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978-1-108-04856-9 - Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monachi Cestrensis: Together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century: Volume 7

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Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, usually referred to as the 'Rolls Series', was an ambitious project first proposed to the British Treasury in 1857 by Sir John Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, and quickly approved for public funding. Its purpose was to publish historical source material covering the period from the arrival of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII, 'without mutilation or abridgement', starting with the 'most scarce and valuable' texts. A 'correct text' of each work would be established by collating 'the best manuscripts', and information was to be included in every case about the manuscripts used, the life and times of the author, and the work's 'historical credibility', but there would be no additional annotation. The first books were published in 1858, and by the time it was completed in 1896 the series contained 99 titles and 255 volumes. Although many of the works have since been re-edited by modern scholars, the enterprise as a whole stands as a testament to the Victorian revival of interest in the middle ages.

Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monachi Cestrensis

Ranulf Higden (*d.* 1364) was a monk at the abbey of St Werburgh in Chester. His most important literary work is this universal chronicle, which survives in over a hundred Latin manuscripts, testifying to its popularity. The earliest version of it dates from 1327, but Higden continued writing until his death, expanding and updating the text. It was also continued in other monastic houses, most importantly by John Malvern of Worcester. The English translation made by John Trevisa in the 1380s was also widely circulated and is included in this work, published in nine volumes for the Rolls Series between 1865 and 1886. The chronicle shows how fourteenth-century scholars understood world history and geography. Volume 7 continues Book 6 from the mid-tenth century to 1066, also providing a history of Normandy. The first part of Book 7 covers the Norman Conquest to the reign of King Stephen.

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Polychronicon
Ranulphi Higden,
Monachi Cestrensis

*Together with the English Translations
of John Trevisa and of an Unknown
Writer of the Fifteenth Century*

VOLUME 7

EDITED BY JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY



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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
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OR

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DURING

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
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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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MONACHI CESTRENSIS;

TOGETHER WITH THE

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF JOHN TREVISA
AND OF AN UNKNOWN WRITER OF
THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

EDITED

BY

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OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE history in this volume commences with the death of Book vi.
 Odo archbishop of Canterbury, which happened in A.D. Cap. x.
 959. After mentioning the archbishop's nationality, and Death of
 his previous occupation of the see of Wilton,¹ Odo arch-
 Higden tells how, before he was advanced to the primacy, Odo bishop of
 took upon himself monastic vows, because all his prede- Canter-
 cessors in the archiepiscopal seat had been monks. On bury.
 this Trevisa observes that Odo was "lewdly (*i.e.*, *igno-*
rantly) moved" in what he did, seeing that neither
 Christ nor any of his apostles had ever been monk or
 friar. Several of Odo's good deeds and miracles are
 narrated, and especially how when he was consecrating
 Dunstan to the bishopric of Worcester he employed the
 form of words for the consecration of an archbishop of
 Canterbury, and, when reproved by some for what he
 had done, declared that it was done by the prompting of
 the Holy Ghost. Higden notices that Elsinus bishop of
 Winchester aspired to be archbishop after Odo's death,
 as did also his immediate successor in the bishopric of
 Winchester, Brithelm. The former died before his plans
 succeeded, and the latter was found unequal to the duties.

¹ The see of Wilton is now com-
 prehended in that of Salisbury.
 The first seat of the bishopric was
 at Sherborne in Dorsetshire, and
 the see then embraced not only the
 present diocese of Salisbury, but
 also Bristol, Wells, and Exeter.
 Wells and Exeter were first sepa-

rated A.D. 905, and soon after
 another see (of Wilton) was formed
 out of part of the diocese of Sher-
 borne. This new see had a succes-
 sion of eleven bishops from A.D.
 906-1056, at which latter date
 Sherborne and Wilton were united
 and the see removed to Salisbury.

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INTRODUCTION.

Dunstan
his suc-
cessor.

Thereupon Dunstan was appointed, and much praise is bestowed upon that prelate's energy and noble example. And in his time the land was blessed.

Arch-
bishops of
York.

In this chapter is mentioned the death of Asketill (or Osketill) archbishop of York, and that his successor, Oswald, held the see of Worcester *in commendam*. Oswald invited learned men into his diocese, among whom was Abbo, the writer of the life of St. Edmund, king and martyr.

We are also told how King Edgar, in the twelfth¹ year of his reign, caused himself to be anointed king at Bath by Dunstan and Oswald, which ceremony seems to have been omitted for all that time, though no reason is given for it. The story of Edgar being rowed on the Dee by eight "under" kings is also told.

Succession
of popes.

The other events noticed in the chapter are the succession to the papacy of Leo VIII., Benedict V., John XIII., Benedict VI., and Boniface VII., but the order of the first two is reversed. Little more than the names of these pontiffs is mentioned, except that we are told of the last named in the list that he plundered the see of Rome, and for a time had in consequence to flee to Constantinople.

Nicepho-
rus Phocas.

The "Nicoforus rex Græcorum," mentioned on p. 12, is Nicephorus II., surnamed Phocas, who was emperor of Constantinople, A.D. (963-969). He was slain through the treachery of his wife, who was widow of his predecessor and was afterwards the wife of John Zimisces, the successor of Nicephorus.

The only authority whom Higden cites in this chapter, and, it may be added also, in the large portion of the history contained in this volume, is William of Malmesbury.

Cap. xi.
Edgar
king of
England.

The next chapter is almost entirely devoted to the life of King Edgar, who is compared with Cyrus, Romulus,

¹ Some authorities say *sixteenth*. See Thorpe's Lappenberg, ii. 142.

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Alexander, and Charles the Great. The stories are given of his riotous and licentious life, but there can be no doubt that there must have been many good qualities in a monarch who, with so much said against him, found some one to write an epitaph such as is preserved on p. 22.

It is interesting to note that the old name of the district now known as Harewood in Yorkshire was Warewell or Werwell.

The succession of Otho II. (A.D. 973) to the German empire, and of Benedict VII. to the pontifical throne, are the only other events which Higden chronicles.

This chapter contains the story of Edward called the martyr king. We find a short notice of the expulsion of the monastic (or regular) clergy by Alferus, the Prince of Mercia, and a relative of the late king, and it was this struggle concerning the regular and the secular clergy which formed the great subject of agitation at this period, and which, by Dunstan's influence, was settled in favour of the monks. The fall of the floor of the house where Dunstan was presiding at the council at Calne is called by Higden a miracle, though perhaps it was only an accident.¹ The manner of the king's murder and the monastic foundations erected by Queen Elfrida as tokens of her penitence are mentioned, as are also the honours which were subsequently paid to the murdered king's body. A short notice is given of Fulbert² bishop of Chartres, and the hymns which he composed in the honour of the Blessed Virgin, to which

¹ Cf. for a notice of a like accident, Thorpe's Lappenberg, ii. 147, note 2.

² Fulbert, who was called by his contemporaries the "Socrates of France," died in 1029. In addition to the compositions mentioned in the text he wrote a famous ser-

mon on the nativity of the Virgin. His writings were long held in high favour by the English Church, and this no doubt accounts for the mention which Higden makes of the bishop at so much greater length than are his notices of other similar persons.

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is added a story of a miraculous cure which the Virgin wrought on the bishop when sick, in recognition of the devotion which he had shown to her by his writings.

Cap. XIII.
Reign of
Ethelred.

In the next chapter we have a portion of the history of Ethelred (whose name the majority of Latin MSS. write *Egelreclus*) the son of Edgar and Elfrida, best known as Ethelred the Unready.¹ This prince had the misfortune to earn the bad opinion of Dunstan at a very early age, and all went ill in England as long as he was king. His reign in Higden is made up of landings of Danish pirates, and burnings of the various towns along the coast. The king besieged the city of Rochester on account of some quarrel between himself and the bishop of that see, and refused to raise the siege at the request of Dunstan, and so greater evils than ever came on the land, especially after Dunstan was dead. Some few anecdotes of Dunstan's piety and labours are recorded, and it is manifest from all the history of the period that this great archbishop was in his time the mighty power in the land. His successor, Siricius, tried the effect of bribery to get rid of the Danish invaders, but the sums of money had to be continually increased in amount, and at length could no longer be borne. The baptism of Anlaf king of the Danes, for whom Ethelred was sponsor, seems to have brought about no relief from Danish devastations.

Death of
Arch-
bishop
Dunstan.

Popes of
Rome.

In addition to the notices of English affairs this chapter contains a mention of the succession of Otho III. to the empire of Germany (A.D. 983–1002), and of the pontificate of John XIV. (A.D. 984) and John XV. (A.D. 985), who both together held the papal throne little more than a year. After this the chronicle of the papacy, as given

¹ The title *Clito*, which is given to Ethelred, p. 40, is a common one in mediæval Latin writings for the sons of kings. Cf. Ducange, s. v. *Clitones*. It has been conjectured that it is connected with the Greek κλειτος = renowned, famous,

but so little was known of Greek at the time when this title was most common that the derivation appears doubtful. In Ælfrie's Saxon Glossary we find, Clito = Æbeling, i.e. noble. Cf. *infra*, p. 98.

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by Higden, is in some confusion.¹ He mentions next John XVI., but makes his pontificate last for ten years, whereas he filled the throne for hardly eight months. After him (on p. 62) Higden mentions Gregory V. as pope for three years, then John XVII., without stating the length of his occupation of the see. Then follows (p. 66) Silvester II. for four years and two months; and (on p. 84) we find John XVIII. mentioned as pope for six months. On p. 53 the Harleian MS. appears to have been derived from a somewhat fuller Latin text than that from which Trevisa translated.

This chapter mentions but little of the events of Cap. xiv. English history, the death of Oswald archbishop of York and Worcester, and the translation of the see of Lindisfarne to Durham, being the only occurrences which are chronicled.

It opens with the death of Lothaire, the son of French Louis IV., called Louis D'Outremer, in whom, as Higden affairs, says, the Carlovingian line terminated.² The length of the reign of Hugh Capet is correctly given from A.D. 987–996. Concerning the affairs of Normandy, we are told of the death of Richard the Fearless (A.D. 996) and the succession of Richard the Good (A.D. 996–1026), who was the grandfather of William the Conqueror and uncle of Edward the Confessor. But very little is said of the life and only a few words about the character of this

¹ See *Platina de vitis Pontificum*, where the order and duration of the various Pontificates are—

John XVI. 7 months.

John XVII. 9 years and 6 months.

Gregory V. 1 year and 5 months.

John XVIII. 10 months.

Silvester II. 3 years and 1 month.

² Louis d'Outremer died A.D. 954, and his son Lothaire was made

king at the age of 14 years, and, reigned till A.D. 986. His son Louis V. succeeded him, but was only king in name, the whole power being in the hands of Hugh Capet, the son of the first duke of that name. Louis died mysteriously, after a reign of little more than a year, and then the Count of Paris, Hugh Capet, was elected to the French throne, and became the founder of the Capetian dynasty. He was crowned July 1, A.D. 987.

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[More information](#)Of Pope
Silvester II.

prince,¹ the larger portion of the chapter being occupied by a narration of the wicked deeds and magical powers of Gerebertus, who afterwards became pope Silvester II. He was first a monk at Fleury, we are told, but tired of the monastic life fled to Seville, where he became learned in all sorts of forbidden lore, and afterwards made a compact with Satan. He seems to have been a man who was far in advance of his contemporaries in scientific knowledge, and from this the legends arose which circle round his name. The whole story is much akin to what we read of Roger Bacon, who from a similar cause gained a like reputation. Another portion of the story reminds us of what is told of Henry IV. king of England, who fulfilled the prophecy that he should die in Jerusalem by dying in the Jerusalem Chamber in Westminster Abbey. So of Gerebertus it is said to have been foretold that he should not die till he had said mass in Jerusalem, and the fulfilment came about by his saying mass in a church in Rome which bore the name of Jerusalem.²

¹ For a longer history of Richard and of the events in which he was concerned, Cf. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. 1, pp. 281, *seqq.*

² There is a singular gap in the copy of Trevisa's translation contained in the MS. Add. 24,194, which we quote as *α*. The gap commences on p. 79 of the present volume, and continues to p. 203. The story in the latter place is of a certain Palumbus, a priest who had some uncanny powers, and was familiar with evil spirits, and who, like Gerebertus in the present chapter, is said at last to have mutilated his own body. It is just about the point where this mutilation is mentioned that the gap alluded to above takes place, and it would seem as though the scribe had been misled by the similarity

of the two narratives, and having gone so far in the story of Gerebertus had turned accidentally to the like narrative concerning Palumbus, and thought he was going on with the original tale, though he had omitted from chap. xiv. to chap. xxvi. It would almost seem that the omission had been made first of all in a Latin MS. For when we compare the English versions *β*, *γ*, and *Cx*. with our printed text of Trevisa, it appears as though we were reading an entirely different version. The editor is therefore inclined to the opinion that some Latin scribe omitted the large portion of Higden's text which lies between the end of the history of Gerebertus and the end of that of Palumbus, having mistaken the one passage for the

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The death of Hugh Capet (A.D. 996) is now recorded, ^{Cap. xv.} and the succession of his son Robert, known as the Pious, ^{Kings of France.} and who had been the pupil of the famous Gerebertus mentioned in the preceding chapter, and by his good character may vouch for the excellence of the lessons he had received, and redeem the character of his teacher from the obloquy which monkish legends have heaped upon it.

We next come to a few brief notices of our own land. ^{Events in English history.} The devastation of Dublin by the Scots, and the wasting of Cumberland and the Isle of Man by king Ethelred¹ himself. On the authority of William of Malmesbury the story is told of the discovery of the body of St. Ivo, near Ramsey, and of the marvellous well which sprang forth in the spot where he had been buried. King Ethelred's marriage with Emma of Normandy is next noticed, and his treacherous slaughter of all the Danes in England on St. Brice's day. At this time the monastery² of Burton-on-Trent was founded by Ulric Spot. Of course, the murder of the Danes brought vengeance after it, for the Danish king Swein³ made a descent upon England

other from the similarity of the incidents. English versions like *a.* were made to correspond with this mutilated text, and when the omission was discovered some later translator filled up the English copies without searching for Trevisa's version, and so of this long passage we have an independent translation. This is the only explanation which suggests itself, and the version of the English as given by *β.* *γ* and *Cx.* seemed so peculiar that it has been thought worth while to give the text of *β.* *in extenso* in an Appendix, and to collate with it *γ.* and *Cx.* This will account for the paucity or entire absence of notes under the English text until we come to p. 203.

¹ This seems to have been done by him because some smaller states which were in alliance with the Cumbrian King, Malcolm III., had refused to contribute their share of the Danegelt. See Thorpe's Lappenberg, ii. 162.

² This was a monastery of the Benedictine Order, and an account of its foundation and endowments may be seen in Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.* i. 265–276. The will of the founder is there printed, and he said to have been “minister Æthelredi regis.”

³ Gunhild, the sister of Swein, was among those who were treacherously murdered. *Wm. of Malmesbury*, ii. 10.

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and devastated a large extent of the south coast, and in the year after ravaged the county of Norfolk; Kent and the Isle of Wight suffered at the hands of other Danish plunderers. The death of Ulric (or Aluricius) archbishop of Canterbury is mentioned, and the election of Elphegus bishop of Winchester in his stead; but the history of the latter prelate is given in more detail in the next chapter.

The chronicle of the succession of the German emperors is continued by the mention of the reign of Henry II.¹ after that of Otho III. (A.D. 1002). In this chapter Henry of Huntingdon is cited as the authority for some of the statements connected with English history.

Cap. xvi.

Arch-
bishop
Elphegus.

This chapter opens with an account of the cruelties exercised by the Danes in their attack on Canterbury, and dwells specially on the sufferings and martyrdom of the Archbishop Elphegus. Higden copies from Malmesbury some account of the piety and self-denial of this holy man, and mentions his government of his monastery at Bath before he was made a bishop.

Again the order of the popes given by Higden differs from that given in Platina. John XX. is placed after Sergius IV. and Benedict VIII. instead of before them. A story is told on the authority of Petrus Damianus concerning the punishment of Pope Benedict after death for his rapacious conduct while alive.

Notice is taken of a great tidal wave in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of King Ethelred, but it is not said where its destructive effects were felt.

Danish
ravages.

From Henry of Huntingdon, Higden takes his account of Swein's descent upon England by way of the Humber and the Trent. His advances and success so paralysed King Ethelred that he first sent away Emma his wife

¹ He is called Henry I. both in the text and in the margin of Higden, but the *first* Henry was Henry called *The Fowler*, who began to reign A.D. 920. Higden's own words show that he had some doubt about the numbering of these emperors. See p. 84.

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and his two sons to Richard duke of Normandy, his wife's brother, and then himself fled after them. Swein died suddenly in this full tide of his success, and his son Canute succeeded him. The story told of the punishment of Swein for his threats against Bury St. Edmunds finds its place also in the Norse histories. It is there said¹ that kind Edmund slew Swein in the same way that St. Mercurius slew Julian the Apostate. After this Canute his son might be expected to deal more mildly with the holy town, and to fear the wrath of so potent a champion.

Death of Swein.

When Swein was dead the English invited Ethelred to return, which he did, but Canute still continued to hold some parts of England, and Ethelred dying soon after Canute was chosen king by a body of clergy and nobles at Southampton. Another party in the nation adhered to Edmund surnamed Ironside, Ethelred's eldest son, and the chapter narrates the struggles between these two princes until the death of the latter, on which event Canute became king of England. The treachery of duke Edric all through this reign is a curious feature in the history, and it is difficult to understand how one who had played the traitor so often should ever again be trusted by one side or the other.

Death of Ethelred.

This chapter gives first an account of the accession of Canute, and of the council which he held in London to secure the sanction of the nobles to the exclusion from the throne of the brothers of Edmund Ironside. We are next told how he sent away the sons of that king to Olaf king of Sweden, with the hope that they would be slain by him. Olaf sent them, however, to the king² of

Cap. xviii. Reign of Canute.

¹ Knytlinga Saga, p. 184.

² This king is called by Higden and by Florence of Worcester, *Salomon*. But the King of Sweden from A.D. 997-1033 was named Stephen, so that there is some

error in the name. Some authorities say the youths, Edmund and Edward, were sent to Russia. Cf. Thorpe's *Lappenberg*, ii. 198, *note*.

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Hungary, by whom they were well treated. The elder son, Edmund, died young, but Edward married Agatha, a kinswoman of the German emperor, Henry II., and became the father of Margaret, who was afterwards queen of Scotland, Christina, who became a nun, and Edgar Atheling.

Canute's
reign.

Higden tells of Canute's marriage with Emma, the widow of Ethelred, of the way in which he put the traitor Edric to death, and that he was able to go away to Denmark, and take with him a body of English who routed his enemies the Vandals. On the authority of Henry of Huntingdon¹ he tells how it was Godwin (afterwards so famous) who, on the night before the day fixed for the battle, fell upon the foe with his English troops and routed them before Canute was aware of what he was doing.

First
bishop of
Durham.

The last bishop of Lindisfarne, Aldune or Aldwin, died in A.D. 1018, and as the see was about that time removed to Durham there was a vacancy in the episcopate for nearly three years,² when in A.D. 1020 Edmund was made first bishop of Durham.

A marvel.

A marvellous story is next told of fifteen men and three women who in Saxony danced on Christmas night in the churchyard of St. Magnus the Martyr, and were not able to stop their dance, but went on for a whole year without eating or drinking, till St. Herbert, the bishop of Cologne, took the curse off them by his prayers, which curse had been pronounced upon them by the priest of the church which the dancers had ventured so to profane.

English
affairs.

Brithwold, a monk of Glastonbury, is told in a vision that Edward, son of Ethelred (afterwards Edward the Confessor), will be king of England.

¹ On the authority for this story, and on the different account given by Matthew of Westminster, cf. Lappenberg, ii. 206.

² The bishopric of Lindisfarne

lasted from A.D. 635-883. Then the see was removed to Chester-le-Street, and it was in 995 that Aldwin removed it to Durham. See Freeman, *Norm. Cong.*, i. 320.

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Egelnotus archbishop of Canterbury brings the body of the murdered Bishop Elphegus from London to Canterbury, and enriches his cathedral with relics from Italy, which he procured at a great price.

The succession of Conrad II. after Henry II. in the German empire is chronicled.¹

This chapter is wholly devoted to the history of Normandy, and, as is very common in this volume, William of Malmesbury is the only authority cited. The first event mentioned is the death of Richard II.,² the fourth duke. He was succeeded by his son Richard III., but this duke was poisoned by his younger brother Robert³ in the second year of his reign. The character given of this prince Robert in Higden's text, and the anecdotes related of him, justify the title of Magnificent by which he was known. There is much uncertainty about the relations between this duke and the English king Canute,⁴ of which Higden takes no notice, only telling us that in a fit of penitence Duke Robert made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died in Bithynia⁵ on his way back. The narrative of William the Conqueror's birth is taken by Higden from William of Malmesbury, as is also the account of such pledges as the Duke Robert, when departing on his pilgrimage, exacted from his nobles that after his death they should place his son William in the dukedom as his successor..

The chronicle of the papacy is here resumed, and pope John XVIII.⁶ is mentioned as the successor of

¹ As in the case of Henry II., so with Conrad II., Higden ignores the first Emperor Conrad, who reigned from A.D. 912–920, immediately before Henry the Fowler.

² He had reigned 30 years, and died A.D. 1026.

³ This is the Robert surnamed the Devil, and sometimes the Magnificent, and who was the father of William the Conqueror.

⁴ For a discussion of this part of the history of Duke Robert, cf. Freeman, *Nor. Conq.*, i. 520, *seqq.*

⁵ The place of his death was Nicæa in Bithynia, and the date A.D. 1035.

⁶ He is called John XX. by Higden and Trevisa, and John XXI. by Platina.

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Papal suc-
cession.

Benedict VIII. Then follows Benedict IX., who was deposed for a short time,¹ and then restored, and afterwards was succeeded by Gregory VI. But soon the Emperor Henry III. of Germany, who had succeeded his father-in-law, Conrad II., interposed, and in place of Gregory elevated the bishop of Bamberg, to the papal throne with the title of Clement II. But Higden returns to the history of Gregory VI. in a later chapter, and from his account, and also from the history in Platina, it is evident that Benedict IX., Silvester III., and Gregory VI., must all have been alive and rival popes at the same time, and that all three were set aside by the Emperor Henry³ in favour of Clement II. The birth of Marianus Scotus, the chronicler and historian, is mentioned A.D. 1025. The death of Robert king of France (A.D. 1031) is noticed, though his son and successor is wrongly called *Hugo*⁴ by Higden. Canute's pilgrimage to Rome, and the good deeds he did both there and on his return are mentioned in such language as indicates that Canute, when his conquest of England had become complete, cared for the land as a wise and fatherly prince. His disposition of his realms of Norway, Denmark, and England among his sons is described, and a brief mention made of his death at Shaftesbury, and the succession, not altogether unopposed,⁵ of his son Harold, called Harefoot. The

Harold
Harefoot

¹ Platina says for 49 days during which Silvester III. was pope.

² Platina gives the name of this prelate as Syndergerus.

³ Platina's words are, "Henricus 'secundus in Italiam veniens habita synodo cum Benedictum nomen, Silvestrum tertium, Gregorium sextum tanquam tria teterrima monstra abdicare se magistratu coegisset Syndergerum Bambergensem episcopum cui

"Clementi II. appellatio fuit pontificem creat."

⁴The next King of France, A.D. 1031-1060, was Henry I. He was much aided in the beginning of his reign by Duke Robert of Normandy, for which aid he afterwards ceded some portions of his territory to that dukedom.

⁵The will of King Canute had assigned the English kingdom to Hardicanute, but the support of

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story that this Harold was a supposititious son is mentioned, and also his behaviour towards the widowed Queen Emma.¹ Of his reign, which lasted four years, very few words are said.

The death of Ethelnotus archbishop of Canterbury is recorded (A.D. 1038), and his successor Edsius is mentioned, and omitting archbishop Robert of Jumièges (A.D. 1050–1052) (though he speaks of him afterwards, p. 162), Higden next mentions Stigand who, like Edsius, had been chaplain to king Harold.

Hardicanute's reign lasted three years, but did not fulfil any of the expectations of the people who had chosen him. The body of Harold was taken out of its grave and cast into the Thames, but was afterwards recovered by fishers and buried. Out of a tax laid on the nation the new king rewarded the sailors who were dear to his Danish feelings and who had brought him to England; but the tax was so galling to the people that two of the collectors³ were killed at Worcester while engaged in their unpopular duty. The story which, follows in Higden (p. 138), though placed in the reign of Hardicanute, shows by its conclusion, in which Godwin says that what he had done was done by the command of Harold, that it took place in the previous reign. The elder son of Ethelred and Queen Emma, Alfred, brother to Edward (afterwards the Confessor),

Leofric earl of Mercia and the seafaring population of London was powerful enough to override Canute's intention and bring in Harold as king. Cf. Freeman, *Nor. Conq.* i. 534–536.

¹ The treasures of which Emma was spoiled must have been restored to her by Hardicanute, for we find that she was again deprived of them by Edward the Confessor. Thorpe's *Lappenberg*, ii. 222.

² In London in the cemetery of St. Clements. Alfric archbishop of York is evil spoken of for the share he took in the insults heaped on Harold's body. Wm. of Malmesbury, *De Pont.* iii.

³ These men were named Feader and Thurstan, and were slain in the tower of the cathedral to which they had fled for refuge. Cf. *Lappenberg*, ii. 230.

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came for some cause into England, where he and his companions were cruelly tortured and murdered, and suspicion fell on Godwin as the author of the crime.¹ The death of Conrad II. and the succession of Henry III. his-son-in law to the German imperial crown is noticed; but these, in order to preserve the numbering which Higden has adopted, are styled Conrad I. and Henry II.

Henry
III. em-
peror.

The death of Conrad took place in A.D. 1039. Many anecdotes are given of this emperor Henry, and he is said to have interfered in the settlement of the rival claims to the papacy to which at this date there were three persons elected and living at the same time.² A wonderful story is narrated of the finding of the body of Pallas the son of Evander at Rome, the story of whose death is told in Virgil's *Æneid*.³ But the epitaph which was said to have been found with the body is declared by the chronicler not to be the composition of any Latin writer contemporary with Pallas.

Cap. xxii.
Pope
Gregory
VI.

This chapter opens with the accession of Gregory VI. to the papal throne, and the story tells how disturbed was the condition of Italy at this time and how unsafe it was for any to attempt to travel. Gregory appealed to the emperor for help, and when an excuse of the Vandal war was made by him, the pope took the field himself against the robbers, for which course he was afterwards blamed by his cardinals, and his speech in his own defence is recorded by Higden at some length, and the demonstration which was given after his death that he had acted rightly is also mentioned.⁴ A few words

¹ There are several versions of this story, some of which state that the coming of Alfred into England was with hostile intentions, and that the slaughter of the invaders was in defence of Harold's throne. But Cf. Freeman, *N. C.* i. pp. 544-559, where all the evidence is recited and discussed, and the con-

clusion arrived at is that Godwin was probably innocent of the crime laid to his charge.

² See the quotation from Platina on cap. xx. above.

³ Book viii. 104, *seqq.*

⁴ Platina gives the substance of Higden's story but doubtfully: *Hæc fere sunt quæ a variis*

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concerning Hardicanute's death and character conclude the chapter.

Hardicanute was succeeded by Edward the Confessor, Cap. xxiiii. to whom Godwin, that he might secure his power over the new monarch, after a time gave his daughter Editha Edward the Confessor. in marriage.¹ Edward proceeded to deprive of her treasures his mother Emma, who had never shown any regard for her children by Ethelred. The story of the ordeal by which the Queen established her innocency of a charge laid against her is apparently without any foundation in fact.

The retirement from the see of London of Elfword Episcopal and papal successions. in A.D. 1044 and the succession of Robert of Jumièges, who afterwards became archbishop of Canterbury, is next noticed, and also the successive Popes Benedict IX.,² Clement II., Damasus II., and Leo IX.

The wars between Denmark and Norway are briefly alluded to, and the context shows that Godwin was at this period a person of the greatest power in the realm of England. Another influential person was lost to the nation by the death of Lyvingus,³ bishop of Worcester, who was succeeded by Alured or Aldred. The fifth year of King Edward's reign is mentioned as one in which there was a long continuance of snow in the west of England, and great mortality of men and cattle followed the severe winter. Henry king of France takes France and Normandy. the part of the young William duke of Normandy, and compels⁴ the nobles to abide by the oath of fealty which

“ auctoribus de Gregorio scri-
buntur quem quidem constat in
“ pontificatu sedisse annos ii. men-
ses vii. durante schismate.”

¹ It was apparently in the year 1045 that Edward married the daughter of Godwin. See Freeman, *N.C.* ii. p. 78.

² The text of Higden in mistake here calls him Benedict X., but it is evident from what is said of his

papacy that Benedict IX. is intended.

³ This prelate was also bishop in Devonshire and Cornwall.

⁴ But see Freeman *N. C.* ii. 202, *seqq.*, where a change of the friendly relations between France and Normandy, soon after William's accession to the dukedom, is noted.

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[More information](#)Baldwin
count of
Flanders.

they had sworn before Robert, William's father. The foundation of the famous abbey of Bec in Normandy is mentioned. From this monastery came Lanfranc and Anselm, successively primates of England. The rebellion of Baldwin count of Flanders against the emperor Henry is next noticed. The pope Leo IX. took the part of the emperor, and Swein king of Denmark was summoned to give help, while the English fleet of king Edward kept watch over the channel from Sandwich in case Baldwin should attempt to escape by sea.¹ The story of the tender conscience of Leo IX. on account of his having been placed on the papal throne at the bidding of the emperor is alluded to, but is not completed by the statement that it was the afterwards famous Hildebrand who aroused the pope's conscience by reproaching him for accepting such a dignity without canonical election.²

English
affairs.

Irish pirate vessels make their way at this time into the Severn, and are aided by Griffin (or Griffith) king of South Wales, so that they commit great ravages along the course of the Wye.³ Swein, the eldest son of Godwin, made an endeavour to return from his exile to England again, but his lands had been bestowed on his brother Harold and his cousin Beorn, and they naturally did not wish to resign their possessions and so opposed his return. The latter was ultimately murdered⁴ by Swein, who again became an outlaw, and was

¹ Baldwin made due submission to his superior lord, and thus there was no use made of the English fleet.

² For the whole story, see Freeman, *N. C.* ii. 96, *seqq.*, and the authorities there given.

³ This was in the summer of A.D. 1049, and the ships were in all probability Danish ships which had sheltered in Ireland.

⁴ Swein appears to have beguiled his cousin on board one of the vessels in which he and his followers had come to England, and there had him murdered. This deed was looked upon with much abhorrence in England, and Swein was stigmatised henceforth as *Niðing*.