

VITA AEDUUARDI REGIS
QUI APUD WESTMONASTERIUM REQUIESCIT
A TRANSLATION AND ANNOTATION OF MS 526 IN
THE HARVEIAN COLLECTION IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM

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Theodore Jan Kup
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PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis is the translation and annotation of Ms 526 in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum. This manuscript, which was extensively used by E.A. Freeman in his great work on the Norman Conquest, has not been translated before. In 1923 Marc Bloch threw doubt on the genuineness of the manuscript in his article in the Analacta Bollandiana, XLI, "La Vie de Saint Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare". His conclusion in this article was that it was written by a clever forger about A.D. 1103, or later, for Edith, the wife of King Henry the First. Since 1943 several distinguished scholars have attacked the arguments of Marc Bloch. At the moment the genuineness of the Ms appears to be practically beyond doubt.

In my notes on the translation I have tried to point out the possibility that the present Vita may be a hurried combination of a former work, or works, on the House of Godwin and a work on the life of King Edward the Confessor. I have tried to keep the translation as close to the text of the Ms as possible. The poetry, and sometimes the prose, of the Latin text is so confused that I had to rearrange the text to get a possible meaning. Whenever this was done I mentioned this in a note. Other

interpretations of these parts are possible. Notes on different parts of the text have been added to make the reading of the translation easy for a reader who has some knowledge of this period of English history.

I want to acknowledge gratefully the help which Professor T.J. Oleson gave me. His stimulating enthusiasm started me on a work which proved to be often very difficult.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of Some Works Cited

The figure in brackets indicates the number in the Bibliography.

AB:	<u>Analecta Bollandiana</u>
ASEngl:	F.M. Stenton, <u>Anglo-Saxon England</u> (15)
BJRL:	<u>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</u>
EHR:	<u>English Historical Review</u>
Encomium:	<u>Encomium Emmae Reginae</u> (ed.Campbell)(3)
FlWig:	<u>Chronicle of Florence of Worcester</u> (Engl. ed. Thos. Forester)(5)
GR:	<u>Chronicle of the Kings of England</u> by William of Malmesbury (Engl. ed. J.A.Giles)(7)
Luard:	H.R.Luard, <u>Lives of Edward the Confessor</u> (10)
Mon.Order:	Dom. David Knowles, <u>The Monastic Order</u> <u>in England 943-1216</u> (9)
NC:	E.A.Freeman, <u>The History of the Norman</u> <u>Conquest of England</u> (6)
PL:	J.P. Migne, <u>Patrologia Latina</u>
Vita Wulfstani:	<u>The Vita Wulfstani of William of</u> <u>Malmesbury</u> , (ed. Darlington) (4)
Witenagemot:	T.J.Oleson, <u>The Witenagemot in the</u> <u>Reign of Edward the Confessor</u> (12)

CHAPTER I
A SHORT SUMMARY OF
THE LIFE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

The life of Edward the Confessor has been described by many chroniclers. Their way of recording, sometimes highly romanticized, sometimes contradictory, has left us with very few details of his person and of his reign. His position in the history of England is remarkable. Before his reign are the troublesome times of Aethelred the Redeless, the Danish invasions, and the rule of King Cnut. After his reign come the last invasion of England from the North and the Conquest of England by the Normans. During Edward's reign England found itself at peace with the rest of the world if one excepts some minor disturbances, caused by the Welsh and Scotch neighbours. Edward's saintly life set him apart from his contemporaries. A well-known English medievalist states his opinion in this way: "The King's personality is an enigma, and different historians have come to diverse opinions about his character and ability." ¹

Edward was the eldest of the children of Aethelred II and his wife Emma of Normandy.² He had many half-brothers and half sisters by the second marriage of his mother to King Cnut. This king had already many children by his irregular marriage with Aelfgifu of Northampton.³

Emma seems to have been a great admirer of Cnut but had probably felt little love for her first husband, Aethelred. It is possible that she had for this reason not much maternal love for the children of her first marriage.⁴ The date of Edward's birth is unknown but may be put soon after Emma's marriage in 1002.

When Aethelred was hard pressed by the invading Danes in 1013, he sent his wife and children to France. Edward and Alfred were brought up at the court of their uncle, Richard II of Normandy. Their presence in Normandy formed a constant threat to the security of the throne for Cnut and his successors.⁶ Emma left Normandy in 1016. She married Cnut the following year. It is possible that Edward did not meet his mother again till 1037, when she was exiled to Flanders by Harold, or till 1041, when he returned to England. His brother Alfred tried to meet Emma for unknown reasons in 1036. He did not succeed, and met his death in 1037 at the hands of King Harold I, with the possible cooperation of Earl Godwin.⁷ King Harthacnut, the son of Emma and Cnut, succeeded Harold in 1040. He recalled Edward to England in the following year. The reason for this recall is not quite clear. It may have something to do with the ailment of the childless Harthacnut, who was to die next year. Edward may have seemed to him the most popular successor after his death.⁸

Emma's affections could not have influenced King Hartha -

cnut to bring Edward forward as his successor, as later events were to show. When the last son of Cnut died on June 8, 1042, popular demand called for the last descendant of the House of Cerdic, Edward. On Easter Day 1043 Edward was crowned at Winchester.⁹

The king must have been near the forties when he was crowned.¹⁰ Close to thirty years he had spent in Normandy, living perhaps unobtrusively in monasteries or places far away from public life. It is quite possible that his conduct during the rest of his life is a reflection of the way he spent his time during his exile. Edward had a fondness for Norman priests and foreign clerks. He had also a great passion for the hunt. Freeman remarks that the king was more suited to head a Norman monastery than to rule England.¹¹

Edward's crown was far from secure in the first years of his reign.¹² This fact, combined with his character, makes it quite possible that he had to be persuaded to accept the crown.¹³ In 1042 there were three other claimants for the English throne: Harold, son of Thorkell the Tall, whose wife was Cnut's niece, and Sveinn, son of Earl Ulf and Cnut's sister Estrith. Another claimant, who based his claim on an agreement with Harthacnut, was Magnus of Norway.¹⁴ The last mentioned claimant may have received the support of Emma.¹⁵ The difficulties, coming from

all these claims, settled themselves after some years in favour of Edward. Magnus and Swegen fought over Denmark. Harold Thorkelson died shortly after the beginning of Edward's reign. In his own land the king faced a powerful party of Anglo-Danes, who had acquired their earldoms in the reign of Cnut.¹⁶ Of these Godwin and Siward were the most powerful. Emma was not favorably disposed to her son before or after his succession. What part she played is not very clear.¹⁷ It is significant that in September 1043 Edward took by force possession of her treasury. He granted her, however, to live quietly in Winchester and left her enough funds to do so according to her rank. From then on Emma did not play any part in English history.¹⁸ She died on March 6, 1052.

On January 23, 1045 Edward married the eldest daughter of Earl Godwin, Edith, probably for political purposes.¹⁹ The marriage has been surrounded by a halo of sanctity. The chroniclers and hagiographers recorded Edward's vow of chastity. King and queen were said to have lived a life of continence in the same manner as Emperor Henry II and his wife Cunigund a few decades before. I have discussed this aspect of Edward's life in my notes.²⁰ Whatever form of marriage it was, it seems to have been happy and pleasant to both, at least, in the last years of Edward's reign.²¹

Edward introduced, as his mother had done forty years before him, several Normans and other foreigners into England. Most of these were priests or monks. Some of his clerks came from the Low Countries and Lorraine. The number of them should not be exaggerated into a first Norman invasion as Freeman does. ²² F.M. Stenton and T.J. Oleson prove that it was more a case of favorites following their patron to England when he ascended the throne. ²³ This introduction of foreigners may have something to do with Edward's desire to bring reform to the Church in England. A desire for Church reform was already gaining ground on the Continent. ²⁴ As ^{Prat.} ~~Don.~~ D. Knowles remarked, this import of foreign elements did not have as its goal a gradual replacement of the native churchmen, or court officials, by foreigners. ²⁵ The weak position of Edward during the first years of his reign would have made such a policy impracticable. With powerful earls such as Godwin, Siward, and Leofric in the Witenagemot a purely personal rule was impossible for Edward. ²⁶ That the king called it frequently may be seen from the list of the Witenagemots given in Appendix O in T.J. Oleson's The Witenagemot in the Reign of Edward the Confessor.

The life of Edward has been singularly marked by his fight against the House of Godwin. ²⁷ E.A. Freeman devoted most of his second volume of The Norman Conquest to describe it as the battle between the nationalist and patriotic Godwins against the anti-patriotic Norman clique.

This concept, typical of the mid-nineteenth century, cannot be maintained. F.M. Stenton calls the reason for Edward's difficulties the constant rivalries and ambition for power of the great earls.²⁸ B. Wilkinson mentions as a possible reason the centrifugal forces, represented by the activities of the earls, working against the centripetal forces, personified by king and court.²⁹ The great test of strength between Edward and the House of Godwin came in the year 1051. It has been aptly called by B. Wilkinson: "The Crisis of 1051".

The first friction between Edward and Godwin came over the ~~susseession~~ of the ailing archbishop of Canterbury, Eadsig, who died in 1050. The monks of Canterbury elected according to Canon Law one of their own, Aelfric, a kinsman of Godwin. Edward refused confirmation of this election and appointed the Norman Robert of Jumièges archbishop of Canterbury. To meet the wishes of Godwin halfway, Spearhafoc, an Englishman, was appointed Robert's successor in the bishopric of London. When Robert returned from Rome, where he had received the pallium, he refused to consecrate Spearhafoc. Another Norman, William, was appointed by the king in the place of the Englishman. This situation, which was a blow to the power of Godwin, became explosive in the next few months.

Count Eustache of Boulogne visited King Edward and was attacked by the men of Dover, when his men misbehaved. Both parties accused each other of having violated the peace.³⁰ Edward ordered Godwin, perhaps on purpose because

Dover was within his earldom, to punish the town. Godwin refused to obey. This refusal brought him to open rebellion against his lord. The royal order may have been used as a pretext for a test of strength. The facts in the immediate past must have proved to Godwin that his position after the ecclesiastical appointments had become weaker than he could allow.³¹ To this should be added the strong dislike of Edward towards Godwin for the latter's suspected part in the murder of Edward's brother Alfred in 1037. After a display of force on both sides the feelings for law and order, or as B. Wilkinson calls it : " the beginning of constitutional feelings in England " ³²won, and Godwin saw himself deserted by his own followers. He had to flee to Flanders. Edward had triumphed for the moment. In the year 1052 the whole situation was reversed. Godwin and his sons invaded England from East to West. After a show of force, in which no actual fighting took place, the king and the Godwins were reconciled. Robert, and with him many of the Normans, fled to France. Robert's place was taken by the Englishman, Stigand, a friend of Godwin. During the banishment of the Godwins William of Normandy visited Edward, and it is possible that some form of promise for William's succession to the throne of England was then made.³² Edith, Edward's wife, was temporarily banished to a nunnery at Wherwell. She returned to Edward, when

Godwin came back to power, after an absence of less than a year.

B. Wilkinson calls these baffling events the triumph of the monarch and the nation over powerful and rebellious earls, and the triumph of the nation over the personal³⁴ vindictiveness of an angry and irresponsible monarch.

F.M. Stenton concludes that the crisis reduced the Nor-³⁵mans to political insignificance. Another possible solution for the surprising end of this crisis is that it was constantly in the mind of the earls that a civil war would inevitably bring an invasion by a foreign party. Minor evils were accepted to avoid the great major disaster: renewed foreign occupation.³⁶ Godwin's speedy return and welcome may have been caused by a rumour of an impending Danish or Norwegian invasion. Whatever the cause or the result of this crisis may have been, it made the position of Edward and England not easier. Stenton rightfully remarks that it was an encouragement for every lord, with whom the king was at variance. The apparent weakness of the English Navy, reduced in strength by Edward in 1051 when he abolished the heregeld, made an invasion of the country by a foreign party³⁷ very inviting.

In my opinion it cannot be held against Edward that under such circumstances great deeds were not performed by him. Historians have called Edward a mere puppet,

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and even an weakling. If this were so, how can it be explained that England under his rule was practically free from wars? If the expeditions against the Scots and Welsh are discounted one may state that there was constant peace in his reign. This is a great performance in a time when the nobles were constantly at each other's throats. Even if the praise has to go to his advisers, Godwin and Harold, it is still a credit to the King, who could follow or reject their advice. Too many rulers have become "great" to the detriment of those whom they ruled. F.M. Stenton confirms this opinion.

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Godwin died on April 15, 1053. His son Harold succeeded him. After the death of earl Siward in 1055 Tostig, Harold's brother, became earl of Northumbria. At first glance this seems to mean that Edward built a great bulwark against his own authority by strengthening the power of the Godwins. Tostig, however, was a close friend of King Edward and Edith, his sister. He stayed most of the time at the court of the king. In Harold Edward found a clever politician and a very able commander of the army, as the Welsh invasions ^{were to} ~~would~~ prove.

It appears that Edward had made at some time or other a vow to make a pilgrimage to Rome. This may have been done in imitation of King Cnut, who had gone to Rome twenty-five years before. It may have been because of his great devotion to St. Peter, as the Vita remarks.,

Edward was, however, kept in his kingdom, possibly by the threats of invasion, objections from his witan, or the danger of civil war if the earls were left too long on their own. Pope Leo IX granted the king to perform a good work instead of going to Rome on a pilgrimage. Such a change was often permitted if it appeared later that special circumstances made it impossible to carry out the original vow. Edward was ordered to build a new church in honour of St. Peter.⁴⁰ A great deal of the king's energy in the later years of his reign was directed towards the building of a new church at Westminster.

It seems that a second attempt was made in the years 1054-1057 to settle the succession in a satisfactory way. In 1054 the son of Edmund Ironside, Edward the Exile, had been invited to return from Hungary to England. Probably because of the wars ~~with~~ of the Empire against Hungary Edward the Exile had postponed his return till 1057. Shortly after his arrival in England he died without meeting the king. There is a strong suggestion that Harold prevented Edward from meeting the Confessor.

In the years 1062-1065 the war against the Welsh was fought ~~was~~ with considerable success. This was mainly due to the military genius of Harold, who followed "scorched - earth" tactics in the Welsh territories. ~~When~~ the Welsh were defeated the victorious Harold sent Edward the head of Griffith, the Welsh king, and the golden bow of the Welsh royal warship. The end of these wars saw also a serious decline of the central power. In 1065 the Northumbrian

Revolt broke out.

Edward had been favorably disposed to Tostig, perhaps because Tostig's character attracted him, perhaps because he was influenced by the queen, who regarded Tostig with the affection of an older sister.⁴² Tostig ruled his earldom by a thegn from the King's Court and with ideas of justice and order which did not suit the rougher nature of the Northern people too well.⁴³ Several reasons, one of them a heavy tax imposed on Northumbria by Tostig,⁴⁴ brought the dissatisfaction in the earldom to such a height that open rebellion broke out in the fall of 1065. The rebels chose Morkar, or Morkere, the brother of Earl Edwin of Mercia, to be their earl. They invaded the Midlands and advanced as far as Northampton, where they joined forces with Edwin of Mercia and a band of Welshmen. Edward tried to save Tostig's position. Harold, as chief-counsellor of the king, negotiated with the rebels in Oxford. The choice was civil war, with a great possibility of inviting an invasion by Harold Hardrada,⁴⁵ or appeasing the rebels by giving in to their demands: Morkar to be their earl and Tostig banished from the kingdom. Edward wanted to take strong measures. Harold was for appeasement, at least temporarily, and found the other earls on his side. The king had to give in.

The events of 1065 caused a serious weakening of the central power. They were probably not the result of a separatist movement in Northern England, but in their desire to get rid of Tostig, the rebels challenged the king's authority. Their success weakened the power of the crown and strengthened that of the earls.⁴⁶ I do not see why F.M. Stenton calls the revolt of 1065 a combination of strong provincial feelings with respect for the unity of England.⁴⁷ Maybe the author of the Vita gave the right reason for this revolt when he remarked that all these troubles were caused by the hate of a few nobles.

Edward died ten weeks after he had to surrender to the demands of the rebels. He had been ill since the end of the revolt. In December Edward was even too sick to attend the consecration of his great work, the Abbey and Church of Westminster. It seems that Edward, while he was dying, appointed Harold as his successor, the only possible choice at that moment.⁴⁸ The king died on January 5, 1066. On the day of his burial, the day after his death, Harold was crowned "with unseemly haste".⁴⁹ Stenton makes it clear that the political situation of England made the election and coronation of a competent king a matter of the utmost urgency.⁵⁰

If contemporary writers, such as the author of the Vita or Sulchard, did not mention Edward as a possible Saint of the Church, they recorded already a miraculous power in his person during his life and after his death.

It did not take long until Edward was considered a saint by the people, if not yet by the Church. Osbert of Clare, who wrote the first hagiography of Edward, considers him a saint half a century later. It is interesting to note that Normans and English kept for centuries a high regard for the Confessor.⁵¹ In 1161 Pope Alexander II, at the urging of King Henry II of England, issued a bull of canonization, by which Edward was raised to the honour of the altars. His feast day is the day before the battle of Hastings, October the thirteenth.

COLLECTED NOTES ON CHAPTER ONE

1. ASEngl, p. 418
2. Encomium, p. xliii.
3. See the genealogy of Edward and Emma.
4. ASEngl, p.420; NC, II, p.39; GR, p.214; for a different opinion see Encomium, p. xliii.
5. Encomium, p. xliii.
6. ASEngl, p. 402.
7. ASEngl, p.417; for a different opinion see NC, I, p.330, and Encomium, p. xlv.
8. ASEngl, p.417; NC, pp. 349 f.
9. Ibid.
10. Encomium, p. xlii.
11. NC, II, p.15.
12. ASEngl, p.418.
13. An explanation in detail is given on pages 115 ff.
14. ASEngl, pp. 417 f.
15. Ibid. p. 421.
16. Ibid. p. 419.
17. Ibid. pp.420. f.
18. NC,II, p.41.
19. NC, II, p.51; ASEngl, p.419; pp. 354. f.
20. See notes to the translation no. 13, 70, 85, 112, 141, 157.
21. NC,III,p. 9
22. NC, II, pp. 18 f.
23. ASEngl, p.419; Witenagemot, p. 54.
24. Mon. Order, pp. 71-74.
25. F.M. Stenton remarks that the Scandinavian element in Edward's Court was surprisingly strong.
ASEngl, p. 419.
26. Witenagemot, p. 5. T.J. Oleson considers here the various opposing forces kept in balance by the ancient legal and political concepts in England.
27. ASEngl, p. 419.
28. Ibid. p. 418.
29. B.Wilkinson in his two articles in the BJRL "Freeman and the Crisis of 1051" and " Northumbrian Separatism in 1065 and 1066" (1938 and 1939) considers the two main crises of Edward's reign.
30. E.A. Freeman discusses the affair of the men of Dover in NC, II, pp. 85-89.
31. BJRL, "Freeman and the Crisis of 1051" (1938) p. 22.
32. Ibid. p. 14.

33. ASEngl, p. 557
34. BJRL, "Freeman and the Crisis of 1051" (1938)
p.22.
35. ASEngl, p.560.
36. ASEngl, p.553; NC, II, pp. 195 ff.
37. ASEngl, p. 561.
38. T.J.Oleson, Transactions of the RSC, Vol. LIII,
(1959) "Edward the Confessor in History",
p. 32.
39. ASEngl, p. 418.
40. PL, Vol. 195, pp. 755 ff.
41. ASEngl, p. 563.
42. NC, pp. 252 ff. , II.
43. NC, II, p. 319.
44. ASEngl, p. 570.
45. NC, II, pp. 322 ff ; ASEngl, p. 571.
46. BJRL, B. Wilkinson, "The Northumbrian Separatism
in 1065 and 1066", (1939) p. 7.
47. ASEngl, p. 571.
48. Ibid. p. 572.
49. Witenagemot, p. 3.
50. ASEngl, p. 572.
51. NC, III, p. 25. Freeman is not ~~considered~~ a great
admirer of Edward and considers him weak.
For him Edward's greatest fault is his
love for Normandy. Freeman gives an interes-
ting survey of the legendary history of
Edward. NC, II, App. B.

CHAPTER II
A SHORT CONSIDERATION
OF THE GENUINENESS OF THE VITA

The origin of Manuscript 526 of the Harleian Collection is obscure. H.R. Luard edited the Ms for the first time in his Lives of Edward the Confessor in 1857 and states in his introduction that it must have been written towards the end of the twelfth century. The author is unknown but internal evidence indicates that it was written after the battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066 and before the death of Queen Edith Godwinsdaughter in 1074 or 1076. It has been copied by a careless and rather ignorant scribe.¹

More interesting than the history of the Ms is the history of its acceptance as an authentic work. H.R. Luard accepted it as "by far the most valuable from a historical point of view", and states that "the author lived in the times of which he wrote".² E.A. Freeman used the Ms frequently in his Norman Conquest of England and had no doubts about its value or its genuineness in 1873.³

Marc Bloch was the first historian who had not only doubts about the date of the work, but also stated that it was the work of a clever forger. He expressed this opinion in his review of the Life of Edward by Osbert of Clare in Analecta Bollandiana.⁴ In his article in The English Historical

Review R.W. Southern examines the statements of Marc Bloch, made in 1923, in an interesting account of the Vita. In his article "First Life of Edward the Confessor" Southern seriously doubts the conclusions of Marc Bloch and points out some of the latter's mistakes. He also suggests a possibility that Goscelin could have been the author of the Vita.⁵ In the same year, 1943, F.M. Stenton gives in his work Anglo-Saxon England as his opinion, that the Vita could not be used as a valuable source and authority on the reign of the Confessor.⁶ This is also the opinion of Prof. David Knowles in 1950.⁷ T.J. Oleson had some doubts about the Vita in 1955 without, however, committing himself. In 1959 he changed his opinion and seems to have more confidence in the Ms.⁸ The most enthusiastic defender of the value and genuineness of the Ms is Eleanor K. Heningham in her article in Speculum of 1946.⁹

It is impossible, and not within the scope of this thesis, to discuss the different arguments for and against the Vita. Marc Bloch bases his argument, that the work was written at the beginning of the twelfth century by a clever forger, on several facts taken from the text of the Vita. The most important of these facts are: the knowledge of the author of the prophecy of the green tree in the last part of the work; the author has knowledge of only four children of Godwin; the description of the cure of the scrofulous woman by the royal touch. Miss Heningham and R.W. Southern prove that the conclu-

clusions of Marc Bloch are based on misreading of the text, wrong interpretation, or unfamiliarity with facts until now unnoticed.¹⁰ Both writers come to the same conclusions: the Vita is not a forgery of someone who wrote thirty years later to please Matilda-Edith, the wife of King Henry I; the author lived in the time he described.¹¹ It is perhaps possible to add one more argument to Miss Heningham's convincing defense of the genuineness of the Vita.

Some historians have noticed that the Vita Aeduardi Regis is not so much a Life of Edward as a Life of the Godwins with Godwin, Edith, and Harold as the main persons.¹² Whenever Edward is described by the author, the description is very often in connection with the Godwins and serves as a means to further the praise and glory of this family. In my notes I shall discuss some indications in the Vita which may prove that it was composed long before the present work was written. In my opinion several facts point to the possibility that the Vita, as we know it from the Ms, is a composition of one or more works, written probably before Tostig's banishment in 1065, and changed later into a work in honour of King Edward.¹³ From the manner of the composition it seems that the author had originally intended to describe the greatness of the House of Godwin. Up to the Northum-

brian Revolt and even some times after the crowning of Harold, the author had every reason to exalt the Godwins. In half a century the formerly unknown Godwins had made great progress. While Godwin's father was probably an obscure thegn, his grandson was in 1066 King of England.¹⁴ Such a remarkable rise should have called for an eulogy. The battles of ~~Stan~~^{Stam}ford Bridge and Senlac changed this situation without any hope for a restoration of the fortunes of the House of Godwin in England. The first purpose of the author's work could no longer be of any use to him. It would even be dangerous under William the Conqueror. A " revised edition " would be necessary. It could be dedicated to Queen Edith, the only child of Godwin who had survived the events of 1066 in England. She was respected by conqueror and conquered alike.¹⁵ The author served the queen in a position the nature of which is unknown to us. A work, revised in a manner which would bring the Godwins together with Edward, would not be dangerous for the writer and please the person who was connected with both. If this actually happened it must have been done on short notice.

When we consider the composition of the present Ms we find the following outline:

Lines 1 - 94

Dialogue between the Muse and the Poet, in which the Poet promises to sing the praise of Edward. This he does in exactly fourteen lines. From then on he devotes almost double this number to Godwin and his

daughter Edith. The author does not leave in doubt that the praise of Edith will come first.

Lines 95 - 267

The prose story of the rise of Godwin. Edward is introduced, but only as the protégé of the Earl.

Lines 268 - 289

A short piece of poetry deals with the presents, given to Edward after his coronation. Godwin's present, the only one mentioned by name, is described in detail.

Lines 289 - ?

The contents of this part ^{are} ~~is~~ unknown. One or more leaves are missing in the Ms.

Lines 290 - 332

The author makes a comparison of Godwin's children with the four rivers of Paradise.

Lines 333 - 498

Edward is said to be under ~~foreing~~ ^{foreign} influence. Godwin is the hero who suffers under the slander of foreigners. Edward readily believes in this slander.

Lines 499 - 518

A poetical part gives a description of the evil, caused by slander, and of the ultimate victory of innocence.

Lines 519 - 616

Godwin acts unwillingly against Edward and proves to be the better person. The wisdom of ~~the~~ the Earl restores peace.

Lines 617 - 659

In a poetical part Godwin is compared to David, while Edward is compared to Saul. The comparison is not very flattering ~~too~~ Edward.

Lines 660 - 819

Harold succeeds his father after the latter's death; Tostig succeeds Earl Siward; Gyrth becomes earl of East-Anglia, An extensive description is given of the pilgrimage of Harold and Tostig to Rome.

Lines 820 - 875

This part contains poetry on the quarrel between Harold and Tostig. It is followed by a gloomy picture of England, suffering under the consequences of this quarrel.

Lines 876 - 1065

Character-sketches of the king and queen are followed by the great deeds of the Godwins in the Scotch and Welsh wars. Edward's peaceful pastimes: hunting and religious conversations, are described almost as a contrast. The churchbuilding of Edward is not planned and executed with the same forethought Edith showed in the building of her church at Wilton.

Lines 1066 - 1110

This is a poetical part which contains an epithalamium on the church of Edith instead of, as could be expected, on Edward's great church at Westminster.

Lines 1111 - 1244

A description of the Northumbrian Revolt follows. The Godwins are defended against possible accusations. Com-

pared with Harold, Edward displays a lack of statecraft.
Lines 1245 - 1358

This part contains poetry on the disasters of civil war, in which brother fights brother. From now on it is clear to the author that a work of praise for the Godwins can not succeed.

Lines 1359 - 1612

The last part of the work is totally devoted to Edward. The Godwins are for the first and last time in the background.

It will be clear from this outline that the Vita Aeduar-
^{Regis}
61 is not the Life of Edward. The use of similes ~~would~~
causes the author considerable trouble. In 1 - 94 and
239 - 245, King Edward is compared to Solomon after David's
wars; in lines 617- 659 he is compared to Saul in his
persecution of David. In lines 290 - 332 the children
of Godwin are compared to the four rivers flowing from
Paradise, bringing wealth and happiness to the country;
in ^{lines} ~~lines~~ 1 - 94 and 290 - 332 Godwin's children will be
the mainstays of the kingdom and the pledges of peace;
these comparisons are abruptly broken off; the author
continues with prophecies of doom, if ever the harmony
among the Godwins is broken.

The author did also not feel certain that the reader
would be able to follow his narrative. He often goes back,
especially in the first five hundred lines. To make the
story clear to the reader, the writer has to use such
words as: supradictus, supra meminimus, praedictus and

others. He feels that clarification is necessary for the reader to prevent him from becoming confused. In the case of Gyrth (line 733) the author becomes confused himself and states that he mentioned Gyrth before. This he never did. The only possibility is that it was done in the lost parts.

A more careful study of the Ms is necessary. It is clear after a superficial reading that the work was in its first conception not meant to be a Life of Edward but the Life of the Godwins. The novis ~~modis~~ of line 46 were needed to join the parts together, parts which could have been made before 1065. Perhaps the author left his first work unfinished, when it became clear to him that the House of Godwin would never have the glorious future the author ~~had~~ expected. The first ten lines may be a hint ~~of~~ this direction.

What could have caused the author to change his work so abruptly, if, that is, he did change it? As already mentioned above , there is a possibility that it was the sudden change in ^{Harold's} ~~the Godwins'~~ fortunes in 1066. The events ~~after~~ this year would make it unwise to sing the past glory of the enemy of the Conqueror. After 1066 there were very few of the Godwins left alive. All the important members of this House had fallen in battle. Only Queen Edith was yet alive. She enjoyed her status of ~~being~~ the king's widow without any interference, till ¹⁶ her death almost ten years after the Norman Invasion.

Edith had been the author's protector before. His work, as it appears in the present Ms, would certainly have her interest.

It is possible that the author did not belong to the ordained clergy. His biblical quotations are few in comparison with Osbert or with Aelred of Rievaulx. If we judge him by his confused and sometimes faulty classical similes, his knowledge of the classics could not have been very great. He may have been one of the clerks who had come over to England from Flanders or Lorraine, when King Cnut established more friendly relations with the Empire. Perhaps he became one of Edith's followers, when she was educated in the nunnery of Wilton. It is possible that after her marriage with Edward he became a member of the queen's household, in which he may have been a scribe or clerk. Whatever his position was, he must have had strong reasons to remain a favorite of the queen. The best way was a flattering account of her and her relations.

Miss Heningham showed in her article that the work is not a hagiography, as Southern calls it.¹⁷ There are in the Vita instances of excessive praise and there is also a tendency to romanticize.¹⁸ But, as Miss Heningham remarks, others more famous than this unknown author, wrote in the same manner without any serious consequences to their integrity. Excessive praise is under certain conditions natural in the human character. It is very much noticeable when one reads the obituaries in the newspapers. There are more instances in the Vita which indicate that the author was very human. In my opinion the Vita has acquired more value to the historian by

adding several clues to the sentiment of the period.

The theory of Marc Bloch maintains that a clever forger wrote this work in the beginning of the twelfth century to prove that Edward's deathbed prophecy had been fulfilled in Henry I and his wife Edith Matilda.¹⁹ One may ask: "What does this theory explain?" This theory asks too much when it ^{wishes} ~~wants~~ us to believe in a clever forger, who uses historical material to show that Edward's prophecy had come true, after the forger spent more than three quarters of his work in the glorification of a House whose members did not ~~live~~ ^{live} any longer in England.²⁰ For more than a generation the Godwins had been ~~Godwin~~ ^{Godwin} foreigners. The forger denied himself the very human satisfaction of explaining to the reader how the prophecy had come true. At the same time the forger ignored two most vital links in the prophecy: William and his successor.

A theory which maintains that the work was written in honour of Queen Edith after the defeat of Harold does not explain the fact that she plays only a minor part in the Vita.²¹ It does not explain the fact that the greater part of the Vita is devoted to the House of Godwin. It does not explain why the husband of Queen Edith appears sometimes in an unfavorable light. In my opinion, and R.W. Southern hints in his article in the EHR quite often at the possibility,²² the work was finished before the decisive battle of Hastings was fought or perhaps a short time later, when the consequences of this battle were not yet clear. A work on the House of Godwin would

be risky for the author if it were written after 1066. It would be safe, however, to revise it with Edward as the intended main person . This procedure would also serve the author's purpose: to draw attention to himself with a strong possibility of receiving the queen's favour.

It will perhaps never be possible to find a definite proof for my argument. The only merit it has, is that it explains more than any farfetched theory. It would explain the absence of William and the battle of Hastings. It would explain the last minute hint at the battle of Stamford Bridge, the composition of the Vita, and its strange similes. Later some additions may have been made, such as the hint of what will happen to England if the unity of the four Godwins is broken (line 324), or the miracles which happened at Edward's tomb (lines 1605 - 1612). A satisfactory explanation of the strange composition of the Vita has so far not been given.

COLLECTED NOTES ON CHAPTER II

1. Luard, p.xxxi.
2. Ibid.
3. NC, II, p. 1 n.
4. AB, XLI (1923) Marc Bloch, "La Vie de Saint Edouard par Osbert Clare", p. 19.
5. EHR, R.W. Southern, "First Life of Edward the Confessor", CCXXXII (1943), pp.385-400.
6. ASEngl, p. 686.
7. Mon. Order, p. 137
8. Witenagemot, p. 30 n. ; T.J.Oleson, "Edward the Confessor in History", Transactions of the RSC, LII, June 1959.
9. Speculum, (1946), E.K. Heningham, "The Genuineness of the Vita Aeduardi Regis", pp. 419-456.
10. Ibid. p. 420.
11. Ibid. p. 420; EHR, S.W.Southern, "First Life of Edward the Confessor", CCXXXII, (1943), p.395.
12. A. Freeman; R.W. Southern; E.K. Heningham.
13. Marc Bloch noticed that the real hero was not Edward (AB op. cit. p. 29); R.W.Southern remarks that far more attention is paid to the Godwins than to Edward, EHR , op. cit. p. 385.
14. NC, I, App. ZZ
15. NC, III, p. 398. Freeman considers Edith more Norman than English.
16. NC, III, p. 398.
17. EHR, op. cit. p. 397.
18. Ibid. p. 391.
19. AB, op. cit. pp. 17-44. For a short summary see: EHR, op. cit., pp. 386 f.
20. See genealogy of the House of Godwin.
21. Luard, p. xxxli.
22. EHR, op.cit., pp. 385-400.

CHAPTER III

THE LIFE OF KING EDWARD

WHO IS BURIED IN WESTMINSTER

(The numbers before the lines refer to the corresponding numbers of the Latin text in H.R.Luard's Lives of Edward the Confessor pp. 389-435).

The Poet

1. Oh Muse, rising in beauty and accompanied by thy nurslings,
set free the sleeping house from its long rest.¹ The sun,
which has parched the earth, has turned his horses, now
in milder mood, away from the burning Crab under the
5 western sky. Inflaming Scorpion, the generous sun has extended
night's darkness to long dreary days. The long rest
of my reed has robbed me of my quickness of mind. The wax,
turned old, regrets the writer's age. We weaklings, whom
trust in thee used to restore, need more thy help, when
10 things ~~have~~ fallen ~~any~~ down. Come, sister, rise up!

The Muse

I stand right at your door. Our guiding help keeps the
threshold. ~~Whether~~ sleep nor drowsiness is your company.
Truly, you, whom ill will of so many, raging beyond the
boundaries of any bond, is pressing with loud barking
15 all around; you, whose poverty, even while being free,
beats on both sides with constant blows. I wonder why
you sleep and scorn so many things which are pleasant to
you, when we provide you with our trusted help. Therefore
take up your writing block and pen, so long neglected, and
8

20 take down what I order you. Matters, kept for you and
 worth relating, deeds of the greatest men, have so far
 remained obscure. This matter I assign to you so that
 you will be the first to relate them. Whoever may
 try later will truly only be second. He will then
 25 tell it by your mouth, fulfilling the function of a
 deputy. Let your ears be open to this and all the rest
 will be related to you.³

The Poet

Indeed I have noticed long ago to what habit thou
 art attempting to bring me back, helpfully reminding
 me to be ready. Oh goddess, whatever be thy wishes,
 command him, who is ready to serve thee. If all this
 30 tend to the praises of my lady, to whom thou hast⁴
 vowed my service in such a special way, and whom
 thou hast reminded to consider more closely with
 greater affection what was happening to us. Her heart
 full of pity she looked down on me. With pity she gave
 me her hand to stand steady and ordered me thus to
 stand ~~steady~~ lest I undergo my wretched fate again.
 35 Our lady is true to her promise and does not know a
 falsehood. While she lives, we live, that is enough.
 She directed our steps when she brought us back from
 death. She, too, pressed in our fingers the pen we

we had cast away. We devote this pen now to her, our
 40 lady, to be thus famous through the ages. Whatever my
 pen tells, be it honour and praise for her. Teach then,
 oh Muse, what I must say. Under thy guidance I shall
 follow in the same spirit with the zeal of the student,
 as well as I can.

The Muse

Tell us to whom of our patron's servants does our tongue
 sound with more devoted praise? To her our music itself
 finds new ways of expression. The rhythm of lyre and
 45 jubilant zither are mixing tones together in one song
 of praise. Euterpe, Clio, and with them Polyhymnia,
 celebrate our queen, united with the world, singing
 her praise in a perpetual song. While you are living,
 you will keep up her praises with the greatest of
 50 merit, while we augment her favour by these means.

Now prophets are no longer and poets have stopped sing-
 ing. You will be first to sing the song of fame of
 King Edward. Now tell of England's King, fair in his
 appearance, goodly in body and nobleness of mind.

Sing how by his coming soon a golden age enlighten~~ed~~
 55 his English people; grief was overwhelmed ; how after
 David's wars a peace under the rule of Solomon hid
 our great groans in the river Lethe, and with her
 horn of overflowing abundance spread waves of wealth

~~in~~ in untold richness on its own King; how terror of
 60 the enemy and swelling anger stayed far away, while
 such a king, such a leader and protector lived, so
 that virtue's mirror, God's manifold grace shine to
 the world, when gray hair is graced by the glory of
 65 a snowwhite colour. You will describe, too, her, who
 on his throne of power sits there with him and flourished
 at his side. She was to you your hope and help together,
 while being his other half and the equal of upright-
 ness. She was in character greater and quick~~er~~ in good
 advice. Nothing on earth finds itself to them a peer.
 70 One person lived therefore in a twin body. Though your
 skill does not equal your affection you will record
 this in nobler writing, as it deserves. You will also
 describe her father Godwin, who is said to have given
 more power to earls, outstanding example pf devotion
 75 in faith. As the Elysian spring alone ~~re~~freshes the
 Earth with its waters, you will tell how the four rivers,
 derived from him, enrich the innermost of the country
 by their various offspring, and fostered at their own
 breast many happy events. This heavenly piety supports
 the realm of England , while under this earl four of
 80 his children were pledges that this would continue.
 Their renowned valour, both of heart and of mind, pro-
 tects the state by different resources. You will relate
 their uprightness in separate succession and give to

each one his own prominent place, which deeds of honour
 they have shown by their own special deeds. Alternating
 85 by a full song in a richer tone the deeds of the brothers.
 (or: the true deeds) bring a measure by the order of
 your work. So that your music is not hurt by a continuous
 course, bring every so often your songs from their straight
 road, so that the weary page may be revived by variety in
 90 the story, and the order of events may be open and clearer.

The Poet

Nothing is dearer to me than to sing the praise of those
 who help and comfort me, my lady above all. Let us make
 ready but in nobler style, and I shall make my journey
 in the path of the prose, as you advice.

95 The Lord's rod of justice had removed all that had
 displeased Him in the people by oppression under the
 Danes and had given the Kingdom to King Cnut after various
 happenings in the wars. Among the new nobles of the con-
 quered country, who were summoned to the side of King
 Cnut, was Godwin, whom we have already mentioned before.
 Very cautious in his advice as well as very zealous in
 100 military matters, he had been approved by the king him-
 self. By the regularity of his conduct Godwin was very
 dear to all persons, as well as to the king himself. He
 was unequalled in his capacity of doing work constantly,

and because of his ready friendliness and gay manners he was beloved by all. When certain matters in his own kingdom, and the settling of some strife there, called the king back to Denmark - when the king was absent
105 some had rebelled against him and, unrestrained, had prepared to shake his power off their neck - Godwin stuck unwaveringly as a vassal to his king through the whole journey. His prudence, his constant work, his bravery in war, the vigour of such a great noble were so well known to the king, as well as his wisdom in speech, that
110 King Cnut had decided by himself that, if he could attach him more closely to his person by whatever fitting office, Godwin would be a great asset to the governing of the recently acquired land of the English. When Godwin had been tried out in this way for some time, King Cnut accepted him in his secret councils and gave him his sister in marriage. When Godwin returned to England, and
115 had ruled in a most beneficial way over almost the whole country, the king made him an earl and his tutor. After he had obtained the highest place by such a great honour Godwin did not become proud, but gave himself, as much as he could, like a father to all citizens. He did not lose the mildness, which he had acquired since his boy-
120 hood. Indeed, he had, as if implanted by nature, always the same careful attention towards his subjects, as well as among his equals. From whatever place deeds of injustice

right and the unready law would be restored in him.
 For all this Godwin was not considered a master, but
 all the citizens of the land cherished him as a father,
 125 To such a man then were sons and daughters born, not
 degenerated, but distinguished by the same virtue as
 their parents. While bringing these children up he
 acted with the same zeal and by the same virtues , by
 which means he likewise prepared a safeguard and a
 help for the future rule of the country. And because
 our intention is directed on this, that the upright-
 130 ness of those, whom we have mentioned before, will
 not be hidden to all who will live later, we will
 by means of our story keep, what has to be told, in its
 proper place, and we will describe all that, which
 should in the first place not be omitted, in its right
 order and in an explanatory and compact manner.

While King Cnut , whom we mentioned before, ruled as
 135 king over England, Godwin became famous in the king's
 court among the highest nobles in the land. Acting
 with the same wise conduct he stood always firm. What
 he had written, stayed written. What he undid, every-
 body knew should have been undone. His power waxed
 mightily under the protection of the king till He, whp
 gives power as He wills, cut off the king and his whole
 140 progeny. I said, He cut them off, because the Lord had
 kept in his seed him whom He promised the scourge of

7
 England. Like a father, who, after having punished his
 children, is again appeased, gives them affectionately
 all the gifts he had taken away before and caressing
 them shows himself to those who had turned to him with
 their prayers, so the goodness of our Lord saved the
 145 English after the heavy burden of His punishment. For
 He showed them the flower, kept from the old stock
 of the former kings, so that they would wish him back
 for the kingdom, and for their own good. He restored
 also their strength and revived their spirits. But this
 was not given to them all of a sudden or by an uncertain
 event. The great goodness of the Lord was shown in
 150 clear prophecies, so that all were expecting him. Was
 it not said in the prophet's word in this manner:" Before
 I had formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before
 thou camest out of the womb I sanctified thee".⁸ Without
 doubt such a prophecy was also given in this case.

When the royal spouse of old King Aethelred was preg-
 155 nant the whole country swore that they would see in the
 child their lord and master and the king, who would
 reign over the whole land of the English if a male child
 would come out of this pregnancy.⁹ The voice and will of
 God agreed with the wish of the people because He had
 waited to do more glorious deeds in time of blessing even
 if He punished them in other times of adversity. When
 160 the boy was born he would show himself worthy to be the
 blessing of his country. When he would be raised to the

throne of his father's dominions he would still the
 whirlwinds of the preceding storm by the serenity of
 his rule. After he had held the land in peace, all the
 horrible desolation and the results of the invasion
 165 would fade from memory. When the Danish invasions broke
 loose over the country, the boy was taken to his relations
 in France, so that he would spend his years of child-
 hood with them.¹⁰ It was also done that he might not be
 swept away by the waves of such a destruction, and that
 a boy, so long expected by his English people, might
 not perish in that time. When these days of sorrow and
 170 weeping had passed away and by the grace of God the
 days of mercy, so long and eagerly expected, had arrived,
 it was fulfilled what was destined in God's pity: "He
 will regard the prayer of the destitute, and not despise
 their prayer. This shall be written for the generation
 to come: and the people which shall be created shall
 " 11
 175 praise the Lord. While this weeping was done among
 the people of England over the destruction of their
 land and throne, ~~Burthwold~~, beloved by God, of holy
 memory, bishop of Wilton, wept also over his people.¹²
 He wept, I say, and in this way sought to win ~~from~~
 180 God's pity and mercy on such unhappy people. Watching
 and fasting at night he did penance at that time in the
 monastery of Glastonbury, and, worn out by this long
 penance, the man of God fell into a deep sleep. In his
 sleep he saw among the Holy of Holies St. Peter, the

first among the Apostles. This Apostle consecrated a well-formed man king. He dedicated this man to a chaste life and determined the years of his reign to an exact length of time. When, however, this man wanted to know who would rule after him, St. Peter answered him: "The rule over the English belongs to God. After you He has provided a king according to His own wishes".¹³

190 While then the clemency of God, freely given, came to the country and the rejoicing over their delivery from foreign rule returned to the long suffering English, Earl Godwin, whom we mentioned before, insisted most strongly that the people should take back their own king to the throne, which belonged to him by birthright. Because Godwin was considered by all as a father they
195 listened to his fatherly advice. With great festivities and rejoicing of all the people, earls and bishops were sent to fetch the king. They brought him back successfully and the king was received with eagerness by all his people. Raised on the royal throne, he was consecrated the anointed of God in the church of Christ in Canterbury. Everywhere he was welcomed and acknowledged by
200 faithful promises of obedience, as well as by promises of faithful service.¹⁴ He was praised by all, because a firm rule had come back in the homeland, and in this change of fortune all offered their solemn thanks to the Highest King. Not only the people of England, to whom this grace of heaven had been given, rejoiced but also the neighbouring lands in all Gaul were happy with

205 them. The leaders of these parts were pleased by such
 good news and hurried to send their envoys with friendly
 messages, to request friendship and peace from such
 a great king.¹⁵ First of all, Henry himself, the Emperor
 of the Romans, who had married the sister of this same
 210 King Edward by the name of Gunhild, rejoiced, when he
 learned that Edward had been placed on his father's
 throne.¹⁶ He sent his envoys to pledge mutual friend-
 ship and gave presents which displayed his imperial
 generosity, befitting such a great lord of the world.
 At the same time he gave and sought peace and friend-
 215 ship for himself and his subjects. The King of France,
 also named Henry and related by close kinship to this
 King of the English, and who rejoiced greatly at the
 same news, made a treaty with Edward through his envoys,
 as was wished by friends of both sides.¹⁷ Even the King
 220 of the Danes, notwithstanding the fact that he was
 separated by the great distance, which the waves of
 the Ocean put between them, sent his envoys, who arrived
 after a long and tiring journey over land and sea and
 asked for his friendship and peace.¹⁸ He took Edward for
 his father and put himself and his son in all matters
 under Edward's authority. Ordered by the King of England
 to give his promise to keep the peace, he swore this
 225 under oath and confirmed it by giving hostages. The
 other followers of these kings, all of the very powerful
 earls and highranking leaders, approached him by means of

their messengers, and asked him to be a friend and master to themselves and their subjects, and promised him their faithfulness and their subjection. Royal gifts were sent
 230 by the king himself to each one to show the eminence of his state and title. Such gifts, the number of which was never equalled by any king or high-ranking noble, were sent to the leading nobility of France by the most outstanding and most noble of all kings, Edward of England; and this was done sometimes yearly, sometimes without
 19
 interruption.

235 Since he was given by God's Providence in the beginning of his reign such great wisdom and grace, that while the whole land of Britain rested in peaceful quietness, and was also at peace with the extreme islands of the neighbouring kingdoms, it seemed as if in this king was renewed that great gift of God's favour, which after the warlike rule of David, had curbed the terror of
 240 battles, and had given to the son of David, Solomon, who succeeded him, a reign of glory and peace. After all warlike movements had been thoroughly extinguished, he would, because of this, live in quietness, rule his people with benignity, and surpass in great measure all the other kings of the earth by his wealth and by his
 20
 245 fame in the whole world. Let us not forget his appearance and character. He was a very becoming person. His height was not too obvious. His hair and beard were prominent by their milk-white colour. His face was full and pink of skin. His hands were slim and snow-white with long

250 and transparent fingers . The rest of his body was
 without blemish. He was a man of royal appearance .
 With a constant seriousness he was pleasant in cha-
 racter . While his looks were humble, he met every-
 body with agreeable courtesy. If, however, something
 aroused him, he would appear with a lion-like wrath,
 21
 255 but would never show his anger by swearing. When
 different people would ask him favours, he would
 give pleasantly and refuse in the same way, and he
 would refuse in such manner that the benevolent
 refusal would look like a gift, freely given. In
 public assemblies he would really act as king and
 master but in private life he would deal with his
 people as if he were a companion, still preservings
 however, the majesty of a king. He impressed on his
 22
 bishops the worthiness of the service of God, and
 260 on his men the worthiness of the secrets of the law.
 He would admonish them to act according to the wo_rthi-
 ness of this service, ordering the judges of the court
 and the councillors of the counseil that they should
 settle all cases in a just way so that honesty would
 have the royal protection, and evil, wherever it would
 265 break out, would have his equal condemnation. While
 unfit laws were rooted out and just laws were insti-
 tuted by wise counsel he made the whole land of Britain
 a happy country, which a pious king ruled by the grace
 23
 of God and by right of his birth.

The world expresses now its appreciation by bursting

by bursting forth in praises. Let your music resound
 270 with me its joy over all events. What glowing light
 from heaven has now begun to shine for the English
 in their new king, and has removed the sadness from
 their hearts. With what a joy also have the jubilant
 nobles celebrated these gatherings, while they were
 eagerly bringing their presents, acknowledged their
 275 king and their great protector! Indeed they gave much,
 but truly the great qualities of Earl Godwin excel-
 led all in the following gift: He gave a great ship
 with the structure of its sides such that it was long
 drawn to each of its points. It lay in a bay of the
 280 Thames. Its wide sides provided for numerous seats.
 Midships the top of the mast looked down. It gave room
 for two hundred warriors ready for attack standing
 by tens. A golden lion protruded from its stern.
 A golden dragon with a winged body struck terror over
 the seas, extending upwards out of the prow, and
 285 spat a flame with a three-forked tongue out of its
 mouth. A noble purple adorned the suspended sail, on
 which were painted the various deeds of the fathers,
 and taught many things, the wars of noble kings,
 which they fought over the wide stretches of a tur-
 bulent sea. With wide extended wings, glowing with
 gold, a mast, heavy with sail, kept up the strength
 of its flight.



A And to that matter which we are now relating and
 290 to those which we are narrating in this story..

.....

This earl, happy in his offspring and blessed
 in his ancient descent, gave pledges of peace to
 England by means of his four children.²⁹ First came
 that jewel, that lover of different virtues, in
 295 the midst of his reign: Edith, a daughter worthy
 of such ^{an} great earl, her father, and also worthy
 of her royal husband, she, by whose wise counsel
 peace kept firm everywhere during his reign and for
 whose sake people were careful that the pledge of
 peace was not broken. Oh Paradise! Thus ~~you~~ bring
 300 forth in four streams from your fountain by hidden
 signs sufficient water for the whole world so that
 they favour the conditions of life for animals and
 man. The children, brought to life together from her
 womb, are praising her strongly after a different
 birth of a varying sort in body, voice, place,
 305 and size, in time and in movement. One part goes
 up in the sky by remaining in the higher spheres
 and keep the hope of its kind warm in a nest, built
 in a high tree. The other part, as a hostile devourer,
 goes swimming for deep parts bringing injuries of
 their own sort. It hangs by its mouth holding the
 310 parental body, while after some time the life -
 bringing breath of life creates a new being from
 a non-animated mother.³⁰ Being freed it applies

itself from then on to its plundering. What heavenly
 order has made such a blessed world that these rivers
 lead their course in such a way that each serves its
 purpose and in such ~~a~~ manner this arrangement serves
 315 the Earth itself by fertility. The glowing lilies will
 smile in the middle of the fields. The caperbush will
 glow with golden-haired filaments in reddish shine
 on the plains. The Spring will decorate in like man-
 ner the meadows with ligusters in a purple hue. Lofty
 oaktrees will look down in the piercing light on
 320 widely stretched fields and underlying grounds, while
 bees feed in swarms, flying over hills and fields
 overflowing with honey. Thanks to your work, oh ant,
 you will be afraid in your house, but you will be
 free of care^{hot}. But what if hostile envy will break up
 31
 this peace, when whirlwinds will have shaken all.
 325 Oh what a ruin will then follow. The unhappy Earth
 will again have its former Chaos. Broken from their
 roots high cypresses will be torn down. The towering
 pines will crash with their tops broken. The lofty
 cedar will fall, while everywhere its branches will
 330 droop. Whatever precious thing it had favoured in a
 particular fold, this madness will pile up what has
 been taken violently through hostile towns as gifts
 for countries which are even more completely unpleasant.
 32

* A liguster is an European evergreen.

The order of this story has by necessity required to
 335 find out certain facts which happened before, so that
 the contents of what happened afterwards will not deviate
 from the required truth.³³ When King Edward, of holy memo-
 ry, whom we mentioned before, came back to his country
 from France, many people from the same country, men
 of not ignoble descent,³⁴ followed him. The king, seeing
 340 that he had control of the government, kept them with
 him and enriched them by very many honours. He made
 them regular members of the secret council and masters
 of all matters in the royal palace. Among them happened
 to be a certain abbot, by name of Rodbertus, who had
 been head of the monastery of Jumièges at the other
 side³⁵ of the sea. This man above all others, they said,
 assisted the king in his secret council. By his advice
 345 very many worthy, but also unworthy things happened
 in the kingdom, as the world is under different circum-
 stances. When the bishop of London departed, he succeeded
 by the king's favour to the throne of this bishop,³⁶ and,
 having obtained the power of this great advancement, he
 plunged himself deeper than necessary in the administration
 350 of a series of royal counsels and acts. Indeed, he went
 even so far as it is written: Evil communications corrupt
 good manners.³⁶ By continuous conversations with this
 bishop the king began to disregard more useful counsels.

355 From this followed, as it is usually the case, that the
 guilt of a stranger offends more nobles of a kingdom.
 From such causes his government began slowly to be dis-
 turbed because, when the former possessor of a position
 had died, some wanted to have the vacant seat of honour
 for their own people while others tried to get it for
 strangers. While the court was thus agitated by this
 360 fury, Eadsig, the archbishop of Canterbury, died.³⁷ In the same
 church of Christ, however, a certain monk had grown up ,
 Aelric by name , who had been brought up from early child-
 hood in the monastic discipline, and was related to the
 family of the above mentioned Godwin. He was, a man of
 diligence in the matters of his age, gifted ~~with~~ with
 365 very great wisdom in temporal administration, and also
 not less beloved by his religious community. The sons
 of the whole church, as well as the monks of his monas-
 tery, requested that he would be appointed archbishop, and
 they elected him by common goodwill and claim of election
 to be placed over them. They sent their request also to
 370 the above mentioned Godwin, who, by royal favour, ruled
 in their part of the kingdom. They reminded him that
 the elected was of his own kin and asked him to approach
 the king out of affection for his kinsman. They asked
 him, too, that the king would confirm the election as
 archbishop of him who had been brought up in the, same
 church and whom they had elected according to the

375 canonical rules. The famous earl promised to do this
 faithfully as far as it was within his power. He ap-
 proached the king and made him acquainted with the
 request ~~and~~ ³⁸ the election at the ecclesiastical
 chapter. But because the pious king was, as we have
 mentioned ~~before~~ already, more inclined to listen to
 the other side, the same earl was frustrated in the
 380 undertaking of this request. Rodbertus moved to the
 church of Canterbury after he had relinquished his
 see in London, and became archbishop by the bene-
 volence of the king while the children of the whole
 church protested against the injury done to all their
 efforts.

His wish at last fulfilled, this same archbishop
 now began, after he had obtained the dignity of this
 385 very great honour, to annoy and oppose the earl with
 all his power and might. Because he stood in such a
 high place with the king, by virtue of the respect
 the king had for this highest of offices, and by his
 position as confidential adviser, he attacked the
 earl by means of his repeated advice to the king. ³⁹
 Meanwhile he made it difficult for him, who was ex-
 posed by his prosperity, by means of several inju-
 ries. It happened to add towards the storing up of
 390 feelings of hate in the bishop towards a just cause,
 that certain lands of the earl were close to certain

lands which belonged to Christchurch. The quarrels between them were numerous, because the bishop claimed that the earl had invaded the lands of the archbishop and held them to the injury of the bishop in his right

395 of possession.⁴⁰ The active earl, however, withstood this heedlessly furious bishop in a peaceful manner for the sake of the king's honour, as well as because of an inborn habit of people that they do nothing in a hurry or with ease, but by experience they expect that after consideration most things which are noticed to be speeding ahead, will by themselves either dissolve

400 or disappear.⁴¹ The injuries done to the earl, however, inflamed some of his people so seriously, that even his orders could not prevent them inflicting, time and again, serious damage on the bishop. When the bishop found out, as far as he was concerned, it did not make him quiet, but added madness ~~to~~ madness ,

405 and by all efforts he turned the mind of the king against the earl and persuaded the king to believe that by guile the earl tried to fall upon the king, as once he had done upon the king's brother.⁴² This has not been stated yet because the story did not give an opportunity for this. King Edward had a brother

410 by name of Alfred.⁴³ After the death of King Cnut, the stepfather of both brothers, Alfred had invaded England with very few French warriors in an imprudent way. A certain Harold, one of Cnut's sons, not from the

same mother, as it is said, had succeeded him on the throne, while the Danes were still holding England in those days, and held it subjugated. He was a man, as they say, of immoderate character and of no good habits.

415 Trying to obtain the throne of his father, Alfred acted incautiously and, they say, was taken prisoner by the order of the above mentioned king and tortured to death. His companions were disarmed by guile. Some of them were put to death and the rest of them were given as

420 slaves to the victors. Rodbertus, the archbishop, had, as we told already, mentioned to the king that the crime of his brother's murder and the whole disaster of his companions, had been committed on the advice of this same celebrated earl, because at that time, as we have mentioned already, the earl was the chief-councillor in the royal council. The archbishop per-

425 suaded the king, as much as he could, that the earl intended to cause in the same manner the downfall of King Edward, his son-in-law. By continuous persuasion he got so far that the king believed this to be more than likely.

430 While the king was unduly disturbed by these events, all the ruling nobles from all over England and all the earls came together in the royal palace at Gloucester.⁴⁴ Wherever he complained of these events, the accusation of such a great crime against the innocent earl was

carried further and further. When the earl received
 information about these facts from certain faithful
 friends, he requested the king's peace, after he had
 sent messengers, and offered in vain to clear himself
 435 of the crime brought against him, according to the
 law. The king had already made up his mind considering
 his belief in this crime to such a degree that he would
 not listen to one or other proposition of purgation.
 There had come also to the meeting Siward, the earl of
 Northumbria, in the Danish language named Digara, which
 440 means strong.⁴⁵ There was also Earl Leofric, a certainly
 very distinguished man and very devoted to God. There
 was also Alfgar, the son of the same earl Leofric.
 While all of them struggled unnecessarily to bring this
 horrible accusation before the court, the royal court
 445 was transferred from the palace to London. The earl,
 who was innocent, and felt secure in his own conscience
 to be free of such great ^a crime, came from the oppo-
 site side with his people and established himself out-
 side the city on the river Thames on the side of his
 own hall. From there he sent envoys again and requested
 that the king should start a preliminary examination
 450 of his innocence, and proposed that he would be prepared
 in every way to give satisfaction to the king under the
 law and beyond the law at the pleasure of the king's
 will. Stigand, who was in those days bishop of Win-
 chester and later archbishop of Canterbury, worked for
 this cause.⁴⁶ He was mediating between both parties. The
 day of judgement was delayed so that the king could make

⁴⁷
 455 use of the advice of his men. Meanwhile archbishop
 Rodbertus worked hard in a hostile way against the
 interest of the earl. At long last, as the result of
 this work, the following decision against the earl
 was given by the king in this impossible question ,
 with which they dealt: He can only hope for peace
 from the king when his brother and all his companions
 460 are restored alive to the king, and restored also
 in the same condition those goods which have been
 taken away from them, while they were alive, or after
 they were killed . When the earl saw that his cause
 was forced by the actions of his enemies in a for him
 465 impossible situation, he pushed the table over, which
 stood near, while bishop Stigand , who was the bringer
 of this announcement, wept over ⁴⁸ much. When they had
 climbed on horseback, he took quickly the road towards
 Bosham. ⁴⁹ After his ship had been made ready he was
 forced to go in exile, while he faithfully and with
 tears in his eyes entreated ~~the world~~ that he would
 direct the king's life and course on the sea and in
 470 his exile in such manner just as he had been faith-
 ful to his lord King Edward and had stood free from
 all that, from where the reason for such great hatred
 had come. ⁵⁰

After he had pleaded in this manner his innocence,
 while all with him wept, he arrived with his wife,
⁵¹
 his children, and all that they could carry, while
 helped by a wind from the right direction, there,
 where he wanted to go, that is to say, at an old

475 friend of the English people, Count Baldwin⁵². But even
 then the archbishop did not want to stop and his madness
 still prevailed. With as many armed men, as he could find,
 they went out from the royal palace to follow the earl
 during the whole night, so that they could lay hands on
 him, if he could be taken within the limits of the king-
 480 dom.⁵³ God's grace prevented this, and it inflamed this
 bishop to still greater madness. With the purpose that
 none of the earl's family should be left at the king's
 side he directed all his plans towards procuring the
 management of all matters of the country, so that even
 the queen, the daughter of the earl, would be separated
 from the king, something against the law of the Chris-
 485 tian religion.⁵⁴ It is true that the king did not oppose
 this plan but he set a limit to the matter of separation
 by giving his queen the honorable consideration, that
 she should wait in the monastery (nunnery) of Wilton,
 where she had been brought up, till all these great
 troubles in the kingdom had subsided.⁵⁵ With royal honours
 490 and with a great retinue, but also sad of mind, the
 queen was brought to the walls of this convent, where
 she waited for the day of delivery from her troubles,
 for the most part of the year in prayers and in tears.
 This sad event affected the feelings of all who lived
 in the palace more profoundly, and it hurt even more
 495 than the departure of the earl. And no wonder! She was,
 if we may call it so, a moderating influence in all

royal councils and the originator of all honorable measures because she preferred all that which was good for the king, far above praise and all forms of wealth.

500 Sing, sister Muse, a sad song about all this: how this man of God, who was called before the clear fountain of Paradise and was well-known for his faithful heart, was now disturbed by the filth of Scylla's poison. While ~~not~~ guilt of crime had preceded such a great offense, why then did the burden remain with

505 him? Punishment, which they do not ~~deserve~~, for guilt, oppresses many people. Hence it proves more clearly worthy of merit, who have repulsed this terror. The more faithful somebody is proved to be, the more he is marked to bear greater burdens. Do you read of Susanna, full of merit of life, who was led away to be stoned, when she refused, because of her pure mind, to commit

510 the sin demanded of her? Or do you not omit the boy of the Hebrews who was afraid to sin and, relying on heavenly duty, suffered and bore the burden of sin?⁵⁶

515 Our Lord Himself, born of a true virgin, came down to us without any sin. Even so, He withdrew not from punishment of this world, but suffered more. As full is this modern world of them as their ancient day.⁵⁷

A thousand examples can often be given.

The famous earl Godwin was then received with great
 520 honour by Count Baldwin himself⁵⁸, ~~be~~ it by right of an
 old agreement or for reason of a bond established by
 many services given by the same earl. These things^{had} happened⁵⁹
 during the wedding of his son Tostig, when he had
 chosen Judith as wife, a niece of that famous King Edward
 525 and a sister of the above mentioned Baldwin. By these
 facts it happened that, undeservedly, after the cup of
 joy he also had to drink the cup of grief. Then his sons,
 Harold and Leofric,⁶⁰ crossed the sea to Ireland, so that
 they could avenge the injury done to their father, after
 they had brought a military host from there. This uproar
 530 in the land of England happened around the Calends of
 October, and they were given winterquarters by Count
 Baldwin in Flanders while the others were given the same
 by King Diarmid in Ireland. Because he was, as we stated
 already, regarded by the whole country as a father, the
 rumour of his flight alarmed suddenly the heart of the
 535 people. They considered his absence, or his flight, a
 disaster for themselves, the ruin of the English people,
 and, above all, the downfall of the whole country. That
 is why whoever could go into exile after him considered
 himself lucky. Some went after him, some sent messengers
 to say that they were ready, if he wanted to return, to
 540 have him back in the country, even if it had to be by
 force, to fight for him, and, if need be, they were wil-
 ling to die for him as well. And all this did not happen

in secret or privately, but openly and in public, not
 only by a few people but almost by all the native people
 61
 545 of the country . Even while the whole country longed for
 him, this man was so remarkable in faith and noble in
 character, while he was stricken with such a disgrace,
 that he still attempted to obtain peace and pity from
 his master the king, and asked that it would be permit-
 ted to him to come before the presence of the king
 by the king's grace, and free himself from the accusa-
 tions against him according to law. The King of France
 also tried to obtain this for love of Godwin after
 550 sending his envoys from his palace. The same Count of
 Flanders, with whom he spent the winter, tried to
 62
 persuade the king . But they all suggested this without
 any effect. The malice of the evil ones closed the ears
 of the pious king.

555 When the vigorous earl saw that he was falsely attacked,
 and that the group of evildoers did not give him access
 to any law for his defense, he remembered his old valour
 and all his work of his youthful years. When it was
 almost midsummer, he prepared a great fleet in the river
 63
 560 Yzer , took to the sea, and, with a favorable wind
 blowing from the East, he landed in a harbour on the
 64
 English coast. All the English from East and South-
 England, who could do so, ran to meet the fleet. I say
 they ran, all of them, as sons will do to meet their
 long-expected father. At the same time his two above

565 mentioned sons, aroused by this news, came from Ireland
 with a great naval force. They laid all the land waste
 by sword, plunder, and fire ⁶⁵ from the borders of the
 West-Britons and English to the place where the earl
 570 had landed. There was great joy between father and
 brothers to see each other back again, and to boast
 over work, done by each of them, and the dangers they
 had gone through. The sea was covered with ships and
 the sky was lit up by the glitter of their arms. After
 the soldiers were strengthened in their purpose by
 mutual encouragement, they sailed along the coast of
 575 Kent and, as they say, entered the mouth of the river
 Thames with a long line of ships.

When the king heard of the news of this violent inva-
 sion of his kingdom, done without his consent, he came
 to London with as big a military force as he could
 gather even if he could not believe those who brought
 the news. He tried to prevent the taking of the town
 580 to which Godwin moved as he was in a vigorous mood of
 very resolute activity. But the whole city came to meet
 the earl to help and defend him, and when he arrived,
 the people acclaimed him eagerly as in one voice. ⁶⁶
 Because this sentiment furnished the earl with greater
 585 strength, many of his people encouraged him to attack
 even the king. The faithful earl, devoted to God, shrank
 from this as could be noticed from his words and his

orders. He said, "While I have today in my heart the proof of faithfulness I would actually prefer death,
 590 rather than to perform or to have performed an unseemly or evil deed, or that, while I am alive, I would permit that such a deed would be done against my lord and king".⁶⁷
 While all were strongly moved by such a noble gesture he fell on his knees at the sight of the king, after
 595 first laying down his arms, and entreated him humbly in the name of Christ, whose image he carried on the crown of the kingdom on his head, to allow him to clear himself of the crime of which he was accused, and after being cleared, to be given the peace of the king's grace. The king's hand was thus forced by pity and by the earl's apology. The earl was also stronger in arms, as he certainly saw for himself, if the earl wanted to use them. This was especially evident because
 600 the king was deserted by the flight of the archbishop and many of his own men, who were afraid of the sight of the earl.⁶⁸ These men were clearly the cause of this violent commotion. The king was also overcome by the prayers of those who, while humbly kneeling down, entreated him to consent. He went down to his palace, together with the earl, after his arms had been handed back
 605 to the latter. There, a little while later, when his emotions had calmed down and he had taken counsel with his advisers, he offered

a kiss to the earl, and forgave him all his offences.⁶⁹
 He granted him, as well as his children, his royal favour⁷⁰
 fully. Later, when some time had passed, they sent an
 escort to the monastery of Wilton with equally royal
 610 splendour, as was befitting, and the queen, the daughter
 of this earl, was brought back to the royal bedroom,⁷⁰
 She came back as the clarity of the sky is brought
 back after clouds, dense with rain and storm, have fled
 away, or as when the gay brightness of the sun returns.
 In the same way it happened after the kingdom was
 cleared from all this commotion. After such a great
 danger was avoided without any bloodshed by the wisdom⁷¹
 615 of the earl, a great feast was celebrated by the
 inhabitants of the palace, as well as by the whole
 country.

Oh Muse, make also melodious melodies in flowing verse,
 you, who art happy so long with me over so great an
 agreement in matters. David, the strong, was so, when
 620 he knew how to save his king Saul. Whenever that spirit
 of evil, sent by God, took hold of the king, it with-
 drew, when the zither was played.⁷² What work of love
 serves the skillful player! Awful distress flees,
 when the lyre is played. From then on the royal son-in-
 law has conquered the wars in a strong manner, gathering
 625 the foreskins of people as a reward for his bedroom.⁷³

Chosen in the ancient halls of kings, he stands forth conspicuous, bearing military honours second only to the king. For whom honour has accumulated, for him has also accumulated envy in equal strength. As a result of the worthiness of David came one after ~~the~~ another the plots of King Saul, which the experienced warrior evades, more prepared to flee, so that the trouble will solve ~~itself~~ ⁷⁴ in his favour. And therefore David remains in obscurity, hidden, while he fears Saul's plots. Envy devises still more often the same plots against him who had fled away. God, however, is defending his David faithfully, and delivers the king into his hands. David is devoted to the king with such goodwill that he decides to spare God's anointed. While thousands of armed men are placed over suspected places, Saul looks for David, whom a rock holds in its hollow chamber. Saul's bowels start to move and he enters for this reason alone into this cavern without knowing that he, whom he prepares to kill, is hiding there.

640 "This is the day", said David's companions, "when it is given to you, if you wish, to take your revenge on this enemy, who has been raging against you for so long. Do not delay to kill him. Pull out your sword. If you do not want to do it, we are certainly willing." "God does not want ~~it~~, said David," that our right hand should destroy God's anointed. Stand away from him, I command you, and desist quickly of your plan.

645 We do not capture him, but the Judge above us is
 testing us. Therefore I shall be proved more devoted
 to the anointed. Let him race to his death by his own
 hands, or by the hands of the enemy. May the right
 hand of Him, who makes the thunder, preserve us without
 being guilty.["] When he had said this, he cut privily
 650 the skirt of Saul's robe.⁷⁵ David, who was safer now,
 cried after him, who went out, and told ^{Saul} ~~him~~ that he
 had had the opportunity to kill him. In the same
 manner David travelled through widely scattered
 camps. When later the king rested in a deep slumber,
 Abysai, who was then alone in the company of David,
 655 prepared to slay Saul, when he was master of the
 king's life. But David was disturbed in the same man-
 ner and taught the reverence of faith so that Saul
 would not perish under his hand, whom the oil of the
 sacred chrism had made a sacred person. See how David,
 so strong in hand, shrank back from the temptat^tion
 to kill his king and continued to display the same
 660 peaceful spirit to Saul.

660 When the earl~~x~~ and his sons were reconciled with
 the king and the whole country rested again in peace
 of tranquillity, this earl, of happy memory, died in
 the second year after these events. The people felt
 grief at his funeral and they remembered him by sighs
 and constant tears as their father and the guardian
 665 of their country. He was buried with fitting honours

in a monastery which was called Old Winton, after they
 had given to this church many gifts for embellishing
 it, and the proceeds of lands for the redemption of
 his soul.⁷⁶ Harold, his son, elder in birth and out-
 670 standing in wisdom, succeeded him in his earldom by
 royal favour. By this fact the whole flock of the
 English nation breathed again with hope towards com-
 fort and consolation. In strength of body and in his
 spirit towards the people he stood forth like another
 Judas Maccabeus.⁷⁷ A friend of his people and country,
 he took part in his country's changes of fortune more
 675 strongly than his father and followed his footsteps
 in patience, compassion, and in friendliness by obliging
 deeds. Furthermore he threatened as a just soldier all
 those who made a disturbance, all thieves and robbers,
 with the anger and the grim look of a lion. Shortly
 afterwards the earl of Northumbria, Siward, whom we
 680 mentioned before, died and was buried in that church
 which he himself had erected in the name of the bles-
 sed king and martyr, Olaf.⁷⁸ Chiefly by the work of
 his friends and the position of his brother Harold
 the earl, and his sister the queen, and while the king
 did not object because of the countless services he
 685 had faithfully done, Tostig, a strong man, gifted with
 great wisdom and ingenuity, received Siward's earldom.
 Because the opportunity presents itself, we want to make

more thoroughly known , as far as our limited genius
 permits, something about these two brothers: their
 life, their character, and deeds, for the knowledge
 690 of those who will follow after us. ⁷⁹ We do not consider
 that we want to do this without a good reason, be it
 for the good order of this work, or be it so that they,
 who follow later in the future, may have some good
 examples to imitate. ⁸⁰ Both men were strong and hand-
 some in body, and as we concluded, not unequal in
 695 strength and courage. ⁸¹ But the elder brother Harold was
 taller in stature and given more to unlimited labour,
 to be awake at night and to abstain longer from food,
 with a very subtle mind and readier in wisdom. I
 believe that he considered it more worthwhile to bear
 abuses, because it was not easy for him to strike,
 and also not easy for him to avenge himself on a citizen
 or fellow-countryman on any occasion. Sometimes he
 700 would communicate his plan of work with whomever he
 considered faithful, and sometimes he would delay it,
 if it seemed necessary to the earl, so that ^{to} certain
 people it appeared to be less profitable to his own
 interest. But who will accuse one or the other of the
 vice of dashing into something, or of levity, a man,
 705 born from Godwin as father and brought up in his
 discipline and in his school? ⁸² Earl Tostig was gifted

with a grave and wise restraint, and a manly and inflexible mind, but he was more rigorous for a little while in the persecution of malice.⁸³ He examined first
710 of all his plans by himself, from beginning to end, and set them in order, after he had thoroughly examined the end by consideration of the outcome of the matter. All this he did not easily communicate to anyone. At the same time he was also careful in planning these matters, so that his action seemingly preceded his
715 plan by its suddenness. Very often he did this with success before the audience of the world. When he gave, he gave with liberal generosity. Very often, at the urging of his religious wife, he did it for the sake of Christ, more than for any inconstant favour of
⁸⁴men. In his word, as well in his deed or promise,
720 he was distinguished by inflexible steadfastness, and for the sake of his wife, of royal descent, he forsook the delight of all worldly matters and ruled the urges of his body more moderately like a bachelor and
also ruled the bad habits of his speech.⁸⁵ Each of these two men pressed his own undertaking constantly enough, but the first one did it in a strong manner, the second in a wise way. The first one aimed at the
725 completion of his activities, the second one ~~did~~ acted in the same way towards success. Both of them dissembled certain purposes in an excellent way so,

that for those who did not know them, there was nothing more precarious than to determine their plans. It may be said to those who read about their characters, in summing up, that no period of life, nor region in the world raised at the same time two mortals of such excellence. The king, considering this carefully, while they were thus placed on each side of his kingdom, lived safely all his life, while one repulsed the enemy in the South, and the other terrified them in the North. The king would not suffer that the younger brother Gyrrth, whom we have mentioned above, should be excluded from his favours, but gave him a country in a certain part of East-England (Kent), and promised that he would extend it when he would reach riper years in his adolescence.

Harold, whom we mentioned first, examined the character, plans, and strength of the French nobles, not only with the help of his own men, but also by himself. By skill and shrewdness of mind and by long consideration and waiting he had observed very clearly, as was his habit in these matters, if he needed them in the execution of some of his plans. For this reason he also got to know thoroughly those men who were wearied by his plans (exhausting them by his questions?), so that he would not be deceived by them in any way. After the habits of the French were very carefully considered, his name and fame not being unknown, he went to Rome to the burial

place of the Apostles. There he venerated the dwellings
of the Saints by great munificence. He came back to
750 his own place, thanks to the grace of God and his
habitual carefulness, and went with contempt right
through those who wanted to ambush him. The other
brother Tostig, who was also in this blessed state
of mind, crossed the sea with his wife Fausta and
his younger brother Gyrth, and came to Rome via Saxony⁸⁸
and the upper parts of the Rhine. Which language,
755 which sermon will express in a worthy manner, with
how much devotion and great generosity he worshipped
in that place of the Saints, while he went and while
he returned. In Rome he was received by Pope Nicolas
with the honour due to him, and sat at his side during
the Roman Synod as the second important person, after⁸⁹⁻⁹⁰
the Pope had urged him to do so. In his company ~~had~~⁹¹
760 also come Aldred, the bishop of the town of Worcester.
He had been given the archbishopric of York by the
very pious King Edward. He had come in order that he
might explain the reason of the royal mission and to
obtain the gift of the pallium.⁹² He was asked how he
had come to holy orders. He confessed freely, and
765 it was found that he had moved to another bishopric
from his first one, where he had been ordained, this
being against Canon Law. When all the papal and epis-
copal decrees had been examined and the whole synod
had pronounced its opinion, his petition was refused,

and not only did he fail to get the pallium, but he was also removed from the rank of bishop and had to return in confusion. There had also come at the order of the king two priests of his court, Gyso and Walter, men who were in a very suitable and excellent way versed in their office, with the purpose to be consecrated bishop by the lord Pope.⁹³ This party came back together from Rome, when everything was done to satisfaction and according to their wishes. On the same day they fell into the hands of robbers. They were robbed and plundered. Some even went naked and were forced to go back again to Rome. There was then a certain young man by the name of Gospatrick,⁹⁴ related to the king, and a real soldier, a companion on the same journey of the above mentioned earl Tostig. He acted vigorously in adherence to his lord. While he went dressed up with more befitting clothes, worthy of his noble rank, in front of the pilgrims, he was asked by the robbers who of them was earl Tostig. When he judged without delay what sort of business they were intending to do, he said, that he himself was the earl. When he was able to do so, he gave by a movement of his hand a sign to the earl, that he should move away. Because of the splendour of his clothes and his distinguished stature, they believed him and took him away with the rest of the plunder.

without any hope for his life. When he believed that the earl was safe, after he was removed over a considerable distance, and when he had been carefully
790 questioned about several things, he confessed that they had not taken the person, they thought him to be. At the first knowledge of the fact they threatened to endanger his life, but later, when some had talked the matter over more freely, he was not only permitted to go away, but was even held in great esteem and praise by these men, and
795 was handed back his own property. He went his way in peace with the good wishes of all. What we have left out above was, that, before this happened, the earl had already sent his wife back and all who were attached to his royal dignity with most of his men, because he had to stay longer in Rome
for the matter of bishop Aldred.⁹⁵ This party had
800 proceeded without any harm, not knowing all that had happened to those who were following them. The Romans felt pity for those who returned in confusion and misery. The respected lord Pope, who esteemed the request of the very famous earl
805 and remembered especially the voluntary confession of the bishop, and also the hardships they had received, which they had borne in humility, called the Roman Fathers in consultation. In order that the distinguished persons should not leave in such

a distress the holy place of blessed Peter, despoiled
 and distressed, he made all of them happy by reinsta-
 ting the bishop and by giving him the pallium, so that
 they would persist during his rule in greater faith-
 810 fulness and veneration to the same Pope.⁹⁶ He consoled
 the earl with an affectionate speech and especially
 by giving him great gifts from the munificence of blessed
 Peter. He sent him away in peace with all his people
 giving them the papal absolution and benediction.
 815 After returning over long spaces of lands, which lay
 in between, and over the sea which lay between him
 and his own estates, all England was happy, while
 blessing the Lord who leads his people and brings back
 all who trust in His care,

820 These two all-famous children of the cloudborn⁹⁶
 Earth, of Herculean strength, and happy pillars of the
 country, stand out in united harmony of peace for all
 England. The ancients believed that Atlas kept up the
 sky in one place, while the Cyllenian hero did the
 same elsewhere by sharing the weight, so that the
 825 earth would not crash down and sink everywhere. Like-
 wise these two English, like angels, protected the
 borders of all the Englishborn in harmony with their
 united strength.⁹⁷ Why, oh ill Fortune, do you hang

threateningly over these two brothers with your
troublesome bitterness? After you have provided^{first}
yourself by your extreme jealousy of these two
830 with Thebean funeral piles, you then serve them
to furiously raging armies, when you have applied⁹⁸
the funeral torches. Oh what a disagreeable vice
born from brotherly disasters. It is a shame that
the earth has not become milder by the increasing
835 weight of death, when it was drenched by brother-
blood, by the blood of him who was the first to be
born from the womb of the first mother.⁹⁹ You hide
now a more serious wound by such a crime by the
fact that you tear not only the flesh of another
being but even the same flesh. By this act you
surpass all crime and evil of which one can bring
himself to speak of or one can imagine. You, ill
Fortune, are the head of a body of crime, You are
840 the threatening anger of God, a curse of Heaven,
Hell's first flame. You kindle the temptations
of the world. You hurt piety even deeper when you
add a seventh crime after committing six before,
by which act you remove all doubt about your person.¹⁰⁰
Knowing this well from past experience you amuse
845 yourself in this manner with your infections.
Thyestes, envious of his brother, gave him that

odious feast when he ate the body of his own little son. And it is still possible that this truth has not penetrated the world, showing what brother owes to brother, friend owes to friend, and what everybody owes to him to whom he is nearest. This was, however, an error, but he believed it to be a crime, and he called the

850 stars of Heaven to be his witness. Likewise, ~~while~~ heaven was covered with black soot, conscious that they should not witness such a monstrous crime. The meeting of the gods abhorred such a meal, while they multiplied the punishments for those who should deserve them for a crime like this. They agreed to

855 give the shoulder back, not with a cover of flesh, but stronger made by an ivory bone, which he had piously saved, when he became aware that it should not have been eaten. Pelops became a man, reborn at the orders of the gods, and was quickly transferred to the heavenly hosts. The infernal fire holds the others on heated rocks as a punishment. This most

860 evil misfortune also splits the flames for brothers, set against each other, and fallen by mutual wounds. Has a noble error described all this without a good reason? The full picture of this lesson is shown in this manner. The writings of the ancients disapprove of this slaughter, the Scriptures condemn it. The anger

865 of brothers, too long sustained, cannot be forgiven.

Alas, if the vast Earth has laughed at these great
 men, when their alliance was broken!¹ Bring now succour,
 oh divine Guardian, oh Holy Faith, to those who have
 been washed by baptism, and touched with the chrism.
 Bring only the sign of the Cross and Erinyes will
 101
 flee to Erebus. You, too, fosterer of the first good,
 870 of salvation the first road, bind us to you by chains
 of propitious harmony. Let holy unity again allay the
 land by your peace, oh Mother Mary, so that the cruel
 fire may not triumph over this royal child and faith-
 ful offspring; that the long-lasting fire may not con-
 102
 875 lect in its hot ashes the straw, destined for eternity.

After his rule was everywhere firmly established
 by his princes, the gracious King Edward lived a life
 of security and peace. Most of his time he spent in
 woodlands, pastures, and forests in happy pursuit of
 880 the hunt. When he was free from divine services, to
 which he turned every day in devotion, he enjoyed
 himself gaily in great measure in the presence of
 everyone by carrying sparrow hawks or birds of that
 kind on his hand, or was obviously delighted in dogs
 by applauding their many movements. In such manner
 885 he spent the day, and got from these pastimes some
 delight of a worldly nature. For the rest this man,
 voluntarily dedicated to God, lived like an angel in
 the squalor of the world,^{of the English.} He showed courageously,
 whenever the right opportunity^t came for him, that he

belonged to the faith of Christ. He would receive abbots
 and monks, who were devoted to religion, especially
 those who were from overseas,¹⁰³ of whom he noticed that
 890 they served God with more devotion and strictness. No
 language, nor page of writing could have explained
 truthfully the number of gifts, neither could it
 explain how he joined with them in a humble conversa-
 tion or how he would shower upon them such a great
 generosity when they left. During all the time he
 895 reigned, he would keep up this practice. Because
 rumour had spread everywhere, that he liked to do
 this, he was for this reason not only a frequent
 but a continuous host for them. He admonished these
 priests as a pious father that they should be in
 his kingdom an example for the abbots and monks who
 900 lead a more modern and therefore a less strict
 religious life. Like a lamb he stood during the holy
 service of the divine mysteries and the mass with
 the quiet mind of a Christian believer, an admirable
 example for all the faithful. He very seldom spoke
 with anybody during these services, except when he
 905 was interrupted for urgent reasons.¹⁰⁴ Even the pomp
 of the royal ornaments by which he was surrounded
 through the dutifulness of his royal wife, was prac-
 tised with discretion and for short moments, and not
 at all, it must be said clearly enough, for any

personal pleasure of mind. He would not have cared
 at all if they had not served him so lavishly. He
 910 considered, however, the dutifulness of his wife
 in such matters pleasing. He marked also in very
 many words of gratitude, and with a certain kind-
 ness of mind, those of his household for their
 zeal in his service. To poor and bodily disabled
 people he gave many gifts with great pity of heart.
 He held every day almsgivings for the necessities
 915 of life, not only in his royal palace, but also
 at several places in his kingdom. At last he pre-
 pared himself to lead in person in the performance
 of good works, and his royal wife did not hold him
 back, but encouraged him rather to carry on that
 which he had done before. She appeared very often
 920 even to take the lead. For while he gave occasional-
 ly, she gave bountifully and with decorum, intending
 her gift to reflect as much honour as possible on
 the king. When, according to custom and right, the
 royal throne was prepared for her every time at
 925 the king's side, she preferred to sit at his feet,
 except in church and at the royal table, if he did
 not chance to hold out his hand to her, or invite
 or even urge her by a movement of his right hand
 to sit beside him. ¹⁰⁵ This lady, I say, should be
 placed as an example of virtue and respectability
 to all noble matrons of royal and imperial dignity,

930 as much for keeping the religion of the Christian
 civilization, as for preserving the dignity of the
 world. While such a great prosperity smiled on this
 earthly kingdom , a serious adversity struck mean-
 while from the secret plans of a rebellious people.
 No sooner, however, would they plan against the rule
 of such a king, than he would speedily suppress or
 destroy their plans by means of war with the help
 935 of the above mentioned brother-earls, who were
 in fact his protectors. There rose in rebellion
 at a certain moment the king of the Britons, Griffith,
 and elsewhere the king of the Scots, who had a foreign
 106 name. By the action of Harold, the earl ~~of~~ the
 940 English, the first mentioned was at last killed after
 Harold had conquered his army many times. But we are
 keeping this story intentionally for a clearer
 accounting, because it is longer and in many ways
 complicated. It must be told by a more detailed
 narration. Because it is promised by us in the con-
 tents of the story, the author does not want to be
 945 careless after all the work and effort he put into
 this work. He ~~wants~~ wants to give a careful and exact
 account of all that happened in a more lengthy
 story. In this manner he aims to satisfy the reader
 107 who ~~wants~~ wants to have a full knowledge of the facts.
 The other king was turned to a shameful flight,
 950 after he was beaten first by Earl Siward in a

massacre of practically almost all his people.
 When next Earl Tostig held the earldom , they
 attacked him more often rather by plundering than
 by war, because the Scots held him for inexperien-
 955 ced and therefore in smaller esteem. This uncertain
 and carefree sort of people, which has more faith
 in forests than in fields, trusts more in flight
 than in manly courage in battle. By prudent craft,
 as well as by warlike bravery and hostile engage-
 ment the above mentioned earl destroyed them with
 no losses on his own side in such manner, that
 they chose, with their king, rather to serve him
 960 and King Edward than to rebel. They confirmed this
 by giving hostages. ¹⁰⁸ Now we have refrained from
 writing the complete events of this story till
 better examination will have provided an opportu-
 nity and a more suitable time to develop it. We
 965 cannot , however, omit totally, while we live,
 this story and the one before mentioned, to the
 glory and honour of both earls, because by their
 great merit we owe them very much. Let us return
 meanwhile to King Edward and Edith, his royal
 970 wife, whose servant we are as we told before.
 With such great zeal we will explain the devotion
 of their faith in the Church of Christ as it is
 in our ability and knowledge to do it, while the
 grace and favour of God will help us.

Outside the walls of the town of London on the
975 banks of the river Thames, as mentioned above, was
a monastery in honour of blessed Peter, small in
buildings and position, where very few monks were
gathered under an abbot in the service of Christ.
The possessions, given by the faithful to their use,
980 were few, and these were to help them in their daily
living. The king, devoted to God, intended this
place, so close to a famous and thriving town, and
sheltered by a surrounding fertile lands and green
estates and also in the neighbourhood of the bedding
of the main river, which brought from the whole
985 world plentiful wares to the town on its bank, most
of all, however, for his love for the Prince of
the Apostles, whom he venerated with an unique and
special affection, to elect it as the place for his
burial. He took then from the tenth part of his
income the means to start the work of a noble build-
ding, which would be worthy of the first of the
990 Apostles, in order that he might make God well dis-
posed to him after the uncertain course of this
life, and for the sake of his piety and for the
offering of lands and precious jewels, by which
means he planned to make this place great. With
success preparations were made in the following
manner for this work of the king, planned and
undertaken in a noble way. Expenses nor cost were

counted as long as it proved to be worthy and agree-
 995 able to God and blessed Peter. The house of the main
 altar was erected with very high arches in a square
 and was surrounded by a similar juncture ¹⁰⁹. The exit
 of this building was closed by a double arch of stones
 on each side, and everywhere it was made strong and
 1000 firm by a construction. The transept and the choir
 transepts of the church, which go around the middle
 of the choir of those who sing to God, and support
 the raised steeple of the middle tower by a double
 support everywhere, rose first in a simple but solid
 arch in an uncomplicated way. ¹¹⁰ By very many spirals
 it swelled up in various ways climbing up skillfully,
 1005 and thereon it came by a truly simple wall as far
 as the roof, made of wood, and well covered with
 lead. Up and down in orderly fashion chapels were
 built to the memory of the Martyrs, Apostles, Con-
 fessors, and Virgins, by dedicating the altars to
 1010 them. The complexity of such a great work over such
 a great space made it necessary to start on the
 east side of the old church, so that meanwhile
 the brothers, who were staying there, did not have
 to stop the service of God. This had as a result
 that even some part of the entrance, which had to
 be laid between the old and the new church, came
 under the old church over a considerable area. ¹¹¹

But not only the king was working. The queen, a
 1015 worthy companion of his marriage bed, was also drawn
 into rivalry with him in an effort which was accepted
 by God ¹¹². She, herself, followed the mood of the king
 forthwith with her affection and showed the devotion
 of her heart in the Holy Church in the place itself,
 where she was brought up. In Wilton there was in those
 1020 days a convent of maidservants of Christ ¹¹³ - a holy
 choir - of old antiquity. Saint Edith, a saint of the
 same name as Edith and of the same family from which
 King Edward came, was buried there in a suitable man-
 ner and venerated. ¹¹⁴ Till then, however, there stood
 1025 only a wooden church. She thought that no place deser-
 ved more the benefit of her devotion by her work and
 zeal than this, where she remembered to have laboured
 hard on her lessons, and where she had most prominent-
 ly added to those virtues by which she deserved to
 be found outstanding, when she became queen of England.
 Nowhere also, she believed, would alms be more suitably
 1030 spent than there, where the weaker sex, less effectual
 in building, feels more the lack of what they need, and
 has to go more slowly forward on their own account
 to reach their purpose. ¹¹⁵ Following her plan by herself
 with a more gentle purpose, since she flowed over
 in her heart for piety by the spirit of God, she began
 by her royal effort a stone monastery. She hurried the
 1035 workers on, because she was more fervently inclined

to it. The king and the queen were here contending in an effort to please God and at the same time in an effort not unpleasant for each person. But her church was faster erected towards completion, because it was started in a more moderate way by the

1040 wise queen. No delay was connected with its completion. When a brief space of years had passed, it was accomplished in a noble way with royal decorum and honour, and with all that was necessary and fitting to such a great work. This blessed lady, who could act like a man, did not suffer any delays, so that the dedication of the church would be done more

1045 speedily. But when the day was fixed for the celebration and the very-well-known and well-instructed
116
bishop Herman, of the same diocese, had been forewarned of this work, she prepared very carefully all the expenses, which were needed. Then, behold,

1050 the envious devil, the persecutor of all good will, tried to sow confusion, so that they could not proceed to the end of their work, because it was going well towards completion. A short time before the fixed day, the devil started a fire in the above mentioned town, and, whatever there was completed, with almost all the houses except the church, was burned in that great fire. But this diabolical

1055 mockery did not frighten the spirit of this faith-
 ful woman, nor did the devil hold her back from
 finishing that sacred plan which she had set her-
 self. After other preparations were hastened by
 means of a still greater financial help, she finished
 more devotedly the celebration of the dedication
 of the church with a great multitude of bishops,
 abbots, monks, and clerks, and also with a great
 1060 gathering of the rest of the faithful , and secured
 a new bride for God by new gifts worthy of her
 royal position. Because this monastery occupied
 such a pleasant position, let us sing a typical
 epithalamium with the musical melody of the sym-
 phonia in honour of the fame, declared by the
 1065 Lord, of this new bride of God:

I greet you, renowned mother, who will bring
 forth a blessed offspring, which, while you con-
 ceive it, will not be disgraced by any guilt.
 When they are born, you will not suffer any pain,
 nor will you be unhappy over the numerous births.
 1070 None of those, who came forth from your womb, will
 be lost. You will join in chaste agreement with
 your husband, united with the Eternal God by pro-
 pitious embraces, whose heavenly seed, poured
 forth into your life-giving womb, gave back to the
 1075 holy priest his offspring. You will not rejoice

over a birth of a boy or a girl, but you will be
 surrounded by a hundred thousand cradles, well filled,
 by whose crying the mother's feelings will not be
 distressed. By these, while singing in a clear voice
 angelic songs or by the striking of zithers, you
 will be famous in the whole world. You will not be
 1080 worried by lack of milk, for indeed the giver of
 life, the rich begetter, God Himself, rains manna
 from Heaven so that you feed them as in heavenly
 spheres. You are never wearied by the number of
 them, or does labor vex you. You continually wish,
 that many more may be added to ~~y~~our children. In
 1085 fast time you bring a quick birth, while the reluc-
 tant months run their course in such a long order.
 You prefer to celebrate daily many births. Certain-
 ly you are dear to your husband, being so fertile.
 But you will not change so many dwelling places
 117
 for so many children, Nor will they force you to
 1090 suffer, that your dear ones are separated from you.
 After the forecourt has been made greater with firm
 posts, which strongly support it, a happy youth will
 then recline before you in a better condition, so
 precious that you will open those secluded places
 of your abode. Everybody wants this with all his
 1095 effort. To this place is the way of all flesh.
 To this place you, the love of our heart, direct us

while we want to rejoice in you and obtain from
 you life. The gentle sparrow has looked here for
 a house for himself where he can rest. The turtle-
 118
 dove prepares the nest for his little ones.

Oh Eternal God, three or four times happy are
 those who reside in these palaces, so high, of
 1100 the origin of life. Oh happy man, to whom favour
 came from you. Here from high mountains, safely
 separated from the valley of sufferings, Sion
 points ~~out~~ to the heavens to behold the supreme
 King. Here one day is better than a thousand on
 1105 earth. Anyone who lives in these dwellings
 despises for ever the wealth of powerful kings.
 For He, who commands these is proved to be clement
 and just. He gives to his people, so holy, the
 perfection of all piety. God will not deprive
 the innocent of the good of the highest honour
 1110 of ^tvirues, God, in Whom each blessed man will
 put his hope.

Therefore, the consecration of the church was
 performed in honour of the father of monks and
 their founder Saint Benedict, in the year of our
 119
 Lord 1065, for the justice of the whole country.
 The following disturbance in the kingdom took place:
 At the same time the above mentioned Earl Tostig

1115 of the North-English was in the palace of the king.
 He stayed a long time with him, held back by his
 love for the king, and his orders to regulate the
 affairs of the royal palace, while at the same
 time a party of certain nobles whom he had oppres-
 1120 sed by his heavy yoke, conspired with one another
 to his disadvantage, because of his negligence.¹²⁰
 There was no delay. They invaded his house and
 killed his armed men who were not able to flee,
 because they were attacked unexpectedly. After-
 wards they devastated all his property by fire and
 sword. Because they were in the power of a rash
 1125 recklessness , they chose as their leader and mas-
 ter the younger son of Earl Alfgar. They invited
 his older brother to this company of madness, be-
 cause they hated the children of royal descent,¹²¹
 and the same Earl Tostig, by an old hatred. There
 was no plan in this revolt. Everybody was robbed
 1130 and even murdered for reason of private hate.
 Anybody who belonged to Tostig's house was ordered
 to be killed by open murder or in ambush, when
 they had marked him in their hate. There was a
 slaughter of many people in York and in the town
 1135 of Lincoln; in streets, forests, and on the roads.
 Whoever could be marked as having been of Tostig's
 household at any time, was dragged away during

this quarrel to a death by torture. The whole region,
 which had stayed so long in tranquillity, was turned
 1140 to destruction of his household by the spite of a few
 nobles. For before this earl had taken possession of
 this earldom as a gift of the king, his predecessor,
 Earl Siward, was very much feared for the savageness
 of his justice. So great, however, was the barbarity
 1145 of this people and their irreligious attitude, that
 hardly thirty or twenty could go in one company
 without being killed or robbed by a multitude of
 waylaying robbers. The distinguished earl, son and
 122 lover of godlike peace, had since that time brought
 the number of these down, with the purpose to clean
 1150 the country of this sort by torture or by death, and
 by sparing no noble, who was taken in this crime, so
 that everybody, with whatever possessions, could
 travel even alone and at will without being afraid
 123 of one or other hostile deed. When he was, however,
 thrown out, they returned to the disgusting habits
 of their former evil, and, when the bridle of disci-
 pline was thrown aside, they entered into a fury of
 even greater madness. When they were gathered in
 1155 boundless numbers, they came for this reason to the
 town of Oxford¹²⁴ with a hostile expedition like a hur-
 ricane or a storm, after they had plundered enough
 beyond the boundary of the middle of England (Midlands).

King Edward, who was considered worthy by God,
thinking that he could quiet down this wild rabble
1160 by his usual wisdom, sent kind requests to them by
his envoys asking that they should stop their mad-
ness they had started. He told them that they would
receive justice and law in all matters, which they
could show against Tostig. After the rebels, against
God as well as against their king, had rejected this
mild order, they demanded from the king that he should
dismiss their earl as quickly as possible from his
1165 court and the whole country of England, or the king
would have them as his enemies in every matter. When
this very benign king, after sending envoys for the
third time, tried to move them away from their insane
plans by several attempts of counseling, and did not
succeed, he withdrew from the forested places, where
1170 he , as was his custom, stayed for the sake of con-
stant hunting, to the royal village of Britford,
very close to the royal town of Wilton. After the
highest ranking persons had been summoned from every-
where in the country, he held a council there, to
decide what had to be done in these matters. Several
1175 persons accused the famous earl with excessive savage-
ness , and it was argued, that the rebels had inflic-
ted these punishments more for love of justice than
by a desire for an opportunity to invade the land.
It was also said, if it is worthy to be believed, that

by the cunning persuasion of his brother Harold, while Tostig was not present in his earldom, they had undertaken this madness against their earl. But I dare
 1180 not and I will not give any credence to such a destestable villainy by such a great leader against his own brother.¹²⁵ Earl Tostig, however, publicly testified before the king and his numerous court officials, and accused his brother of this, but Harold, quick
 and lavish^{too} in the use of the ~~oath~~, oh pity, cleared
 1185 himself by oath from this accusation. While those, who had been many times consulted by the king through his envoys, did not become quiet but rather raged more strongly in the madness they had started, the king arranged to curb their proud impudence by sword, after he had called by royal edict all the rest of
 1190 England together. Because of the harshness of the winter weather; at that time there was a storm, it was not easy to bring sufficient troops of armed men against the rebel forces. Since he (Harold?) abhorred a civil war among the same people, some insisted to appease the exited mind of the king, and to persuade him not to proceed with his expedition.
 1195 By postponing it for a long time, they prevented the king, who ~~wanted~~ to do so, to move, and by acting like this, they did not so much avert a war, as that they falsely failed the king against

his wishes. By suffering this, he fell sick from that
 day on, and he was sad in mind till the day of his
 death. After he had called with a heavy heart God as
 1200 his witness, he complained bitterly, that by the
 fault of his own people he had to forsake his duty
 to restrain the pride of the evildoers. He invoked
 on them the punishment of God. The queen, who from
 her side was distressed by the disagreement of her
 1205 brothers, was depressed by the lack of energy in
 her royal husband to follow her advice. She excelled
 in giving advice by the grace of God, if he listened
 to her. Since he did not act accordingly, she spoke
 out openly and in tears her presentiment of coming
 bad events. When she cried, the whole palace fell
 down inconsolably in tears. When some adverse mat-
 ters would come before the council, she used to be
 1210 present and would remove all the difficulties by her
 effective advice and make everything clear to the
 king and his advisors. However, while by these exac-
 ting sins everything had gone the opposite way, they
 would each of them bring future evils, judging by pre-
 sent appearances. While the king, so beloved by God,
 1215 could not protect his earl, he sent him away from
 him, after he had given him his benevolence in many
 ways, while he regretted over much that which had
 brought him to this state of weakness. After a short
 while Tostig, expressing his sorrow over his depart-
 ture from his mother and the affection of his friends,

- crossed the sea with his wife and small children and
with the greater part of his nobles in his service.¹²⁷
- 1220 He came to the old friend of the English people,
Count Baldwin.¹²⁸ The faithfulness and power of this
distinguished leader was considered extraordinary
in those days among all, who were ruling in France.
Henry, the King of France, who had tried Baldwin
and found him more diligent in these matters,¹²⁹ des-
troyed all his own rebellious subjects in his ter-
ritory by Baldwin's advice and strength. When Henry
- 1225 died, he left his sons, who were still of tender age,
to Baldwin to care for them, and left the rule over
France under his protection, until his children
would have grown to manhood. He took care of all
this in that time with such diligence, that he damaged
the interests of his own absolute rule, while he
ruled for the children, using for the expenses his
own resources with royal generosity. He ordered the
- 1230 husband of his sister to stay, after he had received
him with honour and joy, as used to be his custom.
He asked him to rest from so many troubles in a
castle which was called by the name of the holy
Audemar,¹³⁰ buried in that place in a splendid manner.
He did this because his own palace-council came
together there on special, solemn days, and also,
- 1235 because he could help immediately those who crossed
the sea of Britain. He gave Tostig a house and a
manor, and provided these with the necessities of

1240 life. He gave it in fealty and ordered that all the armed men, who were posted in that town, should be at his disposal for service, while Tostig acted in his place and in the same capacity as the lord. This all ~~happened~~ happened a few days before Christmas, when soon during the same Christmas^s season King Edward, dear to God, grew weak by that disease of the mind, which he had contracted, and left this world, but was also happily taken to Heaven, to go and live there with God.

1245 Why, I ask you, oh exalted Clio, why do you write so many things which are surrounded by darkness, and smitten by death of kings and earls?
131
What is left of all the splendid expectations which you promised me? All the splendour of my work disappears in this manner. Whatever we both have collected to embellish our song, this hostile trick
1250 has now scattered for us beyond any measure. What shall I say? You will hardly find words which will really fit these events. Everywhere they are wrapped in evil. You declared that those boys, of kingly descent, were rightly instructed in the right habits, the example of all that which is good;
1255 You told me that they had erected zealously the pillars of the country; that they were four rivers to be compared to those of Elysium. And now you

disclose to your horrified pupil Theban horrors
under the song, which we planned in this work. I
planned to bring out in the beginning a charming
1260 text from my overflowing heart for my dear masters.¹³²
Now this feeling, so hostile and wicked, which burns
in the brothers, confounds the pleasant flow of my
song, Alas!¹ The all too hardened brotherly breast
brought an Emathian disaster by the ravages of the
plague of civil war. You do not recall to our
1265 mind any more the rivers of Paradise as a result
of their virtues, but far more the Infernal Chaos.
We planned to talk about this holy offspring till
the last letter of this devoted book. Now while
we sing of old times, that horrible race has ap-
1270 peared to people who are placed in the womb of
the pregnant Earth. We are born to a sudden death,
a grave and awful share, which is destined for us,
oh what grief!¹ It is, however, like this. Who in
this world shall sing of the Western-Britons, the
1275 people born in the rocks of the Caucasus,¹³³ untamed
and overly strong, while Griffith ruled,¹³⁴ not yet
content in their western countries? He brought
his arms on this side of the Severn by the course
of his wicked deeds. He brought also his might into
the land of the English, until by well-directed com-
1280 mands, which were given in the name of King Edward,

of such great fame, he was made to blush for his evil conduct. When the swift English, under the command of Earl Harold, had joined with the quick marching bands of Tostig, they struck with fire and sword in close combat in fearful terror by military might. Griffith may have shown in his merit of various qualities the ancestral fame of a great warrior, but he is, notwithstanding, afraid of these two leaders, too unequal to bring his own force into battle, and he tries to get all that which had been concealed for so long. While the soldier is willing to believe that he is considered to be in an unapproachable position, he rushes upon the battle-

1285 lines of the enemy with an even greater feeling of safety. Depending on mountain passes and on rocky country in evil territory, Griffith plagues the two brothers by a long war. But these two, not deprived of good sense in this dubious warfare, strike Griffith's country with great destruction.

1290 The enemy's house is demolished, his movable goods plundered. The royal treasury is overflowing with plunder. From this war the English brought back in their famous glory of triumph under such great earls the following trophy: After they had smashed the boats, so that they could not any longer be

1300 used by Griffith against the earls either in his territory or on the sea, they gave to King Edward the forepart with the stern of a ship, heavy in

weight by its gold, that has been shaped by the
 manifold zeal of the artist, as the token of their
 victory, and also the plunder of the royal treasure,
 1305 and the military equipment of the hostile nobles.
 Who will sing of the vast battles, swelling like a
 shadow with the rage of the sea, by kings of the
 same name, ¹³⁵ which tainted the waves of the rivers
 over many miles with barbarian blood, while the
 heavens were weeping over this crime? Now the mind
 becomes feeble and horrified, when it hears this.
 1310 Fame is ashamed of such a great crime. To whom shall
 I now write? In very truth such a page full of murder
 will not please the queen, their sister. Alas, what
 shall I say, deserted by all ~~of~~ my friends like the
 is
 pelican alone, when its nest is empty? I shall banish
 1315 my tablets and you, whatsoever instructress you be,
 whom we have thought to be our help from our child-
 hood.

The Muse

This lament lacks reason. Madness entangles your
 mind and your grief does not have any measure. Our
 1320 affection has moved you, as our choice, closer to
 our breast: so that you may drink in a more plenti-
 ful way, so that you would understand better not
 to be distressed out of reason, but to conquer your
 emotions by our advice. Surely, whatever we promised
 1325 you, will remain. A yet nobler tale is left to be

1325 unfolded. Whatever remains to be told is seemly,
 and the glory of this matter lies in proclaiming
 the Divinity on high. If you do not describe the
 hostile wars of Griffith, or the river which was
 prevented to flow by the dead bodies, you will write
 of Edward, seemly in form and in merit, what, living,
 1330 he did, what dying he revealed. You will write of the
 queen, who first aided you, and whatsoever you write
 let it be praises and honour to her. It was in her
 honour that you chose to speak of the things we men-
 1335 tioned. Since it is her wish, start anew. That you
 cherished her brothers, or things near her, was for
 love of her and worthy indeed. Do not cease writing.
 She will read and unbind the things, told in attrac-
 tive writings, nor has she need of one to remind
 her. No page of a book is more pleasing to her than
 1340 that which included the noble King Edward. Now men-
 tion and remember, that she called him father, when
 he spoke often to you and the daughter, to whom he
 turned lovingly. If you cast away our tablets, the
 rest of the story, and me, your instructress, unmerited,
 1345 this will be your end. You will never again find her,
 who so often raised you, brought you so many gifts,
 and gave you such splendid goods. Have you forgotten
 our first words of persuasion: "You will be first
 with a song of King Edward"? This book will tell
 1350 his acts, and I vow today this work to the Queen.

It will make clear by what signs the evident grace
 of the God of Thunder ¹³⁸ revealed this man; how he
 was pleasing to Him when he lived in the flesh;
 how He made clear to the faithful after continuous
 prayers, that he who rested in his tomb was living
 1355 in Heaven. With ~~my~~^{your} mind grown calm, begin a little
 way back, and you will surely please her by the
 dutiful work of your pen.

The Poet

I obey your urging, but my heart is too full of
 grief. I am now a wretched orphan of som many great
 139 lords.

Before we have thus come to the description of
 the death of this glorious king, let us first say
 1360 briefly something about the first part of his life.
 King Edward, whom we are very happy to mention, was
 elected by God before the day of his birth. From
 this moment he was consecrated, not so much by man
 as by heavenly Providence, as we said already before. ¹⁴⁰
 Keeping the holy dignity of his consecration by the
 purity of his morals, he lived all his life devoted
 1365 to God in true innocence. ¹⁴¹ While God approved this
 offering by His acceptance, He made him by intimate
 affection beloved by men and respected by high citi-
 zens. As we have learned from the witness of good and
 suitable men, God has glorified him by the following

- 1370 signs in this transitory life: A certain young woman
had already chosen a husband, but had not been delighted
by any fruit of this marriage, She suffered around
her throat and under her jawbones from a sickness
they call little acorns for the likeness to an acorn,
which had destroyed her whole face by this disorder.
- 1375 It gave a very offensive smell so that she could
hardly speak to anybody without great confusion.
This woman was told in her sleep that if she would
wash in the water, used by King Edward, she would
be cured from this most troublesome evil. Therefore
she made public what had been told to her in her
sleep, with the certainty of her faith. When the king
heard of this, he did not refuse to help the sick
- 1380 woman. He was of a very sweet mind and of a very great
affability to all who wanted something. After they
had brought a bowl of water, the king put his hand
in it, and after he had extended his fingers, he
washed the face of the young woman and the parts
which were attacked by this disease. Doing this, he
repeated the washing several times; at the same time
he made the sign of the Cross. And believe in a mira-
- 1385 cle when they speak of it. While the king spread water
over her, the sickness was healed, the skin grew soft,
and the sickness disappeared. At the same time his

hand pressed the worms from several openings
 completely with bloody matter. The pious king,
 1390 while he pressed with his holy ¹⁴² ~~right~~ hand, and
 brought forth this bloody matter, did not feel
 disgusted to smell the stench of this sick woman,
 till by his healing hand he had drawn out all
 this injurious pest. It pleased him to support her
 daily by royal gifts, till she was completely res-
 1395 tored to her health. She had hardly spent seven
 days in the royal household, when God's grace,
 after it ~~had~~ wiped off all the disfigurement,
 fashioned her again in her former beauty. She,
 who was barren before, because of this same or
 1400 another sickness, ¹⁴³ showed to be fertile to her
 husband in the same year, and from then on lived
 in a pleasant manner with all, who lived in her
 neighbourhood. Although this may seem new to ~~us~~
 us, the Frenchmen tell us that he ~~often~~ did such
 1400 things in his youth, when he was in Neustria,
 which is now called Normandy. ¹⁴⁴

A blind man was also convinced for hims~~elf~~^{elf},
 persuaded in his sleep, that if with the water in
 which the king had washed his hands his blind face
 should be washed, he would drive away his blind-
 1405 ness, and it would give him back his lost light.

This came to the ears of Edward by the talk of those
 who served the king in his palace. He first denied
 that this could be true and upbraided them, that they
 believed this to be possible. At long last he assen-
 ted placidly to those who immediately begged him,
 that he should not resist the will of God. It was
 1410 then, as they say for certain, the day of the Vigil¹⁴⁵
 of the celebration of All Saints, when the king
 had entered the chapel very early in the morning
 after he had washed himself. In the main time his
 servants washed the blind man with the same water
 and brought him into the chapel alone after the king.
 When the king left after the church service, while
 1415 they were singing joyous songs for the veneration
 of all the saints, it was announced to him by his
 servants how he, who was blind, could see. By pious
 curiosity he went to him in the chapel, and summoning
 the blind man to him he asked whether he could see.
 The blind man said that this was so, and gave thanks
 1420 to God. Because this king, of dove-like purity,
 wanted to test the truth of that which had been said,
 he extended ~~the~~^d the palm of his hand and asked to say
 what he did. The blind man said: "You extend your
 hand, oh King, my lord". Again, holding before his
 face his forefinger and middle finger in the form of
 1425 a double horn, the king asked him what he did, and

the blind man immediately answered saying what he had seen. For the third time, taking his beard ~~in~~ his hands, he asked again to say what he did, and the blind man answered that which was asked of him. Then, thinking that he had examined him enough, the king went for a little while to pray, and kneeling three times before the altar, ~~he~~ gave thanks to God, and told his servants that the blind man should be supported by royal gifts as long as he was in need. This man, for a long time remembered in the royal household, was a token of the power which the king had received from God's glory. In the same way, also, he to somebody of the city of Lincoln.....¹⁴⁶

1435 When King Edward, full of faith, saw that he was quickly approaching his death because of his threatening illness, he devoted himself to his last days on earth by commending himself to the prayers of all the faithful in God. Because he was released by the spirit of God from the affairs of a worldly ruler, he enjoyed more freely the vision of things to come by heavenly contemplation. While his frail body was piously taken care of by the hands of the devoted, in expectation of his death, he, put to sleep by the weight of the flesh, was instructed in the truth of those things which we for our sins bear at the present time.¹⁴⁷ Indeed, those present in waking bodies,

1445 sense^d the distress of the patient's mind as he slept,
and, wakened by them in their anxiety, he spoke
using this order of words. - But for two days or
more before, this weakness had so overcome him that,
when he spoke, they could hardly understand what
he said. -

"Oh Eternal God", he said, "if through Thee be
taught those things, which have now been revealed
1450 to me, grant me also the power to tell them. If,
on the contrary, this was some insane thing, may
my former disease silence me according to Thy
pleasure". And soon, as they bear witness who were
present in person, he had command of such power of
speech that the most healthy person could not ask
1455 for more. "Just now", he said, "two monks were
present who were very well known to me when I was
a youth in Normandy, men indeed of great sancti-
ty and already a long time released from earthly
things. And they spoke to me thus on an embassy
from God: "Inasmuch ", they said, " as those who
1460 in this English kingdom have reached the height of
preferment - great men, bishops, abbots, and those
who have attained each station in the holy ranks -
are not what they seem to be, but on the contrary
ministers of the devil, God has within one year
and one day after the day of my death given all
1465 this kingdom, accursed by Him, into the hands of

the enemy, and devils will wander through this whole land with fire, sword, and hostile devastation". Then I spoke to them in this manner.

"I by the will of God shall show this to the people, and the mercy of God will have compassion upon them in their penitence. For He had compassion upon the men of Nineveh when they repented after hearing the divine warning". "They will not repent", they answered," nor will the compassion of God reach them". I said," And how and when can we hope for remission of so great a threat?" And they answered," At the time when a green tree, if cut through the center of its trunk and the part carried the space of three acres¹⁴⁸ from its stock, is joined by itself to its own stump without human hand or any other help, and begins anew to grow green and bear fruit from the original love of its growing together - then first can a remission of such a great evil be hoped for".¹⁴⁹

When those who were present had heard these things - the queen of the land, indeed, who sat warming his feet in her bosom, her brother, Earl Harold, Robert the Staller of the royal palace and kinsman of the king¹⁵⁰, and also Archbishop Stigand along with a few others whom the blessed king, when wakened, had ordered to be called -

they were greatly terrified¹as was natural with those
 who had heard the words full of so many evils and
 of the hope of compassion denied. And when all from
 the force of their terror were dazed and silent, the
 1490 archbishop himself, who should have been the first
 to feel fear or give words of counsel, whispered
 in folly into the earl's ear that the king, exhaus-
 ted by old age and disease, knew not what he said. But
 the queen and those whose minds were wont to know
 and fear God pondered each for himself more deeply
 over what they heard^{had}, and came, as was right, to
 1495 a far different conclusion. For they knew that the
 religion of the Christian faith was much violated
 by persons in holy orders and that not only had the
 Roman Pope declared this frequently through his
 legates and missives, but that the king and queen
 had done likewise in frequent warnings. Certain
 1500 persons, however, irretrievably attracted to the
 devil by riches and worldly glory, so neglected the
 discipline of their life that they did not fear to
 incur the threatening wrath of God, a thing which
 should not be ignored by the shepherds and by us,
 who have sinned, even though at first it punishes
 1505 only the flocks of the innocent sheep. For, if we
 are not punished at the time, it is greatly to be
 feared lest the punishment of our sins be reserved
 151
 for us in eternity.

But who are they or where are they, who either think carefully about the horror of this great danger to themselves, or, because of their duty as shepherds, arise in different places and set themselves up as a wall for protecting in the day of such a fierce battle? We read that holy David sinned, and by divine command the punishment of his sin rushed over his people; but with what groans, what sorrow, and what contrition of heart did he bear witness that he was the criminal. He begged that the sword of God be turned back against him; hence more quickly he both deserved the forgiveness of his sin and turned aside the fierce blows from his people. For the immeasurable goodness of God toward the faithful is witnessed by the words: "Ask and it shall be given to you; knock and it shall be opened". But, alas, these heavy times have come upon us of which the prophet said in lamentation: "And it shall be, as with the people, so with the priests". For beneath these smiting blows of God the people are cut down even to many thousands. The kingdom is devastated with fire and plundering, and this is even now shown to be brought about by the sins of the priests. And yet, alas, there is no fear, nor penance, nor weeping, nor crying to God and searching for piety in us. Therefore the revelation,

given by the blessed king when he was on the point
 of leaving us, shows us the impossibility of a
 change in a symbol, I say, because of our infinite
 and enduring wickedness.¹⁵⁴ For it is impossible among
 men that a tree which has been cut down move by it-
 self or, once lacking nourishment of its own sap,
 1530 attach itself firmly to its stump, grow green and
 bear fruit.¹⁵⁵ We also, when we see God deservedly
 grow angry with the people, because of our sins
 and no penance or confession, even for ourselves,
 proceed from us, how and when can a remission of
 1535 such great evil be hoped for? If God should look
 back once again on us, nothing, alas, would He
 find in us for which He could cease scourging us.
 Late or never will he do penance, who thought that
 the blessed king, filled with the spirit of pro-
 phesy by virtue of his fruitful life, erred through
 1540 old age and disease.¹⁵⁶ But since we are not yet deter-
 red by the impossibility of the revelation spoken,
 and do not yet, either by penance or by crying to
 God, allay the wrath of His displeasure, what do we
 expect but a miserable end in slaughter unless the
 infinite and inestimable mercy of God, with Whom
 1545 all things are possible, in His wonted way out-
 strips our hardness by that remission and His own
 blessing unearned by us?

Let us omit further lamentation and return to our story. Let us explain in what way this jewel of God left the miserable clay of his earthly body and
 1550 received his place of splendor in eternity by a royal coronation in Heaven. While his people stood and wept bitterly over him who went closer to his death, he said; " Do not weep, but ask God for my soul and give me freedom to go to Him. It will not be a favour for me if I do not die , I, a man who for himself does not want to be favoured by not
 1555 dying". To the queen, who sat at his very feet, he spoke his last words in the following manner: " May God reward my wife for her untiring dutifulness of service to me. She has adapted herself to me with devotion and ~~has~~ always been close to my side as
 1560 a most beloved daughter. May she for all this obtain the reward of eternal happiness from God's benevolence". Stretching his hand towards his protector and brother-in-law, Harold, whom we mentioned before, he said: " I commit her and my whole
 kingdom to your protection ¹⁵⁷ so that you will serve and honour her, your Lady and sister, in faithful compliance, that, as long as she lives, she is not
 1565 deprived of the honour to which she is entitled and which she received from me. I commend also equally those who have left their native land for my sake and
¹⁵⁸

have so far served me faithfully, so that after
 you have received their adherence if they want to
 do so, you will protect and keep them, or that you
 will have them transferred over the sea with your
 protection and safeconduct to their own lands with
 1570 all which they have gained under me. My grave will
 be prepared in ~~the~~ Westminster on that place which
 will be marked out to you. Do not conceal my death,
 I pray you, but announce it as quickly as possible
 everywhere so that all the faithful may pray for
 1575 me, a sinner, that I may obtain the clemency of the
 Almighty God". In the meantime he also consoled
 the queen, who all the time wept, to lighten her
 overwhelming grief. "Fear not", he said, "I will
 not die yet but will recover, if God favours us".
 By these words he did not deceive himself, when
 he was so full of attention. For he did not die
 but winning a victory with Christ over death, he
 1580 went to eternal life. When he came to his last
 moment he received from the heavenly table the
 viaticum for his last journey, and gave God back
 his soul on the day before the fifth of January. ¹⁵⁹
 His death made an ominous and mournful start, as
 we may call it, of the beginning year, through
 1585 which we had to ponder during all the remaining
 months, growing weak by distress and manifold
 160 disasters. One could see then in the body of the

departed king the glory of the soul who had gone to
 1590 God, because the flesh on the face glowed like a rose
 and the beard underneath shone white like a lily;
 his hands, laid in the customary way, were white as
 alabaster and everything in his body proclaimed that
 it had not surrendered to death but to a fortunate
 sleep. With royal splendour and honours his funeral
 was prepared, as was becoming, and with endless grief
 of all the people. They carried his blessed earthly
 1595 remains from the palace to the hall of God ¹⁶¹ and
 during the whole day and the following night his
 funeral was celebrated by prayers, mourning, and
 singing of psalms. When the day of the funeral had
 arrived, the body was laid before the altar of the
 1600 blessed Apostle Peter before God's sight, washed
 by the tears of the whole country, while the perfor-
 mance of the funeral rites was blessed by the singing
 of masses and by giving alms to the poor. From the
 first day on they went on for thirty days ¹⁶² with the
 celebration of masses and by singing of psalms , while
 many pounds of gold were spent for the redemption of
 1605 his soul, and also, by helping all sorts of poor
 people. As we have remarked already above , ^{already} he was
 revealed as a holy man, when he lived in the world.
 God's graciousness also revealed by signs at his tomb

1610

that he lived holy with Him in Heaven, while blind people were given the light by his help; the crippled were made firm in their walk; the sick were cured; those in grief were consoled by God's consolation. God, the King of kings, gave signs of His love for all those who called on King Edward, placing their faith in his piety.

CHAPTER IV

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

1. From this and other lines it appears that the author had written poetry before. For some reasons unknown he had stopped writing. Was this caused by "illwill" or by "po~~verty~~ty"? If it were poverty the ~~conclusion~~ could be that the monasteries, or at least some of them, had a hard time around the middle of the eleventh century. It is curious that the unknown author of La Estoire de Saint Aedwardi le Rei in H.R. Luard, The Lives of Edward the Confessor, also complains of poverty (lines 3969 - 3972). It could well be poetical exaggeration.
2. In her interesting article on the genuineness of the Vita . Eleanor K. Heningham attempts to show that Sulcard and William of Malmesbury did exactly what the author predicted, at least for certain parts of Edward's life ("The Genuineness of the Vita Aeduardi Regis", Speculum, October 1943, pp. 450-456). Osbert of Clare used whole parts of the text in his Life of Edward (M.Bloch, "La Vie de Saint Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare", AB, XLI, 1923, pp. 17-44).
3. Ms Cetera cuncta tibi. I have based my translation on the preceding words.
4. This is the first time the author mentions his intention to dedicate his work to Queen Edith Godwinsdaughter.

From the text it appears that he had been, and still was, one of her favorites or servants. She had helped him in difficult circumstances, the nature of which is not disclosed.

5. The author mentions in his work five children of Godwin by name: Edith, Harold, T^Stig, Gyrth, and Leofwine. He must have known the other children, because he states later that "to such a man were sons and daughters born" (line 125, see also genealogy of Godwin). The writer seems to consider only the first four mentioned to be important. He compares them with the four rivers of Paradise. The reason for omitting the other children is not clear. Leofwine's age, when the writer composed this part, could have something to do with it. It is a mystery how Marc Bloch could draw from the text his conclusion that the author knew only four children (Marc Bloch, "La Vie de Saint Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare", AB, XLI, pp. 26-27). It seems to appear from this poetical part that the writer composed these lines before his present work, when the events of Tostig's banishment had not yet taken place. The incidents of 1065 make the comparison of the four rivers meaningless.
6. When Edward the Martyr was murdered in 978, he was succeeded by Aethelred, later called the Redeless. Under the reign of this king the Vikings renewed their invasions of England, this time led by Olaf Tryggvason and Sveinn of Denmark, the churchburner and slayer of priests (Ch. Oman, England before the Norman Conquest, p. 559). Aethelred

tried in vain to buy the ravaging Danes off with sums of silver. General discontent against this irresolute king helped the invaders. Aethelred fled to France with his family. Sveinn became in fact King of England in 1014, but died shortly afterwards. Aethelred returned to England, while Cnut, Sveinn's son, kept the Northern part subjugated. Aethelred's eldest son by his first marriage, Edmund (Ironside), took up the fight against Cnut with some success. Aethelred died in 1016 and left his country ravaged and in utter confusion. Some parts of the country joined Cnut, others chose Edmund. A stalemate ensued and England was divided into two spheres of interest by the Treaty of Olney in 1016 (Treaty of Deerhurst). In the same year Edmund died. The witan decided to end the confusion by offering the crown to Cnut(1016-1035). When one reads the chronicles of the period, immediately before Cnut became King of England, with their woeful tale of murder and betrayal, the author cannot be blamed for considering the Danes the "rod of justice of God". After Cnut's marriage with Emma, the widow of Aethelred, he felt more secure. High offices went to Englishmen (ASEngl, pp. 393 f.). One of these Englishmen was Godwin, the father of Edith and Harold. He became ealdorman of Wessex in 1020, a part of England ruled by Cnut personally from 1016 (ASEngl, p. 392). It seems that Godwin had been entrusted with part of Wessex

as early as 1018, when he began to sign charters as dux (Charles Oman, England before the Norman Conquest, p. 585). Godwin comes quite suddenly to ~~the~~ foreground. Little ^{is} known about his father, whom ~~the~~ chronicles mention as a certain Wulfnoth. Beyond this fact there is no certainty, who this Wulfnoth was, and whether he was of high or low birth. This question is discussed by E.A. Freeman in a lengthy note (NC, Vol. I, Note ZZ, pp. 475 ff.). It seems that Godwin had attracted Cnut's attention by his special gifts from the beginning of the great king's rule over England. Freeman suspects that Godwin's eloquence was one ~~of~~ the main reasons for the quick promotion of the Earl. F.M. Stenton remarks that Godwin was from 1018 closely associated with the inner circle of Danish counsellors around the king (ASEngl, p. 410). In 1019 Cnut returned to Denmark, his native country, where he had become ruler after the death or deposition of his brother ~~Harald~~. He took with him Godwin, who led~~x~~ perhaps a contingent of English armed men. Godwin's conduct brought him still higher in Cnut's favour. This happened most likely in the Northern wars, which were the result of Cnut's efforts to hold his empire together. In Denmark Godwin married Gytha, the sister of the Danish earl Ulf, who had married Cnut's sister Estrith (1019). F.M. Stenton makes an interesting remark, when he states that the position of Godwin as earl of Wessex, and of Leofric as earl of Mercia,

during the early part of Cnut's reign, was of momentous significance for English history. It started the rivalry between the two families which fatally weakened the possibility of a united resistance to the Norman invasion in 1066 (ASEngl, p. 410). The author of the Ms makes a mistake when he describes Gytha as the sister (soror) of Cnut. This should be sister-in-law (NC, I, p. 490).

7. When Cnut died, his empire was already crumbling and it fell to pieces at the end of his reign (ASEngl, p. 413). Norway became independent again under Magnus, son of St. Olaf. Harthacnut, Cnut's son by his lawful wife Emma, reigned in Denmark. The intention was perhaps that Harthacnut should reign simultaneously over Denmark and England. The threat of an invasion by Magnus prevented him from moving to England and accepting the crown as intended by his mother Queen Emma and by Earl Godwin (ASEngl, p. 414). Earl Leofric, with the support of the South of England, wished to postpone a decision and to form a regency under Harold, Cnut's son from his first unlawful marriage with Aelfifu of Northampton. Before the ~~end~~ end of 1037 Harold was recognized as King of England and Emma was exiled to Flanders (ASEngl, p. 414; NC, I, pp. 324 ff.). In this period falls the event of the murder of Alfred, brother of Edward the Confessor, and younger son of Emma by her marriage with Aethelred II. In 1038 or 1039 ~~Harthacnut~~ had reached an agreement with Magnus of Norway and was

now in a position to enforce his claim on England. He was remarkably slow in doing so. Harthacnut probably waited for the death of Harold, who was perhaps already touched by the illness of which he was to die in 1040 (ASEngl, pp. 415 f.). Hatred against his half brother caused Harthacnut to dig up the body of Harold and to have it thrown into the Thames. He seems to have possessed a kind feeling toward Edward. He went so far as to invite him to England in 1041 and to put him forward as his heir (ASEngl, p. 417). Harthacnut died of a stroke during the wedding of Osgod Clapa in 1042. There were no invasions or civil wars in England in the period 1035 - 1042, nor are there any reports of great dramatic events. The rule over England by foreigners may have appeared to the author a punishment by God for the past misdeeds of the English. The succession of Edward, a descendant of the House of Ecgbert, was perhaps considered as an escape from foreign domination. The reign of Aethelred had been a disaster for England. The period, in which the Dane Cnut reigned, can be fairly regarded as a brilliant age (ASEngl, p. 413). Perhaps the "miserable anti-climax" of the period after Cnut, made the author of the Vita, and the English, welcome a member of the old native dynasty. His words may also be a dutifully delivered praise for the House of Godric.

8. Jeremiah I, 5.
9. In 1002 Aethelred II married Emma, sister of Richard II (the Good), Duke of Normandy. From this marriage came two sons, Edward, the future King of England, and Alfred. The latter was to come to a miserable end, when he made an attempt to visit his mother Emma in England during Harold's reign (1037). After Aethelred's death Emma married Cnut on the condition that only sons of this marriage could inherit the crown of England (NC, I, pp. 483 ff. and p. 276). This was probably done to exclude the children of her first marriage and the children of Cnut's concubine, Aelfgifu of Northampton. The marriage of Emma with an English ruler in 1002 started the first intimate connection with Normandy and the introduction of Normans into England on a somewhat larger scale. This process was in some degree accelerated by her son Edward, who was brought up at a Norman Court (ASEngl, p. 375; NC, I, p. 264). Emma's given English name was Aelfgifu.
10. Emma and her children went to Normandy to her relations when Aethelred was hard pressed by the Danes Sveinn in 1013. The king himself followed at the end of the same year, leaving Sveinn in military possession of England. When his last stronghold London submitted to the invader, Aethelred could only make his escape by using the fleet of Thorkell the Tall, who had defected from Sveinn (ASEngl, p. 380).

11. Psalm 102, 17-18.
12. Brithwold was bishop of the Wilsaetas (Ramsbury, Wilts). He died in 1045 shortly after the marriage of Edward and Edith. The same story, but more elaborate, is given in the Historia, Pars II, of Aelred of Rievaulx (PL, Vol. 195, p. 745). William of Malmesbury takes the story over and adds only the exact length of Edward's reign. Osbert of Clare repeats it, using often the same words and parts of sentences (La Vie de Saint Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare", AB, XLI, p. 72). In my opinion this use of the author's story is a hint, small indeed, that several copies of the Vita were already available and had come to the attention of the above mentioned authors. There exists of course always the possibility of another source, which so far is unknown to us.
13. Here is mentioned for the first time that King Edward wished to be a "chaste king". By its nature the question, whether King Edward lived a life of continence in his marriage, is impossible to solve by circumstantial evidence. The spirit of the eleventh century is not easily understood by men, living in the modern age. In my opinion E.A. Freeman makes an excellent case when he gives as his opinion that this sterile marriage was thus given an odour of sanctity

(NC,II,pp.353-356). "Gocelebs" in the text may mean "celibate", but ~~at~~ it may also have the normal meaning of "chaste". It is used in the meaning of "chaste" in line 721 of the original text in Luard's Vita . In the prophecy Edward shows his anxiety as to who will reign after him. This could mean that he knew he could not have any children. It may also mean that he was ~~simply~~ curious to know who of his children, if any, would reign.

14. The text says, "Ab his prospere adducitur". It is not clear what is meant by these words. Harthacnut had invited Edward to England. He had adopted him in his household and had perhaps appointed Edward his heir (ASEngl, p. 417). Freeman concludes that the future king was ~~in~~ Normandy for a visit (NC,II, p.3). The text says that earls and bishops were sent to fetch him and the author uses the word "mittuntur". It is possible ~~that~~ Edward had gone for a visit to Normandy before the death of Harthacnut on June 8, 1042. But the author usually takes the word "transfretare" to express the idea of crossing the North Sea. The words, used here, are "mittere" and "adducere" . Is it not possible, that Edward was at his usual pastime of hunting near the Cotswolds and was summoned back by a more imposing party of earls and bishops?

The Vita gives Godwin an important place in the election of Edward. F.M. Stenton denies this (ASEngl,

p.417n.). Freeman follows the Vita and the Winchester Annals(NC,II,p.345). The word "prosperere" may imply that there had been objections from Edward's side to accepting the crown. His election had been decided by popular acclamation . He may have objected to his election because his character and monkish aspirations would not make him eager to accept such a worldly, and at the same time, responsible position. Others aspired to the throne, which created a situation suitable for renewed foreign invasions and civil wars (ASEngl, p. 418).

Edward's popular election took place in June 1042 after the death of Harthacnut. His consecration was held at Easter 1043. This delay may be explained by the opposition of powerful minorities against his election inside the country, and by opposition from foreign rulers. William of Malmesbury states that the election was held at Gillingham, followed by a coronation at Winchester, the usual place for this ceremony (GR, p. 215) . The author puts the coronation at Canterbury. Freeman's explanation is that the first election by popular acclamation , probably in London, was followed by a coronation at Canterbury. When opposition became strong from the side of the Danish party, led perhaps by Edward's mother Emma, the situation became different. The Danish party favoured Harold, the son of Thorkell the Tall, and Sveinn, the son of Cnut's sister Estrith. This party had to be won over, and consequently a

second election and coronation became necessary (N II, pp. 3-7 and pp. 347-349; R.W.Southern, "The First Life of Edward the Confessor", EHR , LVIII, p. 392). How this theory can be reconciled with the sacramental character of the coronation, I do not know. The delay of more than ten months in the final(?) coronation , for political reasons, may explain the careful policy of Edward during the first years of his reign. It is perhaps also a reason for the strange raid of Edward on his mother Emma, a few months after the coronation in 1043. She was despoiled of all her treasure. This event is mentioned in the Vita.

15. The delay in the coronation had given ample time for friendly rulers to send their ambassadors to England to attend the coronation and to congratulate the new ruler of England. The exile of Edward in Normandy had lasted more than twenty-five years. It should have made him better acquainted with the rulers of the Continent than any English ruler before him (NC, p.10). The continental interest in English affairs should have been greater after the rule of King Canute. England had been linked with the affairs of Scandinavia for almost thirty years. The German Emperor Conrad made a treaty with Canute over Sleswig-Holstein Territory in Denmark(1028). Canute had been present at the coronation of Conrad, in Rome. Canute's daughter

Gunhild had married Henry III, then King of the Germans (1036). Edward was related to most of the Continental rulers (NC, II, p.10).

16. This is a mistake of the author. It is, however, an understandable mistake if he wrote after 1047. Henry III was not yet crowned Emperor and was still King of the Germans in 1043. After the death of his father Conrad, Henry started the great reform in the Roman Church, which ended in the first Investiture conflict under his son Henry IV, of Canossa fame. Gunhild was the daughter of Cnut and Emma, and therefore a half-sister of Edward. She died before Henry became Emperor and was succeeded by the better known Agnes of Poitou. There were no children from the first marriage. Since the agreement between Conrad and Cnut over Sleswig-Holstein (1028) the relations between England and Germany had been very friendly. The respect of the author for the emperorship is shown by the words "lord of the world".
17. The kinship between Edward and Henry I of France is not clear. It was certainly not so close as the words of the writer imply. R.W.Southern gives in his article "The First Life of Edward the Confessor" a genealogy, which may explain the author's statement (EHR, CCXXXII, p. 392).
18. The King of the Danes was Magnus of Norway, the son of St. Olaf. He had just received the submission of

Denmark after the death of Harthacnut. Magnus and Harthacnut had agreed that Denmark should go to Magnus after the latter's death. The author's statement seems to be strange. H.W. Southern considers it impossible outside romance ("The First Life of Edward the Confessor", EHR, CCXXXII, p. 392). E.A. Freeman mentions the possibility, that Magnus could have acted, as described by the author, to prevent English support for his competitor Sveinn (NC, II, p.11).

19. Was this simply a recognition of the protection which Edward had received from the French nobility in the past? Germany and Denmark are not mentioned in these gifts. The author points a few times at a spécial preference of Edward for France. This cannot cause any surprise after Edward had spent a quarter of a century in that country. The relations between England and Normandy were friendly since the marriage of Aethelred and Emma (Encomium, p. xliii; NC, I, p. 193). It is reasonable to assume that the French and Normans took more interest in England when the close connections of this country with Scandinavia were broken.
20. The author is not always consistent in his comparisons. Later in his work he will compare Edward with Saul.
21. William of Malmesbury records an event, in which the king "broke forth in an oath". A peasant had overturned

the removable wooden fences, by which the deer were driven into the toils. Edward was struck by "noble" indignation, and exclaimed, "By God and His Mother, I will serve you just such a turn, if ever it come my way" (GR, p. 213) . Freeman comments on this incident. He suggests that Edward inherited his fits of anger from his father Aethelred the Redeless. By his lack of self-control he brought himself and his country twice into great danger (NC, II, pp. 14-15). The Vita hints a few times at this weakness in Edward's character. The description of his person in the text is more a sketch of a monk than of the King of England. Some of these monkish characters were, however, made of stern stuff e.g. Henry II of Germany, Louis the Saint, Henry III of Germany, not to mention some of the Popes as e.g. Leo IX, Gregory VII.

22. In Continental Europe a strong movement towards reform of the Church was gaining momentum. Emperor Henry III had made a beginning, and leaders in the Church, such as Hildebrand, Bruno, and Peter Damien, started around this time their great battle for reform. The spirit of Cluny had spread far and wide in the monasteries of Western-Europe. It is possible that Edward brought some of the reform ideas with him, when he returned from Normandy. Prof. D. Knowles gives an interesting account of this aspect of the reign of Edward

(Mon. Order, pp. 579-580; also Witenagemot, p. 5).

23. "hereditario jure" (Iuard 267), "in nativi juris sui throno" (Iuard 193), "in dominatu nativo" (Iuard 201), "paterna sede" (Iuard 211), are only a few of the numerous expressions by which the author stresses the hereditary right to the throne. The question is : Was this meant to stress the illegal claims to the English throne by the preceding Danes and the present competitors in Denmark and Norway, or by William of Normandy? It is strange that in this work no mention is made of William. If the author wrote his work, while the outcome of the Conquest was not yet clear, it could point to William.
24. An interesting description of ~~w~~rships of this period is given in an appendix of A. Campbell's Encomium Emmae Reginae (Appendix V, pp. 94 - 96). Florence of Worcester (Fl. Wig, p. 143) and William of Malmesbury (GR, p. 207) mention a ship, given by Godwin to Harthacnut, after Godwin had cleared himself by oath of the accusation of the murder of Alfred. It is possible that Godwin repeated his gift as a token of his allegiance to the successor of Harthacnut. This has been interestingly suggested by Duggan in his historical novel The Cunning of the Dove. Iuard Had the idea that the ship, mentioned by the author, is in fact the ship, given by Godwin to Harthacnut. Iuard He accuses the author of ignorance and carelessness

(Iuard p. xxxix). E.A. Freeman asks, "Why are two ships impossible?" (NC, II, p.12).

25. Lines 279 and 280 are very obscure. I have arranged the text as follows: Extensis alis rutilantibus auro stipes gravidus antennae sustinet robur volatus ". I ~~have~~ constructed the possible meaning of these lines from a description given in Appendix V of A. Campbell's Encomium Emmae Reginae (~~Encomium~~ pp. 94-96).
26. A possible indication is given here that the textile workers in England were already capable of supplying on short notice the necessary cloth, dyed and decorated, for the equipment of Godwin's ship. It must have been some form of tapestry with the sea battles of the past century on it. There are more indications in this work that industry, commerce, and communications were more developed than is generally believed (NC, II, p.332).
27. See Note 25.
28. Here is at least one page missing in the Ms.
29. See Note 5. Edith is mentioned as the eldest of the Godwin's children. She must have been educated far above the level of the ordinary noble woman of her age. William of Malmesbury mentions her excellent education, but also the rumours about her honour in Edward's time and after his death. She cleared herself by oath of these accusations on her deathbed (GR, p. 216). Florence of Worcester mentions the

treacherous murder of a Northumbrian thegn, Gospatrick, during the Christmas days of the year 1064. It was rumoured that Edith was involved in this murder to help her brother Tostig (FLWig, p.167). Aelred of Rievaulx praises her as "beautiful in face, but even more beautiful in morals" (PL, Vol. 195, p.747). The well-known lines, added by Aelred, "Sicut spina rosam, genuit Godwinus Edivam" make a compliment for Edith as well as a condemnation for Godwin and the rest of his family. Edith is not mentioned, surprisingly, in the Life of Wulfstan by William of Malmesbury (Vita Wulfstani). The date of Edith's marriage to Edward is given as January 1045. Her death took place on December 18, 1075 (Witenagemot, p.123); ~~while~~ Florence of Worcester gives for her death the date of December 19, 1074 (FLWig, p. 179). She died at the royal palace in Winchester. Facts and rumours, given by chroniclers, may well have been the result of the normal slander to which persons in high positions are exposed. The Abingdon Chronicle sheds a different light on the character of Edith in a very touching and human story (Mon. Order, p. 457).

30. I have arranged the text of the Ms in the following order: Illa inimica voratrix, tranans petit profunda, faciens damna stirpis suae, et ab ore pendit tenens truncum parentis, dum certo tempore flatus vitae vivificans animal creat de non animata matre. I cannot

imagine what kind of fish or mammal the author had in mind. It is possible that the copyist left some lines out between the part which deals with the birds of heaven and the fish in the deep waters of the Ocean. There is perhaps a corresponding text in the Bible. I have, however, not been able to find any.

31. It is possible that the author is thinking of an invasion of England in the near future. Magnus of Norway made preparations for it in the years 1044-1045 (NC, II, p. 48). It could also have been written right before the Norman invasion. In my opinion it refers to a possible invasion from Scandinavia. The writer could not have written this eulogy of the children of Godwin when he had a knowledge of the events of 1065-1066. England came to the brink of civil war through the activities of some of Godwin's sons. It may confirm my opinion that the present work is a compilation of parts, written in different periods with a different purpose.
32. It is possible that the author refers in these lines to the raids of the Danes during the period before the reign of Cnut, when the Scandinavians plundered England on a large scale. The "hostile towns" could be the pirates' nests of Ireland and Flanders. The "even more unpleasant countries" could be the cold, bleak countries of Scandinavia. The meaning of the last three lines is not very clear.
33. The author seems to take up again where he left off in the past. He does this several times. It may support

my opinion that the present Vita is the result of a modification of a former work or works.

34. The Vita refers several times to the foreigners, present at Edward's Court, who were brought over by him from Normandy and other parts of Western-Europe. On his deathbed Edward asked Harold to protect ~~them~~ or return them safely to their native countries. It seems to be certain that Edward was fond of Norman monks and preferred to employ secular clerks of Lorraine and the Netherlands. ^{Prof.} ~~Dom~~ D. Knowles points out that this policy was not meant to be unfriendly towards the English clergy. At least four English abbots were his closest advisors, while his choice of clergy for vacant positions was not dependent on nationality, but seemed to have been rather haphazard (Mon. Order, pp.71-72). It could also have been intended to offset the Anglo-Danish power-position of which Godwin was the exponent (ASEngl, p.419). Freeman remarks that the attitude of Harold towards foreigners was less insular than that of his father Godwin (NC, II, p.240).
35. Robert of Champart had been abbot of Jumièges in the diocese of Rouen. This abbey was founded in c. 940. When Aelfward, who had been bishop of London since 1033, died in 1044, Robert was appointed bishop of this diocese. He ~~would~~ hold this position till 1051, when he was appointed archbishop of Canterbury. Robert presented during his time in England a beautiful Missal to his old abbey in Jumièges. It is now kept in Rouen

and shows the excellent craftsmanship of the English scribes (Mon.Order, p.530, pp. 697-698). William of Malmesbury states that in his day, almost a century later, Robert was still the villain for the English party and was considered the source of all corruption and evil (GR, p. 217). Was this the result of the character sketch in the Vita ? Robert's influence over the king seems to have been great. William of Malmesbury mentions that Robert had been active on behalf of Edward during the latter's exile in Normandy (GR, p.217). Robert's flight to France in 1052, the uncanonical possession by Stigand of Robert's see, and the protests of Rome against Stigand's position would be some of the causes of the Norman Conquest (NC, II, pp.226 f.).

36. Corinthians XV, 33.

37. Aedsig, archbishop of Canterbury, died on October 29, 1050. He had crowned Edward in 1043 and could perhaps be considered Godwin's friend. The archbishop and the Earl had cooperated in 1042 to secure the throne for Edward (Witenagemot, p. 86n.). It was important for the English who Eadsig's successor would be. The monks of Canterbury elected one of their own according to Canon Law. Their choice was a monk, who was also a kinsman of Godwin. It was probably made to prevent the king from appointing one of his masspriests of foreign origin, in order to keep the key position of Canterbury in the hands of an Englishman. It may have been a move of Godwin to keep control over the most power-

ful position in the Church of England. The monks of Canterbury had the right to elect the archbishop of their ^{arch}diocese, with certain restrictions (Mon.Order, pp. 627-628), imposed by the royal prerogative. Edward used this prerogative and appointed one of his mass-priests, the bishop of London (Mon.Order, p.70). Robert was appointed at the Midlent Witenagemot of 1051 (Witenagemot, p. 159).

38. This was probably done at the Midlent Witenagemot of 1051, in which the appointment of Robert was discussed together with the appointment of Spearhafoc to the see of London, and the abolishing of the tax for the armed forces, (Witenagemot , p. 159). T.J.Oleson remarks that Robert never signed charters in the period 1051-1052, since he had become archbishop of Canterbury. Could the animosity against the preferment of foreigners for high positions have anything to do with this? It could have made it advisable for Robert to refrain from any official worldly function. It is also possible that the period was too short to make his name appear on any official document (Witenagemot , p.130).
39. Was the position of Robert really ~~as~~ high as the author claims, at least in the King's Council? T.J. Oleson has some doubts, when he states that Robert's signature does not appear on charters of this period (1051-1052) (Witenagemot, p. 54). The archdiocese fell in 1051-1052 totally in the territory, controlled by Godwin (NC, II, maps, Note E and G).

40. It is difficult to judge who was right in claims of church against laymen and vice versa. Apparently Godwin's men took their master's side in such a strong fashion, because their activities had caused the dispute without their master's knowledge. Stewards were, and still are, often more zealous in such matters than their masters wished them to be. The Earl tried, as the author states, to straighten matters out. Christchurch was one of the richest monasteries in England and comes third in value of holdings in Domesday Book after Glastonbury and Ely (687.16.4 pound sterling) (Mon. Order, p. 702).
41. The meaning of this sentence is probably, that Earl Godwin believed in letting things take their own course.
42. Harold "Harefoot" was the son of Cnut and his concubine, Aelfgifu of Northampton. Emma had made an attempt to have her son Harthacnut chosen as successor of Cnut. She failed because the latter was detained in Denmark, where his reign was threatened by Magnus of Norway. Godwin had at first backed Emma and had formed a regency with her during the absence of Harthacnut. He switched his alliance when Harold landed in England in 1036. Emma was driven from the country towards the end of 1037. Harold is a dim figure and it is probable that for a part, if not for the whole, of his reign, his mother Aelfgifu was the real ruler. Alfred, Edward's brother, had landed in England to visit his mother Emma, just before she was exiled. The real pur-

pose for this visit is a mystery. He had only a small escort with him. His first landing attempt failed when he was driven off by a hostile reception on the shore. At the second attempt he was welcomed by Godwin. The party, favouring the election of Harold, had gained ground steadily under the leadership of Aelfgifu. When Godwin received Alfred, he had gone over already to Harold's side. It is probable that Godwin felt that a meeting of Emma and Alfred would delay a settlement of the Succession, and cause a civil war. Alfred was taken out of Godwin's custody and put on board of a ship. It is not certain whether this was done by force or with Godwin's cooperation. Alfred's enemies brought him to Ely, where he was blinded. He died as a result of this savage ^{maiming} torture. His followers were either killed, or sold into slavery (ASEngl, pp. 414-415). There existed still a considerable trade in slaves. Its chief market was in those days Bristol. The successor of Harold, Harthacnut, held Godwin responsible for the crime but the Earl was allowed to clear himself by oath. Edward may have had his doubts about Godwin's innocence. He may have used the opportunity to attack Godwin, when the latter refused to punish the men of Dover. Freeman gives an extensive discussion of this matter (NC, I, pp. 327 ff., and appendix SSS).

43. It is remarkable that the author does not see this situation from the point of him whose life he is supposed to describe. The only point of view is Godwin's. Edward comes into the story, as in a great part of this work, only in explanation of the activities of the Earl. In my opinion this can be explained if one accepts the fact that the writer originally did not intend to describe Edward's life, but Godwin's.
44. This must have been the Witenagemot of August or September 1051, in which the affair of Eustace of Boulogne and the punishment of the men of Dover were discussed(Witenagemot, p.159). In this affair Godwin played an important part. It is not mentioned by the writer, because he probably did not consider it as important in the controversy of Edward versus Godwin.
45. Siward, Earl of Northumbria, was a Danish warrior of the old primitive Viking type. He had the double task of keeping the Scots out of England, and to keep order in a notoriously wild country. Siward ruled from 1041 till his death in 1055. With Godwin and Leofric of Mercia he accompanied Edward when the latter confiscated Emma's treasury in 1043. Leofric, Earl of Mercia, was an Englishman. He ruled for more than twenty years till his death in 1057. He seems to have been an upright man. These two earls were with Godwin the great power behind the throne. Stenton claims that their rivalries and those of their

successors fatally weakened England in 1066 (ASEngl, pp. 410 ff.). Alfgar, the son of Leofric, had a rather turbulent career. In 1055 he was outlawed for suspicion of treason in the Welsh wars. He raided England with his ally, the Welsh King, Grifffith. One of Alfgar's daughters had married this king. Alfgar was pardoned and restored to his earldom of Mercia. Shortly afterwards Alfgar repeated the same performance, was restored again, and probably saved England more trouble by dying in 1062^(at 1065?). The daughter, who had married King Grifffith of Wales, married Earl Harold, after Grifffith was killed in 1063. She was probably forced into this marriage by Harold. The wife of Earl Leofric, the mother of the adventurous Alfgar, was Lady Godiva of Coventry fame. Husband and wife were both well known for their piety and for their care for religious institutions (NC, II, pp. 443 ff.).

46. Stigand was, as so many bishops and abbots of this period, one of the King's priests. The best known of these priests are: Bishop Herman, Bishop William of London, and the bishops Walter and Giso, all of them mentioned in the Vita. Stigand became bishop of Elmham in 1043, bishop of Winchester in 1047, and archbishop of Canterbury in 1052. He held, as was then the custom in England, the last two bishoprics in plurality till 1070, when he was deposed by papal legates at a council. Stigand was a shrewd politician. He held the archbishopric of Canterbury against the

wishes of Rome for eighteen years. This was probably due to the protection of Godwin and Harold. Stigand even managed to get the pallium from the anti-pope Benedict X, probably by the influence of Harold, but did not enjoy the Roman favour for long. Benedict X was soon succeeded by the great reforming Pope Nicolas II. The English bishops hereafter avoided consecration by Stigand. Apart from his ordinary priestly functions no acts were performed by him which could be recognized as acts of the spiritual head of the English Church (Mon.Order, pp. 697 - 700; NC, II, p.227).

47. The year 1051 was a busy year for Edward and his advisors. A gathering of the witan in London for the appointment of Robert and Spearhafoc, and for the abolishing of the heregeld took place in Midlent. Archbishop Robert was back from Rome in June, a quick journey for this period, and reported on his visit to the Pope. In August came the visit of Count Eustace of Boulogne and the incident of the men of Dover. A decision was taken to punish the town. Earl Godwin was charged with the execution of the punishment. This was decided in Gloucester. Here also took place the discussion what to do, when Godwin refused to punish Dover and started to gather his men. On September 22 Godwin was outlawed and William was appointed bishop of London in place of Spearhafoc. Alf-

gar, the son of Leofric was appointed Earl of Mercia. The visit of William of Normandy may have taken place during the Christmas days at the end of the same year. (NC,II,pp. 77-104; Witenagemot, p. 159).

48. The author mentions here one of these small, unimportant facts, which betray, however, an intimate knowledge of the life of Godwin and a personal interest in the family. Southern discusses this more elaborately (EHR, CCXXXII, "The First Life of Edward the Confessor", p. 393).
49. Bosham is opposite the Isle of Wight in Sussex. It is not clear to me why they did not take the shorter route via Dover. It may have been done to gather on their way all the treasure they could get hold of. Godwin's hall was in Southwark on the Thames. Florence of Worcester mentions Thorney, not far from Bosham, as their point of embarkation (FlWig, p. 152).
50. The meaning of the words in the Ms: petiit ut sic vitam et viam ejus in mari et in illo regeret exilio" is not clear to me. I understand it to mean that Godwin would direct the king's future course while in exile.
51. Godwin left with his family: his wife Gytha, his sons Swegen and Gyrth, and his son Tostig, who had with him his bride Judith (NC,II,p.98). Under the "liberi" are probably understood his other small children: Wulfnoth, Gunhild, and Aelgifu(?). Harold left for Bristol on his way to Ireland with the purpose to return with a pirate fleet and to force his way into

the country. He was accompanied by his younger brother Leofwine. A party was sent out by archbishop Robert to Bishop Ealdred of Worcester to intercept them, but failed. This failure was perhaps deliberate. Outlaws had five days of grace to leave the country. The act of the archbishop, sanctioned by the king, was therefore a serious breach of custom^{ary} law (NC, II, pp. 98-100).

52. Count Baldwin of Flanders (The Debonnair) (1036-1067)

was the brother of Judith, Tostig's wife. Baldwin had been at war with his liege~~x~~ lord, Emperor Henry III, in 1049. Pope Leo IX had excommunicated the Count for this act. A combination of forces of the Empire, England, and Denmark brought Baldwin back into submission. Flanders was a notable pirate^{nest} for Western-Europe. Plunder and slaves were sold in the Flemish towns (NC, IV, pp. 55-56; II, p. 49).

53. See Note 51.

54. It is not clear if here is meant a divorce or only a separation. A divorce would be impossible according to Canon Law. If Edward's vow of permanent continence was an established fact, the marriage was never consummated and would therefore be, in my opinion, null and void. This is probably too farfetched. It probably means a simple separation. This would be logical when the whole Godwin family was out^tlawed and in disgrace. Cruelty or indifference cannot be ascribed to this royal act. From the text it is clear that the measure was taken more from political than per-

sonal motives (NC,II,p.101). Stenton calls this separation "a complete deliverance from the Godwins for the king by sending his wife away" (ASEngl, p. 557). The reason for this remark is not clear to me.

55. The author mentions Wilton as the place of Banishment. Florence of Worcester mentions Wherwell, a place not too far from Wilton (FlWig,p.152; also William of Malmesbury,GR,p.220). Freeman considers Wilton a clerical error (NC,II,p. 101n), but I cannot see how the author could make such an error. He mentions that the queen had been brought up in this nunnery. Could a small nunnery such as Wherwell, with an income of only one-fifth of that of Wilton (Mon.Order, pp. 702-703), receive and board a party, which must have been large, even when reduced below palace-standards? It is strange that all the authorities, except the author of the Vita, mention Wherwell as the place of banishment for Edith.
56. A comparison of Godwin with Joseph, slandered by the wife of Potiphar.
57. Apart from the question whether Godwin was innocent or not, the world has not changed very much. Had the author himself perhaps been a victim of slander?
58. See Note 52.
59. The relation of Judith to Baldwin of Flanders and to Edward has been interestingly discussed by Freeman

(NC, III, pp. 441f.).

60. The scribe, who copied the Ms, must have made a mistake.
For "Leofric" read " Leofwine".

61. Is this a hint that there existed two or more distinctive groups in England? Freeman calls one group the patriotic element of the native Englishmen and the Danes; the other he calls the foreign element of Normans and French, who were a vociferous faction and powerful at Court (NC, II, pp. 18 f.). It seems somewhat farfetched, but the existence of these groups, together with the personal struggle for power by the earls, could explain the apathy and unorganized resistance in the days of the Conquest.

62. It is remarkable that Godwin could use the French King and Count Baldwin for his purpose. Henry I did not possess much power, except in his own royal domains. Count Baldwin held, however, great influence at the Norman Court and also great esteem in Western Europe. It is just at this moment that William of Normandy courted Matilda, Baldwin's daughter. It is not impossible that the visit of William to Edward in the winter of 1051-1052 had strengthened the French influence at Edward's Court. This could explain the activities of Godwin. The latter could have used Baldwin's influence for his purpose, knowing that events had turned lately in favour of the Count of Flanders. Baldwin had been at war with Edward only two years ago (NC, II, p.207). Is there any connection between Godwin's activities and those of Harold a few years later? Harold showed then a remarkable interest in the affairs of France.

63. This is the river Yzer of World War I fame. It runs through West-Flanders and was already since early times connected with Bruges by a canal. Bruges was then becoming the centre of Flanders and the headquarters of the Counts (NC, III, pp. 54 f.; ASEngl, p. 416, p. 557). In another hundred years it would be the centre of the textile industry of Western-Europe.
64. Their arrival had been expected by the English fleet. This fleet, under the command of the earls Oda and R~~aph~~^{alph}, had received orders to intercept Godwin. A storm forced them to seek shelter and to go for repairs to London. Godwin's fleet returned to Flanders and made a short while later a second attempt. This time Godwin went to the Isle of Wight to join there with the fleet of Harold (NC, II, pp. 421 ff.; ASEngl, p. 558 f.).
65. Harold and Leofwine had sailed with a fleet from Ireland. They landed first at Porlock at the mouth of the Bristol Channel in Devonshire. The militia , who were waiting for them, were severely beaten. Harold sailed around Land's End, plundering and ravaging, whenever supplies were needed for his piratical crew, as was the custom (NC, II, p. 209 ff.). Freeman suggests from the apparent satisfaction over the plundering of the English that the writer could have been an Englishman from the North. The author may have been from the North of England, where rival-

II, p.215). The Abingdon Chronicle mentions the same date in another way as "the Monday after the Mass of Mary (St. Mary's birthday on September the eighth). The feastdays of the Saints played an important part in daily life.

Contradictory to the statement of Stenton (ASEngl, p. 558), the popular support of Godwin must have been impressive enough to make the outcome of the meeting of Edward and Godwin a foregone conclusion. Robert, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of London and Dorchester, and possibly some more of the influential Normans, took the right conclusion and fled the country in a hurry (NC, II, p.218).

69. It appears from the text that Edward did not have any other choice than to admit defeat. It is clear that he hesitated to the last moment. The writer makes it appear that the Witenagemot was held on the same day. Actually it was held on the following day, a Tuesday, in the open air outside London, and important decisions were made. Godwin and his sons were in-lawed. The important French officials were outlawed. Stigand, a friend of Godwin, was appointed archbishop of Canterbury. Leofric, a nephew of the Earl of Mercia, became abbot of Peterborough (Witenagemot, p. 159; NC, II, p. 220). The author mentions that Godwin laid his arms down. This was probably the formidable battle-ax, which was the official token of power and freedom. Emma, Edward's mother, died in the same year. Swegen,

the eldest of the sons of Godwin, had gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to atone for his misdeeds in the past. He died in 1052 on his return journey.

70. The Latin word in the text is the latinized Greek word δωδύκος. The ordinary meaning of this word is "bedchamber", or "bridalbed". Could this mean that a regular and normal marriage existed between the king and the queen? The author would not have risked to use this special word in a work dedicated to Edith, when he had a knowledge of even had heard rumours of the vow of King Edward.
71. This is another example of the strangeness of the Vita's composition. The hero of the story is not Edward, but Godwin.
72. For a better understanding of the comparison of Godwin and Edward with David and Saul, one should read the first book of Samuel, chapters 16, 17, and 18. The poetry is not always clear. The comparison of Edward with Saul is far from complimentary and can, in my opinion, only be explained by the original purpose of the author to compose a work, dedicated to the House of Godwin.
73. The author paraphrases here the ~~et~~^{text} of Samuel I, 25: "The King desireth not any dowry (for Saul's daughter Michal) but a hundred foreskins of the Philistines, to be avenged of the king's enemies".
74. The text in the Ms is: petat aut si res sibi pugnam. I have grouped the words in this way: aut si res petat sibi pugnam. The meaning is obscure.

75. This is a translation of Samuel 24, vers 5.
76. Godwin died by a stroke during a meal at the royal palace in Winchester on Easter Monday, April 15, 1053 (NC, II, p.223). There is something wrong in the time^Treckoning of the author. It can only be explained if he starts from the year 1051, which is possible. The text says: Secundo post haec anno. Godwin was buried in the Old Minster at Winchester. His wife, Gytha, gave several lordships to the church for the ~~repose~~ of Godwin's soul, as is testified by the Winchester Annals. She gave also a gift to the church of Exeter, which was dedicated to the great Scandinavian, St. Olay (Ibidem). A later story about the death of Godwin attributed his sudden death to a just punishment of God for the death of Alfred. It made the scene of his death a form of ordeal (GR, p.217).
77. Harold succeeded his father in the earldom of West-Saxony. Kent was not included. Harold's earldom of East-Anglia went to the son of Leofric, Alfgar, who held it already during the turbulent years 1051-1052 (NC, II, p. 237).
78. In 1055 died the last of the great warriors of Cnut, Earl Siward, at York. He did not die on the battlefield, but, as he complained, "as a cow" in his bed. At his last moments he was dressed ~~up~~ in his full warrior's garb (NC, II, p.250). His sons had all died

in the numerous wars with the Scots. In his lifetime he had built a church in a village near York, called Galmanho. Siward dedicated this church to St. Olay. The foundation grew in later years into the abbey of St. Mary, the ruins of which are still standing. Tostig was now appointed successor of Siward. The political consequence was that Northumbria could be more closely tied with the rest of England. Tostig seems to have been a close friend of Edward, and a favorite brother of Edith. His appointment was a definite change in the custom of appointing only people linked, by birth or otherwise, with this northern earldom (NC, II, p. 252).

79. This is another digression of the author, which, in my opinion, points to the fact, that the author had already gathered his material for another purpose than the present one. He devotes here a considerable part of his work to members of the House of Godwin without any apparent necessity.
80. The Latin text says: "Ut exempla imitabilia habeant ii, qui in eorum successerint posteritate". I ask myself whether the author could ever have written this line with the knowledge of the events of 1065 and 1066. It looks to me a part of a work written before these dates and taken over in the present Vita without any change. The character-sketches of the two brothers and the comparison with their father betray an intimate knowledge of these persons.

81. I do not know where the author made this conclusion. It is possible that this was done in the lost parts of the Ms.
82. This denial sounds almost like a confirmation. During the troubles of 1065 Harold proves again to be rash in swearing an oath to prove his innocence.
83. The qualities, mentioned by the author, should have made Tostig an ideal ruler for Northumbria. His inability to compromise, and his excessive zeal for justice brought Tostig to extremes, which would bring disaster ^{to} ~~over~~ him, his relations, and ^{to} ~~over~~ England. It is possible that these same qualities made Tostig a favorite of Edward (NC, II, pp. 252 ff.).
84. The marriage of Tostig and Judith seems to have been excellent, this in sharp contrast with the life of Harold. Tostig and Judith had a great reverence for St. Cuthbert. They gave many donations to the church of the Saint in Durham. A comical story is told by the chronicler. He informs us that it was forbidden for women to pay their personal devotion to the shrine of St. Cuthbert. Judith was anxious to do so, but did not trust the Saint too well. She sent her maid first, who received a good slapping from the invisible Saint. This discouraged Judith sufficiently to refrain from a personal attempt (NC, II, p. 255).

85. To describe chastity in behaviour the Latin text gives the word "coelebs". This is the same word, used to describe the chastity of Edward in the prophecy of Brithwold. With Tostig the word cannot mean that he had no intercourse with his wife. There were children. Could "coelebs" in both cases mean "chaste" in the meaning of "free from excessive carnal desires"?
86. Gyrth received the earldom of East-Anglia two years after Tostig became Earl of Northumbria. Leofric of Mercia and Ralph the Timid of Worcester died in 1057. The son of Leofric, the notorious Alfgar, was translated to Mercia. East-Anglia, which he vacated, was divided between Gyrth, who received the Northern part, and his younger brother Leofwine, who received the southern part and Kent (NC,II,p.250).
87. This is a very obscure passage. It is more than probable that it contains some copying errors of the scribe, or scribes. Freeman holds that the author kept it purposely obscure (NC,II, p.288). The expression ~~2xni~~ "His fame and name not being unknown" may well fit in with the possibility of an earlier meeting of Harold and William of Normandy. The conclusion I draw from this part is, that Harold openly visited France to spy out the land for defence or attack, and cloaked this visit with a desire to visit the shrine of St. Peter.

Could he have made this reconnaissance without the knowledge of king and witan?

If this part of the text was written before 1065, it would stand to reason that the author could not make Harold's purpose, or what he thought to be Harold's purpose, clear to others. A man of such crafty mind, as Harold showed himself to be, would not feel at rest until he discovered the plans of William of Normandy. Here is not discussed William's visit to Edward in 1051, or the journey of Harold to William in 1064(?). The Vita does not mention them. These visits are discussed by Freeman (NC, III, pp. 144-170), by Stenton (ASEngl, pp. 569-570), and by Oleson (Witenagemot, p. 79).

From the text it looks as if Harold, combining the holy with the useful, tried to get some first hand knowledge of the situation in France. He may have tried to form an alliance against the growing power of William of Normandy (NC, II, p. 28). The journey of William to Edward in 1051 could not have been kept a secret for Harold after seven years. The situation on the Continent was far from clear. The Empire was under the weak regency of the Empress Agnes; France's king had only influence in the royal domains around Paris. William of Normandy was in practice the great power in Western-Europe in combination with his father-in-law, the

Count of Flanders. The Normans were carving out their future kingdoms in Apulia and Sicily. A reconnaissance in person would be a wise move and in accordance with Harold's character (NC, II, p. 121).

The author is the only source who gives this remarkable piece of information. Charters from that period, found in Flanders, seem to confirm his statement(Ib.).

88. Tostig's pilgrimage is well-recorded in the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester (FlWig, p.161) and in the Vita Wulfstani (Vita Wulfstani, p.16). It took place in 1061. Why Judith is called "Fausta" is a mystery. Was it perhaps her pet⁷name at court? The fact, that two earls and the archbishop of York were absent from the kingdom at the same time, seems to show that all was quiet in and around England. The company travelled via Flanders and Germany. Why did they not follow the shorter route via France and the Provence? Had Harold's journey in 1058 provided good reasons to avoid France or was it simply because they wanted to visit their relations in Germany? It seems to me that pilgrimages had sometimes more a political than a religious motive.

89. The Pope, mentioned here, is Pope Nicolas II, who by his Papal Decrees in 1059 gave an additional impetus to the reform movement in the Church. ^{Prof.} ~~Don~~ Knowles mentions that the reform spirit had not yet reached England, despite the introduction of some Norman abbots and bishops (Mon.Order, p. 82).

90. This synod cannot have been the Second Lateran Council, as Aelred of Rievaulx states (PL, Vol. 195, p. 758). This was held two years before in 1059.
91. Ealdred was at that moment bishop of Worcester
~~92.~~
 92. (1042?-1062) and had been appointed archbishop of York in 1061. Ealdred was apparently sent by Edward, in the company of Giso and Walter, to obtain the papal confirmation for the privileges of the restored monastery of Westminster (PL, Vol. 195, p. 758), and to receive the pallium. The confirmation of the privileges was given but the pallium was refused till the archbishop pledged to hand over the see of Worcester to somebody, appointed by the Pope. This was done the next year under supervision of papal legates. The see of Worcester came to St. Wulfstan (Vita Wulfstani, pp. 17-18).
93. Giso and Walter had come via a different route to receive their ordination from the Pope. Stigand was considered a schismatic after he had taken the see of Canterbury in 1052 from Robert. The latter had fled to France but had not relinquished his see. The only person, who could lawfully ordain, was Ealdred, who had gone to Rome (NC, II, pp. 226 f.). Giso and Walter, both of them king's priests, had been appointed bishops of resp. Hereford (1061-1079), and Wells (1061-1088). From this may be concluded that, despite the hold of Stigand on the see of Canterbury, the authority of Rome and Canon Law was strong.

94. Gospatrick is the meaning of the Latin name "Caius Patricius" given by the author in the text. Freeman states that he was the grandson of Edward's half-sister (NC,II,p. 304n). The leader of the robbers was a nobleman, Gerard, Count of Galeria (Vita Wulfstani, p. 17n).
95. This is another instance of reiteration. The Vita Wulfstani makes Tostig take a stronger stand against the Pope (Vita Wulfstani, p.17). Tostig told the Holy Father to be milder towards suppliants like Ealdred, but more vigorous against the robbers in his papal territories. This sounds exactly like the Tostig of the author's description.
96. Was the Pope thinking of the ambitions of Adalbert of Bremen and Anno of Cologne? These archbishops were developing ideas of greater independence from Rome.
- 96a.Lines 820-875 are in parts obscure. It seems that the author was not familiar with the story of Thyestes. It is possible, however, that circumstances, which are unknown to us, caused this seeming ignorance of a myth, which is well-known to all students of classic mythology.
- Thyestes was in Greek legend a son of Pelops and Hypodamia, and a brother of Atreus. He seduced his brother's wife and had a son by his own daughter. The name of this son was Aegisthus. Atreus killed three of Thyestes' sons and served them to their

father at a feast. Thyestes pronounced then the curse which brought misfortune to Atreus and his household. Some of the more obscure lines are 828-831; 842-843; 873-875. I have based my translation on a rearrangement of these lines and on the contents of the preceding ones.

Rearrangement of lines 828-831:

Quid minaris turbato felle super his geminis, infelix
fortuna, accingta nimis livore gemello ministras The-
banis rogis hinc et intenta ~~TURINAE~~ ~~IBUS~~ armis admini-
stras inde funereas faces ?

Rearrangement of 842-843:

Tu laedis altius pietatem post sex crimina septimo
(Ms: septima) , quae (Ms: quod) diluit per se omnes
errores. I admit that it still does not make very much sense. Is it perhaps a reference to the seven cardinal sins?

Rearrangement of 873-875:

Ne de pignore regali seu stirpe fideli sibi rideat
ignis hostis, ne incendia longa collegisse stipulam
perpetuam suis favillis. I recognize in a few words some parts of the Psalms.

All these rearrangements are perhaps too far-fetched, but I cannot see another possibility.

97. The comparison of the four rivers could not any longer be applied to Harold , Tostig, Edith, and Gyrth after the Northumbrian Revolt. The author starts with the

glorification of the united strength of Harold and Tostig, most conspicuous in the Welsh war of 1062. Why he interrupts it suddenly with his picture of doom, caused by the quarrel of the brothers, is not clear to me. The only reason I can see is that the author wanted to give his work some dramatic effect. The pilgrimage of the brothers is described before, a description of the king and queen comes after. The composition of the Vita is obviously haphazard. The author becomes mixed up in the legend of Thyestes. His Latin shows that he had sufficient classical education to know better. Could all this point to a hurried composition?

98. See Note 96a.

99. This is a reference to Cain and Abel.

100. See Note 96a.

101. The Erinyes are the Furies or the goddesses of vengeance. They pursued criminals, drove them mad, and tormented them in the underworld. They were represented as three-winged maidens with snakes in their hair. The author takes Erinyes singular for the sake of the meter.

102. This is a prayer to Holy Mary to ask her help in restoring the unity between the two brothers, and to preserve them from eternal damnation. If this is the right interpretation - the text is far from clear - then the battle of Stamford Bridge could not have taken place when the author wrote these lines. "Pignore regali" is translated by "royal child". It could point

to Harold, elected and crowned as successor of Edward. The short reference to the battle of Stamford Bridge is strange. Its appearance in this part of the text cannot be explained. It could have been added after completion of the original work. The prayer for unity, of such a length, one-sixth of this poetical interlude, must point to a strong emotional disturbance in the mind of the author.

103. The reform movement on the Continent had not yet reached England. Edward had perhaps noticed this indifference. Probably he was eager to introduce this new spirit into his kingdom. This may explain why Edward introduced some of his former friends into English church-life. It may also explain the disturbance of 1051. The king introduced in England at the same time a number of foreign clerks, who were not monks, to form the nucleus of the "royal chapel". Most of these clerks came from Lorraine or the Low Countries. They gradually took the place of the monks as the king's nominees to vacant bishoprics. Thus they transformed the whole character of the episcopate as a body. Some prominent bishops are already mentioned: William of London, Herman of Ramsbury, Walter of Hereford, and Giso of Wells. From this should not be concluded that it was done to the exclusion of English-born. Edward's appointments to, and treatment of spiritual offices were highly arbitrary and seemed

not to have followed any fixed policy. The difference in religious zeal, especially in the monasteries, between England and the Continent in the years before the Conquest was very great. While English monastic life was slackening in fervour and an attitude of ease prevailed, the French, and even more the Norman monasteries, were becoming rigorous in observance of the rule, and showed a growing spirit of enthusiasm (Mon. Order, pp. 71 f. and p. 94).

104. The religious attitude of the nobles and even the kings was not of the highest order. The ~~text~~ shows that the time during the Mass was often used for discussing business or even for pleasure. King Henry II was a notorious sinner in this respect (NC, II, p. 17).
105. The West-Saxon Kings had a regulation which forbade the queen ~~to~~^{to} sit beside the king. This measure was taken to safeguard the royal person. In the past a queen had used this opportunity to get rid of her master and lord (GR, pp. 107 f.).
106. The foreign name of this king is Macbeth. See Note 108.
107. This is a very confused sentence, in which the author has mixed up three constructions. The reason for this confusion is not clear to me. If the writer had cut his sentence in three parts, he could have avoided all this trouble. Perhaps he was too

much in a hurry to get his work ready, or did not bother about corrections. It is more likely, however, that later scribes took a short cut to diminish their labour. Another possibility is that the author made a new work, the present one, from one or more other writings and became confused, or was interrupted. It looks to me that there is too much confusion to be accidental.

108. In 1054 Siward had defeated the Scotch King, Macbeth. This king had murdered his predecessor Duncan for the possession of the throne. In the same manner Siward had obtained his earldom in the past. The purpose of the attack was the restoration to the throne of the rightful inheritor Malcolm. A great land and sea force took part in the operation. After great slaughter on both sides Macbeth was defeated and escaped with difficulty. The English made such a great amount of plunder that it struck the contemporary writers with wonder. Malcolm kept a close alliance with Siward and later with Tostig. Macbeth kept his fight up for four more years till 1058, when he was defeated and slain in the battle near Lumfanan in Aberdeenshire. Malcolm was crowned at Scone after the defeat of his rival. This fight, which had lasted for four years, was later compressed into one single battle, which provided the material for the tragedy of Shakespeare's Macbeth. It is not certain to which

war this passage refers. It may be the war with Macbeth in 1057-1058, or it may be a punitive expedition, made by Tostig against Malcolm, when the latter had invaded Northumbria during Tostig's absence in Rome. The last mentioned possibility is very small. Tostig had become a blood-brother of Malcolm long before these events. The chronicles do not mention any attack on Scotland after 1058 (NC, II, p.243; pp. 432 ff.).

109. The Latin word is "commissura!" This is used in architecture to describe the joint between two stones or two constructions. The author means perhaps the juncture between the walls of the inside altar dome and the outside walls. I have added at the end of this work a plan of a cathedral for some clarification of the words used by the author.
110. If the author was an architect, it can only be hoped that his blueprints were clearer than his descriptions. Freeman complains about the difficulty of understanding this part of the text (NC, II, p.338). Before Edward's church was finished, the old church had not led a too obscure life. It was, however, always below the fame of St. Paul's church, which was within the walls of London. The history of the Abbey of Westminster goes back to the earliest days of English Christianity. Sigebert, the first Christian king of the East-Saxons, started a foundation in honour of St. Peter (604). Legends had already attached themselves to the building (NC,

II, p.335). Aelred of Rievaulx gives the reasons for the start of this work (PL, Vol. 195, p.775). Edward had made a vow to go on a pilgrimage to Rome. It proved to be impossible for him to fulfill it. The constant threat of a renewed invasion from the North, and the protests of the witan made a long absence of the king impossible. Pope Leo IX dispensed with Edward's vow and imposed on him instead the obligation to found or enlarge a monastery in honour of St. Peter within his kingdom. In a second mission to the successor of Leo, Pope Nicolas II, special privileges were received for the foundation (PL, Vol. 195, pp.758-760). This great work filled the last fourteen years of Edward's reign. Vows of pilgrimage were often changed into other works of piety for reasons of sickness, safety of family or country, and others. Westminster Abbey was, exactly as the author describes it, not too flourishing in spiritual life in 1051, when the king started on his project. Edward intended the monastery to be a royal "private abbey", and directly dependent upon the king in a more explicit way than any previously existing house. It was richly endowed by Edward largely at the expense of Pershore, one of the medium-sized abbeys in Worcestershire. It played no great part in the monastic life of England for more than a century after Edward's death. The minster was torn down and totally rebuilt by

Henry III in 1269, after Edward was canonized
(Mon.Order, p.72; p.102).

111. The text is: "ut etiam aliqua pars spatiose subiret interjaciendi vestibuli". This can be translated as: that even some part of the entrance, which had been laid between the old and the new church, came under the old one over a considerable distance, and also came close to the old church over a considerable length.
112. Here is an expression which is difficult to associate with the later belief in a vow of chastity by Edward.
113. The church of the monastery of Wilton was built of wood. Edith erected a stone church to replace the old one. The nunnery itself may have been a ninth century foundation and was certainly in being during the reign of Athelstan (829-839?) (ASEngl, p.439). The value of its holdings are given in Domesday Book as 246.15.6 pound sterling. It was therefore at that moment the richest nunnery and one of the dozen richest convents in the country. The importance of the nunneries in the pre-Conquest days was not great, compared with the monasteries for men. The task of the nuns had not yet embraced teaching, nursing, or missionary work. Till the thirteenth century no English nun attained wide celebrity. The nunneries served as preserves for the upper class. Beside St. Edith and Edith God-

winsdaughter Wilton sheltered also Gunhild, a daughter of Harold. After the Conquest the nunnery became famous as a place for the education of daughters of noble families: e.g. Matilda and Eve of Goscelin (Mon. Order, p.702).

114. St. Edith was the daughter of King Edgar (957-975) and St. Wulfrith. She devoted her life to God, and spent all her time at Wilton. She died at the age of twenty-three and was buried in this convent. William of Malmesbury mentions some facts of her holy life (GR, pp. 245 ff).
115. This is a difficult sentence. The author wants to state his opinion that the weaker sex has more problems to attack than the stronger sex, because they cannot spend freely. This weakness is, however, an advantage. Just for this reason the weaker sex keeps her goal within reason. They will therefore succeed sooner and better. Edith completed her church within a short time.
116. Herman was one of the King's priests. He probably came from Lorraine. Herman succeeded Brithwold as bishop of Ramsbury (1045-1078). Since 1058 he held also the see of Sherborne in plurality. This bishop tried to get hold of Malmesbury monastery to improve the material position of his bishopric. Harold prevented this when the monks protested. The bishop

retired to the monastery of St, Omer in Flanders, and sulked there for three years till another opportunity came his way. He enlarged his small bishopric by annexation of Sherborne, after its bishop Aelfwold had died. At the end of Herman's life the two bishoprics merged into a new one : Salisbury(NC,II, pp. 269-271).

118. This is a paraphrase of Psalm 84.

119. ^{Pref.}~~Dom~~ D. Knowles gives an excellent summary of St. Benedict's rule (Mon. Order, pp. 1-15).

120. Tostig spent most of his time at court, where he was a favorite of Edward and his sister Edith. A thegn of Northumbria, Copsige, ruled the earldom in his absence. Edward never visited Northumbria. Tostig came very seldom. Under such circumstances many grievances accumulated against Tostig. He was accused of the murder of two thegns, Gamel and Ulf, received at his hall under the protection of peace. Another thegn, Gospatrick, had been murdered at the King's Court during the Christmas Gemot in 1064. It was rumoured that the murder was committed by order of the Queen at the instigation of Tostig. It is highly possible that Tostig did away with criminals in high positions, whom he could not bring to justice in a more normal manner. To revenge these crimes two hundred thegns came to York and held unlawfully a Gemot in October 1065.

They elected on their own account a certain Morkere, the younger son of Alfgar of Mercia. Alfgar had died in 1062 ^(or 1063?) and was succeeded by his son Edwine. Tostig was on a hunting tour with the king when the rebellion started. The rebels moved south, killing and plundering. It was perhaps the fact, that Tostig had put a stop to this pastime, which started the revolt. All people who had any connection with Tostig were killed. The treasure of the earl was plundered. The author mentions that the revolt was used to settle some private accounts with personal enemies. Marching south through Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derby the rebels collected sympathizers, or perhaps others, eager for plunder. In Northampton Morkere was joined by his brother, who commanded his men of Mercia. A large body of Welshmen was in the latter's company. This may indicate that the revolt was planned long before, and was not a popular uprising. The author hints already in that direction. Harold was the first to take action. He tried to settle matters peacefully but had no success. The rebels demanded that their choice of earl should be confirmed by the king, and that Tostig should be outlawed. King Edward was bent on punishing the rebels. Harold thought it wise to give in, for the moment at least, against superior numbers, and with the threat of an invasion by Harold

Hardrada in the background. The rebels had advanced as far as Oxford, when the king capitulated. This rebellion has drawn the attention of the historians. Some consider it a sign of separatism in North-England (NC, II, pp. 319 ff.), others an outburst of regionalism. Forces, which were working against the unification in one state of England, were competing with the tendency to bring the whole country firmly under the rule of the king by centralizing the administration. These forces were evenly matched for most of the time. In 1065 the balance was temporarily disturbed (B. Wilkinson "~~The~~ Northumbrian Separatism in 1065 and 1066", BJRL, vol. 23, 1939, p. 24). In 1944 I noticed in Yorkshire that even now the North of England has an inbred distrust of the South.

121. The expression "the children of royal descent" could be a reference to the dislike of the North for all who were of the House of Cerdic. In this case it could mean that the revolt was a separatist movement, at least in the eyes of the author.
122. Northumbria had a great reputation for its wildness of land and people. Stenton finds the reason for its turbulent history in its geophysical condition (ASEngl, pp. 90 f.).
123. Nobles, making a living out of robbing others, were common all over Europe in this period. They resented equally in England, France, or Germany any interference with this lucrative business. Tostig's acti-

vities to repress it may have been one of the main causes for the revolt. Stenton gives a very plausible cause: a resentment against a heavy tax imposed on Northumbria by Tostig (ASEngl, p. 570).

124. The spelling of Oxford in the text is "Axoneforde". This should have been "Oxonoforde". There are a number of strange spellings and words in the text e.g. Heinricus, and busa, from which Freeman and Southern concludes that the author was a native of Flanders (NC, II; R.W. Southern, "The First Life of Edward the Confessor", EHR, CCXXII, p. 397, p. 398n.). It may also have been the fault of the scribe, or scribes, who copied the Ms. If the author were a native of Flanders or Lorraine he might have made these mistakes. The English writers used "Heinricus" for Henry, while Flemish writers used "Heinricus", the Germanic form for Henry (PL, Vol. 141, De Gestis Northmanniae Ducum, by Dudo).

The author mentions Oxford as the farthest point of advance of the rebels. Henry of Huntingdon mentions Northampton (PL, Vol. 195, p. 923). Florence of Worcester mentions first Northampton, then Oxford (FlWig, p. 167). The Worcester and Peterborough Chronicles mention Northampton and Oxford (NC, II, p. 465). It is certain that Edward was at Britford in Wiltshire, approximately fifty miles south of Oxford. Stenton puts the place of negotiation at

Oxford, which is the most logical. Oxford is the place mentioned by the author as the point of the farthest advance of the rebels. Britford would then be the place where the witan, minus the rebel leaders, could have gathered for the king's decision (Witenagemot, p.161).

125. It is not probable that Harold acted against his own brother. They had only a short while before cooperated in the Welsh war. There cannot have existed a sufficient reason for Harold to act treacherously. No immediate gains for the future could be made by Harold by turning against Tostig. Stenton states that Harold's position weakened in this revolt (ASEngl, p. 571). It is probable that Harold refused to act against the wishes of the rebels to gain time. Immediate action could start a civil war while Harold Hardrada was known to ^{be} plan an invasion. Harold hoped perhaps that Tostig would be allowed to return soon. So far none of the outlawed earls had stayed away from the country for a long time, or had suffered permanent loss of their power. Edward wanted to use force immediately. It is possible that such an action would have made a difference in Harold's position in 1066.
126. Edward had reached an extraordinary age for an English king. He must have been close to sixty, an age which his predecessors on the throne had never reached. (Encomium, xliii). The frustration and the banish-

ment by his own order of a man, he liked and respected, could have weighed heavily on a conscience of a future saint. It is, of course, also possible that an ordinary disease, combined with old age, caused this physical breakdown. Freeman gives as his diagnosis " baffled wrath against his own people" (NC,II, p.333).

127. Godwin's wife Gytha was still living and had many tragedies before her. Tostig and his wife went to his father-in-law, Baldwin of Flanders, on All Saints Day (November 1). His children, two sons Skule and Ketil, went a short time later to Norway, where they received grants of land (NC,III, p.250). The Northumbrian Revolt had lasted less than one month,
128. The interest of the author in Baldwin V (The Debonnair)(1036-1067) may mean that Flanders was his land of origin. The history of Flanders was closely connected with that of England and would remain so for a long time. The Counts of Flanders were vassals of the Empire and of the French King. They enjoyed a high esteem in Western-Europe and ^{were to} ~~would~~ play an important part in the history of Europe till the end of the Hundred Years War. After the death of Henry I of France (1061) Baldwin acted as regent over the realm of his wife's young nephew Philip. This young

boy was King Philip the First of France (1061-1108). Baldwin's wife was Adela, the daughter of Robert II (The Pious) (970-1031), who was himself a son of the well-known Hugh Capet (NC, III, pp. 54 ff; pp. 433 ff.).

129. Baldwin seems to have been an expert in rebellions. He rebelled against his father, against the Emperor Henry III, against the Empress-Regent Agnes, and against his own king. In the later rebellions he did very well for himself, probably because he had gained experience (NC, I, p. 314; II, pp. 57 ff.; III, p. 54). I cannot find to which rebellion the author refers. Baldwin in the role of suppressor of rebellions is somewhat strange.
130. St. Omer is the name of the seat of the early Counts of Flanders. It is also the site of the famous Benedictine abbey of St. Audemar (Mon. Order, p. 29). St. Audemar was born in Constance (Switzerland) and preached as a monk of Luxueil in the region of the Morines (Artois). He died in 670. His feastday is on September 9.
131. This complaint may have been written in or after 1066, when three kings (Edward, Harold I, and Harold Hardrada) and the earls Leofwine, Tostig, and Gyrth had died. I do not know any other event which could give the author cause for this complaint.
132. This line and the following may give an indication that the Vita had originally another subject : the

praise of the House of Godwin. The text says "to my dear masters", which can only apply to the Godwins.

133. A legend ^{relates} ~~told~~ that the Welsh came originally from the Caucasus.

134. In 1062 Griffith, King of Wales, had invaded England, and had raided the West of England beyond the Severn. At the Christmas Gemot in Gloucester it was decided to act quickly against this new outrage of Edward's vassal. Harold set out with a very small party and surprised Griffith in his palace at Rhuddlan in North-Wales. Griffith narrowly escaped. It was then decided to finish the Welsh ravages once and for all. Harold sailed to Bristol in May 1063 and struck straight through Wales. Tostig came with a mounted Northumbrian force from the Northeast. Harold followed new tactics by attacking the enemy with lightly armed forces, which speeded his movements. His "scorched - earth" policy forced the surrender of the Welsh. Peace was refused to them till they had killed their own king. His head was brought to Harold in 1064. The war was so ferocious, that Welsh women received permission to marry Englishmen to be able to find husbands. Peace returned in 1065 (NC, II, p.317), Harold sent Griffith's head and the stern of the Welsh royal warship as trophies to Edward (Fl.Wig, p.166). Parts of Wales were annexed. In this war Harold showed himself a leader with more than average abilities. His military exploits were remembered

for a long time (NC,II, pp. 317 ff.).

135. This is a reference to the battle of Stamford Bridge in the year after the Northumbrian Revolt.
136. Another reference to the same battle. According to the English minstrels the living crossed the river over the bodies of their fallen comrades, which choked the stream (PL,Vol.195, p.925).
137. The author comes now at last to the story, he promised to tell at the beginning of his work. This is the only part which deals with Edward as the main person of the story. From now on the other persons are in the background.
138. It is somewhat strange to compare God with "Jupiter Tonans". The comparison is made twice in this work.
139. Another reference to the Godwins, all killed with the exception of Edith, Wulfnoth, and Gunhild.
140. Here is another example of the haphazard composition of the Vita. Apparently the author did not feel satisfied with his efforts on behalf of Edward, if I read the text rightly.
141. The Latin word is "Castimonia". I have translated it by "innocence" and not by "continence" or "chastity" following the explanation of the word, given by Freeman (NC, II, p. 353). A better translation would have been , as I was told, "purity of life".
142. "Sancta dextera" is combined here with "pius rex". I have translated the word "sáncta" by "holy", even if the combination is somewhat strange.

143. The author does not go so far to ascribe the fertility of the woman to the ~~miraculous~~ power of Edward. He reasoned that barrenness could be caused by psychological or physical factors.
144. This line is another contradiction of the theory of Marc Bloch. The Frenchmen, mentioned here, could only have been the Normans in the royal household, who were friends of the king since his exile. Edward was close to sixty or perhaps ~~somewhat~~ over it. The author, from his own words (lines 5-10), is also approaching old age. Bloch maintains that the Vita was written at least almost forty years later. All the witnesses would have been of extremely old age. An interesting discussion of the "royal touch" is given by R.W.Southern in his article "The First Life of Edward the Confessor" (EHR, CCXXII, 1943, p. 389).
145. The feast of All Saints is on November the first. The day should therefore be October the thirty-first.
146. In the Ms one leaf is missing. R.W.Southern mentions that the contents can be reconstructed with something approaching certainty from the Life of Edward by Osbert of Clare, who follows the Ms often literally (R.W.Southern, "The First Life of Edward the Confessor", EHR, CCXXXII, 1943, p.390n.). The story, which starts here, is also told by Aelred of Rivaux (PL, Vol. 195, p. 763).

147. The author probably refers here to the troublesome times of the year 1066.
148. The Latin word is "jugerum" which means "acre". Because an acre is a measure of area, the word should probably be translated by "furlong", as Freeman suggests (NC, III, p.7).
149. The explanation, which was given later to this prophecy, dates, as far as I can ascertain, from the beginning of the twelfth century and was accepted by later writers (PL, Vol. 195, pp. 773 f.; Luard, "The French Life of Edward the Confessor", lines 3805-3858). The explanation is that three usurpers would occupy the English throne. After these a descendant of Edward would unite in marriage with the then reigning king. Their children would represent the united trunk and stump, now bearing fruit again. The fulfillment of this prophecy was seen in the marriage of Henry I~~X~~ with Matilda, the granddaughter of Edward the Atheling. The most acceptable explanation is the one given by the author. Edward considered the English as incorrigible sinners. His efforts to reform the English Church had only brought him disappointment. It is also possible that Stigand was right. He considered the prophecy as the babbling of an old, dying man (NC, III, p.7n.). The fact, that the author adds Stigand's comment makes the story highly convincing. Another intimate detail is that part, in which the author tells us how the queen warmed Edward's feet in her bosom. An

eleventh century palace in England could not have been very warm in the month of January.

150. Robert the Staller was of Norman descent (NC, III, p. 5).
151. The author describes the religious situation in England in the same somber mood as Edward. The observance in the monasteries showed decline. There was a great accumulation of benefices of all kind (Mon.Order, pp. 72 f.). But there lived also men of high moral character, who worked hard to re-establish the old religious spirit. Two of the most important ones were St. Wulfstan and Aethelwig. The reform movement from the Continent would slowly gain ground. After the Conquest Archbishop Lanfranc combined the Continental Reform movement and the reform tendencies of the English Church before the Conquest (Mon.Order, p.110).
152. From the Gospel of St. Mathew, VII, 7 and St. Luke, XI, 9.
153. From Isaiah, XXIV, 2 and Hosea, IV, 9.
154. This points to my statement that the author took
155 the words of the dying king not as a prophecy but as an impossibility for the English to reform. Could this also mean that the Vita was forgotten three-quarter of a century later? The author's remark disproves the theory of Marc Bloch.
156. This is a hint at Archbishop Stigand, who did not

mend his ways. He was deposed in 1070. According to later legend Stigand did penance when he was imprisoned after his deposition (NC, IV, p. 222). Whether the author knew Stigand's fate, cannot be discovered from the ~~text~~ text. The words are too general in their meaning to form any conclusion.

157. From the words "as a most beloved daughter" an argument could be made for Edward's vow of continence in his marriage. It could also refer to the difference in age between them. The marriage of Aethelred and Emma took place in 1002, The marriage of Godwin and Gytha dates from 1019. There was at least a difference of seventeen years in their age. This could explain the fatherly attitude of an older husband towards his younger wife.
158. The Latin text is: "Commendo hanc cum omni regno tutandam". This is a commendation. Harold was elected by the witan as successor of Edward. The Normans considered him ~~as an~~ usurper and a perjurer. The history of Edward's reign since 1051 is filled with rumours about his possible successor. This is natural because his marriage remained childless. At Christmas 1051 William of Normandy visited Edward and some sort of promise of succession was made by the King. A second attempt to settle the succession was made, when Godwin had curbed the Norman influence in 1052. Edward invited the Atheling Edward to return from Hungary in 1054.

The Atheling was the son of Edmund Ironside. Edward returned to England in 1057 but died immediately after his arrival without meeting the king (ASEngl, p. ~~56~~ 563). He left a son Edgar, who was elected king after the death of Harold in 1066. In 1064? , or perhaps before, Harold visited Normandy. The reasons for and the results of this visit are many and all highly confusing. The nationality of the recorder or whether he belonged to the English or French party seems to have greatly influenced the narration of the events(NC, III, pp. 144-170). It was said that Harold had acknowledged William as his lord, sworn on relics to act accordingly, promised to marry one of William's daughters, and had even accompanied William on one of his expeditions against the Bretons. Another version is that Harold had been sent to William by his own king to appoint William as Edward's successor. Wulfnoth, ~~the~~ youngest son of Godwin, was left in Rouen as a hostage. It is impossible to find out what is true of all these versions. Two facts are certain: Something happened to give William of Normandy some sort of claim on the throne; Wulfnoth was left in Rouen as a hostage for one or other promise and died there after the Conquest (NC, III, pp. 144-170; ASEngl, pp. 569 ff.).

It is not clear what meaning should be attached to the commendation, which the author mentions. Was it

an act of appointing Harold as his successor, or was it a commendation of the kingdom to Harold's care till William should have arrived as the successor already appointed before? The election by the witan could be accomplished easily because Harold had probably not much difficulty to dominate the Witenagemot. Were Harold's actions in the Northumbrian Revolt perhaps an indication of his policy in case Edward died? The king's death could not be far off because of the age of Edward. A strong possibility that the commendation was an appointment as a successor to the throne may be taken from the words of Edward to Harold in which he commends his foreign followers to the latter's care. The words used by Edward are " So that after you have received their adherence (suscepta fidelitate), if they will do so..." It is also possible that Harold's appointment was a matter of expediency. England was faced by several threatening invasions. Tostig and his ally, the king of the Scots, could be expected to invade from the North. Harold Hardrada was also preparing. A strong leader was necessary. Edgar the Atheling was too young to be considered (ASEngl, p.572). Without Harold the earls with all their conflicting interests could not come to a combined action. The role of the witan in Harold's election is discussed by T.J.Oleson (Witenagemot, pp. 87 f).

147. This would put the death of Edward on January the fourth. The Nones of January means January the fifth. When the

(Witenagemot, pp. 87 f.).

159. This would put the death of Edward on January the fourth. The Nones of January means January the fifth. When the word "pridie" of the text is considered, the date of Edward's death should be: the day before the fifth of January, 1066, or January 4, 1066. The generally accepted date is January the fifth, the day before Epiphany.
160. During the spring of 1066 the comet of Halley appeared on its regular round. It made a great impression on the people. Many chroniclers in Western-Europe and even in Italy recorded it. Some of them connected it with the Conquest of England (NC, III, p. 429).
161. Here is meant ~~the~~ Westminster Abbey.
162. Freeman translates the word "tricesimum" by "three hundred", (NC, III, p. 20) and adds as his conclusion that masses for Edward were said after the beginning of the Conquest. This is a mistake. It should be "thirty".

THE CHILDREN OF EMMA OF NORMANDY

Emma (died 1052)
 daughter of Richard the Fearless of Normandy
 and Gunnor. English name Aelfgifu.

⋮
 ⋮

married to Aethelred II
 (1002)

⋮
 ⋮

married to Cnut
 (1017)

⋮
 ⋮

Edward
 d.1066

Alfred
 d.1037

Godgifu
 married to
 Drogo of
 Nantes

⋮
 ⋮

Harthacnut
 d.1042

Gunhild
 married
 Emperor
 Henry III

Ralph the Timid
 d.1057

NB.

Children of Cnut by his irregular marriage
 with Aelfgifu of Northampton

⋮
 ⋮
 ⋮

Harold I "Harefoot"
 (1035-1040)

Sveinn
 King of Norway
 driven out in 1036
 by Magnus, son of Olaf the
 Saint.
 d. 1036 or 1037.

It is uncertain whether Aelfgifu of Northampton was the
 mother of Harold and Sveinn.

For the children of Aethelred II by his first wife see the
 genealogy of the House of Ecgbert.

The authorities for this genealogy are the Encomium Emmae
Reginae, pp. xliii ff., and NC, pp. 553 ff., pp. 483 ff.

GENEALOGY OF EARL GODWIN

Wulfnoth Cyld (of Sussex)
(uncertain who is meant. The Chroniclers mention
two Wulfnoths)

:
:

Godwin
d. 1053

Gytha(m. 1019)
sister of the Danish
Earl Ulf, the husband
of King Cnut's own
sister Estrith.

:
:

Harold d.1066
(2)

Tostig d. 1066
(3)

Swegen d. 1052
(1)

and

Gyrth d. 1066
(4)

Leofwine d. 1066
(5?)

Wulfnoth
died as a hostage
in Rouen.
(?)

and

Edith (d.1074 or
1076)
(eldest of all?)

Gunhild (d.1087)
died a nun in Bruges)

Aelfgifu (?)
youngest of
all.

NB. The numbers refer to the order of birth as far as this
is known.

The children of Harold and Tostig started noble houses
in Norway and Kievan State (Russia).

A cousin Beorn is sometimes mentioned as another son
of Godwin. This is a mistake. Beorn was treacherously
murdered by the eldest of Godwin's children, Swegen,
in 1049.

GENEALOGY OF KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

Ecgbert 802-839

(1) Osburh - Aethelwulf 839-858	Aethelstan King of East-Anglia 829-839?
(2) Judith	

⋮

(1) Aethelbald 858-860	(1) Aethelbert 860-866	(1) Aethelred I 866-871	(1) Alfred 871-900	Aethelwith
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⋮

Edward the Elder 900-924	Aethelweard	Aethelflaed
-----------------------------	-------------	-------------

⋮

Aethelstan 924-940	Edmund I 940-946	Eadred 946-955	Eadgyth m. Otto the Great	Eadgifu m. Louis d'Outremer	e.a.
-----------------------	---------------------	-------------------	---------------------------------	-----------------------------------	------

⋮

Aelfgifu - Eadwig 955-959	Aethelflaed	- Eadgar 957-975	- Aelfwyth
------------------------------	-------------	---------------------	------------

⋮

⋮

Edward the Martyr
975-978

Aethelred II
the Redeless
978-1016
m. (1) Aelfflaed
(2) Emma of Normandy

⋮

see next page.

(1)

Edmund Ironside d.1016

:

:

:

:

:

:

:

:

:

:

:

Aethelstan d. 1015

Eadwig killed 1017

Ealdgyth m. Eadric Streona

Edward the Exile
d. 1057

:

:

:

:

:

:

:

Eadgar the Atheling

(2)

Alfred murdered 1037(1036?)

Edward the III
the Confessor

m

Ealdgyth
Godwin-
daughterGodgifu m. Drogo Count of
Nantes

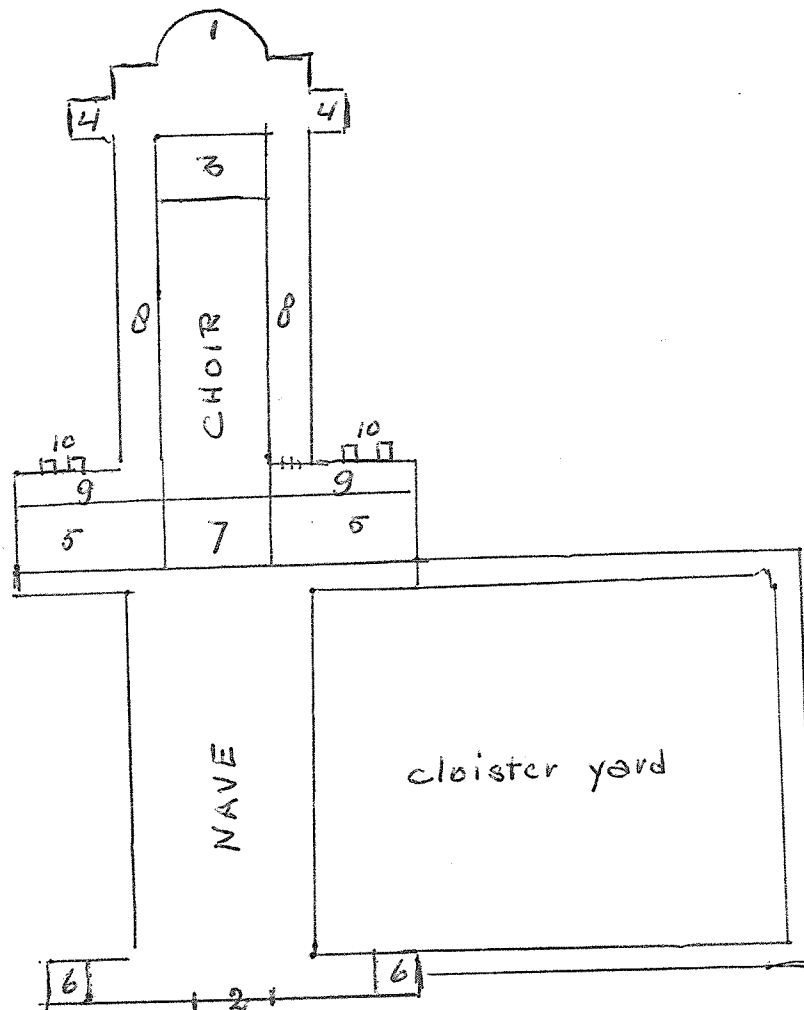
:

:

Ralph the Timid
Earl of Hereford.Margaret
married Malcolm III
King of Scots

A PLAN OF A CATHEDRAL

This is a sketch of the Wells Cathedral, very much simplified to serve as a guide for some of the technical terms used by the author.



- 1 Lady's Chapel
- 2 West Entrance
- 3 Altar
- 4 Easter or lesser transepts
- 5 Western " greater "
- 6 Western towers
- 7 Central tower
- 8 Choir aisles
- 9 Aisles of transepts
- 10 Chapels

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