

# The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

## Part 6: A.D. 1070 - 1101

### Online Medieval and Classical Library Release #17



A.D. 1070. This year Landfranc, who was Abbot of Caen, came to

England; and after a few days he became Archbishop of Canterbury.

He was invested on the fourth before the calends of September in

his own see by eight bishops, his suffragans. The others, who

were not there, by messengers and by letter declared why they

could not be there. The same year Thomas, who was chosen Bishop

of York, came to Canterbury, to be invested there after the

ancient custom. But when Landfranc craved confirmation of his

obedience with an oath, he refused; and said, that he ought not

to do it. Whereupon Archbishop Landfranc was wroth, and bade the

bishops, who were come thither by Archbishop Landfranc's command

to do the service, and all the monks to unrobe themselves. And

they by his order so did. Thomas, therefore, for the time,

departed without consecration. Soon after this, it happened that

the Archbishop Landfranc went to Rome, and Thomas with him. When

they came thither, and had spoken about other things concerning

which they wished to speak, then began Thomas his speech: how he

came to Canterbury, and how the archbishop required obedience of

him with an oath; but he declined it. Then began the Archbishop

Landfranc to show with clear distinction, that what he craved he

craved by right; and with strong arguments he confirmed the same

before the Pope Alexander, and before all the council that was

collected there; and so they went home. After this came Thomas

to Canterbury; and all that the archbishop required of him he

humbly fulfilled, and afterwards received consecration. This

year Earl Waltheof agreed with the king; but in the Lent of the

same year the king ordered all the monasteries in England to be

plundered. In the same year came King Sweyne from Denmark into

the Humber; and the landsmen came to meet him, and made a treaty

with him; thinking that he would overrun the land. Then came

into Ely Christien, the Danish bishop, and Earl Osbern, and the

Danish domestics with them; and the English people from all the

fen-lands came to them; supposing that they should win all that

land. Then the monks of Peterborough heard say, that their own

men would plunder the minster; namely Hereward and his gang:

because they understood that the king had given the abbacy to a

French abbot, whose name was Thorold; -- that he was a very stern

man, and was then come into Stamford with all his Frenchmen. Now

there was a churchwarden, whose name was Yware; who took away by

night all that he could, testaments, mass-hackles, cantel-copes,

and reefs, and such other small things, whatsoever he could; and

went early, before day, to the Abbot Thorold; telling him that he

sought his protection, and informing him how the outlaws were

coming to Peterborough, and that he did all by advice of the

monks. Early in the morning came all the outlaws with many

ships, resolving to enter the minster; but the monks withstood,

so that they could not come in. Then they laid on fire, and

burned all the houses of the monks, and all the town except one

house. Then came they in through fire at the Bull-hithe gate;

where the monks met them, and besought peace of them. But they

regarded nothing. They went into the minster, climbed up to the

holy rood, took away the diadem from our Lord's head, all of pure

gold, and seized the bracket that was underneath his feet, which

was all of red gold. They climbed up to the steeple, brought

down the table that was hid there, which was all of gold and

silver, seized two golden shrines, and nine of silver, and took

away fifteen large crucifixes, of gold and of silver; in short,

they seized there so much gold and silver, and so many treasures,

in money, in raiment, and in books, as no man could tell another;

and said, that they did it from their attachment to the minster.

Afterwards they went to their ships, proceeded to Ely, and

deposited there all the treasure. The Danes, believing that they

should overcome the Frenchmen, drove out all the monks; leaving

there only one, whose name was Leofwine Lang, who lay sick in the

infirmary. Then came Abbot Thorold and eight times twenty

Frenchmen with him, all full-armed. When he came thither, he

found all within and without consumed by fire, except the church

alone; but the outlaws were all with the fleet, knowing that he

would come thither. This was done on the fourth day before the

nones of June. The two kings, William and Sweyne, were now

reconciled; and the Danes went out of Ely with all the aforesaid

treasure, and carried it away with them. But when they came into

the middle of the sea, there came a violent storm, and dispersed

all the ships wherein the treasures were. Some went to Norway,

some to Ireland, some to Denmark. All that reached the latter,

consisted of the table, and some shrines, and some crucifixes,

and many of the other treasures; which they brought to a king's

town, called ---, and deposited it all there in the church.

Afterwards through their own carelessness, and through their

drunkenness, in one night the church and all that was therein was

consumed by fire. Thus was the minster of Peterborough burned

and plundered. Almighty God have mercy on it through his great

goodness. Thus came the Abbot Thorold to Peterborough; and the

monks too returned, and performed the service of Christ in the

church, which had before stood a full week without any kind of

rite. When Bishop Aylric heard it, he excommunicated all the men

who that evil deed had done. There was a great famine this year:

and in the summer came the fleet in the north from the Humber

into the Thames, and lay there two nights, and made afterwards

for Denmark. Earl Baldwin also died, and his son Arnulf

succeeded to the earldom. Earl William, in conjunction with the

king of the Franks, was to be his guardian; but Earl Robert came

and slew his kinsman Arnulf and the earl, put the king to flight,

and slew many thousands of his men.

A.D. 1071. This year Earl Edwin and Earl Morkar fled out, (93)

and roamed at random in woods and in fields. Then went Earl

Morkar to Ely by ship; but Earl Edwin was treacherously slain by

his own men. Then came Bishop Aylwine, and Siward Barn, and many

hundred men with them, into Ely. When King William heard that,

then ordered he out a naval force and land force, and beset the

land all about, and wrought a bridge, and went in; and the naval

force at the same time on the sea-side. And the outlaws then all

surrendered; that was, Bishop Aylwine, and Earl Morkar, and all

that were with them; except Hereward (94) alone, and all those

that would join him, whom he led out triumphantly. And the king

took their ships, and weapons, and many treasures; (95) and all

the men he disposed of as he thought proper. Bishop Aylwine he

sent to Abingdon, where he died in the beginning of the winter.

A.D. 1072. This year King William led a naval force and a land

force to Scotland, and beset that land on the sea-side with

ships, whilst he led his land-force in at the Tweed; (96) but he

found nothing there of any value. King Malcolm, however, came,

and made peace with King William, and gave hostages, and became

his man; whereupon the king returned home with all his force.

This year died Bishop Aylric. He had been invested Bishop of

York; but that see was unjustly taken from him, and he then had

the bishopric of Durham given him; which he held as long as he

chose, but resigned it afterwards, and retired to Peterborough

minster; where he abode twelve years. After that King William

won England, then took he him from Peterborough, and sent him to

Westminster; where he died on the ides of October, and he is

there buried, within the minster, in the porch of St. Nicholas.

A.D. 1073. This year led King William an army, English and

French, over sea, and won the district of Maine; which the

English very much injured by destroying the vineyards, burning

the towns, and spoiling the land. But they subdued it all into

the hand of King William, and afterwards returned home to

England.

A.D. 1074. This year King William went over sea to Normandy; and

child Edgar came from Flanders into Scotland on St. Grimbald's

mass-day; where King Malcolm and his sister Margaret received him

with much pomp. At the same time sent Philip, the King of

France, a letter to him, bidding him to come to him, and he would

give him the castle of Montreuil; that he might afterwards daily

annoy his enemies. What then? King Malcolm and his sister

Margaret gave him and his men great presents, and many treasures;

in skins ornamented with purple, in pelisses made of martin-

skins, of grey-skins, and of ermine-skins, in palls, and in

vessels of gold and silver; and conducted him and his crew with

great pomp from his territory. But in their voyage evil befel

them; for when they were out at sea, there came upon them such

rough weather, and the stormy sea and the strong wind drove them

so violently on the shore, that all their ships burst, and they

also themselves came with difficulty to the land. Their treasure

was nearly all lost, and some of his men also were taken by the

French; but he himself and his best men returned again to

Scotland, some roughly travelling on foot, and some miserably

mounted. Then King Malcolm advised him to send to King William

over sea, to request his friendship, which he did; and the king

gave it him, and sent after him. Again, therefore, King Malcolm

and his sister gave him and all his men numberless treasures, and

again conducted him very magnificently from their territory. The

sheriff of York came to meet him at Durham, and went all the way

with him; ordering meat and fodder to be found for him at every

castle to which they came, until they came over sea to the king.

Then King William received him with much pomp; and he was there

afterwards in his court, enjoying such rights as he confirmed to

him by law.

A.D. 1075. This year King William gave Earl Ralph the daughter

of William Fitz-Osborne to wife. This same Ralph was British on

his mother's side; but his father, whose name was also Ralph, was

English; and born in Norfolk. The king therefore gave his son

the earldom of Norfolk and Suffolk; and he then led the bride to

Norwich.

 There was that bride-ale

 The source of man's bale.

There was Earl Roger, and Earl Waltheof, and bishops, and abbots;

who there resolved, that they would drive the king out of the

realm of England. But it was soon told the king in Normandy how

it was determined. It was Earl Roger and Earl Ralph who were the

authors of that plot; and who enticed the Britons to them, and

sent eastward to Denmark after a fleet to assist them. Roger

went westward to his earldom, and collected his people there, to

the king's annoyance, as he thought; but it was to the great

disadvantage of himself. He was however prevented. Ralph also

in his earldom would go forth with his people; but the castlemen

that were in England and also the people of the land, came

against him, and prevented him from doing anything. He escaped

however to the ships at Norwich. (97) And his wife was in the

castle; which she held until peace was made with her; when she

went out of England, with all her men who wished to join her.

The king afterwards came to England, and seized Earl Roger, his

relative, and put him in prison. And Earl Waltheof went over

sea, and bewrayed himself; but he asked forgiveness, and

proffered gifts of ransom. The king, however, let him off

lightly, until he (98) came to England; when he had him seized.

Soon after that came east from Denmark two hundred ships; wherein

were two captains, Cnute Swainson, and Earl Hacco; but they durst

not maintain a fight with King William. They went rather to

York, and broke into St. Peter's minster, and took therein much

treasure, and so went away. They made for Flanders over sea; but

they all perished who were privy to that design; that was, the

son of Earl Hacco, and many others with him. This year died the

Lady Edgitha, who was the relict of King Edward, seven nights

before Christmas, at Winchester; and the king caused her to be

brought to Westminster with great pomp; and he laid her with King

Edward, her lord. And the king was then at Westminster, at

midwinter; where all the Britons were condemned who were at the

bride-ale at Norwich. Some were punished with blindness; some

were driven from the land; and some were towed to Scandinavia.

So were the traitors of King William subdued.

A.D. 1076. This year died Sweyne, King of Denmark; and Harold

his son took to the kingdom. And the king gave the abbacy of

Westminster to Abbot Vitalis, who had been Abbot of Bernay. This

year also was Earl Waltheof beheaded at Winchester, on the mass-

day of St. Petronilla; (99) and his body was carried to Croyland,

where he lies buried. King William now went over sea, and led

his army to Brittany, and beset the castle of Dol; but the

Bretons defended it, until the king came from France; whereupon

William departed thence, having lost there both men and horses,

and many of his treasures.

A.D. 1077. This year were reconciled the king of the Franks and

William, King of England. But it continued only a little while.

This year was London burned, one night before the Assumption of

St. Mary, so terribly as it never was before, since it was built.

This year the moon was eclipsed three nights before Candlemas;

and in the same year died Aylwy, the prudent Abbot of Evesham, on

the fourteenth day before the calends of March, on the mass-day

of St. Juliana; and Walter was appointed abbot in his stead; and

Bishop Herman also died, on the tenth day before the calends of

March, who was Bishop in Berkshire, and in Wiltshire, and in

Dorsetshire. This year also King Malcolm won the mother of

Malslaythe.... and all his best men, and all his treasures, and

his cattle; and he himself not easily escaped.... This year also

was the dry summer; and wild fire came upon many shires, and

burned many towns; and also many cities were ruined thereby.

A.D. 1079. This year Robert, the son of King William, deserted

from his father to his uncle Robert in Flanders; because his

father would not let him govern his earldom in Normandy; which he

himself, and also King Philip with his permission, had given him.

The best men that were in the land also had sworn oaths of

allegiance to him, and taken him for their lord. This year,

therefore, Robert fought with his father, without Normandy, by a

castle called Gerberoy; and wounded him in the hand; and his

horse, that he sat upon, was killed under him; and he that

brought him another was killed there right with a dart. That was

Tookie Wiggodson. Many were there slain, and also taken. His

son William too was there wounded; but Robert returned to

Flanders. We will not here, however, record any more injury that

he did his father. This year came King Malcolm from Scotland

into England, betwixt the two festivals of St. Mary, with a large

army, which plundered Northumberland till it came to the Tine,

and slew many hundreds of men, and carried home much coin, and

treasure, and men in captivity.

A.D. 1080. This year was Bishop Walker slain in Durham, at a

council; and an hundred men with him, French and Flemish. He

himself was born in Lorrain. This did the Northumbrians in the

month of May. (100)

A.D. 1081. This year the king led an army into Wales, and there

freed many hundreds of men.

A.D. 1082. This year the king seized Bishop Odo; and this year

also was a great famine.

A.D. 1083. This year arose the tumult at Glastonbury betwixt the

Abbot Thurstan and his monks. It proceeded first from the

abbot's want of wisdom, that he misgoverned his monks in many

things. But the monks meant well to him; and told him that he

should govern them rightly, and love them, and they would be

faithful and obedient to him. The abbot, however, would hear

nothing of this; but evil entreated them, and threatened them

worse. One day the abbot went into the chapter-house, and spoke

against the monks, and attempted to mislead them; (101) and sent

after some laymen, and they came full-armed into the chapter-

house upon the monks. Then were the monks very much afraid (102)

of them, and wist not what they were to do, but they shot

forward, and some ran into the church, and locked the doors after

them. But they followed them into the minster, and resolved to

drag them out, so that they durst not go out. A rueful thing

happened on that day. The Frenchmen broke into the choir, and

hurled their weapons toward the altar, where the monks were; and

some of the knights went upon the upper floor, (103) and shot

their arrows downward incessantly toward the sanctuary; so that

on the crucifix that stood above the altar they stuck many

arrows. And the wretched monks lay about the altar, and some

crept under, and earnestly called upon God, imploring his mercy,

since they could not obtain any at the hands of men. What can we

say, but that they continued to shoot their arrows; whilst the

others broke down the doors, and came in, and slew (104) some of

the monks to death, and wounded many therein; so that the blood

came from the altar upon the steps, and from the steps on the

floor. Three there were slain to death, and eighteen wounded.

And in this same year departed Matilda, queen of King William, on

the day after All-Hallow-mass. And in the same year also, after

mid-winter, the king ordained a large and heavy contribution

(105) over all England; that was, upon each hide of land, two and

seventy pence.

A.D. 1084. In this year died Wulfwold, Abbot of Chertsey, on the

thirteenth day before the calends of May.

A.D. 1085. In this year men reported, and of a truth asserted,

that Cnute, King of Denmark, son of King Sweyne, was coming

hitherward, and was resolved to win this land, with the

assistance of Robert, Earl of Flanders; (106) for Cnute had

Robert's daughter. When William, King of England, who was then

resident in Normandy (for he had both England and Normandy),

understood this, he went into England with so large an army of

horse and foot, from France and Brittany, as never before sought

this land; so that men wondered how this land could feed all that

force. But the king left the army to shift for themselves

through all this land amongst his subjects, who fed them, each

according to his quota of land. Men suffered much distress this

year; and the king caused the land to be laid waste about the sea

coast; that, if his foes came up, they might not have anything on

which they could very readily seize. But when the king

understood of a truth that his foes were impeded, and could not

further their expedition, (107) then let he some of the army go

to their own land; but some he held in this land over the winter.

Then, at the midwinter, was the king in Glocester with his

council, and held there his court five days. And afterwards the

archbishop and clergy had a synod three days. There was

Mauritius chosen Bishop of London, William of Norfolk, and Robert

of Cheshire. These were all the king's clerks. After this had

the king a large meeting, and very deep consultation with his

council, about this land; how it was occupied, and by what sort

of men. Then sent he his men over all England into each shire;

commissioning them to find out "How many hundreds of hides were

in the shire, what land the king himself had, and what stock upon

the land; or, what dues he ought to have by the year from the

shire." Also he commissioned them to record in writing, "How

much land his archbishops had, and his diocesan bishops, and his

abbots, and his earls;" and though I may be prolix and tedious,

"What, or how much, each man had, who was an occupier of land in

England, either in land or in stock, and how much money it were

worth." So very narrowly, indeed, did he commission them to

trace it out, that there was not one single hide, nor a yard

(108) of land, nay, moreover (it is shameful to tell, though he

thought it no shame to do it), not even an ox, nor a cow, nor a

swine was there left, that was not set down in his writ. And all

the recorded particulars were afterwards brought to him. (109)

A.D. 1086. This year the king bare his crown, and held his

court, in Winchester at Easter; and he so arranged, that he was

by the Pentecost at Westminster, and dubbed his son Henry a

knight there. Afterwards he moved about so that he came by

Lammas to Sarum; where he was met by his councillors; and all the

landsmen that were of any account over all England became this

man's vassals as they were; and they all bowed themselves before

him, and became his men, and swore him oaths of allegiance that

they would against all other men be faithful to him. Thence he

proceeded into the Isle of Wight; because he wished to go into

Normandy, and so he afterwards did; though he first did according

to his custom; he collected a very large sum from his people,

wherever he could make any demand, whether with justice or

otherwise. Then he went into Normandy; and Edgar Etheling, the

relation of King Edward, revolted from him, for he received not

much honour from him; but may the Almighty God give him honour

hereafter. And Christina, the sister of the etheling, went into

the monastery of Rumsey, and received the holy veil. And the

same year there was a very heavy season, and a swinkful and

sorrowful year in England, in murrain of cattle, and corn and

fruits were at a stand, and so much untowardness in the weather,

as a man may not easily think; so tremendous was the thunder and

lightning, that it killed many men; and it continually grew worse

and worse with men. May God Almighty better it whenever it be

his will.

A.D. 1087. After the birth of our Lord and Saviour Christ, one

thousand and eighty-seven winters; in the one and twentieth year

after William began to govern and direct England, as God granted

him, was a very heavy and pestilent season in this land. Such a

sickness came on men, that full nigh every other man was in the

worst disorder, that is, in the diarrhoea; and that so

dreadfully, that many men died in the disorder. Afterwards came,

through the badness of the weather as we before mentioned, so

great a famine over all England, that many hundreds of men died a

miserable death through hunger. Alas! how wretched and how

rueful a time was there! When the poor wretches lay full nigh

driven to death prematurely, and afterwards came sharp hunger,

and dispatched them withall! Who will not be penetrated with

grief at such a season? or who is so hardhearted as not to weep

at such misfortune? Yet such things happen for folks' sins, that

they will not love God and righteousness. So it was in those

days, that little righteousness was in this land with any men but

with the monks alone, wherever they fared well. The king and the

head men loved much, and overmuch, covetousness in gold and in

silver; and recked not how sinfully it was got, provided it came

to them. The king let his land at as high a rate as he possibly

could; then came some other person, and bade more than the former

one gave, and the king let it to the men that bade him more.

Then came the third, and bade yet more; and the king let it to

hand to the men that bade him most of all: and he recked not how

very sinfully the stewards got it of wretched men, nor how many

unlawful deeds they did; but the more men spake about right law,

the more unlawfully they acted. They erected unjust tolls, and

many other unjust things they did, that are difficult to reckon.

Also in the same year, before harvest, the holy minster of St.

Paul, the episcopal see in London, was completely burned, with

many other minsters, and the greatest part, and the richest of

the whole city. So also, about the same time, full nigh each

head-port in all England was entirely burned. Alas! rueful and

woeful was the fate of the year that brought forth so many

misfortunes. In the same year also, before the Assumption of St.

Mary, King William went from Normandy into France with an army,

and made war upon his own lord Philip, the king, and slew many of

his men, and burned the town of Mante, and all the holy minsters

that were in the town; and two holy men that served God, leading

the life of anachorets, were burned therein. This being thus

done, King William returned to Normandy. Rueful was the thing he

did; but a more rueful him befel. How more rueful? He fell

sick, and it dreadfully ailed him. What shall I say? Sharp

death, that passes by neither rich men nor poor, seized him also.

He died in Normandy, on the next day after the Nativity of St.

Mary, and he was buried at Caen in St. Stephen's minster, which

he had formerly reared, and afterwards endowed with manifold

gifts. Alas! how false and how uncertain is this world's weal!

He that was before a rich king, and lord of many lands, had not

then of all his land more than a space of seven feet! and he

that was whilom enshrouded in gold and gems, lay there covered

with mould! He left behind him three sons; the eldest, called

Robert, who was earl in Normandy after him; the second, called

William, who wore the crown after him in England; and the third,

called Henry, to whom his father bequeathed immense treasure. If

any person wishes to know what kind of man he was, or what honour

he had, or of how many lands he was lord, then will we write

about him as well as we understand him: we who often looked upon

him, and lived sometime in his court. This King William then

that we speak about was a very wise man, and very rich; more

splendid and powerful than any of his predecessors were. He was

mild to the good men that loved God, and beyond all measure

severe to the men that gainsayed his will. On that same spot

where God granted him that he should gain England, he reared a

mighty minster, and set monks therein, and well endowed it. In

his days was the great monastery in Canterbury built, and also

very many others over all England. This land was moreover well

filled with monks, who modelled their lives after the rule of St.

Benedict. But such was the state of Christianity in his time,

that each man followed what belonged to his profession -- he that

would. He was also very dignified. Thrice he bare his crown

each year, as oft as he was in England. At Easter he bare it in

Winchester, at Pentecost in Westminster, at midwinter in

Glocester. And then were with him all the rich men over all

England; archbishops and diocesan bishops, abbots and earls,

thanes and knights. So very stern was he also and hot, that no

man durst do anything against his will. He had earls in his

custody, who acted against his will. Bishops he hurled from

their bishoprics, and abbots from their abbacies, and thanes into

prison. At length he spared not his own brother Odo, who was a

very rich bishop in Normandy. At Baieux was his episcopal stall;

and he was the foremost man of all to aggrandise the king. He

had an earldom in England; and when the king was in Normandy,

then was he the mightiest man in this land. Him he confined in

prison. But amongst other things is not to be forgotten that

good peace that he made in this land; so that a man of any

account might go over his kingdom unhurt with his bosom full of

gold. No man durst slay another, had he never so much evil done

to the other; and if any churl lay with a woman against her will,

he soon lost the limb that he played with. He truly reigned over

England; and by his capacity so thoroughly surveyed it, that

there was not a hide of land in England that he wist not who had

it, or what it was worth, and afterwards set it down in his book.

(110) The land of the Britons was in his power; and he wrought

castles therein; and ruled Anglesey withal. So also he subdued

Scotland by his great strength. As to Normandy, that was his

native land; but he reigned also over the earldom called Maine;

and if he might have yet lived two years more, he would have won

Ireland by his valour, and without any weapons. Assuredly in his

time had men much distress, and very many sorrows. Castles he

let men build, and miserably swink the poor. The king himself

was so very rigid; and extorted from his subjects many marks of

gold, and many hundred pounds of silver; which he took of his

people, for little need, by right and by unright. He was fallen

into covetousness, and greediness he loved withal. He made many

deer-parks; and he established laws therewith; so that whosoever

slew a hart, or a hind, should be deprived of his eyesight. As

he forbade men to kill the harts, so also the boars; and he loved

the tall deer as if he were their father. Likewise he decreed by

the hares, that they should go free. His rich men bemoaned it,

and the poor men shuddered at it. But he was so stern, that he

recked not the hatred of them all; for they must follow withal

the king's will, if they would live, or have land, or

possessions, or even his peace. Alas! that any man should

presume so to puff himself up, and boast o'er all men. May the

Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him forgiveness of

his sins! These things have we written concerning him, both good

and evil; that men may choose the good after their goodness, and

flee from the evil withal, and go in the way that leadeth us to

the kingdom of heaven. Many things may we write that were done

in this same year. So it was in Denmark, that the Danes, a

nation that was formerly accounted the truest of all, were turned

aside to the greatest untruth, and to the greatest treachery that

ever could be. They chose and bowed to King Cnute, and swore him

oaths, and afterwards dastardly slew him in a church. It

happened also in Spain, that the heathens went and made inroads

upon the Christians, and reduced much of the country to their

dominion. But the king of the Christians, Alphonzo by name, sent

everywhere into each land, and desired assistance. And they came

to his support from every land that was Christian; and they went

and slew or drove away all the heathen folk, and won their land

again, through God's assistance. In this land also, in the same

year, died many rich men; Stigand, Bishop of Chichester, and the

Abbot of St. Augustine, and the Abbot of Bath, and the Abbot of

Pershore, and the lord of them all, William, King of England,

that we spoke of before. After his death his son, called William

also as the father, took to the kingdom, and was blessed to king

by Archbishop Landfranc at Westminster three days ere Michaelmas

day. And all the men in England submitted to him, and swore

oaths to him. This being thus done, the king went to Winchester,

and opened the treasure house, and the treasures that his father

had gathered, in gold, and in silver, and in vases, and in palls,

and in gems, and in many other valuable things that are difficult

to enumerate. Then the king did as his father bade him ere he

was dead; he there distributed treasures for his father's soul to

each monastery that was in England; to some ten marks of gold, to

some six, to each upland (111) church sixty pence. And into each

shire were sent a hundred pounds of money to distribute amongst

poor men for his soul. And ere he departed, he bade that they

should release all the men that were in prison under his power.

And the king was on the midwinter in London.

A.D. 1088. In this year was this land much stirred, and filled

with great treachery; so that the richest Frenchmen that were in

this land would betray their lord the king, and would have his

brother Robert king, who was earl in Normandy. In this design

was engaged first Bishop Odo, and Bishop Gosfrith, and William,

Bishop of Durham. So well did the king by the bishop [Odo] that

all England fared according to his counsel, and as he would. And

the bishop thought to do by him as Judas Iscariot did by our

Lord. And Earl Roger was also of this faction; and much people

was with him all Frenchmen. This conspiracy was formed in Lent.

As soon as Easter came, then went they forth, and harrowed, and

burned, and wasted the king's farms; and they despoiled the lands

of all the men that were in the king's service. And they each of

them went to his castle, and manned it, and provisioned it as

well as they could. Bishop Gosfrith, and Robert the peace-

breaker, went to Bristol, and plundered it, and brought the spoil

to the castle. Afterwards they went out of the castle, and

plundered Bath, and all the land thereabout; and all the honor

(112) of Berkeley they laid waste. And the men that eldest were

of Hereford, and all the shire forthwith, and the men of

Shropshire, with much people of Wales, came and plundered and

burned in Worcestershire, until they came to the city itself,

which it was their design to set on fire, and then to rifle the

minster, and win the king's castle to their hands. The worthy

Bishop Wulfstan, seeing these things, was much agitated in his

mind, because to him was betaken the custody of the castle.

Nevertheless his hired men went out of the castle with few

attendants, and, through God's mercy and the bishop's merits,

slew or took five hundred men, and put all the others to flight.

The Bishop of Durham did all the harm that he could over all by

the north. Roger was the name of one of them; (113) who leaped

into the castle at Norwich, and did yet the worst of all over all

that land. Hugh also was one, who did nothing better either in

Leicestershire or in Northamptonshire. The Bishop Odo being one,

though of the same family from which the king himself was

descended, went into Kent to his earldom, and greatly despoiled

it; and having laid waste the lands of the king and of the

archbishop withal, he brought the booty into his castle at

Rochester. When the king understood all these things, and what

treachery they were employing against him, then was he in his

mind much agitated. He then sent after Englishmen, described to

them his need, earnestly requested their support, and promised

them the best laws that ever before were in this land; each

unright guild he forbade, and restored to the men their woods and

chaces. But it stood no while. The Englishmen however went to

the assistance of the king their lord. They advanced toward

Rochester, with a view to get possession of the Bishop Odo; for

they thought, if they had him who was at first the head of the

conspiracy, they might the better get possession of all the

others. They came then to the castle at Tunbridge; and there

were in the castle the knights of Bishop Odo, and many others who

were resolved to hold it against the king. But the Englishmen

advanced, and broke into the castle, and the men that were

therein agreed with the king. The king with his army went toward

Rochester. And they supposed that the bishop was therein; but it

was made known to the king that the bishop was gone to the castle

at Pevensea. And the king with his army went after, and beset

the castle about with a very large force full six weeks. During

this time the Earl of Normandy, Robert, the king's brother,

gathered a very considerable force, and thought to win England

with the support of those men that were in this land against the

king. And he sent some of his men to this land, intending to

come himself after. But the Englishmen that guarded the sea

lighted upon some of the men, and slew them, and drowned more

than any man could tell. When provisions afterwards failed those

within the castle, they earnestly besought peace, and gave

themselves up to the king; and the bishop swore that he would

depart out of England, and no more come on this land, unless the

king sent after him, and that he would give up the castle at

Rochester. Just as the bishop was going with an intention to

give up the castle, and the king had sent his men with him, then

arose the men that were in the castle, and took the bishop and

the king's men, and put them into prison. In the castle were

some very good knights; Eustace the Young, and the three sons of

Earl Roger, and all the best born men that were in this land or

in Normandy. When the king understood this thing, then went he

after with the army that he had there, and sent over all England.

and bade that each man that was faithful should come to him,

French and English, from sea-port and from upland. Then came to

him much people; and he went to Rochester, and beset the castle,

until they that were therein agreed, and gave up the castle. The

Bishop Odo with the men that were in the castle went over sea,

and the bishop thus abandoned the dignity that he had in this

land. The king afterwards sent an army to Durham, and allowed it

to beset the castle, and the bishop agreed, and gave up the

castle, and relinquished his bishopric, and went to Normandy.

Many Frenchmen also abandoned their lands, and went over sea; and

the king gave their lands to the men that were faithful to him.

A.D. 1089. In this year the venerable father and favourer of

monks, Archbishop Landfranc, departed this life; but we hope that

he is gone to the heavenly kingdom. There was also over all

England much earth-stirring on the third day before the ides of

August, and it was a very late year in corn, and in every kind of

fruits, so that many men reaped their corn about Martinmas, and

yet later.

A.D. 1090. Indiction XIII. These things thus done, just as we

have already said above, by the king, and by his brother and by

this men, the king was considering how he might wreak his

vengeance on his brother Robert, harass him most, and win

Normandy of him. And indeed through his craft, or through

bribery, he got possession of the castle at St. Valeri, and the

haven; and so he got possession of that at Albemarle. And

therein he set his knights; and they did harm to the land in

harrowing and burning. After this he got possession of more

castles in the land; and therein lodged his horsemen. When the

Earl of Normandy, Robert, understood that his sworn men deceived

him, and gave up their castles to do him harm, then sent he to

his lord, Philip, king of the Franks; and he came to Normandy

with a large army, and the king and the earl with an immense

force beset the castle about, wherein were the men of the King of

England. But the King William of England sent to Philip, king of

the Franks; and he for his love, or for his great treasure,

abandoned thus his subject the Earl Robert and his land; and

returned again to France, and let them so remain. And in the

midst of these things this land was much oppressed by unlawful

exactions and by many other misfortunes.

A.D. 1091. In this year the King William held his court at

Christmas in Westminster, and thereafter at Candlemas he went,

for the annoyance of his brother, out of England into Normandy.

Whilst he was there, their reconciliation took place, on the

condition, that the earl put into his hands Feschamp, and the

earldom of Ou, and Cherbourg; and in addition to this, that the

king's men should be secure in the castles that they had won

against the will of the earl. And the king in return promised

him those many [castles] that their father had formerly won, and

also to reduce those that had revolted from the earl, also all

that his father had there beyond, except those that he had then

given the king, and that all those, that in England before for

the earl had lost their land, should have it again by this

treaty, and that the earl should have in England just so much as

was specified in this agreement. And if the earl died without a

son by lawful wedlock, the king should be heir of all Normandy;

and by virtue of this same treaty, if the king died, the earl

should be heir of all England. To this treaty swore twelve of

the best men of the king's side, and twelve of the earl's, though

it stood but a little while afterwards. In the midst of this

treaty was Edgar Etheling deprived of the land that the earl had

before permitted him to keep in hand; and he went out of Normandy

to the king, his sister's husband, in Scotland, and to his

sister. Whilst the King William was out of England, the King

Malcolm of Scotland came hither into England, and overran a great

deal of it, until the good men that governed this land sent an

army against him and repulsed him. When the King William in

Normandy heard this, then prepared he his departure, and came to

England, and his brother, the Earl Robert, with him; and he soon

issued an order to collect a force both naval and military; but

the naval force, ere it could come to Scotland, perished almost

miserably, a few days before St. Michael's mass. And the king

and his brother proceeded with the land-force; but when the King

Malcolm heard that they were resolved to seek him with an army,

he went with his force out of Scotland into Lothaine in England,

and there abode. When the King William came near with his army,

then interceded between them Earl Robert, and Edgar Etheling, and

so made the peace of the kings, that the King Malcolm came to our

king, and did homage, (114) promising all such obedience as he

formerly paid to his father; and that he confirmed with an oath.

And the King William promised him in land and in all things

whatever he formerly had under his father. In this settlement

was also Edgar Etheling united with the king. And the kings then

with much satisfaction departed; yet that stood but a little

while. And the Earl Robert tarried here full nigh until

Christmas with the king, and during this time found but little of

the truth of their agreement; and two days before that tide he

took ship in the Isle of Wight, and went into Normandy, and Edgar

Etheling with him.

A.D. 1092. In this year the King William with a large army went

north to Carlisle, and restored the town, and reared the castle,

and drove out Dolphin that before governed the land, and set his

own men in the castle, and then returned hither southward. And a

vast number of rustic people with wives and with cattle he sent

thither, to dwell there in order to till the land.

A.D. 1093. In this year, during Lent, was the King William at

Glocester so sick, that he was by all reported dead. And in his

illness he made many good promises to lead his own life aright;

to grant peace and protection to the churches of God, and never

more again with fee to sell; to have none but righteous laws

amongst his people. The archbishopric of Canterbury, that before

remained in his own hand, he transferred to Anselm, who was

before Abbot of Bec; to Robert his chancellor the bishopric of

Lincoln; and to many minsters he gave land; but that he

afterwards took away, when he was better, and annulled all the

good laws that he promised us before. Then after this sent the

King of Scotland, and demanded the fulfilment of the treaty that

was promised him. And the King William cited him to Glocester,

and sent him hostages to Scotland; and Edgar Etheling,

afterwards, and the men returned, that brought him with great

dignity to the king. But when he came to the king, he could not

be considered worthy either of our king's speech, or of the

conditions that were formerly promised him. For this reason

therefore they parted with great dissatisfaction, and the King

Malcolm returned to Scotland. And soon after he came home, he

gathered his army, and came harrowing into England with more

hostility than behoved him; and Robert, the Earl of

Northumberland, surrounded him unawares with his men, and slew

him. Morel of Barnborough slew him, who was the earl's steward,

and a baptismal friend (115) of King Malcolm. With him was also

slain Edward his son; who after him should have been king, if he

had lived. When the good Queen Margaret heard this -- her most

beloved lord and son thus betrayed she was in her mind almost

distracted to death. She with her priests went to church, and

performed her rites, and prayed before God, that she might give

up the ghost. And the Scots then chose (116) Dufenal to king,

Malcolm's brother, and drove out all the English that formerly

were with the King Malcolm. When Duncan, King Malcolm's son,

heard all that had thus taken place (he was then in the King

William's court, because his father had given him as a hostage to

our king's father, and so he lived here afterwards), he came to

the king, and did such fealty as the king required at his hands;

and so with his permission went to Scotland, with all the support

that he could get of English and French, and deprived his uncle

Dufenal of the kingdom, and was received as king. But the Scots

afterwards gathered some force together, and slew full nigh all

his men; and he himself with a few made his escape. (117)

Afterwards they were reconciled, on the condition that he never

again brought into the land English or French.

A.D. 1094. This year the King William held his court at

Christmas in Glocester; and messengers came to him thither from

his brother Robert of Normandy; who said that his brother

renounced all peace and conditions, unless the king would fulfil

all that they had stipulated in the treaty; and upon that he

called him forsworn and void of truth, unless he adhered to the

treaty, or went thither and explained himself there, where the

treaty was formerly made and also sworn. Then went the king to

Hastings at Candlemas; and whilst he there abode waiting the

weather, he let hallow the minster at Battel, and deprived

Herbert Losang, the Bishop of Thetford, of his staff; and

thereafter about mid-Lent went over sea into Normandy. After he

came, thither, he and his brother Robert, the earl, said that

they should come together in peace (and so they did), and might

be united. Afterwards they came together with the same men that

before made the treaty, and also confirmed it by oaths; and all

the blame of breaking the treaty they threw upon the king; but he

would not confess this, nor even adhere to the treaty; and for

this reason they parted with much dissatisfaction. And the king

afterwards won the castle at Bures, and took the earl's men

therein; some of whom he sent hither to this land. On the other

hand the earl, with the assistance of the King of France, won the

castle at Argence, and took therein Roger of Poitou, (118) and

seven hundred of the king's knights with him; and afterwards that

at Hulme; and oft readily did either of them burn the towns of

the other, and also took men. Then sent the king hither to this

land, and ordered twenty thousand Englishmen to be sent out to

Normandy to his assistance; but when they came to sea, they then

had orders to return, and to pay to the king's behoof the fee

that they had taken; which was half a pound each man; and they

did so. And the earl after this, with the King of France, and

with all that he could gather together, went through the midst of

Normandy, towards Ou, where the King William was, and thought to

besiege him within; and so they advanced until they came to

Luneville. There was the King of France through cunning turned

aside; and so afterwards all the army dispersed. In the midst of

these things the King William sent after his brother Henry, who

was in the castle at Damfront; but because he could not go

through Normandy with security, he sent ships after him, and

Hugh, Earl of Chester. When, however, they should have gone

towards Ou where the king was, they went to England, and came up

at Hamton, (119) on the eve of the feast of All Saints, and here

afterwards abode; and at Christmas they were in London. In this

same year also the Welshmen gathered themselves together, and

with the French that were in Wales, or in the neighbourhood, and

had formerly seized their land, stirred up war, and broke into

many fastnesses and castles, and slew many men. And when their

followers had increased, they divided themselves into larger

parties. With some part of them fought Hugh, Earl of Shropshire,

(120) and put them to flight. Nevertheless the other part of

them all this year omitted no evil that they could do. This year

also the Scots ensnared their king, Duncan, and slew him; and

afterwards, the second time, took his uncle Dufenal to king,

through whose instruction and advice he was betrayed to death.

A.D. 1095. In this year was the King William the first four days

of Christmas at Whitsand, and after the fourth day came hither,

and landed at Dover. And Henry, the king's brother, abode in

this land until Lent, and then went over sea to Normandy, with

much treasure, on the king's behalf, against their brother, Earl

Robert, and frequently fought against the earl, and did him much

harm, both in land and in men. And then at Easter held the king

his court in Winchester; and the Earl Robert of Northumberland

would not come to court. And the king was much stirred to anger

with him for this, and sent to him, and bade him harshly, if he

would be worthy of protection, that he would come to court at

Pentecost. In this year was Easter on the eighth day before the

calends of April; and upon Easter, on the night of the feast of

St Ambrose, that is, the second before the nones of April, (121)

nearly over all this land, and almost all the night, numerous and

manifold stars were seen to fall from heaven; not by one or two,

but so thick in succession, that no man could tell it. Hereafter

at Pentecost was the king at Windsor, and all his council with

him, except the Earl of Northumberland; for the king would

neither give him hostages, nor own upon truth, that he might come

and go with security. And the king therefore ordered his army,

and went against the earl to Northumberland; and soon after he

came thither, he won many and nearly all the best of the earl's

clan in a fortress, and put them into custody; and the castle at

Tinemouth he beset until he won it, and the earl's brother

therein, and all that were with him; and afterwards went to

Bamborough, and beset the earl therein. But when the king saw

that he could not win it, then ordered he his men to make a

castle before Bamborough, and called it in his speech

"Malveisin"; that is in English, "Evil Neighbour". And he

fortified it strongly with his men, and afterwards went

southward. Then, soon after that the king was gone south, went

the earl one night out of Bamborough towards Tinemouth; but they

that were in the new castle were aware of him, and went after

him, and fought him, and wounded him, and afterwards took him.

And of those that were with him some they slew, and some they

took alive. Among these things it was made known to the king,

that the Welshmen in Wales had broken into a castle called

Montgomery, and slain the men of Earl Hugo, that should have held

it. He therefore gave orders to levy another force immediately,

and after Michaelmas went into Wales, and shifted his forces, and

went through all that land, so that the army came all together by

All Saints to Snowdon. But the Welsh always went before into the

mountains and the moors, that no man could come to them. The

king then went homeward; for he saw that he could do no more

there this winter. When the king came home again, he gave orders

to take the Earl Robert of Northumberland, and lead him to

Bamborough, and put out both his eyes, unless they that were

therein would give up the castle. His wife held it, and Morel

who was steward, and also his relative. Through this was the

castle then given up; and Morel was then in the king's court; and

through him were many both of the clergy and laity surrendered,

who with their counsels had conspired against the king. The king

had before this time commanded some to be brought into prison,

and afterwards had it very strictly proclaimed over all this

country, "That all who held land of the king, as they wished to

be considered worthy of protection, should come to court at the

time appointed." And the king commanded that the Earl Robert

should be led to Windsor, and there held in the castle. Also in

this same year, against Easter, came the pope's nuncio hither to

this land. This was Bishop Walter, a man of very good life, of

the town of Albano; and upon the day of Pentecost on the behalf

of Pope Urban he gave Archbishop Anselm his pall, and he received

him at his archiepiscopal stall in Canterbury. And Bishop Walter

remained afterwards in this land a great part of the year; and

men then sent by him the Rome-scot, (122) which they had not done

for many years before. This same year also the weather was very

unseasonable; in consequence of which throughout all this land

were all the fruits of the earth reduced to a moderate crop.

A.D. 1096. In this year held the King William his court at

Christmas in Windsor; and William Bishop of Durham died there on

new-year's day; and on the octave of the Epiphany was the king

and all his councillors at Salisbury. There Geoffry Bainard

challenged William of Ou, the king's relative, maintaining that

he had been in the conspiracy against the king. And he fought

with him, and overcame him in single combat; and after he was

overcome, the king gave orders to put out his eyes, and

afterwards to emasculate him; and his steward, William by name,

who was the son of his stepmother, the king commanded to be

hanged on a gibbet. Then was also Eoda, Earl of Champagne, the

king's son-in-law, and many others, deprived of their lands;

whilst some were led to London, and there killed. This year

also, at Easter, there was a very great stir through all this

nation and many others, on account of Urban, who was declared

Pope, though he had nothing of a see at Rome. And an immense

multitude went forth with their wives and children, that they

might make war upon the heathens. Through this expedition were

the king and his brother, Earl Robert, reconciled; so that the

king went over sea, and purchased all Normandy of him, on

condition that they should be united. And the earl afterwards

departed; and with him the Earl of Flanders, and the Earl of

Boulogne, and also many other men of rank (123). And the Earl

Robert, and they that went with him, passed the winter in Apulia;

but of the people that went by Hungary many thousands miserably

perished there and by the way. And many dragged themselves home

rueful and hunger-bitten on the approach of winter. This was a

very heavy-timed year through all England, both through the

manifold tributes, and also through the very heavy-timed hunger

that severely oppressed this earth in the course of the year. In

this year also the principal men who held this land, frequently

sent forces into Wales, and many men thereby grievously

afflicted, producing no results but destruction of men and waste

of money.

A.D. 1097. In this year was the King William at Christmas in

Normandy; and afterwards against Easter he embarked for this

land; for that he thought to hold his court at Winchester; but he

was weather-bound until Easter-eve, when he first landed at

Arundel; and for this reason held his court at Windsor. And

thereafter with a great army he went into Wales, and quickly

penetrated that land with his forces, through some of the Welsh

who were come to him, and were his guides; and he remained in

that country from midsummer nearly until August, and suffered

much loss there in men and in horses, and also in many other

things. The Welshmen, after they had revolted from the king,

chose them many elders from themselves; one of whom was called

Cadwgan, (124) who was the worthiest of them, being brother's son

to King Griffin. And when the king saw that he could do nothing

in furtherance of his will, he returned again into this land; and

soon after that he let his men build castles on the borders.

Then upon the feast of St. Michael, the fourth day before the

nones of October, (125) appeared an uncommon star, shining in the

evening, and soon hastening to set. It (126) was seen south-west,

and the ray that stood off from it was thought very long, shining

south-east. And it appeared on this wise nearly all the week.

Many men supposed that it was a comet. Soon after this

Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury obtained leave (127) of the king

(though it was contrary to the wishes of the king, as men

supposed), and went over sea; because he thought that men in this

country did little according to right and after his instruction.

And the king thereafter upon St. Martin's mass went over sea into

Normandy; but whilst he was waiting for fair weather, his court

in the county where they lay, did the most harm that ever court

or army could do in a friendly and peaceable land. This was in

all things a very heavy-timed year, and beyond measure laborious

from badness of weather, both when men attempted to till the

land, and afterwards to gather the fruits of their tilth; and

from unjust contributions they never rested. Many counties also

that were confined to London by work, were grievously oppressed

on account of the wall that they were building about the tower,

and the bridge that was nearly all afloat, and the work of the

king's hall that they were building at Westminster; and many men

perished thereby. Also in this same year soon after Michaelmas

went Edgar Etheling with an army through the king's assistance

into Scotland, and with hard fighting won that land, and drove

out the King Dufnal; and his nephew Edgar, who was son of King

Malcolm and of Margaret the queen, he there appointed king in

fealty to the King William; and afterwards again returned to

England.

A.D. 1098. In this year at Christmas was the King William in

Normandy; and Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, and Baldwin, Abbot

of St. Edmund's, within this tide (128) both departed. And in

this year also died Turold, Abbot of Peterborough. In the summer

of this year also, at Finchamstead in Berkshire, a pool welled

with blood, as many true men said that should see it. And Earl

Hugh was slain in Anglesey by foreign pirates, (129) and his

brother Robert was his heir, as he had settled it before with the

king. Before Michaelmas the heaven was of such an hue, as if it

were burning, nearly all the night. This was a very troublesome

year through manifold impositions; and from the abundant rains,

that ceased not all the year, nearly all the tilth in the marsh-

lands perished.

A.D. 1099. This year was the King William at midwinter in

Normandy, and at Easter came hither to land, and at Pentecost

held his court the first time in his new building at Westminster;

and there he gave the bishopric of Durham to Ranulf his chaplain,

who had long directed and governed his councils over all England.

And soon after this he went over sea, and drove the Earl Elias

out of Maine, which he reduced under his power, and so by

Michaelmas returned to this land. This year also, on the

festival of St. Martin, the sea-flood sprung up to such a height,

and did so much harm, as no man remembered that it ever did

before. And this was the first day of the new moon. And Osmond,

Bishop of Salisbury, died in Advent.

A.D. 1100. In this year the King William held his court at

Christmas in Glocester, and at Easter in Winchester, and at

Pentecost in Westminster. And at Pentecost was seen in Berkshire

at a certain town blood to well from the earth; as many said that

should see it. And thereafter on the morning after Lammas day

was the King William shot in hunting, by an arrow from his own

men, and afterwards brought to Winchester, and buried in the

cathedral. (130) This was in the thirteenth year after that he

assumed the government. He was very harsh and severe over his

land and his men, and with all his neighbours; and very

formidable; and through the counsels of evil men, that to him

were always agreeable, and through his own avarice, he was ever

tiring this nation with an army, and with unjust contributions.

For in his days all right fell to the ground, and every wrong

rose up before God and before the world. God's church he

humbled; and all the bishoprics and abbacies, whose elders fell

in his days, he either sold in fee, or held in his own hands, and

let for a certain sum; because he would be the heir of every man,

both of the clergy and laity; so that on the day that he fell he

had in his own hand the archbishopric of Canterbury, with the

bishopric of Winchester, and that of Salisbury, and eleven

abbacies, all let for a sum; and (though I may be tedious) all

that was loathsome to God and righteous men, all that was

customary in this land in his time. And for this he was loathed

by nearly all his people, and odious to God, as his end

testified: -- for he departed in the midst of his

unrighteousness, without any power of repentance or recompense

for his deeds. On the Thursday he was slain; and in the morning

afterwards buried; and after he was buried, the statesmen that

were then nigh at hand, chose his brother Henry to king. And he

immediately (131) gave the bishopric of Winchester to William

Giffard; and afterwards went to London; and on the Sunday

following, before the altar at Westminster, he promised God and

all the people, to annul all the unrighteous acts that took place

in his brother's time, and to maintain the best laws that were

valid in any king's day before him. And after this the Bishop of

London, Maurice, consecrated him king; and all in this land

submitted to him, and swore oaths, and became his men. And the

king, soon after this, by the advice of those that were about

him, allowed men to take the Bishop Ranulf of Durham, and bring

him into the Tower of London, and hold him there. Then, before

Michaelmas, came the Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury hither to

this land; as the King Henry, by the advice of his ministers had

sent after him, because he had gone out of this land for the

great wrongs that the King William did unto him. And soon

hereafter the king took him to wife Maud, daughter of Malcolm,

King of Scotland, and of Margaret the good queen, the relative of

King Edward, and of the right royal (132) race of England. And

on Martinmas day she was publicly given to him with much pomp at

Westminster, and the Archbishop Anselm wedded her to him, and

afterwards consecrated her queen. And the Archbishop Thomas of

York soon hereafter died. During the harvest of this same year

also came the Earl Robert home into Normandy, and the Earl Robert

of Flanders, Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, from Jerusalem. And as

soon as the Earl Robert came into Normandy, he was joyfully

received by all his people; except those of the castles that were

garrisoned with the King Henry's men. Against them he had many

contests and struggles.

A.D. 1101. In this year at Christmas held the King Henry his

court in Westminster, and at Easter in Winchester. And soon

thereafter were the chief men in this land in a conspiracy

against the king; partly from their own great infidelity, and

also through the Earl Robert of Normandy, who with hostility

aspired to the invasion of this land. And the king afterwards

sent ships out to sea, to thwart and impede his brother; but some

of them in the time of need fell back, and turned from the king,

and surrendered themselves to the Earl Robert. Then at midsummer

went the king out to Pevensey with all his force against his

brother, and there awaited him. But in the meantime came the

Earl Robert up at Portsmouth twelve nights before Lammas; and the

king with all his force came against him. But the chief men

interceded between them, and settled the brothers on the

condition, "that the king should forego all that he held by main

strength in Normandy against the earl; and that all then in

England should have their lands again, who had lost it before

through the earl, and Earl Eustace also all his patrimony in this

land; and that the Earl Robert every year should receive from

England three thousand marks of silver; and particularly, that

whichever of the brothers should survive the other, he should be

heir of all England and also of Normandy, except the deceased

left an heir by lawful wedlock." And this twelve men of the

highest rank on either side then confirmed with an oath. And the

earl afterwards remained in this land till after Michaelmas; and

his men did much harm wherever they went, the while that the earl

continued in this land. This year also the Bishop Ranulf at

Candlemas burst out of the Tower of London by night, where he was

in confinement, and went into Normandy; through whose contrivance

and instigation mostly the Earl Robert this year sought this land

with hostility.

**ENDNOTES:**

(93) i.e. -- threw off their allegiance to the Norman usurper,

 and became voluntary outlaws. The habits of these outlaws,

 or, at least, of their imitators and descendants in the next

 century, are well described in the romance of "Ivanhoe".

(94) The author of the Gallo-Norman poem printed by Sparke

 elevates his diction to a higher tone, when describing the

 feasts of this same Hereward, whom he calls "le uthlage

 hardi."

(95) Or much "coin"; many "scaettae"; such being the denomination

 of the silver money of the Saxons.

(96) Florence of Worcester and those who follow him say that

 William proceeded as far as Abernethy; where Malcolm met

 him, and surrendered to him.

(97) Whence he sailed to Bretagne, according to Flor. S. Dunelm,

 etc.; but according to Henry of Huntingdon he fled directly

 to Denmark, returning afterwards with Cnute and Hacco, who

 invaded England With a fleet of 200 sail.

(98) i.e. Earl Waltheof.

(99) This notice of St. Petronilla, whose name and existence seem

 scarcely to have been known to the Latin historians, we owe

 exclusively to the valuable MS. "Cotton Tiberius" B lv. Yet

 if ever female saint deserved to be commemorated as a

 conspicuous example of early piety and christian zeal, it

 must be Petronilla.

(100) The brevity of our Chronicle here, and in the two following

 years, in consequence of the termination of "Cotton

 Tiberius" B iv., is remarkable. From the year 1083 it

 assumes a character more decidedly Anglo-Norman.

(101) i.e. In the service; by teaching them a new-fangled chant,

 brought from Feschamp in Normandy, instead of that to which

 they had been accustomed, and which is called the Gregorian

 chant.

(102) Literally, "afeared of them" -- i.e. terrified by them.

(103) Probably along the open galleries in the upper story of the

 choir.

(104) "Slaegan", in its first sense, signifies "to strike

 violently"; whence the term "sledge-hammer". This

 consideration will remove the supposed pleonasm in the Saxon

 phrase, which is here literally translated.

(105) "Gild," Sax.; which in this instance was a land-tax of one

 shilling to a yardland.

(106) -- and of Clave Kyrre, King of Norway. Vid. "Antiq.

 Celto-Scand".

(107) Because there was a mutiny in the Danish fleet; which was

 carried to such a height, that the king, after his return to

 Denmark, was slain by his own subjects. Vid. "Antiq. Celto-

 Scand", also our "Chronicle" A.D. 1087.

(108) i.e. a fourth part of an acre.

(109) At Winchester; where the king held his court at Easter in

 the following year; and the survey was accordingly deposited

 there; whence it was called "Rotulus Wintoniae", and "Liber

 Wintoniae".

(110) An evident allusion to the compilation of Doomsday book,

 already described in A.D. 1085.

(111) Uppe-land, Sax. -- i.e. village-church.

(112) i.e. jurisdiction. We have adopted the modern title of the

 district; but the Saxon term occurs in many of the ancient

 evidences of Berkeley Castle.

(113) i.e. of the conspirators.

(114) Literally "became his man" -- "Ic becom eowr man" was the

 formula of doing homage.

(115) Literally a "gossip"; but such are the changes which words

 undergo in their meaning as well as in their form, that a

 title of honour formerly implying a spiritual relationship

 in God, is now applied only to those whose conversation

 resembles the contemptible tittle-tattle of a Christening.

(116) From this expression it is evident, that though preference

 was naturally and properly given to hereditary claims, the

 monarchy of Scotland, as well as of England, was in

 principle "elective". The doctrine of hereditary, of

 divine, of indefeasible "right", is of modern growth.

(117) See the following year towards the end, where Duncan is

 said to be slain.

(118) Peitevin, which is the connecting link between

 "Pictaviensem" and "Poitou".

(119) Now called Southampton, to distinguish it from Northampton,

 but the common people in both neighbourhoods generally say

 "Hamton" to this day (1823).

(120) The title is now Earl of Shrewsbury.

(121) The fourth of April. Vid. "Ord. Vit."

(122) Commonly called "Peter-pence".

(123) Literally "head-men, or chiefs". The term is still

 retained with a slight variation in the north of Europe, as

 the "hetman" Platoff of celebrated memory.

(124) This name is now written, improperly, Cadogan; though the

 ancient pronunciation continues. "Cadung", "Ann. Wav."

 erroneously, perhaps, for "Cadugn".

(125) It was evidently, therefore, not on Michaelmas day, but

 during the continuance of the mass or festival which was

 celebrated till the octave following.

(126) In the original "he"; so that the Saxons agreed with the

 Greeks and Romans with respect to the gender of a comet.

(127) Literally "took leave": hence the modern phrase to signify

 the departure of one person from another, which in feudal

 times could not be done without leave or permission formally

 obtained.

(128) That is, within the twelve days after Christmas, or the

 interval between Christmas day, properly called the

 Nativity, and the Epiphany, the whole of which was called

 Christmas-tide or Yule-tide, and was dedicated to feasting

 and mirth.

(129) The King of Norway and his men. "Vid. Flor."

(130) His monument is still to be seen there, a plain gravestone

 of black marble, of the common shape called "dos d'ane";

 such as are now frequently seen, though of inferior

 materials, in the churchyards of villages; and are only one

 remove from the grassy sod.

(131) i.e. before he left Winchester for London; literally

 "there-right" -- an expression still used in many parts of

 England. Neither does the word "directly", which in its

 turn has almost become too vulgar to be used, nor its

 substitute, "immediately", which has nearly superseded it,

 appear to answer the purpose so well as the Saxon, which is

 equally expressive with the French "sur le champ".

(132) This expression shows the adherence of the writer to the

 Saxon line of kings, and his consequent satisfaction in

 recording this alliance of Henry with the daughter of

 Margaret of Scotland.



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