege, and renewed the appeal which their lord the archbishop had made on his departure, in regard to the state of his church, before the legate and the whole synod ; and although in that privilege it was stated to be one without appeal, the legate still deferred to the appeal of the deputies of the archbishop of York.

In the same year, William, king of the Scots, fell ill at a vill of his, the name of which is Clackmannan, and named Otho, son of Henry, duke of Saxony, and nephew of Richard, king of England, his heir to the kingdom of the Scots, upon condition that the said Otho should marry his eldest daughter, and take her with the kingdom. Although the king had a great many who consented to his wishes herein, still earl Patrick and many others opposed them, saying, that they would not receive the daughter as queen, because it was not the custom in that realm that a woman should possess the kingdom, so long as there was a nephew, or brother, of her race, who might, according to law, possess the kingdom. However, shortly after, by the mercy of God, the king of the Scots recovered from his illness, abiding in the same determination that he had made, as to giving his daughter in marriage to the said Otho, together with his kingdom.

In the same year, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the Apostolic See, and justiciary of the whole of England, deposed Robert, abbat of Tournay, he protesting against the same, and appealing to the presence of our lord the pope ; and he kept him in prison and in irons for a year and a half, at Gloucester. In the same year, the said archbishop, as justiciary of the whole of England, sent throughout England a form of oath to be taken as follows :

“ That all subjects of the kingdom of England, shall, to the best of their power, keep the peace of their lord the king; that they shall not be thieves or robbers, nor yet harbourers of them, nor shall in any way abet them; and that whenever they shall be able to know of any malefactors of that character, they shall, to the best of their ability, endeavour to take them, and deliver them up to the sheriffs, and they shall on no account be liberated but by our lord the king, or his chief justice; and if they shall not be able to arrest them, they shall give notice of them, whoever they may be, to the bailiffs of our lord the king. When a hue and cry is raised for the pursuit of outlaws, robbers, thieves, or the harbourers of such, all shall join in pursuit of them to the best of their ability; and if they shall see any one, and it shall be clear that he has not joined in the said pursuit, or that he has, without permission, withdrawn himself therefrom, they shall take such same persons, as though they were the offenders, and deliver them to the sheriffs, not to be set at liberty, but by the king, or by his chief justice.

“ Also, the knights who are appointed for that purpose, shall make all persons of their respective districts, of the age of fifteen years and upwards, appear before them, and shall make them swear that they will keep the peace of our lord the king, in manner above-mentioned, and that they will not be outlaws, robbers, or thieves, nor yet harbourers of them, nor will in any way abet them; and that they will, in manner above stated, make full pursuit of them, and, if they shall take any one in the commission of an offence, will deliver them to the knights placed over them in their respective districts and for that purpose appointed, who shall deliver him into the custody of the sheriff; and in like manner, on a hue and cry being raised for the purpose of pursuing the said offenders, if they shall see any person, or it shall be known to them that any person does not join in the pursuit, or if he shall, without leave, withdraw himself from the pursuit, they shall take him as the offender, and deliver him to the aforesaid knights, for the purpose of being delivered into the custody of the sheriff, as though he were the offender himself; and he shall not be liberated, except by the command of our lord the king, or his chief justice.”

Accordingly, for the purpose of carrying out these orders, select and trustworthy men were sent throughout all the

counties of England, who, upon the oaths of trusty men, arrested many in their respective neighbourhoods, and put them in the king's prisons. Many, however, being forewarned thereof, and having bad consciences, left their homes and possessions, and took to flight.

In the same year, after the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, Henry, emperor of the Romans, sent to Richard, king of England, a massive crown of gold, of great value, as a token of their mutual affection; requesting him, by the fealty which he owed him, and as he took an interest in his hostages, that they might not come to harm, to make a hostile invasion of the territories of the king of France, on which the emperor himself would give him ample succours for the purpose of avenging the injuries done him by the king of France. However, the king of England, fearing that in this message there might be some treachery lying concealed, sent to the emperor, William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, for the purpose of enquiring what kind of succours, and when and where the emperor would give him aid against the king of France. For it was well known to the king of England that the said emperor, above all things, desired that the kingdom of France might become subject to the Roman empire; while, on the other hand, the king of England conjectured that if an alliance were formed between the emperor and the king of France, the whole would redound to his own detriment.

Accordingly, the king of France, being aware that the chancellor of the king of England would pass through his territory, attempted to take him; but being deceived in his expectations, sent word to the king of England that there was an end to the truce; immediately on which, the armies of both, engaging, did the greatest damage on both sides in the destruction of men, and in ravages and conflagrations. The king of France, however, seeing that he could in nowise defend himself against the king of England, destroyed many castles in Normandy, which the king of England soon after rebuilt, and rendered still stronger than they had been before.

However, one day, before the destruction of the castle of Val Rodol, the said kings came to hold a conference near that castle; but while they were holding it, a great part of the walls of the castle fell, through the operations of the miners of the king of France; seeing which, the king of England left the conference, and made an attack upon the army of the king

of France ; on which the king of France and his men took to flight, and while he was crossing a bridge, the bridge fell down, and he himself with his people was almost drowned in the river Seine. However, at last, with great difficulty reaching the opposite side, he pitched his camp there on the banks of the river ; on which, the king of England returned to the castle of Rodol, and took many of the household of the king of France, and then levying a large army from all his territories on both sides of the sea, entered the territories of the king of France in many places, and made a great slaughter of those who resisted, reaped the standing corn though not yet ripe, rooted up the vines and fruit-bearing trees, and burned the towns.

In the same year, on the occasion of the dissensions that existed between Philip, king of France, and Richard, king of England, Boyac El Emir Amimoli, emperor of Africa, with a large army, entered the territories of the Christians of Spain, and defeated them, and took their cities, castles, and fortresses, and destroyed them ; he also defeated Alphonso, king of Castille, in a pitched battle, and after he had driven him from the field, besieged him in his city of Toledo ; but being able to effect nothing there, withdrew with his army.

When the king of France and the king of England came to hear of this, they met to hold a conference upon making peace between themselves, and came to an agreement to the following effect : Louis, son and heir to the king of France, was to marry the sister of Arthur, duke of Brittany, the niece of the said king of England ; and the said king of England was to quitclaim to them and to their heirs Gisors, and Nefle, and Baudemont, with the Norman Vexin, Vernon, Ivery, and Pascy, and was also to give them twenty thousand marks of silver, while, on the other hand, the king of France was to quitclaim to the king of England all that he demanded of him in the county of Angouleme, and was to restore to him the county of Aumarle, the county of Auch, the castle of Arches, and many other castles which he had taken from him in Normandy and other of his territories in the war.

All these arrangements, however, were delayed until the octave of All Saints, in consequence of the prohibition of the emperor of the Romans, who forbade the king of England to make peace with the king of France, unless with his advice and consent. Moreover, at the same conference, the king of

England restored to the king of France his sister Alice, whom he shortly after gave in marriage to John, count de Pontif.

In the meantime, the pagans, laying waste the territories of Sancho, king of Portugal, came to the abbey of Alcobaca, and slew the monks of the Cistercian order, who were there serving God, and those who offered resistance to them. Next going thence, they came to another house of the same order; on which the monks, coming forth to meet them, fell at the feet of the pagans, asking for life and mercy; and the pagans, taking compassion on them, granted them their lives; and, hearing of their life and conversation, praised them, saying that they would wish to be saved with that order, if they only had women; for it must be known that the especial religion of the pagans is sensuality.

In the same year, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, gave to Richard, king of England, one thousand marks of silver, for the purchase of the freedom of the church of Lincoln; for the king, according to the custom of his English predecessors, demanded yearly of the bishop of Lincoln, one mantle furred with sable, and, for the release of all claims for ever on the part of the said king and his heirs of the said mantle, the said bishop of Lincoln gave to the before-named king the said sum of money, and received from the king his charter quitclaiming the same.

In the meantime, William, bishop of Ely, and the other envoys of the king of England who had been sent to the emperor, returned, stating that that form of peace which had been agreed to between him and the king of France did not please the emperor, because it seemed disgraceful to the emperor that the king of England should quitclaim anything that was not in his power; and for the purpose of recovering what the king of England had lost in consequence of his captivity, the emperor forgave him the sum of seventeen thousand marks of silver for his ransom. Accordingly, the time for the conference approaching, which the king of England and the king of France had agreed on, to be held between them near Verneuil on the octave of All Saints, the king of England made haste, the hour for the conference being at hand, to have this interview with the king of France: however, William, archbishop of Rheims, came to meet him, and told him, on behalf of the king of France, that there was no necessity for him to be in such haste, because the king of France was still in consultation with his people. Accordingly, the king of England believed him, and returned

to the place from which he had set out; and, having waited until the ninth hour, he declined to wait there any longer, but approached, in order that he might hold the conference with the king of France. On this, Philip, bishop of Beauvais, said to him, in presence of the king of France, "My master the king of France charges you with breach of faith and perjury; because you swore and gave your word that you would come to-day at the third hour, and did not come, therefore he defies you;" accordingly, the conference was broken up, and each king returned into his own territory.

The third day after this, the people of the king of France made fierce ravages in Normandy, and in the other territories of the king of England, attended with great tumult; and coming to the town of Dieppe, which the king of England had built shortly before, they burned it, and the ships in the harbour, to ashes by discharging Greek fire against it. After this, Philip, king of France, after many and various casualties of war, came with his army to Issodon, and took the castle. On this being told to the king of England, who at this time was staying in Normandy, at Val Rodol, laying aside all other matters, he made three days' march into one, and came to Issodon, and entered his castle which the king of France had been besieging; upon which a numerous multitude of troops flocked to him from every side.

The king of France, being greatly terrified at his arrival, asked permission to depart thence with his army without molestation, which being refused him, he requested to have an interview with the king of England, and the same accordingly took place. At this interview, through the mediation of the archbishops, bishops, and many of the men of either party, an oath was taken by both sides, to the effect that, from that day, that is to say, from the Saturday next after the feast of Saint Nicholas, they would agree to peace and reconciliation between themselves, and their subjects, and territories, until the feast of Saint Hilary next ensuing; at which time, they would meet at Louviers, for the purpose, in a larger assemblage of their subjects, of making peace and a final reconciliation between them. And as the Nativity of our Lord was close at hand, and the said kings had not in those parts means enough to suffice for the expenses of royalty, during such a high festival, they returned into their respective territories. The king of England proceeded thence to Poitou, where he was at the feast of the

Nativity of our Lord, which fell on the second day of the week.

In the meantime, Alphonso, king of Castille, levying an army, and having faith alone in the mercy and goodness of God, fought a battle with the army of the Pagans, and defeated them, and slew the greater part of them with the sword, and drove the rest from his territories.

In the same year, the canons of the church of York often and repeatedly pressed Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, to pronounce sentence of interdict and suspension upon Geoffrey, archbishop of York. For it was known that the said archbishop had not made his appearance in the presence of our lord the pope, at the time appointed for him so to do. The bishop of Lincoln, however, made answer to them that he would rather be suspended himself than suspend the archbishop; on hearing which, the before-named canons sent messengers to Rome, to pope Celestinus, complaining that the bishop of Lincoln, and his other judges delegate, had not proceeded according to the tenor of the Apostolic mandate.

In the same year, Henry, bishop of Worcester, departed this life, and was succeeded in the bishopric by John de Coutances, dean of the church of Rouen. In this year, also, died William de Fortz, earl of Aumarle, and was succeeded in the earldom by Baldwin de Bethune, at the presentation of Richard, king of England; who also married the countess of Aumarle. In this year, also, died Isaac, the former emperor of the island of Cyprus, whom Richard, king of England, had taken.

In the same year, also, died Guido, the former king of Jerusalem, to whom Richard, king of England, had sold the island of Cyprus; after whose decease, his brother Aymer became ruler of Cyprus.

In the same year, Philip, king of France, took to wife the daughter of the duke of Genest, in Germany; on which, Canute, king of the Danes, brother of the before-mentioned Botilda, queen of the Franks, made complaint to pope Celestinus, of the injury which the said king of France had done to his sister, in having divorced her without a cause being known for his so doing. He also made complaint against William, archbishop of Rheims, who, without the Apostolic authority, sitting in judgment, had effected the divorce between the said king of France and Botilda his wife, without enquiry into the cause. He also made complaint against Stephen de Noyon, Philip,

bishop of Beauvais, Reginald, bishop of Chartres, Guido, bishop of Orleans, and Rotrod, bishop of Chalons; and against Robert, count de Drués, Louis, count de Blois, Theobald, count de Champagne, and Stephen, count de Nevers; also, against the barons, Simon de Castelane de l'Isle, Peter de Mainil, and Walter, chamberlain of the king of France, who had made oath before the archbishop of Rheims, that the said Botilda, and the daughter of the earl of Hainault, who had been the wife of the said king of France, were so closely related in consanguinity, that the said king of France ought on no account to, nor indeed could, take the said Botilda to wife. But, although the said king of the Danes was ready to prove that they had borne false testimony against her, and that the said divorce was null and void, and ought not to hold good, still, on account of his good understanding with the king of France, pope Celestinus declined⁴⁰ to listen to him relative thereto.

In the year of grace 1196, being the seventh year of the reign of Richard, king of England, the said king was at Poitou, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which fell on the second day of the week; and on the same day, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, justiciary of all England, and legate of the Apostolic See, was at York, being sent, on the king's behalf, to hold a conference with William, king of the Scots, on the subject of contracting a marriage between Otho, son of Henry, duke of Saxony, and nephew of Richard, king of England, and his daughter Margaret. For there had been an agreement made between Richard, king of England, and William, king of Scotland, that the said king of Scotland should give to the before-named Otho his daughter Margaret in marriage, with the whole of Lothian; and that the king of England should give to Otho, and the daughter of the king of Scotland, and their heirs, the whole of Northumberland, and the county of Carlisle; and that the king of England should have in his charge the whole of Lothian, with its castles; and the king of Scotland should have in his charge the whole of Northumberland, and the county of Carlisle, with its castles. But, because the queen of Scots was at that time in a state of pregnancy, the king of Scotland was unwilling to abide by the said agreement, hoping that the Lord would give him a son.

⁴⁰ Roger of Wendover, however, says that the pope pronounced the divorce to be null and void, and gives a copy of this Apostolic letter to that effect.

In the same year, on the fifth day of the Nativity of our Lord, Bertram, prior of the church of Durham, met Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, at Alverton; and there, in his presence, elected Master Philip, a clerk, and one of the household of the king of England, bishop of Durham.

In the same year, pope Celestinus, at the urgent request of the envoys of the dean and canons of York, wrote to the following effect to Simon, dean of the church of York.

The Letter of pope Celestinus to Simon, dean of York, on the administration of that diocese.

“Celestinus, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved son, Simon, dean of York, health and the Apostolic benediction. Whereas, insufficient as we are, the government of the universal Church has been, by the favour of the Divine grace, entrusted to ourselves, and we are bound in everything to take due precautions against casualties, and to provide for the interests of the same, so are we bound with the greatest care to use all precaution that churches may not incur any injury in things temporal or spiritual, in those matters on which it is our object to consult their honor and convenience. And whereas, on considering the merits of persons, and diligently examining into the same, a person may, according to the merits of his actions, be found deserving to be suspended by us from the exercise of his dignity, and to be removed for a time from the prelacy of churches, to the end that matter may not be furnished to private persons, placed under his pastoral care, for speaking ill of him, and that all occasions for litigation may be removed; we are still bound in such case to provide them with a person who shall know how to decide the disputes of those engaged in litigation, and to correct the excesses of those subject to him, and, so far as the duties of his office will allow, to love and cherish them with all affection. Wherefore, inasmuch as, his deeds so requiring and his contumacy demanding it, for abusing our patience, and not ceasing from his iniquities, nor yet presenting himself before us within the term, mercifully, by our indulgence, granted him, the archbishop of York has been, by our authority, suspended both from the use of the pall, from the discharge of Episcopal duties, and from all ministrations, in things spiritual as well as temporal, and from the receipt of all profits thereof; we have thought proper, on the authority of these presents, to show

our indulgence to your discreetness, that thereby, with the sanction of the canons residing in the church of York, you may be enabled to correct the excesses of the clergy of the diocese of York, and canonically to settle the disputes of clergy, as well as laity, in the diocese of York, engaged in litigation, which require to be terminated by ecclesiastical judgment; that so, all power of appeal taken away, you may be able to smite him with canonical rigour who shall think fit herein contumaciously to oppose you, until such time as, in our solicitude, it shall have been otherwise provided for the Church. Therefore, be it lawful for no man to infringe upon this page of our conclusion so made, or, with rash presumption, to contravene the same: but if any person shall dare attempt so to do, let him know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, the Apostles. Given at the Lateran, on the tenth day before the calends of January, in the fifth year of our pontificate."

Another Letter of pope Celestinus relative to the same matter.

"Celestinus, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved sons, all the abbats, priors, archdeacons, deans, and other clergy, and to the earls, barons, and other persons in the province of York appointed, health, and the Apostolic benediction. How mercifully the Roman Church has dealt with the deeds of the archbishop of York, is easily to be seen, if you, with due care, consider the tenor of our letters which both parties have at different times obtained from the Apostolic See. For when, our dearly beloved sons, the dean and chapter of York, and not a few of the abbats, priors, and other prelates of the church in the kingdom of England established, informing us thereon, it had come to the hearing of our Apostolate that the said archbishop, neglecting the duties of his Apostolic office, was involved in secular affairs, and not in his sacred duties, not in ordaining the clergy, not in dedicating churches, not in holding synods, not in pronouncing benedictions on abbats, but, on the contrary, was giving the whole of his attention to hunting and hawking, and was engaged in other things which were derogatory in no slight degree to the pontifical office entrusted to him and to his honor, we did not immediately form a judgment against him, but thought proper to entrust the enquiry into these reports to our venerable brother the bishop of Lincoln, and our dearly beloved sons the archdeacon of Northampton and the prior of Pontefract, calling upon the said archbishop, under

penalty of suspension, if those things which had been signified unto us should be established, or, if the same should not be lawfully proved, then through canonical purgation, which we had caused to be prescribed to him with three bishops and as many abbats, to withhold him from such excesses, and thereby to recall him to the path of truth. But, inasmuch as the said archbishop, before the citation of the said judges had reached him, had made appeal to the Apostolic See, the said judges, in accordance with the tenor of our letters, indulging him with a space of three months, were careful to assign the same to him as the period within which he was not to delay the prosecution of his said appeal. And further, after the said archbishop had commenced his journey for the purpose of coming to the Apostolic See, fearing lest, through the inclemency of the weather, some danger might befall his person, when by letters and messengers he begged us mercifully to extend the time that had been granted to him, we, assenting to his requests, and imagining that on that account he would more speedily repent of his excesses, as he had found us so propitious and ready to listen to his prayers, appointed until the octave of Saint Martin last past as the time for presenting his appeal for the purpose of exculpating himself; giving it as our command, nevertheless, to the aforesaid judges, that, if by such time the archbishop should have neglected to present himself before us, in such case they were from that time to proceed in his cause according to the tenor of our letters, and make it their object to carry out the instructions given them therein. And whereas the said time has now expired, and he has neither come to the Church of Rome nor sent any proxy in any way to make excuse for his absence, and, in consequence thereof, considering his disobedience and contumacy, we have thought proper to suspend him from the use of the pall, and from the performance of his pontifical duties, and from all ministration in things temporal as well as spiritual, and from the receipt of profits, giving orders by our Apostolic writings to the aforesaid judges, publicly to announce throughout the whole diocese and province of York, that he has been suspended by us. Wherefore, we do command the whole of you, by these Apostolic writings, that you will not henceforth presume to make answer to the said archbishop or to his officers, either in matters spiritual or temporal. But if it shall happen that any questions shall arise between any of you in the diocese of York, which ought to be settled by ecclesiastical judgment, you are to take the same

questions for the hearing of our dearly beloved son, Simon, dean of York, and to receive his judgment thereon with humility and firmness; knowing that we, in accordance with the customary mercy of the Apostolic See, have shewn indulgence in appointing the said dean, that, with the advice of the canons residing in the church of York, he may correct the excesses of the clergy, and may settle such questions of them and the laity in the diocese of York as require an ecclesiastical decision. Given at the Lateran, on the tenth day before the calends of January, in the fifth year of our pontificate.”

Another Letter of the same pope on the same subject.

“Celestinus, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother, the bishop of Lincoln, and his dearly beloved sons, the archdeacon of Northampton and the prior of Pontefract, health and the Apostolic benediction. Inasmuch as the holy Roman Church, being founded with perpetual stability upon an immoveable foundation, that is to say, upon a stone squared and true, the Truth, thus speaking of Himself—‘Upon this rock will I build my church,’⁴¹ has, through the merits of Saint Peter, received the governance and primacy over all other churches, the Lord commanding the chief of the Apostles, ‘If thou lovest me, feed my sheep;’⁴² and has received judicial power not only over bodies, but over souls, the same Chief of the Apostles hearing it said by the Lord, ‘Whatever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven’⁴³—we, whom not our own merits, but the Divine mercy alone, has summoned to the elevation of the Supreme Pontificate, if we wish to form our judgments with true and prudent deliberation, and not to abuse the power to us entrusted, ought, so far as human frailty will permit us, to follow the example of him by whom the Apostolic See was founded, and from whom she has received the care of the other churches, and the fulness of the power of binding and of loosing. For God is wondrous above all things, and inscrutable are the depths of the divine wisdom; and yet, although incomprehensible are His judgments, and unsearchable His ways, still, from the things that He works among us here below, if we look upon them aright, He suggests to us and the other prelates of the churches something for imitation in the form of His judgments; inasmuch as, when, according to the

⁴¹ St. Matt. xviii. 18.

⁴² St. John, xxi. 16, 17.

⁴³ St. Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18.

account contained in the Gospel, he gave orders for the barren tree in his vineyard to be cut down, that it might not cumber the ground, he prefaced the same, saying: 'Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree and find none; therefore cut it down;'⁴⁴ we, though but the least, and subject to the defects of human frailty, considering the same with constant meditation within ourselves, on hearing the excesses of the archbishop of York, and the rumours of his disgraceful mode of life and his frivolous conversation being repeated in the hearing of ourselves and of our brethren, we did not immediately form a judgment against him, but, after the manner of Him whose mercies are beyond the rest of His works, ceased not, by multiplied letters and mandates, to exert ourselves, for no small period of time, for his correction, that the barren tree might shoot forth to fruit, and recover the vigour which it had lost; at one time, by our admonitions, recalling him to the ways of salvation, at another, by threats of suspension from his duties and benefices, deterring him from the paths of his iniquity and error, as, indeed, we believe is manifest to yourselves, who have known the whole circumstances of the case, and the whole process of these matters, in the order in which they have taken place. And whereas it has come to our hearing, from the information of the clergy and the chapter of the church of York, and the testimonies of our dearly beloved sons, Robert of York, and Roger of Selby, and eleven other abbats of the Præmonstratensian order, seem manifestly to declare the same, that Geoffrey, archbishop of York, disregarding the oaths of the office entrusted to him, uselessly occupying himself with hunting and hawking, and other military pursuits, has, since his promotion, given neither hand nor thought to the ordination of the clergy, dedication of churches, or the celebration of synods, nor yet has pronounced a benediction on any abbat, although both against clergy and abbats he has accustomed himself indiscreetly to let loose his tongue, at his own will and pleasure, for the purpose of uttering maledictions and pronouncing sentence of excommunication. The liberties and approved customs of the Church he nullifies and subverts, appeals, which are wont to be the refuge of the oppressed, he has, to the injury of the Roman See, brought into contempt, and many persons, because they have made appeal to ourselves, he has ordered to be thrown into prison and placed in irons. The

⁴⁴ St. Luke, xiii. 7.

beneficed clergy of the church, after appeal made to us, he has spoiled of dignities and benefices, and some of the canons, despising their appeal, he has subjected to excommunication. In his presence the privileges of the Roman Pontiffs are utterly deprived of all authority, and he who, under other circumstances, would probably have been safe by pleading our privilege in his presence, loses the benefit of the protection he thereby hoped to gain. When it so happens that any one has been restored to a church or possession by the judges delegate through our authority, the person by whom the said judgment is to be put in execution, he immediately looks upon as an enemy. Indeed, many so restored he has reduced to destitution, and entering their churches by means of his servants by force, is said to have broken down the doors of the churches, and by violent means expelled them. Many persons also he has perniciously made to incur the danger of perjury, withdrawing them by means of violent compulsion from the obedience which by oath they had canonically promised his archdeacons to observe. Still more, attacking the greater church with a multitude of armed men, he has caused the door of the chapter house to be broken open by force, and to be carried away; the property of the canons, and that of many other persons who had deposited their possessions in the church as though in a treasury, he has caused to be violently withheld from them; respecting all which matter the chaplain of York has made appeal to our presence. We have also understood, from the testimony of the persons before-named, that sometimes, when churches were vacant, he has not admitted fit and proper persons when presented by those to whom the presentation belongs, but has given the same to either youths or persons of bad character, thus discharging the duty both of him who presents and of him who institutes; or else at his own will and option, he causes them to be vacated, in order that their revenues may be applied to his own use; and that which was intended for the sustenance of some worthy clerk, he does not hesitate to keep in his own hands. They have also stated, in addition, that whereas spiritual gifts ought to be bestowed without reward and without corruptness, frequently, when he bestows a benefice, he either splits it into two parts, contrary to the canonical statutes of the church, or else retains upon it a new and unusual charge; and many who had been excommunicated or suspended, he has absolved through the intervention of nothing else than money. In his sight

religious and honest men are despised and condemned, while low and suspected persons easily obtain his familiar acquaintanceship and favour. Wherefore we, hearing of rumours so disgraceful, not once but many times, and that by the letters both of the aforesaid parties as also of others in the kingdom of England and in the province of York, after having frequently given ear thereto, wishing to withhold him from these excesses, and to recall him to the performance of the duties of the pastoral office, have thought proper to entrust to you the inquiry into these reports, that convening the abbats, priors, and other ecclesiastical persons of the diocese of York, you might make diligent enquiry on the matters aforesaid, and if lawful accusers should come forward against him, after hearing what is alleged on the one side and on the other, reducing the deposition of the witnesses to writing, make it your duty to transmit to the Apostolic See their attestations, signed with your seals, assigning to each party a fitting time within which to present themselves before us, for the purpose of hearing sentence pronounced. We also remember that there was inscribed in the some letters, that in case of accusers not being forthcoming, and if public report should be in his disfavour, you were, all obstacle of appeal removed, to call upon him to clear himself with [the oaths of] three bishops and as many abbats. And if he should chance to make any default therein, you were of our own authority to denounce him as suspended from all pontifical duties, and the management of the archbishopric. But inasmuch as the said archbishop, before he was cited by you to a hearing, as he informed us by his letters and his deputies, had thought fit to appeal to the Apostolic See, and you assigned him the calends of January as the term for prosecuting the said appeal, being disposed to be considerate of his exertions and expenses, and fearing that if he should come to the city in the hot season, some danger might result to his person from the inclemency of the weather, as soon as it had been intimated to us that he had set out upon his journey, for the purpose of coming to the Apostolic See, and was prepared to make answer on the offences imputed to him, we, in accordance with the wonted beneficence of the Apostolic See, thought proper to put off the time of making his appeal from then until the octave of Saint Martin last past, suspending all that had been determined on against him until the said time, and recalling to its

former state whatever had been done by us or by others after appeal made to us on presentation of his first letter. We did also, by our Apostolic writings, distinctly command you, that unless he should present himself before us, on the octave of Saint Martin, according to the form of our first commission, in such case, all obstacle of any gainsaying or appeal whatsoever removed, you were on no account to delay to proceed against him. But inasmuch as the before-named archbishop, abusing our patience, has neither come to the Roman Church, nor sent any proxy to excuse his absence, even when in our mercy, we made it our care to wait for him no small time beyond the period that had been appointed for him, although he seemed to have made confession as to the changes, in neglecting to appear before us, we have only thought proper to suspend him from the use of the pall, and from the execution of all episcopal duties, and from the administration of all matters, spiritual as well as temporal, and from the receipt of the revenues of the church of York, and of that province; that so, at least, coming to a proper sense, from the pertinacity of his iniquity, he may not require the censures of canonical severity to be exercised against him with still greater rigour. We do, therefore, by these Apostolic writings, command your discretion, and enjoin that you will publicly announce him as suspended by us throughout all the churches of the diocese and province of York, strictly enjoining all the clergy and laity of that province, in our name, not to presume to make answer to the said archbishop, or to his officers, in matters temporal or spiritual, until we shall have thought proper to come to some other determination as to the said archbishop. We do also command and will, that it shall be announced by you in the diocese of York, that, if any questions shall chance to be mooted between any persons, which ought to be determined by ecclesiastical decision, they are to take the same for the hearing of our dearly beloved son, Simon, the dean of York, to whom, in conjunction with the council of the canons residing in the same church, we both entrust the correction of the excesses of the clergy, and the decision of controversies existing between both clergy and laity, and humbly to receive his judgment, and strictly to observe the same. In addition to which, all provisions, which on the authority of our letters, before our second notification had reached you, you have prudently and reasonably made in matters relative to the said archbishop, both as to the restitution of what

has been taken away by him, as also other matters, we have thought proper to remain in force, as fully ratified by us; and we do command you, relying upon our authorization, to repair to the church of York, according to the tenor of our first letters, both for the purpose of enquiry into these evil reports, and for making restitution to the canons of the things of which they have been deprived, and to proceed therein, appeal or absence of the aforesaid archbishop, or any letters hitherto obtained to the prejudice of our first letters, notwithstanding. And further, on the authority of these presents, we do enjoin you, that you pronounce to be utterly null and void the sentence of excommunication pronounced upon certain canons, vicars, clerks, and servants of the canons of the church of York, by the said archbishop, after appeal made to us; taking care, however, for the sake of greater precaution, to absolve the said canons, and others named in the said sentence, by the authority of the Apostolic See. Also, all those who have rashly laid hands upon Benedict, clerk of the above-named dean, Walter, the priest, Richard de Semare, and the five clerks of Cavel, and other clerks of the church of York, or have commanded violence to be used against them, you are to pronounce, all power of appeal removed, to be placed under the ban of excommunication, until they shall have made fitting satisfaction to those who have suffered this injury, and have come, with the testimony of your letters, to the Apostolic See, for the purpose of there obtaining absolution. If all of you shall be unable to take part in carrying out these injunctions, then any two of you may carry out the same. Given at the Lateran, on the tenth day before the calends of January, in the fifth year of our pontificate."

Accordingly, upon the authority of these letters, the officers of the archbishop of York were deprived, although Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, the legate of the Apostolic See, had again given them leave to continue in performance of their duties, after having first suspended them because they had refused to entertain him at York, as legate. All power was, therefore, according to the tenor of the Apostolic mandate, handed over to Simon, the dean of York; and the king's servants put in the royal purse all the property and possessions of the said archbishop.

In the meantime, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to the officers of the archbishopric of York, to the following effect:—

The Letter of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, to the officers of the archbishopric of York.

“Hubert, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the Apostolic See, to his dearly beloved sons in Christ, the officers of the archbishopric of York, health in the Lord. We have received letters from our lord the pope to the following effect:—‘Celestinus, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and legate of the Apostolic See, health, and the Apostolic benediction. On your part it was alleged, in our presence, that there are many in England who have assumed the cross of our Lord, in order that they might visit the sepulchre of the Lord, and give opportune aid to that holy land upon which had stood the feet of our Lord; and although they are in a position to be able to fulfil their vow, still, to the danger of their souls, they are withholding themselves therefrom. There are some also, who, although they have assumed the cross, are still unable to fulfil the vow they have undertaken in such manner as they ought, in consequence of poverty, infirmity of body, or other just cause. But, inasmuch as your brotherhood has thought proper to consult us with reference to what was to be done with these, we do, on the authority of these presents, give you for answer, and by these Apostolical writings enjoin you, that all those who have taken such vow as above-stated, and have means enough to enable them to do the same, unless they shall have a just reason to prevent them from so doing, you will, by ecclesiastical censure, all power of appeal removed, compel to perform the vow which they are said gratuitously to have made. But as to those who, through poverty and infirmity of body, or any other just impediment, are unable, as they ought, to fulfil a vow which they are known to have taken, we do will that when the truth as to these matters shall have been declared unto you, enjoining on them a suitable penance, you shall give them leave to remain; strictly enjoining them that, as soon as full liberty shall have been given them of carrying out their vow, they are without delay not to postpone doing the same. But as to those who, on account of infirmity, you shall be satisfied cannot possibly, under any circumstances, in their own persons fulfil their vows, let them send one fit and proper person, or more (according as their means will allow), beyond

sea, at their own expense, to serve for one year or more at their will, there to serve in obedience to Jesus Christ. Given at the Lateran, on the second day before the ides of January, in the fifth year of our pontificate.' Therefore, inasmuch as it is a perilous thing to vow and not to perform, since the result of vows that have been solemnly made and not performed, is both the anger of the Lord, and the rise of offences in His house, we do, on the authority of the letter which we have transcribed, by our precept, command you forthwith to make diligent and anxious enquiry throughout each parochial church of the archbishopric of York respecting those who, having assumed the cross for the purpose of repairing to the sepulchre of the Lord, have not performed their vow so made to the Lord; forbidding universally under threat of excommunication, that through the insane taciturnity of any person the truth shall be suppressed to the prejudice of this scrutiny; and after either their own admissions, or your unerring enquiries, shall have signified the names of each person, let the same, distinctly stated by a trusty messenger, be made known to us before the Lord's day on which is sung '*Latare Jerusalem.*'⁴⁵ In addition to which, we do command and enjoin your discreetness, that, maintaining with constant zealously the cause of Him who was crucified, you will try to prevail upon all such in the diocese of York, by means of charitable exhortations and frequently conversing with them thereupon, persuading them, under the form of advice, that they should faithfully fulfil what they have liberally promised, and that what they have vowed unto the Lord in the sight of all His people, they should perform with His prophet in the midst of Jerusalem, in the courts of the house of the Lord. And thus, by their voluntary sacrifices may the most High be appeased, and, their payments duly made, may the annoyance of these offences be nullified. You are also to advise the persons aforesaid, all and each of them, that they shall, as a sign of true devotion, before the day of our Lord's Passion next ensuing, reassume the cross which they have laid aside, and, bearing the same with reverence and veneration, protest by this outward sign against the perverseness by which they are inwardly enthralled; and let them not from poorness of spirit be ashamed of that from which they will obtain full and abundant fruit. But if they shall rather despise warnings of this nature as vain,

⁴⁵ "Rejoice, O Jerusalem." The beginning of the introit of the fourth Sunday in Lent.

or shall pertinaciously close their ears against listening to the same as obdurate, to the end that lawlessness may not be granted them by reason of their going unpunished, you are to take care to have it published by general notice, that all who shall not for the performance of their vow have resumed the cross which they had laid aside, within the time named, shall, at the ensuing Easter of our Lord, beyond a doubt be excluded from receiving the body of Christ and the communion of the faithful. But, in order that the words of such warning may not be thought or deemed to be frivolous, or to be wanting in due effect, we do will, and, by the Apostolic authority, command, that the aforesaid punishment shall, on the said day, be inflicted entirely according to the form, and quite as fully as is herein-before stated, upon all who shall show themselves contumacious. For in this way from the homely seed of rigour, it will shoot up hereafter as the fruit thereof, that the authority of prelates will be weighed with a truer balance against canonical severity ;⁴⁶ and those who shall be ready to rush into contempt, will be less audacious in expecting a full indemnity. Farewell."

In the same year, after the feast of Saint Hilary, Philip, king of France, and Richard, king of England, had an interview at Louviers, where, after holding conference with their retainers, the following terms were agreed to: the king of France quitted claim to the king of England and his heirs, on part of himself and his heirs, of Issodun with its appurtenances, and of all right which he had in Berry, Auvergne, and Gascony, and gave him quiet possession of the castle of Arches, the county of Auch, the county of Aumarle, and many other castles which he had taken during the war. In return for this, the king of England quitted claim to the king of France of the castle of Gisors, and the whole of the Norman Vexin; and that all these terms might be ratified, they determined between themselves on a penalty of fifteen thousand marks of silver, so that he who should break this peace, should pay to the other fifteen thousand marks of silver; and, as to the same, they found sureties on either side.

The king of France also demanded for himself Andely, a manor which belonged to the archbishop of Rouen; and when he could on no account obtain it, he demanded fealty to be done

⁴⁶ *I. e.* the rigour will be more on an equality with the authority.

to him, by Walter the archbishop of Rouen, for that part of the archbishopric which lies in France, namely, in the French Vexin. However, the archbishop of Rouen, seeing that this was grievous and disgraceful to himself, appealed to our lord the pope, as to the interests of his church, and departed, fearing lest his lord, the king of England, would compel him to do this, to gain the favour of the king of France.

O ambition, how ever blind! O presumption most disgraceful! O, how much does he lose of his right, who grasps at what is not his right! For Philip, king of France in attacking an earthly kingdom, assaults a heavenly one; hankering after things worldly he rushes upon things Divine; doomed to wickedness, prompt to run into peril, ready for criminality, he considers not the cause of innocence, repudiates all justice, confounds right and wrong; vice is his companion, equity is his hate, iniquity is ever his friend; he lives by slaughter, he fortifies himself by bloodshed, he reigns amid cruelty, with him everything is determined by death, nothing is settled by love." "If Jove should hurl his thunders as oft as men should sin, in a short time he would be disarmed."⁴⁸

However, in process of time, the king of France repented that he had made such an agreement with the king of England, and, collecting a large army, laid siege to Aumarle; on which, the king of England ordered seizure to be made in every place in his dominions, on either side of the sea, of all the goods and possessions of the abbats of Marmoutier, Cluny, Saint Denis, and la Charitè. For the said abbats were sureties to the king of England, that the king of France would observe the above-named treaty; and if he should not do so, they were to pay to the king of England fifteen thousand marks.

In the same year, Robert, earl of Leicester, after giving to Philip, king of France, two thousand marks of silver, and quitting claim to him of his castle of Pascy, was liberated from captivity. In the same year, the king of England sent Philip, the bishop elect of Durham, and the abbat of Caen to England, for the purpose of making enquiry as to the levies of the justices and the sheriffs, and their servants; but while the said abbat of Caen, on the Lord's day, being the day of the Passion of our Lord, was dining with Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and

⁴⁸ A quotation from Ovid:—

"Si quoties peccant homines sua fulmina mittat,
Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit."

chief justiciary of all England, he was taken ill at table, and died on the fifth day after, at London. In the meantime, Philip, king of France, took the castle of Aumarle by assault, and destroyed it, on which, the king of England gave him three thousand marks of silver, as a ransom for the knights and their followers, who had been taken at Aumarle. After this, the king of France took Novancourt by assault, while John, earl of Mortaigne, brother of Richard, king of England, took the castle of Jumieges.

In the same year, a disturbance arose between the citizens of London. For, more frequently than usual, in consequence of the king's captivity and other accidents, aids to no small amount were imposed upon them, and the rich men, sparing their own purses, wanted the poor to pay everything. On a certain lawyer, William Fitz-Osbert by name, or Longbeard, becoming sensible of this, being inflamed by zeal for justice and equity, he became the champion of the poor, it being his wish that every person, both rich as well as poor, should give according to his property and means, for all the necessities of the state; and going across the sea to the king, he demanded his protection for himself and the people. Hubert Fitz-Walter, archbishop of Canterbury and the king's justiciary, being greatly vexed at this, issued orders that wherever any of the common people should be found outside the city, they should be arrested as enemies to the king and his realm. Accordingly, it so happened, that at Mid-Lent some of the merchants of the number of the common people of London were arrested at the fair at Stamford, by command of the king's justiciary.

The said justiciary then gave orders that the above named William Longbeard should be brought before him, whether he would or no; but when one of the citizens, Geoffrey by name, came to take him, the said Longbeard slew him; and on others attempting to seize him, he took to flight with some of his party, and they shut themselves in a church, the name of which is the church of Saint Mary at Arches, and, on their refusing to come forth, an attack was made upon them. When even then they would not surrender, by command of the archbishop of Canterbury, the king's justiciary, fire was applied, in order that, being forced by the smoke and vapour, they might come forth. At length, when the said William came forth, one of them, drawing a knife, plunged it into his entrails, and he was led to the Tower of London, where he was condemned to

be hanged. Accordingly, he was tied to the horse's tail, and dragged through the lanes and streets of the city to the gibbet,⁴⁹ where he was hanged, together with eight of his confederates. The other citizens of London who had joined him, threw themselves upon the king's mercy, and gave hostages as security that they would keep the peace towards the king and his realm.

The monks, however of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury, on hearing that their church at London, called Saint Mary at Arches,⁵⁰ had been thus subjected to violence by order of their archbishop (who, although he was a servant of the king, ought still to have kept the rights of the Church inviolate), were indignant thereat, and their heart was grieved at him, and they were unable to hold communication with him on any matter in a peaceable manner.

In the same year, Richard, king of England, gave to his nephew, Otho, the earldom of Poitou. In the same year, also, when the countess of Brittany had come, by command of king Richard, into Normandy, for the purpose of holding a conference with him, Ranulph, earl of Chester, her husband, went to meet her at Pont D'Urse, and took her and shut her up in his castle at Saint James de Beverun. When her son Arthur found himself unable to procure her release, he became an adherent of the king of France, and ravaged the territories of the king, his uncle, with conflagrations, on which the king of England, collecting a large army, entered Brittany in a hostile manner, and laid it waste.

In the meantime, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, having at length arrived at the Apostolic See, made a long stay there, and, in transacting all matters relative to himself, he found the pope very hard to be moved, and vexed with him beyond measure. In process of time, however, a hearing was given to him, and his adversaries then present; and when the matters previously mentioned, and many other things, were alleged against him, all of which the archbishop steadfastly asserted to be false, his adversaries, being asked whether they were ready to prove their allegations, made answer, after time for deliberation had been asked and conceded to them, that they were not willing to undertake the burden of proving the same.

The archbishop, however, sufficiently proved that he was not guilty of the matters charged against him; and consequently our lord the pope, by the advice of his whole court,

⁴⁹ At Tyburn.

⁵⁰ Bow Church, in Cheapside.

restoring him to his office and benefices, gave it as his command to all the prelates and other clergy appointed throughout the diocese of York, that they should pay him due respect and obedience in all things as archbishop; stating also in his re-script how the archbishop had shown that he was not guilty of the matters charged against him, and that all that had been spread abroad by his adversaries about him, was false and fictitious.

On notice, however, of his restoration coming to the king of England, who had already despoiled the archbishop of his temporalities, and, as was said, was aiming, together with his adversaries, at his deposition, he was greatly disturbed, and commanded two of his adversaries to take upon themselves the care of spiritual matters, and not allow the archbishop, or his officers, to have any share in the management thereof. The king, also, at his own will, gave and distributed among his clerks the prebends of the church of York, and the other benefices that were vacant. Accordingly, the archbishop of York being on his return, and staying in France, did not dare to enter the king's territories, on seeing that he could not find grace in the sight of the king, so as to congratulate himself on being in possession of either temporalities or spiritualities, but turned back, and set out on his return to the Roman court.

In the meantime, our lord the king of England, at the request of Arthur, duke of Brittany, and of other influential men, gave leave to Peter de Dinant to take proceedings against Adam de Tournouere, as to the archdeaconry of the West Riding, which the king had given to the said Adam. At length, an agreement was come to between them, on the following terms: Master Simon of Apulia, dean of the church of York, and the chapter of that church, by the concession and consent of the said Adam, were to receive Peter de Dinant as archdeacon of the West Riding, and instal him both in the chapter and the choir; and the said Peter gave the office of deputy, and the management of the said archdeaconry, to the said Adam de Tournouere, subject to an annual payment of sixty marks, providing that the said Adam should hold the said archdeaconry, and every part thereof, all the days of his life, and should make him thence an annual payment of sixty marks; and if Peter should survive Adam, then he was to receive the archdeaconry of the West Riding, without any contradiction or diminution. It was also agreed between them, that when they should both

be in York at the same time, one of them should occupy the stall in the choir, as archdeacon, on the one day, and the other the same on the next day, and that they should thus take their turns every other day, so long as they should be staying at the same time at York; and, that this agreement, made between them, might be ratified, and remain inviolate, the chapter of York confirmed the same with their seal. But before knowledge of this agreement had reached the archbishop of York, he sent his letters patent into England, to the following effect:—

“Geoffrey, by the grace of God, archbishop of York, and primate of England, to the deans, priests, and all the clergy throughout the archdeaconry appointed, health and the paternal benediction. Be it known to all of you, that we, in consideration of the love we bear to him, have given to Peter de Dinant, our clerk, the archdeaconry of the West Riding, into which, as we have been most credibly informed by many persons, Adam de Tournouere has, by whose authority we know not, intruded himself, and has usurped the name of archdeacon, although the disposal of archdeaconries, dignities, and churches, in our archbishopric, belongs to ourselves alone, on whom the same has, by the Divine mercy, been bestowed. The said Adam has also, by the instigation of the devil, since restitution made to us by our lord the pope, exerted himself in the administration of spiritual matters, against ourselves and our officers. Wherefore we, rendering void, and by our authority, utterly nullifying whatsoever the said Adam has done in institutions, in excommunications, in suspensions, and in other things which he has done, under the name of archdeacon, do now excommunicate the said Adam, enjoining you, and by virtue of your obedience commanding you, not to answer him in any orders given by him, but to consider him as excommunicated. We do also notify unto you, that we do ratify and confirm the sentence pronounced upon Paulinus de Eburford and others, who, contrary to the obedience which they owe to ourselves and others, have obstructed our officers, Master Ralph de Kime, and Master Honorius. Farewell.”

In the same year, in the month of July, Philip, bishop elect of Durham, was ordained priest, by Henry, bishop of Llandaff, in the church of Saint Cuthbert, at Durham, on the seventeenth day before the calends of July, being Saturday in the week of Pentecost.

In the same year, William, king of the Scots, having collected

a large army, entered Moray, for the purpose of warring against Harold Macmanud⁵⁰ who had taken possession of that territory; but before the king arrived in Caithness, Harold fled to his ships, being unwilling to engage with the king. On this, the king of the Scots sent his army to Turreham, a town belonging to the said Harold, and destroyed his castle at that place. Accordingly, Harold, perceiving that the king would entirely lay waste his lands, came to the king's feet, and threw himself upon his mercy, the more especially, as there was a storm raging at sea, and the wind was contrary to him when attempting to reach the Orkney islands: he also made oath to the king, that he would bring to him all his enemies, on the next occasion that the king should return to Moray, and on that account the king allowed him to hold the moiety of Caithness: the other moiety of Caithness the king gave to Harold the younger, the nephew of Reginald, former earl of Orkney and Caithness.

The king then returned into his territories, and Harold to Orkney. After this, in the autumn, the king of the Scots returned to Ilvernarran, in Moray, for the purpose of receiving his enemies at the hand of Harold; but, after Harold had brought them to the port of Locloy, near Ilvernarran, he allowed them to depart. The king returning late from the chase, Harold came to him, bringing with him two boys, his nephews, for the purpose of delivering them to the king, as hostages; and on being asked by the king where his enemies were, whom he was to deliver up to him, and where his son Torphin was, whom he had promised to deliver to him as a hostage, he made answer, "I let them go, knowing that if I delivered them to you, they would not escape out of your hands; and as for my son, I could not bring him, because in this land I have no other heir."

Consequently, because he had not observed the covenants which he had made with his master, the king, he was condemned to remain in the king's custody, until his son should appear and become a hostage; and because he had allowed the king's enemies to escape, he was adjudged to have forfeited the lands which he held of the king. The king accordingly took Harold with him to the castle of Edinburgh, and kept him in prison until his people in Orkney had brought his son Torphin; on which, delivering him to their lord the king, as a hostage, they released Harold from the king's custody, and he returned

⁵⁰ V.r. Macmadit.

to Orkney, and there remained in peace and quietness, until Harold the Younger, having obtained permission from Swere Birkebain, king of Norway, to claim a moiety of Orkney, brought with him Siward Murd from Hegland, and many other warriors, and invaded Orkney; on which, Harold the Elder was unwilling to engage with him, but leaving Orkney, went to the Isle of Man, where he collected a fleet and many men.

Harold the Younger did the same, and came to the Isle of Man, wishing to have an engagement with Harold the Elder; but the latter, before the arrival of Harold the Younger in Man, departed with his fleet for Orkney by another road, and slew all whom he found there. On hearing of this, Harold the Younger returned to Wick, in Caithness, and there engaged with Harold the Elder; and in this battle the younger Harold and the whole of his army were slain. On the death of Harold the Younger, Harold the Elder came to the king of the Scots, with the safe conduct of Roger and Reginald, the bishops of Saint Andrew's and Ross, and offered the king a large sum of gold and silver for liberty again to hold Caithness: on which the king made answer, that he would give him the said land if he would divorce his wife, the daughter of Malcolm Mathar, and take back his former wife, the sister of Duncan, earl of Fife, and deliver to him as hostages, Laurentius, his clerk, and Bonavar, the son of Iggemund; which Harold declined to do. Upon this, Reginald, son of Sumerled, king of Man, came to William, king of the Scots, and purchased of him Caithness, saving to the king his yearly revenues therefrom.

In the same year, Richard, king of England, gave to William de Chimely, archdeacon of Richmond, the bishopric of Evreux, in Normandy; and the said king gave to master Eustace, his seal-bearer, the archdeaconry of Richmond.

In the same year, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of the whole of England, and legate of the Apostolic See, by his messengers, often and repeatedly entreated his master, Richard, king of England, to relieve him from the government of the kingdom, pointing out that he could not possibly attend to both the government of the church and of the kingdom. Although the king was unwilling to do this, because there had been no one found like to him as a guardian

of the laws and ordinances of the kingdom; still listening to his entreaties, he expressed himself willing to relieve him of the anxieties of government; on which he repented having made such a request of the king, knowing by experience that, for the guardianship of the laws, a heavy retribution would be exacted. After examining his books and auditing his accounts, he sent word to the king that, in the two years last past, he had acquired for his use eleven hundred thousand marks of silver from out of the kingdom of England; adding thereto, that if his services should appear necessary to him, he would not refuse the labour, nor yet allege his declining years. O, unhappy prelate! although he had so often read that "no man can love two masters, for either he must hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other;"⁵¹ he still preferred to neglect his sacerdotal duties, to which, by his vow, he had been bound, he was not ashamed to appear in the camp of the king of England.⁵²

In the same year, Richard, king of England, granted to Philip, bishop elect of Durham, licence to coin money in his city of Durham, which for a long period past had not been granted to his predecessors. In this year, also, there was in England, and in all its borders, a great famine and mortality among men.

In the same year, the earl of Saint Gilles took to wife Joanna, the sister of Richard, king of England, and former queen of Sicily. In the same year died Henry, bishop of Worcester, who was succeeded, at the presentation of king Richard, by John de Coutances, dean of Rouen. In the same year died William, earl of Salisbury, son of earl Patrick, whose daughter and heiress Richard, king of England, gave to wife, together with the earldom of Salisbury, to William, his bastard brother.

In the same year died Maurice, bishop of Paris. In this year, also, died Bela, king of Hungary, after whose decease his wife Margaret, sister of Philip, king of France, who had formerly been queen of England, and wife of king Henry the Younger, assumed the cross and set out for Jerusalem, and remained at Acre, in the land of Jerusalem, in the service of God, until the end of her life. In the same year died Bu-

⁵¹ St. Matt. vi. 24. St. Luke, xvi. 13.

⁵² Probably meaning "in arms."

card, the treasurer of the church of York, whose treasurer-ship Richard, king of England, gave to master Eustace, his seal-bearer. In the same year died Peter de Ros, after whose decease Richard, king of England, gave to Aimeric, nephew of Philip, bishop elect of Durham, the archdeaconry of Carlisle; and Philip, the bishop elect of Durham, gave to the said Aimeric, his nephew, the archdeaconry of Durham and the church of Acelet, which the before-named Bucard had held.

In the same year, Richard, king of England, fortified a new castle in the island of Andely, against the consent and prohibition of Walter, archbishop of Rouen; and because the king would not desist from his purpose, the said archbishop pronounced sentence of interdict upon Normandy, and then repaired to the Supreme Pontiff.

In the same year, a combat taking place between the followers of the king of France and of the king of England, Hugh de Chaumont, a valiant and wealthy knight, and a very intimate friend of the king of France, was taken prisoner, and delivered to the king of England; on which the king of England delivered him into the custody of Robert de Ros, and Robert delivered him to William de l'Espinay, his retainer, to keep in the castle of Bonville-sur-Toke; who keeping a negligent guard over him, by night he descended from the wall, with the consent and connivance of the said William de l'Espinay. The king of England being greatly enraged at this, because Hugh de Chaumont had thus made his escape from out of his hands, took Robert de Ros and imprisoned him; and exacted from him twelve hundred marks of silver as his ransom; and William de l'Espinay, who was a traitor to his lord, was hanged on a gibbet.

In the same year, Ralph de Wigetof, a clerk of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, was taken ill at Rouen, even to the point of death, and, in the presence of our lord the pope and all the cardinals, made confession that he had obtained many forged letters in the court of Rome, both relative to the business of his master, the archbishop of York, as also his own private business, and that he had now sent them to England: whereupon our lord the pope gave orders to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, that if there should be any letters found relative to the business of the archbishop of York, containing anything

contrary to equity and justice, the same were to be retained in his possession.

In consequence of this, Roger of Ripon, a clerk, the bearer of these letters, who also carried poison with him, was found at London, who said that Ralph de Wigetof had delivered them to him. He also said that the poison had been given to him for the purpose of making away with Master Simon, the dean of the church of York, and some other persons, canons of the said church. Accordingly, at the summons of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, the king's justiciary, the said dean of York came to London, and the poison was delivered to him, with golden rings, and a very beautiful belt that was drugged for the purpose of burning him; at the delivery of which an immense multitude of men and women assembled at the place called Totehil⁵³ to witness the burning of them, where they were accordingly committed to the flames, and reduced to ashes: the bearer of them, however, was kept in confinement, and the adversaries of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, cast all the blame of the crime on him.

In the same year, John, earl of Mortaigne, the king's brother, and Marchades, the leader of the infamous tribe of the Brabanters, on the fourteenth day before the calends of June, being the second day of the week, made an excursion before the city of Beauvais; and while they were intent on the capture of booty, Philip, bishop of Beauvais, and William de Merle, together with his son and many knights and armed people, came forth from the city, being themselves in arms; but they were very quickly worsted in the combat, and the said bishop of Beauvais, and William de Merle and his son, and several knights were taken prisoners, and of the common people the greater part was slain. On the same day, after this capture, the earl John and Marchades proceeded to Milli, the castle of the said bishop of Beauvais, and took it by assault, and levelled it with the ground: and then, gloriously triumphing, they returned to Normandy, and delivered to the king of England the bishop of Beauvais, and Walter de Merle and his son, and many others who had been taken prisoners.

In the year of grace 1197, being the eighth year of the reign of Richard, king of England, the said Richard was at Burun, in Normandy, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which fell on the fourth day of the week, greatly vexed, be-

⁵³ Tothill, in the vicinity of Westminster Abbey.

cause Walter, archbishop of Rouen, would not revoke the sentence of interdict which he had laid upon Normandy ; for the bodies of the dead were lying unburied throughout the lanes and streets of the cities of Normandy. Accordingly, the king sent William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, to the bishop of Lisieux, and Philip, the bishop elect of Durham, to plead his cause in the presence of our lord the pope, against the said archbishop of Rouen. On their arrival in Poitou, William, bishop of Ely, the king's chancellor, fell ill, even unto death, and died and was buried ; and, as long as he appeared to be in the mortal agony, a wooden crucifix in the cathedral church of the same city, which is called the cross of Saint Martial, was seen to weep so vehemently, that streams of water, as it were, poured down from its eyes, and moistened the face. The people indeed said that this now happened for the third time ; the first time at the death of a bishop of the said city, the second time on the departure of John Belesmains, bishop of that city, and the third time on the death of this William, bishop of Ely.

After his decease, the bishop of Lisieux, and the bishop elect of Durham, proceeded upon the business of their master. Our lord the king, however, not unmindful of the services which the said chancellor had rendered him, gave to his brother Robert, prior of Ely, the abbey of Saint Mary at York ; and Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and legate of the Apostolic See, consecrated him abbat.

The said archbishop of Rouen, and the bishop of Lisieux, and the bishop elect of Ely now meeting in the presence of our lord the pope, the archbishop of Rouen asserted his right which he had over Andely, and the injury which Richard, king of England, had done him in fortifying a castle upon the possessions of the church of Rouen thus unjustly, and against his will and consent. To this the above-named envoys of the king made answer, that the king their master had often and repeatedly made him offer, through his envoys, venerable men and discreet bishops, abbats, earls, and barons, that he would make him reparation in every respect, according to the estimate formed by honorable men. For, as they asserted on the king's behalf, he could on no account give up the said island of Andely, on which, he had fortified the castle, because the king of France and his people every now and then were making inroads into Normandy, and frequently ravaged it, in consequence of which the king of England had fortified that place for the defence of

his territory against the king of France. Upon these matters the said archbishop of Rouen, and the aforesaid envoys of the king submitted to the decision of our lord the pope and of the Roman Church. Accordingly, after our lord the pope and the cardinals had long deliberated on the matter, considering the losses and inconveniences that would result to Normandy, if the said place of Andely should not be fortified, they advised the said archbishop of Rouen to settle the matter with the king his master on amicable terms, and to receive from him a sufficient recompense for what had been taken from him, according to an estimate formed by honorable and prudent men, saying, that the king was fully at liberty, and indeed any potentate was, to fortify the weaker portions of his territory, that injury might not result therefrom to himself and his people.

In the meantime, our lord the pope Celestinus consecrated Philip, the bishop elect of Durham, to the bishopric of Durham, on the Lord's day on which is sung "*Misericordia Domini*,"⁵⁵ which in this year fell on the twelfth of May. The bishop of Durham having been thus consecrated, pope Celestinus revoked the sentence of interdict which Walter, archbishop of Rouen had pronounced against Normandy, on account of the fortification of the castle of the island of Andely, and then dismissed them. Accordingly, the said archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops of Durham and Lisieux returned to our lord Richard, the king of England, with a form of reconciliation between the said king and the archbishop of Rouen, drawn up by the advice of our lord the pope, and the cardinals.

On this, the said king, having convened the bishops, abbats, earls, and barons of Normandy, gave to Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and his successors, by way of compensation for his town of Andely, the town of Dieppe with all its appurtenances, the valley of Malendai, the mills of Robec, in the city of Rouen, and Louviers with its appurtenances, and by his charter confirmed the same; in return for which, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, quitted claim to Richard, king of England, and his heirs, of Andely with its appurtenances, on the part of himself and his successors.

In the same year, Richard, king of England, came to Saint Valery, and burned that town to the ground, and having de-

⁵⁵ The beginning of the introit for the second Sunday after Easter, "The earth is full of the mercy of the Lord."

stroyed the monks that were there in the service of God, carried away with him into Normandy the shrine, with the relics of Saint Valery: in that harbour he also found some ships, which had come from England, laden with corn and provisions, on which he seized them and ordered the sailors in them to be hanged, and then burned the ships, and distributed the corn and provisions among his people.

In the same year, the people of Champagne and Flanders, and the Bretons, deserting the king of France, became adherents of the king of England, hostages being given on either side that they would not come to a reconciliation, nor make peace with the king of France, unless with the common consent of both parties. For the king of England had brought over them, and nearly all the most powerful men of the kingdom of France, with presents; as his bounteous hand in its gifts surpassed all other gifts. "Nor yet in giving does he go beyond all bounds; nay rather, to each he assigns a purpose fixed and definite."⁵⁶

Accordingly, he gave to Baldwin, earl of Flanders, for his assistance five thousand marks of silver; and he gave hostages that he would not make peace with the king of France, unless with the consent of the king of England, and the king of England did the same with him. After this, William Crespin, constable of Anjou, being compelled by force, surrendered to Richard, king of England, the castle of Anjou, which the king immediately placed in a sufficient state of defence with men, arms, and provisions; and the king of France shortly after assembling a large army laid siege to it. While these things were going on, Richard, king of England, proceeded to Auvergne, and took ten of the castles of the king of France and of his followers. But before the king of England could return to Normandy, the king of France took the castle of Anjou, granting to the knights and men-at-arms therein safety to life and limb; and after he had levied from them five hundred marks of silver for their ransom, he gave them liberty to depart, and fortified the castle and retained it in his own hands.

In the meantime, Baldwin, earl of Flanders, laid siege to the castle of Arras; on hearing of which, the king of France came thither with a numerous army. Upon his approach, the earl of Flanders raising the siege, returned into his own

⁵⁶ "Nec tamen in dando mensuram deserit, immo, Singula describit certo moderamine finis."

territories, the king of France pursuing him. When the king of France had proceeded to a considerable distance, the earl of Flanders caused the bridges to be broken down that lay both in front and rear of the king of France, so that neither provisions nor his army could come near him. Upon this, the king of France being placed in a dilemma, entreated the earl of Flanders that he would not cast a blot on the crown of France, alleging that he had entered Flanders with the intention of making amicable arrangements with him, and swearing that he would give him all his rights if he would forsake Richard, king of England, without making peace with him. As the earl of Flanders declined to act in contravention of the terms which he had made with the king of England, a conference took place between the king of France and the king of England, on the fourth day of the week after the Exaltation of the holy Cross, between Gaillon and Andely; and so, the king of France, escaping capture by the earl of Flanders, returned into France, but would observe none of the covenants he had made with the earl of Flanders.

In the same year, Richard, king of England, gave to Master Eustace, his vice-chancellor, the bishopric of Ely. In the same year, Joanna, sister of Richard, king of England, and wife of Raymond, earl of Saint Gilles, was delivered of her first-born son, and his name was called Raymond. In the same year died king Rees, the son of Griffin;⁸⁵ after whose death a dissension arose among his sons, which of them should reign in the place of their father; for the purpose of putting an end to which, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, the king's justiciary, repaired to the Welch territory, and established peace between them.

In the mean time, Philip, bishop of Beauvais, having sent his brother, the bishop of Orleans, to Rome, while he was still in captivity with the king of England, wrote to Celestinus, the Supreme Pontiff, to the following effect:—

The Letter of Philip, bishop of Beauvais, to Celestinus, the Supreme Pontiff.

“To his venerable lord and master, Celestinus, the Supreme Pontiff, Philip, bishop of Beauvais, health and duteousness in all canonical obedience. The favour of the supreme power has raised on high your felicity and your manifold successes, bring-

⁸⁵ Rice ap Griffydd.

ing to mind that maxim of the law, 'He invites the guiltless to offend who passes the guilty by unpunished.' It is a thing now almost notorious to all the churches, how disrespectfully, and how inhumanly, the king of England has, for some time past, been in rebellion against his lord, the king of the Franks; like a man who, fastening a rope round a large mountain, tries to throw it down. Accordingly, bringing with him fire and sword, and supported by apostate companies of Brabanters, he has made attacks upon our country, ravaging it on every side. Upon seeing this, being not unmindful of the legal maxim, 'It is lawful to repel force by force,' and of that other one, 'Fight for your country,' mingling in the throng of warriors and citizens, and in the ranks of the nobles, I went forth to meet the enemy in their onward career. But fortune, that stepdame of human counsels, brought my intended purpose to an unhappy result; for there I was taken prisoner, and thrown into heavy chains and fetters; neither the dignity of my order, nor reverence for God, afforded me any relief or mitigation. In such wise, then, the king of England has not dreaded to rage against Christ, our Lord, after the manner of a wolf. Nor do I suppose that this has been unknown to your ears. Why, then, do you dissemble? What father would see his son doing wrong, and be silent thereon? Who would not chasten his son with a rod, that he might not run upon a sword? The father despairs of his son, when he chasteneth him not with threatening, or with the whip. Indeed, it is clearer than light itself, that the king of England, and the rest of his accomplices, who have violently laid hands on us, have rendered themselves subject to the visitations I have above mentioned; wherefore, attentively listening to the injuries done to ourselves, and the grievous enormities committed against your fatherly affection, do with mercy condescend to listen to our tears, and to our petition. For it were an unworthy thing that the petition, made to you by those subject to you, should return useless and of no effect; one too that savours of all humility, and that is based on the firm support of reason. 'He, in fact, is not entirely free from a fault, who, when he can correct it, pretends that he cannot rectify it; nor is he free from some suspicion of secret connivance, who forbears to prevent a manifest misdeed.'⁵⁹ Wherefore, holy father, do not wonder that I have to such a length multiplied the words of sorrow. Perpetual

⁵⁹ Probably a quotation from the codes of civil law.

grief knows not how to, indeed cannot, be buried in the recesses of the breast! I bid your fatherly goodness farewell."

The Rescript of pope Celestinus, to Philip, bishop of Beauvais.

"Celestinus, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved brother, Philip, bishop of Beauvais, health, and a speedy return from his course of error. That it has turned out unfortunately for you, is not to be wondered at. For 'He deserves the hatred of all men, who shows himself to be the common enemy of all.' For, throwing aside the peaceful bishop, you have assumed the warlike knight,—in your rashness perverting the order and course of things, you have borne the shield in place of the chasuble, the sword in place of the stole, the hauberk for the alb, the helmet for the mitre, and the banner for the pastoral staff; not wishing, as you allege, to repel violence but valour, by violence; not fighting for your country, but against your country. For, as to your Gaul, we may now publicly declare, 'Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child!'⁶⁰ For he, having corporeally made oath to the king of the English, was bound to observe the same, as faithfully maintaining the integrity of his cities and of his territories, at least until his return from his pilgrimage. Whereas, shamefully contravening his plighted faith and his oath, coming to the cities of the aforesaid king, he has violently seized them, and, with hostile hand, has cruelly laid waste his territories. Returning at length from the scene of his labours, that king has manfully met your king, placing his trust not in multitudes, but in the Lord; for not by the amount of men or of might, but by the virtue of the cause is the battle gained. In behalf of the king of England, humility has hitherto been fighting against pride, justice and equity against injustice, moderation and modesty against arrogance and intemperance. For, defended by numerous virtues and not by men, do persons gain the victory. The laws and ordinances permit an injury, when done by arms, to be repelled by the remedy of arms; consequently, at last, late though it be, the king of England has manifested himself and his anger; inasmuch as it is hardly possible that valour, closed up, can lie concealed, the warmth of anger be extinguished and the small spark of prowess be shut up; for valour knows not how to lie concealed, and the smothered fire breaks forth into flame. Added to this, you have shown yourself not only the unbridled

⁶⁰ Eccles. x. 16.

counsellor of your master's frenzy, but also an accomplice as foolish as insolent; you sought and you have found; you struck, and struck again, you have been levelled with the ground; into the pit which you have made you have deservedly fallen; where you have been found, there you have been judged accordingly. According as we understand from the tenor of your letters directed to us, imputing to us the excesses of your country, you strive to throw the fault upon us, asserting that we are luke-warm and dissemblers. What now, is to be the consequence if the sheep turn upon the shepherd, if the son rises against the father? There will not be a shepherd who will not have cause to repent that he fed the sheep, not a father who will not regret that he brought up his son. Wherefore it is a hurtful weapon for a man, to soften down malignant craftiness under the guise of simplicity. Still, we have addressed letters of entreaty to the king of England in your behalf; for after examining most thoroughly the circumstances of your captivity, we cannot and ought not in such a case to command, but only to entreat. The conqueror then must be overcome by the resources of wisdom, for it is written, 'Wisdom excels folly.'⁶¹ For which reason it is that we entreat in your behalf not importunately, but opportunely. For an importunate urging of entreaty is a proof of distrust, and patient waiting gains its object more easily than importunate demands extort the same. But in the meantime, consigned to chains and lamentations, do you resignedly and patiently endure those chains, according to the words of the poet, 'Whatever you endure deservedly, you must bear resignedly; the punishment that comes undeservedly, comes as a cause for grief;'⁶² and that deservedly requires to be expiated with lamentations, which the belly has gained at the expense of its shame. Given, &c."

In the same year died William, bishop of Poitiers, and, although his life had seemed to men very reprehensible, still after his death he was distinguished by miracles. In the same year, Philip, king of France, and Richard, king of England, agreed upon a truce for one year from the feast of Saint Hilary, intending once more to make between them a peace and final

⁶¹ Eccles. ii. 13.

⁶² A quotation from Ovid:—

"Leniter ex merito quicquid patiare, ferendum est:
Quæ venit indigne pœna dolenda venit."

reconciliation. After this, Baldwin, earl of Flanders, came into England on a pilgrimage to Saint Thomas the Martyr, of Canterbury. In the same year, the son of Henry, emperor of the Romans, whom the empress Constance, daughter of Roger, the former king of Sicily, had borne to him, was baptized, and his name was called Frederic.

In the same year, Jordan de Courcy, brother of John de Courcy, prince of the kingdom of Ulster, in Ireland, was slain by an Irishman, a member of his household. For the purpose of avenging his death, the before-named John, his brother, fought a battle with the petty kings of Ireland, of whom he put some to flight, slew others, and subjugated their territories; of which he gave no small part to Dunecan, son of Gilbert, the son of Fergus, who, at the time that the said John was about to engage with the Irish, came to assist him with no small body of troops.

In the same year, Nicholas, bishop of Wic, in Norway, fought a battle with Swere Birkebain, and being routed by him, took to flight, nearly all his followers being slain. In the same year, the before-named bishop of Orleans, who had gone to Rome to procure the liberation of his brother Philip, died at Sens la Vielle. In the same year, Henry, emperor of the Romans, sent a great army into the land of Sulia, under the command of the bishop of Mentz, Henry, duke of Saxony, count palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Louvaine, the duke de Saringes, the duke of Austria, son of duke Leopold, the duke of Suabia, the duke of Bavaria, Walran, brother of the duke of Lemburg, and many counts.

The said Walran landed with his forces, before the rest, in the land of Jerusalem, and immediately attacked the pagans, and, slaying as many of the pagans as he could, violated the peace and truce which the king of England, at his departure from the land of Jerusalem, had agreed to between the Christians and the pagans. Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, and the other pagans, being greatly enraged at this, slew all the Christians they could find, and laid siege to Joppa. On this, Henry, count of Champagne, who, by the election of the kings of France and of England, and of the Templars and Hospitallers, had the chief command in the land of Jerusalem, assembled the army of the Christians for the purpose of raising the siege; but while he was leaning against the pillar of a window in an upper room, addressing the multitude, the pillar gave way, and, falling

to the ground, he broke his neck, and expired; shortly after, the Saracens took Joppa, and slew in it more than twenty thousand Christians.

After the death of Henry, count of Champagne, the duke of Louvaine, and Henry, duke of Saxony, withdrew to the city of Acre; but they were in possession of no territory beyond the gates of the city, and no provisions could be brought to them, through fear of the pagans. In the meanwhile, the army of the emperor, which had proceeded by sea on its road to Jerusalem from Germany and other parts of his territories, made its way past Normandy and England; and then, holding straight onward in its course for Spain, rescued the city of Silves from the hands of the pagans; which, however, they utterly destroyed, not leaving stone upon stone; for they feared that if they should give it into the charge of the king of Portugal, he would lose it as he had done before.

In this pilgrimage of the troops of the people of the said emperor, an unusual miracle occurred, and one unheard-of by mankind. It so happened that two Germans, who were neighbours and friends, engaging in a partnership, agreed that during the pilgrimage to Jerusalem they would go together, sharing their lodging and their expenses. When the time for departure was close at hand, one of them came to the house of the other to lodge there that night; and after he had shown to the master of the house the money which he was going to take with him upon the journey, the latter, by the advice of his wife murdered him, and took his money, and then placing the body of the murdered man on his shoulders, set out for the purpose of throwing him into a river; but [on arriving there] he could by no possible means cast him away; so returning at daybreak with the body fast upon his shoulders, he lay in concealment for three days. However, when he could endure this no longer, he went to the bishop for the purpose of consulting him, what was to be done by him in the matter; on which the bishop enjoined him, in virtue of the obedience he owed him, to carry the body with him to the land of Jerusalem, that so, expiating his crimes, he might restore his soul to the abodes of heaven. Accordingly, induced by a feeling of penitence, he proceeded with the other pilgrims, carrying the dead man on his shoulders, to the praise of the good and the terror of the wicked.

In the same year, Henry, emperor of the Romans, arrested the nobles of Sicily, and threw some of them into prison,

while others he put to death, after inflicting upon them various tortures. He also caused the eyes to be put out of Margarite, the admiral, to whom he had given the dukedom of Durazzo, and the principality of Tarento; and after that had him emasculated. On this, the empress Constance, seeing the evils that the emperor had inflicted upon her people, formed a conspiracy against her husband the emperor, and, proceeding to Palermo, seized the emperor's treasures which the kings of Sicily had laid up from a distant period. In consequence of this, the principal men of the kingdom, becoming emboldened, laid hands on the German followers of the emperor, and slew them; upon which, the emperor, taking to flight, shut himself up in a strong fortress, intending, if he possibly could, to return to his own country; but his adversaries had so obstructed the paths against him, that in no direction was there safe egress for him.

In the meantime, Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, after the capture of Joppa, collecting a large army of pagans, fought a battle with the chiefs before-mentioned, and the counts and army of the emperor of the Romans, which he had sent into the land of Jerusalem; and the army of the Christians prevailed, and in the battle the Christians took the two sons of Saladin, and more than sixty admirals, and Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, being mortally wounded, made his escape with difficulty. The Christians also took the city of Sidon, and Laliche, and the greater Gybel; and they were in hopes that the son of Saladin, who held the city of Jerusalem, would become a Christian, for news had been brought to that effect by the messengers that carried the communications between them.

In the meantime, the pagans who were in the city of Baruth, fearing an attack of the Christians, levelled the walls of the city, and drew into the castle provisions, necessaries, and arms, with the stones of the walls for the defence of the castle. One day, however, while they were intent with the greatest diligence upon this object, having left only five Christian captives, in fetters, and a single Saracen gate-keeper in the castle, the archbishop of Mentz, chancellor of the emperor of the Romans, suddenly came upon them with a great naval force, and Aimeric, lord of the isle of Cyprus, and the before-named leaders and chieftains, with an army of horse and foot. The Christians who were in the castle, seeing this, ran as well as they could, and, shutting the gates of the castle, slew the Saracen gate-

keeper, and then, ascending to the top of it, shouted with a loud voice the war-cry of the Christians, "Christ, the Son of God, aid us and his Holy sepulchre." Alarmed at the cry, the pagans fled to the mountains, leaving the castle, the city, their provisions, and their arms, on which the Christians were received into the city and the castle with gladness.

After this, the said archbishop of Mentz, by the advice and wish of the chief men of Germany, gave to Aimeric, lord of Cyprus, Acre, and Tyre, and Baruth,⁶³ and the other cities which they had taken; and then gave him Milicent to wife, who had been the wife of Henry, count of Champagne, and crowned them in the city of Baruth; on which Aimeric became the liegeman of Henry, emperor of the Romans, for the isle of Cyprus.

Of the Exile of John, Archbishop of Dublin.

In the same year, Hamo de Valence, and the other guardians of Ireland, liegemen of earl John, brother of Richard, king of England, did great injuries to John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin. Consequently, the said archbishop, preferring to go into exile, rather than endure that these enormities against him and his church should any longer go unpunished, excommunicated the said presumptuous men, and, pronouncing sentence of interdict upon his archbishopric, took his departure. He also ordered the crosses and images of the cathedral church to be laid on the ground, and to be surrounded with thorns, that thus these malefactors might be smitten with fear, and be checked in their intentions to rage against the property of the church. But while they were still persevering in their malignant purposes, a miracle happened, in our times quite unheard-of.

There was, in the cathedral church of Dublin, a cross, on which the figure of Christ was carved with great exactness; this, all the Irish, as well as others, held in the greatest veneration. Now, while this crucifix was lying prostrate on the ground, and surrounded with thorns, on the sixth day of the week, it fell into an agony, and the face appeared to be suffused with an exceeding red colour, just as though it were before a heated furnace, and a violent sweat ran down from the face, and from its eyes fell drops, as though it were weeping; and at the sixth hour of the day, blood and water came forth from

⁶³ Now Beyrout.

the right side, and the right breast. This the ministers of the church carefully collected, and sent a deputation after John Cumin, the archbishop, stating to him the happening of these circumstances, under testimony of the seals of venerable men, for the purpose of being mentioned to our lord the pope.

But as for the rest of the bishops of Ireland, although they had often read the proverb, "Your own property is at stake when your neighbour's party wall is on fire,"⁶⁴ still, shutting their eyes thereto, they passed by the losses and injuries that the above-named servants of John, earl of Mortaigne, had done to their brother bishop, and, becoming as rams having no horns, fled from before the face of the pursuer. However, John, the archbishop of Dublin, going into exile, went to Richard king of England, and John, earl of Mortaigne, his brother, but could obtain no redress or restitution of what had been taken from him.

In the same year, Henry, emperor of the Romans, having made a reconciliation with his wife, and the chief men of Sicily, fell ill, and sent Savaric, bishop of Bath, his relative and chancellor, from Burgundy, to Richard, king of England, and offered to repay him the money he had exacted from him for his ransom, either in gold and silver, or in lands. But while the said Savaric was gone on this embassy, the before-named emperor of the Romans died, at Messina, in Sicily, on the vigil of Saint Michael, being excommunicated by pope Celestinus, for his detention of Richard, king of England, and exacting from him a ransom; in consequence of which, the said pope forbade his body to be buried, although the archbishop of Messina made great entreaties in his behalf.

Accordingly, the said archbishop waited on pope Celestinus, for three reasons. In the first place, that the body of the emperor might receive burial; in the second place, that Marchowald, the chief justiciary of the emperor, might be liberated from the siege by the people of Rome, who were then besieging him in the marshes of Guarnero, not allowing him to depart; in the third place, that Frederic, son of the aforesaid emperor, might be crowned king of Sicily. To the first of these prayers, our lord the pope Celestinus made answer, that he would not allow the body of the emperor to be buried, except with the consent of the king of England, and unless the money which he had received from the king of England, should be returned.

⁶⁴ "En tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet."

To the second prayer, our lord the pope made answer, that he could not liberate the said Marchowald of his own authority, without the consent of the people of Rome. To the third prayer, our lord the pope made answer, that he would consent, if it should please his brother cardinals, that Frederic, the son of the before-named emperor, should be crowned king of Sicily; which coronation accordingly took place, a thousand marks of silver having been given to our lord the pope on his own behalf, and a thousand marks of silver in behalf of the cardinals. The empress, also, made oath, touching the Holy Evangelists, that the said Frederic was issue of the lawful marriage of the said emperor Henry and herself.

In the same year, Roger, the brother of Robert, earl of Leicester, being elected bishop of Saint Andrew's, in Scotland, received priest's orders and pontifical consecration from Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen. In the same year, Margaret, formerly queen of England and then queen of Hungary, died at Acre.

On the demise of Henry, emperor of the Romans, a great part of Tuscany, which the said emperor and his predecessors had taken from the Roman Pontiffs, was restored to our lord, Celestinus, the Supreme Pontiff, namely, Aquapendente, Saint Crispin, Monte Fiascone, Redecoces, and Saintclere, with all their appurtenances; there were also restored to him Sicily, Calabria, Apulia, and all the territories which had belonged to the king of Sicily, as being the proper patrimony of Saint Peter; over which, as above-mentioned, he made Frederic, son of Henry, the Roman emperor, king.

Shortly after this, our lord the pope, Celestinus, gradually sickened, just before the Nativity of our Lord, and having called before him all the cardinals, recommended them to take measures for the election of his successor; for he was using every possible endeavour that the lord John de Saint Paul, cardinal priest and titular of Saint Prisca the Virgin, might succeed him in the papacy, in whose wisdom, sanctity, and justice, he placed great confidence. Indeed, he so greatly loved him beyond the rest, that he had appointed him in his own place to perform every duty except the consecration of bishops, which belonged to the duties of the cardinal bishop of Ostia.

The pope also made an offer to resign the papacy, if the cardinals would consent to the election of the said John de Saint Paul. All the cardinals, however, with one voice, made answer, that they would not elect him conditionally, and alleged

that it was a thing unheard-of for the Supreme Pontiff to abdicate. Consequently, a division ensued among them; for the lord cardinal bishop of Ostia used every possible endeavour that he might be elected pope, and, in like manner did the lord cardinal bishop of Portuenza, the lord Jordan de Fossâ Novâ, the lord Gratianus, and all the rest, struggle, each to the utmost of his power, that he might be made Supreme Pontiff.

In the same year, William, king of the Scots, following a good example, caused the subjects of his kingdom to make oath that they would keep the peace to the best of their ability, and that they would neither be thieves, nor robbers, nor outlaws, nor harbourers of them, nor would in any way abet them; and that, whenever they might hear of any such offenders, they would use the utmost of their ability in arresting and destroying them.

An Assize of Measures made by Richard, king of England.

“It is enacted, that all measures, throughout the whole of England, shall be of the same capacity, both for corn and for pulse, as also for other things of a like nature, that is to say, one good and reasonable horseload;⁶⁴ and this is to be the measure established, both within cities and boroughs, and without. The measure also of wine, ale, and all liquors, is to be of the same size, according to the various natures of the liquors. Weights also, and scales, and other measures of dimension, are to be of the same quantity throughout all the kingdom, according to the different nature of the commodities. Also, in the measures of corn, and of liquors, such as wine and ale, let pegs⁶⁵ of iron be driven into them, that false measure may not fraudulently be given. It is also decreed, that woollen cloths, wherever they are made, are to be made of the same breadth, that is to say, two ells wide within the lists; and all are to be of the same goodness in the middle, and in the sides. The ell is to be the same throughout the whole kingdom, and of the same length, and is to be made of iron. It is also forbidden to all traders throughout the whole kingdom of England, that any trader shall hang up before his

⁶⁴ “Equi” appears to be the proper reading, and not “æqui.”

⁶⁵ Probably at stated distances, to denote the smaller measures into which the larger ones were divided, something like the peg tankards of the Saxons.

shop, red or black cloths, or penthouses, or anything else, by means of which the sight of the purchaser is often deceived in choosing a good cloth. It is also forbidden, that any dye shall be sold, or that any, except black alone, shall be made anywhere in the kingdom, except in cities, or in county boroughs. It is also enacted, that in each city or borough, four or six lawful men of the said place, according to the size thereof, together with the sheriff, or together with the chief officer of the city or borough, if the same shall not be in the hands of the sheriff,⁶⁶ shall be appointed to keep this assize, in the following manner; they are to see and be assured that all things are sold and bought by the same measure, and that all measures are of the same quantity, according to the different nature of the wares. And if they shall find any person who shall make confession, or be convicted of selling otherwise than by statute measure, let his body be seized, and let him be committed to prison, and let all his chattels be seized to the king's use; and such persons are not to be set at liberty, except by our lord the king, or his chief justice.

“As to the guardians themselves, it was enacted, that it they should exercise the said guardianship so negligently, that they should be convicted by means of others than themselves, before the justices of our lord the king, of transgressing any one of the before-written statutes, either as to the measures of provisions, or of other wares, or the width of cloth, the guardians themselves should be amerced out of their own chattels by our lord the king.

“It was also commanded, that after the feast of the Purification of Saint Mary, no person should sell anything in any county, except by the prescribed measure, which was to be of the same quantity; and that no one should, after the fair which is held at Mid-Lent, at Stamford, sell any cloth of less width than two ells within the lists.”

In the year of grace 1198, being the ninth year of the reign of Richard, king of England, the said Richard, king of England, was at Rouen, in Normandy, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which fell on the fifth day of the week. On the same day of the Nativity of our Lord, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, legate of the Apostolic See, and chief justiciary of all England, was at Hereford, in Wales, and there received possession of the castle of Hereford,

⁶⁶ The text found in Wilkins has been used here.

the castle of Briges,⁶⁷ and the castle of Ludlow, having expelled therefrom the keepers, who had long held charge of them, and gave them into the care of other keepers on behalf of the king.

After this, the said archbishop came to Coventry, and by the mandate of Celestinus, the Supreme Pontiff, reinstated the monks in the cathedral church of that city, whom Hugh de Nunant, the bishop of that place, had expelled from the said church by violence and an armed hand, and had instituted in their places canons secular, and endowed them with the property of the church, which had been bestowed for the sustenance of the monks there serving God; but the canons being now expelled, the property of the church was restored for the use of the monks.

The Letters Apostolic for the reinstatement of the monks in the church of Coventry.

“Celestinus, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved sons the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Lincoln, and the abbat of Saint Edmund’s, health and the Apostolic benediction. Whereas it is our wish that such provisions as have been made by enactment by our predecessors with prudent deliberation, should in nowise be invalidated or infringed, so also it is our desire that such things as have been surreptitiously obtained from them to the detriment of ecclesiastical propriety should be corrected, and brought into a better state. Wherefore, inasmuch as, according as we have heard, or rather indeed, as we well know, the monastic order has been established in the church of Coventry, almost from the time of the first introduction of the Christian faith into England, and has performed therein with such well-regulated observance all duties, that it has been deemed deserving to receive privileges from the Apostolic See, and to be endowed and enriched by kings of England of famous memory, we are greatly afflicted that our venerable brother, the bishop of Chester (on the pretext of certain letters, which, as it is said, but we can hardly believe, he obtained by means of a false suggestion from our predecessor pope Clement, of blessed memory, without our concurrence, and that of our brethren), has with violence expelled our dearly beloved sons, the prior and community of monks, from the said monastery, and established canons secular therein. Now, inasmuch as the same

⁶⁷ Bridgnorth.

⁶⁸ See p. 257.

may redound to the disgrace of the monastic order and the discipline of the whole Church, and it is our belief that our said predecessor would not have granted his authority or favour to so great an irregularity, unless he had been imposed upon, we do by these Apostolic writings command your brotherhood, and do, in virtue of your obedience, strictly enjoin you, the letters aforesaid or other privileges of confirmation or indulgence in any way notwithstanding, to remove the secular clergy from the said monastery who have been instituted therein by the above-named bishop, and, without being impeded by any question or doubt whatsoever, to reinstate therein the monastic order, installing therein the monks who have been expelled, and who shall return thereto, as also such persons as are bound and desire to observe the rules of the order of Saint Benedict. You are also, by means of ecclesiastical censure, all power of appeal removed, to compel the aforesaid bishop, and all withholders of the property of the said church, to make restitution of the same. We do further will and command, that, relying on our authority, you will render null and void the presentations of the said bishop, as also the enfeoffments, leases, alienations, and purchases made by the said church since the time aforesaid, smiting those with canonical censure who shall presume to contravene the same, all obstacle of appeal removed; and that those who have laid violent hands upon the said monks you will denounce as excommunicated; and they must come for absolution to the Apostolic See, furnished with the testimony of your letters. Given, &c."

At the Nativity of our Lord, there came to Rouen, envoys from the archbishop of Cologne, envoys from the archbishop of Mentz, and envoys from the other nobles of Germany, to wait upon king Richard, and to inform him, on behalf of the persons aforesaid, that all the nobles of Germany would meet at Cologne on the eighth day before the calends of March, for the purpose of electing an emperor; and they enjoined him, in virtue of the oath and fealty by which he was bound to the emperor and to the Roman empire, all denial and pretext whatsoever laid aside, to come to Cologne at the time aforesaid, in order that he, as an especial member of the empire, might be with them on the occasion of their electing, by the help of God, a fit and proper emperor for the empire.

After hearing them, Richard, king of England, having first conferred with his people, sent, with the aforesaid envoys of the Germans, Philip, bishop of Durham, Eustace, the bishop elect of Ely, William de Chimeli, the bishop elect of

Anjou, the bishop elect of Evreux, as also Baldwin de Bethune, the earl of Aumarle, William de Pratelles, William de L'Estang, and Brice, his chamberlain, that they might be present at the election of emperor in his stead. For he greatly feared to go thither, and once more to fall into their hands, unless security should be given him for a safe conduct going and returning. And no wonder, for he had not yet paid what he had promised to give to the nobles of the land for his liberation, and for his sake it was that the body of the emperor was lying unburied.

The king of England, however, used every possible endeavour that Henry, duke of Saxony, his nephew, might be made emperor. But as he had not yet returned from his pilgrimage, and delay brought danger with it, the said king of England wrought so effectually with the archbishops of Cologne and Mentz, and some of the other principal men of Germany, that they elected his nephew Otho, brother of the before-named duke of Saxony, emperor. It deserves to be known, that in the election of the emperor of the Romans, the mode of procedure is as follows :

The manner of electing the Emperor of the Romans.

On the death of the emperor, the archbishops, bishops, abbats, dukes, counts, and all the other nobles of Germany, meeting together, elect twelve persons in common, and present them to the archbishop of Cologne, the archbishop of Mentz, the duke of Saxony, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine ; and whosoever these four elect from the twelve so selected as aforesaid, is to be the king of the Germans, and to be crowned as such at the Chapel of Hays,⁶⁸ where Charles the Great lies buried.

Accordingly, the before-named Otho, being one of the twelve persons so selected in common, as aforesaid, on the urgent prayers and intercession made by Richard, king of England, [on his election,] was received by the archbishops of Cologne and Mentz, and was crowned by them king of the Germans, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in presence of the dukes of Lemburg, Louvaine, and many other dukes and many bishops, Baldwin, earl of Flanders, being also present, and Henry, count of Namur, his brother, and many other counts. On this, the said Otho took to wife the daughter of the duke of Louvaine, and on the day of the coronation of the said Otho, she sat together with him on the royal throne, but was not crowned at that time.

⁶⁸ Aix-la-Chapelle.

Henry, duke of Saxony, also Count Palatine of the Rhine, the brother of the before-named Otho, after his return from the land of Sulia, sanctioning what had been done with reference to his brother, and expressing his gratification thereat, confirmed his election. But, as Philip, duke of Suabia, son of Frederic, the former emperor of the Romans, and brother of Henry, emperor of the Romans, lately deceased, was one of the twelve selected, he would not agree to his election, but attacked Otho in every way he possibly could; and although Otho defeated him in a pitched battle, he still refused to desist from his attempts.

In the same year, Aimeric, archdeacon of Durham, disseised the monks of the church of Durham of the vill which is called Hersewell, which Henry Pudsey had given them as a free and perpetual alms-gift, for the maintenance of monks at Finchale, for the service of God. His servants, who had been sent for the purpose of making the said disseisin, broke open the doors of the monks' dwellings, and, with violence, ejected the monks they found there. When, however, the said Aimeric was asked if this violence had been committed by his orders, he answered, "No:" on which, the monks of Durham, having convened the clergy and people of the city in the church of Saint Cuthbert, excommunicated the perpetrators of this violence, as also their advisers and abettors, with candles lighted and the great bells of the church ringing.

In the same year, Richard, king of England, through Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, required that the people of the kingdom of England should find for him three hundred knights to remain in his service one year, or else give him so much money as to enable him therewith to retain in his service three hundred knights for one year, namely, three shillings per day, English money, as the livery of each knight. While all the rest were ready to comply with this, not daring to oppose the king's wishes, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, a true worshipper of God, who withheld himself from every evil work, made answer, that, for his part, he would never in this one matter acquiesce in the king's desires, both because, in process of time, it would rebound to the detriment of his church, as also, because his successors would say: "Our fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge."⁶⁹ And, turning to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, he urgently recommended him to

⁶⁹ Jer. xxxi. 29; Ezek. xviii. 2.

do nothing of which he would be ashamed, "By reason whereof shame might place a mark on his forehead, and self-accusation torture his mind, or disgrace blemish the glories of his fair name."⁷⁰

In the same year, queen Eleanor, the mother of Richard, king of England, came to Rouen, and sent for Hugh Fitz-Ernest de Neville and the other keepers who had charge of Philip, bishop of Beauvais, in the fortress of Rouen, and begged them, for the love they bore her, to allow the said bishop to come to her lodging to speak to her: and, although it was a perilous matter for them, still, being unable to resist the queen's entreaty, they allowed the said bishop, in fetters, to go beyond the gates of the fortress, while they accompanied him. Now, it so happened that they had to pass by the porch of a certain church; to the door of which, although it was closed, the said bishop ran as fast as he could, and, seizing the knocker of the said church, cried with a loud voice, saying, "I seek the protection of God and of the Church." At these words, his guards, being greatly alarmed, laid hands on him, and, dragging him away from the door of the church, led him to the fortress whence he had come, and kept him in still stricter custody, imputing it to the queen that this had been done by her advice. On hearing of this, the king of England sent the said bishop to Chinon, to be kept in closer confinement.

In the same year, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated Eustace, bishop of Ely, at London, on the Lord's Day on which is sung "*Lætare Jerusalem*,"⁷¹ the ceremony being performed at Westminster, on the eighth day before the ides of March.

In the same year, pope Celestinus, sinking under the weight of old age and a grievous malady, departed this life, at Rome, in the month of January, on the sixth day before the ides of the said month, being the sixth day of the week, in the seventh year of his papacy, and was buried at the Lateran. On the day after his death, the cardinals, meeting together, elected as Supreme Pontiff Lothaire, a cardinal deacon, a young man, about thirty years old or a little more, who assumed the name of pope Innocent. Immediately after his election, he wrote

⁷⁰ "Unde pudor frontem signet, mentemque reatus
Torqueat, aut famæ titulos infamia lædat."

⁷¹ The beginning of the introit for the fourth Sunday in Lent.

to all the archbishops and bishops of England and Scotland to the following effect:—

The Letter of pope Innocent on the occasion of his Election.

“Innocent, bishop elect of the Apostolic See, servant of the servants of God, to all his venerable brethren, the archbishops and bishops throughout England appointed, health and the Apostolic benediction. The ineffable wisdom of the Deity hath so, in His exalted counsels, disposed all things from everlasting, and, by His wondrous dispensation, so rules them through the vicissitudes of ages as they roll on, that there occurs neither error in the order thereof, nor defect in the workmanship; inasmuch as, Holy Scripture testifying the same, He has made every thing by weight, by number, and by measure. Wherefore, although he ordains nothing upon earth without a certain cause, and appropriate reason for the same, still, the imperfect state of human nature, not only fails in investigating the causes of His works, but, even in viewing the results themselves of those causes, can hardly be sufficiently astounded [at the marvellousness thereof]; indeed, it was while considering this, that the Apostle exclaimed, ‘O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!’⁷² For, although, the prophet bearing testimony thereto, ‘All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth,’⁷³ and ‘All His works are done in truth,’⁷⁴ still, to such a degree does the right hand of the Lord, great though it is, work out the successes of mankind, both their humiliation and their exaltation, that it is a cause to ourselves of no slight astonishment that, in the bestowal of power, He sometimes places the younger before the elder ones, and, as the prophet says, ‘Sons are born in place of the fathers,’ who, being appointed to govern all the earth, are to remember the name of the Lord. And so in our case, ‘This is the Lord’s doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.’⁷⁵ For Celestinus, of blessed memory, our father and predecessor, having gone the way of all flesh, on the sixth day before the ides of January, and having been honorably interred, according to custom, in the church of the Lateran, our brethren, that is to say, the cardinal bishops, priests, and deacons, and ourselves with them, met together, that with the more freedom and safety,

⁷² Rom. xi. 33.

⁷³ Psalm xxv. 10.

⁷⁴ Psalm xxxiii. 4.

⁷⁵ Psalm cxviii. 23, St. Matt. xxi. 42, St. Mark xii. 11.

we might discuss the election of a pontiff, thus great being the necessity for holding the said discussion with all due deliberation, and coming to a conclusion after using the most guarded circumspection in so doing. Accordingly, after the solemn service of the mass had been performed in honor of the Holy Ghost, the wishes of all directed their views upon ourselves, insufficient as we are, perhaps thinking, in their human sagacity, to find the silver cup in the sack of Benjamin; although many of them might, on the grounds of age, rank, and merit, have been more worthily called to the elevation of a dignity so exalted. And, although our sense of our inefficiency utterly recoiled from the weight of a dignity so great, as being a burden unsuited to the weakness of our shoulders, still, confiding in the example of Him, who strengthened the weakness of Saint Peter, which had been previously tested by his three denials, after the words of his thrice-reiterated confession, by bestowing on him the guidance of His sheep; that which the manifold imperfections of our nature declined, we accepted at their desire, lest our opposition thereto might produce injury, by reason of prolonged divisions, or we might seem, in a measure, to be struggling against the ordinance of God, hoping that He who giveth to all abundantly and grudgeth not, and who raised the youngest son,⁷⁶ the man after His own heart, to be king, will raise up from the stones a son to Abraham, calling the things which are not, even as the things which are, and that by raising up the weak, He will put the strong to confusion. Wherefore, we, undertaking the onerous duties of the government of the church, and placing no small confidence in you, whom the Lord hath willed to be partakers in our cares, to the end that the weight of a burden so great may press the more lightly upon us, do ask, advise, and exhort the whole of you, in the Lord, to aid our inefficiency with your prayers unto the Lord, and, diligently and profitably watching over the flock of the Lord that has been entrusted to us and to you, to show yourselves ready to make up for our defects, and with watchful zeal to aid in supporting the weight of the ecclesiastical dignity which has been conferred upon us. And further, it is our earnest intention to show to you all honor as being distinguished members of the church, and, so far as the Lord shall aid us in so doing, to assist you in your emergencies. Given at the Lateran, on the fifth day before the ides of January."

⁷⁶ King David.

Accordingly, upon the election of the said Innocent as Roman Pontiff, having been from his infancy acquainted with all the blemishes of the Roman court, and wishing to change things for the better, immediately after his election he dismissed the greater part of the janitors and doorkeepers of the court, in order that both clerks as well as laymen, who had any complaint to make, might enjoy freer access to him.

On the fifth day before the ides of March, in the same year, Mary, countess of Champagne, departed this life, the mother of Henry, count of Champagne, who was lord of Acre. The said countess was sister of Philip, king of France, on the father's side, and sister of Richard, king of England, on the mother's side.

In the same year, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, came into Normandy by command of his brother, Richard, king of England, in hopes of making peace with the king. For the king had sent for the deans and canons of York to come to him in Normandy, wishing to make peace between the archbishop and them; however, the archbishop, before the canons had arrived, had made a reconciliation with the king his brother; upon which the king made him full restitution of his archbishopric, and ordered Robert his chaplain to cross over into England with Master Honorius, the clerk and deputy of the said archbishop, to be present at the said restitution, on which the said archbishop conferred on the said Master Honorius the archdeaconry of Richmond; for the king had made a promise to the archbishop that for the future he would not throw any difficulty in the way of his presentations. As the dean and canons of York did not make their appearance before the king at the time appointed, nor yet send a sufficient proxy in their behalf, the archbishop, having received leave from the king, withdrew from the court, for the purpose of going to Rome on the king's business as well as his own.

However, on the third day after, the deans and canons of York came to the king, and prevailed upon him to allow the restitution which he had granted to the archbishop to be delayed until the archbishop's return; and, having thus impeded the business of the archbishop, the dean and canons returned to York, making great boasts of the favours they had received from the king, and saying that they had the king's charter that he would not come to any complete understanding with the archbishop unless they were included in the reconciliation.

In the same year, on the first Sunday in Lent, Innocent, the bishop elect of the Roman See, was consecrated Roman Pontiff at Saint Peter's at Rome, by Octavianus, bishop of Ostia, on the fifteenth day before the calends of March, and, immediately after his consecration, the prefect, senators, and tribunes of the city, and others of the Roman people, demanded of him the revenues and customs which the Roman Pontiffs, his predecessors, had been in the habit of paying them; to which he made answer that he would never do so, inasmuch as if he should do so, he would be doing it against the will of God, and to the prejudice of the Church of Rome. The Romans, upon hearing this, made an attack upon his possessions, and plundered them, on which he excommunicated them.

In the month of March, in the same year, Hugh de Nunant, bishop of Coventry, died at Betherlevin, in Normandy, on Good Friday, being the sixth day before the calends of April, and was buried there in the convent of the monks, being succeeded in the bishopric of Coventry by Geoffrey de Muschamp, archdeacon of Cleveland, who was presented thereto by Richard, king of England, and consecrated at Canterbury by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury.

In the same year, the king of England with the earl of Saint Gilles, and Joanna his wife, the former queen of Sicily, were at Le Mans, at the festival of Easter, which fell on the fourth day before the calends of April. In the same year, Richard, king of England, levied from each carucate or hide of land throughout all England five shillings as an aid; for the purpose of collecting which, the said king sent through each county of England one clerk and one knight; who, with the sheriff of the county to which they were sent, and lawful knights elected for the purpose, making oath that they would faithfully perform the king's business, caused to appear before them the seneschals of the barons of the said county, and the lord or bailiff of every vill, and the reeve, together with the four lawful men of the vill, whether freemen or villeins, as also two lawful knights of the hundred, who made oath that they would faithfully and without fraud declare what was the amount of carucates in each vill that were in tillage; namely, how many were held in demesne, how many in villanage, and how many in almoign bestowed on religious orders, which the givers thereof were bound to make warrant of, or to pay for, or for which the said re-

ligious were bound to do service; and upon each carucate in tillage, by the king's commands, they first levied two shillings and then three shillings; all of which was reduced to writing. Of all this the clerk had one register, the knight another, the sheriff a third, and the seneschals of the barons a fourth register as to the land of their lords.

This money was received by the hands of two lawful knights of each hundred, and by the hands of the bailiff of the hundred, and they were answerable for the same to the sheriff, and the sheriff answerable for the same according to the before-mentioned registers to the exchequer, in presence of the bishops, abbats, and barons appointed for the purpose.

Also, for the punishment of the jurors who, contrary to their oath, should be guilty of concealing anything in the said matters, it was enacted that whatever villein should be convicted of perjury he should forfeit to his lord the best ox of his plough, and should, out of his own property, be answerable for as much money for the use of our lord the king as should be proved to have remained concealed by means of his perjury; but if a free man should be convicted, he was to be amerced by the king, and was to refund as well out of his own property as much as had been concealed by him, in the same manner as the villein.

It was also enacted, that every baron should, with the aid of the sheriff, make levies upon his tenants; and, if by default of the baron, such levies should not be made, then there was to be taken from the demesne of the baron, what should remain payable by his tenants, and the baron was to take the same from his tenants. Frank-fees of parish churches were exempted from the said tallage; and all escheats of barons which were held in the lands of our lord the king contributed thereto. But serjeanties⁷⁸ of our lord the king, which were not attached to knights' fees, were excepted, although they were placed on the register, as also the number of the carucates of land, the values of their lands, and the names of those holding by serjeanty; and all those so holding, were summoned to be at London on the octave at the end of Easter, to hear and perform the king's commands.

The persons who were chosen for that purpose, and appointed by our lord the king, according to the estimation of

⁷⁸ Freehold lands exempt from all services, but not from homage.

lawful men, set down a hundred acres of land for each carucate of land in cultivation.⁷⁹

In the same year, the monks of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury, setting out for Rome, made complaint to pope Innocent, that Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, contrary to his orders and his dignity, was acting as justiciary of the kingdom, and as judge in matters of life and death, and was so involved in secular matters, that he could not possibly give attention to the management of the affairs of the church; it being wisely said, that "When the sense is intent on many objects, it is less intent on each."⁸⁰ They also laid charges against him, saying, that it was by his command that the peace of the church of Saint Mary at Arches, at London, had been violated, and William Longbeard had been violently dragged therefrom, and tied to horses' tails, and dragged away to the gibbet, together with nine of his associates similarly torn away from that church, and then hanged on the gallows. On this, our lord the pope, with a fatherly exhortation, recommended Richard, king of England, as he valued the safety of his soul, not to allow the said archbishop any longer to discharge secular duties, and in future not to admit him or any other bishop or priest to a secular office; he also ordered all the prelates of churches, in virtue of their obedience, not with rash presumption to undertake the discharge of secular duties. Accordingly, the archbishop of Canterbury being removed from the management of the kingdom, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter succeeded him in the same.

They also accused him, alleging that, to the prejudice of the mother church of Canterbury, he had built a new church at Lambeth, and had placed therein canons secular, endowed with the property and benefices of the monks of Canterbury, and had therein, against the custom and dignity of the church of Canterbury, consecrated bishops; and that, unless a remedy was speedily put thereto, they feared that the dignity of the church of Canterbury might be diminished, and might appear to be transferred to this apostate chapel. Our lord the pope, being considerably influenced by this, wrote to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury to the following effect :

⁷⁹ Or more literally, as our law books express it, for the "gainage of each carucate."

⁸⁰ "Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula sensus."

The Letter of pope Innocent to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, ordering the demolition of the chapel at Lambeth.

“Innocent the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved brother, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, health and the Apostolic benediction. The more sincere the affection with which we love your person, the greater the grief with which we are afflicted, so often as we hear of actions of yours which are derogatory to pontifical propriety. For, whereas the church of Canterbury, over which you are known to preside, is considered among the churches of England to hold the foremost rank, and in religion has been accustomed to stand pre-eminent among the rest, we and our brethren are both afflicted and amazed that (as our dearly beloved sons, the prior and convent, have with humble complaint showed unto us,) you occupy yourself in manifold ways, and exert your utmost endeavours in the building of the chapel at Lambeth, contrary to the prohibition of Urban and Clement, the Roman Pontiffs, of blessed memory, which were issued against your predecessor Baldwin, relative thereto. After multiplied appeals to the Apostolic See, to the great prejudice of the church of Canterbury, you have still in your rashness proceeded therein, and have installed canons in the same, endowed with the property of the said church, whereas, better consulting yourself and your honor, you would have entirely desisted from the building of the said chapel, if you had been ready to shew that respect and obedience which you owe to the Church of Rome, and would have sought to make provision and shew all anxiety for the church committed to your charge, and would not have made it your study to proceed in that which you know to have been so strictly forbidden to your predecessor by the Apostolic See. Wherefore, inasmuch as we ought not nor will we on any account put up with the lessening of the church of Canterbury, walking in the footsteps of our aforesaid predecessors, by the advice of our brethren, we do, by these Apostolic writings, command your brotherhood and strictly enjoin you, all delay and excuses laid aside, that if you should be absent from your church, anything whatever notwithstanding, whatever is known to have been done in the building of the aforesaid chapel, after the appeals made both in the time of your predecessors as also in your own to the Apostolic See, as also the prohibitions thereof by our predecessors, you will, within

thirty days after the receipt of these presents, not delay to destroy at your own expense, utterly revoking as null and void, and undoing whatever has been done, or whatever innovation has been made, contrary to all rule, as to the instalment of canons and other persons in the said chapel. The clergy also, who, after the Apostolic prohibitions, have performed Divine service in the said chapel, you are to hold suspended from their duties and benefices until such time as they shall have made due satisfaction for the same, all the works being destroyed which they have dared to erect at the said chapel. All matters of grievance also,⁸¹ which, after appeal made by them, they have been subjected to, by the intrusion of strangers, and by the invasion of their churches and other rights, you are to replace, all power of appeal removed, in their former state in which they were before the appeal was made; the sentences also of excommunication or interdict which you are said in your rashness to have pronounced upon some of the brethren themselves, you are publicly to announce as null and void. And for the future, as regards the state of the said monastery, you are not on any pretext relative to this matter to presume, contrary to our prohibition, to make any innovation therein, but are, by the ban of excommunication, to compel the unlawful invaders of the vills, possessions, and revenues of the brethren aforesaid, to make due and proper satisfaction for the same. But if (a thing that we do not believe) you shall neglect or delay, within the stated time, to fulfil our commands, because it is just that obedience should be withdrawn from him who neglects to pay obedience to the Apostolic See, we do, by these our writings, command our venerable brethren, your suffragans, thenceforth not to pay obedience or respect to you. And if it shall so be, that, contrary to this our prohibition, you shall exact obedience and respect to be shewn to you by them, or any of them, you are to know that you are thenceforth suspended from the episcopal dignity, and that you will be subject to the said sentence, until such time as you shall present yourself in our presence to make satisfaction for the said contempt. And further, we do not make any distinction as to whether, in the place forbidden by our predecessors or in any other place, you shall proceed to act to the prejudice of the church of Canterbury, by the building of the said chapel, and

⁸¹ This passage will not admit of an exact translation, as it is evidently in a corrupt state.

the institution of canons therein, the same cause for forbidding it still existing; except that we are of opinion that it is still more derogatory to the said church, that the building has been transferred to a place so distant.⁶² Given at Saint Peter's, at Rome, on the eighth day before the ides of May, in the first year of our pontificate."

The said pope Innocent also signified, by his letters to all the suffragans of the church of Canterbury, that he had given commands to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, not to delay, within thirty days after the receipt of his letter, at his own expense, to destroy the chapel of Lambeth, and revoke as null and void whatever had been done as to the institution of canons and other persons in reference to the said chapel, as also the other matters that were contained in his said letter. He also commanded the said suffragans that, if the said archbishop of Canterbury should delay to do any of the things that were contained in his said letter, then, in such case, for the future, they were to pay him no respect or obedience.

However, the said archbishop, being supported by the king's protection, hoping that he could not be defeated by his adversaries, caused all the revenues of the monks, and the offerings at the tomb of the blessed Martyr Thomas, to be seized on the king's behalf, and, disregarding the mandates of the Supreme Pontiff, would not allow the monks of the Holy Trinity to go beyond the precincts of that church. At last, however, at his own expense, he destroyed the chapel at Lambeth.

In the same year, Geoffrey, the archbishop of York, and Simon, the dean, together with the canons of York, appearing in the presence of Richard, king of England, at Andely, in Normandy, each of them alleged the injuries done to the one side and the other; and, as it was in accordance with the king's wishes that the said archbishop, dean, and canons of York should submit to the arbitration of the lord archbishop of Rouen, and the lords bishop of Winchester and Worcester, the said archbishop consented to the king's desire on the subject: but the dean and canons of York made answer, that they would not submit to the judgment of any person, except the judgment of canons secular, and they alleged injustice on the part of the king, because this mode of reconciliation was productive of long delays, and, in the meantime, the archbishop

⁶² Alluding to the transfer of the intended chapel by archbishop Baldwin from Akington, or Hackington, near Canterbury, to Lambeth.

would not confirm the presentations which the king had made to them in the church of York.

The king, being incensed at this conduct, gave the archdeaconry of Richmond to Roger of Saint Edmund's, his clerk, which the archbishop of York had previously given to Master Honorius, his clerk; who, although he had received the fealty of the clergy of the said archdeaconry by command of the archbishop, and the archbishop had, by his letters, generally given a command to the like effect to the whole chapter of York, ordering them, in virtue of their obedience, to receive the said Honorius and instal him, had still been rejected, Simon of Apulia opposing him on the ground that the archbishop had not made especial mention of him in his letters as being dean of the said church. And accordingly, the aforesaid dean, a disturber of the peace, and unmindful of the profession which he had made to the said archbishop, received Roger of Saint Edmund's, and installed him, and invested him with the archdeaconry of Richmond, after appeal made by Master Honorius to the Supreme Pontiff. On this, the clerks of the archdeaconry of Richmond, through the violent coercion of Simon of Apulia, and the stern commands of the king, paid fealty to Roger of Saint Edmund's, in contravention of the canonical obedience which they had previously paid to Master Honorius. In the chapter of York, consisting of the said Simon, the dean, and the other canons of the said church, the aforesaid dean, in the violence of his wrath, paying no deference to the appeal made to the Supreme Pontiff, excommunicated Hugh Murdac, his fellow-canon, because he refused to sanction their proceedings, or take any part whatever in the conspiracy formed against his archbishop. For, as he said: "The wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood."⁸² On the same day, when the said Hugh entered the choir to attend vespers, the dean ordered him to go out, as a person excommunicated; and, as he refused to depart, the dean ordered the tapers to be put out, and left the choir.

In the same year, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the justiciary of England, assembling a large army, proceeded to Wales, to succour the people of William de Braose, whom Wenhunwin,⁸³ the brother of Cadwallan, had besieged in Maud's Castle, and on arriving there, he fought a pitched battle with the said Wenhunwin and his people, and, although the Welch in arms were

⁸² Prov. xxx. 33.

⁸³ More generally called Owen.

very numerous, still, not being able to make resistance to the forces of the English, they were put to flight, and throwing away their arms, that, being less burdened, they might run more swiftly, there were slain more than three thousand seven hundred of them, besides those who were captured, and those who being fatally wounded escaped from the field; while on the side of the English, only one person was killed, being accidentally wounded by an arrow intaughtly aimed by one of his companions.

In the same year, in the month of August, Ermengard, the queen of the Scots, was delivered of her first-born son, and his name was called Alexander, he being baptized by Jocelyn, the venerable bishop of Glasgow.

In the same year, the truce being ended, which the king of France and the king of England had agreed to, until such time as the corn should have been gathered in on both sides, their direful fury immediately blazed forth, and, all conferences being put an end to, each entered the kingdom of the other in hostile form, and, depopulating the lands, carried off booty, took prisoners, and burned towns. The king of France also, finding a new method of venting his rage against the people, caused the eyes to be put out of many of the subjects of the king of England whom he had made prisoners, and thus provoked the king of England, unwilling as he was, to similar acts of impiety.

In the same year, the Duke of Louvaine, the count de Brene, Baldwin, earl of Flanders, the count de Gynes, the earl of Boulogne, Geoffrey, count de Perche, the earl of Saint Gilles, the earl of Blois, Arthur, duke of Brittany, and many others, forsaking the king of France, became adherents of Richard, king of England, making oath to him, and he to them, that they would not make peace with the king of France, unless with the common consent of all. On this, the earl of Flanders laid siege to the town of Saint Omer, and took it by storm, and in like manner Arras, and many other towns of the king of France.

In the same year, Henry, duke of Saxony, nephew of Richard, king of England, came to Andely, in Normandy, to visit his uncle, the said king of England, being on his return from the land of Sulia; and was honorably entertained by the king, in such manner as befitted a man of such eminence, and his own nephew. In the month of September, in the said year, Philip, king of France, and Richard, king of England, had an engagement

between Jumieges, a castle of the king of England, and Vernon, a castle of the king of France, in which combat the king of France and his people being put to flight, he lost sixty⁸⁴ of his knights, and more than forty⁸⁵ men-at-arms, besides many horse and foot; the king of England pursuing the king of France with the edge of the sword, until he shut himself up in his castle of Vernon.

In the same year, Philip, bishop of Durham, received, by command of king Richard, the manor of Sedbergh, with the wapentake and knights' fees, and all other things thereto pertaining, as fully and wholly as the charter of the said king witnessed that the same grant was made to Hugh, bishop of Durham. The king also gave him permission to enclose with a ditch and hedge the wood of Cliff and the wood of Raic, and quitted claim to him of view of forest as to them both, and of all molestation on part of his foresters.

In the month of September in this year, on the fifth day before the calends of October, being the Lord's day, Richard, king of England, took by assault a castle of the king of France, which is called Curcelles, and another castle of the same king called Burris; and, on the day after the capture of the said castles, namely, on the calends of October, being the second day of the week and the vigil of Saint Michael, Philip, king of France, having assembled a large body of troops and citizens, marched forth from Mante on his road to Curcelles. On hearing of this, the king of England went forth to meet him, and fought a pitched battle with him between Curcelles and Gisors, on which the king of France, being worsted, fled to the castle of Gisors; and, while he was crossing the bridge of the town of Gisors, the bridge broke down on account of the multitude of those crossing it, and the king of France fell into the river Ethe, and had to drink of it, and, if he had not been speedily dragged out, would have been drowned therein. In this battle, Richard, king of England, laid three knights prostrate with a single lance, and there were taken prisoners many illustrious men among the knights of the king of France, whose names are as follows: Galis de Port, Matthew de Montmorenci, Alan de Rusci, Gerard de Choir, Philip de Nanteuil, Peter L'Eschars, Robert de Saint Denis, Theobald de Walengard, Cedunal de Trie, Roger de Modlen, Aimer Thiers, Reginald d'Ascy, Balde de Levigny, Thomas d'Asgent,

⁸⁴ V. r. twenty,⁸⁵ V. r. sixty.

Feri de Paris, Peter de la Truie, Guido de Levers, Turmentin, [of Champagne,] Terric d'Anceis, Amfrid de Baalim, Eborard de Montigny, Puncard, Walter Le Rouge, Ernulph de Lenni, Odo de Muntiu, William de Sauciai, Jollan de Bray, Peter de Poncy, Dembert [d'Auge,] Puncard Duchatel Empurchamp, William de Merle, John de Gauge, Theobald de Brune, Robert de Beauburg, Geoffrey de Borhai, Peter de Maidnil, Fulk de Gilerval, John de Serni, [Alard] de Loenais, Ralph de Vallucel, Ferri de Brunaye, Thomas de Castel, William de Rochemont, Theobald de Misci. And, besides the knights already mentioned, the king of England took one hundred knights, and one hundred and forty horses, covered with iron armour, and of men-at-arms, both horse and foot, a great number.

On this occasion the said king wrote to Philip, bishop of Durham, to the following effect :

The Letter of Richard, king of England, to Philip, bishop of Durham, relative to the above-mentioned victory.

“Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to his dearly beloved and faithful subject, Philip, by the same grace, bishop of Durham, greeting. You are to know that on the last Lord's day, before the feast of Saint Michael, we entered the territory of the king of France, in Anjou, and made an assault on Curcelles, of which we took the castle, with the town, as also the lord of the castle, and all the rest who were therein. On the same day we assaulted the fortified mansion of Burris, and took the whole that was in it, together with the mansion, and at a late hour returned with our army into Anjou. On hearing of this, on the following day the king of France came forth from Mante, with three hundred knights, and with men-at-arms and citizens, for the purpose of succouring the castle of Curcelles, as he did not believe that it was taken. On this, as soon as we learned that he was approaching, we went forth with a small number of troops, but sent the main body of our forces to line the bank of the river Ethe, as we supposed that he would come upon our people on the opposite bank of the river from the side of Anjou. He, however, with his forces made a descent in the direction of Gisors, on which, we put him and his people, after taking to flight, into such consternation on their way to the gate of Gisors, that the bridge broke down beneath them, and the king of France, as

we have heard say, had to drink of the river, and several knights, about twenty in number, were drowned. Three also, with a single lance, we unhorsed, Matthew de Montmorency, Alan de Rusci, and Fulk de Gilerval, and have them as our prisoners. There were also valiantly captured as many as one hundred knights of his, the names of the principal of whom we send to you, and will send those of the rest, when we shall have seen them, as Marchadès has taken as many as thirty whom we have not seen. Men at arms, also, both horse and foot, were taken, of which the number is not known; also, two hundred chargers were captured, of which one hundred and forty were covered with iron armour. Thus have we defeated the king of France at Gisors; but it is not we who have done the same, but rather God, and our right, by our means; and in so doing, we have put our life in peril, and our kingdom, contrary to the advice of all our people. These things we signify unto you, that you may share in our joy as to the same. Witness ourselves, at Anjou."

On the thirtieth day of September, Philip, king of France, entered Normandy, with a large army, while the king of England had not with him sixty men, as he had scattered his army over different places. However, he hung upon the rear of the Franks, with a few of his troops, until there had met him, in obedience to his command, about two hundred knights and Marchadès with his Routiers. Accordingly, the Franks, although they were many more in number, on seeing the king of England and his men, after having burned about eighteen towns, retreated with hasty steps; and while the king of England pursued them in the rear, Marchades, with his Routiers, met them in front, and there were taken of the French, about thirty knights and men-at-arms, and one hundred horses, in addition to those slain. This took place near Vernon; for they did not return by the road by which they had come, that is, across the fords of Anjou, but, in their trepidation took to flight in the direction of Vernon; and it is still spoken of, as a matter of disgrace to the French people, that, leaving his men, their king made his escape on an old dark brown horse, which they say he had had for ten years, and took nothing with him out of Normandy, except, perhaps, three or four knights and a single man-at-arms.

After this, the king of England, collecting an army, entered France by the ford of Anjou, and took, as above-stated, Burris

and Curcelles, and another castle, while his troops, with continued ravages and conflagrations, laid waste the whole of the French Vexin. When the king of England was on the point of levelling the fortress of Curcelles, the king of France, collecting his forces, came down upon him, and an engagement taking place between them, the king of France, giving rein to his horse, was put to flight in the midst of his territory, on which the king of England pursued him with his troops, and took of the knights of the king of France at least eighty-three in number, besides men-at-arms, arbalisters, and those who were drowned in the river Ethe; and in consequence of the excessive trepidation of the Franks, the bridge over the Ethe, before Gisors, broke down beneath them, and the king of France fell into the water, so that he was with difficulty dragged out⁸⁶ by the leg, and was nearly drowned. A great many others were also drowned, among whom were Milo de Pudsey, count de Bar, and John, the brother of William des Barres, a knight; who with many others were drowned in the river Ethe. William, also, the castellane and lord of Curcelles, died immediately after he was taken prisoner.

After this, the king of France assembling an army, entered Normandy, and burned Evreux and seven other towns. Earl John also, brother of king Richard, burned Neuburg, which the king of France thinking to have been done by his own people, sent some knights to forbid them to proceed in their ravages; and of these eighteen knights were taken, together with many men-at-arms. Shortly after, Marchadès, with his Routiers, entered Flanders, and attacked the fair held near Abbeville, and spoiled the merchants of France, and returning into Normandy with a great booty, filled the land with the spoils of the Franks, and slew many of them, and took with him many captives to be put to their ransom.

After these events, Robert, earl of Leicester, came with forty knights and a few men-at-arms, before the castle of Pasci, which had belonged to him: on which the knights of the castle sallied forth with a great number of men-at-arms and the citizens of the town, for the purpose of capturing him and his followers; and he, being able to offer them no resistance, escaped with difficulty, and lost four of his knights.

⁸⁶ This is a repetition of the story relative to the disaster of the king of France. They were probably copied from two different sources, and, perhaps through an oversight of the amanuensis, both were inserted in the chronicle.

On the following day, however, the said earl, having called to his aid a considerable number of the knights of the household of the king of England, came before the castle of Pasci, having first disposed the knights and great numbers of men-at-arms in different places, to lie in ambush for the people of the castle. Accordingly, when the knights of the castle, who had driven him from the field the day before, espied him, they sallied forth with great vigour, and he fled before them, until they fell in with those lying in ambush, on which eighteen knights of their number were captured, and a great number of the common soldiers.

In the meantime, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, crossed over from England to Normandy, and immediately, at the request of the king of France, and with the permission of the king of England, proceeded into France, to treat of making peace between those two kings. On this, the king of France made offer that he would, for the sake of peace, surrender to the king of England all his lands and castles that he had seized, with the exception of the castle of Gisors, as to which, he would abide by the decision of six Norman barons, whom he himself should name, and of six barons of France, whom the king of England should name, which of the two had the greatest right to retain possession of the castle; but the king of England declined, unless the earl of Flanders, and all the others who had abandoned the king of France and become his adherents, were included in the treaty.

In the same year, Hugh Bardolph, Master Roger Arundel, and Geoffrey Hacket, to whom, as judges itinerant, had been entrusted Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancaster, held pleas of the king's crown.

*Heads of the Pleas of the King's Crown.*⁸⁶

Of pleas of the crown, new and old, which were not disposed of in the presence of the justices of our lord the king. Of mort d'ancestor. Of novel disseisin. Of grand assize, as far as ten pounds' value in land, and below. Of advowsons of churches. Elections⁸⁷ also under the jurisdiction of the grand assize are to be taken before them, in obedience to the mandate of our lord the king, or of his chief justice. Of churches vacant or not vacant, which were in the presenta-

⁸⁶ The text of Wilkins has been adopted.

⁸⁷ Probably of ecclesiastical persons.

tion of our lord the king, as to who has presented them, or who has them, and through whom, and what is their value. Of escheats of our lord the king, and their values, and who has them, and through whom. Of daughters and sons of nobles, and unmarried women who are or ought to be at the disposal of our lord the king, and the value of their lands, and which of the said males or females has married, and enquiry is to be made to whom, and by whom, and since what time. Enquiry is also to be made as to what widows have not compounded for marrying of themselves,⁸⁸ and the fine is to be exacted on behalf of our lord the king. Of serjeanties of our lord the king, and who has the same, and through whom, and what is the value thereof; and as to who have not made composition for aid to our lord the king, and who have made it, and the fine is to be exacted. Of usury by Christians, and the chattels of those who are dead. Of those who lie at the mercy of the king, and have not been amerced. Of pourprètures⁸⁹ of our lord the king. Of ways of our lord the king that have been stopped up. Of treasure troves. Of offenders and their harbourers. Of persons accused who have fled and returned since the last assize. Of the renewal of all weights and measures, and ells; and if the four men who have been deputed to keep the same, have in each town done what is enacted by statute relative thereto, and if they have attached all transgressors of the said assize; and if they have not attached them as they ought, then let them be punished as though themselves the transgressors. All wine belonging to such persons as shall have sold the same contrary to the assize shall be seized on behalf of our lord the king, and the owner of the wine, as well as the sellers, shall be amerced to the king. Enquiry is to be made throughout all the counties as to the hides and carucates therein; and whether the justices who have been appointed for the purpose have duly behaved themselves, and whether they have received from all persons, and whether they have concealed anything. Of the keepers of the sea-ports; if they have received anything which they have not paid, and if they have received any bribe for withholding the king's rights, and if any person has received anything who has not been duly appointed for the said purpose. Enquiry is to be made, if all appear, who such person is, and what is his name;

⁸⁸ Without the king's permission.

⁸⁹ Encroachments by enclosure of the king's lands.

for it is by these and other vexations, whether justly or unjustly, that all England has been reduced to poverty from sea to sea.

But before these troubles were at an end, another kind of trouble arose, to the confusion of the subjects of the realm, by means of the justices of the forests, namely, Hugh Neville, chief-justice of all the king's forests in England, whose surname was Envellu, Hugh Wac, and Ernest de Neville. For it was commanded the said justices itinerant of the forests, on the king's behalf, throughout each county through which they should proceed, to convene before them, to the pleas of the forests, the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and all freeholders, and the reeve of each town, and four other men, to hear the king's commands.

In the first place, our lord the king gives notice, that if any shall commit an offence against him, relative to his venison, or his forests, in any way, he does not wish such to place their confidence in the fact that he has hitherto amerced them solely in their chattels, who have offended against him relative to his venison, or his forests. For if any persons henceforth shall commit any offence against him relative thereto, and shall be convicted of the same, it is his intention that the full punishment shall be inflicted on them, as in the days of Henry, the grandfather⁹¹ of our lord the king, that is to say, they are to lose their eyes and their virility. Also, our lord the king forbids that any person shall have bows or arrows, or dogs, or harriers, in his forests, unless he has the king as his surety, or some one else to act as his surety in so doing. The king also forbids that any one shall give or sell anything to the destruction of his woods, or the waste that lies in the king's forests; but he gives full permission for them to take anything that is necessary for them from their own woods, but without waste and this in view of his forester and verderers. He also orders all those who have woods within the boundaries of a forest of our lord the king, to place fit and proper foresters in their woods; for which foresters those to whom such woods belong are to be sureties, or are to find fitting sureties, who may make reparation, if the foresters should offend in anything that relates to our lord the king. He also orders that his own foresters shall have supervision over the foresters of the knights and others, who have woods within the boundaries of a forest belonging to our lord the king, in order that the woods

⁹¹ Properly greatgrandfather.

may not be destroyed. For if, after this, these woods shall happen to be destroyed, they to whom such woods shall belong are distinctly to understand, that by themselves or from their lands reparation shall be made, and not by any one else. The king also orders that his foresters shall make oath that, to the utmost of their ability, they will observe his assize which he has made relative to his forests, and that they will not be guilty of vexatious conduct towards knights or respectable men, by reason of this supervision which the king has given them over their woods. The king also orders that in every county in which he keeps venison, twelve knights shall be appointed to keep watch over vert and venison in his forests, and that four knights shall be appointed for agisting⁹² his woods, and for receiving his pannage,⁹³ and for the purpose of guarding and protecting the same. He also orders, that no one shall agist his own woods within the limits of his forests, before their woods shall have been agisted; and notice is given, that the agistments of our lord the king begin fifteen days before the feast of Saint Michael, and continue for fifteen days after the said feast. The king also orders that, if his forester has in his charge demesne woods of the king, and those woods are destroyed, and he cannot, and knows not how to, show a just cause why such woods are destroyed, nothing is to be exacted of the said forester beyond his own body.⁹⁴ He also orders that no clerk shall commit any offence against him relative to his venison or his forests, and he gives strict orders to his foresters, if they shall find them so offending, not to hesitate to seize them, in order to prevent them so doing, and to make them prisoners; as he will exact sureties of them in consequence of so doing. The king also orders that all his assarts⁹⁵ shall be viewed every third year, after regard,⁹⁶ both old and new, and the same as to all pourprestures, and all wastes in his woods; and that each of the same shall be registered by itself. The king also orders that the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, and freeholders, and all men in his lands, shall come at the summons of his

⁹² "To agist," is to find the cattle of strangers in the king's forest, and to receive the money due for the same.

⁹³ "Pannage," is the money so taken by the agistors.

⁹⁴ He is to be punished by imprisonment, and not by fine.

⁹⁵ Forest lands from which the trees have been rooted up, and are thus rendered fit for cultivation.

⁹⁶ View by the regarders of the forest.

chief forester, to hold pleas as to his forests. It is also to be forbidden, at the pleas held at the forests, that any carriage shall go out of the high road into the king's forests, or that there shall be any swine in the king's forests in the fence times,⁹⁷ that is to say, between fifteen days before the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, and fifteen days after that feast. It is also to be known, that whoever shall commit an offence in the king's forest, with relation to his venison, and shall be attainted of the same, he shall be at the mercy of the king for loss of his eyes and of his virility.

But he who shall be guilty of an offence in the king's forests, as to vert, whether by cutting down wood, or by cutting down branches, or by digging turf, or by rooting up heather, or by cutting brushwood, or by making assart, or new pourpresture by hedge or ditch, or by removal of a mill, or of a water-course, or of a sheep-cote, or of other houses, or by reaping or making hay beyond his hedges or ditches, shall be amerced by the king out of his own money, unless he shall have the king's verderers or foresters as his warranty for so doing. In like manner, they who carry bows or arrows, or who lead dogs without a couple through the king's forests, and shall be attainted of the same, shall be amerced by the king.

It is also enacted, that view of forest shall always be made every third year; and in regard of forest, the several matters above-mentioned are to be seen to. Also, in regard, new assarts are to be viewed, and what old ones have been sown since the last regard, and with what corn or pulse they have been sown. Fresh assarts shall be seized to the king's use; if old assarts shall have been sown with wheat or with winter wheat, then each acre shall pay to the king twelve-pence from the said crop; and if they shall have been sown with oats, barley, beans, peas, or any other pulse, then each acre shall pay to the king six-pence from the said crop.

It is also deserving to be known, that in the time of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, it had been allowed for ditches to be made within the boundaries of the forests instead of hedges; and the said Henry enacted at Woodstock, that whoever should commit an offence against him as to his forests, relative to the venison therein, on the first occasion, safe sureties should be exacted of him; if he should offend a second time, safe sureties were to be similarly exacted of him;

⁹⁷ Fawning season.

but if he should likewise offend a third time, for the third offence no sureties were to be exacted, but the offender's own body.

In the same year, the men of the religious orders refused⁹⁸ to pay the king five shillings for each carucate in tillage, as the other subjects of the kingdom did; on which, an edict went forth from the king, that whoever in his kingdom should commit an offence against a clerk or any other member of the religious orders, he should not be compelled to make satisfaction to him; but if any clerk or other member of the religious orders should commit an offence against any layman, he should be immediately compelled to make satisfaction to him; in consequence of which, the members of the religious orders were compelled to ransom themselves⁹⁹ [from this grievance].

The king also issued orders, that all persons, both clerks as well as laymen, who had charters or confirmations under his old seal, should bring them to be renewed under his new seal; and if they should omit to do so, nothing that was done under his old seal should be held to be ratified.

In the same year, pope Innocent sent letters of entreaty to Richard, king of England, in favour of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, begging him and, with paternal admonitions, exhorting him to receive the said archbishop, after his prayers and services, into his favour and brotherly love, and permit him in peace to return to his place, in order that he might not be obliged to proceed to ecclesiastical censure against him and his kingdom. In consequence of this, Richard, king of England, sent to the said archbishop, Philip, bishop of Durham, Eustace, bishop of Ely, Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, John, bishop of Worcester, and Savaric, bishop of Bath, begging, in a spirit of humility, on the king's behalf, that he would ratify the presentations which the king had made in the church of York, on which, the king would restore to him his archbishopric in its full entirety.

To these persons the archbishop made answer, "You are my fellow-brethren, and I will do what you advise me, if you will give me your assurance in writing under the testimony of your seals, that you will stand by that advice in the presence of our lord the pope." On this, the said bishops made answer,

⁹⁸ The text of Hoveden has "voluerunt," "wished," or "were ready;" the context shows that this is a mistake for "noluerunt."

⁹⁹ By paying, like the rest.

“ We shall give you no writing, but it must be left to your own discretion; you are of sufficient age, therefore speak for yourself;” and so saying, those who had been sent returned to the king with the archbishop’s answer.

On this, the archbishop set out for Rome, and the king of England sent envoys to Rome to oppose him, who [afterwards] wrote to him to the following effect: “ Our lord the pope writes to you with earnest supplications, that you will restore to the archbishop of York his archbishopric in full, together with the revenues that have been received from the archbishopric, upon condition, however, that he shall pay the sums of money in which we have alleged him to be indebted to you, wholly, and in full. He has also written to our lord the cardinal and some others, that they are to advise and induce you to do so; and if you persist in refusing the same, they are to compel you, first, by interdict of the province of York, and after that by interdict of the whole kingdom, all power of appeal withdrawn. Furthermore, according to the aforesaid instructions, your clerks are to be strictly compelled, by the cardinal, to give up all the revenues which in the meantime they have received, unless they can defend themselves, either on the authority of the Church of Rome, or on the grounds of delay [to present] within six months, according to the statute of the council of Lateran, the time of his suspension being excepted therefrom. The canons of York are to be advised to come to a reconciliation, and if any new point shall arise, both parties are again to present themselves before our lord the pope, the privileges of the canons [meantime] remaining in their usual force.”

In the same year, during the summer, in a certain city in Italy, not far from Genoa, a thing took place that deserves to be related. In this city, first, one of the citizens, his sins so demanding it, became possessed, that is to say, a dæmoniac; and in a few days the number of them increased to such a degree, that each person was in dread for himself, lest a similar danger might befall him. Upon this, by the common advice of the citizens, some religious men were summoned to the city, and especially the abbat of Lucca, of the Cistercian order, who was called, and seemed to be the greatest authority among them in matters of religion, in order that they might deliberate upon what was to be done for the citizens thus terror-stricken. Accordingly, a fast for three days was proclaimed. On the third

day the dæmoniacs were summoned into their presence, and the said abbat adjured them in the name of Jesus Christ, that they would explain the cause why they had dared to annoy that city more than others, and to depart from the servants of Christ who had been signed with this name.¹ On this, one of them, crying out with a loud and terrible voice, exclaimed: "Are you for compelling us to come forth from the vessels that have been reasonably assigned to us? Why, we are that legion of devils which your Jesus, after casting them out from the man, allowed to hurl the swine from the rock into the sea. But now, being released from the chains in which we were bound, we have received power over the blasphemers only of the Virgin Mary; and in this city we have found such persons, and having found them, it is our duty to torment them as they deserve. Wherefore, if we are driven out, know that you, hypocrite, and your order we shall torment the next." At his second command, however, they came forth, though with great difficulty, leaving the traces of their foul footsteps behind.

In the same year, Aimeric de Lusignan, king of Baruth,² Accaron, prince of the Isle of Cyprus, and the other Christians in the land of Sulia, and the pagans, made a truce, to commence from the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, and to last for the next six years, unless some powerful king of the Christians should arrive in those parts. In the same year also, Richard, king of England, and Philip, king of France, made a truce in the month of November, to last till the feast of Saint Hilary next ensuing.

In the same year, Philip, bishop of Durham, at the petition of Robert de Turnham, granted him, in the king's presence, a jury of twelve lawful men of the vicinity of Clif, to enquire which of them had the greater right to the said manor of Clif: that is to say, whether the said Robert ought to hold the said manor of the bishop of Durham, and to do homage to him for the same, or whether the bishop ought to hold it in demesne. Accordingly, on the oath of twelve lawful men, it was declared that that manor was the hereditary right of the wife of the said Robert, daughter³ of William Fossard, and so the said bishop lost the manor of Clif, which his predecessors had, for a long period, peaceably and inviolably held. This took place at York, before Hugh Bardolph, Master Roger Arundel, and Geoffrey Hacket, at this time justices of the pleas of the crown.

¹ In baptism.

² Beyrout.

³ "Fili," is evidently a misprint.

In the same year, upon the death of Master Richard of Col-
dingham, Philip, bishop of Durham, and Bertram, prior of the
church of Durham, disagreed as to the right of presentation of
the churches of the aforesaid Richard. For the bishop said
that the presentation belonged to him, as bishop and abbat of
the church of Durham; to which, the prior made answer, that
the presentation belonged to him, because his predecessors and
himself, without any one gainsaying it, had presented the same
as priors and lords of the soil, and that they held all the power
of abbat in the choir, and in the management of the house, and
of their revenues, by grant of the king, and through institution
by the bishops of Durham, and confirmation by the Pontiffs of
Rome. But this controversy was not allowed to rest, indeed it
increased to such a degree, that by order of the bishop of Dur-
ham, Aimeric, the archdeacon of Durham, blockaded the church
of Saint Oswald, in Elvet, to which the monks had retired,
and would not allow provisions to be carried to them. One day
even, after appeal had been made to the pope by the monks,
the said Aimeric caused fire to be set to the door of the church,
that thus, by means of the smoke and vapour, the fire might
expel the monks. However, God changed the feelings of the
bishop for the better, and, out of respect for Saint Cuthbert, he
bestowed the said church on the monks, for their sole use, and
by his charter confirmed the same; he also granted them the
free disposal of their churches, though with but a tardy assent
on his part.

In the same year, pope Innocent, during the affliction of
the Christians who were in the land of Jerusalem, wrote to the
following effect:—

The Letter of pope Innocent, on giving succour to the Holy Land.

“Innocent, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his
venerable brethren, the archbishop of York and his suffragans,
and his dearly beloved sons, the abbats, priors, and other pre-
lates of churches, and the earls, barons, and all the people of the
province of York, health and the Apostolic benediction. After
the sad fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem, after the lamentable
slaughter of the people of Christendom, after the deplorable in-
vasion of that land on which the feet of Christ had stood, and
where God, our king, had deigned to work salvation in the midst
of the earth, after the ignominious retreat of the vivifying Cross

on which the salvation of the world had been suspended, and had thereby blotted out the handwriting of former death, the Apostolic See, alarmed at the sad occurrence of mishaps so unfortunate, was affected with agonizing grief, exclaiming and bewailing to such a degree that, from her continual crying, her throat became hoarse, and from excessive weeping, her eyes became dim. But, in the words of the prophet,⁴ 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.' Still does the Apostolic See shout aloud, and like a trumpet does she raise her voice, endeavouring to arouse the nations of Christendom to fight the battles of Christ, and to avenge the injuries done to Him crucified, using the words of him who says, 'All ye that pass by, behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow.'⁵ For behold, our inheritance has gone to strangers, our houses to other people, 'The ways of Zion mourn, because none come to the solemn feasts . . . her adversaries are the chief.'⁶ The Sepulchre of the Lord, which the prophet foretold should be so glorious, has been profaned by the unrighteous, and has been thereby made inglorious. Our glory, of which the Apostle speaks when he says, 'God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ,'⁷ is held in the hands of the enemy, and our Lord Jesus Christ, who, by dying for us, led our captivity captive, as though Himself a captive, is driven in exile from His inheritance. In former days, when the ark of the Lord of Sabaoth abode in tents, Uriah refused to enter his⁸ house, and withheld himself from the lawful embraces of his wife.⁹ But at the present day, our princes, the glory of Israel having been transferred from its place, to our disgrace, give themselves up to adulterous embraces, thereby abusing their luxuries and their wealth; and, while they are harassing each other, with inexorable hatred, while one is using all his endeavours to take vengeance on another for injuries done, there is not a person who is moved by the injuries of Him crucified, not considering that now our enemies are insulting us, saying, 'Where is your God, who can neither deliver himself nor you from our hands? Behold! now have we profaned your sanctuaries; behold! now have we extended our hands to the ob-

⁴ Psalm cxxxvii. 5, 6. It is well known that this psalm is not a composition of king David. ⁵ Lament. i. 12. ⁶ Lament. i. 4, 5.

⁷ Gal. vi. 14.

⁸ "Sanctam" is most probably a misprint.

⁹ 2 Sam. x. 11.

jects of your desires, and have, at the first attack, with the hand of violence seized upon those places; and, whether you will or no, we hold possession of the spots in which you pretend that your¹⁰ superstition took its rise. Already, have we weakened and broken asunder the lances of the Gauls, baffled the efforts of the English, crushed the strength¹¹ of the Germans, and now for the second time subdued the haughty Spaniards; and though you thought to arouse all your might against us, hardly in any of your attempts did you succeed. Where then is your God? Let him arise now and help you, and let him be the protector of yourselves and of himself. The Germans indeed, who presumed that they should gain over us unheard-of triumphs, with ardent spirits crossed the seas to our land: and after they had taken the single fortified place of Baruth, when no one was defending it, unless the assistance of flight had come to the aid of them and the rest of your potentates, they would have wofully experienced upon themselves our might, and their descendants would have for ever bewailed the slaughter we had made of them. And as for your kings and princes, whom we formerly drove out of the lands of the East, in order that they may conceal their terror by putting on a show of daring, after returning to their skulking places, we will not say kingdoms, they prefer to attack each other, rather than once more experience our strength and our might. What then remains except that, those being cut off by the avenging sword, whom, running away, you dismissed for your own purposes and to restore peace to your territories, we should make an attack upon your territories, for the purpose of destroying your name and your memory?" How then, brethren and sons, are we to rebut the insults of these insulters, in what terms shall we be able to answer them? When are we to see them on their side in pursuit of the truth,¹² judging by what has lately reached our hearing upon certain information? For we have received letters from parts beyond seas, to the effect that when the Germans had reached Acre with their fleet, they seized the castle of Baruth, there being no one to defend it; while the Saracens, making an assault upon Joppa on the other side gained possession of it by storm, and having slain many thousand

¹⁰ "Nostram" appears to be a misprint for "vestram."

¹¹ "Vires" is probably the right reading and not "viros."

¹² This passage appears to be in a corrupt state.

Christians therein levelled it with the ground. As for the Germans, on hearing rumours of the death of the Emperor, not waiting for the usual time of making the passage, they embarked on board their ships for the purpose of returning home. On this, the Saracens, who had collected a numerous army, raged with such violence against the territories of the Christians, that it was not possible for the Christians without great danger to go out of their cities, nor yet to remain in them without dread; and too truly their sword has its horrors without, its anxious fears within. Take, therefore, my sons, the spirit of fortitude, the shield of faith, and the helmet of salvation,¹³ putting your trust not in numbers or in your strength, but rather trusting in the power of God, to whom it is not difficult to save whether with many or with few, and rush to the succour of Him by whom you exist, and live, and have your being.¹⁴ For in your behalves it was that 'He made himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross;¹⁵ and yet, while He is poor, you abound, while He is put to flight, you are at rest, and do not, while He is in want and exile, come to His aid. Who, then, in a case of such great emergency, shall refuse to pay obedience to Jesus Christ? When he comes to stand before His tribunal to be judged, what answer will he be able to make to Him in defence of himself? If God has submitted to death for man, is man to hesitate to submit to death for God? 'For the sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.'¹⁶ Shall, then, the servant deny to his lord temporal riches, when his lord bestows upon the servant riches that are eternal; 'which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man'¹⁷ to conceive? Therefore it is that a man should 'lay up treasures in heaven, where thieves do not break through nor steal, nor moth nor rust corrupt.'¹⁸ Let each and all, then, prepare themselves, that in the month of March next ensuing, each city by itself, and, in like manner, each of the earls and barons may, according to their respective means, send forth a number of warriors to the defence of the land of the nativity of our Lord, to be supported at ascertained sums, and there to

¹³ Alluding to Eph. vi. 17.¹⁴ Alluding to Acts xvii. 28.¹⁵ Phil. ii. 7, 9. ¹⁶ Rom. viii. 18. ¹⁷ 1 Cor. ii. 9. ¹⁸ St. Matt. vi. 20.

remain for two years at least. For, although daily anxieties in behalf of all the churches are pressing upon us, still, this in especial do we conceive as one of our anxieties, our desire to apply every energy to the rescue of the lands of the East; lest if succour should chance to be delayed, the bruch¹⁹ may devour the residue of the locust, and the last state become worse than the first. But, that we may not seem to lay grievous and insupportable burdens on the shoulders of other men, and to be unwilling with our finger to move the same, saying so much, and doing little or nothing at all, and, inasmuch as he who both does and teaches is to be called great in the kingdom of heaven, after the example of Him who began to do and to teach, to the end that we, who, unworthy as we are to act as His vicars upon earth, may set a good example to others, we have determined, both in person and in deed, to aid the Holy Land; and have appointed our dearly beloved son, Stephen, cardinal priest and titular of Saint Praxedes, and Peter, cardinal deacon and titular of Saint Mary in Viâ latâ, legates of the Apostolic See, men fearers of God, famous for their knowledge and their probity, powerful both in word and deed, and whom, among our other brethren, we do in especial love and esteem, after having, with our own hand, placed upon them the sign of the cross, humbly and devoutly to precede the army of the Lord, and not to be supported by offerings given through charity, but at our own cost, and at that of our brethren; by whom also we have determined upon sending other available aid to the said land. Wherefore, in the meantime, we have sent the said Peter, cardinal deacon and titular of Saint Mary in Viâ latâ,²⁰ unto the presence of our most dearly beloved sons in Christ, the most illustrious kings, Philip, king of the Franks, and Richard, king of the English, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between them, or at least obtaining a truce for five years, and exhorting the people to obedience to Him crucified: and whom, as legate to the Apostolic See, we will and command to be honored by all, and obedience to be humbly shewn to his mandates and enactments. But the aforesaid Stephen, cardinal priest and titular of Saint Praxedes, we are about to send to Venice, to obtain succour for the Holy Land. Moreover, by the common advice of our brethren, we have resolved, and do strictly

¹⁹ This seems to have been an ancient proverb. The "bruchus" was a kind of small locust; it seems to have no name in the English language.

²⁰ He is also called cardinal of Capua.

enjoin and command you, our brethren the archbishops and bishops, and our dearly beloved sons, the abbats, and other prelates of churches, forthwith to levy a certain number of soldiers, or, in place of such certain number, a fixed amount of money, in the month of March next ensuing, due consideration being had of the means of each, for the purpose of attacking the barbarous tribes of the pagans, and preserving the inheritance of the Lord, which with His own blood He has obtained. But if any person, (a thing that we cannot believe,) shall dare to oppose an ordinance so pious and so necessary, we have determined that he shall be punished as a transgressor of the sacred canons, and do order that he shall be suspended from his duties until such time as he shall have made due satisfaction for the same. Wherefore, trusting in the mercy of God, and in the authority of the blessed Apostles, Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and in that power of binding and unloosing which, unworthy as we are, God has bestowed upon us, we do, in the case of those who, in their own persons and at their own expense, shall undergo the labours of this expedition, grant them plenary pardon for those sins for which they have done penance with voice and heart, and do promise them the blessing of everlasting salvation as the reward of the just. And, to those who shall not have gone thither in their own persons, but only, at their own expense, shall have, according to their means and rank, sent fit and proper men, to stay there for two years at least, and to those likewise, who, although at the expense of others, shall, in their own persons, have undergone the labours of the pilgrimage which they have undertaken, we do also grant plenary pardon for their sins. We do also will that all persons shall be partakers in this remission, who shall give suitable aid to the said land at their own cost, according to the amount of the aid they shall so give, and especially in proportion to the feelings of devotedness they shall manifest. And, in order that all persons may prepare more expeditiously and more securely for going to the aid of the land of the nativity of our Lord, we do take their property from the time that they shall have assumed the cross, under the care of Saint Peter and of ourselves; and the same is likewise to be under the protection of the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church of God; it being our order that until their death or return is to a certainty ascertained, the same shall remain safe and untouched.

And if any person shall presume to contravene this ordinance, he is to be forced by ecclesiastical censure to the observance thereof. Therefore, let no person entirely withhold himself from this work, inasmuch as the same has not been commenced by ourselves, but by the Apostles themselves, who made collection among the nations, that they might succour the brethren who were labouring in Jerusalem. And further, we do wish you not to despair of the Divine mercy, however much the Lord may be offended at our sins, who, by your hand may effect, (if, as you ought to do, you set out upon your pilgrimage with all humility of heart and of body,) that which he did not grant to your forefathers. For, probably, our forefathers would have conspired together, and would have said, 'our own high hand, and not the Lord hath done all this;' and to themselves, and not to the Lord they would have ascribed the glory of the victory. We do also trust, that He will not in His wrath withhold His mercies, who, when He is angered, does not forget to show mercy, admonishing and exhorting us, saying, 'Turn unto me, and I will turn unto you.' We do also believe, that if you walk in the law of the Lord, not following in the footsteps of those, who, going after vanity, have become vain, who gave themselves up to junketings and to drunken revellings, and did those things in the parts beyond sea, which, in the land of their own nativity, they would not dare to do without having to endure great infamy and considerable disgrace, but, placing your hopes of victory in Him alone, who does not forsake those who put their trust in Him, and abstain not only from what is unlawful, but also from many things that are lawful, He, who overthrew the chariot and the hosts of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, will render weak the bow of the strong, and will sweep away from before your faces the enemies of the Cross of Christ as though the very dirt of the streets; not, indeed, giving to us or to you the glory, but to His own name, who is glorious in His Saints, wondrous in His majesty, a worker of marvels, and, after tears and weeping, the giver of joy and gladness. Moreover, if any of those who shall go on the pilgrimage, shall at the time be bound by oath to pay interest, we do, brother archbishops and bishops, command their creditors²¹ in your several dioceses to be compelled by you, by force of ecclesiastical compulsion, all obstacle by appeal removed, entirely to absolve them from their said

²¹ "Credimus" is a mistake for "creditores."

oaths, and to cease to demand from them any further interest. And if any one of their creditors shall compel them to payment of interest, then let him be compelled by you, by means of similar compulsion, all obstacle by appeal removed, to make restitution of the same. Jews also, you princes our sons, we do command to be compelled by you, and by means of the secular power, to forego all interest from such; and until such remission shall have been made, we do, under sentence of excommunication, order every kind of communication with them to be withheld by all the faithful of Christ, either in matters of trade or in any other matters whatsoever. Also, for the purpose of more expeditiously and more perfectly carrying out these commands in your province, we have thought proper to depute you, our sons, the prior of Thurgarton²² and Master Vacarus, to announce the words of the Lord to the others, and, inviting our venerable brethren, your archbishop and his suffragans, and the others, to the fulfilment of this Apostolic mandate, so to promote the cause of the Lord that you may both be partakers of this remission, and that in this your devoutness may more fully shine forth. Also, for the more laudable promotion of the same, you are to associate with yourselves herein one of the brethren of the order of the Temple, as also one of the brethren of the Hospital of Jerusalem, men of character and prudence. Given at Saint Peter's, at Rome, on the ides of August, in the first year of our pontificate."

In the same year, there was in France a certain priest, named Fulk, whom the Lord magnified in the sight of kings, and gave him power to make the blind to see, to cure the lame, and dumb, and others afflicted with divers maladies, and to drive out devils. Even harlots, escaping from the bonds of unchasteness, he converted unto the Lord, and led usurers, by inviting them to that heavenly treasure, which neither rust nor moth corrupteth, nor thieves steal, to distribute for the use of the poor all that substance which their usury and exactions had devoured.

He also foretold to the kings of France and England, that one of them would die an unfortunate death before long, unless they speedily desisted from their hostilities. And, because at this time the harvest was plentiful, and the workmen few, the Lord joined unto him wise men, to preach the words of salvation, Master Peter and Lord Robert, and Eustace, the lord abbat of Flaye, besides some others, who, being sent throughout

²² A house of canons regular in Nottinghamshire.

the earth, preached in every part, the Lord assisting them and confirming their words by signs attending them.

One day the before-named Fulk came to Richard, king of England, and said to him, "I warn thee, O king, on behalf of Almighty God, to marry as soon as possible the three most shameless daughters whom thou hast, lest something worse befall thee. Oh, place thy finger on thy lips, for he will prove an accuser who has told the truth. No man is born without faults; blessed is he who is burdened with the fewest; and elsewhere are we informed that there is no man living free from fault." To this the king is said to have made answer: "Hypocrite, to thy face thou hast lied, inasmuch as I have no daughter whatever;" on which Fulk replied and said, "Beyond a doubt, I do not lie, because, as I said, thou hast three most shameless daughters, of whom one is pride, the second avarice, and the third sensuality."

Accordingly, having called around him many earls and barons who were present, the king said: "Listen, all of you, to the warning of this hypocrite, who says that I have three most shameless daughters, namely, pride, avarice, and sensuality, and recommends me to get them married: I therefore give my pride to the Knights Templars, my avarice to the monks of the Cistercian order, and my sensuality to the prelates of the churches." Oh great disgrace, to create a laugh at the expense of the wretched!

After this, Fulk, leaving the king, departed, preaching the word of God from city to city; and when, so preaching the word of God, he had entered the city of Lisieux, the clergy of that city, whose unclean lips this man, filled with the Holy Ghost and good works, had reprov'd, laid hands on him, and, binding him with chains, threw him into prison. But neither chains nor prisons could restrain him, and so, being permitted to depart, he came to Caen, preaching the word of God, and did many miracles in the sight of the people. The keepers, however, of the castle, thinking that it would please the king, laid hands on him, and, placing him in fetters, threw him into prison; but bursting forth from the prison and the fetters, he came forth unharmed, and went his way rejoicing that he had been deemed worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Christ, and, going from the castle, he shook the dust from off his feet as a testimony against them.

In the same year, on the fifth day before the ides of

October, being the Lord's day, at the entreaty of the officers of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, Philip, bishop of Durham, at Hoveden, consecrated Adam, abbat of Sallaie, and Hamo, abbat of Beiland, profession of canonical obedience being made to the church of York and its vicars, saving always the dignity of their order. In the same month, William, surnamed Coke, a servant of Richard, king of England, while keeping charge of the castle of Leuns, took of the household of the king of France, twenty-four men at arms, horsemen, and forty men at arms, foot, whom the king of France had sent for the purpose of guarding the castle of Newmarche.

In the same year died Richard, bishop of London, John, bishop of Worcester, William de Ver, bishop of Hereford, the bishop of Saint David's, and Amfrid of Tours, the first husband of the before-mentioned Milicent, wife of Guido, the former king of Jerusalem.

In the same year died at Palermo, in Sicily, Constance, the former empress of the Romans, wife of the emperor Henry; whose son pope Innocent received into his charge, together with the kingdom of Sicily, the dukedom of Apulia, and the principality of Capua.

In the same year, Philip, bishop of Beauvais, offered to Richard, king of England, a thousand marks of silver for his ransom. In this year also, Richard, king of England, founded a castle on an island at the mouth of the Seine, which he called Buttevant,²³ and the king of France fortified a castle opposite to it, which he called Bulecut. In the same year, Richard, king of England, gave to master Malgar, his clerk, the bishopric of Worcester.

Upon the decease of pope Celestinus, pope Innocent the Third being appointed in his place, he again suspended Alphonso, king of Saint Jago, and the whole of his territory from the celebration of Divine service, on account of his wife, the daughter of the king of Castille, for they were cousins in the third degree; and although the king of Saint Jago offered to our lord the pope Innocent and the cardinals twenty thousand marks of silver, and to keep and pay two hundred knights during the space of one year for the defence of the Christians against the Pagans, only on condition that our lord the pope should allow them to remain together, until God should give them issue, or at least for three years, our lord

²³ It was also called Château Galliard.

the pope Innocent utterly refused to sanction their doing the same.

In the year of grace 1199, being the tenth and last year of the reign of Richard, king of England, the said Richard was at Damfront, in Normandy, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which took place on the sixth day of the week, and Philip, king of France, was on the same day at Vernon, in Normandy. Otho, king of the Germans, and nephew of Richard, king of England, was on the same day at Westphalia, in Almaine, which is distant nine days' journey from Cologne, and which places Otho, by his prowess and valour, had gained against Philip, duke of Suabia, son of Frederic, the former emperor of the Romans.

Immediately after the Nativity of our Lord, the said Otho divided his army into two parts, and laid siege to two cities of the before-named Philip. The kings of France and England, however, met for a conference between Andely and Vernon, on the feast of Saint Hilary; on which occasion the king of England came thither in a boat up the river Seine, and not wishing to land, spoke from the boat with the king of France, who, sitting on horseback on the banks of the river, conversed with the king of England face to face; and there they appointed another day for holding the conference, when, in presence of a greater number of their followers, through the mediation of the lord cardinal deacon Peter of Capua, titular of Saint Mary in Viâ Latâ, legate of the Apostolic See, and in accordance with the advice of other influential persons on either side, they agreed upon a truce to be observed between them, from the said feast of Saint Hilary, to last for the period of five years, with good faith and without evil intent, their property and tenements remaining on both sides in the same state in which they then were; and after these arrangements had been made and confirmed by oath, each returned to his own country; and they allowed their armies, after returning them their thanks, to return to their homes.

While, however, Marchadès, with his Routiers, was returning towards his own country, four counts of the kingdom of France, through whose lands Marchadès had to pass, met him with a hostile force, and worsted him, and slew many of his men. But the king of France disowned this deed, and swore that it had not been done through him. After this, while the king of England, in expectation of enjoying peace and in observance of the aforesaid treaty, had gone towards Poitou, the

king of France erected a new castle between Buttevant and Guaillon, and rooted up a forest belonging to the king of England, in the neighbourhood of the said place.

On the king of England hearing of this, he returned into Normandy, and sent word to the king of France, by Eustace, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, that the truce was broken, unless he should cause the said new castle to be levelled. The legate accordingly advised the king of France to demolish the said castle, in order that a truce so solemnly confirmed might not, for such a reason, be broken; and, at his solicitation, the king of France promised that he would shortly level the said castle. But Richard, king of England, being far from contented with this, desired that either a full understanding should be come to between them, or else that no peace should be made between them.

Accordingly, a treaty was made between them, to the following effect: that the king of France should restore to the king of England, the whole of the territories which he had taken from him, whether in war, or whether in any other way, with the sole exception of the castle of Gisors; in return for which, the king of France, granted to Richard, king of England, the presentation to the archbishopric of Tours. It was also arranged, that Louis, the son of the king of France, should marry the daughter of the king of Castille, the niece of Richard, king of England, and that the king of France should make oath, that he would, to the utmost of his ability, aid Otho, the nephew of the king of England, in gaining the Roman empire. In return for this, Richard, king of England, was to give to Louis, son of the king of France, the castle of Gisors, with his said niece in marriage, and was also to give him twenty thousand marks of silver. However, all these things had to be delayed till such time as Richard, king of England, should return from Poitou.

Philip, king of France, however, that sower of discord, sent word to the king of England, that John, earl of Mortaigne, his brother, had entirely placed himself in his hands, and that he would show him the document signed by John himself to that effect. A thing much to be wondered at! the king of England believed the king of France, and held his brother John in hatred, so much so, that he caused him to be disseised of his lands on both sides of the sea. When, however, the said John enquired what was the cause of this

indignation and hatred, it was told him, that the king of France had sent the above message relative to him to the king his brother. In consequence of this, the said earl of Mortaigne sent two knights in his behalf to the court of the king of France, who offered in every way to make proof that he was innocent of the said charge, or to defend him, according as the court of the king of France should think proper. But in this court there was not found a single person, either the king, or any one else, who was willing to receive this proof of the matter, or challenge of defence. In consequence of this, from this period the king of England received his brother John into greater favour, and gave less credit to the messages of the king of France.

In the meantime, Richard, king of England, by the advice of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, took away from Savaric, bishop of Bath, the abbey of Glastonbury, and gave it to Master William la Pie, on which he was made abbat thereof.

At this period, Guidomar, viscount de Limoges, having found a great treasure of gold and silver on his lands, sent to Richard, king of England, his liege lord, no small part of the same; but the king refused it, saying that he ought in right of his grant²⁴ to have the whole of the said treasure; a thing that the said viscount would on no account agree to. Accordingly, the king of England repaired with a large force to his territory, for the purpose of attacking the said viscount, and laid siege to his castle, the name of which was Chalus, in which he hoped that the said treasure was concealed; and when the knights and men-at-arms, who were in the castle, came forth and offered him the castle, on condition of safety to life and limb, and of retaining their arms, the king refused to receive it, but swore that he would take them by storm and hang them all.

Accordingly, the knights and men-at-arms returned to the castle in sorrow and confusion, and prepared to make a defence. On the same day, when the king of England and Marchadès were reconnoitring the castle on all sides, and examining in which spot it would be most advisable to make the assault, a certain arbalister, Bertram de Gurdun²⁵ by name, aimed an arrow from the castle, and struck the king on the arm, inflicting an incurable wound. The king, on being wounded, mounted his horse and rode to his quarters, and issued orders to Mar-

²⁴ As lord of the demesne.

²⁵ He is called Peter Basil by some writers.

chadès and the whole of the army to make assaults on the castle without intermission, until it should be taken; which was accordingly done. After its capture, the king ordered all the people to be hanged, him alone excepted who had wounded him, whom, as we may reasonably suppose, he would have condemned to a most shocking death if he had recovered.

After this, the king gave himself into the hands of a physician of Marchadès, who, after attempting to extract the iron head, extracted the wood only, while the iron remained in the flesh; but after this butcher had carelessly mangled the king's arm in every part, he at last extracted the arrow. When the king was now in despair of surviving, he devised to his brother John the kingdom of England and all his other territories, and ordered fealty to be done to the aforesaid John by those who were present, and commanded that his castles should be delivered to him, and three-fourths of his treasures. All his jewels he devised to his nephew Otho, the king of Germany, and the fourth part of his treasure he ordered to be distributed among his servants and the poor.

He then ordered Bertram de Gurdun, who had wounded him, to come into his presence, and said to him, "What harm have I done to you, that you have killed me?" On which he made answer, "You slew my father and my two brothers with your own hand, and you had intended now to kill me; therefore, take any revenge on me that you may think fit, for I will readily endure the greatest torments you can devise, so long as you have met with your end, after having inflicted evils so many and so great upon the world." On this, the king ordered him to be released, and said, "I forgive you my death." But the youth "stood before the feet of the king, and with scowling features, and undaunted neck, did his courage demand the sword. The king was aware that punishment was wished for, and that pardon was dreaded. 'Live on,' said he, 'although thou art unwilling, and by my bounty behold the light of day. To the conquered faction now let there be bright hopes, and the example of myself.'²⁶ And then, after being released from his

²⁶ This is an adaptation from the *Pharsalia* of Lucan, where he describes the surrender of Domitius Ahenobarbus to Cæsar at Corfinium, B. ii. l. 510—516. The following is the version in the text:—

"Constitit ante pedes regis, vultuque minaci,
Nobilitas rectâ ferrum cervice proposcit;
Sensit rex pœnamque peti, veniamque timeri;
Vive, licet nolis, et nostro munere, dixit,

chains, he was allowed to depart, and the king ordered one hundred shillings of English money to be given him. Marchadès, however, the king not knowing of it, seized him, and after the king's death, first flaying him alive, had him hanged.²⁷

The king then gave orders that his brains, his blood, and his entrails should be buried at Chalus, his heart at Rouen, and his body at at Fontevraud, at the feet of his father. He departed this life on the eighth day before the ides of April, being the third day of the week before Palm Sunday, and the twelfth²⁸ day after he had been wounded; on which his people buried him in the above-named places, as he had commanded.

In relation to his death, one writer says: "In this man's death, the lion by the ant was slain. O evil destiny! in a death so great the whole world fell."²⁹

Another wrote to this effect: "Valour,³⁰ avarice, crime, unbounded lust, foul famine, unscrupulous pride, and blind desire, have reigned for twice five years; all these an archer did with art, hand, weapon, strength, lay prostrate."³¹

Another wrote thus, "If birth and prowess could have escaped the confines of death, I should not have entered on the path of fate. But think you the man exists, to whom, from the very first, death has announced his end, and repeats aloud, 'He is mine! he is my own!' Long is the hand of death; than mighty Hector is death more mighty; man takes cities, death, man."³²

Another has written these words: "His valour could no throng of mighty labours quell, whose way and onward progress no obstacles did retard, no roaring, no rage of the sea, no abysses of the deep, no mountain heights, no bold and steep ascent of the lofty range, no roughness of the path by rocks made rugged, no windings of the road, no devious unknown track, no fury of the winds, no clouds with showers drunk, no thunders, dreadful visitations, no murky air."³³ [None of

*Cerne diem. Victis jam spes bona partibus esto
Exemplumque mei."*

²⁷ The chronicle of Winchester says that this ruffianly Routier surrendered Gurdun to Joanna, the king's sister, and that she tore out his eyes, and put him to cruel tortures, in the midst of which he expired.

²⁸ V. r. "ninth."

²⁹ An hexameter and pentameter couplet.

³⁰ "Virtus" seems to be a more likely reading than "virus." Even this severe critic could hardly deny him the quality of valour.

³¹ This censure is conveyed in four leonine or rhyming lines.

³² Three elegiac couplets.

³³ Eight hexameter lines.

these dangers prevented him] from making trial of the prowess of the Sicilians, of Cyprus, of Saladin, of the pagan nations, in arms. "And with no lagging foot does the result follow upon the aspirations, together do they onward speed; at the same moment that the will is born, the result is born as well."

On the decease of king Richard, Savaric, bishop of Bath, immediately urged his claims against Master William La Pie, abbat of Glastonbury, and asserted his right before our lord the pope Innocent, in presence of all the cardinals, saying that Richard, king of England, had given him the said abbacy of Glastonbury, to hold the same for life, and that afterwards, listening to bad advice, he had unjustly taken it from him; he also constantly affirmed, being prepared in every way to prove the same, that in ancient times there was at Glastonbury an episcopal see, which is the one now at Bath; and he demanded restitution to be made to him thereof, that he might be enabled to transfer thither the episcopal see which is now at Bath.

Immediately on the death of king Richard, Philip, king of France, made a hostile attack on the city of Evreux, and took it, and subjugated the whole of that county.

In the same year, on Saint Patrick's day, that is, on the sixteenth day before the calends of April, being the fourth day of the week, Jocelyn, the venerable bishop of Glasgow, departed this life, at Melrose, of which place he had been the revered abbat; and was buried there, in the choir of the monks, on the northern side of the church.

On the death of pope Celestinus and the election of pope Innocent in his place, Canute, king of the Danes, sent envoys to Rome, to wait upon pope Innocent, and to complain to him of Philip, king of France, who had unjustly repudiated his wife Botilda, his sister, and taken another wife in her stead. He also made complaint to our lord the pope, against William, archbishop of Rheims, and the other bishops, counts, and barons of France, through whom this divorce had been effected between the king of France, and queen Botilda, after appeal made by her to our lord the pope. Accordingly, at the instance of Canute, king of the Danes, our lord the pope Innocent gave orders to Peter of Capua, the cardinal, and legate of the Apostolic See, to use every possible endeavour to induce the king of France to put away his adulteress, and to take again his wife Botilda, and if he should not do so, to pronounce sentence of interdict upon the kingdom of France.

KING JOHN.

On the decease of Richard, king of England, John, earl of Mortaigne, his brother, who was then staying in Normandy, immediately sent to England, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marshal, earl of Striguil, in order to preserve the peace in England, together with Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the justiciary of England, and other barons of the kingdom. John himself then proceeded to Chinon, where the treasures of his brother were; which Robert de Turnham, who had the charge thereof, delivered up to him, together with the castle of Chinon, the castle of Saumur, and others of the king's castles of which he had the charge. Thomas de Furnes, however, the nephew of the before-named Robert de Turnham, delivered to Arthur, duke of Brittany, the city and castle of Anjou. For the chief men of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, had met together, and given in their adhesion to Arthur, duke of Brittany, as their liege lord, saying that it was their opinion and the custom of those parts, that the son of the elder brother should succeed to what was due to him as his patrimony, namely, the inheritance which Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, the father of Arthur, would have had if he had survived Richard, king of England, his brother; and, consequently, they delivered up to Arthur, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. On this, Constance, countess of Brittany, the mother of Arthur, came to Touraine, and delivered to Philip, king of France, her son Arthur; whom the king of France immediately sent to Paris, to be placed in the charge of his son Louis, and seized the cities, castles, and fortresses that belonged to Arthur, and gave them in charge to keepers appointed by himself.

John, earl of Mortaigne, however, came to Le Mans, and captured the castle and the city; after which, he levelled the walls of the city, the castle, and the houses in the city that were built of stone, and made the citizens prisoners, because they, against the fealty which they had sworn to himself, had received Arthur as their lord. John, earl of Mortaigne, was at Beaufort, in Anjou, on Easter day, which fell on the fourteenth day before the calends of May. The said earl then proceeded to Rouen, and, on the Lord's day, being the octave of Easter, and the seventh day before the calends of May, and the feast of Saint Mark the Evangelist, was girt with the sword

of the dukedom of Normandy, in the mother church of that city, by the hand of Walter, archbishop of Rouen; on which occasion, the before-named archbishop placed on the head of the duke, a circlet of gold, having on the top thereof, around the border, roses worked in gold. The duke made oath in the presence of the clergy and the people, upon the relics of the Saints and the Holy Evangelists, that he would preserve the Holy Church and its dignities inviolate, with good faith and without evil intent, and would exercise strict justice, and destroy unjust laws, and establish good ones.

In the meantime, queen Eleanor, the mother of the said duke, and Marchadès, with his Routiers, entered Anjou, and ravaged it, because its people had received Arthur. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marshal, who had been sent to preserve the peace in England, made the subjects of that kingdom, both in the cities, as also the boroughs, and the earls, and barons, and freeholders, swear fealty, and to observe the peace towards John, duke of the Normans, son of king Henry, the son of the empress Matilda, against all men. However, the whole of the bishops, as well as such earls and barons as had castles, strengthened the same with men, provisions, and arms. Upon this, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, William Marshal, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, justiciary of England, met at Northampton, and summoning before them those persons of whom they had the greatest doubts, namely, David, brother of the king of the Scots, Richard, earl of Clare, Ranulph, earl of Chester, William, earl of Tewkesbury, Walran, earl of Warwick, Roger, constable of Chester, William de Mowbray, and many others, earls as well as barons, they pledged their word to them, that John, duke of Normandy, would give to each of them his due, if they would preserve their fealty to him, and keep the peace. According'y, on these terms, the aforesaid earls and barons swore fealty and faithful service to John, duke of Normandy, against all men.

William, king of the Scots, however, sent his envoys to John, duke of Normandy, demanding restitution of his patrimony, namely, Northumberland and Cumberland, with their appurtenances, on which he would swear fealty to him, and faithfully serve him against all men. But the archbishop of Canterbury, William Marshal, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, would not allow the messengers of the king of Scotland to cross

over to the duke; but sent word to him by earl David, his brother, that he must wait with patience until such time as the duke should come into England. In like manner, John, duke of Normandy, sent word to William, king of the Scots, by Eustace de Vesci, his son-in-law, that on his return to England, he would satisfy him on all his demands, if in the meantime he would keep the peace towards himself.

In the meantime, Master Honorius, who, through the royal power and the malice of the dean and chapter of York, had been deprived of the archdeaconry of Richmond, which Geoffrey, archbishop of York, had conferred on him, was received in the said archdeaconry by the clergy of the said archdeaconry, who swore to him fealty and canonical obedience, after expelling the officers of Roger of Saint Edmund's, who had been intruded by means of the royal power and the authority of the dean and chapter of York. On the other hand, the dean and chapter of York excommunicated the before-named Honorius and his abettors for such presumptuous conduct; on which the duke of Normandy ordered that all the rights of the church of York should remain in the same state in which they were on the day on which his brother Richard, king of England, had been alive and dead.

Shortly after, the said duke John crossed over from Normandy into England, and landed at Scorham,⁸⁵ on the eighth day before the calends of June, being the third day of the week, and, on the next day, that is to say, on the vigil of the Ascension of our Lord, came to London, for the purpose of being crowned on the following day.

Accordingly, upon the arrival of the before-named duke, there assembled in London Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, John, archbishop of Dublin, the archbishop of Ragusa, William, bishop of London, Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, John, bishop of Norwich, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, Eustace, bishop of Ely, Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, Henry, bishop of Exeter, Sefrid, bishop of Chichester, Geoffrey, bishop of Coventry, Savaric, bishop of Bath, Herbert, bishop of Salisbury, Philip, bishop of Durham, Roger, bishop of Saint Andrew's in Scotland, and Henry, bishop of Llandaff, Robert, earl of Leicester, Richard, earl of Clare, William, earl of Tewkesbury, Hamelin, earl of Warenne, William, earl of Salisbury, William, earl of Striguil, Walran, earl of Warwick, earl Roger Bigot, William, earl of

⁸⁵ Shoreham.

Arundel, Ranulph, earl of Chester, and many barons. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, crowned and consecrated the before-named John, duke of Normandy, king of England, in the church of Saint Peter the Apostle, at Westminster, on the sixth day before the calends of June, being the fifth day of the week, and the day of the Ascension of our Lord; Philip, bishop of Durham, protesting against the same, on the ground that the coronation ought not to take place in the absence of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, primate of all England.

On the day of his coronation, king John girded William Marshal with the sword of the earldom of Striguil, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter with the sword of the earldom of Essex; which parties, although they had been before styled earls, and had had the management of their counties, had not been girded with the swords of their earldoms; and on the same day, being girded with their swords, they served at the king's table.

On the day also of his coronation, the said king conferred on Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, his chancellorship. While he was exulting in the power so conferred on him, and boasting greatly of his favour with the king, Hugh Bardolph answered him: "My lord, by your leave I say it, if you really were well to consider the power of your name, and the dignity of your position, you would not impose on yourself the yoke of slavery; for we have never seen or heard of a chancellor being made out of an archbishop, but we have seen an archbishop made out of a chancellor."

In the meantime, William, prior of May, Walter, prior of the Island of Saint Columba, and William de Haye, who had been sent on behalf of William, king of Scotland, came to John, king of England; and, through them, the king of Scotland demanded of the king of England Northumberland and Cumberland, with their appurtenances, in right of inheritance from his father. He also promised that if the king should restore them to him, he would faithfully serve him with all his might; but if not, he would, if he possibly could, obtain the whole of his rights. To this, king John made answer: "When your master, the king of the Scots, my much-loved cousin, shall come to me, I will do for him what is just, both in relation to this and his other demands."

After this, John, king of England, sent Philip, bishop of Durham, to meet the king of the Scots, hoping that he would come at his command; and he, in the meantime, came to Not-

tingham, and remained there on the day of Pentecost, and stayed in those parts, awaiting the arrival of the king of Scotland. However, the king of Scotland refused to come, but sent again to the king of England, Roger, bishop of Saint Andrew's, and Hugh Malebise, whom the king of England had sent for him, and demanded that the king of England should restore to him Northumberland and Cumberland; and if he did not, he was to know for certain that, to the best of his ability, he would gain possession of the same; and for receiving the king's answer on the subject, he appointed a truce of forty days, while he himself, in the meantime, levied a large army. On this, the bishop of Saint Andrew's, and Richard³⁶ Malebise, followed the king of England as he was hastening towards the sea-shore.

In the meanwhile, John, king of England, had delivered to William de Stuteville Northumberland and Cumberland, with the castles and earldoms thereof, to be held in his charge, a charge which Hugh Bardolph had previously held. He also gave in charge to Roger de Lascy, constable of Chester, his castle of Pomfret, having first received from him his son and heir as an hostage. The king next ordered Stephen de Turnham, who had now for nearly two years held the archbishopric of York in his charge, to deliver up the custody of the said archbishopric to Master Ralph de Kime, William Ward, and Roger de Bavent, on behalf of the archbishop; on which, the said Stephen wrote to the following effect to all his servants:—

“Stephen de Turnham, to all his servants throughout the manors of the lord archbishop of York, greeting. Our lord the king has, by his letters, commanded me to deliver up the custody of the manors of the lord archbishop of York to Master Ralph de Kime, William Ward, and, with them, Roger de Bavent, on his behalf: and has ordered that the proceeds of the manors are to be laid out in the cultivation of the lands, and the repair of the boundaries. Wherefore I do command you, when the persons before-named, or their deputies, shall come to you, to deliver up to them, without delay and difficulty, the charge of the said manors. Farewell.”

This was accordingly done: but the king, acting upon bad advice, after the time of Pentecost, retained in his own hands the rents of the manors; making promise, that on the return

³⁶ Qy. if not “Hugh.”

of the archbishop, he would pay them all to him. As for the archbishop of York, after settling his affairs, as previously stated, he had proceeded eight days' journey on his road homewards, when, hearing of the death of king Richard, he returned to Rome, in order to make such alterations in his affairs as the turn of events should require.

John, king of England, after settling his affairs in England, crossed over from England to Normandy, and landed at Dieppe, on the Lord's day, shortly before the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist; and on the day of the Nativity of Saint John he was at Rouen, where a multitude of horse, and an army of foot, came flocking in to him from every quarter; immediately after which, a truce was agreed upon between him and the king of France, until the day after the Assumption of Saint Mary. On the very day of the conference, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, having settled his affairs with our lord the pope to his heart's content, returned into Normandy, and was honorably and affectionately received by his brother John.

In the meantime, Philip, earl of Flanders, did homage to John, king of England, at Rouen, on the sixth day of the week before the Assumption of Saint Mary; and the brother of the said earl of Flanders voluntarily resigned into the hands of Geoffrey, the archbishop of York, the prebend of Husthwaite, which he had held in the church of York at the presentation of Richard, king of England. The same was done by many others, who felt that those presentations had been made against God, and to the detriment of the Holy Church. Immediately on this, the said archbishop gave to the before-mentioned brother of the earl of Flanders the prebend which had belonged to Peter de Dinant, in the church of Saint Peter at York; for the said Peter had, before this, been elected to the bishopric of Rennes, in Brittany; the archbishop also ordered the archdeaconry of West Riding, which he had held in the church of York, to be taken possession of in his behalf: but Adam de Tornouere, who at this time held possession of the said archdeaconry, declined to trust him, relying on the king's patronage and the authority of the chapter of York.

In the meantime, Henry, count de Namur, brother of Philip, earl of Flanders, and Peter de Douay, a most valiant knight, and one of the household of the earl of Flanders, and the bishop elect of Cambrai, brother of the before-named Peter, were made prisoners by some of the household of the king of France,

and delivered up to him. On this, Peter de Capua, cardinal, and legate of the Apostolic See in France, upon his arrival, laid an interdict upon France, for the capture of the said bishop elect of Cambrai, and upon Normandy, for the captivity of Philip, bishop of Beauvais: and, before the said sentence was revoked, Philip, king of France, set the before-named bishop elect at liberty, and John, king of England, gave his liberty to Philip, bishop of Beauvais, after he had paid two thousand marks of silver for the expenses incurred upon him and through him in the time of Richard, king of England, and since the death of king Richard up to the day of his liberation. The said bishop of Beauvais also made oath, in presence of the before-named cardinal and other ecclesiastics, that for the future he would never, in all his life, bear arms against Christians.

Philip, king of France [at this time], made Arthur, duke of Brittany, a knight, and received his homage for Anjou, Poitou, Maine, Touraine, Brittany, and Normandy. On the day after the Assumption of Saint Mary, and the following day, there was a conference held between the king of England and the king of France, through their envoys, at a place between Buttevant and Guleton, and on the third day after, the kings had an interview in person. However, the king of England found no favour with the king of France; and, on the king of France being asked why he held John, king of England, in such great hatred, who had never done him any injury, he made answer, that he had, without his permission, taken possession of Normandy and other territories; and that he ought first to have come to him, and to have asked them of him as of his right, and to have done homage to him for the same. At this interview also, the king of France demanded, on his own behalf, the whole of the Vexin, that is to say, the whole of the country that lies between the forest of Lyons, the Seine, the river Andely, and the river Ethe. For he asserted that Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, the father of king Henry, son of the empress Matilda, had given the same to Louis the Fat, the king of the Franks, in return for his assistance in gaining Normandy, against Stephen, king of England. He also demanded, on behalf of Arthur, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and made other requests to which the king of England would on no account accede, nor ought he so to have done; and so disagreeing, they separated.

Upon this, the counts and barons of the kingdom of France who had adhered to Richard, king of England, came to John, king of England, and did homage to king John, and made oath to him that they would not make terms with the king of France, unless with his sanction and consent; and he swore to them that he would make no treaty with the king of France, unless they were included therein.

In the meantime, pope Innocent and the Romans elected as their emperor, Otho, king of Germany, and rejected Philip, duke of Suabia, and all the others who had been selected. Accordingly, the election of the said Otho being confirmed by pope Innocent and the Roman Church, pope Innocent proceeded to excommunicate Philip, duke of Suabia, and all his adherents, advisers, and abettors, if they should not desist from their attacks upon the said Otho; who was publicly proclaimed in the Capitol and throughout the whole of the city, in the words, "Long live our emperor Otho!" Accordingly, being elected emperor, Otho sent word to John, king of England, his uncle, to wait a little time, and defer making peace with Philip, king of France, as he himself, God willing, would, before long, give him the very best aid that his imperial highness could possibly give him.

In the meantime, Philip, king of France, took Conches, the castle of Roger de Toni; this happened in the month of September.

In the same month of September, Joanna, wife of Raymond, earl of Saint Gilles, the former queen of Sicily, and sister of John, king of England, departed this life, at Rouen, in Normandy; and, being carried to the abbey of Fontevraud, was there interred among the nuns.

In the month of October the king of France took the castle of Balun, of which Geoffrey de Burelim had charge, and levelled it with the ground. When William des Roches, the leader of Arthur's army, knew of this, he was greatly vexed, and strongly censured the king of France, saying that it had not been so arranged between him and his lord Arthur; to which the king of France made answer, that for his lord Arthur he should not forbear doing just as he pleased with reference to his gains from the enemy.

After this, the king of France laid siege to Lavardin, but the king of England surprised him with his army, and the king of France, abandoning the siege, betook himself to the city of

Le Mans. However, on the king of England pursuing him with his army, the king of France left Le Mans, and took his departure. In the meantime, William des Roches, by means of extreme cunning, recovered Arthur from the hands of the king of France, and made peace between him and John, king of England, to whom he delivered the city of Le Mans, which the king of France and Arthur had delivered into his charge.

On the same day, Arthur was informed that the king of England intended to take him and throw him into prison. On this day also, the viscount de Tuaz,³⁶ who had charge of the castle of Chinon, came to the king of England, at his summons, at Le Mans, and, being forced so to do, surrendered to the king the castle of Chinon, and the seneschalship of Anjou; on which the king of England³⁷ immediately delivered the castle of Chinon into the charge of Roger, constable of Chester, until such time as the king should have found another custodian for the same.

On the following night, however, Arthur, and his mother, and the said viscount de Tuaz, with many others, left the king of England and took their departure, and withdrew to the city of Anjou. For the mother of Arthur, having left her husband, Ranulph, earl of Chester, had married Guido de Tuaz, the brother of the before-named viscount de Tuaz.

On the sixth day before the ides of July, in this year, died Hugh, bishop elect of the church of Glasgow, and was buried at Geddewerde.³⁸ In the month of October, in the same year, William Malvoisin was elected bishop of the church of Glasgow.

In the meantime, Peter de Capua, cardinal, and legate of the Apostolic See, who had been sent by Innocent, the Supreme Pontiff, for the purpose of putting an end to the dissensions between Richard, king of England, and Philip, king of France, and at whose instance the said kings had promised that they would observe a truce for the space of five years, now that the said truce had failed, in consequence of the death of Richard, king of England, used every possible effort that the said truce should be observed between the king of France before named, and John, king of England, the heir of the before-named Richard. The consequence was, that a truce was agreed to between them until the feast of Saint Hilary. In the same year, Philip, bastard son of Richard, king of England, to whom

³⁶ Probably "Thouars."

³⁷ "France," incorrectly in the text.

³⁸ Jedburgh.

the said king, his father, had given the castle and the manor of Cuinac,³⁹ slew the before-named viscount of Limoges, in revenge for his father.

In the same year, there were in England, and the various parts thereof, such vast floods of water that bridges, mills, and houses, were carried away. The bridge of Berwick having been carried away, by command of William, king of the Scots, earl Patrick, the governor of Berwick, and the then chief justiciary of the whole kingdom of Scotland, attempted to rebuild the bridge; on which he was forbidden, on behalf of Philip, bishop of Durham, to sink a foundation for a bridge on his land; but the bridge could not be made unless it had its foundation on the land of the bishop of Durham, as it had before. At length, however, the bishop of Durham, by the advice of William de Stuteville, allowed the bridge to be made, and to have its foundation on his own land, saving always the covenants that had been made between the king of Scotland and Hugh, bishop of Durham, his predecessor.

In the same year, Geoffrey, the archbishop of York, Simon, the dean, Haimo, the treasurer, Reginald, the præcentor, Adam de Tornouere, and William Testard, the archdeacons, and the other canons of the church of York, having met in the presence of Peter de Capua, cardinal deacon and titular of Saint Mary de Viâ Latâ, and legate of the Apostolic See, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, and the above-named clergy of the church of York, submitted the decision of their disputes to Hugh, the lord bishop of Lincoln, Master Roger, dean of the said church, and Master Columba; on which occasion, the archbishop promised, on the word of truth, that if he should refuse to abide by the decision of the before-named arbitrators, he would pay to the dean and canons of York two hundred marks by way of penalty; the dean also, and the before-named clergy of the church of York, made oath distinctly that they would not refuse to abide by the decision of the before-named arbitrators, but would dutifully receive and dutifully observe whatever should be determined by them.

After this, when the officers of the archbishop of York, on various grounds, attempted, by the pope's letters, to summon them to trial before other judges, they made claim against the archbishop of the said two hundred marks of silver, by way of penalty. Also, while the said archbishop was staying with the

³⁹ Now Cognac.

king in Normandy, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the king's justiciary, at the entreaties, and in behalf of, the chapter of York, sent word to the king and advised him not to allow the archbishop of York to return to England without him, for, they declared, if he should come into England, he would be bringing a sword, and not peace.

Some Statutes enacted by king John.

some control on wine

In the same year, John, king of England, enacted that no wine of Poitou should be sold at a higher rate than twenty shillings the tun, and that no wine of Anjou should be sold at a higher rate than twenty-four shillings the tun, and that no French wine should be sold at a higher rate than twenty-five shillings the tun; unless the said wine was so good that any one would be willing to give for it as much as two marks at the highest. He also enacted, that no wine of Poitou should be sold at a higher rate than fourpence the gallon; and that no white wine should be sold at a higher rate than sixpence the gallon. He also enacted, that all the tuns which should in future come into England from Rech,⁴⁰ after the present vintage, should be changed. This statute he ordered to be observed from the octave of Saint Andrew in December and thenceforward; and, for the observance thereof, ordered that in every city and borough in which wine is sold twelve inspectors should be appointed, and should make oath that they would cause the said assize to be kept and observed. And, if they should find any vintner selling wine at the tap contrary to the said assize, the sheriff was to arrest his body, and have him kept in safe custody in the prison of our lord the king, until he should have some other command relative to him, and all his goods were to be seized on behalf of our lord the king, on view of the said twelve men. If any one was also found who should buy or sell a tun or tuns contrary to the said assize, both parties were to be seized, and placed in safe custody in prison, until some other command should be received relative to them; and it was enacted, that no wine should be bought for regrating, out of the wines that should have been landed in England.

However, this first ordinance of the king had hardly been enacted, when it was immediately done away with; as the merchants could not bear up against this assize. Accordingly,

⁴⁰ Rochelle.

leave was given them to sell a gallon of white wine for eightpence, and a gallon of red wine for sixpence; and so the land was filled with drink and drinkers.

In the same year, when William, king of the Scots, was purposing to invade England with an army, he went to the shrine of Saint Margaret, the former queen of the Scots, at Dunfermline, and passed the night there; on which, being warned by a Divine admonition not to invade England with an army, he allowed his army to return to their homes.

In the same year was decided that most ancient dispute between the churches of Tours and Dol, as to the metropolitan rights which the church of Dol claimed against the church of Tours, in the following manner: Our lord the pope Celestinus, of blessed memory, had determined that, with the Lord's assistance, in his time an end should be put to this most ancient and most lamentable dispute, which had been carried on between the churches of Tours and Dol. Accordingly, for this purpose he had appointed to each party a peremptory day, on which, being sufficiently provided with all their reasons which they might consider that they should be in want of at the trial, all appeals, delays, and excuses laid aside, they were to appear in the Apostolic presence. But, inasmuch as it was not granted from above that the above-mentioned question should be settled by him (for he was removed from the world before the appointed time had arrived), our lord the pope Innocent, formerly Lothaire, cardinal deacon of Saints Sergius and Bachus, on succeeding the said lord Celestinus, adopting the commencement that had been made by his predecessor relative to the above-mentioned question by the citation of the parties, and wishing by a discussion on the matter, with the help of the Lord, entirely to put an end thereto, for the same reason, gave orders that the parties should repair to the Roman Church, in order that the said matter might be brought to an end by him, if, perchance, Divine Providence should spare him.

Because the archbishop of Tours at this time was labouring under very great infirmity in all his body, he did not appear in person in presence of the Supreme Pontiff; however, he took care to send discreet and prudent men in his place, namely, the chancellor of his church and three of his fellow-canons, together with some other persons. Accordingly, the bishop of Dol elect, and the before-named commissioners of the said archbishop, having

come into the presence of the Supreme Pontiff and the cardinals, his brethren, and many things having been alleged on the one side and the other, in defence of their rights, the said lord Innocent began, like a most kind father, as also did his brethren, to attempt to effect a reconciliation between them; and in order that they might have time to deliberate, he put off the further hearing of either party at intervals.

Although the commissioners from Tours were at last induced to make an offer to concede an archiepiscopal see to the church of Dol, with two suffragans only, and on condition that it should be subject to the lord archbishop of Tours as its prince, and that the archbishop of Dol should receive from his hand, or that of the church of Tours, the pall that was sent to the said church of Tours from the pope, as also consecration; still, because two of the adjacent bishoprics were refused by the envoys of the archbishop of Tours to the said bishop elect of Dol, he would on no account accept of their said offer; a refusal indeed, which redounded to his own inconvenience, as will be heard in the sequel.

Accordingly, the pope, seeing that the said dispute could not be settled on amicable terms, listened to the citations and allegations made on either side in full consistory, more freely and fully than before. After hearing and understanding them more fully, he was ready at length, with his brethren, to pronounce a definite sentence. But, once more seeking the ways of peace, he invited them to make an arrangement.

When, however, he could at length avail nothing whatever by these means, the lord Innocent, sitting in judgment, his brethren acting as his assessors, publicly pronounced sentence, in the second year of his papacy, against the church of Dol, and in favour of the church of Tours, to the effect that the church of Dol, as being the suffragan of the church of Tours, its metropolitan, should, all exemption or exception laid aside, for the future be subject thereto; that the bishop of Dol should in all things pay obedience and respect to the archbishop of Tours; that when he was elected, he should receive confirmation, and, when the proper time required it, consecration from him; and, in addition to this, he granted a general privilege to the church of Tours, illustrated with manifold arguments and reasons for the same, and sent to the archbishop of Rouen, and some other persons, his Apostolic writings relative to the said subject, all of which will appear more fully from what follows.

But when the bishop elect of Dol heard that sentence was pronounced against him, being vexed, and not without reason, and very dispirited, he came into the presence of our lord the pope, and, wishing to depose himself, resigned to our lord the pope the church of Dol. But our lord the pope, on seeing this, answered without hesitation, "Thou art the bridegroom, and the bride requireth thee. Thou canst not do that which is against our will, without our own consent; and, in virtue of thy obedience, we enjoin thee, after summons made by the archbishop of Tours, to repair to him within the space of forty days, all excuse whatever laid aside, for the purpose of receiving from him the gift of consecration."

In the same year, master Giraldus,⁴¹ the bishop elect of Saint David's, raised a controversy as to the metropolitan right over the church of Saint David's, publicly asserting the right of the said church and its ancient metropolitan dignity, in presence of our lord the pope Innocent the Third, and the cardinals, namely, Octavianus, cardinal of Ostia, the cardinal of Portuënza, John, cardinal bishop of Albano, Jordan de Fossâ Novâ, Sefhred, John de Saint Paul, John de Salerno, Gratianus, Ugolino, and Hugeson.⁴²

It ought to be known that after Saint Dubricius, the archbishop of the city of Chester, choosing the life of a recluse, had resigned the honor of his dignity to Saint David, the latter forthwith transferred the archiepiscopal dignity to Menevia,⁴³ and was made archbishop of that province; and, in succession to him, twenty-four persons received the pall and the full metropolitan dignity, the last of whom was Saint Samson, who, on account of the jaundice, which pestilence was committing fatal ravages amongst the people of Wales at that time, crossed over by ship to Armorican Brittany, and was appointed over the church of Dol, which then chanced to be vacant, and there made use of the pall of Saint David, which he had brought over with him.

On this pretext it was, that the church of Dol, by continually laying claim to the pall, had shown itself rebellious to the church of Tours, down to the time of the before-named pope Innocent the Third, in whose second year this cause was decided, and this adventitious dignity was withdrawn from the church of Dol.

⁴¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, the famous scholar and historian.

⁴² Or Ugutio, called by some authors Hugh de Peter Leonis.

⁴³ The Latin name formed from the British one of Saint David's.

As for the church of Saint David's, from the same cause, either through slothfulness or poverty, its bishops had always hitherto gone without the pall. Still, however, all the bishops of the church of Saint David's, that is to say, nineteen bishops, from the departure of Saint Samson until the time of Henry, the first king of England, enjoyed the whole of the archiepiscopal dignity, except the pall, and had seven suffragans, namely, Llandaff, Saint Paternus in Kerdikan,⁴⁴ (which see, because the people thereof slew their pastor, had been long since abolished, and united with the diocese of Saint David's), Bangor and Saint Asaph; while in Wales, beyond the Severn, which had been lately taken possession of by the English, there were the bishoprics of Chester, Hereford, and Worcester.

However, the before-named king Henry, having rendered Wales subject to his rule, and, consequently, wishing to render the said church of Saint David's, and the other churches in Wales, suffragans of the church of Saint David's, subject to the church of his own kingdom, namely, to the church of Canterbury, had Bernard, the clerk of his chamber, appointed in place of bishop Wilfrid, in the church of Saint David's, and then, by violent measures, had him consecrated at Canterbury; he being the first bishop of the church of Saint David's who was consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury. After him, David and Peter were in like manner compelled by the kings of England to receive consecration from the archbishops of Canterbury, oaths having been previously extorted from them, in contravention of the canons, not at any time to raise any dispute as to their metropolitan right against the church of Canterbury.

Bernard, however, on the decease of king Henry the First, did move the question, as to the metropolitan rights of his church, against Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury; on which occasion, pope Eugenius wrote to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, to the following effect:—

The Letter of pope Eugenius, on the metropolitan dignity of the church of Saint David's.

“Eugenius, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, health and the Apostolic benediction. Our venerable brother, Bernard, bishop of Saint David's, coming into our pre-

⁴⁴ Cardigan.

sence, has asserted that the church of Saint David's was formerly metropolitan, and has personally demanded restitution to be made by us of the said dignity. When, however, watching over the interests of his said application, he had made a long stay at our court, you, brother archbishop, in his presence, rising to oppose him, did, in our presence, make complaint against him, that he had withdrawn the obedience due to you as the chief metropolitan, and had shown himself disobedient and rebellious towards you, inasmuch as he had been consecrated by your predecessor, as being chief metropolitan, and had, both personally and in writing, made profession to the church of Canterbury, and had afterwards, like the other suffragans, shown obedience to you in many matters, and waited upon you. On this, he could not deny the fact of consecration, but utterly denied that he had made the profession, and had shown obedience; hearing which, you publicly produced two witnesses, who gave testimony that in their seeing and hearing, after his consecration, both in words and writing, he had made profession to the see of Canterbury. Accordingly, after hearing the reasons of both parties, and diligently weighing the same, and having carefully examined your witnesses, with the general sanction of our brethren, we received their depositions upon oath, and, justice so dictating, commanded that the said bishop should show to you, as chief metropolitan, all obedience and respect. Wherefore, inasmuch as it is our wish to preserve for each church, and for ecclesiastical personages, their own dignities and what is their respective due, we have named a day for you and for him, the Feast of Saint Luke in the year next ensuing, upon which, in the presence of all the parties, we may learn the truth as to the dignity of the church of Saint David's and its liberties; and we will then decree relative thereto, by the Lord's help, what shall be found to be conformable with justice. Given at Meaux, on the third day before the calends of July."

Now this letter, the before-named Master Giraldus found in the register of pope Eugenius: and accordingly, on these grounds, and at the instance of the said Giraldus, who publicly asserted the rights of his church in the court of Rome, pope Innocent, by his letters, cited Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, as to the state of the church of Saint David's and the metropolitan dignity; which letters the said Giraldus also caused to be entered in the register of that pope, as a perpetual testimony of

what had been done. The said pope also gave orders to the before-named archbishop, so to give consecration to the said Giraldus, the bishop elect of Saint David's, as not to exact from him the unlawful oath which his predecessors had been in the habit of extorting from the bishop of Saint David's, namely, as to not asserting their metropolitan rights against the church of Canterbury, but solely canonical obedience according to the usual form. The said pope also commanded the bishops of Lincoln, Durham, and Ely, if the archbishop of Canterbury should delay to consecrate Giraldus, so often named, that they, supported therein by the Apostolic authority, should not delay to consecrate him themselves.

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In the year of grace 1200, which was the second year of the reign of king John, that king was at Burun, in Normandy, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which fell on Saturday; and this was the first Feast of the Nativity of our Lord after the first coronation of king John. After the Nativity of our Lord, the said John, king of England, and Philip, king of France, met to hold a conference between Andely and Gaillon; at which interview, it was agreed between them, that Louis, son of the king of France, should take to wife the daughter of Alphonso, king of Castille, and niece of John, king of England; on which, king John would give and quitclaim to the said son of the king of France, together with his said niece, the city of Evreux, together with the whole county thereof, and all the fortresses and castles which the king of France had in Normandy, on the day on which Richard, king of England, was living and dead; besides which, he was to give him thirty thousand marks of silver. He also made oath, that he would give no aid to his nephew Otho, either in money or in men, for the purpose of gaining the Roman empire.

All these matters, however, were put off until the octave of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist. After the conference, John, king of England, sent his mother, Eleanor, to Alphonso, king of Castille, to obtain his daughter in marriage for Louis, son of Philip, king of France.

In the meantime, John, king of England, crossed over from Normandy into England, and levied from each carucate throughout all England the sum of three shillings as an aid. At Lent, king John came to York, expecting that William, king of the Scots, would come to him, as he had commanded

him; the king of the Scots, however, did not come; on which, the king of England returned to Normandy.

In the same year, pope Innocent, on hearing of the tribulations of the Christians in the land of Jerusalem, which the Lord had brought upon them, our sins demanding the same, wrote to all the prelates of Holy Mother Church, to the following effect:—

The Letter of pope Innocent on giving succour to the land of Jerusalem.

“Innocent, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the prelates of the Holy Mother Church to whom these letters shall come, health and the Apostolic benediction. The sad miseries of the lands of the East, and their urgent necessities, we now are, our sins demanding the same, compelled to lament rather than recount; inasmuch as it is a matter of necessity that succour should be given thereto, in their present state, (if state, indeed, the train of calamities can be called, which with grief we recite), and that resistance should be offered to the attempts of the pagans. It may, indeed, be supposed, that but few of the Christians who had devoted themselves to the defence of the inheritance of the Lord, and to obedience to Him crucified, will make drunk the arrows of the enemy with the shedding of their blood, and expose their throats to the swords of the pagans, inasmuch, as by this, nearly all the pilgrims have returned from those parts, as so many remnants of the desolation of that land, to be totally lost without any hope of human aid, and to fall into the possession of the foe. Hitherto, indeed, our Lord Jesus Christ, to the end that He might the more strongly prove our faith, and might find who are His own, has, in His mercy, prevented this, by turning their hands against themselves, and allowing them, in their various dissensions, to vent their rage upon each other, in order that, in the meantime, the Christians being aroused to the aid of the said land, a more easy means might be granted them of recovering what was lost, and of triumphing over the foe. For we have received letters from our venerable brethren, the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch, and from the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, as also, in like manner, from our most dearly beloved sons in Christ, Aimeric, king of Jerusalem, and Leo, king of Armenia, and our own dearly beloved sons, the Masters of the Hospital and of the knights of the Temple, and many

others, fully explaining the miseries and necessities of that land, and asking for the aid that was so long looked for; for that there, strong hopes were entertained, the Lord so disposing, that at the present time a few would be of more avail, in consequence of the dissensions among the Saracens, than hitherto a numerous army had been. It was also added, that, as arrangements were being made among the Saracens for the establishment of peace, if a full reconciliation should be effected among them before assistance should be given to the province of Jerusalem, inasmuch as it is almost entirely destitute of men and resources, unless God alone should interpose, there would be no one able to withstand their violent attacks. Wherefore we, with our brethren, summoning also the bishops and other religious men who were then staying at the Apostolic See, after considering the mode of succouring that land, in order that we might not seem to be laying heavy burdens on the shoulders of those who bore them, and not to be willing to touch the same even with our finger, talking only, and, as the saying is, doing little or nothing, in order that an example might be set by ourselves to you, and then by you to the laity, in doing good, after the example of Him who began to do and to teach [at the same time], made it our care to set aside the tenth part of all our revenues, and of all our receipts, for the assistance of the Eastern lands, withdrawing not the slightest portion therefrom for our necessities, to which indeed, inasmuch as they are more pressing than usual, and on that account demand a more heavy expenditure, our present means do not suffice; to the end that, although we were giving nothing of our own, we might, at least, repay to Him a small portion of what is His, who, in His mercy, has bestowed all things upon us. And not only in resources, but also in personal attendance, did we make it our anxious endeavour to provide the requisite aid for the Holy Land; for we determined to dispatch thither our dearly beloved sons, Stephen, cardinal priest and titular of Saint Praxedes, and Peter, cardinal deacon and titular of Saint Mary in Viâ Latâ, as legates of the Apostolic See, on whom we had already placed the sign of the Cross, in order that they might act in our behalf in preceding the army of the Lord, and that, to them, as to a single head, all might resort. But, inasmuch as we look upon this as slight, aye, slight indeed, and as by no means sufficing to the necessities so numerous of that land, we do, by these Apostolic writings, command the whole of you, and I, in be-

half of Almighty God, do, by the guidance of the Holy Spirit, under pain of God's judgment, strictly command, that each of you shall appropriate the fortieth part of all ecclesiastical revenues and profits, (interest, however, being first deducted therefrom, of which payment cannot be avoided), for the aid of the Holy Land. To all clerks, subordinates as well as prelates, who shall spontaneously and faithfully pay such fortieth part, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God, and in the authority of the blessed Apostles, Saint Peter and Saint Paul, we do remit one fourth part of the penance that has been enjoined them, supposing always, that no fraud is made use of, and that pious devotion is supported thereby. For know, that he is acting culpably and obdurately, and shows himself obdurately culpable, who refuses to give so small an aid, in such an emergent necessity, to his Creator and Redeemer, from whom he has received his body and his soul, and all the blessings that he enjoys; and we, who, unworthy as we are, act as His vicar upon earth, can on no account conceal the obduracy of such an offence. And you must not by any means suppose that, by these means, it is our wish to establish a law at the expense of yourselves, in order that, in future, the fortieth part may be required of you, as due and customary; for, on the contrary, we wish nothing whatever to result herefrom to your prejudice, as we grieve that a case of such great necessity has occurred to us and to you, and it is our wish that, in future, the like may not occur. We do further will, and by this our precept command you, that you, brother archbishops and bishops, shall make it your care, without delay, to meet in your metropolitan church, or, if it cannot be done there, by reason of disagreements or any other evident impediment, in two or three other places of your province, and there consider among yourselves, according to the tenor of the Apostolic mandate, the succour of that land; and, after each of you shall have returned into his diocese, he is to convene a synod without delay, and there, relying upon our authority, enjoin the abbats and priors, both exempt⁴⁵ as well as others, as also the archdeacons, deans, and all others whatsoever of the clergy throughout his diocese, appointed by a fair assessment to tax their revenues and profits, and within three months after the command so given to them, not to delay to send to some fitting place in his diocese the fortieth part of

⁴⁵ Exempt from the episcopal government.

the value thereof; employing, nevertheless, for the sake of greater precaution, the services of some faithful and discreet laymen therein: which, also, brother archbishops and bishops, we do strictly command you to do. From these general terms, however, we have excepted the Cistercian monks, the Præmonstratensian canons, and the recluses of Grammont and Canterbury, to whom we give, relative to this matter, especial commands. We are also unwilling that those who have taken diligent care to value their revenues and profits shall incur the penalty of transgressing the strict injunctions above given; but those who shall not of their certain knowledge, but rather through ignorance, have subtracted from their fortieth part, shall still, when they shall have afterwards found it out, fully make up for the deficiency they have so made in their payment. If, also, which God forbid, any person shall withdraw, of his own certain knowledge, any portion of the fortieth part so to be paid, the same person, when he shall have made due satisfaction, shall be entirely free from any penalty for such transgression. And let not any one be surprised, or even wonder, that we order this with such strictness, inasmuch as it is an extreme necessity that demands it. For, although obedience to the Divine will ought to be a pleasure, we still read in the Gospel that, of those invited to the marriage feast, the Lord gave orders that they should be compelled to go in to the same. We do further command that you, brother archbishops and bishops, after exacting and collecting the said fortieth part throughout your dioceses, shall faithfully cause the same, according to the manner above stated, to be deposited in a place of safety, and shall, so soon as can possibly be done, signify unto us, by your letters, and through special messengers, the amount of the whole thereof. For this purpose, we do order that a hollow chest shall be placed in each of your churches, fastened with three keys; the first to be in the hands of the bishop, the second with the priest of the church, and the third with some pious layman, by them to be kept; and each of the faithful is to be moved to deposit therein alms for the remission of their sins, according as the Lord shall have inspired their minds in relation thereto; and in all churches mass shall be publicly said once a week for the remission of sins, and especially of those who shall make offerings. We do also grant unto you, brother archbishops and bishops, that, in relation to those who shall be willing with their property

to aid the Holy Land, after, using therein the counsels of discreet men, you shall have duly considered the rank of such persons and their means, and shall have taken into consideration the intensity of their devotion, you shall have power to change works of penance that have been enjoined for works of almsgiving. We do further will, that, joining with you two brethren, where the same can be found, one of the Hospital of Jerusalem and the other one of the Knights of the Temple, as also other religious laymen, you shall provide for discreet knights, or other soldiers, who have assumed the sign of the Cross of our Lord, if they shall be unable to make the voyage at their own expense, a suitable supply out of the said sum, having taken from them a sufficient security that they will remain in defence of the Eastern lands one year or more, according to the amount of the assistance they shall have received; and that if, which God forbid, they shall die on the way, they will not apply the amount so received to other uses, but will, on the contrary, restore it, to be applied in payment of the troops; and such persons, when they shall have returned, shall not be discharged from the sureties which they have given, before they shall have presented to you letters from the king, or Patriarch, or Hospital of Jerusalem, or order of the Temple, or else from our legate, giving full testimony to the fact of their attendance there. But, inasmuch as supreme necessity demands, and common utility requires, that the people of Christendom should, not only in resources, but in person, render aid to the Holy Land without delay against the attacks of the pagans, we do by these Apostolic writings inform your brotherhood, forthwith, prudently and diligently to make it your care to exhort and induce the faithful, both of yourselves and by means of other fitting persons, to the end that those who are capable of fighting the battles of the Lord, may, in the name of the Lord of Sabaoth, assume the sign of the Cross. Let the rest also, according to the extent of their means, bestow their pious alms. We also ourselves, trusting in the mercy of God, and in the authority of the blessed Apostles, Saint Peter and Saint Paul, by virtue of that power which, unworthy as we are, God has bestowed upon us, of binding and loosing, do indulgently grant to all who shall in their own person undergo the labours of this expedition, and incur the expense thereof, plenary pardon for those sins, for which they shall have shown repentance both with voice and

heart, and promise them the blessings of eternal salvation as the reward of the just. To those also who shall not personally go thither, but who shall at their own expense have sent thither fit and proper men to stay there for one year at least, as also to those who, at the expense of others, but in their own persons, shall have undergone the labours of the pilgrimage so undertaken, we do grant plenary pardon for their sins. Of this remission also, we do will that all shall be partakers according to the amount of their aid and the intensity of their devotion, who shall give suitable aid out of their resources in support of the said land. Their own persons also, and their property, from the time of their assuming the Cross, we do take under the protection of Saint Peter and of ourselves, and they are to be under the care of the archbishops and all prelates of the church of God; it being by us enacted, that until the fact of their death or their return is known to a certainty, the same shall remain safe and untouched. And if any person shall presume to act contrary hereto, he is to be compelled by ecclesiastical censure, all power of appeal removed. If also any persons among those proceeding thither shall be bound by oath to the payment of interest, then do you, brother archbishops and bishops, by the same means of coercion, compel their creditors throughout your dioceses, all obstacle by appeal removed, entirely to absolve them from their oaths, and to make them desist from any further exaction of interest. But if any creditor shall compel them to payment of interest, you are, by like measures of coercion, to force him to make restitution thereof, all power of appeal removed. We do also order that Jews shall be compelled by the secular power to remit all claim against such for interest, and, until they shall have remitted the same, we do order that, through sentence of excommunication, all communication whatever with them shall be withheld. These matters also, brother archbishops and bishops, we do wish and command each of you to carry out in his respective diocese; and you are so diligently and so faithfully to follow the same, that in the strict enquiry made at the last judgment, when you shall be standing before the judgment seat of Christ, you shall be enabled to give a becoming account thereof. Given at the Lateran, on the sixth day before the calends of January, in the second year of our pontificate."

In the same month of January, immediately after the Nativity of our Lord, the heart of Philip, king of France, being

hardened, he could be prevailed upon neither by kind nor by harsh measures, to get rid of his adulteress, and take once more his lawful wife: on which, Peter de Capua, the before-named cardinal and legate of the Apostolic See, pronounced sentence of interdict on the kingdom of France, and took his departure, commanding the clergy, in virtue of their obedience, to allow no Divine service to be performed, except baptism and confession; but pope Innocent, on confirming this sentence, excepted therefrom all who had assumed or should assume the Cross of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, enacting that they might hear mass, and have Christian burial, while all others were to go without the mass and Christian burial.

When, however, the king of France remained immovable in his evil purposes, our lord the pope proposed to revoke the sentence of interdict, and to excommunicate the king of France, saying, "It is better that one should be punished, than that the whole nation should perish."⁴⁶ On hearing this, the king of France repeatedly sent envoys to the Supreme Pontiff, requesting that the sentence of interdict might be revoked; and, although he suffered a repulse a first and second time, still, at last, it was definitely arranged by our lord the pope, envoys from the king of France acting in his behalf in presence of our lord the pope and the cardinals, that the king of France should put away his adulteress, and take again his wife Botilda, and treat her honorably as a queen and as his wife; and if during the next year the king of France should wish a divorce to be effected between them, the same should be signified to the king of Denmark and the other friends of the queen, when and where the king of France should desire the said divorce to be effected, if the same ought of right to be effected, in order that the queen's friends might be able to attend; and the same was to be signified to our lord the pope and the court of Rome, in order that discreet men might be present on their behalf, to the end that a divorce of such solemn nature might be legally accomplished.

In the same year, Sancho, king of Navarre, hearing of the losses and mischiefs that were inflicted upon his territories by Alphonso, king of Castille, and the king of Arragon, who had gained possession of nearly the whole thereof, returned from Africa, and, again entering his territories, made a truce with the said kings, his adversaries, to last for the space of three years.

⁴⁶ An adaptation of St. John, xi. 50.

In the same year, that is to say, from the year of the Incarnation of our Lord one thousand two hundred, John, king of England, was at Worcester, in England, on Easter day, which fell on the fifth day before the ides of April, and shortly after he crossed from England into Normandy.

In the meantime, queen Eleanor, the mother of John, king of England, whom he had sent to Alphonso, king of Castille, for the purpose of giving the daughter of the said king of Castille in marriage to Louis, the son of Philip, king of France, returned, having obtained the daughter of the king of Castille. When she had arrived at the city of Bordeaux, and was staying there, on account of the solemnity of Easter, Marchadès, the chief of the Brabanters, came to her, and on the second day in Easter week the said Marchadès was slain in the said city of Bordeaux, by a man-at-arms in the service of Brandin. After this, queen Eleanor, being fatigued with old age and the labour of the length of the journey, betook herself to the abbey of Fontevraud, and there remained; while the daughter of the king of Castille, with Elias, archbishop of Bordeaux, and the others who attended her, proceeded to Normandy, and there delivered her into the charge of king John, her uncle.

On the octave of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, Philip, king of France, and the king of England, met to hold a conference between Buttevant, a castle belonging to the king of England, and Gaillon, a castle of the king of France, on the eleventh day before the calends of June, being the second day of the week. At this conference, the king of France restored to John, king of England, the city of Evreux, and the whole county thereof, and all the castles, cities, and lands of which he had gained possession in Normandy during the war, as also in the other territories of the king of England; and John, king of England, immediately did homage for the same to Philip, king of France, and forthwith bestowed the whole thereof on Louis, the son of the said king of France, as a marriage portion, with his niece, the daughter of Alphonso, king of Castille; and on the following day, that is to say, on the tenth day before the calends of July, being the third day of the week, the before-named daughter of the king of Castille was married to Louis, the son of Philip, king of France, at Purmor, in Normandy, by the before-named archbishop of Bordeaux, many bishops and other religious being present, as also many counts and barons of the kingdom of France. But at this time

the kingdom of France was under an interdict on account of queen Botilda, whom the king of France had put away. Immediately after his marriage, the said Louis took with him into France his wife, the daughter of the king of Castille.

While these things were going on, upon the same day, Philip, king of France, and John, king of England, held a conference at Vernon, at this time a town of the king of France; and here Arthur, duke of Brittany, did homage to his uncle John, king of England, for Brittany and his other territories, with the sanction and advice of the king of France; but Arthur, being given up by the king of England, remained in the charge of the king of France.

In the same year, John, king of England, gave to Zachary, the prior of Saint Alban's, the abbacy of Burgh, and to the prior of Burgh he gave the abbacy of Ramsey. In this year also, Robert, count de Drués, brother of Philip, bishop of Beauvais, departed this life. In the same year, on Easter day, which fell on the fifth day before the ides of April, nearly the whole of the city of Rouen was destroyed by fire, together with the church of the archiepiscopal see, and many other churches besides.

In the same year, Otho, king of the Germans, who had been elected emperor of the Romans, sent Henry, duke of Saxony, and William of Winchester, his brothers, to his uncle John, king of England, to demand of him the earldom of York and the earldom of Poitou, which Richard, king of England, had given him, as also two-fourths of the whole of the treasures of Richard, king of England, and all the jewels which the said king had left him by devise. But John, king of England, would not accede to any of these requests, in consequence of the oath which he had sworn to the king of France, to the effect that he would give no assistance whatever to Otho against the duke of Suabia.

In the same year, shortly before the festival of Saint Peter *ad Vincula*, a pitched battle was fought between the before-named Otho and Philip, duke of Suabia, at Brunswick; in which battle, Otho came off victorious, and took prisoners more than two hundred knights of the household of the duke of Suabia.

In the same year, John, king of England gave to Philip, bishop of Durham, leave to hold a fair each year at Hoveden, and at Alverton.⁴⁷ To William de Stuteville also, the said king gave per-

⁴⁷ North Allerton.

mission each year to hold a fair at Butterham and at Coggingham, and to build castles at those places. The said king also gave a license to Richard de Malebise to fortify a castle at Oweldric; but after he had nearly built it, the citizens of York, thinking that this had been done to their detriment and disgrace, prevailed upon William de Stuteville, at this time sheriff of York, on the king's behalf, to forbid Richard de Malebise to fortify the said castle, and accordingly in that state it remained.

In the same year, William de Stuteville gave to John, king of England, three thousand marks of silver, to obtain judgment for the barony of William de Mowbray, which the said William de Stuteville claimed in the king's court, against the said William de Mowbray. For it should be known, that Robert Grundebeof, the great grandfather of the said William de Stuteville, held the said barony on the conquest of England; but the said Robert Grundebeof, leaving Henry, king of England, son of king William the Bastard, who had subdued England in war, gave in his adhesion to Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, when he claimed the kingdom of England in right of his father against the aforesaid Henry, king of England, his younger brother; and in the battle which took place between the said two brothers, that is, between Henry, king of England, and Robert Curthose, his brother, duke of Normandy, at Tenchebrai, Henry, king of England, was victorious, and took Robert Curthose, his brother, and kept him in prison until the end of his life, as he also did Robert Grundebeof; and king Henry gave his barony to Nigel de Aubigny, the great grandfather of the said William de Mowbray. It ought also to be known, that Robert de Stuteville, the father of the before-named William de Stuteville, in the time of king Henry the Second, laid claim to the said barony against Roger de Mowbray, the father of the before-named William de Mowbray; on which an arrangement was made between them, by which Roger de Mowbray gave to Robert de Stuteville Kirby-in-Moreshead, with its appurtenances, together with nine⁴⁸ knight's fees, for his homage, in full discharge of his claim. But, because this arrangement had not been confirmed in the king's court, and sanctioned by his authority, the said William de Stuteville again laid claim to the said barony, in the court of John, king of England.

However, after the contention had been long carried on, at length, by the consent of the kingdom, and at the king's de-

⁴⁸ V. r. "Ten."

sire, peace and a final reconciliation were made between the said William de Stuteville and William de Mowbray, to the following effect:—William de Stuteville renounced his claim which he made against William de Mowbray respecting his barony, and William de Mowbray gave to William de Stuteville, for his homage and for the renunciation of his claim, nine knight's fees in addition, and twelve pounds of yearly revenue. And thus, all their disputes being settled on both sides, they became reconciled in the presence of John, king of England, in the second year of his reign, at Lue in Lindesey, a vill of the bishops of Lincoln, on the first Sunday in Septuagesima.

In the same year, Philip, king of France, gave to the Jews permission to reside at Paris and in his other cities, he having expelled them therefrom in the first year of his reign.

In the same year, John, king of England, immediately after the agreement made between him and the king of France, set out for Aquitaine with a large army, but no one was found to make head against him.

In this year also, a divorce was effected between John, king of England, and Hawisa, his wife, daughter of William, earl of Gloucester, by Elias, bishop of Bordeaux, William, bishop of Poitou, and Henry, bishop of Saintes, because they were related in the third degree of affinity. After this divorce had taken place between John, king of England, and his wife, the king of England, by the advice of his lord, Philip, king of France, married Isabel, the daughter of Ailmar, count of Angoulême, whom the said count, by the sanction and advice of Richard, king of England, had previously given to Hugh Le Brun, count de la Marche; and the said count had acknowledged her as his wife, by promise made as pledge for the future,⁴⁹ and she had taken him for her husband by promise made for the future; for because she had not yet attained marriageable years, the said Hugh declined to be united to her in presence of the church. However, the father of the damsel, on seeing that John, king of England, had a fancy for her, took her out of the custody of Hugh Le Brun, and gave her in marriage to John, king of England; and she was immediately married to John, king of England, at Angoulême, by Elias, archbishop of Bordeaux.

In the same year, a serious dissension arose between the students and citizens of Paris, the origin of which was as fol-

⁴⁹ "Verba de præsentî."

lows. There was in Paris a German student, of noble family, being one of those selected for the office of bishop of Liege. While a servant of his was buying some wine at a tavern, he was beaten, and his wine-vessel broken. On hearing of this, a meeting took place of the clerks of German birth, and, entering the tavern, they wounded the master of the house, and, after severely beating him, took their departure, leaving him nearly dead. On this, there was an outcry among the people, and the whole city was in commotion; so much so, that Thomas, the mayor of Paris, in arms, together with the populace of the city, who were likewise armed, made an assault upon the quarters of the German students; in which conflict the said noble scholar, who [as before-mentioned] was one of those selected for the office of bishop of Liege, was slain, together with some of his companions.

On this, the masters of the schools at Paris went to Philip, king of France, and made complaint to him against Thomas, the mayor, and his accomplices, who had slain the said scholars; and, at their request, Thomas, the mayor, was arrested. Some of his accomplices were also seized and thrown into prison, while others of them took to flight, leaving their homes and possessions; on which, the king of France, being incensed, caused their houses to be levelled with the ground, and their vineyards and fruit-bearing trees to be rooted up.

As to the mayor, the following determination was come to: he was to be kept in the king's prison, not to be released therefrom, until such time as he should have cleared himself by the judgment of water or of iron; and, if he were cast, he was to be hanged, and if acquitted thereby, he was, at the king's mercy, to abjure the realm. However, the scholars, taking pity on him, entreated the king of France that the mayor and his accomplices, after being whipped in the schools after the manner of scholars, might be discharged, and restored to their possessions. This, however, the king of France refused, saying, that it would be most derogatory to his honor if any other person than himself were to inflict punishment on his offenders.

The king of France also, being apprehensive that the master of the schools, and the scholars themselves, might withdraw from the city, made satisfaction to them by enacting, that in future no clerk should be brought before a secular tribunal, for any offence whatsoever that he might have committed; but that if a clerk should be guilty of any offence, he should be

handed over to the bishop, and be dealt with according to the judgment of the clergy. The king of France also enacted, that whoever should be mayor of Paris, should make oath that he would keep faith with the clerks, saving always his fealty to the king. The said king also gave to the scholars an assurance of his protection, and, by his charter, confirmed the same.

As for the mayor, after he had been confined several days in the king's prison, he determined to escape by flight, but while he was descending from the wall, the rope broke, and, falling from a height to the ground, he was killed.

In the same year, Margarite, the leader of the pirates, whom Henry, emperor of the Romans, had caused to be deprived of his sight, came to Paris, to Philip, king of France, and offered him, if he would follow his advice, to make him emperor of the Romans, or emperor of Constantinople, whichever he should prefer. To this, the king of France gave a ready assent, and prepared all necessaries for his expedition, horses, arms, men,⁵⁰ and equipments. Margarite, then preceding the king of France, in order that he might arrange as he had promised, sent word throughout all parts of his dominions for all his galleys to meet him at Brindisi; but on his arrival at Rome, he was slain by a servant of his, whom he had maltreated; and so, this accident intervening, the king of France was baulked of his hopes.

In the same year, died the archbishop of Mentz, who, in the city of Mentz, had acknowledged Philip, duke of Suabia, as his lord, and had crowned him king there. On his decease, the clergy and people of the city made choice of a certain noble clerk of their number for archbishop, and presented him to Philip, duke of Suabia; but he rejected him, and wished, contrary to their desire, to appoint one of his own relations bishop of that place. Being greatly indignant at this, the clergy and people of Mentz, rejecting the duke of Suabia, gave their adhesion to Otho, king of the Germans, and acknowledged him as their lord; and he, upon their presentation, received the person whom they had chosen as archbishop; while Otho himself was, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, crowned king at Mentz, by the said archbishop of Mentz. On hearing of this, Philip, duke of Suabia, ordered the treasures to be conveyed to him which he had in those parts; which coming to the

⁵⁰ "Viribus" is probably an error for "viris."

knowledge of Otho, he kept a watch night and day upon the street along which the duke's men were to pass with his treasures; and so, taking no precaution against the same, while on their road, they fell into the hands of Otho, and they and the treasures were captured; and thus Otho was enriched with the treasures of the duke of Suabia, his enemy.

In the same year, one of the companions of the above-named Fulk, Eustace by name, the lord abbat of Flaye, came into England from the country of Normandy, to preach the word of the Lord, and did wondrous things during his life. Among these, he did one work that is wondrous in our eyes. For the said Eustace came to a town not far from Canterbury, of which the name is Wye, and there he bestowed his blessing on a certain spring, on which the Lord poured forth so exceedingly His grace, that whoever drank of the spring so blessed, the blind received their sight, the lame their power of walking, the dumb their speech, and the deaf their hearing, and every infirm person who drank thereof, rejoiced that he was restored to health.

On this, a certain woman came to the abbat, being possessed by devils, and stout to a degree beyond what is credible, as though swollen by dropsy, and sought to be restored by him to health; to whom the abbat made answer, "Daughter, have faith, and go to the pools of the spring at Wye, which the Lord hath blessed; drink thereof, and thence thou shalt receive health." She departed, and, drinking thereof, was seized with a vomiting, on which there came forth from her two large black toads, which were immediately transformed into dogs of immense size and very black, and shortly after took the forms of asses. As to the woman, she stood astounded, and soon after ran after them, raving, and trying to catch them; but a certain man, who had been appointed to take charge of the said spring, sprinkled some of the water from the spring between the woman and the monsters; who, immediately departing, flew up into the air, leaving behind them foul traces of their footsteps. The woman was made whole from that hour, magnifying God, who had given such power unto men.

Also, the said abbat, coming to Rumenel,⁵⁰ where there was a deficiency of water, at the request of the people, struck a stone in the church in that town with his staff, on which water flowed forth, the draughts of which are a cure for various maladies. He

⁵⁰ Romney.

also, by his preaching, turned the hearts of many to the release of claims for interest, and to the assumption of the Cross in the expedition to Jerusalem. At London also, and many other places throughout England, he effected by his preaching, that from that time forward people did not dare to hold market of things exposed for sale on the Lord's day.

He also enacted in London and several other places, that in each church that had the means, there should be always a lamp kept burning, or some never-failing light, before the body of our Lord. He also caused, by means of his preaching, that many of the citizens and other discreet men kept daily upon their table an alms-dish, in which to place some part of their food for those poor who have no means of their own. Accordingly, for these and other works of mercy, the enemy of mankind raised against this man of God the ministers of iniquity, who said to him, "It is not lawful for thee to reap another's harvest;" to which he replied, "The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few."⁵¹ However, the said abbat, on being censured by the ministers of Satan, was unwilling any longer to molest the prelates of England by his preaching, but returned to Normandy, unto his place whence he had come.

In the same year, Raymond, earl of Saint Gilles, did homage to John, king of England, for the lands and castles which Richard, king of England, had given him as a marriage portion with his sister Joanna, upon the understanding that when Raymond, his son by his wife Joanna, should come to the years of discretion, he should have all the estates before-mentioned, and should do homage for the same to John, king of England, his uncle; but if he should depart this life without issue, the same were to revert to the earl of Saint Gilles: and he himself, and his heirs after him, were to hold all the same as of hereditary right of the earl of Poitou, by the service of coming with five hundred knights to serve the earl of Poitou as often as the earl of Poitou should go into Gascony with his army, for one month at his own expense, but if he should stay there longer than that period, the earl of Poitou was to provide all necessaries.

After this, John, king of England, came to Anjou, and received from it one hundred and fifty hostages as pledges that it would preserve its fealty to him, whom he placed under ward.

In the same year, died John of Oxford, bishop of Norwich, and was succeeded in his bishopric by John de Gray, at the

⁵¹ St. Luke x. 2.

presentation of king John; on which, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated him bishop. In the same year, John, king of England, gave to Gilles, son of William de Braose, the bishopric of Hereford, and he was consecrated bishop by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury. In this year also, John, king of England, received from Walter, archbishop of Rouen, six hundred pounds of money Anjouin, and by his charter confirmed to him the possession of all those places which Richard, king of England, had given him in exchange for Andely, that is to say, the town of Dieppe with its appurtenances, Louviers with its appurtenances, and the forest of Aliermont, together with the mill of Robeck.

In the same year, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, and his adversaries, namely, Simon, the dean, and the other clergy of the church of Saint Peter at York, met at Westminster, in presence of Herbert, bishop of Salisbury, and Alan, abbat of Tewkesbury, judges delegate of our lord the pope; and, after the allegations on both sides had been fully stated, the said judges endeavoured by every method to bring them to a reconciliation, and at length, by the aid of God, succeeded in inducing the said archbishop to receive with the kiss of peace, first, William Testard, archdeacon of Nottingham, then Reginald Arundel, the præcentor, and, last of all, Simon, the dean, of the church of York, on condition that they should give satisfaction to each other respectively as to their disputes in the chapter at York.

In the same year, peace and final reconciliation was made between Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of the church of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury, by Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, Eustace, bishop of Ely, and Samson, abbat of Saint Edmund's, who were appointed judges in that matter by our lord the pope Innocent. But, as the lord bishop of Lincoln was unable to take part in the settlement of the said dispute, he appointed, as his substitute, Roger de Robleston, dean of the church of Lincoln.

Accordingly, an arrangement was made between them to the following effect: that the said archbishop of Canterbury might, if he should think proper, rebuild the chapel of Lambeth in the same place, though not upon the same foundations, on which it had been previously built, and that he should not establish there canons secular, but should be at liberty, if he should think fit, to establish there canons regular of the Præmonstratensian order,

to be in number thirteen at the least, and twenty at the most ; and, for their support, the archbishop was to give, if he should think proper, out of the churches in his presentation, one hundred pounds of money yearly at the most ; but in the said church he was neither to make the chrism, nor consecrate bishops.

Also, as to the four churches which Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, of blessed memory, had given to the use of the said monks, it was thus arranged : Simon, archdeacon of Wells, was to pay to the aforesaid monks of the Holy Trinity, at Canterbury, ten pieces of gold, yearly, during his life, as being the payment made by the church of Monkton, in Thanet ; and, after the decease of the said Simon, a moiety of the tithes of corn and pulse belonging to the said church, was to be applied to the augmentation of the alms of the monks aforesaid ; while the remaining moiety belonging to the said church, and the offerings at the altar, were to be at the disposal of the archbishop. The same also was to be done as to the church of Eastry, in consideration of Master Ralph, the possessor thereof, during his life, making to the said monks a yearly payment of six pieces of gold. Robert Belesmains, the former archbishop of Lyons, was to be at liberty to retain possession of the church of Aylesford during his life, and, after his decease, the aforesaid monks of Canterbury were to receive in augmentation of their alms, the third part of the tithes of corn and pulse belonging to the said church, and all the rest belonging to that church was to be at the disposal of the archbishop. The same was to be done as to the church of Meopham, except that Virgilius, the holder thereof, was to pay from the same to the aforesaid monks of Canterbury one piece of gold, by way of annual payment, during his life.

As to the yearly gifts which the monks demanded from their own manors, they were to remain with the archbishop during his life, and, after the death of the said archbishop, his successor was to enjoy the possession thereof, saving always the share of the monks. As to the division of the marsh lands belonging to the archbishop and the monks, it was provided that, on the oaths of twelve or more lawful men, it should be ascertained how much ought to belong to the archbishop, and how much to the monks ; which very same thing the archbishop had repeatedly offered them. The archbishop also allowed them to hold a court for their own tenants, without making any payment for the said license. All the matters above stated were agreed upon

between them, and duly confirmed, reserving always the authorization thereof by our lord the pope.

In the same year, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, held a general synod at London; this took place at Westminster, in spite of the prohibition of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, earl of Essex, at this time chief justiciary of England. At this synod, the said archbishop published the decrees under-written, and enacted that the same should be inviolably observed by those subject to him:—

The Decrees of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury.

“Inasmuch as, in the celebration of Divine service, errors are made, not without peril to the body as well as to the soul, we do, with the healthful advice of this synod, enact, that by every priest who officiates, the words of the canon shall be fully and distinctly uttered, and that the time shall not be cut short by too great haste, nor yet prolonged by excessive slowness. For it is proper not to delay too long at the same, because of thoughts that spring up, which, like dead flies, destroy the sweetness of the ointment. In like manner, all the hours,⁵⁴ and all the offices, are to be openly and distinctly repeated, so as not to be cut short from excessive haste, nor are the words to be clipped. If this ordinance shall not be observed, those priests who do not observe it, after the third admonition, are to be suspended until such time as they shall have given full satisfaction. This, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome.”

The same Priest is not to be allowed to celebrate [the mass] twice in the same day.

“A priest is not to be allowed to celebrate [the mass] twice in the same day, except in case of urgent necessity; and then in cases where the same person shall officiate twice in one day, after the first celebration and the receiving of the blood, nothing more is to be poured into the chalice. Also, after the first celebration, the drops are to be most carefully dried up from out of the chalice, and the fingers are to be sucked or licked with the tongue, and then washed, the rinsings thereof being reserved in a clean vessel, especially appropriated for that purpose, which same rinsings are to be received after the second celebration. This is to be done, unless there be present at the first celebration a deacon, or some other fitting minister, who, in such

⁵⁴ See vol. i. p. 331.

case, may take the said rinsings. To this we add, that the Eucharist is to be kept in a clean and fair pyx, and that the same is to be carried to the sick, in a clean and fair pyx, a linen cloth being placed over the same, and a lantern and cross preceding it, unless the sick person shall happen to be at a very great distance. Also, the host itself is to be renewed each Lord's day, and certainty is to be observed relative to the Eucharist, so that what is unconsecrated may not be taken as though it were consecrated. To this we have thought proper to add, that the communion of the Eucharist is not to be given in secret to any person asking for the same; but it is to be given, publicly and immediately, to him who asks for it, unless his offences are of a public nature. This, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome."

Of Baptism or Confirmation, if there are doubts thereon.

"As to baptism or confirmation, if there are doubts thereon, following the enactments of the holy canons, we do enact that the same shall be given, 'because that cannot be said to be repeated which is not known to have been already done.' Therefore, children exposed, about whose baptism there are doubts, are to be baptized, whether found with salt, or whether without salt.⁵⁵ We do also add, that no person shall be held at confirmation, by his father or mother, step-father or step-mother. Also, it is not to be allowable for deacons to baptize, or to give absolution, except in two cases of necessity; because either the priest cannot, through absence, or will not, through foolishness, and the death of the child or sick person is imminent. And, if in a case of necessity, a child is baptized by a layman, which may be done by the father or mother, irrespective of their being married, let the service that follows the immersion, though not that which precedes it, be performed by a priest. This, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome."

Of Penance.

"Inasmuch, as in penance, which is a 'second plank in shipwreck,' the more necessary reparation is after a lapse, the greater the circumspection that must be employed; we, following the enactments of the holy canons, do command, that in enjoining penance, priests shall diligently attend to the cir-

⁵⁵ See p. 363.

cumstances, that is to say, the position of the person, the extent of the offence, the time, place, cause, and period occupied in the sin, as also, the devoutness of the feelings of the penitent; and such a penance is to be enjoined on the wife, that she may not be rendered suspected by her husband of any secret and enormous sin, and the same is to be observed as to the husband. Also, no priest, after a lapse, is to presume to come to the altar, to celebrate [the mass], before he has made confession. This also we do add, in order to restrain the avarice of the priesthood, that masses are not to be enjoined, by way of penance, to any persons who are not priests.⁵⁶ This, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome.”

In what manner the archbishop, bishop, and their officers are to be entertained by their subjects.

“Inasmuch as among the enactments that have been made by the fathers of modern times, those of the council of Lateran⁵⁷ are most distinguished and most worthy in every way to be observed; we, humbly and devoutly following the instructions thereof, do enact, that an archbishop, when visiting his province, shall on no account exceed the number of forty or fifty, and a bishop twenty or thirty horses; while an archdeacon shall not have more than five or seven, and deans who are appointed under bishops are to be content with two. They are not to go about with hounds or hawks, but are to proceed so as to appear to seek not their own things, but those of Christ.⁵⁸ We do also forbid them to presume to oppress those in subjection to them with tallages and exactions. However, we do permit them, considering the many necessities that sometimes arise, in case a manifest and reasonable cause shall exist, to be at liberty with all brotherly love to ask of them some slight assistance. For whereas the Apostle says, ‘The children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children,’⁵⁹ it seems to be at variance with fatherly affection, if those who are the governors should be burdensome to those in subjection to them, whom, like shepherds, they ought in all their necessities to cherish. Archdeacons or deans are to presume to demand no exactions or tallage from priests or clerks. Further, what has been above said as to the number of horses, is to be ob-

⁵⁶ For if the persons had to pay for them, the priesthood might, if avariciously inclined, have an interest in multiplying such penances.

⁵⁷ See vol. i. p. 497.

⁵⁸ Alluding to Phil. ii. 21.

⁵⁹ 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

served in those places of which the revenues and the property of the church are ample ; but in poor places it is our will that such limits should be observed, that the lesser ones shall not have to complain that a hardship is inflicted by the arrival of the greater ; so that those persons who have hitherto employed a smaller number of horses, may not suppose that they are to be indulged with leave to use more. It belongs also to the duty of visitation, in the first place to attend with all diligence to those matters which relate to the saving of souls, and to see that each church has a silver chalice, and sufficient and proper sacerdotal vestments, the necessary books and utensils, and other things that relate to worship and due respect for the sacrament. Further, to put an end to the vice both of avarice as well as negligence, relying on the authority of the council of Toledo, we do command that no visitor shall presume to demand entertainment, or a sum in lieu of entertainment, from a church in which he has not in the customary manner performed the duties of visitation. This, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome.”

That no person shall be ordained without a certain title.

“We do also, in conformity with the decrees of the council of Lateran, enjoin that it shall be strictly observed, that if a bishop shall ordain any person without a certain title deacon or priest, he shall support such person until such time as he shall provide him in some church a suitable salary for clerical duties ; unless the person who is so ordained shall be able to maintain himself by his own means or on property inherited from his father. We do enact the same as to the ordination of subdeacons, and do add, that if, without the especial command of his bishop, an archdeacon shall present any one of the parties before named for ordination, and such person shall, upon his presentation, be ordained, he shall be subject to the penalty above-mentioned.⁶⁰ This, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome.”

That it is not allowable to pronounce sentence of excommunication unless canonical admonition shall have preceded it.

“Again, following the decrees of the council of Lateran, we do order that prelates shall not pronounce sentence of suspense or excommunication on those subject to them, unless the

⁶⁰ Of having to support the person ordained.

same be a fault which, by its very nature, entails the penalty of excommunication. Also, those subject to prelates are not, contrary to ecclesiastical discipline, before the commencement of the trial, to seek to take refuge in the words of appeal. But if any person shall think that it is a matter of necessity for him to appeal, then a competent time is to be named for him to prosecute his appeal: and if he shall neglect to prosecute it within such time, then the bishop shall be at liberty to exercise his authority. If also, in any matter any person shall make an appeal [against another], and on the person appealed against making his appearance, the person who has made the appeal shall not appear, he is to make a competent return to the other for his expenses, in order that, being at least checked by this fear, a person may not be too ready to appeal to the prejudice of another; and in religious houses we do especially desire that this shall be observed, to the end that neither monks nor any other person of the religious orders, when they shall require correction for any excess, shall, contrary to the regular discipline of their prelate and chapter, presume to appeal, but humbly and dutifully receive whatever may have been for the more effectually securing their salvation enjoined them. Also, for the purpose of checking the viciousness of many, we have thought proper to adjoin hereto, that, every year, sentence of excommunication shall be pronounced upon sorcerers, perjurers upon the Gospels,⁶¹ incendiaries, thieves, and daring robbers, each in his class. Also, we do enact that those who shall knowingly have committed perjury at the expense of any person shall not be absolved therefrom; nor shall penance be enjoined them by any person but the bishop of the diocese, or upon his authority, except at the point of death; and they are to be enjoined at the moment that they shall recover to go to the bishop to receive penance from him or upon his authority. This, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome."

That nothing is to be demanded for the administration of the sacraments.

"As it has been, in the Council of Lateran, healthfully provided by the holy fathers, so do we forbid that anything whatever shall be exacted from ecclesiastical personages when

⁶¹ This is probably the meaning of "sacramenta" here, though it may possibly mean the relics of saints.

being installed in their sees, or from priests, or any other clerks, when being instituted, or for burying the dead, or for blessing the newly-married, or for the chrism, or for any other of the sacraments. And if any person shall presume to contravene this enactment, let him to know that he will have his portion with Gehazi, whose deeds he has imitated by this exaction of a disgraceful gift. To this we do add, that nothing shall be demanded from priests for license to celebrate Divine service, or from masters for teaching; and, if any such sums shall have been paid, the same are to be returned. On the authority also of the same council, we do forbid that new imposts shall be exacted from churches by bishops, or abbats, or other prelates, or that the old ones shall be increased, nor are they to presume to appropriate any part of the revenues thereof to their own use; but, with good will, let those of higher rank preserve for their inferiors that liberty which they desire to be preserved for themselves. And if any person shall act contrary hereto, let that which he shall have so done be deemed of no effect. Also, no ecclesiastical offices, or benefices, or churches, be given or promised to any person before they are vacant; to the end that no person may seem to long for the death of his neighbour, to whose place or benefice he believes he shall succeed. For whereas, in the very places of the heathens we find this forbidden by law, it is most disgraceful, and most deserving of the censures of the Divine judgment, if, in the Church of God, expectation of succession should hold a place, which even the heathens themselves have taken care to condemn. This, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome."

That Tithes are not to be diminished under pretence of wages of servants or of the reapers.

"Inasmuch as Abraham, by his actions, and Jacob, in his promises, signified that tithes ought to be given to God and to the priests of God, and the authority of the Old and the New Testament, as also the enactments of the holy fathers, have declared that tithes ought to be paid of all things which are yearly renewed, we do decree that the same shall be inviolably observed, and that no diminution shall be made of the tenth part under pretence of wages of servants or of the reapers, but the same is to be paid in full. Priests are also to have the power, before the commencement of autumn, of excommuni-

cating all curtailers of their tithes, and of absolving the same, in due ecclesiastical form. To this sanction we do also add, that, from lands newly brought into cultivation, tithes are not to be paid to any other than the parish churches within the limits of whose parishes the lands are cultivated from which the said tithes arise. Also, withholders of tithes, in accordance with the enactment of the council of Rouen, if, on being warned a first, second, and third time, they do not correct their excesses, shall be brought by the ban of excommunication to make condign satisfaction. This, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome."

That Clerks in holy orders shall not keep concubines.

"We do enact that, in churches of which the yearly revenues do not exceed in amount the sum of three marks, no person shall be instituted, unless he shall be willing to perform duty there in his own person. We do also, reverently following the enactments of the Council of Lateran, enact that clerks in holy orders, who, bearing the character of incontinence, shall be keeping young women in their houses, shall either put away the same and live chastely, or else be removed from their ecclesiastical duties and benefices. To this we do also add, that clerks shall not be present at taverns or at public drinkings. For hence arise contentions and strifes, so that laymen, by sometimes striking clerks, render themselves amenable to canonical censures; and, when these are brought before the pope, it is not just that the clerks, who have in some measure caused the offence, should remain unpunished. All clerks are also to wear the clerical dress and the tonsure prescribed by the canons. But archdeacons, as also the others who hold dignities, and priests, are to wear hoods with long sleeves attached thereto. This, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome."

What persons may enter the Marriage state.

"A man is not to marry any female relative by blood of his former wife; and, in like manner, the wife is not to marry any male relative of her former husband. He who has been received at baptism, is not to marry the daughter of him who baptized him, or of him who received him [at the font], whether born before or since that time. Also, no marriage is to be contracted without notice thereof being thrice given in the

church, nor yet if the persons shall not be known. Also, no persons are to be united in marriage, except publicly in face of the church and in presence of the priest; and, if this shall not be observed, those parties are to be admitted into no church whatsoever, except by the especial authority of the bishop. Also, it is to be allowable for neither of two married persons to undertake a distant pilgrimage, unless upon publication of the consent of both. This, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome."

That Purgation is to be enjoined on those who are accused by public report.

"Those who are accused by public report, or on probable evidence, of any crime of which they cannot be convicted, are to be warned a first, second, and third time to confess and make satisfaction. But if, making no amends, they shall persist in their denial, then let purgation⁶³ be enjoined them, and let it not be put off from day to day as a pretext for receiving money; but let the same be received on the first day on which it is enjoined, if the person is ready; and let not the number⁶⁴ prescribed by the canons be exceeded. This, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome."

That Lepers are to have a burial ground and chapel of their own.

"Being induced by a regard for piety, and relying on the enactment of the council of Lateran, we do enact, that wherever there shall be a sufficient number of lepers assembled together to be able to build a church, with a burying ground attached, and to enjoy the services of their own priest, they shall be allowed, without any opposition, to have the same. They are to take care, however, that they are not detrimental to churches previously established; for that which is conceded to them on grounds of piety, we do not wish to redound to the injury of other persons. We do also enact, that of vegetable produce and the young of animals belonging to such persons, they shall not be obliged to pay tithes. This, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome."

⁶³ Canonical purgation, by the evidence on oath of one, two, three or more witnesses of good character in favour of the accused.

⁶⁴ Of witnesses.

That no person shall, without the authority of the bishop, receive ecclesiastical benefices at the hands of laymen.

“Paying all due attention to the enactments of the council of Lateran, we do decree that neither the brethren of the Temple nor of the Hospital, nor any other person of the religious order, shall receive either tithes or any other ecclesiastical benefices at the hands of laymen, without authority of their bishops, and excepting therefrom those which up to the present time they have received, contrary to the tenor thereof. We do enact that such persons as shall be excommunicated, and shall, in accordance with the sentence of the bishops, be by name laid under interdict, shall be avoided by them as well as all others. In their churches, which do not belong to them by full legal right, they are to present priests for institution to the bishops, that they may be answerable to them for their care of the people, and give to themselves a full account as to the temporal things thereof. Also, those who have been instituted, they are not, without the sanction of the bishops, to presume to remove. If Templars or Hospitallers should come to a church under interdict, they are only once in a year to be admitted to the performance of divine service therein, nor even then are they to bury the bodies of those under interdict therein. As to the fraternities, we do also enact that if they shall not [upon warning] entirely join the brethren before-mentioned, but shall think proper to reside upon their own properties,⁶⁵ still for all this they are on no account to be exempt from the sentence of the bishops, who are to exercise their authority over them just the same as they do in the case of others in their dioceses, when they require to be corrected for their excesses. What has been stated as to the brethren before named, we do also command to be observed with regard to those of other religious orders, who, in their presumption, wrest from the bishops their legal rights, and dare to enter upon a course contrary to their own canonical profession, and the tenor of our own privileges. And if they shall infringe upon this ordinance, both the churches in which they have presumed so to do, shall be laid under interdict, and all that they shall have done, shall, by the authority of the said council, be deemed null and void. Monks also are not to be admitted into mo-

⁶⁵ Contrary to the monastic rules.

nasteries for money, nor are they to be allowed to hold private property of their own; nor are they to be placed alone in vills and towns, or in any parish churches; but they are to remain in the general convent, or with some others of the brethren, and not alone among secular people to await the attack of their spiritual foes; for it is Solomon who says, 'Woe to him that is alone when he falleth, for he hath not another to help him up.'⁶⁶ And if any person, on demand made, shall pay anything for his admission he shall not be admitted to canonical orders; and he who receives the same, is to be punished by loss of his office. If any [monk] also shall have any private property, unless he shall have received permission from the abbat for the administration of certain duties enjoined, the said person is to be removed from the communion of the altar; and for him who at the point of death shall be found to be in possession of private property, no offering is to be made, and he is not to receive burial among the brotherhood. The same also, we do enact, with reference to the various religious orders; and the abbat who shall not with due diligence pay attention to the same, is to know that he will thereby incur the loss of his office. Priorships also, or abbacies,⁶⁷ are to be given to no person for the receipt of money; and if this shall be transgressed, let both the giver and the receiver, be removed from the administration of their ecclesiastical duties. Also, when priors shall have been appointed in conventual churches, they shall not, except for manifest and reasonable cause, be changed; unless, for instance, they have been guilty of dilapidation, or lived incontinently, or have been guilty of any offence of a like nature for which they shall appear to deserve to be removed, or if they shall have to be transferred through the necessity of their filling some higher office. It seems also proper to be added, that monks or black canons, or black nuns, are not to use coloured hoods, but black ones only; and they are to use cloaks of only black or white, with the skins of lambs, cats, or foxes. Monks also, and other persons of the religious orders, are not to use hats, or to go away from their convents on pretence of making pilgrimages. We do also enact, that in every church of monks, or of any religious persons canonically appropriated to their use, a vicar shall, under the superintendence of the bishop, be appointed, who shall

⁶⁶ Eccl. iv. 10.

⁶⁷ In the text "obedientiae." This was a name sometimes given to the abbacy, and sometimes to any ecclesiastical office whatever.

receive a fair and sufficient maintenance from the property of the church. [These, saving in all things the honor and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome.]

In the same year, Octavianus, cardinal bishop of Ostia, and legate of the Apostolic See, came into France, being sent as legate *a latere* by our lord the pope Innocent, in order to enquire into the divorce that had taken place between Philip, king of France, and queen Botilda, his wife, and in the first place, before entering upon the question, to compel the before-named king of France to put away his German adulteress, and to take again his wife Botilda, and treat her in a due and becoming manner.

This accordingly took place upon the vigil of the Nativity of the blessed Mary, the Mother of God and ever a Virgin, the said cardinal and the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of France, having met at the church of Saint Leodegar, at Nivelles. Thither, also, came Philip, king of France, and Botilda, his queen, and his German adulteress; and the king of France, at the admonition of the said cardinal, and by the advice of his people, put away his adulteress, and took back his queen Botilda; immediately after which he made complaint against her to the cardinal, saying, that legally he ought not to have her for a wife, as they were too closely connected by consanguinity, and that this he was prepared in every way to prove; and he therefore demanded that a divorce should be effected between them.

Upon this, the before-named cardinal appointed for them a space of six months, six weeks, six days, and six hours from the vigil of the Nativity of the blessed Mary, within which to deliberate upon the matter, and, at the choice of queen Botilda, appointed Soissons as the place for trial. On the same day, that is to say, on the vigil of the Nativity of Saint Mary, after the king of France had put away his adulteress, and had taken again his wife Botilda, the sentence of interdict upon the churches in the kingdom of France was immediately repealed, and, the bells ringing, there was great joy among the clergy and the people, as the interdict had now lasted for more than thirty weeks, and the bodies of the dead had been buried outside of the town, along the lanes and streets. Shortly after this, the woman before mentioned, whom the king of France had put away, gave birth to a son, who was called Philip, after the name of his father. The said king of France had also had, by the same woman, a daughter, who was five years old on the

very day on which he put her away; which daughter the king of France promised that he would give in marriage to Alexander, the son of William, king of Scotland.

In the same year, on the ninth day before the calends of October, being the last Saturday [of the autumnal fast⁶⁸] of the four seasons before the feast of Saint Michael, William, surnamed Malvoisin, the bishop elect of Glasgow, was ordained priest at Lyons, by the archbishop of that city; and on the following day, namely, the Lord's day, being the eighth day before the calends of October, he was consecrated bishop of Glasgow by the same archbishop, by order of pope Innocent the Third.

In the month of October, in the same year, after settling his affairs in Normandy and his other territories beyond sea, John, king of England, crossed over from Normandy to England, bringing with him his wife Isabel; and on the eighth day before the ides of the said month, being the Lord's day, he and his wife Isabel were crowned at London, at Westminster, by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury. In the meantime, by command of the said king, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, his brother, was deprived of all the manors and property of his archbishopric. On this occasion, James de Poterne, who was the then sheriff of York, violently entering upon the manors of the said archbishop, made waste of his property; on which the archbishop excommunicated the said sheriff, and all the authors and abettors of the said violence, with candles lighted and with bells ringing. He also excommunicated all who had excited or wished to excite his brother John to wrath or indignation against him without any fault on his own part. He also excommunicated the burgesses of Beverley, and suspended that town from the celebration of Divine service, and from the ringing of bells, because the said burgesses had broken into his park, and had disturbed and lessened his other possessions, which Roger, archbishop of York, his predecessor, and he himself, for some time, had held without molestation.

In process of time, however, John, king of England, following the advice of prudent men, restored to the before-named archbishop his archbishopric, and named a day for him to come to court, for the purpose of showing why he had not crossed over with him, in order to make a treaty with the king of France, when he had been summoned so to do; as also, why he had not

⁶⁸ There were originally four periods of fasting in the Latin church, apportioned to the four seasons.

permitted his servants to receive the money levied upon the carucates in his hands, as had been done in other parts of the kingdom, and why he had beaten one of the servants of the sheriff of York; and in order that he might repay to the king three thousand marks of silver, which he had owed to Richard, king of England, his brother.

Immediately after his coronation, John, king of England, sent Philip, bishop of Durham, Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk, Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, nephew of William, king of Scotland, David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of the said king of Scotland, Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester, William de Vesci and Robert de Ros, sons-in-law of the said king of Scotland, and Robert Fitz-Roger, sheriff of Northumberland, to William, king of the Scots, with letters patent from the king, giving a safe conduct for the purpose of bringing the said king of the Scots to the king of England, and naming the morrow of the feast of Saint Edmund as that of his appearance at Lincoln.

In the meantime, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, returning to England from the parts beyond sea, fell ill at London, being attacked by a quartan ague; on which John, king of England, came to visit him, and confirmed his will, and promised him, in the name of the Lord, that for the future, in his time, he would ratify all reasonable testaments of prelates of churches. Shortly after, in the month of November, sixteen days before the calends of December, being the fifth day of the week, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, departed this life at London.

In the same month of November, on the eleventh day before the calends of December, being the third day of the week, John, king of England, and William, king of Scotland, had an interview at Lincoln; and, on the day after, that is to say, on the tenth day before the calends of December, being the fourth day of the week, John, king of England, fearlessly, and contrary to the advice of many of his followers, entered the cathedral church of Lincoln,⁶⁹ and offered on the altar of Saint John the Baptist, in the new buildings there, a chalice of gold. After this, on the same day, he and William, king of the Scots, met for a conference, outside of the city of Lincoln, upon a lofty hill; and there, in sight of all the people, William, king of the Scots,

⁶⁹ This is an allusion to the superstitious notion, that misfortune would befall those kings who entered the city of Lincoln. See Vol. i. p. 249, and the Note.

did homage to John, king of England, as of his own right, and swore fealty to him, upon the cross of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, for life and limb, and his worldly honor against all men, and for preserving the peace toward him and his realm, saving always his own rights, the following being witnesses thereto: Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, John, archbishop of Dublin, Bernard, archbishop of Ragusa, Philip, bishop of Durham, William, bishop of London, Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, Eustace, bishop of Ely, Savaric, bishop of Bath, Herbert, bishop of Salisbury, Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, Gilles, bishop of Hereford, John, bishop of Norwich, Roger, bishop of Saint Andrew's, in Scotland, Henry, bishop of Llandaff, and Roger, bishop of Bangor; Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, justiciary of England, earl of Essex, Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk, Hamelin, earl of Warenne, Baldwin de Bethune, earl of Aumarle, William, earl of Salisbury, Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, the earl of Clare, the earl of Ferrers, David, brother of William, king of the Scots, earl of Huntingdon, Roland, son of Uctred, son of Fergus, prince of the men of Galloway, Patrick, earl of Lothian, Griffin, son of Rees, king of South Wales, and many besides, from the kingdom of Scotland; and in presence of the following barons of England and Normandy; Roger, constable of Chester, Eustace de Vesci, Robert de Ros, William de Stuteville, Ralph Chamberlain of Tankerville, Warine Fitzgerald, Stephen de Turnham, and Robert, his brother, Gilbert Basset, and Thomas and Alan, his brothers, Roger de Huntingfield, Saier de Quincy, William de Hastings, Jolan de Neville, Simon de Chancy, Gerard de Camville, and many others of the barons of England and Normandy.

Accordingly, after doing homage, William, king of Scotland, demanded of John, king of England, his lord, the whole of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, as his right and inheritance; and after this had been discussed between them at considerable length, and they could not come to an agreement, the king of England demanded of the king of Scotland a truce, for the purpose of deliberating until Pentecost next ensuing. This being granted, on the day after, that is to say, on the ninth day of the calends of December, being the fifth day of the week, early in the morning, William, king of the Scots, set out on his return to his own kingdom, under the safe conduct of the persons before named, who had escorted him to the king of England.

On the same day, that is to say, on the ninth day before the calends of December, the body of Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, was carried to Lincoln, for the purpose of being buried there; on which, John, king of England, and the above-named three archbishops, and thirteen bishops, together with the said earls and barons, went forth to meet it, and received the body; and the king himself, with the earls and barons, carried the body on their shoulders to the porch of the cathedral church, rejoicing in thus showing obedience to God and to his blessed minister. At the door of the church the above-named archbishops and bishops received the body, and then it was carried on the shoulders of the priests into the choir, where it remained for the night. While the service of the dead was being performed around it, a certain woman, who for seven years had been blind of one eye, recovered her [perfect] sight. There too a certain cut-purse cut away the purse belonging to a woman, immediately upon which both his hands became contracted, and he stood motionless, crying aloud, and saying,⁷⁰ "I repent, alas! if belief is ever accorded to any of the wretched, I repent, and am tortured by my deeds. I, who confess that torments still more severe are by me deserved, though hardly can I endure them more severe. And yet, although this punishment is merited by my deeds; still, great hopes have I in the mercy of God. Hope it is that makes even the delver,⁷¹ chained with the fetter, to live on, and to fancy that from even the iron his legs will be released. Hope it is that, when on every side no land he sees, makes the shipwrecked sailor still strike out in the midst of the waves. Full oft has the skilful care of the physicians abandoned him, whom, as the pulse died away, hope did not forsake. Those in prison fast enclosed are said to look for the day of safety, and many a one as he hangs on the cross, still breathes forth his vows. Lo, hope! how many, when around the neck they have

⁷⁰ This extempore confession of the Cut-purse, consists of nine Pentameter couplets, beginning

"Pœnitet, O, si quid miserorum creditur ulli,
Pœnitet, et facto torqueor ipse meo."

Roger of Wendover is content to leave him to speak in plain prose only, and to the following effect. "Pity me, pity me, ye friends of God; for I renounce Satan and his works, to whom I have till now been a slave; and pray to the Lord for me, that He may not confound me in my penitence, but may rather deal compassionately with me."

⁷¹ "— ut vivat fossor quoque compede vinctus."

This poetical thief must have been a reader of Ovid; there is an allusion in these words to the *Tristia*, B. iv. El. i. l. l.

tyed the noose, has she forbidden to die by the purposed death ! Sometimes at the altar does the violator of the temple take refuge, nor does he dread to invoke the offended Deity's aid."

Then, returning to himself, he exclaimed, "Be silent, thou my tongue, nothing more art thou allowed to say." After which, turning to the clergy, he said, "Pity me, do you, at least, pity me, ye friends of God, and pray for me unto the Lord, that He in His ineffable mercy may have mercy unto me. For Satan and his works I renounce." And immediately, upon prayer being made for him unto the Lord, the chains of Satan were loosed, by which his hands had been bound together, and he was made a whole man from that hour, praising and glorifying God. "At praises being given such as thine, do they in heaven rejoice, that so, what their power is able to effect, by testimony they may prove. Full oft do they alleviate punishments, and restore the light withdrawn, when they see that a sin has been sincerely repented of."⁷²

On the eighth day before the calends of December, being the sixth day of the week, the body of the said Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, was, after the solemnity of the mass, carried into the new church which he himself had founded in honor of the blessed Mary, the Mother of God and ever a Virgin ; and he was buried by the before-named archbishops and bishops, near the altar of Saint John the Baptist. Oh ! how great was the grief of all, how great their lamentations ! and those of the clergy in'especial. For he was truthful in word, just in judgment, foreseeing in counsel, conspicuous in virtue, and remarkable for every endowment of manners ; and his life shed a glorious light upon all churches. "The closing day of man must ever be awaited, and before his death and the last rites ought no man to be pronounced happy."⁷³ For to live is not a glorious thing, but to live well is the thing to be gloried in.

Also, while John, king of England, was staying at Lincoln, there came to him twelve abbats of the Cistercian order, and, falling at his feet, begged for mercy, saying that his foresters

⁷² Two Elegiac couplets.

⁷³ A quotation,—

— "Ultima semper
Expectatione dies homini est ; dicitque beatus
Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet."

The classical reader will here remember the conversation of Solon with Cræsus, and his story of the deaths of Cleobis and Biton, related in the first Book of Herodotus.

had destroyed their cattle, by which they and the poor of Christ were sustained, and had driven them away from the royal pastures and forests; on which the king made answer, "Arise." Accordingly, all these men arose, and the king himself, by the inspiration of the Divine favour, fell on his face before their feet, asking pardon, and said to them, "My protection I do give and do grant to you, that you may feed your cattle in my pastures and forests, in the manner in which the said privilege is known to have been granted to you by my predecessors the kings of England; in addition to which, look out for some suitable place in my kingdom for you to found an abbey of your order, and I will build it for the good of my soul and those of my parents, and for the establishment of my kingdom, and there, God willing, will I be buried."

In the month of December, in the same year, Roland, prince of Galloway, died at Northampton, in England, on the fourteenth day before the calends of January, being the third day of the week, and was buried there, in the abbey of Saint Andrew.

In the same year, Dunecan, son of Gilbert, the son of Fergus, carried off Evelina, the daughter of Alan Fitz-Walter, lord of Renfrew, before the return of William, king of Scotland, from England into his territories. The king, being greatly enraged at this, exacted from Alan Fitz-Walter twenty-four hostages, as pledges that he would keep the peace towards him and his territories, and that he would exact redress for that offence.

In the month of September, in the said year, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, within fifteen days after his death, appeared, in his sleep, to Master Roger de Roleston, dean of the church of Lincoln, and said to him, "Our Lord Jesus Christ has, in His favour, granted unto me, that one of you my brethren shall before long come to me to reign with the Lord. Be ye, therefore, prepared and watch, for ye know not the day nor the hour when the Lord shall come;" and so saying, he departed. When the morning came, the before-named dean related this vision in the chapter-house to the brethren, and they were all with one mind desiring with great desire to be relieved from the great burden of the flesh, and to be with Christ. But this vision was, at this time, fulfilled in one brother only of their number, Robert Deschappelles. For he immediately fell ill, and, breathing his last within three days, took his departure unto the Lord. [After his death] his body was found to be

sewed up in sackcloth, from the head to the knees, which he had been long in the habit of wearing beneath a white garment.

In the same month of December, a little before the Nativity of our Lord, there appeared by night, in the province of York, five moons in the heavens, at about the first watch of the night. The first appeared in the north, the second in the south, the third in the west, the fourth in the east, and the fifth in the middle of the first four, having with it many stars; and this latter one, with its stars, made the circuit of the four moons previously mentioned five or six times. This phænomenon appeared, in the sight and to the great surprise of many, for about a period of one hour; after which, it vanished from the eyes of those who beheld it.

In the same year, at Mid-Lent, in the month of March, Philip, king of France, and queen Botilda, his wife, met, with their respective partisans, at Soissons, in the presence of Octavianus, the bishop of Ostia, the judge-delegate of our lord the pope Innocent. On behalf of the said queen also, there were there present bishops, and other worthy and discreet men, who had been sent by Canute, king of the Danes, her brother, and who, before the commencement of the trial, demanded of the king of France security to be at liberty to answer and to make allegations, and to depart from his territories. These being accordingly granted, the king of France stoutly demanded that a divorce should take place between himself and Botilda his wife, saying, that they were so closely connected in the ties of consanguinity, that he was bound by law to have no intercourse with her.

To this, the envoys of the king of the Danes made answer in the following terms: "We both know, have heard, and have seen, that, when the venerable men, your envoys, whom your excellency sent to our lord Canute, the king of the Danes, for the purpose of contracting a marriage between you and Botilda, his sister, were in his presence, and had stated that you had desired, with exceeding great desire, to take to wife his sister Botilda, a distinguished maiden, and of royal birth, and urgently requested that she might be sent to you, our lord Canute, the king of the Danes, the mighty triumpher over his foes, whom no one with impunity opposes, upon hearing the opinions of the nobles of his kingdom, thought proper to listen to your requests. Upon this, your said envoys made

oath upon your soul, and upon their own souls as well, that, immediately the said Botilda should enter within the limits of your kingdom, you would have her married to you, and crowned queen, and would treat her honorably as your wife, so long as you two should live. And, as to this, you sent unto our master, the king of the Danes, your instrument, which we have here in our hands, and we have the instruments of your nobles as well, who made oath to the same effect. And inasmuch as you have treated the before-named Botilda, your wife, otherwise than as was sworn to by your nobles, we do accuse them of perjury and of breach of faith in presence of our lord the pope; we do also appeal to our lord the pope from the judge here, Octavianus, the lord bishop of Ostia, who is suspected by us, inasmuch as he is your kinsman by blood, as he admits, and shows too great favour to your cause." In like manner, also, queen Botilda herself appealed, in her own behalf, to our lord the pope. On this, Octavianus, bishop of Ostia, and legate of the Apostolic See, hearing that appeal was made to the Supreme Pontiff, said to the envoys of the king of the Danes, "Wait till such time as my colleague, who has been associated with me by our lord the pope, and who will be here before long, shall come, and then receive the decision that he shall give." They, however, took their departure, saying, "We have appealed."

After three days, the other legate arrived, in whose sanctity and justice our lord the pope had full confidence, and, sitting in judgment, he found no cause why there should be a divorce between Philip, king of France, and queen Botilda, his wife; but when it was his intention to pronounce final sentence thereon against the king of France, the king, being forewarned thereof, took his departure before the sentence was pronounced, taking with him his wife, Botilda, whom he placed in still closer confinement.

In the same year, this treaty of peace and final reconciliation was made between Philip, king of France, and John, king of England:—

The final Treaty made between Philip, king of France, and John, king of England.

"Philip, by the grace of God, king of the Franks, to all to whom this present writing shall come, greeting. Know ye, that this is the form of the treaty of peace made between us and our dearly beloved and faithful John, by the grace of God, king

of England : that is to say, he will observe the treaty of peace towards ourselves and our heirs, which king Richard, his brother, made with ourselves between Chastel Heraud and Charoton ; with the exception of those things, which in this present instrument are excepted or changed by reason of the exceptions which the said king Richard made in the said treaty of peace so concluded with us. And to this further effect ; that the said John has given to us and to our heirs, as being the right heir of his brother Richard, the city of Evreux and the Evreusin, with all the fees and demesnes thereof ; in such manner as the under-written boundaries set forth. The said boundaries are placed between Neubourg and Evreux. The whole of the land that shall lie within the said boundaries on the side of France shall belong to me ; while that which shall be on the side of Neubourg shall belong to the king of England. Also, as much land as we have extending towards Neubourg, so much shall we have extending towards Conches, and towards Akemu a similar extent, in the direction where the abbey of Noa is situate, according to the course which the river Icogne there takes. Gurtebo⁷⁴ also, as far as it extends, he has given unto us ; Tiliers, with its appurtenances, and Danville remain in the hands of the king of England ; also, as much as the lord of Bruroles shall have (namely, that which he shall be entitled to have) in the lordship of Tiliers, just so much is the lord of Tiliers to have (that is, to be entitled to have) in the lordship of Bruroles. He has also granted unto us as much of the bishopric of Evreux as lies within the said boundaries ; for which the bishop of Evreux shall be answerable to us and to our heirs : while the said bishop shall be answerable to the king of England, and to his heirs, for as much thereof as shall lie without the said boundaries. Be it also known, that neither we nor the king of England shall be at liberty to erect fortifications within the boundaries established between Neubourg and Evreux, nor yet at Gurtebo, neither we on our side nor the king of England on his side, except where fortifications have been already erected within the before-mentioned boundaries. Also, the fortresses of Portes and of Landes shall be immediately destroyed, and no fortresses shall be allowed to be rebuilt at the said places. And further, the king of England has caused the right heir to Evreux to quit-claim to us of all places which the

⁷⁴ There is no doubt that many of the names of these small places in Normandy are corrupt.

count of Evreux used to hold within the said boundaries. With regard to Hulcasme, in Normandy, the following shall be the terms agreed on: the fees and demesne shall remain in the hands of the said king of England and his heirs, just as the archbishop of Rouen held the same on the day on which he made the exchange for Andely; beyond which the whole of the Hulcasme belongs to us. Also, we are not to be at liberty to erect fortifications beyond Jumieges, on our side of Normandy, nor beyond the borders of the forest of Vernon, but within the same. The king of England has also given as a marriage portion to our son Louis, together with his niece, the daughter of the King of Castille, the fief of Heraud, the fief of Carsarre, and the fief of Butures, just as Andrew de Calumac held the same of the king of England; and of all the same we shall stand seised until such time as the said marriage shall have been consummated. And whatever may happen as regards the said marriage, after the same shall have taken place, we are to hold the said fiefs all the days of our life; and after our death, the said fiefs are to revert to the said king of England and his heirs, if the before-named Louis, our son, shall not have an heir by the niece of the king of England. But if the king of England shall chance to die without an heir by the wife now married to him, then, together with the fiefs aforesaid, the king of England shall give to our son Louis, together with his said niece, by way of marriage portion, the fief of Hugh de Gournay, on this side of the sea of England, and the fief of earl Patrick, just as they hold the same of the king of England, on this side of the English sea. Also, the king of England has given to us thirty thousand marks of silver, full weight and lawful money, according to the law by which they were made, that is to say, of the value of thirteen shillings and four-pence each mark, as an equivalent for our reliefs and our fief of Brittany, which we have transferred to the king of England. King John has also received Arthur as his liegeman, so that Arthur will hold Brittany of the said king of England. Also, the said king of England, as being right heir of his brother, king Richard, shall hold of us all fiefs in such manner as his father and king Richard, his brother, held the same, and in such manner, as they are entitled to the fiefs, with the exception of those above mentioned, which remain with us, as before stated. With regard to the count of Angoulême and the viscount of Limoges, the said king John shall receive them as his liege-

men, on condition that he will allow them to remain in possession of all their rights. Also, as to the earl of Flanders and the earl of Boulogne, it shall be thus arranged; the earl of Flanders shall hold that which he holds in our territory, and we shall continue to hold of the earl of Boulogne what we now hold, that is to say, the demesnes, fiefs, and other things which are in the hands of the count of Pontigny, which fiefs and demesnes shall remain to us and to the count of Pontigny; and all which the earl of Flanders holds of us, he shall do homage to us for the same. Also, if the earl of Flanders, or any one of our liegemen, who are or ought to be rather liegemen of ourselves than of the king of England, shall attempt to do us any evil or injury, the king of England shall not be at liberty to aid them against us, and to support them, nor we, in like manner, his liegemen, who are or ought to be rather liegemen of him than of ourselves, saving always the contents before mentioned of this present treaty of peace. Among these covenants, the king of England has also made a covenant that he will give no aid to Otho, either with money or with troops, or with knights, or in any other way, unless with our consent. As to Arthur, it is thus arranged, that the king of England shall not deprive him of the fief or of the demesne of Brittany on this side the sea of England, except upon the lawful judgment of his court. The king of England has given us sureties by his liegemen whose names are underwritten—Baldwin, earl of Aumarle, William, earl of Pembroke, Hugh de Gournay, William de Humezt, constable of Normandy, Robert de Harcourt, John de Pratelles, William de Kay, and Guarine de Capuin—who have made oath to the following effect, that they will come over to us with all their fiefs on this side the sea, if the king of England shall not observe this treaty of peace and covenant as arranged. We also have given sureties by our liegemen, whose names are underwritten: Robert, count de Dreux, Geoffrey, count de Perche, William Garland, Bartholomew de Roye, Gervaise de Chastel, Walter Chamberlain, the father, and Urso, his son, Philip de Leuns, and Walter Chamberlain the younger: who have in like manner made oath that they will go over to that king with all their [fiefs] if we shall not observe this treaty of peace, as the same has been arranged. And further, we and our pledges before named have sworn strictly and faithfully to observe the same in good faith, and without any evil intent whatsoever. And that this same may be of lasting va-

lidity, we do, by the authority of our seal, confirm this present instrument. Done at G——, ⁷⁵ in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord 1200, in the month of May.”

A similar instrument to the above was received by the king of France, with the change only of the names.

Customs of the Exchequer as to enquiries into debts due to our lord the king.

It has been enacted in England, and the same is, by command of king John, confirmed, that no sheriff shall receive any one at the presentation of a baron for a seneschal, ⁷⁶ who cannot be answerable for his amercement consequent on a breach of faith, if he should chance to be guilty of the same. And in case, at the presentation of a baron, a seneschal shall make oath that he will account to the sheriff for the debts due from his master to the exchequer, it is to be understood that he is to account for the debts due according to the computation of the sheriff; and if he shall not do so, he shall be put in the prison for that purpose named, according to the laws of the exchequer, and the debt due to the king shall be levied from the chattels of his master, in conformity with the laws of the exchequer. If also he shall not keep the faith to which he has pledged himself, so as not to appear at the time and place of payment to the sheriff, or if he shall make his appearance, and shall depart without leave given, his body shall be seized and placed in the king's prison for that purpose named, and he shall not be set at liberty but by the especial command of our lord the king. Also, persons shall be sent upon the lands of the master, whose seneschal has committed the default, and payment shall be made from out of his chattels of the money which, according to the law of the exchequer, is due: and if the said money is due for a fine ⁷⁷ on land, and chattels are not to be found, then the land on account of which the fine became due shall be seized for the use of our lord the king, and be retained until such time as the money shall be paid in conformity with the law of the exchequer. As a punishment for his breach of faith the seneschal who shall have been guilty of such breach, shall never

⁷⁵ Probably Gaillon, or Guleton.

⁷⁶ This name here means nothing more than steward.

⁷⁷ Probably the word “finis,” here means the fine paid to the king, as superior lord, on entering on lands newly acquired by descent or purchase. It is, perhaps, the same as Spelman calls “the king's silver.”

be believed on his oath as to this or any other sums due whatever, nor shall he be received;⁷⁸ nor shall his master be believed, or to be listened to as to the said debt, unless by favour, and at the desire of the king, in conformity with the law and custom of the exchequer.

In the same year, John, king of England, sold for five thousand marks, to William de Braose, the whole of the lands of Philip de Worcester, and the whole of the lands of Theobald Fitz-Walter, in Ireland. On this, Philip, with difficulty escaping from the hands of the king, returned into Ireland, passing through the territories of the king of the Scots, and recovered part of his lands by waging war [against the king]. Also Theobald Fitz-Walter, by the mediation of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, his brother, paid to William de Braose five hundred marks, in order to regain possession of his lands, and did homage to him for the same.

Of the Philosopher Secundus and his determined silence.

In⁷⁹ the time of Adrian flourished the philosopher Secundus, who philosophized, keeping silence all the time, and leading the life of a Pythagorean.⁸⁰ For, when a little child, having been sent there⁸¹ to be taught, he had heard among the Scots, that every woman is a harlot and unchaste. At length, becoming perfected in philosophy, he returned to his country, following the usual customs of a person on a pilgrimage, carrying a staff and a wallet, with the hair of his head and his beard growing long. [On his return] he was entertained in his own house, no one of the servants recognizing him, nor yet his own mother; and, wishing to prove, as to women, if what he had heard was true, he called one of the maid-servants, and promised her ten pieces of gold if she would induce his mother [to comply with his desires]; on which, yielding assent to the maid's proposal, she had him introduced to her in the evening. And whereas she supposed that she was about to have carnal connexion with him, he embraced her just

⁷⁸ In the character of steward or seneschal to any lord.

⁷⁹ How this account of the philosopher Secundus and his maxims came to be inserted here, or for what purpose, it is impossible to say. It has nothing to do with the narrative.

⁸⁰ Probably abstaining from flesh.

⁸¹ This was a singular school for the education of a child, in the time of Adrian or his predecessors.

as though she had been his own mother, and lay upon her breast until the morning.

When the morning came, and he wished to arise and depart, she caught hold of him, and said, "It was to try me, that you did this;" on which he made answer, "By no means, madam, my mother; but it would not have been a proper thing for me to defile the vessel from which I came forth." On this she enquired who he was; when he made answer, "I am your son Secundus." Accordingly, on considering within herself, not being able to bear her alarm, she died from fright.

Secundus, now feeling sensible that it was through his words that his mother's death had happened, exacted it as a punishment upon himself for, the future not to speak again; he, accordingly, preserved silence until the day of his death. It so happened, that about the same time the emperor Adrian, coming to Athens, heard of him, and, sending for him, in the first place saluted him; the other, however, remained silent. On this, Adrian said, "Speak, philosopher, that we may hear something of thee." He, however, still persevered in his determined silence; on which Tyrpon called to a headsman, and said, "As this person does not choose to speak to the emperor, we do not choose that he shall live. Take him away, and put him to the torture." At the last moment, Adrian secretly took the headsman aside, and said to him, "Speak to him on the road, and persuade him to speak; and if at your persuasion he makes answer, then behead him; but if he makes no answer, then bring him back to me."

Accordingly, Secundus was led by the headsman to the place of torture; and the headsman said to him, "O Secundus, why dost thou die in silence? Speak, and thou shalt live." However, caring but little for life, in silence he awaited death; and the headsman, leading him to the appointed place, said to him, "Stretch forth thy neck, and receive the sword thereon:" on which, he extended his neck, and preferred silence to life.

On this, the headsman took him, and led him to Adrian, telling him how that Secundus had persisted in his silence even unto death. Adrian, admiring the firmness of the philosopher, said to him, "Since this law of silence which thou hast determined upon can in no way be broken, take that tablet and write, and at least speak with thy hand." Secundus, then taking up the tablet, wrote to the following effect: "As for me, O Adrian, I fear thee not, because thou seemest to be the

prince of this world; thou mayest indeed hear me, but thou hast no power whatever to compel me to use my voice."

Adrian, accordingly, read what he had written, and said, "Thou art fully excused. But still I would propose to thee some questions for thee to answer me thereon; of which the first is, 'What is the world?'" In answer to this, the other wrote, "The world is a circle without end, a sightly commodity, a form made of many forms, an eternal course, a revolution without error."

"What is the ocean?" "The embracer of the world, the encircling limit, the dwelling-place of the rivers, the fountain of the showers."

"What is God?" "An immortal mind, an unimaginable loftiness, a form of many forms, a research that defies investigation, an eye that sleeps not, all-embracing, light, good."

"What is the sun?" "The eye of the heavens, a circle of heat, light without setting, the ornament of the day, the distributor of the hours."

"What is the moon?" "The ornament of the heavens, the rival of the sun, the enemy of evil-doers, the solace of wayfarers, the guide of mariners, the signal for solemnities, the bestower of dew, the presager of tempests."

"What is the earth?" "The foundation of the heavens, the centre of the universe, the guardian and the mother of fruits, the cover of hell, the mother of those who are born, the devourer of all, the store-house of life."

"What is man?" "A mind incarnate, an apparition for a season, a looker-on of life, a slave of death, a traveller on his road, a guest on the spot, a struggling spirit, an abode for a short season."

"What is beauty?" "A fading flower, a carnal felicity, an object of desire to mankind."

"What is woman?" "The confusion of man, an insatiable beast, a continual anxiety, a never-ceasing strife, the shipwreck of an unchaste man, a human slave."

"What is a friend?" "A desirable name, a man seldom seen, a refuge in distress, an endless blessing."

"What are riches?" "A weight of gold, a servant of cares, an unpleasing delight, an insatiate envy, an ever-craving desire, an exalted face, a hateful object of desire."

"What is poverty?" "An odious blessing, the mother of

health, freedom from cares, the refresher of the wise, business without loss, possession without claim thereon, happiness without anxiety."

"What is old age?" "A wished-for evil, the death of the still living, a safe weakness, a living death."

"What is sleep?" "The image of death, a rest from labour, the wish of the sick, the desire of the wretched."

"What is life?" "The delight of the happy, the sorrow of the wretched, a waiting for death."

"What is death?" "An eternal sleep, the fear of the rich, the desire of the poor, an inevitable event, the robber of man, the flight of life, the dissolution of all things"

"What is a word?" "The betrayer of the mind."

"What is the body?" "The resting-place of the spirit."

"What is the beard?" "A distinction of sex."

"What is the brain?" "The guardian of the memory."

"What is the forehead?" "The image of the mind."

"What are the eyes?" "The guides of the body, the vessels of light, the discoverers of the mind."

"What is the heart?" "The receptacle of life."

"What is the liver?" "The retainer of heat."

"What is the gall?" "The producer of anger."

"What is the spleen?" "The storehouse for laughter and mirth."

"What is the stomach?" "The cook of the food."

"What are the bones?" "The strength of the body."

"What are the feet?" "A moving foundation."

"What is wind?" "A disturbance of the air, a movement of the waters, a dryness of the earth."

"What are rivers?" "A never-failing course, the refreshers of the sun, the waterers of the earth."

"What is friendship?" "A wonderful certainty of a thing unknown."

"What is it that will allow no man, though weary, to desist?" "Gain."

In the year of grace 1201, being the third year of the reign of king John, the said king was at Guilford, in England, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, which fell on the second day of the week. On the same day, William, king of the Scots, was at Lanark, in his territories. On the same day, Otho, king of the Germans, nephew of John, king of the English, was crowned at Mentz. After the Nativity of our Lord on the

fifth day before the ides of January, there was a great earthquake in England, at York, and in the neighbourhood. After the Nativity of our Lord, John, king of England, came to Lincoln, but he could not come to an agreement with the canons of the church of Lincoln as to the election of a bishop. For the king wished to make an election according to his own pleasure, and the canons also wished to be at liberty to elect; which, however, the king would not concede to them.

In the same year, in the month of January, on the day of the Conversion of Saint Paul, being the fifth day of the week, John, king of England, crossed over the river Humber, and came to Cottingham, and was entertained by William de Stuteville; and on the next day he came to Beverley, where, being induced by a sum of money so to do, he made a stay with John Le Gros, who had been excommunicated by Geoffrey, archbishop of York; and when the canons of Beverley wished to receive him with a procession and the ringing of bells, he refused to be so received, and would not allow them to be rung. On his departure from Beverley, Henry des Chapelles, a servant of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, was seized and thrown into prison, because he would not allow the king to take any of the archbishop's wines. The said king also gave orders that all the servants of the archbishop of York, wherever they might be found, should be arrested; which was accordingly done.

In the month of February, at the Purification of Saint Mary, John, king of England, and queen Isabel, his wife, were at Scarborough, from which place the king proceeded as far as the borders of his kingdom, and went through the land, and put the subjects of his kingdom to their ransom, that is to say, compelled them to pay fines; charging them with having laid waste his forests. When he had come to Extoldesham, he heard that at Choresbridge there was a treasure concealed, on which he made people dig there; but nothing was found beyond some stones, sealed with brass, iron, and lead.

In the same year, at the vigil of the Purification of Saint Mary, William, bishop of Glasgow, landed at Dover, in England, on his return from his consecration. In the same year, immediately after the Purification of Saint Mary, Philip, bishop of Durham, crossed over between Dover and Witsand, for the purpose of going on a pilgrimage to Saint Jago.

In the same year, between the Nativity of our Lord and the

beginning of the fast, Roderic and Machdunlef were slain in Ulster, in a barn belonging to the White Monks, by the servants of John de Courcy, the said John not knowing thereof, as it is said; and, after he heard of it, he was very sorry, and, for this crime, sent the murderers into banishment.

At Mid-Lent, John, king of England, and queen Isabel, his wife, were at York, and Geoffrey, archbishop of York, made his peace with the king on payment of a pecuniary fine, upon the understanding that, by the decision of four bishops and four barons, elected on behalf of the king and on behalf of the archbishop, amends should be made for the faults committed by either side. Here also, William de Stuteville and James de Poterne, whom the archbishop had excommunicated, received absolution from him.

In the meantime, Reginald Arundel, præcentor of the church of York, departed this life; on hearing of which, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, wished to give the præcentorship to one of his own people, but the dean and chapter would not allow thereof, but, against the will of the archbishop, gave to Hugh Murdac the archdeaconry of Cleveland, which the said bishop had the day before given to Master Ralph de Kime, his own officer; and, when the archbishop wanted to instal him in place of the præcentor, the dean said to him, "You have no right to instal any one, and you shall not instal him; for, by the authority of the council of Lateran, we have given away this archdeaconry." As the archbishop could not succeed according to his wishes, he proceeded to excommunicate Hugh Murdac.

In the meantime, Honorius, archdeacon of Richmond, proceeded to Rome, on account of the injuries which Geoffrey, archbishop of York, had done him; he having, contrary to the ancient dignities of the archdeaconry of Richmond and the customs thereof, laid claim to the right of institution to churches and the synodals. For the archbishop alleged that the said Honorius had resigned all these things to him, and, by his charter, confirmed the same. This Honorius in every way contradicted, and made complaint to pope Innocent of the injuries which the archbishop of York had done him, and obtained from him a letter to the following effect:—

The Letter of pope Innocent to Geoffrey, archbishop of York.

"Innocent, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the archbishop of York, health and the Apostolic benediction.

If you recognized the authority of the Apostolic See, and the reverence due to the same, you would not presume in any way to derogate from the fulness of its power, and the privileges of its dignity, inasmuch as, you, who have been set apart by her to share her anxieties, have more frequently found her acting as your assistant in the emergencies into which, in your rashness, you had brought yourself. For you cannot excuse yourself, as you ought to have been able to do, on the ground that you were ignorant of that privilege, by which the means of appealing to the Apostolic See lie open to all who have been unjustly aggrieved, inasmuch as you yourself have sometimes appealed to our presence, and from grievances committed by you, appeal has been made to us, not once only, but many times, so that it is not possible for you to be ignorant of the said privilege. But, to let alone other considerations, if on this ground only, you ought to have abstained from all molestation of those subject to you, when they invoked our name, because, in many and arduous emergencies, you have both asked and obtained that favour should be shown to you by the Apostolic See. But, as the result of circumstances sufficiently shows, you neither regard our authority, nor recognize the favour that has been shown to you, nor do you pay any deference to appeals which are interposed, by those aggrieved, to the Apostolic See. For instance, when our beloved son, Master Honorius, the archdeacon of Richmond, being in full possession of the liberties of the archdeaconry of Richmond, had, together with his clerks, appealed from you to the Apostolic See, by reason of manifest grievances and various injuries, you nevertheless pronounced upon him, and some of his clerks, sentence of suspension, and upon some churches in the same archdeaconry you pronounced sentence of interdict. And, not content with this indiscretion, after he had set out on his journey for the purpose of coming to the Apostolic See, suspending some of his clerks, and laying an interdict upon their churches, and excommunicating others, (in deed only, for of right you could not,) you extorted from the rest a certain sum of money, disturbing and molesting, in many respects, his state of quiet, as also that of his clerks. Wherefore, because we neither will, nor ought to, leave the excesses of such great presumption uncorrected, we do, by these Apostolic writings, enjoin and command your brotherhood, of yourself, to correct such matters as have been previously mentioned, in order that you may not compel us to be incensed against you to a greater degree, having hitherto borne with your

temerity on so many occasions. Otherwise, know that we have, by our writings, sent word and enjoined our venerable brother, the bishop of Ely, and our dearly-beloved son, the abbat of Waltham, that they are to denounce the aforesaid sentences of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, in such manner pronounced by you, as being null and void, and, on pain of ecclesiastical censure, all power of appeal removed, to compel you to make restitution of all that which you have extorted either from the clerks or from the churches of the said archdeaconry, after appeal to ourselves lawfully interposed, as also compensation for their losses sustained; and whatever they shall find left unchanged by you or your people, to the prejudice of him or of his people, they are, relying upon our authorization, to replace in its former state; and are, by means of the stringent measures before stated, to prevent you from unjustly molesting the archdeacon or his clerks, or presuming to disturb their quiet or their liberties; and you shall know for certain that it is a hard thing for you to kick against the pricks, unless you abstain from conduct of this nature, and reverently pay obedience to our mandates. If otherwise, we shall proceed still further, perchance, to lay our hands upon you more heavily than you apprehend, that so your excesses may not be laid to our charge. Given at the Lateran, on the third day before the nones of February, in the [fourth]⁸² year of our pontificate."

In the same year, that is to say, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord 1201, being the third year of the reign of John, king of England, the said king, and queen Isabel, his wife, were crowned at Canterbury, by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, in the cathedral church there, on Easter day, which fell on the ninth day before the calends of April, being the feast of the Annunciation of our Lord, in presence of John, archbishop of Dublin, William, bishop of London, Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, Eustace, bishop of Ely, and John, bishop of Norwich.

Shortly after Easter, the king issued commands that the earls and barons of England should, at Pentecost, be at Portsmouth, ready, with their horses and arms, to cross over with him. For the men of Poitou had prevailed against the guardians of his territories, and had laid siege to his castles, and Guarine de Clapion, the seneschal of Normandy, had, by command of his lord, John, king of England, laid siege to the castle of Driencourt, which Richard, king of England, had given to Ralph

⁸² This word is omitted in the original.

de Issoudon, count de Auch, brother of Hugh Le Brun. But, on hearing of the approach of the king of England, Philip, king of France, raised all the aforesaid sieges, before the king of England had arrived in Normandy.

In the meantime, the earls of England met to hold an interview⁸³ between them at Leicester, and, by common consent, sent word to the king that they would not cross over with him unless he should restore to them their rights. On this, the king, following bad advice, demanded possession of their castles, and, beginning with William d'Aubigny, demanded of him the castle of Beauvoir; on which the said William satisfied him by delivering his son as a hostage, and so retained possession of his castle.

In the same year, William de Stuteville was appointed by the king sheriff of York. In the same year, Philip, bishop of Durham, on his road to Saint Jago, was, on Easter-day, at Saint John d'Angely, where the head is kept of Saint John the Baptist, which Herod caused to be cut off in prison, and gave in a charger to the dancing-girl, the daughter of Herodias, his wife. On the same day, William, king of the Scots, was at Karel, in Scotland.

In the same year, pope Innocent the Third reigning in the city of Rome, Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, in the Holy City of Jerusalem, Alexander,⁸⁴ the fratricide, in the city of Constantinople, Leo in Armenia, Aimeric de Lusignan in the cities of Tyre and Sidon, and in Acre, and the Isle of Cyprus, Raymond being prince of the city of Antioch, Otho, brother of Henry, duke of Saxony, being, in Germany, elected emperor of the Romans, Philip reigning in France, John in England, Swere Birkebain in Norway, Canute in Denmark, William in Scotland, Gurthred in the Isle of Man, and John de Courcy in Ulster, our learned men declared that the old dragon was let loose, which is the same as the Devil and Satan, saying, "Woe, woe to those who dwell upon the earth, inasmuch as the old dragon is let loose, which is the Devil and Satan!" according to what was said by Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist, who at the [last] Supper reclined upon the breast of the Lord, and who drank the streams of the Gospel from the sacred spring itself of the breast of the Lord: "I, John, saw an angel come down from heaven, having the keys of the bottomless pit, and

⁸³ The first step towards gaining the Magna Charta.

⁸⁴ A mistake for Alexis.

a great chain in his hand ; and he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled ; and after that, he must be loosed a little season.”⁸⁵ Accordingly, our learned men asserted that these thousand years were now fulfilled, and that the Devil was loosed. Woe unto the earth and to the inhabitants thereof, for if the Devil, when bound, has brought so many evils upon the world, how many and how great will he bring when loosed ? Let us, therefore, suppliantly pray to God, that in our daily actions He will preserve us from evil—that He will check and curb our tongues—that the dreadful din of strife may not resound—that He will protect and cherish our perception—that He will not allow us to follow after vanity—that the inmost recesses of our hearts may be pure—that folly may be removed afar—that moderation in food and drink may destroy the pride of the flesh—that, when Christ, the Judge, shall come, at the end of the world, He will make us sharers in joy everlasting.

In the month of May, in the same year, on the vigil of the Ascension of our Lord, Walter de Ghent departed this life, the first abbat of the canons regular of the holy Cross at Waltham. In the same year, in the week of Pentecost, when the barons of England were assembled at Portsmouth, for the purpose of crossing over with the king, the king received from each of them the sum of money which they had intended to expend in his service, and allowed them to return home ; after which, he sent before him into Normandy, William Marshal, earl of Striguil, with a hundred knights, and Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester, with another hundred knights, in order to make head against the attacks of his enemies upon the territories of Normandy. The king also gave to Hubert de Burgh, his chamberlain, a hundred knights, and made him keeper of the marches of England and Wales.

After this, the said king remitted his wrath against Geoffrey, archbishop of York, and restored him his manors and his servants, whom he set at liberty, and by his charter confirmed to him the liberties of the church of York, and of its archbishopric, in such manner as Roger, archbishop of York, had held the same. In return for the said confirmation, the said arch-

⁸⁵ Rev. xx. 1-3.

bishop engaged to pay to the king, in the course of one year, one thousand marks sterling, and for the performance thereof, the said archbishop pledged his barony to the king.

Shortly after, the king of England sent Geoffrey, bishop of Chester, Richard Malebise, and Henry Pudsey to William, king of the Scots, and requested that the time for giving an answer to the demand he had made of the county of Northumberland, which the king of England had fixed at Pentecost, might be put off till the feast of Saint Michael. The king of England, and queen Isabel, his wife, then embarked and crossed over, in the second week of Pentecost; but the king landed in the Isle of Wight, while the queen, his wife, embarking in another ship, and having a fair wind, landed in Normandy.

After he had stayed some days longer in England, king John again went on board ship at Portsmouth, and crossed over to Normandy; immediately upon which, a conference was held between him and the king of France, near the isle of Andely, and they came to a full agreement, no one but themselves being aware of what passed at the interview between them. Three days after this, at the invitation of the king of France, king John went to Paris, and was lodged in the palace of the king of France, and honorably entertained; the king of France having removed to take up his dwelling in another quarter. On his departure thence, the king of England proceeded to Chinon; while here, Berengaria, the former queen of England, and wife of king Richard, came to him; on which, John, king of England, made satisfaction to her for her dowry, in conformity with the testimony of Philip, bishop of Durham, and others who had been present at her marriage.

In the meantime, pope Innocent, having the bowels of compassion for the afflicted, wrote to the prelates of the churches to the following effect:—

The Letter of pope Innocent on giving aid to the land of Jerusalem.

“Innocent, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren, the archbishop and bishops throughout the kingdom of England appointed, health and the Apostolical benediction. Our just and merciful God, who reproveth and chastens those whom He loves, forgets neither to show mercy, nor does He withhold His compassion in His wrath. Although He spares not the rod, that He may not seem to hate His sons,

still, so does He moderate the severity of His just judgments against those who offend, that He scourges not so as to destroy, but, as it were, by His scourges to raise those who are fallen; wishing not for the death of sinners, but rather that they may be converted and live, as there is more joy among the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth, than over ninety-nine just persons who need not repentance. For, inasmuch as the senses of all men are prone to evil from their youth upwards, and human nature is more inclined to sin, in order that, if exalted only by prosperity, they may not wax proud and their pride may ever hold the ascendancy over them, He allows them to be humbled, that so, when they shall feel sensible that they are afflicted according to their deserts, they may recognize the justice of the judge, and, washing away the faults of their repentance with their tears, may be turned unto the Lord, and the Lord may be turned unto them; a thing which in the depopulation of the Eastern lands may readily be perceived by all. For when men who had now grown old in the world, had grown old in well-doing as well, and young men, like boys, had waxed wanton in the paths of vice, for now these hundred years past, and, almost all, like sheep going astray, being given up to the lusts of the flesh, wandered, every one his own way, the Lord willed by the loss of the province of Jerusalem, so to punish our misdeeds, as, by renewing in some measure the mystery of His passion, to open a gate to repentance, and a way unto us to salvation. For He who in his body suffered for our sins upon the Cross of wood, once again suffering crucifixion on that wood for the remission of our sins, allowed himself, as it were, to be afflicted, in suffering the Cross upon which our Salvation hung, and which He stained with His own blood, to be taken by the Saracens, and to be so long held in their possession, that He might see if any one would grieve at his griefs; if there should be any one to seek that his body should be given up to him; if there should be any one to wrap it in a napkin, and to place it in the sepulchre, and, when deposited in the tomb, to place thereupon spices of sweet-smelling savour. But we rejoice in the Lord that He who gave the cause for repentance, has also bestowed upon many the feelings of repentance, and has in His mercy inspired them with a wish, assuming the sign of the Cross, to avenge the injuries done to Jesus Christ, fulfilling the precept of the Gospel, 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself,

and take up his cross and follow me :⁸⁶ that so, leaving behind the burden of its hump, the camel may pass through the eye of the needle, and the rich man, becoming poor, may enter the kingdom of heaven, and may for things temporal receive the things eternal. But because many, as we have heard, and with grief we mention it, have gone back and have laid aside the emblem of the Cross, that they may not appear to have come in vain, if they do not perform that which they intended, we do by these Apostolic writings strictly command and enjoin your brotherhood, all indulgences to the contrary notwithstanding (in case it should appear that there have been surreptitiously obtained any such from our predecessors), that you are to compel all such to assume the sign of the Cross, after due warning given, by means of sentence of excommunication and interdict, all power of appeal being withdrawn ; and that you are on each Lord's day and on festivals, with bells ringing and candles lighted, stating the names of those of whom you have or shall have notice, publicly to denounce the same as excommunicated, and to forbid Divine service to be celebrated in their presence wheresoever they shall come. You are also strictly to warn all who have received the sign of the Cross, and, if it shall be necessary, by ecclesiastical rigour to compel them, at the time at which our dearly beloved sons, those noble men the earls of Flanders, Champagne, and Blois, and the others, shall, after prudent deliberation, by the advice of the wise, have determined, during the ensuing summer, to perform their intended pilgrimage, to the end that, in the way which shall be considered to be most conducive to the interests of the Holy Land, they may together pay their obedience unto the Lord. The punishment, also, which we command to be inflicted upon those who have laid aside the sign of the Cross, in order to compel them to resume the same, you are, in like form, to inflict upon those who, within the next five years, shall presume to frequent tournaments, and are not to revoke the sentence which you shall have pronounced on such persons, until they shall have solemnly abjured tournaments for the said period, that so the blood that should be consecrated to the Lord, and whereby, at these times, a heavenly reward may easily be obtained, may not be shed unto devils, to the injury of the body and the danger of the soul. Each of you in his dio-

⁸⁶ St. Matt. xvi. 24. St. Mark viii. 34, x. 21. St. Luke ix. 23.

cese is healthfully to remind the members thereof thus to do, and diligently to exhort them, frequently explaining to them the tenor of the Apostolical remission, to assume the sign of the vivifying Cross, in order that at least they may, with their property, according to their means, give some assistance to the Holy Land; lest, if they shall, in this moment of emergency, refuse to assist Christ, they may now and hereafter in vain ask for assistance at His hands. Also, as to all these matters, brother of Canterbury, we do appoint you our delegate, diligently to arouse the negligent to the performance of the same. We do further strictly enjoin and command you, that, in accordance with the commands which, in our other letters, we have given you, you will, each of you, in his respective diocese, urgently demand the fortieth part of all the revenues of churches and ecclesiastical persons, and of the incomes of clerks, and, after obtaining it, diligently collect the same, and, after collecting it, have the same trustily kept, without any diminution thereof, to be laid out in giving assistance to the Holy Land; and so fulfil the Apostolic mandate, that, from your works we may perceive your obedience, and may fully understand how you proceed as regards others in this emergency, not so much your own as of Christ. Given at the Lateran, on the third day before the nones of May, in the fourth year of our pontificate."

In the same year, Eustace, abbat of Flaye, returned to England, and preaching therein the word of the Lord from city to city, and from place to place, forbade any person to hold a market of goods on sale upon the Lord's day. For he said that the commandment under-written, as to the observance of the Lord's day, had come down from heaven.

On the observance of the Lord's day.

"The holy commandment as to the Lord's day, which came from heaven to Jerusalem, and was found upon the altar of Saint Simeon, in Golgotha, where Christ was crucified for the sins of the world. The Lord sent down this Epistle, which was found upon the altar of Saint Simeon, and after looking upon which, three days and three nights, some men fell upon the earth, imploring mercy of God. And after the third hour, the Patriarch arose, and Acharias, the archbishop, and they opened the scroll, and received the holy Epistle from God. And when they had taken the same they found this writing therein :

'I am the Lord, who commanded you to observe the holy day of the Lord, and ye have not kept it, and have not repented of your sins, as I have said in my Gospel, 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.'⁸⁷ Whereas I caused to be preached unto you repentance and amendment of life, you did not believe me, I have sent against you the pagans, who have shed your blood on the earth; and yet you have not believed; and, because you did not keep the Lord's day holy, for a few days you suffered hunger, but soon I gave you fulness, and after that you did still worse again. Once more, it is my will, that no one, from the ninth hour on Saturday until sunrise on Monday, shall do any work except that which is good. And if any person shall do so, he shall with penance make amends for the same. And if you do not pay obedience to this command, verily, I say unto you, and I swear to you, by my seat and by my throne, and by the cherubim who watch my holy seat, that I will give you my commands by no other Epistle, but I will open the heavens, and for rain I will rain upon you stones, and wood, and hot water, in the night, that no one may take precautions against the same, and that so I may destroy all wicked men. This do I say unto you; for the Lord's holy day, you shall die the death, and for the other festivals of my Saints which you have not kept: I will send unto you beasts that have the heads of lions, the hair of women, the tails of camels, and they shall be so ravenous that they shall devour your flesh, and you shall long to flee away to the tombs of the dead, and to hide yourselves for fear of the beasts; and I will take away the light of the sun from before your eyes, and will send darkness upon you, that not seeing, you may slay one another, and that I may remove from you my face, and may not show mercy upon you. For I will burn the bodies and the hearts of you, and of all of those who do not keep as holy the day of the Lord. Hear ye my voice, that so ye may not perish in the land, for the holy day of the Lord. Depart from evil, and shew repentance for your sins. For, if you do not do so, even as Sodom and Gomorrah shall you perish. Now, know ye, that you are saved by the prayers of my most holy Mother, Mary, and of my most holy angels, who pray for you daily. I have given unto you wheat and wine in abundance, and for the same ye have not obeyed me. For the widows and orphans cry unto you daily, and unto them you show no mercy.

⁸⁷ St. Matt. xxiv. 35. St. Mark xiii. 31. St. Luke xxi. 33.

The pagans show mercy, but you show none at all. The trees which bear fruit, I will cause to be dried up, for your sins; the rivers and the fountains shall not give water. I gave unto you a law in Mount Sinai, which you have not kept. I gave you a law with mine own hands, which you have not observed. For you was I born into the world, and my festive day ye knew not. Being wicked men, ye have not kept the Lord's day of my resurrection. By my right hand I swear unto you, that if you do not observe the Lord's day, and the festivals of my Saints, I will send unto you the pagan nations, that they may slay you. And still do you attend to the business of others, and take no consideration of this? For this will I send against you, still worse beasts, who shall devour the breasts of your women. I will curse those who on the Lord's day have wrought evil. Those who act unjustly towards their brethren, will I curse. Those who judge unrighteously the poor and the orphans, upon the earth, will I curse. For me you forsake, and you follow the prince of this world. Give heed to my voice, and you shall have the blessing of mercy. But you cease not from your bad works, nor from the works of the devil. Beause you are guilty of perjuries and adulteries, therefore the nations shall surround you, and shall, like beasts, devour you."

Accordingly, Eustace, the lord abbat of Flaye, came to York, and, being honorably received by Geoffrey, the archbishop of York, and the clergy and people of the city, preached the word of the Lord, and on the breaking of the Lord's Day and the other festivals, and imposed upon the people penance and gave absolution, upon condition that in future they would pay due reverence to the Lord's Day and the other festivals of the Saints, doing therein no servile work, and that on the Lord's Day they would hold no market of things on sale, but devoutly attend to good works and to prayer. This ordinance he appointed to be observed from the ninth hour on Saturday until sunrise on Monday.

Upon this, the people who were dutiful to God, at his preaching, vowed before God that, for the future, on the Lord's Day, they would neither buy nor sell any thing, unless, perchance, victuals and drink to wayfarers. They also vowed, that from each five shillings' worth of such things as they might sell, they would give one farthing towards buying lights for the church and the burial of the poor. And, for the collection of these sums, the said abbat directed that in each church

a hollow chest should be placed, under the care of two or three trustworthy men, into which the people might throw the money before mentioned. The said abbat also appointed that an alms'-dish should be placed every day upon the tables of the rich, in which they might place a part of their victuals for the benefit of the poor, who had nothing of their own. The said abbat also forbade any person to buy or sell any thing, or to plead causes, in churches or in the porches thereof.

Accordingly, through these and other warnings of this holy man, the enemy of mankind being rendered envious, he put it into the heart of the king and of the princes of darkness to command that all who should observe the before-stated doctrines, and more especially all those who had discountenanced the markets on the Lord's Day, should be brought before the king's court of justice, to make satisfaction as to the observance of the Lord's Day. But our Lord Jesus Christ, whom it is better to obey than man, and who, by His Nativity, and Resurrection, and Advent, and by sending the Holy Ghost upon His disciples, rendered glorious this day, which we, accordingly, name the Lord's Day, and hallowed it as being the most distinguished, aroused the miraculous powers of His might, and thus manifested the same against some breakers of the Lord's Day.

One Saturday, a certain carpenter of Beverley, who, after the ninth hour of the day was, contrary to the wholesome advice of his wife, making a wooden wedge, fell to the earth, being struck with paralysis. A woman also, a weaver, who, after the ninth hour, on Saturday, in her anxiety to finish a part of the web, persisted in so doing, fell to the ground, struck with paralysis, and lost her voice. At Rafferton also, a vill belonging to Master Roger Arundel, a man made for himself a loaf and baked it under the ashes, after the ninth hour on Saturday, and ate thereof, and put part of it by till the morning, but when he broke it on the Lord's Day, blood started forth therefrom; and he who saw it bore witness, and his testimony is true.

At Wakefield also, one Saturday, while a miller was, after the ninth hour, attending to grinding his corn, there suddenly came forth, instead of flour, such a torrent of blood, that the vessel placed beneath was nearly filled with blood, and the mill-wheel stood immoveable, in spite of the strong rush of the water; and those who beheld it wondered thereat, saying, "Spare us, O Lord, spare thy people!" Also, in Lincolnshire a woman had prepared some dough, and taking it to the oven after the

ninth hour on Saturday, she placed it in the oven, which was then at a very great heat; but when she took it out, she found it raw, on which she again put it into the oven, which was very hot; and, both on the next day, and on Monday, when she supposed that she should find the loaves baked, she found raw dough. In the same county also, when a certain woman had prepared her dough, intending to carry it to the oven, her husband said to her, "It is Saturday, and is now past the ninth hour, put it one side till Monday;" on which the woman, obeying her husband, did as he had commanded: and so, having covered over the dough with a linen cloth, on coming the next day to look at the dough, to see whether it had not, in rising, through the yeast that was in it, gone over the sides of the vessel, she found there the loaves ready made by the Divine will, and well baked, without any fire of the material of this world. This was a change wrought by the right hand of Him on high.

And yet, although by these and other miracles of His might, the Lord Almighty invited the people to the observance of the Lord's day, still, the people, fearing more the royal and human favour than the Divine, and fearing those who kill the body, but are able to do no more, rather than Him, who, after he has killed the body, has power to send the soul to hell, and fearing more to lose the earthly things than the heavenly, and things transitory than things eternal, have, oh shame! like a dog to his vomit, returned to the holding of markets on the Lord's day.

In the same year, Hugh Bardolph, and some others of the king's justices, came to the fair of Saint Botolph, intending to seize in the king's name the woollen cloths that were not two ells in width between the lists, in conformity with the assize of king Richard. On hearing of this, the dealers prevailed with the judges before mentioned that their cloths should not be seized, and that the said assize of king Richard should be no longer observed, either as to the width of cloth or the measure of corn, and that they might be allowed in future to make their cloths wide or narrow, just as they pleased. On this occasion, to the injury of many,⁸⁸ the said justices obtained a large sum of money for the king. "Base means of gain ought to be shamed."⁸⁹

In the same year, John, king of England, making satisfaction to queen Berengaria, widow of his brother Richard, king of Eng-

⁸⁸ Who were afterwards cheated by the dealers.

⁸⁹ "Vitanda est turpis lucri causa."

land, for her dowry, gave her the city of Bayeux, with its appurtenances, and two castles in Anjou, to hold the same for life, with a yearly payment of one thousand marks sterling, of which she was to receive each year five hundred marks, at the king's exchequer at London, and another five hundred marks at Caen, in Normandy. This was done at Chinon, in presence of Elias, archbishop of Bordeaux, and Philip, bishop of Durham.

In the same year, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, being on Saint Bartholomew's day at Westminster, in London, commanded all his suffragans, in virtue of their obedience, and in the name of our lord the pope, to make diligent enquiry throughout their respective dioceses, and if they should find any persons who had abandoned their vows to assume the cross, to make them resume the same, and to depart on their pilgrimage, appointing as the time for them to resume the cross, at the very latest, the feast of Saint Martin next ensuing, and as the time for their setting out, the Purification of Saint Mary next ensuing.

In the same year died Theobald, count of Champagne, leaving as his heir an only daughter, whom he had by Blanche, his wife, sister of Berengaria, queen of England. In the same year died the German woman, the daughter of Genest, the wife of Philip, king of France, whom pope Innocent, in his letters, called an adulteress; and by whom the said king had a son and a daughter; which daughter the said king of France promised that he would give in marriage to Alexander, son of the king of Scotland.

In the same year died Constance, the mother of Arthur, duke of Brittany. In this year, also, died Margaret, mother of the said Constance, sister of William, king of the Scots, and mother of Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford. In the same year, also, died Robert, prior of the church of Beverley, whose office Geoffrey, archbishop of York, conferred on Morgant, his brother, a son of king Henry, as was said, in spite of the appeal of Simon, dean of the church of York, who said that the same priorate had been given to him by the said archbishop, while the before-named prior Robert was still aliye.

In the same year, Philip, bishop of Durham, returned to England from Saint Jago, having performed his pilgrimage. In the same year, John of Salerno, cardinal priest, titular of Saint Stephen in Monte Celi, and legate of the Apostolic See in Scotland, Ireland, and the islands adjacent, came to York. Although he had been one of the two selected for the office of

Roman Pontiff after the decease of pope Celestinus, he declined the election, although ten cardinals would have agreed to his election; and he, with the other cardinals, elected Lothaire, cardinal deacon, Pontiff of Rome, under the name of pope Innocent the Third.

The said John never ate flesh, nor did he drink wine or cider, or any thing with which he might become intoxicated; but for gold and silver he had a considerable thirst. In presence of this cardinal, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, made offer to Simon, the dean, and to the chapter, of York, to abide by his judgment as to all the matters in dispute between them; saving always the dignities and privileges of either party, and saving their rights. But this single expression—"saving their rights"—was burdensome and insupportable to them, whom the knowledge of their own doings accused; and they used every endeavour that the clause—"saving their rights"—might be expunged.

In the same year, in order that the peace might be more lasting between Philip, king of France, and John, king of England, it was enacted, and by writing confirmed, that if the king of France should in any way break the peace which he had made with the king of England, the barons of France, whom he had given as sureties for the observance of the treaty of peace, being released, with all their men, from fealty to the king of France, should go over to the king of England, in order to aid him against the king of France; and that it should be the same as to the barons of the king of England, whom he had given as sureties for the preservation of the peace, and that they should become subject to the king of France, together with their men, being released from their fealty to the king of England, if that king should commit a breach of the peace.

In the same year, Walter de Lacy, a powerful man in Ireland, had an interview with John de Courcy, lord of Ulster, and, attempting by treachery to seize him, slew many of his people. Upon this, when the said John had taken to flight, Hugh de Lacy, the brother of the before-named Walter, said to him: "My lord, come with me, and I will receive you in my castle, for which I am your liegeman, until such time as your troops shall have assembled, in order that you may take vengeance on those who have always held you in hatred." Accordingly, the said John believed him, and entered his castle in safety from the before-named Walter.⁹⁰ But when he wished to de-

⁹⁰ It is stated "Hugh," probably by mistake.

part therefrom, Hugh would not let him depart; indeed, he had taken him for the purpose of delivering him up to the king of England, who had long wished to take him. However, the men of the said John did not cease night and day to ravage with fire, sword, and famine the lands of the said Walter and Hugh de Lacy, until they had delivered their lord, John de Courcy, from the custody of the said Hugh de Lacy.

In the same year, John, king of England, wishing to challenge the barons of Poitou with treachery to himself and to his brother, hired many men, and took with him persons well skilled in the art of fighting in single combat, and chosen from his territories on both sides of the sea. But the barons of Poitou, being warned thereof, would not come to his court; saying that they were answerable to no one but to their father.⁹¹ And thus, the king of England, being baulked of his hopes, returned to Normandy, and the men of Poitou from this time became still more hostile to him. For the purpose of quelling their violence, the king of England appointed Robert de Turnham his deputy.

In the same year, Master Honorius claimed the archdeaconry of Richmond against Roger of Saint Edmund's, and obtained a letter from our lord the pope Innocent upon the subject, to the following effect:—

The Letter of pope Innocent to the dean and chapter of York, in favour of Master Honorius.

“Innocent, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved sons, the dean and chapter of York, health and the Apostolic benediction. Our dearly beloved son, Master Honorius, the archdeacon of Richmond, has signified unto us, that whereas he has on many occasions shown obedience and ready duteness to our venerable brother the archbishop of York, the archbishop, returning him bad for good, and repaying love with hatred, has in many ways molested him, contrary to the dignities and liberties of his archidiaconal office; and that, at length, in order to injure him still further, and to aggravate him still more, he has raised his adversary, Roger of Saint Edmund's, a clerk, with whom the said Master Honorius had made a compromise, to the said office; who, on the pretext of letters obtained to our dearly beloved sons, the abbats of Saint Edmund's and Sibbeton, and the prior of Norwich, by a concealment of truth, is in many ways molesting him. Wherefore,

⁹¹ Perhaps this means the pope.

inasmuch as we have made it our care to revoke the said letters, as being surreptitiously obtained, and directed to judges who lie under our suspicion, we do, by these Apostolic writings, command and enjoin your discreetness, to make it your care to defend and maintain the said Master Honorius in his rights; and so to assist him as your fellow-brother and companion, that for so doing, you may merit our commendation, and he himself may, as a matter of duty, be rendered still more attached to you."

The Letter of pope Innocent to the bishop of Ely and the archdeacon of Northampton.

"Innocent, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother, the bishop of Ely, and to his dearly-beloved son, the archdeacon of Northampton, health and the Apostolical benediction. When our dearly beloved sons, Master Honorius, archdeacon of Richmond, and Master Columbus, our subdean, and the delegates of our venerable brother, the archbishop of York, came to the Apostolic See, we thought proper considerably to give them audience in our consistory. On part of the said archbishop it was alleged, that the institution of ecclesiastical personages and the care of vacant churches in his diocese belongs to him both by common law, as also by general custom; but that, some of his predecessors had entrusted to some of the archdeacons personally, both the institution as well as the care [of churches], though they still retained the same for some time in their own hands, and freely enjoyed the same, as was their right; just as the archbishop, who is now set over the church of York, by special favour formerly granted the same to the archdeacon of Richmond, at the prayer of Richard, king of the English, of famous memory, who having been afterwards elected bishop, the archbishop then retained possession of them as his own; and that, when it was his intention to confer the said archdeaconry on the before-named master, both before he conferred the same, as also on the conferring thereof, he expressly stated that he reserved in his own hands the right of institution as also the care [of vacant churches]; on which, the archdeacon made answer, that he should be acting against God, and in derogation of canonical rights, if he should presume to usurp the right of institution to churches, which belonged to the archbishop alone. And that, then renouncing those rights, he reduced his renunciation thereof to writ-

ing, and, for the sake of greater precaution, by his own seal corroborated the same, and finally gave his corporeal oath that he would in nowise intermeddle therewith. In answer to this, the archdeacon himself stated, that, when Henry the First, of glorious memory, king of England, wished to create a new episcopal see at Carlisle, because by that step the archdeaconry of Richmond received injury, that king requested one of the archbishops of York, of blessed memory, by way of recompense for some portion of what was withdrawn from the said archdeaconry, to grant the before-mentioned dignities thereto; on which, the archbishop acceded to his requests, and presented the rights of institution, as also the care [of vacant churches], not personally to the then archdeacon, but by a real and free grant, with the consent of the chapter of York, to the archdeaconry for ever; and that, whereas the said archdeaconry had been in continuous possession thereof, as also of other privileges, in the times of many archbishops, kings, and archdeacons, and the archbishop so often named, without any condition being made, granted him the same, after having so conferred it, the said archbishop asserted that he had given the same with all its liberties, the right of institution and the care of vacant churches excepted. That he, however, knowing full well the habit of the said archbishop, easily to give, and speedily to repent, and fearing lest if he should expressly contradict him, inasmuch as he had not yet gained possession of the archdeaconry, either his obtaining the same might be altogether hindered, or might for a long time be put off, made answer that⁹³ not only about that matter, but as to all his revenues as well, he would act in such manner as should be agreeable to the archbishop. That, after he had entered into possession of the archdeaconry, he freely enjoyed the liberties thereof, as his predecessors had been in the habit of doing. That afterwards, when, contrary to all justice, the archbishop had deprived him of the said archdeaconry, and he could in no way obtain restitution thereof, without by deed renouncing the said privileges, he, knowing that his right would still hold good, being thus despoiled, gave to the archbishop himself, a letter of renunciation thereof, sealed with his own seal; but that he never did, as alleged by the other side, abjure the same, but,

⁹³ A rather unbecoming defence to be made by a minister of religion before the pope, notwithstanding the opinion of pope Alexander, mentioned in the next page.

on the contrary, with the object of obtaining the benefit of restitution, enjoyed the same privileges as before, although the said archbishop, in manifold ways, aggrieved him and his clerks in relation thereto and to other matters, after appeal had been lawfully interposed. That, the grant of the before-mentioned liberties was not as it were that of one person to another person, but the same⁹⁴ were rather granted as it were by the actual dignitary himself, and were delivered, not by special favour to any individual, but as a matter of right, together with the archdeaconry, of the entirety of which, they doubtless, from the original gift made by way of compensation, formed a part. That, although any archbishop might perhaps enjoy the same while he held the archdeaconry in his own hands, still, no prejudice could be produced thereby to the archdeaconry, as it is understood as a matter of course that they are afterwards granted therewith.⁹⁵ Moreover, inasmuch as, by the council of Tours, all withholdings of prebends, dignities, and benefices, are prohibited, and the council of Lateran, where it forbids new taxes to be imposed, or old ones to be increased, adds thereto, 'Let no one presume to appropriate to his own use any part of the revenues,' it is evident that the archbishop ought not to, and cannot, deprive the archdeaconry of any of its dignities and privileges. That besides, it cannot be believed that before the grant [of the office], or on the occasion of the grant, it was agreed that the archbishop should retain possession of the afore-said privileges, because, if he had chanced to attempt thus to usurp possession of what did not belong to himself, he would have seemed to be incurring the guilt of simony. That his renunciation could not injure the archdeacon, as he had renounced the same when despoiled thereof, and that pope Alexander, of blessed memory, our predecessor, asserted that a renunciation of that nature is not valid. Besides, although the collation to the archdeaconry belongs to the said archbishop, the entirety thereof belongs to the dignities of the church of York, and neither the archbishop nor the archdeacon could, without the consent and knowledge of the chapter of York, inflict so great an injury upon the dignities and privileges of the said archdeaconry. With reference to these points, the other side replied, that although renunciation or abjuration might not injure the archdeaconry, still, in consequence thereof, the

⁹⁴ This passage is evidently imperfect.

⁹⁵ "In ipsâ" seems to stand for "in ipso."

archdeacon was deprived of all means of attempting to recover the same. To this, however, the archdeacon made answer, that he was not attempting to recover the same, inasmuch as he was freely exercising them, just as formerly, at the time when he set out on his way to the Apostolic See, and was in enjoyment of the possession thereof. He also added, that inasmuch as the archbishop had, by shamefully retaining the dignity in his hands against the law of the constitution [of the Church], mutilated the same, he ought not, alleging, as it were, his own infamy, to be heard against him, the possessor thereof, on the point of his subsequent renunciation, or even his abjuration, if such there had been. Accordingly, after hearing what was alleged on both sides, and fully understanding the same, we pronounced that the archdeacon must be left in full possession of the privileges of the said archdeaconry, until it should have been proved by the other side, that the said liberties had been conceded [personally] by the archbishops to the archdeacons; for in such case, the archbishop would be at liberty, both before and after, as well as at the moment of granting [the archdeaconry], lawfully to make reservation thereof, as being his own; or else, until it should have been lawfully proved that the archdeacon had abjured the said privileges; but that in the latter case, if the concession of them⁹⁶ was a valid one, no right or benefit could accrue to the archbishop thereby, for that we, on petition of the church of York, or of ourselves, should consult the benefit of the said archdeaconry thereon. If, therefore, either of these positions shall be lawfully proved, let silence be imposed upon the archdeacon as to the said privileges; if neither, then upon the archbishop. We do therefore strictly command, and by these Apostolic writings enjoin you, forthwith to call the said parties before you, and to hear what shall be alleged on both sides, according to the form in the precedents set forth; always remembering, that if any change has been made by the archbishop or his people relative to the said privileges since appeal was lawfully interposed, or since the archdeacon set out upon his way to Rome, you are, at the commencement of the investigation, all power of appeal withheld, to replace the same in its former state: and you are, all obstacle by appeal removed, to bring the same to a due conclusion, if you shall be unable, by the consent of the parties, to settle the same; or else, you are to refer

⁹⁶ At the moment of granting the office.

the case, fully drawn up, to us for decision. If we were to have due regard to the doings of our venerable brother the archbishop of York, and wished to answer him, in accordance with his deserts, we should not only deprive him of the power of inflicting injury, but should even curtail his authority, who thus misuses it for oppressing those subject to him. For how and how long he has annoyed our dearly-beloved son Honorius, the archdeacon of Richmond, whom, in consideration of his learning and his integrity, he ought to have honored, the complaints of the archdeacon have fully shown to us; for he has both, as he therein asserts, for some time, without cause, deprived him of his archdeaconry, and has frequently, at the impulse of his own will, launched against him and his clerks, and others as well, sentence of excommunication and suspension. Consequently, if we made it our care duly to provide for the welfare of the said archdeacon, we should take care to pronounce him for ever exempt from the jurisdiction of the said archbishop, as one of our predecessors is known in his time also to have exempted certain persons. However, it being our wish so to protect the archdeacon, as not for the present to curtail the authority of the said archbishop, we do command and enjoin you, upon our authorization, carefully to warn the said archbishop, and to forbid him to presume, without manifest and reasonable cause, and only in a reasonable manner, to pronounce sentence of excommunication, suspension, or interdict upon the said archdeacon, or his clerks or laymen, or churches in his archdeaconry. But if he shall do so, you are, supported by our authorization, to pronounce the sentences so given, to be null and void in law, all power of appeal on his part withheld; and you are carefully to protect the archdeacon and his people for the future against the excesses of the archbishop, revoking as null and void, all power of appeal withheld, whatever attempts, in his rashness, he shall think proper to make against them. And further, if he shall disdain to listen to your advice, we shall make it our care duly to provide against the same, not without confusion and disgrace to himself and his advisers."

The Letter of pope Innocent on the same subject, to king John.

"Innocent, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the illustrious king of the English, health and the Apostolic benediction. It is the interest of your royal highness to pro-

tect churches and ecclesiastical persons in their rights, and powerfully and lawfully to bridle the attempts of evil doers, when striving to molest them. Wherefore, inasmuch as our beloved son, Master Honorius, archdeacon of Richmond, is a man so learned and so virtuous, that, not only from his learning and virtue, honor is reflected upon the church of York, but his duteous services may possibly prove advantageous to yourself, we do ask, advise, and exhort your serene highness in the Lord (and the more urgently, inasmuch as we are aware that he has attended not less diligently than faithfully to the business committed to his charge by your serene highness at our court,) to maintain and defend him in his rights, and not to permit him or his clerks, in contravention of the privileges of the archdeaconry of Richmond, to be aggrieved by molestation on part of any person whatsoever. Farewell."

Another Letter of pope Innocent on the same subject.

"Our dearly-beloved son, Honorius, archdeacon of Richmond, having come to our presence, and having presented to us his petition, has shown to us that, whereas we did formerly entrust to our dearly-beloved son, Peter, cardinal deacon and titular of Saint Mary in Viâ Latâ, legate of the Apostolic See, the adjudication of the questions which were moved against those who had been intruded into the prebends and dignities of the church of York, he, reserving to himself the final sentence thereon, did entrust to our venerable brother, the bishop, and our dearly-beloved sons, the dean and subdean of Lincoln, the hearing of the charge which was made against Roger of Saint Edmund's, in relation to the archdeaconry of Richmond. But although, observing due and legal form, they would have proceeded to pronounce a definite sentence, at last, through the mediation of the chapter of York, there was an amicable and fair compromise effected between Honorius, the archdeacon, and the before-named Roger, which each party, on oath, promised to observe. However, shortly after, the said Roger, not taking into consideration the compromise made, and the oath which he had taken thereon, obtained letters from ourselves against the said archdeacon, addressed to you, who, as he asserted, attempted in many ways, contrary to justice, to injure him. For he alleged that, whereas he had set out to come to our presence, to set forth his legitimate exceptions, and had utterly declined you, son, abbat of Saint Ed-

mund's, as being suspected by him, both because the said [archdeacon] was on too close terms of intimacy with you, and because, as he asserted, he himself is related to you by blood, as also because you had manifestly shown favour towards the said archdeacon in relation to the said matters, and had shown opposition to the said Roger, by petitioning our most dearly-beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, and our venerable brother, the archbishop of Canterbury,⁹⁷ although he had offered to make good his objections to you, in presence of judges chosen for the purpose, you, nevertheless, our sons, the abbat of Sibbeton and the prior of Norwich, presumed, as it was stated, to pronounce judgment. And, further, that whereas mention was made unceasingly in our letters of the revenues that had accrued from the archdeaconry, you, contrary to the laws and canons, deprived him of the benefit of such command. On the other hand, although the said archdeacon had objected in our presence, that his said adversary was an excommunicated person, and was ready to prove the same⁹⁸ within a competent time, and to make corporeal oath that he had not made such allegation as a cause for delay, you, nevertheless, not allowing the exception, pronounced that he was not to be heard, unless he should prove forthwith that which he had by way of objection alleged. Wherefore, when the said archdeacon felt that he was aggrieved by you⁹⁹ on these and other points, he appealed to our presence, and set out on the road, for the purpose of prosecuting his appeal. But you, as it is said, being by no means withheld from taking cognisance of the cause, after appeal made, proceeded therewith, both to the prejudice and in favour of, the said archdeacon. Wherefore, inasmuch as we wish no one, in contravention of justice, to be aggrieved, and the bearing or decision of causes so to proceed, that neither party may have a just cause for complaint, we do, by these Apostolic writings, command your discreteness, that since, if, in the letters which the said Roger obtained to you from us no mention is made of the compromise that took place as to the archdeaconry, and of the oath that was taken, because he obtained the same by means of suppression of the truth,

⁹⁷ Probably in favour of archdeacon Honorius.

⁹⁸ To make any sense of this passage, which, like the greater part of the letter, is evidently imperfect, it is clear that "hoc" must stand in place of "non."

⁹⁹ "Nobis" is clearly a misprint for "vobis."

and because, according to the canonical sanctions, a lying suitor ought to lose his suit, we will that the said letters shall have no validity whatever. If also, you have refused to admit of the lawful objections of the before-named archdeacon, and have presumed, after appeal lawfully interposed, to take further proceedings in the said cause, we do will nevertheless, and do command you, entirely to desist from any further proceedings in the said cause, and to pronounce what has been done by you therein to be utterly null and void. We do also will, that the cause itself shall be placed in the hands of such judges as ought to be suspected by neither party, or else shall be terminated before ourselves, due justice being done therein. And if you shall chance to neglect our commands, in consequence of the favour or fear of any person, know that we, by our letters, have commanded our venerable brother, the bishop of Rochester, and our dearly-beloved sons, the abbat of Foxley and the prior of Leeds, learning the truth thereon, to perform our commands, all obstacles whatsoever, by way of contradiction or of appeal, removed. Given at the Lateran, on the thirteenth day before the calends of January, in the third year of our pontificate."

Another Letter of pope Innocent on the same subject.

"Innocent, the pope, to the abbats, priors, deans, parsons, sheriffs, clerks, and laymen throughout the archdeaconry of Richmond appointed, greeting. Our dearly-beloved son, Master Honorius, your archdeacon, has explained to us that whereas he had canonically obtained the archdeaconry of Richmond, and had for some time been in possession thereof, a disagreement afterwards ensuing between him and our venerable brother, the archbishop of York, Roger of Saint Edmund's, a clerk, calling himself the archdeacon of Richmond, keeping silence on the truth of the matters aforesaid, obtained letters from us to our dearly-beloved sons, the abbats of Saint Edmund's and of Saint Benedict de Holwey,¹ and to the prior of Tofts, directing them, having first given you warning, by ecclesiastical censure, all power of appeal withheld, to compel you to show to him all obedience and respect, and to make him satisfaction for the injuries that had been done to him. But, inasmuch as a lying suitor ought, according to lawful enactment, to lose his suit, we do, by these Apostolic writings, enjoin and command the whole of you

¹ The abbat of Sibbeton and the prior of Norwich previously named.

that, inasmuch as we have commanded the said letters to be revoked, as being obtained and sent to judges held in suspicion, by means of the suppression of truth and the assertion of falsehood, inviolably preserving the rights of the said archdeacon, you will, the said letters notwithstanding, all power of appeal withheld, show to him and his officers due obedience and respect, just as you paid the same to him before he set out on his road to the Apostolic See. And if not, such sentence as he or his officers shall think proper reasonably to pronounce upon you for the same, we do will to be ratified by us, and inviolably observed."

Accordingly, upon the presentation of these and other letters of our lord the pope, which Honorius produced, Roger of Saint Edmund's making answer thereto, the judges delegate above-named, in consequence of the appeals made by both parties, and of the varying testimony of witnesses, having drawn up the case to the best of their ability, sent the cause to our lord the pope, to be determined by him; and the said Honorius and Roger prosecuted their appeals.

The Letter of the Master of the Hospital at Jerusalem to the Prior and his brethren throughout England.

"The Master of the Hospital at Jerusalem to the Prior of England, greeting. As rumours transpire, it is our desire to inform the minds of our friends thereof. Accordingly, in conformity with our usual custom, we were sending you the rumours that were circulating in the land of Jerusalem on the mournful occasion of the lately attempted passage; but, the ship being wrecked on the sea-coast of Tripolis, before Biblius, the bishop of Acre, and many most deserving men among our brethren, who had been despatched to you upon the affairs of the Holy Land, it so pleasing God, to the grief and sorrow of the whole people of Christendom, perished, together with many pilgrims both of noble and of the lower rank. Since this shipwreck, we believe that no ship has made a passage, at least it is so said by all; for some ships, on board of which were our messengers, making the attempt to proceed upon the voyage, after leaving Acre and sailing three days or more, having lost their sailyards through the usual violence of the winds and the tempests, returned to Tripolis, with great difficulty escaping shipwreck. Having, however, obtained such opportunity as we could, of a ship sailing, we have to inform your brotherhood, that that most wicked enemy of the Christians, Saphadin, the lord of Da-

musculus, has been made lord of Babylon, for, like a perfidious and perjured man, he has expelled his nephew and others, whose rights to the succession he dreaded, from the kingdom of Babylon. There still flourish between him and the Sultan Aleph, and many others, great dissensions, which can never come to an end, and will never cease or fade away. Saphadin also, himself, being odious and abominable to his own followers, is in dread of domestic treachery, and, thinking himself safe in no place (as he has proved a traitor and perjured to his nephews, whom he is attempting also utterly to disinherit), does not dare go out of Babylon, a thing which, in the last year, has proved our safety and protection. For he had, in his boisterous manner, and going beyond all bounds, been making preparations to overrun us, and utterly to demolish the remnants of Christianity that still remained. But God has struck with the rod of His power the regions of Babylon in that river of Paradise,² which used to water the lands of the enemy, so as to cause it not to flow, and in the past year it has sent forth no stream. In consequence of this, they are perishing by famine, and have lost their animals; many of them have not scrupled to sell their sons, the rich the poor, the powerful the weak, that so they may preserve their lives from the famine, which they apprehend will be the result of the river being dried up, if it does not flow. Any prudent person indeed might imagine this, that if the river, by the will of God, should not flow, and thereby irrigate the fields, they will be in great danger of their lives. Consequently, infinite multitudes, compelled by necessity and the severity of famine, have now filled our lands like swarms of locusts, for the purpose of sustaining their bodies; where some moil³ at the soil belonging to the Church, some, after the manner of beasts, feed upon the shrubs in the woods, while others, dying of hunger, are found in spots in the woods wondrously eaten away by worms and birds. Wherefore, we, putting our trust in the Lord, who, when He wills, puts an end to battles, do hope that He is about to make a beginning of shewing compassion upon the Christian people, when He thus bruises their enemies. There is also afforded matter for astonishment among the nations, in that, a certain Saracen, of youthful age and of low

² Meaning the Nile.

³ This may possibly signify that they had to extract sustenance from the clay of the earth.

degree, having been brought up in simplicity among shepherds from his youth, has on a sudden appeared to all so learned, that all are in admiration of his wisdom; he also publicly preaches the name of Jesus Christ, and so successfully, that already, more than two thousand of the pagans have believed in him, and, at his exhortations, have become converted to our faith, and have been born again at the font of holy baptism, and grieve that they submitted to the pain of circumcision. However, our enemies are exulting with unbounded joy, because they know that we are but few in number, and impoverished in means, and think that we are in want of troops. Wherefore, unto you do we cry with the voice of lamentation, and do piteously entreat you, that, among both the higher and the lower classes, you will think us worthy to be aided by your counsel and assistance, and will make it your care promptly to induce our lord the king of England, and whatever other persons you can, to aid us, and diligently advise them to come to our succour. For we tremble on account of their infinite resources, and the more so, as their wealth is increased by the merchandize brought by many merchants, a circumstance which strikes us all with greater alarm than usual; and considering that, whereas against the single kingdom of Babylon or of Damascus the whole people of the Land of Promise used to be hardly able to defend itself, at the present time two kingdoms, joined under one master, by their threats inspire terror in us, a residue so small in number. This is assuredly the true state of the Land of Promise and of the enemies of Christ; which, if it remained as at present, if we were to receive sufficient aid from Christendom, we should with the propitious favour of heaven, suppose ourselves able to avenge both the injuries of Christ and the disgraces of the Christians. Wherefore, good brother, as it suffices to say but little, you, knowing full well what necessities and how great are imposed upon us, hear now what beyond measure afflicts us. The land of the kingdom of Sicily is being ravaged both by the Germans and the Lombards, our house at Baroli has been deserted, our brethren remain within, [shut up] in the city; our houses outside, from which we received our support, have been brought to ruin, and no one is for staying in the city. Moreover, since you left the land, we have had no assistance whatever from the kingdom of Sicily up to the present time, and for this year past we have had to buy corn, wine, barley, flesh-meat, cheese, and all neces-

saries for the whole of our houses and fortresses, upon all which the necessary outlay has been incalculable. Unless we shall receive some money from our houses beyond sea, we shall be unable to obtain it elsewhere; and it is now a long time since we have received anything whatever for the support of our expenditure. Know also, that we have incurred a great number of debts; and, awaiting your help and that of our other good brethren, we do, by the love of God and our own, entreat you, so far as you can, by the first ship that makes her passage in the month of March, to send us some assistance. Farewell."

On hearing of this, our lord the pope Innocent sent a cardinal to the king of France and to the king of England, requesting that assistance might be given by their territories towards the relief of the land of Jerusalem; and accordingly, at his command the said kings agreed to give towards the relief of the land before-mentioned the fortieth part of all their revenues for one year. This the king of England ordered to be given from his rents, his escheats, and his wardages in England; and he ordered that all the laymen of his territories should, in like manner, give the fortieth part of their revenues, as an alms-gift for the succour of the land of Jerusalem. Upon this occasion, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, at this time chief justice of England, wrote to the sheriffs and bailiffs of England to the following effect:—

The Letter of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter as to the collection of the fortieth part of revenues for the succour of the Holy Land.

"Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, earl of Essex, to all the sheriffs in his jurisdiction, greeting. Know ye, that our Lord the king of England, at the instance and at the preaching of a certain cardinal sent into France by the Supreme Pontiff, has, from the parts beyond sea,⁴ by the advice of his nobles, granted, for the succour of Holy Jerusalem, the fortieth part of the value of all his revenues and lands for one year, including those accruing from wards and escheats in his hands. The same also has been voluntarily contributed by his nobles themselves beyond sea. At their instance also, our lord the king of England has, by his letters patent, written to all the nobles of England, begging and entreating that they will, with pure heart, and from motives of Christian love, make a like grant from the value of all their revenues and lands for the space of one year; which, however, is neither conceded nor

⁴ In relation to France and Normandy.

demanded as a matter of right, or of custom, or of compulsion, or as based upon any other⁵ Apostolical authority whatever. Wherefore, he has ordered that all the earls and barons in each jurisdiction shall immediately be advised and carefully urged, forthwith, each for himself, to make the said collection on his lands, in the following manner, namely; each is to contribute the fortieth part of the value of each vill that belongs to him, according to the sum at which it might be let to farm per annum. And if in the said vill there shall happen to be any tenants by knight service, they are to contribute the fortieth part in manner aforesaid: and if there shall be freeholders, they are likewise to pay a similar portion in manner aforesaid, on a computation of the annual rent which they are paying to their lords. This collection also they are to make by means of discreet and lawful persons, who both can and understand how, to perform the same, and who are to receive it from the earls and barons aforesaid. And after the same shall have been collected by their hands, the receivers of the said collection are to have it reduced distinctly and openly to writing how much they have received from each person, both earls as well as barons, knights, and freeholders; as also the names of each, and of the vills, and how much they have received from each, and to whom each vill belongs; all which they are to have duly registered. The sums also, received from the demesnes, and from the wards, escheats, and rents of our lord the king, they are to have separately registered. Also, if any clerk shall have a lay fee in any jurisdiction, or any tenants holding a lay fee, the said collection is to be made upon their lands by the said collectors in manner aforesaid. On the lands also of those who have assumed the cross, the said collection is to be made in manner aforesaid, but so that the money received from them is set apart from the rest; and the amount of the said money is to be set down, and the names of each person by whom the said money shall have been so paid is to be written beneath it, in order that those who shall have set out on the expedition, may promptly receive repayment of their money. Also, due care is to be taken that the said money is so collected, that each sheriff, together with the collectors, has it in readiness at the New Temple, in London, within fifteen days after the day of Saint Hilary, as also a register drawn up in manner

⁵ Than the suggestion of the cardinal legate.

aforesaid, that is to say, stating the amount of the money, the names of those who have paid it, the names of the vills from which the said money has been paid, and how much has been paid by each. And if any persons shall refuse to give their consent to the said collection, their names are to be entered in the register, and made known to us at London at the time aforesaid; and the present writ and the names of the collectors are to be there presented. Farewell."

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 ERRATA IN VOLUME I.

- Page 395, line 3, for "incarnnti," read "incarnati."
 4, for "renigenitus," read "unigenitus."
 5, for "supplicitur," read "suppliciter."
 7, for "renigenito," read "unigenito."
 .. 498, .. 19, for "our," read "all."
 .. 523, .. 17, for "Rhone," read "Rhine."

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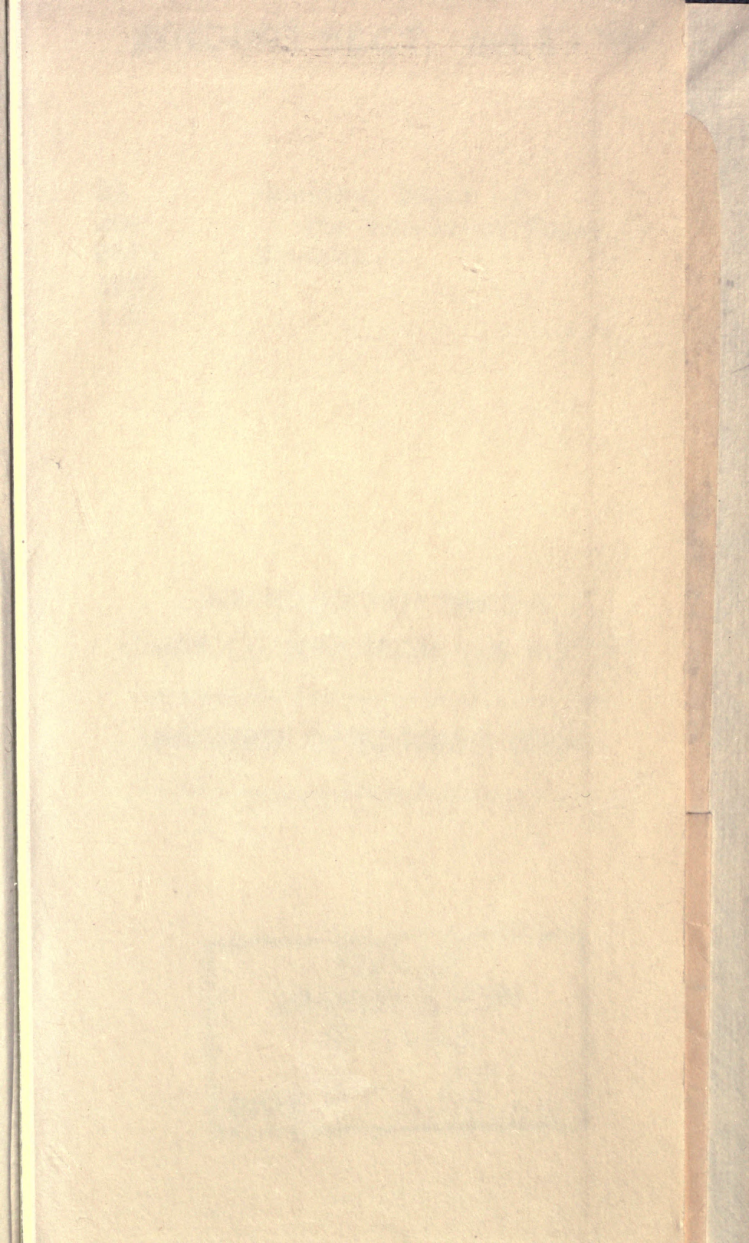
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