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Edited by Richard Howlett

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Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I

The second volume of this four-volume set of Latin chronicles, edited by Richard Howlett (1841–1917) and published between 1884 and 1889, contains the fifth and final book of the *Historia rerum Anglicarum* by William of Newburgh (c.1136–c.1198). This book deals with the events of the years 1194–8. The work is continued in a supplement up to the year 1298, compiled by a monk of Furness Abbey. Also included is the *Draco Normannicus* ('The Norman Standard') of Etienne de Rouen, a monk from Bec Abbey in Normandy. Much of this poem is simply the versification of other sources, but it does possess some historical value, and notably presents King Arthur as a Breton rather than a British ruler. A glossary and index to the first two volumes is included, along with helpful English side-notes to the Latin text.

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Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I

VOLUME 2

EDITED BY RICHARD HOWLETT



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Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108052276

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2012

This edition first published 1885
This digitally printed version 2012

ISBN 978-1-108-05227-6 Paperback

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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

u 13836.

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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.

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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 Proemium in normannicū draconē
 Tūngem̄ dūcus cūctis fervore studendi
 ac studij nimio pressalabore iacet
 Hanc regit informat refrenet moderatōr usus
 Tūbat meior alce tūona fūat amor
 meior nam lece quēntē meditatio mētrō
 distendi studij tūstia corda fugit
 tūtia dū sapiens clares ostendit honores
 Sordius et eluguis laudis honore caret
 Sic amor instigat studij sic fervor amatis
 Dignat ad sūm quod sibi dulce sapit

Fo. 123 (margin)

- p p p d. an is
 vastant rollo
 gullias/an sūm
 baptisimū -

Fo. 158.b.

librum istū sup̄st̄ ex quod p̄mo antiquo libro quē m̄ gessit. g. m. m. f. b.
 et em̄c̄ ille lib̄ ut d̄o de ab. de b. f.

Fo. 160

no plus reperi qm̄ exemplar

MS. OTTOBON. 3081.

(Vatican)

R.H.

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CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS
OF
STEPHEN, HENRY II., AND RICHARD I.

VOL. II.

- I.—THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE “HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM”
OF WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH.
II.—A CONTINUATION OF WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH’S HISTORY TO
A D. 1298.
III.—THE “DRACO NORMANNICUS” OF ETIENNE DE ROUEN.

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS

BY

RICHARD HOWLETT,

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY’S
TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

L O N D O N :

LONGMAN & CO., PATERNOSTER ROW; TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL :

ALSO BY

PARKER & CO., OXFORD; AND MACMILLAN & CO., CAMBRIDGE;

A. & C. BLACK, AND DOUGLAS AND FOULIS, EDINBURGH;

AND A. THOM & CO., LIMITED, DUBLIN.

1885.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-05227-6 - Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I: Volume 2

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Printed by
EYRE and SPOTTISWOODE, Her Majesty's Printers.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Cambridge University Press

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P R E F A C E.

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P R E F A C E.



IN the present volume the fifth and concluding book of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* of William of Newburgh takes by right the first place, following in due sequence on the four books printed in the volume issued in 1884. To this is added an interesting continuation to the year 1298, compiled by a monk of Furness Abbey, and then follows the *Draco Normannicus*,¹ a work which has never been previously printed in this country. As the *Draco* seems to be known only to a small number of English readers, it may, perhaps, be pardonable to reverse the natural order of treatment, and to discuss first the points of interest and novelty presented by this curious poem, not omitting the almost romantic history of the unique MS. from which the present edition has been prepared.

Montfaucon, in his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*,² gave the title of a manuscript in the Vatican Library thus :—

Anonymi Normannicus Draco, versus continent historiam Mathildis imperatricis Francorum, Anglorum, et Normannorum.

This MS., he said, was numbered 1267 in the library of Christina, queen of Sweden, then and now in the Vatican; but when, about the year 1810, Dom Brial³

¹ The word *Draco* here of course means *standard*. For the way in which it is used by Ralph Coggeshall, see Rolls ed., p. 182. See also Ducange.

² i. 41.

³ Académie Royale de Inscriptions : *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, tom. viii. part ii., p. 297.

and his *collaborateurs* desired to see the poem, the MS. was nowhere to be found. The curiosity of Dom Briâl was further stimulated by the extracts from the work which he found in a MS. belonging to the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés;¹ but, although search was made on his behalf at the Vatican, the *Draco Normannicus* eluded all seekers. It is not wonderful that no one was able to find it, for the volume had passed into the library of baron Philip de Stosch, the English Resident at Florence, and having then in some mysterious way returned to the Vatican, had been classed under a different number in a different collection. How it returned is scarcely less a matter for conjecture than the way in which it originally escaped from custody. Probably it was stolen, sold to the baron, and then purchased at the sale of his library at Florence, in 1756.

This was not the first time the *Draco Normannicus* had been stolen, as we shall see when the appropriate place in this preface for a detailed description of the MS. is reached. It will be enough to state here, that it was restored to the Vatican; and, being placed among the MS. of cardinal Ottobuoni, thenceforward lay unrecognised under the number 3081. Whatever its full history, the MS., though safe in its hiding-place, had long been set down as lost, when, after a lapse of about a hundred and twenty years, its contents suddenly appeared in print.

Cardinal Angelo Mai had found it, but had not announced his discovery. He had transcribed it, however, and his transcript, found after his death² among his papers, was published in 1871 under the editorship of a Basilian monk, Father Joseph Cozza.³ This edition

¹ Now MS. *Fonds Latin*, No. 11,889, in the Bibl. Nationale, Paris. The extracts extend from *fo.* 57 to *fo.* 95.

² He died in 1854.

³ *Appendix ad opera edita ab Angelo Maio S.R.E. Presb. Card.*, Romæ, apud J. Spithoever, 1871. 4to.

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is severely handled by Dr. Pauli;¹ and certainly the text, as presented, is not all that could be desired. There are, moreover, two omissions, one intentional, amounting to the loss of 50 lines, another unintentional, passing over an entire distich.

The MS. now to be seen in the Vatican Library is written on paper of early date, and the writing is of the 15th century—about, perhaps rather later than, the year 1450. The Roman editor complains of the difficulty of the handwriting, but, beyond the ordinary problem of dealing with words consisting of a series of similar strokes, there is seldom any ambiguity, and the penmanship is very fair, as may be seen by reference to the fac-simile² of the opening words of the poem prefixed to the present volume.

The general scope of the work may be best indicated by the list of topics which the author gives in the introductory verses. The list has this especial virtue, that it gives an idea of the extraordinary arrangement, or want of arrangement, of the materials the poet proposed to deal with.

Henry II. and his parents, the Norman settlers in Neustria, William the Conqueror, Stephen, Pepin, Charlemagne, Hugh Capet, and the papal schism of 1159; these and collateral topics are separately treated, with the natural result that startling transitions are frequent throughout. The poem furnishes an account of the death of the empress Maud, and winds up with details of the peace of the 6th of January, 1169. No more choice contribution to English history could perhaps have been made than an account of these years, had the poet been less diffuse, and less intent on turning

¹ "The Academy," 1 Sept., 1872.

² Not being able to have the MS. photographed, I first took a tracing in pencil, and afterwards completed it in ink. Minute care is not always

successful; but any one familiar with 15th century hands will be able to judge whether, or not, a particular style has been consistently imitated.

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tricky verses. Fortunately it is impossible for the vainest and most shallow of mankind to write about the days in which he lived, without unintentionally telling much that is exceedingly valuable to after ages. This is the case with the anonymous author of the *Draco Normannicus*. Three-fourths of that which he wishes most to impress upon his readers is valueless; but the remainder, and the whole of his chance utterances, are deeply interesting. It is the duty of an editor to sift these matters for the benefit of his readers; but, before proceeding to the task, it is very desirable that the writer of the poem should be discovered, and that all that is known of him should be detailed. The acuteness of Dom Brial gave the original clue, which Dr. Fierville and the present editor have so far followed out that few probably will care to doubt that Etienne de Rouen is the poet, or at least the author, to whom we owe the *Draco*.

Attribution of the *Draco Normannicus* to Etienne de Rouen.

There is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris a MS. of the 12th century¹ containing numerous poems, which in many places proclaim themselves to be the work of Etienne de Rouen, a monk of Bec Herluin. Extracts from all of those which have any bearing on the question of the author's identity, or which have any other interest, are appended to the present volume. A casual perusal of them will shew that Etienne was no poet, but beyond question a facile perpetrator of the worst mannerisms, nay mechanisms, of mediæval versification. A monk requires no forgiveness for presenting us with Leonine hexameters, or rhymed verses of other types. The mediæval hymn-writers, as a body, need no apology other than the mere names of Bernard of Morlaix, and

¹ Probably in the author's own handwriting. It contains also Etienne's abbreviation of the Institutions of Quintilian, some extracts from Cicero, and other transcripts.

Thomas of Celano; but a man who carries on for more than thirty lines the vexatious trick shown in the following extract, has but one single accidental circumstance to plead in extenuation,—his hand can probably be detected anywhere :—

*Cedit et omne tibi, quod sese vivere sentit,
Quod sub sole jacet, cedit et omne tibi.
Cessit et iste tibi, quem carmen personat istud,
Laus cujus fremit hic, cessit et iste tibi.*¹

It would be wearisome to note all the peculiarities of his style. We must descend to Lord Macaulay's fourth-form schoolboy to find a parallel to Etienne de Rouen in the use of *hinc* and *jam*; but there is one word without which he is apparently at no time able to versify.

The word *jus* in all its significations, and with its useful inflections *jura, jure, juribus*, appears profusely in almost every piece. In the poems, for example, it occurs four times on p. 766, and on pp. 772 and 774, twice. In the *Draco* it is even more abundant, occurring on p. 721 seven times and on p. 595 six times. Indeed there is scarcely a page without it. The frequent use of *feritas, probitas, and potus* may be also noted as marked peculiarities common both to the writer of MS. *Fonds Latin* 14,146 and to the writer of the *Draco Normannicus*.

Next we may note that Etienne often substantially repeats his own verses.

The following instances are from his smaller poems :—

On p. 767 we have,

Eloquio Cicero, versibus ipse Maro.

On p. 773,

In prosa Cicero, versu Maro cederet illi.

On p. 778,

*Nec prosa jam Ciceroni
Cedit metrove Maroni.*

¹ p. 774.

These cases will prepare us for the final and practically conclusive indication of authorship.¹ On p. 766 is a poem on Waleran, count of Meulan, which occurs among the other poems of Etienne de Rouen, in MS. *Fonds Latin* 14,146, and on the folio actually preceding the acrostic (p. 771) which declares the author's name.

Identical passages in the *Draco* and in Etienne de Rouen's acknowledged poems.

The opening lines of this poem are :—

Flos comitum, decus imperii, vis maxima belli,
Militiæ splendor, sensus acutus obit.

Turning to the *Draco Normannicus*, p. 602, we find that lines 290 and 291, which refer to Geoffrey of Anjou, are as follows :—

Flos comitum, decus imperii, vis maxima belli,
Militiæ splendor, sensus acutus obit.

Much more could be urged ; but this will be enough for all whom it is necessary to convince.²

The genuineness of the *Draco* has never, it is believed, been doubted. If the word *salutes*, on p. 743, l. 973, refers to the coins known as "saluts" a question of interpolation might be raised, but alternative meanings for the word are numerous.

Personal history of Etienne de Rouen.

Let us now see what little is known concerning our author. From poems printed in the Appendix to the present volume we learn that he was the son of a brother of Bernard, formerly a monk of Bec, who became abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel in 1134, and died on the 8th of May, 1149 ; also that Etienne, following

¹ The question of plagiarism, in all the circumstances of Etienne's position, can hardly be entertained.

² The foot-note on p. 595 was in type before I had read Dr. Ch. Fierville's papers on Etienne de Rouen in the "*Bulletin de la Société des*

Antiquaires de Normandie," tom. viii, pp. 54-78 and 421-443. Dr. Fierville, speaking of the identical couplets, says : " Enfin, il est une " preuve que j'ai réservée pour la " dernière : elle est concluante."

his uncle's example, entered Herluin's famous monastery. Abbot Bernard had in his own abbey of Mont-Saint Michel another nephew, Guillaume de l'Arche, who is mentioned, Dr. Fierville says, in a charter of Guillaume de Boucey in favour of that abbey, and who was of course either the brother or cousin of our author.

The uncle and nephews were descended from a noble Norman family, as Etienne is careful to record. Of abbot Bernard he says:—

Hujus uterque parens præclaro stegmate nati,
Inter concives præmultis sunt venerati.
Hunc aluit puerum Normannia terra celebris,
Parisius fecit cæcis exire tenebris.¹

Etienne de Rouen does not seem to have been of sufficient importance to be referred to in the *Chronicon Beccense*, and the single external reference to him probably now extant was obtained at Rome by the present editor. Cardinal Mai contented himself with the bare mention of the fact² that a list of the monks of Bec exists in the Vatican MS. Regin. 499. This on examination proves to be a complete matriculation list, parcelled out between the abbots by whom the various novices were received. The titles of those monks who rose to be abbots or bishops are given, but rarely any other details beyond the Christian name.

His name appears in the Matriculation List of the abbey of Bec Herluin.

Now Letard was abbot from 1139 to 1149, and Roger from that date to 1179, and thus when we consider the dates respecting Etienne's uncle, and also the approximate date of Etienne's death (about 1170), which we hope to establish below, it seems reasonable to think that he was admitted to the monastery either by Letard, or an earlier abbot.

¹ In stating the relationship between Etienne and abbot Bernard I have followed MM. Brial, Delisle, and Fierville; but I confess that I find the already somewhat ambiguous passage on p. 776 (lines 39 to

43) become still more doubtful in meaning when juxtaposed with lines 40 to 45 on p. 779.

² In his edition of the *Draco*, p. 51, note 2.

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On examining the list of novices admitted by the third abbot (A.D. 1093–1124) we find that “Letardus “ abbas vj.” was his 25th novice, “Bernardus abbas” his 216th, Theobald archbishop of Canterbury his 269th. The fourth abbot, Boso (1124–1136), admitted 195¹ novices, his 109th admission being a “Stephanus.” The fifth abbot, Theobald (1136–1138), entered 49 on his roll, none of them bearing the name of Stephen.

This brings us to Letard (Jan. 1139–July 1149), whose 48th novice, out of a total of 114, was “Stephanus.”

The list runs thus :—

Willelmus.

BRI.

Rogerus.

Osbernus.

Walterius.

R.

Stephanus.

Goscelinus.²

Probable date at which the author entered the abbey of Bec.

Is there much reason to doubt that “BRI.” above *Rogerus* means *Rogerus Brito*, and that “R.” above *Stephanus*³ means *Stephanus Rothomagensis*? If this be conceded, then, as Etienne was 47th among the 114 entered during 11½ years, it is probable that he joined in his abbot’s fifth year, that is A.D. 1143, six years before his uncle’s death. There is the previous *Stephanus* admitted about 1130 to be accounted for, but the letter “R.” was probably intended as the distinguishing mark of a monk who, though he never obtained preferment, had made himself one of the minor celebrities of the abbey. If

¹ I only counted the names once, but, I think, with care sufficient to avoid serious error.

² A fuller list is given in the Appendix, pp. 780, 781. The number of novices admitted is astonishing.

Lay brothers would hardly be included.

³ The connexion between these letters and the names *below* them is very clear in the MS.

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he became a monk in 1143, and died in 1170, he probably fell by an early death, and the fact that he is only known to have reached deacons' orders¹ supports, though very weakly, this view. Certainly, when balancing probabilities, we must prefer the claims of "*Stephanus R.*" to "*Stephanus*," for surely the uncertainty of human life leaves us no reason to say that he was the older rather than the younger of the two Stephens.

Etienne's minor poems were addressed either to the world at large, to his uncle Bernard, or to one of three correspondents, (i.) a brother poet, Gislebert, who probably lived at Rome; (ii.) a monk named Guy; and (iii.) a young man named Rudolf, a theological student at Rome, apparently expecting to enter the cloister in three years' time. This Rudolf seems to have formerly lived at Bec, and most probably was a relative of Etienne's, for the latter sends him money which he is to give to Gislebert to expend for him:—

Victum nam scribis inter quos degere scisti
 Dant, tibi vestitum nos demus ut ante petisti.
 En tibi transmitto nummos nimium rutilantes,
 Hos precor accipias omnes te lætificantes,
 Et Gisleberto tribuas, qui fit tibi papa,
 Ex ipsis tibimet ematur ut optima capa.

Another sign of relationship may be detected in the personal admonitions the youth has presumed to give:—

Iracundum me scribis simul esse superbum,
 Ut reor hæc vitia non norunt pectora nostra.

How long Etienne lived is uncertain. Unhappily the *Necrologium Becense*, from which Du Monstier quotes,² is no longer to be traced, even by Dr. Potthast, so we

¹ See p. 776:—

Inspice quod Stephanus dicitur iste,
 Levitæque gradum cernito ferre.

² *Neustria Pia*, p. 444.

must fall back on the internal evidence of the work itself.

We know from lines 171 and 172 of book III. (p. 717), that Etienne was writing that part of his poem about April 1168; and we know (pp. 755–757) that he lived to see the peace of January 1169. We are also certain from the tone of his utterances in the closing words on p. 757, and elsewhere, that he never knew of Becket's fate. Many of these passages would necessarily have been altered after the news of a death which even adverse partisans in the 12th century regarded as a martyrdom. Lastly, we have the fragmentary poem (pp. 761–3) taken, together with the *Draco*, “ex quo-
dam parvo antiquo libro.” This poem the monk who copied it notes as a fragment saying, “non plus reperi.” His careful prior¹ adds “*in exemplari*,” thus assuring us that he gave us all that was obtainable,—probably the last words which Etienne de Rouen wrote in the “little old book.” This piece describes the stormy voyage from Normandy which landed Henry II. at Portsmouth, on March the 3rd, 1170. Benedict of Peterborough (i. 3, 4) gives the story very graphically; and, though his account differs a little from the poem, the identity of the event in each work is indisputable.²

Probable
date of
Etienne de
Rouen's
death.

On the 29th of December, 1170, Becket fell under the swords of his four assassins, and we thus get limiting dates between which there is very little doubt that Etienne de Rouen passed from the cloister to the grave. Perhaps his hands were folded over the staff which Henry gave him when he followed the king into Brittany to tell him of his mother's death. At least such was the custom, and clearly the writer's hope :

¹ See p. xciii.

² The fragment was, as we know, taken from the same ancient MS. as the *Draco*, and the style is

indistinguishable from Etienne's. In the absence of any reason to doubt his authorship, these two points may be deemed conclusive.

PREFACE.

xvii

Nec tamen hic cassus ; baculo, dulcedine pleno,
 Ditatur rediens, at monachilis erat.
 Dulcior at multo quam pontificalis habetur,
 Hic et ille simul consepelitur eis.¹

We have alluded above to the way in which Etienne The literary aspect of the poem. overcame some of the difficulties of versification, but we have not spoken of the metrical errors which mar the *Draco Normannicus*.

A few of those in the first book are pointed out as the poem proceeds ; but to mark all would have been to encumber the pages with profitless foot-notes. The fact is that our author demands many startling concessions in these matters, requiring us to accept *philosophia*, *mēridies*, *mēror* (*mæror*), *Darius*, and many similar blunders. Perhaps his largest draft on our charity is the line :—

Hunc per legatos princeps Constantinopolitanus.²

It ill becomes those in possession of modern appliances, whether for science or literature, to be hard on the mistakes of a twelfth-century monk, but, leaving his errors of prosody, we cannot but express wonder that a man of Etienne's extensive classical reading should show so little taste, introducing purely Greek words such as *doxa* and *polis*, archaic forms as *itiner* and *iteris*, and such puns³ as his play on the words *Calixtus* and *calices* in lines 1437, 8, on p. 646. It is curious too that Etienne's comrades, in a house which was a school of secular learning of the highest class, should not have kept him by friendly criticism from such a distich as,

Hæc pater Innocuus componit, judicat, urget,
 Lites, facta, modum, fœdere, jure, fide.⁴

This must of course be read *Innocentius papa componit lites fœdere, &c.*, but when we have interpreted it

¹ p. 708.

² p. 726, l. 415.

³ See also p. 711, ll. 3–8.

⁴ p. 651, ll. 1556, 1557.

we find neither thought, beauty of sound, nor aptness of expression.

The historical aspect.

The historical aspect of the poem must now be considered, and our first duty is to indicate the sources from which the earlier details it contains were derived. It is by this process of sifting and washing that we reach the historian's golden grains—the new facts which his author records.

Large portions of the poem derived from Dudo of St. Quentin, William of Jumiéges, and Robert of Torigni's life of Henry I.

That Etienne used the chronicles of Dudo of St. Quentin, and William of Jumiéges is an assertion which scarcely requires support; but, if such a passage as the account of the siege of Luna by Hastings¹ (pp. 633–4) is not held to be sufficiently convincing, the words:—

. Dani sumus, agminis hujus

Dux ego,²

and the line,

“North” Boreas, “man” homo, Danica lingua sapit.³

will assuredly on comparison with Dudo (Duchesne, p. 76 D.) and W of Jumiéges (p. 218 B.) be found conclusive.

It is not here worth while to treat as distinct works the chronicles of Dudo of St. Quentin and William of Jumiéges, and the continuation of the latter as a life of Henry I. by R. of Torigni. For our present limited purpose we shall regard them simply as the *corpus historicum* which forms the early part of Duchesne's collection.

The history of the settlement of the Normans in Neustria not being of primary interest to English students, that portion of the *Draco* which deals with the matter⁴ may be succinctly treated. Whether Dudo was an annalist or a fabulist is also a question we do

¹ I have followed Sir F. Palgrave's spelling of this name, using also his guidance in more important matters. See note¹ on p. xix.

² p. 625, l. 915.

³ p. 631, l. 1052.

⁴ p. 613, l. 575, to p. 638, l. 1240.

not intend to consider here.¹ Nine-tenths, nay more, of the 900 lines of the *Draco* which touch on early Norman History are simply transcribed into verse (with occasional errors) from William of Jumiéges, but there is a residue of considerable interest. From line 647 to line 898 (pp. 617--624) we have an account of Rollo's approach to, and occupation of, Rouen wholly different from that given by Duchesne's chroniclers, the Vedastine annalist, and by Wace.

Etienne tells us, that Rollo with a chosen band invaded France, and, beginning by burning Nantes, went on to devastate Brittany.

The *Draco* furnishes a new account of Rollo's capture of Rouen.

Returning laden with booty to his fleet, he approached Anjou. Here he was withstood by three leaders, apparently in one battle; but gaining the day he took Angers and burned it. Poitiers, Limoges, and Noyon were successively sacked, and then the wild band assailed Orleans. This fair city they burned; but, for some reason not stated, they spared the cathedral.² Then Rollo left his fleet on the Loire, and organising his force as a land army, fought a battle with the troops of the French king.³ After that, taking again to the water, he entered the Seine,⁴ landed, marched on Beauvais, and returned with the spoils of that city to his fleet.⁵ Thence he pressed on to Rouen.

¹ This is written with a full knowledge of the contents of Mr. H. H. Howorth's paper in the *Archæologia*, xlv., pp. 235-250 (1880), Mr. Howorth does not mention the *Draco*.

² Thus far there are suspicious similarities to the story told by the chroniclers as to the ravages of Hastings; but there are touches, such as the mention of a battle against three leaders, and the circumstance of the sparing of Orleans

cathedral, which redeem the credit of Etienne's story as the independent narrative of a man who had sources of information now lost. The same cities were pillaged twice or thrice by the pirates, so the list of places sacked by different leaders may be very much alike and yet authentic.

³ Erroneously stated to be *Carolus Simplex*.

⁴ l. 763.

⁵ l. 767.

With some of his followers he passed under the bridge,¹ which was manned by the citizens; but finding the ground unsuited to his plan of attack, he repassed and landed on the western meadows.² These, Etienne says, were up to his own times called by a name which bore record of that day of battle.³ Rollo, perceiving that his fleet had obtained complete command of the river, was giving orders for a general attack when suddenly a band of young men sallied forth from the city.⁴ The Norman leader at once saw an easy road to victory, and ordered his men gradually to hem in the citizens.⁵ A separate combat was proceeding at the bridge,⁶ no doubt as a diversion; but the main design of Rollo was now to turn the imprudent sally to the best account.

The furious attack of the Danes pressed back the citizen-soldiers; and then, before the gates could close on the fugitives, Rollo was inside the walls.⁷ The news of his entrance caused resistance elsewhere to collapse, and Rollo found Rouen at his feet. His design was to conquer for occupation, not for destruction, and by his command no slaughter or plundering ensued. The city simply changed rulers from that day.

Immediately after this important event ensued, according to Etienne, the well-known parley with Ragnald and Hastings, the Danish count of Chartres, and in due sequence the battles which William of Jumiéges describes. To the words of the chronicler at this point Etienne adds but two touches; in one place we learn that in the second battle Rollo's men were posted on a height,⁸ and in another⁹ that Dudo's mysterious *piscator Sequanae* killed Ragnald as he was crossing to an island—possibly in the man's boat.

¹ l. 827.² l. 840.³ l. 846.⁴ l. 867.⁵ l. 871.⁶ l. 879.⁷ l. 883.⁸ l. 964.⁹ l. 989.