

THE BOOK OF  
THE FOUNDATION OF  
WALDEN MONASTERY

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY  
DIANA GREENWAY AND LESLIE WATKISS

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## PREFACE

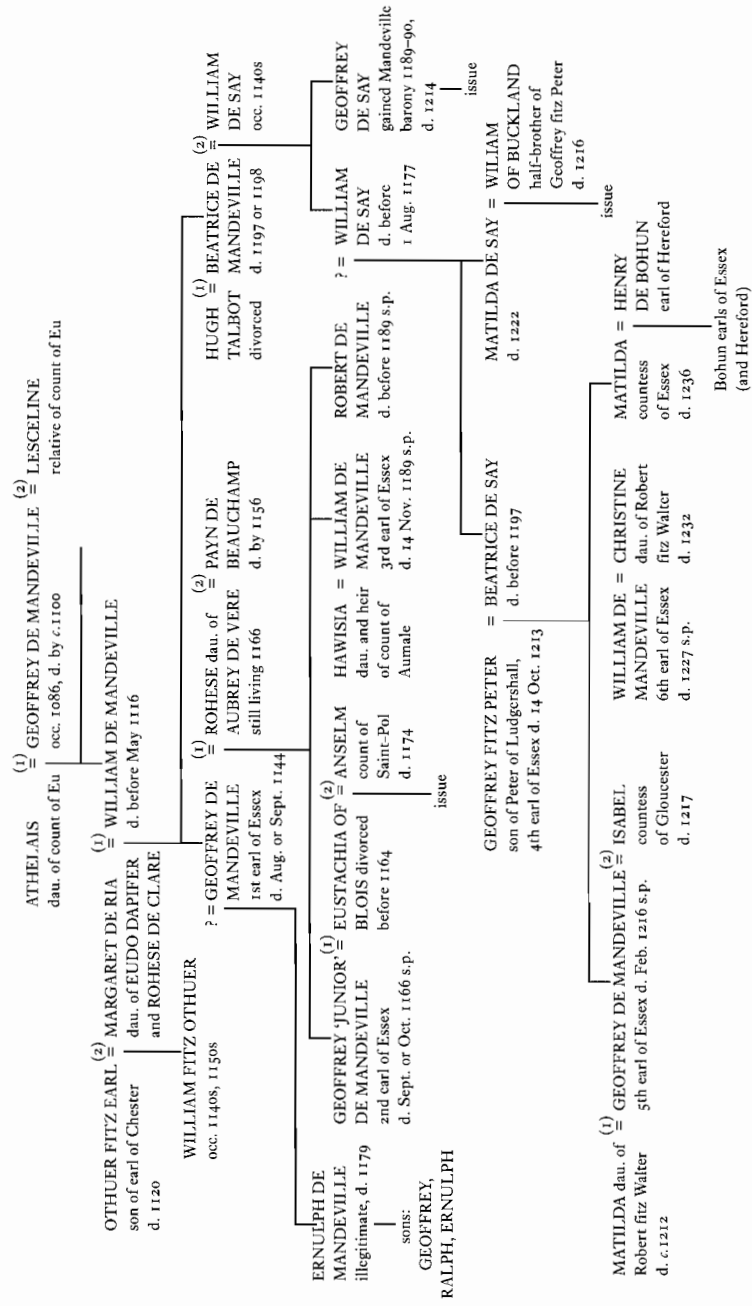
IT was the words of regret expressed by the late H. G. Richardson that 'some of the best of English monastic chronicles, the biographies of abbots of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, have been long neglected', and his particular reference to Reginald of Walden, that led LW to attempt the rescue from oblivion of *The Book of the Foundation of Walden Monastery*. He submitted text and translation to the General Editors of OMT in 1989, and with their encouragement DG agreed to act as collaborating historian. She has written the Introduction, apart from the pages on the author's style, and has provided historical annotation and appendices. The whole book has been revised jointly.

The editors are grateful to the curator of the Saffron Walden Museum who kindly allowed LW, when his interest in the document was first aroused, to photocopy C. H. Emson's typed translation of the Arundel manuscript. At a later stage, they received a generous grant from the Scouloudi Foundation for the purchase of microfilms of both the Cotton and Arundel manuscripts. They are indebted to Judith Green for help on the careers of the early Mandevilles, to Falko Neiningner for information on episcopal charters, to Jane Sayers for invaluable advice on a number of points, especially in ecclesiastical law and diplomatic, and to James Binns, Barbara Harvey and Michael Lapidge who read the entire text and suggested many improvements. They also record their thanks to John Cordy, Anne Gelling, Anne Joshua, and Sarah Ridgard, who took care of the final stages of the volume's production.

London, 1998

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## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

⟨LIBER DE FVNDATIONE CENOBII  
DE WALEDNA⟩

INCIPIIT PROLOGVS IN LIBRO DE FVNDATIONE CENOBII  
SANCTI IACOBI APOSTOLI DE WALEDNA ET ALIIS  
MVLTIIS AD IDEM CENOBIVM PERTINENTIBVS

Preteritarum memoria rerum in huius seculi labentis uarietate contingentium transitum obliuionis percipere solet facillimum. Nec mirum ueloces etenim temporum fluxus breues mortalium uiuendi transcurrunt metas nec secum pristina antiquorum portant acta in euum memoranda, nisi litteris diligenter fuerant exarata. Ideoque commodum satis ac necessarium fore uidetur ueraci commendare stilo: quis fundator cenobii sancti Iacobi apostoli de Waledena primus extiterit, quibus progenitoribus oriundus fuerit, qua tempestate diuine inspirationis instinctu hanc sancti operationem propositi inchoauerit, quos etiam uel quales post se reliquerit heredes. Tenaci insuper commendetur memorie quando<sup>a</sup> quoue etiam modo diuina operante clementia presens beati Iacobi ecclesia in prioratu diutius persistens ad promotionem abbacie peruenerit, quot et quales usque in presens tempus habuerit prelatos<sup>1</sup> et quid cuique illorum uel alteri cui libet siue bonum siue malum specialiter<sup>b</sup> sit imputandum.<sup>b</sup>

EXPLICIT PROLOGVS<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> cum *A*      <sup>b</sup> est impetrandum *A*      <sup>c</sup> Memorandum quod capitula 1, 2, 3, 4, et 5 desiderantur in originali una cum parte capituli 6 et ideo abrupte incipit: prouisione contempta etc. ut inferius patet folio *add. A*

<sup>1</sup> For a comment on the use of this word, see above, p. xxxiii.

⟨THE BOOK OF THE FOUNDATION  
OF WALDEN MONASTERY⟩

HERE BEGINS THE PROLOGUE OF THE BOOK OF THE  
FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY OF ST JAMES THE  
APOSTLE OF WALDEN AND OF MANY OTHER MATTERS  
CONCERNING THE SAME MONASTERY.

Amid the fluctuations of fortune in this passing world, the memory of past events is apt very easily to suffer loss through forgetfulness. It is no wonder therefore that the swift passage of time rushes past mortal men's brief span and does not carry with it the earliest deeds of the ancients to be recorded for all time, unless these have been carefully written down in a document. Accordingly, it seems proper and necessary to entrust to a truthful pen a record of who the first founder of the monastery of St James the apostle of Walden was, from which forebears he descended, when it was that at the prompting of divine inspiration he began this task in accordance with the holy purpose, whom he left as his heirs and what sort of men they were. It should also be entrusted to lasting record when and how by the operation of divine mercy the present church of the Blessed James, which for a long time stayed a priory, came to be promoted an abbey, how many and what sort of men it has had as its superiors<sup>1</sup> up to the present time, and what particular good or evil should be attributed to each of them.

HERE ENDS THE PROLOGUE

## <LIBER I>

INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA

1. De Willelmo duce Normannorum
2. De Gosfredo de Mandeuilla
3. De Willelmo de Mandeuilla
4. De Galfredo de Mandeuilla
5. De rege Stephano
6. De fundatione cenobii sancti Iacobi apostoli de Waledena
7. De redditibus eidem loco assignatis
8. De Willelmo priore de Waledena primo
9. De rege Stephano et comite Galfredo
10. De priore Willelmo et reddituum aggregatione
11. De concordia inter regem Stephanum et ducem Henricum facta
12. De rege Henrico et comite Galfredo iuniore
13. De operationibus prioris Willelmi et de obitu eius
14. De domno<sup>a</sup> Reginaldo priore secundo
15. De clericis quos ad monachatum attraxit
16. De operationibus ab eo factis
17. De bona opinione monasterii
18. De obitu comitis Galfredi iunioris
19. De inopinata capellani proditione
20. De comitis sepultura

<sup>b</sup><6. De fundatione cenobii sancti Iacobi apostoli de Waledena><sup>c</sup>  
[. . .] prouisione contempta, uoluntate usus est propria.<sup>d</sup> Quomodo igitur apud regem Stephanum ac totius regni maiores tanti erat ut nomine comitis et re iam pridem dignus haberetur, apud Waledenam, quam insignire monasterio cupiebat, et iam castello nobilitauerat, magis quam alibi cordis sui propositum adimplere disponebat,<sup>2</sup> ita siquidem ut totius honoris sui et comitatus (quem post antecessores suos primus meruerat) caput<sup>3</sup> et sedem sibi suisque ibidem constitu-

<sup>a</sup> domino A      <sup>b</sup> for the loss of the first five and a half chapters of the text, see above, Introduction p. lxix  
<sup>c</sup> supplied from list of capitula above      <sup>d</sup> proprio CA

<sup>2</sup> For Geoffrey's creation as earl of Essex in 1140, see above, p. xv, and for the castle, pp. xvii–xviii.

<sup>3</sup> By the first decade of the 13th cent. the *caput honoris* was Pleshey (where there was a castle but no monastery): see Geoffrey fitz Peter's charter, below, App. 2, no. 10, referring to the *honor de Plesseto*; cf. CRR vii. 110, referring in 1214 to *manerium de Plesseto cum*

## <BOOK I>

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTER HEADINGS

1. William duke of Normandy
2. Geoffrey de Mandeville [I]
3. William de Mandeville [I]
4. Geoffrey de Mandeville [II]
5. King Stephen
6. The foundation of the monastery of St James the apostle of Walden
7. The revenues assigned to the same place
8. William the first prior of Walden
9. King Stephen and Earl Geoffrey
10. Prior William and his collection of revenue
11. Peace concluded between King Stephen and Duke Henry
12. King Henry and Earl Geoffrey the younger [III]
13. The work of Prior William, and his death
14. Dom Reginald, the second prior
15. The clerks whom he drew to the monastic life
16. The work carried out by the prior
17. The good reputation of the monastery
18. The death of Earl Geoffrey the younger
19. The unexpected treachery of a chaplain
20. The burial of the earl

<6. The foundation of the monastery of St James the apostle of Walden>  
. . . Despising this provision he [Geoffrey de Mandeville] acted in accordance with his own inclinations. Since he was so highly thought of at the court of King Stephen and by magnates throughout the kingdom that he had long been deemed worthy of the title and estate of an earl, he decided to fulfil his heart's desire at Walden rather than elsewhere: having already ennobled it with a castle he now desired to distinguish it with a monastery.<sup>2</sup> In the hope of making it the chief place of his whole honour<sup>3</sup> and earldom (which he had been the first of his family to win)

*honore*. The term *caput honoris* was used in 1086 by Geoffrey de Mandeville I of his foundation of Hurlay priory (Berks.); as Stenton commented, he could 'only mean that he wishe[d] it to be regarded as the place of greatest distinction within his fief' (F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism 1066–1166* (2nd edn.; Oxford, 1961), pp. 61–3, at 62). In the present case, however, the Walden writer may be claiming rather more, that it was the founder's intention to make Walden the head of his feudal honour.

eret, crebrius solito suos conuocando, festiuitates celebrando adueniret, negotia multoties emergentia promouendo tractaret.

Hoc itaque in loco conuocatis tribus episcopis, Roberto scilicet Londoniensi, Nigello Eliensi, Willelmo Norwicensi, cimiterium benedicti fecit anno Verbi Incarnati 1136.<sup>4</sup> Erat autem cum episcopis comes ipse presens, cum uxore sua Rohesia et totius honoris sui maioribus, cum multitudine copiosa diuersi generis hominum,<sup>5</sup> ad consecrandum in parte uille occidentali locum in quadriuio<sup>a</sup> magnarum uiarum in angulo duarum aquarum, aque scilicet de Newport decurrentis, et aque a parte castelli descendentis.<sup>6</sup> Hunc ideo maxime locum elegisse refertur, ut monachos ibidem perpetuo cum prelati consistentes, quasi necessitate quadam constringeret ad misericordiam transeuntibus impendendam et gratiam hospitalitatis necessario sectandam.

Erat igitur locus iam benedictione sacratus: in superficie angustus et breuis, planus necnon et quadratus, mundus satis a sordibus, inhabitantibus aere salubris, aquis irriguus, que inibi iugiter manantes oriuntur, nullo tempore deficientes. Solis orientis radios tardius recipit, occidentis uero citius amittit, montibus ex utraque parte obiectis. Fuit autem locus idem ad tanti propositi opus peragendum breuis et angustus, uis et semitis ac possessionibus alienis undique coarctatus, gleba admodum sterilis, et pratis, pascuis, nemoribus, ciuitatibus insuper uel emporiis mercimonia habentibus ualde remotus. Vnde liquido omnibus dabatur intelligi, quod solius castelli gratia domus religionis, licet incompetenter, a fundatore ibidem extiterat locata.<sup>7</sup>

### 7. *De redditibus eidem loco assignatis*

Consecrato, ut iam dictum est, cimiterio in audientia quidem et assensu episcoporum, uxoris etiam sue Rohesie et omnium honoris sui capitaneorum, nominauit fundator que conferre disponebat monasterio et conuentui monachorum instituendo, omnes scilicet ecclesias, tam de demenio suo quam de emptis et purchasiis suis, inferius annotatas.<sup>b8</sup>

<sup>a</sup> quadriuio CA      <sup>b</sup> nominatas A

<sup>4</sup> Only Nigel of Ely was in office in 1136; for discussion on this point and on the date, see above, pp. xv–xvii.

<sup>5</sup> Rohese was daughter of Aubrey de Vere, and sister of the first earl of Oxford; see above, pp. xiv, xxiv. She is one of the witnesses to the foundation charter, printed below, App. 2, no. 1, where commentary will be found on some of the other witnesses.

<sup>6</sup> The south–north road from Bishop’s Stortford (and London) to Cambridge, and the local west–east road from the direction of Royston through Walden eastwards. The stream running north from Newport is the river Cam, and that flowing westwards from the direction of the castle is the King’s Slade. See further above, pp. xlvi–xlvi.

and his own and his family’s seat, he summoned his men there more often than had been customary, and came to celebrate festivals and often transacted business that needed to be settled.

Therefore, he summoned to this place three bishops, Robert of London, Nigel of Ely and William of Norwich, and had a cemetery consecrated here in the year of the Word Incarnate 1136.<sup>4</sup> Present with the bishops were the earl himself with his wife Rohese and the more important men from the whole of his honour as well as a large number of men of every rank,<sup>5</sup> for the consecration of a place on the western side of the village at the intersection of four main roads and within the angle of two streams, the one running down from Newport and the other flowing from the direction of the castle.<sup>6</sup> He is said to have chosen this location especially so that the monks living there permanently with their superiors would be bound to a virtual obligation to show kindness to passers-by and, when necessary, to provide them with free hospitality.

The place was accordingly consecrated with God’s blessing: although restricted and small in ground area, it was level and four-square, entirely free of pollution, with healthy air for those living there, and watered by the streams which rise and continually flow there without ever drying up. Since hills projected on each side, it received the rays of the rising sun rather late in the day and lost those of the setting sun rather early. The place was also small and restricted for undertaking work of so great a project, being confined on all sides by roads, paths and other people’s lands, its soil rather infertile and far removed from meadows, pastures, woods and even cities or market towns. It was therefore obvious to everybody that the religious house, despite the unsuitability of the site, had been located there by its founder for the benefit of the castle alone.<sup>7</sup>

### 7. *The revenues assigned to the same place*

When the cemetery, as has already been mentioned, was consecrated in the presence and with the assent of the bishops as well as of his wife Rohese and all the chief men of his honour, the founder designated what he intended to bestow upon the monastery and its community of monks by granting it all the churches named below, both from his own demesne and from lands which he had bought or acquired.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> For comment, see above, p. xxxv.

<sup>8</sup> This chapter is a narrative commentary on the foundation charter, below, App. 2, no. 1. For identification and discussion of the endowments, see above, pp. xlvi–lvi; also notes below, App. 3.

Inprimis autem, ut ordo poscebat, ecclesiam beate Marie de Waledena parochialem assignauit; deinde reliquas, uidelicet de Walteham, de Estrā, de Sabricteswrda, de Thorleia, de Gedelestuna, de Enefelda, de Edelmestuna, de Mimmes, de Senleia, de Northalla, de Chishella, de Chipeham, de Digeneswella, de Almodesham, de Stratleia, de Kaingeham, de Ainho, de Cumtuna.<sup>9</sup> Has itaque ecclesias assignauit comes Galfredus domui sue, cum omnibus ad eas pertinentibus et liberis earum consuetudinibus, sicut ullus ad eas melius umquam habuit uel liberius tenuit.

Ne autem quod uerum est silentio tegere uideamur, ut rei ueritas se habuit dubietate remota fateamur ecclesiarum quidem predictarum tunc nulla uacabat sed erant in eis auctoritatis magne uiri diuersi ordinis ac etatis more ecclesiastico personaliter instituti. <sup>a</sup>Concessit ergo eas quas tunc uacantes non inuenit, assignauit etiam eas quibus nullus possidentium renuntiauit. Contulit insuper<sup>b</sup> comes et assignauit molendinum unum quod tunc in manu propria tenebat ibidem propius situm in pretio quadraginta solidorum cum multura hominum suorum et aliorum quorumlibet illud sequi uolentium, de quo tamen monachi de Colecestria duos solidos annuatim ex domus sue fundatione recipiebant.<sup>10</sup> Concessit insuper<sup>c</sup> pratulum unum in parte australi Fulefen dictum, cum septem acris terre arabilis ad uineam faciendam, nemus preterea quoddam longius in parte orientali<sup>d</sup> eiusdem uille, spinis uel arboribus satis humile, de bosco suo qui dicitur Kebwrdehei,<sup>e11</sup> cum suis profectibus et libertatibus certis metis ac mensuris extra limitarum. Addidit etiam non longe a nemore illo essartum similiter continens acras centum<sup>12</sup> et paruam capellam in eadem terra antiquitus sitam in honore cuiusdam Aileti nomine, quem dicunt ab impiis ibidem fuisse occisum et multis miraculis a Deo sepius glorificatum,<sup>13</sup> cum loco quodam citra uiam propius transeunte cum placea etiam<sup>f</sup> uiridi et ampla ad edificia cum horreis construenda, quoniam spatium antea uersus eandem uiam<sup>g</sup> non erat ullum.<sup>14</sup> Concessit autem molendinum

<sup>a</sup> second hand begins in C    <sup>b</sup> etiam A    <sup>c</sup> etiam A    <sup>d</sup> occidentali A  
<sup>e</sup> Lebwrdehm marg. C    <sup>f</sup> om. A    <sup>g</sup> om. A

<sup>9</sup> These churches are listed in exactly the order in which they occur in the foundation charter. For their histories, see above, pp. lii–lv, and below, App. 3.

<sup>10</sup> The gifts recorded in the Walden foundation charter include two mills, one at Walden and the other at Enfield. For the latter see below. The monastery of St John, Colchester, was founded by Eudo the *dapifer* in 1096–7, and its foundation charter, largely spurious as it stands, includes ‘De Walden decimam molendini et lane’: *Mon. Ang.* iv. 609 = *Cartularium de Colecestria*, ed. S. A. Moore (2 vols.: Roxburghe Club, 1897), i. 1–3, at p. 3. Geoffrey de Mandeville, before becoming earl of Essex, confirmed this to Colchester: *Cart. Colecestria*, i. 146–7.

First of all, to take them in their proper order, he granted the parish church of St Mary of Walden. Then the others: the churches of [Great] Waltham, [High] Easter, Sawbridgeworth, Thorley, Gilston, Enfield, Edmonton, [South] Mimms, Shenley, Northolt, [Great] Chishill, Chippenham, Digswell, Amersham, Streatley, Kingham, Aynho and [Long] Compton.<sup>9</sup> These churches Earl Geoffrey assigned to his own house, with all their appurtenances and free customs, as well and as freely as any one had ever possessed or held them.

However, so that we should not appear by our silence to be concealing the truth, we must banish all doubt and admit the truth that not one of the churches just mentioned was at the time vacant, but in them were men of great authority who differed in rank and age, each instituted in person in accordance with ecclesiastical custom. So he granted the monastery those churches which he found were not vacant at the time, and assigned them those which none of their incumbents had resigned. In addition, he granted a mill there which he held at that time in his own hand, situated near the monastery, worth 40 shillings, with the multure from his men and from any others willing to pay it; though the monks of Colchester were receiving from it two shillings annually, and had done so from the time their house was founded.<sup>10</sup> In addition, he gave one small meadow on the south side called the Fulfen, with seven acres of arable land for making a vineyard, and also a wood further off on the eastern side of the same vill, being of no great size and made up of thorn bushes and trees, from his own woodland which is called Kibberdys,<sup>11</sup> with its profits and liberties within the fixed metes and bounds of the borders around. He also added an assart not far from that wood which similarly contained 100 acres,<sup>12</sup> and a small chapel on the same land [St Aylotts], founded a long time ago in honour of a man called Ailetus, who they say had been killed there by evil men and who had often been honoured by God in many miracles.<sup>13</sup> He gave this along with a place situated on this side of the road near the cross-roads, with an open, grassy piece of ground, large enough for erecting buildings with barns, since previously there had been no space close to that road.<sup>14</sup> Then he gave a mill at Enfield

<sup>11</sup> See *PN Essex*, p. 539. The Walden foundation charter gives 100 acres in the wood called ‘Kebwrthei’ and half the profits. In 1400 this was called ‘Keburdey’: Cromarty, *Fields*, p. 17.

<sup>12</sup> In the charter this is given as 120 acres.

<sup>13</sup> The chapel is not mentioned in the charter. The evidence of *The Book of the Foundation* disproves the Welsh origin of ‘St Aylotts’ suggested in *PN Essex*, p. 540.

<sup>14</sup> This gift is not included in the charter.

unum apud Enefeldam cum dimidia uirgata terre arabilis, cum pratis et pascuis et ceteris omnibus eidem molendino pertinentibus. Locum etiam de Hadleia ab Otuela constructum cum suis pertinentiis contulit<sup>15</sup> et padnagium de porcis monachorum in omnibus boscis suis quietum clamauit. Nullum autem manerium, nullum etiam cuiuslibet uillule licet modicum domui sue, proh dolor, assignauit membrum. Ecclesias itaque omnes prenomatas, omnia etiam tenementa prelibata cum omnibus pertinentiis, libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis, uir iste, deuotus comes, scilicet Galfredus, in presentia qui aderant episcoporum et cum benedictione et letitia omnium suorum simul et extraneorum, monasterio suo et monachis ibidem instituendis deuote contulit, et testibus auctoritatis magne adhibitis scripto autentico confirmauit et sigilli sui appositione muniuit. Quod usque hodie apud nos habetur et cum maxima, ut decet, diligentia perpetualiter conseruatur.<sup>16</sup>

Cui autem de sanctis aut quibus speciali deuotionis affectu monasterium suum fundator assignare decreuerit ex initio litterarum eius manifestum est, scilicet beate Marie Virgini misericordie matri et beato Iacobo apostolorum prothomartyri.<sup>17</sup> Diuine maiestatis reuerentia ut decebat in omnibus premissa cui etiam in terris Dei uicario et priori loci illius custodia commendari debuit prouidere non distulit.

#### 8. De Willelmo priore de Waledena primo

In illo tempore erat prior quidam, Willelmus nomine, comiti satis notus et ab eo ualde dilectus, qui in Luffelda in nemore scilicet de Wertlewe<sup>a</sup> prope domum regiam de Seluestuna cum paucis fratribus morabatur, qui in uictu et habitu ac ceteris huiusmodi magis uidebantur heremite quam monachi claustrales uel cenobite. Erat insuper prior de Bradewella quam ad petitionem aduocati edificandam regendamque susceperat.<sup>18</sup> Quoniam igitur in annis adolescentie simul et pauperitatis sue regem Henricum sequendo gratia<sup>b</sup> hospitalitatis sepius ibidem ei impendebatur,<sup>19</sup> expertus ad liquidum uiri

<sup>a</sup> Wortlewd A

<sup>b</sup> gratia A, through a misreading of C

<sup>15</sup> 'Locum' suggests the site of a church of some sort. This is presumably the hermitage of Hadley (par. Edmonton) which is given in the charter. Otvel is probably to be identified with the ancestor of Otvel de Boville, who was sheriff of Essex in 1163-4 (*Pipe Roll 10 Hen. II*, p. 36) and held six and a half knights' fees of the Mandeville honour in 1166 (*Red Book*, i. 345).

<sup>16</sup> The surviving text from the cartulary is an interpolated version of a charter given c. 1140; printed below, App. 2, no. 1.

<sup>17</sup> On the significance of the dedication to St James, see above, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

<sup>18</sup> Whittlewood was the name of the royal forest within which the priory of Luffield was founded before 1118; see above, pp. xxxii-xxxiv, and *Luffield Chs.*, i, nos. 1-2.

with half a virgate of arable land, with meadows, pastures and all the other appurtenances of the same mill. He also granted the place belonging to Hadley, built by Otvel, with its appurtenances,<sup>15</sup> and he quitclaimed pannage for the monks' pigs in all his woods. However, sad to say, he assigned no manor and no part of any little village, no matter how small, to his own house. Hence that man, the devout earl, that is to say Geoffrey, bestowed upon his monastery and the monks to be established there all the aforementioned churches, and also all the said holdings with all their appurtenances, liberties and free customs, in the presence of the bishops who were there and with the blessing and approval of all his men, and also of some outsiders, and confirmed these endowments in an authentic document before appointed witnesses of high rank and strengthened it by affixing his seal. This is in our possession to this day and is for ever kept, as it should be, with the greatest care.<sup>16</sup>

It is made clear at the beginning of his charter to which one of the saints, or rather to which saints, the founder had decided to dedicate his monastery with especial feelings of devotion. These were the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of Mercy, and the Blessed James, the first martyr among the apostles.<sup>17</sup> Out of reverence for the divine majesty, a reverence which governed him in all things, as was fitting, he did not delay making provision for one to whom the guardianship of that place should be entrusted as God's representative on earth and prior.

#### 8. William the first prior of Walden

At that time there was a prior called William, well known to the earl and greatly loved by him, who dwelt in Whittlewood (a woodland in Luffield near the royal house of Silverstone) with a few brethren, who in their food and clothing and in other things of that kind seemed to resemble hermits rather than claustral or conventual monks. He was also prior of Bradwell, which at the request of his patron he had undertaken to build and rule.<sup>18</sup> Since Geoffrey, when a young man and still poor, was used to being there often for its hospitality when attending King Henry,<sup>19</sup> and had gained a clear impression of the

<sup>19</sup> The king possessed a manor at Silverstone: cf. *Pipe Roll 31 Hen. I*, p. 83. A royal charter was dated there 1121 × 30: *Regesta*, ii, no. 1671. But the outline of Geoffrey's early career, so far as it can be reconstructed, suggests that he did not become a member of the royal circle until the 1130s; see above, p. xiv. A more likely explanation of Geoffrey's acquaintance with William and the monks of Luffield is that it came about through his interest in property at Silverstone that belonged to the Mandeville fee; for this manor, see *Luffield Chs.*, i, pp. xiv-xv, xvi-xvii.



illius honestatem, humilitatem, ceterarumque uirtutum ornamentum impetrauit, immo magis ab eo extorsit, ut et domus sue susciperet curam, que adhuc tamen sine officinis uel aliarum rerum ornatu potius dici poterat uacuus locus quam qualiscumque religionis domus. Summa itaque diligentia prudens fundator ac prouidus domum suam ita procurabat ut nulli abbacie aut<sup>a</sup> prioratui subiaceret, nulli omnino subiectionis gratia aliquid debere permetteret, excepto quod episcopis diocesanis et eorum officialibus ex more debetur, fundatoribus etiam pro beneficiis gratuito collatis<sup>b</sup> perpetuari deuote solet: in diuino maxime officio, in largitione elemosinarum, in assiduitate precum deuotarum.

Locum igitur noue possessionis summa libertate subnixum ac ordini monastico assignatum Willelmus ille prior primus auctoritate episcopali regendum suscepit et iuxta temporis statum diligenter conseruare studuit, fecissetque satis utiliter quod deuota mente conceperat, si pax regnaret, si subleuantes haberet, si esset ubi caput reclinaret,<sup>20</sup> si rerum copia subpeteret.

In primis autem mansiunculam monachorum duorum aut trium, non tamen in loco ab episcopis sacrato, sed iuxta molendinum ipsorum, inter aquam scilicet et stratam publicam in loco breui et arcto, cum capellula<sup>c</sup> et domunculis pauperimis construxit: talis etenim erat temporis instantis necessitas. Accepta uero postmodum opportunitate ascenderat superius in cimiterium uersus orientem, iuxta fontis angulum modicum ibidem facientis locum, sed nec illic quales decebat<sup>d</sup> habere poterant officinas.<sup>21</sup>

De temporis illius statu aliquid licet breuiter tangere dignum duximus, unde lectori faciliorem demus intellectum quale uel quantum homini Dei euenerit impedimentum, ne tantum proficeret quantum gerebat in uotis. Fortuna quippe cui fides nulla constat esse donanda, in illis diebus plures erigendo subleuauit, plures opprimendo deiecit, ut lectio sequens patenter manifestabit.

#### <sup>e</sup>9. *De rege Stephano et comite Galfredo*

Regnante igitur pie recordationis rege Stephano, Henricus dux Normannie et comes Andegauiæ a rege Scotorum, Dauid nomine

<sup>a</sup> uel *A*      <sup>b</sup> colentis *A*, through a misreading of *C*      <sup>c</sup> capella *A*  
<sup>d</sup> decebant *A*      <sup>e</sup> first hand resumes in *C*

<sup>20</sup> Matt. 8: 20, Luke 9: 58, 'non habet ubi caput reclinet', Christ speaking of Himself.

<sup>21</sup> See above, pp. xlii–xlii.

man's integrity, humility and other virtues, he requested, or rather I should say pressed him, to undertake responsibility for his house, though, as this still lacked domestic buildings and the provision of other things, it could have been called an empty space rather than a religious house of any kind. However, this wise and prudent founder took the greatest care to make such provision for his house that it should never be subject to any abbey or priory; indeed, he did not allow it to be under any obligation of obedience to anyone at all, except that customarily owed to diocesan bishops and their officials, as well as that normally paid to founders for benefits freely bestowed, to be continued devoutly for ever, particularly in the divine office, in almsgiving and in the constancy of pious prayers.

Accordingly William, the first prior, undertook to rule, with episcopal authority, his newly possessed house, confirmed in its wide liberties and placed under monastic discipline, and strove diligently to preserve it so far as the conditions of the time allowed, and he would have succeeded well enough in carrying out what he had planned with pious intention if peace had reigned, if he had had supporters, if there had been 'somewhere to lay his head',<sup>20</sup> and if he had had the resources to assist him.

First of all he built a small dwelling for two or three monks, not however in the place consecrated by the bishops, but near the monks' mill, between the stream and the public highway, in a small and cramped area, with a little chapel and very meagre living quarters: such was the necessity at that difficult time. However, when the opportunity was later afforded, he built higher up towards the cemetery on the eastern side, near a bend in the stream where it provided a small area of ground, though even there they could not have the domestic buildings which they should have had.<sup>21</sup>

We have thought it right to make some reference, however brief, to the conditions of that time, in order to make it easier for the reader to understand the nature and extent of the trouble which afflicted this man of God, preventing him from achieving as much as he had set his heart upon doing. Indeed, Fortune, in whom it is well known nobody should put any trust, exalted many during those days by raising them up, and humbled many others by casting them down, as the following account will clearly show.

#### 9. *King Stephen and Earl Geoffrey*

In the reign of King Stephen of pious memory, Henry duke of Normandy and count of Anjou made his appearance, who had by

regis digno, iam miles factus superuenit.<sup>22</sup> Extitit namque et ipse regis Henrici senioris nepos descendens ex filia, multis ex parte patris, comitis scilicet Galfredi Andegauensis, multis ex Anglie potentioribus circumfultus auxiliis. Vnde grandis altercatio fauore partium et motus intolerabilis in regno Anglie tunc temporis ortus est. Fuerunt quoque frequenter lethales militum congressus, mortes hominum, incendia ciuitatum et ecclesiarum, dilapidationes bonorum, uastationes regionum, rapine quarumlibet rerum.

Hiis itaque sic se male habentibus, Galfredus Essexie comes, miles in armis probatus, partes regis contra emulum suum fideli satis obsequio aliquandiu fouit.<sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup>Tandem uero a quibusdam regni maioribus, stimulante inuidia, iniqua loquentibus, quasi regis proditor ac patrie delator erga regem mendaciter<sup>c</sup> clanculo accusatus est. Post modicum uero temporis coadunato apud Sanctum Albanum consilio, uir iste nobilis, ceteris in pace recedentibus, solus, rege iubente, fraudulenter comprehensus, et ne abiret custodibus designatis detentus est. Et licet multi amicorum suorum, talia ei iniuste illata egre ferentium, pro eo regem interpellarent, nequaquam tamen euadere poterat, donec<sup>d</sup> suas licet inuitus redderet munitiones. Turrim London, Waledenam et Plassetum cum immenso animi rancore reddidit, et sic omnino castellis carens continuo exiuit.

Vir autem iste magnanimus subdola malignantium fraude, ut iam dictum est, delusus, statim milites numero plures in armis potentes donis ac promissis sibi illiciens, associauit sagittarios insuper ac ceteros huiusmodi seruiantes in malefactis famosos undecumque collectos aggregare maturauit. Quo facto, uelut equus ualidus et infrenis, morsibus et<sup>e</sup> calcibus quoslibet obuios dilaniare non cessauit, maneria, uillas, ceteraque proprietatem regiam contingentia primitus inuasit, igni combussit, predaque cum rapinis non minimas inde sublatas commilitonibus suis larga manu distribuit.

In illis itaque diebus sororem suam nomine Beatricem in<sup>f</sup> Normannia Hugoni Talebot<sup>23</sup> matronam<sup>g</sup> nuptam, diuortio prius facto, in Angliam transtulit, eamque Willelmo de Say,<sup>24</sup> ferocis animi uiro et

<sup>a</sup> fuit A      <sup>b</sup> second hand resumes in C      <sup>c</sup> mendantur CA      <sup>d</sup> om. A  
<sup>e</sup> om. A      <sup>f</sup> om. A      <sup>g</sup> matrimonialiter A

<sup>22</sup> Henry was knighted by King David in May 1149, by which time Geoffrey de Mandeville had been dead for five years. Despite this lapse in chronology, the chapter preserves some recollections of the civil war between supporters of King Stephen and the Empress Matilda. For Geoffrey's career and death, see above, pp. xiv-xix.

<sup>23</sup> A man of this name appears as a kinsman of Hugh de Gournay, who held the castle of Le Plessis in 1118: *Ord. Vit.* vi. 192. But as Dr Chibnall comments, "Talbot was a common

now been knighted by the king of the Scots, called David, a name worthy of a king.<sup>22</sup> He himself was grandson of the elder King Henry, being his daughter's son, and he was supported on all sides by many powerful forces both from the retainers of his father, Count Geoffrey of Anjou, and many from England. Consequently, great dissension in favour of the contending parties and distressing disturbances broke out at that time in the kingdom of England. There were frequent deadly encounters between knights, men died, cities and churches were burned down, property was ruined, lands devastated and everything imaginable plundered.

It was during these evil days that Geoffrey, earl of Essex, a knight proven in battle, supported the king's side for some time in most loyal service against his rival. But in the end, being maligned by some of the leading men in the kingdom, who were motivated by envy, he was falsely charged before the king, in secret, with being disloyal to the king and a traitor to his country. Not long after this a council was assembled at St Albans [1143], and when the others had departed quietly this noble man, now alone, was deceitfully arrested at the king's command and was prevented from leaving by guards chosen for the task. Although many of his friends who were indignant at such unjust treatment of him appealed to the king on his behalf, he was utterly refused permission to leave until he surrendered, albeit unwillingly, his fortresses. It was with fierce resentment that he surrendered the Tower of London, Walden, and Pleshey; and so, completely bereft of his strongholds, he left at once.

This high-spirited man, having been tricked, as has already been said, by the underhand treachery of men who wished him ill, immediately enticed to join him, by gifts and promises, a considerable number of battle-hardened knights; he added archers, and hastened to gather together from wherever he could other retainers of the same kind notorious for their crimes. Whereupon, like a strong, unbridled horse ready to maim with teeth and hooves any who stood in its way, he first assailed manors, villages, and other things belonging to the king's estates, set them on fire, and then he lavishly distributed amongst his fellow-knights the not inconsiderable plunder stolen during his pillaging.

At that time he brought over to England his sister Beatrice, who had been married in Normandy to Hugh Talbot<sup>23</sup> but was now divorced, and joined her in a marriage contract to William de Say,<sup>24</sup> a man of

name; it was borne by tenants of the lords of Gournay in Normandy and England as well as by tenants of the Giffards and the counts of Eu', citing Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, p. 100. <sup>24</sup> For the Say family, see above, pp. xxvii-xxix.

bellicoso, nuptiali federe coniunxit, cuius deinceps auxilio fretus, ac militum suorum numerositate immanior factus, per totam circumcirca discurrendo prouinciam nulli cuiquamque<sup>a</sup> pecuniam possidenti parcere uouit. Locis sacris uel etiam<sup>b</sup> ipsis de ecclesiis nullam deferendo exhibuit reuerentiam. Exploratores uero illius, habitu mutato, more egenorum ostiatim oberrantes,<sup>25</sup> uillanis et ceteris huiusmodi hominibus pecunia a Deo data abundantibus insidiabantur. Quibus taliter compertis in intempeste<sup>c</sup> noctis<sup>26</sup> silentio, tempore tamen primitus considerato, Sathane satellites a comite transmittabantur, qui uiros innocuos alto sopore quandoque detentos raperent, raptos uero quasi pro magno munere ei presentarent. Qui mox immani supplicio, per interualla tamen uexabantur, et tamdiu per tormenta uaria uicissim sibi succedentia torquebantur, donec pecunie eis imposite ultimum soluerent quadrantem.

Inter hec autem ira humanum excedente modum, ita efferatus est, ut procurantibus Willelmo de Say et Daniele, quodam falsi nominis ac tonsure monacho, nauigio cum suis subuectus Ramesiam peteret. Ecclesiam Deo ac beato patri Benedicto dicatam summo mane ausu temerario primitus inuadendo subintraret, monachosque omnes post diuinum nocturnale officium sopori deditos comprehenderet, et uix habitu simplici indutos<sup>27</sup> expellendo statim perturbaret, nullaque interueniente mora, ecclesiam illam satis pulcherrimam non ut Dei castrum sed sicut castellum, superius ac inferius, intus et extra, fortiter muniuit. Vasa autem altaris aurea et argentea Deo sacrata, cappas etiam cantorum lapidibus pretiosis ac opere mirifico contextas, casulas cum albis et ceteris ecclesiastici decoris ornamentis rapuit, et quibuslibet emere uolentibus uili satis pretio distraxit, unde militibus et satellitibus suis debita largitus est stipendia.<sup>28</sup>

Post, huiusmodi tandem excessibus aliisque multis hiis similibus publicam anathematis non immerito incurrit sententiam,<sup>29</sup> in qua apud quoddam oppidulum in Burwella<sup>30</sup> lethaliter in capite uulneratus

<sup>a</sup> quicumque CA      <sup>b</sup> om. A      <sup>c</sup> tempestate CA

<sup>25</sup> For this expression, see B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 16-17.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Georg.* i. 247, *Aen.* iii. 587. The phrase is used again below, iv. 15.

<sup>27</sup> At this period monks probably slept in their day habits; see B. F. Harvey, *Monastic Dress in the Middle Ages: Precept and Practice* (William Urry Memorial Lecture; Canterbury, 1988), pp. 26-7.

<sup>28</sup> See also *Henry of Huntingdon*, pp. 742-3; *Chron. Ramsey*, p. 329; and Geoffrey the younger's description of his father's misdeeds, *Cart. de Rameseia* (RS lxxix), ii. 196-7.

<sup>29</sup> In the same way that Bishop Nigel of Ely excommunicated the despoilers of Ely (Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 412), the sentence relating to Ramsey was probably pronounced by Abbot Walter of Ramsey: see *Chron. Ramsey*, p. 330. It involved full social

fierce, warlike temperament, upon whose aid he relied thereafter, and having become all the more terrible because of the large number of his knights, and rampaging everywhere throughout the whole area he vowed to spare nobody at all who was wealthy. He showed no respect or reverence for holy places, not even for churches themselves. His spies, disguising themselves, went around like beggars from door to door<sup>25</sup> and observed villeins and other men of that kind who had been blessed by God with wealth. Once they had found out about them in this way, in the silence of dead of night,<sup>26</sup> at a time previously arranged, these disciples of Satan were dispatched by the earl to seize innocent men at a time when they were fast asleep, and when seized to bring them to him with a view to obtaining a large reward. Then these men were soon severely ill-treated and tortured for some long time: the tortures were of various kinds, one after another, and went on for as long as it took for them to pay up the last farthing of the money demanded from them.

While Geoffrey was thus engaged his anger exceeded human bounds, and he was so enraged that at the instigation of William de Say and a monk called Daniel, of false name and tonsure, he made for Ramsey by boat with his men. There in the early morning with careless audacity he first entered by stealth, and then invaded the church dedicated to God and the Blessed Father Benedict. He seized all the monks who were asleep after the night office, and though they were wearing only their plain habits,<sup>27</sup> he immediately drove them out in confusion. Without delay he strongly fortified that most beautiful church, above and below, inside and out, not as a fortress for God but as a castle. He seized gold and silver altar vessels which had been consecrated to God, copes of the cantors interwoven with precious stones and of wonderful workmanship, chasubles with albs and other ornaments that adorn a church, and sold them off at a very low price to any who were willing to buy them, from which he paid the wages due to his knights and retainers.<sup>28</sup>

Subsequently, because of excesses such as these and many others like them, he incurred not undeservedly a public sentence of excommunication,<sup>29</sup> and in this state, at the small castle of Burwell,<sup>30</sup>

and religious exclusion, not only from the sacraments of the Church but also from secular society, releasing his vassals from obedience. For excommunication in the 12th cent., see E. Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1986), esp. pp. 14-16, 28-43, 45-6, and R. H. Helmholz, 'Excommunication and the Angevin leap forward', *Haskins Society Journal*, vii (1997 for 1995), 133-49.

<sup>30</sup> Cambs. The sub-rectangular earthwork platform, built on the edge of the fens, was probably one of the fieldworks erected by King Stephen in an attempt to contain Geoffrey's activities; see C. Coulson, 'The castles of the Anarchy', *The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford, 1994), 67-92, at p. 88, and aerial view pl. IV.

est.<sup>31</sup> Penitens itaque ualde et Deo cum magna cordis contritione pro peccatis suis supplicans, quantum taliter moriens poterat, Deo et hominibus satisfacit, licet a presentibus absolui non potuisset. Illo autem in discrimine mortis ultimum trahente spiritum, quidam superuenere Templarii, qui religionis sue habitum cruce rubea signatum ei imposuerunt, ac deinde iam mortuum secum tollentes et in pomerio suo Veteris scilicet Templi apud London canali inclusum plumbeo in arbore torua suspenderant.<sup>32</sup> Post aliquod uero tempus, industria et expensis Willelmi, quem iam pridem in Waledena constituerat priorem, a papa Alexandro more taliter decedentium meruit absolui, inter Christianos recipi et pro eo diuina celebrari. Cumque prior ille corpus defunctum deponere et secum Waledenam transferre satageret, Templarii illi caute premeditati, statim illud tollentes, et in cimiterio Noui Templi ignobili satis tradiderunt sepulture.<sup>33</sup>

Huius autem comitis prima operum bonorum leti descripsimus acta, nunc uero admodum tristes posteriora illis prioribus non eque respondentia non omisimus, ea intentione acti ut quanto culpis grauioribus iuxta humanam estimationem extiterit immanior, tanto pro eo in omnibus fiat oratio deuotior, maxime quidem et specialius a monachis de Waledena sancta et salubris sit cogitatio pro hoc defuncto exorare ut a peccatis soluat. Transiit autem comes iste Galfredus cenobii sancti Iacobi de Waledena fundator de hoc seculo anno Verbi Incarnati 1148.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> For the other sources, see *Henry of Huntingdon*, p. 745 n. 127. The Walden writer's 'lethaliter in capite uulneratus est' is echoed verbatim in *Chron. Ramsey*, p. 332.

<sup>32</sup> The statement that Geoffrey could not be absolved by those present suggests that he had been excommunicated for violence towards the clergy, for which absolution could be had only from the pope; see c. 2 of the legate council of London in 1143, printed in *Councils & Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church*, 1, 871–1204, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), part 2, p. 800. Christian burial was not possible for those who died excommunicate: *ibid.*, p. 801 c. 5. See also above, p. xxiii, and immediately below for Geoffrey's posthumous absolution by the pope and his reburial.

*Chron. Ramsey*, pp. 331–2, says that having been wounded at Burwell Geoffrey died later at Mildenhall (Suff.), and that his body was sealed in a box and thrown into a pit outside the cemetery of the Old Temple. The Walden writer's reference to the Old Temple in London, and that in *Chron. Ramsey*, are the first to the Temple in London, and show that they were written after the New Temple, mentioned below, came into existence in 1161: *Records of the Templars in the 12th Century*, ed. B. A. Lees (British Academy, 1935), p. xxxix n. 4.

The Templars' interest in Geoffrey's burial is difficult to explain, unless he had made a promise to take the Cross. That he had some acquaintance with the Order is shown by the appearance of Pagan, master of the Temple in France, among the witnesses to the Walden foundation charter: App. 2, no. 1.

he received a fatal wound in the head.<sup>31</sup> Then, fervently repenting, and with heartfelt contrition, pleading God's forgiveness for his sins, he made satisfaction to God and man as best he could by dying in such a way, though he could not be absolved by those present. But when he was on the point of death and drawing his last breath, some Templars arrived on the scene who laid upon him the habit of their order marked with the red cross; then when he was dead, they took his body away with them, encased it in a lead waterpipe and hung it from a tree growing wild in their orchard at the Old Temple in London.<sup>32</sup> Some time afterwards, through the efforts and at the expense of William, whom Geoffrey had some time before made prior of Walden, he was granted absolution by Pope Alexander in the usual manner for those who die in such a way, was received back into the Christian fold, and had divine service celebrated on his behalf. When the prior endeavoured to remove the corpse and transfer it with him to Walden, the Templars, anticipating him by a subterfuge, immediately removed the body, and consigned it to a somewhat ignoble grave in the cemetery of the New Temple.<sup>33</sup>

We have recorded with pleasure the former good deeds of this earl, and yet, very sadly, we have not omitted to mention his later deeds, which bear no comparison with his earlier actions. Our reason for this is that the more monstrous a man may appear in human estimation because of his more serious sins, the more earnest should be everybody's prayer on his behalf; and most especially should the monks of Walden say holy and saving prayers on behalf of this dead man that he may be pardoned for his sins. Earl Geoffrey, founder of the monastery of St James of Walden passed from this world in the year of the Word Incarnate 1148 [*recte* 1144].<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> This was in 1163; see above, p. xxiii. For the record in the Walden annals, see next note.

<sup>34</sup> The date of Geoffrey's death was certainly 1144: see the two contemporary accounts in *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K. R. Potter, rev. R. H. C. Davis (OMT, 1976), pp. 164–7, and *Henry of Huntingdon*, pp. 744–7. It is difficult to explain the error in *The Book of the Foundation*, unless '1148' is a misreading of the arabic numerals: if the original had 1144 in arabic, with lower points of the second 4 bending inwards, it might have been misread as 8. It seems very likely that 1144 was the date in the first manuscript of *The Book of the Foundation of Walden*, as it is in the Walden annals, which partly derive from it (see above, pp. lviii–lix), fo. 74<sup>v</sup>: 'Anno Domini 1144 obiit fundator noster Galfridus primus cuius corpus iacet London humatum apud Templebar in porticu ante hostium ecclesie occidentalis cuius anime propicietur Deus. Amen.' The entry in the roll of founders (for which see above, p. lix), gives the date as 16 Sept. 1144: 'Obiit nobilis fundator noster .xvi. kal. Octobris anno Domini millesimo centesimo quadagesimo quarto, cuius anime propicietur Deus. Amen' (printed *Mon. Ang.* v. 139–41, at p. 140).

Cum hec itaque sic se haberent quod pia mente ac pura intentione comes ille iam sepe dictus in ceperat, ab impiis statim multis modis cepit dissipari et ad nichilum fere redigi. Necessaria etenim quotidiana uix cum multa difficultate, etsi esset unde, monachis non licebat prouidere, quoniam prior ipse non audebat interesse. Talis erat regis et suorum ex ueteri fundatoris odio animus erga fratres ac promotionem pauperime domus.

#### 10. *De priore Willelmo et reddituum aggregatione*

Processu quidem temporis, ira cessante, rex mutatus in melius erga priorem et suos mitiorem se exhibuit.<sup>35</sup> Vnde statim de die in diem respirando, caput eleuauit, mox etiam aliquantos ex redditibus, licet perpaucos, domui sue assignatos aggregare non distulit. In diebus autem guerre, diebus scilicet tribulationis et angustie,<sup>36</sup> Galfredus quidam clericus, cancellarii filius,<sup>37</sup> ecclesiam de Waledena adeptus est,<sup>38</sup> qui postea pro temporis illius statu tonsura clericali deposita, comam sibi nutriens, cingulum militare induit, seculariter agens in castello de Kari,<sup>39</sup> unde tempore aliquanto ecclesiasticis non immerito spoliatus est beneficiis. Hanc itaque ecclesiam cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus obtinuit prior, donec idem Galfredus, militia relicta, clericum iterato indueret, et beneficia ecclesiastica denuo recuperaret. Vnde factum est ut uix magnorum interuentu uirorum ecclesiam iam dictam prior retineret, sub annua tamen quatuor marcarum pensione.

Ecclesiam uero de Enefelda adeptus est prior statim post domus sue foundationem, quam etiam in proprios usus sibi retinuit deputatam.<sup>40</sup>

Mortuo autem Waltero fundatoris nostri olim capellano, persona scilicet de Sabristewrda, prior ecclesiam obtinuit eamque in propria manu aliquandiu tenuit, et capellanum quendam, nomine Mauricum, perpetuum instituit uicarium.<sup>41</sup> Postmodum uero ecclesiam illam

<sup>35</sup> Probably after 1145 King Stephen granted a fair at Walden on the eve of the summer feast of St James and on the feast day (24–25 July): *Regesta*, iii, no. 914.

<sup>36</sup> Zeph. 1: 15, 'Dies irae, dies illa, dies tribulationis et angustiae.' This is the biblical text upon which was based the late 12th-cent. rhymed poem that was to form the opening words of the sequence 'Dies irae' in the Mass for the Dead.

<sup>37</sup> The royal chancellors in Stephen's reign were: Roger le Poer, to June 1139; Philip of Harcourt, 1139–40; Robert de Gant, 1140/1–54. See *Regesta*, iii, p. x. The second of these seems the most likely to have had a son whose career could have followed the outline in this chapter. For another uncorroborated story concerning Stephen's chancery, that Prior Reginald had been a member of staff, see below, c. 13.

<sup>38</sup> See above, pp. xlix–l, and below, App. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Somerset. The castle, which was held by Ralph Luvel, was besieged and taken by King Stephen in 1138: *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, iii, ed. P. McGurk (OMT, 1998), pp. 250–1, and *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 66–9.

It was in these circumstances that what this oft-mentioned earl had initiated with goodwill and pure intention, began by a variety of means to be wasted and reduced almost to nothing by wicked men. The monks were not allowed to provide for their daily needs, or at least it was only with the greatest difficulty, even if these could be obtained anywhere, for the prior himself did not dare to intervene. Such was the attitude of the king and his men towards the brethren and the advancement of our poor house because of their hatred for the original founder.

#### 10. *Prior William and his collection of revenue*

In process of time, as his anger abated, the king changed his attitude for the better towards the prior and his monks and behaved more kindly towards them.<sup>35</sup> The immediate consequence was that the monastery began to revive, improving day by day; it lifted its head and soon did not hesitate to collect some, though only a little, of the revenue assigned to the house. During the time of the civil war, in days of trouble and distress,<sup>36</sup> a clerk named Geoffrey, the chancellor's son,<sup>37</sup> gained possession of the church of Walden.<sup>38</sup> Later, because of the political situation of the time, he renounced his clerical tonsure, grew his hair, and donned the garb of knighthood, living as a layman in Castle Cary,<sup>39</sup> and as a result he was for some time not undeservedly deprived of his ecclesiastical benefices. As a consequence the prior obtained this church with all its appurtenances until the same Geoffrey abandoned the life of a knight and, donning for a second time his clerical garb, once again recovered possession of his ecclesiastical benefices. The result was that the prior, only with difficulty and by the intervention of influential men, kept a hold on this church only through its annual pension of four marks.

Soon after the foundation of his house, the prior obtained the church of Enfield, which he retained, assigned to his personal use.<sup>40</sup>

After the death of Walter, previously chaplain of our founder and rector of Sawbridgeworth, the prior gained that church and held it for some time in his own hand; he instituted a chaplain named Maurice as perpetual vicar there.<sup>41</sup> Later on he granted that church to Richard de

<sup>40</sup> For Enfield and the remaining properties mentioned in this chapter, see above, pp. lii–liii, and below, App. 3.

<sup>41</sup> This was evidently not the same man as Maurice of Sawbridgeworth who attests two charters of Bishop Gilbert Foliot, *GFL*, no. 375, concerning Great Malvern 1173 × 1174, and no. 439, for Walden, 1163 × 1172.

Ricardo de Belmes<sup>42</sup> sub trium marcarum pensione concessit tenendam, quo de medio sublato, iterum prior in manu propria diutius eam retinuit ac pacifice<sup>a</sup> possedit. Abbate itaque Westmonasterii tunc temporis decedente,<sup>43</sup> clericus quidam, Ricardus de Ambli nomine, custos interim abbacie, priorem cum suis de ecclesia uiolenter expellendo perturbauit et monachos de Westmonasterio auctoritate usus propria intrusit.

Ecclesiam de Mimms<sup>b</sup> tenuit sacerdos quidam, nomine Absolom, sub annua nouem marcarum pensione; pro dimidia portione ecclesie de Walteham triginta solidos reddebat Ricardus Rufus;<sup>44</sup> pro altera uero portione Iohannes quidam duos solidos; de ecclesia de Edelmetona Willelmus de Costentin tres marcas.<sup>45</sup> De ecclesia de Cuntona uiginti solidos, de Thorleia unam marcam, <sup>c</sup>de Almodesham unam marcam, <sup>c</sup>de Ainho quatuor solidos, de Northala duos solidos, <sup>d</sup>de Kaingham duos solidos, <sup>d</sup>de Chishella uero duodecim denarios singulis annis prior recepit. De ceteris uero ecclesiis monasterio a fundatore assignatis, nichil certum soluebatur, omnes tamen earum persone uel uicarii priori et monachis hospitalitatis gratiam frequenter impendebant, munera dabant et eis qui domi erant plura transmittabant.<sup>e</sup>

### II. De concordia inter regem Stephanum et ducem Henricum facta

Vt igitur ea que iam dicta sunt et illa que sequuntur plenius intelligi queant, ad altiora parumper stilum erigamus. Post regnum itaque iam diutius in seipso diuisum, post arma bellica, post longos discidii agones ac pene totius patrie deuastationes, regi Stephano in senium uergenti solus iunior etate filius Warrenne scilicet comes tantum supererat, regina filioque ipsorum Eustachio, milite strenuissimo iam pariter defunctis,<sup>46</sup> fama siquidem ducis Henrici ac potestas uehementer inualescebat, pars uero regis minorando paulatim decrescebat. Vnde in altercatione iam diutius inter eos habita ulterius ei resistere non poterat. Ab animo autem tam proprio quam a familiaribus consilio pollutibus sepius admonebatur ut cum emulo suo perpetue pacis fedus iniret et de cetero quietam in requie ac deliciis ageret uitam.

<sup>a</sup> A; pacificem C    <sup>b</sup> Mimmes A    <sup>c-c</sup> om. A    <sup>d-d</sup> om. A    <sup>e</sup> transmittabantur A

<sup>42</sup> For his identity, see above, p. liii.

<sup>43</sup> Presumably abbot Gervase, who died c. 1157: see above, p. liiii at n. 28.

<sup>44</sup> For his identity, see above, p. liv.    <sup>45</sup> For his identity, see above, p. liiii.

<sup>46</sup> The details given suggest a date in 1153 or 1154. Matilda died in 1152, her son Eustace c. 17 Aug. 1153 and her husband Stephen on 25 Oct. 1154. For William, fourth

Belmeis<sup>42</sup> to be held for a pension of three marks, and then when he died the prior again kept it himself for a longer period of time and had untroubled possession of it. At this time the abbot of Westminster died<sup>43</sup> and a clerk named Richard de Ambli, who had custody of the abbot's estates, caused trouble for the prior and his men, driving them with force from the church and then, on his own authority, intruded the monks of Westminster.

There was a priest called Absolom who held the church at [South] Mimms for an annual pension of nine marks; for one moiety of the church of [Great] Waltham Richard Rufus<sup>44</sup> paid thirty shillings; for the other moiety a man called John paid two shillings; from the church at Edmonton William de Costentin paid three marks.<sup>45</sup> The prior received annually twenty shillings from the church of [Long] Compton, one mark from Thorley, one mark from Amersham, four shillings from Aynho, two shillings from Northolt, two shillings from Kingham, and twelve pence from [Great] Chishill. From the other churches assigned by the founder to the monastery nothing definite was paid, but all the rectors or vicars of those churches frequently favoured the prior and his monks with hospitality, and gave them gifts, and to those who stayed at home they sent more gifts.

### II. Peace concluded between King Stephen and Duke Henry

In order that the events which have been related and those which follow can be more fully understood we must direct our pen for a while to more important matters. The kingdom had now been divided within itself for a long time, battles had been fought, there had been the prolonged misery of civil strife and the devastation of almost the whole country, Stephen was growing older, and his younger son, Earl Warrenne, was the only one of his family who had survived, for the queen and their son Eustace, a valiant knight, were now both dead.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, the reputation and power of Duke Henry were growing strongly, whereas the king's party, because of diminishing support, was getting progressively weaker. Hence, in the quarrel which had persisted between them over a period of time Stephen could no longer withstand him. He was often urged therefore, as much by his own feelings as by his friends who were influential in his council, to enter into a treaty of lasting peace with his rival, and henceforward lead a

earl Warrenne, see *Early Yorks. Charters*, ed. C. T. Clay, viii (Yorks. Archaeol. Soc., 1949), 14-18.

Conuocato igitur utriusque partis assensu apud Wintoniam consilio, multis multa ac diuersa consulentibus, tandem in unam omnes pariter tali tenore conuenere sententiam, quatenus rex Henricum in filium susciperet, et totius regni ac dignitatis sue heredem post se tamen eum constitueret, quod et factum est.<sup>47</sup>

Henricus autem homagium ei fecit et fidelitatem, suscepitque eum in dominum et patrem quem prius habuerat inimicum et persecutorem. Exhinc <sup>a</sup> paulatim ceperunt<sup>a</sup> tempora meliorari, cordibus omnium ad auram salubrem pacis insperate<sup>b</sup> respirantibus. Conuentione itaque sacramentis prestitis et<sup>c</sup> scriptis autenticis utrinque roborata, Henricus statim transfretauit ducatum<sup>d</sup> Normannie cum ceteris eum de iure contingentibus pacifice possedit.

Transacto post hec tempore modico, rex Stephanus in senectute bona, salutaribus sacratis<sup>e</sup> more ecclesiastico munitus in presentia magnarum personarum et conuentus monachorum apud Doueram migravit a seculo, sicque ad cenobium de Faueresham quod ipse fundauerat delatus est cum planctu magno, ibidemque sepulture commendatur<sup>f</sup> more regio.<sup>48</sup>

### 12. De rege Henrico et comite Galfredo iuniore

Regno igitur maiestate propria orbato, dux Normannorum Henricus inuitatur ut ueniat. Venit pace omnium in regem unctus regni que solio absque ullius reclamacione est sublimatus.<sup>49</sup> Post modicum uero temporis consilio apud Londonias accersito leges regni et consuetudines per discidium uiolatas reformauit, reformatas uero auctoritate regia conseruare precepit. Terras autem et hereditates diuerso modo dissipatas rei ueritate primitus agnita dominis suis de iure eas exigentibus restituit, plures extollendo erexit, plures uero opprimendo deiecit. Castella etiam plurima seditionis tempore per patriam constructa solotenus confregit, confracta uero in nichilum redegit.

Rex itaque Galfredo fundatoris nostri primogenito familiaritatis prerogatiua ei satis noto paternum cum comitatu reddidit honorem. Dedit etiam summe ingenuitatis uxorem generis nobilitate sibi consanguineam. Cum autem aliquandiu non tam naturali ut decebat carnis

<sup>a-a</sup> ceperunt paulatim *A*      <sup>b</sup> inspirete *A*      <sup>c</sup> om. *A*      <sup>d</sup> om. *A*  
<sup>e</sup> sacramentis *A*, through a misreading of *C*      <sup>f</sup> cum planctu magno *add.*, then cancelled *C*, suggesting that its exemplar had short lines; cf. below, ii. 13.

<sup>47</sup> The date was November 1153; see *Henry of Huntingdon*, pp. 770–1.

<sup>48</sup> He died on 25 Oct. 1154.

<sup>49</sup> He was crowned on 19 Dec. 1154.

quiet life of ease and pleasure. Accordingly, both parties assenting, a council was convened at Winchester where many different matters received full discussion. A unanimous agreement was finally reached in the following terms: the king was to adopt Henry as his son, and make him heir and successor to his entire kingdom and status, and this was done.<sup>47</sup>

Henry paid Stephen homage and fealty, and so received as lord and father the one whom he had previously considered an enemy and oppressor. Hence, the times began gradually to improve and the hearts of all were refreshed on the wholesome air of unexpected peace. The agreement was ratified by the swearing of oaths and by the exchange of authentic documents. Henry immediately returned across the Channel and took peaceable possession of the duchy of Normandy with all that rightfully belonged to it.

Shortly after this King Stephen, who was now of a good age, fortified by the saving sacraments in accordance with the rites of the church, passed from this world at Dover, in the presence of important men and of the convent of monks. He was then taken with great lamentation to the monastery of Faversham, which he had himself founded, and there he was given royal burial.<sup>48</sup>

### 12. King Henry and Earl Geoffrey the younger

Now that the kingdom was bereft of its sovereign, Henry duke of the Normans was invited to come. He came with universal consent, was anointed king, and was raised to the royal throne without any counterclaim.<sup>49</sup> Shortly after this, at a council summoned in London, he restored the laws and customs of the realm which had been violated during the civil war and ordered, on his royal authority, that what was now restored was to be preserved. Then, after first establishing the truth about the past, he restored to lords who made rightful claims to them those lands and inheritances which had been dispersed in various ways. Many he raised up by promoting them, many he cast down by overthrowing them. A large number of castles built throughout the land during the civil war he razed to the ground. After being razed, they were reduced to rubble.

The king accordingly restored to Geoffrey, the eldest son of our founder, his father's honour, with the earldom, because of his position in the family and because he was acquainted with him. He also gave him a wife of a most illustrious family from the nobility, and his own kinswoman. However, for some long time they did not enjoy carnal



coniunctione commanerent, conquesta est mulier quod debitum a uiro nequaquam ei solueretur. Vnde rex plurimum indignatus, facto diuortio, ablatisque ei duobus<sup>a</sup> maneriis, Waledena uidelicet et Walteham, feminam dedit uiro Anselmo scilicet de Campdauene, cum duobus maneriis illis.<sup>50</sup> Monasterium tamen sancti Iacobi nequaquam illi contulit, sed cum omnibus ad illud pertinentibus in manu propria retinuit.

### 13. *De operationibus prioris Willelmi et de obitu eius*

Prior igitur Willelmus specialiter exinde regi intendens sepius ab eo uiua uoce ac litteris commendatus est. Ecclesiam namque de Heidena, a quodam milite Remundo de Burneuilla nomine nobis collatam ac postea per Rogerum de Pirou et uxorem eius Idam confirmatam, ad preces domini regis Godefrido clerico sub annua pensione duodecim denariorum prior contulit et alia perplura que mandauit facta sunt.

Que uero prior iste inter cetera egerit hec sunt. Inferior habitatio inter aquam et stratam publicam in qua monachi primitus habitabant, postea uero superior in loco ab episcopis sacratio, capella scilicet lignea cum claustro et officinis satis humillimis, aula cum camera, pistrinum, stabulum cum horreis admodum paruis, hortus, uirgultum, stagnum aque permodicum, fossatum undique circa cimiterium; parietes noui monasterii lapidei quidem, sed nec alti nec lati, ad presbiterium<sup>b</sup> pertinentes, et membra utraque cum uno altari; domus preterea modica cum horreo paruo iuxta essartum nobis superius datum; apud Enefeldam uero thalamus unus;<sup>51</sup> que uero operi Dei necessaria erant, tam in libris et uestimentis quam in uasis sacris et rebus aliis, diebus suis prior ille prout potuit monasterio suo contulit, licet perpauca fuerunt et pauperrima. De monachis ei subiectis ut uerum fateamur certum est quia fuerunt numero pauci et minus literati,<sup>52</sup> non nobiles genere nec famosi religione, consuetudines uero quas uidebantur obseruare magis a propria discenderant uoluntate quam ab ordinis<sup>c</sup> rigore. Professione carebant quia abbatem non habebant nec abbati subiecti erant.

Processu uero temporis prior ille bonus monachos quosdam de

<sup>a</sup> A; dobus C      <sup>b</sup> presbiterum CA      <sup>c</sup> ordinibus A

<sup>50</sup> The woman was Eustachia of Champagne and her second husband was Anselm, count of Saint-Pol, surnamed 'Candavène' or 'Campdaveine'; see above, pp. xxi–xxii.

<sup>51</sup> The church of Enfield had been set aside for the use of the prior (above, c. 10), so this lodging was probably his. For two other examples of the use of *thalamus* to designate a lodging belonging to the prior, see below, c. 16 and v. 6 and note.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. below at n. 61.

relations as they ought, and the wife complained that she was by no means receiving from her husband her marital dues. The king was therefore very angry and having secured a divorce, he took from her husband the two manors of Walden and [Great] Waltham, and he gave the woman in marriage to a man called Anselm de Campdauene together with the two manors.<sup>50</sup> However, he did not grant him the monastery of St James as well, but kept it and all its appurtenances in his own hands.

### 13. *The work of Prior William, and his death*

After this, Prior William was particularly submissive to the king, and he often received patronage from him verbally or by letter. Indeed, at the request of the lord king the prior granted to Godfrey the clerk, for an annual pension of twelve pence, the church at Heydon which had been bestowed upon us by a knight called Raymond de Burneuilla and later confirmed by Roger de Pirou and his wife Ida; and he carried out many other things which the king commanded him.

Amongst other things the prior did the following. The housing situated on low-lying ground between the stream and the public high road in which the monks first lived was afterwards moved higher up to the place consecrated by the bishops, consisting of a wooden chapel with a cloister and quite modest domestic buildings, a hall with a chamber, a bakery, a stable with some rather small barns, a garden, a thicket, a very small pond and a ditch all round the cemetery. The stone walls of the new monastery, neither high nor thick, surrounded the presbytery, with transepts each with an altar. There was also a moderately sized house with a small barn next to an assart which had been previously given to us. Then there was one lodging at Enfield.<sup>51</sup> Indeed everything necessary for the service of God, both in books and vestments and in sacred vessels and other things, the prior bestowed upon the monastery during his lifetime as far as he was able, even though they were few and of little worth. With regard to the monks under his authority, to tell the truth, they were certainly few in number and barely literate;<sup>52</sup> they did not come from noble families, nor were they well known for their religious observance; the customs they appeared to observe had derived more from their own inclinations than from the strictness of discipline. They were not professed because they did not have an abbot, nor were they under the authority of any abbot.

In process of time that good prior summoned some monks of



Eynsham accersiit, quorum unum uirum honestum et literatum Eustachium nomine subpriorem constituit.<sup>53</sup> Regulam autem beati patris Benedicti, librum etiam consuetudinum et cetera quedam ordini profutura secum detulerunt,<sup>54</sup> et paulatim uerbo et exemplo prout poterant rudes simplicium animos ad ordinis obseruantiam prouocabant. Cum uero aliquandiu apud eos moram fecissent et illos quantum in eis erat iuxta capacitatem eorum instruxissent ad locum unde uenerant regressi sunt. Igitur prior iste Willelmus octagesimum etatis iam transgrediens annum multifarie multisque modis in prouectione cenobii sancti Iacobi de Waladena, in regimine necnon duorum prioratum de Luffelda uidelicet et Bradwella, diutius extitit defatigatus. Cum autem tempore quodam hiemali ac procelloso de Dunstapela<sup>55</sup> fessus uiator Waledenam sero aduenisset,<sup>a</sup> et post cenam iam consumptam membra quieti dedisset, ceteri omnes in stratis sese receperunt. Mane iam facto omnes priore solo iacente pariter surgunt, existimantes illum pre lassitudine nimia diutius solito sopori deditum quietius obdormire, et facto postmodum interuallo non modico gratia excitandi accedentes brachiis super pectus in modum crucis cancellatis extinctum illum reppererunt.

Quo comperto, turbati monachi cum ceteris et exterriti cum lamentis<sup>b</sup> et eiulatu magno omnes accurrunt, quid de<sup>c</sup> tanto homine tam subitanea et improuisa morte suffocato agerent, quoue<sup>d</sup> se uerterent, ignorabant. Tandem uero diuersorum consilio in unitatem reuocato, quia homo ille pinguis ualde corpulentus ac uentre turgidus erat, admonent hortantur<sup>(que)</sup> omnes ut citius sepulture commendetur, quod et factum est. Sepultus est autem in cimiterio communi ubi putabant capitulum tempore subsequenti fore construendum. Transiuit igitur Willelmus iste prior monasterii sancti Iacobi de Waledena primus anno Verbi Incarnati 1164 pridie idus Decembris, ut credimus, ad Dominum, relinquens posteris uite innocentis exemplum ac formam pacis admodum laudabilem. Euolutis autem aliquot annis translatum est corpus eius in claustrum et inter duo hostia sepultum, hostium uidelicet auditorii ac<sup>e</sup> hostium processionale monasterii.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>a</sup> uenisset A    <sup>b</sup> lacrimis A    <sup>c</sup> repeated C    <sup>d</sup> quo CA    <sup>e</sup> et A

<sup>53</sup> Eynsham, Oxon., was originally founded 1005, refounded before 1086 and again at Stow (Lincs.) in 1091, and returned to Eynsham 1094 × 1095. Eustace is otherwise unknown.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Alexander III's confirmation of Walden's obedience to the Benedictine Rule, [1159 × 75] 6 Dec., *PUE* i, no. 123. See above, p. xxxv.

<sup>55</sup> An Augustinian house in Beds., a little over 30 miles to the west of Walden, founded before 1125.

Eynsham and appointed as subprior one of their number, an honourable and learned man called Eustace.<sup>53</sup> They brought with them the Rule of the Blessed Father Benedict and also a custumal as well as other things likely to promote discipline.<sup>54</sup> By word and example, and to the best of their ability, they gradually encouraged the minds of those simple men to conform to discipline. When they had stayed with them for some considerable time, and had instructed them to the utmost of their ability, they returned to the place from which they had come. Prior William, who was now more than eighty years old, had for a long time tired himself out by his efforts in so many different ways to promote the monastery of St James of Walden and to govern the two priories of Luffield and Bradwell. One stormy winter's night he had arrived late at Walden, a weary traveller from Dunstable,<sup>55</sup> and after supper was over had laid his limbs down to sleep. Everybody else retired to bed. In the morning they all rose at the same time, only the prior remaining in bed. They thought that he was sleeping more soundly and longer than usual because he was extremely tired, but after some considerable time they went to wake him and found him dead with his arms lying on his breast in the shape of a cross.

On learning this the monks and the others were agitated and alarmed, and they all rushed in weeping and wailing, for they did not know what to do, or where to turn, about so important a man having been cut off by so sudden and unexpected a death. After several had expressed their opinions, they eventually reached a common decision: they all urged and advised that, since he was a very fat, corpulent and stout man, he should be given a speedy burial, and this was done. He was buried in the communal cemetery in a place where they thought the chapter-house was to be built at some future time. So William, the first prior of the monastery of St James of Walden passed, we believe, to be with the Lord, on the twelfth day of December in the year of the Word Incarnate 1164. He left to posterity the example of a blameless life and a very commendable model of peaceful living. After some years had passed his body was translated to the cloister, being buried between two doors, the door of the parlour and the processional door of the monastery.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> The notice of William's death in the Walden annals (Titus D. xx fo. 75<sup>v</sup>) reads: 'Anno Domini 1164 obiit Willelmus prior primus.' The present chapter's account of his burial is clear evidence that the chapter-house had not yet been built in 1164. The removal of William's tomb to a position in the cloister took place after Prior Reginald had added buildings on the south side of the new church: see above, p. xliii.

Descriptis iam ex parte maiori que Willelmi huius monasterii prioris primi extitisse constant, ad temporis alterius statum qua possumus breuitate transeamus. Transacto igitur post decessum illius anno integro mense uno cum diebus duobus monasterium interim cum suis omnibus in manu regis erat, et ad ordinationis eius arbitrium pertinebat, cuius dispositio talis extitit qualem sequens pagina patenter elucidabit.<sup>57</sup>

#### 14. *De domino Reginaldo priore secundo*

Clericus quidam Reginaldus nomine in possessione que Magni Villa dicitur, prope abbatiam que Graistein dicitur<sup>a</sup> in Normannia<sup>58</sup>, nobilis genere, acer ingenio, litteris apprime imbutus fuit, qui tempore regis Stephani quandoque regii sigilli uice cancellarii baiulus extitit.<sup>59</sup> Hic experta ad liquidum uanitate mundi ac contempta, in cenobio Radin-gensi monachum induit. Omnes fere gradus ibidem in breui ascendit, et sic in ultimo post prioratum regimen abbacie suscepit. Qualiter autem, quoue modo ibidem<sup>b</sup> se habuerit aut quali interueniente occasione inde discesserit, non est nostrum scribere quoniam presenti pagine nichil utilitatis uideretur conferre.<sup>60</sup>

Anno igitur post decessum pie recordationis prioris Willelmi decurso, uenit Waledenam dominus Reginaldus litteris domini regis et Gileberti Londoniensis episcopi munitus cum nuntiis et cum commendantibus a latere eorum transmissis; processione, ut decebat,<sup>c</sup> ordinata, ecclesiastico more susceptus est, et oratione coram altari facta obtulit pannum sericum in pretio trium marcarum.

Hic satis conuenienter annotetur qualiter uenit, qualia etiam inuenerit. Venit igitur apparatu mediocri et honesto munitus cum monachis scilicet duobus cum copia sufficienti seruientium, uestimentorum, uasorum, denariorum, equorum et ceterarum abundanti prouidentia rerum. Qualia inuenerit, nec illud retinendum est: monachos uidelicet undecim, quorum duo erant decrepiti, duo uero<sup>d</sup> laici;<sup>61</sup>

<sup>a</sup> cancelled C; om. A

<sup>b</sup> om. A

<sup>c</sup> dicebat CA

<sup>d</sup> om. A

<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately the writer does not give any further details.

<sup>58</sup> The nearest Manneville to Grestain, at the mouth of the river Risle, is Manneville-la-Raoult. Cf. below, ii. 4.

<sup>59</sup> For his learning, cf. below, v. 9. For the statement that he sometimes kept Stephen's seal, see above, p. xxxvii, and cf. another unverifiable story about another member of Stephen's chancery, above, i. 10.

<sup>60</sup> For his career at Reading, see above, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.

<sup>61</sup> For a full discussion of the layers of meaning in the interchangeable terms *clericus*/

Now that we have recounted for the most part the deeds which are generally attributed to William, the first prior of this monastery, let us pass on as quickly as we can to an account of the next period of time. Indeed, a whole year, one month and two days elapsed after his death during which the monastery with all its monks was in the hands of the king. It was subject to the authority of his administration, and the attitude he displayed will be made abundantly clear in the following pages.<sup>57</sup>

#### 14. *Dom Reginald, the second prior*

A certain clerk called Reginald, who had property which is called Manneville near the abbey called Grestain in Normandy,<sup>58</sup> was a man of noble family and keen intellect, and very well versed in literature, who during the time of King Stephen sometimes carried the royal seal in place of the chancellor.<sup>59</sup> Fully conversant with the vanity of the world and having contempt for it, he was clothed as a monk in the monastery of Reading. In a short period of time he rose through almost all the degrees of rank in that place, and so at last, after holding the rank of prior, he undertook the rule of the abbey. It is not our place to write about his life and activity there, or what was the reason for his leaving, as this would seem to bring nothing useful to this present account.<sup>60</sup>

When a year had passed after the death of Prior William of blessed memory, Dom Reginald came to Walden supported by letters from the lord king and from Gilbert, bishop of London, and accompanied by envoys also commending him who had been sent with their full authority. A procession was arranged, as was right and proper, and he was welcomed in accordance with ecclesiastical custom. After praying before the altar he made an offering of a silken cloth worth three marks.

At this point a proper account must be given of the manner of his coming and also of what he found when he arrived. He came then modestly and decently equipped, and accompanied by two monks, with enough servants, vestments, vessels, cash, and horses, and with a plentiful supply of other things. But we must not conceal what he found on his arrival. There were eleven monks of whom two were infirm, and two were illiterate;<sup>61</sup> the prior also found that their house was very poor in sacred vessels, in vestments and ornaments, in books,

*litteratus* and *laicus*/illiterate in the 12th cent., see M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (2nd edn.; Oxford, 1993), pp. 224–34.

habitationem autem illorum inuenit prior pauperimam, in uasis scilicet sacris, in uestibus et ornamentis, in libris contemptibilem ualde ac deformem, in capella ueteri et lignea, in claustro et officinis, in aula uel camera prioris, in domibus animalium exterioribus, in granciis et bladis.

Inprimis itaque, ut decebat, studuit prior confirmari prout potuit pastor ouibus,<sup>62</sup> credere seipsum creditis sibi celitus, humilem se exhibere humilibus, imbecilles morum dulcedine subleuare, pusillanimes confortare,<sup>63</sup> nonnulla silentio preterire emendanda tamen pro tempore.

Post modicum autem ad prioratum Luffeldam uenit quem rex illi concesserat et scripto autentico confirmauerat, ubi monachi satis affectuose eum susceperunt, et hospitalitatis gratiam honeste impenderunt,<sup>a</sup> non tamen absque rumore ac corde arido quippe quibus erat metus ex aduentu hominis ignoti et potestate. Erant igitur in loco satis honesto constituti et in nemore regio siti, ecclesia tamen congrua carentes et officinis et ceteris monasterio ordini conuenientibus, ad quos sepius ire et reuerti tediosum uidebatur, laboriosum insuper ualde, necessaria que ibidem minus uidebantur sufficere aliunde longius acquirere. Talibus itaque ualedicens inde citius abiit ad nos scilicet monachos de Waledena corde et corpore se totum conuertit.<sup>64</sup>

### 15. *De clericis quos ad monachatum attraxit*

Preuidens igitur prior Reginaldus ac sentiens plurimum studii et laboris sibi imminere, cepit more inpatiens, et ut potuit uerbo et exemplo, in uinea Domini radices plantare, rigare,<sup>65</sup> auxilium et incrementum nocte dieque precibus ad Dominum fuis implorare;<sup>66</sup> tali insistens operi consortes laboris inuitauit, promptus fuit conuocare ut uenirent et se aratro salutari iungerent, iugumque Domini leue,<sup>67</sup> ipso auxilium prebente, portare discerent; quesiiuit operarios et

<sup>a</sup> impenderent CA

<sup>62</sup> Recalling e.g. John 10: 2, 11 etc.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Isa. 35: 4, 'dicite pusillanimis confortamini'.

<sup>64</sup> Reginald's tenure of the priorate of Luffield lasted only a short while, and he had certainly been succeeded by June 1174; see above, p. xxxviii.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Ps. 79: 9-10 (80: 8-9), 'vineam de Aegypto transtulisti . . . et plantasti radices eius'.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. I Cor. 3: 7, 'neque qui plantat est aliquid neque qui rigat, sed qui incrementum dat Deus'.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Matt. 11: 30, 'iugum enim meum suauis est et onus meum leue est', Christ preaching.

which were in very poor condition or damaged, in its chapel which was old and timber-built, in its cloister and domestic buildings, in its prior's hall or chamber, in its outside accommodation for animals and in its barns and grain.

First of all the prior made an earnest effort, as was fitting, to establish himself to the best of his ability as the shepherd of the sheep,<sup>62</sup> to entrust himself to those entrusted to him by God, to show himself to be a humble man towards the humble, and by a graciousness of manner to raise up those who were weak, to 'strengthen those that were of a fearful heart',<sup>63</sup> and yet to pass over some things without comment which would have to be corrected when the time was right.

After a short while he came to the priory of Luffield which the king had granted to him and confirmed by an authentic document. Here the monks received him with reasonable warmth and showed him the courtesy of decent hospitality, but not without some mean-spirited gossip, natural enough in men who feared the arrival of an unknown man of authority. Although they had been established in a pleasing enough position, being situated in a royal forest, yet they lacked a suitable church, domestic buildings, and other things appropriate for a monastery under the Rule, and the frequent going to and fro to obtain from a distant place the necessities which did not seem available where they were seemed tiresome as well as very exhausting. So, bidding farewell to such things he soon left that place to come to us, the monks of Walden, and he devoted himself entirely to us in body and soul.<sup>64</sup>

### 15. *The clerks whom he drew to the monastic life*

Prior Reginald was fully aware before he came that a great deal of enthusiasm and hard work would be required of him, and being by nature an impatient man he set to work. He gave as good an example as he could by word and deed, planting and watering the roots in the Lord's vineyard,<sup>65</sup> and then, praying earnestly to the Lord, he pleaded night and day for help and increase.<sup>66</sup> Urging the monks to follow his example, he invited them to be his fellow-workers, and he was quick to summon them to yoke themselves to the healthful plough, and learn to take upon them the light yoke of the Lord,<sup>67</sup> with the help that he could give them himself. He sought labourers and found them, and 'when he had agreed with them for a penny a day',<sup>68</sup> they were received within

<sup>68</sup> Matt. 20: 2, 'conuentione autem facta cum operariis ex denario diurno misit eos in vineam suam'.

inuenit, et conuentione facta ex denario diurno<sup>68</sup> suscepti sunt in claustrum. Fuerunt autem quos Dominus tetigit et ad eum diuersis temporibus traxit numero sufficientes moribus et scientia bonum odorem intus et foris sub censura regulari spargentes.

Audiens autem Godardus quidam loci huius quondam monachus heremiticam tunc temporis agens uitam, ecclesie nostre sub tanto patre promotionem gaudens statim reuersus est et in conuentum fratrum receptus. Sed nec in baculo solo uenit, immo in equis et animalibus, pannis et libris quam plurimis. Processu uero temporis ad succurrendum suscepti sunt multi, quidam cum redditibus et terris, quidam autem cum aliis monasterio profuturis.<sup>69</sup>

#### 16. *De operationibus ab eo factis*

Expeditis iam ut narrationis ordo poscebat prioribus, ad sequentia plenius enucleanda aptior exhinc fiat transitus. Inprimis itaque ut decuit omnimodam impendit prior operam interius ordini exterius hospitalitati, causis emergentibus sopiendis ac negotiis expediendis. Thalamum<sup>70</sup> autem sibi assignatum statim decorando fecit honestiorem; stagnum etiam adiacens cum molendino nouo dilatauit fontibus primo in altum purgatis. Stagna preterea duo ubi nulla fuerant fecit noua, multo cum labore et expensa; uiam insuper quorumlibet per curtem transire uolentium longius amouit et spatium terre non modicum infra claudens, in parte australi locum ampliauit quem etiam arboribus fructiferis interius uestiuit, exterius uero ad earum defensionem alias plantauit.

#### 17. *De bona opinione monasterii*

Fama itaque longe lateque perstreperet, et in auribus multorum reboante, uicini pariter cum remotis admirati sunt et uenerunt ut diem in qua facies loci huius maiori cepit gloria uestiri uiderent.<sup>a 71</sup> Venerunt, inquam, solito frequentius, uescendi aut hospitandi gratia multi, qui pleniore extunc beneficio sunt suscepti, plures pluribus ex causis quas dinumerare presenti nil confert operi.

Primogenitus etiam fundatoris nostri comes scilicet Galfredus

<sup>a</sup> uideant A

<sup>69</sup> For discussion of this passage, see above, pp. xl–xli.

<sup>70</sup> For the word *thalamus*, see above, c. 13 and below, v. 6 and notes.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Ecclus. 15: 5, 'et stolam glorie uestiet illum'.

the cloister. There were, however, a good number of others whom the Lord touched and drew to Him at different times, who by their behaviour and learning spread a good reputation both inside and outside the monastery for the high standard of regular observance.

There was a man called Godard who had once been a monk at Walden but at this time was leading the life of a hermit. Hearing of the advancement of our house under such a father, he was overjoyed, and returning immediately, was received into the community of the brethren. He did not come as a poor pilgrim but rather with horses and cattle and a large provision of cloths and books. In the course of time many men were received *ad succurrendum*, some with revenues and lands, some with other benefits for the monastery.<sup>69</sup>

#### 16. *The work carried out by the prior*

Now that earlier events have been covered, as the order of the narrative demanded, we must pass on at once more appropriately to a fuller explanation of the events that followed. First of all the prior devoted himself entirely, as was right, to establishing discipline for those within the monastery and providing hospitality for outsiders, settling difficulties as they arose and transacting business as necessary. The lodging<sup>70</sup> which had been assigned to him he immediately made more pleasant by adding decoration. The pond which adjoined the new mill he enlarged, first dredging the streams to a deep level. Then he made two new ponds in a place where there had been none before, and this was at great labour and expense. In addition, the thoroughfare used by any who wished to pass through our courtyard he moved to a position farther away, and enclosed a considerable area of land within. He enlarged the area on the south side and also covered it with fruit trees inside, planting other trees outside as protection for them.

#### 17. *The good reputation of the monastery*

The monastery's reputation was accordingly noised abroad far and wide and many came to hear of it. Those who lived nearby admired it just as much as those from afar, and they came to see the day when the appearance of this place began to be clothed with greater glory.<sup>71</sup> Men came, I say, more often than previously, many to receive food or to be given lodging, and from that time they were welcomed with more generous hospitality, most of them coming for many reasons which, for me to enumerate, would add nothing to this present work.

Earl Geoffrey, the eldest son of our founder, visited the monastery on many occasions and advised the prior to be content with the small

multotiens uenit, et ut ecclesia parua et officinis minimis contentus foret priori consilium dedit. Creditit ille male consulenti et secundum hoc aliquandiu studuit operari. Intentio autem illius de radice subdola procedebat, unde consilium tam iniquum nobis etiam tam inutile ignorante priore formabatur, radix enim mala ueteri mulierum ueneno toxicata fuit. Illa Rohesia, quondam uxor fundatoris nostri, soror uidelicet comitis Alberici, que toto quo poterat conamine filiorum ac familiarium suorum animos a nobis ac domo nostra alienauit, ut eos ad amorem domus sue de Chikesand, quam iam fundauerat, liberius inclinaret et illos coadiutores haberet.<sup>72</sup>

Prior autem licet hoc tardius animaduerneret, omnia tamen edificia inferius prope stagnum constructa, excepto molendino et pistrino, longe superius, in partem scilicet ecclesie australem transtulit, ibique claustrum nouum et capitulum magis apta fecit cum officinis ceteris sibi et nobis pro tempore sufficientibus. Ad inordinatam uero prioris et monachorum instantiam, comes ille omnia ecclesie nostre a fundatore nostro patre scilicet suo assignata libere concessit et scripto autentico sigilli sui appositione roborato confirmauit.<sup>73</sup> Et quamuis hoc solum bonum non pretio, sed sola prece fecerit, tamen apud Edelmetunam campum unum magnum atque peroptimum ecclesie parochiali eatenus adiacentem auctoritate usus propria uiolenter abstulit, unde demanium suum illicite augmentauit.

#### 18. *De obitu comitis Galfredi iunioris*

In illo tempore comes Galfredus, lingua satis facundus et in negotiis secularibus consilio pollens, cum regis iusticiario Ricardo de Lucy uocitato, exercitum codinauerat grandem contra Walenses apud Cestriam.<sup>74</sup> Qui cum paulo ante infirmitate corporis tactus aliquantum molestaretur, contigit ut ibidem moram faciens, de die in diem magis augmentaretur. Cumque una dierum hora iam prandii forte solus in conclauis super stratam resideret, suis extra necessaria procurantibus et mensas iam ponentibus, morte inopinata preuentus est. Post paululum uero redeuntibus cubiculariis, inuentus est iam soluisse debitum carnis. Quod cum ceteris iam prandentibus occultari non

<sup>72</sup> After the death of Earl Geoffrey I, Rohese married Payn de Beauchamp. They established the Gilbertine house of Chicksands (Beds.) between 1151 and 1153; it was the first and for many years the only such house outside Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. See B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order*, c. 1130–c. 1300 (Oxford, 1995), esp. pp. 217–19, 241–2. Cf. also above, p. xxiv.

<sup>73</sup> This charter is printed below, App. 2, no. 2.

church and tiny domestic buildings. The prior trusted his bad advice and for some time was keen to work in accordance with it. But there was a cunning motive behind the earl's intention which led to a scheme being formed which was as unfair as it was disadvantageous to us, one that the prior had no knowledge of: the evil motive had originated from that old poisonous influence of women. The woman Rohese—the widow of our founder and the sister of Earl Aubrey [de Vere]—made every attempt possible to alienate the minds of her sons and dependants from us and our house, so that she could influence them more easily towards a love for her house at Chicksands, which she had by then founded, and to enlist their assistance.<sup>72</sup>

Although the prior was somewhat slow in noticing this, nevertheless he did transfer to much higher ground on the south side of the church all the buildings which had been situated lower down near the pool, except for the mill and the bakery. There he built a more suitable new cloister and chapter-house with other buildings sufficient for himself and for us for the time being. In response to the urgent insistence of the prior and monks the earl freely granted all that had been bestowed upon the church by our founder, his father, and confirmed this in an authentic document to which he gave his authority by affixing his seal.<sup>73</sup> Although he did this one good deed for no reward but solely in answer to a request, yet he forcibly deprived us of one large very fertile field at Edmonton till then belonging to the parish church. He did this on his own authority and thus unlawfully augmented his own demesne.

#### 18. *The death of Earl Geoffrey the younger*

At that time Earl Geoffrey, who was a very eloquent man and most knowledgeable in worldly affairs, had mustered a large army with Richard de Lucy, the king's justiciar, against the Welsh at Chester.<sup>74</sup> Shortly before this he had been taken ill and was for a little while affected by this, and it happened that while prolonging his stay there his illness worsened every day. One day when the time for dinner came he chanced to stay alone in his room upon his bed, and while his men were outside getting the essentials and were already laying the tables, he was overtaken by sudden death. After a short while his attendants returned and found that he had paid his debt to the flesh. This news could not be concealed from the others who were now at dinner, so they

<sup>74</sup> This statement is wrong. Earl Geoffrey and Richard de Lucy were conducting a general eyre at the time. See above, p. xxxiii.

posset, omnes pariter mensas deserunt, cibaria repellunt, clamoribus et eiulatu triclinia replent.

Aduenerant autem illuc cum comite milites quidam, etate iam prouecti, fide ac genere preclari, qui patri suo ecclesie nostre fundatori comiti, scilicet Galfredo, tempore pacis simul et<sup>a</sup> dissentionis obsequium fidele<sup>b</sup> prestauerant, qui etiam terris et redditibus ab eo collatis prediuites erant, qui fidem quam patri merito debebant etiam filio inuiolatam conseruare studebant. Consilio cum ceteris sapientia predictis inito, clamant omnes, consulunt uniuersi, quatenus ad cenobium sancti Iacobi de Waledena, cuius ipse comes aduocatus post patrem primus extiterat, corpus deferatur, ibidemque in sua proprietate digne commendetur sepulture.

Qui statim uiscera cum cerebro a corpore proiicientes, in loco sacro cum honore et elemosinis solemniter reconduunt. Reliquam uero totius corporis cum corde portionem sale imposito, optimoque inuolutam corio diligenter insuentes, tabulis undique abiignis fortiter claudunt, et sic tapetis inuolutam uehiculo imponunt, equis trahentibus et turbis suorum comitantibus cursu ueloci iter arripiunt.

### 19. *De inopinata capellani proditione*

Milites igitur et ceteri quique fideles cum corpore partibus nostris appropinquantes, nec quemquam comitantium in aliquo suspectum habentes, rapido cursu incedebant. Capellanus quidam comitis, nomine Hasculfus,<sup>75</sup> premeditatam complere uolens proditionem, clamque<sup>c</sup> ceteris nocturnam soluens quietem, palefridum comitis peroptimum ascendit, et sic festinus uiator, immo traditor,<sup>d</sup> aurora diei iam clarescente, Chikesandum peruenit mortem filii nuntiaturus matri, que illis diebus ibidem manebat, et ecclesiam cum officinis perpulchram ad habitationem sanctimonialium edificabat. Hanc itaque mulierem comitissam scilicet Rohesiam conuenit sacerdos, quatenus omni dilationis occasione postposita, militibus ceterisque corpus filii deducantibus, cum manu ualida undecumque collecta inopinante occurrens, illud uiolenter rapiat, raptum uero ad ecclesiam propriam ubi sepeliatur secum perducatur, ut sic postea omnes illius consanguineos ac familiares, in promotione cenobii sui semper habeat

<sup>a</sup> ac A      <sup>b</sup> fidelium A      <sup>c</sup> clauique A, through a misreading of C  
<sup>d</sup> proditor A

<sup>75</sup> Hasculph the chaplain is the first witness to Geoffrey the younger's confirmation charter for Walden; he had a messuage in High Easter; he is presumably to be identified with Hasculph the chaplain of Earl William: see below, App. 2, no. 2 and note.

all left the tables at the same time, refusing their food, and they filled the dining-hall with their weeping and wailing.

Certain older knights had come there with the earl, men of outstanding loyalty from distinguished families, who had given faithful service to his father, Geoffrey, the founder of our church, not only during peace-time but also during the civil war. They were very wealthy men by reason of the lands and revenues bestowed upon them by him, so the loyalty which they rightly owed to the father they were eager to preserve intact for the son also. Consequently, taking counsel with other men of great wisdom, they all proclaimed, and unanimously resolved, that the body should be taken to the monastery of St James of Walden, of which the earl himself had been the first patron after his father, and that he should there be honourably buried in his own property.

They immediately removed the entrails and brain from the corpse and buried them reverently in a consecrated place, with gifts of alms. When salt had been put over all the rest of the body, including the heart, and it had been wrapped in the finest hide, they carefully sewed it up and enclosed it securely in a casket made of fir wood, and having wrapped this in an embroidered cloth, they put it on a wagon. With horses drawing it and bands of his own men escorting it, they made speedy progress on the journey.

### 19. *The unexpected treachery of a chaplain*

The knights and others of the earl's followers were approaching our district with the corpse without suspecting any of their companions at all, and they were making speedy progress. However, the earl's chaplain named Hasculph,<sup>75</sup> wishing to carry out the betrayal he had already contemplated, left the others to their night's rest and secretly mounted the very best of the earl's saddle horses. So it was as a traveller in haste, or rather as a traitor, that he reached Chicksands just as dawn was breaking to announce the son's death to his mother, who was staying there at that time and building a very beautiful church with quarters to house the nuns. The priest found this lady, the Countess Rohese, and urged her not to allow anything to delay her, but to collect a strong band of men from wherever she could, attack the knights and the others who were bringing her son's body when they were off their guard, and then to seize the body by force; having seized it she should bring it to her own church and have it buried there so that she might ever afterwards have all her son's relatives and closest friends to assist in the promotion of her

coadiutores. Mane autem facto, et prodicione presbiteri iam comperta, milites cum ceteris per omnia sibi fauentibus arma arripiunt et gladiis exercitis uehiculum quo corpus ferebatur undique circumdantes impigro<sup>a</sup> incessu ferebantur: attamen manu diuina protegente illos non tetigit aliquis neque contristauit neque quicquam molestie intulit,<sup>76</sup> sed ad locum super omnia desideratum citius peruenerunt.

### 20. *De comitis sepultura*

Vt autem comitisse suorumque dolori solatium conferre uideremur, statim unum ex fratribus nostris ad illam direximus, cui ut eam ad filii sui obsequium citius adduceret iniunximus.<sup>77</sup> Que statim comitante eam sorore sua, Alicia scilicet de Essexia,<sup>78</sup> cum aliis multis, aduenit, pro filio tristis ut mater et lacrimosa, contra nos uero plena murmure ut inimica.

Ne itaque tanti uiri sepultura nos in aliquo tangere uideretur, si minus honeste uel quasi sub negligentia occulte celebrata notaretur, prior noster de nocte consurgens Hadham peruenerit, dominumque Gilebertum episcopum London' secum adduxit.<sup>79</sup> Affuerunt insuper duo abbates de sancto Edmundo et Tileteia presentes,<sup>80</sup> cum aliis multis auctoritatis magne personis. Missa autem ab episcopo solemniter celebrata, inter maius altare et chorum collocatum est corpus in sarcophago nouo in quo nondum quisquam positus fuerat.<sup>81</sup> Procurante uero priore ac<sup>b</sup> iubente conuiuium celebratum est magnum; epulabantur quidem splendide uniuersi et sic recesserunt satiati. Tanta etiam elemosinarum die illo distributa est benedictio, unde gaudens abibat maxima pauperum multitudo.<sup>82</sup>

Notandum est itaque quod nec terra nec redditus,<sup>c</sup> aliquis licet minimus, siue aliud quid nobis uel domui nostre cum tanti hominis corpore collatum fuerit, preter equum meliorem, dextrarium scilicet suum, cum armis solummodo militaribus.<sup>83</sup> Capellam autem in libris,

<sup>a</sup> inpingno *A*, through a misreading of *C*      <sup>b</sup> et *A*      <sup>c</sup> repeated *C*

<sup>76</sup> Dan. 3: 50, 'non tetigit eos . . . neque contristauit nec quicquam molestie intulit'.

<sup>77</sup> This is the first use by the author of verbs in the first person, marking the point at which he became a participant in the events he describes; see above, pp. lx–lxi.

<sup>78</sup> For Alice of Essex, see below, ii. 15.

<sup>79</sup> Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London 1163–87. The bishopric had an important demesne manor at Hadham.

<sup>80</sup> The abbot of Bury was Hugh (1157–80), previously prior of Westminster. The identity of the abbot of Tilty, a Cistercian house founded in 1153 in Essex, is unknown; the first identified abbot, Auger, occurs 1168 × 81. See *Heads of Relig. Houses*, pp. 32, 145.

<sup>81</sup> Luke 23: 53, 'in monumento exciso in quo nondum quisquam positus fuerat', the burial of Christ.

monastery. When it was morning and the priest's betrayal had now been discovered, the knights as well as the others who supported them in everything seized their weapons and, drawing their swords, surrounded the wagon on which the body was being carried and advanced at a vigorous pace. But as God's hands were protecting them 'no one touched or distressed them or caused them any trouble'<sup>76</sup> and they quickly reached the place which they desired above all else.

### 20. *The burial of the earl*

So that we should seem to be offering some consolation to the countess and her followers in their grief we immediately sent one of our brethren to her, instructing him to bring her quickly to her son's funeral.<sup>77</sup> She came at once, accompanied by her sister Alice of Essex<sup>78</sup> and many others: as a mother she was grief-stricken and tearful for her son, but as an enemy she was full of complaints against us.

To prevent the funeral of so important a man being seen in any way as a reproach to us if it could be criticized for being celebrated neglectfully or without due honour, on the grounds that it was done in secret, our prior rose during the night and went to [Much] Hadham and brought back with him Gilbert, the lord bishop of London.<sup>79</sup> Furthermore the two abbots of St Edmunds and Tilty were here with many other persons of high rank.<sup>80</sup> The bishop celebrated a solemn mass, the body being placed between the high altar and the choir in a new coffin 'in which no man had yet been laid'.<sup>81</sup> They then celebrated a great banquet provided and ordered by the prior: indeed, the whole company feasted in splendid fashion and so returned home well satisfied. So generous was the distribution of alms that day that a large number of the poor 'went away rejoicing'.<sup>82</sup>

Mention must be made of the fact that neither land nor revenue of even the smallest amount, nor anything else, had been conferred upon us or our house with the body of this important man, except for his best horse, that is his war-horse, and with it just his military arms.<sup>83</sup> On the

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Acts 5: 41, 'illi quidem ibant gaudentes', of the apostles after punishment.

<sup>83</sup> The arms probably included both armour and weapons. The basic equipment for a knight, defined in the Assize of Arms in 1181, was a hauberk, a helmet, a shield and a lance, and the earl's arms would certainly also have included a surcoat and a sword: see I. Peirce, 'The knight, his arms and armour, c.1150–1250', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, xv (1993), 251–74. There would also have been gear for the horse—saddle, stirrups, spurs. The value of the earl's war-horse and arms would not have been negligible. War-horses might be worth between £2 and £3: *Pipe Rolls 9 Hen. II*, pp. 4, 6, 35, *11 Hen. II*, p. 89, *13 Hen. II*, p. 59.



uestimentis et uasis pretiosis triplicem necnon et alia perplura diuersis locis recondita, mater eius perscrutans abstulit et nobis nichil omnino inde accipientibus, partem potioem Chikesandam transtulit, de reliqua uero sicut ei placuit ita factum est. Igitur comes iste Galfredus, filius uidelicet Galfredi fundatoris nostri, transiit ex hoc mundo anno Verbi Incarnati millesimo centesimo sexagesimo septimo, duodecimo kalendas Nouembris.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>84</sup> There is a discrepancy here. The Walden annals (see above, pp. lviii–lix), fo. 75<sup>v</sup>, give 20 September 1165: ‘Anno Domini 1165 12 kal. Octobris obiit Galfridus de Maundeuill comes Essex’ et filius primogenitus fundatoris nostri qui confirmauit et ratificauit monasterium de Walden’ cuius corpus sepelitur in presbiterio nostro in parte australi.’ The roll of founders (see above, p. lix) gives 21 Oct. 1165: ‘Galfridus de Mandeuill comes Essexie et filius primogenitus fundatoris nostri confirmauit et ratificauit monasterium sancti Iacobi de Walden, ubi elegit sibi sepulturam in presbyterio nostro, qui obiit anno Domini .MClxv. .xii. kal. Nouembris’ (printed *Mon. Ang.*, iv. 140). The difficulty over the year was resolved by Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II*, p. 99 n. (followed in *CP*, iv. 117), by reference to the Pipe Rolls: as Geoffrey received the third penny of Essex down to Michaelmas 1166 and William received it in the following year, ending Michaelmas 1167, it is clear that Geoffrey died in 1166, though whether in Sept. or Oct. must remain uncertain.

other hand his mother, after making a thorough search, took from our chapel items of three types—books, vestments, and precious vessels—as well as very many other articles stored in various other places: we received absolutely nothing in return. The greater part of what she had taken she transferred to Chicksands, and the remainder she disposed of as she pleased. So it was that this Earl Geoffrey, son of Geoffrey our founder, passed from this life in the year of the Word Incarnate 1167 [*recte* 1166] on the twenty-first day of October.<sup>84</sup>



## 〈LIBER II〉

### 〈INCIPIVNT〉 CAPITVLA

1. De Willelmo de Mandeuilla comite Essexie
2. De itinere prioris Reginaldi in Hiberniam
3. De concordia inter comitem Willelmum et nos facta
4. De peregrinatione comitis Willelmi et itinere prioris
5. De reditu comitis de terra<sup>a</sup> Ierosolimitana
6. De aduentu comitis ad nos
7. De ecclesia de Senleia
8. De ecclesia de Lindeseles
9. De ecclesia de Elseneham<sup>b</sup>
10. De ecclesia de Arkesdena
11. De Willelmo quodam cognomine Goet
12. De capella de Einswrda
13. De Galfredo Goet
14. De testamento et obitu Galfredi Goet
15. De Alicia de Essexia
16. De promissione comitis nobis facta
17. De obitu regis Henrici et filio eius Ricardo<sup>c</sup>
18. De legatione comitis Willelmi
19. De testamento comitis Willelmi nobis facto
20. De infirmitate comitis Willelmi<sup>d</sup>
21. De obitu et sepultura comitis Willelmi

#### 1. *De Willelmo de Mandeuilla comite Essexie*

Comiti igitur Galfredo successit Willelmus in hereditatem patris, uir acer ingenio, consilio prouidus, in armis nomine magnus. Ipsum autem eadem complexio, similis facundia, par corporis proceritas, fratri satis assimilauit. In Anglia uero inter suos minus quam expediret conuersatus, sed cum comite Flandrensi Philippo iuueniles annos agens aliquandiu mansit, a quo etiam arma militaria suscepit.<sup>1</sup>

Audito autem fratris decessu, statim ascensa nauī Angliam repetiuit, cum litteris comitis Flandrensis illum commendantibus, cum multis etiam regni capitaneis regem Henricum adiit, a quo fauore susceptus

<sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> Eisenham C, Eisenham A      <sup>c</sup> in regem uncto add. at c. 17 below  
<sup>d</sup> et de mandato suis iniuncto add. CA at c. 20 below

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. xxiv–xxvii.

## 〈BOOK II〉

### 〈HERE BEGIN〉 THE CHAPTER HEADINGS

1. William de Mandeville, earl of Essex
2. The journey of Prior Reginald to Ireland
3. Agreement between Earl William and ourselves
4. The pilgrimage of Earl William and the journey of the prior
5. The earl's return from the land of Jerusalem
6. The earl's coming to visit us
7. The church of Shenley
8. The church of Lindsell
9. The church of Elsenham
10. The church of Arkesden
11. William, surnamed Goet
12. The chapel of Ainsworth
13. Geoffrey Goet
14. The will and death of Geoffrey Goet
15. Alice of Essex
16. The promise made to us by the earl
17. King Henry's death and his son Richard
18. Earl William's mission
19. The bequest of Earl William made in our favour
20. The illness of Earl William
21. The death and burial of Earl William

#### 1. *William de Mandeville, earl of Essex*

Accordingly, William succeeded Earl Geoffrey to their father's inheritance. He was a clever and resourceful man, with a considerable reputation as a soldier. He much resembled his brother in temperament and eloquence and was tall like him. However, he spent less time amongst his own people in England than was expedient, but stayed for a considerable time with Count Philip of Flanders, spending the years of his youth with him; and it was from him also that he received the arms of knighthood.<sup>1</sup>

When he heard of his brother's death he immediately boarded a ship and made for England. Accompanied by many magnates of the kingdom, he came with letters of recommendation from the count of Flanders to King Henry, and was received very courteously by him.

est satis benigno. Considerato autem tempore opportuno, hereditatem que eum<sup>a</sup> de iure contingebat<sup>2</sup> a rege postulavit et statim exauditus est. Gladio itaque comitatus accinctus, maneria et cetera quelibet omnia integra<sup>b</sup> suscepit, atque plenaria, custodia turris Londoniensis solummodo excepta. Post modicum uero matre nobis inimica primum uisitata, ad nos ueniens, ad tumbam fratris orauit: oculis toruis uultum minacem priori ac nobis pretendit. Post osculum corde arido nobis oblatum, minis promissa miscendo, extorsit a nobis multiplicem eius astutiam ignorantibus, equum dextrarium optimum et fratris arma cum corpore solummodo relicta, pro quibus omnibus nichil ab eo recepimus, immo contrarius erga nos extitit atque uersutus. Matris autem aliorumque adulatorum uerbis exacerbatus, sepius conquerebatur quod pater suus omnes feodi sui ecclesias monasterio nostro confirmasset, quarum nec unam solam clericis suis conferre potuisset. Multa ab ipso in talibus audiuius opprobria, multas ab aliis sibi obsequentibus sustinuimus iniurias. Ex hac ergo maioris contra minores obluctatione factum est, ut equos electos, cupas, civos,<sup>c</sup> scutellas et cetera queque huiusmodi argentea, auro primo intus et foris insignita, illi suisque sepius daremus, ut quorum benignitatem bonis nostris operibus excitare nequiuimus, saltem muneribus sepe datis placare possemus. Turpe nobis uidetur replicare per singula que maxime domino a nobis fuerint collata; talia igitur sub silentio pretereuntes ad alia transeamus.

## 2. *De itinere prioris Reginaldi in Hiberniam*<sup>3</sup>

Tempore igitur illo quo Deo permittente portionem insule Hibernensis non modicam comes Ricardus armis bellicis iam obtinisset, Herueus eius auunculus, homo in armis potens, in sermone ueri uel falsi satis blandus, priorem nostrum aliquotiens interpellando conuenit quatenus cum comite, nepote scilicet suo, relictis quos hic sustinebat tumultis, Hiberniam adiret.<sup>4</sup> Asserebat itaque comitem in uotis habere cenobium ordinis monastici nobilissimum ibidem ad illius discretionis

<sup>a</sup> ei A, through a misreading of C

<sup>b</sup> integre A

<sup>c</sup> ciphos A

<sup>2</sup> An echo of the phrase 'que me contingit' in the parable of the prodigal son, Luke 15: 12.

<sup>3</sup> This chapter is printed and discussed by H. G. Richardson, 'Some Norman monastic foundations in Ireland', *Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn S.F.*, ed. J. A. Watt, J. B. Morrall, and F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1966), pp. 29–43, at 29–32, 42–3.

<sup>4</sup> Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare, earl of Pembroke and lord of Striguil, known as Strongbow, was the grandson of Gilbert fitz Richard de Clare and Alice de Clermont.

Considering this a favourable moment, he asked the king for the inheritance which 'fell to him'<sup>2</sup> by right, and his request was immediately granted. So, girt with the sword of the earldom, he succeeded wholly and fully to the manors and all other rightful possessions, with the sole exception of the custody of the Tower of London. After a little while he received his first visit from his mother who had no liking for us. He then came to us and prayed at his brother's tomb: with angry eyes he cast a threatening look at the prior and us. After offering us a dispassionate kiss, and interspersing threats amongst his promises, he wrested from us, unaware as we were of his resourceful cunning, his brother's fine war-horse and military arms which were all that had been left here with his body. We received nothing from him in return for all these things; indeed, he was hostile and artful in his treatment of us. Provoked by what was said by his mother and by others who flattered him, he often complained that his father had confirmed all the churches of his fee to our monastery, so that he had been unable to grant a single one of these to his own clerks. We heard him make many abusive remarks upon such matters and we suffered many insults from others of his followers. The result of this pressure from the greater against the lesser was that we often gave to him and to his men fine horses, cups, goblets, salvers, and other silver objects of that kind, adorned inside and out with the finest gold. We hoped that, if we could not by our good works influence him and his men to feel good will towards us, we might at least be able to mollify them by frequent gifts. However, I consider it shameful to list one by one the things which we presented to them, especially to our lord, so passing over these matters in silence, let us proceed to other matters.

## 2. *The journey of Prior Reginald to Ireland*<sup>3</sup>

At the time when, by God's will, Earl Richard had gained a considerable part of Ireland through force of arms, Richard's uncle Hervey, who was a fine soldier and a persuasive speaker in matters true or false, came to our prior on several occasions appealing to him to leave the troubles he faced here and go with his nephew the earl to Ireland.<sup>4</sup> He stated that the earl had vowed to found there, at the prior's

After Alice's death, Gilbert fitz Richard married a woman of the family of Montmorency, possibly called Bouchard, and their son was Hervey de Montmorency, constable of Ireland: see J. H. Round, *Feudal England* (London, 1909), pp. 522–3, and *CP* x. 348–57. For Strongbow's conquests, see *A New History of Ireland*, ii. *Medieval Ireland 1169–1534*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford, 1987), pp. 68–9, 73–4, etc.

ordinationem fundare, redditibus satis sufficientibus ditare, ecclesiam operis mirandi cum officinis permaximam construere. Multotiens autem illi sermonibus blandis et suasoriis talia mouenti<sup>a</sup> assensum prebuit. Prior, muniens se<sup>b</sup> seruientibus, equis et expensis admodum sufficientibus, perrexit cum socio itineris domino Roberto, uiro prudenti et literato,<sup>5</sup> nobis aliquantulum renitentibus, rege etiam et comite Willelmo inconsultis; nam ut rei ueritas se habuit fateamur, quadam animi leuitate deuictus hoc iter arripuit, unde perplura incassum erogauit, sibi uel nobis nichil omnino contulit, immo aduocatum nostrum cum suis in iracundiam prouocauit.

Mari autem transito in loco qui dicitur la Banou applicuerunt, loco scilicet conuenienti et apto et ad cenobii foundationem satis pulcherrimo.<sup>6</sup> Elapso postmodum tempore modico, rediit comes cum priore et cunctis prouincie maioribus ad locum et cunctis audientibus et Deum collaudantibus omnia nominauit que conferre et assignare disponebat monasterio construendo et conuentui monachorum instituendo. Vt autem ratum et stabile quod iam inchoatum fuerat more ecclesiastico haberetur, episcopus diocesanus adueniens locum benedictione solemnī sacrificauit et omnia eidem loco assignata ac litteris patentibus et sigillatis confirmata priori cum scripto auctoritatis sue autentico commendauit.

Nos quidem, nuntio cum litteris ad eum transmissis, celerem suadebamus reditum ne in eius absentia tam morosa ecclesie nostre periculum immineret, maxime autem quia comes Willelmus egre ferebat quod eo inconsulto a patria recessisset et ecclesiam sibi creditam, spe maioris dignitatis adipiscende, minus sapienter reliquisset. Visis litteris hesitans prior quid potius e duobus foret,<sup>c</sup> monasterium scilicet quod ibidem iam inchoauerat relinquere an ecclesiam propriam et nos quodam modo ab eo derelictos repetere. Saniori tandem usus consilio comiti Ricardo cum suis ualedicto nauim ascendit et transacto tempore non longo domum suam<sup>d</sup> nobis sibi aggaudentibus ut rector uetus ac hospes nouus intrauit.

Fratres igitur nostri, ut melius poterant sese interim habentes, turrim ultra chorum super arcus leuauerunt cum structura lignea desuper imposita in sublime porrecta campanis<sup>e</sup> aptata, presbiterium

<sup>a</sup> momenti *A*, through a misreading of *C*      <sup>b</sup> om. *A*      <sup>c</sup> written in gutter *C*; om. *A*      <sup>d</sup> final two letters written in gutter *C*; suum *A*      <sup>e</sup> final four letters written in gutter *C*; campa' *A*

<sup>5</sup> Possibly the man mentioned below, v. 7, and perhaps therefore Reginald's successor as abbot; see above, p. xlii.

<sup>6</sup> Bannow, co. Wexford. See *New Hist. of Ireland*, ii. 68–9.

direction, a noble house of the monastic order. He intended to enrich it with sufficient revenues and to build a large church with monastic buildings of superb architecture. He urged the prior, often in flattering and persuasive language, to agree to go, and eventually he did agree. Providing himself with servants, horses and sufficient funds, the prior set off with Dom Robert, an intelligent and educated man,<sup>5</sup> as his companion for the journey, though we put up some opposition to his decision and he had not even consulted the king or Earl William; to tell the truth, we have to say that he set out on the journey rather lightheartedly, and paid out a great deal to no purpose and did no good at all to himself or us. In fact he made our patron and his men very angry.

However, he crossed the sea and landed at a beautiful place called Bannow which was convenient and very suitable for the foundation of a monastery [?1175].<sup>6</sup> Not long after this the earl returned to the place with the prior and all the leaders of the province, and in the hearing of all of those who were praising God he named all the things which he intended to grant and assign to them for the building of a monastery and the establishment of a community of monks. However, so that what had been begun should be ratified and made secure according to ecclesiastical custom, the diocesan bishop came and consecrated the place with a solemn blessing, and in an authentic document drawn up on his authority he entrusted to the prior all the things which had been assigned to it, confirmed by sealed letters patent.

However, we sent a messenger over to him with a letter urging him to return lest danger should threaten our church during his long absence, especially as Earl William resented the fact that he had left the country without consulting him and had unwisely abandoned the church entrusted to him in the hope of obtaining greater honour. After reading the letter the prior was doubtful which of two courses it would be better for him to take: whether to leave the monastery which he had now begun in that place, or return to his own church and to us who had to some extent been abandoned by him. He eventually made the wiser choice and, bidding farewell to Earl Richard and his men, boarded a ship and, to our joy, soon entered his own house as our old master, yet new guest.

Our brethren, conducting themselves as best they could in his absence, had raised a tower above the choir over the triumphal arch, with a wooden structure placed above, extending upwards, and equipped with bells. They whitewashed the whole of the presbytery

interius totum decenter dealbauerunt, exterius uero plumbo cooperuerunt, alia queque ut fideles ecclesie filii pro posse peregerunt.

Cum autem prior post tempus reuersionis sue modicum sollicitus esset inquirendo si quos inuenisset idoneos qui Hiberniam petere et locum quem ibidem acceperat uice sua edificare possent, nec inter suos inuenti essent qui hoc attemptare uoluissent, ne periret quod acceperat, cartas super loci fundatione ei collatas domino Cantuar' Ricardo et monachis eius contradidit, iuri suo renuntians,<sup>7</sup> ut saltem per ipsos, qui potentiores et auctoritate maiores erant, fieret quod solus et sine regis uel comitis Willelmi assensu facere non posset.

### 3. *De concordia inter comitem Willelmum et nos facta*

Querela igitur super itinere in Hiberniam facto inter comitem et priorem, cupa operis mirandi argentea magna et deaurata interueniente, utcumque sopita est. Vidimus ac multotiens experti fuimus multimodam comitis ambitionem nec nos illius perfectam obtinuissse dilectionem. Idcirco muneribus sepe datis cor eius erga nos induratum<sup>8</sup> emollire temptauimus, pro nichilo reputantes quod a nobis huius negotii gratia extorquere poterat.<sup>a</sup> Conuentione pacis inter nos facta, centum marcas argenti ei soluimus a festiuitate Omnium Sanctorum infra sequens sancti Michaelis festum, pro quarum coactione tam cito soluendarum tanto usurarum astricti fuimus nodo ut Iudeis obligati essemus tempore longo. Concessimus insuper comiti quod in septem ecclesiis domui nostre assignatis clericos quos nobis afferret idoneos tamen recipere quos etiam, fidelitate solemniter in capitulo nostro prius facta sub annua pensione soluenda, episcopis diocesanis ad eas scilicet ecclesias de quarum personis ullam adhuc habueramus pensionem presentarem.<sup>9</sup>

Talis etiam hec conuentio et tam prudenter extitit prouisa et scriptis authenticis utrimque confirmata ut soli comiti Willelmo, quoad ipse uiueret non autem alicui de successoribus suis hoc a nobis fuerit concessum. Preter hec concessimus ei ut capella cum cimiterio apud Plassetum, quam ipse edificauerat, dedicaretur, quia longe erat ecclesia

<sup>a</sup> poteramus CA

<sup>7</sup> Richard of Dover was archbishop of Canterbury 1173/4–1184: *Fasti*, ii. 4–5. When Hervey of Montmorency entered the cathedral priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, as a monk c.1179, the convent gained lands in county Wexford and the chapel of St Brendan, Bannow; see Richardson, 'Some Norman monastic foundations in Ireland', pp. 31–2, and discussion above, p. xxxviii.

<sup>8</sup> Exod. 7: 13, 22 and 8: 19, 'induratumque est cor Pharaonis'.

inside decently, roofed the outside with lead, and to the best of their abilities carried out other duties as faithful sons of the church.

However, soon after his return the prior became anxious, and enquired whether he might find any suitable persons who could go to Ireland and in his stead build the place which he had accepted there. But there were not any found who were willing to attempt this, so in order to prevent what he had undertaken from perishing, he handed over to the lord archbishop of Canterbury, Richard, and his monks the charters which had been granted to him in respect of the foundation of the place, and renounced his own rights.<sup>7</sup> He did this so that he might at least accomplish, through those men who were powerful and of greater authority than he, what he could not do alone without the agreement of the king or Earl William.

### 3. *Agreement between Earl William and ourselves*

The dispute which had occurred between the earl and the prior over the journey to Ireland was in some way settled by the part played by a large silver-gilt chalice of extraordinary workmanship. We saw, and were on many occasions conscious of, the earl's manifold ambition, and we knew that we had not gained his complete affection. We therefore attempted to soften his heart, which was hardened<sup>8</sup> towards us, by giving him frequent gifts, reckoning that what he could extort from us on this account was of no importance. An agreement of peace being made between us, we made a payment of 100 marks of silver to him between the feast of All Saints and the following Michaelmas, but because we were compelled to pay this in so short a time we were forced to take on a loan at such a high interest that we were tied in debt to the Jews over a long period of time. Furthermore, we granted the earl that in the seven churches assigned to our house we would accept clerks whom he brought to us, provided they were suitable and first made a solemn pledge in our chapter-house to pay an annual pension, and that we would present them to the diocesan bishops relating to those churches from whose parsons we had till then received a pension.<sup>9</sup>

Such was this agreement, and so prudently were its provisions made and confirmed on both sides by authentic documents, that this concession was made by us to Earl William alone for his lifetime, but not to any of his successors. Besides this we granted him that the chapel at Pleshey with its cemetery, which he had himself built, should

<sup>9</sup> The charter is printed below, App. 2, no. 4. The seven churches were Amersham, Chippenham, [Long] Compton, Gilston, Northolt, Sreatley, and Thorley.

matrix de Estra,<sup>10</sup> difficilis uero et longa maxime tempore hiemali corpora mortuorum sepeliendum ferentibus uia. Remansit autem ad seruitium eiusdem capelle tota decimatio cum obuentionibus habitantium in Plasseto cum decima insuper duarum uirgatarum de berewick grancie, uidelicet Plasseto, propinquioris que ad ecclesiam de Estra usque ad illud tempus pertinebat. In dedicatione<sup>a</sup> autem illa multis coram astantibus episcopo insuper Gileberto ordinante, Radulpho etiam de Disceto, archidiacono Middlesexie, assensum prebente, ita<sup>b</sup> statutum est ut capella iam dicta omnino sit libera neque archidiacono neque eius officialibus teneatur respondere. Crisma autem ad baptismum et oleum infirmorum de matrice ecclesia, Estra scilicet, accipere ei concessum est. Prior autem noster cum fratribus quendam capellanum, Ernaldum nomine, in eandem capellam suscepit sub annua unius bisantii pensione.<sup>11</sup>

Ex huius itaque occasione conuentionis factus est comes erga nos solito dulcior uerbis, uultu hilarior, actu tolerabilior. Eo autem ordinante et assensum prebente de remotioribus terris nostris dedimus illis qui terras in australi parte ante exteriorem portam nostram eatenus possederant<sup>c</sup> et ubi grancie nostre in orientali scilicet parte ecclesie modo permanent site. Remansit autem nobis quod illorum fuerat illis uero quod nostrum extiterat. Omnia insuper a patre suo, comite Galfredo fundatore scilicet nostro, ecclesie nostre assignata libere et quiete possidenda concessit ac etiam sigilli sui appositione roborata confirmauit meruitque ut et ipse deinceps fundator uocaretur et esset.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4. De peregrinatione comitis Willelmi et de itinere prioris

Diuino siquidem instinctu contigisse credimus quod comes Willelmus, cruce Domini more peregrinantium insignitus, sacra loca, passionis uidelicet et resurrectionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, uisitare disponeret.<sup>13</sup> Omnibus itaque procuratis huiusmodi negotiis necessariis, prior noster dominus Reginaldus illum interpellando conuenit, obnixius obsecrans quatenus aliis secum peregrinatis eum associaret, ac specialem pre ceteris in officio diuino habere dignaretur capellanum

<sup>a</sup> dedimatio *A*, through a misreading of *C*      <sup>b</sup> om. *A*      <sup>c</sup> possiderant *CA*

<sup>10</sup> About 3 miles to the west of Pleshey. The text of this charter is not preserved in the cartulary.

<sup>11</sup> The charter of Bishop Gilbert does not survive: *GFL*, p. 515 no. 9. Ralph de Diceto, the historian, was archdeacon of Middlesex from between Sept. 1152 and c. June 1153 to 1180/1: *Fasti*, i. 15–16.

<sup>12</sup> The charter is printed below, App. 2, no. 3.

be dedicated, because the mother church of [High] Easter was some distance away;<sup>10</sup> it was indeed a long and difficult journey, especially during the winter, for those bringing bodies of the dead to be buried. There was set aside for divine service at the same chapel the whole tithe with the offerings of the inhabitants of Pleshey as well as the tithe of two virgates of the berewick grange near Pleshey which belonged to the church of Easter up to that time. At the dedication, before a large assembly, it was laid down by Bishop Gilbert, with the assent of Ralph de Diceto, archdeacon of Middlesex, that this same chapel should be entirely free and was not to be held responsible to the archdeacon or his officials. The chapel was also permitted to receive chrism for baptism and oil for the sick from the mother church of Easter. Our prior and the brethren received a chaplain named Ernald into the same chapel for an annual pension of one bezant.<sup>11</sup>

The result of this agreement, therefore, was that the earl spoke to us more pleasantly than he had been accustomed to do, he looked more cheerful and was more patient in his actions. On his orders and with his assent we made grants from our more distant lands to those who until then had possessed lands on the southern side of the monastery in front of the outer gate, and on the eastern side of the church where our barns are now situated. So we had land which had been theirs, and they land which had been ours. In addition to this he allowed us to hold freely and peaceably all that had been assigned to our church by his father, our founder, Earl Geoffrey. He ratified and confirmed it by affixing his seal to a document, and so he, in his turn, earned the right to be called, and to be, our founder.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4. The pilgrimage of Earl William and the journey of the prior

We believe that it was indeed by divine prompting that Earl William decided to visit the holy places of the passion and resurrection of our Lord Jesus, wearing the insignia of the Cross as pilgrims do.<sup>13</sup> When the earl had made all the arrangements necessary for this kind of enterprise, our prior, Dom Reginald, approached him with a request, urging him most earnestly to allow him to join the others who were accompanying him on the pilgrimage, and also to consider him in

<sup>13</sup> This was the count of Flanders' expedition which set off in April 1177. Earl William left London to join the crusade in the middle of Lent; cf. Geoffrey de Say's charter, below, App. 2, no. 9, given 'quando comes Willelmus mouit de Londoniis mediante quadragesima ire Ierosolimam'. It is possible that William was acting to promote the interests of Henry II in the Holy Land; see H. E. Mayer, 'Henry II of England and the Holy Land', *EHR* xcvi (1982), 721–39, at pp. 726–7.

sui. Talia postulanti comes assensum prebuit, quotidianam etiam mense participationem repromisit. Quo impetrato, episcopum Londoniensem, dominum scilicet Gilbertum, mox adiit a quo abeundi licentiam cum benedictione percepit. Muniens igitur se apparatu satis honeste, solatium itineris sibi associavit quendam ex fratribus nostris, nomine Rogerum.

Nunc itaque sicut de itinere Hiberniensi superius scripsimus, ita de isto in aliquibus pene consimili ut rei ueritas se habuit silentio non preterimus. Licet etenim<sup>a</sup> prior iste in negotiis ecclesie sue promouendis promptus semper ac indefessus, extiterat leuitate tamen animi et quadam corporis agilitate deuictus, nobis egre ferentibus sepius quasi uagando exiuit et plura in consimilibus sibi uel nobis in eum non profuturis inaniter consumpsit.

Proficiscente igitur comite, profectus est et<sup>b</sup> prior, simulque mare, Galliam, Burgundiam cum Alpibus transierunt. Cumque ad burgum sancti Domini in Italia pariter peruenissent,<sup>14</sup> considerans comes prioris senectutem ac corporis debilitatem et quod cruce Domini sicut ceteri nondum esset insignitus, consilio accepto, ad dominum papam Alexandrum ibidem iam diutius commorantem illum transmissit.<sup>15</sup> Ipse autem faciem retinuit euntis Ierusalem.<sup>16</sup> In uigilia autem apostolorum Petri et Pauli perueniens prior Venetiam ibique usque ad prothomartiris beati Stephani inuentionem moram fecit,<sup>17</sup> quoniam petitiones suas, que multe erant et magne, paucis diebus ad perfectum ducere non ualuit, repleta etenim erat ciuitas illa speciosa ualde ac spatiosa multitudine populi maxima, ibique completa est multis iam annis expectata inter summum sacerdotium et imperium desiderate pacis letitia.<sup>18</sup>

Tandem uero prior negotiis suis magna ex parte expeditis, benedictione sancti<sup>c</sup> patris percepta, inde recessit, clericum quendam nomine Mauricium ibidem relinquens, dans etiam illi ad negotia plenius peragenda et ad remeandum necessaria. Ipse uero cum monacho et aliis nauem ascendens, Mutinam, Italie ciuitatem, ubi equos et quelibet cetera dimiserant, nauigio petiuit;<sup>19</sup> inde recto itinere

<sup>a</sup> enim A      <sup>b</sup> repeated C      <sup>c</sup> tanti A, through a misreading of C

<sup>14</sup> Since 1927 this town has been known as Fidenza. It lies a little to the north-west of Parma, on the major route connecting the St Bernard Pass with Modena and Bologna.

<sup>15</sup> For the suggestion that the papal court had been Reginald's destination from the outset, see above, p. xxxix.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Luke 9: 51, 'et ipse faciem suam firmavit ut iret Hierusalem', of Christ.

<sup>17</sup> This was during Alexander III's lengthy second stay in Venice in 1177, which lasted

preference to any other as his personal chaplain in divine service. The earl gave his consent to the prior's petition, and also promised him a place at his table every day. Soon after he had obtained his request, the prior went to see the bishop of London, Dom Gilbert, from whom he obtained permission to depart and a blessing. He then provided himself with sufficient suitable supplies and took with him one of our brethren named Roger to give him consolation on the journey.

Now as we previously wrote about the journey to Ireland, so we shall not neglect telling the story of this journey which, in the event, was in some respects very much like it. Though the prior was always active and indefatigable in promoting the affairs of his church, he nevertheless suffered from a restlessness of spirit and a physical need to be on the move. Despite our protests he often went off like a vagabond, and vainly spent much in similar pursuits which brought no lasting advantage to himself or us.

So, when the earl set off, the prior set off with him, and together they crossed the Channel, France, Burgundy, and the Alps. They arrived together at Borgo san Donnino in Italy,<sup>14</sup> but the earl, taking into consideration the age of the prior and his physical weakness, also that he had not yet received the insignia of the Cross of our Lord as the others had, took advice and then sent him to the lord pope, Alexander, who had been staying there for some time.<sup>15</sup> He himself resolved to journey on to Jerusalem.<sup>16</sup> On the eve [28 June] of the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul the prior reached Venice and remained there until the Invention of Stephen the protomartyr [3 August].<sup>17</sup> Indeed he could not complete the many lengthy petitions within a few days, for this very attractive, populous city was crowded with people, and it was there that the joyous peace between papacy and empire, long desired and awaited over a period of many years, was concluded.<sup>18</sup>

At last, when he had for the most part completed his business, the prior, after receiving the blessing of the Holy Father, departed from there, leaving behind a clerk named Maurice, to whom he gave the necessary funds for completing the business more fully and for returning home. He himself boarded a ship with a monk and some others, and made for Modena, a city in Italy where they had left horses and such other things as they needed.<sup>19</sup> From there, after leaving from 11 May to 16 Oct.; see P. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1885-8), ii. 304, 307-15.

<sup>18</sup> The agreement was concluded on 14 Aug., *ibid.*, p. 313.

<sup>19</sup> Modena, which lay south-east from Fidenza (above, at n. 14), might be reached from Venice by water along the river Po and its tributary the Panaro.



multis terrarum tractibus post se relictis, Gisortium peruenit, ubi Galfredum de Say cum ceteris comitis Willelmi familiaribus inueniens, ibidem aliquot diebus honeste quieuit.<sup>20</sup> Deinde ad natale solum, scilicet Magniuillam, diuertit, suos uisitans,<sup>21</sup> relicto ibi quodam nepote suo, Thoma nomine, qui clericum illum quem in curia Romana reliquerat expectaret; ipse uero inter duas tempestates que multos dederant fluctibus illesus transfretauit. Circa sancti Michaelis festum monacho solo cum uno garcione eum comitante domum peruenit, et sic postea usque ad natale Domini quartana laborauit. Fuit autem omni infirmitate grauius quo iugiter mente cruciabatur, metus scilicet et expectatio suorum quos citius ut putabat secuturos post se dimiserat. Transactis postea diebus paucis cuidam ex fratribus nostris, Galfredo nomine, per uisum ostensum est quod in altitudine maris uenerant et tempestas demersisset eos.

Audiens autem prior et supramodum contristatus statim nuntio in Normanniam transmissio, absque ulla ambiguitate a uera narrantibus audiuit<sup>a</sup> quod ultra Barbarum flumen et citra Cesarisburgum cum aliis multis naufragio perierunt, quos etiam prouinciales pietate moti super litus maris sepelierunt. In uase quidem ligneo aquis marinis pleno reperte sunt confirmationes et bulle,<sup>22</sup> et ab inuentoribus statim in nichilum redacte; reliqua uero que habere uidebantur simili modo rapiebantur. Audito itaque reditu prioris, ad comitem stilum uertamus. Initium peregrinationis eius scribendo tetigimus; iam nunc et reditum breuiter tangamus.

##### 5. *De reditu comitis de terra Ierosolimitana*

Cum igitur comes Willelmus uotum quod uouerat Deo Iacob reddidisset,<sup>23</sup> adorassetque in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius, reuertens cum suis et loca queque sacra sibi in itinere offerentia orationibus pariter et oblationibus uisitans honorauit, et sic mari transito Angliam<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> audiunt CA

<sup>b</sup> Anglum A, through a misreading of C

<sup>20</sup> Gisors was one of the strongholds in the Norman Vexin. For Geoffrey de Say, see above, p. xxix.

<sup>21</sup> Manneville-la-Raoult, Eure, arr. Bernay, cant. Beuzeville; cf. above, i. 14.

<sup>22</sup> Supporting documents would have been taken to the Curia in order to provide evidence for the issue of papal letters. Three bulls given by the pope in 1180 were probably intended to replace those lost: *PUE*, i, nos. 177–9. The third of these refers to charters of the archbishop and the bishop of London.

<sup>23</sup> In Gen. 28: 20–2 Jacob vowed to God that if He would be with him and protect him

behind him many lands, he came by a direct route to Gisors. Finding Geoffrey de Say with other friends of Earl William in this place, he rested there with dignity for several days.<sup>20</sup> Then he made a diversion from his journey to go to his birthplace of Manneville, and he visited his people.<sup>21</sup> There he left a nephew of his, called Thomas, to wait for the clerk whom he had left at the Roman Curia. He himself crossed the sea unscathed during two storms which had given many to the waves. He arrived home around Michaelmas, accompanied by a single monk and one page, but after this he was ill with a fever until Christmas. However, there was something far worse than the whole of his illness which tortured his mind continually, and that was his fear and anxiety for his men whom he had left behind, and who he had thought would quickly follow after him. A few days had passed when it was revealed in a vision to one of our brethren called Geoffrey that they had met with heavy seas and had sunk in the storm.

On hearing this the prior was extremely distressed and immediately sent a messenger to Normandy. He heard from men who reported that without a shadow of doubt they, with many others, had perished in a shipwreck west of the river Berber but east of Cherbourg, and that the local people, moved by pity, had buried them on the sea shore. Documents of confirmations and papal bulls<sup>22</sup> were discovered in a wooden casket full of sea-water, but these were straightaway completely destroyed by those who found them. Other things which they apparently had were seized in a similar way.

Now that the prior's return has been dealt with, we must direct our pen to write about the earl. We have already touched upon the early part of his pilgrimage in our narrative; we must now deal briefly with his return.

##### 5. *The earl's return from the land of Jerusalem*

When, therefore, Earl William had fulfilled his vow, such as Jacob had made to God,<sup>23</sup> and had worshipped Him in the place where His feet had stood, he returned with his companions. He visited and paid his respects at each of the holy places he came to on his journey, offering prayers as well as oblations, and so, crossing the sea, he reached

on his journey and feed and clothe him so that he should come home safely, then the Lord would be his God, and the stone which he had set up as a sacred pillar would be the Domus Dei and he would give to God a tenth of all he had received. The *The Book of the Foundation* records an expectation at Walden that a substantial gift would follow the safe return of the earl.

peruenit.<sup>24</sup> In sua autem cum pace omnium et gaudio receptus, ad omnes in feodo suo ecclesias pannos sericos ad<sup>a</sup> casulas faciendas uel altaria honoranda, nobis uero mirandi operis unum ceteris meliorem transmisit.<sup>25</sup> Casulam insuper bonam, pannos etiam sericos plures cum tapetis, ante peregrinationis sue tempus in decorem ecclesie nobis donauit.

#### 6. *De aduentu comitis ad nos*

Igitur cum comes Willelmus, post uotum peregrinationis sue iam reditum, uice prima ad nos uenire dignatus est, processione ordinata, albis et cappis induti ei occurrimus, cantantibus omnibus, ore simul et corde dicentibus, 'Benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini'.<sup>26</sup> Venienti quoque cum omni letitia ad maius<sup>b</sup> usque altare et prostrato dedit prior benedictionem. Qua percepta,<sup>c</sup> surgens et genua flectens obtulit reliquias in pixide eburnea pretiosissimas, quas in terra Ierosolimitana acquisierat, ac de dono imperatoris Constantinopolitani comitisque Flandrensis susceperat.<sup>27</sup> Eo autem surgente et coram altari astante, uoce excelsa incipit prior hymnum, ceteris subsequentibus, 'Te Deum laudamus'.

Exiens inde, capitulum mox intrauit, ut ibi salutaretur ab omnibus, acciperet daretque singulis osculum pacis. Celebrato itaque dulcissime iocunditatis et familiaritatis colloquio, ducitur ad hospitium ubi sibi et suis est administrata splendide refectionis abundantia. Abiens inde consanguineos et familiares prosperitati eius congaudentes uisitauit, sua omnia inuestigando sollicitate considerauit, considerata uero ut prudens sapienter omnia disposuit.

Deinde statim Hawisiam filiam comitis de Albamarla cum tota patris eius hereditate desponsauit.<sup>28</sup> Erga priorem nostrum et nos sic se habebat ut omnia nostra in pace quadam non tamen perfecta possidere permetteret, sua uero sibi reseruata nobis non largiretur: attamen iniusta nobis facere uolentibus quandoque resistendo obuiabat; possessiones etiam ecclesie nostre cum libertatibus sepius tuendo fouebat.

<sup>a</sup> C's backward sloping d has appearance of cancellation; om. A      <sup>b</sup> maioris A  
<sup>c</sup> percepto A, through a misreading of C

<sup>24</sup> 8 Oct. 1178: *Gesta Hen. II*, i. 103, 154, 159; *Chronica Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs (4 vols.; RS li, 1868–71), ii. 132; *Radulphi de Diceto . . . Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS lxxviii, 1876), i. 421; *Gervasii Cantuariensis Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols.; RS xcv, 1879–80), i. 262.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the bringing back of silken cloths from the Holy Land by William the Marshal: *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. P. Meyer (3 vols.; Paris, 1891–1901), ii, vv. 18184–260, esp. v. 18220.

England.<sup>24</sup> He was welcomed back home by everybody with friendship and joy. To all the churches in his fee he sent silken cloths for them to make chasubles or to adorn their altars, and to us one piece of cloth of marvellous workmanship which was better than the others.<sup>25</sup> Before he set out on his pilgrimage he had already presented us with a fine chasuble, many silken cloths, and some hangings to adorn the church.

#### 6. *The earl's coming to visit us*

So when Earl William had now fulfilled his vow to go on a pilgrimage, he deigned to visit us at the first opportunity. We met him in ordered procession wearing albs and copes, singing in chorus words that came from the heart, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord'.<sup>26</sup> He made his way to the high altar with great joy and when he had prostrated himself there the prior gave him a blessing. After receiving this, he rose and then knelt to make an offering of precious relics in an ivory box, relics which he had acquired in the land of Jerusalem or had received as a gift from the emperor at Constantinople or from the count of Flanders.<sup>27</sup> Then he rose and stood before the altar, and the prior in a loud voice followed by the others began the hymn 'Te Deum laudamus'.

Leaving the church, the earl went directly into the chapter-house to be greeted by everyone there, and to give and receive from each one the kiss of peace. When they had enjoyed pleasant, friendly conversation, he was escorted to his lodging where a splendid banquet was sumptuously provided for him and his men. When he departed from here he visited some friends and relations who were delighted at his success. He gave careful consideration to all his property, making an inspection, and after doing this he wisely set everything in order as a prudent man would.

Soon after that he married Hawisia, daughter of the count of Aumale, and received all her inheritance from her father.<sup>28</sup> His behaviour towards our prior and ourselves was such as to allow us to hold all our own possessions in reasonable but not perfect peace, and indeed, he did not bestow upon us any of his own property but kept it for himself. Nevertheless he would sometimes stop and oppose those

<sup>26</sup> Matt. 23: 39, Luke 13: 35, 'benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini', Christ of Himself, echoing Ps. 117 (118): 26; also Matt. 21: 9, Mark 11: 9.

<sup>27</sup> For a suggestion that the relics included a fragment of the True Cross, see above, p. xlv.

<sup>28</sup> The inheritance followed the death of William of Aumale; see above, p. xxvi.



Erat autem uir fortis et in armis potens, in oculis omnium magnus, idcirco in Anglia inter suos minus morabatur, in Normannia uero munitiones et castella a rege Henrico ei tradita custodiebat, ceteris fortiora et in marginibus sita.<sup>29</sup>

Hiis itaque de comite Willelmo sic enarratis, ad alia postmodum describenda procedamus.

### 7. *De ecclesia de Senleia*

Ecclesia de Senleia a primo fundatore cenobii nostri comite scilicet Galfredo cum ceteris ecclesiis nobis erat assignata; postea uero ecclesiastica pariter et regia auctoritate confirmata; nullum tamen prior noster primus uel secundus inde ab aliquo receperat pensionem. Moyses quidam mature iam etatis longe ante foundationem domus nostre usque ad tempus illud ecclesiam iam dictam possederat. Obeunte autem eo miles quidam uille predicte dominus, Radulphus de Chedneuit nomine, ius aduocationis sibi uendicare uolens, Nicholao Huntedoniensi<sup>a</sup> archidiacono ad institutionem illius ecclesie clericum quendam presentauit.<sup>30</sup> Videns igitur prior noster periculum domui sue plurimum imminere, fratrum saniori consilio usus, non sine graui labore expensarumque effusione, non tantum semel immo sepius in presentia magnarum personarum militi iam dicto que obiienda erant<sup>b</sup> obiecit, conatusque eius rationi obuiantes in nichilum fere redegit. Tandem domino Willelmo cum magnis uiris et prudentibus mediante, cessit miles ille: iuri etiam, si quid in eadem ecclesia habere uidebatur, omnino renuntians, astante Willelmo filio eius et herede et ad hoc assensum prebente, chirothecas insuper manibus propriis extractas in testimonium priori nostro tradidit. Prior igitur fratribus id ipsum uolentibus clericum quendam nomine Iohannem filium Rogeri de Sumeri in eadem ecclesia uicariam concessit sub annua bisantii unius pensione.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Huntendonensi A

<sup>b</sup> erat A, through a misreading of C

<sup>29</sup> The frontier referred to is probably that of the Norman Vexin, which was claimed by the French kings. In 1183 Philip II revived the claim, which was the subject of a covenant between Henry II and Margaret, the French king's sister, at Gisors on 11 Mar. 1186, when Earl William de Mandeville was prominent among the witnesses on behalf of the English king: Landon, *Itin. Ric. I*, pp. 224–6.

<sup>30</sup> This must have occurred after c. 1165, when Nicholas de Sigillo became archdeacon of Huntingdon (*Fasti*, iii. 27) and before 1179, by which year Ralph de Chenduit had been succeeded by his son William (*Pipe Roll 25 Hen. II*, p. 56).

who wanted to treat us unjustly, and also he often protected and safeguarded the possessions of our church with its liberties.

He was a brave man, a fine soldier, and universally respected. For that reason he spent less time in England among his people than in Normandy where he guarded the fortresses and castles which had been entrusted to him by King Henry, those in particular which were stronger than the others and situated on the frontiers.<sup>29</sup>

Now that we have related these matters concerning Earl William, we must proceed to describe other events.

### 7. *The church of Shenley*

The church of Shenley had been assigned to us by the first founder of our monastery, Earl Geoffrey, along with other churches. This was later confirmed by ecclesiastical and royal authority alike. Yet neither our first nor our second prior had received a pension for it from anyone. A man named Moses, who lived to be an old man, had at the end of his life been in possession of that church from long before the foundation of our house until that time. But on his death a certain knight called Ralph de Chenduit, who was lord of this village, wishing to claim the right of advowson for himself, presented a clerk to Nicholas, archdeacon of Huntingdon, to be instituted in that church.<sup>30</sup> Our prior, seeing that a most perilous situation threatened his house, took the best advice of his brethren, and at great effort and considerable expense, not once but very often, in the presence of high dignitaries, objected to the claims of the said knight upon points that warranted objection and thus rendered virtually invalid his attempts to obstruct justice. Finally, on the mediation of lord William and other important and wise men, that knight conceded. In the presence of his son and heir William, who also assented to this, he completely renounced any right that he appeared to have in that same church, removing the gloves from his hands and handing them to our prior in witness. The prior, therefore, with the consent of the brethren, appointed a clerk by the name of John, son of Roger de Sumery, to be vicar in that same church, for an annual pension of one bezant.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Between 1179 and 1190 Roger de Sumery issued a charter confirming to Richard son of Reiner of London all the land of Shenley, with the advowson of the church, which William de Chenduit, son of Ralph, had sold to Richard son of Reiner: *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, ed. L. C. Loyd and D. M. Stenton (Northants Record Soc., xv, 1950), no. 158. But a right in Shenley church seems to have been retained by Walden; see below, App. 3.

8. *De ecclesia de Lyndeseles*

Clericus quidam Henricus nomine arte medicus nobis et domui nostre familiaritate magna astrictus sepius ueniebat et quamdiu uoluit apud nos perhendinando commanebat. Hic auunculus Radulphi Pirot senioris extitit, ad cuius presentationem <sup>a</sup>in ecclesia<sup>a</sup> de Lindeseles episcopali auctoritate personaliter institutus eamque multo iam tempore pacifice possederat. Volens igitur Henricus iste memoriam eternalem in domo Domini specialius obtinere ecclesie iam dicte omnique iuri quod in ea habuerat in manibus Gileberti Londoniensis episcopi renuntiauit nec se aliquid in ea ulterius uendicaturum fideliter re-promisit. Idem igitur episcopus mox ad presentationem Radulphi superius nominati priorem nostrum nomine uniuersitatis in eandem ecclesiam personam instituit; et ut hoc ratum et stabile perpetue remaneret, litteris autenticis sigilli sui appositione roboratis confirmauit.<sup>32</sup>

Medietatem igitur uille iam sepius nominate cum ceteris possessionibus in Anglia ad abbatiam sancti Walerici in Pontiuo pertinentibus procurabat tunc temporis monachus quidam nomine Ernaldus, qui licet parum ei profuit<sup>b</sup> tamen quantum ualuit resistendo reclamauit. Asserebat etenim ecclesiam illam domui sancti Walerici iam pridem esse concessam et ab aduocato multis coram testibus ac litteris patentibus confirmatam. Tandem uero mediantibus auctoritatis magne personis abbate etiam sancti Walerici cum monachis annuente lis oborta taliter est sopita: duas annone acras quas pro decimatione demenii sui monachi iam dicti ecclesie parochiali annuatim soluere tenebantur cum decimis minutis, quietas eas clamauimus et ab eorum solutione perpetuo eos relaxauimus. Ipsi uero duas acras terre arabilis in eadem uilla, cum mora una prope fontem Pinlesdene uocitatum, pro annuo duorum solidorum censu<sup>c</sup> eternaliter possidendas concesserunt, litteris patentibus sigilli sui appositione munitis sub multorum testimonio confirmauerunt.<sup>33</sup>

9. *De ecclesia de Elsenham*

Soror comitis Galfredi senioris domus nostre fundatoris primi, Beatrix nomine, matronarum nobilissima, quadam speciali familiaritatis prerogatiua nobis confederata, priorem nostrum et monachos omnes pura

<sup>a-a</sup> ad ecclesiam A      <sup>b</sup> profuit CA      <sup>c</sup> pensione A

<sup>32</sup> Foliot's charter is printed in *GFL*, no. 445, c.1179 × 1180, where Henry appears as Magister; cf. the papal confirmation, *PUE* i, no. 179. For the Pirot family, see W. Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees* (3 vols.; London 1923–5), iii. 155 ff., and for Lindsell and Ralph Pirot, see *ibid.*, pp. 217–18.

8. *The church of Lindsell*

A clerk named Henry, who was skilled in medicine, and bound to our house in close friendship, used often to come and stay with us for as long as he wished. He was the uncle of Ralph Pirot the elder, on whose presentation he was instituted in person, by episcopal authority, into the church of Lindsell, and he had peaceable possession of the church for a considerable time. However, this Henry, wishing more especially to gain eternal remembrance in the house of the Lord, renounced the church with all the rights he had in it and handed it over to Gilbert, bishop of London, promising faithfully to make no further claim upon it. Whereupon the same bishop, on the presentation of the above-mentioned Ralph, instituted our prior, with general agreement, as rector of this church. To ensure that this should remain valid and unalterable for ever, he confirmed it in an authentic document which he ratified by affixing his seal to it.<sup>32</sup>

At that same time a monk called Ernald was claiming a moiety of this same village, along with other possessions in England belonging to the abbey of Saint-Valéry[-sur-Somme] in Ponthieu. Although this would bring him little profit he persisted in his claim to the utmost of his powers. He asserted that that church had long before been granted to the house of Saint-Valéry and confirmed by the patron in the presence of many witnesses and by letters patent. At last, after the mediation of dignitaries of great authority, and with the agreement of the abbot and monks of Saint-Valéry, the case which had arisen was settled in this way. We quitclaimed the two acres of grain which these monks were bound to pay annually to the parish church as a tithe of their demesne along with the small tithes, and we released them for ever from the payment of them. They in return gave up two acres of arable land in the same vill together with one area of marshland near the stream called *Pinlesdene* to be held by us for ever for an annual payment of two shillings, and they confirmed this arrangement by letters patent which they ratified by affixing their seal in the presence of many witnesses.<sup>33</sup>

9. *The church of Elsenham*

Beatrice, who was the sister of Earl Geoffrey the elder, the original founder of our church, was the noblest of ladies and was closely associated with us by a special claim of friendship. She loved our prior and all the monks with a pure and sincere affection, and she earnestly

<sup>33</sup> The chirograph is copied in the Walden cartulary, fo. 207<sup>r</sup>, no. 2. See also below, App. 3.

et sincera caritate diligebat, ardoremque dilectionis quem mente conceperat opere adimplere sollicitè satagebat. Ecclesia itaque de Elsenham quam presbiter quidam, Ricardus nomine, per quadraginta et eo amplius annos inconcusse possederat ad illius presentationem nobis collata est et ab episcopo Londoniensi Gileberto scriptis autenticis confirmata, presbitero iam dicto annuente, iuris etiam quid in ea habuerat omnino renuntiante, prior autem consilio cum fratribus habito Iohannem eiusdem presbiteri filium in eadem ecclesia uicarium constituit sub decem solidorum pensione annua.<sup>34</sup>

#### 10. *De ecclesia de Arkesdena*

In processu temporis illius orta est questio et dissona ualde partium assertio inter duos milites, Eudonem scilicet de Arkesdena et Will-elmum filium Ernaldi, super aduocatione ecclesie sancte Margarete de Arkesdena,<sup>35</sup> uterque etenim dimidiare nesciens integram plenariamque illius donationem sibi usurpabat et ut alter alterum conuincendo facilius superaret ad magnorum presidia uirorum partem suam fouendo uterque confugit.<sup>a</sup> Willelmus igitur more nescius Radulphum de Alta Ripa, archidiaconum scilicet Colecestrensem,<sup>b</sup> magne opinionis uirum, Gileberto Londoniensi episcopo ad personatum iam dicte ecclesie presentauit; a quo statim receptus, ecclesiastico more institutus<sup>c</sup> est. Eudo autem negotii sui non immemor Nicholaum quendam, cognomine Wallensem, Ricardi uidelicet Cantuar' archiepiscopi nepotem, eidem episcopo Gileberto presentare non distulit,<sup>37</sup> instantia precum interpellat, rogat ut recipiatur; sed tamen uoti non compos satis indignando recedit.

Non multo post cum suo Nicholao litteris domini Cantuar' precatoriis munitus Eudo rediit; sed parum proficiens nichil peregit; abiit mox rediturus cum litteris ibidem sed comminatoriis comitantibus

<sup>a</sup> fugit *A*      <sup>b</sup> Coldcestrensem *A*, through a misreading of *C*'s secretary *e* as *d*  
<sup>c</sup> receptus *A*

<sup>34</sup> Although Beatrice's surviving charter was not issued until c.1177 (below, App. 2, no. 7), the church is included in a papal confirmation of 1167 × 69. John the clerk's presentation by Prior Reginald was confirmed by the bishop between c.1174 and 1180. See below, App. 3.

<sup>35</sup> The present dedication is to St Mary. There were two distinct tenements in Arkesden, which were held by Eudo of Arkesden and William son of Ernald (cf. Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, iii. 186). William was a witness to the Walden foundation charter, c.1140 (App. 2, no. 1), and also to King Stephen's first charter for Geoffrey de Mandeville, Dec. 1139 × Dec. 1140 (*Regesta*, iii, no. 273); he held one knight's fee of the new enfeoffment on the Mandeville honour in 1166 (*Red Book*, i. 346). Texts of charters by

endeavoured to express in her deeds the strength of love that she felt in her heart. So it was that the church of Elsenham, which a priest named Richard had held on her presentation for forty or more years without hindrance, was granted to us and confirmed in authentic documents by Gilbert, bishop of London. This priest consented to this and utterly renounced any right which he had possessed in that church, and the prior, after consultation with the brethren, appointed John, the son of that same priest, as vicar of the church for an annual pension of ten shillings.<sup>34</sup>

#### 10. *The church of Arkesden*

After a time a dispute broke out and there was a vigorous declaration of rival claims between two knights, Eudo of Arkesden and William son of Ernald, over the advowson of the church of St Margaret of Arkesden.<sup>35</sup> Each of them, not knowing how to share it, took the whole patronage of the church fully to himself, and so that the one might overcome the other more successfully in law, furthered his own claim by taking refuge in the protection of influential men. Accordingly, William, by nature an ignorant man, presented Ralph de Alta Ripa, archdeacon of Colchester<sup>36</sup> and a man of considerable reputation, to Gilbert, bishop of London, for the incumbency of this church; he was immediately accepted by him and instituted in accordance with ecclesiastical custom. Eudo, however, not delaying to pursue his own claim, presented to the same Bishop Gilbert a certain Nicholas, surnamed Wallensis, nephew of Richard archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>37</sup> He made constant requests and appeals, asking that Nicholas be admitted. However, he did not obtain his wish, and withdrew in some anger.

Soon afterwards Eudo returned with his Nicholas, supported by precatory letters from the lord archbishop of Canterbury; but he made little progress and accomplished nothing. He departed but soon returned, this time with threatening letters and accompanied by

both men are found in the Walden cart., fo. 132<sup>v</sup>, nos. 5-7. Eudo's inheritance was divided between his three daughters, Sarah, Rohese and Johanna: cart. fos. 152<sup>v</sup>-153<sup>v</sup>, nos. 11, 13-15; see also below, n. 47.

<sup>36</sup> Master of the schools of St Paul's by 11 June 1180; archdeacon of Colchester probably by 1183/4, until his death in 1190 or 1191: *Fasti*, i. 19, 26.

<sup>37</sup> Nicholas Walensis witnessed a charter of Archbishop Richard some time between May 1177 and Sept. 1181: *EEA* ii, no. 117. Master Roger Walensis attested several charters of the archbishop (see *EEA* iii, index), including the confirmation of the Arkesden settlement: *EEA* ii, no. 221 (cf. below, n. 45).

illum uiris magnis et prudentibus a latere archiepiscopi transmissis.<sup>38</sup> Instanter precando minantur quatenus ad presentationem Eudonis Nicholaus instituat. Abnegat episcopus obiectionibus eorum que ratio inconsona ei uidebantur obiiciens; illi uero repulsam passi iratumentes negotio infecto<sup>a</sup> abierunt. Indignans<sup>b</sup> autem archiepiscopus, legatione apostolica qua tunc temporis fungebatur fretus, Nicholaum ab Eudone presentatum instituit, uicario ei assignato Michaelae Claudio, eiusdem Eudonis consanguineo;<sup>39</sup> sicque dissensio ista de malo in peius processit. Cum prefati duo prelati, quadam<sup>c</sup> contra se indignatione permoti, suum quisque presentatum in corporalem possessionem uiolentia quadam induceret, unde factum est ut ab ecclesia Londoniensi contra archiepiscopum in multorum audientia appellaretur.<sup>40</sup> Ambo igitur prelati cum clericis suis litis huius exitum metuebant. Ecclesia diuinis diutius uacabat, corpora mortuorum insepulta ipsum aerem corrumpendo inficiebant;<sup>41</sup> fit horror, magnus longe positus, maior uicinis, maxime uero parochianis.

Erat autem uerbum istud in auribus multorum; ad audientiam Radulphi de Glanuilla regis iusticiarii tandem peruenit, qui tunc temporis in oculis omnium magnus habebatur.<sup>42</sup> Domino igitur Cantuariensi simul cum Londoniensi auctoritate regia prohibendo mandauit ne super aduocationibus ecclesiarum coram se causas tractarent aut tractari permitterent, precipiens insuper ut duodecim milites in uicinia iam dicte uille habitantes, uiri scilicet bone opinionis et prudentes, a prouincie regiis ministris summonerentur die statuto in curia domini regis recognituri quis predictorum militum ultimam in ecclesia de Arkesdena<sup>d</sup> habuerat presentationem.<sup>43</sup>

Prior itaque noster, uir prudens et prouidus, terminos suos longius extendere gestiens, consilio cum fratribus communicato statutum causa uentilandi preueniens diem milites iam sepedictos nunc simul, nunc singulatim secretius, super hoc negotio conuenit conuentosque

<sup>a</sup> infecta A, through a misreading of C      <sup>b</sup> final letters written in gutter C;  
Indignatus A      <sup>c</sup> quedam CA      <sup>d</sup> ultimam add. C

<sup>38</sup> Neither letters of Archbishop Richard survive; they represented two stages of enforcement—the second, ‘comminatory’, with threats, couched in stronger terms than the first, ‘precatory’, in request. The archbishop’s representatives *a latere* were equipped with his own full powers.

<sup>39</sup> The archbishop was papal legate from 1174 until 1181: *EEA* ii, p. lxxvii. Michael Claud is otherwise unknown, presumably a local clerk.

<sup>40</sup> This appeal to the papal court has left no other documentary record.

<sup>41</sup> This indicates that the church was under an interdict, perhaps pronounced by papal judges delegate.

<sup>42</sup> The error of *Radulphi* for *Ranulphi* is an understandable one, and may be due to

influential and learned men sent by the archbishop with full powers.<sup>38</sup> They at once demanded with threats that Nicholas be instituted on Eudo’s presentation. The bishop refused, rejecting their opposing demands because they seemed unreasonable to him, so, suffering a reverse, they left in high dudgeon without achieving their aim. The archbishop felt insulted, and empowered by the papal legation which he exercised at that time, he instituted Nicholas on Eudo’s presentation, and assigned Michael Claud, a kinsman of the same Eudo, as Nicholas’ vicar.<sup>39</sup> Consequently the dispute went from bad to worse. The two prelates were exceedingly angry with each other, and each of them inducted his own presentee into corporeal possession with some degree of force. The result was that appeal was lodged by the church of London against the archbishop in the hearing of many.<sup>40</sup> Both prelates and their clerks feared the outcome of this suit. The church was for a long time without any divine service, the bodies of the unburied dead infected the air with their decay.<sup>41</sup> Everybody was horrified: even those who lived at a distance, but more so those who lived nearby, and most of all the parishioners.

Many heard of the quarrel, and at last it reached the ears of Ranulph de Glanville, the king’s justiciar, who was universally respected at that time.<sup>42</sup> He, therefore, with the royal authority, issued a writ of prohibition, forbidding either the lord archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London to deal in their courts with cases that concerned the advowson of churches or to allow such cases to be dealt with, and giving instructions that twelve knights living in the neighbourhood of this vill, who were men of good reputation and counsel, should be summoned by the royal officials of the county on an appointed day to make recognition in the lord king’s court which of the two knights had made the last presentation to the church of Arkesden.<sup>43</sup>

Accordingly, our prior, a man of wisdom and foresight, eager to enlarge the boundaries of his possessions, shared his thoughts with his brethren, and on the day appointed for the hearing of the case, he came to these two knights, meeting first with them together about this matter, then separately in private. Thus he finally prevailed upon them

faulty copying rather than ignorance on the part of the author. Ranulph de Glanville was chief justiciar from 1179 or 1180 until 17 Sept. 1189; for his career, see F. J. West, *The Justiciarship in England, 1066–1232* (Cambridge, 1961), esp. pp. 54–65, and R. V. Turner, *The English Judiciary in the Age of Glanville and Bracton* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 17–64.

<sup>43</sup> For samples of the writ of prohibition, see *Early Registers of Writs*, ed. E. de Haas and G. D. G. Hall (Selden Soc., lxxxvii, 1970), pp. 5, 29, 52, and for the assize of darrein presentment, see *ibid.* pp. 2, 28, 48–9 etc.

ad hoc tandem produxit: ut si prelatos antedictos cum clericis iam institutis ad consentiendum inducere posset, ecclesiam predictam nobis et domui nostre perpetuo possidendam conferre non detrectarent. Gaudens autem prior et in Domino plurimum confidens cum fratribus saniori consilio pollentibus ad diem et locum recognitionis faciende affuit presens. Tantam igitur gratiam sibi et suis uirtus diuina contulit ut per illorum industriam lite iam decisa omnes pariter in fraternam pacem reuocarentur ipsis etiam pariter consulentibus, iusticiario insuper regis cum suis assessoribus assensum prebente, ut ecclesia iam sepedicta uiris religiosis et maxime propinquieribus Deo, scilicet sancte Marie et beato Iacobo de Waledena et monachis illic Deo famulantibus, ad presentationem militum amborum conferretur. Deo autem propitio ita factum est et in curia regis coram totius Anglie maioribus litteris autenticis confirmatum.<sup>44</sup>

Prior igitur et monachi nostri per manum episcopi Gileberti adepti sunt institutionem; per archidiaconum uero et decanum in corporalem introducti sunt possessionem.<sup>45</sup> Videntes<sup>a</sup> prior et fratres nostri ecclesiam per totum ueterem et pene corruentem a fundamentis erexerunt nouam cum turri et tecto in altum porrecto aspectu dignam.<sup>46</sup>

### II. De Willelmo quodam cognomine Goet

Fuit quidam Willelmus cognomine Goet ad quem possessio illa que dicitur Eineswrda ab atauis iure hereditario descendebat, cuius frater maior natu Henricus nomine totam terram illam cuidam militi Waltero scilicet de Haia, uiro satis astuto et in negotiis secularibus ad uotum discutiendis prudenti et facundo, ad terminum inter eos statutum et fixum inuadiauerat.<sup>47</sup>

Decedente autem Henrico Willelmus iste succedens pauper satis censu sed longe pauperior sensu, pecunia a predicto Waltero admodum modica, proprio usus consilio, accepta, terminum quem frater eius iam defunctus posuerat et quem transgredi non oporteret, iterato terram

<sup>a</sup> itaque *add. A*

<sup>44</sup> The final concord was dated 4 Nov. 1180: cart. fo. 132<sup>v</sup>; and see below, App. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Charters by the bishop of London and archbishop of Canterbury record the settlement: *GFL*, no. 446, of c.1181 × 1183, and *EEA*, ii, no. 221, of 1180 × Sept. 1181.

<sup>46</sup> N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Essex* (London, 1954), p. 54, reports of the church of St Mary, Arkesden: 'Traces of a Norman round tower were found, when in 1855 the present W tower was built.'

<sup>47</sup> In 1086 Richard Goet was a tenant of the honour of Warenne in Essex: Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, iii. 409. Charters by several members of the Goet family are

to agree to the following: that if he could persuade the bishops concerned, and their clerks who had now been instituted, to consent, then they would not object to this church being granted to us and our house as a perpetual possession. The prior was delighted and, with great trust in the Lord, he attended the recognition on the appointed day and at the appointed place in person with influential brethren of wise counsel. The divine goodness showed such favour to him and his brethren that through their endeavours the case was settled, and all with one accord were recalled to brotherly peace and made mutually acceptable decisions. The king's justiciar, moreover, and his assessors agreed that this church should, on the presentation by the two knights alternately, be granted to the holy men who were especially close to God, that is to St Mary and the Blessed James of Walden, and the monks serving God in that place. So, by God's favour, that is what happened, and it was confirmed in the king's court in the presence of great men from the whole of England by authentic documents.<sup>44</sup>

Accordingly the prior and our monks were instituted by Bishop Gilbert in person, and were inducted into corporeal possession by the archdeacon and [rural] dean.<sup>45</sup> When the prior and our brethren saw that the church was an entirely old structure and almost collapsing from its very foundations, they erected a new church with a high tower and roof, and it was an impressive building.<sup>46</sup>

### II. William, surnamed Goet

There was a certain William, surnamed Goet, who is said to have rightfully inherited from his forebears the estate called Ainsworth. However, his elder brother called Henry had mortgaged the whole of that land to a knight called Walter de Haia for a period of time agreed upon and fixed by them both. Walter was a very cunning man, shrewd and glib of tongue when turning business affairs to his own interest.<sup>47</sup>

When Henry died, this William [Goet] succeeded him. He was a very poor man so far as worldly possessions were concerned, but even poorer in worldly wisdom, for he again mortgaged that land and extended the period of time which his deceased brother had fixed and which he should not have exceeded, but, because he sought no one else's advice, he obtained only a small sum of money from Walter.

found in the Walden cartulary, fos. 132<sup>r</sup>-138<sup>v</sup>, but Henry Goet is not mentioned in any of them. Walter de Haia's son, Ranulph, married Eudo of Arkesden's daughter, Sarah: *ibid.*, fo. 152<sup>v</sup>, no. 11; cf. above, at n. 35. For notes on Ainsworth, see below, App. 3.

illam inuadiando prolongauit. In breui ergo pauper et dolens<sup>48</sup> factus est opprobrium uicinis suis,<sup>49</sup> et non habens maxime in proprio ubi caput reclinar<sup>50</sup> ad nos tandem necessitate compulsus peruenit. Nos autem dolori eius condolentes et miseriam passo compatientes, pietatis opera ei impendimus et queque in uictu et uestitu necessitas exigebat satis abundanter administrare curauimus.

### 12. *De capella de Eineswirda*

In illis itaque diebus contigit personam capelle de Eineswirda morti debitum soluere, cuius capelle liberam donationem ad suprascriptum Willelmum fundi scilicet dominum spectare omni sane sapienti liquido dabatur intelligi; reluctantem autem Waltero per uadium quod tenebat et ius donationis sibi uendicare uolente, constituti<sup>a</sup> sunt inter eos causa uentilande ueritatis perscrutande dies plurimi quibus sibi inuicem dissidentes pace non reformata recesserunt. Tandem Willelmus ille saniori quam prius usus consilio nobis et domui nostre capellam iam dictam cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus in liberam elemosinam et perpetuam contulit, et ne in irritum tempore aliquo reuocaretur, litteris sigillo suo signatis confirmare non distulit.<sup>51</sup> Demum ab episcopo Londoniensi Gileberto ad eiusdem Willelmi presentationem canonicam adepti sumus institutionem et sic ex eiusdem episcopi mandato per archidiaconum Colecestrensem in corporalem ecclesiastico more solemniter introducti possessionem.<sup>52</sup>

Videns igitur miles ille Walterus conatus suos modo tali frustratos, obmutuit, quia humiliatus est et licet inuitus siluit a malis, attamen in breui dolor eius renouatus est: euoluto etenim inuadiationis iam dicte termino ut uetus hospes reliquit aliena,<sup>53</sup> Willelmus nouus iam dominus receptus est in propria.

### 13. *De Galfredo Goet*

Cum autem Willelmus in possessione nouiter adeptus nouus iam incola resedisset, conatus est iam senex attemptare quod in iuuentute<sup>b</sup> non

<sup>a</sup> constituta CA      <sup>b</sup> A; iuene C

<sup>48</sup> Ps. 68: 30 (69: 29), 'ego sum pauper et dolens'.

<sup>49</sup> Ps. 88: 42 (89: 41), 'factus est opprobrium uicinis suis'; and cf. Ps. 30: 12 (31: 11), 43: 14 (44: 13), 78 (79): 4.

<sup>50</sup> Matt. 8: 20, Luke 9: 58; cf. above, i. 8.

<sup>51</sup> Cart., fo. 132<sup>r</sup>, no. 3, in which William states that his grant of the advowson, which belongs to him by hereditary right, is made 'per manum et auctoritatem Gilberti Londoni episcopi'. This was confirmed by Hugh de Essartis, his overlord: *ibid.*, no. 4.

<sup>52</sup> Gilbert Foliot's confirmation of the appropriation, c. 1170 × 1180, *GFL*, no. 444.

Soon, therefore, 'poor and sorrowful',<sup>48</sup> he 'became a reproach to his neighbours',<sup>49</sup> so, especially because he had nowhere of his own 'where he might lay his head'<sup>50</sup> he was at last forced by circumstances to come to us. Feeling sorry for his plight and sympathizing with him in the misery he was enduring, we did such good works as we could for him, and saw that he was well provided with the food and clothing that necessity demanded.

### 12. *The chapel of Ainsworth*

It happened at that time that the parson of Ainsworth chapel paid his debt to death. Virtually every right-minded person was of the sure opinion that the free presentation of this chapel belonged to the said William as lord of the estate. However, when Walter objected to this on the grounds that he held the mortgage on it, and wished to claim the right of presentation for himself, many days were set aside to hear the case between them and search out the truth, and during this time the two men, making their counter-claims in turn, departed without resolving their disagreement. Eventually William, showing sounder judgement than before, conferred on us and our house that chapel with all its appurtenances in free and perpetual alms, and to prevent this being revoked and invalidated at any time, he did not delay to confirm it in letters sealed with his own seal.<sup>51</sup> Finally we obtained canonical institution by the bishop of London, Gilbert, on William's presentation, and on the bishop's mandate we were solemnly inducted into corporeal possession of the chapel by the archdeacon of Colchester in proper ecclesiastical form.<sup>52</sup>

When the knight Walter saw that his endeavours had thus come to nothing, he held his tongue, because he had been humiliated, and he refrained, albeit reluctantly, from causing trouble. However, not long after this his mortification was renewed, for when the term of the mortgage elapsed he left the property, like an old customary tenant surrendering what belongs to someone else,<sup>53</sup> and William was now welcomed into his own estate as the new lord.

### 13. *Geoffrey Goet*

When William had now settled down as a new resident in his recently acquired property, he attempted as an old man what he had not learned

<sup>53</sup> A reference to the way customary tenants restored their tenements to their landlords at the end of their leases, or when no longer able to fulfil their obligations.



didicerat, familiam uidelicet regere, animalia aggregare, terras excolere, uictualia undecumque perquirere quotidiana et cetera usibus humanis necessaria, plura mox distraxit, pluriora in eum posteris non reuocanda dissipauit. Hiis itaque aliis etiam hiis similibus ad uotum sibi non respondentibus tedeat animam suam uite sue quia totum quod iam nouiter susceperat magis reputabat oneri quam honori.<sup>54</sup> Factum est autem ut Willelmus iste fratrem suum, Galfredum Goet nomine, quem nuntium habebat, accersiret eique tertiam partem totius feodi sui integre plenarieque donaret, sex marcis prius ab eo acceptis; et ne hoc latenter uel quasi in angulo factum uideretur conuocatis totius uicinie maioribus, homagium et fidelitatem more donatoris ab eo suscipiens totam tertiam partem illam, certis metis et mensuris locisque competentibus assignatam, hereditario iure perpetualiter possidendam contradidit et ne ab hac donatione tam solemnii ipse uel aliquis heredum suorum aliquatenus resilire posset, totum ab ipso donatum litteris suis autenticis, sigillo etiam suo signatis, confirmare curauit.

Cum igitur Galfredus iste terram iam dictam<sup>a</sup> cum illa potius luctando quam eam lucrando, fraterna cum pace aliquandiu possidisset, ecce frater eius dominus Willelmus uidelicet Goet, etate iam prouectus, quia posteritati consulens heredemque de femore proprio egredientem habere gestiens, duxit uxorem de qua feminei sexus suscepit heredem. Mulier autem incentrix malorum, fraternam non metuens contaminare pacem, calumpniabatur uirum eumque pusillanimum fore sedulo asserebat eo quod terram peroptimam et a progenitoribus ad se solum pertinentem fratri communicasset tertiarque parte sibi suisque perpetuo subtracta diminuisset. Auxit quidem malo malum addens miles quidam auunculus mulieris Willelmus, cognomine Waschat, uersutus satis et uersipellis, unde factum est ut frater fratrem multis modis inquietaret, tandem uero dissatiaret.

Dissatiatus itaque Galfredus coram iusticiariis regis Willelmum trahit in causam; uicinie recognitores citantur; adsunt, omnes pariter recognoscunt, pariter proclamant Galfredum iniuste uexatum, iniustus fore dissatiatum.<sup>55</sup> Rediit ergo Galfredus in sua possessione

<sup>a</sup> confirmare curauit cancelled in C, suggesting its exemplar had short lines; cf. above, i. 12.

<sup>54</sup> A similar expression is used also by Jocelin of Brakelond, *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, ed. H. E. Butler (NMT, 1949), p. 13; also in translation, *Jocelin of Brakelond: Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, ed. D. Greenway and J. Sayers (Oxford, 1989), p. 13. Butler points out that this play on words is first found in Ovid, *Heroides*, ix. 31, 'non honor est sed onus'.  
<sup>55</sup> The description is of the assize of novel disseisin.

as a youth, namely to rule a household, to round up cattle, to till land, to obtain daily food supplies from wherever he could and other things that human beings need for their use. He soon sold off much of his property and squandered still more which was to be permanently lost to posterity. When these and other things like them did not turn out as he had hoped, he grew weary of his life because he regarded all that he had lately taken on as more onerous than honourable.<sup>54</sup> In the event, William fetched his brother, Geoffrey Goet, whom he employed as an agent, and gave him a third of his total estate to be wholly and completely his on prior payment of six marks. So that this should not appear to have been done underhandedly or, as it were, in a corner, he summoned the leading men of the whole neighbourhood. Then he received homage and fealty from Geoffrey, as a benefactor usually did, and handed over to him, to be held by hereditary right for ever, the whole of that third part of his estate assigned to him with its boundaries, measurements, and appropriate lands specified. He next took steps to ensure that neither he himself nor any other of his heirs could in any way repudiate this solemn gift: he confirmed it in authentic letters and sealed these also with his seal.

This Geoffrey, by his brother's agreement, had been in possession of this land for a considerable time, and was finding it more of a pain than a gain, when, most surprisingly, his brother, lord William Goet, who, although now advanced in years, longed for a child of his own to be his heir (for he was concerned for posterity), took a wife, and she bore him a daughter to be his heir. This woman, an instigator of mischief, who was not afraid to spoil the harmony between the brothers, scolded her husband, fiercely asserting that he had been weak-minded in sharing with his brother his best land which by right of inheritance belonged to himself alone; she said that he had reduced this inheritance by depriving himself and his heirs for ever of a third of it. A knight named Waschat, who was the woman's uncle, an artful and fickle man, increased the pressure on him by piling insult upon insult. The outcome was that the one brother harassed the other in many ways, finally dispossessing him.

Accordingly, on being dispossessed, Geoffrey brought a case against William before the king's justices. Recognitors were summoned from the neighbourhood; when they appeared, they all acknowledged and declared unanimously that Geoffrey had been harassed unjustly and had been wrongly dispossessed.<sup>55</sup> Hence, Geoffrey returned home confirmed in his possessions; William as the consequence of his

confirmatus; remanet Willelmus ex presumptione regia censura puniendus. Venit igitur sedulo ad nos Galfredus ille Goet, non uolens, immo non ualens terram illam excolere, consilio prius cum amicis communicato eam nobis et domui nostre per sex annos possidendam contradidit, interueniente uiginti solidorum censu annuo quo utrimque cirografis<sup>a</sup> confirmat.

Abiit longius in Essexiam militi cuidam cui antea seruierat<sup>b</sup> seruiturus, ibique infirmitate maxima simulque egestate grauatus in lectum decidit. Desperatus est; dereliquerunt eum proximi eius et qui illum nouerant recesserunt ab eo.<sup>56</sup> Inter angustias misit tandem ad nos miser ille misericordiam petens: prior autem noster, dominus Reginaldus, quendam ex fratribus nostris mox ad illum destinauit quem uix spiritum in naribus habentem inuenit. Vehiculo tamen impositum paulatim ut potuit progrediendo secum ad nos usque perduxit. Infirmitati igitur compatientes curam adhibuimus, locum aptum ei deputantes, omnia etiam que carni et spiritui necessaria erant quantum ad nos ministrantes.

#### 14. *De testamento (et obitu)<sup>c</sup> Galfredi Goet*

Galfredus igitur Goet aliquandiu infirmitate paulatim decoctus, languore tandem ingrauescente, peruenit ad extrema. Humanitatis autem sibi a nobis impense non immemor, tertiam partem terre sue nobis et domui nostre perpetuo possidendam legando contradidit et hoc carta sua manu propria sigillo impressa multis coram astantibus confirmauit. Affuit Willelmus frater eius et dominus; affuit etiam Ricardus Goet, utrius nepos, descendens ex sorore, quem Galfredus ipse sibi constituit heredem, renitente et contradicente Willelmo qui tamen non diu distulit quin homagium et fidelitatem ab eo susceperat, priore nostro cum fratribus non sine graui luctamine mediante. Galfredus autem sicut petierat se monachum induit; uiatico accepto expirauit et apud nos cum fratribus iam defunctis sepulturam accepit.

Videns quidem Ricardus Goet et considerans que et quanta a nobis auunculo suo Galfredo, necnon sibi, collata fuerant beneficia, partem tertiam totius terre quam ab eo hereditarie susceperat nobis eternaliter habendam donauit et ut melius potuit confirmare curauit. Sicque factum est ut medietas totius terre quam Willelmus dederat fratri suo, Galfredo Goet, monasterio beati Iacobi apostoli de Waledena et

<sup>a</sup> chirographiis A      <sup>b</sup> seruiebat A      <sup>c</sup> add. in capitula above

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Job 19: 13-14, 'recesserunt a me, dereliquerunt me propinqui mei et qui me noverant obliti sunt mei'.

unwarranted action stood to be punished by royal judgement. Geoffrey Goet, therefore, discussed matters with friends, and being unwilling, or rather unable, to cultivate the land, came to us in all sincerity and handed the land over to us and our house to hold for six years at an annual rent of twenty shillings during that period. This was ratified by both parties in chirographs.

Geoffrey then left the district for a distant part of Essex to serve a knight whom he had served before, and there, laid low by a serious illness as well as by poverty, he took to his bed. His life was despaired of, his relatives deserted him, and those who had known him forsook him.<sup>56</sup> In the midst of his distress the poor man finally sent to us seeking our compassion. Our prior, Dom Reginald, immediately dispatched one of our brethren to him, and he found him barely alive. However, placing him in a wagon and then journeying as slowly as he could, he brought him back with him to us. Pitying him in his weakness we looked after him, giving him suitable lodging and also ministering to all his bodily and spiritual needs as best we could.

#### 14. *The will (and death) of Geoffrey Goet*

Geoffrey Goet was gradually worn down by his prolonged ill-health, and in the end his illness became serious and he reached the point of death. However, not forgetful of the kindness he had received from us, he bestowed upon us and our house as a bequest a third part of his land to be held by us for ever, and in the presence of many witnesses he confirmed this in his charter impressed by a seal with his own hand. His brother and lord, William, was present, as well as their nephew Richard Goet, his sister's son, whom Geoffrey had made his heir. William had opposed and disputed this choice but, after our prior and brethren had with considerable difficulty mediated in the matter, it was not long before he accepted homage and fealty from him. Geoffrey, however, just as he had desired, took the habit of a monk, and after receiving the eucharist died and received the burial that our deceased brethren have.

Richard Goet, reflecting upon the benefits bestowed by us upon his uncle Geoffrey, as well as upon himself, presented us with a third of all the land which he had received as an inheritance from Geoffrey to be held by us for ever, and he took all possible care to confirm this. The result was that half of all the land which William had given to his brother Geoffrey Goet stood to be held for ever by the monastery of the Blessed James the apostle of Walden and the monks both present and



monachis presentibus ac futuris perpetuo possidenda remaneret, Willelmo Goet, domino et aduocato, id concedente et ut ratum et stabile in eum constare debeat confirmante.

### 15. *De Alicia de Essexia*

Aduentus igitur nobilis matrone Alicie, scilicet de Essexia, ad nos ordinante comite Willelmo eius nepote factus est.<sup>57</sup> Venit ergo et ecclesiam intrans super altare maius uiginti solidos obtulit. In domibus autem nostris et suis quas sibi edificauerat in parte australi ecclesie cum apparatu honesto et sufficienti cum suis habitauit. Cum uero aliquandiu honorifice ibidem permansisset infirmitate correpta peruenit ad extrema, animam suam celesti curie nostrisque intercessionibus commendans et corpus ad sepeliendum in capella beate Marie. In extrema autem uoluntate eius priore nostro aliisque multis coram astantibus more ecclesiastico facta est rerum suarum ordinatio. Domino quidem suo primo marito, Roberto scilicet de Essexia, Ricardus Goet pater Willelmi Goet terram quandam de feodo suo uiginti et duas acras continentem, pro duabus marcis inuadiauerat quam idem Robertus usque ad obitum retinens, moriens tamen uxori dimisit liberam et quietam heredi reddendam. Iam enim de fructibus terre illius susceperat ultra satis quam dederat.

Predicta uero uxor illius Alicia terram iam dictam usque ad mortem propriam retinens, filio suo et heredi Roberto quem de alio uiro nomine Rogero susceperat dimisit, uoluntati eius committens ut quod inde proprie saluti expediret ullo malignantium instinctu facere non differret. Consilio itaque fideli accepto pro propria matrisque salute satisfacit Willelmo Goet ita quod ipso uolente et offerente terra illa, que Rundberne dicitur, nobis et domui nostre eternaliter possidenda remaneret, litterisque patentibus necnon et sigillatis ex utraque parte roborata. Willelmus uero a nobis marcam, unam a Roberto filio Rogeri suscepit alteram.

### 16. *De promissione comitis nobis facta*

Igitur comes Willelmus aduocatus noster quandoque, licet raro, ad nos ueniens, hilarem nobis pretendebat uultum negotiisque domus nostre

<sup>57</sup> Alice of Essex was the sister of Earl William's mother, Rohese de Vere, and of Earl Aubrey de Vere; in 1185 she was a widow, said in one place to be aged 60 years (*Rotuli de Dominabus*, ed. J. H. Round (PRS xxxv, 1913), p. 29, under Northants, holding Aynho) and in another to be 80 (*ibid.*, pp. 76–7, under Essex, for her dowry in Clavering). Her first marriage was as the second wife of Robert of Essex, who died between 1132 and 1140,

future. William Goet as lord and patron agreed to this and confirmed that it should stand ratified and approved as such for ever.

### 15. *Alice of Essex*

There took place a visit to us by the noble lady Alice of Essex, arranged by her nephew Earl William.<sup>57</sup> She arrived, entered the church, and then placed an offering of twenty shillings upon the high altar. She lodged with her retinue in our rooms and her own which she had built for herself on the south side of the church, and she was fully and worthily provided for. She lived here for some time, held in high regard, but was then taken ill and reached the point of death. She commended her soul to the heavenly judgement and to our prayers and her body to be buried in the chapel of St Mary. In her last will the disposition of her goods was made in proper ecclesiastical form in the presence of our prior and many other witnesses. Richard Goet, father of William Goet, had for two marks mortgaged some land of his fee, comprising 22 acres, to her first lord and husband Robert of Essex. Robert had held this land right up to his death, but when he died he left it to his wife free and unencumbered, to be passed on to an heir. Indeed, he had received from the produce of that land much more than he had put into it.

This Alice, then, Robert's wife, having retained possession of this land until her own death, left it to her son and heir Robert whom she had had by her second husband Roger. She trusted to his good will not to be influenced by evil men to delay doing what would hasten his own salvation. Accepting good advice, therefore, with respect to his own and his mother's salvation, Robert compensated William Goet so that he willingly offered the land which is called Rundberne to us and our house to remain our possession for ever, and this was confirmed in letters patent which were sealed by both parties. William received one mark from us and another from Robert son of Roger.

### 16. *The promise made to us by the earl*

Our patron, Earl William, sometimes visited us, though not often, but he would greet us pleasantly and listen more affably to us than he used to

leaving his son (by his first marriage to Gunnor) Henry of Essex as his heir: I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies* (Oxford, 1960; corrected 1963), p. 139 under Rayleigh. Her second marriage was to Roger fitz Richard. See Round's note, *Rotuli de Dominabus*, p. 77 n.; also *CP v.* 115 n. f, where, however, she is wrongly stated to have married a third time: the wife of John, constable of Chester, was Alice de Vere.

promouendis benigniorem solito prebebat auditum, unde presumptione quadam tiores, illum adeundi interpellandique fiduciam concepimus maiorem. Domum itaque nostram loco satis angusto fore constitutam, terris frugiferis minus abundantem, pratis pascuis boscisque omnino pene carentem, ei<sup>a</sup> aliquoties intimare non omisimus et ut eam talibus non mediocriter indigentem locis competentibus promouendo dilataret deuote precabamur. Ipse uero talibus petitionibus rationi consentaneis et ex nimia necessitudine nostra procedentibus promptus auditor benigne annuit, capellanoque suo, Hugoni nomine, cum quibusdam fratrum nostrorum in tali negotio discretioribus iniunxit ut terras cum ceteris ante nominatis infra terminos de Waledena domui nostre propinquiores et commodius adiacentes inspicerent<sup>b</sup> inspectasque scripto annotarent ut cum ad nos iterato ueniens remearet gratis prece uel pretio eas nobis et domui nostre conferret.

In hac igitur nostre promotionis benignitate constitutus recedens, regiis negotiis in Normanniam expediendis moramque ibidem facturus ab eodem rege transmissus est, unde accidit ut negotium illud satis utile circumspecteque prouisum fine debito non clauderetur.

17. *De obitu regis Henrici et filio eius Ricardo in regem uncto*

Regi itaque Henrico secundo in partibus transmarinis degenti, a maioribus prouinciarum finitimarum, maxime autem a filio proprio, comite scilicet Pictauesi Ricardo, ingens satis guerra ex dissensione partium uaria est aborta. Rex igitur uiriliter se habens nunc<sup>c</sup> uictor uictos insequendo repellit, nunc uero uictus a uictoribus fugiendo repellitur. In talibus autem sibi male respondentibus agens uictus tandem ab ea extitit, morte scilicet, que etiam regibus uel cuilibet alteri parcere non nouit eique sicut et ceteri debitum soluit.<sup>58</sup>

Quo mortuo Ricardus ille Pictauiensis filius eius partes sibi inuicem dissidentes pace reformata confederauit; quosdam retinendo sibi associauit, quosdam uero dimittendo ad propria remisit. Quoniam igitur regnum Anglie ad illum iure hereditario spectare nulli sane sapienti in dubium uenerat, quam citius potuit nauim ascendens in Angliam applicuit, gaudentibus omnibus susceptus, in regem unctus,

<sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> inspirent CA      <sup>c</sup> nec A

<sup>58</sup> Henry II died on 6 July 1189.

do on matters promoting the affairs of our house. Consequently, feeling more secure because of a certain confidence, we plucked up more courage to approach him and make an appeal to him. On several occasions we made it our business to point out to him that our house had been founded in a rather confined location, on lands that were not particularly fertile and almost completely lacking meadows, pastures, and woodland. So we made an earnest request that he should enlarge our estate, which was deficient in such types of land, extending it into more suitable areas. He lent a ready ear to such requests as these because they were reasonable and arose out of our great need, and he willingly agreed to them. He accordingly gave instructions to his chaplain named Hugh and some of our brethren who were more knowledgeable in such matters to inspect the lands (with others previously mentioned) lying in Walden, close to our house and conveniently adjacent to it. When they had inspected them they were to record them in writing so that when he returned again on a visit to us he might bestow them upon us without the need to plead or pay for them.

So he left in this friendly frame of mind intent upon the advancement of our house. However, he was sent by the king across to Normandy to carry out royal business and to spend some time there. Consequently our business, which had been most advantageously and carefully arranged, was not brought to its proper conclusion.

17. *King Henry's death and his son Richard anointed king*

While King Henry II was spending his time overseas, a very serious war broke out against him as the result of various factional disputes caused by magnates of neighbouring provinces, but especially by his son Richard, count of Poitou. The king, showing a manly spirit, at one moment as conqueror pursued and drove back the conquered, at another moment was himself conquered and driven back in flight by his conquerors. While he was engaged in such affairs, which were of no benefit to him, he was at last overcome by death itself, which spares kings no more than it spares anyone, and he paid his debt to it just as other men do.<sup>58</sup>

On his death his son Richard of Poitou re-established peace and united by an alliance those factions which had been in dispute with each other. Some of these men he kept and enrolled amongst his supporters, others he dismissed and sent back to their own lands. Since no man in his right mind doubted that the kingdom of England belonged to him by hereditary right, he boarded a ship as quickly as he could, and landed in

ore omnium acclamatus est 'Viuat rex'.<sup>59</sup> Omnibus autem uultum satis benignum pretendit, iniuriam passis uindictam, depressis leuamen repromisit.

18. *De legatione comitis Willelmi*

Aduocatus quidem noster, comes Willelmus, magnorum maximus superueniens uniuersis erat regi a secretis, cuius nutu regni iura disponebat, cuius precellenti consilio multa plebi profutura faciebat.<sup>60</sup> Videns autem rex tanti uiri tantam prudentiam negotiorum suorum illi communicauit secreta comiti Flandrensi perferenda. Erat autem uir ille comiti satis notus et familiaris quippe qui ab ineunte etate cum eo in partibus illis conuersatus fuerat, a quo etiam arma militaria susceperat. Omnibus itaque pro quibus ierat ad uotum expeditis, infirmitas licet non admodum grauis tamen aliquandiu ibidem moras agere illum coegit. Conualescens ergo ad municipium quod Vallis Rullii dicitur in Normanniam uenit illucque notis et familiaribus simul etiam personis auctoritatis magne conuocatis, aurum et argentum, uasa pretiosa, multam etiam denariorum copiam quam ibidem penes se habuit, quicquid insuper in Anglia possederat, diligenter considerando dinumerauit, dinumerata uero quomodo et quibus uoluit sapienter disponendo legauit. Que uero manu eius largiflua aliis sunt collata, aliis relinquamus discutienda, ea uero que domui sue de Waledena et nobis contulit tractanda prosequamur.

19. *De testamento comitis Willelmi nobis facto*

Vir iste memorandus, comes scilicet Willelmus, cuius commendabili memorie petitiones nostre superius annotate tenaciter inheserant, medietatem totius demenii sui in Waledena cum pratis et pascuis nichilominus dimidiatis, molendinum suum et paruum parcum sepe clausum, cum hominibus et eorum seruitiis super<sup>a</sup> riueram commorantibus, monasterio sancti Iacobi de Waledena et nobis, scilicet monachis ibidem Deo famulantibus, legando deuote contulit. Carta insuper sua manu propria sigillo impressa ut hec donatio eius tam deuota stabilis in eum foret et rata confirmare curauit.<sup>61</sup> Capellam autem optimam tanto uiro condignam, in uestimentis, libris, calice, uasis, uinariis cum peluibus etiam argenteis plenariam et in cofris

<sup>a</sup> om. A

<sup>59</sup> Richard was crowned on 3 Sept. 1189. The Walden writer evidently had some knowledge of the coronation ritual and acclamations.

<sup>60</sup> For Earl William's career under Richard I, see above, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

<sup>61</sup> Below, App. 2, no. 5.

England. Received amidst universal rejoicing, he was anointed king: the acclamation 'Long live the King!' was on everybody's lips.<sup>59</sup> He acted in a friendly manner to all, and promised vengeance to those who had suffered injustice, and compensation to the oppressed.

18. *Earl William's mission*

Our patron Earl William was the most important of magnates, and was far more privy to the king's secrets than all others. With his agreement the king administered the laws of the realm, and with his excellent counsel he did much to benefit the people.<sup>60</sup> Aware of the earl's great wisdom, he shared with him secret negotiations to be conducted with the count of Flanders. Indeed, the earl was well known to the count and, in fact, was his friend, for he had associated with him in that country from his earliest youth and had even received the arms of knighthood from him. After he had settled to his satisfaction all the business for which he had gone there, an illness, though not a very serious one, forced him to delay there for some time. He recovered his strength and then came to a castle in Normandy called Le Vaudreuil. Here he summoned well-known friends as well as persons of great importance, and then carefully reviewed the gold and silver, the precious vessels, and the large sum of money which he had in his possession there, as well as all his possessions in England, and drew up a careful account of them. Having done this he made a bequest, sensibly arranging how, and to whom, he wished things to be given. His liberal endowments to other men we must leave others to discuss, and must proceed to deal with the details of what he bestowed upon his own house of Walden and ourselves.

19. *The bequest of Earl William made in our favour*

That remarkable man Earl William, in whose memory, to his great credit, our requests noted above had remained deeply imprinted, by his bequest dutifully conferred upon the monastery of St James of Walden and upon us, the monks serving God in that place, the following: half of all his demesne in Walden with the meadows and pastures similarly halved; also his mill and small park enclosed by a hedge, and the men living on the river with their services. Further, in order that this pious endowment of his should stand valid for ever, he had it ratified and confirmed in his own charter impressed by a seal with his own hand.<sup>61</sup> Then he bestowed upon us and our house as our share a fine chapel which was worthy of such a man, fully

decenter reconditam, nobis et domui nostre conferendam in partem tulit et ab aliorum donariis separavit, equo magno et nobili summario ad eiusdem capelle ad nos usque subiunctionem assignato.<sup>62</sup> Tres insuper auri marcas, cupam nichilominus auream, centum etiam argenti libras certo in loco nobis assignatas delegavit. Cetera omnia quibus et qualiter uoluit pari modo dimisit, ac deinde tempore aliquanto intrans et exiens cum suis sanus et incolumis uersabatur. Post modicum uero temporis infirmitate grauissima correptus, apud castellum superius iam dictum in lectum decidit. Desperatus est.

20. *De infirmitate comitis Willelmi et de mandato suis iniuncto*

Sentiens igitur comes mortem omnimodis ineuitabilem sibi in ianuis fore presentem, prelatis totius prouincie conuocatis, ecclesiis illorum munera satis larga transmisit et se totum Deo et eorum orationibus commendauit. Deinde semetipsum peccata sua discutiendo accusans, preuenit faciem Domini in confessione sacra, insuper olei unctione Christiano more delibutus, diuino etiam dominici corporis sacramento reuerenter accepto, horam uocationis sue ultimam expectabat. Post hec uero domus sue maiores, capellanos scilicet, consanguineos ac milites conuocatos, obsecrat, hortatur, eleuatis in altum manibus adiurat<sup>a</sup> quatenus corpus suum in Angliam ad domum suam de Waledena sepulture commendandum transferre non omittant. Illi uero obstupescentes et sese mutuo silenter aliquandiu aspicientes, tandem unus pro omnibus, Henricus scilicet de Ver, eius consobrinus,<sup>63</sup> in hec uerba prorupit, 'Quod optas, domine, non potest fieri, quod nobis precipiendo<sup>b</sup> iniungis impossibile est; ecce enim uia longa et periculosa, hiems solito asperior, mare magnum et spatiosum, flatibus continuis turbulentum, omnia ista necnon et alia hiis similia uoluntati tue adimplende uidemus contraria.'

Audiens hec comes et ab intimis longa trahens suspiria ait, 'Si itaque non ualetis, immo quia non uultis quod uobis nunc moriens iniungo peragere, saltem pectore perforato cor meum auellite,<sup>c</sup> auulsumque in Angliam ad domum in mea proprietate fundatam, scilicet de

<sup>a</sup> abiurat A      <sup>b</sup> precipiente A, through a misreading of the final letters in the gutter of C      <sup>c</sup> anhelitae A

<sup>62</sup> Like the king, members of the greater nobility travelled with a mobile chapel. In the words of W. L. Warren, *King John* (Harmondsworth, 1961), p. 153, 'The king's chapel is no quiet place of worship for it goes in the leather pouches of a packhorse'. In the present case, boxes rather than pouches were used; cf. *Pipe Roll 16 Hen. II*, p. 15: 'pro uno summario et coffris ad deferendos dominicos pannos regis'.

<sup>63</sup> Henry de Vere was third son of Aubrey de Vere, brother of Rohese, Earl William's

equipped with vestments, books, chalice, vessels, wine-ewers and bowls also of silver, all stored properly in strong-boxes; and he kept this chapel separate from bequests of other things. Then he assigned to us a large, fine pack-horse to serve the same chapel.<sup>62</sup> In addition he bequeathed to us for a certain purpose, three marks of gold, a cup also of gold, and a hundred pounds of silver. He left everything else in like manner to whomsoever he wished and in whatever way he desired. Then for a while he went about his business with his men, and lived his life in good health and safety. But it was not long before he fell gravely ill, taking to his bed in the castle we have mentioned before, and his life was despaired of.

20. *The illness of Earl William and the command he gave to his men*

The earl, therefore, sensing that death was in no way avoidable and was already at his door, called together the church dignitaries from the whole area: he sent liberal gifts to their churches and entrusted himself wholly to God and their prayers. Then, after examining his sins and acknowledging them, he came before the face of the Lord in holy confession; furthermore he was anointed with oil of unction in Christian manner, and after reverently receiving the holy sacrament of the Lord's Body, he awaited the final moment of his summons. After this, he called together the leading men of his house, that is, his chaplains as well as his relatives and his knights, and earnestly entreated them, and with hands raised to heaven charged them not to neglect taking his body to his house of Walden in England to be committed for burial there. They were stunned by this, and looked from one to the other in silence for some while. At last one man spoke for all of them, Henry de Vere, the son of his mother's sister,<sup>63</sup> who broke the silence with these words: 'What you desire, my lord, cannot be done, and what you instruct and command us to do is impossible. For consider, it is a long and dangerous journey, the winter is more severe than usual, the sea is vast and wide, being stirred up by continual gales: all these things and other similar circumstances we see hindering the fulfilment of your wishes.'

Hearing this the earl, sighing long and deeply, said, 'If you cannot do this, or if indeed it is because you do not wish to do what I am commanding you now from my death-bed, then at least open up my breast, pluck out my heart and then take it to my house founded on my

mother; see *CP* x. 206-8 and 208 n. a. Henry was a witness to the charter recording Earl William's bequest; see below, App. 2, no. 5.

Waledena, transferte.' Attamen ingrati beneficiis ab eo abundanter sibi collatis neque in hoc illi obaudierunt.<sup>64</sup>

21. *De obitu et sepultura comitis Willelmi*

Intuens igitur omnes uir iste nobilis et maxime illos quos enutrierat et exaltauerat quod tum spernerent, indignando turbatus est, sed non est locutus. Et licet uiribus corporis esset destitutus, tamen conamine quo ualuit se totum excutiens de lecto in quo iacebat in terram corruit et non erat ei ulterius uox neque sensus, immo statim expirauit.

Videntes autem sui, ut falsum dicamus, fideles, quod factum fuerat, moram pati nescientes, statim corpus eius ad abbatiam in proximo sitam, que noto nomine Mortuum Mare dicitur, cum magna auri et argenti pecunia eidem abbacie collata, transtulerunt, et in capitulo monachorum humili satis sepulture tradiderunt. Transiit quidem comes iste Willelmus uir illustris, aduocatus domus nostre tertius, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo nonagesimo .xviii. kalendas Decembris.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> The statement that his heart was not brought to Walden is contradicted by the Walden annals and the list of founders, doubtless through a misunderstanding of the present text. Walden annals, fo. 78<sup>v</sup>: 'Anno Domini 1189 18 kal. Decembris obiit Willelmus Maundeuilla comes Essex' et secundus filius nostri fundatoris. Qui confirmauit et ratificauit nobis a patre suo concessa et collata qui in morte plura nobis donauit et assignauit. Cuius corpus in partibus transmarinis in monasterio de Mortuo Mari in Normannia sepelitur. Et in signum intime dilectionis cor suum de partibus transmarinis ad nos transitum fuit quod iacet in capitulo nostro humatum.' The roll of founders (see above, p. lix) reads: 'Willielmus de Mandeuill comes Essexie et filius secundus nostri fundatoris confirmauit omnia nobis a progenitoribus collata, qui in morte plura nobis donauit et assignauit. Qui in signum intime dilectionis cor suum de partibus transmarinis ad nos transmisit, quod iacet in capitulo nostro humatum, qui obiit anno Domini .MClxxxix. .xviii. kal. Decembris, cuius anime propitietur Deus. Amen.' (printed *Mon. Ang.* iv. 140).

Sources not dependent on *The Book of the Foundation* differ over the date and place of Earl William's death. Richard of Devizes gives the date as 1190, with no month or day, and the place as Gisors: *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, ed. J. T. Appleby (NMT, 1963), p. 10. Roger of Howden says that he died in Nov. 1189 at Rouen: *Gesta Hen. II*, ii. 92;

property at Walden.' But, ungrateful for the benefits he had liberally bestowed upon them, they did not obey him in this either.<sup>64</sup>

21. *The death and burial of Earl William*

Gazing therefore upon all of them, especially those whom he had nurtured and raised up, this noble man was stirred with indignation because they were now treating him with contempt, but said nothing. However, though bereft of bodily strength, he tried with all his might to rouse himself from the bed on which he lay, but fell to the ground, and, losing both voice and senses, died there and then.

His faithful followers, though it is incorrect to call them so, seeing what had happened and unwilling to allow any delay, immediately took his body to an abbey situated close by, which has the well-known name of Mortemer, with a gift of a large amount of money in gold and silver for this abbey, and gave him adequate burial in the monks' humble chapter-house. So Earl William, a man of distinction, the third patron of our house, passed away on 14 November in the year of our Lord 1190 [*recte* 1189].<sup>65</sup>

*Chronica Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs (4 vols.; RS li, 1868-71), iii. 19. Ralph de Diceto gives 14 Nov. 1189, but no place: *Diceto* (ed. Stubbs), ii. 73. Ralph of Coggeshall has 12 Dec. 1189 at Rouen, which is preferred by Landon: *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson (RS lxvi, 1875), p. 26, and Landon, *Itin. Ric. I*, p. 23; but the date is impossible because Geoffrey de Say had already claimed and won the inheritance at Canterbury before 6 December (see below, iii. 1, n. 6, and above, p. xxix). In the obituary of the abbey of Le Val Notre-Dame, the date of death is given as 14 Nov.: *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, ed. A. Molinier and A. Longnon (4 vols.; Paris, 1902-23), i. 631: 'Guillelmus comes de Mandevilla'.

He had certainly died some time before 7 May 1190, when his bequest to Walden, together with charters by his heir Beatrice de Mandeville and her son Geoffrey de Say received royal confirmation. Geoffrey de Say's debt for having the land formerly Earl William's is recorded at Michaelmas 1190 in *Pipe Roll 2 Ric. I*, p. 111. Le Vaudreuil, the place of death in *The Book of the Foundation*, is to the south of Rouen, on the west bank of Seine.

<sup>65</sup> The wrong date, 1181, appears in both the pedigree and the cartulary (where it 'corrects' the right date, 1189; see below, App. 2, no. 6 rubric, and n. 21).

## 〈LIBER III〉

### 〈INCIPIVNT〉 CAPITVLA

1. De Beatrice de Say et filio eius Galfredo
2. De itinere cuiusdam monachi nostri et de pecunia quam reportavit
3. De seisina baronie Galfredo<sup>a</sup> de Say facta et confirmatione matris eiusdem et sua nobis collata
4. De confirmatione regis Ricardi impetrata
5. De litteris regis pro nobis ad episcopos transmissis
6. De promotione prioratus nostri in abbatiam et de benedictione abbatis
7. De refectione splendida ab episcopo procurata et de aduentu abbatis ad nos
8. De numero monachorum, de officinis et de redditibus quos in Waledena possedimus
9. De ecclesia de Waltham et ceteris quas<sup>b</sup> in nostra proprietate habuimus
10. De dinumeratione pensionum quas de ecclesiis recepimus et de minutis redditibus

#### 1. *De Beatrice de Say et filio eius Galfredo*

Fama igitur longe lateque citius uolans mortemque comitis Willelmi per uniuersum Anglie regnum in breui diuulgans, ad aures Beatricis de Say, eiusdem comitis amite, sororis scilicet patris illius, peruenit. Quoniam autem comes iste Willelmus ex Hawisia filia comitis de Albemarle quam cum tota patris sui hereditate iam pridem duxerat uxorem, nullum post se<sup>c</sup> reliquerat heredem, predicta Beatrix totam patris sui Willelmi uidelicet de Mandeuilla sibi de iure uendicabat hereditatem.<sup>1</sup>

Hec itaque nobilis matrona, ut longe superius dictum est,<sup>2</sup> lege coniugali Willelmo de Say extitit copulata, de quo duos suscepit filios, Willelmum scilicet et Galfredum.<sup>3</sup> Horum primogenitus, uidelicet Willelmus, multo iam tempore transacto obierat, qui tamen ex uxore sibi desponsata duas tantum reliquerat filias, quarum primogenitam, nomine Beatricem, Galfredus quidam filius Petri duxerat in uxorem.<sup>4</sup> Willelmus uero de Boclanda, frater illius,

<sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> que CA      <sup>c</sup> A; also cart. fo. 19<sup>v</sup>, as below app. 2 no. 6; om. C

## 〈BOOK III〉

### 〈HERE BEGIN〉 THE CHAPTER HEADINGS

1. Beatrice de Say and her son Geoffrey
2. The journey of one of our monks and the money he brought back
3. The seisin of the barony delivered to Geoffrey de Say and the confirmation granted to us by his mother and himself
4. The confirmation obtained from King Richard
5. Letters on our behalf sent by the king to the bishops
6. The promotion of our priory into an abbey, and the blessing of the abbot
7. The splendid banquet provided by the bishop, and the arrival of the abbot amongst us
8. The number of monks, the buildings, and the revenues which we possessed at Walden
9. The church of [Great] Waltham and others which we had in our possession
10. An account of the pensions which we received from the churches and of small receipts

#### 1. *Beatrice de Say and her son Geoffrey*

Rumour flying swiftly far and wide soon spread news of Earl William's death throughout the whole kingdom of England, and this reached the ears of Beatrice de Say, aunt of the same earl, being his father's sister. Since, however, Earl William had left behind him no heir by Hawisia, daughter of the count of Aumale, whom he had some time before taken as his wife along with the whole of her inheritance from her father, this Beatrice claimed for herself as her right the whole of the inheritance of her father, William de Mandeville.<sup>1</sup>

This noble lady, as has been previously stated,<sup>2</sup> was united in the bonds of marriage with William de Say. By him she had two sons, William and Geoffrey.<sup>3</sup> The elder of these, William, had died long before, leaving, by the wife espoused to him, only two daughters. The elder of these, called Beatrice, was married to a certain Geoffrey fitz Peter;<sup>4</sup> the younger, called Matilda, was married to William of

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. xxvii–xxx.      <sup>2</sup> Above, i. 9.      <sup>3</sup> See above, pp. xxviii–xxix.

<sup>4</sup> For Geoffrey fitz Peter and his family, see above, pp. xxix–xxxii.

alteram nomine Matildam,<sup>4</sup> cum tota patris earundem hereditate ditissima inter eas partienda.<sup>5</sup>

Predicta itaque Beatrix, matronarum nobilissima, in senectute uergens eratque iam etate matura, ideoque filium suum Galfredum de Say quem unicum habebat, uirum scilicet magnum et militarem, uice sua ad regem transmisit Ricardum, qui accersito priore nostro domino Reginaldo cum monachis duobus, associatis etiam sibi totius baronie illius capitaneis, peruenit ad regem apud Cantuariam iam aliquandiu commorantem.<sup>6</sup> Aduenit etiam Galfredus filius Petri iam antea nominatus cum suis asserens illam baroniam ad filiam Willelmi de Say predictae Beatricis primogeniti, hereditario iure spectare quam ipse, ut supradictum est, duxerat uxorem. Attamen Galfredus de Say magnorum uirorum fretus pariterque suffultus auxilio, apud regem obtinuit cui etiam uice matris sue tota hereditas illa concessa est auctoritate regia, necnon et scriptis autenticis regio sigillo signatis confirmata. Hec autem concessio seu confirmatio non adeo absolute uel sola prece et non absque pretio facta est, immo mediante septem millium marcarum conuentione fixis terminis soluendarum, sub rata etiam magnorum fideiussione uirorum.<sup>7</sup> Sed quoniam talis conuentionis tanteque pecunie persoluede in promptu non aderant fideiussores, baronie illius seisinam Galfredo predicto nondum plenarie est collata in breui tamen ei plenius conferenda. Hiis interim omissis ad ea que nos contingere uidentur transeamus.

## 2. De itinere cuiusdam monachi nostri et de pecunia quam reportauit

Contione siquidem soluta prior noster iter arripiens domum remeauit, uno de duobus monachis secum retento, altero uero nomine Rogero<sup>8</sup> in comitatu Galfredi de Say Doueram transmisso. Rex autem Ricardus ibidem morabatur transfretare uolens, sed flatus contrarius ab austro ueniens per aliquot dies ei transitum denegabat.<sup>9</sup> Rege autem illic cum

<sup>4</sup> Matildem A

<sup>5</sup> The inheritance was divided between the two daughters in 1185; see above, pp. xxviii–xxix. This paragraph is used in the Walden annals and the list of founders, quoted below, iv. 9, n. 17.

<sup>6</sup> The king was at Canterbury from 25 Nov. to 5 Dec. 1189; Landon, *Itin. Ric. I*, pp. 17–21.

<sup>7</sup> See *Pipe Roll 2 Ric. I*, p. 111. Both the Walden annals, fo. 79<sup>r-v</sup>, and the roll of founders (see above, p. lix; a text is printed in *Mon. Ang.* iv. 140), draw on this chapter and on iv. 1–2: ‘Galfridus de Say secundus filius Beatricis sororis fundatoris nostri uir erat in armis strenuus sed in mundanis rebus minus sapiens et incircumspectus, baroniam Essex mediantibus 7,000 marcis a rege hereditarie suscepit regendam; terminis solucionis

Buckland, Geoffrey’s brother. With the marriages went the whole of the considerable fortune inherited by these ladies as co-heirs of their father.<sup>5</sup>

This Beatrice, then, the most noble of ladies, who was now reaching a ripe old age, sent to King Richard in her place her only surviving son Geoffrey de Say, a fine knightly man. He summoned our prior, Dom Reginald, with two monks, and accompanied by the chief men in the whole of that barony came to the king at Canterbury where he had been staying for some time.<sup>6</sup> Geoffrey fitz Peter, whom I have already mentioned, also arrived with his men, asserting that that barony belonged by hereditary right to the lady whom he had married (as previously mentioned), the daughter of William de Say, the elder son of Beatrice. But Geoffrey de Say, relying upon and supported by the assistance of influential men, won his case before the king, and the whole of that inheritance was bestowed by royal authority upon him instead of his mother, and was furthermore confirmed by authentic documents authenticated by the royal seal. But this grant with its confirmation was not made unconditionally as a favour, or without financial cost. Indeed, it was conditional on an agreement to pay seven thousand marks at fixed terms on an approved surety of influential men.<sup>7</sup> But as guarantors to this agreement for the payment of so large a sum of money were not readily available, the seisin of that barony was not yet fully conferred upon the said Geoffrey de Say, but was to be conferred upon him more fully within a short time. But leaving this aside for a while, let us pass on to matters which seem to be of concern to us.

## 2. The journey of one of our monks and the money he brought back

When the assembly had concluded, our prior took to the road and returned home. He kept one of the two monks with him, but sent the other, named Roger,<sup>8</sup> to Dover in the company of Geoffrey de Say. King Richard was waiting there, wishing to cross the Channel, but a contrary wind blowing from the south prevented him from crossing for several days.<sup>9</sup> However, one day during the time the king was staying

aduenientibus pecuniarum summa a fideiussoribus erat exacta sed minime persoluta. Quod uidens uir nummosus Galfredus filius Petri baroniam illam uice uxoris sue filie uidelicet Willelmi de Say sibi iure hereditario deuoluendam uendicabat et instabat oportune et importune penes regem et eius ministros qui admissus erat et pecuniam postulatam pro iam dicto Galfredo de Say in breui persoluebat.’

<sup>8</sup> Possibly the man who is called prior in 1199; below, v. 7.

<sup>9</sup> He was at Dover from 6 to 11 Dec. 1189, and arrived at Calais on 12 Dec.: Landon, *Itin. Ric. I*, pp. 21–3.



copiosa populi multitudine consistente, ecce una dierum ex insperato adsunt clerici et familiares comitis Willelmi, milites et<sup>a</sup> famuli, flatibus secundis illuc unda famulante deuecti, in quorum consortio Hugo capellanus maior extitit, ac primus ad quem monachus noster a priore transmissus statim accedens, sciscitabatur ab eo si qua a comite aduocato nostro in extrema eius uoluntate nobis et domui nostre forent legando collata. Qui mox solummodo cartam a comite nobis transmissam proferens fratri tradidit;<sup>10</sup> cetera uero diuersis in locis reposita, sed in breui ea nobis se fore collaturum repromisit; omnia tamen ad capellam pertinentia, peluibus argenteis tantummodo exceptis, silentio tegens. Asserebat igitur ciuem quendam Atrabatensem nomine Willelmum de Carnerio<sup>b</sup> apud Withsandum cum comite Flandrensi aduentum regis prestolante morari a quo centum argenti libras quas comiti debuerat illum exigere oporteret.<sup>11</sup>

Frater itaque noster hec audiens, equo suo citra mare relicto, nauem cum ceteris ascendit et post modicum<sup>c</sup> aere turbato tempestas oborta est ualida, que naues omnes numero plures per mare magnum et spatiosum dissipauit, nec una quidem extitit que portum Withsandi attingere potuisset; nauis uero qua frater ille noster ferebatur, licet conquassata, animabus tamen conseruatis apud Graueingis ad terram est appulsa. Conducta siquidem nauicula frater ad burgum Sancti Audomari peruenit, ciuem preminatum quesuiuit, quesitum inuenit, pecuniam exegit qui statim confessus est et non negauit; attamen homini non antea uiso sed sibi satis incognito tantam pecuniam nec posse nec uelle aliquatenus commendare affirmabat. Anxius tunc frater instat opportune, obsecrat, hortatur, tandem uero magnarum litteras personarum testimonium fidelitatis sibi perhibentium quas penes se habuit proferens, in auribus illius recitauit.

Litteris itaque intellectis uir ille fidelis fidei fratris se totum committens, pannos sericos cum uasis pretiosis pro aliquanta huius pecunie portione se illi fore daturum repromisit. Annuente autem monacho simul et gaudente, panni serici numero duodecim explicantur, cupe due auree cum cifo<sup>d</sup> eque aureo et duobus potis decem

<sup>a</sup> ac A<sup>b</sup> Camerio A<sup>c</sup> postmodum A<sup>d</sup> ciphō A

<sup>10</sup> This was probably the charter granting half the demesne of Walden, referred to above, ii. 19, printed below, App. 2, no. 5; see above, p. xxvii.

<sup>11</sup> Wissant is in Pas-de-Calais, arr. Boulogne-sur-Mer. The king was met at Calais on 12 Dec. 1189 by the count of Flanders, who accompanied him to Normandy: Landon, *Itin. Ric. I*, p. 23. William de Carnerio is to be identified with William 'de Carnier' or 'del Carner', who is recorded as owing 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) to Earl William in 1175 and

there with a large company of people, there arrived unexpectedly clerks and associates of Earl William—knights and household servants. They had sailed there under following winds and a favourable sea current. The most important man in their company was Hugh the chaplain, and he was the first man that our monk, who had been sent by the prior, immediately approached. He enquired of him whether the earl, our patron, had bestowed any gifts upon us or our house by a legacy in his last will. Whereupon Hugh produced no more than a charter that had been dispatched to us by the earl, and handed it to the brother.<sup>10</sup> He said there were other gifts stored in various places, and promised to bestow them upon us soon; however, he remained silent about everything that pertained to the chapel with the single exception of the silver bowls. He stated that a citizen of Arras named William de Carnerio was staying at Wissant with the count of Flanders who was awaiting the arrival of the king. This man owed the earl one hundred pounds of silver, and he said that the brother ought to demand payment of this.<sup>11</sup>

Our brother, on hearing this, left his horse on this side of the sea and embarked with the others. Later, the sky clouded over and a violent storm blew up which scattered all the ships, of which there were many, over the full extent of that sea, and there was not one which could make the harbour at Wissant. But the ship on which that brother of ours was sailing, though damaged, nevertheless put in to land at Gravelines with no lives lost. Chartering a small vessel, the brother came to the town of Saint-Omer and searched for the citizen in question. His search was successful and he asked him for the money; the man immediately admitted the debt and did not repudiate it. However, he declared that he could not, and would not by any means, hand over so large a sum of money to a man he had not seen before who was a complete stranger to him. Concerned at this the brother pressed him whenever he had the opportunity, pleading with him and urging him to pay; in the end he produced letters which he had in his possession from persons of importance that provided evidence of his trustworthiness, and he read these for him to hear.

On learning of the contents of the letters, that good man put his complete trust in the honesty of the brother and promised to give him silken cloths and precious vessels in lieu of a considerable portion of this money. The monk agreed, and expressed his pleasure at this. Silken cloths, twelve in number, were displayed; two golden bowls

1177: *Pipe Rolls 21 Hen. II*, p. 19 (under London and Middlesex), and *22 Hen. II*, p. 117 (under the city of Lincoln).

librarum argenteis proferuntur; prolata uero equo libramine ponderantur. Summa autem pannorum simul et uasorum in unum redacta in estimatione et pretio sexaginta et octo librarum erat; illi uero cautius sibimet ipsis cauentes, litteras sub sigillo clausas de dato et accepto nobis transmittendas fecerunt ne unus minus quam dedisset misisse<sup>a</sup> putaretur, ab altero uero plusquam accepisset exigeretur. Vas insuper<sup>b</sup> unumquodque pondus suum cum pretio litteris patenter in fundo proprio exterius pretendebat.

De pecunia quidem que restabat persoluenda fixus inter eos constitutus est dies. Monachus autem equo qualicumque conducto non moram patiens in eundo nec uacuum uiator iter carpendo petiit Withsandum. Mari transitu ad nos tandem peruenit; letantibus nobis letus suscipitur; omnia que adquisierat salua nobis contulit et intacta necnon et absque ulla minoratione integerrima. Termino igitur de residua pecunie portione transferenda iam<sup>c</sup> pene euoluto abiit qui (et ante frater ille ciuem inuenit) pecuniam exegit, uasa itidem plura et peroptima non tamen aurea sed argentea, in estimatione et pretio tributa duarum librarum ab eo accepit. Ad nos uero reuersus integre plenarieque omnia nobis afferendo contradidit; tres insuper auri marcas cum cupa superius memorata in Anglia recepimus. Cupa tamen illa quam putabamus auream inuenta est hipocrita, auro scilicet primo et purissimo decenter intus et foris in superficie solummodo deaurata: sub deuratione uero omnimoda falsa.

De capella autem illa ditissima a tam illustri uiro nobis legata nichil omnino, peluibus solummodo exceptis, nos attigisse gaudebamus. Pro equo quidem illo optimo et nobili summario datus est nobis runcinus magnus et pessimus. Istorum igitur pars maxima uasorum collata est feneratoribus, Iudeis dico, in quibus est usura et dolus. De hiis ista sufficiant.

3. *De seisina baronie Galfredo de Say facta, et de confirmatione matris eiusdem et sua nobis collata*

Igitur Galfredus de Say superius iam nominatus de illa maxima necnon et stupenda pecunie massa regio thesauro certa pactione inferenda, plegiis sufficientibus nominatis adhibitis atque susceptis, per

<sup>a</sup> om. A

<sup>b</sup> igitur A

<sup>c</sup> om. A

with a cup of an equal amount of gold and two silver drinking vessels weighing ten pounds were produced and then were weighed on true scales. The total weight of the cloths and vessels when taken together was calculated at sixty-eight pounds. Taking great care to protect themselves they had letters about what was given and received closed with a seal and sent to us lest the one should be thought to have sent less than he had really given, or more be demanded of the other than he had in fact received. Each vessel therefore clearly indicated its weight and value on the outside of its base.

A specific day was fixed between them for the payment of the money which remained. The monk, after hiring any horse he could find, left without delay, and going his way not empty-handed he made for Wissant. After crossing the Channel, he finally reached us. Overjoyed himself, he was joyfully welcomed by us. Everything which he had acquired he brought safe to us, undamaged and complete, with no losses. When the term for the payment of the residue of the money had now almost elapsed the brother who had earlier found the citizen asked for the money. As before, he accepted from him many fine vessels, though these were made of silver rather than gold, and were given an estimated value of two pounds. Returning home to us he brought all of them intact with none missing, and handed them over to us. In addition we received in England three marks of gold with the cup previously mentioned. However, the cup which we thought was made of gold was found to be a sham, for although it had been beautifully gilded inside and out with the finest and purest gold, this was only on the surface: beneath the gilding it was utterly counterfeit.

With regard to the richly ornamented chapel which had been bequeathed to us by that illustrious man, we did not have the pleasure of receiving any part of it, with the sole exception of the bowls. In place of the fine and noble pack-horse we were given a large inferior runcy. A very large proportion of those vessels was handed over to money-lenders, Jews I mean, who are usurious and deceitful. But let this be enough of such matters.

3. *The seisin of the barony delivered to Geoffrey de Say and the confirmation granted to us by his mother and himself*

Geoffrey de Say, who has already been mentioned previously, now received in full the seisin of the entire barony which had belonged to Earl William. This was after a very large, I might say an astonishingly large, sum of money was promised by firm agreement to be paid into

Willelmum, Eliensem episcopum, tunc regis iusticiarium,<sup>12</sup> de tota baronia que fuerat comitis Willelmi plenarie adeptus est seisinam, militum homagia suscepit, donatorum munera non recusauit, ut dominus per omnia se habuit, ut dominus omnia moderando disposuit.

Videns autem prior noster dominus Reginaldus preterisse tempus tacendi, et iam aduenisse tempus loquendi,<sup>13</sup> communicato cum fratribus consilio, matrem eiusdem Galfredi, dominam scilicet Beatricem, Dei scilicet et domus nostre dilectricem adiit, et ut terras cum ceteris a comite Willelmo nepote suo nobis et domui nostre legatas nos obtinere liceret, humili satis prece adueniendo postulauit. At illa statim consensit, admisit, confirmauit,<sup>14</sup> et ut hoc filius suus Galfredus ratum haberet precipiendo mandauit. Dominus autem Galfredus in exaudiendo non segnior matre assensum prebuit, omnia a comite legando se quouis modo nobis concessa, et ipse conferendo concessit, terras scilicet et cetera dimidianda estimatione hominum legitimorum iuramento prius accepto, equa sorte diuidendo dimidiauit, certis etiam locis, metis et mensuris, omnia integra et plenaria nobis tunc presentibus uniuersisque in eum successuris assignando contulit. Et ut hoc ratum perpetuo foret fixumque eternaliter constaret, scriptis auctenticis diligenter confirmando corroborauit.<sup>15</sup> Omnia hec modo tali nobis collata, in pace per unum fere annum tenuimus, quiete possedimus, libere etiam omnia disponendo tractauimus.

#### 4. *De confirmatione regis Ricardi impetrata*

Cum hec itaque sic se haberent prior noster, uir per omnia prouidus, fratrum nostrorum necnon et aliorum prudentium fretus consilio, quendam ex fratribus nostris, illum uidelicet quem aliquotiens iam ante miserat, regi Ricardo in transmarinis partibus agenti domus nostre negotia perlaturum transmittere disposuit, cui etiam in medio fratrum constituto in uirtute obedientie iniunctum est ut regem adeat scriptumque confirmationis eius auctenticum super hac noua possessione nostra modis omnibus acquirat, nulla etiam pecuniarum pactione obstante negotium imperfectum relinquat; a priore insuper et a quibusdam ex fratribus, non tamen in publico sed priuatim, illi suggestum est ut si, Deo uolente, regem sibi fore propitium in ceteris

<sup>12</sup> William de Longchamp was bishop of Ely 1189–97 (*Fasti*, ii. 45); he was never called justiciar in any official document, but was one of the king's chief representatives in England from late Dec. 1189 to Mar. 1190, then alone to Oct. 1191. He was also royal chancellor 1189–97 and papal legate 1190–2.

<sup>13</sup> Eccles. 3: 7, 'tempus tacendi et tempus loquendi'.

<sup>14</sup> Below, App. 2, no. 6.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 8.

the royal treasury, for which adequate sureties were named, presented to, and accepted by William, bishop of Ely, who was at that time the king's justiciar.<sup>12</sup> He also received the homages of knights, and did not refuse the gifts of donors. In all matters he behaved like a lord, and similarly governed and regulated everything.

Our prior, Dom Reginald, seeing that 'the time to keep silence' had passed and 'the time to speak'<sup>13</sup> had arrived, consulted his brethren, and then went to see Geoffrey's mother, lady Beatrice, who loved God and our house. On his arrival he requested with due humility that we might now be allowed to take possession of the lands and other possessions which had been bequeathed to us and our house by her nephew, Earl William. Agreeing at once to this, she granted and confirmed it,<sup>14</sup> and gave orders and instructions that her son Geoffrey should have it ratified. Lord Geoffrey, on hearing of the matter, was no slower than his mother in giving his consent, and he himself granted to us on exactly the same terms everything bequeathed to us by the earl. Hence, lands and other possessions that had to be divided in half he divided into equal shares in accordance with the valuation of sworn jurors. He assigned and granted to us at that present time and to all our successors for ever all lands intact and complete, in places fixed within their metes and bounds. In order that this should be ratified for all time and should be determined as unalterable for ever, he carefully confirmed and validated it by authentic documents.<sup>15</sup> All these things which were granted to us in this way we held in peace for almost one year, and possessed undisturbed, freely administering and arranging everything.

#### 4. *The confirmation obtained from King Richard*

Since this was how matters stood, our prior, who was in all things provident, consulted our brethren as well as other men of good sense and made arrangements to send one of our brethren, the one he had sent before on a number of occasions, to King Richard who was occupied in lands overseas, to inform him about the affairs of our house. Standing in the presence of the brethren, he was given orders under a vow of obedience to go to the king and to do all he could to obtain from him an authentic document of his confirmation concerning this new property of ours. He should not leave the business unfinished whatever financial arrangement stood in the way. Further, it was hinted to him by the prior and some of the brethren, privately rather than publicly, that if, God willing, he should notice that the king was well-disposed on other matters, then he should by any means he could make a verbal request

cerneret, de promotione domus nostre pre omnibus necessaria modis omnibus illum interpellando conueniat, ut scilicet prioratus noster, iam nunc in omnibus liber, in abbatiam transeat abbatemque in eodem perpetua successione regulariter permansurum instituat. Admirans autem frater ait, 'Mirum est quod suggeritis, magnum quod iniungitis;<sup>a</sup> attamen magnus est Dominus, fiat uoluntas eius.'

Monachus igitur ille prioris et omnium fratrum benedictionibus simul etiam orationibus commendatus, in uiam pacis<sup>16</sup> abiit: mari transito necnon et multarum tractu<sup>b</sup> terrarum post tergum relicto Pictauiam peruenit ibique apud Burgum qui Sancti Iohannis de Angeli dicitur regem cum ualida bellatorum manu munitiones finitimas oppugnantem inuenit.<sup>17</sup>

Considerato igitur loco cum tempore opportuno, regem cum reuerentia regi debita adiit, humiliter inclinato capite salutauit, negotia sibi iniuncta simpliciter et breui sermone illi propalauit. Deus autem in cuius manu corda sunt regum inclinauit cor regis<sup>18</sup> ad exaudiendos sermones fratris; inspectis intellectisque auctenticis aduocatorum nostrorum munimentis que penes se frater pre manibus habuit, omnia a comite Willelmo nobis et domui nostre legata auctoritate regia concessit, scripto auctentico confirmauit, scriptumque regii sigilli appositione roborauit.<sup>19</sup>

##### 5. *De litteris regis pro nobis ad episcopos transmissis*

Intuens igitur frater ille noster animum regis, Deo propitio, sibi inclinatum, mandati illius a priore et fratribus priuatim sibi indicti non immemor, de prioratu scilicet nostro in abbatiam transferendo, mox regem interpellando conuenit, et qualiter<sup>c</sup> quauē<sup>d</sup> ratione id fieri possit ut cum indulgentia dicamus illum instruendo edocuit. Rex igitur in hac petitione fratris honorem sibi augeri intendens petenti annuit, litteras etiam regio sigillo signatas domino Eliensi, tunc eius iusticiario simul etiam cancellario atque apostolice sedis legato, domino necnon Londoniensi, super hoc negotio maturando transmisit,<sup>20</sup> et ut domus

<sup>a</sup> iniungeritis A      <sup>b</sup> tracta A, through a misreading of C, where final letter u is misformed and looks like a      <sup>c</sup> equaliter A      <sup>d</sup> quaque A

<sup>16</sup> Luke 1: 79, 'ad dirigendos pedes nostros in uiam pacis', part of the Canticle *Benedictus*.

<sup>17</sup> There is no corroborative evidence that the king was engaged in a military siege in early May 1190, though between 8 May and 6 June he went into the county of Bigorre (Hautes Pyrénées), where he besieged, captured and hanged William de Chisi: Landon, *Itin. Ric. I*, p. 32, based on *Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS li), iii. 35.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Prov. 21: 1, 'cor regis in manu Domini quocumque uoluerit inclinabit illud'.

for something which was more important than anything else, the promotion of our house: that is, that our priory which was in all respects free at this time should become an abbey, and that the king should establish the office of abbot in the same place to continue in perpetual succession in conformity to the Rule. The brother, amazed at this, said, 'What you suggest is wonderful, what you are commanding is a great deal, but the Lord is great, so may His will be done'.

Hence, the monk, with the blessing of the prior and all the brethren, and also being commended in their prayers, set off 'into the way of peace'.<sup>16</sup> After crossing the sea and leaving behind him the distance of many lands he arrived in Poitou, and there at a town called Saint-Jean d'Angely he found the king besieging the neighbouring fortress with a strong force of warriors.<sup>17</sup>

Choosing therefore a suitable time and place he approached the king with due reverence. Humbly bowing his head, he greeted him and laid before him simply and briefly the business with which he had been charged. God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, inclined the king's heart<sup>18</sup> to give heed to the brother's words. After the authentic documents of our patrons, which the brother had in his possession, had been inspected and understood, the king by his royal authority granted all the possessions which had been bequeathed to us and our house by Earl William, and confirmed this in an authentic document and ratified the document by the affixing of his royal seal.<sup>19</sup>

##### 5. *Letters on our behalf sent by the king to the bishops*

This brother of ours then, observing that the king's mind by God's favour was well-disposed towards him, remembered the private instructions given to him by the prior and brethren concerning the conversion of the priory into an abbey and soon met the king to make this request. To put it frankly, he guided and instructed him as to the manner and means by which this could be achieved. The king, intending that his own reputation should be enhanced in this matter of the brother's petition, granted the request. He sent letters sealed with the royal seal to the lord bishop of Ely, at that time his justiciar as well as chancellor and papal legate, and to the lord bishop of London, to expedite this business.<sup>20</sup> And he gave full instructions to them with

<sup>19</sup> The charter is dated at Saint-Jean d'Angely on 7 May 1190: cart., fo. 30<sup>r-v</sup>, kings no. 4, printed below, App. 2, no. 5, n. 20.

<sup>20</sup> For William de Longchamp, see above, n. 12. The bishop of London from 1189 to 1198 was Richard fitz Neal, son of Bishop Nigel of Ely: *Fasti*, i. 2.

nostra extunc et deinceps abbatem se habere gauderet et prioratus in abbatiam transiret, regia auctoritate eis precipiendo mandauit.

Tenorem autem litterarum in hoc loco inserendum dignum duximus ut prelati omnes, monachi etiam, futuri simul cum presentibus, quo tempore, quae ratione, sub quo etiam priore, ad hanc promotionis sue dignitatem domus nostra peruenerit sciant pariter et intelligant:

Ricardus Dei gratia rex Anglorum etc. Willelmo eadem gratia Eliensi episcopo etc. salutem. Mandamus uobis atque precipimus quatenus diligenter inquiratis si prioratus sancti Iacobi de Waledena redditus sufficientes ad conuentum monachorum regulariter sustinendum habeat et si sic liber et quietus ab omni subiectione alterius prioratus uel abbatie, et si pater meus bone memorie rex Henricus ultimam donationem illius habuerit, et priorem Reginaldum qui adhuc in eodem prioratu consistit instituerit; quod si ita esse pro certo cognoueritis, tunc uolumus, mandamus atque precipimus quatenus prioratus ille ex hoc tempore et deinceps in nomine Domini abbatia fiat.<sup>21</sup>

In litteris autem ad dominum Londoniensem missis, quia domus nostra in eius diocesi constituta est, hoc tantum in fine additum erat: 'Et abbatem in nomine Domini benedicatis.'<sup>22</sup> Rex igitur illius euangelici non auditor obliuiosus factus, sed factor operis,<sup>23</sup> 'Gratis accepistis, gratis date',<sup>24</sup> nichil omnino a fratre loco muneris accepit, nichil deinceps uice sua a nobis quiuix exegit.

#### 6. *De promotione prioratus nostri in abbatiam et de benedictione abbatis*

Monachus siquidem, negotiis pro quibus ierat ad uotum expeditis, itinere maturato ad nos rediens super confirmatione regia nobis indulta nos pariter omnes letos reddidit, sed de spe promotionis nostre iamiamque concepta multo letiores effecit. In breui igitur ab episcopis regio mandato fauentibus inquisitio procedit; redditus sufficienter taxatus inuenitur, libertas subiectione procul abiecta comprobatur, institutio prioris omnibus liquido patet.

Ab episcopo Londoniensi, domino scilicet Ricardo, inuitatur prior benedictionem adepturus ut ueniat; uenit associatis sibi quatuor monachis tantum<sup>a</sup> apparatu<sup>b</sup> sufficienti satis et honesto. Igitur episco-

<sup>a</sup> A; tamen C      <sup>b</sup> A; C breaks off in middle of word with hyphen appa-

<sup>21</sup> The text of this charter is not preserved in the cartulary; cf. the papal confirmation, *PUE* i, no. 268, 6 Jan. 1191.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Ps. 128 (129): 8, 'benediximus uobis in nomine Domini'.

royal authority to ensure that from that time forward our house should rejoice in having its own abbot and its priory changed into an abbey.

We have thought it appropriate to include here the gist of these letters so that all superiors and monks, present and future, may equally know and understand when, how, and under which prior, our house gained the honour of this promotion:

Richard, by the grace of God, king of the English etc. to William, bishop of Ely by the same grace etc., greeting. We command and direct you to make diligent enquiry to discover whether the priory of St James of Walden has sufficient revenues to sustain a convent of monks according to the Rule, and whether it be free and quit of all subjection to any other priory or abbey, and whether my father of good memory, King Henry, had the last presentation to it, and instituted Prior Reginald who is still installed in the same priory. If you ascertain that this is surely so, then we desire, command and direct that that priory from this time forward and for ever more be made an abbey in the name of the Lord.<sup>21</sup>

In the letter sent to the lord bishop of London, since our house was situated in his diocese, this only was added at the end: 'and you are to bless the abbot in the name of the Lord.'<sup>22</sup> The king then, 'not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work'<sup>23</sup> of that Gospel text 'Freely have ye received, freely give',<sup>24</sup> refused to receive any gift at all from the brother, and no one after this demanded anything from us in his name.

#### 6. *The promotion of our priory into an abbey, and the blessing of the abbot*

The monk, after completing to his satisfaction the business for which he had gone, hastened on his journey and came home to us. He delighted us all equally with the news of the royal confirmation granted to us, but made us much more joyful at the anticipation of our promotion which we took to be imminent. The enquiry by the bishops, who were implementing the royal command, soon began: the revenue on being assessed was found to be sufficient; there being no question of lowly subjection, [the priory's] freedom was established; and [the validity of] the prior's institution was absolutely clear to everybody.

The prior was invited by the bishop of London, lord Richard, to come and receive blessing. He came accompanied by four monks, a quite sufficient and proper retinue. Hence the bishop, on the feast of

<sup>23</sup> Jas. 1: 25, 'non auditor obliuiosus factus sed factor operis'.

<sup>24</sup> Matt. 10: 8, 'gratis accepistis, gratis date', Christ to the disciples.

pus in festiuitate beati Petri apostoli, que dicitur Ad uincula, infulis pontificalibus redimitus, mediante iam hora diei tertia, in ecclesia beati Pauli doctoris gentium<sup>25</sup> introiuit ad altare Dei, in honore beati Petri principis apostolorum missarum solemnita celebraturus.

Officio autem usque ad lectionis euangelice recitationem seriatim ex more completo, processit e uestibulo ille iam pridem prior noster, canis decoratus (si fas est dicere) angelicis, albis uestibus, alba etiam cappa omnino candidatus, manibus duorum archidiaconorum ab utroque latere ob reuerentiam sustentatus, fit sermo ad populum ore pontificis facundo; ecclesie nostre omnium auribus insonuit noua promotio; persona uiri cum honestate plurimum commendatur; deinde benedictionibus super eum ecclesiastico more consummatis in abbatem promouetur.

7. *De refectione splendida ab episcopo procurata et de aduentu abbatis ad nos*

Missa igitur rite celebrata deducitur iam nouus abbas cum suis in aulam pontificis epulaturus;<sup>26</sup> adsunt dapiferi cum ministris, pincerne cum effebis<sup>a</sup> uestibus uariis et pretiosis induti, illi diuersi generis cibaria apponentes, isti pocula odorem nectareum spirantia abundantissime propinantes. Post refectionem uero, mensis remotis, adsunt cantores per pauimentum pontificalis aule pedetentim progredientes, uoces uocibus alternantes Deum in uoce iubilationis collaudantes, pontificem pariter cum abbate, omnes etiam simul congregatos dulciflua modulatione exhilarantes. Dehinc abbas, benedictione cum licentia abunde accepta, gaudens cum suis ad preparata sibi properauit hospitia.

Disponente autem Domino facta est hec domus nostre promotio dominique Reginaldi, abbatis nostri primi institutio anno Verbi Incarnati millesimo centesimo nonagesimo, kalendas Augusti, feria quarta.<sup>27</sup> Dominica uero subsequenti affuerunt archidiaconi duo cum quibusdam personis aliisque multis undecumque conuocatis<sup>b</sup> a latere episcopi ad abbatis susceptionem destinati. Hora autem iam mediante tertia affuit abbas; processione ordinata exiimus in obuiam cum ceteris in uestitu deaurato circumdati uarietate, abbati nouo canticum

<sup>a</sup> ephebis A      <sup>b</sup> congregatis A

<sup>25</sup> 1 Tim. 2: 7, 'ego . . . doctor gentium'.

<sup>26</sup> The bishop's hall stood on the north side of St Paul's cathedral.

<sup>27</sup> It is worthy of note that this date, alone of the dates given in *The Book of the Foundation*, has the ring of authenticity: 1 Aug. 1190 was indeed a Wednesday.

the Blessed apostle Peter, called *Ad Vincula* [1 August], wearing his pontifical insignia, in the church of the Blessed Paul, 'teacher of the gentiles',<sup>25</sup> at half past eight in the morning, approached the altar of God to celebrate solemn mass in honour of the Blessed Peter, prince of the apostles.

When the order of service had been duly completed as far as the reading of the Gospel lection, he who had been till then our prior proceeded from the vestry, graced by his white hairs, in angelic (if it is not irreverent to say that) white robes, and with his white cope as well, he was attired entirely in white. He was supported on both sides by the hands of two archdeacons as a mark of reverence. The bishop then preached an eloquent sermon to the people: the recent promotion of our church resounded in the ears of everybody and the virtuous personality of the man was commended; then when the blessings had been completed in accordance with ecclesiastical custom he was promoted to the office of abbot.

7. *The splendid banquet provided by the bishop, and the arrival of the abbot amongst us*

After mass had been duly celebrated the new abbot was then conducted with his companions into the bishop's hall for a banquet.<sup>26</sup> There were stewards there with their assistants and butlers dressed in various costly bright robes, the former placing foods of various kinds on the tables, the latter lavishly handing out goblets which exuded a heavenly aroma. After the meal the tables were removed and singers entered advancing in slow procession over the floor of the bishop's hall. They sang antiphonally praising God in words of jubilation, delighting the bishop as much as the abbot and all who were assembled there with the sweetness of their singing. Then after receiving a blessing and permission to depart, the abbot hastened joyfully with his companions to the lodgings prepared for them.

So by the will of the Lord this promotion of our house and the institution of Dom Reginald as the first abbot took place on Wednesday the first day of August in the year of the Word Incarnate 1190.<sup>27</sup> On the following Sunday the two archdeacons as well as certain dignitaries and many others who had gathered from all quarters were sent as representatives of the bishop to receive the abbot. When it was now half past eight in the morning the abbot arrived; wearing gilded robes of many colours, we departed with others in an orderly procession to

nouum cantantes in uoce exultationis<sup>28</sup> cum suauī tinnitu signorum bene sonantium.

Susceptus autem more ecclesiastico in ecclesiam deducitur, prostratus coram altari orauit, surgens uero pallio serico ipsum altare decorauit; missa autem solemnī deuotione celebrata, capitulum intrauit, ibique quod monasticus exigit ordo expeditius peregit; inde domos suas exteriores ingrediens omnes ibidem adunatos conuocauit; conuocatos abundanter et splendide cibo potuque refecit; refectos uero omnes cum gaudio ad propria remisit.

8. *De numero monachorum, de officinis et de redditibus quos <in><sup>a</sup> Waledena possedimus*

Dignum autem duximus huic operi inserere quas ecclesias, quos redditus, que tenementa tempore illo ecclesia nostra possederit, ut sciant prelati cum fratribus succedentes, que et quanta a nobis possessa inuenerint, qualia uel ipsi acquisierint, uel que minoratione aliqua interueniente, quod absit, amiserint.

Igitur dominus Reginaldus in monasterio sancti Iacobi apostoli de Waledena abbas Dei gratia extitit primus, cum conuentu uiginti sex monachorum, sufficienti satis et honesto, religiose et regulariter in omnibus se habente. Victualia autem quotidiana cum uestitu communiter et ordinate nobis administrabantur. Cetera uero siue intus siue extra sufficienter omnibus procurabantur. Vasa quoque altaris, uestimenta sacerdotalia ceteraque ecclesiastica ornamenta, codices etiam quadam mediocritate nobis sufficiebant, cum ecclesia decenti, non tamen perfecta, cum claustro optimo et officinis magna tamen<sup>b</sup> ex parte inconsummatis. Ecclesiam beate Marie de Waledena parochialem habuimus in nostra proprietate cum omnibus decimis magnis et minutis excepta tertia garba de demenio, exceptisque denariis ad altare oblatis, cum una etiam hida terre et nouem mansis eidem ecclesie adiacentibus. Infra claustra monasterii nostri habuimus molendinum unum et aliud extra, cum mansis pluribus tunc nouiter possessis, et aliis quibusdam antiquitus datis, cum pratulo proximo Fulefen dicto. Habuimus insuper<sup>c</sup> in Waledena apud boschagium centum acras terre arabilis, in Kebwrdehei<sup>29</sup> nichilominus centum acras ex quibus sex-

<sup>a</sup> add. in list of capitula above  
<sup>c</sup> etiam A

<sup>b</sup> tum A, through a misreading of C

<sup>28</sup> Ps. 46: 2 (47: 1), 'in uoce exultationis'.

<sup>29</sup> See above, i. 8, for the Fulfen and Kibberdys.

meet him. We sang a new hymn for the new abbot 'with the voice of exultation',<sup>28</sup> accompanied by the sweet sound of well-modulated bells.

When he had been received in accordance with ecclesiastical custom he was escorted into the church where, prostrating himself before the altar, he offered up a prayer; on rising he adorned the altar itself with a silken pall. After solemn mass had been devoutly celebrated he entered the chapter-house, and there quickly carried out the obligations demanded by the monastic order. He then entered his outer chambers and invited everyone to gather there; when they had gathered he entertained them lavishly and sumptuously with food and drink, and when they were all refreshed he sent them back rejoicing to their own quarters.

8. *The number of monks, the buildings, and the revenues which we possessed at Walden*

We have thought it right to include in this work an account of the churches, revenues, and holdings possessed by our church at that time. This will enable future superiors and their brethren to know the nature and extent of the possessions they should find as well as what they have acquired or, God forbid, what they have lost if any diminution should come about.

Dom Reginald was, by the grace of God, the first abbot in the monastery of St James the Apostle of Walden. He had a community of twenty-six monks, a quite sufficient and respectable number, who lived piously and in all respects in accordance with the Rule. Our daily food and clothing were provided for us in common on a regular basis. Other needs, internal and external, were sufficiently supplied for everybody. Altar vessels, priestly vestments and other ecclesiastical ornaments, and even books, though these were not of high quality, were sufficient for our needs, and we had a fine church, though not yet finished, as well as a beautiful cloister and outer buildings, though they were largely incomplete at that time. We had the parish church of the Blessed Mary of Walden in our possession, with all the great and small tithes (except for the third sheaf of the demesne and the money received from offerings at the altar) and also one hide of land and nine houses belonging to the church. Within the precincts of our monastery we had one mill and another outside, with several houses which had just come into our possession at that time, and some others which had been given to us long before, with a small meadow nearby called the Fulfen. In addition we held a hundred acres of arable land in Walden near woodland and in Kibberdys<sup>29</sup> also a



aginta possidebant homines ibidem commanentes, quadraginta uero semisteriles fossato clause erant, que uix spinas et tribulos satis humiles germinabant. Viginti et duas acras habuimus de feodo Michaelis Pulcin per quenquam<sup>a</sup> Ricardum cognomine Malgerum primitus nobis datas.

Terras alias plures paulatim acquisitas, partim pretio emptas, partimque gratis diuerso tempore collatas, in uilla de Waledena possedimus. In diuisa uero duarum uillarum, Waledene scilicet et Essendune, habuimus quadraginta et sex acras, quarum uiginti et sex erant terre arabilis, uiginti uero bosci eidem terre proxime. Cum hiis igitur terris et ceteris superius nominatis habuimus in uilla de Waledena carucatas duas plenarias. Recepimus autem annuatim de hominibus nostris in Waledena pro mansis eorum, terris et tenementis, triginta et septem solidos, cum decem in septimana operationibus et decem in anno altilibus.<sup>30</sup>

9. *De ecclesia de Walteham et ceteris quas<sup>b</sup> in nostra proprietate habuimus*

In proprietate igitur nostra possedimus ecclesiam de Walteham, cum dimidia hida terre arabilis et quinque acris prati, cum tertia tantum<sup>c</sup> garba decima de demenio. Omnes autem obuentiones cum decimis minutis recipiebat presbiter eidem ecclesie deseruiens, sex marcas annuatim soluendo. Quatuordecim acras terre arabilis cum una acra prati ad capellam que fuit Mauriti de Tiliteia<sup>31</sup> pertinentes in eadem uilla habuimus: de tenemento quodam apud Leueruneleie ad eandem ecclesiam pertinente uiginti duos denarios, de hominibus nostris apud Walteham tredecim solidos et duos denarios annuatim recepimus cum sex in septimana operationibus.

Ecclesia de Estra cum dimidia hida terre arabilis et quinque acris prati et tertia tantum garba decime de demenio in propria manu nostra erat. Presbiter uero qui in eadem ecclesia ministrabat omnes obuentiones cum decimis minutis<sup>d</sup> recipiebat, tres marcas annuatim reddendo; de hominibus ibidem de nobis tenentibus quindecim denarios. De capella autem Plaseti, que in eadem parochia sita est, duos solidos annuatim recepimus.

Ecclesiam de Enefelda propriis usibus nostris assignatam, cum

<sup>a</sup> quendam A                      <sup>b</sup> CA; better than que, the reading in the list of capitula above  
<sup>c</sup> tum A, through a misreading of C                      <sup>d</sup> mutatis CA

<sup>30</sup> For notes on the properties mentioned in this chapter and in cc. 9–10, see below, App. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Maurice of Tilty was sheriff of Essex from 1157 to 1163. In 1166 the third part of a knight's fee which he held of the new enfeoffment of the honour of Mandeville was in the

hundred acres, sixty acres of which the local inhabitants possessed while the other forty, bounded by a ditch, were unproductive, scarcely able to produce thorns or tiny thistles. We had twenty-two acres from the fee of Michael Pulcin, given to us in the first place by a certain Richard, surnamed Malger.

In the town of Walden we possessed several other pieces of land which we had acquired gradually, some purchased at a price, others granted to us freely at various times. On the boundary of the two towns of Walden and Ashdon we had forty-six acres, of which twenty-six were of arable land, and twenty were woodland near that same land. With these pieces of land, then, and others described above, we had two complete carucates in the town of Walden. We received from our men in Walden in payment for their houses, lands, and holdings an annual payment of thirty-seven shillings as well as a day's work from ten men each week and ten capons per year.<sup>30</sup>

9. *The church of [Great] Waltham and others which we had in our possession*

Amongst the property we had was the church of [Great] Waltham with a half hide of arable land and five acres of meadow, with the third sheaf only of the tithes of the demesne. The priest serving that same church received all the offerings of the church as well as the small tithes in return for an annual payment of six marks. In the same town we had fourteen acres of arable land with one acre of meadow pertaining to the chapel which belonged to Maurice of Tilty.<sup>31</sup> From a holding in *Leuerunelei* pertaining to the same church we received twenty-two pence annually; from our men at Waltham we received thirteen shillings and twopence annually as well as a day's work each week from six men.

We also had the church of [High] Easter in our own hands with a half hide of arable land, five acres of meadow, and the third sheaf only of the tithes of the demesne. The priest who ministered in that same church received all the offerings as well as the small tithes, and rendered three marks annually. From the men who held lands from us there we received fifteen pence. From the chapel of Pleshey, which is situated in the same parish, we received an annual payment of two shillings.

We held the church of Enfield as assigned to us for our own use, with

king's hands: *Red Book*, i. 347. He was founder of the Cistercian house at Tilty, to which he gave the knight's fee that his father, Geoffrey, had held of the earl of Derby: *ibid.*, p. 337, and see *Mon. Ang.* v. 625.

omnibus integre decimationibus tam demenii quam totius uille tenuimus; de uicaria<sup>a</sup> uero dimidiam marcam; de molendino tres marcas; de hominibus terras eiusdem ecclesie tenentibus uiginti solidos annuatim recepimus; sex uero acras prati in propria manu nostra retinuimus.

Ecclesia de Edelmetona, cum omnibus integre decimis, tam demenii quam totius uille in propria manu nostra erat; de uicaria tres marcas, de hominibus uero terras eiusdem ecclesie tenentibus uiginti et sex solidos annuos<sup>b</sup> recepimus; sex autem acras prati nobis retinuimus. Heremitageum de Hadleia, infra parochiam de Edelmetona situm, cum terris, decimis, obuentionibus et ceteris omnibus ad eundem locum pertinentibus, integre possedimus, cum hominibus etiam terras ibidem tenentibus, et duodecim solidos et sex denarios nobis annuatim soluentibus.

Ecclesiam de Mimmes, cum decem et octo acris terre arabilis eidem ecclesie adiacentibus, cum omnibus etiam decimationibus, tam demenii quam totius uille, integre propriis usibus nostris assignatam possedimus. Presbiter autem eidem ecclesie deseruiens, obuentiones cum omnibus minutis decimis recipiebat, marcam unam nobis annuatim soluendo; de hominibus uero terras de nobis ibidem tenentibus quinque solidos annuos et quatuor denarios recepimus.

Ecclesia igitur de Arkesdena in nostra proprietate libera et quieta erat, cum uiginti duabus acris terre arabilis, pratis etiam et pascuis, hominibus uero et eorum seruitiis eidem ecclesie adiacentibus, cum omnium fructuum decimationibus, excepta decima de demenio de Wigefossa; a presbitero in eadem ecclesia ministrante, dimidiam marcam de uicaria annuatim recepimus. Ipse uero omnes altaris obuentiones, necnon et minutas decimas, excepto caseo recipiebat, excepta igitur tota oblatione a uigilia sancte Margarete usque in octauas eiusdem ecclesie eidem collata.

Capellam de Eineswrda in nostra proprietate habuimus, cum triginta et tribus acris terre arabilis eidem capelle pertinentibus, cum omnibus decimationibus totius feodi Willelmi Goet, eiusdem capelle aduocati. Possedimus insuper ex donatione Roberti filii Rogeri duas acras de feodo eiusdem Willelmi loco uno iacentes, qui etiam Rundberne uocitatur; ex dono cuiusdam Galfredi Goet uiginti acras terre arabilis et duas prati; ex dono Ricardi Goet, eiusdem nepotis, duodecim acras terre arabilis et unam prati; ex dono Alesie, eiusdem Ricardi matris, octo acras; ex dono etiam cuiusdam alterius Ricardi

<sup>a</sup> uicario A<sup>b</sup> annuatim A

all the tithes in full, not only of the demesne but also of the whole vill. From the vicarage we received an annual payment of half a mark, from the mill three marks, from the men holding the lands of the same church twenty shillings, but we retained six acres of meadow in our own hands.

The church of Edmonton was in our own hands with all the tithes in full, not only of the demesne but also of the whole vill. From the vicarage we received an annual payment of three marks, from the men holding the lands of the same church twenty-six shillings, but we retained six acres of meadow for ourselves. We had full possession of the hermitage of Hadley situated within the parish of Edmonton, with its lands, tithes, offerings and all its other appurtenances together with the men holding lands there, who made an annual payment of twelve shillings and sixpence to us.

We had possession of the church of [South] Mimms assigned wholly to us for our use with its eighteen acres of arable land belonging to the same church, with all the tithes not only of the demesne but also of the whole vill. The priest who served that church received the offerings with all the small tithes in return for an annual payment to us of one mark. From the men holding lands from us in that place we received an annual payment of five shillings and four pence.

The church of Arkesden was in our free and undisturbed possession with twenty-two acres of arable land as well as meadows and pastures belonging to the same church, with the men and their service and the tithes of all produce except the tithe from the demesne of *Wigefossa*. From the priest ministering in that same church we received an annual payment of half a mark from the vicarage. But he received all the altar offerings besides the small tithes except for cheese, and excepting also the entire offerings contributed in that church between the eve of St Margaret and the octave of the same feast [19–27 July].

We had the chapel of Ainsworth in our possession, with thirty-three acres of arable land pertaining to this same chapel, as well as all the tithes of the entire fee of William Goet, patron of that chapel. In addition we possessed from the gift of Robert, son of Roger, two acres on the fee of the same William, lying in one place, called Rundberne; from the gift of a certain Geoffrey Goet twenty acres of arable land and two acres of meadow; from the gift of Richard Goet, his nephew, twelve acres of arable land and one acre of meadow; from the gift of Alice, mother of Richard, eight acres; from the gift of another Richard,

quinque acras terre arabilis et dimidiam acram prati ecclesie parochiali de Arkesdena primitus collatas; ex dono Willelmi de Rochella septem acras ad seruitium capelle de Wigefossa deputatas; cum hiis autem terris et aliquantis insuper acris unam in uilla de Arkesdena habuimus terre carucatam.

Ecclesiam de Chishella possedimus propriis usibus nostris deputatam cum duabus dimidiis uirgatis terre arabilis de feodis duorum aduocatorum, Roberti scilicet Rumbaldi et Willelmi Barun, ab antiquis progenitoribus illorum eidem ecclesie collatis cum omnibus obuentio-nibus et decimis magnis et minutis, excepta decimatione de demenio Rogeri filii Fulconis, de quo tamen duas acras annone annuatim recepimus; de hominibus autem terras ibidem de nobis tenentibus uiginti et octo denarios habuimus.

Ecclesiam de Lindeseles in proprietate nostra possedimus, cum uiginti duabus acris terre arabilis et dimidia acra prati ad eam pertinentibus, cum omnibus decimis francotenantium simul et uillanorum. Obuentiones omnes altaris cum minutis decimis recepit presbiter qui eidem ecclesie deseruiebat, solidos octo annuos soluendo. Tertiam tantum garbam<sup>a</sup> decime de demenio Radulphi Pirot, tertiam etiam garbam decime de demenio Simonis filii Ricardi de Lacheleia, cum tribus acris terre arabilis habuimus. De decimatione curie monachorum sancti Walerici nichil omnino recepimus; tamen quinque acras terre arabilis cum quodam pratulo pro duobus solidis annuatim soluendis de eis tenuimus. Vnam etiam uirgatam terre arabilis de feodo Radulphi Pirot habuimus, reddendo pro ea quatuor solidos annuatim.

**10. De dinumeratione pensionum quas de ecclesiis recepimus et de minutis redditibus**

In omnibus igitur ecclesiis inferius nominatis unanimi uoluntate et assensu fratrum instituit uicarios dominus Reginaldus, quosdam prior existens, quosdam uero iam abbas factus, sub pensione annua euidenter et seriatim in hoc loco annotata:

de ecclesia de Almodesham recepimus quinque marcas;

de ecclesia de Stratleia tres marcas;

de ecclesia de Norhalla duas marcas;

de ecclesia de Cuntona uiginti solidos;

<sup>b</sup>de ecclesia de Kaingeham uiginti solidos;<sup>b</sup>

de ecclesia de Diggeswelle unam marcam;

de ecclesia de Thorleia unam marcam;

<sup>a</sup> garbe CA      <sup>b-b</sup> om. C, marg. ins. by third hand

five acres of arable land and half an acre of meadow given to the parish church of Arkesden in early days; from the gift of William de Rochella, seven acres assigned to the service of *Wigefossa* chapel. With these lands and some other acres in addition we had one carucate of land in the vill of Arkesden.

We had possession of the church of [Great] Chishill as assigned to our own use with two half-*virgates* of arable land on the fees of its two patrons, Robert Rumbald and William Barun, conferred upon this church by their ancestors of old, with all the offerings and tithes, great and small, except for the tithe of the demesne of Roger son of Fulc from whom we received the grain from two acres of land annually; from the men holding the lands from us in that place we had twenty-eight pence.

We had in our own possession the church of Lindsell with twenty-two acres of arable land and half an acre of meadow pertaining to it with all the tithes of the freeholders and villeins. The priest who served that church received all the altar offerings with the small tithes in return for an annual payment of eight shillings. We had only the third sheaf of the tithe of the demesne of Ralph Pirot, and also the third sheaf of the tithe of the demesne of Simon son of Richard of Lashley, with three acres of arable land. We received nothing at all from the tithe of the court of the monks of Saint-Valéry; however, we held from them five acres of arable land and a small meadow for an annual payment of two shillings, and we also had one *virgate* of arable land on the fee of Ralph Pirot at an annual rent of four shillings.

**10. An account of the pensions which we received from the churches and of small receipts**

In all the churches named below Dom Reginald instituted vicars with the unanimous agreement and consent of the brethren, some when he was prior, others after he had become abbot, at the annual pensions clearly and consecutively below:

from the church of Amersham we received five marks;

from the church of Streatley, three marks;

from the church of Northolt, two marks;

from the church of [Long] Compton, twenty shillings;

from the church of Kingham, twenty shillings;

from the church of Digswell, one mark;

from the church of Thorley, one mark;

de ecclesia de Elsenham<sup>a</sup> decem solidos;  
 de ecclesia de Chipenham sex solidos;  
 de ecclesia de Aynho duos solidos;  
 de ecclesia de Senleia duos solidos;  
 de ecclesia de Gedelestuna duos solidos;  
 de ecclesia de Heidenen duodecim denarios.

Omnes autem ecclesiarum predictarum vicarii abbati et fratribus nostris obsequium sepius prestabant, domus nostre negotia in multis promouentes, in hospitibus suis totius humanitatis gratiam nobis exhibentes.

Redditus itaque multos particulatim locis diuersis habuimus, quos etiam minutos nominauimus, quorum aliquantos dato pretio comparatos, aliquantos a bonis uiris necnon a mulieribus honestis in fraternitatem domus nostre susceptis donatos, aliquantos a decedentibus in ultima uoluntate legatos, plures uero nobis et domui nostre multis modis, multis etiam occasionibus, collatos possedimus, quorum omnium partes diuerse simul in unum redacte surgunt in summam quatuor librarum et quatuordecim solidorum.

De possessionibus domus nostre enumerandis, ista sufficiant, nunc uero ad alia que restant tractanda redeamus.

<sup>a</sup> Eisenham A

from the church of Elsenham, ten shillings;  
 from the church of Chippenham, six shillings;  
 from the church of Aynho, two shillings;  
 from the church of Shenley, two shillings;  
 from the church of Gilston, two shillings;  
 from the church of Heydon, twelve pence.

All the vicars of these churches frequently proved their loyalty to the abbot and our brethren, promoting the affairs of our house in many ways, and showing us every human kindness by their hospitality.

We also had many separate sources of revenue in various places which we have also called small receipts. Some of these were acquired at an agreed price, others from good men as well as from honourable women who had been received into the fraternity of our house; some were bequeathed by the dying in their last will; we came into possession of several which had been bestowed upon us and our house in many ways and on many occasions. When the various sums coming from all these receipts are added together they total four pounds and fourteen shillings.

This account of the possessions of our house must suffice, for we must now return to other matters which remain to be discussed.

## 〈LIBER IV〉

### 〈INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA〉

1. De Galfredo de<sup>a</sup> Say pecunie pactionem soluere non ualente
2. De seisina Galfredo filio Petri facta
3. De aduentu Galfredi filii Petri ad nos et de uerbis illius minacibus
4. De disseisina hominum terrarum ceterarumque rerum nobis ab eo facta
5. De sententia ex mandato episcopi in presumptores lata
6. De hiis que per regis iusticiarium recuperauimus
7. De mandato domini pape contemptui dato
8. De morte Beatricis uxoris Galfredi filii Petri
9. De obitu nobilis matrone Beatricis scilicet de Say
10. De mandato regis recognitionis faciende ad iusticiarium<sup>b</sup> transmissio
11. De scrutinio per archiepiscopum in domo nostra facto
12. De litteris archiepiscopi pro nobis ad regem transmissis, et de seisina nobis facta
13. De persecutione grauissima nobis illata
14. De episcopo nostro et archiepiscopo nichil boni nobis conferentibus
15. De hiis que per uillicum de Waledena ibidem nobis facta sunt
16. De familiaribus nostris nos consolantibus, et de iniuriis nondum cessantibus
17. De persecutoribus nostris apud Enefeldam et Walteham
18. De confirmatione comitis Willelmi coram rege recitata
19. De confirmatione predicta magnorum uirorum testimonio approbata
20. De omnimoda disseisina permissione regis nobis facta
21. De litteris regis ad dominum Galfredum pro nobis transmissis
22. De morte regis Ricardi et de fratre eius Iohanne in regem uncto
23. De domino Galfredo gladio comitatus accincto

1. <sup>a</sup> *De Galfredo de Say pecunie pactionem soluere non ualente*

<sup>d</sup> Galfredus igitur de Say, sicut iam longe superius dictum est, totam illam baroniam que fuerat comitis Willelmi adeptus, de illa obstupenda<sup>e</sup> pecunie massa regio erario inferenda, adhibitis tamen prius susceptis-

## 〈BOOK IV〉

### 〈HERE BEGIN〉 THE CHAPTER HEADINGS

1. Geoffrey de Say's inability to pay the money agreed upon
2. Seisin delivered to Geoffrey fitz Peter
3. Geoffrey fitz Peter's visit to us, and his threatening words
4. We are disseised by him of men, lands and other things
5. The sentence passed upon the perpetrators by the bishop's mandate
6. The property we recovered through the king's justiciar
7. The lord pope's mandate received with contempt
8. The death of Geoffrey fitz Peter's wife
9. The passing of the noble lady Beatrice de Say
10. The king's mandate dispatched to the justiciar for a recognition to be made
11. The scrutiny carried out in our house by the archbishop
12. The archbishop's letter to the king on our behalf and seisin delivered to us
13. Severe persecution inflicted upon us
14. Our bishop and the archbishop are of no help to us
15. The actions of a reeve of Walden against us there
16. Our friends console us, but the injustices continue
17. Our persecutors at Enfield and Waltham
18. Earl William's confirmation read before the king
19. The aforesaid confirmation proved by the testimony of important men
20. The complete disseisin inflicted upon us by permission of the king
21. The king's letter sent to lord Geoffrey on our behalf
22. King Richard's death and his brother John anointed king
23. Lord Geoffrey girded with the sword of an earldom

1. *Geoffrey de Say's inability to pay the money agreed upon*

Geoffrey de Say, as has been stated already much earlier, had gained possession of the whole barony that had belonged to Earl William. After guarantors had been first presented and accepted, he had agreed

<sup>a</sup> *A; om. C*      <sup>b</sup> *iusticiarios A*      <sup>c</sup> *first hand resumes in C*      <sup>d</sup> *beginning of quotation in cart.: app. 2 no. 10*      <sup>e</sup> *stupenda A*

que fideiussoribus, terminos tam ab ipso rege quam ab eius iusticiario, Willelmo uidelicet Eliensi episcopo, fixis temporibus constitutos acceperat. Adueniente autem primo solutionis huius termino, septingentas marcas undecumque uix aggregatas soluendo comportauit. Termino nichilominus non multo post superueniente secundo, arctatur ut soluat, sed manus antea nummis euacuata quid solueret non inuenit. A fideiussoribus solutio taxata exigitur: Galfredo etenim fidei illorum commisso non soluente, coguntur ut soluant.

At ille non multum sapiens, nec sapientum consiliis adherere uolens, baroniam illam in manus iam dicti episcopi tenendam contradidit, donec illam denariorum massam ex eadem fixis terminis dinumeratam regio thesauro intulisset, sicque solutione peracta denuo eam sibi libere possidendam reconsignaret.

## 2. De seisina Galfredo filio Petri facta

Videns itaque Galfredus filius Petri, cuius superius mentionem fecimus, uir ille nummosus et locuples ualde, quod factum fuerat, statim episcopum illum regis iusticiarium pretio maximo cum prece dato conuenit, baroniamque illam quam uice uxoris sue, filie scilicet Willelmi fratris<sup>a</sup> Galfredi de Say primogeniti, hereditario iure sibi uendicabat, interpellando expostulauit, pecuniam insuper ab eodem Galfredo fixa pactione nominatam, regi in breui conferendam repromisit. Ille uero, rege annuente auctoritatemque ad hoc prebente, in plenariam totius baronie seisinam illum admisit, pecuniam repromissam exegit, quam in breui integram plenariamque regiis thesauris inferendam ab eo recepit. Sic admissus, sicque in illa baronia scriptis regiis confirmatus tenuit,<sup>1</sup> possedit, homagia militum suscepit, ut dominus per omnia se habuit,<sup>b</sup> omniaque ad uotum sibi respondentia libere disponendo tractauit. Non post multum uero temporis circummiuit terram et perambulauit eam. Peruenit tandem Waldenam, ad eam scilicet quam cum aliis emerat uillam, quia necesse habuit uidere illam.

<sup>a</sup> filii A

<sup>b</sup> end of quotation in cart.: app. 2 no. 10.

<sup>1</sup> A royal charter confirming Geoffrey and his wife in the barony was issued at Messina on 23 Jan. 1191: see above, p. xxx. This and the previous chapter are drawn upon by both the Walden annals and the roll of founders: see above, iii. 1, n. 7. The sum paid by Geoffrey was 3,000 marks: see above, p. xxix.

set limits of time over a specified period made by both the king himself and his justiciar, William, bishop of Ely, for the payment of that extraordinarily large sum of money which he was to make to the royal treasury. When the first date for payment arrived he brought along seven hundred marks to pay in, which he had scraped together with some difficulty from all sorts of sources. Not long after, however, the day arrived for the second payment that he was contracted to make, but his hand had been completely emptied before, so he could not find the wherewithal to pay. The sum was assessed and payment demanded from his guarantors, for when Geoffrey, for whom they had stood surety, did not pay up, they were compelled to do so.

But Geoffrey was not a man of much sense, and refusing to stick to the advice of sensible men, he handed over his barony to the bishop of Ely for him to hold until, out of it, he should have paid into the royal treasury that huge sum of money, which was calculated at fixed terms. When payment was fully made, the bishop was then to return the barony to him to be freely possessed by him.

## 2. Seisin delivered to Geoffrey fitz Peter

Geoffrey fitz Peter, then, that monied and very wealthy man of whom we have already made mention, seeing what had happened, immediately approached the same bishop, the king's justiciar, and gave a very large sum of money, along with a plea. He made a strong demand for that barony which he claimed as an hereditary right through his wife, the daughter of William, the first-born brother of Geoffrey de Say. Furthermore he promised to pay the king in a short time the money which had been stipulated for payment by Geoffrey on agreed terms. When the king consented and gave authority for this to be done, the bishop admitted Geoffrey fitz Peter into full possession of the whole barony, and demanded the promised money. Within a short time he received all of this from him in full, for payment into the king's treasury. When Geoffrey fitz Peter had been so admitted and was confirmed in that barony by royal documents,<sup>1</sup> he held and possessed it and received the homages of knights, conducted himself as a lord in all matters, and gladly settled and determined all the business which was turning out according to his wishes. Not long after this he travelled around his land and perambulated it. He came finally to Walden, the vill which he had bought with the others, for he felt he ought to see it.

3. *De aduentu Galfredi filii Petri ad nos et de uerbis illius minacibus*

Audiens autem abbas noster illum aduenire, duobus monachis sibi associatis occurrit ei obuiam quasi aduocato nouo congratulaturus, illumque in domum Domini letantem,<sup>a</sup> ut decuit, introducturus. Approximans autem cum fratribus deuote satis et cum reuerentia domino debita, illum salutando alloquitur, rogat humiliter ut ecclesiam beati Iacobi primo ingrediatur, monachos etiam suos uisitando alloquatur. Ille uero salutantis uerba tacendo non solum despexit, uerum etiam faciem auertens tergum indignando pretendit. Abbas autem intuens uiri animum ira inopinata erga se commotum, patienter sustinuit, lorisque reflexis ceteris pariter equitantibus sese coniunxit. Dominus igitur Galfredus uix animo suo dominans, ad nos tamen diuertens, ecclesiam intrauit oculos circumducens, toruo intuitu omnia circumspiciendo perlustrauit. Non diu intus morando, parum aut nichil orauit. Exiens inde, claustrum intrauit, et stans in ostio capituli cum indignatione maxima ad abbatem se conuertens, cunctis audientibus in hec uerba prorupit: 'O domine abba,<sup>b</sup> tu et monachi tui me meosque exheredastis, qui prioratum meum in abbatiam conuertistis, meque abiecto potestati regie omnino uos subdidistis.' Abbas autem animum uiri commotum blando sermone compescere uolens, uerbis illius modum excedentibus humili satis et modesta ratione respondendo obuiavit: attamen furore non satiato, minas grauissimas nobis intentans recessit.

4. *De disseisina hominum terrarum ceterarumque rerum nobis ab eo facta*

Mane autem facto, hominibus quatuor de Waledena francotenentibus ad nos transmissis prohibendo mandauit, ne in terras uel possessiones a comite Willelmo, ut asserebamus, nobis collatas, manus ulterius mitteremus, quas usque in diem illum iniuste, <sup>c</sup>ut fatebatur, <sup>d</sup>possedas occupauimus, inhiendo insuper terras et cetera queque illum contingentia, nobis nostrisque in omni loco interdixit. Qua prohibitione peracta, uillicis seruientibusque suis de Waledena conuocatis precipiendo iniunxit, ut molestias grauaminaque modis omnibus nobis inferre non desisterent: terras insuper possessionesque iam dictas in manus suas seisiarent, seisiatas uero, nobis procul expulsis, excolere non negligenter.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> abbas A      <sup>c</sup> om. A      <sup>d</sup> concessas A

<sup>2</sup> Reference to c. 13 below makes it clear that the reeves and bailiffs of all the earl's estates were so instructed.

3. *Geoffrey fitz Peter's visit to us, and his threatening words*

Hearing that Geoffrey was coming, our abbot, accompanied by two monks, rode out to meet him and congratulate him as our new patron and to bring him in his joy into the house of the Lord, as was fitting. Approaching him with the brethren most respectfully, and with the reverence due to a lord, he spoke to him in words of greeting and humbly invited him to enter first the church of the Blessed James and also to visit and address his monks. Geoffrey not only showed his disdain for the words of greeting by his silence, but also averted his face, and turned his back indignantly. Observing that the man was showing signs of anger towards him which he had not expected, the abbot endured it with patience, turned his horse's reins, and joined the others who were riding with him. Lord Geoffrey, scarcely mastering his feelings, nevertheless stopped at our house and entered the church looking around in every direction. Gazing round he surveyed everything with fierce looks. But he did not stay long inside, and if he prayed at all it was only a brief prayer. When he left the church he entered the cloister and, standing at the door of the chapter-house, he turned to the abbot in great indignation and burst out with these words, in the hearing of everybody: 'My lord abbot, you and your monks have disinherited me and mine by turning my priory into an abbey. You have cast me aside and subjected yourselves completely to the power of the king.' The abbot, wishing to calm the man's angry feelings with soft words, countered his furious words with a most humble and reasonable reply but, his anger unabated, Geoffrey departed uttering dreadful threats against us.

4. *We are disseised by him of men, lands and other things*

When the morning came he sent to us four freeholders of Walden with a command forbidding us to lay our hands any further upon lands or possessions which, as we claimed, had been granted us by Earl William. In his view the lands we possessed up to that time we held wrongfully, and furthermore by his restraining order he kept us and our men everywhere from the lands and other possessions which belonged to him. Having enforced this injunction, he assembled his reeves and bailiffs of Walden and gave them strict instruction to go on inflicting trouble and aggravation on us in every way possible; furthermore, they were to take into their own hands the lands and possessions already mentioned, and when they had done so and we had been driven out, they were not to neglect to cultivate them.<sup>2</sup>



Talia modum excedentia homo, non dico pacis, proloquens recessit, in uiam autem pacis<sup>3</sup> non abiit. Satellites uero illius, occasione assumpta, mandatum imperantis factis adimplentes, omnes declinauerunt, simul inutiles nobis facti sunt, non est quin faciat malum, non est usque ad unum. Abbas igitur noster, quodam ex fratribus nostris post illum transmissio, scire uolens utrum tam inepta mandata ab ore tanti uiri prolata emanassent, an presumptione suorum temeraria nobis talia forent irrogata grauamina, asserit, fatetur ipso iubente hec patrata; minatur etiam in breui se nobis illaturum satis grauiora.

5. *De sententia ex mandato episcopi in presumptores lata*

Cum itaque ex relatione fratris, domini Galfredi uerba auribus nostris insonuissent, ad ecclesie<sup>a</sup> mox defensorem, dominum uidelicet Ricardum, tunc Londoniensem episcopum,<sup>4</sup> confugientes, et ut tantam iniuriam sub potenti manu sua uiris religiosis irrogatam impunitam non relinqueret, humili prece efflagitauimus. Mandato igitur ad prouincie decanum statim transmissio, iubet ut conuocatis totius decanatus sui presbiteris, tanti flagitii presumptores ecclesiastica censura compescat; simul etiam omnes possessionum nostrarum inuasores anathematis uinculo innodare non omittat: uniuersa nobis ablata episcopali auctoritate restituat.

Affuit decanus factus obediens cum suis; aratores fere centum culturas nostras uomere illicito sulcantes inuenit, opus temerarium ne progredereetur prohibuit; sed contumeliis affectus contempnitur, iniurias ipse simul omnes excommunicauit, omnibus in nomine Domini maledixit: ecclesiam insuper de Waledena parochialem a diuinis uacare precepit.<sup>5</sup>

Audiens autem dominus Galfredus, turbatus indoluit: episcopum iam dictum statim adiit, non tamen reatus proprii ueniam, nec aliorum excommunicatorum absolutionem, sed solum ecclesie iam nominate ab interdicto relaxationem rogaturus. Episcopus uero tante tamque horrende transgressionis flagitium in ecclesie filiis perpetratum non solum relinquens impunitum, uerum etiam iniusta petenti annuit,

<sup>a</sup> ecclesiam A

<sup>3</sup> Luke 1: 79, as cited above, iii. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, iii. 5, n. 20.

<sup>5</sup> The rural dean's sentence of excommunication, curse and interdict arose out of the ploughmen's contumacious behaviour in failing to obey his command to cease ploughing. Failure to obey the instruction of an ecclesiastical superior played an important part in excommunication at this period. See Vodola, *Excommunication*, pp. 36-7, cited above i. 9, n. 29.

After giving such outrageous orders as these, the man—I cannot say man of peace—withdrew, but did not go ‘into the way of peace’.<sup>3</sup> His minions, seizing the opportunity, actively fulfilled the injunction laid upon them: they all turned away from us and were injurious to us; there was none who did not treat us badly, not a single one. So our abbot sent one of our brethren after him, as he wished to know whether these dishonourable instructions had come from the lips of so great a man, or whether we had been afflicted with such distress through the bold presumption of his men. He admitted it and declared that these actions had been carried out on his orders; and he even threatened that he would soon be inflicting much more serious injuries upon us.

5. *The sentence passed upon the perpetrators by the bishop's mandate*

When, from the brother's report, lord Geoffrey's words sounded in our ears, we soon had recourse to the protector of the church, lord Richard, who was then bishop of London.<sup>4</sup> We humbly implored him not to allow so much harm to be inflicted with impunity and with so heavy a hand upon monks. Accordingly he immediately dispatched a mandate to the rural dean to call a meeting of the priests in the whole of his deanery in order to restrain by ecclesiastical censure the perpetrators of such outrageous behaviour. At the same time, he was to make sure that he bound all those who had invaded our property with the chain of an anathema, and by episcopal authority he was to restore the whole of the property taken from us.

The dean immediately obeyed him and, arriving with his men, found almost a hundred ploughmen cutting furrows unlawfully in our lands with their ploughs, but when he commanded them to cease their shameless work, he was insulted and scorned. He immediately excommunicated all the evil-doers and pronounced a curse upon them all in the name of the Lord: he also commanded that the parish church of Walden be deprived of divine service.<sup>5</sup>

Lord Geoffrey, on hearing of this, was perturbed and aggrieved. He immediately approached the bishop of London, not for pardon for his own guilty actions, nor for absolution for the others who had been excommunicated, but merely to ask for the interdict to be lifted from Walden church. And indeed, the bishop not only failed to punish the outrageous and terrible misdeeds perpetrated against the sons of the church but even consented to this unjust request. He withdrew his

nosque indefensos censura pastoralis deiecta,<sup>6</sup> lupi dentibus commisit deuorandos, factusque est canis mutus, non uolens latrare,<sup>7</sup> quia ibi trepidauit timore ubi non erat timor.<sup>8</sup>

6. *De hiis que per regis iusticiarium recuperauimus*

Intuentes autem malignitatis ministri nos in hac parte omnimoda defensione destitutos, possessiones nostras solito licentius inuadunt, terras incolunt, metas euertunt, ceteraque omnia a comite Willelmo nobis collata auferunt, ablatis uero ausu nephario ut propriis utuntur. Nos itaque dampnis et contumeliis non mediocriter affecti, homini etiam tante potestatis tanteque tyrannidis minus obstare ualentes, quid nobis faciendum quoue diuertendum foret nesciebamus.

Rex etenim<sup>a</sup> Ricardus cruce Domini insignitus, Ierusalem, que edificatur ut ciuitas,<sup>9</sup> et loca sancta uisitare disponens, itinere arrepto iam procul abierat;<sup>10</sup> discedens tamen Willelmum Eliensem episcopum superius memoratum uice sua constituerat patrie tutorem, ac totius regni in populo iusticiarium. Ad quem accedentes,<sup>b</sup> iniuriasque a domino Galfredo, regia maiestate contempta, nobis contumeliose illatas coram illo proponentes et, ne ulterius inulte progredierentur, animositatem illatoris presumptuosam arcendo compescat, uocibus querelosis impetrauimus. Vnde factum est ut census hominum<sup>c</sup> cum operationibus eorum reciperemus, fena etiam congesta cum frugibus, non tamen absque magna aduersariorum colluctatione, in horreis nostris reconderemus. Igitur dominus Galfredus indignatione plenus, potestate iusticiarii sprete, manum quam in perniciem nostri illicite extenderat non retrahens, sed malis illatis satis peiora exaggerans, in uiros innocuos seuissima tyrannide grassabatur, possessiones iam dictas paulatim auferendo diripuit, ac deinde omnino nos disseisando perturbauit.

<sup>a</sup> enim A

<sup>b</sup> accedens CA

<sup>c</sup> om. A

<sup>6</sup> The success of Geoffrey fitz Peter's intervention with the bishop may have owed a good deal to his experience and influence as a royal justice. The dispute was over possession, for which there were legal remedies in the common law. The argument he put to the bishop may have been along the lines of common-law practice which demanded judicial process: see Helmholz, 'Excommunication', cited above, i. 9, n. 29.

pastoral condemnation and left us unprotected,<sup>6</sup> to be devoured by the fangs of this wolf: he had become a dumb dog, refusing to bark<sup>7</sup> because he 'trembled with fear when there was nothing to be afraid of'.<sup>8</sup>

6. *The property we recovered through the king's justiciar*

Ministers of evil, perceiving that we were without any kind of protection in this quarter, made a habit of encroaching upon our possessions with extraordinary boldness: they cultivated our lands, removed our boundary marks, and carried off everything else which had been given to us by Earl William; and then what they had filched in their blatant audacity they used as their own. We were greatly disconcerted by the losses and indignities we had suffered, but were powerless to stand up to so powerful and tyrannical a man, and did not know what to do or where to turn.

King Richard, wearing the insignia of Christ's Cross, was far away engaged in visiting 'Jerusalem, which is builded as a city',<sup>9</sup> and the holy places.<sup>10</sup> However, when he left he had appointed William, the aforementioned bishop of Ely, to be the protector of the country as his viceroy, and to be his justiciar of the whole kingdom among the people. We approached this man and in his presence described the injuries which lord Geoffrey had dishonourably inflicted upon us in contempt of the king's majesty. Complaining bitterly of our plight we asked the bishop to prevent men continuing with impunity to harm us further and to restrain the arrogant hostility of our assailant. We obtained our request. As the result we received payments and labour services from our men, hay was gathered in as were the crops, and we stored these in our barns, though this was not without opposition from our adversaries. Then lord Geoffrey, full of indignation and scorning the authority of the justiciar, did not withdraw the hand which had been unlawfully stretched out to harm us, but perpetrated even worse acts to add to the harm he had already inflicted upon us. In his cruel tyranny he oppressed innocent men and plundered the possessions we have already mentioned by gradually depriving us of them, and he finally confounded us by disseising us altogether.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. 56: 10, 'canes muti non ualentes latrare'.

<sup>8</sup> Ps. 13 (14): 5, 'illic trepidauerunt timore ubi non erat timor'.

<sup>9</sup> Ps. 121 (122): 3, 'Hierusalem quae aedificatur ut ciuitas'.

<sup>10</sup> Richard reached Acre on 8 June 1191 and was in the Holy Land until 9 Oct. 1192: Landon, *Itin. Ric. I*, pp. 50-69.

7. *De mandato domini pape contemptui dato*

Videntes itaque omni iudiciaria potestate in partibus nostris nos fore destitutos, legatione ad caput ecclesie, dominum scilicet papam, transmissa, litteras super iniuriis nobis irrogatis ecclesiastica censura puniendis efficacissimas suscepimus iudicibus delegatis perferendas.<sup>11</sup>

Citatur a iudicibus dominus Galfredus ut nobis responsurus iurique pariturus<sup>12</sup> coram eis appareat: apostolicum ab eo datur contemptui mandatum, iudicum necnon auctoritas pro nichilo reputatur, obstinatio remanet impunita. Iterato autem litteras prioribus non inferiores a sede apostolica transmissas impetrauimus; omnes ut prius pariter contempnendo reprobauit; nobis uero malo malum addens grauamina duplicauit.

8. *De morte <Beatricis><sup>a</sup> uxoris Galfredi filii Petri*

Tempore illo uxor illius, Beatrix auctrix scilicet malorum, uterum habens inpregnatum, diu parturiens sed non pariens periclitabatur, tandem uero fetum effundens exanimatum, animam simul exalauit.<sup>13</sup>

Vnde satis confusus est, et ultra quam credi potest dolens effectus: et tamen in hiis omnibus non est auersus furor eius, sed adhuc manus eius in nos extenta.<sup>14</sup> Corpus uero mulieris Chikesandum transtulit, ibique in capitulo sanctimonialium honorifice sepeliuit. Admirans itaque uir iste cum ceteris uana nouaque sectantibus, ordinem uidelicet illum a quodam Gilberto de Simplingeham recenter adinuentum, domum ordinis eiusdem in Northfolka apud uillam que dicitur Suldhham fundauit,<sup>15</sup> illicque ut nouus ille et seculis inauditus religionis exigit modus, canonicos cum sanctimonialibus fratres cum sororibus aggregauit,<sup>b</sup> ac non multo post, corpus mulieris de Chikesando translatum ibidem sepulture commendauit.

9. *De obitu nobilis matrone Beatricis<sup>c</sup> de Say*

Soror itaque comitis Galfredi, fundatoris scilicet nostri, materque Galfredi de Say, nomine et opere Beatrix, forma mulierum Deo deuotarum, decus matronarum, ecclesiam beati Iacobi de Waledena

<sup>a</sup> add. in list of capitula above    <sup>b</sup> congregauit A    <sup>c</sup> scilicet add. in list of capitula above

<sup>11</sup> The text of this letter does not survive. On 5 May 1191 Celestine III issued a letter of protection for the abbot and convent, mentioning especially the monastic site and the 'testament' of Earl William, confirmed by the king: *PUE* i, no. 274.

<sup>12</sup> Although the verb *pareo* ('obey') lacks a supine from which the future participle can be formed, the author has treated it as if it were a regular verb of the second conjugation; *pariturus* is however the future participle of the third-conjugation verb *pario* ('give birth').

7. *The lord pope's mandate received with contempt*

Seeing therefore that we were deprived of legal redress in our own country, we sent a deputation to the head of the Church, the lord pope himself. We received from him a letter concerning the injuries inflicted upon us: it was most effectual for the punishment of the offenders through ecclesiastical censure, and it was to be delivered to judges delegate.<sup>11</sup>

Lord Geoffrey was summoned by the judges to appear before them to reply to us and obey<sup>12</sup> the law, but he treated the papal mandate with contempt, and in fact considered the authority of the judges as of no account; so his obduracy remained unpunished. Again, we obtained letters no less authoritative than the previous ones sent from the apostolic see; he rejected and scorned them all just as he had done before, so heaping evil upon evil, doubling our afflictions.

8. *The death of Geoffrey fitz Peter's wife*

At that time Geoffrey's wife Beatrice, the instigator of our troubles, was pregnant. She suffered a long labour and because the birth was difficult her life was endangered. In the end, she lost her life giving birth to a still-born child.<sup>13</sup> Geoffrey was greatly distressed by this and suffered unbelievable agonies of grief. Yet 'despite all this his anger was not turned away, but still his hand was outstretched against us.'<sup>14</sup> He took his wife's body to Chicksands and buried it there with all honour in the nuns' chapter-house. Then, like others who are attracted by things that are vain or novel, and out of admiration for that order which had been lately introduced by Gilbert of Sempringham, Geoffrey founded a house of the same order in Norfolk in a village called Shouldham.<sup>15</sup> There, as prescribed by that new mode of religious life unheard of in the world, he brought together canons with nuns, brothers with sisters, and soon after that had the body of his wife translated from Chicksands and committed it to burial there.

9. *The death of the noble lady Beatrice de Say*

Beatrice, the sister of Earl Geoffrey our founder and mother of Geoffrey de Say, by name and by deed one who was blessed, was a model among women who are devoted to God, and an ornament

<sup>13</sup> If *The Book of the Foundation* is correct in placing the death of the younger Beatrice before that of her grandmother, they were both dead before March 1198; cf. below, c. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Isa. 5: 25, 'in omnibus his non est auersus furor eius sed adhuc manus eius extenta'.

<sup>15</sup> See Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham* (cited above, i. 17, n. 72), pp. 240-3.

abbatem et monachos affectu quodam singulari pre omnibus diligebat, manu etiam larga caritatis ministra muneribus magnis et sepe datis honorabat. Hec est illa cuius indeficienti beneficio fundamenta ecclesie nostre, claustrum officinarumque locata sunt ampliora, parietes erecti cum tectis suis desuper impositis, uasa argentea in ministerio altaris consecrata, cum uestimentis sacerdotalibus, necnon et aliis multis et pretiosis ornamentis<sup>a</sup> paulatim ut potuit, ecclesie contulit. In libris uero faciendis, se quibuslibet operibus promouendis multam denariorum massam expendit. Ad nos autem—et frequentius—in festiuitatibus sanctorum<sup>b</sup> uenit, ut monachos simul omnes, quos etiam filios nominauit, uideret, uoces Deo canentium aure propius captaret omnes<sup>c</sup> pariter abunde reficeret, pane corpora confirmans, uino corda letificans. In domo igitur sua apud Rikelinges ubi manebat,<sup>16</sup> misericordie operibus uacabat, esurientes reficiendo, algentes uestiendo, debiles quoque et infirmos, necessariis transmissis, uisitando. Talibus intendens etate iam matura, uiribus etiam corporis destituta, peruenit ad extrema. Mente igitur sana cor, renes, omniaque anime saluti nociua diligenter perscrutans, lingua insuper famulante scrutata perturbans preuenit<sup>d</sup> faciem Domini in confessione. Sua omnia quomodo et quibus uoluit Cristiano more disponendo legauit. Viatico deinde ore et corde reuerenter accepto expirauit. Corpus uero illius digno cum honore ad nos translatum; et ut memoria beneficiorum eius fratrum cordibus crebrius<sup>e</sup> offeratur, in capitulo nostro sepulture commendatum est.<sup>17</sup>

10. *De mandato regis recognitionis faciente ad iusticiarium transmissio*

Rex igitur Ricardus, uoto quod uouerat Deo Iacob soluto,<sup>18</sup> de terra Ierosolimitana iam rediens, a Sathane satellitibus in Alemannia

<sup>a</sup> second hand resumes in C      <sup>b</sup> sartorum A, through a misreading of C  
<sup>c</sup> omnis CA      <sup>d</sup> om. A      <sup>e</sup> celebrius A

<sup>16</sup> Essex; about 5 miles from the abbey. In 1185 her land there was valued at £15 p.a. without stock, £20 if stocked: *Rotuli de Dominabus* (cited above, ii. 15, n. 57), p. 76. See also next note.

<sup>17</sup> A charter by Geoffrey de Say, giving the manor of Rickling to his son Geoffrey, which was presumably given after her death, was confirmed between 10 Aug. 1197 and 8 March 1198: G. W. Watson, 'Fitz Piers and de Say', *The Genealogist*, NS xxxiv (1918), 181–9, at pp. 185–6. But the Walden annals, fo. 78<sup>v</sup>, gives: 'Anno Domini 1200 obiit Beatrix de Sey soror fundatoris nostri et uxor Willelmi de Sey cuius corpus in capitulo nostro de Walden sepelitur. Hec enim nobilis matrona lege coniugali Willelmo Say erat copulata, de quo duos suscepit filios Willelmum et Galfridum. Horum primogenitus Willelmus de uxore sibi desponsata duas reliquerat filias, primogenitam nomine Beatricem Galfridus filius Petri duxit in uxorem, alteram nomine Matildam Willelmus de Bokeland suscepit in uxorem bona paterna inter se partientes.' The roll of founders (see above, p. lix; a text printed in *Mon. Ang.* iv. 140) gives: 'Beatrix de Say soror fundatoris

amongst ladies. She loved the monastery of the Blessed James of Walden and its abbot and monks above all else with an extraordinary affection, dispensing charity with a generous hand, and she honoured them with gifts which were large and frequently bestowed. It was through her unfailing benevolence that the foundations of our church, cloister, and domestic buildings were enlarged, that walls were erected with roofed buildings built upon them; and little by little she bestowed upon the church, as she was able, silver vessels consecrated to the service of the altar as well as sacerdotal vestments, and many other precious ornaments besides. Indeed, she spent a large sum of money on having books made and in promoting all sorts of workmanship. She visited us especially during festivals of the saints in order to see all the monks together whom she also called her sons, and to hear from close at hand their voices singing to God. She would provide generous refreshments for all alike, giving them bread to strengthen their bodies and wine to cheer their hearts. In her house at Rickling where she dwelt<sup>16</sup> she found time for works of charity, for feeding the hungry and for clothing those who were cold, for visiting also the weak and infirm and sending them the necessities of life. She was still attending to such things even in her old age when she had lost her strength of body and approached the end of her life. With a sound mind she diligently searched her heart, her inmost thoughts, and everything harmful to the salvation of her soul; and speaking as a servant she came before the face of the Lord in confession, in fear and trembling. She bequeathed and disposed of all her possessions as and how she wished in a Christian manner. And then, receiving the last sacrament reverently with her lips and with her heart, she died. Her body was brought to us with fitting honour, and so that the memory of her benevolence might be more frequently impressed upon the hearts of the brethren, it was committed for burial in our chapter-house.<sup>17</sup>

10. *The king's mandate dispatched to the justiciar for a recognition to be made King Richard, having discharged the vow which he had made to the God of Jacob,<sup>18</sup> now returned from the land of Jerusalem. But on his*

noster et uxor Willielmi de Say sepulta est in capitulo nostro de Walden, que obiit anno Domini MCC. Hec enim . . . partientes' (as Walden annals). The last passage ('Hec enim . . . partientes') is drawn from iii. 1, above. Possibly the date 1197 was read as 1207 in an extra section in the transcript of the roll of founders in BL, Harley 194, fo. 193<sup>r</sup>, which reads: 'Anno Domini 1207 .xiii. kal. Maii obiit Beatrix de Say soror Galfridi fundatoris nostri uxor Willielmi de Say cuius corpus in capitulo nostro sepelitur' (quoted in *CP* v. 122 n. b).  
<sup>18</sup> Cf. above, ii. 5.

comprehensus detinetur, ibique in arcto constitutus, diu carcerali custodie mancipatur; attamen solerti suorum industria inde eiectus euasit, Anglia prius auro et argento, uasis etiam altaris Deo consecratis, in eius redemptionem<sup>a</sup> spoliata.<sup>19</sup>

Adueniens tandem,<sup>20</sup> letantibus cunctis in pace susceptus, quosdam antea eleuatos deiecit, quosdam uero deiectos eleuauit. Dominum autem Hubertum, Cantuar'<sup>b</sup> archiepiscopum, tunc apostolice sedis legatum, totius regni constituit iusticiarium, sicque negotiis suis ad libitum expeditis, in Normanniam transiuit.<sup>21</sup>

Nos itaque litteris recognitionis faciende ab eo prius impetratis, dominum Galfredum filium Petri super dampnis irrogatis iudicio archiepiscopi subdendum, ceterorumque regalis iusticie moderatorum censura examinandum, iterato in causam traximus.<sup>22</sup> Vicinie recognitores nominantur<sup>c</sup> ut ueniant uerum recognituri submonentur; obstante autem domino Galfredo muneraque quibuslibet maioribus diffundente, minoribus uero minas intentante, nusquam comparuerunt, sicque factum est, ut per septem annos post disseisinam nobis factam continuos,<sup>23</sup> graui cum labore, magna etiam expensarum effusione ab huiusmodi impetitione querelosa, illi calumpniam inferendo non desisteremus. Ipse uero, uir diuitiis ampliatus, muneribus datis omnes corrumpit, uir etiam lingua facundus, sermonibus blandis et blensis omnes sustinuit, nobisque coram iusticiario illum in causam traxisse nichil omnino profuit.<sup>d</sup> Constituti sunt insuper inter nos pacis reformande dies plurimi, sed nec sic quidem boni aliquid actum est, quia tempus consumendo semper in corde et corde est locutus; semper tenuit,<sup>e</sup> nobis etiam extrapostis semper possedit.

### II. De scrutinio per archiepiscopum in domo nostra facto

Accidit autem ut archiepiscopus Hubertus, regni iusticiarius, apostolice etiam sedis legatus, legationis sue officium exercens, domosque religiosorum per Angliam constitutas uisitando ad nos diuerteret,<sup>24</sup>

<sup>a</sup> redemptione CA    <sup>b</sup> Cantuarie A    <sup>c</sup> repeated C    <sup>d</sup> preluit A  
<sup>e</sup> habuit A

<sup>19</sup> For the ransom, see *Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS li), iii, 215–16.

<sup>20</sup> Richard landed at Sandwich on 13 March 1194: Landon, *Itin. Ric. I*, p. 85.

<sup>21</sup> Richard crossed to Normandy and landed at Barfleur on 12 May 1194: Landon, *Itin. Ric. I*, p. 93. Hubert Walter, archbishop 1193–1205, and justiciar from c.25 Dec. 1193 (he resigned 11 July 1198), was not appointed papal legate until 18 Mar. 1195 (lapsed 8 Jan. 1198: *Fasti*, ii, 5).

<sup>22</sup> The only documentary evidence of a plea that would have involved a recognition is the plea of assize entered in the Curia Regis in 1198; see below, c. 18, n. 50.

<sup>23</sup> Presumably midsummer 1190 to midsummer 1196.

journey he was seized and detained in Germany by Satan's disciples. There he was placed under close arrest and was for a long time kept under prison guard. However, through the adroit efforts of his men he was released and set free, though, to secure his ransom, England was first robbed of gold and silver, and even of altar vessels which had been consecrated to God.<sup>19</sup>

When he arrived back at last<sup>20</sup> and was received peaceably amidst universal rejoicing, he deposed some who had previously been promoted, and promoted others who had been deposed. Lord Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, who was at that time papal legate, he made justiciar of the entire kingdom, and so, after settling his affairs as he wished, he crossed over to Normandy.<sup>21</sup>

We first obtained letters from him for a recognition to be made, and brought a case against lord Geoffrey fitz Peter in connection with the injuries he had inflicted, for submission to the judgement of the archbishop and considered examination by other ministers of the king's justice.<sup>22</sup> Recognitors were appointed from the district and were summoned to come and make recognition of the truth, but lord Geoffrey obstructed the course of justice by showering gifts upon the more influential of them and by threatening the less influential: so they nowhere appeared. The result was that for seven consecutive years<sup>23</sup> after we had suffered disseisin, despite the enormous effort and the great financial cost arising from so bitter a suit as this, we did not cease to bring charges against him. But Geoffrey, whose wealth had been enlarged, bribed everybody with gifts. He was an eloquent man and kept all at bay with his flattering and honeyed words, so we gained no advantage at all in bringing him into court before the justiciar. Furthermore, though a period of many days was arranged for us to re-establish peace between us, no good came of this, for he would always waste time by talking heart to heart to each person in turn; all along he held on to the property, and all along he possessed it by keeping us out.

### II. The scrutiny carried out in our house by the archbishop

It so happened that Archbishop Hubert, the king's justiciar and papal legate, was visiting monastic houses founded throughout England in the exercise of his duty as legate and so came down to visit us.<sup>24</sup> Men in

<sup>24</sup> From Jocelin of Brakelond's evidence about Hubert Walter's visitations, it seems likely that he came to Walden in the spring of 1197: *Jocelin of Brakelond*, trans. Greenway and Sayers, pp. 74–5, and cf. *EEA* iii. 310.

personis religiosis ad scrutinium in domo nostra sicut et in ceteris faciendum ante faciem suam premissis. Veniens tandem et ipse, processione fratrum ordinata, in ecclesiam digno cum honore, cum uocibus etiam bene canentium et tinnitu signorum crebro pulsantium introducit; orauit, missam audiuit, ac deinde ad abbates ceterosque quos premiserat claustrum intrauit; quid inuentum quidue auditum in nobis foret diligenti satis necnon et morosa inquisitione ab eis exegit;<sup>25</sup> fatentur omnes, affirmant uniuersi, omnia religiose, omnia ordinate, omnia pacifice constare, nichil dissonum, nichil diuisum, nichil raptum in nobis fore inuentum. Quo audito, humiliter et cum grauitate quadam ad nos<sup>a</sup> capitulum intrauit, uultum affectu paterno benignum nobis pretendit, dulcedine etiam eloquiorum omnes pariter exhilarauit.

12. *De litteris archiepiscopi pro nobis ad regem transmissis, et de seisinā nobis facta*

Intuentes autem animum tanti uiri nobis ex insperato fore propitium, pedibus illius prouoluti omnes simul ore consono impetrauimus, quatenus scriptis auctenticis super donatione comitis Willelmi nobis collatis, ipsum accommodaret auditum, et quid contra dominum Galfredum, tante potestatis uirum et domus nostre persecutorem agere possemus, consilium pariter cum auxilio conferre dignaretur. Ille autem benigne iusta petentibus annuit, confirmationes coram eo recitatas laudauit, litteras insuper principium, excursum, finem modumque huius tam horrende altercationis continentes se domino regi transmissurum repromisit, quatenus rei ueritate agnita, ipse examinatore cause simul et arbiter existeret, ille uero regio mandato fauens in omnibus obtemperaret, quod dixit et fecit, et sicut nobis placuit ita factum est.

Non post multum uero temporis, quendam ex fratribus nostris cum litteris iam dictis seriem totius negotii continentibus ad regem transmare degentem direximus, prospera ei imprecantes. Mari autem transito regem adiit, litteras cum reuerentia regi debita obtulit, et ut eis benignum preberet auditum humili prece impetrauit. Illis uero semel et secundo coram illo diligenter recitatis, magnates cum quibusdam personis prope astantes conuocans, dominum Galfredum

<sup>a</sup> om. A

<sup>25</sup> This description reflects the procedure of visitation, which had two levels of investigation: *detecta*, what the visitor was shown openly, and *comperta*, what he discovered from individual private interviews.

religious orders had been sent ahead of him, with a view to undertaking a scrutiny in our house as in other houses. When he eventually arrived himself, a procession of brethren was arranged: he was escorted into the church with great honour to the singing of voices and the continual ringing of bells. He prayed, heard mass, and then entered the cloister to meet the abbots and others whom he had dispatched ahead of him. He demanded to know what they had discovered or what they had heard amongst us in their careful and prolonged investigation.<sup>25</sup> They were unanimous in their statement and declaration that everything was being conducted in a religious, orderly, and peaceful manner; that nothing had been discovered of any dissension, division, or embezzlement amongst us. On hearing this, the archbishop came to us in the chapter-house with humility and a certain solemnity, but his face portrayed a kindly, fatherly affection toward us, and he cheered us all alike by the charm of his words.

12. *The archbishop's letter to the king on our behalf and seisin delivered to us*

When we saw that the attitude of the great man was unexpectedly favourable toward us we fell at his feet, and we all with one voice appealed to him to give consideration to the authentic documents granted to us on the gift of Earl William, and to honour us by affording us advice as well as assistance as to what we should do in opposing lord Geoffrey who was so powerful a man and the persecutor of our house. He was kind enough to consent to our just request, and approved the confirmations which were recited in his presence. He promised to dispatch to the lord king a letter containing details of this terrible dispute: its beginning, its course, and its outcome and its nature, so that when he knew the truth of the matter he might himself be the judge and arbiter of the case. The archbishop himself would be glad to obey the royal command in all things. He did what he said, and what he did pleased us.

Not long after this we sent one of our brethren to the king, who was overseas, taking this letter, which contained an account of the whole affair, and we prayed that his efforts might be blessed. He crossed the sea and made his way to the king. Paying the king due respect he gave him the letter and in a humble appeal asked for its favourable reception, which he obtained. When it had been read to him once, and then a second time, the king called together the magnates standing near him along with certain other persons. He made charges against lord Geoffrey for ill-treating us, and arraigned him for his assault upon



male in nos operatum, in hac etiam presumptione proclamavit reum, nos uero iniuste uexatos, iniuste etiam disseisitos fore testabatur, litteras insuper regio sigillo signatas domino Cantuariensi destinare non distulit, mandando precipiens quatenus in seisinam plenariam, dilatione postposita, nos intrmitteret, omnia etiam ablata nobis integerrime reassignaret.

Rediit frater, mandatis regis fauet archiepiscopus, negotii executionem provincie uicecomiti precipiendo iniungit. Ille autem non segniter agens, conuocatis totius uicinie militibus simul cum franco-tenentibus, uniuersa nobis ablata restituit, terras cum possessionibus ceteris, locis metis et mensuris pristinis nobis reassignatis, auctoritate regia quiete possidendas contradidit. Tali modo reseisati, tali ordine in possessionem nostram introducti exultauimus, in letitia magna delectati sumus; qua tamen uix diebus tantum quindecim nobis ita licuit, quia extrema gaudii nostri luctus occupauit,<sup>26</sup> sustinuimus etenim pacem et nondum uenit; quesiuimus bona et ecce turbatio.<sup>27</sup>

### 13. *De persecutione grauissima nobis illata*

Dominus igitur Galfredus, pre furore turbatus, et extra seipsum fere positus, uillicis seruientibusque suis per terras suas circumquaque diffusis precipiendo iniunxit, ut molestias et grauamina modis omnibus quibus possent, miseratione humanitatis remota, nobis inferre non desisterent, nec locis sanctis personis uel ordini parcendo deferrent. Vnde persecutio talis et tanta nobis est illata, qualis et quanta<sup>a</sup> a multis retro diebus in regno non est audita: erat etenim nouissimus error peior priore. Seruientes autem et uillici longius positi aliquanto humanius erga nos se habentes, non tamen absque domini sui indignatione, nobis in multis deferendum fore censebant.<sup>b</sup> Satellites autem Sathane in Waledena dominantes, modum aliquem persecutioni nostre imponere nescientes, inaudita crudelitate seuiebant, primitus enim omnes domini sui terras deinde cum semitis uias, latronibus et sceleratis patentes, nobis inhibendo interdixerunt. Age nunc, quid ergo nobis agendum? quoue diuertendum? Per terras more hominum, illis obstantibus, nobis non licuit ambulare: per aera uero leuitate auium, natura uetante, nequiuimus uolare. Portas igitur nostras, uiasque ad mercatum publicum ducentes, insidiis circumquaque dispositis obser-

<sup>a</sup> quantus CA      <sup>b</sup> censebant CA, corr. A to censebant

<sup>26</sup> Prov. 14: 13, 'extrema gaudii luctus occupat'.

<sup>27</sup> Jer. 14: 19, 'expectauimus pacem et non est bonum et tempus curationis et ecce turbatio!'.

us: he bore witness that we had been unjustly persecuted by him and unjustly dispossessed of our holdings. He did not hesitate to dispatch a letter bearing the royal seal to the lord archbishop of Canterbury, commanding and instructing him to admit us without delay to full seisin, and also to restore to us in full everything that had been taken away.

The brother returned, the archbishop gave heed to the royal command and sternly ordered the sheriff of the county to carry out the business. The sheriff was not slow to act. Calling together the knights of the whole district as well as the freeholders, he restored the whole of what had been taken from us—lands as well as other possessions and places with their metes and measures previously assigned to us—these to be possessed by us in accordance with the royal command. Being reseised in this way and reinstated in our possessions in such good order, we were overjoyed and rejoiced in our great happiness. Yet, we were allowed to experience this joy for no more than a fortnight, and 'the end of our mirth was heaviness'.<sup>26</sup> We kept the peace though it had not yet come; we sought good, 'and behold trouble!'<sup>27</sup>

### 13. *Severe persecution inflicted upon us*

Lord Geoffrey, overcome with fury and almost beside himself, gave orders and instructions to his reeves and bailiffs everywhere throughout his lands to go on inflicting upon us every kind of trouble and hardship they could, and to show us no human pity; nor were they to spare, or to show any respect for, holy places or clergy in orders. As a result a persecution was inflicted upon us of a kind and severity that was unheard of in the kingdom for many a year. Indeed the most recent acts of injustice were worse than what had gone before. Bailiffs and reeves who lived further away behaved somewhat less harshly towards us, but not without incurring the displeasure of their lord. They thought that we were entitled to greater respect. However, Satan's minions ruled in Walden and, not knowing how to set some limit to our persecution, they rampaged with extraordinary cruelty. They forbade and prevented us, first from all the lands of their lord, then from the roads and footpaths, opening them up to robbers and miscreants. What, pray you, were we to do? Where to turn? We were not allowed to walk over the fields like other men because they barred our way, and naturally we could not fly through the air with the ease of birds. They kept watch on our gates and on the roads which led to the market-place,



uabant, ne<sup>a</sup> quicquam alimentorum ad usus fratrum, ne<sup>b</sup> ligna ad olera saltem coquenda a quoquam inferrentur, ut sic fratres incibatos famis inedia interficerent. Sciebant, re uera, quod quanto quis in persecutione nostra insurgeret grauior, tanto in obsequio domini sui efficeretur gratiosior: unde omnibus liquide dabatur intelligi, quia si quis nos interficeret, arbitraretur obsequium se prestare non tamen Deo, sed domino Galfredo.

14. *De episcopo nostro et archiepiscopo nichil boni nobis conferentibus*

Abbas igitur noster, grauatus senio, sed multo magis fatigatus tedio, fratribus secum assumptis, ad episcopum et pastorem animarum nostrarum sepius accedens, et ut lupi seuientis truculentam rabiem arcendo compescat, uocibus querelosis interpellat. Ille iterum, ut iam superius dictum est, canis mutus effectus, et pre timore latrare non uolens,<sup>28</sup> quandoque litteris non tamen comminatoriis, quandoque etiam lingua (proh pudor!) adulatoria, pastor lupum blandiendo, hiis uerbis conuenit: 'O dilecte mi domine, precor et consulo, desine ab ira in monachos istos iam grauiter accensa, derelinque furorem nunc satis excitatum: declina iam a malo et fac eis bonum.' Ille autem uerbis istis, aliisque multis hiis similibus, non mitior, immo immanior effectus, exhinc tyrannidem licentius in nobis exercebat.

Inferiore nobis non patrocinate relicto, ad superiorem dominum scilicet Cantuariensem, regis etiam iusticiarium, diuertendum utile fore censuimus. Crebro uenimus, sedulo interpellauimus, lacrimis obortis, pedibus eius prouoluti: ut lupi in agnos rapaciter seuientis dentes potestate sibi tradita obtundat, efflagitare non cessauimus. Qui, licet cum principe apostolorum, beato scilicet Petro, licite proclamare potuisset 'Ecce gladii duo hic',<sup>29</sup> utrumque tenens, neutro tamen reum percussit, immo uerbis tantum adulando precatoriis, ut ab inceptis iam desistat, supplex exorabat. Sic itaque indefensi, sic utriusque gladii censura uindice destituti, nullum aliquando pacis optate reportare gaudebamus solamen.

Sepius dominus abbas cum fratribus nostris, sepius autem familiaribus nostris cum quibusdam magne opinionis personis mediantibus,

<sup>a</sup> se CA      <sup>b</sup> se CA

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Isa. 56: 10, as cited above c. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Luke 22: 38, 'Domine ecce gladii duo hic', the disciples to Christ just before His arrest. The relevance of this text to the power of the papacy was the subject of much comment in the Middle Ages.

setting ambushes on all sides to prevent any food being brought in by anyone for the needs of the brethren, or wood to enable us at least to cook vegetables, and thus to starve the brethren to death through lack of food. They knew, in fact, that the more cruel any of them showed himself to be in persecuting us, the more he would be favoured in his lord's service. So it was clearly understood by every one of them that if any of them caused our death he should reckon that he was performing a service—not to God, but to lord Geoffrey.

14. *Our bishop and archbishop are of no help to us*

Our abbot, therefore, bearing the burden of age, though much more wearied by his trials, went frequently, accompanied by brethren, to see the bishop and shepherd of our souls. Bitterly complaining, he appealed to him to defend us, and to restrain the malevolent frenzy of that savage wolf. But again, as already mentioned before, the bishop became a dumb dog, and for fear, was unwilling to bark,<sup>28</sup> one moment writing Geoffrey a letter, but without threats, at another—to his shame—using flattery even, the shepherd fawning upon the wolf. He addressed him like this: 'My dear lord, I beg and urge you, refrain from the anger now so fiercely kindled against those monks of yours; abandon the fury to which you have now given sufficient rein; do not harm them any more but treat them kindly.' Geoffrey was not softened by these words or many others like them, but became even more monstrous, and thereafter tyrannized us more boldly.

Abandoning our inferior lord, who was offering us no protection, we decided that it would be to our advantage to turn to our superior lord, the archbishop of Canterbury who was also the king's justiciar. We visited him frequently, appealed to him earnestly and tearfully abased ourselves before him that by the power vested in him he might blunt the teeth of the wolf which was greedily savaging the lambs; and we did not cease to importune him. But although he could, with the Blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, rightfully have cried out, 'Behold, here are two swords',<sup>29</sup> having both in his hands, yet he struck the culprit with neither. No, he only flattered him as he pleaded with him, and humbly begged him to cease what he had begun. Hence, left defenceless like this, and deprived of the judicial power of either sword to protect us, we enjoyed no final consolation of the peace we longed for.

The lord abbot often went to our lord Geoffrey with our brethren, often with some of our friends who were persons of great reputation

dominum nostrum Galfredum ut hiis cladibus modum excedentibus finem daret, conuenit; etiam cum quibusdam aliis a comite Willelmo ecclesie beati Iacobi collatis ad tempus possidendum pro bono pacis reformando ei reconsignare non pigritauit,<sup>a</sup> sexaginta marcis insuper repromissis; sed quanto erga illum nostra supplicatio extitit deuotior, tanto<sup>b</sup> erga nos eius persecutio excreuit immanior. Nos uero filii ecclesie luximus: in die, die, inquam, ire, calamitatis et miserie<sup>30</sup> plorantes plorauimus, in nocte lacrimae nostre in maxillis nostris,<sup>31</sup> 'Numquid iam ab hiis lamentis lacrimosisque suspiriis cessandum est?' 'Minime'. 'Quare?' 'Quia necdum cessauit quassatio'.

15. *De hiis que per uillicum de Waledena ibidem nobis facta sunt*

Villicus quidam de Waledena [. . . .]<sup>c</sup> nomine, in malefactis ecclesie beati Iacobi inferendis supereminens uniuersis, in persecutione innocentium speciale diaboli extitit membrum, cuius nutu ceteri satellites Sathane in perniciem nostri disponebantur, cuius imperio, licet minori, iniuria nobis illata domino suo satisfactum foret, tot et tanta iniuriarum grauamina in nos<sup>d</sup> nostrosque indesinenter patrata exercebantur. In illis autem persecutionum nostrarum ministris illa ueritatis sententia adimpleta est: 'Omnis qui male agit odit lumen':<sup>32</sup> filii etenim tenebrarum<sup>33</sup> in intempeste<sup>e</sup> noctis silentio,<sup>34</sup> duce Sathana, per campos oberrantes, paxillos ob diuisarum nostrarum signum in altum terre defixos, manibus temerariis extrahentes exportauerunt, ut uel sic mete et mensure nobis primitus assignate omnino confunderentur. Quorum unus ceteris in malum pronior, et in paxillis manu illicita extrahendis audacior, in breui e medio sublatus, morte fere subitanea suffocatus est.

Ministri itaque iniquitatis in Waledena commanentes, quamuis plures essent numero, domino nostro Galfredo sufficere non uidebantur: ideoque multitudinem eorum ad augendam censuit. Tortoribus in malitia famosis ad immanitatem in nobis exercendam de Plasseto transmissis, congregati sunt ergo quotidie inimici nostri aduersum nos, et egrediebantur cum gladiis et fustibus tanquam ad latrones,<sup>35</sup>

<sup>a</sup> pignorauit *A*      <sup>b</sup> tanta *CA*      <sup>c</sup> blank space *CA*      <sup>d</sup> om. *CA*  
<sup>e</sup> tempestate *CA*, corr. *A* to tempeste

<sup>30</sup> Zeph. 1: 15, 'dies irae . . . dies calamitatis et miseriae'.

<sup>31</sup> Lam. 1: 2, 'plorans ploravit in nocte et lacrimae eius in maxillis eius'.

<sup>32</sup> John 3: 20, 'omnis enim qui mala agit odit lucem'.

<sup>33</sup> An echo of 1 Thess. 5: 5, 'omnes enim uos filii lucis estis et filii diei, non sumus noctis neque tenebrarum'.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Georg.* i. 247, *Aen.* iii. 587. The phrase is also used above, i. 9.

who spoke on our behalf, asking him to end his acts of excessive violence. For the good purpose of restoring peace, the abbot was not slow to hand over to him territory, along with other possessions bestowed upon the church of the Blessed James by Earl William, for Geoffrey to possess for a time, and promised in addition a sum of sixty marks. But the more earnestly we appealed to him the more monstrous did his persecution grow against us. So we sons of the church mourned: in the day, in the day, I say, of wrath, calamity, and misery,<sup>30</sup> we wept, weeping in the night-time, our tears on our cheeks.<sup>31</sup> 'But are our sorrows and tearful sighs now to cease?' 'No, not at all!' 'But why is that?' 'Because our affliction has not yet ceased.'

15. *The actions of a reeve of Walden against us there*

A certain reeve of Walden named [. . . .] surpassed all others in evil deeds against the church of the Blessed James, and in the persecution of innocent men he was a special limb of the devil. It was at his nod that other minions of Satan were marshalled for our destruction, at his command, subordinate though he was, that his master was gratified by the harm inflicted upon us, so many and so great were the distressing injuries incessantly perpetrated and carried out against us and our people. Indeed, so far as those agents of our persecution were concerned, that true text 'Every one who doeth evil hateth the light'<sup>32</sup> was fulfilled, for these sons of darkness,<sup>33</sup> in the silence of dead of night,<sup>34</sup> ranged through the fields under Satan's leadership. With impudent hands they pulled up the boundary marks which had been fixed deep in the ground to signify the boundaries of our land, and carried them off, so that the bounds and extents which had originally been assigned to us were utterly confused. One of the men, more disposed than the others to evil-doing and bolder than they in pulling up the boundary marks with his lawless hand, was shortly removed from the world when he choked, and died almost instantly.

But our lord Geoffrey, not content with these agents of iniquity who dwelt in Walden, though there were many of them, decided to increase their number. Persecutors were sent from Pleshey, men infamous in crime, to inflict outrages upon us. Every day therefore our foes gathered against us and came out 'with swords and staves' as though against robbers,<sup>35</sup> and scarcely refrained from beating us with their

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Matt. 26: 47, 'turba multa cum gladiis et fustibus'; Matt. 26: 55, 'tamquam ad latronem . . . cum gladiis et fustibus', of the crowd that came with Judas to the arrest of Christ.

manibus autem illicitis uix temperabant ne nos percuterent. Ex seruiantibus igitur nostris, quosdam ceciderunt, alios quidem percusserunt pugno impie; quidam uero ceteris agiliores, e manibus illorum lapsi, rapido cursu fugientes, sic euaserunt. Nos itaque, omnibus nobis famulantibus in unum conuocatis, precipiendo iniunximus, ne percussi repercuterent, ne uerborum contumeliis lacessiti indicto ore<sup>a</sup> silentio quicquam mali responderent, omnia equanimiter sustinentes, impatientibus patientiam exhiberent. Quidam autem ex eis hoc audientes pre timore recesserunt; quidam uero remanentes, sed tamen extra portas monasterii nostri quoquam egredi formidauerunt; unde factum est ut uix inueniretur qui nobis obsequium in aliquo prestare auderet.

Predones igitur ad scelus destinati, agmine facto, aratores nostros inuaserunt, bacillis et pugnis eos grauius cedentes, animalium uero latera fustibus et lanceis crudeliter tundentes, omnia simul in unum coacta, cursibus confusis ante se exagitant, in castellum quod contra nos est intruserunt.<sup>36</sup> Homines itaque, quorum pedes in cippo constrinxerant, inhumane uerberabant; animalia quidem iam stimulis confossa illudendo, insanire cogebant. Audientes igitur hec, et pre confusione in lacrimis resoluti, hominibus panem, iumentis uero fenum transmittersse curauimus, quibus si tamen uellent uix uti diaboli membris pietate sublata obstantibus, licebat. Et quoniam hec non tantum semel sed sepius in nobis sunt patrata, omnia sub fideiussione legitima, cum enormi tamen dampno, nobis sepius sunt restituta. Tandem itaque tedio affecti, pudore etiam confusi, que iam modo solito rapuerant nobis ulterius ea non repetentibus quamdiu libuit inclusa retinere permittebamus. Illi autem ulterius a nobis non requisiti, indignantes malis magnis iam sepius illatis maiora satis addiderunt.

Turba igitur rusticorum sibi associata et per campos late patentis, more arrepticiorum insaniendo discurrentes, queque nos contingere uidebantur, agmine facto ante se agebant, et ceteris in castello inclusis associabant, oues scilicet et boues uniuersas insuper et pecora campi.<sup>37</sup> Cumque per aliquot dies, nobis non repetentibus, ibidem inclusa ac impasta fame periclitarentur, licet muta natura que uetante loqui non

<sup>a</sup> ori CA

<sup>36</sup> For the castle of Walden, see above, pp. xvii–xviii, xxi. The bailey was a large area which would easily have accommodated the livestock, probably in pens made from hurdles.

<sup>37</sup> Ps. 8: 8 (7), 'oues et boues uniuersas insuper et pecora campi'. This is quoted also by Jocelin of Brakelond when describing a somewhat similar incident, when animals belonging

lawless hands. Some of our servants they flogged, others they punched pitilessly with their fists; some, more nimble than others, gave them the slip and so escaped by fleeing as fast as they could. We therefore called all our servants together and gave them strict orders not to strike back if they were struck; if provoked by insults, they were to keep a silent tongue, and not to make any abusive reply, but by suffering everything calmly, to show patience to the impatient. Some of those who heard this left us out of fear; some indeed remained, but were afraid to go off anywhere outside the gates of our monastery. Hence scarcely anyone could be found who would dare to perform any kind of service to us.

So robbers, dedicated to wickedness, formed a band and attacked our ploughmen, striking them violently with their sticks and fists, and viciously beating the flanks of the animals with clubs and lances. Then they rounded them all up and, driving them before them in a disordered stampede, they herded them into the castle which is over against us.<sup>36</sup> The men, whose feet they had bound in the stocks, they brutally thrashed. They sent the animals mad by pricking them and teasing them with goads. Hearing of these things we dissolved in tears for shame; we had bread taken for the men and hay for the animals; yet they were scarcely permitted to enjoy these things even if they wished, for these limbs of the devil, abandoning pity, prevented this. Indeed, we suffered an enormous loss because this treatment was meted out to us not once only but quite often, and frequently everything was restored to us only on the payment of a legally enforceable surety. Finally, thoroughly weary, and distressed no less by shame, we no longer requested the return of whatever they had seized in their usual manner, but allowed these to be kept shut up for as long as they liked. But when we stopped pleading with them they angrily heaped greater injuries upon those already grievous injuries they had often inflicted upon us.

A mob of villeins who had joined their number rushed far and wide over all the fields like raving lunatics and, forming a line, they drove before them every animal they thought belonged to us. These—'all sheep and oxen: yea and beasts of the field'<sup>37</sup>—they added to the others which had been shut up in the castle. When these had been confined there for several days unfed, for we were not demanding their return, they were in danger of dying of hunger. Although they were dumb creatures and prevented by nature from being able to speak, yet by a

to the priory of Ely were impounded by men acting for the abbot of Bury St Edmunds: *Jocelin of Brakelond*, trans. Greenway and Sayers, p. 118.

ualerent, tamen clamore quodam confuso necnon et continuo, modo quo poterant, misericordiam ab immisericordibus postulabant. Horrendum quid, nec inter gentes auditum, ab scelerum adiuventoribus ibidem est perpetratum: aerem autem uelint, nolint, omnibus communem, ab iniquitatibus suis pati noluerunt fore immunem, ouium etenim nostrarum cadauera ob nimiam putredinem in fetorem maximum uersa, in murorum summitatibus suspendentes, in sublime eleuabant, ut aerem, tunc temporis satis serenum, fetore illo inficerent. Idem etiam aer taliter corruptus hiis aliisque similibus eorum operibus pari modo corruptus, testimonium perhiberet. Igitur inquieti Sathane clientuli pre tumultu confuso animalium iam pene morte punctorum<sup>a</sup> inquietati, claustris patefactis, quo uellent abire sinebant. Exeuntia uero gressibus flexuosis pre debilitate uix incedebant: in acie igitur obesa, et ut uulgo dicitur uisceribus laxis, digito perforabilia pellibus uero consumptis carnibus adhererunt ossa.<sup>38</sup> Homines itaque cum mulieribus in Waledena commanentes ad tam miserabile spectaculum e domibus prosilierunt intuentes pecora innocua crudelitate nocentium sic alterata, in stuporem acti proclamauerunt, 'Pape! Quis uidit talia? Pereant de terra uiuentium, qui tam crudele commisere flagitium! Quid monachi isti, quid uiri simplices et recti et timentes Deum perpetrati sunt? Que qualisue culpe causa est in eis inuenta? Certe nulla!' Animalia itaque, ut diximus, per plateas oberrantia, uix pedes a terra eleuabant, dimidiatisque passibus titubantia, instabili gressu casum minitabant.<sup>b</sup> uix tandem sibi nota attingere poterant boelia.<sup>c</sup>

16. *De familiaribus nostris nos consolantibus, et de iniuriis nondum cessantibus*

Clamor itaque huius tam horrende inauditeque persecutionis nostre in auribus omnium, etiam longius positorum, insonuit. Prouincia simul tota confunditur, detestantur membra diaboli, maledicuntur Sathane sicarii. 'Pereant cum impiis e medio sublati!', omnibus acclamatur. Vicini autem nostri cum amicis ad nos crebro uenientes, uerbaque patientie et consolationis nobis administrantes, corda nostra merore depressa exhilarando aliquatenus releuabant.

<sup>a</sup> pintorum C; extinctorum A      <sup>b</sup> minitabantur A      <sup>c</sup> om. A

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* iii. 102: 'uix ossibus haerent'.

sort of confused and continuous noise, they demanded as best they could pity from the pitiless. Then a horrifying deed, unheard of among the nations, was perpetrated there by these instigators of crime. They did not want the air which is common to all, willy-nilly, to be immune from their iniquities, for the carcasses of our sheep which had become extremely fetid through excessive putrefaction they raised high up, hanging them from the tops of the walls, so that the air, which at that time was quite pure, was infected with the stench. The very air which was polluted in this way by their action was also polluted in a similar way by other like practices, and bore testimony. So these troublesome little attendants of Satan, disquieted by the uproar of the distressed animals which had been almost done to death, opened the enclosures and allowed them to go where they liked. They could only stagger with meandering step because of their weakness, so in emaciated procession they opened their bowels—to use common parlance—and where their flesh had wasted away, their bones, which could be touched with the finger, clung<sup>38</sup> to their skin. Men and women who lived in Walden ran out of their houses to see so pitiable a sight. Gazing upon the innocent cattle which had been so changed by the cruelty of wicked men, they cried 'By the Pope! Who has ever seen such a sight? May those who have committed so cruel an outrage, perish from the land of the living! What crime have those monks committed—simple, upright men who fear God? What cause so blameworthy has been found against them? Surely none!' And so the animals, as we have said, wandered through the streets, hardly able to raise their hooves from the ground, and with tottering half-steps and unsteady movement they threatened to fall. Only with difficulty did they eventually reach their well-known pastures.

16. *Our friends console us, but the injustices continue*

The outcry against this horrifying and unheard-of persecution against us resounded in the ears of everybody, even those living in distant parts. The whole district was distressed by it, these limbs of the devil were hated, and Satan's assassins were cursed. The universal cry was 'May they be removed from our midst and perish with the ungodly'. Our neighbours and friends visited us frequently, bringing us words of sympathy and consolation, and by cheering our grief-stricken hearts which had been overwhelmed by sadness they brought us a degree of relief.

Conuentus igitur malignantium exacerunt ut gladium linguas suas,<sup>39</sup> et sermonibus odii circumdederunt nos,<sup>40</sup> uerborumque stimulis, ut ad impatientiam nos prouocarent, corda nostra crebrius pungendo uulnerabant: nil enim aliud quam canes, addendo etiam nigros, nos<sup>a</sup> nominabant. Deliberatione autem communi facta, posuimus ori nostro custodiam: cum consistentes peccatores aduersum nos, obmutuimus, et humiliati sumus et siluimus a malis.<sup>41</sup>

Tortores igitur nostri legatariis ad dominum nostrum Galfredum, cum reuerentia nominandum, transmissis, quid in nobis perpetratum quantum in persecutione nostra iam profecissent ei sepius nuntiabant. Attendentes autem animum illius de malignitate in nos exercitata erga se magis beneuolum, manum aggrauantes procedendo seuierunt. Mane itaque surgentes, et per loca diuersa in insidiis latitantes, solotenus more canum procumbebant, ut sic impetu repentino in nos nostrosque seuientes,<sup>b</sup> penas inferendas irruerent. Crebro autem non latenter sed palam congregati sunt aduersum aurigas nostros et sicut gigantes steterunt contra eos, et cum equis bigas onustas trahentibus illos comprehenderunt, comprehensos uero in carcerem truserunt. Hominum itaque tibias in cippo sepius ab eis iam antea usitato<sup>c</sup> constrinxerunt. Iumenta quidem sub diuo alligata, ut uulgo dici solet, quatuor uentis commendauerunt.<sup>42</sup> Gloriantes igitur in malitia, potentes in iniquitate,<sup>43</sup> furore nondum satiato processerunt. Introitum etenim nemoris nostri, fossato in altum ante leuato, obstruxerunt, ne frutices tantum ad ignis forientum<sup>d</sup> asportare, ne uel scopam saltem unam inde auferre nobis liceret. Comminando nil dixerunt. Illi uero ascendentes non tamen<sup>e</sup> per ostium sed aliunde, quia quotquot uenerunt fures erant et latrones,<sup>44</sup> et parcum illum, licet paruum, tamen in securi et ascia deiecerunt eum.<sup>45</sup> Ascendit autem et cum eis inuisum illud genus hominum, cetus uidelicet magnus rusticorum, non tamen sortem inter se mittentes,<sup>46</sup> sed eligens sibi quis quid tolleret. Attendentes itaque<sup>f</sup> hec, et pre angustia spiritus gementes lugebamus,<sup>47</sup> quia super uniuersa grauamina spiritus iam illata, hec nobis uidebantur grauiora.

<sup>a</sup> om. A    <sup>b</sup> A; seuietens C    <sup>c</sup> uisitata C; usitata A    <sup>d</sup> C; forientem A.  
? read fornicamentum, fornacem, or similar    <sup>e</sup> tantum A, through a misreading of C    <sup>f</sup> igitur A

<sup>39</sup> Ps. 63: 3-4 (64: 2-3), 'Protexisti me a conuentu malignantium . . . quia exacerunt ut gladium linguas suas'.

<sup>40</sup> Ps. 108: 3 (109: 2), 'sermonibus odii circumdederunt me'.

<sup>41</sup> Ps. 38: 2-3 (39: 1-2), 'cum consisteret peccator aduersum me, obmutui et humiliatus sum et silui a bonis'.

As a consequence 'the assembly of the wicked assailed us with tongues as sharp as swords',<sup>39</sup> and 'compassed us about with words of hatred'.<sup>40</sup> They caused us anguish of heart with their hurtful slander and constant jibes designed to provoke us to retaliate: they said we were no better than dogs, even calling us 'black' dogs. However we discussed this as a community and guarded our tongues: 'when the sinners acted together against us, we were dumb, humbling ourselves and refraining from speaking' evil.<sup>41</sup>

Our tormentors therefore sent messengers to our lord Geoffrey—to be named with respect—informing him frequently of the deeds perpetrated against us, and of their great successes in our persecution. Reckoning that his attitude towards them would be more conciliatory in view of the harm they had inflicted upon us, they proceeded to attack and savage us with a heavier hand. Rising at dawn and lying concealed on the ground like dogs, they set ambushes in several places so that by a sudden and savage attack upon us and our men they might inflict swift punishment upon us. Frequently, however, they did not hide, but banding together openly against our carters, stood in their way like giants. They seized them and the horses which were drawing the heavily-laden carts, and threw them into prison. They bound legs of the men in the stocks which they had often used before. The animals they tied up in the open, and commended them, as the saying goes, to the four winds.<sup>42</sup> 'Glorying in malice and prevailing in wrongdoing',<sup>43</sup> they carried on, their fury unabated. They barricaded the way into our woodlands by putting up a high palisade, so not allowing us to collect even brushwood for the oven fire, or to take a single twig. In threatening they said nothing. But they rose up against us not through the entrance but from other directions, for 'all that came were thieves and robbers'.<sup>44</sup> They destroyed the park, though it was but small, with axe and adze.<sup>45</sup> They were joined in the attack by that hated race of men, a great company of rustics, not casting lots amongst themselves,<sup>46</sup> but each choosing for himself whatever he might steal. Contemplating this 'we groaned in anguish of spirit'<sup>47</sup> and were grief-stricken, for of all the aggravation of spirit we had now endured, this seemed to us the worst.

<sup>42</sup> This adage, as 'Ventis tradere', is listed by H. Walther, *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (5 vols.: Göttingen, 1963-7), no. 33,009b.

<sup>43</sup> Ps. 51: 3 (52: 1), 'Quid gloriatur in malitia qui potens est iniquitate'.

<sup>44</sup> John 10: 8, 'quotquot uenerunt fures sunt et latrones', Christ speaking of false shepherds.

<sup>45</sup> Ps. 73 (74): 6, 'in securi et ascia aliquid deiecere'.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Matt. 27: 35, 'sortem mittentes', of those who cast lots for Christ's garments at the Crucifixion.

<sup>47</sup> Wisd. 5: 3, 'pre angustia spiritus gementes'.

17. *De persecutoribus nostris apud Enefeldam et Waltheham*

Villici igitur apud Enefeldam, istis in malitia non inferiores, nullum Deo exhibentes honorem, nec locis etiam sanctis in ullo deferendum fore censebant: homines etenim nostros de ecclesia cum ceteris egredientes manibus iniectis extra cimiterium uiolenter eiiciendo uerberabant, uerberatos uero omni humanitate remota incarcerabant. Intuentes autem parochiani tantam crudelitatem in uiros<sup>a</sup> innocuos in loco sacro perpetrata, manibus complois exclamando<sup>b</sup> a lacrimis non temperabant.

Audientes uero seruientes domini nostri Galfredi apud Waltham quod factum fuerat, arbitrabantur dominum suum sibi fore offensum si nullum in persecutione nostra obsequium in aliquo prestare uiderentur. Mercatores autem undecumque de remotis partibus qui bladum ibidem a nobis emerant in strata publica, cum iumentis quadrigas onustas<sup>c</sup> trahentibus comprehendentes rapuerunt; raptos uero carcerali custodia mancipauerunt, nec umquam absque graui redemptione ulterius egredi potuerunt.

Igitur quoniam<sup>d</sup> nullum in ecclesie defensoribus refugium, nullum in regni tutoribus nobis iam ulterius superesse uidebamus solatium. Consilio communi deliberatione inito, litteras lamentis uerbisque lacrimosis plenas domino regi in transmarinis partibus agenti mittere dignum duximus. Duobus fratribus ad hoc negotium expediendum nominatis, orationibus omnium in uiam pacis<sup>48</sup> commendati abierunt; mare transito ad regem peruenerunt. Illo itaque iubente, littere ille a nobis transmissae manibus Eustachii Eliensis episcopi, tunc temporis cancellarii, ad legendum sunt commisse;<sup>49</sup> qui partes domini Galfredi, qui tunc etiam presens aderat, fouens, eas occultare silendo studuit, nec auribus regis illas umquam recitando commendauit.

18. *De confirmatione comitis Willelmi coram rege recitata*

Considerato iterum tempore cum loco opportuno, a fratribus rex interpellatur:<sup>50</sup> disseisina cum grauaminibus a domino Galfredo nobis illata seriatim illi intimatur, et ut talibus modum excedentibus

<sup>a</sup> A; uiro C      <sup>b</sup> om. A      <sup>c</sup> A; onstas C      <sup>d</sup> partly obliterated C; om. A

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Luke 1: 79, as above iii. 4, iv. 4.

<sup>49</sup> Eustace, bishop of Ely 1198–1215, keeper of the king's seal from 1197, chancellor from May 1198.

<sup>50</sup> The hearing described in this and the next chapter clearly took place in France. The only occasions when Geoffrey fitz Peter was certainly there after Hubert Walter became archbishop were Apr. 1195 at Le Mans (Landon, *Itin. Ric. I*, p. 101) and May and June

17. *Our persecutors at Enfield and [Great] Waltham*

The reeves at Enfield, no less active than they in evil-doing, showed no respect for God, and were determined not to show any at all for consecrated places, for when our men were leaving the church with others they laid hands on them, threw them violently out of the cemetery and thrashed them. After doing this, without any vestige of humanity they imprisoned them. When the parishioners saw such cruelty perpetrated in a holy place against harmless men, wringing their hands they voiced their feelings and could not hold back their tears.

The servants of our lord Geoffrey at [Great] Waltham, hearing what had happened, thought that their lord would be offended with them if they seemed to be failing in any way in their duty to persecute us. So they seized and robbed on the public highway not only merchants who had bought wheat from us there, but also their animals which were pulling the laden carts. Having robbed them they imprisoned them, and there was no possibility of their ever getting out without a large ransom.

So as there was no refuge for us amongst the defenders of the Church, we saw no future consolation left for us amongst the protectors of the kingdom. After discussion together we formed a plan: we decided that the right course was for us to send a letter full of lamentation and sorrowful words to the lord king who was busy in lands across the sea. The two brethren chosen to carry out this business set out having been commended 'into the way of peace'<sup>48</sup> by the prayers of all. After crossing the sea they came to the king. At the king's bidding the letter which had been sent by us was handed over to Eustace, bishop of Ely, chancellor at that time, for him to read.<sup>49</sup> Since he favoured lord Geoffrey's cause, who was also present, he purposely concealed the letter by saying nothing about it, for he never read it to the king for him to hear what it said.

18. *Earl William's confirmation read before the king*

A favourable time and place was for a second time decided upon, and an appeal was made by the brethren to the king.<sup>50</sup> He was informed in detail of the disseisin and injustices brought upon us by lord Geoffrey

1198 in the Norman Vexin (*ibid.*, pp. 127–30). The abbot of Mortemer and the other witnesses (below, c. 19) might well have been present at the latter time. A plea of assize between Geoffrey and the abbot of Walden was entered in the Curia Regis to be heard at the end of June 1198: *CRR* i. 50.



iam finem imponat supplex exoratur. Dominus igitur Galfredus, uir admodum facundus, uerbis modum excedentibus, omni etiam ueritate nudatis respondit, se numquam nos in aliquo disseisiasse, nulla etiam grauamina in magno uel in minimo nobis intulisse constanter proclamabat; asserebat insuper nos reos, nos fore mendaces, qui possessionem illam de qua agebatur iniuste occupauimus; occupatam uero a decessu comitis Willelmi usque in illum diem pacifice possedimus, quippe qui nec cartam eiusdem comitis legitimam, uel etiam tempore nobis opportuno factam obtinuimus. Iureiurando autem affirmabat cartam iam dictam,<sup>a</sup> ut uerbis eius utamur, in lecto comitis mortali factam, siue, quod deterius est, post mortem illius a falsariis nobis fauentibus fore conscriptam.

Noui igitur recentesque uenerunt, qui hanc inauditam a seculo legem a ministris Zabuli<sup>51</sup> nouiter inuentam statuere decreuerunt, 'Ne aliquis, quamuis magnus, lecto pre infirmitate receptus, in extrema uoluntate quicquam de terris uel tenementis iam ante possessis, alicui liceat legare, nec etiam uiris religiosus, pre aliis dilectis, ualeat conferre.'<sup>52</sup> Cum itaque legi huic maledicto digne omnes antique Dei leges et noue plane uideantur repugnare, unde liquido omni sane sapienti datur intelligi, quia omnimodis non sit dicenda lex; immo omnium adinventionum iniquarum iniquissima fex.

19. *De confirmatione predicta magnorum uirorum testimonio approbata*

A rege igitur inquisitum est, si carta illa sic calumpniata, seu<sup>b</sup> eius transcriptum presens adesset, ut ea recitata domini Galfredi assertio sic constaret uera, uel probaretur sic fore falsa. Absens est carta, presens transcriptum pro carta est admissum, recitatur in auribus omnium, dinumeratur seriatim multitudo testium. De quorum numerositate domini regis electione, utriusque partis assensu, tres tantum magne auctoritatis uiri eliguntur, quorum ueraci arbitrio constare debet carte huius cognitio. Litteris regis citantur ut ueniant, dominus uidelicet

<sup>a</sup> A; dicta C

<sup>b</sup> A; se C

<sup>51</sup> Zabulon was one of the twelve sons of Jacob, whose name was attached to one of the twelve tribes of Israel: Gen. 49: 13, Deut. 33: 18, Isa. 9: 1.

<sup>52</sup> For the development of the canonical testament, which effectively superseded the death-bed gift, see M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England* (Toronto, 1963), esp. pp. 107-47, and pp. 268-74 for the common-law condemnation of death-bed gifts of land; cf. F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *History of English Law* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1898), ii. 314-56 (and esp. p. 327 for a discussion of the present case). Cf. *The Treatise on the*

and he was humbly begged to put an end now to such excesses. But lord Geoffrey, who was a very eloquent man, replied in exaggerated language in a speech devoid of all truth. He said that he had never disseised us in any respect and persisted in asserting that he had not inflicted any harm upon us in great or small measure. He further declared that we were the guilty party and that we were liars who had wrongfully seized the property over which the case had been brought. He said that after seizing it we had possessed it in peace from the time of Earl William's death to the present time, for we held no legal charter of the earl, or we possessed one that had been made at a time advantageous to us. He declared on oath that the aforementioned charter, to use his very words, had been made on the earl's deathbed, or, what is worse, had been written after his death by forgers who supported us.

In fact, strangers had recently arrived who declared that the following law, never heard of before, which had been lately invented by the servants of Zabulon,<sup>51</sup> stated that 'Nobody, however important, who has taken to his bed through illness, is to be allowed to bequeath in his last will anything from the lands or holdings possessed by him up to that time to anyone, nor to be able to bestow anything even upon monks who are beloved above others'.<sup>52</sup> Since therefore all the laws of God, both ancient and modern seem wholly opposed to this law, which is rightly accursed, it is quite evident to every truly wise man that it should in no respect be called a law; indeed, of all iniquitous inventions it is the most iniquitous rubbish.

19. *The aforesaid confirmation proved by the testimony of important men*

The king therefore instituted an enquiry to discover, if that charter which had been challenged in this way, or a transcript of it, was available, whether lord Geoffrey's declaration as stated might be established to be true, or proved to be false. The charter was not available, but a transcript which was at hand was accepted in place of the charter and was read out in the hearing of everybody, its large number of witnesses listed in order. From this abundance of witnesses only three were selected who were men of considerable importance. The lord king chose them with the assent of both parties, and recognition of the charter was to depend on their honest judgment. Summoned to attend by royal letters were the lord abbot William of

*Laws and Customs of the Realm of England commonly called Glanvill*, ed. G. D. G. Hall (revised edn., OMT, 1993), pp. 70, 80.



Willelmus de Mortuo Mari abbas, Ricardus <sup>a</sup>de Valle<sup>a</sup> Rullii capellanus, Ricardus de Montineto, miles satis facundus.

Die statuto adsunt, questio examinanda proponitur; deliberatione pari conferunt. Collatione uero facta, ore consono quod uerum est hiis uerbis fatentur: 'Carta ista tali questione exagitata, a comite Willelmo in lecto, ut dicitur, mortali nequaquam fuit facta uel monachis collata, die enim illa qua fuerat conscripta post infirmitatem de qua conuauerat, eques ambulauit, pedes incessit, cum suis intrauit gaudens et exiuit. Post mortem autem<sup>b</sup> illius nec ista nec altera ulla exitit facta. Sigillum etenim eius nobis coram positis<sup>c</sup> immutatum, confractum canonicisque uiris, scilicet religiosis, prope degentibus est transmissum.<sup>53</sup> Isti itaque tam magni nominis uiri tale et tantum ueritati nostre perhibebant testimonium.

20. *De omnimoda disseisione permissione regis nobis facta*

Fratres igitur nostri hec audientes gauisi sunt gaudio magno ualde<sup>54</sup> existimantes causam iam omnino finitam, effectu etiam ad uotum sibi respondente, fore consummatam. Rex autem negotio indeterminato surgens recessit, uerbis suspensiuus fratres nostros aliquandiu morari coegit. Dominus itaque Galfredus repatriare<sup>d</sup> uolens, maioribus curie regalis sibi in iuuamen associatis, dominum regem magnatum primitus prece conuenit, deinde pretio pecunie, ut dicebatur, repromisso, ut, cum tremore tamen dicamus, ipsum iam circumueniendo deuicit.

Sic fauore adulantium, regio honore sublato, inclinatus, sic ambitione promissorum, regia maiestate calcata, deceptus, quos paulo ante de illo tenemento letabunda omnium acclamatione satiauerat,<sup>e</sup> nunc, uero testimonio uirorum magnorum, quos etiam ipse elegerat, contempto, gemebunda omnium confusione dissatiari permisit.

Rediens igitur dominus Galfredus iam uictor, tempore aliquo forsan deuincendus, omnia nos contingentia pariter confudit, confusa dissipauit, nobis uero procul perturbatis, omnia in nomine diaboli tempore breui possidenda subintrauit.

<sup>a-a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> om. A      <sup>c</sup> positum A      <sup>d</sup> repatriare CA      <sup>e</sup> satiauerat C, corr. to saitiauerat; seisiauerat A

<sup>53</sup> This sentence refers to the practice of breaking the seal matrix of a deceased person to prevent its fraudulent use. The phrase 'canonicisque uiris, scilicet religiosis, prope degentibus' may refer to regular, perhaps Augustinian, canons living close to Le Vaudreuil, but we have not been able to trace a priory in the vicinity.

<sup>54</sup> Matt. 2: 10, 'gauisi sunt gaudio magno ualde', of the wise men seeing the star stop over the Christ child.

Mortemer, the chaplain Richard of Le Vaudreuil, and Richard de Montineto, a most eloquent knight.

They arrived on the appointed day, the problem to be examined was laid before them, and each played an equal part in the deliberation. When their discussion was complete they declared their unanimous decision as to the truth of the matter in the following words: 'That charter which has been the subject of this enquiry was not in any respect made or given to the monks by Earl William on his deathbed, as is alleged, for on the day on which it had been written, after the illness from which he had recovered, he rode on horseback, walked on foot, and went in and out amongst his people in cheerful mood. Neither was that charter nor any other made after his death. For his seal, unchanged, was broken in our presence, as guardians, and was sent to men canonically appointed, that is to say regulars, who were living close at hand.<sup>53</sup> So those men of great reputation gave this important testimony to our truthfulness.

20. *The complete disseisin inflicted upon us by permission of the king*

Our brethren 'rejoiced with great exceeding great joy'<sup>54</sup> when they heard this, believing that the case was now completely settled and that an end had been put to it in answer to our prayers. However, the king, rising before the business had been decided, withdrew, and in words that gave them cause for doubt, compelled our brethren to stay where they were for a while. Lord Geoffrey, wishing to return home, engaged the assistance of important men of the royal court, and at first approached the lord king through the mediation of these magnates, but then promised him, so it was said, a sum of money with the result that—and I tremble to mention it—he won him over through guile.

So the king, swayed by the partiality of flatterers, abandoned his royal dignity and, beguiled by the enticement of the promises made to him, trampled upon his kingly majesty. Those whom a short while before he had put in possession of that property amidst the delighted acclamation of all, he now allowed to be dispossessed to the sad bewilderment of all, and thus he ignored the honest testimony of the great men whom he had himself chosen.

Lord Geoffrey, therefore, now returning home victorious—one day, perhaps, to be defeated himself—threw into disorder absolutely everything that belonged to us, and after doing this, he squandered it, and while we stood perplexed at a distance, he soon insinuated himself, in the Devil's name, into the possession of everything.

21. *De litteris regis ad dominum Galfredum pro nobis transmissis*

Nos itaque, omni humano destituti auxilio, patienter omnia sustinimus. Post modicum uero, consilio quorundam, annuente etiam abbate, quidam fratrum nostrorum regem adiit, et ut tante iniurie ipsius consensu nobis illate aliquod remedium conferre dignaretur, supplex impetrauit. Rex igitur ipse rubore quodam perfusus, litteras domino Galfredo, quem iam iusticiarium regni constituerat,<sup>55</sup> efficacissimas, sed tamen precatorias transmisit, mandando exhortans, quatenus nobis iniuriam perpeccis seipsum reconciliando satisfaceret, reconciliatus uero de possessione prelibata gratiam restitutionis aliquam nobis impenderet, neuterque illorum de hoc grauamine nobis illato maculam peccati contrahere uideretur; addendo etiam monens, ut ea que domui de Suldham (quam iam minus discrete fundando inceperat) dare disponderet, abbacie beati Iacobi de Waledena, quam iam ultra modum inquietauerat, conferre satageret.

Ille autem regiis mandatis simulando fauens, quandoque centum acras de eodem tenemento, cum centum solidis annuis de Wethamsted recipiendis, familiaribus suis cum nostris mediantibus, nobis si uellemus dare repromisit. Nos uero pro bono pacis optate illas centum acras cum aliquanta pratorum parte cum hominibus insuper a comite Willelmo nobis assignatis, absque cartarum nostrarum transmutatione siue etiam illius tenementi in aliquo resignatione, ad tempus uelle recipere respondimus. Ipse uero loca per diuersa tempus prolongando, plures nobis constituit dies, quibus minus satis quam ante nobis conferre disposuit; semper enim se uerbis alterando iam semel dicta transmutaui, semper instabilis a ceptis resiliuit,<sup>a</sup> nec umquam in eodem statu permansit.<sup>56</sup>

22. *De morte regis Ricardi et de fratre eius Iohanne in regem uncto*

Hiis itaque diebus dominus rex Ricardus in Normannia constitutus thesaurum diu absconditum in Pictauiam iam esse inuentum a narrantibus audiuit. Aurum uero crassi more sitiens omine sinistro illuc properauit. Cum autem castellum diuitis thesauri inuentoris ualida pugnatorum manu breui tempore debellando obsidisset intusque obsessos iam grauiter uulneratos deditioi fere subegisset, graui telo<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> insiluit A      <sup>b</sup> tela CA

<sup>55</sup> Geoffrey was appointed justiciar on 11 July 1198 and remained in office until his death on 14 Oct. 1213. See F. J. West, *The Justiciarship in England, 1066-1232* (Cambridge, 1961), esp. pp. 98-110.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Job 14: 2, 'in eodem statu permansit'.

21. *The king's letter sent to lord Geoffrey on our behalf*

Bereft, therefore, of all human assistance, we endured everything patiently. But after a little while, on the advice of certain men, and with the abbot's approval, one of our brethren went to see the king and humbly begged him to agree to give us some relief from the great injustice which with his consent had been inflicted upon us. The king blushed a little and sent a letter to lord Geoffrey, whom he had now appointed justiciar of the realm.<sup>55</sup> It was very forceful, though in request, urging and enjoining him to become reconciled to us and make up for the wrong which we had suffered, and after reconciliation to make us some gift of restitution for the property in question, so that neither of them should appear to be tainted with sin over the bad treatment inflicted upon us. He advised him in addition to make it his business to bestow upon the abbey of the Blessed James of Walden, which he had troubled beyond limit, the property that he was arranging to give to the house of Shouldham (the foundation of which he had ill-advisedly begun).

Geoffrey pretended to accept the royal commands and finally promised to give us, if we would like them, a hundred acres from that holding and one hundred shillings to be received annually from Wheathampstead, with members of his household negotiating with our men over this. For the sake of the peace we desired, we replied that we were willing for the time being to accept those hundred acres with a certain proportion of the meadows, and the addition of the men who had been assigned to us by Earl William, without exchanging our charters or indeed surrendering that property in any way. He kept extending the time at the various meeting-places, and arranged several days for us to meet during which he was much less inclined than before to make us endowments, for he was always changing what he said, and although he had once made a statement, he changed it; he was ever fickle, frequently repudiated undertakings, and never remained in the same frame of mind.<sup>56</sup>

22. *King Richard's death and his brother John anointed king*

It was during this time that the lord king Richard, having established himself in Normandy, heard from men who told him that a treasure which had long been hidden had now been found in Poitou. Desiring the gold like a foolish man, he hastened there despite a bad omen. With a strong force of soldiers he soon attacked and laid siege to the fortress of the man who had discovered the rich treasure. He had almost forced

a balista ualide intenta transmisso lethaliter uulneratus interiit, mortemque auro simul et uita non equa tamen commutatione comparauit.<sup>57</sup> Sic iuuenis etate interceptus, sic robustus uiribus deuictus, sic dilatatus opibus deiectus, morte immatura deperiit; principium eius suis omnibus honor, sed momentaneus excursus labor et continuus, finis uero extitit dolor per secula memorandus.

Frater igitur illius Iohannes morte eius agnita quam citius potuit in Angliam uenit multis a gaudentibus in pace susceptus. Regni tamen magnatibus pre nimia temporis breuitate plene ut decuit non coadunatis in regem unctus ab omnibus rex est acclamatus.

23. *De domino Galfredo gladio comitatus accincto*

Rex igitur, die crastina<sup>a</sup> post coronationem suam, dominum Galfredum filium Petri, ob signum comitatus et ut nomine comitis deinceps censeretur, non tamen absque multorum indignatione, gladio comitatus accinxit,<sup>58</sup> iusticiaria insuper regni potestate non ei subtracta. Mirabantur omnes tam citam tamque immaturam regis actionem quippe cum uir iste nullam omnino generis propinquitatem in comitis Willelmi hereditate in aliquo licet minimo obtineret dignitatem, sed solum uice filii etatis adhuc minuscule eam ad tempus conseruandam possideret,<sup>59</sup> unde factum est, ut uiri plures et magni super hoc confabularentur, et secum quererent, et qui uidebantur in regno potentiores facti sunt in populo susurrone.

<sup>a</sup> *A*; crastina *C*, cf. una dierum *i. 18, iii. 2* above

<sup>57</sup> He died on 6 Apr. 1199.

<sup>58</sup> *Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS li), iv. 90, says that Geoffrey was created earl of Essex on the same day as the coronation, 27 May 1199.

<sup>59</sup> His son's claim was through his maternal grandmother, Beatrice de Mandeville; see above, pp. xxix–xxx.

those besieged in the fortress to surrender, for they had suffered heavy casualties, when he was himself mortally wounded by a heavy bolt shot with great force from a crossbow, and died, thus purchasing his death at the same time as the gold in an unequal exchange for life.<sup>57</sup> He was thus cut off in his prime, thus vanquished whilst robust in health, thus laid low whilst rich in possessions, and so perished by an early death. His beginning was an honour to all his men, but his life from day to day was one of toilsome and never-ending travel, and his ending was a grief ever to be remembered.

His brother John, therefore, on learning of his death, came to England as quickly as he could, and was received peaceably and gladly by many. However, because of the exceedingly short period of time in which this took place, he was anointed and acclaimed king by all the people before all the leading men of the kingdom had been summoned as they should have been.

23. *Lord Geoffrey girded with the sword of an earldom*

The day after his coronation the king girded lord Geoffrey fitz Peter with the sword of an earldom,<sup>58</sup> the symbol of that honour, so that he might henceforth be distinguished by the title of earl, though this was not without the disapproval of many. Furthermore, the king did not divest him of the office of justiciar of the realm. Everybody was amazed at the king's action which was so swift and so early in his reign, especially as this man had no standing through any inheritance from Earl William, their connection being only very slight, with no blood-relationship between them at all: in fact he possessed it only on behalf of his son, who was still a minor, to have custody of it for the time being.<sup>59</sup> The result was that many important men were talking about this and questioning it together, and those who were thought the more powerful men in the kingdom began spreading rumours among the people.

## ⟨LIBER V⟩

### ⟨INCIPIVNT⟩ CAPITVLA

1. De donatione abbacie nostre domino Galfredo a rege concessa
2. De familiaribus domini Galfredi gratia reconciliationis ad nos transmissis
3. De confirmationibus super legato comitis Willelmi nobis collatis quas exigebat
4. De solempni processione qua a nobis receptus est, et de oblatione eius
5. De eo quod capitulum intrauit, et nichil nobis contulit, immo cartam suam ibidem recitari fecit
6. De eo quod cameram abbatis intrauit et qualiter astutus simplicem conuenit
7. De portione ablatorum modica nobis restituta
8. De infirmitate domini abbatis et de doctrina eius
9. De multiplici litterarum illius peritia
10. De obitu et sepultura domini Reginaldi abbatis

#### 1. *De donatione abbacie nostre domino Galfredo concessa*

Cum igitur dominus Galfredus filius Petri iam comes Essexie omnia ad uotum sibi arridere<sup>a</sup> conspiceret, nunc<sup>b</sup> priuatim crebrius pulsando, nunc palam uiris magnis sibi per omnia fauentibus regem Iohannem iam nuper creatum attentius interpellando conuenit, quatenus dignitatem qua predecessor et frater eius rex Ricardus ecclesiam nostram promouendo nobilitauerat, ipse adnichilando in irritum reuocaret, abbatiam scilicet nostram, ut iam pridem extiterat, ordine peruerso, in prioratum reformaret. Rex itaque sagaci animo petita perpendens, simul etiam primitias suas, fama citius uolante, in hiis denigrare deuitans, huiusmodi petitionibus nulla penitus ratione subnixis, non immerito obuiare studuit, nec eis quoquo modo assensum prebere decreuit.

Attendens igitur, necnon et dolens dominus noster Galfredus se in hoc nullatenus exaudiendum, ad alia, que multis ad obtinendum satis difficiliora uidebantur, creber in petendo, assiduus in insistendo, animum quietis nescium conuertit, ut domum uidelicet nostram tempore subsequenti pastore quandoque destituendam iure

<sup>a</sup> accidere A

<sup>b</sup> immo A

## ⟨BOOK V⟩

### ⟨HERE BEGIN⟩ THE CHAPTER HEADINGS

1. The gift of our abbey bestowed by the king upon lord Geoffrey
2. Friends of lord Geoffrey sent to us to effect a reconciliation
3. The confirmations given to us concerning Earl William's bequest, which he [lord Geoffrey] was demanding
4. The solemn procession with which he was received by us, and his offering
5. His visit to the chapter-house when he bestowed nothing upon us; instead, he had his own charter read there
6. His visit to the abbot's chamber: the meeting of a cunning man with an ingenuous one
7. The restitution of a small portion of what had been taken from us
8. The illness of the lord abbot and his teaching
9. His varied knowledge of literature
10. The death and burial of Dom Reginald the abbot

#### 1. *The gift of our abbey bestowed by the king upon lord Geoffrey*

When lord Geoffrey fitz Peter, now earl of Essex, saw that everything was succeeding as he wished, he approached John who had so recently been made king, first by making frequent requests to him privately, and then by appealing to him openly and more insistently, through important men who supported him in everything, to revoke and invalidate the honour by which his predecessor and brother, King Richard, had exalted our church through its promotion, and so annul it. That is he wanted him to reverse the order and reconstitute our abbey, as it had been for some time now, to become a priory. The king pondered over his requests with his shrewd mind, and not wanting the first-fruits of his reign to be spoiled by this business, as rumour soon spreads a story, he was anxious, with good reason, to resist requests of this kind which were totally unreasonable. He therefore decided not to give any assent to them at all.

Our lord Geoffrey, observing this, was annoyed that no heed was being paid to him on this matter. So he turned his restless mind to other matters which seemed to many people somewhat more difficult to achieve. He made repeated demands and was persistent in pursuing them: he wanted to be allowed to deprive our house, at some future

hereditario in manu propria conseruando retinere, abbatemque solemnī fratrum electione prouidere eumque, in quantum ad laicam spectare uideretur personam, pro uoto deinceps instituere liceret.

Rex igitur tam improbi instantia petitoris, tandem, ut ita dixerim, quodammodo defatigatus, deliberatione prius habita, consilio etiam cum archiepiscopo, domino scilicet Huberto, ceterisque regni capitaneis super hoc inito, deprecantem exaudiuit, precata concessit, scripto auctentico confirmauit, sigillo insuper regio corroborare curauit.<sup>1</sup> Hec autem statim post domini regis coronationem, diebus scilicet sacris Pentecostes aduenientibus impetrata perhibentur.

2. *De familiaribus domini Galfredi gratia reconciliationis ad nos transmissis*  
Vir quidem iste iam nunc talis ac tantus, mirantibus cunctis, in tanta sublimitate ex insperato constitutus, nuntiis ad nos sepius transmissis, humilium animos oppressione diuina iam defatigatos sermonibus blandis multimoda persuasione compositis iam tandem releuare disposuit: illis recedentibus, succedunt alii uerbis minatoriis promissa maiora miscentes, ut si forte nos imperterritos minis frangere nequirent, saltem promissionibus illectos quoquomodo flectere conarentur.

‘Ecce’ aiunt, ‘dominus noster comes<sup>a</sup> Galfredus, magnorum maximus iure predicatur, ecce regni rector, patrie pater, iudex et moderator ore omnium non immerito acclamatur, ecce cuius nutu iura legalia iuste disposita equo libramine ponderantur, et, ut multa paucis concludamus, ecce cuius successibus ipsa fortuna rebus ipsis euidenter deseruire comprobatur! Vt quid ulterius rebellare nitimini? Conatus uestri hactenus in uanum, ut cernitis, consumpti deperiere, uires iam eneruate penitus defecere: humiliamini iam nunc sub potenti manu eius, ut uos exaltet in die uisitationis sue;<sup>2</sup> non post multos enim dies huc, si placet, aduenturus uos uisitabit, ablata restituet, ecclesiamque uestram magna ex parte inconsummatam, sumptibus propriis studebit ad perfectum ducere, et ut specialis uester patronus exhinc ab omnibus

<sup>a</sup> om. A

<sup>1</sup> The text of this charter does not survive, but archiepiscopal and episcopal confirmations preserve the gist of its terms; see above, p. xxxi, n. 101.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Peter 5: 6, ‘humiliamini igitur sub potenti manu Dei ut uos exaltet in tempore uisitationis’.

time, of its pastor, to hold it in his own hand as an hereditary right, to make provision for the abbot to be elected formally by the brethren, and thereafter, in so far as it seemed permissible for a layman, to institute the abbot of his own choice.

The king, eventually worn down, I would have said, by the persistence of this man’s relentless appeals, first gave the matter some consideration himself and then entered into discussion over these proposals with the archbishop, lord Hubert, and other leaders of the realm. The result was that the king granted him a hearing and gave into his requests. He confirmed this in an authentic document and, furthermore had it ratified by the royal seal.<sup>1</sup> This command was put into effect immediately after the coronation of the lord king during the days leading up to the feast of Pentecost [6 June 1199].

2. *Friends of lord Geoffrey are sent to us to effect a reconciliation*

Geoffrey, who was now a man of position and power, enjoyed universal admiration and was unexpectedly established as a man of the highest rank. He often sent messengers to us, and now at last decided to alleviate the sufferings of humble men who had now been worn down by divine chastisement. He used complimentary language very persuasively phrased. When those men departed others took their place interlarding threats with promises of greater benefits, so that if they happened to be unsuccessful in breaking us down because we were unperturbed by their threats, they would at least have tried in some way to influence us by tempting us with promises.

‘Look,’ they said, ‘our lord, Earl Geoffrey, is rightly proclaimed greatest of the great and not undeservedly acclaimed universally as governor of the realm, father of the country, judge and controller. At his nod rightful claims are justly settled and fairly assessed and, to cut a long story short, Fortune herself is shown to be clearly at work in fostering his very success. Why then do you strive to oppose him any further? Your efforts so far have come to nothing, as you see, and have been wasted; your strength now weakened has utterly failed you. Humble yourselves now under his mighty hand that he may exalt you in the day of his visitation,<sup>2</sup> for in just a few days he will come here to see you if you wish; he will restore what has been taken away and will at his own expense see to it that your church, for the most part uncompleted, is brought to completion. In order that he may be regarded hereafter as your special patron, he will see to it that this church is enriched by a considerable endowment and will have it

agnoscatur, illam dote sufficienti ditatam faciet dedicare, congregata insuper diligentius<sup>a</sup> conseruabit, dispersa reuocabit, in omnibus etiam domus uestre agendis pro posse uos promouere curabit.<sup>7</sup>

Hec et hiis similia uice domini sui illis crebro repetentibus, consilio cum familiaribus amicisque nostris communicato, laboribus et erumnis per annos iam ter ternos continue nos opprimentibus finem quandoque imponere cupientes, saluis per omnia diuine maiestatis honore, simul etiam ecclesie nostre dignitatibus, cedendum deinceps perutile decreuimus, quoniam omni humano destitui patrocino, diuitis etiam illius, qui nec Deum timebat nec homines uerebatur,<sup>3</sup> uires effrenatas sustinere, nec in aliquo ulterius eis obuiare potuimus; amicorum insuper et familiarium eius assertionibus fidem dantes, possessiones nobis iam diutius sublatas cum promissis paulo superius propositis indubitanter obtinere sperabamus.

3. *De confirmationibus super legato comitis Willelmi nobis collatis quas exigebat*

Adueniente autem beati apostoli Iacobi, specialis post Deum eiusque genetricem aduocati nostri, festiuitatis uigilia, adest ille tortor uetus, dominusque noster iam nunc nouus. Ad nos tamen, ut primo decuit, uenire contempsit, immo denso coequitantium agmine stipatus, loris reflexis, in castellum sese recepit.<sup>4</sup> Deinde capellano suo, Hugone,<sup>5</sup> cum ceteris sibi fauentibus ad nos transmissis, fide uera, caritate non ficta in crastinum nos uisitare, uidere et alloqui se uelle mandauit, si tamen cartas ac munimenta super comitis Willelmi legato nobis, ut asserebamus, collata ei tradere, uel saltem in aliqua uicina religiosorum ecclesia, (ut uulgo dici solet) in equali manu commendare uellemus. Nos autem notantes uerba, hinc nuda et aperta, illinc fucata<sup>b</sup> necnon et palliata, dolum inesse nobis liquido dabatur intelligi; unde nec reputauimus ea. Instantius tamen rogare curauimus, ut suam nobis exhibere dignaretur presentiam, paratos etenim omnem honorem reuerentiamque domino debitam sibi impendere nos inueniret.

<sup>a</sup> diligentus C; diligenter A      <sup>b</sup> fugata et A

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Luke 18: 2, 'qui Deum non timebat et hominem non uerebatur'.

<sup>4</sup> This is clear evidence that the castle had been restored to habitable condition after its slighting in 1158; cf. above, p. xxi.

<sup>5</sup> Earl William's chaplain, also called Hugh, had given the earl's charter to the monks of Walden after the earl's death: above, iii. 2. He attested the charter: below, App. 2, no. 5. Cf. also ii. 16 and App. 2, no. 14. He was possibly the clerk called Hugh who witnessed Earl William's charter of c.1176: App. 2, no. 4.

dedicated. Furthermore, he will diligently preserve the possessions which have been collected, restore what has been dispersed, and also, in all the affairs of your house, will make it his business to advance your cause as best he can.<sup>7</sup>

Such were the promises, and there were others like them, which these messengers frequently made on behalf of their lord. We discussed these proposals with our friends and acquaintances, desiring to put an end at last to the trouble and anguish that had been continually oppressing us now for nine years. We decided that so long as the honour of the divine majesty was preserved in all matters, as well as the status of our church, it would be much to our future advantage if we made concessions, for we were without any human protection, were not able to withstand the unbridled strength of that rich man 'who had no fear of God and no regard for men',<sup>3</sup> and were no longer able to resist it in any way. Moreover, we put our trust in what his friends and intimates had declared, and hoped that we would surely obtain the possessions long ago taken away from us as well as the things quite recently promised to us.

3. *The confirmations given to us concerning Earl William's bequest, which he [lord Geoffrey] was demanding*

On the eve [24 July] of the feast of the Blessed apostle James who was our special patron after God and His Mother, there arrived our old tormentor, now our new lord. He disdained to come to us as he should first have done, but instead, surrounded by a dense throng of fellow-knights, turned his reins and retired into the castle.<sup>4</sup> Then he sent to us his chaplain Hugh<sup>5</sup> and others of his supporters with instructions to say that he wanted to visit us on the morrow in good faith and with unfeigned affection, to see us and to speak to us if we were willing to hand over to him the charters and muniments concerning Earl William's bequest, which as we claimed had been bestowed upon us, or at least to place them in trust in some neighbouring church of religious—in impartial hands, to use the common expression. However, aware that his words were sometimes undisguised and open, but at others disguised and veiled, we were clear in our minds that we were being tricked. Hence, we placed no credence on what he said. Nevertheless we were all the more insistent that he be asked to honour us with his presence, in that he would find us ready to pay him all the honour and respect due to a lord.

4. *De solempni processione qua a nobis receptus est, et de oblatione eius*

In die autem magne festiuitatis, cum turba plurima conueniret, et de uillis ac ciuitatibus properans<sup>a</sup> ad sacrum, hora diei iam mediante secunda, clamor factus est, 'Ecce dominus uenit, exite obuiam ei'.<sup>6</sup> Et factum est. Illo autem cum multa ambitione iam appropinquante, ingens turba preibat, plurima uero sequebatur. Porte exteriores late patentem, locus etiam licet spatiosus uix populum admittebat.

Occurrit autem cum reliqua multitudine fratrum nostrorum, caterua albis uestibus candidata, purpureis ornatibus<sup>7</sup> decentique satis uarietate redimita, preferens cum deauratis euangeliorum textis necnon et uasis thuriferis crucifera Christi uexilla, et quicquid festiuus poterat deuotio uotiuua. Ordinate autem incedentes ad portas monasterii exteriores illum excipiunt fratres, quorum quidam uultibus demissis cantum simulando amarius flebant, quidam uero fletum reprimendo, ore potius quam corde utcumque canebant,<sup>8</sup> a quibusdam personis que cum turba multa conuenerant ad diem festum, cum cantibus, ut dictum est, necnon et crebris tintinnabulorum pulsionibus in ecclesiam introducitur, coram altari prosternitur, orat, surgens cupam argenteam altari imponit, tunc demum Ambrosianus inchoatur hymnus, uidelicet 'Te Deum laudamus'.<sup>9</sup>

5. *De eo quod capitulum intrauit, et nichil nobis contulit, immo cartam suam ibidem recitari<sup>b</sup> fecit*

Expleto itaque hymno, nullaue interueniente mora, cum fratribus intrat capitulum, associata sibi diuersi ordinis ac dignitatis multitudine copiosa. Quo audito, cateruatim ruunt populi audire cupientes que per eum in die reconciliationis in ablatorum reconsignatione, promissis uel donariis nobis forent conferenda. Cumque omnium aures, ut eructaret cor eius uerbum bonum, essent erecte, non dico in magnum quid uel modicum donauit,<sup>c</sup> immo nichil contulit, nichil omnino repromisit. Cartas quidem<sup>d</sup> suas ac confirmationes super donatione abbacie nostre auctoritate regia sibi collatas mox protulit, easque in auribus omnium,

<sup>a</sup> A; properans C      <sup>b</sup> A; recitare C      <sup>c</sup> om. A      <sup>d</sup> A; quidam C

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Matt. 25: 6, 'Ecce sponsus uenit, exite obuiam ei'.

<sup>7</sup> Purple is the liturgical colour to honour martyrdom. James was the first martyr of the apostles.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Matt. 15: 8, 'populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me'.

<sup>9</sup> Ambrose of Milan (c.339–397) was largely responsible for developing hymns as a central part of the public worship of the Latin Church and was traditionally held to have composed the *Te Deum*, a rhythmical prose hymn to the Father and the Son. Modern scholarship, however, rejects this attribution and looks for the hymn's origin in the Paschal

4. *The solemn procession with which he was received by us, and his offering*  
Accordingly, at about half-past seven in the morning on the day of the great festival, when a large congregation assembled which had hastened to the sacrament from the vills and townships, a shout was raised, 'Look, our lord is coming, let us go out to meet him!'<sup>6</sup> And so they did. As he now approached with his great retinue, a large throng walked in front of him and even more followed behind. The outer gates were flung wide open, but the space, though large, was scarcely sufficient to allow the people in.

He was met by the remaining throng of our brethren, the company being dressed in brilliant white vestments, with a pleasing variety of purple adornments,<sup>7</sup> and they carried before them banners displaying the Cross of Christ, gilded texts of the Gospels and censers, indeed, everything that could contribute to making their act of worship more festive. Processing to the outer gates of the monastery the brethren welcomed him, but some of them, with downcast looks, wept bitterly while pretending to sing; others restrained their tears and sang as best they could with their lips rather than with their hearts.<sup>8</sup> Certain priests who had come to the festival with this large company of people conducted him into the church with the singing already mentioned and with repeated pealing of the bells. He prostrated himself before the altar, said a prayer, and as he rose placed a silver cup upon the altar. Then finally the hymn of St Ambrose, the *Te Deum laudamus*, was begun.<sup>9</sup>

5. *His visit to the chapter-house when he bestowed nothing upon us; instead, he had his own charter read there*

When the hymn had been sung, without any more delay he entered the chapter-house with the brethren, accompanied by a large number of men of varied rank and importance. Hearing of this the people rushed there together wishing to hear what he would grant us in terms of gifts or promises on this day of reconciliation and in restoration of the things taken from us. And when everybody's ears were pricked up to hear him proclaim from his heart some good news, he granted us—I do not say anything great or small—but nothing, and he promised us nothing at all! In fact he soon produced his own charters and confirmations concerning the gift of our abbey bestowed upon him by royal authority, and he gave instructions, not without the swelling of arrogance, that

Vigil Baptismal Mass. See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn. ed. E. A. Livingstone (Oxford, 1997), pp. 49–50, 1226–7, 1581–2.



non absque superbie typho<sup>a</sup> recitari precepit.<sup>b</sup> Sic se habuit res, sic, sic deperit diutius expectata spes. Dictum est autem, 'Surgite, eamus hinc.'<sup>10</sup>

6. *De eo quod cameram abbatis intrauit et qualiter astutus simplicem conuenit*

Abiens inde cum multorum tamen indignatione, quorundam etiam sed latenti in inuicem detestatione, thalamum abbatis ingreditur,<sup>11</sup> illum uidere et alloqui se uelle perhibebat. Erat autem dominus abbas senex ualde et plenus dierum, et pre ualetudine diutina lecto detentus, prelibatis interesse nequibat. Solus cum solo, ceteris eiectis, pium amoris affectum<sup>c</sup> pretendens aliquandiu sedebat,<sup>d</sup> ecclesie statum uitam moresque singulorum astutus a simplice attentius inuestigando scrutabatur, et quem illorum post se in abbatem eligere laudaret, diligenter suscitabatur. Colloquio finito, surrexit, ecclesiam intrauit, missam audiuit, deinde locum unde uenerat cum suis repetiuit.

7. *De portione ablatorum modica nobis restituta*

Non post multos autem dies instante beati Laurentii festiuitate, manante prius ad nos eius mandato, destinantur ad illum fratres duo, prior scilicet noster dominus Rogerus, et dominus Robertus.<sup>12</sup> Quibus, communicato colloquio, centum acras terre arabilis, pratum unum cum molendino se nobis hac uice benigne daturum incunctanter repromisit. Quibus cum capellano eius Hugone iam sepius dicto regressis, molendinum cum prato illo uersus Peritonam<sup>13</sup> recepimus, cum cultura illa inter domum nostram et Waledenam nobis commodius adiacente, exemptis tamen acris aliquantis quas uillici eius uillanis aliquibus post primam disseisinam nostram excolendas tradiderunt. De hiis disseisinis iam tractatis ista sufficiant; ad alia que restant transeamus.

<sup>a</sup> tipo C, typo A      <sup>b</sup> fecit A      <sup>c</sup> effectum A      <sup>d</sup> solebat CA

<sup>10</sup> John 14: 31, 'surgite, eamus hinc', spoken by Christ; cf. Matt. 26: 46.

<sup>11</sup> The word *thalamus*, which is rendered as *camera* in the chapter heading, is used of the prior's lodging above, i. 16, and also of a building on the prior's property at Enfield, i. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Roger, who appears here as prior, was perhaps the trusted monk who occurs in 1180–90; above, iii. 2. Robert is perhaps the same man who succeeded Reginald as abbot, and possibly the same as the Robert who accompanied Reginald to Ireland in c.1175; above, p. xlii, and ii. 2.

these be read out for everybody to hear. That is how things turned out, that, I say, is how the hopes we had so long cherished died their death. But it is written, 'Arise, let us go hence'.<sup>10</sup>

6. *His visit to the abbot's chamber: the meeting of a cunning man with an ingenuous one*

Leaving many angry, and some also secretly hating him, he entered the abbot's lodging,<sup>11</sup> and proclaimed that he wished to see and speak with him. The lord abbot was now a very old man and of a ripe old age. He had been confined to his bed because of a long illness, and was unable to take part in the ceremonies I have described. Excluding everybody else, Geoffrey sat with him in private for some time, pretending kindly feelings of affection for him. A cunning man, Geoffrey closely examined and questioned that ingenuous man about the state of the church, the life and character of individual brothers, and interrogated him thoroughly as to which one of them he would recommend for election as abbot after him. At the end of the exchange he rose, entered the church, heard mass, and then returned with his men to the place whence he had come.

7. *The restitution of a small portion of what had been taken from us*

A few days later when the feast of St Lawrence [10 August] was approaching we received our first message from him, and two brethren, Dom Roger our prior and Dom Robert,<sup>12</sup> were sent to him. After their conversation he promised to give them without delay, and with good will this time, a hundred acres of arable land and one meadow with a mill. When these men had returned with his chaplain Hugh, already mentioned on a number of occasions, we received the mill with the meadow which borders on Piriton<sup>13</sup> and also the ploughland which lies conveniently for us between our house and Walden. However, this did not include the many acres which his reeves had handed over to some of his villeins for them to cultivate after we were first disseised of our land. But I will say no more of these disseisins which I have already discussed. Let us pass to other matters that remain.

<sup>13</sup> This lay due south of the vill of Walden, to the south-east of the Newport road; see Cromarty, *Fields* (above, p. xlvii n. 13), map 3.

### 8. *De infirmitate domini abbatis et de doctrina eius*

Igitur dominus abbas Reginaldus senio pariter ac diuturna infirmitate decoctus, sedendo iugiter potius quam iacendo, mortem iam in ianuis expectabat. Erat namque languor fortissimus, ita ut uix in eo remaneret halitus. Adesse iubet non tantum semel sed sepius nouellam filiorum plantationem quibus plura et permaxima de pace, obedientia, humilitate ceterisque arctioris uite uirtutibus disserebat. 'Vota,' inquit, 'uestra, quibus obligati estis, Domino reddite; in disciplina etiam regulari, patrumque sanctionibus, quibus ultronei colla subiecistis, usque in finem perseuerate,<sup>14</sup> pacem ab inuicem semper habetote non falso, caritatemque attentius obseruate perfectam, et cum de pastore eligendo siue in precipuis ecclesie nostre agendis consilium inire necessitas ingruerit, zelo proiecto, contentione exclusa, unanimes semper estote;<sup>15</sup> si qua uero nobis posterisque pro futura per mee admonitionis exiguitatem, gratia inspirante diuina, ob ordinis rigorem sunt instituta, solliciti obseruate, perseueranterque tenete. Si quid autem in uobis laboraui, si quid contuli, si quid in ecclesia Dei uobis fructificaui, michi misericorditer rependite, supernumque iudicem pro me exorare dignemini, quatenus peccatorum ueniam uitamque michi prestare dignetur eternam'. Hec et hiis similia per dies multos quibus laboraui, in gemitu suo lacrimisque lectum suum rigauit;<sup>16</sup> sepius et per<sup>a</sup> interualla prosequitur, unde hinc gaudium nobis omnibus eius exhortatio contulit salutaris, illinc fletum ex tanti patris recessu ab oculis cunctorum magnitudo elicit doloris.

Sentiens autem, ualetudine solito acrius pulsante, se citius uocari, quicquid de elemosina iam pene distributa remanserat, in pauperum usus expendit, si qua uero in ceteris superesse poterant, in famulos familiaresque suos tota liberalitate, nobis assensum prestantibus, erogauit.

### 9. *De multiplici litterarum illius peritia*

Erat siquidem litterarum peditus peritia multiplici, abundans intelligentia, affabilis facundusque lingua in Dei ecclesia, prudens et doctus scriba, proferens pro loco et tempore de pectoris thesauro noua et uetera.<sup>17</sup> Libros insuper quamplures, quos metris, rithmis, carminibus

<sup>a</sup> om. A

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Matt. 10: 22, 'qui autem perseverauerit in finem hic saluus erit'. This text is quoted in *The Rule of St Benedict*, vii. 36.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. 1 Peter 3: 8; Phil. 2: 1-2.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Ps. 6: 7, 'laboraui in gemitu meo, lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum, in lacrimis meis . . . rigabo'.

<sup>17</sup> Matt. 13: 52, 'scriba doctus . . . qui profert de thesauro suo noua et uetera'.

### 8. *The illness of the lord abbot and his teaching*

Dom Abbot Reginald, worn out equally by old age and long illness, awaited the arrival of death, always sitting up rather than lying down. He was extremely weak so that there was scarcely any breath in his body. Not once but often did he order those who had most recently joined his family of monks to come to him, and he delivered many long disquisitions about harmony, obedience, humility, and other virtues of the cloistered life. 'Fulfil your vows by which you are bound to the Lord,' he said, "'persevere to the end"<sup>14</sup> in the discipline of the Rule, and the precepts of the Fathers, to which you have voluntarily bowed your necks. Always maintain a true peace one to another, and be careful to preserve perfect love. When necessity forces you to take counsel over the election of a pastor or about important affairs of our church, then cast out envy, abandon strife, and always be of one mind.<sup>15</sup> If, through any little advice I have given you, or as the result of divine inspiration, or because of the strictness of the regular life, any foundation has been laid to benefit us and posterity in future generations, then be sure to observe it, and hold on to it steadfastly. If I have in some way laboured among you, if I have contributed anything, if I have borne any fruit among you in God's Church, then repay me with your compassion and be pleased to pray for me to the heavenly Judge that He may deign to grant me pardon for my sins and eternal life.' These words and others like them he spoke with great difficulty over a period of many days, and in his groaning he made his couch wet with tears.<sup>16</sup> He spoke often at intervals so that sometimes his beneficial exhortation gave us all joy, but at other times the great sorrow we felt at the passing of so great a father from the sight of us all made us weep.

When his illness began to pain him more severely than ever he became aware that his summons hence was imminent. Therefore, whatever alms were left—for most had now been distributed—he spent on the needs of the poor. Then with our consent he gave with his great generosity all that could possibly remain from other sources to the servants and members of his household.

### 9. *His great and varied knowledge of literature*

He was endowed with a great and varied knowledge of literature and a superb intelligence; he was courteous, eloquent of tongue in the Church of God, was a wise and 'instructed scribe, bringing forth', according to the place and occasion, 'out of the treasury' of his heart 'things old and new'.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore he gave us many books which he

quoque necnon et enigmatibus, figuris etiam,<sup>18</sup> nunc indissolubili complexione, nunc subtili quadam disiunctione uariatos ipse confecerat, quorum studio maxime in senectute sua modum excedendo insudauerat, nobis contulit, atque ob sui memoriam ad presentium simulque<sup>a</sup> posteritate succedentium utilitatem eos diligenter conseruari precepit. Dehinc ex apostoli mandato unctionis sacre delibutus oleo,<sup>19</sup> dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramento reuerenter accepto, consummatis omnibus more Christiano anno Verbi Incarnati millesimo ducentesimo tertio, nonas Februarii migravit a seculo.<sup>20</sup>

Taliter patre uenerando uiam uniuerse carnis ingresso<sup>21</sup> piis lamentis conditionis casum deplorauimus. Tandem exequiis rite celebratis, corpus illius in ecclesia<sup>b</sup> coram sancti crucis altari decenti satis et honeste commendauimus sepulture.

10. *De numero annorum quibus ecclesiam beati Iacobi rexif*

Rexit igitur uir iste uenerabilis, dominus scilicet Reginaldus, ecclesiam beati apostoli Iacobi de Waledena annis triginta sex. Vixit autem nobiscum prior existens uiginti sex annis, cum sex mensibus et aliquot diebus; abbas uero annis nouem, cum sex similiter mensibus necnon et aliquot diebus, in cunctis fere prospere agens.<sup>d22</sup>

<sup>a</sup> A; simulque C      <sup>b</sup> ecclesiam A      <sup>c</sup> the heading for this chapter given in the list of capitula above is: De obitu et sepultura domini Reginaldi abbatis      <sup>d</sup> A adds: Hucusque ex antiquo libro manuscripto in manibus R Somerset. Quae sequuntur ex alio manuscripto in custodia domini Thomae Howard transcripta sunt W: H: 1595

<sup>18</sup> This passage is noted in Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), p. 455, no. 1265.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Jas. 5: 14, 'infirmatur quis . . . unguentes eum oleo in nomine Domini'.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Walden annals, fo. 80<sup>v</sup>: 'Anno Domini 1200 obiit Reginaldus primus abbas monasterii de Walden.' If the year at Walden began at Christmas, or on 1 Jan., 1200 is correct on the reckoning of the years, months, and days given below, c. 10: 36 years from 1164 and 9 years 6 months and a few days from 1 Aug. 1190 (iii. 7). See also above, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii. As 'Reinaldus abbas' he was commemorated at Reading on 3 Feb.: BL, Cotton MS Vesp. E. v, fo. 12<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Josh. 23: 14, 'ingrediar uiam uniuersae terrae'; also 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 2: 2.

<sup>22</sup> Although this chapter is very brief, and the book thus ends rather abruptly, the text finishes in MS C at line 5 of fo. 71<sup>v</sup>, and there is no indication that *The Book of the Foundation of Walden Monastery* continued beyond this point.

had himself written in the various literary forms of metre and rhythm, poems also and riddles, and also rhetorical figures.<sup>18</sup> These works were sometimes of unfathomable complexity and at other times subtly explained. He had laboured exceedingly hard in his study of these things, especially in his old age. He gave instructions that these books should be carefully preserved in his memory for the benefit of the present generation as well as those coming afterwards. Then he was anointed with the oil of holy unction in accordance with the apostle's teaching,<sup>19</sup> and when he had reverently received the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood, and all had been carried out in Christian fashion, he passed from this world in the year of the Word Incarnate 1203 on the fifth day of February.<sup>20</sup>

When our reverend father had thus gone the way of all flesh<sup>21</sup> we lamented with pious grief the lot that had befallen us. At length, when the funeral rites had been duly performed, we committed his body for burial in the church in a fitting and honourable place in front of the altar of the Holy Cross.

10. *The number of years he ruled the church of the Blessed James*

That venerable man, Dom Reginald, ruled the church of the Blessed apostle James of Walden for thirty-six years. But he lived with us as prior for twenty-six years, six months and a few days, and as abbot for nine years, six months likewise and a few days, prospering in almost all his affairs.<sup>22</sup>