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978-1-108-04805-7 - Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I:

Volume 1: Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi

Edited by William Stubbs

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Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I

William Stubbs (1824–1901) was an important constitutional medievalist and Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. This two-volume work, published in 1864–5, was the first of his nineteen editorial contributions to the Rolls Series. It chronicles foreign diplomacy and church affairs during the reign of Richard I, whom Stubbs regarded with disdain. Covering the period 1190–2 especially, Volume 1 presents the most comprehensive contemporary account of the Third Crusade. Transcribed from three separate manuscripts of an early thirteenth-century narrative compiled by Richard de Templo, canon and prior of Holy Trinity, London, the work is given in the original Latin. It also includes an eyewitness account of the siege and capture of Lisbon in 1147, allowing for comparison across crusades. A substantial introduction provides commentary on the character and governance of Richard I from one of the most influential historians of the nineteenth century.

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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

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The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,
December 1857.*

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VOLUME I.

ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA
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AUCTORE, UT VIDETUR,

RICARDO, CANONICO SANCTÆ TRINITATIS LONDONIENSIS.

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INTRODUCTION.

THERE are periods in the history of all nations, which are neither seed times of great principles nor harvests of great results. They are the seasons during which the institutions of earlier policy are spreading wide and striking deep below the surface of society, its spirit working into the heart and life of the people, and its fruits growing and ripening before the beginning of a new development. These periods may be longer or shorter, as the growth of principles is retarded or fostered: accordingly as rulers force their propagation by repressing them, or moderate it by training and guidance. If they are longer they have a series of heroes of a type of character peculiar to themselves. If they are shorter they have at least the old age of the men who have established the principles, and the youth and training of those who are to work out the further steps of progress. But any how they are richer in materials for the student of national and personal character, than in topics for the constitutional historian. The former will find abundant details of adventure and elucidations of manners: the latter, unless he is well supplied with records, in which he may trace the workings of the institutions, that are not less a part of the nation's life because they are uninteresting to the superficial reader, can only guess here and there at what is going on amongst those whose lives are not written, and is tempted to indulge in the visions of a speculative philosophy of history.

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The short reign of Richard the First shares in some measure the character of these periods, for it falls between the initiation of good principles of law under Henry II., and the development of good principles of government in the reign of John: it is barren of incidents for the constitutional historian, partly because the working of the institutions of the former reign was impeded, as it had been during the last years of Henry's life, by domestic strife and anarchy, partly because the character and occupations of the king were not such as to produce any striking effect in the acceleration or retarding of progress. If John had succeeded his father immediately, Magna Charta might have dated ten years earlier than it did; or if Richard had reigned twice as long as he did, it might have dated ten years later; but in the latter case it would have been rather the absence than the presence of any policy on the king's part that made the difference.

Short, however, as the reign was, its peculiar circumstances rob it of the proper interest that belongs to shorter periods of transition. It did not witness the declining glories of the statesmen of Henry, nor form a school of training for those who were to resist King John. The former were spent and worn out in the very beginning of it. Of the latter it would be difficult to mention any except William Marshall who occupy even a secondary place of interest in the reign of Richard. It has its warriors and politicians all to itself. The roll of the latter is not a long one. Hubert Walter, William Longchamp, Walter of Coutances, Geoffrey FitzPeter, and William Marshall were about all. In the class of warriors the king himself throws all others into second rank: few of his companions in arms were native Englishmen, or even Anglicised Normans. The chief field of their exploits was too remote, and the time of their adventures too short, for them to produce any effect on the national character, and that produced by

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the character of Richard himself was neither immediate nor direct. The siege of Acre used up the brave men that his father had left him, and his French wars those whom he had himself formed in the triumphs and troubles of the Holy Land. He was the creation and impersonation of his own age;¹ and that, though full of character and adventure, was short and transitory in its very essence; but it was by a rare fatality that the lives of the men of the transition were as short and transient as itself.

Still, although it furnishes little that is of interest to the investigator of domestic legislation,² it is not to the mere details of adventure or of character that it owes the charm it possesses for those who study history for its own sake. Any one who will follow King Richard carefully through the ten years of his reign will be brought into contact with a variety of men, and complications of politics unequalled in interest by those of many longer and more important reigns. The Crusade brings East and West together. The family connexions of the king involve him in the conflicting interests of Italy, France, Germany, and Spain. His personal adventures open up the whole political history of the age. The dominions in which he exercised real or nominal sway were more diversified in character and circumstances than those of any prince of his time. King of England, lord of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, duke of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Gascony, count of Maine, Anjou, and Poictou, and superior lord of Britany, Auvergne, and Toulouse; king of Arles, conqueror of

¹ "Cum quo, multorum judicio, decus et honor militiæ pariter sepulta sunt." M. Paris, ed. Wats, p. 196. "Proh dolor in tanto funere mundus obit." Hoveden, 450. "Rex tuus est speculum, quo te speculata superbis." Galf. Vin-

sauf, *Ars Poetica*, ed. Leyser. Helmstadt. 1724, p. 16.

² Palgrave, *Preface to the Rotuli Curie Regis*, i. lxx. This Introduction contains the clearest account I know of the domestic history of Richard's reign.

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Cyprus, and for a time the ruler of the kingdom of Palestine, he was brought into collision with almost every potentate in Christendom. In his continental dominions he had an unwearied enemy in Philip of France; in Sicily he involved himself in quarrels with both the Norman Tancred and the German Henry; in Cyprus he not only startled the fitful lethargy of the Eastern empire, which almost thought that the yellow-haired king from the West was coming,¹ before whom the golden gate of Constantinople was to open of its own accord, but afforded a ground of accusation to enemies who might be thought far enough removed from the interests of the Comneni.² In Palestine he managed either by his superior prowess to draw on himself the envy, or by his utter want of tact to alienate the goodwill and sympathy of every prince of East or West with whom he had to do. He had no policy abroad any more than at home, and his foreign relations were as anomalous and unquiet as his domestic ones. And with all this, besides the undoubted influence which his personal character gave him in his own dominions, he had power to place one of his nephews on the throne of

¹ Ralph de Diceto, 642; Hoveden, 370.

² Isaac Comnenus, emperor of Cyprus, was sister's son to the Emperor Manuel. Hoveden, 340. Theodora, the mother of Leopold of Austria, was a niece of Manuel. Ansbert, the Austrian chronicler, calls this connexion the "efficiens causa" of Richard's captivity (ed. Dobrowsky, p. 114). The affinity between the Emperor Henry and Isaac Comnenus must have been very distant; Henry's father and Leopold's grandfather were half-brothers. Conrad of Montferrat's mother was sister to the one and half-sister to

the other. Richard's conduct to Leopold stirred up the whole race sprung from Agnes of Suabia: in Germany, Italy, and Sicily. The affair of Cyprus was only a pretext. Isaac was a usurper and a rebel: and Richard was welcomed by the Cypriots as a deliverer. Yet when a charge against him was wanted, Leopold and Henry took up the cause of Isaac as a family matter. Cf. R. Coggeshall, ad. 1193; Hoveden, 414 v^o.; where Leopold is called *uncle* to Isaac's daughter. Agnes, sister of Philip of France, was married to Alexius II. Comnenus, who died in 1183.

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Godfrey of Bouillon, and another on that of Charles the Great.¹

Brought thus into contact with so many and diverse interests, and occupying, by his own position and choice, a central place in the history of his times, Richard has been portrayed for us, if not from more distinct points of view, at least by a greater number of historians than any sovereign of his age or any king of England before him. We know what Englishman, Norman, Frenchman, German, Greek, and Mussulman thought about him; and it is no wonder, considering the number of princes whom he either outshone by his exploits, or offended by his pride, or injured by active aggression, or who, having injured him, hated him with the pertinacity of injustice, that his character has fared badly in the hands of foreign chroniclers.

The descriptions given by the French and German writers are frequently inconsistent with each other, and are based upon proofs that will not bear historical inquiry;² but they are rather exaggerations and misrepresentations of existing facts, than accusations altogether false. There is indeed a contrast between

¹ The steps of the promotion of Henry of Champagne to the kingdom of Jerusalem are detailed in the fifth book of this history. He was half-nephew to both Philip and Richard, being grandson of Louis and Eleanor; but he had attached himself throughout to Richard's party in Palestine. The election of Otto IV., who was son of Henry the Lion, and Matilda, sister of Richard, and made count of Poitou by his uncle, is stated to have been carried either by Richard's influence or in hopes of his support: "Richardus vero rex, cum multis ex-pensis eum ad imperium trans-

"misit. O laudabilis viri laudabile factum, qui totum mundi imperium nepoti suo comparavit." Robert de Monte, *App. ad Sigebertum*; ap. Pistorium, ed. Struve, i. 939. Cf. Conrad Ursperg. (ed. 1540), p. cccxxi.; Hoveden, 441 v°. &c. Otto was not crowned emperor until 1209.

² For example, the capture of Messina from Tancred is construed into an act of hostility to the Emperor Henry VI. *Annales Marbacenses*, Pertz, xvii. 164. Richard is charged with selling Ascalon to the Saracens; Ansbert, 112.

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the writers of the two nations that is of some interest and importance as illustrating the source and growth of national prejudice, while at the same time it vouches for their own sincerity. The German historians describe Richard as a monster of pride and arrogance,¹ the French as the most perfidious of men. But the Germans have envenomed their calumny with a hatred that is absent altogether from the French historians; and what is more to the point, they look upon him as an Englishman and involve his country in his condemnation.

The ancient friendship between Germany and England, which dated from the times of Boniface and Charles the Great, had reached its point of closest connexion in the time of Edward the Confessor, and had been resuscitated for a time by the marriage of

¹ Otto of St. Blaise, a partizan of the emperor and Duke Leopold, inveighs against Richard on the most curiously imaginary grounds. He says of Richard after the surrender of Acre, "Præter hæc (the insult offered to the duke's flag) præda communi universorum sudore acquisita, inter suos tantum distributa, reliquos privavit, in seque odia omnium concitavit. Omnibus enim fortiori militum robore præstabat, et ideo pro velle sua cuncta disponens, reliquos principes parvipendebat. Attamen Teutonica militiæ cum Italica his admodum exasperata, regi in faciem restitisset nisi auctoritate militum Templi repressa fuisset. Anglicam itaque perfidiam detestantes, Angliæque subdi dedignantes, ascensis navibus simul cum Duce Leopaldo repatriaverunt, rege cum suis adhuc remanente, quotidieque paganos impugnante." Urstisius, *Germaniæ Hist. Illustr.* ed. 1670,

vol. i. p. 216. A similar view of Richard's character is taken by *Ansbert*, though with more moderation: "Idem itaque rex Angliæ primus et præcipuus in tota militia Christiana, eo quod in facultatibus et in omnibus opibus alios præcedebat, et eos aspernatus postponerebat, dominium sibi super omnes usurpabat," p. 111; and further on, "Rex Angliæ Richardus, qui gloria omnes anteire voluit, et omnium indignationem meruit," &c., p. 113. The English historians seem to have been peculiarly offended with the German ones for representing Richard's capture to have taken place whilst he was cooking. Chron. Petroburg. ed. Giles, p. 108. The story is thus told by several of their writers, who show the same spiteful pleasure in telling it that the English writers show in the details of the matrimonial dis-appointments of Philip of France.

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Henry V. with Matilda of England. But the tie between the house of Anjou and that of Brunswick, which, originating in the marriage of Henry the Lion with Matilda the daughter of Henry II., was drawn tighter by the misfortunes of the Welfic family, was not looked upon in Germany in the same light in which the old national friendship had been. The English name shared the unpopularity of the defeated party of the Welfs even before the conduct of Richard in Sicily and Palestine had given umbrage to Henry of Hohenstaufen and Leopold of Austria.¹ Offence once given, a long score was soon recollected for revenge, and a hope succeeded that some of the English gold which hitherto had been spent in support of Henry the Lion might be diverted without dangerous violence into the coffers of the imperial house. National alienation on the one hand, party animosity and personal enmity on the other, were fruitful causes of hatred. Then when malice had done its worst, there was the consciousness of wrong done and the desire of national justification to induce the writers of Germany to represent Richard as they have done.

With the French it was otherwise. Richard was to them a perfidious and faithless vassal.² But that

¹ Henry II.'s policy in Germany was not altogether unlike that of James I. in similar circumstances. His political sympathies were doubtless with the emperor, but his family connexion went the other way. He contented himself with pecuniary support, and that to no great extent, and so was no favourite with either party.

² " — et quo

" Anglorum sceptris melior non
" præfuit unquam

" Si regi servare fidem cui subditus
" esse

" Lege tenebatur, Regemque timere
" supremum

" Cura fuisset ei."

" — succedit ei quo peior in
" orbe

" Non fuit, omnimoda vacuus virtute
" Johannes."

W. Brito, *Philippis*, v. p. 292.
Ed. Pithæus.

It is clear that Philip had craft enough to put Richard legally in the wrong. Compare his intolerable teasing of Richard at Messina, as told by Rigord, ed. Pithæus, p. 189, and at Acre. *Ibid.*

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was all. They knew he was no Englishman: and, if it is not an anachronism to speak of any national feeling in a Frenchman of that age, to accuse him of national faults would have been to accuse themselves. He was according to their reading of his character a brave and most noble king; the most glorious of the kings of the earth if he would but have kept faith with Philip: and that was the concern of Philip, not of France. He was jealous of Philip's glories and faithless to Philip's allegiance. The former charge is not brought in so many words by any contemporary historian, and we may easily guess why. Philip's laurels were yet to be won, when Richard's career was closed, and such as they were, they were won in the far different field of feudal chicanery. But the charge of perfidy is freely brought, and, so far as the facts go, cannot be rebutted. The moral and political guilt, however, of such perfidy was infinitesimal. The relation of suzerain and vassal was at this period antiquated, and indeed extinct, except where it served the purpose of the moment to drag it into a legal procedure, or where the suzerain was strong enough to enforce rights which were supported rather by his own strong hand than by the "main et bouche" of his vassal. Between a mighty prince like Richard and the venerable imposture of the French monarchy there could be no real tie of homage and fealty; nor probably would the plea have been brought against Richard had not he himself taught Philip the use of it in his struggles with his father and his brothers. Any war waged by the duke of Normandy or the count of Anjou against the king of France was construed into perfidy, and the craft and cunning of war, as it was then practised, into fraud and treachery. Richard was not a king who would have encouraged rebellion in the dominions of an ally, at the same time disavowing his share in it: but he was not like Frederick Barbarossa, one who

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would send a cartel of defiance to an infidel foe before he waged war; much less would he have denied himself any advantage that craft or speed could give him over an enemy who hated him, and whom he despised so heartily as Philip. They were at war, open or secret, during the whole of Richard's reign, and neither ever scrupled to steal a march upon the other.

Richard has suffered hardly less from the exaggerated praise of English writers, who, while they have honestly recorded the crimes and excesses which on the face of it refute their views of his general character, seem to have thought it possible to show that, although in every relation of life he was found grievously wanting, he was, on the whole, a great and glorious king, to be defended against the calumnies of all the world. Those of them who lived under John may be excused for taking a flattering view of the past in contrast with the miserable and disgraceful present. Those who remembered his father's government wondered, but could not deny, that the foolish people bore Richard's scorpions more willingly than they had done his father's rods.¹ A bad son, a bad husband, a selfish ruler, and a vicious man, he yet possessed some qualities which the men of the time accepted as better than the wicked wisdom of his father, and which made his tyranny less intolerable than his brother's weakness; besides that, his glory and renown reached thousands of homes too humble to suffer from his exactions: he himself, with his oppressive hirelings, was far away from England, but fame had its myriad tongues. With John there was no glory, and not even the enchant-

¹ William of Newburgh (ed. Hamilton), i. 285, comparing the reign of Henry with that of Richard, under whom he wrote, says, "Et tamen populus insipiens cum minori nunc querela scorpionibus cæditur, quam ante annos aliquot flagellis cædebatur."

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ment of distance to modify the bitter sense of national shame and personal suffering. Surely the historians were not so very far wrong, as modern thinkers, judging on high moral principles, might suppose. Judged according to the standard of his own time, he was acquitted of much for which we must condemn him; judged by that of ours, he carries with him in his condemnation the age that tolerated or admired him. Still there were a few redeeming points in him that should mitigate the censure of the moralist, and may force him to grant that in a better age Richard might have been a better and as great a man.

Richard was no Englishman that we should be concerned to defend him on national grounds, if it were right to argue to a foregone conclusion. Nothing in regard of national character or glory depends on his vindication or condemnation. He had very little English blood in his veins; most of his prominent characteristics were inherited, and are traceable with little obscurity to his Norman, Angevin, and Poictevin ancestors. His strength of will, his love of war, his unscrupulousness in means and money, his recklessness of human life, seem to have been his indefeasible inheritance from the Red King¹ and Henry I. His eloquence, such as it was, may have come to him with his troubadour tastes from his mother. We have to go back to his great-grandfather, King Fulk of Jerusalem, to find the source of the spirit of knight errantry which is so strongly exemplified in the work before us. This was not the whole of Richard's character. His power of winning the love of better men,² his wonderful facility in par-

¹ Cf. Giraldus's remarks on Richard's death, *De Instr. Princ.*, p. 176 (ed. Brewer, 1846). There is a good deal of likeness between the worst points of Richard's character

and that of William Rufus; but William seems to have been quite devoid of Richard's nobler traits.

² See Mr. Dimock's *Metrical Life of S. Hugh*; Lincoln, 1860, p. vii.

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doing personal injuries, his tact in the choice of ministers, so inconsistent with his want of it in the rest of his conduct; a certain blundering faith in human nature, slow to suspect evil in the worst of men; and the heroic side as contrasted with the merely adventurous side of his character, came to him certainly from no ancestor nearer than the good Queen Maude: if they were not inherited from her, they were his own especial gifts: he was the first of his family who possessed them.¹

The leading feature in Richard's character was the love of war,² and that not for the sake of glory or acquisition of territory, but as other men love science or poetry, for the mere delight of the struggle and the charm of victory. By this his whole temperament was toned: united with the genius for military affairs which he undoubtedly possessed, it called forth all the powers of his mind and body. It brought into play the few virtues which alone can save such heroes from being

¹ The favourable characters of Richard are by Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ap. Leibnitz, *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium*, i. 947. "Post hunc genitus floruit ille rex regum terrenorum Ricardus in strenuitate, magnanimitate, militia, scientia, et omnis generis virtutibus nulli secundus; sacri patrimonii Jesu Christi, Terræque Sanctæ strenuus defensor; timor Gentium, mors hostium, gladius et tutamen Christianorum: cui mundus ad largitiones non sufficeret, et orbis velut pugillus erat ad dimicandum:" in the Chronicle of Tours (Martene and Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, v. 1037), "Vir quidem animosus ac bellicosus, donis largissimus, armis strenuissimus, militari negotio circumspectus, a militibus dilectus

"et a clero et populo honoratus, ecclesiæ patronus et divini officii auditor indefessus;" Giraldus, *De Instructione Principum*, p. 105, "Inter varias quibus præeminet virtutes peculiari quadam prærogativa, trina hunc insignia incomparabiliter reddunt illustrem, strenuitas et animositas eximia, largitas et dapsilitas immensa semper laudabilis in principe, cæterasque adornans virtutes, tam animi quam verbi firma constantia." See also the last chapter of this work; and Matthew Paris, p. 373, 374.

² This characteristic he shared with his elder brother. "Erat eis mens una, videlicet, plus cæteris posse in armis." Hoveden, 331. It is needless to multiply references.

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scourges of mankind. It was the occasion of most of the sins that were laid to his charge, and of most of the miseries that oppressed his people during his reign. For this ruling passion he condescended to the meanest tricks of avarice,¹ the most unscrupulous violence of oppression; for this he incurred the imputation of wanton cruelty and causeless perfidy, and for this he squandered with the most fatuous prodigality the treasures which he had amassed at the sacrifice of honour and faith.

In such a man we do not expect to find much self-restraint or consideration for other men's weakness. We dare not assert that Richard was free from the more sordid vices that defiled the character of his father and brother. The standard of morality was indeed so low that even if the historians were altogether, as they are for the most part, silent as to his personal vices, their silence could not be taken for a negation. Had he been in any considerable degree free from such, the praises of his chastity and temperance could not fail to have been sung by some one or other of his admirers. Unhappily, what little is said is dark and condemna-

¹ Richard was not avaricious in the proper sense of the word, but as most extravagant people are. Sir Francis Palgrave (Pref. to Rot. Cur. Reg. i. p. xli.) is much too hard upon him. And the reproach taken by Giraldus from an epigram (*de Inst. Princ.* p. 176, Bromton 1280), that he embezzled the money of the Crusade is absurd. The amount of money that he had spent on the Crusade must have been immense, including the spoils of Sicily and Cyprus. Rigord coolly praises Philip's generosity in accepting a third of the money extorted from Tancred, when he had no right to a single Angevin, p. 188. The

story told of his attacking the castle of Chaluz in search of a treasure, on the occasion on which he met his death, is curious, and, if it is to be believed, should be taken as a whole. The treasure was according to Rigord (p. 200), "Imperator quidam de auro purissimo, cum uxore et filiis et filiabus, ad mensam auream residentibus." See also Hoveden, 449 v^o; Trivet, 160. It is probable that the difficulties in which he found himself after his imprisonment had the effect of increasing his unscrupulousness in exacting money. See the curious passage in John of Oxenedes, pp. 94, 95.

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tory.¹ His sins were such as called for open rebuke and bitter penitence. On two occasions before his last confession on his death-bed,² he is recorded to have publicly exhibited an extreme agony of remorse, and to have done open penance for the foulness of his life. Coming, however, as he does between Henry and John, to whose history their personal vices give so strong a colouring, he may at least plead that his sins in this respect, whatever they may have been, were neither so heinous as theirs, nor, what is more to the point, were allowed to influence his public life. We do not read that he ever, for the mere gratification of passion, either lost a friend or made an enemy, or broke any of the laws of honour which the times recognized, or even risked the smallest advantage. He was a soldier, and his vices were the common vices of the camp, set off with no garnish of romance, glaring in their own foulness and leaving us with no suspicion of anything worse behind.

He was a man of blood, and his crimes were those of one whom long use of warfare had made too familiar with slaughter to be very chary or sparing of it when the cost was his own; much less would the scruples of humanity occur to him when the blood to be shed was that of an open enemy or an infidel. But he was too

¹ The passages are, Hoveden, 428 v°; W. Newburgh, ii. 56; Hemingburgh, i. 229 (where the history of Richard's death-bed reads like a chapter from the *Gesta Romanorum*). These must be read with the recollection that they are not to be interpreted *in pessimam partem*. The language of the monkish writers is often indiscriminate and exaggerated upon such points.

² First at Messina, in 1190, Hoveden, 388; secondly, on the Tuesday

in Easter week, 1195; Hoveden, 428; and thirdly on his death-bed. See the curious story of his release from purgatory, in Matthew Paris, p. 373. He had professed on his death-bed that he would gladly endure the pains of purgatory until the day of judgment, Trivet, 161. According to the story told by M. Paris, he was released the same day with Stephen Langton and one of his chaplains.

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impetuous to be either treacherous or habitually cruel ; nor can any well-founded charge of either vice be brought against him. The sacrifice of the prisoners or hostages at Acre cannot be excused on any principle of morality, but it was in strict agreement with the letter of the law. It was no ebullition of savage passion, but a judicial cruelty which had almost become a necessity, and which was not executed until some weeks after it fell due and was seen to be necessary. The prisoners had been spared subject to terms and ransom. The terms might have been easily kept if Saladin had chosen. The massacre was, moreover, a sort of reprisal on Saladin for his murder of the Templars after the battle of Hittin.¹

There is no evidence that connects the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat with any proceeding of Richard ; such a crime implies a fault of which all the rest of his life proves him guiltless, and an amount of imprudence beyond even his political incapacity. He might, had he compassed such a design, have certainly foreseen that it would be charged upon himself ; and he might

¹ The account given by Bohadin (*Vita Saladini*, ed. Schultens), pp. 181–183, is important, as illustrating Saladin's policy and the oriental view of Richard's conduct ; and may be compared with the details of our author, iv. 2, 3, 4.

On the expiration of the first month from the surrender of Acre, the true cross was to be restored with 100,000 pieces of gold and six hundred captives. Saladin was unable to make up the number of captives, and endeavoured to gain time by proposing that the Saracen prisoners should be restored to him before the ransom was paid, on condition of his giving hostages and pledges for the performance of the

conditions. Richard refused, insisting that the Saracen captives should not be surrendered until all was paid. Saladin, suspecting that Richard intended to keep both prisoners and ransom, refused to trust to his honour ; and hence the miserable result. This is probably the truth, and it explains why the Saracen princes looked on Saladin as, in a measure, answerable for the massacre. Hoveden says that Saladin massacred all his Christian prisoners two days before the slaughter by Richard, but it is impossible that he should have been guilty of so suicidal an act. Hoveden, 397.