Criticisms of the Norman Conquest of England, and the Rise of St Edmund as England's Patron Saint

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	*Analecta Bollandiana* (1882-)
ANS	*Anglo-Norman Studies* (Ipswich & Woodbridge, 1979-)
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England* (1972-)
BNJ	*British Numismatic Journal* (1903-)
ASC + A/B/C/D/E/F	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition* (8 vols., Woodbridge, 1983-)
Carmen, ed. Barlow	*The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, ed. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1999)
Carmen, ed. Morton & Muntz	*The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, ed. C. Morton & H. Muntz (Oxford, 1972)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, series latinorum (Turnhout, 1953-)
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum (Vienna, 1866-)
Ecclesiastical History, ed. Chibnall	Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. M. Chibnall (6 vols., Oxford, 1969-80)
EHR	*English Historical Review* (1886-)
ELJ	*Emory Law Journal* (1952-)
EME	*Early Medieval Europe* (1992-)
Gesta, ed. Davis & Chibnall	*The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. R. H. C. Davis & M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998)
Gesta, ed. van Houts	*The "Gesta Normannorum ducum" of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. E. M. C. van Houts (2 vols., Oxford, 1992-5)
HSJ	*Haskins Society Journal* (1989-)
IJHRL	*International Journal of History and Religious Literature* (1990-)
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (1950-)
JHS	*Journal of Historical Sociology* (1988-)
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History (1975-)*
JML	*Journal of Medieval Latin* (1991-)
JRH	*Journal of Religious History* (1960-)
Life, ed. Barlow	*The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, ed. F. Barlow, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1992)
MGH Auct. antiq.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica (1826-) Auctores antiquissimi
LDL	Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum

Poetae	Poetae Latini medii aevi (1881-)
SS	Scriptores (in Folio)
SS rer. Germ.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi (1871-)
Miracles, ed. Licence	Herman the Archdeacon and Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, *Miracles of St Edmund*, ed. T. Licence (Oxford, 2014)
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-64)
RB	*Revue Bénédictine* (1884-)
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

N.B. All quotations from the Bible are from the Douay–Rheims version.

Abstract

My thesis demonstrates that the Conquest, in the decade that followed the battle of Hastings, was the subject of more criticism, both in England and on the continent, than has previously been thought.

Common themes emerge in my thesis. King William's claim that Edward had promised him the throne, his actions at Hastings, and the belief that God had granted him victory over Harold are all shown to have been scrutinized at the outset of his rule. Familiar texts of the Conquest are approached in new ways, including Guy of Amiens's *Song of the Battle of Hastings*, which has long been interpreted as a poem in praise of William. On the contrary, this thesis provides a compelling argument that Guy's poem contains a damning critique of the king. William's actions at Hastings are portrayed as those of a pagan, even a bloodthirsty lion that ravaged the English sheepfold. Enslaved to Mars and the embodiment of Fury, the Conqueror is reduced to the image of an ulcer, filled with blood.

I argue that St Edmund's identity as the patron saint of England arose out of this contemporary debate. Herman's *Miracles of St Edmund*, neglected until now by historians of the Conquest, contains a narrative in which Edmund is portrayed as the head of a chosen people in opposition to tyranny. Goscelin of Saint-Bertin then enhanced Edmund's patronal persona by developing the saint's identity as the Father of the Fatherland.

I then look beyond Bury and explore how far Edmund's identity as England's patron saint, wrought at Bury, was accepted throughout England by the mid-twelfth century. Uncovering new evidence, I draw the conclusion that Edmund was regarded as the patron saint of the English by that time.

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Introduction

On 14 October 1066, Duke William and his army fought King Harold II and his men, at Hastings, for the English throne. William, triumphant, was then crowned king of England on 25 December 1066. I begin my thesis by investigating criticisms of the Conquest, which I argue were in circulation during the first decade of William's rule.

It is hard to know where to begin with the historiography that has grown up around the Conquest. Recent research on the subject includes inquiries by Emily Winkler and David Bates.[1] Winkler investigates it from an analysis of twelfth-century perspectives. Bates's biography of William is the culmination of a lifetime's work on the Conqueror. The series *Anglo-Norman Studies* and, to a lesser extent, the *Haskins Society Journal* make important contributions to our understanding of the Conquest. In 2016, moreover, The Battle Conference of Anglo-Norman Studies commemorated the 950th anniversary of the battle of Hastings. During this conference, historians challenged received wisdom. Tom Licence, for instance, argued that Edgar Ætheling was Edward the Confessor's chosen heir.[2] The debate surrounding the Conquest is alive and well.

What then about medieval criticisms of the Conquest, which have been identified in the historiography? In her overview of the debate that attends the Conquest, Marjorie Chibnall concludes that no attempts were made to question William's right to the throne.[3] George Garnett too argues that, with the exception of some grumblings in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* and of the belief found in the mid-eleventh-century *Life of King Edward* that the Conquest was the result of divine retribution for the sins of the English, the rationale for the Conquest provided by Norman apologists was a 'profoundly successful

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[1] E. Winkler, *Royal Responsibility in Anglo-Norman Historical Writing* (Oxford, 2017); D. Bates, *William the Conqueror* (New Haven and London, 2016)

[2] T. Licence, 'Edward the Confessor and the Succession Question: A Fresh Look at the Sources', *ANS* 39 (2016), pp. 113-27

[3] M. Chibnall, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 12-3.

argument'.[4] Elisabeth van Houts, in contrast, in her seminal article on continental perspectives on the Conquest, 'The Norman Conquest through European Eyes, she explores the condemnation that was directed against the arguments and violence which the Normans used.[5] Thomas O'Donnell, moreover, has recently detected hitherto unidentified criticisms of William in Guy of Amiens's *Song of the Battle of Hastings*.[6] One of my primary objectives in this thesis is to argue that there is more evidence of contemporary criticisms of the Conquest, both in England and on the continent, than has previously been identified.

Sources that are central to the study of William's rule as it unfolded in the first decade of his reign are William of Jumièges's *Deeds of the Norman Dukes*, Guy of Amiens's *Song of the Battle of Hastings*, Folcard of Saint-Bertin's *Life of King Edward*, and William of Poitiers's *Deeds of William*. All have been the subject of critical editions. Elisabeth van Houts edited Jumièges's *Deeds*, Catherine Morton and Hope Muntz (followed by Frank Barlow) edited Guy's *Song*, Barlow edited Folcard's *Life*, and Chibnall and Ralph Davis jointly edited Poitiers's *Deeds*.[7] If historians either investigating the Conquest or editing the aforementioned texts have not identified criticisms of William's invasion, it is because the rhetoric is often veiled in allusion and developed in covert ways. An exception is O'Donnell's work on Guy's *Song*, in which he is sensitive to the subtleties of criticism of William woven into the poem.[8] How then did criticisms of the Conquest develop? The first five chapters of my thesis deal with this question.

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[4] G. Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066-1166* (Oxford, 2007), p. 42; G. Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda: Some Implications of the Norman Claim to the Throne of England in 1066: The Alexander Prize Essay', *TRHS* 36 (1986), p. 112.

[5] E. M. C. van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest through European Eyes', *EHR* 110 (1995), pp. 832-853.

[6] T. O'Donnell, 'The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio and the Politics of 1067', *ANS* 39 (2016), pp. 151-65.

[7] *Gesta*, ed. van Houts; *Carmen*, ed. Morton & Muntz; *Carmen*, ed. Barlow; *Life*, ed. Barlow; *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall.

[8] O'Donnell, 'The Carmen', pp. 151-65

In Chapter 1, I look at William's conquest of Maine as recorded in William of Jumièges's *Deeds* and William of Poitiers's *Deeds*. Robert Latouche, Olivier Guillot, David Douglas, Richard Barton, and David Bates have all studied this part of William's career.[9] During the most recent inquiry into William's warfare in Maine, David Bates draws attention to the works of William of Poitiers and Orderic Vitalis. Bates wrote: '[Poitiers's] narrative of the conquest of Maine, supplemented on some points by Orderic, is effectively the only one with any pretensions to completeness'.[10] Bates did not, however, utilise William of Jumièges's account of this episode, which he considers a muddle.[11] Latouche, Guillot, Douglas, Barton, and Bates try to elucidate William's actions, but how did the duke's contemporaries perceive those actions, especially after his invasion of England? A comparison between Jumièges's *Deeds* and Poitiers's *Deeds* offers some answers. This chapter outlines how Poitiers's narrative differs from that of Jumièges and asks, why the divergence?

I argue that Poitiers wrote in response to criticisms of King William which had arisen by the 1070s: the king's critics appear to incorporate his subjugation of Maine within their criticism of his invasion of England. I also contend that part of Poitiers's task when writing his *Deeds* was to rewrite Jumièges's account of Maine, which, by the 1070s, was problematic for King William's reputation.

In Chapter 2, I examine Guy's *Song*. Much ink has been spilled on it. Augustin Thierry appears to have been the first historian to employ it as a source after the poem's discovery by George Pertz in 1826.[12] Thierry utilises it, for instance,

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[9] Bates, *William the Conqueror*; R. E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160* (Woodbridge, 2004); D. C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact upon England,* New Edition (Yale, 1999); O. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIᵉ siècle* (2 vols., Paris, 1972), i; R. Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine pendant le Xe et le XIe siècle* (Paris, 1910). Specific page references to these studies are given in Chapter 1.
[10] Bates, *William the Conqueror*, p. 177.
[11] *Ibid*, p. 162.
[12] G. H. Pertz, *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesammtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters* 7 (Hannover, 1839), pp. 1006-7. For a discussion of the *Song's* discovery and its reception by scholars, see *Carmen,* ed. Barlow, pp. xiii-xix.

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[10] Bates, *William the Conqueror*, p. 177.
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to flesh out his discussion of William's subjugation of London in 1066.[13] That said, he concludes that it is of little interest.[14] Jack Breton's work on the *Song*, however, places it within its broader literary context. He discusses its potential impact on *chansons de gestes*.[15] Between the time of Thierry and Breton's inquiries, analyses of the *Song* focused largely on questions surrounding its authorship and date of composition.[16] Morton and Muntz and then Barlow all argued that the *Song* was written immediately after the Conquest.[17] Its greatest critic, Ralph Davis, however, characterized it as a 'literary exercise'.[18] He argued that it is a twelfth-century text, founded on legendary stories rather than on the historical reality of events c. 1066. Davis wrote that 'what we can say with confidence is... as a source for the history of the Norman Conquest it is simply ridiculous'.[19] His views have not stood the test of time. Lodewijk Engels, Van Houts, and Barlow refute his hypothesis.[20] Others, such as O'Donnell and

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[13] Augustin Thierry quoted a passage from the *Song*, in 1830, in the 'Notes' section of his *Histoire*. This segment records Duke William's subjugation of London: A. Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquète de l'Angleterre par les Normands: de ses causes et de ses suites jusqu'a nos jours en Angleterre, en Écosse, en Irlande et sur le continent*, 3rd edn (Paris, 1830), pp. 411-4. Details from the *Song* were incorporated into his *Histoire* by 1867 when a new edition of the work was published: Thierry, *Histoire*, New edn (Paris, 1867), pp. 260-3.

[14] *Ibid*, pp. 1-2.

[15] J. Breton, 'Gormont et Isembart, emprunt au Carmen de Hastingae proelio?', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 60 (2017), pp. 31-57. Breton does not cite Douglas Owen's work on the *Song* and the *Chanson de Roland*: D. D. R. Owen, 'The Epic and History: *Chanson de Roland* and *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*', *Medium Aevum* 51 (1982), pp. 18-34

[16] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. xxiv-xlii. The *Song's* text has been the subject of emendations. This is evident in Morton and Muntz's edition and also Barlow's edition. Giovanni Orlandi and J. B. Hall also suggest textual corrections: G. Orlandi, 'Some afterthoughts on the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*', in R. I. A. Nip, H. van Dijk & E. M. C. van Houts, ed., *Media Latinitas. A Collection of Essays to mark the occasion of the retirement of L. J. Engels* (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 117–27; J. B. Hall, 'Critical Notes on Three Medieval Latin Texts: "Vita Gundulfi," "Carmen de Hastingae Proelio," "Vita Merlini,"' *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 21 (1980), pp. 899-916; L. J. Engels, *Dichters over Willem de Veroveraar: het 'Carmen de Hastingae Proelio'* (Groningen, 1967).

[17] *Carmen*, ed. Morton & Muntz, pp. xv-xxx; F. Barlow, 'The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio', in K. Bourne & D. C. Wat, ed., *Studies in International History Presented to W. Norton Medlicott* (London, 1967), pp. 36.

[18] R. H. C. Davis, 'The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio', *EHR* 93 (1978), pp. 241-61.

[19] Davis, 'The Carmen', pp. 261.

[20] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. xxiv-xlii; E. M. C. van Houts, 'Latin poetry and the Anglo-Norman court 1066–1135: The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*', *JMH* 15 (1989), pp. 39-62; L. J. Engels, 'Once more: the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*', *ANS* 2 (1980), pp. 3-20; Engels, *Dichters over Willem de Veroveraar.*

Licence, accept their date as a matter of course. The current consensus is that Guy composed the poem, for Lanfranc, c. 1067.[21]

There are various arguments as to why Guy wrote the *Song*. Thierry argued that Guy undertook the task because he was a devotee of William's cause.[22] Barlow maintained that Guy was 'confessedly writing in hope of the duke's favour'.[23] Barlow also claimed, along with Morton and Muntz, that part of the poem's purpose was to rehabilitate Count Eustace II's reputation in William's eyes by showing the king's indebtedness to him at the Battle of Hastings, after the count had led a failed rebellion against the king in the autumn of 1067.[24] Van Houts, alternatively, proposes that Guy wrote 'the flattering poem about the Conqueror' to Lanfranc as a gift, so that he would act as a mediator between Guy and Pope Alexander II. Guy and the pope's relationship, she notes, was strained during the conflict between Guy and Fulk, abbot of Corbie.[25]

These hypotheses about the *Song's* purpose are predicated on the poem purely praising William and the Conquest. The current view of the *Song* is still largely in line with the description which Orderic Vitalis provides. He records that Guy, bishop of Amiens, 'wrote a poem describing the battle of Senlac in imitation of the epics of Virgil and Statius, abusing and condemning Harold but praising and exalting William'.[26] In this chapter, I argue that the *Song* can be read as covert criticism of William and his invasion of England. I identify, for instance, hitherto undetected allusions to Jordanes's *Getica*, allusions which do

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[21] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. xl-xlii. With regards to the intended recipient of the poem, Thomas O'Donnell has lately added to the evidence that Lanfranc was the 'L' for whom Guy wrote the *Song*. He argues that Guy employs language which has an unmistakable resonance with the Eucharistic Controversy. This language was in accord with Lanfranc's conception of the Eucharist: O'Donnell, 'The Carmen', pp. 161-5.

[22] Thierry wrote the following about Guy: 'tout dévoué qu'il se montre à la cause du duc de Normandie': Thierry, *Histoire*, New edn (Paris, 1867), pp. 1-2.

[23] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. xix.

[24] *Ibid*, p. xli; *Carmen*, ed. Morton & Muntz, p. lxvii.

[25] Van Houts, 'Latin poetry', p. 56.

[26] 'Guido etiam præsul Ambianensis metricum carmen edidit, quo Maronem et Papinium gesta heroum pangentes imitatus Senlacium bellum descripsit: Heraldum uituperans et condempnans, Guillelmum uero collaudans et magnificans': *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, ii, pp. 184-6.

not flatter the actions of either William or his forces at Hastings. I also draw comparisons between the *Song* and Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *History of the Norman Dukes*. I argue that Guy ingeniously uses the *History* to attack William's reputation. I am, therefore, building upon the work of Licence and O'Donnell. Both historians spot some of the criticisms of William in the *Song*, but the rebukes they notice are the tip of the iceberg.[27]

In Chapter 3, I provide a close reading of the *Life of King Edward*. This text has been the subject of much attention in recent years, and Licence has recently attributed it to Folcard of Saint-Bertin. In one of his articles, he discusses the competing hypotheses for when it was written. He concludes that Book 1 was written between late 1065 and the summer of 1066, and that Book 2 was finished c. 1067.[28] His work follows a series of scholarly findings concerning the *Life*: a notable example is Henry Summerson's discovery of the ending of Poem 2, previously thought lost.[29] This revelation inspired a fresh analysis of the poem, in a separate article, by Simon Keynes and Rosalind Love.[30] Elizabeth Tyler has also published work on the *Life* from a literary perspective, following the lead of Eleanor Heningham, Victoria Jordan, and Monika Otter.[31]

In this chapter, I discuss two events whichFolcard relates in the *Life*. First, the crisis of 1051/2. Second, the death-bed prophecy of King Edward. The first contains more extensive criticism of Robert of Jumièges than has hitherto been

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[27] O'Donnell, 'The Carmen', pp. 151-65; T. Licence, 'Introduction', in T. Licence, ed., *Bury St Edmunds and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 2014), p. 1.

[28] Licence, 'The date and authorship', pp. 259-72.

[29] H. Summerson, 'Tudor Antiquaries and the *Vita Ædwardi regis*', *ASE* 38 (2009), pp. 157-84.

[30] S. Keynes & R. Love, 'Earl Godwine's Ship', *ASE* 38 (2009), pp. 185-223.

[31] E. Tyler, *England in Europe* (Toronto, 2017); *idem*, 'When Wings Incarnadine with Gold are Spread', in E. Tyler, ed., *Treasure in the Medieval West* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 83-107; *idem*, 'The Vita Ædwardi: the Politics of Poetry at Wilton Abbey', *ANS* 31 (2009), pp. 135-56; M. Otter, 'Closed Doors: An Epithalamium for Queen Edith, Widow and Virgin', in C. L. Carlson and A. J. Weisl, *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1999), pp. 63-92; *idem*, '1066: The Moment of Transition in Two Narratives of the Norman Conquest', *Speculum* 74 (1999), pp. 565-86; V. Jordan, 'Chronology and Discourse in the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*', *JML* (1998), pp. 122-55; *Life*, ed. Barlow; E. K. Heningham, 'The Literary Unity, the Date, and the Purpose of the Lady Edith's Book: "The Life of King Edward Who Rests in Westminster"', *Albion* 7 (1975), pp. 24-40; *idem*, 'The Genuineness of the *Vita Æduuardi Regis*', *Speculum* 21 (1946), pp. 419-56; R. Southern, 'First Life of Edward the Confessor', *EHR* 58 (1943), pp. 385-400.

appreciated. The second involves the censure of King William's recently established regime in favour of a rival claimant to the English throne.[32]

My analysis of the crisis of 1051/2 is based upon my reading of Poem 3, a section of the *Life* which Henry Luard concludes is 'the most difficult passage of all'.[33] I contextualise Poem 3 within the *Life's* broader narrative in order to interpret it. I make it clear at the beginning of this chapter, however, that I need to address some of Tyler's conclusions about the *Life*, which question the received wisdom of historians such as Barlow (the *Life's* editor) and Richard Southern. The narrative concerning the crisis of 1051/2 in the *Life* is not, it must be said, part of the criticism of the Conquest, for it was written before the duke's invasion. It is important for my argument, however, for various reasons. First, it demonstrates that Folcard's criticism of no less a Norman than Robert of Jumièges, and of his adherents, is more extensive than has previously been acknowledged. Robert was, of course, a Norman who, according to William of Jumièges and William of Poitiers, played a crucial role in King William's claim to the throne. Folcard's condemnation of Robert of Jumièges and his followers is important because it shows that, on the eve of the Conquest, when the *Life* was written, there was pre-existing hostility towards an important Norman faction, which the author accused of having invited chaos into England.. Second, the narrative concerning 1051/2 demonstrates Folcard's sophisticated use of metaphors to make his points. Third, it shows that such metaphors can be deciphered when contextualized within Folcard's broader narrative. It is on the back of these last two points that I show how Edward's death-bed prophecy, known as the 'Vision of the Green Tree', was making a powerful, political statement.

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[32] For the most recent discussions of the criticism of Robert of Jumièges in the *Life*, see Tyler, *England in Europe*, p. 169; J. L. Grassi, 'The *Vita Ædwardi Regis*: The Hagiographer as Insider', *ANS* 26 (2003), pp. 89-93.

[33] H. R. Luard, *The Lives of Edward the Confessor* (London, 1858), p. xli.

Bloch, Heningham, and Barlow all analysed this vision in their respective works, but they reached different conclusions. Bloch, believing the vision dated to the twelfth century, detected an optimism which he argues is only explicable if the author knew about the birth of William Clito in 1103.[34] Heningham successfully refuted his argument that the vision was written with the hindsight of Clito's birth, but she agreed, albeit for different reasons, that Folcard offers hope for the future. She argued that Folcard's hope is grounded in his faith.[35] She pointed to the following passage, for instance, that attends the vision: 'God's great mercy testifies unto the faithful, "Ask, and it shall be given you; knock and it shall be opened"'. Barlow's subsequent research, however, interpreted the vision as bleaker than previously thought. He contended that Edward's prophecy should be taken as a vision of the impossible.[36] Scholars, such as Monika Otter and Cynthia Turner Camp, have been persuaded by Barlow's argument.[37]

I agree with Heningham that the vision is a positive metaphor, but my interpretation of the vision is different. It is based on Folcard's own interpretation of the same sort of arboreal imagery in the *Life*. In his vision, Edward talks about a future in which William's regime, likened to devils destroying England, is no more, and a rival claimant to William's throne is made king of England.

In Chapter 4, I look specifically at William's claim to the English throne. As noted above, George Garnett argues that the rationale his apologiests provided for the Conquest was a 'profoundly successful argument'.[38] I argue in Chapters 1, 2, and 3, however, that this was not the case. What else remains to be uncovered?

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[34] M. Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,' *AB* 41 (1923), pp. 35-40.
[35] Heningham, 'The Genuineness', pp. 420-8.
[36] *Life*, ed. Barlow, p. 118, n. 302.
[37] Otter, '1066', pp. 582-3; C. T. Camp, *Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives as History Writing in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 142.
[38] Garnett, *Conquered England*, p. 42; Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda', p. 112.

William's claim to the English throne is discussed in two recent studies by Stephen Baxter and Tom Licence.[39] After considering the historiography that has built up around the succession question, Baxter looked at the various candidates whom Edward may have intended to succeed him: specifically, his own child, Duke William, Edward the Exile, Edgar Ætheling, and Earl Harold Godwinson. Baxter concluded that, during William's visit to England in 1051, Edward gave some sort of commitment about the succession. Licence subsequently argued that no commitment was granted to William during Edward's reign. If such a designation had occurred, Licence argues that 'it would have been shouted from the rooftops of Normandy'.[40]   He concludes that Edward consistently aimed to put a male heir of Cerdic on the English throne: this means that, at the time of Edward's death, Edward wanted Edgar Ætheling to succeed him.

An implication of Licence's argument is that William's claim to the English throne is a fiction. I argue that the sources analysed in Chapters 1, 2, and 3 (i.e. Jumièges's *Deeds*, Guy's *Song*, and Poitiers's *Deeds*) provide independent evidence that strengthens Licence's thesis and, in the process, offers further insights into the criticisms that William faced, in the 1070s, in relation to this claim to the English throne. Ultimately, I argue that these sources, written over the course of some ten years from 1066 to c. 1077, represent three stages in the evolution of William's claim. I also conclude that the drive behind these developments appears to be the need to respond to criticisms of the Conquest. This chapter, therefore, demonstrates the critical, political environment in which Herman the Archdeacon wrote his *Miracles of St Edmund*, c. 1070, which is the subject of the next chapter.

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[39] Licence, 'Edward the Confessor', pp. 113-27; S. Baxter, 'Edward the Confessor and the Succession Question', in R. Mortimer, ed., *Edward the Confessor: the Man and the Legend* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 77-118.
[40] Licence, 'Edward the Confessor', p. 117.

Thus far in my thesis, I deal with sources that are well known to historians of the Conquest. In Chapter 5, I turn to the Bury St Edmunds archive in order to continue the debate. Work on Bury and Edmund's cult enjoys a long history. Historians, such as Felix Liebermann, Thomas Arnold, and Montague Rhodes James, studied these subjects in the second half of the nineteenth century.[41] After editing historical and hagiographical texts associated with Bury, Liebermann and Arnold made the study of Edmund's cult accessible to generations of scholars.

Throughout the twentieth century, scholarly inquiries have been conducted into Bury's medieval archive and Edmund's life, cult, and community at Bury. Francis Hervey brought together, in one volume, a mass of material (with accompanying translations) which pertains to Edmund's legend.[42] Following in the footsteps of Liebermann and Arnold, David Douglas edited various documents from Bury's medieval archive, such as the Feudal Book of Abbot Baldwin and also Bury's charters.[43] Rodney Thomson edited more of Bury's medieval archive.[44] Grant Loomis, Ralph Davis, Robert Folz, Susan Ridyard, Marjorie Chibnall, and Emma Cownie all undertook inquiries which focused on Edmund's posthumous cult.[45] Folz, however, completed by far the most extensive inquiry, both in terms of the timespan he covered and the material he

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[41] M. R. James, *On the Abbey of S. Edmund in Bury* (1895); T. Arnold, *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1890-96); F. Liebermann, *Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen* (Strasbourg and London, 1879).

[42] F. Hervey, *Corolla sancti Eadmundi* (London, 1907).

[43] D. C. Douglas, *Feudal Documents from the abbey of Bury St Edmunds* (London, 1932).

[44] R. M. Thomson, *The Archives of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds* (Woodbridge, 1980). Thomson also examined New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M. 736: R. M. Thompson, 'The Date of the Bury Bible Reexamined', *Viator* 6 (1975), pp. 51-8; R. M. Thomson, 'Early Romanesque Book-Illustration in England: the Dates of the Pierpont Morgan Vitae Sancti Edmundi and the Bury Bible', *Viator* 2 (1972), pp. 211-26.

[45] E. Cownie, 'The Cult of St Edmund in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: The Language and Communication of a Medieval Saint's Cult', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 99 (1998), pp. 177–97; M. Chibnall, 'Les Normands et les saints anglo-saxons', in P. Bouet and F. Neveux, ed., *Les Saints dans la Normandie médiévale: Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (26-29 septembre 1996)* (Caen, 2000), pp. 259-68; S. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 211-33; R. Folz, 'Naissance et manifestations d'un culte royal: Saint Edmond, roi d'Est-Anglie', in K. Hauck and H. Mordeck, ed., *Geschichtsschreibung und geistiges Leben im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Heinz Löwe* (Cologne, 1978), pp. 226-46; R. H. C. Davis, 'The monks of St Edmund, 1021-1148', *History* 40 (1955), pp. 227-39; Grant Loomis, 'The Growth of the Saint Edmund Legend', *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* 14 (1932), pp. 83-113.

surveyed: it extended from Edmund's death to the sixteenth century. Among other manifestations of Edmund's cult, he examinedAbbo's *Passion of St Edmund*, Herman's *Miracles*, the chronicles of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, and Lydgate's poem (i.e. *Lives of Sts Edmund and Fredmund*). Amidst these publications, Dorothy Whitelock's article sought to differentiate between fact and faction in Edmund's legend,[46] Mark Blackburn and Hugh Pagan examined the so-called 'St Edmund coinage',[47] and Antonia Gransden considered various aspects of the history of Bury St Edmunds and Edmund's cult.[48] At the end of the last century, she also edited a collected series of essays arising from an interdisciplinary conference on the abbey, which includes a range of studies on Bury's architecture, library, books, and mint.[49]

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, Licence (as I note above) has edited Herman's *Miracles of St Edmund* afresh and researched various aspects of Edmund's cult and the abbey of Bury St Edmunds: that is, the origins of the community at Bury, Bury's immunities from the bishop of Norwich, and St Edmund's pre- and post-Conquest cult.[50] In addition, he has edited a collected series of essays on Bury St Edmunds and the Norman Conquest, arising from a second interdisciplinary conference that was held at the modern cathedral in 2012. This volume contains a range of investigations into Bury's charters, liturgy, and manuscripts.[51]

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[46] D. Whitelock, 'Fact and fiction in the legend of St. Edmund', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 31 (1970), pp. 217-33.

[47] M. Blackburn & H. Pagan, 'The St Edmund Coinage in the Light of a Parcel from a Hoard of St Edmund Pennies', *BNJ* 72 (2002), pp. 1-14; M. Blackburn, 'The Ashdon (Essex) hoard and the currency of the Southern Danelaw in the late ninth century', *BNJ* 59 (1989), pp. 13-38; H. E. Pagan, 'The Coinage of the East Anglia Kingdom from 825 to 870', *BNJ* 52 (1982), pp. 41-83.

[48] A. Gransden, 'The Cult of St Mary at Beodericisworth and then in Bury St Edmunds Abbey to c. 1150', *JEH* 55 (2004), pp. 627-53; A. Gransden, 'Abbo of Fleury's "Passio Sancti Eadmundi"', *RB* 105 (1995), pp. 20-78; A. Gransden, 'The Legends and Traditions concerning the Origins of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds', *EHR* 100 (1985), pp. 1-24; A. Gransden, 'Baldwin, abbot of Bury St. Edmund's, 1065-1097', ANS 4 (1982), pp. 65-76

[49] A. Gransden, ed., *Bury St Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy* (Leeds, 1998).

[50] T. Licence, 'The Origins of the Monastic Communities of St Benedict at Holme and Bury St Edmunds', *RB* 116 (2006), pp. 42-61; T. Licence, 'Herbert Losinga's trip to Rome and the bishopric of Bury St Edmunds', *ANS* 34 (2012), pp. 151-68; *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. xiii-xxxv; T. Licence, 'The Cult of St Edmund', in Licence, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 104-30.

[51] Licence, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*.

An important source from the Bury archive for criticisms of the Conquest is Herman's *Miracles*. Licence, the most recent editor of the *Miracles*, argues that Herman wrote it in two campaigns. Herman, according to Licence, initially completed his *Miracles* c. 1070 and then updated it c. 1098.[52] Herman' *Miracles*, therefore, were first written a few years after the Conquest. What is more, during his first campaign, Herman appears to have questioned the legitimacy of William's rationale for the Conquest. He wrote that the duke set out for England 'as if he (a more rightful heir, according to one line of reasoning) held the throne of good King Edward and his kindred. For many entertained the rumour that King Edward, dear to memory, had named the duke his heir, not only on account of their kinship, but also because he had no offspring to succeed him. Launching his bid for power upon these claims, he became England's ruler. Norman ships put ashore at Hastings, and on the appointed day a battle was fought'.[53] Van Houts and Licence draw attention to the fact that Herman's use of language, such as the use of 'quasi', hints at scepticism toward William's claim.[54] Licence also notes that Herman calls Edward's promise of the throne to William a 'rumour'.[55] These examples show that Herman was engaging with the contemporary debate (c. 1070) which was critical of William's claim to the throne. I argue that there is a greater degree of criticism of the Conquest embedded in Herman's *Miracles*, as the text stood c. 1070, than has previously been identified.

I contend that this criticism of the Conquest emerges as Herman attempts to answer three fundamental questions about the nature of God's providence in

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[52] *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. liv-lix. For Licence's strengthening of his argument that Herman wrote the first version of his *Miracles* c. 1070, see T. Licence, 'New Light on the Life and Work of Herman the Archdeacon', in *idem*, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 94 & 101-3.

[53] 'Et quasi boni Eaduuardi suique quodammodo consanguinei iustior hereditarius possedit. Rumor enim habebatur plurium, bone memorie regem Eaduuardum iam dicto duci Normannico denominasse regnum, tam consanguinitatis causa, quam etiam quia non erat ei successionis soboles ulla. Quibus de causis appetitu sic promoto Anglici regiminis, et Hæstinges nauibus appulsis Normannicis, fit bellum die statuta': *Ibid*, pp. 62-3.

[54] Licence, 'History and Hagiography', *EHR* 124, p. 523; van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest', *EHR* 110, p. 844.

[55] Licence, 'History and Hagiography', *EHR* 124, p. 523.

his *Miracles*. First, when does God either actively intervene in the world or passively allow events to unfold without his intervention? Second, how does God intervene in the world? Third, what forces are at play when God abstains from intervention? My analysis of Herman's account of English history elucidates his answers to these questions, answers which would have made uncomfortable reading for the Norman regime c. 1070.

One of the most significant observations that I make in the course of my discussion is that divine intervention, in Herman's *Miracles*, only ever aids the English, whom Herman portrays as forming part of God's chosen people. Numerous other scholars, such as Edmond Faral, Robert Hanning, Calvin Kendall, John Cowdrey, Nicholas Howe, and Stephen Harris, have already considered how the identity of the English evolved, during the Anglo-Saxon period, in relation to their perceived position as God's chosen people.[56] George Molyneaux's subsequent research, however, demonstrates that we need to re-evaluate how the English viewed themselves before 1066.[57] They were not, according to Molyneaux, *the* chosen people of God. Instead, they were *part* of

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[56] S. Harris, *Race and Ethnicity in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (London, 2003), p. 46; P. Wormald, 'Engla lond: The Making of an Allegiance', *JHS* 7 (1994), 1- 24; P. Wormald, 'The Venerable Bede and the "Church of the English"', in G. Rowell, ed., *The English Religious Tradition and the Genius of Anglicanism* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 18-28; N. Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven, 1989); H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Bede and the English People', *JRH* 11 (1981), 501–23; C. Kendall, 'Imitation and the Venerable Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica', in M. H. King and W. M. Stevens, ed., *Saints, Scholars, and Heroes* (2 vols., Collegeville, 1979), i, pp. 145–59; R. Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain* (New York, 1966), p. 70; E. Fatal, *La légende arthurienne* (3 vols., Paris, 1929), i, pp. 45-55. Wormald's article 'The Venerable Bede' has been reprinted in a collected series of Wormald's essays: S. Baxter, ed., *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early English Christian Society and its Historian Patrick Wormald* (Oxford, 1996). For the development of English identity, in general, before the Conquest, see P. Stafford, 'The Making of Chronicles and the Making of England: the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles after Alfred', *TRHS* 27 (2017), pp. 65–86; P. Stafford, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, Identity and the Making of England', *HSJ* 19 (2008), pp. 28–50; S. Foot, 'The Historiography of the Anglo-Saxon State', in L. Scales and O. Zimmer, ed., *Power and the Nation in European History* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 125-42; N. Brooks, *Bede and the English*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1999); A.P. Smyth, 'The Emergence of English identity, 700-1000', in *idem*, ed., *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 24–57; S. Foot, 'The Making of Angelcynn: English identity before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS* 6 (1996), pp. 25-49; P. Wormald, 'Bede, the Bretwaldas and the Origin of the Gens Anglorum', in P. Wormald, D. Bullough & R. Collins, ed., *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), 99–129.

[57] G. Molyneaux, 'Did the English Really Think They Were God's Elect in the Anglo-Saxon Period?', *JEH* 65 (2014), pp. 721-37

the chosen people of God. My analysis of Herman's *Miracles* supports Molyneaux's argument. Herman's *Miracles* bear witness to the continuity of this well-wrought tradition in the aftermath of the Conquest, but Herman does not stop there.

Herman develops his narrative concerning English identity in a novel fashion. He does so , as Licence pointed out, by incorporating Frankish origin myths within the continuum of English identity. He portrayed the English, according to Licence, as enjoying greater favour with God than the Normans.[58] In this, my fifth chapter, I explore the implications of his ideas. The ensuing discussion raises questions about English identity in the aftermath of the Conquest. Another important objective of this chapter is to investigate Edmund's role, which only recently has come to light, as England's patron saint.

Liebermann, in one of the first investigations into Herman's *Miracles,* described Edmund as a local, not a national, saint.[59] Licence, however, in his recent study of Edmund's pre- and post-Conquest cult, shows that he was fast becoming a figure of national importance.[60] Herman, according to Licence, portrays Edmund as the patron of both East Anglia and, after Edmund kills Swein Forkbeard, England as a whole. Herman's argument is straightforward: that by killing Swein for levying a tax on the saint's own people in Bury St Edmunds, the vengeful saint rescued the poor throughout England from Swein and his heavy taxes and in doing so became the patron of the English people as a whole. By showing how his argument reinforced contemporary criticism of the Conquest, this chapter develops my thesis by weaving it together with Licence's contribution to the ongoing discussion of the history of England's patron saints.

Since the late 1990s, historians have considered various candidates for the role of England's patron saint. They have examined how these saints' cults either

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[58] Licence, 'New Light', pp. 94-103.
[59] Liebermann, *Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen*, p. 212.
[60] Licence, 'The Cult of St Edmund', in *idem*, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 113-8.

succeeded or came to naught. St George, currently England's official patron saint, is unsurprisingly the subject of recent investigations. Samantha Riches and Jonathan Good have both studied his rise to pre-eminence.[61] While they do much to illuminate the evolution of George's role as England's patron saint, their analyses mainly focus on material after 1300: that is, the point at which they discern evidence for George's positioning as England's patron saint. Alan Thacker is the only historian, so far as I am aware, who has examined in any detail the promotion of patron saints in England before the Norman Conquest. He does not, however, consider the evidence relating to Edmund. Instead, he focuses on the cults of Cuthbert and Gregory the Great, but neither saint, according to Thacker, prospered as England's patron saint.[62]

In this, my fifth chapter, I argue that, in the second half of the eleventh century, the monks of Bury promoted Edmund as England's patron saint more extensively than has hitherto been acknowledged. I draw together and develop the themes which Licence identified: that is, the veiled threat towards the Normans in Herman's *Miracles*, and Edmund's identity as England's patron saint. I also discuss how Edmund's patronal persona arose out of criticisms of the Conquest in the first few years of William's reign. Herman's *Miracles* dealt with meaty topics.

My observations here ramify into at least two areas of discussion touching the Conquest and Englishness. First, they affect the way that we understand the development of English identity after the Conquest, thereby adding to the debate which Hugh Thomas explores.[63] Second, they show how English identity as presented in the *Miracles* harks back to Trojan origins in more interesting ways than have previously been recognised. It was, of course, not until the

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[61] J. Good, *The Cult of St George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2009); S. Riches, *St George: Hero, Martyr and Myth* (Stroud, 2000).

[62] A. Thacker, '*Peculiaris Patronus Noster:* The Saint as Patron of the State in the Early Middle Ages', in J. R. Maddicott & D. M. Palliser, ed., *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell* (London, 2000), pp. 16-24.

[63] H. M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066-c.1220* (Oxford, 2003).

twelfth century that the English came to think of themselves as descending from Aeneas's stock, a line of descent some of their counterparts on the continent had embraced for generations. Richard Southern, Colette Beaune, Pierre Bouet, and Elizabeth Tyler are only a few of the scholars who have investigated how European societies identified themselves as descending from the Trojans.[64] Herman's *Miracles*, therefore, is a source of central importance for our understanding of the Conquest and new influences that were shaping English identity at that time.

As an aside, I should remark upon the fact that William of Jumièges (a Norman), Guy of Amiens (a Frank), William of Poitiers (a Norman), Folcard of Saint-Bertin (a Fleming), and Herman the Archdeacon (a Lotharingian) were all non-English writers. These are what we might call the first-generation authors of the Conquest.

That there is a lack of known English authors who can be identified among their number is noteworthy, and this fact has not gone unnoticed by historians. Van Houts and, more recently, Elaine Treharne are two historians who have considered how trauma may have impacted upon English writers in the

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[64] E. M. Tyler, 'Trojans in Anglo-Saxon England: Precedent without Descent', *Review of English Studies* 64 (2013), pp. 1-20; S. Harris, *Race and Ethnicity in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (London, 2003), pp. 131-56; E. Albu, *The Normans in Their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 13-6, 220 & 237; M. Innes, 'Teutons or Trojans? The Carolingians and the Germanic Past', in Y. Hen and M. Innes, ed., *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 227–49; I. N. Wood, 'Defining the Franks: Frankish Origins in Early Medieval Historiography', in S. Forde, L. Johnson & A. V. Murray, ed., *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds, 1995), pp. 47-57; B. Pierre, 'De l'origine troyenne des Normands', *Cahier des Annales de Normandie* 26, (1995), pp. 401-413; J. Barlow, 'Gregory of Tours and the Myth of the Trojan Origins of the Franks', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995), pp. 86-95; E. Ewig, 'Trojamythos und fränkische Frühgeschichte', in D. Geuenich, ed., *Die Franken und die Alemannen vor der Schlacht von Zülpich* (Berlin, 1991), pp. 1-30; C. Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. S. Ross Huston (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 226-44; S. Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History* 68 (1983), pp. 375–90, esp. pp. 376–80 & 385-86; R. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing. 1. The Classical Tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth', *TRHS*, 5th series, 20 (1970), pp. 173-96; A. E. Parsons, 'The Trojan Legend in England: Some Instances of its Application to the Politics of the Times', *The Modern Language Review* 24 (1929), pp. 253-264.

aftermath of 1066.[65] Is the silence, as Van Houts argues, due to the sheer shock of the Conquest? Was it, as Van Houts also proposes, too dangerous for the English to criticize the new Norman regime?[66]

The problem with these hypotheses is that they run the risk of creating a circular argument. The lack of evidence may be the result of trauma, and the evidence for the trauma is the lack of evidence. And how can we test these hypotheses in the absence of evidence? What is more, the lack of first-generation English authors who wrote about the Conquest (i.e. when compared with their continental counterparts) may be a red-herring when considering the psychological impact of the Conquest on the English. If others felt a need to respond with criticism, it is hard to maintain the view that English writers were universally stunned or frightened into silence.

I argue in my thesis that Folcard and Herman, for example, are both critical of the Norman regime: in what sense would they have suffered any less a punishment than one of their English counterparts for writing such material? And how do we square the revolts in the north of England at the start of William's reign, which I discuss in Chapter 3, with the idea that the English were traumatized into silence by the Conquest?

That William of Jumièges and William of Poitiers wrote in praise of William the Conqueror is not surprising. The Conqueror commissioned Jumièges to write the *Deeds of the Norman Dukes*, and Poitiers, writing in praise of the William, was the king's chaplain. As for Guy of Amiens, the poet composed his poem, which I argue is highly critical of William, for the Norman abbot, Lanfranc. As discussed in Chapter 2, I argue that Lanfranc may have been more receptive to criticisms of William's invasion than historians have previously thought.

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[65] E. Treharne, *Living Through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020-1220* (Oxford, 2012), chapters 4 & 5; E. van Houts, 'The trauma of 1066', *History Today* 46 (1996), pp. 9-15.
[66] Van Houts, 'The trauma of 1066', p. 14.

What then of Folcard of Saint-Bertin and Herman the Archdeacon? Folcard, as discussed in Chapter 2, moved in circles which appear to have been critical of the Conqueror. Herman studied under, and worked for, Sigebert of Gembloux, for whom he wrote the *Miracles* of St Sigebert. Herman had experience, therefore, writing a hagiography, and, at the end of this text, he is seen exploiting his connections, in 1068, with Saint-Denis. It may be no coincidence, therefore, that Baldwin, a former monk of Saint-Denis, employed Herman's skills in writing a hagiography about St Edmund.[67]

A final theme that I explore in this chapter is how Edmund's persona as Father of the Fatherland (*pater patrie*) developed. Historians of classical Rome are familiar with the title, which also took the form 'parens patrie'. It was previously granted to so great a figure as Cicero. The epithet, in time, was granted to Roman Emperors.[68] Lawyers are also aware of the term, which developed in common law as a prerogative of the crown to protect children and incapable persons.[69] Those who are well versed in the work of Rodney Thomson and Henry Parkes are also cognizant of the fact that Edmund is called 'pater patrie' in the liturgy at Bury: that is, in an antiphon which Warner of Rebaix composed for the monks of Bury between 1066 and 1074/5.[70] It is in Goscelin's *Miracles*, however, that this aspect of Edmund's identity is developed more fully in relation to his opposition to tyranny. Indeed, in Chapter 6, I demonstrate that this proves to be one of the defining features of Edmund's identity, throughout England, in the first half of the twelfth century. Herman, I argue, characterises Edmund as fighting against oppression, but Goscelin explicitly describes

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[67] Licence, 'New Light', in *idem*, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, p. 101.

[68] S. Weinstock, *Divine Julius* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 200-5.

[69] P. L. G. Brereton, 'The Origins and Evolution of the *Parens Patriae* Jurisdiction' (Lecture on Legal History, Sydney Law School, 5 May 2017); J. Kunc, Supreme Court of NSW, and K. Heath, 'Dented and rusty like a suit of armour? Reflections on the origins of the parens patriae jurisdiction' (2014); J. Seymour, 'Parens Patriae and Wardship Powers: Their Nature and Origins', *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 14 (1994), pp. 159-188; L. B. Custer, 'The Origins of the Doctrine of Parens Patriae', *ELJ* 27 (1978), pp. 195-208.

[70] H. Parkes, 'St Edmund between Liturgy and Hagiography', in Licence, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 131-59; R. Thomson, 'The Music for the office of St Edmund king and martyr', *Music and Letters* 65 (1984), pp. 189-93. For the date of the antiphon, see H. Parkes, 'St Edmund', in Licence, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, p. 138.

Edmund's resistance to tyrants. When Herman and Goscelin wrote their respective *Miracles of St Edmund*, Bury was thoroughly plugged into the ongoing debate about the nature of power and tyranny, which Ian Robinson and Patrick Healy show to have unfolded during the Investiture Controversy.[71]

The results of my work on the archive at Bury are important because no figure appears to have been considered England's patron saint before c. 1070. The *History of St Cuthbert* famously associates Cuthbert with the West Saxon dynasty as their patron saint, but how far did the rhetoric of Cuthbert's community match the reality? Alan Thacker, Victoria Tudor, Dominic Marner, Mechthild Gretsch, and Sarah Foot collectively investigate the impact of Cuthbert's cult after his death up to the twelfth century.[72] In the course of their inquiries, there is no sense in which Cuthbert is considered a patron saint of either the English or England between the seventh and twelfth centuries. The same can be said of the cults of Gregory the Great and Augustine of Canterbury. Much work has been done on them both. Alan Thacker, Paul Hayward, and Mechthild Gretsch, taken together, have studied the candidacies of Gregory and Augustine as the apostle of the English from the seventh century to the beginning of the twelfth.[73] On the continent, the apostle of the Franks (St Denis)

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[71] P. Healy, *The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny: Reform and the Investiture Contest in the Late Eleventh Century* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 138-74; I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (New York, 1978), pp. 131-5.

[72] S. Foot, 'Cuthbert and the Search for a Patron', in D. Broun, ed., *Durham Cathedral: History, Fabric and Culture* (London, 2015), pp. 9-26; M. Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 65-126; D. Marner, *St Cuthbert: His Life and Cult in Medieval Durham* (London, 2000), pp. 11-36; A. Thacker, '*Peculiaris Patronus Noster:* The Saint as Patron of the State in the Early Middle Ages', in J. R. Maddicott and D. M. Palliser, ed., *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell* (London, 2000), pp. 1-24; V. Tudor, 'The Cult of St Cuthbert in the Twelfth Century: The Evidence of Reginald of Durham', in G. Bonner, D. Rollason & C. Stancliffe, ed., *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 447-57.

[73] Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints*, pp. 21-64; P. Hayward, 'Gregory the Great as "Apostle of the English" in Post-Conquest Canterbury', *JEH* 55 (2004), pp. 19-57; Thacker, '*Peculiaris Patronus Noster*', in Maddicott and Palliser, ed., *The Medieval State*, pp. 1-24; A. Thacker, 'In Gregory's Shadow? The Pre-Conquest Cult of St Augustine', in R. Gameson, ed., *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 374-90; A. Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great: the origin and transmission of a papal cult in the seventh and early eighth centuries', in *EME* 7 (1998), pp. 59-84.

was becoming France's patron saint.[74] Thacker, however, in his discussion of Gregory's cult in the seventh and eighth centuries, concludes that the cult was 'neither in origin nor in later development popular... It was the preserve of an international, largely clerical or monastic, élite'.[75] There is no evidence that Gregory or Augustine were acknowledged at any one time throughout England as the patron saint of the English.

I say 'at any one time throughout England' because there are certain criteria which should be met before identifying a patron saint. First, the evidence should be identified at locations distributed throughout the country. Second, the evidence should be datable to within a narrow window of time. (Chapter 6 looks at evidence between 1083 and the mid-twelfth century.) Third, the evidence should demonstrate the impact of the saint on both the ruling elite and the wider community. Without applying these criteria, historians run the risk of proposing candidates as patron saints who meant more on paper than in practice.

In Chapter 6, I investigate how successful Bury was at promoting Edmund as England's patron saint between 1068 and the mid-twelfth century. Canterbury, Durham, and Bury have all been the subject of modern collected volumes. They explore various aspects of cult centres, including how cults developed at those

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[74] St Denis is associated with both Merovingian and Capetian kingship. His appeal waxed and waned over the centuries. He was considered the patron saint of France by the twelfth century. See J. Naus, *Constructing Kingship: The Capetian Monarchs of France and the Early Crusades* (Manchester, 2016), pp. 59-84; C, Maître, 'De Saint-Maurice d'Agaune à Saint-Denis-en-France: la louange ininterrompue, fruit d'une volonté politique?', *IJHRL* 21 (2010), pp. 5-36; L. Grant & D. Bates, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (Abingdon, 1998), pp. 14-5; A. M. Romero, *Saint-Denis, la montée des pouvoirs* (Paris, 1992), pp. 35-8; T. Waldman, 'Saint-Denis et les premiers Capétiens', in D. Iogna-Prat & J.-C. Picard, ed., *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil: Royaume capétien et Lotharingie. Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987-1987, La France de l'an Mil* (Paris, 1990), pp. 191-7; O. Guillot, 'Les saints des peuples et des nations dans l'Occident des VIe-Xe siècle. Un aperçu d'ensemble illustré par le cas des Francs en Gaule', *Settimane* 36 (1989), pp. 205-52; C. Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris, 1985), pp. 83-125; G. Spiegel, 'The Cult of Saint Denis and the Capetian Kingship', *JMH* 1 (1975), pp. 43-69.

[75] Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great', p. 83.

localities;[76] but, in this chapter, I look at Edmund's cult beyond Bury. I follow in the footsteps of scholars, such as Mary Clayton, Katherine Lewis, Karen Jankulak, Virginia Blanton, and Rebecca Pinner, who contextualize the cults of the Virgin Mary, St Katherine, St Petroc, St Æthelthryth, and St Edmund outside their respective cult centres.[77] Pinner, for instance, studied the dissemination of Edmund's cult in East Anglia throughout the medieval period.[78]

In this chapter, I ask the following questions: did the country buy the narrative that Bury was selling them? Does Edmund fulfil the criteria outlined above? In order to test the success of Edmund's cult beyond Bury, I survey material produced throughout England, between 1068 and the mid-twelfth century, in order to find answers: locations include the royal court, Worcester, Malmesbury, Salisbury, and Durham. In the course of my analysis, I discover the impact of Bury's efforts to promote Edmund's cult on the national stage. My investigation, therefore, covers a shorter time-span than Pinner's monograph on Edmund's cult, but I study its impact throughout England.

I finish my thesis by drawing together the strands of my argument. I demonstrate, for the first time, that the Conquest was the subject of an extended negative critique in England. I also identify another continental source that criticises the Conqueror, which should be added to those previously identified by Van Houts. Hitherto unidentified criticisms of the Conquest are found embedded in material which was written in the first decade of William's reign. William of Jumièges's *Deeds of the Norman Dukes*, Guy of Amiens's *Song of the Battle of Hastings*, Folcard of Saint-Bertin's *Life of King Edward*, Herman the Archdeacon's first version of the *Miracles of St Edmund*, and William of

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[76] Licence, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*; Bonner, Rollason & Stancliffe, ed. *St Cuthbert*; Gransden, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*; R. Eales and R. Sharpe, ed., *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066-1109* (London, 1995).

[77] R. Pinner, *The Cult of St Edmund in Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge, 2015); V. Blanton, *Signs of Devotion: The Cult of St Æthelthryth in Medieval England, 695–1615* (Pennsylvania, 2007); K. Jankulak, *The Medieval Cult of St Petroc* (Woodbridge, 2000); K. J. Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2000); M. Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1990).

[78] Pinner, *The Cult of St Edmund*, pp. 169-238.

Poitiers's *Deeds of William* are all subjected to detailed analysis and fresh readings.

Common themes emerge in my thesis. William's claim that Edward had promised him the throne, his actions at Hastings, and the belief that God had granted him the victory over Harold were all scrutinized at the outset of his rule. In this thesis, I offer a reinterpretation of Guy of Amiens's *Song*, which has largely been interpreted as a poem written in praise of William. I provide a compelling argument that Guy's text offers a damning critique of the king. William's actions at Hastings are portrayed as those of a pagan, even a bloodthirsty lion that ravaged the English sheepfold. Enslaved to Mars and the embodiment of Fury, the Conqueror is reduced to the image of an ulcer, filled with blood. This imagery makes his enthronement in the likeness of Solomon appear farcical.

It was in this critical climate that Herman first completed his *Miracles*. Edmund arose out of this contemporary debate as the patron saint of England in the aftermath of the Conquest. Herman's *Miracles of St Edmund*, neglected until now by historians of the Conquest, contains a narrative in which Edmund is portrayed as the head of a chosen people in opposition to the tyranny of an invader whose taxes were as onerous as William's. Goscelin of Saint-Bertin later developed Edmund's persona along those lines when he cast the saint as the Father of the Fatherland.

The legend wrought at Bury over the course of some eighty years left its mark beyond the abbey walls. My thesis, uncovering new evidence, draws the inescapable conclusion that, by the twelfth century, Edmund – the defender of his people - was regarded as the patron saint of the English.

Enough, however, with spoilers: it is time to turn to Chapter 1.

Chapter 1: William of Jumièges and William of Poitiers

In this chapter, I compare the first version of William of Jumièges's *Deeds of the Norman Dukes*, written in the mid-eleventh century, and William of Poitiers's *Deeds of William*, written between 1071 and 1077.[79] In particular, I analyse how both authors record Duke William's warfare in Maine. This is important because I argue that William of Poitiers wrote in response to criticisms of King William, which had arisen by the 1070s: the Conqueror's critics incorporate his subjugation of Maine within their critique of his invasion of England. This chapter poses two questions. First, how did the narrative about William's actions in Maine change over time? Second, how does this shift reveal what William's contemporaries thought about his actions?

By cross-referencing the details found in William of Jumièges's *Deeds* and William of Poitiers's *Deeds,* I provide insights into how William's motivations for war were retrospectively legitimized when he faced criticism of his actions. This chapter refers to numerous Williams. William the Conqueror, William of Jumièges, and William of Poitiers are hereafter referred to as William, Jumièges, and Poitiers respectively in order to avoid confusion.

David Bates has recently discussed William's conquest of Maine,[80] and his analysis is founded upon Poitiers's *Deeds*. As Bates remarks, Poitiers's 'narrative of the conquest of Maine, supplemented on some points by Orderic, is effectively the only one with any pretensions to completeness'.[81] There is evidence, however, that two fundamental aspects of Poitiers's narrative are not credible: that is, his rationale for the conquest of Maine and also the point at which hostilities began in that county. I shall begin by providing a summary of

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[79] For the date when William of Jumièges finished the first version of his *Deeds,* see below. For the date of William of Poitiers's *Deeds,* see *Gesta,* ed. Davis & Chibnall, p. xx.
[80] Bates, *William the Conqueror,* pp. 127-91; esp. 177-87.
[81] *Ibid,* p. 177.

Poitiers's account of William's conquest of Maine.[82] Additional details not found in Poitiers are included in parentheses. His narrative is as follows:

After the battle of Mortemer (1054), Maine becomes the forum for a proxy war between the duke of Normandy and the count of Anjou. This situation arises out of the peace agreement which is brokered between William and King Henry I of France. One of the terms of this peace is that William will give back his prisoners of war to Henry. In return, the king grants that William can keep the spoils of war from Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou. William is also given licence to take whatever he wants from the count in the future.[83] William duly gives an order to build the castle of Ambrières in Maine, a territory in which Martel is overlord. (This would provide William with a stronghold, near Mayenne, on the border with Normandy.) Geoffrey of Mayenne is terrified at the turn of events.

Geoffrey of Mayenne worries that the Normans will ravage his land. He asks Geoffrey Martel for help. The count tells Geoffrey of Mayenne that he can renounce him as his lord if such a thing comes to pass.[84] Geoffrey Martel's honour is at stake. He joins forces with William, count of the Poitevins, and Eudo, count of the Bretons, and attacks Ambrières. Their forces, however, disperse with amazing speed when the duke's army arrives. Geoffrey of Mayenne, consequently, goes to Normandy and swears fealty to the duke as his new lord.[85]

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[82] For Poitiers's account in full, see *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 50-69.

[83] King Henry assented that, 'the duke should retain by right for ever what he had taken from Geoffrey count of Anjou, and whatever he was able to take from him in the future' (*Dux iure perpetuo retineret quod Gaufrido Andegauorum comiti abstulerat, quodque ualeret auferre*): *Ibid*, pp. 50-1.

[84] 'You [i.e. Geoffrey of Mayenne] may renounce my lordship completely, as that of a vile and dishonoured lord, if you see the things you fear come to pass while I stand idly by' (*'Meum', inquit, 'sicut uilis et pudendi domini omnino abnuas dominium si, patiente me, patrati uideas quod metuis'*): *Ibid*, pp. 52-3.

[85] Geoffrey of Mayenne 'put his conquered hands into William's own, swearing fealty which a vassal owes his lord' (*Sibi manus perdomitas daret, fidelitatem quam satelles domino debet, iurans*): *Ibid*, pp. 54-5.

Events then unfold which lead to the battle of Varaville (1057). The cause of the conflict is King Henry I of France's attempt to regain his honour after the humiliation of his defeat at Mortemer a few years before. The king allies himself with Goeffrey Martel and, after reaching the ford of Dives, attacks Normandy. It was not, however, to be their day. William, the redoubtable avenger, defends his duchy and repells the enemy forces. Not long afterwards, Henry and Geoffrey Martel die. (The former died on 4 August 1060, the latter on 14 November 1060.) Only after Henry's death is peace established between William and the new king of France, Phillip. Neither Henry nor Geoffrey Martel regains their honour before their death.

There follows the justification for William's invasion of Maine. (Poitiers begins this part of his narrative by disrupting his chronology.) Poitiers starts by contending that the Angevins are an oppressive and tyrannical regime in Maine. The most recent example he cites, out of a long history which he says he omits, is Fulk III's attack against the count of Maine, Herbert 'Wake-Dog'. (This encounter takes place in 1025.) This domination continues under Martel during the time of Hugh IV, count of Maine. Martel burns down Le Mans often, and he leaves it for his soldiers to pillage.[86] Hugh's son, Herbert II, succeeds as count, but Goeffrey Martel expells him from Maine. He then goes to William for aid when he fears Geoffrey Martel will destroy him. The result is that Herbert does homage to William, receives back all his property as the duke's vassal, and the duke is made his heir if he dies childless.[87] (This event is traditionally dated between 1058 and 1060, but, if it occurred, it could have taken place at any point

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[86] 'Geoffrey often burnt the town [i.e. Le Mans] by throwing in torches, often gave it over to pillage by his men-at-arms, and frequently rooted up many of the vines outside' (*Gaufredus Martellus urbem Cenomanicam sepe igne iniecto cremauit, sepe militibus suis eam in predam distribuit, plerumque uineas circa eius ambitum exstirpauit*): *Ibid*, pp. 58-9.

[87] 'He [i.e. Herbert] did homage to him [i.e. William], received back all his property from him as a vassal from his lord, and made him sole heir of everything if he should be childless' (*Manibus ei sese dedit, cuncta sua ab eo, ut miles a domino recepit, cunctorum singulariter eum statuens heredem, si non gigneret alium*): *Ibid*, pp. 60-1.

between 26 March 1051 and 9 March 1062: that is, after Herbert succeeded his father as count and before his death.)[88] Herbert then regains control of Maine.

Following these events, William seeks the hand of Herbert's daughter in marriage in order to strengthen the bond between William and Herbert's families. It is only her untimely death that stops the union from occurring. The men of Maine, however, do not honour Herbert's promise to William. They ignore their count's death-bed request for William to succeed him. They, instead, chose Walter, count of Mantes, as Herbert's successor. His claim rests on his marriage to Hugh IV's sister. William, nevertheless, sets about claiming what is rightfully his. He can lay claim to the county on account of Herbert's promise, but he also has a claim to Maine as a former territory of the Norman dukes.[89] (Bates suggests that this claim to an ancestral right could have been taken from Flodoard of Rheims. When writing about the creation of Normandy at the beginning of the tenth century, Flodoard records King Ralph's grant in 924. Part of this grant consists of Bayeux and Maine.)[90] Walter is a usurper.

William's incursions into Maine come soon after. (The county surrenders at some point in 1063.[91] The duke's victory, therefore, takes no more than two years.) His actions could have been brutal, but he chooses moderation. He

[88] For a discussion of Herbert's family's exile and his promise of the succession to William, see Bates, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 177-80; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 73; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, i, pp. 86-7; Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, pp. 28-33. The events which unfold at this time are far from clear. Guillot, for instance, questions Poitiers's story when the latter seeks to demonise Martel: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, i, p. 87, n. 391. All are agreed that the exile and promise, if they occurred, happen sometime after 1055 and before Herbert's death on 9 March 1062. This is based on evidence for cooperation between Herbert and Martel during this period. No evidence has yet been brought forward, however, which prohibits the possibility that this cooperation represented a renewed bond between Herbert and Martel after the former's purported exile and promise.

[89] 'William, who had more than one right to succeed Herbert, took to arms so that he could recover what had been snatched from him in this way. For long before this, the region of Maine had been subject to the sway of the dukes of Normandy' (*Guillelmus, iure multiplici successurus Herberto, arma expediuit, quibus requireret sic prerepta. Nam et olim egit sub Northmannorum ducum ditione regio Cenomanica*): *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 60-1.

[90] Bates, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 177-8.

[91] Bates argues that the best evidence, contained in several versions of the Norman annals, records that William subjugated Maine in 1063: *Ibid*, p. 182. William's attack on the castle of Mayenne occurred after this event, before he returned to Normandy.

prefers to avoid shedding blood. He opts to strike fear into his enemies by laying waste the land in lengthy expeditions.[92] The inhabitants send for Geoffrey le Barbu, Geoffrey Martel's successor as count of Anjou, whom Walter establishes as their lord and protector. There is no mention, however, of his support ever materialising. After all the castles throughout the county fall, the inhabitants of Le Mans surrender and they receive William with the greatest honour.[93] Fearful of William's rage, men of every rank hope to appease him. They call him their lord and prostrate themselves as supplicants before him. The religious of the county follow suit, and churches resound with music. Luckily for the inhabitants, William decides that their surrender is punishment enough.

Like a dutiful parent of his new subjects, William wants to make provisions for his people. Herbert's sister, Margaret, is duly brought from Germanic lands to marry William's son, but she has other ideas: Margaret wants to become a nun. This she does, before dying prematurely. It is at this point that Geoffrey of Mayenne re-enters the fray. Forgetful of the bonds that bind him to William, he violates his oath of fealty and rebels against him. In turn, William decides to take the castle of Mayenne from him. Such a decision does not come without its obstacles.

The castle is positioned on a high rock and cannot be subdued by force. The odds of William succeeding seem vanishingly small, but he has a brainwave which stuns his opponents: torch the place.[94] This does the trick, and the castle

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[92] 'He preferred to spare men's blood... This was his chosen way of attack: to strike fear into the settlement by frequent, lengthy expeditions in that territory, to lay waste the vines, fields, and domains, to capture fortified places all around and put garrisons in them wherever it was desirable; finally to attack that relentlessly with a great multitude of troubles' (*Hominum sanguini... parcere maluit... Hec itaque expugnandi uia placuit. Crebris expeditionibus et diuturnis in ipso territorio mansionibus metum incutere; uineas, agros, uillas, uastari; loca munita circumquaque capere; presidia, ubi res postulauit, imponere; denique plurima turba erumnarum incessanter affligere*): *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 60-1.
[93] 'Finally vanquished, when the castles throughout the whole country have fallen, they surrender the city to the strongest' (*Perdomitis tandem, castellis iam per totum comitatum subactis, reddunt ciuitatem preualenti*): *Ibid*, pp. 60-1.
[94] 'Behold, by the leader's clever plan, flames are thrown which set fire to the castle' (*En solerti consilio ipsius iniecti ignes castrum corripiunt*): *Ibid*, pp. 66-7.

falls. (This is, of course, the same strategy that Martel employs when he attacks Le Mans. The difference between the two men is that Martel is the leader of a tyrannical regime.) William, on the other hand, is in the process of taking back what was usurped from him. He then places a garrison of his own men in the castle after the damage of the fire is repaired.[95] Poitiers's account of William's conquest of Maine then ends with the duke returning to Normandy in triumph. The duke had subjected Maine to his dominion.

What can be gleaned from all of this? Poitiers, according to Richard Barton, characterises William's actions in Maine in terms of honour slighted and redeemed. Part of this process, according to Barton, involves William deciding 'to wipe out the name of his rival [i.e. Geoffrey Martel] through eternal dishonour'.[96] This may have been the outcome of William's actions, but I should stress that it is not the cause. Poitiers does not, as Barton argues, record that William consigns Geoffrey Martel's name to oblivion. William has the option to do this, but, according to Poitiers, 'he knows that it is characteristic of wise men to temper victory, and that the man who cannot restrain himself when he has the power to take vengeance is not really powerful'.[97] Poitiers states that William, consequently, does not pursue Martel.[98]

That is not to say Poitiers did not want his audience to know Geoffrey Martel had been humiliated as a failed overlord of Maine. This is evident when William defeats his forces after beginning to construct the castle of Ambrières. It is apparent when William obtains an oath of fidelity from Geoffrey of Mayenne, formerly Geoffrey Martel's vassal. This humiliation continues, moreover, when

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[95] 'After repairing the damage caused by the fire, and prudently installing a garrison, William returned home' (*Restauratis ille que flamma corruperat, presidioque prouidenter disposito... domum reuexit*): *Ibid*, pp. 66-7.

[96] This is Barton's translation of Poitiers, who wrote that William was able 'ad delendum emuli nomen ignominie sempiterna'. For Barton's translation, see R. E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 110. For the Latin, see *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, p. 26.

[97] 'Nouit esse prudentiam uictorie temperare, atque non satis potentem esse qui semet in potestate ulciscendi continere non possit': *Ibid*, pp. 26-7.

[98] 'He therefore decides to turn away from the road that had been auspicious for him' (*Placet ergo fortunatum iter conuertere*): *Ibid*, pp. 26-7.

William displaces Geoffrey Martel's successor as the master of Maine.[99] Barton is right when he argues that concepts of honour and lordship are intertwined during this period. I repeat, however, that Poitiers does not argue that vengeance is the reason for William's actions in Maine. It must be remembered that Henry I of France, according to Poitiers, sanctions William's actions against Martel for his undertakings both in the past and the future. William's actions are therefore presented as having various legal foundations.

Bates is cautious about accepting the narrative peddled by Poitiers, but he could not identify an alternative perspective on these events.[100] There is, however, another source which paints a different picture. Jumièges wrote a terser account of William's conquest of Maine, but his rationale for William's invasion undermines a central premise of Poitiers's narrative. How then do the two narratives compare?

Bates considers Jumièges's narrative as something of a muddle, but this is not the case.[101] It follows the same order as that found in Poitiers: Jumièges's account is the skeleton that Poitiers uses to flesh out William's invasion in greater detail. I demonstrate this below by comparing Jumièges's *Deeds* and Poitiers's *Deeds*. The table below sets out Jumièges's narrative in chapter eleven, which I compare to Poitiers's account. Poitiers's text is recorded in the order in which he records the events. I underline where both texts share the same wording, and I double underline where both texts share similar wording. Poitiers's borrowings from Jumièges which have previously been identified are commented upon in the footnotes.

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[99] Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine*, pp. 110.
[100] Bates, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 177-8.
[101] *Ibid*, p. 162.

Deeds of the Norman Dukes	*Deeds of William*
His itaque dux competenter deuictis, memor oprobrii a Goiffredo comite sibi illati, ad urbem Cenomannicam non longo post per aliquot annos arma conuertit.[102]	[Poitiers omitted this part of Jumièges narrative.]
Quis igitur explicare poterit, quot militum incursibus, <u>quot</u> legionum <u>expeditionibus</u> illam <u>afflixerit</u>?[103]	Hec itaque expugnandi uia placuit. <u>Crebris</u> <u>expeditionibus</u> et diuturnis in ipso territorio mansionibus metum incutere; uineas, agros, uillas, uastari; loca munita circumquaque capere; presidia, ubi res postulauit, imponere; denique plurima turba erumnarum incessanter <u>affligeret</u>.[104]
<u>Ad postremum</u> namque uicti Cinomanni <u>iam castellis per cunctum</u> <u>comitatum subactis</u> dederunt dextras duci fidem pangentes illi artissimis sacramentis.[105]	Perdomitis <u>tandem, castellis iam per</u> <u>totum comitatum subactis</u>, reddunt ciuitatem preualenti.[106] [Poitiers then related how men of every rank prostrated themselves before the

[102] 'Not long after his successful victory over the French, remembering the dishonour inflicted upon him by Count Geoffrey, the duke engaged for several years in warfare against the city of Le Mans': *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, ii, pp. 150-1.

[103] 'Who therefore will be able to tell in an orderly way how many assaults of his troops and <u>how many expeditions</u> of his army <u>it took to capture</u> that place?': *Ibid*, ii, pp. 150-1.

[104] 'This was his chosen way of attack: to strike fear into the settlement by <u>frequent</u>, lengthy <u>expeditions</u> in that territory, to lay waste the vines, fields, and domains, to capture fortified places all around and put garrisons in them wherever it was desirable; finally <u>to attack</u> the region relentlessly with a great multitude of troubles': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, ii, pp. 60-1. Foreville highlighted 'expeditionibus' as a borrowing from Jumièges: William of Poitiers, *Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant*, ed. R. Foreville (Paris, 1952), p. 90.

[105] '<u>At last</u> the defeated inhabitants of Maine <u>surrendered their strongholds throughout the county</u> and settled for peace with the duke, pledging fealty by binding oaths': *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, ii, pp. 150-1.

[106] '<u>Finally</u> vanquished, <u>when the castles throughout the whole country have fallen</u>, they surrender the city to the strongest': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 60-1. Foreville noted that

duke as supplicants, and that the religious also went to the duke.]

In quorum medio, ad domandam eorum insolentiam, duo municipia stabiliuit, que <u>suis</u> militibus <u>custodienda</u> commisit.[107]

Victori sufficiens pena fuit perdomitos in potestatem suam uenisse, et urbis firmamentum <u>sua</u> in reliquum <u>custodia</u> occupari.[108]

Restiterat adhuc Meduanum castellum cuiusdam militis nomine Goiffredi.[109]

[Poitiers gives a fuller account of Geoffrey of Mayenne's motivation for resistance to William's rule.]

Quod exercitibus applicitis aliquandiu oppugnans cepit <u>igneque iniecto</u> flammis combussit iterumque illud <u>restaurans</u> et <u>custodibus</u> mancipauit.[110]

En solerti consilio ipsius <u>iniecti ignes</u> castrum corripiunt... <u>Restauratis</u> ille que flamma corruperat, <u>presidio</u>que prouidenter disposito... domum reuexit.[111]

I identify three important difference between the accounts of Jumièges and Poitiers. First, Jumièges and Poitiers do not agree on when or for how long

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the words 'castellis iam per... comitatum subactis' were taken from Jumièges: *Histoire*, ed. Foreville, p. 90. I have highlighted 'cunctum', which is a synonym for 'totum'.

[107] 'In order to restrain their arrogance the duke built in the middle of their county two strongholds where he placed his own soldiers <u>as a garrison</u>': *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, ii, pp. 150-1.

[108] 'To the victor it seemed punishment enough for them that they had been subdued and brought under his power, and that the citadel of the town should in the future be occupied <u>by his garrison</u>': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 62-3. Foreville, Davis, and Chibnall do not highlight Poitiers's debt to Jumièges for this sentence.

[109] 'The only fortress that still held out against him was Mayenne, which belonged to a fighter called Geoffrey': *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, ii, pp. 150-1.

[110] 'The duke had to use all his resources for the siege of that place for some time, until finally he took it <u>after throwing fire</u> inside its walls and thus putting it to flames. After its capture <u>he rebuilt</u> it and entrusted it to <u>his own garrison</u>': *Ibid*, ii, pp. 150-1.

[111] 'Behold, by the leader's clever plan, <u>flames are thrown</u> which set fire to the castle... <u>After repairing</u> the damage caused by the fire, and prudently installing <u>a garrison</u>, William returned home': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 66-7. Foreville points out that the words 'iniecti ignes' are borrowed from Jumièges: *Histoire*, ed. Foreville, p. 98. Foreville, Davis, and Chibnall do not note that Poitiers borrowed from Jumièges when he recorded that William both repaired the castle of Mayenne and placed his own garrison there.

William's conquest of Maine took place. Jumièges places the beginning of hostilities in Maine shortly after the battle of Mortemer in 1054. Poitiers does not provide a date for William's campaign in Maine, but it takes place after William is supposedly usurped, in 1062, after Herbert II's death. For Poitiers's narrative to work, William's conquest of Maine, therefore, must have been complete in under two years. Jumièges, however, relates that it took several.

Second, there is also a stark difference between Jumièges and Poitiers in their description of the rationale for William's invasion. Jumièges records that William is mindful of the dishonour Geoffrey Martel has inflicted upon him: in an act of vengeance, William seeks to regain his honour by besmirching that of Geoffrey Martel. On this point, Jumièges plays fast and loose with the facts. Geoffrey Martel died on 14 November 1060 before William subjugated the county. It is during the time of Geoffrey Martel's successor, his namesake Geoffrey le Barbu, that William became the master of Maine. In omitting Martel's death, Jumièges's account reads as if William fulfils his objective.

Third, there is no legal foundation for William's invasion in Jumièges's *Deeds*. There is, among other omissions, no comment about Herbert becoming William's vassal, no mention of the count making the duke his heir, and, consequently, no usurpation of his rights which are being reclaimed. This presumably did not sit well with Poitiers.

I note above that Poitiers emphasises William's mercy and makes explicit remarks which show how William does not act out of vengeance. It was presumably this sort of recollection of William's past which Poitiers wanted to amend. Before he reports on William's warfare in Maine and England, Poitiers wrote the following passage, which deserves to be quoted in full: 'We know that the tongues of men are more apt to speak at length of evil than of good, often out of envy, at other times because of some other depravity. For sometimes even the finest deeds are, by evil distortion, turned into the opposite. So it often happens that the virtuous acts of kings, dukes, or other great persons, when

they are not truly reported, are condemned in a later age by good men, that they may serve as examples of evil in no way to be imitated in the form of usurpation or some other wicked crime. Wherefore we think it worthwhile to hand down to posterity the exact truth of how this William – whose memory we wish to preserve in writing, and whom we wish to seem in no way displeasing, in everything pleasing to all men both present and future – was able to gain the possession of the principality of Maine in the same way as the English realm, not just be force but also by the law of justice'.[112] This passage contains telling defensive comments.

Take, for example, the following sentence: 'So it often happens that the virtuous acts of kings, dukes, or other great persons, when they are not truly reported, are condemned in a later age by good men, that they may serve as examples of evil in no way to be imitated in the form of usurpation or some other wicked crime'. The mis-reporting of events, according to Poitiers, can lead to good deeds being taken as examples of usurpation and other wickedness. This sentence, and the passage to which it belongs, reveals Poitiers's anxiety about the views which William's contemporaries held about the king's exploits. (William was, of course, both a duke and a king.) As I make clear in my thesis, Poitiers wrote his text between 1071 and 1077 after various authors had criticised William's claim to the throne and his actions in attaining it. Poitiers was,

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[112] 'Quod humane lingue ad maliuolentiam quam ad beneuolentiam laudandam sint promptiores nouimus; ob inuidiam plerumque, interdum ob aliam prauitatem. Nam et pulcherrima facinora in contrariam partem iniqua deprauatione traducere solent. Unde nonnunquam fieri constat, quatinus decora regum siue ducum siue cuiuscunque optimi, cum non uere traduntur, apud etatem posteram censura bonorum damnentur, ut nequaquam imitanda mala ad inuasionem uel aliud iniquum facinus placeant exemplo. Quapropter nos opere pretium arbitramur quam uerissime tradere quatinus Guillelmus hic (quem scripto propagamus, quem tam futuris quam presentibus in nullo displicere, immo cunctis placere optimus) Cenomanico principatu, quemadmodum regno Anglico, non solum forti manu potius fuerit, sed et iustitie legibus potiri debuerit': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 56-9. After discussing this passage with Tom Licence, I have amended the translation of Chibnall and Davis from 'So it often happens that the virtuous acts of kings, dukes, or other great persons, when they are not truly reported, are condemned in a later age by good men; while wrongs, which should on no account be imitated, are held up as examples for usurpations and other wicked deeds' to 'So it often happens that the virtuous acts of kings, dukes, or other great persons, when they are not truly reported, are condemned in a later age by good men, that they may serve as an example of evil in no way to be imitated in the form of usurpation or some other wicked crime'.

therefore, attempting to correct their views both for the present and posterity. He was aware that some of these critical opinions could, now the arguments had shifted, be substantiated by recourse to Jumièges. The difference between the narratives by Jumièges and Poitiers therefore reveals how the legitimization process of William's actions developed over the course of some ten to fifteen years, from the narrative in Jumièges's *Deeds* into the more embellished account in Poitiers's *Deeds*. I say over the course of ten to fifteen years because I now argue that Jumièges's finished the first recension of his *Deeds* contemporaneously with William's subjugation of Maine.

 Before proposing a revised dating of Jumièges work, it is necessary to set out the original dating as argued by van Houts.[113] Jumièges's *Deeds,* she argued, was composed in two stages. She took the *terminus post quem* for the completion of the first version as 1057: that is, after the battle of Varaville. The *terminus ante quem* for the second version is between 1066 and c. 1070: that is, when William's successful invasion of England throughout these years is added at the end of the *Deeds*. Several reasons can be posited for the *terminus post quem* being 1057. Chapters eleven, twelve, and thirteen are largely in chronological order. Chapter ten documents the battle of Mortemer (1054). Chapter twelve focuses on the battle of Varaville (1057). We might expect, therefore, that chapter eleven would concentrate on events that occurred in the intervening years: and this is the case, for William's expedition in Maine, between 1054 and 1057, is described at this juncture. Two further details are also noted. The fall of Le Mans is not explicitly mentioned, but the siege of the castle at Mayenne and the demise of Geoffrey of Mayenne are referred to in the final sentence of the chapter. For van Houts, this was evidence that thehe substance of the chapter was finished c. 1057. Jumièges then updated the *Deeds* after William's invasion of England: he added William's accession to the throne in chapter one, the section on Robert and his father in chapter nine, the last sentence of chapter eleven (i.e. the siege of Mayenne and the castellan's defeat), the last sentence in chapter twelve (i.e.

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[113] *Gesta,* ed. van Houts, i, pp. xxxii-xxxv.

the reference to King Henry's death), and the events that unfold from the Conquest onwards between chapter thirteen and his epilogue. Jumièges's work was thus completed by early 1070. If we set aside these additions, according to van Houts, there are no details in Jumièges's original text, therefore, that post-date the battle of Varaville. A lack of other such details confirms this hypothesis. The following details are absent from the text: the restitution of the castle of Tillières, in 1060, from Henry I of France to William; the death of Geoffrey of Anjou in November 1060; and the negotiations which led to William's son, Robert, being made count of Maine in 1063. Van Houts's explanation for these omissions is that, like the fall of the castle of Mayenne, they lay in the future when Jumièges first put down his pen c. 1057.

My analysis of Jumièges and Poitiers's texts militates against this hypothesis. It shows that the last sentence of chapter eleven is not the only part of that chapter that refers to events of 1063. Almost all of it describes the events of that year. In the third sentence, Jumièges refers to the subjugation of Maine in 1063. 'At last', Jumièges wrote, 'the defeated inhabitants of Maine surrendered their strongholds throughout the county and settled for peace with the duke, pledging fealty by binding oaths'.[114] The fall of Le Mans, which Van Houts argues is not discussed by Jumièges, is implied in Jumièges's statements that all the strongholds in Maine surrendered and that the inhabitants of the county bound themselves to William with oaths. The absence of the detail about Geoffrey Martel's death is explicable on narrative grounds, which I outline above. The date when Geoffrey le Barbu receives homage from Robert Curthouse (which he is thought to have taken in 1063) is, as Robert Latouche remarks, conjecture.[115] Reservations about Jumièges's chronology in chapter eleven extending beyond 1057, which is the period covered in chapter twelve, are also explicable by his telescoping of events. This is a technique found elsewhere in his *Deeds*, and Van

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[114] *Ibid*, ii, p. 151.
[115] R. Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, p. 35, n. 2. Orderic is the earliest writer to mention the act of homage, but he does not date the event: *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, ii, pp. 304-5.

Houts hypothesises that this technique reflects his desire to condense a topic into a single chapter.[116] Jumièges appears to employ it in chapter eleven. It enables Jumièges to end his *Deeds* on a narrative climax. The penultimate chapter of the first version of the *Deeds* presents William as greater than the count of Anjou. The final chapter of Jumièges's *Deeds* portrays William as being greater than the king of France: Henry I of France had attempted to avenge himself against William, but he failed. Jumièges wrote: 'When he observed the destruction of his army, the king withdrew as quickly as possible and never again dared to invade Normandy.'[117] The last sentence then records his death and the succession of his son, Philip.[118]

My analysis is significant because, as Van Houts demonstrates, Jumièges everywhere adopts the ducal point of view. What Jumièges describes as rebellions against William were often instances in which the duke was trying to exert control over largely independent lords. These examples in Jumièges's *Deeds*, consequently, are taken as less trustworthy in portraying the motives for William's actions.[119] No such ties are broken, however, in chapters ten and eleven. The count of Anjou owed no allegiance to the duke. He fought with Henry I of France (as his vassal) against William. The duke's motivations, as articulated in chapter eleven, appear to be more trustworthy, and they also offer an insight into his psyche. William wants to humiliate his opponent: he does so by besmirching his honour while simultaneously demonstrating and extending his own power.

Writing while the conquest of Maine was underway, and doing so in praise of the duke, Jumièges is more credible than Poitiers. The latter's narrative shows all the hallmarks of being reverse-engineered for at least one purpose: to show

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[116] *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, i, p. liii.
[117] 'Videns autem rex suorum interitum quamcitius ualuit a Normannis recessit et ultra ad eos uenire apposuit': *Ibid*, ii, p. 152-3.
[118] 'When finally, having lived a while longer, he died, he left his son Philip as heir to the kingdom of the French' (*Qui diutius post hoc uiuens demum nature debita soluit decedens Philipum filium suum in Francorum regimine relinquens heredem*): *Ibid*, ii, p. 152-3.
[119] *Ibid*, i, p. lii.

that William was beset by usurpers throughout his life and that, in the manner of his ancient Roman forebears, he avenged himself on such tyranny wherever it arose. Jumièges's account, written in praise of William contemporaneously with the invasion of Maine, offers strong evidence that Poitiers's narrative, which is founded on the duke beginning hostilities after Herbert's death in 1062, is a fiction. Nevertheless, it fell to Poitiers to legitimize William's actions by arguing for his legal claims to a territory which, according to Poitiers, tyrants had usurped. William, for Poitiers, did not simply conduct war to humiliate an adversary. Rather, Poitiers records the duke's legal claims to his conquered territories. No claim, no usurpation; no usurpation, no tyrant; no tyrant, no one to overthrow; no one to overthrow, no conquest.

Jumièges's explanation for William's warfare in Maine was probably unsettling to William's contemporaries, as a pre-1066 account, because it advanced no legal claims and deemed none necessary. Where is the proportionality in William's actions c. 1054 onwards? William's brutality is a theme which emerges in Bates's recent biography of the Conqueror.[120] For Bates, his subjugation of Maine is part of the context of William's decision to invade England. When he had resolved to attack Harold II's realm, William's previous actions in Maine, as Jumièges records them, would not have helped to convince people, who questioned his claim, that Harold had usurped William: for the duke had form. My analysis demonstrates that there is no reason to assume that the same confected legitimization process, which Poitiers applies to Maine, was not also deployed for the duke's claim to the English throne. Was William's invasion of England another example of him mounting an illegitimate invasion? Is there evidence that William's contemporaries thought his right to be king of England was dubious? The next chapter explores these questions.

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[120] Bates, *William the Conqueror,* p. 185.

Chapter 2: Guy of Amiens

I now examine Guy of Amiens's *Song of the Battle of Hastings.* I mention in my Introduction that our current view about it is still largely in line with Orderic Vitalis's summary of the poem. 'Guy bishop of Amiens', Orderic records, 'also wrote a poem describing the battle of Senlac in imitation of the epics of Vergil and Statius, abusing and condemning Harold but praising and exalting William'.[121] In this chapter, I weigh-up the evidence in the *Song*, and – spoiler alert – the description of the poem by Orderic is found wanting.

Since I argue that the poem contains many criticisms of William, it is necessary to ask what sort of reception Guy expected from Lanfranc its recipient. At the beginning of the *Song*, there is no indication that he anticipates hostility on Lanfranc's part. Grand narratives have been built up around Lanfranc and his connections to William, but it should be remembered that there is very little contemporary evidence that connects him with the Conqueror before 1070. The two pieces of evidence which connect William to Lanfranc before 1070 are a letter from Pope Nicholas II (written between 1059 and 1061) and Lanfranc's appointment as abbot of the abbey of Saint-Étienne, at Caen, at some point between 1063 and 1066.[122] John Cowdrey acknowledges, however, that this evidence concerning Lanfranc's activity on behalf of the duke, before 1070, is scanty.[123] To these two pieces of evidence, Barlow would add a text which he believes Lanfranc wrote in praise of William before he became archbishop of Canterbury in 1070. Sigebert of Gembloux, in his *Book of Illustrious Men*, records

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[121] 'Guido etiam præsul Ambianensis metricum carmen edidit, quo Maronem et Papinium gesta heroum pangentes imitatus Senlacium bellum descripsit[;] Heraldum uituperans et condempnans, Guillelmum uero collaudans et magnificans': *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, ii, pp. 184-7.

[122] Pope Nicholas stated in the letter that Duke William acquiesced to his council. The letter reads, 'Comitem autem uestrum amicum nostrum, quem uestris audiuimus satis, Deo gratis, acquiescere consiliis, ita custodiatis ut hic et in Christo ualere possit': R. Southern, *St. Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 32. For Lanfranc's time as abbot, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), pp, 24-8. Bates discusses 1066 as an alternative year for Lanfranc having become abbot of Saint-Étienne. For this argument, see Bates, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 170-1.

[123] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, p. 38.

that Lanfranc wrote about the 'laudes, triumphos et res gestas Guillelmi Northmannorum comitis, qui regnum Anglorum primus invasit'. No copy of this text, however, is known to survive, so it is not possible to known whether such a work was ever written. There is also no evidence that would lead one to believe (as Frank Barlow proposes) that it was written before Lanfranc became archbishop (or rather, before the composition of the *Song*).[124]

What is more, George Garnett's argument that Lanfranc is a candidate for the authorship of William's case against Harold, in order to obtain papal support for his invasion, is founded on supposition. His evidence comes from Lanfranc's personal manuscript on canon law. Garnett draws attention to marginal notes in the manuscript. These marginalia highlight canons governing both the rules of succession to a kingdom and what amounts to tyranny. If they were made by Lanfranc, the notation would have been equally valuable in the aftermath of the Conquest. They could have been used as part of the legal foundation of William's legitimacy to the throne when facing rebellions.[125] It is not until 1070, when he was installed as archbishop of Canterbury, that Lanfranc can be shown to have been intertwined with William's rule in England. Was Lanfranc, in the run-up to the Conquest, more critical of William's invasion than previously thought?

Alternatively, if Lanfranc did agree with William's rationale for the invasion, could it be the case that Guy was trying to prick Lanfranc's conscience in the *Song*, with regards to William's actions in attaining the English throne? Guy's narrative about how William conducted himself, for example, at Hastings would presumably, if believable, have been concerning to Lanfranc. I show below that Guy describes William acting like one of his pagan forebears, and that the duke had been enthralled to Mars and offered blood sacrifices to the god of war.

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[124] *Liber de uiris illustribus*, ed. R. Witte (Frankfurt, 1974), p. 97. For Barlow's argument about the potential date of the work, see Barlow, 'The Carmen', p. 36.
[125] Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda', pp. 108-10.

If Guy is criticising William in the *Song*, it also raises the question as to why Matilda went on to make Guy her chaplain? There are many reasons why Guy's appointment does not conflict with my analysis of the poem. Was his appointment a case of keeping your friends close but your enemies closer? Was it a political coup for Matilda, bringing Guy over to the Norman cause? So much about the circumstances surrounding the Conquest is now not known to us. We should keep an open mind about the political developments in England and on the continent after 1066.

I do not believe, therefore, that historians need to revisit the previous arguments (which I refer to in my Introduction) that question the poem's attribution to Guy. Although I argue in this chapter that Guy is doing something different to what Orderic describes, Orderic's description of the *Song* can still apply to it. Modern editors (namely, Morton, Muntz, and Barlow) interpret the poem, like Orderic, as being written in praise of William. It is conceivable, therefore, that Orderic, if he had read the *Song*, could hold the same opinion as the modern editors of the poem. Superficially, it does seem to be a poem in praise of William.

There is no reason, of course, to assume that such a great Latinist as Orderic had read the *Song*: no verbal echoes from the poem have been identified in his works, and one of many possible hypotheses is that he described the poem as an informant characterized it. What is more, the only author (and a contemporary of Guy at that) who is known to have read the *Song*, namely, William of Poitiers, does appear to have taken umbrage with both Guy and his poem. What caused Poitiers to have this reaction? This chapter provides a close reading of Guy's poem before answering this question. I start by analysing the beginning of the *Song*.

After the poem's dedication to Lanfranc (i.e. between lines 1 and 25), Guy attacks and mocks the English in his apostrophe to William, which ends just before the battle of Hastings begins, between lines 26 and 344. Harold, according to Guy,

speaks to his men and demonises William. Part of his argument is that that the duke 'does not know how to keep the faith or the peace'.[126] Members of Guy's audience, particularly those who agreed with the Norman claim that Harold became king by breaking his oath to William, are invited to view Harold as a hypocrite. At the end of his rallying cry, Harold then says how awful it would be 'if William should wield the sceptre of the realm' ('si regni sceptra tenebit').[127] In the following line, Guy then puns on the verb 'fugere' when the king concludes his speech by stating: 'Let all who wish to live shun this' ('Hoc omnes fugiant uiuere qui cupiunt').[128] This could be read mischievously as: 'everyone who wishes to live should flee the kingdom'. 'Hoc' can agree with 'regni'.

Guy goes on to characterise the English as stupid, and he comments that it was right that they should perish and come to naught.[129] The English, according to Guy, are an accursed people and had a foolish king.[130] The consequence of all this stupidity culminates in Harold's army crying out with one voice: 'We would rather fight than put our necks under the yoke of another king - indeed, we would rather die'.[131] Guy's readership, at these words, may not have known whether to laugh or cry with hindsight. When he speaks to his men, William also characterises Harold as a perjured ruler. The king, according to the duke, will try to vanquish the enemy army by deceit rather than in battle.[132] At one point, Harold is called 'the abode and interior of blackest deceit'.[133] Knowing how the battle ends, Guy also portrays Harold as damning his own cause in his

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[126] 'Nec nouit pacem nec retinere fidem': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 12, line 182. My translation.

[127] *Ibid*, pp. 12-3, line 187.

[128] *Ibid*, pp. 12-3, line 188.

[129] 'Your [i.e. William's] men go out and devastate and burn the land - behaviour which, since the stupid people reject you as king, is not to be wondered at. It is entirely just that they should perish and come to naught' (*Tua gens... inuadit terram, regem quia te plebs stulta negabat;/ Ergo perit iuste, uadit et ad nichilum*): *Ibid*, pp. 10-1, lines 146-7.

[130] *Ibid*, pp. 26-7, line 438 & pp. 12-3, line 195.

[131] 'Bella magis cupimus quam sub iuga colla reponi/ Alterius regis, uel magis inde mori': *Ibid*, pp. 12-13, lines 193-4.

[132] 'I tell you all that this... infamous, and perjured king, this adulterer, is attempting to lay snares for us. It is his wont to conquer not by force but by deceit, and, while pledging faith with his lips, to hand out death' (*Infamis periurus rex et adulter/ Molitur nobis tendit et insidias./ Eius enim mos est non ui, sed uincere fraude,/ Spondendoque fidem porrigit ore necem*): *Ibid*, pp. 16-7, lines 261-4.

[133] 'Sedes fuscante fraudis et heres': *Ibid*, pp. 18-9, line 279.

response to the duke's envoy. Harold is recorded as saying that 'tomorrow it will be seen by the judgment of the Lord of the kingdom which party has right on his side, for the sacred hand of the Lord will make a just award'.[134] Guy depicts the English and their king as villains, but what about William?

Guy initially lauds William. He states that he would do as much at the beginning of his address to the duke. He wrote: 'For now must the sleeping Muses be roused and my pen move swiftly to your praise'.[135] During the dedication of the poem to Lanfranc, William is said courageously to have recovered what had been stolen from him.[136] In his apostrophe to William, Guy calls him a 'blessed king, guardian of justice, giver of peace to the fatherland, a foe to its foes and protector of its churches'.[137] (This is the only time when William is called 'king' in the poem until Harold is dead.) William is, according to Guy, another Caesar;[138] the kingdom welcomes him into its bosom;[139] every law favours him.[140] The *Song* contains yet more praise for him.

When discussing William's claim to the throne, Guy praises the duke's actions on two occasions. On the first occasion, he mentions William's ancestral claim to England, which was left to him by his forebears, when the duke is undeterred by the odds being stacked against him before his crossing to England.[141] The

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[134] 'Iudice cras Domino regni, pars iusta patebit;/ Diuidet ex equo sacra manus Domini': *Ibid*, pp. 18-9, line 304.

[135] 'Amodo torpentes decet euigilare Camenas/ Et calamos alacres reddere laude tua': *Ibid*, p. 4-5, lines 28-9. I amended Barlow's translation from 'aroused' to 'roused' to avoid any confusion: Guy is not trying to titillate the Muses.

[136] 'For manfully he recovered a kingdom of which he had been deprived' (*Nam sibi sublatum regnum uirtute redemit*): *Ibid*, pp. 2-3, line 23,

[137] 'Iusticie cultor, patrie pax, hostibus hostis,/ Tutor et ecclesie, rex benedicte': *Ibid*, pp. 4-5, lines 26-7.

[138] 'For, another Caesar, by repeating his triumph you compel an unbridled people to love the yoke' (*Iulius alter... cuius renouando triumphum/ Effrenem gentem cogis amare iugum*): *Ibid*, pp. 4-5, lines 32-3.

[139] 'The land owed to you, stripped of her terrified inhabitants, joyfully welcomed you and yours into her tender bosom' (*Debita terra tibi, pauidis nudata colonis,/ Leta sinu placido teque tuosque capit*): *Ibid*, pp. 8-9, lines 127-8.

[140] 'Every law was in your favour' (*Fauet tibi... legis... summa*): *Ibid*, pp. 4-5, line 38.

[141] 'Neither the dense population of the land... nor the looming horror of winter deterred you from seeking a kingdom bequeathed you by your forebears' (*Innumerus terre populus.../ Incumbens hyemis nec te deterruit horror,/ Quin ab auis peteres regna relicta tibi*): *Ibid*, pp. 4-5, lines 34-7.

second occasion is when he rebukes Harold for thinking he thoughtlessly invaded England.[142] Guy is more explicit about the actions of William's forebears later on: William's father, according to his envoy, 'put the necks of the English under his yoke'.[143] Such a perspective is evinced in Jumièges's *Deeds* and the anonymously written *Discovery and Miracles of Saint Wulfran*.[144] William's envoy continues to develop the duke's claim to the throne in his message to Harold. He relates that 'as many bear witness, and the duke himself maintains, King Edward with the assent of his people and the advice of his nobles, promised and decreed that William should be his heir; and you supported him'.[145]

The duke is also shown to be following in the footsteps of his illustrious forefathers. Playing on the double meanings of the verb 'supero', Guy wrote: 'Your distant ancestor (*proauus*) held sway over (*supero*) the Normans, your more recent ancestor (*auus*) overcame (*supero*) the Bretons, and your father (*genitor*) placed the necks of the English under his yoke. And you, what will you do but, by planning greater things, follow in their footsteps with the help of your valour?'[146] Guy's use of 'proauus', 'auus', and 'pater' elided their figurative and more restricted meanings. On a literary note, since they could be read as 'great-grandfather' (*proauus*), 'grandfather' (*auus*), and 'father' (*pater*/*genitor*), it conjures an image of successive generations of Norman dukes increasing their power by extending their dominion. When placed alongside the deeds of his ancestors, William's actions at Hastings create the sense in which the Norman's

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[142] William's envoy also relayed to Harold, 'I am no longer a boy; nor have I lightly attacked a kingdom to which I was entitled on the death of my forebears' (*Excessi puerum, leuiter nec regna petiui,/ Defunctis patribus, debita iure mihi*): *Ibid*, pp. 14-5, lines 232-3.
[143] 'Anglorum genitor sub iuga colla dedit': *Ibid*, p. 20-1, lines 334.
[144] T. Licence, 'Edward the Confessor',, p. 115; E. M. C. van Houts, 'Historiography and Hagiography at Saint-Wandrille: The 'Inventio et Miracula sancti Vulfranni'', *ANS* 12 (1989), pp. 248-9.
[145] 'Perplures testantur, et asserit idem,/ Assensu populi, consilio procerum,/ Etguardus quod rex ut ei succederet heres/ Annuit et fecit, teque fauente sibi': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 18-9, lines 291-4.
[146] 'Normannos proauus superauit, auusque Britannos,/ Anglorum genitor sub iuga colla dedit./ Et tu, quid facies, nisi quod, maiora parando,/ Succedas illis per probitatis opem?': *Ibid*, p. 20, lines 331-4. My translation.

are marching ever onward and achieve greatness through conquest. So why does Poitiers seem to have had such a problem with the poem?

Poitiers is known to have read the *Song*. Raymonde Foreville, Frank Barlow, Catherine Morton, and Hope Muntz, among others, all highlight where the two sources share verbal similarities and similar content.[147] One of the best examples, which Foreville spots, is when Harold marches to meet William in battle. Guy wrote: 'Where he marches he reduces the forest to bare land and the rivers he crosses dry up'.[148] Poitiers also comments: 'If any author of antiquity had been writing of Harold's line of march he would have recorded that in his passage rivers were dried up and forests laid flat'.[149] Now that the *Song* is established as the earlier source, there is no longer any doubt that it is Poitiers who borrows from Guy's narrative, and not vice versa.[150]

Poitiers, moreover, seems to take issue with Guy. He remarks that 'poets were allowed to imagine wars so that they could write about them, and to amplify their knowledge in any way they liked by roaming the fields of fiction'.[151] At first glance, this could be a general statement which criticises poets and their fables (*fabula*) in order to emphasise the authority of his history (*historia*).[152] The

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[147] Guillaume de Poitiers, *Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant*, ed. R. Foreville (Paris, 1952), pp. xxxv-xxxviii; *Carmen*, ed. Morton & Muntz, pp. 84-90; F. Barlow, 'The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio', in Bourne and Wat, ed., *Studies in International History*, pp. 40-62.

[148] 'Quo graditur siluas plani deducit ad esse,/ Et per que transit flumina sicca facit': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 20-1, lines 321-2.

[149] 'Scribens Heraldi agmen illud ueterum aliquis, in eius transitu flumina epotata, siluas in planum redactas fuisse memoraret': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 126-7. Poitiers amplified his passage by including 'epotat'. When taken with 'flumina', he alluded to one of Juvenal's satires. 'We believe', Juvenal wrote, 'the stories of deep rivers running dry and streams being drunk up by the Medes at lunch' (*Credimus altos/ defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo/ prandente*): *Juvenal and Persius*, ed. S. M. Braund (London, 2004), pp. 380-1, lines 176-8.

[150] Raymonde Foreville and Sten Körner were some of the first historians, in the 1950s and 1960s, to argue that Poitiers employed Guy's *Song*: S. Körner, *The Battle of Hastings, England, and Europe 1035-1066* (Lund, 1964), pp. 91-100; *Histoire*, ed. Foreville, pp. xxxv-xxxviii.

[151] 'Parturire suo pectore bella que calamo ederentur poetis licebat, atque amplificare utcumque cognita per campos figmentorum diuagando': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 28-9.

[152] Poitiers thought of his work as a history (*historia*). When recording Earl Godwine's murder of Alfred at the beginning of his text, he wrote, 'King William will live long, he will live too in our pages, which we are happy to write in a simple style, so that a great many people may easily understand such shining deeds, particularly since you will find that the greatest orators, who have a special capacity for writing impressively, employ a plain style when they are writing

themes which Poitiers develops, however, rewrite many of the events which Guy records. Given what I am about to reveal about the *Song's* content, Poitiers is probably directing his reproach towards Guy when criticising poets. The view that Poitiers is responding to Guy's work is nothing new, but his motives for doing so have never been properly explained.[153]

I argued in Chapter 1 that Poitiers was concerned about the recollection of events by William's contemporaries in Maine. He appears to have had the same misgiving about the contemporary discourse regarding William's invasion of England. In order to understand what it is that Poitiers found so unsettling about the *Song*, I will now analyse the themes which Guy develops and which criticise the Conqueror. I come back to the question of how Poitiers refashions the narrative surrounding the Conquest, in response to Guy's *Song*, at the very end of this chapter.

I will begin with the most recent work on the *Song* and its criticisms of King William: specifically, Thomas O'Donnell's research, which demonstrates that Guy not only praises William but also criticises him. This paragraph summarises part of O'Donnell's argument and some of the evidence he cites.[154] Guy's application of 'pietas' ('dutifulness') is compared to models of 'pietas' in Vergil's *Aeneid* (as exemplified by its hero Aeneas) and Ermoldus's *Song in honour of Louis* (as illustrated by its hero Louis). But William is not the embodiment of 'pietas' like Aeneas and Louis. When writing about the battle of Hastings, Guy laments, 'pity dies and pitilessness reigns'.[155] William is also likened to Harold as both committed deceit, which is a corruption of faith. It is Harold's custom

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history' (*Viuet, uiuet in longum rex Guillelmus, et in paginis nostris, quas tenui orationis figura scribere placet, ut res pulcherrimas dilucide plures intelligant, presertim cum precipui oratores, quibus dicendi grauiter copia magna fuit, humili sermone, dum historias scribunt, usi reperiantur*): *Ibid*, pp. 156-9.

[153] Engels, 'Once more', pp. 6-10.

[154] T. O'Donnell, 'The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio and the poetics of 1067', *ANS* 39 (2016), pp. 158-61. Morton and Muntz made the same observation in less detail: *Carmen*, ed. Morton & Muntz, pp. xlii-xliii.

[155] 'Occidit... pietas, regnat et impietas': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 31, line 498. This is O'Donnell's translation: O'Donnell, 'The Carmen', p. 159.

'to conquer not by force but by deceit, and, while pledging his faith with lips, hands out death'.[156] So too William deceives the English in his subjugation of London. He needs to win over Ansgar, who heads the city fathers, to gain control of the city.[157] He achieves this, according to Guy, by blinding his messenger with gifts and deceiving him with words.[158]

I now reveal more evidence which demonstrates that Guy is rebuking William. Indeed, Guy takes his audience on a literary journey of discovery. A major theme which runs throughout the *Song*, and strong evidence in favour of my hypothesis, is the appearance of pagan deities. In the dedicatory section of the *Song* (i.e. between lines 1 and 25), Guy likens his offering of the poem to Lanfranc as a ship hoping to find a safe port. He asks Lanfranc not to be frightened by a tempest on this metaphoric journey. The sense of drama is heightened when he employs Boreas, god of the north wind, as the personification of such an obstacle.[159] There follows an apostrophe to William (i.e. between lines 26 and 157) which mentions various immortal beings.[160]

At the beginning of his address to the duke, the first pagan deities that appear are the Muses.[161] This is not surprising as they were, among other things, patrons

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[156] 'Non ui set uincere fraude,/ Spondendoque fidem porrigit ore necem': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 16-7, lines 263-4. The Normans had fallen foul of treachery in the past. William of Jumièges lamented that it was Arnulf of Flanders's 'deceitful mind' (*fraudulento animo*) which caused the death of William Longsword. Arnulf's treachery is compared to that of Judas. Prior to Arnulf and William's oath of friendship, Jumièges wrote, 'Arnulf, imitating the manner of the traitor Judas, spun out a spider's web of digressions and trifles' (*Arnulfo etenim proditoris Iude morem imitato, neniis et ambagibus diutius telam aranee texente*). Arnulf then betrayed William, whom his followers murdered: *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, i, pp. 90-3.
[157] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 40, line 685.
[158] *Ibid*, pp. 42-3, line 727.
[159] 'Do not allow it, I beseech you, to be shaken by the winds of envy or frightened by Boreas' blasts' (*Precor... Inuidie uentis agitari nec paciaris,/ Nec Boree flatum timeat*): *Ibid*, pp. 2-3, lines 6-9.
[160] William is referred to in the second person up to line 148. Although William is not mentioned directly, lines 149-157 record the English reaction to his devastation of the country. This section ends with the following sentence: 'The messenger came up to him [i.e. Harold] and told him his story' (*Nuncius occurrit; que fert hoc ordine pandit*): *Carmen,* ed. Barlow, pp. 10-1, line 157. This appears to be the point at which Guy stopped addressing William. Lines 158-66 relate what an English messenger said to Harold. After this, William is referred to in the third person.
[161] 'For now must the sleeping Muses be roused' (*Amodo torpentes decet euigilare Camenas*): *Ibid*, pp. 4-5, line 28.

of poetry for Guy. Their invocation by poets stretches back to antiquity.[162] The next set of references in this apostrophe, however, are more revealing.

When describing how William's fleet is unable to cross the Channel, Guy wrote: 'Eurus curled the ocean's waves with its blasts... You looked to see by what wind the church's weathercock was turned. If it was by Auster, you departed happily. But if, on a sudden, Boreas interrupted and held Auster at bay, tears streamed down your cheeks.'[163] Auster is god of the south wind. Boreas is god of the east wind. The presence of Eurus, Auster, and Boreas bring to mind Vergil's *Aeneid*. (It should be noted, moreover, at this stage that the personification of pagan deities is not recognised, for the most part, in the translations of either Morton and Muntz or Barlow. All editors, for instance, translate 'Eurus', god of the east wind, as 'east wind'. I return the pagan deities to their rightful place in the narrative by including their names, rather than what they personified, in the translations.) The *Aeneid* begins by introducing 'cruel Juno's unforgiving wrath' and how this led her, the Queen of Heaven, to ask Aeolus, ruler of the winds, to unleash his subjects upon the ocean against Aeneas. Aeolus, according to Vergil, agrees to her request and a tempest arises, but Neptune, god of the sea, intervenes as the winds cause havoc within his oceanic domain without his permission. Vergil then relates that Eurus and Zephyr (the latter being another name for Auster) are called before Neptune, who commands them to stop: they duly obey.[164] Aeneas, in the *Aeneid*, faces this situation while being at sea, whereas William, in the *Song*, experiences his tribulation while at port. The winds, however, equally prohibited both men from their goals. That said, William enjoys a reprieve when the Christian God, according to Guy, calms the waves after the duke makes a vow to Him: God, in return for William's vow,

[162] D. S. Levene & D. P. Nelis, ed., *Clio and the Poets: Augustan Poetry and the Traditions of Ancient Historiography* (Leiden, 2002)

[163] 'Eurus et equoreas crispabat flatibus undas... Inspicis et templi gallus qua uertitur aura:/ Auster si spirat, Ietus abinde redis;/ Si subito Boreas Austrum diuertit et arcet': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 4-5, line 44 & pp. 6-7, lines 59-61.

[164] Vergil, Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid: Books 1-6, trans. H. R. Fairclough & rev. G. P. Goold (London, 2000) pp, pp. 262-73.

banishes the clouds from the sky and the winds from the sea.[165] Guy then describes how Phoebus, god of the sun, shines more brightly than normal.[166] Just as Jesus grants St Peter a calm sea upon which to walk, so too, according to Guy, God grants William the conditions with which he can set sail.[167] Was William another Aeneas? O'Donnell's research suggests that he was not. I will provide a more comprehensive answer to this question as my thesis unfolds.

There follow another five references to pagan deities in Guy's apostrophe to William. Cynthia, goddess of the moon, denies the duke her aid, causing William to lay anchor at sea.[168] Only when Aurora, goddess of the dawn, brightens the land and Phoebus shines does he order his fleet to recommence its voyage.[169] During this period, King Harold fights against his brother, Tostig. The king is the victor with Mars, god of war, at his side. Guy wrote how Harold 'hastens with Mars to meet the foe'.[170] William then lands in England. Unlike Cynthia, Vulcan (god of fire) aids him in his endeavour.[171] An Englishman,

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[165] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 7.

[166] 'Incaluit tellus, nimio perfusa calore,/ Et Phebus solito clarior emicuit': *Ibid*, pp. 6-7, lines 74-5.

[167] *Ibid*, p. 7.

[168] 'And Cynthia, hidden, denies you here aid... But you, fearful that the dark night could harm your men or an adverse wind should stir up the waves, order the ships to heave to, held by their crooked anchors' (*Et negat obsequium Cinthia tecta tibi/... Set ueritus ne dampna tuis nox inferat atra,/ Ventus et aduerso flamine turbet aquas,/ Sistere curua iubes compellat ut anchora puppes;/ In medio pelagi litus adesse facis*): *Ibid*, pp. 8-9, lines 107 & 114-17. Statius recorded that Cynthia is a form of the goddess Diana. He wrote, 'Cynthia, arbiter of secret night, if they say you vary your godhead in triple form and come down to the woods with a different countenance, it is your late companion that we seek, the peerless nursling of the forests, your own boy, Diana; at least look upon us now' ('*Arcane moderatrix Cynthia noctis,/ si te tergeminis perhibent uariare figuris/ numen et in siluas alio descendere uultu,/ ille comes nuper nemorumque insignis alumnus,/ ille tuus, Diana, puer (nunc respice saltem)/ queritur*'): Statius, *Thebaid: Books 8-12 & Achilleid*, ed. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey (London, 2004), pp. 152-3, lines 365-70. Lucan also wrote, 'When I bore the standards that shone over all the sea, before the moon had twice filled out her disk and hidden it again, the pirates, scared from the sea and abandoning every creek, begged for a narrow plot of dry land to live on' (*Qui cum signa tuli toto fulgentia ponto,/ Ante bis exactum quam Cynthia conderet orbem,/ Omne fretum metuens pelagi pirata reliquit/ Angustaque domum terrarum in sede poposcit*): Lucan, *The Civil War*, trans. J. D. Duff (London, 1928), pp. 100-1, lines 576-79.

[169] 'But once Aurora has brightened the land and Phoebus has irradiated the circle of the earth, you ordered a start' (*At postquam terris rutilans Aurora refulsit/ Et Phebus radios sparsit in orbe suos,/ Precipis ire uiam*): *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 8-9, lines 119-21.

[170] 'Marte sub opposito currens Heraldus in hostes': *Ibid*, pp. 10-1, line 133.

[171] 'The fields glittering with the mass of shining shields, Vulcan driving with his flames people from their homes' (*Et quod agri fulgent pleni radiantibus armis,/ Vulcano flammis depopulante domos*): *Ibid*, pp. 10-11, lines 151-2.

however, sees him arrive and notifies Harold. Guy's apostrophe to William concludes with the Englishman telling Harold what he witnesses.[172] Thus far, the preponderance of pagan deities who appear alongside the Christian God allow the poet to interweave classical and Christian cosmologies, familiar from classical epics and Christian Latin poetry, in the *Song*. Guy places the drama at Hastings on a cosmic stage, and the Christian God is one, among many, of the celestial actors in the unfolding narrative. This has a significant implication.

By Guy's day, in discussions of divine providence, a distinction could be made between the Christian God passively permitting events to unfold or actively ordering them to happen. This distinction had been around since the time of the Church Fathers. Take, for example, one of Augustine of Hippo's epistles. He wrote that 'nothing, of course, happens unless God makes or permits it to happen. Since he makes or permits it by willing it, nothing happens at all if he does not will it. Nevertheless, it is rightly said that whatever displeases God happens against his will. He permits evil things to happen because he is powerful enough to make evil things, which are not his, into good things, which are his'.[173] I return to this quotation and its broader theological context in Chapter 5, but, for the time being, the significant implication of this framework of divine providence is that, unless an event is explicitly attributed to the Christian God, there is no need to presume that Guy thought an event at Hastings was attributable to the Christian God's active intervention. I now continue to discuss Guy's use of deities in the *Song* and the implications of their presence in the poem.

After Guy's apostrophe to William and before the battle of Hastings (i.e. between lines 158 and 344), there is a hiatus in the use of pagan deities, albeit

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[172] 'The messenger came up with him and told his story' (*Nuncius occurrit; que fert hec ordine pandit*): *Ibid*, p. 10-1, line 157.

[173] 'Nihil enim prorsus fit, nisi quod aut ipse facit aut fieri ipse permittit, et quoniam uolens facit, uolens et permittit, nihil fit omnino, si nolit. Vere tamen dicitur quidquid ei displicet contra eius fieri uoluntatem. Permittit tamen, ut fiant mala, quia potens est etiam de malis non suis sua facere bona': Augustine of Hippo, *Epistulae nuper in lucem prolatae*, ed. J. Divjak (Vienna, 1981), p. 16.

with two minor exceptions. The first is when Fama, goddess of rumour, spreads the word of William's invasion. [174] The second is when Guy comments that Harold's men are 'nancy-boys, slow in the art of Mars'.[175] (Harold had just won a victory with Mars at his side, but Guy's words bring a sense of foreboding for the English.) It is during the battle of Hastings (between lines 345 and 566) that pagan gods and goddesses appear in earnest. Their presence achieves three important things. First, it allows Guy to show that William, during the battle, acts like a pagan. Second, it enables him to show that it is not the Christian God who grants William his victory. Third, it allows him to propose an alternative candidate for the deity who grants William all his desires. I now elaborate on these points.

The first god to make an appearance during the conflict is Mars. While William is arranging his soldiers in formation, the battle begin unexpectedly when the duke is stationing his cavalry in front of his infantry and crossbowmen. At this point, there is an apostrophe to Mars. I demonstrate in the table below that Guy models this prayer on Jordanes's *Getica*, written c. 551.[176] Compare the two texts in the table below. I underline where the vocabulary is the same. I italicize where the two passages share the same sense, but not the same wording. Note also that Gravidus is another name for Mars.

Getica	*Song*
Adeo ergo fuere laudati Gete, ut dudum <u>Martem</u>, quem poetarum fallacia <u>deum belli</u> pronuntiat, apud eos fuisse dicant exortum. Unde et Vergilius, "grauidumque patrem, Geticis qui presidet aruis". Quem	<u>Mars deus</u> O <u>belli</u>, gladiis qui sceptra coherces,/ *Corpora* cui *iuuenum* <u>sanguinolenta</u> <u>placent</u>,/ Et cruor <u>effusus</u> permulta cede uirorum,/ Quis tibi tunc animus, quanta cupido mali,/ Cum medius seuas acies

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Martem Gothi semper asperrima placauere cultura (nam uictime eius mortes fuere captorum), opinantes bellorum presulem apte *humani sanguinis effusione placandum*.[177]

miscere iubebas!... Exple uelle tuum, Mars, age mortis opus![180]

[The Getae, therefore, were praised to such a degree that deceitful poets, who called Mars the god of war, once said he was born among them. Vergil, for example, said, 'father Gravidus, who rules over Getic fields'.[182] The Goths always sated Mars in most cruel worship (for the deaths of their captives were offerings for him) and imagined aptly the patron of war should be sated with the shedding of human blood.][183]

[O Mars god of war, who curbs kingdoms by the sword,/ Who is sated by the blood-stained corpses of youths/ And the blood of men poured out in mass slaughter,/ What was your intent, how great your greed for evil,/ When in their midst you ordered savage troops to join battle?... Feast, O Mars! Do the work of death!][184]

Guy picks up on Jordanes's reference to Mars as the god of war ('deum belli') and the need to satiate him by shedding human blood ('humani sanguinis effusione placandum'). Guy's contemporaries knew about this passage. Van Houts observes, for example, that Jumièges quotes it in his *Deeds*. He wrote: 'The Goths maintain that the god Mars was born amongst them, and they used

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[177] Jordanes, *Romana et Getica*, ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH Auctores antiquissimi* 5.1 (Berlin, 1882), p. 64.
[180] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 22, lines 345-39 & 361. ['Age' also resonates here with its sense as an interjection.]
[182] Vergil, *Eclogues, Georgics & Aeneid: Books 1-6*, trans. H. R. Fairclough & rev. G. P. Goold (London, 1999), pp. 375-5.
[183] My translation.
[184] My translation. Based on Barlow's edition and that of Morton and Muntz's editions: *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 22-3; *Carmen*, ed. Morton & Muntz, pp. 22-3.

to appease him with libations of human blood' ('Nam Martem deum apud se autumant fuisse exortum, quem humani placabant effusione sanguinis').[185]

That Guy is alluding to Jordanes's *Getica*, not Jumièges's *Deeds*, is demonstrated by the fact that the poet models the beginning of the conflict at Hastings on a custom of the Goths, which is found in *Getica* and not the *Deeds*. The battle begins, according to Guy, when an English soldier attacks Taillefer, a juggler who is on William's side and is throwing swords high in the air. It was not, however, to be the Englishman's day. Taillefer, so the story goes, decapitates him and shows his head as an 'object of joy' ('hec gaudia') to William's army.[186] This was to demonstrate 'the opening move of the battle was his' ('belli principium... esse suum'). It is at this point that 'all William's army rejoice and, together, they venerate their Lord' ('omnes letantur, dominum pariter uenerantur').[187] Jordanes's *Getica* is relevant here because the sentence that immediately follows Jordanes's passage in the table above reads as follows: 'To Mars, they dedicated the first spoils ('prede primordia uouebantur')... and the love of religion filled their breasts more than others since devotion to this god seemed to be given to their parent'.[188] Taillefer's successful, first assault on the English is the point at which the Goths would have venerated Mars, who requires blood sacrifices.

A severed soldier's head, moreover, would have been the perfect offering to Mars. In the *Thebaid*, Statius describes a conversation between Tisiphone and Megaera (two of the three Furies). During this encounter, Tisiphone relates to Megaera how she fills the underworld with streams of blood. She continues: 'Let Mars have them, let Enyo [i.e. the goddess of war] boast and tell the world. You saw (for sure he [i.e Mars] was manifest in the Stygian shades) a leader's jaws

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[185] *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, i, pp. 14-5.
[186] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 24-5, line 403.
[187] *Ibid*, p. 24, line 405. My translation.
[188] 'Huic [i.e. Mars] prede primordia uouebantur... eratque illis religionis preter ceteros insinuatus affectus, cum parenti deuotio numinis uideretur inpendi'. My translation. For the Latin, see Jordanes, *Romana et Getica*, ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH Auct. antiq.* 5.1, p. 64.

befouled with blood and his face dripping with black gore; insatiable, he [i.e. Mars] devours a hapless head that I gave him'.[189]

The Normans appear to be the modern-day equivalents of the Goths. This comparison had a particularly nasty sting in its tail. The reason for Jumièges's incorporation of *Getica* into his *Deeds* was that the Goths were the ancestors of the Danes, who, in turn, were the progenitors of the Normans.[190] The likening of William's army to the Goths spoke to their darker, pagan past.

It appears that it is Mars whom William's army supplicates as their 'dominus' after Tallifer's triumph. It has previously been taken as a reference to the Christian God, but pagan gods and goddesses, as found in Vergil, Statius, and Ovid, are masters too and mistresses.[191] The candidate who best fits the narrative in the *Song* is Mars for other reasons. He is the god to whom Guy most recently refers. It is also Mars that Guy credits with being the one who would decide the outcome of the battle. Guy wrote: 'dubio pendent dum prelia Marte'.[192] Morton and Muntz translate this as: 'while the battle hung in ominous suspense'. Barlow renders it as: 'with the result hanging in the balance'. As with the other references to pagan deities, Mars's agency is ignored in both translations. A better translation reads: 'the battle hung in the balance while Mars was undecided'. Guy's use of 'dubio... Marte', moreover, picks up on the imagery of Mars, found in Vergil's *Georgic's*, being undecided as to which side

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[189] 'Mars habeat, uulgataque iactet Enyo/ uidistis (Stygiis certe manifestus in umbris)/ sanguine fedatum rictus atroque madentem/ ora ducem tabo: miserum insatiabilis edit/ me tradente caput': *Thebaid Books 8-12*, ed. Shackleton Bailey, pp. 202-3, lines 84-8.

[190] *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, i, pp. 14-7.

[191] Vergil wrote, 'To Juno joyfully chant vows, and win over the mighty mistress with suppliant gifts' (*Iunoni cane uota libens dominamque potentem/ supplicibus supera donis*): Vergil, *Eclogues, Georgics & Aeneid: Books 1-6*, trans. Fairclough & rev. Goold, pp. 400-1, lines 438-9. Statius recorded how Venus halted Mars's chariot by standing in its path. He wrote, 'The horses bend their heads and champ the foaming adamant at their mistress' (*Domine uestigia iuxta/ spumantem proni mandunt adamanta iugales*): *Thebaid Books 1-7*, ed. Shackleton Bailey, pp. 168-71, lines 67-8. Ovid, in *Amores*, wrote about, 'gifts that are fitly tendered the gods our masters' (*Decet ad dominos munera ferre deos*): Ovid, *Heroides & Amores*, tran. G. Showerman, rev. G. P. Goold, 2nd edn. (London, 1977), pp. 494-5, line 48. Ovid, in *Ex Ponto*, also wrote, 'gods [are] lords of the world' (*Terrarum dominos... deos*): Ovid, *Tristia & Ex Ponto*, tran. A. L. Wheeler & rev. G. P. Goold (London, reprinted with corrections 1996), pp. 312-3, line 36.

[192] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 24, line 389.

he would grant victory. Vergil wrote: 'As oft, in mighty warfare, when the legion deploys its companies in long array and the column halts on the open plain, when the lines are drawn out, and far and wide all the land ripples with the gleam of steel, not yet is the grim conflict joined, but Mars undecided (*dubius*), wanders between (*medius*) the hosts'.[193] Guy's debt to such imagery is made even more apparent when it is remembered that Guy wrote about the god of war being in the midst (*medius*) of Harold and William's armies during his apostrophe to Mars. In both the *Aeneid* and the *Song*, the war god is undecided and is amidst the opposing armies as he weighs up which side should win.

Only during the night of the battle does Guy show which side Mars chooses to be victorious. While William rests as the English take safety in flight, Hugh of Ponthieu continues to fight for the duke. Guy wrote: 'Mars bore his arms; death raged at his side'.[194] Mars is fighting for William, just as he had done for Harold against Tostig. The English had seized a hill during battle formations 'for the use of Mars' ('Martis ad officium').[195] The war god, however, did not take the English up on their offer. Guy, by extension, characterises all the combatants at Hastings as pagans serving Mars, but he goes one step further with the Normans. The poet shows William's army venerating their lord, Mars, who is the most significant deity in the poem, both in terms of the number of references to him and the amount of influence attributed to him, during the battle of Hastings.

Guy's criticism of the Normans becomes more focused, moreover, after part of William's army stops fleeing from the English. Guy's sights become fixed on William, and he transforms the duke from a pagan into a ravaging lion. This metamorphosis need not have been a disparagement. An analysis of the Bible

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[193] 'Ut sepe ingenti bello cum longa cohortis/ explicuit legio et campo stetit agmen aperto,/ derecteque acies, ac late fluctuat omnis/ aere renidenti tellus, necdum horrida miscent/ prelia, sed dubius mediis Mars errat in armis': Vergil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid: Books 1-6*, trans. Fairclough & rev. Goold, pp. 156-7, lines [**insert**]. I have amended the end of the translation. It previously read, 'but the war god wanders in doubt between the hosts'.
[194] 'Mars sibi tela gerit; mors sociata furit': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 34-5, line 564.
[195] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 22-3, line 368.

demonstrates the various ways in which the imagery of lions is used, both in positive and negative ways.

There are, by my count, one hundred and twenty-five references to them in the Old Testament.[196] God, for instance, is likened to a lion in Hosea 11:10: '[God's people] shall walk after the Lord, he shall roar as a lion: because he shall roar, and the children of the sea shall fear'.[197] The anger of a king is also like that of a lion in Proverbs 19:12, in which it is written: 'As the roaring of a lion, so also is the anger of a king'.[198] God's chosen people are also compared to lions and lionesses against their prey. The first two chapters of 1 Maccabees also deal with the rise of Mattathias and his son, Judas.[199] Following the death of Alexander the Great, Antiochus the Illustrious (son of King Antiochus) wrought havoc in Israel. There then arose Mattathias and his five sons, one of whom was Judas Maccabeus. They all stand against King Antiochus and follow the law of their predecessors (i.e. God's law), rather than that of the king. Mattathias, his sons, and their followers flee into the mountains, and others go into the desert.

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[196] Genesis 49:9; Numbers 23:24; Numbers 24:9; Deuteronomy 33:20-22; Judges 14:5-18; 1 Samuel 17:34-37; 2 Samuel 1:23; 2 Samuel 17:10; 2 Samuel 23:20; 1 Kings 7:29-36; 1 Kings 10:19-20; 1 Kings 13:24-28; 1 Kings 20:36; 2 Kings 17:25-26; 1 Chronicles 11:22; 1 Chronicles 12:8; 1 Chronicles 28:17; 2 Chronicles 9:18-19; Esther 14:13; Job 4:10-11; Psalms 7:3; Psalms 16:12; Psalms 21:14; Psalms 21:22; Psalms 34:17; Psalms 56:5; Psalms 57:7; Psalms 90:13; Psalms 103:21; Proverbs 19:12; Proverbs 20:2; Proverbs 22:13; Proverbs 26:13; Proverbs 28:1-15; Proverbs 30:30; Ecclesiastes 9:4; Song of Solomon 4:8; Wisdom 11:18; Ecclesiasticus 4:35; Ecclesiasticus 13:23; Ecclesiasticus 21:3; Ecclesiasticus 25:23; Ecclesiasticus 27:11-31; Ecclesiasticus 28:27; Ecclesiasticus 47:3; Isaiah 5:29; Isaiah 11:6; Isaiah 11:7; Isaiah 15:9; Isaiah 21:8; Isaiah 30:6; Isaiah 31:4; Isaiah 35:9; Isaiah 38:13; Isaiah 65:25; Jeremiah 2:15-30; Jeremiah 4:7; Jeremiah 5:6; Jeremiah 12:8; Jeremiah 25:38; Jeremiah 49:19; Jeremiah 50:17-44; Jeremiah 51:38; Lamentations 3:10; Ezekiel 1:10; Ezekiel 10:14; Ezekiel 19:2-6; Ezekiel 22:25; Ezekiel 32:2; Ezekiel 38:13; Ezekiel 41:19; Daniel 6:7-27; Daniel 14:30-42; Hosea 5:14; Hosea 11:10; Hosea 13:8; Joel 1:6; Amos 3:4-12; Amos 5:19; Micah 5:8; Nahum 2:11-13; Zephaniah 3:3; Zechariah 11:3; 1 Maccabees 2:60; 1 Maccabees 3:4; 2 Maccabees 11:11.

[197] Hosea 11:10: 'Post Dominum ambulabunt [i.e. the people of Israel] quasi leo rugiet quia ipse rugiet et formidabunt filii maris'.

[198] Proverbs 19:12: 'Sicut fremitus leonis ita et regis ira'. Proverbs 20:2 also contains pretty much the same imagery. It relates, 'As the roaring of a lion, so also is the dread of a king: he that provoketh him, sinneth against his own soul' (*Sicut rugitus leonis ita terror regis qui prouocat eum peccat in animam suam*).

[199] For the use of Maccabees as examplars of behaviour in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see J. Dunbabin, 'The Maccabees as Exemplars in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in K. Walsh & D. Wood, ed., *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 31-41. For the evolving use of the Maccabees between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, see N. Morton, 'The defence of the Holy Land and the memory of the Maccabees', *JMH* 36 (2010), pp. 275-93.

Following the death of some of those who are in exile after they refuse to fight on the Sabbath, Mattathias and his supporters decide that they will fight back on the Sabbath, so that their people are not totally destroyed. After a time, Mattathias comes to the end of his life, at the ripe old age of a hundred and forty-six, and he asks his sons to give their lives for God's covenant. His son, Judas, is given command of the army. Indeed, the following is found in 1 Maccabees 3:4-6 as Judas fights for Israel: 'In his acts he was like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey. And he pursued the wicked and sought them out, and them that troubled his people he burnt with fire. And his enemies were driven away for fear of him, and all the workers of iniquity were troubled. And salvation prospered in his hand'.[200] These Old Testament examples show that leonine imagery could be used to describe someone in a positive light.

There are, mercifully, only nine references to lions in the New Testament. St Paul's second epistle to Timothy reads: 'But the Lord stood by me and strengthened me, that by me the preaching may be accomplished and that all the Gentiles may hear. And I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion'.[201] St Paul's epistle to the Hebrews documents how there is not enough time for him to tell of his predecessors, 'Who by faith conquered kingdoms, wrought justice, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions'.[202] 1 Peter 5:8 includes the following injunction: 'Be sober and watch: because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour'.[203] The remaining six references are in Revelation: one of the four creatures sitting by the throne of

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[200] 'Similis factus est leoni in operibus suis et sicut catulus leonis rugiens in uenatione. Et persecutus est iniquos perscrutans eos et qui conturbabant populum suum succendit flammis. Et repulsi sunt inimici pre timore eius et omnes operarii iniquitatis conturbati sunt et directa est salus in manu eius': 1 Maccabees 3:4-6. Numbers 23:24 reports even more brutality when characterising God's chosen people. It records, 'Behold the people shall rise up as a lioness, and shall lift itself up as a lion: it shall not lie down till it devour the prey, and drink the blood of the slain' (*Ecce populus ut leena consurget et quasi leo erigetur non accubabit donec deuoret predam et occisorum sanguinem bibat*).

[201] 2 Timothy 4:17: 'Dominus autem mihi adstitit et confortauit me ut per me predicatio impleatur et audiant omnes gentes et liberatus sum de ore leonis'.

[202] Hebrews 11:33: 'Qui per fidem deuicerunt regna operati sunt iustitiam adepti sunt repromissiones obturauerunt ora leonum'.

[203] 1 Peter 5:8: 'Sobrii estote uigilate quia aduersarius uester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit querens quem deuoret'.

heaven is a lion;[204] the lamb (a metaphoric lion of the tribe of Judah) opens a book;[205] the locusts, which are released from hell, are like horses prepared for battle and have the teeth of lions;[206] four fallen angels, trapped in the Euphrates, are released, and in their army are horses which have heads like those of lions;[207] an angel, in Revelation 10:3, descends from heaven and cries out like a roaring lion;[208] and the beast, whom the damned adore, is described as being like a leopard, with feet of a bear, the mouth of a lion, and the strength of a dragon.[209] With the exception of Revelation 10:3, these New Testament examples show that leonine imagery could be used to describe someone in a negative light.

More evidence is needed before any judgements can be made about how William's leonine persona in the *Song* should be interpreted. The comparison between William and a lion, for example, could mean that he possesses the characteristics of a king if the reader is mindful of Proverb 19:12. It would also add to the image of William's strength: during his bout with the English, William is described as withstanding them with the strength of Hercules ('uiribus Herculeis').[210] He appears to be Hercules and the Nemean lion rolled into one.

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[204] Revelation 4:6-7: '… and round about the throne, were four living creatures, full of eyes before and behind. And the first living creature was like a lion' (*Et in medio sedis et in circuitu sedis quattuor animalia plena oculis ante et retro. Et animal primum simile leoni*).

[205] Revelation 5:5: 'behold the lion of the tribe of Juda, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book' (*Ecce uicit leo de tribu Iuda radix David aperire librum*).

[206] Revelation 9:7-8: 'And the shapes of the locusts were like horses prepared for battle… And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as lions' (*Et similitudines lucustarum similes equis paratis in prelium… et habebant capillos sicut capillos mulierum et dentes earum sicut leonum erant*).

[207] Revelation 9:14-17: 'Loose the four angels who are bound in the great river Euphrates… And they that sat on them had breastplates of fire and of hyacinth and of brimstone. And the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions' (*Et qui sedebant super eos habentes loricas igneas et hyacinthinas et sulphureas et capita equorum erant tamquam capita leonum*).

[208] Revelation 10:3: 'And he cried with a loud voice as when a lion roars' (*Et clamauit uoce magna quemadmodum cum leo rugit*).]

[209] Revelation 13:2: 'And the beast which I saw was like to a leopard: and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion. And the dragon gave him his own strength and great power' (*Et bestiam quam uidi similis erat pardo et pedes eius sicut ursi et os eius sicut os leonis et dedit illi draco uirtutem suam et potestatem magnam*).

[210] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 28, line 482.

Upon closer examination, there is evidence in the *Song* that tips the scales in favour of Guy criticising William. Guy refers to the English twice as sheep. On the first occasion, the English are gentle sheep ('mites... bidentes') who perish before William, the ravaging lion ('pereunt... bachante leone').[211] On the second, William rebukes his army when they begin to flee from the English, who are not men but sheep ('non homines sed oues').[212] The image of ravaging the sheepfold had negative connotations. For Jumièges, the only Normans who act like that are William's pagan ancestors. The Danes, according to Jumièges, are 'like agile wolves set out to rend the Lord's sheep, pouring out human blood to their god Thor'.[213] This imagery in the *Song* places William on a par with such a figure as the biblical King Herod as described in Caelius Sedulius's *Paschal Song*. Sedulius wrote: 'Now when he [i.e. Herod] had been deceived, the impious king/ Revealed his wrath (if you could properly call anyone a king/ Who lacks piety and is unable to control his own wrath),/ Groaning over the criminal deed snatched from him, like a voracious lion/ From whose mouth a tender lamb suddenly slips free'.[214] Note, for the time being, the emphasis on Herod's impiety and uncontrollable wrath which make him unfit to rule.

Guy also compares the duke to a lion after he falls off his horse and fights Earl Gyrth on foot. The latter, according to Guy, is not frightened by the lion's mouth ('non territus ore leonis'), but William pursues him like a roaring lion ('ueluti leo frendens') and tears him limb from limb ('membratim perimens'). William continues, so the story goes, to fight more Englishmen, whom he decapitates ('truncos facit'), mutilates ('mutilos'), and devours with his sword ('deuorat ense'). Guy then describes how William subsequently signals to his knight with his sword, which is defiled with brains and blood ('infecto... cerebro uel

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[211] *Ibid*, p. 26, line 437.
[212] *Ibid*, p. 28, line 453.
[213] 'Vehuntur lupi pernices ad lacerandas dominicas oues, deo suo Thur humanum sanguinem libantes': *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, i, pp. 18-9.
[214] 'Ergo ubi delusum se comperit, impius iram/ Rex aperit (si iure queat rex ille uocari,/ Qui pietate caret, propriam qui non regit iram)/ Ereptumque gemens facinus sibi ceu leo frendens,/ Cuius ab ore tener subito cum labitur agnus': Caelius Sedulius, *The Paschal Song and Hymns*, trans. C. P. E. Springer (Atlanta, 2013), pp. 50-3, lines 107-11.

sanguinis'), to give him his horse.[215] William's actions are so savage, and the depiction of his slaughter so graphic, that his bestial comparisons belie Guy's praise of William's conduct. Had William lost his senses?

Augustine, in his *City of God*, helps provide an answer to this question. He wrote: 'How great the providence of our great Creator! Are not the sense organs and other members so arranged in it, and the appearance, shape and stature of the whole body so adapted that it shows clearly that it was designed to serve a rational soul? For man was not created as we see the irrational animals, looking towards the earth. No, his bodily shape, being raised up towards heaven, warns us that he has a sense of the things which are above.'[216] William's lion-like nature is developed to such a degree in the *Song* that he appears to be more beast than man. He appears to be devoid of a rational soul (i.e. a mind by which God had granted intelligence).[217]

My hypothesis that Guy's use of leonine imagery is a criticism of William is strengthened by the fact that (just a few years after Guy wrote the *Song)* Herman the Archdeacon models the invading King Swein, to whom William is likened, on the leonine description of King Herod in Caelius's *Paschal Song*. My analysis of Herman's work is discussed more fully in Chapter 5, but it shall suffice to say, at this stage, that Herman portrays Swein (and, by extension, William) as being able to transform into a lion to the detriment of the flock. Is there more evidence that strengthens my hypothesis?

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[215] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 28-9, lines 471-83.
[216] 'Quanta prouidentia tanti Creatoris apparet! Nonne ita sunt in eo loca sensuum et cetera membra disposita speciesque ipsa ac figura et statura totius corporis ita modificata ut ad ministerium anime rationalis se indicet factum? Non enim ut animalia rationis expertia prona esse uidemus in terram ita creatus est homo, sed erecta in celum corporis forma admonet eum que sursum sunt sapere': Augustine, *City of God, Volume VII: Books 21-22*, ed. W. M. Green (London, 1972), pp. 330-1.
[217] Augustine wrote, 'To the irrational soul also he gave memory, sensation and appetite; to the rational soul he gave in addition mind, intelligence and will' (*Qui et anime inrationali dedit memoriam sensum adpetitum, rationali autem insuper mentem intellegentiam uoluntatem*): Augustine, *City of God, Volume II: Books 4-7*, W. M. Green, (London, 1963), pp. 188-9.

Guy's description of William's next act in the *Song* adds further weight to the view that the duke's behaviour at Hastings damages his standing in the poet's eyes. When relating how William acts like a lion, Guy records that William turns on a member of his own army. After falling off his own horse, the duke, according to Guy, asks one of his men to give him their steed, but he is refused. Guy could have skimmed over this man's biographical detail. He chooses, instead, to record it, and he reports that the person in question is a man of Maine. If true, this is a humiliating and embarrassing episode for William. The significance of the man's identity presumably would not have been lost on William or his contemporaries. Maine had only recently been brought under Norman control after years of conflict, and, in his ongoing criticism of William, I get the sense that Guy includes this story as a slight to William's standing as the soldier's lord.

In his edition of the *Song,* Barlow emphasises the man of Maine's cowardice,[218] but what about the protection that William owes his subordinate?[219] William gives a command which is disobeyed, but this insubordination is on account of the man fearing death if he fulfills the duke's order. In his letter to Duke William V of Aquitaine c. 1021, Fulbert of Chartres (a contemporary reference point) provides a brief outline of the relationship between a lord and his vassal. He asks the one who swears fealty to keep the following terms in mind: safe and sound, secure, honest, useful, easy, and possible. He goes on to elaborate what each term means. The following is a quote concerning three of the terms which are particularly pertinent for William and his soldier's actions: 'Safe and sound, that is, not to cause his lord any harm as to his body... Honest, that is, not to do anything that would detract from his lord's rights of justice or the other prerogatives which have to do with his honour. Useful, not to make it difficult for his lord to do something that would be of value to him and that he could

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[218] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 31, fn. 2.
[219] Alice Rio, Susan Reynolds, and March Bloch argue that the ruler and ruled had mutual obligations: A. Rio, 'High and Low: Ties of Dependence in the Frankish Kingdoms', *TRHS* 18 (2008), pp. 43-68; S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals* (Oxford, 1994), esp. pp. 36-7; M. Bloch, *Feudal Society,* trans. L. A. Manyon (Abingdon, 1962), esp. pp. 237-8.

otherwise do with ease, or to render it impossible for him to do what was otherwise possible'.[220] Fulbert, crucially, continues to state that these provisos also apply to the lord. He wrote: 'The lord, in turn, should be faithful to his vassal in all these matters. If he does not do so, he will rightly be considered unfaithful, just as the vassal, if he is caught violating any of them [i.e. the provisos] by his own actions or by giving his consent, will be considered perfidious and perjured'.[221] It would be wrong to assume that Guy thought the soldier's actions at Hastings were dishonourable.

What is more, the description of William's reaction to the soldier's refusal to surrender his horse hints at Guy's sympathy with the man of Maine. Guy describes William 'as a *memor* knight'. William, according to Guy, then grabs the man of Maine by the nasal of his helmet, pulls him to the ground, and mounts his horse.[222] Morton and Muntz translate 'memor' as 'resourceful',[223] whereas Barlow renders it as 'mindful'.[224] The occurrence of 'memor' with 'concitus', however, allows the audience to read this passage differently. When combined with 'concitus', in the sense of 'inflamed with anger', 'memor' could be understood as William being 'unforgiving'. This finds a precedent famously in the opening sentence of Vergil's *Aeneid* as mentioned above. It records 'savage Juno's unforgiving wrath' ('seue memorem Iunonis ob iram').[225] The

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[220] 'Incolume uidelicet, ne sit in damnum domino suo de corpore suo… Honestum, ne sit ei in dampnum de suo iustitia uel de aliis causis que ad honestem eius pertinere uiderentur. Vtile, ne sit ei in dampnum de suis possessionibus': Fulbert of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. F. Behrends (Oxford, 1976), pp. 90-3.

[221] 'Dominus quoque fideli suo in his omnibus uicem reddere debet. Quod si non fecerit, merito censebitur malefidus, sicut ille, si in eorum preuaricacione uel faciendo uel consenciendo deprehensus fuerit, perfidus et periurus': *Ibid*, pp. 92-3. In the twelfth century, Geoffrey Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis* expressed the same sentiment. Jane Zatta argues that he 'stresses reciprocity and mutual obligations rather than subservience [to authority]': J. Zatta, 'Gaimar's Rebels: Outlaw Heroes and the Creation of Authority in Twelfth-Century England', *Essays in Medieval History* 16 (1999), p. 37.

[222] 'But the duke, unforgiving as a knight, turned sharply towards him [i.e. the man of Maine], and, infuriated, seized the nasal of his helmet, pulled him to the ground head over heels, and speedily mounted the horse thus presented to him' (*Dux, memor ut miles, subito se uertit ad illum/ Per nasum galee concitus accipiens,/ Vultum telluri, plantas ad sydera uoluit;/ Sic sibi concessum scandere currit equum*): *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 30-1, lines 491-4.

[223] *Carmen*, ed. Morton & Muntz, p. 33.

[224] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 31.

[225] Vergil, *Eclogues, Georgics & Aeneid: Books 1-6*, trans. Fairclough & rev. Goold, pp. 262-3, line 4.

interpretation of 'memor' as 'unforgiving' also fits with the idea that William is given over to his bestial nature. Such a reading, particularly to those mindful of comments made by a writer such as Caelius Sedulius, marks him out as being unfit to rule. The lack of control which William exhibits is symptomatic of the influences of his enslavement to Mars.

Indeed, William's actions accord with what we know about his behaviour before Hastings. Prior to Poitiers's account (written in the 1070s) which gives legal foundations to the duke's actions, Jumièges's account about warfare in Maine records that William attacked the county because he was mindful of the dishonour which Geoffrey Martel inflicted upon him. William's soldier's refusal to obey him was another slight to his honour, and the duke's reaction presumably fits with what William's contemporaries imagined his response would be. At this point in the *Song*, William is not only embattled with Harold's army but also his own. There is a cruel irony here, in that a soldier of a recently conquered territory had been enlisted into the duke's army and mistreated during the subjugation of another.

Alongside the actions of his competitors at the battle of Stamford Bridge, the duke's actions at Hastings towards his soldier also mirror the horrors of ancient Rome, thereby contextualising the events of 1066 within a greater historical framework. The battles in England are all examples of infighting between individuals who are bound by blood or bonds. Take, for instance, the encounter between Harold and Tostig: Guy describes it as 'worse than civil war' ('plus quam ciuile... bellum'). This is a reference to *Civil War*, which records the conflict between Caesar and Pompey: that is, between father-in-law and son-in-law. Lucan's work begins as follows: 'Of war I sing, war worse than civil, waged over the plains of Emathia, and of legality conferred on crime; I tell how an imperial people turned their victorious right hands against their own vitals; how

kindred fought against kindred'.[226] The fratricide at Stamford Bridge matches one of the darkest periods in Rome's history.

The dispute between Harold and William is also contextualised in the same way. In his apostrophe to Mars, Guy wrote: 'No carnage delighted you more since Julius Caesar overcame Pompey in war... No bloodshed, I think, gave you greater joy'.[227] Even if one was not familiar with *Civil War*, the description of a battle in these terms shows the gravity of the situation to anyone familiar with Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*. It records four different kinds of war (i.e. just, unjust, civil, and more than civil). He wrote: 'A "more than civil" war is where not only fellow-citizens, but also kinfolk fight – this was done by Caesar and Pompey, when father-in-law and son-and-law fought each other. Indeed, in that battle brother struggled against brother, and father bore arms against son'.[228] Indeed, the dispute between Harold and William involves more than fellow-citizens fighting. Harold and William were kindred: William and Harold were related to Edward by blood and marriage respectively; and Harold's brother, Tostig, was William's uncle-in-law. William and Harold were also bound by a pact of friendship[229] and oaths.[230]

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[226] 'Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos,/ Iusque datum sceleri canimus, populumque potentem/ In sua uictrici conuersum uiscera dextra,/ Cognatasque acies': *Civil War*, Duff, pp. 2-3, lines 1-4.

[227] 'Quo potius nullum te iuuat excidium,/ Ex quo Pompeium superauit Iulius armis,/... Nulla reor cedes tam tibi grata fuit': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 22-3, lines 351-2 & 354.

[228] 'Plus quam ciuile bellum est ubi non solum ciues certant, sed et cognati; quale actum est inter Cesarem et Pompeium, quando gener et socer inuicem dimicauerunt. Siquidem in hac pugna frater cum fratre dimicauit, et pater aduersus filium arma portauit': Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum siue Originum*, 18. 1. 4. For the English, see *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. S. A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach & O. Berghof (Cambridge, 2006), p. 359.

[229] 'He [i.e. Harold] unjustly destroys our pact of friendship while he unjustly holds what should rightly be mine [i.e. William's]' (*Fedus amicicie nostre dissoluit inique,/ Dum tenet iniuste que mea iure forent*): *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 14, lines 233-4. My translation. The words 'dum tenet' may allude to the fact that Harold could have restored the peace-treaty if he surrendered the throne to William. This interpretation agrees with what William is reported to have said later in the *Song*: he would restore to Harold everything which he had possessed before being king if the latter became William's vassal again: *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 17-8.

[230] 'Does he [i.e. Harold] not know what furtive, false oaths he swore to me [i.e. William]?' (*Nescit quod furtiua mihi periuria fecit*): *Ibid*, p. 16, line 239. My translation.

The havoc unleashed at Hastings (including William's actions against both the English and the man of Maine) appears to have disturbed Guy, because it elicited an apostrophe from him to the Christian God. The poet's description of the individual from Maine, after his horse is taken from him, is important. The soldier's head is on the ground and his feet are pointing to the stars.[231] Guy's apostrophe to the Christian God in heaven appears two lines later. He cries out: 'O ruler of heaven, our gracious and merciful Lord Who rules by divine will everything that is, what calamities do the surviving English troops endure! Here Pietas dies and Impietas reigns, life perishes, cruel death rages, and the sword runs wild. Where Mars wields the sceptre, no man spares another'.[232] Guy's apostrophe at this point, which takes its cue from what happens to William's combatant, forms part of his negative interpretation of William's conduct during the battle against the English and a member of his own army.[233] One can imagine Guy, in his mind's eye, looking at the man of Maine's head, following the envisaged contortions of the soldier's body up to his feet, with his sights becoming fixed on the heavens prior to his prayer. Indeed, after Guy spoke in his apostrophe about the calamities that the English troops endure during the battle, one can imagine the man of Maine interjecting with 'me too!'

That the Christian God is not actively involved in the battle is made explicit when Guy wrote that 'Impietas' reigns and Mars wields the sceptre. In particular, 'Impietas' personifies four aspects of the current state of affairs: Impiety (i.e. as O'Donnell mentioned, irreverence to the Christian God),

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[231] 'Vultum telluri, plantas ad sydera': *Ibid*, p. 30, line 493.

[232] 'O celi rector, nostri pius ac miserator,/ Nutu diuino qui regis omne quod est,/ Quas patitur clades Anglorum turma superstes! Occidit hic pietas, regnat et impietas;/ Vita perit; mors seua furit, bachatur et ensis;/ Nullus ibi parcit, Mars ubi sceptra regit': *Ibid*, pp. 30-1, lines 495-500. I have amended Barlow's translation by substituting 'Where Mars holds sway' for 'Where Mars wields the sceptre'. I have also personified, but left untranslated, 'pietas' and 'impietas'.

[233] Boethius described how kings had 'pietas', whereas tyrants had the opposite (i.e. impietas). He wrote, 'Suppose there is a question whether a king and a tyrant are the same. We will say not at all; for in a king there is reverence, justice, and clemency, but in a tyrant all is otherwise' (V*t si queratur 'an idem sit rex quod tyrannus', dicemus: 'minime; nam in rege pietas, mansuetudo, iustitia; in tyranno cuncta diuersa sunt'*). For the Latin, see Boethius, *De topicis differentiis*, ed. D. Z. Nikitas (Brussels, 1990), p. 53. For the English, see Boethius, *De topicis differentiis*, trans. E. Stump (Cornell, 1978), p. 66.

Pitilessness (as noted in the two previous editions of the *Song*),[234] Dutilessness (as O'Donnell discussed),[235] and Wickedness (as personified in the Bible).[236] The first aspect refers to the irreverent supplication of soldiers at Hastings to pagan deities. The second links to the calamities which the English troops suffer at the hands of William and his army. The third reminds us of Mars's enslavement of the soldiers at Hastings and his veneration by the duke's army. The fourth encompasses the Norman atrocities. I now discuss further how Guy's lamentation of the death of 'Pietas' at Hastings anticipates William's irreverent invocation of Fortune and foreshadows the pitiless slaughter of King Harold.

At the beginning of the *Song*, a storm keeps William from crossing to England. Guy records that William, with repeated prayers, awaits the assistance of the Supreme Judge. The Christian God, according to Guy, then takes pity on his desires ('uelle'), and, in return for his vow (*uotum*), grants him a calm sea.[237] Compare this with William's actions eleven lines after Guy's apostrophe to the Christian God. Guy describes how the son of Helloc (an unknown individual) throws a spear with which he intends to kill the duke, but it hits his horse. William, so the story goes, is unhorsed for the second time. Rather than calling upon the Christian God, as Guy and William had previously done, Guy records that the duke seeks Fortune's assistance while he is filled with wrath ('plenum...

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[234] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 31; *Carmen*, ed. Morton & Muntz, p. 33.

[235] O'Donnell, 'The Carmen', pp. 158-9. The term 'dutilessness' is an acceptable legal term: W. C. Burton, 'Burton's Legal Thesaurus 5th edition: Over 10,000 Synonyms, Terms, and Expressions Specifically Related to the Legal Profession' (New York, 2013), p. 178.

[236] Zachariah 5:7-8 reads: 'And behold a talent of lead was carried, and behold a woman sitting in the midst of the vessel. And he said, "This in Wickedness"' (*Et ecce talentum plumbi portabatur et ecce mulier una sedens in medio amphorae. Et dixit haec est Impietas*).

[237] 'Here [i.e. at Saint-Valery] there was a long and troublesome delay, for you spent fifteen days in that territory awaiting the assistance of the Supreme Judge. You frequented the saint's church with devout intent and gave to him pure offering and repeated prayers... that same gracious God pitied you and your desires, and, in return for your vow, furnished you with the means [i.e. to cross to England]' (*Hic tibi longa fuit difficilisque mora,/ Nam ter quinque dies complesti finibus illis,/ Exspectans summi iudicis auxilium./ Ecclesiam sancti deuota mente frequentans,/ Illi pura dabas, ingeminando preces./... Velle tuum tandem pius ut Deus est miseratus,/ Pro uotoque tibi suppeditauit opus*): *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 6-7, lines 53-7 & 70-1. My translation. Barlow, for instance, misread 'ingeminando' (i.e. 'repeated') for, presumably, 'ingemescendo' (i.e. 'sigh'). Morton and Muntz's translation is correct in this regard: *Carmen*, ed. Morton & Muntz, p. 7.

ira').[238] Guy wrote: 'For William reckoned that, if he acted with courage, Fortune would favour him, and, without deceit, assist him in all his desires'.[239] Guy not only derides William by contrating his 'pietas' (as Guy indicates by his own apostrophe to the Christian God) with the duke's 'impietas' (as Guy demonstrates by William's invocation of Fortune) but also shows how William's reverence for the Christian God, by this stage of the *Song*, appears to be a distant memory. William's wrath and impiety are, once again, centre stage and, according to Sedulius's remarks, make him unfit to rule. After all, what Christian ruler would choose Fortune's aid over the assistance of the Christian God? Guy also manages to ridicule William, again, when he mentions that the duke thought that Fortune, the ficklest mistress of all, would assist him without deceit. Guy would have known that she is not to be trusted. William is shown to be both wrathful, irreverent, and a fool.

Guy's critique of William continues when Harold meets his end. Guy previously characterises William as having the strength of Hercules,[240] but the audience would have been forgiven for wondering where the evidence for this lay. The duke faces nothing like the twelve labours of Hercules. The English are a feeble opposition, like sheep falling before a lion. The man of Maine is described as a hare before the hound. When describing William's fight against Harold, Guy records that the duke did not face him alone: the duke requires not one, not two, but three soldiers to assist him (i.e. Eustace of Boulogne, Hugh of Ponthieu, and Giffard).[241] Guy wrote: 'The first of the four piercing the king's shield and chest with his lance, drenched the ground with a gushing stream of blood. The second with his sword cut off his head below the protection of his helm. The third liquefied his entrails with his spear. And the fourth cut off his thigh and

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[238] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 30, line 507.
[239] 'Censet enim uirtute sibi fortuna fauebit,/ Subueniet uotis et sine fraude suis': *Ibid*, pp. 30-1, lines 511-2. I amended Barlow's translation from 'Fortune would smile upon him' to 'Fortune would favour him'.
[240] *Ibid*, p. 28, line 482.
[241] *Ibid*, p. 33.

carried it some distance away'.[242] Was Harold stronger than Hercules and his three subordinates?

I agree with Giovanni Orlandi who considers that Harold's death represented an unfair struggle.[243] The king's demise in the *Song* then results in the goddess Fama making a reappearance. Guy wrote: 'Fama, in her flight, spread throughout the battlefield, "Harold is dead!"'.[244] After his death is heralded, Guy offers a grim, sarcastic reminder to William's enemies about Harold's deficiency as a defender of his realm: Harold is buried on a clifftop (i.e. unconsecrated ground) as the guardian of the sea.[245] Whatever the case may be as to the historicity of his death, Harold's demise in the *Song* illustrates two things. First, William shows a lack of pity towards Harold when he both fights him and denies him a proper burial. Second, any comparison between William and Hercules appears laughable. William is no Hercules: Guy is being sarcastic when drawing the comparison.

It is at this point in the *Song* that the tide turns in William's favour. Harold's death weakens the English resolve and they flee. There follows a crucial statement about who grants William the victory. Barlow's translation reads: 'It was evening. The day was already swinging to night when God (*Deus*) granted victory to the duke'.[246] Morton and Muntz, like Barlow, also translated 'deus' as the Christian God.[247] This need not be the case.

The Christian God, thus far, has not intervened in the battle. It is, instead, the domain of Mars, who is previously credited with being the one who would

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[242] 'Per clipeum primus dissoluens cuspide pectus,/ Effuso madidat sanguinis imbre solum;/ Tegmine sub galee caput amputat ense secundus;/ Et telo uentris tertius exta rigat;/ Abscidit coxam quartus; procul egit ademptam': *Ibid*, pp. 32-3, lines 545-50.

[243] G. Orlandi, 'Some afterthoughts', p. 121.

[244] 'Fama uolans "Heraldus obit!" per prelia sparsit': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 32, line 551. My translation.

[245] *Ibid*, p. 35.

[246] 'Vesper erat; iam cardo diem uoluebat ad umbras,/ Victorem fecit cum Deum esse ducem': *Ibid*, pp. 32-3, lines 557-8.

[247] *Carmen*, ed. Morton & Muntz, pp. 36-7, lines 558.

decide the outcome.[248] Guy's reference to Mars as the god of war ('deus...
belli')[249] allows the possibility that the 'deus' who grants William victory, at
Hastings, is Mars. Guy's narrative blurs the boundaries between pagan and
Christian cosmologies. The fact that there is another reference to Mars
immediately after the reference to a 'deus' granting William the victory
strengthens my hypothesis. When referring to Hugh of Ponthieu, who pursues
and kills English fugitives, Guy wrote: 'Mars bears his arms; death raged at his
side'.[250] Mars is no longer undecided. He is on William's side, just as he was on
Harold's side when the latter triumphed over Tostig. Guy's narrative, therefore,
is weighted in favour of Mars being the 'deus' that grants William the victory,
but the poet's use of the ambiguous epithet allowed his audience to interpret it
how they wanted.

Guy also allows for various possibilities as to which deity grants William all his
desires after Hastings. When discussing events after Hastings, Guy records:
'Meanwhile William, who sought possession of the whole realm, and whom the
omnipotens favours (*faueo*), had his desires (*uotum*, i.e. in the plural sense)
granted, and he brought under his dominion, by strength not trickery, whatever
he did not devastate by fire or his hostile sword'.[251] The deity being referred to,
according to Morton, Muntz, and Barlow, is the Christian God.[252] Barlow refers
his reader to the previous vow that William offers the Christian God, in return
for which his desires were granted.[253] The Christian God, Barlow argues, fulfils
William's desires again here. The epithet 'omnipotens', however, is ambiguous.
Vergil ascribes it to Jupiter, Juno, and Olympus.[254] He also attributes it to

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[248] 'The battle hung in the balance while Mars was undecided' (*Dubio pendent dum prelia Marte*):
Carmen, ed. Barlow, p. 24, line 389. My translation.
[249] *Ibid*, p. 22, line 345.
[250] 'Mars sibi tela gerit; mors sociata furit': *Ibid*, pp. 34-5, line 564.
[251] 'Interea, regni totum qui querit habere,/ Et, uoti compos, cui fauet omnipotens,/ Hostili
gladio que nec uastauerat igne,/ Vi non ingenio uindicat imperio': *Ibid*, pp. 38, lines 655-58. My
translation.
[252] *Ibid*, p. 39; *Carmen*, ed. Morton & Muntz, p. 43.
[253] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 39, fn. 5.
[254] Jupiter is referred to as 'omnipotens' throughout the *Aeneid*: Vergil, *Eclogues, Georgics &
Aeneid: Books 1-6*, trans. Fairclough & rev. Goold, p. 266, line 60; p. 362, line 689; p. 388, line 251;
p. 424, line 25; p. 436, line 206; p. 436, line 220; p. 518, line 687; p. 572, line 592 & Vergil, *Aeneid:*

Fortune. He wrote that King Evander, when talking to Aeneas, spoke about 'almighty Fortune and inevitable Fate'.[255] Is there any evidence in the *Song* that could lead the audience to believe someone other than the Christian God is the deity to whom Guy is referring as the 'omnipotens'?

Prior to Guy's reference to the 'omnipotens', Fortune is the most recent deity that William asks to assist him in all his desires. The language that Guy uses to describe William's invocation of Fortune, moreover, mirrors that which the poet uses in relation to the 'omnipotens' granting William all his desires. Take William's prayer to Fortune: after recollecting that the duke is unhorsed for a second time at Hastings, Guy wrote: 'William reckoned that, if he acted with courage, Fortune would favour (*faueo*) him, and, without deceit, assist him in all his desires (*uota*)'.[256] Compare this with the point in the *Song* when Guy records that the 'omnipotens' grants William all his desires after Hastings: 'Meanwhile William, who sought possession of the whole realm, and to whom the *omnipotens* favours (*faueo*), had his desires (*uotum*) granted, and he brought under his dominion, by strength not trickery, whatever he did not devastate by fire or his hostile sword'.[257] There are clear parallels been the two passages: particularly Guy's use of the verb 'faueo' and the noun 'uotum'.

It should also be noted that Guy previously makes it explicit that the Christian's God's fulfilment of William's prayer (i.e. for the ability to sail to England) is clement weather: Guy wrote that the Christian God took pity on William's

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Books 7-12 & Appendix Vergiliana, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough & rev. G. P. Goold (London, 2000), p. 12, line 141; p. 56, line 770; p. 88, line 398; p. 158, line 625; p. 178, line 100; p. 214, line 615; p. 218, line 668; p. 290, line 790; p. 312, line 178. Juno is called 'omnipotens' on two occasions: *Aeneid*: Vergil, *Eclogues, Georgics & Aeneid: Books 1-6*, trans. Fairclough & rev. Goold, p. 468, line 693 & Vergil, *Aeneid: Books 7-12*, trans. Rushton Fairclough & rev. Goold, p. 32, line 428. 'Omnipotens' is also ascribed to Olympus: *ibid*, p. 172, line 1; p. 356, line 791.

[255] 'Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum': *Ibid*, p. 82, line 334.

[256] 'Censet enim uirtute sibi fortuna fauebit,/ Subueniet uotis et sine fraude suis': *Ibid*, pp. 30-1, lines 511-2. I have, however, amended 'smile upon' (i.e. as a translation of 'fauet') to 'favour', and I have changed 'grant' (i.e. as a translation for 'subueniet') to 'assist'.

[257] 'Interea, regni totum qui querit habere,/ Et, uoti compos, cui fauet omnipotens,/ Hostili gladio que nec uastauerat igne,/ Vi non ingenio uindicat imperio': *Ibid*, pp. 38, lines 655-58. My translation.

desires ('uelle'), and, in return for his vow (*uotum*), granted him a calm sea.[258] There is no explicit fulfilment of William's 'uotum' after his prayer to Fortune until the above passage about the 'omnipotens' granting William all his desires. The passage referring to the 'omnipotens' resolves the tension in Guy's narrative. In the same way that Guy uses the ambiguous term 'deus' to allow his audience to choose whether it was Mars or the Christian God to whom he is referring, Guy applies the same literary trick in order to allow for the possibility that it was either Fortune or the Christian God that granted William all his desires after Hastings.

By this point of the *Song*, the Christian God is explicitly mentioned on only two occasions. First, when William crosses the sea to England. Second, when Guy addresses him after William attacks one of his soldiers. There are only two other occasions when the Christian God is referred to in the *Song*. First, when William distributes alms to Christ's poor ('pauperibus Christi').[259] Second, when William orders a procession to magnify God at the time of his coronation.[260] Indeed, I would add that Guy's use of ambiguous epithets, rather than direct and unambiguous references such as 'Christus', adds further weight to the argument that Guy was being intentionally subversive or equivocal. The Christian God is almost entirely absent from the poem. The *Song* is, for the most part, the realm of pagan deities. How then does William fare in the rest of the *Song*?

Another criticism of William is evident in the subjugation of London. This episode has caught the attention of historians ever since the *Song*'s discovery. Augustin Thierry, however, simply mined the poem for quotes in order to flesh

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[258] 'You [i.e. William] frequented the saint's church with devout intent and gave to him pure offering and repeated prayers... that same gracious God pitied you and your desires, and, in return for your vow, furnished you with the means [i.e. to cross to England]' (*Ecclesiam sancti deuota mente frequentans,/ Illi pura dabas, ingeminando preces./... Velle tuum tandem pius ut Deus est miseratus,/ Pro uotoque tibi suppeditauit opus*): *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 6-7, lines 56-7 & 70-1. My translation. Barlow, for instance, misread 'ingeminando' (i.e. 'repeated') for, presumably, 'ingemescendo' (i.e. 'sigh'). Morton and Muntz's translation is correct in this regard: *Carmen*, ed. Morton & Muntz, p. 7.
[259] *Ibid*, p. 34, line 594.
[260] *Ibid*, p. 46, line 796.

out the events of 1066.[261] More recently, O'Donnell observed: 'Guy allows himself a pun to sharpen his satire: "Through the appearance of faith ('per fidei speciem'), William enhances his own honour and binds treacherous hearts ('perfida corda') with oaths"'.[262] I will go one step further and say that this is not just satire: Guy not only describes how William uses deception to attain the English throne but also how, in the process, his envoy (a monk no less) commits perjury like William's adversary, Harold. Let me explain.

Towards the beginning of the poem when he addresses his army, William describes Harold as follows: 'I tell you all that this false, infamous, and perjured king, this adulterer, is attempting to lay snares for us. It is his wont to conquer not by force but by deceit, and, while pledging faith with his lips, to hand out death'.[263] After he utters these word, William's view, according to Guy, that Harold would try to beguile him, rather than fight him, is vindicated. Harold's army, Guy continues, tries to take William's army by surprise under the cover of night.[264] Harold, however, is deceived by William.[265]

Harold's perjury in the *Song* is also highlighted previously in another message which he sends to William upon hearing about the duke's landing in England. Harold, so Guy's story goes, tells William that he is astonished 'that, without good reason, you [i.e. William] are bringing the kingdom to ruin'.[266] Harold then asks William to release his prisoners and whatever else he has laid his hands upon. Harold's messenger concludes with the following warning: 'If you refuse this offer, or delay making restitution, he declares war upon you. So you had better take care... And, as the Lord is my witness, he had twelve hundred

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[261] Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquète*, pp. 260-3.
[262] O'Donnell, 'The Carmen', p. 161.
[263] 'Falsus et infamis periurus rex et adulter/ Molitur nobis tendit et insidias./ Eius enim mos est non ui, sed uincere fraude,/ Spondendoque fidem porrigit ore necem': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 16-7, lines 261-4.
[264] *Ibid*, pp. 18-9, lines 279-86.
[265] 'But while he [i.e. Harold] sought to deceive, he was himself deceived and destroyed [i.e. by William]' (*Fallere dum querit, fallitur atque ruit*): Ibid, pp. 18-9, line 284.
[266] 'Quod sine re regnum ducis ad excidium': *Ibid*, pp. 14-5, line 214.

thousand warriors thirsting for battle'.[267] The valedictory remark that Harold had 1.2 million soldiers is clearly ridiculous. By including this figure, Guy ridicules Harold's argument, but there is a darker side to Harold's message. The king, once again, perjures himself by calling the Christian God as witness to his lies. The fact that a monk relays the perfidious message to William could only add to the belief that the English are a thoroughly rotten lot. Harold, so the story goes, seeks to trick the duke, but William remains fully alert. William, according to Guy, is aware of his enemy's art (*ars*) of deception.[268] How then does William compare to Harold?

William's underhanded tactics at the end of the poem mirror those of Harold at the beginning. When he tries to take London, Guy relates that William enters into secret negotiations with Ansgar, for it is the latter who is in control of the city.[269] That said, Ansgar, according to Guy, did not play ball. Ansgar suggests, instead, to the men of the city that they should try and rid themselves of William by some other art (*ars*) since they could not defeat him by force (*uis*).[270] Ansgar, so the story goes, proposes to send an envoy who will make a false offer of subjection and a peace-treaty, which Ansgar would be able to affirm with an oath.[271] Guy's audience could have anticipated the failure of such a tactic. William, as noted above, has been aware of his enemy's art (*ars*) of deception ever since the beginning of the battle. Indeed, Guy wrote: 'because a fox cannot be trapped by an obvious snare, the king [i.e. William] whom he had sought to

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[267] 'Si contradicis, uel si sua reddere tardas,/ Bella tibi mandat; ergo, decet caueas./... Nam, Dominum testor, bis sex sibi milia centum/ Sunt pugnatorum, prelia qui siciunt': *Ibid*, pp. 14-5, lines 219-20 & 223-4.
[268] 'He [i.e. William] was completely aware of the other's skill' (*Eius et ingenio conscius artis erat*): *Ibid*, pp. 18-9, line 286.
[269] 'It was he [i.e. Ansgar] who ruled over the city fathers... To this man the king, through an envoy, covertly unveiled another way out, and secretly asked him to view it with favour' (*Omnibus ille tamen primatibus imperat urbis,/... Huic per legatum clam rex pociora reuelat,/ Secretim poscens quatinus his faueat*): *Ibid*, pp. 41-1, lines 685 & 687-8.
[270] *Ibid*, p. 40, 695.
[271] 'We should send immediately to him [i.e. William] a persuasive envoy who will try and trick him with words. Let him make a feigned offer of subjection and also of a peace-treaty and even put hand in hand if the enemy should so require' (*Actutum docilis noster legatus ut hosti/ Mittatur, uerbis fallere qui satagat:/ Seruicium simulet nec non et federa pacis,/ Et dextras dextre subdere, si iubeat*): *Ibid*, pp. 42-3, lines 715-8.

deceive, deceived him'.[272] After publicly approving the proposal and privately ridiculing it, William then 'blinded the fool with gifts, and, promising him immense rewards, deceived him with words'.[273] The audience is now alert to the fact that William is trying to beguile Ansgar's faction.

This deception is reinforced at the beginning of the speech of the duke's messenger. He is recorded as saying the following: 'Rex [i.e. William] uobis pacem dicit profertque salutem;/ Vestris mandatis paret et absque dolis./ Set Dominum testor, cui rerum seruit imago, Post David regem nescit habere parem'.[274] The juxtaposition of 'absque dolis' with 'set Dominum testor' (i.e. the Christian Lord) appears to be a protestation of sincerity that puts the reader on guard, and it reminds them that William intends to deceive the English with words ('uerbisque fefellit'). Guy is winking at the knowing reader.

What then does Guy record in William's envoy's deceptive speech? The full speech reads as follows: 'William agrees to your demands, and this without guile. For, and I call on the Lord as witness, the Lord to whom the very image of things is subject: he has not seen the equal of such a king since David. King William is more beautiful than the sun, wiser than Solomon, readier than Pompey, and more bountiful than Charles. He points out and affirms that King Edward granted him the kingdom and alleges that you approved. Therefore, if you wish to survive, only one course is open to you: restore to him by your hand his lawful rights'.[275]

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[272] 'Quia uix patula teneatur compede uulpes,/ Fallitur a rege fallere quem uoluit': *Ibid*, pp. 42-3, lines 723-4.

[273] 'Obcecat donis stolidum, uerbisque fefellit,/ Premia promittens innumerosa sibi': *Ibid*, pp. 42-3, lines 727-8.

[274] 'The king sends you a message of peace and wishes you well. He agrees to your demands, and this without guile. For, and I call on the Lords as witness, the Lord to whom the very image of things is subject: he has not seen the equal of such a king since David': *Ibid*, pp. 42-3, lines 731-4.

[275] 'Vestris mandatis paret et absque dolis. /Set Dominum testor, cui rerum seruit imago, Post Dauid regem nescit habere parem: Pulchrior est sole, sapientior et Salomone;/ Promptior est Magno, largior et Carolo./ Contulit Eguardus quod rex donum sibi regni/ Monstrat et adfirmat, uosque probasse refert./ Hoc igitur superest, ultra si uiuere uultis,/ Debita cum manibus reddere iura sibi': *Ibid*, pp. 42-5, lines 732-40. Morton and Muntz, unlike Barlow, argue that 'Magno' agrees with 'Carolo' to make 'Charlemagne'. It is not clear which translation is correct.

Where then is the deceit in this message? David was a model king who fought the enemies of God, Solomon was a synonym for peace, being readier than Pompey was appropriate for a king, Charlemagne was held as a model Christian ruler, and a fundamental argument for William's invasion was Edward's promise of the throne to him. This description, except Edward's promise of the throne, also chimes with Guy's introduction of William at the very beginning of the poem. Guy calls William a 'blessed king, guardian of justice, giver of peace to the fatherland, a foe to its foes and protector of its churches'.[276] Is Guy criticising William again?

Take Guy's reference to the Old Testamant king, David. The latter, for example, is well-known for not having killed his predecessor, Saul, the Lord's anointed. As David himself put it: 'who shall put forth his hand against the Lord's anointed and shall be guiltless?'[277] William, however, had hacked Harold, the Lord's anointed, to pieces. (Guy offers no conclusive proof that he saw Harold's consecration as invalid.[278]) The poet records that William is going to deceive

It could be an allusion to Caesar's *Civil Wars*. At the beginning, he wrote: 'Pompey praises the zealous and encourages them for the future; the sluggish he reproves and stimulates' (*Laudat promptos Pompeius atque in posterum confirmat, segniores castigat atque incitat*): Julius Caesar, *The Civil Wars*, trans. A. G. Peskett (Harvard, 1914), pp. 4-5. Guy could have attributed being 'promptus' to Pompey on account of the leader's praise for those who had that quality.

[276] 'Iusticie cultor, patrie pax, hostibus hostis,/ Tutor et ecclesie, rex benedicte': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 4-5, lines 26-7. Fulcoius of Beauvais likened William to both David and Solomon. In a poem composed probably in 1075, he wrote, 'Behold, two kings come again in this one king,/ Father and son. Who? Solomon and David./ In whom? Pray tell. In King William. Who, pray?/ That man is a David, "strong in hand", as the English bear witness,/ The same a Solomon, "peacemaker", as the same bear witness./ He beats back, he withdraws, he heals where he wounds;/ Both peace and war obey him sympathetically' (*Ecce duo reges hoc uno rege resurgunt,/ Filius atque pater. Qui? Dauid cum Salomone./ In quo dic, precor. In Willelmo rege, precor, qui?/ Ille manu fortis Dauid est testantibus Anglis,/ Pacificus Salomon idem testantibus isdem./ Reicit et reuocat, quo uulnerat inde medetur./ Et pax et bellum parent concorditer illi*). For the Latin, see M. Colker, 'Fulcoii Belvancensis epistolae', *Traditio* 10 (1954), p. 245, lines 4-10. For the English, see E. M. C. van Houts, ed. and tr., *The Normans in Europe* (Manchester, 2000), p. 132.

[277] 1 Samuel 26:9: 'Enim extendit manum suam in christum Domini et innocens erit'.

[278] Guy did not elaborate upon what he meant by calling Harold a 'falsus' king: *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 16, line 261. He could have meant that he was a liar. This would fit with Harold's perjury.

Ansgar, and Harold's death would have been good evidence for not thinking that William was another David.

What about Guy's reference to William as another Solomon? The latter was an Old Testament king who built the Temple after the wars of his father, the aforementioned David, because his hands were not stained with blood. William, however, did have blood on his hands. Guy drives home this point after he relates that Canterbury was the first city to pay William tribute. Guy evokes a gory image of the Conqueror and the conquered. He wrote: 'And just as hungry flies attack in swarms an *ulcera* brimming with blood, so from all sides the English rush to dance attendance on the king'.[279] Giovanni Orlandi points out that this is not a flattering image of the English.[280] Licence also argues that it is not complimentary of William: the English are the hungry flies, William is the ulcer filled with blood ('ulcera... plena cruore').[281]

This bloody characterization of William fits with Guy's previous narrative in the *Song*. William, according to Guy, is enthralled to Mars, to whom he offers blood sacrifices, and he is described as a lion that devours men with his sword, which is defiled with brains and streams of blood. In the *Song*, William is first reduced to a pagan, then to a beast, and now to a bloody ulcer (i.e. the very embodiment of that which he shed during his invasion of England). Remember, Guy records that William is going to deceive Ansgar. One can use inductive reasoning, therefore, to suggest that the poet's description of William's actions at Hastings

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[279] 'Et ueluti musce stimulo famis exagitate/ Vlcera densatim plena cruore petunt,/ Vndique sic Angli regi currunt famulari': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 36-7, lines 617-8. Barlow translated 'ulcera' as 'wounds'. This passage could be interpreted, therefore, as Guy referring to the wounds that William suffered from Hastings. 'Ulcera' (i.e. ulcera), however, does not mean the same as 'uulnera' (i.e. wounds). One should make allowances for poets using words that do not have their more literal meaning when writing within such a rigid set of rules that govern Latin poetry (in this case, elegiac couplets). The use of 'uulnera' (as opposed to 'ulcera'), however, presumably would not have been an insurmountable issue for a poet of Guy's ability if he had wanted to refer to William's wounds. Besides, William is not said to have received any wounds in the battle. Consequently, I prefer the literal translation of 'ulcera' as 'ulcer'. The image Guy conjures, therefore, is not a flattering image of William.
[280] G. Orlandi, 'Some afterthoughts', p. 119.
[281] Licence, 'Introduction', in *idem*, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, p. 1.

would have been good evidence for Guy's contemporaries (i.e. those who were familiar with stories about David's son as found, for example, in the Bible and Prudentius's *Psychomachia*) to question the belief that William is like Solomon.[282] An implication of this reasoning is that the creation of a new crown, which Guy states is similar to Solomon's ('Solomoniacum'), for William's coronation would have been inappropriate, thereby ending the *Song* on a perverse note.[283] Given my analysis of the *Song* thus far, I can imagine Guy conjuring an image in his mind's eye of William, with a liar's grimace, as the English crown is placed on his head at the end of the *Song*.

Another implication of the deceitful message of William's envoy is that Guy strikes at the very heart of William's rationale for the Conquest. The poet negates the story put about by William that Edward promised him the throne. The words that Harold utters to his troops at the beginning of the poem now appear to be justified: 'William is cunning, avaricious, and most arrogant. He does not know how to keep the peace or the faith'.[284] How, as O'Donnell recently asks, was William different from Harold?

Guy's narrative shows William, like Harold, being deceitful. The difference between the two men, of course, is that William succeeds in his duplicity. William's party, like that of Harold, also falsely call the Christian God to bear witness to this deceitful message from William to Ansgar, thereby wreaking spiritual havoc. Guy drives home this point by punning on 'perfida': that is, 'perfidious' or 'faithless'. He wrote: 'In the likeness of faith ('per fidei speciem'), William boosts his own repute and binds faithless (*perfidus*) hearts with oaths'.[285] Let us not beat about the bush: Guy portrays William, like Harold, as a perjurer. Both appear to be as bad as the other: both were deceitful hypocrites.

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[282] Prudentius, *Volume One*, trans. H. J. Thomson (London, 1949), pp. 334-7.
[283] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 44-5, line 761.
[284] 'Est uafer et cupidus nimiumque superciliosus;/ Nec nouit pacem nec retinere fidem': *Ibid*, pp. 12-3, lines 181-2.
[285] 'Per fidei speciem proprium commendat honorem,/ Et iuramentis perfida corda ligat': *Ibid*, pp. 44-5, lines 751. My translation.

Nor should Guy's opinion of William's claim that Edward promised him the throne come as a surprise to us. Guy was an 'especial friend' of the abbey of Saint-Riquier, which is located about forty miles north-west of Amiens.[286] This connection is important because, although Hariulf wrote his *Chronicle* in the 1080s, it is possible that he records Abbot Gervin II's views. If this is the case, Gervin's recollection that it was Edgar (not William) whom Edward designated as his heir could have informed political discussions in the circles in which Guy operated.[287]

Before continuing, I should resolve any confusion over how Guy presents William's claim to the throne. Almost all the references to William's justification for invasion appear in speeches. This is significant because they could be used to introduce perspectives which were not necessarily those of the author. This literary principle had been established long ago. St Augustine's discussion of Vergil is instructive here. Since God spoke of how kingdoms rise-up against kingdoms, Augustine criticises those who promise that any worldly kingdom shall endure forever. He wrote: 'Those who promised this to earthly kingdoms were not guided by truth but lied by flattery. A poet of theirs [i.e. the Romans] introduced a speech by Jupiter who says this about the Romans, 'I set, for these people, boundaries neither in space nor time, but give empire without end.' Truth says it is not so... If we wanted, perhaps, from this point to do away with Vergil and to oppose his point, he would take us aside at this point and say to us, "I know, but (as a hack for the Romans) what could I do, except, by this flattery, promise something which was false? Nevertheless, when I said, 'I give empire without end', I took the precaution of placing the words in Jupiter's mouth. I did not say a false thing in my own persona, but I got Jupiter's persona to tell the falsehood. Just as the god was false, so [too] the poet was a liar'.[288]

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[286] Hariulf wrote that Guy was an 'especial friend of our church' (*Nostri loci amator praecipuus*): *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier (Vè siècle-1104)*, ed. F. Lot (Paris, 1894), p. 274.
[287] Licence 'Edward the Confessor', pp. 123-4.
[288] 'Qui hoc terrenis regnis promiserunt, non ueritate ducti sunt, sed adulatione mentiti sunt. Poeta illorum quidam induxit Iouem loquentem, et ait de Romanis, "his ego nec metas rerum,

Guy also appears to use speeches as a literary tactic to disavow himself of another's words. What parts of William's claim to the English throne does Guy agree with in own persona?

At the end of the poem's dedication to Lanfranc, Guy remarks that William courageously recovered what was stolen from him.[289] When addressing William at the beginning, he calls England 'a kingdom bequeathed to you by your forefathers'.[290] In the same address, he wrote that 'every law was in your favour'.[291] Guy did not elaborate, however, on the laws to which he is refering. The point to be made is that Guy appears to have believed that William had a claim to the throne, but he does not appear to have accepted every aspect of it: specifically, Edward's promise to William. Guy relies, instead, on a sense of entitlement to the English throne by the Normans, a view which Licence identifies in Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *History of the Norman Dukes* and William of Jumièges's *Deeds of the Norman Dukes*.[292]

On the subject of Dudo, Guy appears to have used the *History* as a source of inspiration from which to criticise William. Take, for instance, the idea of walking in the footsteps of (or being mindful of) one's ancestors. This is attested in both classical literature and the Bible. When rallying his troops against Aeneas in Vergil's *Aeneid*, Turnus asks: 'Now each man must recall the great deeds and glories of their forefathers (*patres*)'.[293] The following is also found in 2 Chronicles 17:3: 'And the Lord was with Josaphat, because he walked in the

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nec tempora pono: imperium sine fine dedi." Non plane ita respondet ueritas... Forte si uellemus hinc exagitare Virgilium, et insultare, quare hoc dixerit; in parte tolleret nos, et diceret nobis: et ego scio; sed quid facerem qui Romanis uerba uendebam, nisi hac adulatione aliquid promitterem quod falsum erat? Et tamen et in hoc cautus fui, quando dixi, imperium sine fine dedi: Iouem ipsorum induxi, qui hoc diceret. Non ex persona mea dixi rem falsam, sed Ioui imposui falsitatis personam: sicut deus falsus erat, ita mendax uates erat': C. Lambot, 'Sermon inédit de saint Augustin sur la prière', *RB* 45 (1933), pp. 101-107.

[289] 'For manfully he recovered a kingdom of which he had been deprived' (*Nam sibi sublatum regnum uirtute redemit*): *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 2-3, line 23,

[290] 'Ab auis... regna relicta tibi': *Ibid*, pp. 4-5, line 37.

[291] 'Fauet tibi... legis quoque summa': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 4-5, line 48.

[292] Licence, 'Edward the Confessor', pp. 114-7.

[293] 'Nunc magna referto/ facta, patrum laudes': Vergil, *Aeneid: Books 7-12*, Rushton Fairclough & rev. Goold, pp. 193-4, lines 281-2.

first ways of David his father: and trusted not in Baalim'.[294] The *Song* contains its own variation of this concept. William's own envoy concludes a speech to him with the following: 'You must remember your noble forefathers (*patres*), great duke, and do what your ancestors (*auus*, i.e. in a plural sense) and father (*pater*) did. Your distant ancestor (*proauus*) held sway over the Normans, your more recent ancestor (*auus*) overcame the Bretons, and your father (*genitor*) placed the necks of the English under his yoke. And you, what will you do? but, by planning greater things, follow in their footsteps with the help of your valour'.[295] 'Genitor', 'pater', 'auus', and 'proauus' are common words in and of themselves: that said, Guy's use of all these terms together is rare. Prior to Guy, I can only find two authors who use the same cluster of words in a metaphor about walking in the ways of one's forefathers: namely, Jordanes and Dudo.

Jordanes wrote: 'For Geberich was born of Hilderith (his father), Ovida (his grandfather), and Nidada (his grandfather). He equalled the glory of his race by his illustrious deeds'.[296] This may be more evidence for Guy's indebtedness to *Getica*, but the same vocabulary is found repeated throughout Dudo's *History*. It is found in two poems dedicated to Archbishop Robert, Duke Richard I's son: that is, Poems 4 and 8.[297] Dudo, for instance, wrote the following in Poem 4:

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[294] 2 Chronicles 17:3: 'Et fuit Dominus cum Iosaphat quia ambulauit in uiis Dauid patris sui primis et non sperauit in Baalim'.

[295] 'Nobilium memor esto patrum, dux magne, tuorum,/ Et quod fecit auus quodque pater, facias:/ Normannos proauus superauit, auusque Britannos,/ Anglorum genitor sub iuga colla dedit./ Et tu, quid facies, nisi quod, maiora parando,/ Succedas illis per probitatis opem?': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 20, lines 329-4. My translation. Guy's first use of 'auus' (i.e. in the singular) should be taken in the plural sense. Horace did this when he wrote, 'and though grandsires of yours, on your mother's and father's side alike, commanded mighty legions in days of old' (*nec quod auus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus,/ olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent*): Horace, *Satires, Epistles, and The Ars Poetica*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Revised edn (London, 1929), pp. 76-77. The fact that Guy wrote about William's 'proauus', 'auus', and 'genitor' as models to be imitated after he asked him to do as his 'auus' and 'pater' had done lends itself to this interpretation of the first use of 'auus'.

[296] 'Nam hic [i.e. Geberich] Hilderith patre natus, auo Ouida, proauo Nidada, gloriam generis sui factis illustribus exequauit': Jordanes, *Romana et Getica*, ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH Auct. antiq.* 5.1, p. 87. My translation.

[297] 'Take heed of the deeds of the wonderful lineage of your ancestors: of your father and grandfather (with the light of goodness sufficiently shining) and now your great-grandfather. Now remember the good things each one did (*Mirificarum/ Prosapiarum/ Gesta tuorum/ Suscipe patrum,/ Patris, auique,/ Sat bonitatis/ Luce micantis,/ Nunc proauique;/ Iam*

'Accept your great-grandfather's deeds, O prelate memorable,/ And what your worthy grandsire did, accept./... Remembered and forgotten triumphs of your father scan,/ Search through the deeds forgotten of your sire,/ That you conduct yourself as by his reverend words,/ Examine, and by your father's deeds conduct yourself'.[298] Other examples of Dudo using the combination of 'pater'/'genitor', 'auus', and 'proauus' can also be found in the *History*.

First, it reappears when Duke William I, according to Dudo, tells King Louis he would, with his help, rule over all Francia as his forbears did.[299] Second, Dudo records that Duke Richard I spoke about his hereditary rights, which he inherited from his forefathers.[300] Third, Duke Rollo, so Dudo's story goes, employs the same metaphor when speaking to his men before attacking Francia.

It is Rollo's last utterance which is significant. 'Proceed with cunning', Rollo said, 'and imitate your revered fathers (*patres*), grandfathers (*aui*), and great-grandfathers (*proaui*)'.[301] In the sentences that immediately follow this speech, Dudo relates other details which have a striking similarity with Guy's *Song*. He wrote: 'Delighted by these words, they [i.e. his followers] all immediately formed up into armies and invaded the king's land, and ravaged the whole of it with the raging fires of Vulcan ('totamque, seuiente Vulcano, depopularunt').

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memorando/ Que bona quisque/ Fecit). For the Latin, see Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. J. Lair (Caen, 1865), p. 127, lines 10-20. My translation.

[298] '*Suscipe gesta tui proaui, presul recolende,/ Et locupletis aui suscipe gesta tui./... Immemores patris et memores scrutare triumphos,/ Actus perquire immemoresque patris,/ Exhibeasque patris dictis temet reuerendis,/ Factis te speculans exhibeasque patris*': see *De moribus*, ed. Lair, pp. 123 & 125, 1-2 & 51-4. For the English, see Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Norman Dukes*, trans. E. Christiansen (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 9-11.

[299] Duke William I said to King Lewis, 'You will bear sway over the kingdom of Francia, and over the other kingdoms which your father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, even your great-great-grandfather held dominion over' (*Francie regni ceterorumque regnorum, quorum dominatus est pater tuus, auus et proauus, etiam atauus... dominaberis*). For the Latin, see *De moribus*, ed. Lair, p. 199. For the English, see *History*, trans. Christiansen, p. 75.

[300] 'Did not my father hold this by right of inheritance? And ought I not to possess it by hereditary right after the death of my grandfather and father? See whether his father or grandfather or great-grandfather held this city as he holds it' (*Meusne pater sorte hereditaria hanc urbem tenuit? Nonne post aui patrisque necem possidere iure hereditario debeo? Videte si pater eius, aut auus, aut proauus, hanc urbem ut tenet tenuit*). For the Latin, see *De moribus*, ed. Lair, pp. 248-9. For the English, see *History*, trans. Christiansen, p. 123.

[301] 'Solerti proposito reuerendos patres, auosque et proauos imitaminor': *De moribus*, ed. Lair, p. 169. For the English, see *History*, trans. Christiansen, p. 49.

Hearing of this, the king went to war against Rollo and his brother, and after a long fight he turned tail and fled to the defences of his strongholds. Then Rollo buried the dead of his own army, but he left those of the king unburied'.[302] Four details are noteworthy because they are mirrored in the *Song*. First, the injunction to proceed with cunning. Second, the exhortation to follow in the footsteps of one's 'pater', 'auus', and 'proauus'. Third, the raging fires of Vulcan, which attend Rollo's invasion of Francia and ravage the king's land. Fourth, Rollo's decision to bury his own dead but not those of the king of France.

If we put the first two instances aside for the moment, the third and fourth points in Dudo's speech book-end William's fighting in England in the *Song*. When describing William's arrival on the English coast, Guy conjures the image of Vulcan's flames ravaging homes ('Vulcano flammis depopulante domos') and the English dying by the raging sword ('ferro bachante').[303] After the battle of Hastings, Guy then wrote: 'the duke surveyed the battlefield and, removing his own men that were slaughtered, buried their bodies in the bosom of the earth. He left the bodies of the English, strewn over the ground, to be devoured by worms and wolves and by birds and dogs'.[304] Duke William's invasion of

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[302] 'Illico omnes, his dictis hilares, regiam terram conglobatis exercitibus inuaserunt, totamque, seuiente Vulcano, depopularunt. Hec autem rex audiens contra Rollonem et fratrem eius pergit ad prelium, diuque dimicando terga uertit fugiens ad presidia urbium. Tunc Rollo sui exercitus mortuos sepeliuit, regis autem inhumatos reliquit': *De moribus*, ed. Lair, pp. 142-3. For the English, see *History*, trans. Christiansen, p. 27. I have amended the translation from 'imitate your fathers' to 'imitate your revered fathers' in order to incorporate 'reuerendos', which is omitted from the translation. Another instance where 'pater', 'auus', and 'proauus' are used together, albeit this time in the sense of not following in their footsteps, is again attributed Rollo. When relating Rollo's fealty to the king of Francia, Dudo wrote, '[Rollo] immediately put his hands between the hands of the king, which neither his father, nor his grandfather, nor his great-grandfather had done for any man (*Statim Francorum coactus uerbis, manus suas misit inter manus regis, quod nunquam pater eius, et auus, atque proauus cuiquam fecit*). For the Latin, see *De moribus*, ed. Lair, p. 169. For the English, see *History*, trans. Christiansen, p. 49.

[303] 'With peace acquired over a small area, your people invade, lay waste, and consume with fire the land... the fields glittering everywhere with shining weapons, Vulcan ravaging homes with his flames, and [the English] people perish for their perfidy by the raging sword' (*Non multo spacio, tua gens, set pace potita,/ Inuadit terram, uastat et igne cremat./... Et quod agri fulgent pleni radiantibus armis,/ Vulcano flammis depopulante domos,/ Perfidie gentem ferro bachante perire*). For the Latin, see *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 10, lines 145-46 & 151-3. My translation.

[304] 'Terga dedere neci/... Lustrauit campus, tollens et cesa suorum/ Corpora, dux terre condidit in gremio. Vermibus atque lupis, auibus canibusque uoranda/ Deserit Anglorum corpora strato solo': *Ibid*, p. 34, lines 554 & 569-72. My translation.

England mirrors Rollo's actions at the beginning and end of the latter's incursion into Francia.

I now deal with the first two details which I referred to above in Dudo's speech. The first (that is, the request to proceed with cunning) is mirrored in William's subjugation of London by deceit. The fourth, (i.e. the command to follow in the footsteps of his 'pater'/'genitor', 'auus' and 'proauus') maps onto the concluding remarks of the speech of William's envoy, before the battle of Hastings, when he said: 'Your distant ancestor (*proauus*) held sway over the Normans, your more recent ancestor (*auus*) overcame the Bretons, and your father (*genitor*) placed the necks of the English under his yoke. And you, what will you do? but, by planning greater things, follow in their footsteps with the help of your valour'.[305] Guy appears to have had the aforementioned passage, in the *History*, in mind when he composed his poem. I have already shown that Guy compares William to his pagan forebears, the Goths. Guy appears to be driving home the point by comparing William to Rollo: that is, the pagan version of Rollo, because this speech was given before his conversion to Christianity.

Another passage concerning Rollo is also important for understanding why Guy chooses to characterise William as, among other things, a lion ravaging the sheepfold. Before we look at it, however, let us return to Guy's apostrophe to Mars at the beginning of the battle. He wrote: 'O Mars god of war, who curbs kingdoms by the sword,/ Who is sated by the blood-stained corpses of youths/ And the blood of men poured out in mass slaughter,/ What was your intent, how great your greed for evil,/ When in their midst you ordered savage troops to join battle?... But why am I still talking since Fury now appears in arms? Feast, O Mars! Do the work of death!'[306] William's actions unleash Mars and Fury. The

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[305] 'Normannos proauus superauit, auusque Britannos,/ Anglorum genitor sub iuga colla dedit./ Et tu, quid facies, nisi quod, maiora parando,/ Succedas illis per probitatis opem?': *Ibid*, p. 20, lines 331-4. My translation.

[306] 'Mars deus O bello, gladiis qui sceptra coherces,/ Corpora cui iuuenum sanguinolenta placent,/ Et cruor effusus permulta cede uirorum,/ Quis tibi tunc animus, quanta cupido mali,/ Cum medius seuas acies miscere iubebas!/... Quid moror in uerbis cum iam Furor extat in armis?/ Exple uelle tuum, Mars, age mortis opus!': *Ibid*, p. 22, lines 345-49 & 361-2. My

former orders savage (*seuus*) troops to join battle, and the latter appears in arms ('extat in armis'). This is not how Dudo envisages the future of Rollo's descendants.

I now quote the passage, which I mentioned above, about Rollo. Dudo wrote: 'When, under your admirable grandsons, savage ages soften after wars have been put to one side, and impious Fury sits upon her arms... and utters no challenge to anyone, verily the wild wolf shall feed alongside the sheep in the field'.[307] Rollo's line, according to Dudo, is meant to usher in an age of peace. Savage ages ('aspera... secula') are envisaged to come to an end. Fury is meant to sit on her arms ('super arma sedens'). And it is foretold that the wolf (i.e. the pagan Normans) shall feed alongside the sheep (i.e. Christians). This is the opposite of what William's actions unleash at Hastings. William is not only failing to live up to the prophecy in the *History* but also acting contrary to it.

Dudo's passage, as Christiansen observed, is based on Vergil's *Aeneid*, which records Jupiter's prophecy about the legacy of Caesar's line.[308] Vergil wrote: 'Then wars shall cease and savage ages soften; hoary Faith and Vesta, Quirinus with his brother Remus, shall give laws. The gates of war, grim with iron and close-fitting bars, shall be closed; within, impious Fury, sitting on savage arms, her hands fast bound behind with a hundred brazen knots, shall roar in the ghastliness of blood-stained lips'.[309] The last part of this prophecy provides an explanation as to why William is shown to be acting in such a savage way against the English and Gyrth.

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translation, based on both Barlow's edition and that of Morton and Muntz: *Ibid*, p. 23; *Carmen*, ed. Morton & Muntz, p. 23.

[307] 'Tempore mirificum uenturo iamque nepotum,/ Aspera sepositis mitescent secula bellis,/ Et super arma sedens furor impius, impietatis/ Viribus explicitis, non quemquam uoce lacesset;/ Quin lupus asper, ouisque simul pascentur in agro': *De moribus*, ed. Lair, p. 153. My translation.

[308] *History*, trans. Christiansen, p. 191.

[309] 'Aspera tum positis mitescent secula bellis;/ cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus/ iura dabunt; dire ferro et compagibus artis/ claudentur Belli porte; Furor impius intus/ seua sedens super arma et centum uinctus aënis/ post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento': Vergil, *Eclogues, Georgics & Aeneid: Books 1-6*, trans. Fairclough & rev. Goold, pp. 282-3, lines 291-6. I have amended the translation to read 'impious Fury' (not 'impious Rage') and 'her hands' (not 'his hands').

Remember, in line 436 and between lines 471 and 488, William is likened to a lion during his encounters with the English and Gyrth. In the first instance, the gentle sheep (i.e. the English) perish before the ravaging lion ('ut pereunt mites bachante leone bidentes').[310] In the second instance, William fights Gyrth and then more Englishmen. Although Gyrth is not frightened by the lion's mouth ('non territus ore leonis'), we are told that William pursues him like a roaring lion ('ueluti leo frendens') and tears him limb from limb ('membratim perimens'). William continues to fight more Englishmen, whom he decapitates ('truncos facit'), mutilates (*mutili*), and devours with his sword ('deuorat ense'), which is defiled with brains and blood ('infecto... cerebro uel sanguinis'). These descriptions of William are like that of Fury in the *Aeneid*. The latter, according to Vergil, 'shall roar in the ghastliness of blood-stained lips' ('fremet horridus ore cruento'). William does more than invite Fury to England: Guy appears to portray the duke as the embodiment of her.

That said, it is not only Fury who acts in such a manner in the *Aeneid*. Vergil subsequently applies the phrase 'fremet... ore cruento' to Nisus and Turnus. In relation to Nisus, Vergil wrote: 'Just so, an unfed lion, rioting through full sheepfolds—for the madness of hunger constrains him—mangles and rends the feeble flock that is dumb with fear, and growls with blood-stained mouth.'[311] With regards to Turnus, Vergil comments: 'As in Punic fields a lion, when wounded in the chest by huntsmen with a grievous stroke, only then wakes to war, joyously tosses from his neck his shaggy mane, and undaunted breaks the robber's implanted dart, roaring with blood-stained mouth: even so in Turnus' kindling soul the fury swells'.[312] It is apparent that both Nisus and Turnus, like

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[310] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 26-7, line 437.

[311] 'Impastus ceu plena leo per ouilia turbans (suadet enim uesana fames) manditque trahitque molle pecus mutumque metu, fremit ore cruento': Vergil, *Aeneid Books 7-12*, trans. Fairclough, rev. Goold, pp. 138-9, lines 339-41.

[312] 'Poenorum qualis in aruis/ saucius ille graui uenantum uulnere pectus/ tum demum mouet arma leo, gaudetque comantis/ excutiens ceruice toros fixumque latronis/ impauidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento:/ haud secus accenso gliscit uiolentia Turno': *Ibid*, pp. 300-1, lines 4-9.

William, not only act like Fury but attack sheepfolds as lions. Is William another Nisus or Turnus?

William's invocation of Fortune in the *Song* may help answer the question. Remember, William fell off his horse for the second time, but this, according to Guy, does not trouble him. The poet records that 'William thought, if he acted with courage (*uirtus*), Fortune (*Fortuna*) would favour him, and, without deceit, assist (*subuenio*) him in all his desires (*uotum*, translated as a plural)'.[313] Vergil, in his *Aeneid*, famously relates that Turnus said Fortune can grant a 'uotum' (i.e. prayer or desire) and assist those who are bold or act with courage. Turnus declares this view before his fight against Aeneas's army. Vergil wrote: 'But fearless Turnus did not lose his firm hope of seizing the shore first, and driving the approaching foe from land. Nay, he raises their courage with his words - nay, he chides them, "What you have desired in your prayers (*uoti*) is now possible - to break through with the sword! The war god's (*Mars*) self is in your hands, men. Now let each be mindful of his wife and home; now recall the great deeds, the glories of our sires! Let us meet them at the water's edge, while they are confused and their feet falter as first they land. Fortune aids the daring ('audentis Fortuna iuuat')'.[314] William's invocation of Fortune, albeit for himself rather than his men, imitates Turnus's speech. Turnus's belief that Mars is on his men's' side and that they should be mindful of the great deeds of the forefathers can only have added to the appeal of borrowing from this passage for Guy.

Remember that, prior to William's invocation of Fortune, Guy apostrophizes the Christian God and speaks about how 'Pietas' dies and 'Impietas' reigns. As

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[313] 'Censet... uirtute sibi fortuna fauebit,/ Subueniet uotis et sine fraude suis': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 30, lines 511-2. My translation.

[314] 'Haud tamen audaci Turno fiducia cessit/ litora precipere et uenientis pellere terra./ ultro animos tollit dictis atque increpat ultro,/ "quod uotis optastis adest, perfringere dextra./ in manibus Mars ipse, uiri! nunc coniugis esto/ quisque sue tectique memor, nunc magna referto/ facta, patrum laudes. ultro occurramus ad undam/ dum trepidi egressisque labant uestigia prima./ audentis Fortuna iuuat"': Vergil, *Aeneid Books 7-12*, trans. Fairclough, rev. Goold, pp. 193-4, lines 276-84.

O'Donnell reminds us, the principle virtue of Aeneas is 'pietas'.[315] When Guy's apostrophe to the Christian God and William's invocation of Fortune are taken together, Guy is making a bold claim: William is not another Aeneas, he is another Turnus.

By the end of the poem, the reader had been taken on a literary journey. Up to line 334 (i.e. before the battle commenced), Guy lauds William. The last compliment Guy pays to him occurs after the duke's speech to his army before the battle. He says William is 'the ornament of the empire, the peace and glory of the kingdom'.[316] William, thereafter, is shown not only as a pagan (like his Gothic forbears) enslaved to Mars but also as both a savage beast and the embodiment of Fury (like Turnus). Guy even goes so far as to negate William's claim that Edward had promised him the throne. The poet, in veiled language, also calls the duke a perjurer after the subjugation of London. I believe that the *Song* is one of the most critical pieces of work written about the Conquest.

Let us not forget, moreover, why Guy's authorship is important. At the time of the Conquest, he was the bishop of Amiens, a territory which then bordered William's duchy.[317] His position, as Van Houts demonstrates from charter evidence, meant that he was at King Philip I's court both before and after the battle, until he went to England with Matilda.[318] During his stay at the French court, Guy met his nephew, Count Guy of Ponthieu, who ruled the region from which William set sail to invade England. The count, moreover, was the brother of Hugh of Ponthieu, a character in the *Song*. Guy also had other important connections at that time. He was the uncle of Enguerrand II of Ponthieu, who

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[315] O'Donnell, 'The Carmen', p. 158.

[316] 'Imperiale decus, dux, pax, et gloria patria': *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. 18-9, line 307.

[317] In Guy's day, Amiens lay in the territory of Count Ralph IV (1038-74): he acquired it in 1063 when William took control of Maine. It was, therefore, part of Ralph's extensive territory (in the northern part of Capetian France) which partially encircled Paris from the Vexin (north-west of Paris) round to Bar-sur-Aube (south-east of Paris). See H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Count Simon of Crepy's Monastic Conversion', in P. Guichard, M. T. Lorchin, J. M. Poisson, & M. Rubellin, ed., *Papauté, Monachisme et Théories politiques: Études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Marcel Pacaut* (2 vols., Lyon, 1994), i, pp. 264-5. For a more accessible reprint of the article, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, 11th-12th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1999), no. 11.

[318] Van Houts, 'Latin poetry', pp. 54 & 56.

married Adeliza (Duke William's sister). His mother (or step-mother) was the countess of Boulogne, thereby making him the (step-)uncle of Eustace II, count of Boulogne, who is another hero of his poem. Before his time as bishop, he was an agent of Fulk II, bishop of Amiens, who was the brother of Drogo, count of the Vexin and husband of Godgifu, Edward the Confessor's sister.[319] These relationships, according to Barlow, go some way to explaining certain features of the poem, such as the details about William's fleet at Saint-Valery and the inclusion of both Count Eustace and Hugh of Ponthieu.[320] Guy could exploit a wealth of connections, he held power near the epicentre of French activity in the run up to William's campaign in England, and he was present at the French court both before and after the Conquest.

My analysis demonstrates that the *Song* should be added to the continental sources which Van Houts identifies as being critical of the Conquest. That said, David Townsend, in his study of Anglo-Latin hagiography, suggests that there can be 'a high degree of multivalence in [a] text, capable of construction in a nuanced variety of readings dependent upon the individual reader's interpretive framework'.[321] Someone who believed that William's successful invasion was a sign of God's judgement could read the reference to 'deus' granting the victory as a reference to the Christian God. Likewise, anyone who thought that the Christian God favoured William's cause could interpret the 'omnipotens' who grants William all his desires after Hastings as being a reference to the Christian God. Whatever the interpretation, there is a lingering tension in the poem with regards to the Christian God's agency during William's invasion. This tension arises out of Guy's use of ambiguous epithets. Which deity (or deities) influenced William's victory? Ultimately, Guy left this an open-ended question. Was he being diplomatic? Was he undecided? I believe that his critique of William favours the conclusion that he thought the Christian God was not the

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[319] The details about Guy's family are taken from Barlow: see *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. xlii-liii; esp. p. xliv for a helpful family tree.
[320] Barlow, 'The Carmen', p. 44.
[321] D. Townsend, 'Anglo-Latin Hagiography and the Norman Transition', *Exemplaria* 3.2 (1991), pp. 385-433; the quote is on p. 433.

cause of William's victory at Hastings or his successes in England thereafter. Guy stopped short, however, of ruling this possibility out.

With all Guy's criticisms in mind, I draw this chapter to a close by commenting upon how Poitiers replies to Guy's *Song*. Poitiers responds to various aspects of the poem, but I focus on two of them: the role of Fortune in his victory over the English, and William's lack of 'pietas'.

Pierre Bouet, albeit unintentionally, has already demonstrated how Poitiers replies to Guy's suggestion that William's victory was the product of Fortune. Though Bouet did not comment upon Guy's use of Fortune, he did argue that 'felicitas' is a central theme of Poitiers's *Deeds*. 'Felicitas' is allied to Fortune: the former in the sense of good fortune, and the latter in the sense of fortune in general. Augustine, as Bouet points out, describes 'felicitas' more specifically as a gift from God. It is this divine largesse, according to Bouet, that was the source of William's success in Poitiers's *Deeds*.[322] Indeed, Bouet argues that William's possession of 'felicitas' is a fundamental aspect of Poitiers's thesis concerning the legitimacy of William's power. Poitiers, in this respect, appears to have been defusing Guy's critique of the Conqueror.

This seems to be the case when Poitiers wrote: 'If you look closely at the deeds of this Roman [i.e. Julius Caesar] and those of our leader [i.e. William], you will rightly say that the Roman was improvident and trusted too much to luck (*fortuna*), but that William always acted with foresight and succeeded more by good planning ('optimo consilio') than by chance ('casu')'.[323] It was 'felicitas', according to Poitiers, that drove William's success, not Fortune. I can find no better demonstration of this point of view in his *Deeds* than when, at the end of the battle of Hastings, Poitiers wrote: 'So fortune (*felicitas*) turned for William,

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[322] P. Bouet, 'La felicitas de Guillaume le Conquerant dans les Gesta Guillelmi de Guillaume de Poitiers', *ANS* 4 (1981), pp. 37-52.

[323] *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 172-3. Caesar's faith in fortune is attested, for instance, in Lucan's *Civil War*. In it, Caesar said, 'Henceforth, I follow Fortune' (*Te, Fortuna, sequor*): *The Civil War*, trans. Duff, pp. 18-9, line 226.

hastening his triumph'.[324] Poitiers is displacing Fortune with 'felicitas' in the contemporary debate, and for posterity.

Poitiers goes on to strengthen his argument by ascribing William's victory to God. After the coronation, Poitiers notes: 'William devoted himself with equal energy to both secular and divine business, but his heart was more inclined to the service of the King of Kings. For it was to Him that he attributed his advancement, knowing that in opposition to Him no one could long enjoy power or life'.[325] He also records that 'he warned them [i.e. his magnates] to be constantly mindful of the eternal King by whose aid they had conquered'.[326] Poitiers wanted to leave no doubt in his audience's mind that William's successes had been ordained by God.

What then of Poitiers's response to Guy's intimation of William's lack of 'pietas'? From a young age, according to Poitiers, William took part in divine services, often celebrating them among clerks and monks.[327] When discussing his younger years, Poitiers asserts that William protected churches, defended the weak, did not impose burdensome laws, and never deviated from equity and temperance in his judgements.[328] Before discussing the battle of Hastings, Poitiers recorded that William participated in the Mass, received the body and blood of Christ, and placed the holy relics upon which Harold swore his oath to him around his own neck.[329] Indeed, Poitiers wrote that William advanced in front of a banner sent from the pope in favour of his cause;[330] his first acts as king were righteous;[331] and his greatest efforts were spent devoting himself to God.[332]

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[324] 'Ita felicitas pro Guillelmo triumpho maturando cucurrit': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 132-3.

[325] *Ibid*, p. 153.

[326] *Ibid*, p. 159.

[327] *Ibid*, p. 83.

[328] *Ibid*, p. 9.

[329] *Ibid*, p. 125.

[330] *Ibid*, p. 127.

[331] *Ibid*, p. 161.

[332] *Ibid*, p. 79.

In addition to this praise, Poitiers describes William's as *pius*. William is worthy of his pious father and pious ancestors.[333] Poitiers mourns Harold's death with William, a pious victor, who sheds tears for his defeated opponent.[334] When he returns to the battlefield after his victory over the English, William, according to Poitiers, surveys it 'not without pity (*miseratio*), even though the defeat had been inflicted on impious men (*impius*)'.[335] Indeed, the juxtaposition of *miseratio* with *impius* looks as if Poitiers was responding to Guy's complaint that *pietas* died and *impietas* reigned when William slaughtered the English.

Poitiers drives home the point that William was not cruel towards the English by noting that William took pity on the English corpses. I compare Poitiers's *Deeds* with Guy's *Song* in the table below. The former, as Barlow notes, is responding to the latter.[336]

Deeds	*Song*
Par fuisset Anglorum, qui sese per iniuriam tantam pessundederunt in mortem, carnes gula uulturis lupique deuorari, ossibus insepultis campos fore sepultos.	Lustrauit campus, tollens et cesa suorum/ Corpora, dux terre condidit in gremio. Vermibus atque lupis, auibus canibusque uoranda/ Deserit Anglorum corpora strato solo.
[It would have been right for the flesh of the English, who through so great an injustice had rushed headlong to their death, to be devoured by the mouths of the vulture and the wolf, and for the fields to have been	[The duke surveyed the battlefield, and, removing his own dead, had them buried in the bosom of the earth. But the bodies of the English that strew the ground he left to be

[333] *Ibid*, p. 81.
[334] *Ibid*, pp. 140-1.
[335] *Ibid*, pp. 138-9.
[336] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 35, fn. 2.

covered with their unburied bones. eaten by worms and wolves, by birds
But to him such a punishment seemed and dogs].[338]
cruel. He gave free licence to those
who wished to recover their remains
for burial].[337]

As my analysis in this chapter demonstartes, Poitiers had ample reason to take issue with Guy's *Song*. Poitiers's *Deeds* can be read as a reply to Guy's criticism of the Conqueror in the poem. In the next chapter, I will ask, were there any other authors at the time who voiced their concerns about the new Norman regime ruling England?

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[337] *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 142-3.
[338] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 34, lines 569-72.

Chapter 3: Folcard of Saint-Bertin

I now move to investigate Folcard of Saint-Bertin's *Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*. The significance of this text, for my purposes, is apparent in two events that Folcard records, both of which contain criticisms of the Normans. First, the crisis of 1051/2 when Earl Godwine was in exile from England. Second, Edward's death-bed prophecy, known as the 'Vision of the Green Tree'. Before I begin my analysis of the *Life*, I must be clear about what material I use. I also need to establish how Folcard uses poetry and prose in his *Life*, which is a prosimetrum. I deal with each point in turn.

The *Life* needs re-editing. Material that witnesses Folcard's text, previously thought lost, has come to light since Frank Barlow's edition of 1992. One example is Henry Summerson's discovery of the rest of Poem 2 in London, British Library, Add. MS 39184. It contains a description of a ship which, according to Folcard, Earl Godwine gifted to King Edward. Other material has also come to light in London, British Library, Harley 530; BL Harley 542; BL Harley 544; BL Stowe 573; and extracts in the works of William Camden, John Stowe, and Francis Thynne.[339] It is unclear at the present, however, how much of this material (with the exception of the newly discovered ending to Poem 2) is attributable to Folcard.

Our understanding of what Folcard wrote is further complicated by Barlow's incorporation of the work of later authors into his edition of the *Life*: namely, Sulcard, Osbert of Clare, an anonymous monk's addition to Bury St Edmund's continuation of John of Worcester's *Chronicle*, and Richard of Cirencester. This supplementary material is incorporated to reconstruct the substance, but not text, of the *Life* as preserved in the sole surviving manuscript (copied c. 1100) in London, British Library, Harley MS 526, fos. 38–57, which is lacking material

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[339] For an appendix of these works, see H. Summerson, 'Tudor Antiquaries and the *Vita Ædwardi regis*', *ASE* 38 (2009). pp. 170-84.

between fos. 40 and 41 and fos. 54 and 55.[340] With all of this in mind, I only employ material found in Harley MS 526 in order to avoid incorporating matter supplied by later authors.

How then did Folcard use poetry and prose in the *Life*? Elizabeth Tyler recently concluded that his *Life* 'can in no way be read as a Godwinist account of the events leading up to the Conquest'.[341] This goes against the view of Frank Barlow (the *Life's* editor) who argued that the *Life* is a pro-Godwin text. The means by which Tyler arrived at her conclusion are important because they challenge traditional readings of the text. She believes that elements of the poetry are at odds with the prose. Since part of my argument for the events surrounding Godwine's exile is concerned with how the poetry and prose complement one another, it is necessary to examine Tyler's arguments to see whether they can be sustained.

A large part of Tyler's research on Folcard's *Life* is on the study of its poetry. Historians, according to Tyler, neglect the poetry in favour of the prose, thereby arriving at a too simplistic, pro-Godwine, reading of the text. The poetry, she argues, complicates such a reading by introducing allusions critical of Godwine. In this way, she views the poetry as destabilizing the prose with a potentially contradictory message. Her argument takes its most recent form in *England in Europe*, which builds on her earlier articles: notably, 'When Wings Incarnadine with Gold are Spread' of 2000, and 'The *Vita Ædwardi*: The Politics of Poetry at Wilton Abbey' of 2009.[342] The evidence Tylor adduces in support of her hypothesis is the presence of supposed textual allusions that are critical of Earl Godwine.

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[340] The excerpts in the works of William Camden, Francis Thynne, and John Stow include material, for example, about the consecration of Westminster abbey, Edward's oath of chastity, a miracle in which Edward cured Wulfwine Spillecorn's blindness, and a fuller account both of Edward's death and of a miracle concerning Edward's chamberlain, Hugelin: Summerson, 'Tudor Antiquaries', pp. 157-84.

[341] Tyler, *England in Europe*, p. 187.

[342] Tyler, 'When Wings Incarnadine with Gold are Spread', pp. 83-107; *idem*, 'The Vita Ædwardi: The Politics of Poetry', pp. 135-56.

Tyler argues that there are three potential allusions in the *Life* to Vergil's *Aeneid*. She also interprets these as containing a hint of menace. These three allusions are the words 'dona ferentes' (where Edward's subjects 'bring gifts' to him), 'flammam uomit' (where the dragon on the ship 'spews flames'), and 'linguis… ore trisulcis' (where the same dragon has a 'three-fold tongue'). All three examples in the *Life* occur when Folcard describes how Godwine gave a ship to Edward at the beginning of his reign. The tables below show the comparisons, which Tylor cites, between the *Life* and Vergil's *Aeneid*. I underline the vocabulary Tyler identifies as allusions to the latter.

Tyler interpretes the first allusion as likening Edward's subjects to the treacherous Greeks bearing gifts.

Vita Ædwardi regis	***Aeneid***
Has quoque comicias qua leticia celebrarunt/ festiui proceres, certatim <u>dona ferentes</u>,/ agnouere suum regem magnumque patronum.	Quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et <u>dona ferentis</u>.
[With what joy too, the joyous lords have celebrated in their assemblies, competing <u>to bring gifts</u>, and acknowledging their great lord and king.][343]	[Whatever it be, I fear the Greeks, even when <u>bringing gifts</u>].[344]

She takes the second allusion as a reference to Aeneas's shield, which she interprets in a negative light. Aeneas's shield, she argues, looks to the future and

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[343] Keynes & Love, 'Earl Godwine's Ship', pp. 170 & 172.
[344] Vergil, *Eclogues, Georgics & Aeneid: Books 1-6,* trans. H. Rushton Fairclough & rev. G. P. Goold (London, 1999), pp. 318-9, line 49.

the glory of Rome. This, she contends, is the opposite of the imagery on Edward's sails. Because the *Life* was written at the end of Edward's reign, she believes that 'the sails look backwards to what was, thus highlighting that Edward was to be the end of the House of Wessex'.[345]

Vita Ædwardi regis	*Aeneid*
Aureus e puppi leo prominet; ęquora prore/ celse pennato perterret corpore draco/ aureus, et linguis <u>flammam uomit</u> ore trisulcis.	Hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Cesar/ cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis,/ stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora <u>flammas</u>/ laeta <u>uomunt</u> patriumque aperitur uertice sidus.
[A golden lion stands up at the stern, while in the prow a golden dragon, its body winged, frightens the seas from on high, <u>spewing out flames</u> from threefold mouth.][346]	[On the one side Augustus Caesar stands on the lofty stern, leading Italians to strife, with Senate and People, the Penates of the state, and all the mighty gods; his auspicious brows <u>shoot forth</u> a double <u>flame</u>, and on his head dawns his father's star].[347]

She takes the third allusion as a reference to the Greek butcher Pyrrhus, who is likened to a snake.

Vita *Æ*dwardi regis	*Aeneid*
Aureus e puppi leo prominet; ęquora prore/ celse pennato perterret	Qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus,/ frigida sub terra

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[345] Tyler, *England in Europe*, p. 151-2.
[346] Keynes & Love, 'Earl Godwine's Ship', pp. 171-72. I have added 'from on high' in the translation to reflect 'celse' in the Latin.
[347] Vergil, *Aeneid: Books 7-12 & Appendix Vergiliana*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough & rev. G. P. Goold (London, 2000), pp. 319, lines 678-81.

corpore draco/ aureus, et <u>linguis</u> flammam uomit <u>ore</u> <u>trisulcis</u>.

tumidum quem bruma tegebat,/ nunc positis nouus exuuiis nitidusque iuuenta/ lubrica conuoluit sublato pectore terga,/ arduus ad solem, et <u>linguis</u> micat <u>ore trisulcis</u>.

[A golden lion stands up at the stern, while in the prow a golden dragon, its body winged, frightens the seas from on high, spewing out flames <u>from threefold mouth</u>.][348]

[Even as when into the light comes a snake, fed on poisonous herbs, whom cold winter kept swollen underground, now, his slough cast off, fresh and glistening in youth, with uplifted breast he rolls his slippery length, towering towards the sun and darting from his mouth a <u>three-forked tongue</u>].[349]

What are we to make of these references? Is Tyler's reading of them conclusive? An analysis of Tyler's evolving conclusions on the matter helps us see how she arrives at them.

In her first discussion of these supposed allusions in 2000, Tyler wrote: 'It is difficult to construe these echoes, to the devastation of Troy, as contributing to the meaning of the passage unless we over-read the text as subversively written against those it praises. Are we to liken the nobles at Edward's court to Greeks bearing gifts? Should we see Godwine as a Pyrrhus figure - if not literally killing Edward, then a threat to his rule? Godwine certainly was a threat to Edward, but not according to the Anonymous. I think, rather, we should attribute these allusions, as well as the others which are sprinkled throughout the text, to the

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[348] Keynes & Love, 'Earl Godwine's Ship', pp. 171-72.
[349] Vergil, *Aeneid: Books 1-6*, trans. Rushton Fairclough & rev. Goold, pp. 348-9, lines 471-75.

general Vergilian framework in which the Anonymous attempts to cast his story'.

Tyler's analysis is in stark contrast to her next discussion of these three details, in 2009, which seems to provide no new evidence for the critique of Godwine. Tyler argues: 'Are we to construe these lines very subversively as recalling the destruction of Troy at just the point when the text appears to celebrate the restoration of the house of Wessex? Should we see the text as linking particular nobles at Edward's court, with Godwin in the lead, to Greeks bearing gifts? Should we see Godwin as a Pyrrhus figure – not literally killing Edward, but a threat to his rule? This seems very anti-Godwin for a text which calls him, in the prose, the father of his country. I think the answer to all these questions is "yes"'. Tyler simply appears to have changed her mind.

Pursuing her changing argument, I find Tyler wrote the following in her monograph of 2017: 'The fire-breathing dragon that adorns Edward's ship ("linguis flammam uomit ore trisulcis" (belches fire with triple tongue)) also comes, like the Greeks and the gifts, from the second book of the Aeneid, in which Virgil compares the Greek Pyrrhus to a snake. This line occurs in the context of the massacre at Troy and the death of Priam, king of Troy, at the hands of Pyrrhus. This strikes a very anti-Godwine note for a text that calls him, in prose, the father of his country. Allusions to Lucan and Statius drive home the point'.

I will come to the allusions to Lucan and Statius in a moment, but, first, I should point out that it is the nobles in general, not just Godwine, who bring Edward gifts. This allusion, if it is one, cannot be targeted solely at Godwine. Second, the supposed allusion to Pyrrhus is merely a form of words used by multiple writers to describe a snake. Vergil's *Georgics*, Statius's *Thebaid*, and Sedulius's *Paschal Poem* are some texts in which that form of words occurs.[350] Third, the

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[350] When writing about an adder, Vergil describes a snake as, 'darting from his mouth a three-forked tongue' (*Linguis micat ore trisulcis*): Vergil, *Aeneid: Books 1-6*, trans. Rushton Fairclough

allusion to the shield of Aeneas can be read in all sorts of ways. The simplest explanation for Folcard's use of these three points of detail is that he took a source text and put his own twist on it. In this case, he embellishes the *Encomium Emmae reginae*. The table below highlights the similar vocabulary which Folcard borrows from the Encomiast.[351]

Encomium Emma reginae	*Vita Ædwardi regis*
Hinc enim erat cernere <u>leones auro fusiles</u> <u>in puppibus</u>, hinc autem <u>uolucres in summis malis</u> uenientes austros suis signantes uersibus, aut <u>dracones</u> uarios <u>minantes incendia</u> de naribus.	Aureus e puppi leo prominet; ęquora prore/ celse pennato perterret corpore <u>draco</u>/ aureus, et linguis <u>flammam</u> <u>uomit</u> ore trisulcis./ Nobilis appensum preciatur purpura uelum,/ quo patrum series depicta docet uarias res,/ bellaque nobilium turbata per equora regum./ Antemne grauidus <u>stipes</u> roburque uolatus/ sustinet, extensis auro rutilantibus <u>alis</u>...
[On one side <u>lions</u> moulded <u>in gold</u> were to be seen <u>on the ships</u>, on the other <u>birds on the tops of the mast</u> indicated by their movements the	[A <u>golden lion</u> stands up <u>at the stern</u>, while in the prow a golden <u>dragon</u>, its body winged, frightens the seas, spewing out flames from threefold

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& rev. Goold, pp. 206-7, line 439. Statius wrote, 'The god had struck down earthborn Python, dark monster of the winding coils, embracing Delphi with his seven black circlets and grinding ancient oaks with his scales, even as he sprawled by the Castalian spring and opened his triple-cleft mouth in thirst of nourishment for his black venom' (*Postquam cerulei sinuosa uolumina monstri,/ terrigenam Pythona, deus, septem orbibus atris/ amplexum Delphos squamisque annosa terentem/ robora, Castaliis dum fontibus ore trisulco/ fusus hiat nigro sitiens alimenta veneno,/ perculit*): Statius, *Thebaid: Books 1-7*, ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey (London, 2003), pp. 80-1, lines 562-7. Sedulius wrote, 'A harmless stick was made alive, turned into a harmful serpent./ Curved with sinuous coils and three-forked tongue...' (*Mitis in immitem uirga est animata draconem,/ Per flexos sinuata globos linguisque trisulcis*): Sedulius, *The Paschal Song and Hymns*, trans. C. P. E. Springer (Atlanta, 2013), pp. 8-9, lines 132-3.

[351] For an appraisal of Folcard's use of the *Encomium*, see Keynes & Love, 'Earl Godwine's Ship', pp. 211-4.

winds as they blew, or <u>dragons</u> of various kinds <u>poured fire</u> from their nostrils].[352]

mouth. The hung sail, noble in precious purple, has painted on it the succession of forebears to give instruction, alongside the wars of noble kings on the troubled seas. The <u>mast</u>, that yard-bearing trunk, speeding the ship with its burden of sails, <u>supports a bird</u> with outstretched wings...]

Folcard changes the description of the dragon from breathing fire to spewing flames from its mouth, and he adds the detail about the 'three-tongued' nature of the beast, probably because he needs to describe it in a way that fits into hexameter. The allusions to Lucan and Statius, as mentioned above, reflect the author's general concerns about civil discord, which emerge through the course of his work. They may relate to Robert of Jumièges and, later, to Harold and Tostig, but they should not be taken as a criticism of Godwine, whom Folcard presents as a bringer of peace in both Poem 5 and the prose passage which follows it.

Against Tyler's view that the work is critical of Godwine is a mass of evidence which shows that Folcard holds him up as a role model, both in his poetry and the prose. In the course of his *Life*, Folcard wrote that Godwine showed constancy, worked tirelessly, and was equitable, happy and affable to all, prudent, courageous in war, very eloquent, good to all men, someone who righted wrongs, an example of goodness who should be imitated by all, of great goodness, twice likened to the font of paradise, guiltless, faithful to his lord, likened to the Biblical figures of Susanna, Joseph, David, and Christ in Poems 4 and 5, outstanding for his faith and virtue/courage, faithful and devout to God, and, after he died, of blessed memory. Those who arise in the country,

[352] *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell with suppl. intro. S. Keynes (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 12-3.

moreover, are his pledges (i.e. his children in a metaphoric sense),[353] and, on five occasions, he is called their father.[354] My analysis of Poem 3 below also strengthens the view that Folcard was working to promote Godwine as an example to be imitated.

Part of Tyler's thesis, of course, is that the poetry presents a message which contradicts that of the prose, but her argument depends on the allusions she identifies as amounting to criticism of Godwine. Given that such an interpretation is unsustainable, it remains to be asked whether the poetry in any way destabilizes the prose, as Tyler argues, or complements its message.

Tyler's argument has a structural dimension by which she argues that the prosimetric form 'resists resolution', an idea she drew from Bridget Balint's monograph, *Ordering Chaos*.[355] Balint, however, discusses instances of prosimetrum in which multiple voices are involved. Examples would include Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* and Wipo's *Tetralogus* (a title meaning four interlocutors).[356] The vast bulk of the *Life of Edward*, aside from parts of Poems 1 and 8, is, however, in the narrator's persona. Thus, with the possible exceptions of Poems 1 and 8, Folcard does not use his poetry as a means of destabilising the narrative in the prose. He is not, as Tyler argues, pulling apart

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[353] Folcard wrote, 'Thus, from your single font, Paradise, by disguised signs you sufficiently irrigate the world by four rivers, that the belly of the earth may give life and maintain the life of men and beasts who, born from one womb, loudly praise themselves as pledges of varied birth with different parts in body, voice, place, space, time, and motion' (*Sic de fonte tuo, paradise latentibus uno/ Deriuas orbi signis in quattuor amnes/ Sufficienter aquas, uegetent ut uiscera terrę,/ Atque statum uitę foueant hominum pecorumque;/ Seque uno laudant utero generata potenter,/ Pignora dissimili partu generis uariati/ Corpore, uoce, loco, spatio quoque tempore, motu*): *Life*, ed. Barlow, p. 26. My translation.

[354] Folcard wrote, 'Hence he [i.e. Godwine] was not regarded as a master but was revered by all the country's sons as a father' (*Unde non pro domino habebatur, sed a cunctis patrię filiis pro patre colebatur*): *Ibid*, p. 10. For the other four instances, see *ibid*, pp. 14, 40, and 40-2.

[355] B. K. Balint, *Ordering Chaos: The Self and the Cosmos in Twelfth-century Latin Prosimetrum* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 49-50; Tyler, *England in Europe*, p. 141.

[356] Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. S. J. Tester, New edn. (London, 1973); Wipo, *Tetralogus*, ed. H. Bresslau (Hanover, 1977).

the Muse's vision of Folcard praising Godwine and his family.[357] I now turn to the conflict between Godwine and Edward.

Folcard's discussion of the conflict begins in Poem 3, a section of the *Life* which causes problems for commentators. As far back as his edition of the *Lives of Edward the Confessor* in 1858, Henry Luard concluded that it is 'the most difficult passage of all'.[358] Later historians, such as Frank Barlow,[359] Monica Otter,[360] Victoria Jordan,[361] J. L Grassi,[362] and Tyler[363] were likewise perplexed by it. I supply the whole poem, below, for better comprehension. It is my own translation: the constraint Barlow places upon himself, for instance, to make each line translate to ten syllables in English means that parts of the Latin are omitted from his translation.

1 The blessed, fruitful earl,[364] with dutiful offspring from his ancestral stock,

Offered pledges of Peace to the English in these four children.

First, a gem and lover of multifaceted goodness sprung up

In the kingdom's midst, Edith, a worthy daughter for so great an earl,

5 Her father, and also her husband, the king.

Because of Edith's counsel, Peace keeps the kingdom safe everywhere

And takes care of the people so that they do not break pacts of peace.[365]

Thus from your single font, Paradise,

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[357] Tyler wrote, 'As we will see, from the very first poem, while the poet ostensibly obeys the muse, he is actually quietly pulling her vision apart': Tyler, *England in Europe*, p. 149.

[358] Luard, *The Lives of Edward*, p. xli.

[359] *Life*, ed. Barlow, pp. 26-7, n. 57.

[360] M. Otter, 'Closed Doors', pp. 80-1.

[361] V. Jordan, 'Chronology and Discourse in the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*', *JML* 8 (1998), pp. 141-5.

[362] J. L. Grassi, 'The *Vita Ædwardi Regis*: The Hagiographer as Insider', *ANS* 26 (2003), pp. 93-5.

[363] Tyler, 'The *Vita Ædwardi*', pp. 149-50; eadem, *England in Europe*, pp. 161-9.

[364] 'Felix' can be used in conjunction with 'beatus' to compound the imagery of blessedness in the poem. 'Felix' also has the sense of 'happy'. In the context of arboreal imagery, 'felix' also has the sense of 'fruitful': this reading makes sense in relation to what follows in the poem with regards to Earl Godwine's offspring (i.e. a discussion of the fruit of his stock). This interpretation of 'felix' is also strengthened later in the poem when 'felicem' is associated with 'fecundantia'. I have, therefore, plucked for the 'fruitful' as a translation of 'felix'.

[365] As peace is personified, I have translated 'federa pacis' (i.e. 'agreements of peace') as 'agreements with her'.

You sufficiently irrigate the world by disguised signs with four rivers,[366]

10 That the belly of the earth may give life

And maintain the life of men and beasts,

Who, born from one womb, loudly praise themselves

As pledges[367] of varied birth with different parts

In body, voice, place, space, time, and motion.

15 This *pars* ascends the sky, clinging to the heavens,

And maintains the hope of its kind in the nest of a tall tree.

The other *pars*, a hostile Devouress, dives deep,

Causing damage to her stock, and holds the parent trunk

Hanging from her mouth, until such a time

20 As the breath of life creates a living creature

From a dead mother; thereupon she desires to release her prey.

The world would be fruitful if every river obeyed its course

And, thus, makes fruitful its own lands,

With the agreement obeyed which the celestial order established!

25 Gleaming white lilies will shine amidst the fields,

The caper will redden amid the plain with golden curls,

The spring will grace the meadows with purple privet,

Towering oaks will observe with glaring eye

Far and wide its subjected lands and conquered kingdom.

30 When, through honeyed hills and meadows,

Bees feed in swarms, you, ant, free from your labour

And safe in your own mound, shall fear nothing.

But if hostile Envy, spinning out of control,

Breaks this agreement, oh what Ruin will follow!

35 Ancient Chaos will possess the wretched world again -

Tall cypresses, their roots rent, will be destroyed,

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[366] A potential allusion to Proverbs 5:16: 'Let your fonts spread abroad and divide your waters in the streets' (*Deriuentur fontes tui foras et in plateis aquas tuas diuide*).

[367] This demonstrates the point that Folcard did not mean 'pignora' in the sense of biological children. Earl Godwine was the father of the country, a theme that is repeated in the *Life*. Any living thing which arose in England could be Earl Godwine's 'pledge'.

Lofty pines, their tops broken up, will topple,

The high cedars, their branches dropping everywhere, will fall[368] –

And whatever riches kept in its own bosom.

40 Here Fury, through hostile cities violently seized, will gather

Her bounty from thankless lands.[369]

The poem begins by referring to Earl Godwine and the offspring of his stock ('stirpe'), Edith. It is by her counsel that Peace, personified, keeps the kingdom safe and ensures the people do not break the bond of peace ('federa pacis'). The font of Paradise, previously identified as Earl Godwine in Poem 1,[370] is the source of four rivers which irrigates the world and sustains men and beasts. Godwine is shown as the source of life in the kingdom. Folcard, after discussing the rivers, then wrote of 'pars hec'. This 'pars' ascends to the sky and nurtures the hope of its kind ('sui generis'). 'Pars' can mean 'party' or 'faction'. In this sense, 'pars' can be read as Godwine and his party which ascend the tree. The other faction ('illa

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[368] A potential allusion to Zechariah 11:2. When discussing the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, it records, 'Howl, fir tree, because the cedar fell since the mighty are laid waste; howl Bashan oaks because the secured forest is cut down' (*Ulula abies quia cecidit cedrus quoniam magnifici uastati sunt ululate quercus Basan quoniam succisus est saltus munitus*).

[369] **1** Felix prole pia dux stirpe beatus auita,/ His quattuor natis dans Anglis pignora pacis./ Prodit gemma prior uarie probitatis amatrix/ In medio regni, tanto duce filia patre/ **5** Ædʒit digna suo, regi condigna marito./ Cuius consilio pax continet undique regnum,/ Atque cauet populis, uiolent ne federa pacis./ Sic de fonte tuo, paradise latentibus uno/ Deriuas orbi signis in quattuor amnes/ **10** Sufficienter aquas, uegetent ut uiscera terrę,/ Atque statum uitę foueant hominum pecorumque;/ Seque uno laudant utero generata potenter,/ Pignora dissimili partu generis uariati/ Corpore, uoce, loco, spatio quoque tempore, motu./ **15** Aera conscendit pars hec herendo supernis,/ Spemque sui generis nido fouet arboris alte./ Illa profunda petit tranans, inimica uoratrix/ Dampna suę stirpis faciens, truncumque parentem/ Pendit ab ore tenens, dum certo tempore uitę/ **20** Flatus uiuificans animal de non animata/ Matre creat; studet inde suis resoluta rapinis./ Felicem mundum si seruent flumina cursum/ Quęque suum proprias sic fecundantia terras,/ Fędere seruato statuit quod celicus ordo!/ **25** Nidebunt mediis candentia lilia campis,/ Capparus auricomis rutilabit in equore cyrrys,/ Ver quoque purpureis decorabit prata ligustris,/ Aerię toruo spectabunt lumine quercus/ Subiectas late terras deuictaque regna./ **30** Cum per mellifluos montes et prata gregatim/ Depascentur apes, saluo secura labore/ In laribus propriis iam nil formica timebis./ Quod si turbinibus commotis liuor iniquus/ Ruperit hoc pactum, heu quanta ruina sequetur!/ **35** Antiquumque chaos rursum miser orbis habebit;/ Soluentur celsę rupta radice cypressi,/ Sublimesque ruent confracto uertice pinus,/ Alta cadet cedrus languentibus undique ramis,/ Et quecumque sinu proprio pretiosa fouebat./ **40** Hic furor hostiles uiolenter capta per urbes/ Plenius ingratis cumulabit munera terris: Harley 526, fol. 41ʳ. The punctuation is that found in Harley 526, not Barlow's edition. I have also amended 'Videbunt', as found in Harley 526, to 'Nidebunt' in line 25. Barlow amended 'Videbunt' to 'Ridebunt'. 'Nidebunt', however, picks up on the 'candentia' of the lilies. I am grateful to Tom Licence for offering this textual emendation and for assisting with elements of the translation.

[370] *Life*, ed. Barlow, pp. 6-7.

pars') is yet to reveal itself in the *Life*, but, if 'pars' should be read as 'party' or 'faction', the hostile Devouress is a personification of those that are hostile to Godwine.

The actions of this Devouress are dramatic. Folcard describes her trying to create a creature from a dead mother. This is a vision of the impossible. I say 'impossible' because the probable source of inspiration for Folcard's pun on 'animal' with 'animata' is Boethius. Prior to this play on words, Folcard gives a nod to his audience that Boethius was on his mind. Just before introducing the Devouress, he describes Godwine's 'pledges' as being of 'varied birth with different parts in body, voice, place, space, time, and motion'. This is reminiscent of a passage in the *Consolation of Philosophy* in which Boethius describes how the universe is made of many parts (*partes*) pulling in contrary directions.[371] One sentence later, he wrote: 'Nor indeed would so certain an order of nature go on, nor would things work out such well-ordered *motions* in *place* and *time*, in their effects, their *spaces* and their qualities, unless there were one who himself enduring disposed and ordered this variety of changes'.[372] (The emphases are my own to pick up on the language found in Folcard's Poem 3.) Elsewhere in the *Consolation*, Boethius wrote that 'providence embraces all things together, though they are different, though they are infinite; but fate arranges as to their *motion* separate things, distributed in *place, form* and *time*; so that this unfolding of temporal order being united in the foresight of the divine mind is providence, and the same unity when distributed and unfolded

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[371] 'This universe is of such different and contrary parts that it would never have come together in one form were there not one to join such diverse elements together. And this very conjoined diversity of natures discordant among themselves would split and fall apart if there were not one to hold together what he has connected (*Mundus hic ex tam diuersis contrariisque partibus in unam formam minime conuenisset, nisi unus esset qui tam diuersa coniungeret. Coniuncta uero naturarum ipsa diuersitas inuicem discors dissociaret atque diuelleret, nisi unus esset qui quod nexuit contineret*): *Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. Tester, new edn, pp. 289-9.
[372] 'Non tam uero certus nature ordo procederet nec tam dispositos motus locis, temporibus, efficientia, spatiis, qualitatibus explicarent, nisi unus esset qui has mutationum uarietates manens ipse disponeret': *Ibid*, pp. 289-9.

in time is called fate'.[373] (The emphases, again, are my own to identify the vocabulary found in Folcard's Poem 3.)

With Boethius in mind, *De topicis differentiis* is instructive on the actions of the Devouress. In it, Boethius discusses how a tree (*arbor*) is not a creature (*animal*) because the latter is an animate substance ('substantia animata'). A creature (*animal*), however, is something which is an animate substance ('substantia animata').[375] This categorization of a creature is repeated many times in his *In Catagorias Aristotelis*[376] and *Isagogen*.[377] It is categorically impossible for the Enemy Devouress to create (*creo*) an 'animal' from an 'inanimata' mother.

Indeed, the structure of the poem reinforces the sense of drama. Throughout Poem 3 the caesura comes at the penthemimer (i.e. after 2 and a half feet), but the caesura in line 21 is at the triemimeral (i.e. after one and a half feet) after 'creat'. Folcards was allowing for a dramatic pause, so that the image could sink in for his audience.[378] The poem then continues with an ideal image of the cosmos which is to be hoped for. If rivers obey their course and the divinely ordained agreement (*fedus*) is likewise obeyed, the world will be fertile, and fauna and flora will flourish. If the Devouress's faction prevails and hostile Envy takes control and breaks this agreement, Ruin will follow. The cosmos will be plunged into chaos. The cypresses, pines, and cedars will be destroyed. Fury will run rampant throughout the land. The destruction of the cypress's roots ('soluentur rupta radice') picks up on the imagery of bonds being broken and

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[373] 'Prouidentia namque cuncta pariter quamuis diuersa quamuis infinita complectitur; fatum uero singula digerit in motum locis formis ac temporibus distributa, ut hec temporalis ordinis explicatio in diuine mentis adunata prospectum prouidentia sit, eadem uero adunatio digesta atque explicata temporibus fatum uocetur': *Ibid*, pp. 358-9.

[375] Boethius, *De topicis differentiis*, ed. Nikitas, p. 29.

[376] Boethius, *In Categorias Aristotelis libri IV*, *PL* 64, pp. 163, 165, 167, 179 & 194.

[377] Boethius, *In Porphyrii Isagogen commentarium editio prima*, ed. S. Brandt, *CSEL* 48 (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 18, 33, 49, 60, 67, 68, 70, 71, 76, & 80. See also Boethius, *In Porphyrii Isagogen commentarium editio secunda*, ed. S. Brandt, *CSEL* 48 (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 208, 210, 211, 222, 223, 224, 240, 255, 257, 259, 294, 299, 300, 306 & 339.

[378] For a discussion about caesurae in Latin poetry, see M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003), p. 347.

events dissolving into chaos.[379] The poem is modelling two paths for humanity, one ascending to heaven, the other diving to hell, the way of Godwine's faction or that of the, as yet, unknown Devouress. One path leads to peace and blessedness, the other to chaos and damnation. That this interpretation is what Folcard has in mind is affirmed by the prose and poetry that follows Poem 3, both of which act as a gloss on the poem's imagery. It is this material that is the 'literary key', which Barlow hoped to find, to unlock the meaning of Poem 3.[380]

In the prose immediately following Poem 3, Folcard describes how Edward brings many men with him from Francia after returning from that place. One of these men, according to Folcard, is Robert of Jumièges, who, according to some, is the king's greatest adviser; but, after becoming bishop of London, he 'immersed himself deeper than was necessary' ('immersit se altius quam necesse erat') in royal business.[381] From the beginning of the prose, one is instantly reminded of the hostile Devouress who dived deep ('profunda petit tranans') in Poem 3.[382] 'Immersit... altius' looks like a gloss for 'profunda petit tranans'. Is Robert of Jumièges of the Devouress's faction?

The rest of the prose affirms this hypothesis. Folcard uses the Devouress as a metaphor for the evil spirit animating Robert's behaviour. I now proceed to show how Robert is connected to the Devouress in the prose after Poem 3 and also Poem 4. What follows is a summary of these parts of Folcard's *Life*.

Edward's realm is disturbed (*turbo*, which also has the sense of 'agitate') because of the problems which arise when the holders of dignities die.[383] The royal court is shaken (*agito*, which also has the sense of 'agitate') by this storm (*tempestas*).[384] Æthelric, a monk of Canterbury and one of Godwine's stock

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[379] Lucan, in his *Civil War*, wrote, 'Rupto federe regni': *The Civil War*, trans. Duff, p. 2, line 4.
[380] *Life*, ed. Barlow, p. xxvii
[381] *Ibid*, p. 28.
[382] *Ibid*, p. 26.
[383] *Ibid*, p. 30.
[384] *Ibid*, p. 30.

('Godwini stirpe'), is elected by the clergy and monks of his monastery as archbishop.[385] They choose him by general consent and petition according to the Rule of St Benedict. Godwin is then reminded of his kin ('generis sui') and asks to approach the king, so that Æthelric's election would be accepted.[386] Unfortunately, the king is more influenced by a hostile party ('aduerse parti') and the earl's request is spurned.[387] (Note that 'parti' comes from *pars*.) It is, instead, Robert who is made archbishop of Canterbury.

It is at this point that the new archbishop, emboldened, begins to provoke and oppose ('aduersari') Godwine.[388] Allied with the king, Robert vexes him ('incommodabat dampnis', that is, occasioned damage).[389] Godwine does not become enraged, but waits for events to subside (*diffluo*).[390] Robert, however, adding madness to madness tries to turn the king's mind against Godwine.[391] The death of Edward's brother, Alfred, is used against Godwine. The earl, so Robert argues, is the one who advised that Alfred should be killed, and now Godwine also seeks to bring about Edward's demise. A council is then convened at Gloucester in which the charges are laid against Godwine. Godwine seeks to prove his innocence, but, on account of Robert's doing ('eo... agente'), Edward gives the following pronouncement:[392] 'That he could hope for the king's peace when and only when he gave him back his brother alive (*uiuus*) together with all his men and all their possessions intact which had been taken from them quick or dead'.[393] But when Godwine saw that 'by his enemies' action ('suam agentibus aduersariis') his case was driven to the impossible ('ad impossibilitatem causam... urgueri'), he pushed away the table in front of him... and mounting his horse rode hard for Bosham-on-Sea'.[394]

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[385] *Ibid*, p. 30.
[386] *Ibid*, p. 30.
[387] *Ibid*, p. 30.
[388] *Ibid*, p. 30.
[389] *Ibid*, p. 30.
[390] *Ibid*, p. 32.
[391] *Ibid*, p. 32.
[392] *Ibid*, p. 34.
[393] *Ibid*, p. 36.
[394] *Ibid*, p. 36.

Driven on by madness, Robert tries to kill Godwine. That God's goodness frustrates this attempt makes the archbishop even more insane.[395] Robert, however, does not want a single part of Godwine's family ('pars prosapie eius') to remain at Edward's side, so he tries to separate Edith from Edward against the law of Christian religion.[396] Robert fails in this regard. The king curbs the divorce proceedings and sends Edith to Wilton to wait for the subsidence of these storms in the kingdom ('prestolaretur tantorum turbinum regni quietem', with 'turbinum' having the more literal sense of 'whirlpool').[397] Here ends my summary of part of Folcard's *Life*.

The prose in Folcard's *Life* then ends, ready for the next poem. Significantly, Poem 4 begins with the following words: 'Sing, sister Muse, on this a piteous song./ Tell how that man of God, clear stream, we said,/ Of Paradise, renowned for faithful heart,/ Was muddied by the filth of Scylla's bane;/ And why he bore the burden of the crime/ When no reproach of guilt had lain before.[398] The font of Paradise (Godwine) is, therefore, juxtaposed with Scylla (Robert). Scylla, as found in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, is the counterpart to Charybdis. She is the personification of the rocks off the coast of Sicily.[399] The distinction between the two, however, was not always so clear cut. Even in the same work, when describing how Sicily is divided from Italy by a narrow strait, Isidore wrote: 'In this strait Scylla and Charybdis either swallow up ships or smash them'.[400] He also notes about Scylla that 'people tell of Scylla as a woman girded with the heads of dogs, with a great barking, because of the straits of the sea of Sicily, in which sailors, terrified by the whirlpools of waves rushing against each other, suppose that the waves are barking, waves that the chasm with its seething and

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[395] *Ibid*, p. 36.
[396] *Ibid*, p. 36.
[397] *Ibid*, p. 36.
[398] **1** <C>oncine musa soror super his miserabile carmen,/ Qualiter ille dei uir qui supra paradisi/ Limpidus est dictus fons clarus corde fideli,/ Turbidus extiterit Scyllei sorde ueneni;/ **5** Et cum nulla prius de tanto culpa reatu/ Precessit, sceleris cur pondus inheserit illi: *Ibid*, pp. 38-9.
[399] *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. S. A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach & O. Bergho with the collaboration of M. Hall (Cambridge, 2006), p. 279.
[400] *Ibid*, p. 296.

sucking brings into collision'.[401] This last example shows that Scylla is associated with whirlpools and the depths, independent of Charybdis.

This characterisation of Scylla is also found in Vergil. He couples her with the image of 'swirling depths' ('gurgite in alto') in his *Eclogues*,[402] which is the same imagery as that which Folcard conjures when he declaress that Robert 'immersit... altius' in the affairs of state. Scylla is also described as a 'uorago' or 'uorax' in Ovid's *Ibis*,[403] Peter Damian's letters,[404] and the work of later authors. Scylla as a 'uorago' connects her to the 'Voratrix' (i.e. the Devouress) of Poem 3.[405] All this leads to the conclusion that Folcard associates Robert's faction with the 'Voratrix', a play on words which relates to the political storms of 1051 which were spinning out of control. Folcard's combination of Scylla and 'uorago' is nothing new, but the pun on 'uorago' seems to be his own making.

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[401] *Ibid*, p. 245.

[402] Vergil, *Aeneid: Books 1-6*, trans. Rushton Fairclough & rev. Goold, pp. 66-7, line 76.

[403] Ovid, in *Ibis*, wrote, '... as they whom greedy Scylla or Charybdis facing Scylla snatched trembling from the Dulichian raft' (*Ut quos Scylla uorax Scylleque aduersa Charybdis/ Dulichie pauidos eripuere rati*): Ovid, *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, trans. J. H. Mozley & rev. G. P. Goold, 2nd edn (London, 1979), pp. 265-7.

[404] 'Often, indeed, the wicked spirit, like a bird perched in the branches of a tree, sits on the tongue of the flatterer and seemingly by the tongue instils poison from mouth to mouth that lethally passes through the body of the listener. Close your eyes to the seductive singing of the Sirens and prudently avoid shipwreck in the Scyllean whirlpool' (*Sepe enim malignus spiritus uelut auis in ramo arboris sic in lingua ponitur adulantis, et tamquam per organum uasis in uasi uirus effluit, quod letaliter in audientis interiora transfundit. Tu autem optura aures malesuadis cantibus Syrenarum et Sillee uoraginis prudenter euade naufragium*). For the Latin, see Peter Damian, *Epistulae*, ed. K. Reindel (4 vols., Munich, 1983-1993), ii, p. 266. For the English, see *The Letters of Peter Damian*, trans. O. J. Blum & I. M. Resnick (7 vols., Washington, 1989-2005), iii, p. 57. Damian also wrote, 'Sed caue ab his, quicumque es, ne te syrenarum carmen mortifera suauitate demulceat, ne nauim tue mentis in Sillee uoraginis profunda demergat, non te sanctorum conciliorum pelagus prelata forsitan austeritate perterreat, non te uadosi sirtes, apocriforum canonum promissa lenitate fluctuum trahant': Damian, *Epistulae*, i, pp. 303-4.

[405] Writing c. 1121, Giles, in his *Life of St Hugh*, said that Abbot, 'carefully resuscitated by the means of regular ordinances many [congregations] which had been drowned in the Scyllean whirlpool' (*Multas Scillea uoragine submersas regularibus institutis prouide suscitauerit*). This example is taken from I. S. Robinson, 'Reform and the Church, 1073-1122', in D. Luscombe & J. Riley-Smith, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume IV c. 1024-c. 1198: Part 1* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 271. For the date of the *Life of St Hugh*, see F. Barlow, *The Norman Conquest and Beyond* (London, 1983), p. 246. I was unable to consult *Memorials of Abbot Hugh of Cluny (1049-1109)*, ed. H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Studi Gregoriani* 11 (1978) for a more recent analysis of the *Life*.

When Poem 3, the prose that follows it, and Poem 4 are read together, Folcard provides the answers to the cryptic metaphors in Poem 3. The one *par*s (i.e. in the sense of party or faction) that ascends to the top of the tree to care for its own kind ('sui generis') is that of Godwine. He tries to help Æthelric, his own kind ('generis sui'), to become archbishop of Canterbury. The other party that dives deep ('profunda petit tranans') as a Devouress is Robert's. It is by his doing ('eo... agente') and injuries (*dampna*) that Edward wants the earl to produce for him his dead brother, alive again (*uiuus*), in order to obtain forgiveness. The impossibility (*impossibilitas*) of this, like the Devouress who injures (*dampna*) her own stock while trying to create (*creo*) a living creature ('uiuificans animal') from a dead mother ('non animata matre'), is a crucial episode in the political turbulence that attends the crisis. This turbulence is reiterated throughout the prose with the use of storm imagery, which, in turn, reminds the audience that the storm was happening at the instigation of someone animated by a 'uorago' (which, in this case, is Robert, another Scylla).

The rest of the prose after Poem 4 continues to be in dialogue with the themes and vocabulary found in Poem 3. Folcard wrote that the commotion in the realm ('regni commotio', with *commotio* also having the sense of 'agitation') happens at the beginning of October.[406] This brings to mind the 'turbinibus commotis', which would lead to Chaos if left unchecked, in Poem 3. Godwine, seeing that the 'factione' (which can be taken as a synonym for 'pars') of evil men was keeping him from clearing his name, remembers the valour of his youth and decides to return to England.[407] The wording Folcard uses is particularly striking. He wrote that Godwine 'profundo inuadit equoris'.[408] Barlow translates this as 'put to sea', but, taken literally, it reads as 'attacking the depths of the ocean'. This prefigures Godwine's victory over Robert, who I argue is linked the 'Voratrix' that dived deep ('profundo petit tranans') in Poem 3.

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[406] *Life*, ed. Barlow, p. 40.
[407] *Ibid*, p. 40.
[408] *Ibid*, p. 40.

At the end of the prose section after Poem 4, it transpires that the archbishop and many of his men took safety in flight (*fugo*), rather than face Godwine upon his return.[409] It was, according to Folcard, those men who had caused the storm ('concitati turbinis', that is, stirred up a whirlpool).[410] This too, like 'regni commotis', brings to mind the 'turbinibus commotis' and 'Voratrix' in Poem 3. Upon Godwine's return, Folcard continues to use similar imagery, when he records that Edward 'deferuente animi motu sedatus' (i.e. calmed the boiling commotion of his mind).[411] And the thick clouds of rain and storms are put to flight too ('fugatis ymbrium siue tempestatum condensis nubibus'), which reminds us of Robert's flight (*fugo*).[412] A serene sky and the sun's pleasant splendour are then restored.[413] The kingdom is 'ab omni motu sedato' (i.e. calmed from every commotion). All is well again with the world.

It should also be noted that Folcard drew a parallel between the commotion (*motus*) of Edward's mind being 'calmed' (*sedo*) and the cosmic commotion (*motus*) likewise being 'calmed' (*sedo*).[414] The linkage between the destructive actions of men and the disturbance of the cosmos is a theme found in Lucan's *Civil War*, which shows how the breaking of bonds (*federa*), driven by fury, leads to civil war. Michael Lapidge, in 'Lucan's Imagery of Cosmic Dissolution', comments on the storm, before the battle of Lerida, which precipitates a flood of global proportions. Snow falls which the sun cannot melt, and this snow eventually flows into the river, which burst its banks. This results in a mighty 'uorago', which devours (*absorbeo*) and swallows (*haurio*) all before it.[415] After

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[409] *Ibid*, p. 44.
[410] *Ibid*, p. 44.
[411] *Ibid*, p. 44.
[412] *Ibid*, p. 44.
[413] *Ibid*, p. 44.
[414] *Ibid*, p. 44.
[415] Lapidge cites the following passage by Lucan about a river breaking its bank and the watery abyss that follows: 'By now mounds and hills are hidden; all the rivers are buried and swallowed up in the huge maw of a single pool, which has devoured the rocks in its depths, and carried down the habitations of wild beasts, and engulfed the beasts themselves' (*Iam tumuli collesque latent, iam flumina cuncta/ condidit una palus uastaque uoragine mersit,/ absorpsit penitus rupes ac tecta ferarum/ detulit atque ipsas hausi*): *The Civil War*, trans. Duff, pp. 180-1, lines 98-101. See M. Lapidge, 'Lucan's Imagery of Cosmic Dissolution', *Hermes* 107 (1979), pp. 365.

mentioning the events that follow Lerida, Lapidge offers a summary of Lucan's world-view: 'Unfortunately, the peaceful concord at Lerida is short-lived. One of Pompey's generals learns of the "foedera pacis" (4, 205), and by means of a long harangue he succeeds in introducing, in place of the "sacer amor", a "love of crimes" ('scelerumque reduxit amorem') in the army; "furor" and "rabies" return (4,240), with the result that all things hasten to "nefas": "itur in omne nefas" (4, 243). Thus, the first encounter of the civil war follows the pattern of the flood which preceded it: as in the flood the accumulation of weather-systems overcame the river-banks and resulted in a mighty "uorago", so in the battle "rabies" and "furor" overcome the "foedera pacis" and lead to utter "nefas". Both these images are refractions of the one image of cosmic dissolution which so fascinated Lucan's poetic imagination'.[416] The principles embedded in this passage equally apply to the *Life*. Folcard is probably punning on this 'uorago' in Lucan when referring to Robert's faction as the 'Voratrix'. 1051/2 mirrors the events in Lucan's *Civil War*.

Another possible source of inspiration for Folcard's imagery is Prudentius. In *The Origin of Sin*, Prudentius wrote: 'The very elements, too, breaking down established order, overpass the bounds set for them and ravage all things with their havoc, shaking the world with lawless strength. The warring winds shiver the shady groves; the forest falls, uprooted by unruly storms. Elsewhere a boisterous river with its rushing waters leaps over the banks appointed to hold it in check, and spreading abroad lords it far and wide over the ruined fields. Yet the creator ordained no such raging for the elements at their birth, but the loose indiscipline of the world, breaking through control, upset its peaceful laws'.[417] Folcard wrote, in Poem 1, that his idealised image of England is decreed

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[416] Lapidge, 'Lucan's Imagery', pp. 366-7. See also M. Lapidge, 'A Stoic Metaphor in Latin Poetry: The Binding of the Cosmos', *Latomus* 39 (1980), pp. 817-837.

[417] 'Ipsa quoque oppositum destructo federe certo/ transcendunt elementa modum rapiuntque ruuntque/ omnia legirupis quassantia uiribus orbem./ frangunt umbriferos aquilonum prelia lucos,/ et cadit inmodicis silua exstirpata procellis./ parte alia uiolentus aquis torrentibus amnis/ transilit obiectas, prescripta repagula, ripas/ et uagus euersis late dominatur in agris./ nec tamen his tantam rabiem nascentibus ipse/ conditor instituit, sed laxa licentia rerum/ turbauit placidas rupto moderamine leges': Prudentius, *Volume 1*, trans. Thomson, pp. 220-1, lines 236-46.

by heavenly goodness ('pietas... celica'). He refers to this belief in Poem 3 when he wrote: 'The world would be fruitful if every river obeys its course and, thus, makes fruitful its own lands, with the agreement obeyed which the celestial order established!' Only if hostile Envy, spinning out of control, breaks this pact will Ruin follow and cypresses, pines, and cedars will be destroyed (i.e. like the uprooted forests in *The Origin of Sin*).

I draw important conclusions from my analysis of Poem 3. First, the *Life* contains more criticism than has hitherto been identified of no less a Norman than Robert of Jumièges and his adherents, a criticism which extends from Poem 3, to the prose that follows it, and Poem 4. Robert is, of course, a Norman who, according to William of Jumièges and William of Poitiers, plays a crucial role in King William I's claim to the throne. Folcard's condemnation of Robert and his followers shows that there was pre-existing hostility aimed towards a Norman faction, which is accused of inviting chaos into England, on the eve of the Conquest. Second, Folcard uses metaphors in a highly sophisticated way to make his points. Third, these metaphors can be deciphered when they are contextualized within Folcard's broader narrative. It is on the back of these last two conclusions that I will now argue that Edward's death-bed prophecy was making a powerful, political statement.

Edward, according to Folcard, is told in a vision about how events would unfold after his death. He then relates the following: 'God has delivered all this kingdom, cursed by him, into the hands of the enemy, and devils will come through all this land with fire and sword and the havoc of war'.[418] The reason for this punishment, according to Edward, is that the earls, bishops, abbots, and all those in holy orders are servants of the devil. Nor, the king continues, would they be forgiven for their sins like the people of Nineveh, who repented on hearing divine indignation, for they would not see the error of their ways. Edward then recounts the conditions that need to be met before God's mercy

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[418] 'Tradidit deus... omne hoc regnum a se maledictum in manu inimici, peruagabunturque diaboli totam hanc terram igne, ferro, et depredatione hostili', *Life,* ed. Barlow, p. 116.

could return to the English (i.e. the 'Vision of the Green Tree'): 'When a green tree, if cut down (*succido*) in the middle of its trunk, and the part cut off carried the space of three furlongs from the stock (*stipes*), shall be joined again to its trunk (*truncus*), by itself and without the hand of man or any sort of stake, and begin once more to push leaves and bear fruit from the old love of its uniting sap, then first can a remission of these great ills be hoped for'.[419] What does this vision mean?

Marc Bloch argued that the vision was written in the twelfth century with the hindsight of William Clito's birth. Eleanor Heningham refuted Bloch's dating of the *Life*, but she agreed with Bloch that the vision offered hope for the future. Frank Barlow, however, took it to mean 'a vision of something impossible'. This quotation is part of Folcard's own interpretation of the vision. The passage Barlow quotes goes as follows: 'Hence there was revealed to the blessed king, when about to leave us, not undeservedly, a vision of something impossible, a symbol, I say, of our obdurate wickedness. For "with men it is impossible" for a felled tree to move of itself, or, once deprived of its sap, to join itself firmly to its trunk and push leaves and bear fruit'.[420] Barlow, however, has taken this passage out of context. When he wrote that 'with men it is impossible' for a felled tree to be restored, Folcard was quoting the beginning of Matthew 19:26. This passage answers a question, found in Matthew 19:25, which Jesus's disciples put to him after he states that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of Heaven. Such a scenario, like Edward's vision, sounds impossible. The disciples, in Matthew 19:25, ask: 'Who then can be saved?'[421] Jesus, in Matthew 19:26, replies: 'With men this is

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[419] 'Si arbor uiridis a medio sui succidatur corpore, et pars abscisa trium iugerum spatio a suo deportetur stipite, cum per se et absque humana manu uel quouis amminiculo suo connectetur trunco, ceperitque denuo uirescere et fructificare ex coalescentis suci amore pristino, tunc primum tantorum malorum sperari poterit remissio', *Ibid*, p. 118.

[420] 'Unde non inmerito demonstratur benedicto regi a nobis migraturo reuelatio, impossibilitatis ad similitudinem, inquam, nostrę infinitę et obdurate iniquitatis. Neque enim arborem abscisam per se mouere, uel semel suci sui gratia destitutam, solide trunco suo incorporari et uirescere et fructificare apud homines est possibile': *Ibid*, pp. 120-3.

[421] Matthew 19:25: 'Quis ergo poterit saluus esse?'

impossible: but with God all things are possible'.[422] Folcard's partial quotation of Matthew 19:26 finds resolution after he laments how the ruling elite do not appease God's wrath. He wrote: 'what can we expect but a miserable end in slaughter unless the infinite power and inestimable mercy of the Lord, "with whom all things are possible", should, as is His wont, prevent our hardness of hearts with that remission and his blessing freely given?'[423] Folcard, therefore, was arguing that the English are being chastised once more for their sins, but there is hope if they repent and the vision comes to pass.

As it happens, Folcard provides an interpretative framework for the vision at the beginning of his *Life* when events are comparable to those at the end of his text. At the beginning of his *Life*, Cnut and his stock are described as God's 'rod of justice'. They sweep away what displeases God.[424] Folcard goes on to write: 'He who takes away kingdoms according to His will cut down (*succido*) both this king [i.e. Cnut] and his whole stock (*stirps*). Cut down (*succido*), I say, because He preserved among his seed the one to whom He had thought to give the sceptre of the English kingdom. But just as a father, after chastising his children, is at peace with them again... so God's loving kindness, sparing the English after the heavy weight of its rebuke, showed them a flower (*flos*) preserved from the root (*stirps*) of their ancient kings, and both gave them the strength and fired their minds to seek this flower for the kingdom as well as for their salvation".[425] Note the repeated metaphor of the stock (*stirps*) which represents both the Danish and English royal lines. God is said to have cut down

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[422] Matthew 19:26: 'Apud homines hoc inpossibile est: apud Deum autem omnia possibilia sunt'.
[423] 'Quid prestolamur preter infelicem exitum internitionis, nisi illa infinita et inestimabilis domini clementia, cui omnia sunt possibilia, solito more duritiam nostram preueniat illa remissione et benedictione sua gratuita', *Life*, ed. Barlow, p. 122.
[424] 'God's rod of justice had swept away by the oppression of the Danes what had displeased Him among the people' (*Virga equitatis dei... quod sibi displicuerat in populo detesit per pressuram Danorum*): *Ibid*, pp. 8-9.
[425] 'Hunc regem et eius totam stirpem ille, qui regna pro libitu suo transfert, succidit. Succidit, inquam, quia in eius semine reseruauit, cui Anglici regni annueret uirgam. Sed uelut pater flagellatis filiis... sic Dei pietas Anglis post grauem sue correptionis pressuram parcens, de antiquorum regum stripe seruatum florem ostendit, utque hunc et regno et saluti suę peterent, et uires prestitit, et animos accendit. Neque hoc tunc subito uel incerto casu dabatur, sed, premonstrante euidentibus oraculis Dei magna pietate, hoc ab omnibus petebantur', *Ibid*, pp. 10-2. I have amended the translation from 'who taketh away' to 'who takes away'.

(*succido*) Cnut's stock according to his will, and Edward is likened to a flower (*flos*) from the stock of the ancient kings ('de antiquorum regum stirpe'). After a vision is delivered to them via Brihtwald, bishop of Ramsbury, the English obtain their salvation when they seek Edward, who is preserved from the stock of their ancient kings. This vision, like Edward's vision, is, according to Folcard, an undoubted sign from God. Brihtwald sees St Peter consecrate someone as king and fixes the number of years of his reign. When he asks who will become king of England, Peter answers: 'The kingdom of the English belongs to God; and after you He has already provided a king according to His Own will'.[426] This king turns out to be Edward. I now apply the same interpretative framework to Edward's vision.

Given that Folcard wrote about the hoped-for resolution of conflict during a period when the House of Wessex no longer ruled England, a simple interpretation of the felled tree is that it represents Edward's stock. It is from this stock that Edward is a flower, and it is this stock which God has removed from the English throne once more - much to the ruin of the country that is overrun by demons: that is, the Normans, who arrive in England within a year and a day of Edward's death and bring with them fire and the sword and the havoc of war.[427]

The replication of the imagery of a tree being felled, at the beginning and end of the *Life*, drives home the point that history is repeating itself. Folcard invites his audience to draw parallels between the two sections of the text. The anonymous author of the *Encomium* employs the same tactic. At the start of his work, the author notes how his text is like drawing a circle, for one needs to return the same point to which one began. The Encomiast likens the creation

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[426] 'Regnum', inquit, 'Anglorum est Dei; post te prouidit sibi regem ad pacitum sui': *ibid*, pp. 14-5.

[427] 'Within a year and a day after the day of your death God has delivered all this kingdom, cursed by him, into the hands of the enemy, and devils shall come through all this land with fire and sword and the havoc of war' (*Tradidit deus post obitus tui diem anno uno et die una omne hoc regnum a se maledictum in manu inimici, peruagabunturque diaboli totam hanc terram igne, ferro, et depredatione hostili*): *Ibid*, pp. 116-7.

of this circle to his praise of Queen Emma, who will be praised at the beginning, middle, and end. At the end of his piece, the writer asks his audience to remember his point about the creation of a circle, by drawing a comparison between it and the unfolding of history. The anonymous writer then wrote: 'So likewise it was brought to pass in the arranging of the rule of the English kingdom... When he [i.e. Æthelred II] paid his last debt to nature, since tender age did not permit his son to be successor, God's ineffable providence made provision for his posterity, and albeit after some years restored (that monarchy) to the one to whom it was then due'.[428] The Encomiast, like Folcard, shows that history has come full circle. The anonymous author, unlike Folcard, explicitly asks his reader to draw comparisons between the beginning and concluding sections of his work.

I will now be more specific and identify the stock as that of Æthelred's line. It is, after all, his stock that is supplanted at the beginning of the *Life* in order to make way for the Danes. By telling us that Edward is a flower of his ancestral stock, Folcard invites his audience to speculate on what the 'pars' cut from the green tree symbolises. Venantius Fortunatus, writing in praise of Bishop Leontius of Bordeaux, wrote: '[His] family's past is adorned with a flower sprung from its own roots'.[429] Jumièges, in the first version of his *Deeds*, likens Duke Richard I to a shoot (*surculus*) which is cut from a sweet tree ('ex dulciflua abscisus arbore').[430] Folcard probably had the same imagery in mind when he wrote about a 'pars' of the tree, which is separated from its stock, in the vision.

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[428] 'Sic quoque factum est in anglici regni administrando regimine... Huic itaque nature persoluenti ultima, dum tenera etas successorem non pateretur filium, ineffabilis prouidencia dei eius prouidit posteritati et licet post aliquot lustra ei tum cui debebatur restituit': Keynes & Love, 'Earl Godwine's Ship', pp. 195-6.

[429] 'De radice sua uestita est flore uetustas,/ Quam merito uestre laudis obumbrat honor': Venantius Fortunatus, *Poems*, ed. M. Roberts (London, 2017), pp. 40-1. For a study of the poems written in honour of Leontius, see J. W. George, 'Portraits of two merovingian bishops in the poetry of Venantius Fortunatus', *JMH* 13 (2012), pp. 189-205.

[430] '... his son Richard of most excellent character, cut as a shoot from a sweet tree rooted in its first flowering, began to bring forth the fragrant blossoms of his pleasing youth and to inure his free spirits to the discipline of a tutor' (*Filius eius Ricardus summe ingenuitatis titulis uelud surculus ex dulciflua abscisus arbore in primeuo flore radicem figens, cepit odoriferos gratissime pueritie flosculos emittere et liberales sub pedagogi disciplinis animos innormare*): *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, i, pp. 98-9.

The 'pars' of Æthelred's stock being three units of distance removed from its trunk could be interpreted as an individual separated from Æthelred by three generations. Folcard could have landed upon any unit of distance from the green tree, but he chose three units of separation. Licence recently argued that Edgar Ætheling was Edward's chosen heir.[431] It may be no coincidence, therefore, that Edgar was separated from Æthelred by three generations. Edgar was the son of Edward the Exile, who was the son of Edmund Ironside, who was the son of King Æthelred.

Medieval commentators certainly understood the vision in a metaphoric sense. When discussing William Clito, William of Malmesbury wrote that 'in him [i.e. William Clito] it was supposed King Edward's prophecy was to be fulfilled: the hope of England, it was thought, once cut down like a tree, was in the person of that young prince again to blossom and bear fruit, so that one might hope the evil times were coming to an end'.[432] Aelred of Rievaulx, likewise, interpreted the felled tree as a metaphor. He described how it represented the English throne. It was, according to Aelred, cut down when the kingdom was separated from its ancestral ruling house, the house of Wessex. The three furlongs of separation allude to the reigns of three kings (namely, Harold, William I, and William II). The tree returned to its stock when Henry I married Matilda, who was part of Edward's line. It then flowered when Matilda gave birth to her namesake, and it bore fruit when Henry II was born.[433] Whereas Folcard may have created the metaphor of three furlongs to represent three generations, Aelred takes it to refer to three successive reigns of kings in order to apply it to the succession of Henry II.

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[431] Licence, 'Edward the Confessor', pp. 113-27.

[432] 'Putabaturque regis Eduardi uaticinium in eo complendum; ferebaturque spes Anglie, modo arboris succisa, in illo iuuenculo iterum floribus pubescere, fructus protrudere, et ideo finem malorum sperari posse': William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: Volume 1*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thompson & M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 2006), pp. 758-59.

[433] *The Historical Works*, trans. Freeland, pp. 207-9. For the Latin, see Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita sancti Edwardi regis, PL* 195, pp. 773-4.

What is more, Goscelin of Saint-Bertin wrote of Edward's return from exile, in his *Miracles of St Edmund*, as if a part of a tree had been restored to its roots. He wrote: 'After that gospel axe which is said to be laid at the roots of the fruitless tree (*arbor*) cut them down (*succido*), that champion Planter, Who knows how to root out bad apples and rent the vineyard to other tenants, again grafted on a branch from His olive which was thought to be broken. For Æthelred's noble shoot (*propago*), Edward, sailed out of Normandy with a mighty army of household and hired troops alike'.[434] If we imagine, in a thought experiment, that Folcard's vision had been written by someone at the time of Æthelred II's death, and that it was commenting upon the political situation of Cnut's reign, Goscelin's description of Edward's return to the throne mirrors my interpretation of Folcard's hope for Edgar. If I am right, this was a bold criticism of the political climate c. 1067 when Folcard finished his *Life*.

Various points could be made at this point: I will make two. First, Goscelin may have read the *Life*, and Folcard's image could have stuck with him. If so, this would mean Goscelin, like me, took the vision as a metaphor. Second, Barlow proposes that Folcard and Goscelin knew one another.[435] If so, Goscelin could have known from Folcard himself that the vision was a metaphor about Æthelred's stock and later could have applied similar imagery to Edward.

Folcard's replication of imagery concerning trees (i.e. royal lines) being cut down shows how God was chastising the English once more. There is a crucial difference, however, between the situation for the English at start of the *Life* as opposed to the situation at the close. The *Life* begins with the English accepting the undoubted signs from God (such as Brihtwald's vision) and seeking Edward for their salvation. Folcard laments at the end of his *Life*, however, that Edward's

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[434] 'Quibus euangelica illa securi que ad radices infructuose arboris posita memoratur succisis, qui fractus putabatur, ab illo summe perito cultore qui malos male perdere et uineam suam aliis agricolis locare nouit, sue rursus oliue ramus inseritur. Egressus enim a Nordmannia Edwardus Edelredi regis generosa propago, domesticum pariter et stipendiarum secum habens exercitum copiosum': *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 190-3.
[435] *Life*, ed. Barlow, p. xlvii.

vision was not taken seriously - notably by Stigand, 'who thought that the blessed king, filled with the prophetic spirit by virtue of his auspicious life, rambled owing to age and disease.'[436] Folcard had already made his audience aware that Edward's vision was genuine, so Stigand's remarks strengthen the sense of impiety among the ruling elite which occasioned God's wrath.

The incorporation of imagery from Prudentius's *Psychomachia* is the final element in Folcard's criticism of the Norman regime. *Psychomachia*, according to Licence, was a source of inspiration for Folcard. He models part of his *Life* on it. After discussing battles between personified vices and virtues, Prudentius wrote the following at the end this text: 'Here mighty Wisdom sits enthroned and from her high court sets in order all the government of her realm, meditating in her heart laws to safeguard mankind. In the sovereign's hands is a sceptre, not finished with craftsman's skill but a living rod of green wood; severed from its stock, it draws no nurture from moist earthly soil, yet puts forth perfect foliage and with blooms of blood-red roses intermingles white lilies that never droop on withering stem. This is the sceptre that was prefigured by the flowering rod (*florifer*) that Aaron carried (*gestamen*), which, pushing buds out of its dry bark, unfolded (*explico*) a tender grace ('tenerum... decorum') with burgeoning hope ('spe pubescente'), and the parched twig ('uirga arida') suddenly swelled ('subito tumuit') into new fruits ('in nouos... fetus')'.[437]

The imagery describing Wisdom's sceptre, according to Licence, is comparable to that found in the vision. It is a living rod of green wood, which is severed

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[436] 'Qui [i.e. Stigand] beatum regem prophetico spiritu ex merito felicis uitę plenum senio uel morbo errasse putauerit': *Ibid*, pp. 122-3. For a discussion of Stigand's life and posthumous reputation see A. R. Rumble, ed., *Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church: From Bede to Stigand* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 173-82; M. F. Smith, 'Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of a Needle', *ANS* 16 (1993), pp. 199-219.

[437] 'Hoc residet solio pollens Sapientia et omne/ consilium regni celsa disponit ab aula,/ tutandique hominis leges sub corde retractat./ in manibus domine sceptrum non arte politum/ sed ligno uiuum uiridi est, quod stirpe recisum,/ quamuis nullus alat terreni cespitis umor,/ fronde tamen uiret incolumi, tum sanguine tinctis/ intertexta rosis candentia lilia miscet/ nescia marcenti florem submittere collo./ huius forma fuit sceptri gestamen Aaron/ floriferum, sicco quod germina cortice trudens/ explicuit tenerum spe pubescente decorem/ inque nouos subito tumuit uirga arida fetus': Prudentius, *Volume 1*, tr. Thomson, pp. 340-1, lines 875-87.

from its stock ('ligno uiuum uiridi est quod stirpe recisum'), that puts forth foliage ('uiret... fronde... incolumi'). This is, according to Prudentius, prefigured by Aaron's rod, which is described as pushing buds from its dry bark ('germina... trudens... sicco... cortice'). This parched twig, Prudentius continues, suddenly swelled into new fruits ('uirga arida... subito tumuit... in nouos... fetus').[438] Parts of the description of Wisdom's rod and Aaron's rods are like those of the green tree in Edward's vision. Folcard hopes that the tree, cut down and separated from its stock ('arbor uiridis... succidatur... deportetur stipite'), would once more push leaves (*uiresco*) and bear fruit (*fructifico*). The tree in Edward's vision, furthermore, needs to return to its stock without the hand of man ('absque humana manu'): this is reminiscent of Wisdom's rod not being finished with the craftsman's skill ('non arte politum').

The incorporation of this material reminds Folcard's audience that the current ruler who wields the sceptre of the English realm, William, is, far from being the embodiment of Wisdom, a vehicle of the devil. His regime is a demonic punishment, visited upon the English. The cause of God's displeasure, I argue below, is the sins of the English ruling elite, who, except for Edith and those who feared God, show no signs of repentance. If my interpretation is right, Folcard is informing his audience that only when Edgar Ætheling is king can a

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[438] Aaron's flowering staff signifies that God confirmed the priesthood to Aaron to curb a rebellion. The schism of Korah is found in Numbers 16-17. Korah and his adherents, who sought the priesthood, rose up against Moses and Aaron. Little did they know, however, that, in going against Moses and Aaron, they stood against God. Moses, in response to the rebellion, said that God would make known whom he favoured. God told Moses, Aaron, and those who followed them to separate themselves from the rebellious faction, so that the dissenters could be destroyed. Korah and his men were duly swallowed upon by the earth. As a resolution to the conflict, God asked that twelve rods (representing the twelve tribes of Israel) should be placed in the tabernacle, and each rod should have the name of the leader of each tribe written upon them. God's choice as the leader of the priesthood would be demonstrated when their rod blossomed. Numbers 17:8 records, 'He [i.e. Moses] returned on the following day, and found that the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi, was budded: and that the buds swelling it had bloomed blossoms, which, spreading the leaves, were formed into almonds.' (*Sequenti die regressus inuenit germinasse uirgam Aaron in domo Leui et turgentibus gemmis eruperant flores qui foliis dilatatis in amigdalas deformati sunt*). Numbers 17:10 records that God told Moses to keep the rod in the tabernacle 'for a token of the rebellious children of Israel, and that their complaints may cease from me lest they die' (*in signum rebellium filiorum et quiescant querellae eorum a me ne moriantur*).

remission of the great ills being faced by the English be hoped for. Edgar, like Edward before him, had been withheld from claiming his inheritance.

Indeed, it may have been part of Folcard's strategy to try and empower the English to resist the Norman regime by dissociating the Conquest from the sins of the English as a whole. After describing Edward's death-bed prophecy, Folcard notes that it is only Edith and those who are god-fearing that take any notice. Only they understand the broader context within which the dying king's last words should be interpreted. The pope (via his legates) and both Edward and Edith, according to Folcard, previously admonished men in holy orders that they were dishonouring the Christian faith. The evils that William visits upon the English are not, therefore, the punishment of the faults of the English as a whole, but rather of their leaders.

The authority for Folcard's rationale is the Bible. He cites two precedents to justify his view that many people could be punished for the sins of the few. Borrowing, as Barlow notes, from 2 Samuel 24, he describes how God sends a pestilence upon David's people for the king's sins, explaining that this divine vengeance only abates when David, showing great contrition, asks for God's wrath to be aimed at him rather than at his people.[439] Borrowing, as Barlow observes, from either Isaiah 24:2 or Hosea 4:9, Folcard also laments: 'and it shall be as with the people so with the priest... [for previous punishment from God] in times past has been shown to have come from the sins of priests'.[440] Folcard's invective against Stigand affirms this point. The archbishop is singled out as an example 'of our infinite and obdurate wickedness'. Alas, Folcard continues: 'that man will repent too late or not at all who thought that the blessed king,

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[439] *Life*, ed. Barlow, pp. 120-1.
[440] 'Et erit qualis populus talis et sacerdos... hocque peccato sacerdotum fieri iamdudum demonstratum est': *Ibid*, pp. 120-1.

filled with the prophetic spirit by virtue of his auspicious life, rambled owing to age and disease'.[441]

My analysis affects the wider debate because George Garnett and, following his lead, Elaine Treharne both argue that the *Life* claims that the Conquest was divine retribution for the sins of the English, without any qualification.[442] Folcard goes to some length, however, to show that it is a very particular segment of the English who are to blame for William's invasion: it is a corrupt ruling elite, who, as servants of the devil, are not ruminating on Edward's prophecy or seeking God's forgiveness. By absolving most of the English from inadvertently causing the Conquest, and fixing his criticism on the upper echelons of society, Folcard may have been seeking to empower the majority of his contemporaries (and those at the top of English society who repented) to bring about the fulfilment of Edward's prophecy.

My interpretation of the vision and my belief that Folcard may have been trying to empower the English to rebel against William, match what we know of what occurred after William's coronation. They anticipate the hostilities against William in the first few years of his reign: that is, the English revolts, which included powerful figures such as Edwin of Mercia and Morcar of Northumbria, between 1068 and 1070. Ann Williams explores these events, and she demonstrates how precarious William's rule remained during the uprisings.[443]

Edgar, moreover, was a focal point of resistance to the Norman regime. When updating his *Deeds* c. 1070, Jumièges wrote: 'They [i.e. those rebelling against William's rule] combined forces and with the support of mercenary troops, encouraging each other in resistance, they fortified York, and appointed as their

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[441] 'Nostrę infinite et obdurate iniquitatis... Aut sero aut nunquam penitebit, qui beatum regem prophetico spiritu ex merito felicis uitę plenum senio uel morbo errasse putauerit', *Ibid*, pp. 122-3.

[442] Garnett, *Conquered England*, p. 42. Elaine Treharne recently followed Garnett's lead in arguing that the Conquest was divine retribution for the sins of the English: Treharne, *Living Through Conquest*, p. 92.

[443] A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 7-44.

king a boy who descended of the same noble stock as King Edward'.[444] William's rebellious subjects, like Folcard, wanted Edgar as their king. The association of Edgar's power base with York is significant, moreover, considering Folcard's support for Edgar's claim to the throne. Licence argues that in the 1060s Folcard attended Ealdred, archbishop of York.[445] Might the vision therefore reflect criticism of William's rule which was current in the north shortly after the Conquest?

As noted earlier, the traditional view is that English writers fell silent in 1066; but this is not entirely accurate. Bates has already discussed criticisms levelled against William in another, presumably English, source associated with Ealdred, the 'D' version of the *ASC*.[446] He observes that the details in this version of the *ASC* (i.e. William's successive taxes, breaking of promises, and oppression) all point to disapproval of the king's actions. William does not appear to be fulfilling Ealdred's expectations.[447] The reference to William breaking his coronation oath, for instance, amounts to perfidy, a crime with which Guy charges William, albeit in the context of William's subjugation of London. The 'D' version of the *ASC* also records that, after Harold was killed at Hastings, 'Archbishop Ealdred and the garrison in London wanted to have Prince Edgar for king, just as was his natural right'.[448] When the *Life* is used in combination with the 'D' version of the *ASC*, the vision in the *Life* may be thought to reflect the desire of Ealdred and like-minded individuals to make

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[444] 'Quibus iuncti armorum simul et stipendiorum copia urbem munierunt, semetipsos corroborantes ad resistendum quendam puerum sibi preficientes regem, ex Edwardi regis nobilitate genus ducentem': *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, ii, pp. 180-1. For van Houts's argument about when Jumièges updated his *Deeds*, see *Ibid*, i, p. xxxiii-iv.

[445] T. Licence, 'A New Source for the *Vita Ædwardi regis*' (*JML, forthcoming*); T. Licence, 'The date and authorship', pp. 274-5.

[446] *ASC D*, pp. lxxviii-lxxix; P. Wormald, 'How do we know so much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?', in S. Baxter, ed., *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early English Christian Society and its Historian* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 238-40.

[447] D. Bates, 'The Conqueror's Earliest Historians and the Writing of his Biography', in D. Bates, J. Crick & S. Hamilton, ed., *Writing Medieval Biography, 750-1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 131.

[448] 'Aldred arcebiscop 7 seo burhwaru on Lundene woldon habban þa Eadgar cild to kynge, eallswa him wel gecynde wæs'. For the Old English, see *ASC D*, p. 80. For the translation, see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: New Edition,* ed. and tr. M. Swanton (London, 2000), p. 199.

Edgar their king. The ætheling was a lawful claimant to the English throne when the *Life* was written, and Edgar proved to be a force to be reckoned with in the aftermath of the Conquest. Did anyone else in England agree with Folcard and the author of *ASC D* that he was the rightful heir? I will offer an answer in Chapter 5 during my discussion of Herman's *Miracles of St Edmund*.

First, however, I should contextualise Herman's *Miracles* by considering King William's claim to the English throne and the climate of scepticism that enveloped his rationale for the Conquest.

Chapter 4: The Evolution of King William's Claim to the Throne

Jumièges, when adding the post-Conquest material to his *Deeds* between 1066 and 1070, and Poitiers, writing between 1071 and 1077, appear to have been responding to criticisms of the story that Edward had promised the throne to William. The earliest written evidence of William's claim to the English throne is found in Guy's *Song*. The poet wrote: 'King Edward with the assent of his people and the advice of his nobles, promised and decreed that William should be his heir; and you [i.e. Harold] supported him. The ring and sword granted him, and, as you know, sent to him through you stand witness to this'.[449] There is no distinction in this passage between the time periods in which Edward promises William the throne and Harold's conveyance of the ring and sword. What is more, the only known visit that Harold made to William in Normandy can be dated, according to Licence, to 1065.[450] When used in conjunction with what is known about Harold's itinerary, the evidence in Guy's *Song* leads to the conclusion that Edward promised William the throne in 1065.

Jumièges, on the other hand, separates the time at which Edward initially promises William the throne and the point at which Harold travels to see William. Jumièges reports that Robert of Jumièges (hereafter referred to as Robert) conveyed Edward's promise of the throne to William before Harold's visit. It is only after Robert's trip that Harold is shown making his way to Normandy. Jumièges wrote: 'Edward, king of the English, by the will of God having no heir, had in the past sent Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, to the duke to appoint him heir to the kingdom given to him by God'.[451] Was this

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[449] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 19.
[450] T. Licence, *Edward the Confessor* (New Haven and London, 2019, forthcoming).
[451] *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, ii, pp. 158-9

added detail a reply to William's contemporaries who were questioning his claim to the English throne?

If he was responding to those who were querying the Conqueror's rationale for the Conquest, Jumièges's reply employed a trick that would have been familiar to a forger of, say, charters: he pushed further back in time the date of Edward's donation. Historians have traditionally dated the initial designation that Jumièges describes in his *Deeds* to c. 1051.[452] With the exception of Stigand, however, everyone Jumièges mentiones who swore an oath to William was conveniently dead by 1070 (i.e. when Jumièges completed the revised version of his *Deeds*) and was therefore unable to argue otherwise. Jumièges's wording is so vague as to be suspicious. Edward sent Robert to Normandy to make William his heir 'in the past'. Why the ambiguity? Jumièges, presumably not wanting to get caught out by multiplying falsehoods, left it to his audience's imagination as to when Robert's mission took place. His lack of detail is understandable if his work was written in a critical climate when William's claim to the throne was being scrutinised and found wanting.

There is, in fact, no contemporary evidence to support Jumièges's claim that Edward sent Robert to nominate William as his heir. If such a designation had occurred, Licence argues that 'it would have been shouted from the rooftops of Normandy'.[453] A simple explanation as to why Guy, who wrote about the Conquest before Jumièges, did not include the story about Robert in his poem is that it had not, at that point, been invented. If I am right, Jumièges's account is part of the second phase of William's evolving claim to the English throne as it stood c. 1070.

I now discuss a third phase in the development of William's claim, which is found in Poitiers's *Deeds*, a work composed between 1071 and 1077. In the analysis that follows, I draw three important conclusions. First, Poitiers amends

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[452] *Ibid*, ii, p. xlvii.
[453] Licence, 'Edward the Confessor', p. 117.

Guy's account found in the *Song* to bolster William's position. Second, there is no need to hypothesise a common source to which Jumièges and Poitiers had access. Third, Poitiers brings his knowledge of Roman law into the debate to negate Harold's claim to the throne. How then did Poitiers develop William's claim?

Poitiers began, on three occasions, by borrowing his basic narrative from Jumièges's *Deeds*. On the first occasion that he mentioned William's claim, Poitiers wrote: 'So he [i.e. Edward] determined, by a lawful donation, to make him [i.e. William] his heir to the crown which he had gained through his help. And so, with the consent of the magnates, he sent to William (by Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, acting as mediator of this delegation) hostages of noble birth, a son and a grandson of Earl Godwine'.[454] As historians have already noted, the argument that Edward 'determined to make him his heir' is taken from Jumièges's *Deeds*.[455] The detail that Robert facilitates the donation is also taken from the same source. Poitiers, unlike Jumièges, then discusses the hostages who were supposedly given to William to secure the royal promise. As Licence points out, he appears to have been emending a detail found in Guy's *Song*: when writing about William's claim to the throne, Guy documented that a ring and sword from Edward 'stand as witness to this'.[456] The ring and sword, Licence believes, were probably not considered strong enough pledges in the 1070s and appear to have been transformed into two hostages from Godwine.[457] This mutation matches the conventional formalities of the time, which Bates has recently discussed.[458]

On the second occasion, Poitiers builds and expands upon Jumièges's *Deeds* in a way that is more extensive than has previously been recognised. Poitiers's debt

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[454] 'Etwardus quoque Anglorum rex disponente Deo successione prolis carens olim miserat duci [i.e. William] Rodbertum Cantuariorum archipresulem ex regno a Deo sibi attributo illum statuens heredem': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 20-1.
[455] *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, p. 68, fn. 1.
[456] *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, p. 19; Licence, *Edward*, forthcoming
[457] Licence, personal communication.
[458] Bates, *William the Conqueror*, p. 180.

to Jumièges is shown in the table below. I underline the wording which is the same in both texts. I double-underline material where Poitiers uses different vocabulary that has the same sense as that found in Jumièges's *Deeds*. I bolden part of a sentence in both texts in order to aid the reader when comparing the texts because Poitiers copies this part of Jumièges's text and uses it at a later stage in his work.

Deeds of the Norman Dukes	*Deeds of William*
Etwardus quoque <u>Anglorum rex</u> disponente Deo successione <u>prolis</u> carens olim miserat duci [i.e. William] Rodbertum Cantuariorum archipresulem ex regno a Deo sibi attributo <u>illum statuens heredem</u>.[459]	Per idem fere tempus <u>Eduuardus</u>[460] <u>rex Anglorum</u> suo iam <u>statuto heredi Guillelmo</u>, quem loco germani aut <u>prolis</u> adamabat, grauiore quam fuerat[461] cautum pignere[462] cauit. Placuit obitus necessitatem preuenire, cuius horam homo sancta

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[459] '<u>Edward, king of the English</u>, by the will of God having no <u>heir</u>, had in the past sent Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, <u>to the </u>duke <u>to appoint him heir</u> to the kingdom given to him by God': *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, ii, pp. 158-9

[460] Davis and Chibnall comment that André Duchesne was 'a conscientious editor'. This is deduced from comparing one of his transcriptions against a manuscript he is known to have copied: that is, Orderic Vitalis's autograph copy of the *Ecclesiastical History*. It is noted that he made 'very few errors or attempted emendations'. They also note: 'with only a few exceptions, he [i.e. Duchesne] preserved the spelling of his originals; his chief liberty was in changing "i" to "y" in a number of words, such as *clipeus* or *inclitus*, and replacing initial "i" with "j"'. Davis and Chibnall, therefore, state that they would repeat Duchesne's spellings: *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, p. xlvi. That said, they did not do this for Edward's name. Duchesne's edition reads 'Eduuardus': A. Duchesne, *Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui* (Paris, 1619), p. 191. The edition by Davis and Chibnall reads 'Edwardus': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, p. 68. There is no mention of this emendation in the latter edition's critical apparatus. Raymond Foreville's edition also has the same reading of 'Edwardus' as that of Davis and Chibnall: *Histoire*, ed. Foreville, p. 100.

[461] Duchesne's edition reads 'fuerat': Duchesne, *Historiae*, p. 191. The edition by Davis and Chibnall reads 'fuerit': *Gesta*, David & Chibnall, p. 68. There is no mention of the emendation in **C**'s critical apparatus. Raymond Foreville's edition also has the same reading as that found in the edition of Davis and Chibnall: *Histoire*, ed. Foreville, p. 100.

[462] Duchesne's edition reads 'pignere': Duchesne, *Historiae*, p. 191. The edition by Davis and Chibnall reads 'pignore': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, p. 68. There is no mention of the emendation in **C**'s critical apparatus. Raymond Foreville's edition also has the same reading as that found in the edition of Davis and Chibnall: *Histoire*, ed. Foreville, p. 100.

uita ad celestia tendens, proximam affore meditabatur.[463]

Sed et <u>Heroldum</u> postmodum <u>illi destinauit cunctorum sue dominationis</u> comitum <u>diuitiis honore</u> et <u>potentia maximum</u>, ut ei de sua corona **fidelitatem faceret** ac **Christiano more** <u>sacramentis firmaret</u>.[464] [*See entry, in Poitiers, below for the bold material.*]	Fidem sacramento<u> confirmaturum Heraldum ei destinauit, cunctorum</u> sub <u>dominatione sua diuitiis, honore</u>, atque <u>potentia eminentissimum</u>: cuius antea frater et fratruelis obsides fuerant accepti de successione eadem. Et eum quidem prudentissime, ut ipsius opes et auctoritas totius Anglice gentis dissensum coercerent, si rem nouare mallent perfida mobilitate, quanta sese agunt.[465]
Qui dum<u> ob hoc negotium uenire contenderet</u> uelificato freto ponti Pontiuum appulit, <u>ubi in manus Guidonis</u> Abbatisuille <u>comitis incidit</u>...[466]	Heraldus, dum <u>ob id negotium uenire contenderet</u>, itineris marini periculo euaso litus arripuit <u>Pontiui, ubi in manus comitis Guidonis incidit</u>.[467]

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[463] 'About the same time <u>Edward, king of the English</u>, protected the position of William (whom he loved as a brother or <u>son</u> and <u>had</u> already <u>appointed his heir</u>) with a stronger pledge than before. He wished to prepare in advance for the inevitable hour of death which, as a man who strove for heaven through his holy life, he believed to be near at hand': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 68-9.

[464] 'But he also, at a later date, <u>sent to him Harold, the greatest</u> of all earls <u>in his realm in wealth, honour</u> and <u>power</u>, that **he should swear fealty** to the duke concerning his crown and, **according to the Christian custom**<u>, pledge it with oaths</u>': *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, i, pp. 159-61.

[465] '<u>To confirm</u> the pledge <u>with an oath, he sent Harold to William, the most distinguished of his subjects in wealth, honour</u>, and <u>power</u>, whose brother and nephew had been received as hostages for William's succession. And this was very prudently done, so that Harold's wealth and authority could check the resistance of the whole English people, if, with their accustomed fickleness and perfidy, they were tempted to revolt': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 68-9.

[466] 'When <u>Harold set out on his mission</u>, sailing across the sea, he landed <u>in Ponthieu, where he fell into the hands of Guy, count</u> of Abbeville...': *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, i, pp. 160-1.

[467] 'Harold, after escaping the dangers of the crossing <u>as he sailed to undertake the mission</u>, landed on the coast <u>of Ponthieu, where he fell into the hands of Count Guy</u>': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 68-9.

[*The above sentence continues in the next row.*]

... quem idem comes captum cum suis confestim in custodiam trusit.[468]

Capti in custodiam traduntur ipse et comitatus eius, quod infortunium uir adeo magnus naufragio mutaret. Docuit enim auaritie calliditas Galliarum quasdam nationes execrandam consuetudinem, barbaram et longissime ab omni equitate christiana alienam. Illaqueant potentes aut locupletes trusos in ergastula afficiunt contumeliis, tormentis. Sic uaria miseria prope ad necem usque contritos eiciunt sepissime uenditos magno.[469]

Quod ut dux comperit missis legatis uiolenter illum extorsit.[470]

Directi ad se dux Guillelmus euentu cognito, propere missis legatis, precatu simul ac minis extortum obuius honorifice suscepit eum...[471]

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[468] '... who instantly captured him and his men and threw him into prison': *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, ii, pp. 160-1.

[469] 'He and his men were seized and taken into custody; a misfortune that a man as proud as he would gladly have exchanged for shipwreck. For certain Gallic peoples have been led through avarice to adopt a cunning practice, which is barbarous and utterly removed from Christian justice. They lay ambush for the powerful and wealthy, thrust them into prison, and torture and humiliate them. When they have reduced them almost to the point of death they turn them out, usually ransomed at a very high price': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 68-9.

[470] 'When the duke heard this he sent envoys and under pressure had him set free': *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, ii, pp. 160-1.

[471] 'When duke William heard of the fate of the man who had been sent to him, he immediately despatched envoys, got Harold out of prison by a mixture of prayers and threats, and went to meet him and receive him honourably': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 68-9.

[*Jumièges gave no more details about Harold's release.*]	[*Poitiers recorded three more sentences about William freeing Harold from capture.*]
[*See entry, in Jumièges, above for the bold material.*]	... Coadunato ad Bonamuillam consilio, illic Heraldus ei **fidelitatem** sancto **ritu christianorum iurauit**. Et sicut ueracissimi, multaque honestate preclarissimi homines recitauere, qui tunc affuere testes, in serie summa sacramenti libens ipse hec distinxit: se in curia domini sui Edwardi regis quandiu superesset ducis Guillelmi uicarium fore; enisurum quanto consilio ualeret aut opibus ut Anglica monarchia post Edwardi decessum in eius manu confirmaretur.[472]
[*Jumièges did not write about the Breton campaign.*]	[*Poitiers wrote about Harold participation in William's conflict against the Bretons.*]
Quem aliquandiu secum moratum facta fidelitate de regno plurimis	Receptus in sua, percarum hospitem Heraldum apud se post moratum

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[472] 'In a council summoned to Bonneville, Harold **swore fealty** to him **according to the** holy **rite of Christians**. And, as the most truthful and distinguished men who were there as witnesses have told, at the crucial point in the oath he clearly and of his own free will pronounced these words that as long as he lived he would be the vicar of Duke William in the court of his lord King Edward; that he would strive to the utmost with his counsel and his wealth to ensure that the English monarchy should be pledged to him after Edward's death': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 70-1.

sacramentis cum <u>muneribus multis</u> <u>aliquandiu, donis onustum omisit</u>;
regi <u>remisit</u>.[473] digne utroque et cuius iussu et pro
cuius honore ampliando uenerat. Qui
etiam fratuelis eius, alter obses, cum
ipso redux propter ipsum redditus
est.[474]

Most of Jumièges's narrative, therefore, is included and embellished in Poitiers's *Deeds*.

Fully appreciating the debt that Poitiers's narrative owes to Jumièges's *Deeds* is important because Ockham's razor then removes the need to postulate - as Davis, Barlow, and Garnett do - that both authors bear witness to a lost source, written in the run up to the Conquest, which made the case for William's claim to the throne.[475] The evidence only goes as far as to support the hypothesis that Poitiers copied and amplified Jumièges's account, just as he did in his chapter concerning William's conquest of Maine.

The simplest explanation, therefore, for the increasing level of detail, after Guy's *Song*, in the narratives written by Jumièges and Poitiers, is that the rationale for the Conquest was evolving, with ever greater complexity, in the decade after 1066. The drive behind its evolution appears to have been the need to respond to the criticisms of the Conquest, which I have already been identifying in the course of this thesis and will continue to identify below.

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[473] 'After Harold stayed with him for some time and had sworn to him about the kingdom with many oaths <u>he sent him back</u> to the king <u>with many gifts</u>': *Gesta*, ed. van Houts, ii, pp. 160-1.

[474] 'On his return home William, after keeping his valued guest Harold with him for a while longer, <u>sent</u> him <u>away loaded with gifts</u> worthy of both of them and of the man at whose command and to increase whose honour he had come. Furthermore his nephew, the second hostage, was, out of respect for his person, released to return with Harold': *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 76-7.

[475] Garnett, *Conquered England*, p. 41; *Idem*, 'Coronation and Propaganda', p. 111; F. Barlow, *The Norman Conquest and Beyond* (1983), pp. 72-3; R. H. C. Davis, 'William of Poitiers and his History of William the Conqueror', in R. H. C. Davis & J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, ed., *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1981), p. 79.

Jumièges makes no mention of Harold's claim that Edward promised him the throne. Jumièges simply calls Harold a usurper. Poitiers's inclusion of this detail probably speaks to the ongoing debate in the 1070s about the claims of Harold and William to the English throne. Poitiers describes how it is the custom of the English to attach prior validity to a gift that is made at the point of death. This sounds like a reply to a problematic question which William's critics could have put to him: why should Edward's previous promise to William take priority over his death-bed bequest to Harold? Poitiers had two options: either he could argue that Edward did not promise Harold the throne or he could acknowledge, at least pragmatically, the story of Harold's designation while attempting to show that William's claim was superior. The first option ran the risk of Poitiers alienating a sceptical audience by dismissing Harold's claim out of hand. The second option both indulged an element of his readership, which was critical of the Conqueror, and allowed Poitiers to show that Harold's position was illegal, regardless of Edward's death-bed bequest. He seems to have plumped for the second option and engaged with William's critics.

Poitiers's response to the hypothetical, aforementioned question is found in the third instance where he wrote about William's claim to the throne. He records a speech supposedly conveyed to the duke from the king. Harold, according to Poitiers, acknowledged that Edward formerly designated William his heir, but he goes on to say that Edward subsequently gifted the realm to him.[476] The king, so Poitiers's story goes, based his claim on an ancient custom of the English. Poitiers wrote: 'For ever since the time when St Augustine came to these parts, the common custom of this people ('communem gentis... consuetudinem') has been that the gift that anyone made at the point of death shall be held as valid. Wherefore he rightly demands that you should leave this land with your men.

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[476] 'King Edward formerly decreed that you should be heir to the English kingdom... He [i.e. Harold] knows, however, that the kingdom is his by right, by gift of the same king his lord, made to him on his death bed' (*Meminit quidem quod rex Edwardus te Anglici regni heredem fore pridem decreuerit, et quod ipse in Normannia de hac successione securitatem tibi firmauerit. Nouit autem iure suum esse regnum, idem eiusdem regis domini sui dono in extremis illius sibi concessum*): *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 118-9.

Otherwise he will end the friendship and break all pacts ('amicitiam et cuncta pacta... soluet') made by him to you in Normandy, leaving responsibility entirely with you'.[477] William then replies. He speaks about the same themes which Poitiers outlined on the two previous occasions. This speech, however, contains new elements to the duke's argument, which were not previously witnessed elsewhere. Poitiers states that the duke said the following: 'I am ready to put my case against him [i.e. Harold] in judgement ('in iudicio'), by the law of the English or of the Normans as he prefers'.[478] He stipulates, however, that it must be 'according to a true and equitable judgment' ('secundum equitatis ueritatem decreuerit').[479] Poitiers, in his own persona, then comments upon William's speech with the following words: 'For a host of sound arguments, as clearly appears to those who are attentive (which even Cicero, the greatest writer of Roman rhetoric could not have weakened), destroyed the case of Harold. In short, William was ready to accept a judgement determined by the laws of the people ('iura gentium')'.[480]

I note four points of detail in these exchanges. First, it is claimed that Harold will end his friendship and break all pacts ('amicitiam et cuncta pacta... soluet') with William if the duke does not return to Normandy. Second, Harold states that the validity of death-bed bequests has been a common custom of the English people ('communem gentis... consuetudinem') since the time of Augustine. Third, William seeks a judgement ('in iudicio') by the law of the English or the Normans, provided that the judgement were equitable ('secundum equitatis ueritatem decreuerit'). Fourth, William will accept the

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[477] 'Etenim ab eo tempore, quo beatus Augustinus in hanc uenit regionem, communem gentis huius fuisse consuetudinem donationem quam in ultimo fine suo quis fecerit, eam ratam haberi. Quapropter de terra iuste cum tuis te regredi postulat. Alioquin amicitiam et cuncta pacta per ipsum in Normannia tibi firmata soluet, penes te omnino relinquens ea': *Ibid*, pp. 118-9.
[478] 'Presto ego sum ad agendum causam contra illum in iudicio, siue placet ille iuxta ius Northmannorum, siue potius Anglorum': *Ibid*, pp. 120-1.
[479] *Ibid*, pp. 120-1.
[480] 'Rationum namque copia, sicut liquet attento, quas infirmare nec ualeret eloquentie Romane maximus auctor Tullius, Heraldi rationem destruxit. Denique iudicium, quod iura gentium definirent, accipere presto fuit': *Ibid*, pp. 122-3.

judgement by the laws of the people ('iura gentium'). I now unpack each point in turn.

The first point of detail (i.e. Harold will end his friendship and break all pacts with William if the duke does not return to Normandy) demonstrates how Harold is morally moribund in comparison to William. At the beginning of the *Deeds*, Poitiers articulates a fundamental premise of the duke's actions: that is, William does not break the law of alliance or friendship ('societatis ius aut amicitie').[481] Poitiers borrows from Cicero's *De officiis* to give authority to William's custom not to break alliances. The table below shows a borrowing from Cicero's *De officiis*, which Davis and Chibnall identified.

Deeds of William	*De officiis*
'Fixe enim perstabat in <u>dictis</u> atque <u>conuentis</u>, tamquam edocens actu suo quod enuntiat philosophi, "<u>iustitie</u> <u>fundamentum</u> esse <u>fidem</u>".	'Fundamentum autem et <u>iustitie</u> <u>fides</u>, id est <u>dictorum</u> <u>conuentorum</u>que constantia et ueritas'.
[William stood firm by his word and agreement, as if demonstrating by his acts the saying of the philosophers that "good faith is the foundation of justice"].[482]	[The foundation of justice, moreover, is good faith; — that is, truth and fidelity to promises and agreements].[483]

The next table reveals that the following sentence in Poitiers's text is a hitherto unidentified borrowing from *De officiis*. Poitiers uses Cicero, again, as an

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[481] *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 18-19.
[482] *Ibid*, pp. 18-19.
[483] Cicero, *On Duties*, trans. W. Miller (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 120-121.

authority, but this time he employs him when discussing William's custom of not breaking pacts of friendship.

Deeds of William	*De officiis*
Si cuius ab <u>amicitia</u> disiungi rationibus grauissimis cogebatur, <u>sensim</u> hanc <u>diluere quam repente precidere</u> malebat. Consentaneum id uidemus <u>sapientum</u> censure'.	'Sensim erit pedetemptimque facienda, ut <u>amicitias</u>, que minus delectent et minus probentur, magis decere censent <u>sapientes</u> <u>sensim</u> <u>diluere quam repente precidere</u>'.
[If for serious reasons he was forced to abandon the friendship of anyone, he preferred to allow it to dissolve gradually, rather than breaking it off suddenly. We consider this to be in accordance with the judgement of wise men].[484]	[When friendships become no longer pleasing or desirable, it is more proper (so wise men think) to undo the bond little by little than to sever it at a stroke].[485]

William's actions are in accord with Cicero's teachings, but those of Harold are not. The king's threat to break all pacts which he had made with the duke would have been morally reprehensible to Cicero.

With regards to the second point of detail (i.e. Harold stated that the validity of death-bed bequests had been a common English custom since the time of Augustine), Poitiers appears to have understood that this was a question which needed answering. It has gone unnoticed, however, that the language and rationale he uses is derived from Cicero's *De inventione*. In this text, Cicero explains that a custom, such as the one Harold spoke of, could have the force of

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[484] *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 18-19.
[485] *On Duties*, trans. Miller, p. 120.

law if it has the common consent of the people after a lapse of time.[486] Three sentences later, he notes: 'Moreover, certain ideas of law (*ius*) have now become fixed by custom (*consuetudino*); among these are covenants (*pactum*), equity (*par*) and decisions (*iudico*). A covenant is a compact which is regarded as so binding between the contracting parties that it is said to take priority in law. Equity is what is just and fair to all. A decision is something determined previously by the opinion of some person or persons'.[487] Cicero singles out covenants, equity, and decisions for special treatment, and Poitiers, as noted above, incorporates these ideas of law into William's case against Harold. The king's threat to break his pacts (an act which is shown to be morally bankrupt in *De officiis*) is considered illegal in *De inventione*.

William's case also references the last two ideas of law which Cicero mentions in the passage above (i.e. equity and decisions). As the third point of detail noted above reveals, William also seeks an equitable judgement ('iudicium... equitatis') by the laws of the English or the Normans.

So whose argument was the stronger: Harold's case or William's case? Did the English custom-cum-law trump Edward's previous designation of William as his heir? Cicero provided an answer for these questions, and Poitiers employed it in the fourth point of detail that I noted above (i.e. that William would accept the judgement by the laws of either people).

Poitiers framed the debate in terms of Roman law. Davis and Chibnall, without citing any evidence, disregarded the possibility that he did so, even though they were aware that he was borrowing material from *De officiis*.[488] The concept of

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[486] 'Customary law is thought to be that which lapse of time has approved by the common consent of all without the sanction of statute' (*Consuetudine autem ius esse putatur id quod uoluntate omnium sine lege uetustas comprobarit*): Cicero, *On Invention, The Best Kind of Orator & Topics*, trans. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 230-3.

[487] 'Quedam autem genera iuris iam certa consuetudine facta sunt; quod genus pactum, par, iudicatum. Pactum est quod inter quos conuenit ita iustum putatur ut iure prestare dicatur. Par, quod in omnes equabile est. Iudicatum, de quo iam ante sententia alicuius aut aliquorum constitutum est': *Ibid*, pp. 230-3.

[488] *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, p. 123, fn. 2.

'ius gentium' is found in *De officiis*. Cicero argues that is wrong to profit from despoiling a neighbour. If such practices became established, 'the bonds (*societas*) of human society must inevitably be annihilated'.[489] William, as noted above, is presented as never breaking the law of alliance ('societatis ius'). Cicero then wrote: 'Nature's laws do forbid us to increase our means, wealth, and resources by despoiling others. But this principle is established not by Nature's laws alone (that is, by the common rules of equity), but also by the statutes of particular communities, in accordance with which in individual states the public interests are maintained. In all these it is with one accord ordained that no man shall be allowed for the sake of his own advantage to injure his neighbour. For it is to this that the laws have regard; this is their intent, that the bonds of union between citizens should not be impaired'.[490] Nature's law, that is, 'the common rules of equity' ('iure gentium'), and the 'statutes of particular communities' ('legibus populorum') means that it is illegal to profit from the despoiling of another. Poitiers's language in William's speech mirrors that which is found in *De officiis* when Cicero discusses a situation which centuries later William and Harold would find themselves in. Harold had profited by despoiling William. He had also broken his pact with William when, according to Poitiers, he usurped the throne, for he had sworn an oath to help the duke acquire it. William, according to Poitiers, was justified in the prosecution of his claim to the English throne. Harold's actions, in contrast, were illegal.

To sum up, the issues Cicero discusses are the same as those which are at the heart of the dispute between Harold and William. It was an English custom-cum-law which Harold, according to Poitiers, claims as the basis for Edward granting him the throne after Edward had already given it to William. Poitiers states, however, that the duke was willing to accept a judgement, if equitable,

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[489] 'Societas hominum et communitas euertatur necesse est': *On Duties*, trans. Miller, pp. 288-9.

[490] 'Illud natura non patitur, ut aliorum spoliis nostras facultates, copias, opes augeamus. Neque uero hoc solum natura, id est iure gentium, sed etiam legibus populorum, quibus in singulis ciuitatibus res publica continetur, eodem modo constitutum est, ut non liceat sui commodi causa nocere alteri; hoc enim spectant leges, hoc uolunt, incolumem esse ciuium coniunctionem': *Ibid*, pp. 288-91.

based on the laws of either the Normans or the English. The equitable law that applied to both nations, according to Poitiers, was 'ius gentium'. Based on this legal system, Harold's claim was null and void from the start. This reasoning explains why Poitiers wrote that William's argument was so devastating to Harold's cause: Edward's promise of the throne to William (and Harold's oath to support the duke's claims) could not be overturned when circumstances changed to favour Harold at William's expense. My interpretation also explains the unexpected comment, found in Poitiers's *Deeds*, that William agreed that he could be judged by the law of the English (which was part of the problem to begin with) if it was equitable. Poitiers was being sarcastic. His knowledge of Cicero meant that there was no argument to be made (according to the concept of 'ius gentium') which favoured Harold's claim in an equitable manner. Indeed, when he asserts that 'even Cicero, the greatest writer of Roman rhetoric, could not have weakened' William's case, Poitiers is making a private joke for the attentive (*attentus*) reader, who will have observed that his arguments were already based on the famous orator's work.[491]

These rhetorical strategies weigh heavily against an old line of argument, most recently renewed by Stephen Baxter, that Poitiers's inclusion of Edward's death-bed bequest is evidence that he accepted the claim that it took place. Poitiers, as argued above, could simply have been discussing a disputed issue (which he did not need to believe to be true) with a view, like any good lawyer, to demolishing it.[492]

The simplest explanation for how the works of Guy, Jumièges, and Poitiers relate to one another is that the narratives concerning William's claim to the throne evolved over the course of some ten years. The accounts of Jumièges and Poitiers, moreover, show all the hallmarks of a claim being fabricated over time in response to criticism of William's claim to the English throne, criticism which is first witnessed in Guy's *Song* of c. 1067.

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[491] *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, p. 122.
[492] Baxter, 'Edward the Confessor', in Mortimer, ed., *Edward the Confessor*, p. 113.

Chapter 5: Herman and Goscelin of Saint-Bertin

I now probe the hagiographies of Herman the Archdeacon and Goscelin of Saint-Bertin. This chapter largely focuses on Herman's *Miracles*, first written c. 1070 and updated c. 1098.[493] The first version of the *Miracles* can be found in chapters one to twenty-four of the updated version, and, unless stated otherwise, it is the first version of Herman's work to which I refer when I discuss his *Miracles*. Herman's *Miracles* is important to the debate surrounding criticisms of the Conquest because Herman is also critical of William's invasion.

This chapter explores how Herman expresses his political views. In the course of my analysis, it becomes clear that Herman contributed to the ongoing discussion about the legitimacy of the Conquest, and that he used the sceptical, political climate in which he operates (discussed in the previous chapter) as a platform to promote Edmund as England's patron saint. I then conclude this chapter by investigating Goscelin's *Miracles*, written c. 1100: he calls Edmund the Father of the Fatherland, an accolade which, as Chapter 6 demonstrates, became a central element of Edmund's persona as England's patron saint in the twelfth century.[494]

In order to understand the foundations of Herman's criticism of the Conquest, an important question must be asked: how were events, in Herman's *Miracles*, thought to fit within God's providential design? I turn to St Augustine of Hippo's work to begin to answer this question.

In his *Enchiridion*, Augustine comments upon 1 Timothy 2:4, which records that 'God wills all men to be saved'. He observes, however, that not all men are saved.

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[493] For the date of both versions of Herman's *Miracles*, see *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. liv-lix. For Licence's strengthening of his argument that Herman wrote the first version of his *Miracles* c. 1070, see Licence, 'New Light', in Licence, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 94 & 101-3.
[494] For the date of Goscelin's *Miracles*, see *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. cx-cxiv.

'It certainly seems', he wrote, 'that what God wills to be done is not done, with human will clearly impeding God's will'.[495] What emerges out of Augustine's writings is the belief that God either passively permitted events to unfold or actively ordered them to happen. In one of his letters, mentioned in Chapter 2, Augustine wrote: 'Nothing, of course, happens unless God makes or permits it to happen. Since he makes or permits it by willing it, nothing happens at all if he does not will it. Nevertheless, it is rightly said that whatever displeases God happens against his will. He permits evil things to happen because he is powerful enough to make evil things, which are not his, into good things, which are his'.[496] The permitting of evil is, therefore, not a flaw in the divine plan. There could, according to Augustine, be no good without it. He evokes an image of Creation as a painting, which 'has touches of black in the appropriate places'.[497] In order to produce a beautiful piece of artwork, Augustine believes that you must take the light with the dark. A situation which is permitted, however, need not be interpreted in a positive light. Human beings, imbued with free will, are permitted to sin against God.[498]

In time, a turn of phrase was coined which sums up this concept: 'God permits events to happen that are against His will' ('permittit Deus fieri quod non uult'). Helgaud of Fleury is the first author, as far as I can see, who incorporates this saying into one of his works: specifically, the *Life of Robert the Pious*, written c. 1033.[499] In his *Life*, Helgaud considers the sinful nature of humans while discussing Robert's illegal marriage to Bertha of Blois. The rest of this

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[495] 'Qui omnes homines uult saluos fieri... uidetur utique non fieri quod deus uult fieri, humana scilicet uoluntate impediente uoluntatem dei': Augustine, *Enchiridion*, ed. E. Evans (Turnhout, 1969), ch. 24, line 45.

[496] 'Nihil enim prorsus fit, nisi quod aut ipse facit aut fieri ipse permittit, et quoniam uolens facit, uolens et permittit, nihil fit omnino, si nolit. Vere tamen dicitur quidquid ei displicet contra eius fieri uoluntatem. Permittit tamen, ut fiant mala, quia potens est etiam de malis non suis sua facere bona': Augustine of Hippo, *Epistulae nuper in lucem prolatae*, ed. J. Divjak (Vienna, 1981), p. 16.

[497] J. Couenhoven, 'Augustine's Rejection of the Free-Will Defence: An Overview of the Late Augustine's Theodicy', *Religious Studies* 43 (2007), p. 291.

[498] For a study of Augustine's concept of God's permitting and ordering of events, see *Ibid*, pp. 279-98.

[499] For the date of the *Life*, see van Houts, ed. and tr., *The Normans in Europe*, p. 193.

paragraph, below, is a summary of this part of his *Life*.[500] When a fault is committed, some individuals bark like dogs and are not ashamed to tear apart the reputation of a holy man. Scripture, however, offers a remedy. David, illegally desiring and carrying away Bathsheba, transgresses the law. Robert, illegally marrying a woman, also acts against the Christian faith. That said, Christ wants to heal the wounds of both men. David, like Robert, confesses his sins, and Robert abandons the woman he is not meant to possess. This situation arises because 'God permits events to happen that are against His will' ('permittit Deus fieri quod non uult').[501] The Almighty allows this to happen because of His benign intent.

Helgaud's narrative can be placed within Augustine's intellectual framework (i.e. God's permitting of certains events allows sin to enter the world), and so too can Humbert of Silva Candida's *Adversus simoniacos*, written c. 1058.[502] The *Adversus* contains the same dictum. It can be found when Humbert records that bishops or priests who baptize heretics should be damned.[503] During the course of his nattarive, he picks up on the thorny issue of previous popes who had allowed such a practice to occur. Humbert defuses the situation by remarking that popes had only permitted it to occur.[504] In this regard, previous popes followed in the footsteps of no less a figure than Moses. The rest of this paragraph is a summary of this part of Humbert's *Adversus*, which, in turn, he cites from John Chrysostom.[505] Moses observes that the Jews are given over to carnal desires, so he allows bills of divorce to be granted. He permits the lesser of two evils, so that goodness is not destroyed: he believes it is better to be able to dissolve a marriage than to let murder occur. He permits them to do evil in

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[500] For the full narrative, which I summarise, see Helgaud of Fleury, *Vie de Robert le Pieux*, ed. R-H. Bautier & G. Labory (Paris, 1965), pp. 92-5.

[501] *Ibid*, pp. 94-5.

[502] E. Voegelin, *History of Political Ideas, Volume II: The Middle Ages to Aquinas*, ed. with intro. P. von Sivers (Columbia 1997), p. 92.

[503] 'Episcopum aut presbyterum hereticorum suscipientem baptisma damnari precipimus': Humbertus a Silva Candida, *Adversus simoniacos*, ed. F. Thaner (1891), p. 114.

[504] 'Quo certe permittendi uerbo usus est et beatissimus Leo: Hereticorum baptisma, inquiens, ratum esse permittimus': *Ibid*, p. 114.

[505] For the full narrative, which I have summarised, see *Ibid*, pp. 114-5.

order to stop them committing a greater evil. Because he permits it, so too does God. The Almighty does not, however, order it: 'For what we order we want, and what we permit we refuse to order, because we are unable to prohibit fully the evil desires of men'.[506] Indeed, Helgaud relates what he calls a familiar proverb: 'God permits events to happen that are against His will' ('Permittit Deus fieri quod non uult').[507]

How does Herman's *Miracles* fit within this tradition? He discusses how the former kingdoms of a divided England faced Viking incursions in Æthelred I's reign. During this time, the pagans, hateful to God ('Deo odiosa'), strike time and again.[508] That said, England is not alone: Paris is also despoiled.[509] This comparison is significant. Alcuin, King Alfred, and Wulfstan, for instance, all argued that attacks such as these were the result of the English displeasing God.[510] Herman is not of the same opinion. By placing these attacks within the broader historical context of Viking aggression throughout Christendom, he appears to question the belief that they were the result of divine punishment for the sins of the English. He seems to answer two hypothetical questions, which his audience may have had at this point. How could the Vikings' actions in England be the result of God's anger when Paris (*Parisius*), which Herman puns on and calls the Lord's paradise ('Domini paradysus'), faces the same threat at that time? Are the Vikings, instead, sinful individuals who act without God's blessing? Herman's answer to these hypothetical questions appears to be: yes. He wrote that the actions of the Northmen should not surprise us because 'God permits events to happen that are against His own will' ('permittit Deus

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[506] 'Quod enim precipimus uolumus, quod autem permittimus nolentes precipimus, quia malas hominum uoluntates ad plenum prohibere non possumus': *Ibid*, pp. 114-5.

[507] *Ibid*, p. 115.

[508] 'During Æthelred's five-year reign this frenzied storm of paganism, hateful to God, struck time after time with all its might, wherever ships could penetrate the English coast, always with adverse consequences and rarely, in truth, with any happy outcome (*Que uesana tempestas et Deo odiosa gentilitas, crebro circumquaque qua potuit impulit in locis naualibus fines Anglie, per quinquennium Ederedi tempore, semper cedendo aduerse, raro uere prospere*): *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 6-7.

[509] *Ibid*, pp. 6-7.

[510] For a discussion of these authors' views, see Molyneaux, 'Did the English Really Think', pp. 721-37.

fieri quod non uult').[511] In citing this proverb, Herman lays the groundwork for one of the subtexts of his *Miracles*: England, divided then united, is not invaded because of the transgressions of her people. Instead, this happens because there are ungodly individuals in the world who, acting of their own free will, sinfully attack England's inhabitants. The pagans, after all, are characterized as 'hateful to God'.[512]

It is in the reign of Æthelred's son, Alfred, that Edmund is first portrayed as a saint who saves the realm. When writing about this period, Herman (as noted by Licence) refers to Abbo's *Passion of St Edmund*. Abbo had observed that Edmund was a saint whose divine favour was revealed by the repeated signs of his miracles ('cuius [i.e. Edmund] esset apud Deum meriti crebris manifestabat miraculorum signis').[513] What has gone unnoticed is that Herman, who read about Alfred's life in a version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* links Edmund's miracles to Alfred's triumphs over the Vikings.[514] He wrote: 'During his [i.e. Alfred's] reign God intervened, and the wicked, piratical race of Danes was dispersed, diminished, and cut off in their invasion, for the time had come for God to display His vengeance through St Edmund and to reveal (*manifesto*) the saint who enjoyed His favour ('cuius apud Deum foret meriti')'.[515] There is, here, a suggestion that Alfred's victories over the Viking invaders were the result of a divine intervention through St Edmund. By making this link, Herman was associating with Edmund what, according to another tradition, was ascribed to

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[511] 'It is told that the grim race also made incursions into glorious France, even reaching Paris, where everything blossoms, as does the Lord's paradise. Nor should this surprise us, since God permits events to happen that are against His own will' (*Etiam ut memoratur torua gens appetiit fines Francie gloriose, perueniens Parisius qui locus uernat ut Domini paradysus in omni re, nec mirum illud, quia permittit Deus fieri quod non uult*): *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 6-7.

[512] *Ibid*, pp. 6-7.

[513] *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. M. Winterbottom (Toronto, 1972), p. 82.

[514] For Herman's reading of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, see Licence, 'History and Hagiography', pp. 538-9.

[515] 'Huius tempore dextere excelsi mutatione, dispertitur, minuitur, et adnullatur pyratica improbaque gens Danica a sua infestatione, iam enim ultio Dei per sanctum Eadmundum debebat propalari, sanctus quoque manifestari, cuius apud Deum foret meriti': *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 6-7.

the intervention of St Cuthbert.[516]   Licence argued that Herman presented Edmund as having acted on the national stage for the first time in Æthelred II's day, but my analysis indicates that Herman first positions him in this role over a hundred years earlier, in the reign of Æthelred I's son, Alfred.[517]

God's permitting of events allows sin to occur, but Herman, like Guy, blurs the boundaries between Christian and pagan cosmologies. God's passive acceptance of sin opens the door to Fortune. In the reign of Æthelred II, Swein Forkbeard invades England. This results in the king yielding to mighty Fortune (*Fortuna*) and fleeing to Normandy.[518] Swein then imposes a tribute on the people throughout England. The monks of Bury approach him, however, to bring an end to such misfortune.[519] Edmund's intervention against a Viking invader, once again, proves crucial. He kills Swein, who is pierced by the saint's lance.[520]

The role of Fortune in Herman's *Miracles* is found in the context of subsequent Viking raids into England. Before recording that Aelwine takes Edmund's body to London after more Viking aggression, Herman comments that this uncertain world finds no stable foothold under the heavens ('nil gradus stabilis preter eterna nanciscitur dubius orbis'). Licence argues that this observation is inspired by Timaean cosmology: it is, however, a borrowing from Ovid.[521] The image of Fortune standing on her swaying wheel ('dubio... orbe') is found in his *Tristia*.[522] Ovid also uses the same imagery in his *Ex ponto*, and it is from here that Herman drew his inspiration. Ovid wrote: 'Why, in case Fortune should

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[516] For the claim, in the *History of St Cuthbert*, that Cuthbert aided Alfred and his descendants, see *Historia de sancto Cuthberto*, ed. T. Johnson South (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 54-7.

[517] Licence, 'The Cult of St Edmund', in Licence, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, p. 115.

[518] '[Æthelred] cast aside the governance of England, fled with his wife to Normandy, and, for the time being, yielded to mighty Fortune' (*Habenas linquens regionis Anglie Normanniam petit cum uxore, cedens ad tempus potenti Fortune*): *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 14-5.

[519] *Ibid*, pp. 14-7.

[520] *Ibid*, pp. 24-5.

[521] Licence, 'The Cult of St Edmund', in Licence, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, p. 126.

[522] 'My woes do not soften you and placate you towards one who is prostrate—woes over which wild beasts might weep, nor do you fear the power of Fortune standing on her swaying wheel, or the haughty commands of the goddess who hates' (*Nec mala te reddunt mitem placidumque iacenti/ nostra, quibus possint inlacrimare fere;/ nec metuis dubio Fortune stantis in orbe/ numen, et exose uerba superba dee*): *Tristia*, ed. Wheeler & rev. Goold, pp. 240-1, lines 5-8.

leave you, do you thus rob your own shipwreck of tears? She is a goddess who admits by her unsteady wheel ('non stabili... orbe') her own fickleness; she always has its crest beneath her swaying foot ('dubio sub pede semper habet')'.[523] Herman transmutes Fortune's wheel into an uncertain world. The role of this goddess continues to permeate his *Miracles*.

When discussing the events of 1066, Herman informs his audience that Harold II would have honoured Edmund: when he is on the throne, Harold, like his forebears, grants Bury's liberty to Abbot Baldwin. This promise, according to Herman, would have been kept if it were not for Fortune (*Fortuna*).[524] What is more, as Licence already highlights, the king of the English is killed 'when their luck changed' ('perimitur rex Anglorum uice eorum uariata').[525] Herman does not link William's victory and Harold's demise at Hastings to divine support. Fortune, rather, is the agent of William's success.

Herman allows the possibility that the Conquest, associated with the machinations of Fortune, is part of a long line of sinful invasions of England. This association would have been even more troubling because the Vikings were the progenitors of the Normans. These themes, of course, are what Guy wrote about in his *Song*: he likens William's actions to those of his pagan ancestors, and he proposes Fortune as the deity who grants the duke all his desires. Guy and Herman believe that God only permitted the Conquest.

Herman (like Guy, although to a lesser extent) also questions the legitimacy of William's rationale for the Conquest. He wrote that the duke set out for England 'as if he (a more rightful heir, according to one line of reasoning) held the throne

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[523] 'Cur, si Fortuna recedat,/ naufragio lacrimas eripis ipse tuo?/ hec dea non stabili, quam sit leuis, orbe fatetur,/ que summum dubio sub pede semper habet': *Ibid*, pp. 432-3, lines 29-32.

[524] 'He revered and cherished the resting place of the martyr Edmund and granted Abbot Baldwin its liberty in the manner of his royal predecessors, and he would have kept his promise had the power of Fortune not prevented him' (*Hic locum martyris Eadmundi uenerans dilexit, prefatoque Baldeuuino patri libertatem loci prout reges ante se dederant concessit, uotisque satisfecisset, si non Fortune possibilitas obstitisset*): *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 62-3.

[525] *Ibid*, pp. 62-3. For Licence's discussion of the English's luck changing at Hastings, see Licence, 'History and Hagiography', p. 523.

of good King Edward and his kindred. For many entertained the rumour that King Edward, dear to memory, had named the duke his heir, not only on account of their kinship, but also because he had no offspring to succeed him. Launching his bid for power upon these claims, he became England's ruler. Norman ships put ashore at Hastings, and on the appointed day a battle was fought'.[526] Van Houts and Licence drawn attention to the fact that Herman's language, such as the use of 'quasi', hints at scepticism toward William's claim.[527] Licence also notes that Herman calls Edward's promise of the throne to William a 'rumour'.[528] Such a comment fits with Licence's argument that Edgar Ætheling was Edward's chosen heir before his death.[529] Herman and Guy, again, develop the same theme: i.e. criticism of William's claim to the throne. Herman was engaging with the contemporary debate c. 1070. His views, moreover, would have made unpleasant reading for the Norman regime: I argued in the previous chapter that scepticism about the rationale for the Conquest explains why William's claim to the throne evolves in the works of Jumièges and Poitiers (i.e. between 1070 and 1077).

The lack of divine support for Viking and Norman invasions is important, because Herman argues that God intervenes on behalf of His chosen people. What is more, He constantly intervenes on behalf of the English. Indeed, Herman is relentless in making this point. At the very beginning of his *Miracles*, in the penultimate sentence of his prologue, Herman describes how God 'defends by His favourable protection that people whom we therefore make bold to call His, lest wretched devils find refuge in a gloomy temple'.[530] From the outset of his narrative, Herman juxtaposes the chosen people, protected by

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[526] 'Et quasi boni Eaduuardi suique quodammodo consanguinei iustior hereditarius possedit. Rumor enim habebatur plurium, bone memorie regem Eaduuardum iam dicto duci Normannico denominasse regnum, tam consanguinitatis causa, quam etiam quia non erat ei successionis soboles ulla. Quibus de causis appetitu sic promoto Anglici regiminis, et Hæstinges nauibus appulsis Normannicis, fit bellum die statuta': *Ibid*, pp. 62-3.

[527] Licence, 'History and Hagiography', p. 523; van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest', p. 844.

[528] Licence, 'History and Hagiography', p. 523.

[529] Licence, 'Edward the Confessor', pp. 113-27.

[530] 'His quique meritis patroni unde loquimur suam protegat plebem, ne miseri tristem zabuli trudantur in edem': *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 4-5.

God, with demonic forces. Who are the chosen people? Who are the demonic forces? God intervenes in the world, as mentioned above, in the reign of Alfred. In that episode, it is the English, therefore, who are part of the Almighty's chosen people, whereas the Vikings, 'hateful to God', are demonized. Two further examples offer more food for thought.

The first example occurs, as touched upon above, when Herman discusses the time of King Swein. After stating that the king has imposed a tribute on the English and that the monks of Bury have spurned the tax collectors, Herman wrote that 'the Lord's bounteous mercy never fails, but pours down upon, faithful petitioners'.[531] Aelwine the monk prays to the martyr, and Edmund intervenes. The saint, so the story goes, asks Aelwine to relate a message to Swein which ends with a threat: unless Swein stops what he is doing, the king will find out that 'God and myself, on behalf of our people, are displeased with you'.[532] Swein, according to Herman, does not heed the warning, and the English, 'whose God forsakes them not', are saved.[533] The Viking king, Herman records, is killed by divine vengeance.[534] Swein's body, Herman continues, does not merit to be buried in England by heavenly decree.[535] Herman portrays the English, again, as part of God's chosen people, whereas Swein represents Satan's camp.

Herman drives home this point about Swein by emphasizing the king's demonic qualities in a couple of ways. He glosses his death with a quotation, which Licence identifies, from Scripture. Borrowing from Romans 1:20, he wrote that 'since the creation of the world God's invisible designs have been made known from what has been made to happen'.[536] One of the guiding principles of God's

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[531] 'Quoniam uero querentibus fideli mente nusquam deest sed affluit largitio dominice misericordie': *Ibid*, pp. 16-7.
[532] 'Deo michique pro populo displices': *Ibid*, pp. 18-9. I have amended the translation from 'the champions of our people' to 'on behalf of our people'.
[533] 'Quorum non obliuiscitur Deus eorum': *Ibid*, pp. 24-5.
[534] 'Suueyn... ultio peregit diuina': *Ibid*, pp. 24-5.
[535] 'Dispositione dictante superna': *Ibid*, pp. 26-7.
[536] 'Dei inuisibilia per ea que facta sunt a mundi cognosci creatura', *Ibid*, pp. 24-5.

invisible design is provided two verses above in Romans 1:18: 'For God's wrath is revealed from heaven upon all the ungodliness and injustice of those men who suppress the truth in injustice'.[537] This is, of course, what happens to Swein. Citing Romans 1:20, Herman affirms that the Vikings' actions are those of sinners, who are opposed to God. Herman's description of the troubles that the English face is also revealing. Referring to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, he describes the invasion as 'an accursed tenth-year affliction (*confusio*) on the English'.[538] He had anticipated this scenario in the narrative found in his *Miracles* just before Æthelred II flees to Normandy. There he wrote: 'While peace is taken for granted, unforeseen trouble (*confusio*) lurks at the gates'.[539] After Swein's death, he concludes that the King of kings is now exalted 'and the king of confusion (*confusio*) at the same time laid low'.[540] Swein is the personification of the 'confusio' in England.

By referring to the king of confusion, Herman places Swein's actions in the context of the ongoing battle between good and evil. There is an exegetical tradition in the works of Augustine,[541] Jerome,[542] and Cassiodorus,[543] and

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[537] Roman 1:18: 'Reuelatur enim ira Dei de celo super omnem impietatem et iniustitiam hominum eorum qui ueritatem in iniustitia detinent'.

[538] *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 24-7.

[539] *Ibid*, pp. 14-5.

[540] *Ibid*, pp. 26-7.

[541] Og, king of Basan, is 'the "heaper-together," such is the meaning of Og, and, king of "confusion", which Basan signifies. For what else does the devil heap together but confusion?' (*Coaceruantem, quod interpretatur Og, et regem confusionis, quod interpretatur Basan. Quid enim coaceruat diabolus, nisi confusionem?*). For the Latin, see Augustine of Hippo, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, (3 vols., Turnhout, 1956), iii, psalm 135, par. 9, line 18. For the English, see *St. Aurelius Augustine: Expositions on the Psalms, Digital Psalms version 2007*, p. 1091.

[542] 'Those who exalt themselves will be humbled, and the king of confusion [i.e. the Devil] was allowed to drag them to the foundations of the earth, or, as it is correctly considered in Hebrew, to the depths of the pit' (*Omnis qui se exaltat, humiliabitur, etiam rex confusionis passus est, ut detraheretur in fundamenta terre, siue ut uerius in hebraico habetur: in profundum laci*). For the Latin, see Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, ed. M. Adriaen (2 vols., Turnhout, 1963), i, Bk. 6, ch. 14, par. 15, line 12. My translation.

[543] 'Og means "closing", Basan "confusion". The king of confusion is rightly labelled a closing, for when the devil closes the path of salvation before us, he leaves us in the sacrilegious confusion in which he reigns most fouly. This is why his city is called Babylon, which again means "confusion". But God's power destroys all of this when He leads us to the gift of His mercy' (*Og conclusio dicitur, Basan confusio. Merito ergo confusionis rex conclusio perhibetur. Diabolus enim quando nobis iter illud salutare concludit, in confusione nos nefanda derelinquit, in qua ille teterrimus regnat. Vnde et ciuitas eius Babylonia dicitur, que item confusio nominatur.*

Bede[544] that identifies the king of confusion with either the Devil or his servants, such as Og, an Amorite king whom Moses slew. The audience, at the end of the chapter concerning Swein, would also be mindful of how Herman introduced this particular event in English history: 'Joyous spirits applaud, while earthly voices sing a jubilant song to God, for Edmund, king and martyr, displayed his magnificent power in the days of King Æthelred'.[545] The cause for this celebration is the anticipated demise of Swein, who, in Herman's narrative, had just landed in Gainsborough. This would prove to be his undoing, for Herman wrote that 'God's unseen judgement loomed over him'.[546] To Herman, all the world's a stage.

The second example happens when Herman records the reign of Cnut, son of Swein Forkbeard. Would he be like his father? Initially, this seems to be the case. Cnut is 'threatening evil upon England' ('intentans malum Anglie').[547] His just reign, however, is attributed to God's intervention. The Almighty, according to Herman, 'caused him to lose interest in this goal'.[548] He did not, so the story goes, replicate Swein's wickedness: the wolf was not as ravenous as first thought.[549] Some accompanying poetry makes this point clearer: 'After changing Saul,/ The big bad wolf, into Paul,/ He now turns a wild man/ Into the most Christian king!'[550] What had happened in Alfred's day had also happened in that of Cnut: i.e. God had found in favour of part of his chosen people, the

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Sed hec omnia uirtus diuina destruit, quando nos ad misericordie sue dona perducit). For the Latin, see Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, ed. M. Adriaen (2 vols., Turnhout 1958), ii, psalm 134, lines 201-4. For the English, see Cassiodorus, *Explanation on the Psalms*, trans. P. G. Walsh (3 vols., New York, 1990-1), iii, p. 347.

[544] 'All reprobates thus serve the Devil... Their city is rightly called Babylon, that is, "confusion"' (*Reprobi ita omnes diabolo deseruiunt... eorum ciuitas recte Babylon, id est confusio, nominatur*). For the Latin, see Bede, *Retractatio in Actus apostolorum*, ed. M. L. W. Laistner (Turnhout, 1983), ch. 4, line 125. My translation.

[545] 'Plausu manuum letitie spiritualis Deo proferatur iubilum uocis materialis, quoniam rex et martyr Eadmundus prepollens magnificus; Edelredi regis temporibus refulsit miris uirtutibus': *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 14-5.

[546] 'Ad dampnum sui uidelicet, cui occultum Dei iudicium imminet': *Ibid*, pp. 14-5.

[547] *Ibid*, pp. 40-1.

[548] *Ibid*, pp. 40-1.

[549] *Ibid*, pp. 40-1.

[550] 'Que Saulum mutauit in Paulum/ In eodem lupum magnum,/ Nunc habet ferum hominem/ In Christianissimum regem': *Ibid*, pp. 42-3.

English. Herman drew a comparison between the two events by referring to the same passage of the Bible. He previously wrote that 'God intervened' ('dextere excelsi mutatione') during Alfred's reign.[551] This, as Licence notes, is a borrowing from Psalm 76:11.[552] The same citation is found when he notes Cnut's just actions. Herman wrote: 'These were the results of God's intervention' ('talis est mutatio excelsi dextere').[553] God was protecting part of his chosen people, the English.

Cnut begins as a villain, but, after divine intervention, he ends up as a godly king. Given the context in which Herman was writing, this transformation may have been intended as a lesson for the Conqueror. Herman offered two models of behaviour for William: he could either be another Swein or another Cnut. Herman does not appear to have been such a reductionist as to claim that God disapproved of non-English rulers holding the reins of government in England. The common theme that runs throughout his *Miracles* is the favour which God and Edmund show to the faithful and, adiitionally, the opposition that they demonstrate to the ungodly. The early indicators, however, are that William is more like Swein than Cnut.

Herman describes Swein's tribute (*tributum*) as evil (*malum*). In the same breath, he then refers in euphemistic language to the same form of taxation under William as 'a misfortune (*infortunium*) still generating much suffering in England, which would be happy, prosperous, and sweet beyond measure if it were not for the tributes imposed by its kings'.[554] Herman falls short of calling William's taxation evil. He does, however, elide the concept of English misfortune (*infortunium*) under William and the evil (*malum*) that they suffer under Swein a little later in the chapter: he refers to Swein's tribute for a second

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[551] *Ibid*, pp. 6-7.
[552] Psalm 76:11 reads: 'And I said, Now have I begun: this is the change of the right hand of the most High' (*Et dixi inbecillitas mea est hec commutatio dextere Excelsi*).
[553] *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 42-3.
[554] 'Infortunium hodieque luit Anglia multum, felix, diues, ac dulcis nimium, si non forent tributa suorum regum': *Ibid,* pp. 14-5.

time as an evil misfortune ('malum infortunii').[555] If one re-reads the chapter, the misfortune (*infortunium*) under William could, therefore, be reverse-engineered as an evil misfortune ('malum infortunii'). When Herman wrote his *Miracles* c. 1070, William appeared to have been treading the path of the wicked. Given that Herman's characterisation of Swein replicates Guy's criticisms of William, Herman may have imbued Swein with qualities which William was thought to possess c. 1070, and which Herman wanted to criticise. Cnut and William are associated with evil (*malum*) at the beginning of their reigns. Would William undergo the same change as Cnut? In c. 1070, it seemed as though he was still unregenerate.

It is evident in the above examples that Herman believed that God intervened in favour of His chosen people. Divine intervention, moreover, always favoured the English, and Edmund was the means by which this favour manifested itself. Herman affirms this conclusion in the antepenultimate chapter of his *Miracles*. He wrote that the Almighty 'reveals to His people His salvation, which He promised, through the prophet, would appear throughout the world, speeding us on our path to heaven'.[556] After lamenting the neglect of Edmund's shrine during the abbacy of Leofstan (1044-65), he also observes in the same chapter that Edmund is 'revered by men… forgetful of the mercy that God generously displayed to His people on many occasions through the saint's agency'.[557] All is made well, however, when the monks of Bury give Edmund his proper due.

Edmund is allied with the English, who are part of God's chosen people. The fact that William's invasion is not mandated by heaven is, therefore, even more significant, for it seems to imply that William and his invaders are neither part of God's chosen people, nor part of God's providential design. This tallies, of course, with Folcard's comments that the Normans are demons who ravage the

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[555] *Ibid*, pp. 16-7.
[556] 'Representans suis suum salutare; per prophetam promissum omnes fines terre uisurum, iter salutarium nostrorum prosperando': *Ibid*, pp. 48-9.
[557] 'Veneratur… ab hominibus oblita Dei misericordia per eum totiens magnifice suis exhibita': *Ibid*, pp. 52-3.

land and brought with them fire and the sword and the havoc of war. Indeed, Herman had read Folcard's *Life* and quotes it.[558] He seems to agree with Folcard's description of the Normans, but he develops his own argument in more covert ways. Careful reading of Herman's *Miracles* finds the Normans in England being associated more and more with their sinful, Viking predecessors. Herman diverges from Folcard, however, on the issue of who is to blame for the Conquest. The latter, as demonstrated in Chapter 3, argues that the Conquest was the fault of a corrupt element of the English ruling elite. Herman assignes no blame explicitly, but his narrative implicitly shows that the Normans were acting against God's will.

Herman also adds new elements to the history of the English, elements which forge a new identity for them. They are not, as described in Guy's *Song*, like lambs to the slaughter during the Conquest. Instead, for models, he looks to the Sicambri. Licence argues that what is called the *First Life* (*BHL 7711*) of King Sigebert III of Austrasia is a letter from a researcher to an inquirer. The researcher, according to Licence, was Herman and the inquirer Sigebert of Gembloux.[559] The letter contains details which resemble Herman's description of Swein's imposition of tribute on the English.

The details come from a narrative, provided in the letter, which derives from the *Liber Historiae Francorum (LHF)*. The rest of this paragraph is an abbreviation of the first four chapters of *LHF*, summarising that narrative.[560] After a ten-year siege, Troy is conquered by the Greeks. Two of Troy's princes, Priam and Antenor, set out across the sea with twelve thousand Trojans. They arrive at the Maeotian swamps and build a city called Sicambria. At that time, the Alans revolt against Roman rule. After Emperor Valentinian defeats this rebellious people, the Alans retreat into the Maeotian swamps. The emperor

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[558] Licence, 'The Date and Authorship', pp. 284-5, fn. 109.
[559] Licence, 'New Light', in Licence, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, p. 95.
[560] For the Latin, see *Liber Historiae Francorum*, ed. B. Krusch (1888), pp. 241-44. For a translation, see *Liber Historiae Francorum*, ed. and tr. B. S. Bachrach (Lawrence, 1973), pp. 23-6.

says that he will grant ten years' remission from tribute if anyone can expel them. The Trojans, alongside the Romans, drive them out, and Antenor's people duly earn their reward. After their performance against the Alans, Valentinian renames the Trojans as the Franks, for the latter means 'fierce' in the Attic tongue. After their ten years is up, the emperor sends his tax collectors to the Frankish people, but the latter spurns them. They do not want to pay tribute: they want to be free for ever more. So they kill the emperor's officials. That said, the Franks cannot withstand the might of Rome, and they depart to the farthest reaches of the Rhine.

The bulk of this material is found in Herman's letter to Sigebert. After relating the fall of Troy, Herman records that Aeneas and Antenor (as opposed to Priam and Antenor in the *LHF*) leave for new horizons. The former, according to Herman, goes on to found Rome, and the latter advances to the Maeotian swamps with twelve thousand Trojans. Herman's letter (unlike the *LHF*) relates that, during this time, the Romans conquer the world and make a census for the purpose of taxation. Herman's narrative then reverts to the account in the *LHF*. The Alans, so his story goes, rebel against Roman rule and retreat into the Maeotian swamps. Valentinian, according to Herman, then states that anyone who conquers them will be free from tribute for ten years. Herman describes how the Sicambri (i.e. the Trojans in the *LHF*) subjugate the Alans, and the emperor calls them 'the Franks' on account of their ferocity. After ten years, Valentinian, Herman continues, crushes them after their refusal to pay tribute, and Priam is killed. Herman wrote that the Franks then leave Sicambria for Germany. Herman's letter (unlike the *LHF*) then notes that Caesar conquers the Gauls after a ten-year war.[561]

Licence identifies two aspects that are similar in Herman's letter and his *Miracles*. First, Caesar's ten-year conflict with the Gauls recalls Swein's ten-year conflict against the English. Second, the East Anglian resistance against paying

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[561] *PL* 160, pp. 726-27.

tribute to Swein resembles the Frankish refusal to pay the same tax to Valentinian. To this, I add two more points of detail. First, the census that is undertaken before Swein orders tribute to be imposed in England resembles the census which the Romans carry out when they rule the world.[562] Second, the will of the Franks to remain free from taxation is very similar to that of the monks of Bury. The difference is that the Franks kill the tax collectors, whereas the people of Bury manage to drive them away and retain their immunity, at least for the time being.[563] Since, however, the threat of taxation remains, Edmund is obliged to protect his community by killing the instigator of the tax. This effects a reversal of the Frankish legend, for whereas, in the latter, Valentinian's forces kill the rebellious Frankish king (Priam), in the Edmund story Swein (i.e. another Valentinian) is killed by St Edmund, intervening as the patron of the English rebels. Herman, according to Licence, thus portrays the East Anglians as enjoying more favour than the Franks, who, according to Bernard Bachrach, were a people that included the Normans - England's recent conquerors.[564]

Herman's portrayal of the English as part of God's chosen people affirms Licence's argument. But Herman does more than show that the East Anglians curried greater favour with God than the Normans. First, Herman implies that God does not favour the Normans, in England at any rate. Second, his narrative contains a political message, just like that of Folcard. He probably indends to empower the English to resist Norman rule, given Norman conduct in England: Herman portrays William as more like Swein than Cnut when he wrote his *Miracles*, because the Normans inflict the same 'misfortune' on the English as

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[562] Compare 'Uniuersus orbis imperio Romano subactus est, et descriptione facta sub censu redactus' in *BHL 7711*, and 'Porro unanimi eloquio ab incolis censu refutato tributario' in Herman's *Miracles*. For *BHL 7711*, see *PL* 160, p. 272. For Herman's *Miracles*, see *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 16-7.

[563] Compare 'non demus Romanis tributa et erimus nos o iugiter liberi' with two comments which Herman made. First, 'they [i.e. the monks of Bury] owed tax to no one but the saint alone' (*se tributarios nullius fore dicunt nisi sancti solius*). Second, the tax collectors returned to Swein 'without any tribute from a place so immune' (*nedum tributum a tam libero loco*). For the *LHF*, see *Liber Historiae Francorum*, ed. Krusch, p. 243. For Herman, see *Miracles*, ed. Licence, p. 16-7.

[564] For Licence's argument, see Licence, 'New Light', in *idem*, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 97-8.

Swein had done before. Why, Herman's audience might have asked, should William's oppressive taxation go unchecked? (The same question arises at this point in *ASC D*, which complains of William's tax in its annal for 1066.) Herman's story about the demise of the Viking king Swein, moreover, killed two birds with one stone: for the Normans traced their ancestry back to both the Vikings and the Trojans. The story about the East Anglians' resistance to Swein, a servant of the devil, provides a divine mandate to resist William on both counts. According to Herman, God and Edmund fight on the side of the English, whom he portrays as more ferocious than the Normans. Herman is selling the English the story that they could expect to be victorious over their current king as previously had been the case with Swein. Ann Williams has examined the English revolt against Norman rule up to the period when Herman was writing. This is the context in which Herman's narrative (which is a criticism of oppressive, imperial taxation) was written. Herman's *Miracles* can be read as affirming English resistance.

Thus far in this chapter, in combination with Chapters 1, 2, and 3, I have revealed just how precarious William's rule was up to c. 1070. What is more, Chapter 3 (and the 'Vision of the Green Tree') demonstrates a positive frame of mind among the conquered not to be overcome by William's forces. Herman's *Miracles* add further evidence of this attitude of resistance. The English had seen the Vikings come and go: if history was anything to go by, the English would triumph once again over the Vikings' descendants, the Normans, who appeared to be wolves in sheep's clothing. In assigning no blame to any segment of English society, Herman was going one step further than Folcard against the Norman oppressors. Herman's *Miracles*, as a narrative, was therefore even more empowering for the English than Folcard's *Life*. Edmund's agency, moreover, furnished his argument with the divine seal of approval. The sancitified king, in Herman's *Miracles*, becomes a focal point of resistance. A miracle narrative, moreover, was a good place to promote such a message: the community of Bury c. 1070 was subject to the king of England, but, through Edmund's intercession, it had recourse to the King of kings. Herman's *Miracles*, like the other sources I

previously explored, act as a mirror. They reflect conversations which were current both in England and on the continent in the aftermath of the Conquest.

My analysis also affects Paul Dalton's argument that William was an accomplished peacemaker between October 1066 and January 1067. Dalton concludes his thesis with the following sentence: 'Unquestionably a conqueror, he was also an accomplished peacemaker, albeit a remarkably brutal, threatening and ruthless one'.[565] Tacitus surely has the last word here: 'To plunder, butcher, steal, these things they misname empire: they make a desolation and they call it peace'.[566]

Herman, in his *Miracles*, wrote about the concerns of Bury's monks (both for themselves and the English more generally), with regards to the changing political landscape. In the process, he explored God's immutable will. According to Herman, Edmund was the vehicle of God's intervention against the Vikings in the time of Alfred and Æthelred II, and he always favoured the English. Would Edmund be dispatched against their successors, the Normans? Only time would tell.

What is evident from my discussion so far is that Edmund emerges out of Herman's *Miracles*, written in the aftermath of the Conquest, as England's patron saint. Herman reinterprets English history with Edmund placed centre-stage in the theatre of God's providence. Did Edmund's identity as England's patron saint develop further in Herman's *Miracles*? I already show that Edmund is closely allied there with the English people. I also demonstrate that he aids both Alfred and Æthelred II. That said, Herman goes one step further with the relationship between Edmund and both Cnut and Edward the Confessor. I will

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[565] P. Dalton, 'William the Peacemaker: the Submission of the English to the Duke of Normandy, October 1066-January 1067', in P. Dalton & D. Luscombe, ed., *Rulership and Rebellion in the Anglo-Norman World, c. 1066-c. 1216: Essays in Honour of Professor Edmund King* (Surrey, 2015), pp. 21-44.

[566] Tacitus, *Agricola, Germania & Dialogue on Oratory*, trans. M. Hutton, W. Peterson & rev. R. M. Ogilvie, E. H. Warmington & Michael Winterbottom (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 80-1.

now argue that Herman maintains that Cnut and Edward owed their peaceful and just reigns to Edmund's favour. The successes of Cnut and Edward are also Edmund's successes. Herman also claims that Cnut and Edward actively cultivated a special relationship with the saint. In the section that follows, I explore each king's relationship with Edmund in turn.

When discussing Cnut's reign in chapter nineteen, Herman blurs the lines between Edmund as a vehicle of God's mercy and an advocate for divine intervention. Edmund, at the beginning of the chapter, is described as being 'down here [i.e. on earth] defending his people; up there [i.e. in heaven], intervening no less for their sake'.[567] Using his influence with God, Edmund, according to Herman, is said to have 'altered the inclinations of the weather, averted the bitterness of suffering, and completely calmed the riots of capricious minds ('mitigans iniquorum motus animorum') by various interventions'.[568] As noted above, Herman goes on to claim that Cnut was about to unleash evil throughout England, but that God made him choose a different path: and because Cnut does not follow in the footsteps of Swein, he 'prospered in every venture he undertook and resolved noble-mindedly ('instinctu bone mentis stabiliens') to observe only the best of what the laws had to offer'.[569] Given what is said at the start of the Herman's chapter about Cnut's potential for wickedness, God's intervention is ascribed to Edmund, in heaven, convincing Him to intervene. Herman's use of language favours the reading that the stabilizing ('stabiliens') of Cnut's mind is the result of Edmund calming the commotion (*motus*) of his thoughts. All of this results in Cnut visiting the shrine of the saint, who is described as 'his defender after God' ('protectorem suum post Deum'). After bestowing gifts and money, Cnut grants Edmund's abbey a

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[567] 'Hic suos patrocinando, illic haud minus pro suis interueniendo': *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 40-1.
[568] 'Valens apud Deum alienat qualitates aerum, tergiuersat acredinem passionum, radicitus mitigans iniquorum motus animorum uicissitudine patrata rerum diuersarum': *Ibid*, pp. 40-1.
[569] 'Voluit prosperatur totus, instinctu bone mentis stabiliens sequi queque optima legis': *Ibid*, pp. 40-1.

royal charter, which frees it from all customary duties.[570] Edmund, according to Herman, is the most important saint for Cnut. Edmund's advocacy and intervention benefit the king and the realm.

Thereafter in his *Miracles*, Herman gives a résumé of Cnut's career: Cnut is a good king and generous in almsgiving; he pays for boys of lowly background to be educated, thereby fulfilling the Scriptural injunction to raise the needy out of the dust; and for the good of the realm, he constitutes the government of England as a tetrarchy, imitating Moses, who shared the responsibility of ruling his people with Aaron and Hur.[571] In all these respects, Herman credits Cnut's successes, just laws, and good deeds to Edmund as much as he does to God.

Edmund is also instrumental in Edward the Confessor's reign. Herman portrays Edward as the greatest relief to his country, which previously suffered many hardships. While he was on the throne, England, Herman continues, was blessed (*felix*) in its observance of good laws ('bonarum legum obseruatione').[572] Herman states that Edward was devoted to every virtue and did good deeds.[573] Edward, according to Herman, also venerated Edmund to such a degree that he sought his aid in the governing of the realm ('impetrans regni gubernationis suffragium').[574] Herman records that Edward, like Cnut, gave gifts to Bury: i.e. the eight and half hundreds.[575] Edward goes one step further than Cnut in the *Miracles* narrative, however, and becomes a member of Edmund's *familia* (i.e.

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[570] 'Finally, of course, he visited St Edmund, his defender after God, enriched his abode with a royal charter, presented special gifts and revenues, and issued a charter freeing the place from all customary duties' (*Demum quippe protectorem suum post Deum inuisens sanctum Eadmundum actu regali xeniauit locum, donis ac reditibus propriis munificauit, liberumque omni consuetudine chyrographizauit*): *Ibid*, pp. 40-1.

[571] *Ibid*, pp. 40-3.

[572] *Ibid*, pp. 44-5.

[573] *Ibid*, pp. 44-5.

[574] 'Devoted to upholding every virtue, he loved what was good and became a doer of good deeds. The reverence with which he came down to St Edmund can hardly be described. The king - that imperial horseman - became a mere pedestrian for the last mile of his journey, and all his nobles with him, paying homage to the holy martyr and entreating his help in governing the realm' (*Adiens sanctum Eadmundum uix effari potest cum qua ueneratione descenderit ad illum. Eques rex imperialis fit modo pedes uia miliarii aduentans cum optimatibus suis, uenerando martyrem sanctum, tum impetrans regni gubernationis suffragium*): *Ibid*, pp. 44-5.

[575] *Ibid*, pp. 44-5.

when he enters into confraternity with the monks of Bury).[576] Herman shows
that the success of Edward's just and peaceful reign (the details of which
Herman borrows from Folcard's *Life*)[577] was indebted to Edmund.[578] In the same
way that he ascribes Alfred's victories to Edmund, Herman links Edward's
triumphs, as found in Folcard's *Life*, with Edmund. The martyr did for Edward
what he had done for Alfred, Æthelred II, and Cnut. Edmund is therefore
presented as the patron saint of successive, English kings and of the English
people from the ninth century to the present.

I now explore two aspects of Edmund's persona which link his role as the
champion of his people against evildoers and invaders and his rise as the patron
saint of the English. The first is Edmund's humbling of the proud in Herman's
Miracles. The second is his identity as Father of the Fatherland. Both will be
identified below, in Chapter 6, as important elements of his identity as
England's patron saint. In order to consider the second aspect, I bring Goscelin
of Saint-Bertin's *Miracles of St Edmund*, written c. 1100, into the mix. The epithet
Father of the Fatherland was first attributed to Edmund, between 1066 and
1074/5, in the liturgy at Bury.[579] Goscelin then incorporated this accolade into
his *Miracles* a generation later. I deal with each aspect in turn.

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[576] *Ibid*, pp. 56-7.
[577] Licence, 'The Date and Authorship', pp. 284-5, fn. 109.
[578] 'This king's kindly honesty and the remarkable peace of his carefree reign ensured that his realm was peopled with his fellow countrymen and that neighbouring lands were pacified and befriended' (*Huius lenis simplicitas, mireque pacis securitas, suos sibi sic propagauit compatriotas, deuinxit ac intime federauit regiones finitimas*): *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 50-1.
[579] The antiphons, according to Herman, were composed in the reign of William I and during the abbacy of Gervin of Saint-Riquier (i.e. Abbot Gervin I): *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 84-7. The *terminus post quem* is William's coronation on 25 December 1066. The *terminus ante quem* is Abbot Gervin I's death in 1074/5. There is some confusion as to which year Gervin died. In his *Chronicle of Saint-Riquier*, Hariulf wrote, 'In the same year [as Gervin I's death], Bishop Guy of Amiens, an especial friend of our church, died' (*Eodem anno obiit Wido Ambianensis episcopus nostri loci amator precipuus*): *Chronique*, ed. Lot, p. 274. Hariulf dated Gervin's death to 'feria iii secunde hebdomode que habebatur v nonas Martii': *Ibid*, p. 272. These conditions did not occur in 1074, but they did in 1075. It is this uncertainty around Hariulf's statement that dates Guy's death to either 1074 or 1075. That it is Abbot Gervin I and not Abbot Gervin II to whom Herman is referring, see *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 86-7, fn. 336.

Herman developed various antitypes of the martyr in order to show how Edmund humbles the proud. Three stand out. The first is Sheriff Leofstan, who 'set little value upon justice'.[580] Nor did he, according to Herman, respect Edmund's authority. Herman relates that the corrupt official, instead, pushed his own agenda to increase his worldly possessions. His wickedness, Herman continues, was revealed when a woman ran from his summons to seek Edmund's protection. She claim sanctuary, the monks permit her entry into the church, and she stays by Edmund's relics: the saint, so the story goes, had taken her into his custody.

Leofstan, according to Herman, put little store by Edmund's power to protect her: '[He] decided upon a contest to show which of them was more powerful: the martyr, in freeing people, or the judge, in condemning them'.[581] The scene is set, but it is not to be Leofstan's day. Herman criticises Leofstan's 'devilish presumption' ('ausu demonico') when he decides to violate the saint's sanctuary by sending his lackeys to retrieve her.[582] God, the just judge, then decides in Edmund's favour and dispatches the martyr: 'To arms, God's new warrior Edmund! Bear forth the banner of your first campaign and crush the enemies of God's holy church! Relieve the captive! Reveal the extent of your heavenly power!'[583]

The monks of Bury beg for divine vengeance. Their prayers are answered, Herman continues, when Leofstan loses his mind. A demon then takes hold of him and retains control of his body even after his death. The wanderings of his corpse only abate when Herman describes how Leofstan is 'sewn in a calf's skin and sunk in a lake.'[584] Herman sarcastically comments: 'such is his

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[580] 'Minus habebat tenoris iustitie', *Ibid*, pp. 10-1.
[581] 'Quod dum iudex comperit quem diximus, modo altercationis quis eorum sit potissimus, uel martyr in liberatione', *Ibid*, pp. 12-3.
[582] *Ibid*, pp. 12-3.
[583] 'Eia tyro Dei Eadmunde tyrocinii iam signum exere, et hostes sancte Dei ecclesie comprime. Captiuatam releua, cuius apud Deum sis potentie reuela': *Ibid*, pp. 12-3.
[584] 'Mergitur in stagnum, insutus tergore uitulino': *Ibid*, pp. 12-3.

monument'.[585] This remark, of course, juxtaposes Leofstan's gruesome resting place with that of Edmund's sepulchre. Herman's account then draws to a close with the following remark about Leofstan: 'Nor, like all the wicked, shall he survive the Judgment'. The sheriff, unlike Edmund, would not see the Pearly Gates.[586]

In the course of this narrative, Herman demonstrates that Edmund humbles Leofstan, a servant of the Devil. The sheriff is animated by Satan and, like the fallen angel, damned. His madness chimes with the contemporary belief that such an affliction could be the product of demonic possession or that by wandering from God he wanders in the head.[587] It may be no coincidence that such a gruesome miracle was written during a period when the power of the sheriff was increasing, in the aftermath of the Conquest, while the role of earl diminished. William Morris, Richard Abels, and Richard Sharpe have investigated the development of the role of the sheriff after 1066, and all concluded that new Norman sheriffs were quick to exploit their office at that time.[588] One such official, whom William I found against, was Peter de Valognes. Peter, indeed, may have been vexing the abbey of Bury when Herman wrote his *Miracles*. William, in two writs dated potentially to c. 1077, found against Peter in the abbey's favour.[589] Did Bury's frustration at Peter's actions lead to the inclusion of the figure, historical or otherwise, called Leofstan? Was his demise meant to be a lesson to Peter and other like-minded, grasping

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[585] 'Sic habens monumentum': *Ibid*, pp. 12-3.

[586] 'Quique non resurget in iudicio cum impiis': *Ibid*, pp. 12-4.

[587] For the most recent work on madness in the Middle Ages, see C. Trenery & P. Horden, 'Madness in the Middle Ages', in G. Eghigian, ed., *The Routledge History of Madness and Mental Health* (Abingdon, 2017), p. 68-9. For the notion that to wander from God was to wander in the head, see M. Sharma, 'Nebuchadnezzar and the Defiance of Measure in the Old English *Daniel*', *English Studies* 86 (2005), pp. 103-126. Licence proposed the hypothesis that Herman understood madness as resulting from wandering from God in relation to Timaean cosmology: Licence, 'The Cult', in *idem*, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 126-7.

[588] R. Sharpe, 'The Earliest Norman Sheriffs', *History* 101 (2016), pp. 485-494; R. Abels, 'Sheriffs, Lord-Seeking and the Norman Settlement of the South-East Midlands', *ANS* 19 (1996), pp. 19-50; W. A. Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300* (Manchester, 1927), pp. 17-74; *Idem*, 'The Office of Sheriff in the Early Norman Period', *EHR* 33 (1918), pp. 145-175.

[589] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087)*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998), nos. 42-3, pp. 212-3.

officials? Herman may have imbued Swein with the qualities he wished to condemn in William I: he may also have done the same with Leofstan to attack Peter or other contemporary officials. Whatever the case, the miracle portrays Edmund as God's warrior, who is ready to fight when called upon to defend justice. To show irreverence towards such a martyr and the values he stood for would lead to punishment both in this life and the next.

The demise of the sheriff, an important cog in the machinery of royal justice, leads nicely to Herman's next account: the demise of a king. Swein Forkbeard is Edmund's second antitype. I discuss his death above, but one detail should be noted. Herman describes the king as being 'puffed up with the excesses of unrestrained pride' ('effreni animi elatus nimietate') when he set his mind on conquering England.[590] His invasion, as shown above, would cost him dearly, and Herman records that only the monks of Bury, supported by God and Edmund, dared to oppose him. They send the tax collectors back to their master empty-handed, shortly before Swein meets his end. Edmund humbles a proud tyrant and usurper.

The third antitype is the Dane, Osgod Clapa. What follows is a summary of chapter twenty-three of Herman's *Miracles*.[591] King Edward arrives at Bury in order to enter into confraternity with the abbey. Present in his retinue is a royal official, Osgod. Wearing his animal skins and armlets, he carries a gilt, inlaid axe, which is thrown over his shoulder. He is, like Swein, puffed up with pride ('fastu superbie').[592] To add insult to injury, he enters the martyr's basilica without leaving his weapon at the door. While using it to prop himself up by the holy of holies, he loses grip of his axe: it is thrown against the church wall by the saint's power, whereupon he falls to the floor and begins writhing like a madman. This Bacchic frenzy is ascribed to demonic possession, and, after the king asks the monks to assist him, he is taken to the martyr's tomb in the hope

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[590] *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 14-5.
[591] *Ibid*, pp. 54-9.
[592] *Ibid*, pp. 56-7.

of reconciliation. After prayers to Edmund uttered on his behalf, the Dane's senses return to him, although he never fully regains his strength in his hands.

Like Leofstan and Swein, Herman portrays Osgod as a servant of the devil, whose irreverence is met with swift justice. Madness, such as that which Leofstan suffered, afflicts him, but, unlike Leofstan, he is able to remedy the situation. By the end of this miracle, Edmund has humbled three people: two royal officials and a king. All three, it should be noted, are at the heart of royal government or are, at least, its executives.

I now move on to investigate Edmund's identity as the Father of the Fatherland in Goscelin's *Miracles of St Edmund*. As mentioned above, it is first ascribed to Edmund, between 1066 and 1074/5, in the liturgy at Bury. The antiphon, composed by Warner of Rebaix, reads as follows: 'O Prince and Father of the Fatherland,/ Most noble Edmund,/ Unconquerable warrior,/ Girt with strength,/ You conquered Satan's camp/ In your final struggle./ You shall make us share in/ Your victory and glory'.[593] Divided into two books, Goscelin's *Miracles* also assigns Edmund this epithet at the beginning of Book II. By not referring to Edmund as the Father of the Fatherland at the beginning, Goscelin builds tension in the narrative arc of his text. It also enables him to create a number of foils or antitypes, to portray what the opposite of the Father of the Fatherland looks like in contrast to Edmund, before the martyr is finally accredited with the title.

The tension in Goscelin's narrative first arises in the miracle concerning the demise of the sheriff, Leofstan. Goscelin follows Herman's narrative, so there is no need to repeat what I relate above. That said, he adds details about Leofstan's

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[593] 'Princeps et pater patrie,/ Eadmunde nobilissime,/ In agone nouissimo,/ Bellator inuictissime,/ Precinctus fortitudine,/ Castra uicisti Satane./ Fac nos tue uictorie/ Participes et glorie': R. M. Thomson, 'The Music for the office of St Edmund king and martyr', *Music and Letters* 65 (1984), p. 192.

character and behaviour, which mark him out as a tyrant – the first of those antitypes.

Goscelin introduces Leofstan as a man who is feared throughout the provinces 'more from the terror of his cruelty than for his implementation of justice' ('crudelitatis potius terrore quam iusticie tenore').[594] Goscelin records that he has 'insatiable greed' ('uorago cupiditatis') and is called the Father of the Fatherland ('Pater patrie'), but he shows himself to be 'worse than a tyrant' ('tyranno... deteriorem').[595] After the woman he is about to judge flees for Edmund's protection, the sheriff, according to Goscelin, is unable to control his anger. Goscelin states that he 'flew into a rage, so swollen was his pride' ('pre nimio cordis tumore statim totus infremuit').[596] So he dispatches his 'agents of impiety' ('fautores impietatis') to retrieve her.[597] The consequence of his action, so the story goes, is that 'respect fades; reverence disappears' ('reuerentia minuit, religio euanescit'): that is, until the martyr intervenes.[598] The qualities which Goscelin ascribes to Leofstan were thought by generations of thinkers to be possessed by tyrants.

Literature on the topic developed over the course of centuries, and tyrants are often portrayed as the antithesis of a just king. Boethius, in his *Commentary on Cicero's Topics*, states that a king is characterised by temperance (*temperantia*) and *pietas*, whereas a tyrant possesses the qualities of intemperance (*intemperantia*) and cruelty (*crudelitas*).[599] He also notes that kings possess *pietas*, justice (*iustitia*), and clemency (*mansuetudo*), whereas tyrants have the opposite.[600] Cassiodorus argues that a king is restrained (*modestus*) and

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[594] *Miracles*, ed. Licence, p. 143.
[595] *Ibid*, 143.
[596] *Ibid*, 143.
[597] *Ibid*, p. 143
[598] *Ibid*, p. 145
[599] 'Aut etiam, si de eodem tyranno atque rege dubitetur, quid uterque sit, iuncta differentia utrosque designat; ut, si temperantia quidem regi uel pietas, tyranno uero et intemperantia et crudelitas conuenire dicatur': Boethius, *Commentaria in Ciceronis Topica*, ed. J. C. Orelli (1833), p. 326.
[600] 'Suppose there is a question whether a king and a tyrant are the same. We will say not at all; for in a king there is reverence, justice, and clemency, but in a tyrant all is otherwise' (*ut si*

temperate (*temperans*), whereas a tyrant is wicked (*impius*) and cruel (*immitis*).[601] In the Anglo-Saxon period, Bede portrays Cædwalla as not a king but a tyrant. The latter, according to Bede, is savage (*seuus*) towards the Northumbrians like a tyrant (*tyrannus*), and he slaughters (*cedens*) them and tears the Northumbrians to pieces (*dilacero*).[602] Caelius Sedulius describes the biblical King Herod as an impious (*impius*) king, who reveals his wrath (*ira*) and acts like a voracious lion ('ceu leo frendens') when he realises that the infant Christ has escaped the jaws of defeat.[603] Indeed, after calling Herod 'impius', Sedulius interjects and states: 'If you could properly call anyone a king who lacks piety and is unable to control his own wrath ('propriam qui non regit iram')'.[604] His use of 'regit' picks up on the image of a tyrant as the opposite of a king (*rex*) because he could not rule (*rego*) himself. Fast forward to the eleventh century. Geoffrey Martel, according to Poitiers, was a tyrant (*tyrannus*) of 'overweening pride' ('elatus animo').[605] Indeed, Poitiers relates that Martel repented too late of his 'excessive power' ('nimie fortitudinis'), 'ruinous tyranny' ('ruinose tirannidis'), and 'poisonous greed' ('perniciose cupiditatis').[606] And God, more generally for Poitiers, crushes tyrants (*tyranni*) who are given over too much to earthly delights ('terrenorum dulcedini nimium deditos').[607] Two more examples will suffice. On 10 September 1074, Gregory VII asked the bishops of

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queratur 'an idem sit rex quod tyrannus', dicemus: 'minime; nam in rege pietas, mansuetudo, iustitia; in tyranno cuncta diuersa sunt'). For the Latin, see Boethius, *De topicis differentiis*, ed. Nikitas, p. 53. For the English, see Boethius, *De topicis differentiis*, trans. E. Stump (Cornell, 1978), p. 66.

[601] 'Cum queritur quid intersit inter regem et tyrannum, adiecta differentia quid uterque sit definitur, id est: "Rex est modestus et temperans, tyrannus uero impius et immitis"': Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, ed. R. Mynors (Oxford, 1961), p. 14.

[602] 'After he [i.e. Cædwalla] occupied the Northumbrian kingdoms for a whole year, not ruling them like a victorious king but ravaging them like a savage tyrant, destroying them and with tragical slaughter rending them to pieces' (*Dein cum anno integro prouincias Nordanhymbrorum non ut rex uictor possideret, sed quasi tyrannus seuiens disperderet ac tragica cede dilaceraret*): Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave & R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 212-3.

[603] 'Impius iram/ Rex aperit.../ Ereptumque gemens facinus sibi ceu leo frendens,/ Cuius ab ore tener subito cum labitur agnus': *The Paschal Song and Hymns*, trans. Springer, pp. 50-3, lines 107-8 & 110-11.

[604] 'Si iure queat rex ille uocari,/ Qui pietate caret, propriam qui non regit iram': *Ibid*, pp. 50-3, lines 108-9.

[605] *Gesta*, ed. Davis & Chibnall, pp. 50-51.

[606] *Ibid*, pp. 56-7.

[607] *Ibid*, pp. 78-9.

France, in one of his letters, to restrain Philip I and restore order. He wrote: 'Your king, who should not be called a king but a tyrant, by the devil's prompting ('suadiente diabolo') is the head of the cause [i.e. of France's troubles]'.[608] Philip, according to Gregory, defiled his whole life with various crimes: he committed wicked acts, incited his people to do the same, devastated churches, and was adulterous and perfidious.[609] Finally, Hugh of Flavigny believed that a tyrant was defined by his pride (*superbia*).[610]

In sum, a tyrant is often juxtaposed with a just king. By c. 1100, a tyrant had variously been characterised as wicked (*impius*), unjust (*iniustus*), cruel (*immitis*), intemperate (*intemperans*), savage (*seuus*), acting like a ravaging lion ('ceu leo frendens'), unable to control his own wrath ('propriam qui non regit iram'), proud ('elatus animo' or *superbus*), greedy (*cupidus*), desirous of worldly delights ('terrenorum dulcedini'), and, more generally, as a servant of the devil ('suadiente diabolo'). A king, however, possessed *pietas*, temperance (*temperantia*), justice (*iustitia*), clemency (*mansuetudo*), and was restrained (*modestus*). That said, the distinctions are not so clear cut when considering, say, the wrath of a king. The beginning of Proverbs 19:12 famously declares: 'As the roaring of a lion, so also is the anger of a king'.[611] I demonstrated in Chapter 2 that a comparison to a lion could be viewed in both positive and negative ways. Some biblical passages, such as Proverbs 19:12, blur the lines between legitimate and illegitimate wrath. This kind of quote enabled an author to play around with such imagery. The interpretation of a text relies on the context in which, for instance, wrath or leonine imagery occur.

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[608] 'Rex uester, qui non rex sed tyrannus dicendus est, suadente diabolo caput et causa est': Gregory VII, *Registrum epistolarum*, ed. E. Caspar (2 vols., Berlin, 1920-3), i, p. 130. For the translation, see *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 1972), p. 97.

[609] *Ibid*, p. 97.

[610] 'Ecce iam regem suum, quem super altitudinem nubium extollere, immo quem contra Dominum et Christum insurgere docuerunt, iam non regem sed tyrannum affectate superbia potestatis susceperunt': Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. G.H. Pertz (1848), p. 435.

[611] Proverbs 16:14: 'Sicut fremitus leonis ita et regis ira'.

Another source of central importance for understanding Leofstan's tyrannical qualities is *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*.[612] This text was attributed to Cyprian in the Middle Ages, but it was actually composed in seventh-century Ireland.[613] Patrick Wormald remarkes that it was 'one of the most profoundly influential formulations of Christian political obligation in the entire Middle Ages'.[614] The ninth abuse that it discusses is that of an unjust king. Beginning with how a just king should govern, Pseudo-Cyprian declares that he should not be unjust ('non iniquum'). He should, rather, be a corrector of the unjust ('correctorem iniquorum'). The justice of a king, pseudo-Cyprian continues, is to oppress no one unjustly by his power. A long list of prohibitions is then discussed. Two points that are noteworthy in pseudo-Cyprian's text are that the king should not exalt the wicked ('iniquos non exaltare') and that he should destroy the impious ('impios de terra perdere').[615]

Leofstan, a representative of royal justice, should have embodied these qualities and performed these actions. His treatment of the woman seeking protection from his cruelty and injustice mark him out as a tyrant. This is in sharp contrast to Edmund's persona. Goscelin had recorded in a previous chapter how he died fighting tyranny. When providing the context for the creation of a chapel in which a blind man is cured, he rehearses Abbo's narrative from the *Passion of St Edmund*. Abbo wrote: 'stripped of the royal purple, he [i.e. Edmund] was not ashamed to confess Christ before a tyrant'.[616]

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[612] For the most recent scholarship on the text and its impact in Anglo-Saxon England, see *Two Ælfric Texts: The Twelve Abuses and The Vices and Virtues: An Edition and Translation of 'De duodecimo abusiuis' and 'De octo uitiis et de duodecimo abusiuis'*, ed. M. Clayton (Cambridge, 2013); *Eadem*, 'De Duodecim Abusiuis, Lordship and Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England', in S. McWilliams, ed., *Saints and scholars: New Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture in Honour of Hugh Magennis* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 141-63; J. Grigg, 'The Just King and *De duodecim abusiuis saeculi*', *Parergon* 27 (2010), pp. 27-52; M. Clayton, 'The Old English *Promissio regis*', *ASE* 37 (2008), pp. 95-140.

[613] M. Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss, ed., *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 54.

[614] P. Wormald, 'Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship: Some Further Thoughts', in P. Szarmach & V. Darrow Oggins, ed., *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture* (Kalamazoo, 1986), p. 160.

[615] *PL* 4, pp. 877-8

[616] 'Qui coram tyranno Christum confiteri purpura regia non erubuit exutus': *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 132-3.

The chapel, which the blind man found, had, according to Goscelin, been built amidst the ashes of 'tyrannical conflagration' ('conflagrationi tyrannice').[617] Later on in Goscelin's *Miracles*, Edmund's body is re-exhibited. During this process, the monks, Goscelin continues, find a vest in which he 'triumphed manfully over the cunning enemy's tyranny'.[618] Further on in his narrative, Goscelin documents how various people, at Edmund's translation, came to see 'our athlete, who fought the good fight, shedding his own blood, and laid low the prince of the world, who is seated in wickedness, and manfully fought his tyranny to the end; and razed the strongholds and abodes of his pride'.[619]

Leofstan's title as the Father of the Fatherland would have been absurd to the monks of Bury. His stance against Edmund, who died and overcame a tyrant, would have been even more ridiculous to them. This chapter in Goscelin's *Miracles*, and the subsequent ones which I examine in a moment, read like an extended discussion of authority and the implementation of justice. Some of the qualities and actions of the wicked, which are outlined above, are found in Edmund's future opponents, whom I discuss below. Goscelin, like his literary predecessors, juxtaposes a king with a tyrant. Though it is Edmund, king, martyr, and true Father of the Fatherland who brings about Leofstan's just demise, Goscelin holds off from ascribing the epithet to the saint at this point. Goscelin is building tension.

After Leofstan's demise, King Swein is the next tyrant that Edmund faces in Goscelin's *Miracles*. Goscelin is more explicit than Herman, however, in his criticism of the Viking. Herman develops Swein's image as a tyrant by using allusions. In part of the message which Edmund asks Aelwine to give the Viking, Herman records the following question: 'Why do you rage against my people?[620]

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[617] *Ibid*, pp. 134-5

[618] 'Callida tyrannidem hostis uiriliter triumphauit': *Ibid*, pp. 202-3.

[619] 'Athlete nostro... qui legitimo certamine non absque sui cruoris effusione, qui in maligno positus est mundi principem strauit, eiusque tyrannidem uiriliter debellauit; quique castra sedesque illius unde superbiendo ruit': *Ibid*, pp. 252-3

[620] 'In meos quid furis?': *Ibid*, pp. 18-9.

Licence points out that Herman was likening Swein to the biblical King Herod, where Sedulius Scottus, in his *Paschal Song*, comments on Herod's reaction to Christ's birth. The savage tyrant ('seuum... tyrannum') grows furious, for he reckons that the boy will one day challenge his primacy.[621] Sedulius then asks: 'Why do you rage, Herod? ('Quid furis, Herodes?') You confess Christ with your words, and yet in your heart you desire to cut his throat'.[622] Scroll down twenty-five lines and I find the following, familiar sentence: 'the impious king revealed his wrath (if you could properly call anyone a king who lacks piety and is unable to govern his own wrath), groaning over the criminal deed snatched from him, like a voracious lion ('ceu leo frendens') from whose mouth a tender lamb suddenly slips free'.[623] Six lines later, Herod is described as fierce (*atrox*).[624] Herman, as Licence notes, borrows this material from Sedulius when he describes Swein as a fierce (*trux*) king who 'snarled like a lion' ('frendens ut leo').[625]

Goscelin, on the other hand, does not beat about the bush. He portrays Swein with an array of vices. He describes how the Viking is 'wicked at heart' ('corde prauus'), 'noted for his crimes' ('actu flagitiosus'), 'heavy-handed' ('moribus asper'), 'cruel-minded' ('animo crudelis'), 'swollen with pride' ('superbia tumidus'), and 'greedy for power' ('dominandi cupidus').[626] Indeed, Goscelin states that Swein thought nothing of human life because of his 'monstrous lust for mastery' ('ob immanem cupiditatis libidinem'),[627] and he concludes that Swein was 'inspired by the devil' ('instinctu stimulatus diabolico').[628] All of this,

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[621] Sedulius, *The Paschal Song and Hymns*, pp. 50-1, line 74.
[622] 'Quid furis, Herodes? Christum sermone fateris,/ Et sensu iugulare cupis': *Ibid*, pp. 50-1, lines 83-4.
[623] 'Impius iram/ Rex aperit (si iure queat rex ille uocari,/ Qui pietate caret, propriam qui non regit iram)/ Ereptumque gemens facinus sibi ceu leo frendens,/ Cuius ab ore tener subito cum labitur agnus': *Ibid*, trans. Springer, pp. 50-3, lines 107-11.
[624] *Ibid*, pp. 52-3, line 117.
[625] *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 20-1.
[626] *Ibid*, pp. 144-5.
[627] *Ibid*, pp. 144-5.
[628] *Ibid*, pp. 146-7.

according to Goscelin, meant that he was a tyrant rather than a king ('tyranni potius quam regis').[629]

The image of Swein as a lion, as found in Herman's *Miracles*, provided Goscelin with an opportunity to show that the Viking was wicked. After Aelwine's message is relayed to Swein, the audience is told that the king, 'like a deaf asp, shut up his ears'.[630] This is a borrowing from Psalm 57:5: 'Their madness [i.e. the madness of the wicked] is according to the likeness of a serpent: like the deaf asp that shut up her ears'.[631] After characterising Swein as another hard-hearted Pharaoh, Goscelin wrote: 'the king assumes the face of a ferocious lion; the rage in his heart gives him teeth'.[632] Given that a reference to Psalm 57:5 has just occurred, this may be taken as a reference to Psalm 57:7: 'God shall break in pieces their teeth [i.e. the teeth of the wicked] in their mouth: the Lord shall break the grinders of the lions'.[633] Goscelin's monastic audience knew what was coming. Swein, who neither feared God nor men, is killed by Edmund.[634] Swein came to nothing: 'St Edmund had executed God's judgement on the wicked king'.[635]

Swein's downfall offers Goscelin the opportunity to contrast Edmund with the Viking. The martyr, he wrote: 'obeys every precept of justice and shows every dutiful instinct'.[636] Edmund is, Goscelin continues, a guardian of justice ('iusticie... custos') and punishes injustice ('iniusticiam... puniret').[637] Goscelin

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[629] *Ibid*, pp. 146-7.

[630] 'Aspis surda opturatis auribus': *Ibid*, pp. 150-1.

[631] Psalm 57:5: 'Furor eorum sicut furor serpentis sicut reguli surdi obturantis aurem suam'. I have amended the translation from 'stoppeth her ears' to 'shut up her ears'.

[632] 'Ad hec ferocissimus leo uultus immutatione furorem pectoris pro dente': *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 150-1.

[633] Psalm 57:7: 'Deus excute dentes eorum ex ore eorum molares leonum confringe Domine'.

[634] 'The unjust judge neither feared God nor men' (*Nec deum timere nec hominem reuereri*): *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 150-1. I have amended the translation from 'neither feared men nor respected them' to 'neither feared God nor respected men'. The manuscript reads 'nec deum', not 'necdum': New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 736, fol. 29ᵛ.

[635] 'Eadmundum patrato de iniquo rege Dei iudicio': *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. 154-5

[636] 'Omni iusticie tenore innormatum, omni pietatis affectu adornatum': *Ibid*, pp. 154-5.

[637] *Ibid*, pp. 154-5.

also relates that Edmund 'smashed the yoke of tyrannical (*tyrannicus*) power'.[638] The narrative in the *Miracles* then ends with Swein's death. At a time when other saints were letting their communities and abbeys be pillaged, according to Goscelin, Edmund alone 'confronted wickedness, resisted cruelty, humbled haughty enemies, and exalted humble citizens'.[639] Edmund, in this way, is cast not only as a defender and prosecutor of justice and a humbler of the proud: he is greater than his fellow saints.

Goscelin, in his *Miracles*, affirms Edmund's image as a just king by contrasting him with Osgod Clapa and Robert de Curzun. Both men are portrayed as Edmund's antitheses. When discussing the miracle concerning Osgod, Goscelin describes Edmund as a king (*rex*) who is respected for the implementation of justice ('tenore iusticie'), whereas Osgod terrorized people with his ferocity ('terrore seuitie tremebatur').[640] The Dane was, moreover, 'dedicated to cruelty (*crudelitas*) and every other crime ('ceterisque facinoribus')'.[641] Goscelin also notes that Osgod, like Swein, was a deaf asp who shut up his ears.[642] He was, moreover, puffed up in the mind ('mente tumidus').[643] Goscelin records that the result of all this was that Osgod lost his mind. The miracle then ends with Osgod's sense being restored to him after he performs penance and is reconciled to the saint. What then of Robert de Curzun?

Goscelin records that Robert's unrestrained ambition ('immoderatam ambitionem') led him down a dark path. First, he states that Robert's greed took control of him, for he asked the sheriff to give him the vill of Southwold: it lay inconveniently amid his estates. The sheriff, according to Goscelin, reluctantly agreed, but Creation personified had other plans: it took up arms against the

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[638] 'Conterente tyrannice iugum potestatis': *Ibid*, pp. 154-5.
[639] 'Obuiat iniquitati, resistit crudelitati, hostes superbos humiliat, ciues humiles exaltat': *Ibid*, pp. 156-7.
[640] *Ibid*, pp. 208-9.
[641] *Ibid*, pp. 208-9.
[642] *Ibid*, pp. 208-9.
[643] *Ibid*, pp. 208-9.

reprobates (*reproba*) (i.e., Robert and the two knights who accompany him). They were, so the story goes, terrorized and drenched in a storm.[644] Goscelin relates that when Robert and his knights realised that they had begun an evil venture ('scelestum opus') they stopped journeying on the same path, and the storm duly abated.[645] When they return to their previous path, the weather, Goscelin continues, turn against them once more. Robert, in the *Miracles*, realises at this point that it is wise to abandon the enterprise entirely, but his knights carry on. They plunder ('rapinis insistunt') the vill and disturb the peace ('quietos perturbant').[646] One then goes mad and the other suffers fits as a divine punishment. Goscelin concludes the miracle by noting that 'Edmund cast down the arrogant wrongdoers and the greedy usurpers from the heights of their audacious presumption, avenged their wrongs (*iniuria*), and asserted his lordship (*ius*)'.[647] By this point in Goscelin's *Miracles*, the audience had reached the antepenultimate chapter of Book I: just over 15,300 words had elapsed (which already exceeded the length of Herman final version of his *Miracles,* at just over 15,100 words). Still there was no sign of Edmund's epithet.

Edmund's implementation of justice is maintained throughout these two events. He is contrasted with the actions of cruel, criminal, puffed up, evil individuals who plunder what is not theirs and who have unrestrained ambition. These, as outlined above, are the qualities of tyrants. The juxtaposition of 'iniuria' with 'ius' at the end of the miracle concerning Robert emphasises Goscelin's fundamental point. Edmund is just, his opponents are not. Leofstan, at the beginning of Book I, presumptuously refers to himself as the Father of the Fatherland, but his actions betray him to be worse than a tyrant. Edmund, however, shows himself time and again to oppose tyranny wherever it arises. Goscelin then records, at the beginning of Book 2, that Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds won royal approval for a new church to be built in

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644 *Ibid*, pp. 228-9.
645 *Ibid*, pp. 228-9.
646 *Ibid*, pp. 228-9.
647 *Ibid*, pp. 228-9.

honour of Edmund, the 'king and Father of the Fatherland ('rex et pater patrie'), whose frequent miracles proved his immense influence with God today'.[648] One can imagine a particular word that may now have been on the lips of the monks of Bury: 'Euge'!

How does Edmund's identification as the Father of the Fatherland fit within the broader historical context of applying the term to individuals? No systematic study of the use of the title from antiquity to the Middle Ages has been carried out, and such an undertaking is not possible in this thesis. After scouring the sources and harnessing theresources of online databases, such as the *Brepolis Latin Cross Database Searchtool* and the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* website, I have, nevertheless, identified over one hundred references to individuals who are given the title. It is first attested in the works of Cicero,[649] but it was famously bestowed upon Roman Emperors. Ovid,[650] Seneca the Younger,[651] Lucan,[652] Pliny the Elder,[653] Juvenal,[654] Suetonius,[655] Eusebius (as translated by Rufinus),[656] Orosius,[657] and Dracontius[658] transmitted knowledge of this imperial appellation to the Middle Ages. The poetry of Venantius

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[648] 'Rex et pater patrie fuisset, et nunc apud Deum immensi se fore meriti ipsa frequentia uirtutum indice comprobaret', *Ibid*, pp. 246-7

[649] Cicero, *Pro Lege Manilia, Pro Caecina, Pro Cluentio, Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo*, trans. H. G. Hodge (London, 1927), p. 447; *Idem, Pro Sestio & In Vatinium*, trans. R. Gardner (London, 1958), pp. 200-1; Cicero, *Orations: Pro Milone, In Pisonem, Pro Scauro, Pro Fonteio, Pro Rabirio Postumo, Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Rege Deiotaro*, trans. N. H. Watts, Rev. (London, 1953), p. 141.

[650] Ovid, *Fasti*, trans. J. G. Frazer & rev. G. P. Goold, Rev. (London, 1996), pp. 64 & 102; *Idem, Tristia*, trans. Wheeler & rev. Goold, pp. 66, 176 & 266.

[651] Seneca the Younger, *Moral Essays*, trans. J. W. Basore (3 vols., London, 1928-35), i, p. 398.

[652] *The Civil War*, trans. Duff, p. 550.

[653] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham (10 vols., London, 1938-63), ii, p. 582.

[654] *Juvenal and Persius*, trans. Braund, p. 344.

[655] Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars,* trans. J. C. Rolfe & intro. K. R. Bradley, Rev. (2 vols., London, 1998), i, pp. 128, 238, 352, 404, 388 & 290.

[656] Eusebius trans. Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. T. Mommsen (2 vols., Leipzig, 1903-8), pp. 791 & 829.

[657] Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganos*, ed. C. Zangemeister (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 188 & 345.

[658] T. J. Shea, *Liber III Dracontii De Laudibus Dei with Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary* (MA Thesis, Villanova College, 1952), p. 38.

Fortunatus,[659] Paul the Deacon,[660] Alcuin,[661] and Sedulius Scottus[662] all record figures who are called Father of the Fatherland in the subsequent centuries. The histories and chronicles of Fredegar,[663] Freculf of Lisieux,[664] Widukind of Corvey,[665] Landolfus Sagax,[666] and Marianus Scotus[667] do the same. The hagiographies of Heiric of Auxerre,[668] Ruotger,[669] Helgaud of Fleury,[670] Odilo of Cluny,[671] and Lantbert of Deutz[672] likewise bear witness to the use of the accolade. The work of these authors provides the golden thread that links the transmission of the epithet from Antiquity to the Middle Ages.

There is a notable absence in the above sources, however, of any record of the title being applied to someone in English sources – with the exception of Edwin of Northumbria in Alcuin's *The Kings, Bishops, and Saints of York*, written in the 780s.[673] It comes as no surprise, therefore, that it was a French ecclesiastic, Warner of Rebaix, who was the first to attach it to Edmund, in the last of the four antiphons he composed for the saint's liturgy.

[659] Venantius Fortunatus, *Opera poetica*, ed. F. Leo, (Berlin, 1881), pp. 120, 198, 200 & 216.

[660] Paulus Diaconus, *Carmina*, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin, 1881), p. 45.

[661] Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, ed. P. Godman (Oxford, 1982), p. 14; *Idem, Carmina*, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin, 1881), p. 226, 247, 254 & 258; *Idem, Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin, 1895), pp. 372 & 401.

[662] Sedulius Scotus, *De pascha*, ed. L. Traube (Berlin, 1896), p. 233.

[663] *Fredegarii et aliorum Chronica. Vitae sanctorum*, ed. B. Krusch (Hannover, 1888), p. 62. I am aware of a more recent edition, but I was unable to consult it: R. Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken* (Hannover, 2007).

[664] *Frechulfi Lexoviensis Episcopi Opera Omnia*, ed. M. I. Allen (2 vols., Turnhout, 2002), ii, p. 525.

[665] Widukind, *Res gestae Saxonicae*, ed. P. Hirsch and H. E. Lohmann (Hannover, 1935), pp. 58 & 129.

[666] Landolfus Sagax, *Historia Romana*, ed. H. Droysen (Berlin, 1879), p. 311. I am aware of a more recent edition, but I was unable to consult it: Landolfi Sagacis, *Historia Romana*, ed. A. Crivellucci, (2 vols., Rome, 1912-3).

[667] Marianus Scotus, *Chronicon*, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hanover 1844), p. 512.

[668] *Heirici carmina*, ed. L. Traube (Berlin, 1896), p. 502.

[669] Ruotgerus, *Vita Brunonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis*, ed. I. Ott (Hannover, 1951), p. 55.

[670] Helgaud of Fleury, *Vie de Robert le Pieux*, ed. R. H. Bautier & G. Labory (Paris, 1965), p. 112.

[671] Bruno & Odilo, *Opera Omnia, PL* 142 (1853), p. 957.

[672] Lantbert of Deutz, *Vita Heriberti. Miracula Heriberti. Dedichte. Liturgische Texte*, ed. H. von Bernhard Vogel (Hannover, 2001), p. 218.

[673] Peter Godman dated Alcuin's *The Kings, Bishops, and Saints of York* to after Alcuin had left England, in 781/2, for Charlemagne's court: *The Bishops*, ed. Godman, pp. xxxix-xlvii.

My analysis of Edmund's identity as the Father of the Fatherland, therefore, provides the first step in exploring both the use of the epithet in England and what it meant to contemporaries. It goes beyond the remit of my inquiry to investigation Edmund's impact on the development of this title's meaning in England, but such an inquiry would be important because the title gained significance over the course of the twelfth century. Take, for example, Gerald of Wales's *On the Instruction of Princes*, written between 1191 and 1216/7. In it, he suggests that a king should be both a Father of the Fatherland and a patron ('patrie pater atque patronus'). A king, according to Gerald, treats his people with paternal affection, and he presents himself as a stepfather for all; a tyrant, however, wants not to defend but confound, not to build but demolish. Gerald also argues that a a tyrant does not know how to protect people but instead presents himself as a wicked stepmother to all.[674] What I have demonstrated in this chapter is that the origins of these two concepts, embodied in a king opposed to tyranny, were first given expression in England, at Bury St Edmunds, in the aftermath of the Conquest.

A final question now remains: was Edmund considered England's patron saint beyond Bury after c. 1070? The last chapter of this thesis, Chapter 6, will offer an answer.

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[674] 'Hanc etiam adiicimus inter regem et tyrannum differentiam, quod ille, tanquam patrie pater atque patronus, paterno populum tractat affectu, iste uero se tanquam uitricum per omnia representans, non supportare querit, sed suppeditare, non defendere cupit, sed confundere, non construere curat, sed destruere, non prodesse parat aut properat, sed preesse, non patrocinari reuera nouit, sed per omnia nouercari': *Volume 8: De Principis Instructione Liber*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock & G. F. Warner (Cambridge, 1891), p. 56.

Chapter 6: Triumph

By the mid-twelfth century, St Edmund enjoyed a reputation that extended beyond England's borders. Marjorie Chibnall argued that his cult, after 1066, spread throughout Normandy more than that of any other English saint.[675] More recently, David Bates has discussed the abbey of Bury in relation to the Norman Conquest and, in the process, has drawn together various strands of previous research.

Bates focuses on, among other things, the international connections which are forged at Bury. He examines, for instance, the abbey's links with the church of Saint-Denis, home to the patron saint of France. He notes Guibert of Nogent's reference to a tower being built at Saint-Denis and paid for by William the Conqueror, which contained an altar dedicated to Edmund. He also discusses a church, dedicated to St Denis, that was previously situated north of Bury's west front: it was probably served, according to Bates, by a group of canons who were charged with performing parish duties, and it may have formed part of a series of churches with the abbey of Bury at its heart. Such a configuration of buildings, Bates observes, was associated with the most prestigious abbeys, such as Saint-Denis.[676] He also draws on Pamela Blum's work on the crypt at Saint-Denis, which contained a series of capitals depicting Edmund's life: these were, Blum argues, in place for Abbot Suger by 11 June 1144.[677] She considers the reasons as to why Edmund was given a place in the crypt. Foremost in her mind was the agency of Abbot Baldwin, who had previously been a monk of the

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[675] M. Chibnall, 'Les Normands et les saints anglo-saxons', in P. Bouet & F. Neveux, ed., *Les Saints dans la Normandie médiévale: Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (26-29 septembre 1996)* (Caen, 2000), p. 267.

[676] For Bates's discussion of Bury St Edmunds's connections to Saint-Denis, see D. Bates, 'The Abbey and the Norman Conquest: An Unusual Case?', in Licence, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, p. 10.

[677] *Ibid*, pp. 10-1; P. Z. Blum, 'The Saint Edmund Cycle in the Crypt at Saint-Denis', in A. Gransden, ed., *Bury St Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy* (Leeds, 1998), pp. 57-68.

aforementioned abbey.[678] Baldwin no doubt provides a link between the two centres, but is this enough?

Capitals for Edmund may have been installed at Saint-Denis because the latter wanted to associate itself with a martyr who, at the time, was considered the patron saint of England. For St Denis's community were also promoting their saint as the patron saint of France in the mid-twelfth century. This could help explain what fuelled the 'symbiotic relationship' between Bury and Saint-Denis after the Conquest.[679] A letter of Abbot Lambert of Saint-Nicholas, Angers, which is transcribed in Goscelin's *Miracles*, contributes to the discussion about Edmund's international reputation. Goscelin records the following words, which are reported as being Abbot Lambert's own testimony: 'Beloved sons, it is right that I devote such love to our father Edmund, the most blessed king and martyr, and glorious patron of all England, providing he accepts the love of confessed sinners and deems our devotion worthy in light of our past crimes'.[680] Licence recently observed that this is the first-known explicit reference to Edmund as England's patron saint. The fact that it was an Angevin who ascribed this epithet to Edmund reveals, according to Licence, his international repute.[681]

In the rest of this chapter, I examine whether the inhabitants of England recognized Edmund as their patron saint. Did they buy the narrative that Bury was selling them? This chapter looks at evidence between 1068 and the mid-twelfth century, although my discussion of the *Laudes* continues up to c. 1230 for completeness.

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[678] Blum, 'The Saint Edmund Cycle', pp, 64-5.
[679] Bates, 'The Abbey', pp. 20-1.
[680] 'Merito filii dilectissimi beatissimum Eadmundum regem et martyrem patrem nostrum et totius Anglie patronum gloriosissimum tanto amplector amore, si tamen peccatorum et confitentium suscipit amorem et si post culpas nostrum dignetur honorem': *Miracles*, ed. T. Licence, pp. 300-1; T. Licence, 'The Cult of St Edmund', in *idem*, ed., *Bury St Edmunds*, p. 117.
[681] Licence, 'The Cult of St Edmund', p. 118.

Before I continue, I must reiterate the criteria (as set out in my Introduction) that should be met before a figure should be considered a patron saint. First, the evidence should be identified at locations distributed throughout the country. Second, the evidence should be datable to a narrow time-frame. Third, the evidence should demonstrate the impact of the saint on both the ruling elite and the wider community. Does Edmund fulfil these criteria?

I first turn to the royal court, for the *Laudes Regiae* (also known as the 'Christus vincit') provides the first piece of evidence in answering this question.[682] Ernst Kantorowicz identified four formularies of English *Laudes*. Another example, which John Cowdrey discusses, can be added to this tally. Taken together, they are witnessed in the following manuscripts: London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E xii (written at Exeter, s. xi²); Durham, University Library, Cosin V. v. 6 (written at Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xi⁴/⁴ or xiᵉˣ); Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 11. 10 (written at Ely, s. xii); and Worcester Cathedral, Cod. F. 160 (written at Worcester, c. 1230).[683] These four manuscripts cover a period from 1068 to c. 1230. Parts of these *Laudes* are contained in the table below, which shows the saints that are invoked to aid the king, queen, archbishop, and clergy.

[682] M. Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York and MS Cotton Vitellius E XII', in M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900-1066* (London, 1993), pp. 453-67; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Anglo-Norman Laudes Regiae', *Viator* 12 (1981), pp. 37-78; F. Wormald, 'An eleventh-century copy of the Norman *Laudes Regiae*', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 37 (1964), pp. 73-6; E. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (Los Angeles, 1958), pp. 171-9.

[683] *Ibid*, pp. 171-2. A poetical 'Laudes Regiae' is also found in Vitellius E xii: *ibid*, p. 172. Some of the manuscripts were compiled at various times. The dates given for the manuscripts are the periods when the *Laudes* was written. For the dates of the *Laudes* in Vitellius E xii and Cosin V. v. 6, see H. Gneuss & M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, 2014), pp. 333 & 198. The creation of Trinity College MS B. 11. 10 is dated variously to the twelfth century, and, more specifically, either to the second half of the twelfth century or the second quarter of the twelfth century: Cowdrey, 'The Anglo-Norman Laudes', p. 66, fn. 83; N. Bell, 'Liturgical Books', in E. Kwakkel and R. M. Thomson, ed., *The European Book in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 184. For the date of Cod. F. 160, see R. Steiner, 'Gregorian responsories based on texts from the Book of Judith', in T. Bailey & A. Santosuosso, ed., *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 28.

London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E xii[684]

King	Christe, Maria, Michael, Raphael
Queen	Christe, Iohannes, Petre, Paule, Andrea
Ealdred and clergy	Christe, Stephane, Laurenti, Vincenti

Durham, University Library, Cosin V. v. 6[685]

King	Redemptor mundi, Eadmunde, Erminigelde, Osuualde
Archbishop and clergy	Salvator mundi, Augustine, DUNSTANE, Ælphege
Queen	Redemptor mundi, Maria, Felicitas, Perpetua

Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 11. 10[686]

King	Redemptor mundi, Eadmunde, Ermenigelde, Oswalde
Queen	Redemptor mundi, Maria, Felicitas, Perpetua
Archbishop and clergy	Saluator mundi, Augustine, Dunstane, Elphege

Worcester Cathedral, Cod. F. 160

King	Redemptor mundi, Ae(d)munde, Erminigilde, Oswalde, (Edwarde *is added in the 'Laudes Regiae' in the Gradual.*)

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[684] Cowdrey, 'The Anglo-Norman Laudes', p. 70.

[685] *Ibid*, p. 72.

[686] *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, ed. H. A. Wilson (London, 1910), pp. 252-3. Montague James notes that the *Laudes Regiae* are written 'in another hand very slightly later' than the nucleus of the manuscript: M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue* (4 vols., Cambridge, 1900-4), i, p. 350. The same hand wrote a litany afterwards: the only virgins mentioned in it are Mary Magdalene, Æthelthryth, Seaxburh, Eormenhild, and Wihtburh. Æthelthryth, moreover, is capitalized. Ely is, therefore, probably the location where this later hand added material into the manuscript: *Ibid*, p. 350.

Queen	Redemptor mundi, Maria, Felicitas, Aetheldrida
Archbishop	Saluator mundi, Ealphege, Thoma, Dunstane
and clergy	

The first *Laudes* in Vitellius E xii, in the table above, contains acclamations for Matilda, William I's wife, and Ealdred, archbishop of York. It dates to between the former's coronation on 11 May 1068 and the latter's death on 11 September 1069.[687] Michael Lapidge proposes that Folcard of Saint-Bertin may have composed it.[688] The inclusion of episcopal acclamations, according to Kantorowicz, hints that it was composed for festive occasions, rather than a coronation. He notes, however, that this does not preclude the possibility that it was delivered at Matilda's sacring.[689] There are no English saints in this *Laudes*, which instead invokes universal saints.

The second *Laudes,* in Cosin V. v. 6, gives precedence to the archbishop over the queen in the hierarchy of acclamations. Cowdrey, therefore, argues it was written when there was no reigning queen in England, between 2 November 1083 (i.e. after Matilda of Flanders died) and 11 November 1100 (i.e. when Matilda of Scotland was crowned). The Wibertine schism, he believes, also narrows the terminal dates for the composition of the *Laudes*: there is no provision made for the pope in the text. The antipope, Clement III, was consecrated on 24 March 1084, and it was not until May 1095 that King William II acknowledged his rival, Urban II, as the rightful pontiff.[690] Cowdrey ultimately proposes that this version was written between 1084 and 1095. This dating, as he notes, allows the possibility that it was formulated in either William I or William II's lifetime.[691]

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[687] Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York', p. 457.

[688] *Ibid*, pp. 458-60.

[689] Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 171, fn. 63. For further discussion about the 'Laudes Regiae' at Matilda's coronation and its significance in shedding light on Matilda's power, see L. L. Gathagan, 'The Trappings of Power: The Coronation of Mathilda of Flanders', *HSJ* 13 (1999), pp. 21-31.

[690] Cowdrey, 'The Anglo-Norman Laudes', p. 65.

[691] *Ibid*, p. 65.

It is possible that the *Laudes* date to William I's reign. Emma Cownie's research demonstrates William I's exceptional generosity to Bury.[692] His munificence was repaid, as Bates points to the fact that William I and Matilda were prayed for frequently, at Bury, at that time: he cites a charter which records that the community did not waver from frequently celebrating the mention of William and Matilda, before God, in their prayers. This was done, moreover, without intermission.[693] Concluding his discussion of the abbey and its community, Bates observes: 'William did show favour to other well-established English saints, but Edmund was certainly special'.[694] Is is therefore possible that Edmund was added to the list of saints invoked to protect the king in the Conqueror's time. What can be argued with more certainty (i.e. in terms of when the revised version of the *Laudes* was composed) is that it was prepared in the period when Herman was promoting Edmund as England's patron saint. The fact that Edmund is the first saint to be invoked to assist the king in this version reflects the rhetoric emanating from Bury as regards Edmund's national significance. This new version of the *Laudes* reveals that Edmund was recognized, outside Bury, as having an especial association with the king. Subsequent iterations of the *Laudes* affirm this partnership.

The third *Laudes* is found in Trinity College MS B. 11. 10. Edmund is, again, in prime position. He is found among a trio of saints who are invoked to aid the king, and St Æthelthryth replaces St Perpetua as the last saint who is asked to aid the queen. This *Laudes* was copied at some point in the twelfth century. It is found in the third recension of the English coronation *ordo*. Kantorowicz argued that it might refer to the sacring of Henry II and Eleanor of Poitou, in 1154, as it refers to the crowning of a king and queen. He acknowledged,

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[692] E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England 1066-1135* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 71 & 74; E. Cownie, 'Religious Patronage at Post-Conquest Bury St Edmunds', *HSJ* 7 (1995), pp. 1-9.
[693] 'Quorum [i.e. William and Matilda] mentionem ante deum ipsi in orationibus suis frequenter et ut ita dicam sine intermissione celebrare non trepidant': *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 198-9.
[694] Bates, 'The Abbey', p. 12.

however, that this was a tentative suggestion.[695] Janet Nelson subsequently argued that it was introduced into England for the coronation of either Harold II or William I, but George Garnett has refuted her hypothesis.[696] The ambiguous date of the manuscript allows for the possibility that it could have been used for the sacring of Stephen and Matilda of Boulogne as well as that of Henry II and Eleanor. With the presence of the *Laudes* in the coronation rite, it is possible to identify Edmund's protection of either king from the beginning of his rule.

How significant are these references to Edmund in the *Laudes*? How frequently, if at all, were the *Laudes* performed between 1068 to c. 1230? References to the chanting of the *Laudes* in the twelfth century are sparse but suggestive. Kantorowicz found a reference to them being sung in Gervase of Canterbury's *Chronicle*.[697] The latter records that both monks and clerics were involved in their delivery. The clerics, however, sang their part incorrectly at one of King Stephen's crown-wearings. The clerics' error is shown in stark contrast to the monks' high standards of singing. Gervase's passage both emphasises the importance of performing the *Laudes* correctly and demonstrates the condemnation which came about if it was performed incorrectly. It also lends support to Cowdrey's hypothesis, which Lapidge follows, that the *Laudes* were chanted after the principal Mass on the day of the king's crown-wearings:[698]

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[695] Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 171 & pp. 171-2, fn. 64.

[696] G. Garnett, 'The Third Recension of the English Coronation *ordo*: the Manuscripts', *HSJ* 11 (1998), pp. 91-116; J. Nelson, 'The Rites of the Conqueror', *ANS* 4 (1981), pp. 117-32.

[697] 'Ipse rex stabat in sede archiepiscopi, et regina ex aduerso. Archiepiscopus utrique coronam imposuit, deinde missam celebrauit. Facta est autem altercatio inter monachos et clericos dum utrique "Christus uincit" cantarent. Clerici festinabant inportune ut sibi uictoriam cum benedictione reportarent: sed habuerunt maledictionem pro benedictione. Nam ab archiepiscopo excommunicati sunt, nec nisi petente rege uix post missam potuerunt absolui. Monachi uero tam deuote quam morose canentes, honeste et deuote a Deo gratiam, ab archiepiscopo benedictionem, a rege et regno laudem susceperunt': *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury: Volume 1*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1879), p. 527. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 173. Kantorowicz discusses the reference to the 'Laudes Regiae' in Gervase's *Chronicle* because it occasioned a dispute, which arose between the monks and the clerics at Stephen's court. He argues that the subject of the hostilities is not mentioned, and he speculates that the conflict arises over who should sing the litany: Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 173. This, I argue, is not the case.

[698] Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York', p. 458; Cowdrey, 'The Anglo-Norman Laudes', p. 51.

Gervase wrote that the archbishop crowned Stephen and his queen and then performed the Mass. It is after these two events in the narrative that the *Laudes* are placed. (Cowdrey and Lapidge, however, discuss the ceremonial context in which the *Laudes* may have been introduced into England in the reign of William I.) Gervase's observation provides fleeting evidence for the performance of the *Laudes*, in England, in the first half of the twelfth century. On its own, Gervase's *Chronicle* is of limited value as it was begun c. 1188.[699] He could have been imagining the rituals of Stephen's reign, some thirty to fifty years earlier, in the knowledge of how the *Laudes* were performed in his own day. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* does, nevertheless, lend credibility to his story, for Geoffrey imagined the singing of the *Laudes* in the context of a coronation, albeit a fictitious one, when he wrote his text between 1123 and 1139.[700] Kantorowicz points out that this may reflect the contemporary practice for the use of the *Laudes* in England.[701]

The fourth *Laudes* is Worcester Cathedral, Cod. F. 160. Written c. 1230, it records a form of the *Laudes* which was sung on feast days. Edmund is, once again, the first saint who is implored to favour the king. St Thomas displaces St Augustine from the list of saints called upon to favour the archbishop and clergy, and St Edward the Confessor, who was a favourite of Henry III, is added to the list of saints who are asked to aid the king.

Documents from the end of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth make various references to when the *Laudes* were performed. Kantorowicz draws attention to the Pipe Rolls of Henry II and King John, which refer to payments made to those who sing the 'Christus vincit'. The earliest entry he could find relates to 5 June 1188 in Henry II's reign. He also finds examples of such payments on 28 December 1201 for the chanting of the 'Christus vincit' at

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[699] *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury: Volume 1*, ed. Stubbs, p. xx-xxii.
[700] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. M. D. Reeve & trans. N. Wright (Woodbridge, 2007), p. vii.
[701] Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 173.

Christmas, and on 24 April 1204 for those who sing the *Laudes* at Easter on 25 April. Kantorowicz also noticed a record, dated 10 October 1200, which mentions John's clerks, 'qui cantauerunt *Xistus uincit* ad secundam coronationem nostram et ad unctionem et coronationem Jsabelle regine uxoris nostre'. His predecessor Richard I, Kantorowicz shows, also had three cantors sing the 'Christus vincit' at his second coronation.[702] The Liberate Rolls also record when the *Laudes* were sung. Take the year 1239: Kantorowicz counts that the *Laudes* were performed sixteen times between Epiphany 1239 and Epiphany 1240. Two of these performances were on St Edmund's Day (20 November) and St Edward's Day (5 January).[703] By c. 1230, St Edmund had been the first saint to be invoked in the *Laudes* to aid the king for about a hundred and fifty years. It is not known how the *Laudes* may have mutated after this point, but the fact that they were delivered on St Edmund's Day in 1239 suggests that Edmund was still one of the saints implored to assist the king, probably still in prime position.

It should be noted that the *Laudes* cited above are slightly different from one another. Their formulation did not become frozen in time: saints displace other saints, and one saint (Edward) is added without demoting another. The later the *Laudes* were copied, the more English saints are found incorporated into them. It is also evident that Edmund was the first to be asked to aid to the king in the *Laudes* that were copied at Canterbury, Ely, and Worcester from between c. 1084x1095 and c. 1230. The fact that Edmund retained his prime spot throughout this period is suggestive. It points to an especial bond, during this period, between Edmund and the king. During the *Laudes*, the attention of the ruling elite would have been drawn to Edmund (after Christ) as the most powerful saint, in the celestial hierarchy, invoked to assist the king.

It is reasonable to think that this kind of promotion broadened his appeal outside Bury, particularly to a courtly audience. As noted above, it is unclear how often the *Laudes* were sung between c. 1084 and the mid-twelfth century,

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[702] *Ibid*, pp. 174-5.
[703] *Ibid*, pp. 176.

but, as Cowdrey and Lapidge argue, the evidence suggests that they were associated with festive crown-wearings and, from some point in the twelfth century, the English coronation *ordo*. It is hard not to conclude that Edmund's position in the *Laudes* raised his standing among those at the royal court, thereby contributing to (and helping to promote) his identity as England's patron saint. It is also tempting to imagine that Edmund's place in the *Laudes* was, to some extent, indebted to the promotion of Edmund's cult at the courts of both William I and William II by the royal physician, Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds, armed as he was with Herman's *Miracles* (in its first redaction).[704] I now journey from the royal court to Malmesbury.

When discussing the resting-places of saints in his *Deeds of the English Bishops* (completed c. 1125), William of Malmesbury records the following: 'It is an agreeable bonus, I confess, that the first to present himself should be St Edmund, who, as king and prince of the fatherland, won the guerdon of praise for being the foremost figure among the saints of his compatriots'.[705] William's description of Edmund as the 'king and prince of the fatherland' echoes Edmund's epithet as Father of the Fatherland and the king of the English as found in Warner of Rebaix's antiphons and Goscelin's *Miracles*. His positioning of 'patrie' next to 'compatriotarum', moreover, strikes a patriotic tone with

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[704] For Baldwin's career and efforts to promote Edmund's cult, see A. Gransden, 'Baldwin, abbot of Bury St Edmunds, 1065-1097', *ANS* 4 (1982), pp. 65-76. For Baldwin's presence at William I's court, see *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the acta of William I*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998), nos. 64 (I), 64 (II), 64 (III), 68, 118, 122, 138, 181, and 254. For Baldwin's attendance at William II's court, see *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154: Volume 1. Regesta Willelmi conquestoris et Willelmi rufi 1066-1100*, ed. H. W. C. Davis with assis. R. J. Whitwell (Oxford, 1913), nos. 301, 315, 318, and 328.i

[705] 'Et gratiose, fateor, accedit, ut primus sanctus Edmundus occurreret, qui quasi rex et princeps patriae compatriotarum sanctorum primus palmam laudis uendicaret': William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: Volume 1, Text and Translation*, ed. M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 2007), pp. 242-3. I have amended Winterbottom's translation. He omits 'compatriotarum' from his translation; he translates the second use of 'primus' as 'first', which is ambiguous; and he uses 'patrie' with 'sanctorum primus' when it should be combined with 'rex et princeps'. Winterbottom's translation reads as follows: 'It is an agreeable bonus, I confess, that the first to present himself should be St Edmund, who as king and prince won the guerdon of praise for being the first of the saints of his country': *Ibid*, pp. 242-3. For the date of the *Deeds of the English Bishops*, see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: Volume 2, Commentary*, ed. R. Thompson with assist. M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 2007), pp. xxii-xxiii.

regards to Edmund's standing among the English. Edmund, according to William, was the foremost saint of the English.

After this passage comes an account of Edmund's life, death, and miracles, in which William relates various stories about the martyr: his decapitated head calls to those searching for it, and a wolf is found guarding it; he grants a blind man the gift of sight; with invisible cords he ties up burglars, who try to steal from his resting place, so that they cannot take anything away; his head, previously separated from his body, fuses to his neck; his hair and nails continue to grow after his death, and a holy woman, Oswen, trims them every year; and a man called Leofstan is driven mad as a punishment for wanting to test the incorruptibility of his body. William is almost entirely indebted to Abbo's *Passion* for these details. The story about the blind man, however, is first witnessed in Goscelin's *Miracles*.[706] William then wrote: 'Edmund knows, yes he knows, now as in the past, how to spare the subjected and subdue the proud. It is by these two means that he has so won the hearts of all Britain that anyone who contributes in the slightest to the embellishment of the place where he rests regards himself as supremely blessed. Even kings, the lords of others, boast of being his servants, and make a practice of sending him their royal crowns, and then buying them back for large sums if they need to use them'.[707] I now unpack this final passage.

The belief that Edmund 'knows... to spare the subjected and subdue the proud' is important. William had read Abbo's *Passion*,[708] and Abbo uses this phrase in

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[706] *Miracles*, ed. Licence, p. 132.

[707] 'Nouit profecto quod olim consueuerat, nouit Edmundus modo facere, 'parcere subiectis et debellare superbos'. Quibus duobus ita omnes sibi Britannie deuinxit incolas ut beatum se in primis astruat qui locum requietionis eius uel nummo uel pretio illustret. Ipsi reges aliorum domini seruos se illius gloriantur, et coronam ei regiam missitant, magno si uti uolunt redimentes commertio': *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: Volume 1*, ed. Winterbottom, pp. 244-7.

[708] William records, 'Abbo of Fleury mentions him [i.e. Ælfric of Eynsham] without vouchsafing his name, in the preface to his Passion of St Edmund, addressed to the holy archbishop Dunstan: "The Passion of St Edmund, written by none and known to few, your Holiness put together from ancient tradition and in my presence related in narrative form to the Lord Bishop of Rochester and the abbot of Malmesbury and other brethren in your customary circle"' (*Huius [i.e. Ælfric], intermisso nomine, facit mentionem Abbo Floriacensis in prefatione Passionis sancti Edmundi ad*

a sarcastic manner to describe Hinguar's rule. The invading king, according to Abbo, sends one of his agents to Edmund, and the king of East Anglia, along with his people, is asked to live under Hinguar's rule. Abbo concludes the speech of Hinguar's agent with the following sentence: 'You must live, therefore, with all your people under the rule of this greatest emperor, whom the elements serve on account of their innate clemency towards him: the most pious Hinguar knows ('nouit') in all his dealings to spare the subjected and subdue the proud ('parcere subiectis et debellare superbos')'.[709] William's reading of Abbo, however, clearly triggered his memory of the phrase in Vergil's *Aeneid*. In his *Deeds of the English Kings*, William describes Edmund's method of sparing the subjected and subduing the proud. In this work, which was written between 1118 and 1125, before the *Deeds of the English Bishops*, William calls these two customs the 'artes' by which Edmund won over the hearts of all Britain.[710] Abbo makes no reference to them as 'artes' in his *Passion*, but the term is found in the original quotation in the *Aeneid*.

The context in which Vergil uses the phrase is instructive. The saying is part of a longer, famous sentence in the *Aeneid*. Vergil wrote: 'You, Roman, be sure to

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Dunstanum beatum archiepiscopum, his uerbis: "Passionem sancti Edmundi a nemine scriptam, pluribus ignotam, tua sanctitas ex antiquitatis memoria collectam historialiter me presente retulit domino episcopo Rofensis ecclesie et abbate monasterii quod dicitur Malmesbiri, ac aliis circumassistentibus, sicut tuus et mos, fratribus"'): *Ibid*, pp. 606-7. Abbo's preface reads, 'Audierant enim, quod eam pluribus ignotam, a nemine scriptam, tua sanctitas ex antiquitatis memoria collectam historialiter me praesente retulisset domino Rofensis ecclesie episcopo et abbati monasterii quod dicitur Mealmesbyri ac aliis circum assistentibus fratribus, sicut tuus mos est': *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. Winterbottom, p. 67. I have underlined the verbatim parallels between William and Abbo, but I have not underlined where the inflected endings differ.

[709] 'Esto itaque cum tuis omnibus sub hoc imperatore maximo, cui famulantur elementa pro sibi innata clementia: quoniam nouit piissimus in omni negotio parcere subiectis et debellare superbos': *Ibid*, p. 74.

[710] 'Well indeed does Edmund know how to put into practice now that was his custom in the old days: 'to spare the lowly and beat down the proud'. By these arts he has so engaged the loyalty of all the inhabitants of Britain that anyone thinks it a privilege to enrich his monastery by even a penny' (*Nouit profecto quod olim consueuerat, nouit Edmundus modo facere, 'parcere subiectis et debellare superbos'. Quibus artibus ita sibi omnis Britannie deuinxit incolas ut beatum se in primis astruat qui cenobium illius uel nummo uel ualenti illustrat*): *Gesta Regum Anglorum: Volume 1*, ed. Mynors, Thompson & Winterbottom, p. 396. For the date of the *Deeds of the English Kings* and its textual history with the *Deeds of the English Bishops*, see *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: Volume 2*, ed. Thompson & assist. Winterbottom, p. xix-xxiii.

rule the world (be these your arts), to crown peace with justice, to spare the vanquished and to crush the proud'.[711] Vergil is conveying the message that the various peoples subjected to Roman rule should not be oppressed. Its inclusion in William's work portrays Edmund as an example of good kingship in contrast to the example which William was experiencing. William characterises the then Norman regime as oppressive and a drain on England's resources, which were being used to prop up Normandy's finances. Just before he turns to Edmund, William laments: 'O happy England, if the moment ever comes when she can breathe the air of that freedom whose empty shadow she has pursued so long! As it is, she bewails her lot, worn by calamity and wasted by taxation with all the nobility of ancient days extinct'.[712] William appears to be making a point about how rulers should conduct themselves by drawing a comparison between Edmund's actions and a founding principle of the Roman empire. Edmund, the Father of the Fatherland, behaves in the manner of an idealised Roman. It should be remembered, of course, that Roman emperors, like Edmund, had been granted the epithet Father of the Fatherland. Like Herman and Goscelin before him, William believed that Edmund was actively involved in worldly affairs, working on the side of the subjugated and subduing the proud.

It is by these 'artes', according to William, that Edmund has won the devotion of Britain. Indeed, William states that whoever gifts anything to the saint considers themselves supremely blessed. He mentions the impact of all these offerings a little later. At the end of his discussion of Edmund and his abbey, he wrote: 'the beauty of the buildings and the quality of the offerings find no parallel anywhere in England'.[713] This comment elevates Bury's standing as the finest abbey in the land. But what about William's other intriguing remarks?

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[711] 'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento/ (hec tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,/ parcere subiectis et debellare superbos': Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, trans. J. Henderson & rev. G. P. Goold (London, 1999), pp. 592-3, lines 851-3.

[712] 'Felix si umquam in libertatem respirare poterit, cuius inanem iam dudum persequitur umbram. Nunc gemit calamitatibus afflicta, pensionibus addicta, et omni nobilitate antiquorum extincta': *Gesta Regum Anglorum: Volume 1*, ed. Mynors, Thompson & Winterbottom, pp. 386-7.

[713]'Edifitiorum decus, oblationum pondus, quale et quantum in Anglia nusquam': *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: Volume 1*, ed. Winterbottom (Oxford, 2007), pp. 248-9. He also

Kings, according to William, boast of being Edmund's servants ('reges... seruos se illius gloriantur'), they are accustomed to send him their royal crowns ('coronam ei regiam missitant'), and they then buy them back for large sums if they need to use them ('magno si uti uolunt redimentes commertio'). Like Michael Winterbottom and Rodney Thompson, I am unaware of any evidence which corroborates these details.[714] I would add, however, that the same relationship between a monarch and a saint is recorded at Saint-Denis at about the time William was writing both his *Deeds*. A 'Donation' to the abbey, dated 813, was confected probably c. 1127-9 at the instigation of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis. The forgery records that Charlemagne became StDenis's vassal, and France was placed under the saint's dominion. It also states that Saint-Denis should house the coronation regalia.[715] Part of the context of this document's creation was the return of Philip I's crown, in 1120, to Saint-Denis by his son Louis VI, who had retained it for twelve years after his own coronation.[716] The 'Donation', according to David Brégaint, attempted to institutionalize such a practice.[717] The reference to English kings sending their crowns to Bury until the

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wrote, 'Even today his [i.e. Cnut's] still enduring gifts ensure that the place can look down on many a monastery in England' (*Perstat hodieque donorum eius amplitudo integra quod locus ille infra se aspitiat Anglie nonnulla monasteria*): *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: Volume 1*, ed. Winterbottom, pp. 246-7.

[714] *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: Volume 2*, ed. Thompson & assist. Winterbottom, p. 100 & William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: Volume 2, General Introduction & Commentary*, ed. R. M. Thompson in collaboration with M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1999), p. 202.

[715] M. du Pouget, 'Le Légende carolingienne à Saint-Denis: Le Donation de Charlemagne au retour de Roncevaux', *Sociètè des Sciences, Lettres, et Arts de Bayonne* 135 (1979), pp. 53-60; R. Barrow, 'L'Abbé Suger et la vassalité du Vexin en 1124", *Le Moyen Age* 64 (1958), pp. 1-26; C. van de Kieft, 'Deux diplômes faux de Charlemagne pour Saint-Denis, du XIIe siècle', *Le Moyen Age* 64 (1958), pp. 401-36. For an overview of the literature on the 'Donation', see E. A. R. Brown, 'Saint-Denis and the Turpin Legend', in J. Williams &. A. Stones, ed., *The 'Codex Calixtinus' and the Shrine of St. James* (Tübingen, 1992), p. 53, fn. 9.

[716] L. Grant & D. Bates, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (Abingdon, 1998), pp. 104-5.

[717] D. Brégaint, *Vox regis: Royal Communication in High Medieval Norway* (Leiden, 2016), p. 98. David Brégaint also demonstrates that the same practices were being promoted, in the 1160s, at Nidaros for the Swedish people. In his discussion of the cathedral at Nidaros and the position it held for the coronation of the kings of Sweden, he argues the developments at Nidaros in the 1160s were modelled on practices at Saint-Denis. He argues that the 'Donation', confected at Saint-Denis, was the basis for the rights which were promoted at Nidaros. King Magnus's donation of his realm to St Olav, for instance, records that the king is under his dominion (*sub eius dominio*) and held the kingdom from him (*ab eo tenens*). King Magnus, Brégaint further

crowns were required, therefore, offers the tantalizing prospect that the abbey of Bury, like the abbey of Saint-Denis, played its part in housing the coronation regalia. Indeed, it may be no coincidence that Osbert of Clare records a fallacious privilege from Pope Nicholas II, in which Westminster is specified not only as the abbey at which English kings should be crowned but also as the repository of the royal regalia ('repositorium regalium insignium').[718] Osbert had, of course, written his own *Miracles of St Edmund*, in the mid-twelfth century, for the monks of Bury, and was familiar with their practices. Was Osbert trying to claim for Westminster what was practiced at Bury? The picture is unclear at present. Whatever the case may be, William's remarks on the practice of English kings at Bury reflect the practice of French kings at the abbey of France's patron saint. In this regard, they appear entirely plausible.

What then of the notion that kings were Edmund's servants? Did William of Malmesbury envisage them as Edmund's vassals? I think, at the very least, William is implying that unnamed rulers, who gave their crowns to Edmund and redeemed them from him at a great price, were buying into the idea that their reigns were protected by the saint, just as Herman proposes. The practice is plausible, not only because of the continental parallel mentioned above, but also because of the evidence I previously adduced in the *Laudes*. In the *Laudes*, Edmund was invoked as the primary saint who, it is hoped, will protect the king. William of Malmesbury did not explicitly write that kings were under Edmund's dominion, but it is implied in his statement that English kings are Edmund's servants.

William's observations are important, not only because, as a monk of Malmesbury, he carried no brief for Edmund, but also because he had travelled the length and breadth of England. Rodney Thomson identifies the following places that William visited: Canterbury (both the abbeys of Christ Church and

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demonstrates, offered his crown and those of his successors to the cathedral of Nidaros. See *Ibid*, pp. 88-98.

[718] M. Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,' *AB* 41 (1923), p. 90.

St Augustine's) perhaps between 1109 and c. 1115; Worcester between 1116 and 1124, and again between c. 1124 and c. 1142; Oxford, Thorney, Rochester, Sherborne, Crowland, Gloucester, Bangor, Coventry, Shaftesbury, Bardney, Bath, Durham, Wareham, Corfe, Gloucester, Bangor, Coventry, Winchester, and Exeter by c. 1125 for information in his *Deeds of the English Bishops*; Glastonbury and Bury between 1129 and 1135; and Milton Abbas by c. 1135.[719]

I would add that William may have visited Bury before 1129. He seems to say so in the *Deeds of the English Bishops*: 'Two saints lie in the church, Germin and Botwulf. I recall nothing being preserved of their doings there (*ibi*) or elsewhere (*alibi*)'.[720] This visit, if it occurred, is datable to between 1118 and c. 1125: that is, after he wrote about St Edmund in the *Deeds of the English Kings* and before he updated the narrative concerning the king's death in the *Deeds of the English Bishops*. In the *Deeds of the English Kings*, William remarks that Edmund delivered a fatal blow to Swein's head after the marauding Viking spurned the martyr's protestations.[721] In the *Deeds of the English Bishops*, Swein is pierced by a lance.[722] It is the latter which accurately reproduces the narrative promulgated at Bury. The correction to the story was possibly the result of his visit to Bury. William was well placed, therefore, to make judgements about the relative significance of Edmund's cult for the English. His visit to Bury also gives greater weight to his claim regarding the practices which he describes as occurring there. Indeed, a picture is now emerging of Edmund's special relationship with both the rulers of England and their subjects. Is there any

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[719] R. M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 72-5.

[720] 'Iacent in ecclesia duo sancti, Germinus et Botulfus, quorum gesta nec ibi nec alibi haberi memini': *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: Volume 1*, ed. Winterbottom, pp. 248-9.

[721] 'It is said that while he was ravaging the lands of St Edmund, the martyr himself appeared to him in a vision and complained mildly about the miseries of his community; and when he returned an insolent reply, the saint struck him on the head a blow from the pain of which he shortly died' (*Dicitur quod terram sancti Edmundi depopulanti martir idem per uisum apparuerit, leniterque de miseria conuentum suorum insolentiusque respondentem in capita perculerit; quo dolore tactum in proximo, ut predictum est, obisse*): *Gesta Regum Anglorum: Volume 1*, ed. Mynors, Thompson & Winterbottom, pp. 308-9.

[722] 'Swein was gently admonished by the martyr in a dream; but when the barbarian in his folly gave a dusty answer, the saint killed him with a blow from a pike' (*A martire leniter ammonitum per somnium ferunt; sed barbarica ineptia durius respondentem conto percussit et exanimauit*): *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: Volume 1*, ed. Winterbottom, pp. 246-7.

further evidence that he was considered the foremost protector of the English at this time? More can be found in Worcester.

Edmund next appears to act as England's patron saint in a section of John of Worcester's *Chronicle* which is datable to between 1140 and 1143.[723] It contains three visions that Henry I purportedly dreamt one night. What follows in this paragraph is a summary of John's narrative. After surrendering to sleep, the king perceives a band of peasants who are armed with farming tools. His subjects, gnashing their teeth, rail against him.[724] He wakes up in terror and wants to punish the men he has seen in his sleep, but he can find no-one in his chamber. He sleeps again and then has a second vision. This time, a band of knights appear. They are clad in armour, and brandish their swords, spears, and arrows. They look as if they want to kill the king and hack him to pieces.[725] After crying out in his sleep, Henry wakes up and takes up his sword. He wants to strike those who threaten him, but, again, he observes nobody. Henry returns to bed, and, in his third dream, he is visited by ecclesiastics: archbishops, bishops, abbots, and others all brandishing their pastoral staffs. Their opinion of the king, John wrote, is changing on account of his plundering of the Church.[726]

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[723] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester, Volume III: The annals from 1067 to 1140 with the Gloucester Interpolations and the Continuations to 1141*, ed. & trans. P. McGurk (Oxford, 1998), p. xxxv.

[724] 'Overcome by drowsiness, the king fell asleep, and behold, he saw a big band of peasants standing by him with agricultural implements. In different ways they began to rage, to gnash their teeth, and to demand from him dues which I am unable to describe' (*Sopore grauatus rex obdormit, et ecce plurimam rusticorum multitudinem cum rusticanis instrumentis propter astare cernit. Omnes in illum diuersis modis seuire, dentibus frendere, et nescio quod ab eo debitum exigere*): *Ibid*, pp. 200-1.

[725] 'Having gone back to sleep, Henry saw a large band of knights wearing armour, bearing helmets on their heads, and each of them holding lances, a sword, spears and arrows... all apparently wanting to kill the king and cut him into pieces if they could' (*Reductus in soporem, conspicit loricis indutam numerosam militum cohortem, galeas capitibus ferentem, laceas, maceram, tela, sagittas manibus tenetem. Cerneres quisquis adesses, milites per somnium uisos quasi uelle regem occidere et in frusta si ualerent concidere*): *Ibid*, p. 200-1.

[726] 'A third time the king sank back into sleep, and saw the figure of archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans and priors holding their pastoral staffs. In your mind's eye you might see the churchmen changing their attitudes, and, as it were, their enduring respect for the king's mercy on account of the plundering of church possessions' (*Tertio satisfaciens rex somno, archiepiscoprum, episcoporum, abbatum, decanorum siue priorum aspectat personas, cum baculis pastoralibus astare. Intellectu perspicaci coniceres animum illorum in quendam transisse affectum et uelut ob direptionem rerum ecclesie sue manentem regie misericordie respectum*): *Ibid*, pp. 200-1.

These men of God, making various threats, want to attack Henry with their staffs.[727]

John states that his source for these visions is Grimbald, a physician who, so the story goes, witnessed the king having these dreams. Henry had, according to John, spoken to his physician after his ordeal. John records that Grimbald, like Nebuchadnezzar, interpreted the dream and informed the king that he needed to redeem himself by the conventional method of offering alms. John makes no mention, however, of Henry fulfilling the physician's advice.

This episode has attracted the attention of art historians because Henry's vision in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 157 is accompanied by illustrations. The first of these images, according to Michael Camille, is the first depiction of a peasants' revolt, albeit an imagined one, in western art.[728] Various influences are detected in it. Judith Collard's is the most recent discussion of the drawings from an art historical perspective.[729] She also provides a summary of previous opinions on what may have influenced the artist who designed the images: Claus Kauffmann had argued that the drawings recall the dream of Pharaoh in Genesis 41, and Peter Dinzelbacher had compared them to the tenth-century version of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in the *Commentary on Daniel*. Collard also adds her own observations about what may have influenced the artist in Oxford, Corpus Christi College 157. She draws parallels between the depiction of King Henry dreaming and the sleeping figure of Jesse in various contemporary depictions of the Tree of Jesse.[730]

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[727] 'They look at his terrifying countenance and at his eyes almost averted from them, and with many threats they are seen to want to attack him with the tips of their staff' (*At persone considerantes terrificum habitum illius et quasi auertentem oculos ab eis minitando plurima, baculorum cuspidibus eum appetere uelle uisi sunt*): *Ibid*, pp. 200-1.

[728] M. Camille, '"When Adam delved": Laboring on the Land in English Medieval Art', in D. Sweeney, ed., *Agriculture in the Middle Ages: Technology, Practice and Representation* (Philadelphia, 1995), p. 267.

[729] J. Collard, 'Henry I's dream in John of Worcester's *Chronicle* (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 157) and the illustration of twelfth-century English chronicles', *JMH* 36 (2010), pp. 105-125.

[730] Collard, 'Henry I's dream', p. 118

There are grounds for thinking that the artist of the imagery in Oxford, Corpus Christi College 157 (completed between 1140 and 1143) was also alluding to the death of Swein Forkbeard, an illustration of which is found in New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M. 736, fol. 40 (completed in the 1120s or 1130s).[731] I will now compare Figures 2, 3, and 4 below.

The top half of Figure 2 illustrates Henry's first vision: peasants are about to attack the king in the image on the right. To the left of this image is Grimbald, sat down, watching Henry dream. He is pointing to a bag of money. This image could be a visual gloss to the reason for the peasants' unrest: that is, a reference to Henry's taxation, which, given the civil disobedience, can be interpreted as oppressive. This hypothesis harmonises with a later observation that I make. The second half of Figure 3 depicts the king's second vision: knights, furnished with spears and other weapons, are poised to strike their lord. The top half of Figure 3 is a visual representation of Henry's third vision: churchmen are on the verge of killing their sovereign. One of their staffs is mostly hidden behind a scroll like the one held by an angry peasant in the first image, but it is poking out, and its sharp tip seems to be ready to run the king through the heart. Compare this artwork with the death of Swein Forkbeard in Figure 4.

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[731] For the date of Oxford, Corpus Christi College 157, see *The Chronicle of John of Worcester, Volume III*, ed. McGurk, p. xxxii. For the date of New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M. 736, see Licence, *Miracles*, p. cix. More analysis is required of these two manucripts, but I wonder whether the same artist drew the images in both.

Fig. 2. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 157, fol. 382.

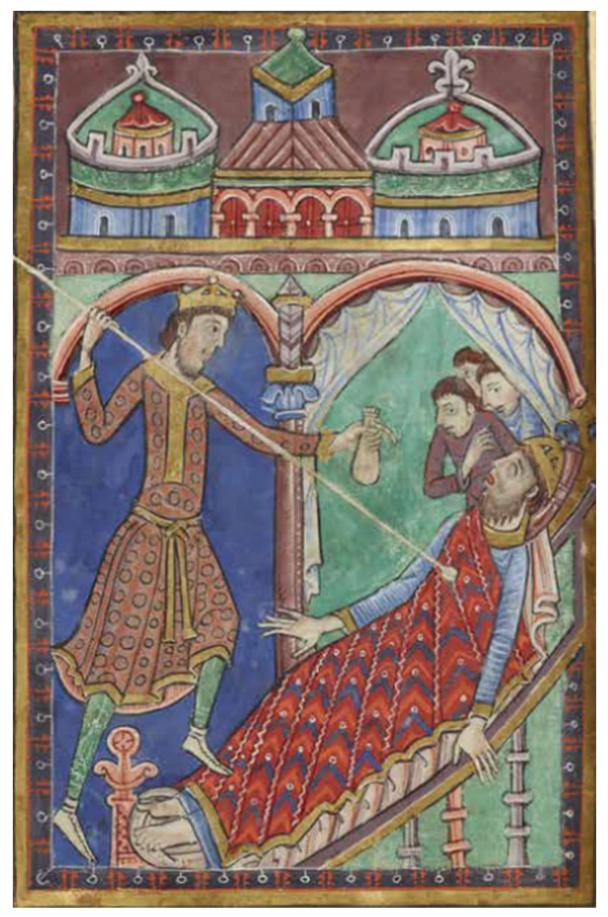**Fig. 3. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 157, fol. 383.**

Fig. 4. New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M. 736, fol. 40

First Swein, in Figure 4, is lying in bed like Henry during his dreams. Second, the martyr is clutching a bag of money like the one which Grimbald is both holding and gesturing towards. In Figure 2, the purse can be taken as a reference to Henry's burdensome taxation. In Figure 4, it reminds the audience that Swein's death came about because he imposed an unjust tax on the community of Bury St Edmunds. Third, Edmund's spear pierces Swein through his heart. The drawing of the ecclesiastic, who is poised to strike Henry in the same location, provides an ominous allusion to Swein's death. It suggests what could happen to Henry if he continues to act like another Swein. The imagery in Figures 2 and 3 (i.e. the pouch of money, soldiers brandishing spears, and a man of God with his staff ready to kill the king) allude to elements in the story of Swein's demise at Edmund's hand. The visual cues to St Edmund in Figures 2 and 3 are also apt, considering the crucial role that the martyr plays in the next event which is linked to Henry's visions.

After the appearance of all three orders of society in Henry's dreams, John uses the collective unrest to contextualise the next part of his narrative. He immediately proceeds to record that 'after this' ('post hec', i.e. Henry's visions) the king was almost shipwrecked.[732] The monarch boards a ship to return to England, whereupon John assumes the mode of a biblical narrator: 'And lo, there was a great disturbance at sea so that the ship was covered by waves in the face of a contrary wind. Alas, Jesus was asleep for them all. Fearing an imminent disaster, the king decided that the Danish tax should not be collected in the English kingdom for seven years so that the King of kings would in His mercy be watchful and succour both him and his followers. He also vowed that he would turn aside to the eastern parts of England and ask for the protection of St Edmund, king and martyr, and that he would always preserve justice throughout England. When he had so promised there was a great calm. On his return, to everyone's rejoicing he fulfilled his promise'.[733]

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[732] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester, Volume III*, ed. McGurk, p. 202-3.

[733] 'Et ecce motus magnus factus est in mari, ita ut nauis operiretur fluctibus, erat enim eis uentus contrarius. Proh dolor, Iesus dormiebat omnibus. Veritus rex imminens funus, ut Rex

Henry faced mortal danger. The fact that this episode is linked with Henry's vision implies that it is a punishment for his time as king: his previous dreams show him that he has angered the general populace, and Grimbald has told him to repent by offering alms. This point is affirmed by the seven years remission of tribute, which, Alan Cooper argues, alludes to the seven years which Nebuchadnezzar spent in the wilderness after he famously has a dream and fails to take it seriously.[734] Giles Constable, Georges Duby, and Paul Freedman all comment upon the appearance of the *rustici*, *milites* and *clerici* in Henry's dream and discuss it in relation to the threefold structure of medieval society.[735] That said, the presence of all three orders links their cause with the one who would bring about their deliverance.

After his safe return from shipwreck, the king, according to John, decides to remit the 'Danish tax' for seven years to everyone's delight. It was, of course, burdensome taxation which had obliged Edmund to kill Swein Forkbeard. As part of his vow when hoping to be saved from shipwreck, Henry, John continues, also promises that he will seek Edmund's protection and preserve justice thereafter: this last remark, of course, is an implicit admission that his actions as king, up to this point, were not entirely just. His decision to seek Edmund's aid may be linked to the fact that, since at least Herman's day, Edmund had been promoted as a saint who protected seafarers. Indeed, Bates recently drew this conclusion.[736] The king's invocation of the martyr, however, accords with the view that there was a special association between him and Edmund, a partnership which can be seen repeatedly, for example, in the

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regum in misericordiis euigilet sibique suisque sucurrat, in regno Anglie Danicum tributum .uii. annis non exigi decernit. Votum etiam uouit in orientales partes Anglie se diuersurum, Sancti Eadmundi regis et martyris patrocinia imporaturum, omnemque iustitiam per Angliam seruaturum. Quo uoto, facta est tranquillitas magna', *Ibid*, pp. 202-3.

[734] A. Cooper, '"The Feet of Those That Bark Shall Be Cut Off": Timorous Historians and the Personality of Henry I', *ANS* 23 (2000), p. 57.

[735] P. Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford, 1999), p. 50; G. Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 315-17; G. Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined* (Chicago, 1980), pp. 286-8.

[736] Bates, 'The Abbey', p. 11.

Laudes. Both the remission of the Danegeld and the invocation of Edmund, at a point in Henry's life when, as a sinner, he faced death after acting unjustly, can only have strengthened the link which the illustrator of Oxford, Corpus Christi College 157 made between Henry's potential demise and that of the Dane, Swein. Indeed, when I move to John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, it will become clear that the tax for which Edmund punishes Swein had by the mid-twelfth century been identified as the Danegeld.

The *Laudes* invoked Edmund to aid the king, and John's *Chronicle* illustrates that the saint was thought to be actively protecting the sovereign's life in times of peril. The fact that Edmund, since Herman's *Miracles*, had been understood to humble the proud also meant that Henry, mindful of the visions he has previously witnessed, would be expected to have wanted to appease him. The king presumably would have thought that the remission of taxation would accomplish this result He would not want to go the way of Swein. John therefore casts the martyr as the saviour both of the sovereign and of the whole English people. In the process, Edmund helps restores justice to England and, once again, is linked with the remission of taxes, to the benefit of his people. I now peregrinate to Durham.

Lawrence of Durham is the next author I investigate. He has recently been the subject of much attention, notably from Mia Münster-Swendsen.[737] A monk of Durham cathedral, he rose to the position of cantor.[738] He then became prior of

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[737] M. Münster-Swendsen, 'An intricate web of friends: unravelling the networks and personal connections of the two Lawrences of Durham', in L. Bisgaard, S. Engsbro, K. V. Jensen & T. Nyberg, ed., *Monastic culture: the Long Thirteenth Century: Essays in Honour of Brian Patrick McGuire* (Odense, 2014), pp. 33-55; *Idem*, 'Irony and the Author: The Case of the Dialogues of Lawrence of Durham', in S. Ranković *et al.*, ed., *Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages* (Toronto, 2012), pp. 151-171; A. I. Doyle, 'The portrait of Laurence of Durham as Scribe', in J. H. Marrow, R. A. Linenthal & W. Noel, ed., *The Medieval Book: Glosses from Friends & Colleagues of Christopher De Hamel* (Houten, 2010), pp. 11-16; G. Dinkova-Bruun, 'Rewriting Scripture: Latin Biblical Versification in the Later Middle Ages', *Viator* 39 (2008), pp. 263-84; M. Münster-Swendsen, 'Setting Things Straight: Law, Justice and Ethics in the *Orationes* of Lawrence of Durham', *ANS* 27 (2005), pp. 151-68.

[738] Lawrence wrote, 'For I was chanter – almost mayor –/ And chanters don't go round from house to house./ I had to show myself respect, for I/ Was shown respect by bishop, lord, and folk' (*Cantor eram, nec ab ede decebat in edem/ Currere cantorem, pene uel urbis herum./*

Durham in 1149. Between his time as cantor and prior of Durham, Lawrence was at the court of Geoffrey, bishop of Durham, as his chaplain between c.1133 and 1141.[739] It was during this period that he wrote *Hypognosticon*, his most popular work, which survives in twenty-one manuscripts.[740] It is a biblical epic, composed in unrhymed elegiac couplets, about the redemption of mankind. Its narrative is spread throughout nine books and extends from Creation to the present day.[741]

In *Hypognosticon*, Lawrence described how St Denis, in a poetic fashion, adorns the Gauls with his bloodshed, just as Demetrius adorns the Greeks with his. He then wrote: 'So too Edmund, second to none in *virtus*, adorns us: he is the light, father, and great glory of his fatherland'. He concludes his description of Edmund by juxtaposing the saint's identities as a king and martyr, with the latter being more prominent. He evokes an image of Edmund arrayed with a sceptre, crown, and purple robe, but he goes on to describe how chains, a sword, and blood adorn him more.[742] This imagery, significantly, connects Edmund to the English in the same way as St Denis is linked to the Gauls. St Denis, as mentioned above, was considered France's patron saint at this time. Lawrence was making an important point. Edmund is England's patron saint: he is second to none in *virtus* (i.e. virtue or power). Lawrence also affirms Edmund's role as Father of the Fatherland. It is a testament to Edmund's standing as England's patron saint at this time that a monk of Durham cathedral, while living at the heart of the bishop of Durham's court, wrote the above passage. This is powerful

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Debebam deferre mihi cui detulit heros,/ Detulit et populus, presul et ipse satis). For the Latin, see Lawrence of Durham, *Dialogi Laurentii Dunelmensis Monachi ac Prioris*, ed. J. Raine (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 14. For the English, see A. G. Rigg, 'Lawrence of Durham: Dialogues and Easter Poem: A Verse Translation', *JML* 7 (1997), p. 57.

[739] Münster-Swendsen, 'Setting Things Straight', pp. 151-68.

[740] *Ibid*, p. 154.

[741] A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin literature, 1066-1422* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 54. For an overview of Lawrence's works, see *Ibid*, pp. 54-61.

[742] 'Utque cruore suo Gallos Dionysius ornat,/ Grecos Demetrius, gloria quisque suis/. Sic nos Eadmundus, nulli uirtute secundus,/ Lux, pater, et patrie gloria magna sue:/ Sceptra manum, diadema caput, sua purpura corpus/ Ornat ei, sed plus uincula, mucro, cruor': Lawrence of Durham, *Dialogi Laurentii Dunelmensis Monachi ac Prioris*, ed. J. Raine (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 69.

testimony because it speaks against vested interest: one would expect Lawrence to have portrayed St Cuthbert as England's premier saint. This is not the case: Edmund fills that position.

The final author who points to Edmund's significance in the mid-twelfth century is John of Salisbury. He incorporates Edmund into his *Policraticus* as a vehicle of God's punishment against the tyrants. This text was completed in 1159.[743] Scholars have long been drawn to it for John's discussion of tyranny, but what is lacking in the debate is a proper understanding of John's debt to ideas that arose in the context of Edmund's cult.[744]

I argued in the previous chapter that complicated themes regarding the nature of God's providence and the exercise of royal power are developed in Herman's *Miracles* c. 1070. I also demonstrate in that chapter how Goscelin, in his *Miracles*, continued to add to this debate when he incorporated into the evolving narrative Edmund's identity as the Father of the Fatherland, previously only found in the liturgy. Indeed, the first version of Herman's *Miracles* was written just after the Conquest when discussions about the extent of royal power were at the heart of the political debate. John, therefore, contributed to a debate that had been evolving at Bury for over eighty years. This should be noted because Frank Barlow argued that eleventh-century writers made no systematic study of royal power.[745] Herman, however, deals with this theme in his *Miracles*, but he does so by creating models of behaviours, which were either to be imitated or spurned. Edmund's inclusion in John's *Policraticus* shows that the martyr was just as relevant in the twelfth century as he was at the end of the eleventh. After citing various examples of tyrannical regimes throughout history and how they came to a bad end, John concludes this part of his work with two

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[743] John of Salisbury, *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, ed. & trans. C. J. Nederman (Cambridge, 1990), p. xix.
[744] C. J. Nederman, 'John of Salisbury's Political Theory', in C. Grellard and F. Lachaud, ed., *A Companion to John of Salisbury* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 289-306.
[745] F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London, 1970), p. 158.

examples of tyrants who met a wretched death in more recent times. He records that Edmund slew Swein Forkbeard and King Stephen's son, Eustace.

What then does John write about Edmund? He begins by stating that 'among the nation of the Britons, the hand of the most glorious martyr and king Edmund was employed for the suppression and punishment of the savagery of tyranny'.[746] He describes how Swein occupied, pillaged, and ravaged ('occupauerat, uastaret, spoliaret') most of Britain. He also records that the invader ordered the imposition of a tax, the Danegeld, to be applied to the martyr's possessions.[747] Supplications, according to John, were made to Swein, but he spurned them. A monk of Bury, so his story goes, travelled to see him and Swein afflicted him with injuries. John notes that this hastened God's judgement upon the impious king.[748] He wrote: 'While walking alone among his soldiers in camp, as was admitted by them, he saw beside him the blessed Edmund with a sword; the martyr censured him most harshly and then hacked him to death. The tyrant died in his footsteps'.[749] There follows a reference to the fact that subsequent tyrants dared not impose the Danegeld on Bury, a statement which mirrors the remark of William of Malmesbury noted earlier.[750]

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[746] 'In gente quoque Britanniarum... ad compescendam et puniendam tirannidis rabiem, gloriosissimi martyris et regis Edmundi manum exercuit': John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. C. C. I. Webb (2 vols., Oxford, 1909), ii, pp. 805-6. For the English, see *Policraticus,* ed. Nederman, p. 212.

[747] 'Swein... burdened the province with the imposition of a tax, which in the language of the English was called the Danegeld, and he ordered the tax to apply to the possessions of the just-mentioned martyr' (*Suanus... indictione census, quem lingua Anglorum Danageldum nominant, prouinciam onerauit, precepitque possessiones memorati martyris conferre in censum*). For the Latin, see *Policraticus*, ed. Webb, ii, p. 806. For the English, see *Policraticus,* ed. Nederman, p. 212.

[748] 'But in his impiety, he paid no attention to these demands, he got angry at the prohibition, he was hardened by the threats and, inflicting abuse and injury upon the humble messenger, he hurried along vengeance at the hand of God, provoked a scourging and ran with blind rashness into death by his contempt for the patience of God' (*Sed impietas ad preces obsurduit, intumuit ad prohibitionem, ad minas induruit, et conuitiis et iniuriis afficiens humilem nuntium, Dei ultricem accelerauit manum, flagellum prouocauit, et patientia Dei contempta temeritate cecus incurrit in mortem*). For the Latin, see *Policraticus*, ed. Webb, ii, p. 806. For the English, see *Policraticus,* ed. Nederman, p. 212.

[749] 'Inter milites enim agens in castris solus, sicut ipse confessus est, cum telo uidit adesse beatum Edmundum increpantem eum durissime et cedentem ad mortem': *Policraticus*, ed. Webb, ii, p. 806. For the English, *Policraticus,* ed. Nederman, p. 212.

[750] *Ibid,* p. 212.

John is the first author who is known to have credited the death of King Stephen's son, Eustace, to Edmund. He notes: 'Consuming the treasure of the kingdom, from which the payments for his soldiers proceeded time and again (for gifts of largesse were in short supply by now), Eustace plundered the spoils of this already mentioned Church'.[751] Edmund's hand, according to John, touched him. This proved to be unfortunate for the prince, for John records that Eustace died some eight days later.[752]

What this new miracle demonstrates is that Edmund was still considered, in the late 1150s, as intervening on behalf of the English against tyrannical behaviour. Aside from revealing how the *Policraticus* is indebted to themes developed at Bury, the foregoing discussion reveals that Edmund was still the go-to saint when discussing opposition to tyranny, on a national level, in the mid-twelfth century. Edmund was still being discussed in this period, as England's foremost saint; indeed, his example had been taken up by theorists.

Nor should this come as a surprise. Philippe Buc discusses some of the biblical verses that were being glossed in the twelfth century.[753] 1 Kings 8: 11-18 records, for instance, that God gave the Jews their first king as a punishment for rejecting divine rule. The rights of the king ('ius regis') are then articulated in the gloss: he could, for instance, seize fathers' sons for war, occupy fields and vineyards and give them to his servants, tithe one's crop and produce for members of his

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[751] 'Consumptis opibus regni, unde semel et secundo militibus era procederent (iam enim defecerant donatiua) predia iam dicte ecclesie depopulatus est': *Policraticus*, ed. Webb, ii, pp. 806-7. For the English, see *Policraticus,* ed. Nederman, p. 213.

[752] 'He had not yet digested the food, however, which he had acquired from the riches of the place, and on the day before he was to retire to his home nearby, he was touched by the hand of the martyr and, struck down with a fatal illness, his life and affairs ceased on about the eighth day' (*Nondum tamen digesserat cibum, quem de facultatibus loci acceperat, ipsaque die, antequam se domi sue reciperet, que nimis uicina erat, tactus est martiris manu, et letali percussus morbo, die circiter octaua rebus cessit et uita*). For the Latin, see *Policraticus,* ed. Nederman, p. 807. For the English, see *Policraticus,* ed. Nederman, p. 213.

[753] P. Buc, '*Principes gentium dominantur eorum*: Princely Power Between Legitimacy and Illegitimacy in Twelfth-Century Exegesis', in T. N. Bisson, ed., *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Pennsylvania, 1995), pp. 310-28.

familia, tithe the flock, and the Jews would be his servants.[754] The majority of exegetes, according to Buc, emphasised the excesses in taxation (*exactio*) and lordship (*dominatio*) in their own days when glossing these verses.[755] They ask, moreover, whether kings could tax as much as they want and increase their dominion without committing sin. Stephen Langton, according to Buc, did not think so, and this was the view of most exegetes at the time. Langton makes a distinction, for instance, between what God either permits or orders. This allowed him to argue that tyrannical taxation was not licit. He, instead, argues that it was permitted as a punishment.[756] Buc also identifies arguments made by the exegetes which offered a justification for resisting tyrannical kings. He considers, for instance, glosses on 2 Kings 24 and Psalm 81. He argues that the gloss on 2 Kings 24 discusses how a plague was sent to afflict the Jews who did not resist ('non restitit') David's marriage to Bathsheba. He notes that the gloss on Psalm 81 contains a critique of those who did not try to stop Christ's crucifixion.[757] The issues of taxation and resistance to tyranny, which are present in twelfth-century glosses, are the same issues which hagiographers at Bury had grappled with since the Conquest. During this period, Edmund was a natural figure to turn to in these debates.

There is, however, a sting in the tail of this chapter. Edmund's identity, which the monks of Bury created, and which proves to be so popular both nationally and internationally, became a model for what the patron saint of England should look like. Osbert of Clare, who was well acquainted with Edmund's cult, therefore had a ready basis on which to lay the foundations for the rise of Edward the Confessor as Edmund's rival in the running to be patron saint of England. Osbert modelled Edward on Edmund.

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[754] 1 Kings 8: 11-18. Hosea 13:11 is another example where God's anger established kings in the world: 'I will give you a king in my wrath, and will take him away in my indignation' (*Dabo tibi regem in furore meo et auferam in indignatione mea*).

[755] *Ibid*, p. 322.

[756] *Ibid*, p. 323, fn. 41.

[757] *Ibid*, p. 325.

Osbert, writing a *Life* of Edward the Confessor in the 1130s, portrays the saintly king (as the monks of Bury portrayed Edmund) as the Father of the Fatherland. He does so on two occasions. Osbert records at the beginning of the *Life* that Edward's magnates asked him not to go on pilgrimage to Rome. The magnates, according to Osbert, were mindful of the evils that had occurred under previous kings and feared that England would regress to these darker times in Edward's absence. They did not want, Osbert continues, to be without so great a prince and pious a Father of the Fatherland, for England had only recently found peace again: they feared it could be disturbed by future hostilities if the king, who did not have an heir, died on the journey.[758] Such a concern would have been in the audience's mind after Osbert mentioned that Edward's relative, Duke Robert I of Normandy, had perished when returning from his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The second occasion is when Osbert notes the Confessor's epithet at the very end of his *Life*. In a prayer to Edward, Osbert asks the following: 'Extend your right hand, our holy Father of the Fatherland and famous King Edward, and mercifully invoke God's compassion upon your followers, and thus protect those serving you in the tribulation of the flesh, that they may deserve to reign happily with you, before the face of God, in heaven forever'.[759]

Osbert also appears to want Edward to appeal to all segments of society like Edmund. He sculpts Edward's persona, for instance, in such a way that worldly rulers could relate to him. This was, of course, made easier by the fact that Edward had been a king himself, but Osbert went one step further. Edmund, in Osbert's *Miracles of St Edmund*, is given the epithet 'Conqueror' (*triumphator*), and so too is Edward in Osbert's *Life of the Blessed Edward*.[760] The latter is called

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[758] 'Vnde pontifices et duces et ceteri sapientes regni, memores malorum que sub aliis regibus pertulerant, in huius absentia hec iterum uentura formidabant. Inuitos ergo et renitentes se tanto principe et tam pio patrie patre carere, proclamabant quia sedatum nouiter regnum aliqua hostilitate turbandum aut regem in uia aliquo incommodo metuebant periturum': Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur', p.78.

[759] 'Extende dexteram tuam itaque, sancte pater patrie nostre et rex insignis Eadwarde, et super congregationem tuam clementer inuoca Dei misericordiam, et sic tibi famulantes in hac carnis molestia protege, ut tecum mereantur ante uultum Dei feliciter in celo sine fine regnare': Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur', p. 123.

[760] The remark about powerful tyrants submitting themselves to Edward is found in Folcard's *Life*. He wrote: 'Ceteri quoque eorundem regum tyranni, et quique potentissimi duces et

a 'Conqueror' in the *Life* when he ascends the throne, at which point powerful tyrants of other islands make peace with him and receive the mastery of so great a Conqueror.[761] Osbert also gives the same epithet to King William I on three occasions in his *Life*. Just before he mentions that William made Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, Osbert styles him as the Conqueror of Britain.[762] In a miracle story, when Wulfstan's staff is cannot be removed from Edward's sepulchre by those around him, William is described again as a famous Conqueror.[763] And after Wulfstan removes his staff himself, the Conqueror adorns Edward's tomb with gold and silver as a sign of devotion.[764] The latter is therefore cast as a gift from one conqueror to another.

By the mid-twelfth century, Edmund was associated with English rulers, and so too was Edward by virtue of his lineage. What follows in this paragraph is a summary of Osbert's remarks on this point. Osbert places Edward in a long line of illustrious predecessors, both English and Norman. Edward's father was the former English king, Æthelred, and his mother was Emma, daughter of Duke Richard I. On his father's side, Edward is descended from Edgar (a founder of monasteries), Edward the Martyr, Æthelred I (who is happy and blessed), and the most holy virgin Edith of Wilton (who shines with miracles). On his mother's side, he is descended from the kings of the Franks and dukes of the Normans. Two dukes, moreover, are singled out for praise: Dukes Richard I and Robert I. The former is the founder of the monastery of Fécamp. Indeed, he is described as more of a monk than a king. Robert I is recorded as having made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Edward's sanctity is innate ('opus ei sanctitatis...

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principes, legatis suis eum adeunt, amicum et dominum sibi suisque constituunt, eique fidelitatem et seruitium suum in manus ponunt': *Life*, ed. Barlow, p. 11. Osbert adds the detail about Edward being a Conqueror.

[761] 'Ceterarum tyranni et potentes insularum pacem cum ipso faciunt tantique triumphatoris dominatum admittunt': Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur', p. 77.

[762] 'Postquam triumphator rex orbis britannici Willelmus peruagatam suis uiribus Angliam subdidit, scientie totius armarium usque redundans secularium litterarum, uocante Domino, in summo regni sacerdotio prefecit Lanfrancum': *Ibid*, p. 117.

[763] 'Clamat triumphator egregius rex Willelmus: "Domino gloriam!"': *Ibid*, p. 119.

[764] 'Qua de causa triumphator Anglorum Willelmus super sanctum regem Eadwardum ex auro et argento capse fabricam condidit': *Ibid*, p. 120.

innatum').[765] Indeed, he imitates many of their successes. He rebuilds the abbey of Westminster, thereby following in the footsteps of Edgar and Richard I. He is a virgin and shines with miracles, like Edith of Wilton. And he would have gone on pilgrimage (albeit to Rome) like Robert I, but he is asked to remain in England by his nobles and is subsequently granted a dispensation by the pope from undertaking the journey.

Osbert also promotes the idea that Edward is allied with the poor. Armed with his classical knowledge, he incorporates received wisdom from Macrobius's *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* in the prologue of his *Life*. He wrote that every man either goes soft from pleasure or is stirred up more eagerly, with a fiery spirit, to virtue.[766] This provides him with a reason to juxtapose King Midas, as found in Fulgentius's *Mythologies*, with Edward. Osbert wrote that Midas, who asked Apollo that whatever he touches should turn to gold, is perceived to be wealthy in riches. He had, so the story goes, an abundance of gold and personified avaricious cupidity.[767] Osbert then records that holy and just kings, who are with the poor of Christ in spirit and disperse substantial resources to paupers, do not seek to hoard such riches for themselves.[768] Edward, according to Osbert, is in the catalogue of these holy kings.[769]

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[765] Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur', pp. 69-70.

[766] 'Omnis autem homo aut uoluptate resoluitur ad mollitiem, aut ardore animi excitatur studiosius ad uirtutem': Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur', p. 67. Macrobius, in his *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, wrote: 'nam ideo in hac uita omnis anima musicis sonis capitur, ut non soli qui sunt habitu cultiores, uerum uniuerse quoque barbare nationes cantus, quibus uel ad ardorem uirtutis animentur uel ad mollitiem uoluptatis resoluantur, exerceant': see Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1970), p. 105.

[767] Osbert wrote: 'Mida autem rex aurum fieri quicquit tangeret... Aurea etiam locuplex diuiciarum sentiebatur copia, set in necessitate dominabatur uiolenta. Formam gessit rex iste cupiditatis auare': Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur', p. 67. Fulgentius, in his *Mythologies*, wrote: 'Mida rex Apollinem petit ut quicquid tetigisset aurum fieret; cum que promeruisset, munus in ultionem conuersus est, cepit que sui uoti effectu torqueri; nam quidquid tetigerat aurum statim efficiebatur. Erat ergo necessitas aurea locuples que penuria; nam et cibus et potus rigens auri materia marmorabat': Fulgentius, *Mythologiarum libri tres*, ed. R. Helm (Stuttgart, 1970), p. 50.

[768] Osbert wrote: 'Hoc sancti reges et iusti non faciunt, qui cum Christi pauperibus spiritu sunt pauperes eisque substantias dispergunt locupletes': Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur', p. 67.

[769] 'In quorum catalogo sanctus Dei rex Eadwardus': *Ibid*, p. 67.

In a more oblique fashion, Osbert asserts the same partnership between Edward and his people in the dispute between Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester and Archbishop Lanfranc. The latter, according to Osbert, wants to depose Wulfstan from office. Osbert states that Wulfstan, however, decides to drive his staff into Edward's sepulchre, and the staff is fixed in the stone as if in melting wax: it was unable to be removed by anyone.[770] Wulfstan actions, so the story goes, are meant to show that he had been chosen by Edward for his office and only the saint could depose him. This deed, according to Osbert, had the desired effect. In a prayer to the Almighty, Wulfstan said: 'Restore to me the pastoral staff, which I returned to my lord [i.e. Edward], if you foresee my reason to be for the honour and glory of your church, for the success of the people, and to the ruin of malign spirits'.[771] After this prayer, Wulfstan then approaches Edward's tomb, and Osbert describes how he lightly removes his pastoral staff, without difficulty, from the stone.[772] Osbert demonstrates that Edward provides for the wellbeing of his people to the detriment of the devil.

Another theme which Osbert develops, and models on Edmund, is Edward's opposition to tyranny. He introduces the sword of Damocles in the prologue of his *Life*. He records that Damocles wants the tyrant Dionysius's throne. The latter, according to Osbert, then gestures, before his household, towards a sword suspended above the pretender's head: it would remain there for as long as Damocles coveted his position amidst the delights of Sicily. Damocles observes the sword in the middle of the banquet and dreads it hanging above him by a thread; then he shudders and rejects the delights on offer. His desire for power sated, Damocles, Osbert continues, scorns the bounty.[773] The point

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[770] 'Infixum est igitur ferrum uirge in silicem uelut in ceram liquantem nec ab eodem loco dimoueri per quempiam potuit': Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur', p. 118.

[771] 'Virgam pastoralem quam domino meo reddidi michi restitue, si preuidisti causam meam esse ecclesie tue ad honorem et gloriam et populis ad profectum et malignis spiritibus ad ruinam': Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur', p. 120.

[772] 'Et tam leuiter pastoralem uirgam remouit a lapide, ut nulla sequeretur difficultas in opere': *Ibid*, p. 120.

[773] 'Dionisius namque tirannus Democrito familiari suo suspensum capiti intentauit gladium, dum regis purpuram concupisceret inter delitias Siculorum; quem cum inter epulas imminentem cerneret et tenui filo superius pendentem uehementius formidaret, regias aspernatus exhorruit delitias et reiecit copias saciata cupidine fastiditas': *Ibid*, p. 68.

of this story is to show that the sword of Damocles was like God's judgement and that Edward always feared vengeance, by divine judgement, hanging over his head.[774] Edward, a God-fearing king, was therefore no tyrant. Osbert maintains that the same could not be said for other kings.

Edward, in Osbert's *Miracles*, would also prove to be the downfall of not one, but two tyrants: namely, Swein 'the Younger' and Harold Hardrada. I first deal with the miracle concerning Swein. Osbert, borrowing from Folcard of Saint-Bertin's *Life of King Edward*, records how the Holy Roman Emperor (i.e. Henry III) and the king of the Franks (i.e. Henry I) sought Edward's friendship at the time of his coronation.[775] He then changes what follows in Folcard's account. After mentioning that Henry III and Henry I asked for Edward's friendship, Folcard wrote: 'even the king of the Danes... entreated his peace and love [to Edward], chose him as a father, submitted to him in all things as a son, and by the order of the English king affirmed this agreement by oath and confirmed it with hostages'.[776] Osbert's series of events are different. He adds that while the other kings submitted to Edward, the savage and arrogant Danes alone breathed the madness of iniquity and waited for an opportune moment to exercise their fury on the English.[777] This alteration allows for the addition of a fictitious narrative, which Osbert furnishes: the death of Swein 'the Younger', whose identity I discuss shortly.

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[774] 'Qui, cum causam in populo discuteret multimodam, imminentem capiti diuino semper iuditio metuebat uindictam': *Ibid*, p. 68.

[775] Compare Folcard and Osbert's texts. Folcard wrote: 'Primus ipse Romanorum imperator Heinricus... ad coniugendas in inuicem dextras legatos dirigit... et que tantos decebat terrarum dominos pacem et amicitiam sibi suisque prestat et petit': *Life*, ed. Barlow, p. 10. Osbert wrote: 'Imperator igitur Romanorum Henricus, qui Cesar tantus erat quantus et orbis, ad connectendas in inuicem fidei dexteras legatos dirigit et sibi suisque pacem et amicitiam postulat et impertit. Henricus etiam rex Francorum, carnis ei et sanguinis uicinitate propinquus, fedus cum illo indissolubile pepigit, et manibus plaudens de tanti principis gloria medullitus exultauit': *Ibid*, p. 73.

[776] 'Rex etiam Danorum... pacem et dilectionem eius precatur, patrem eum sibi eligit, seque ut filium illi in omnibus subicit, iussusque ab eodem Anglorum rege hanc sponsionem et sacramentis iurat, et obsidibus confirmat': *Life*, ed. Barlow, pp. 16-17.

[777] 'Sola Dacia effera et superba adhuc spirabat iniquitatis rabiem et in Anglos exercere suum tempore oportuno prestolabatur furorem': see *Ibid*, p. 73.

Edward, so Osbert's story goes, that Easter, erupts into immoderate laughter. Those who stand by him are amazed and regard the king carefully, because such inconstancy or levity does not usually appear in him. Edward then reports that he has seen in a vision that Swein 'the Younger' had prepared to invade England with an endless fleet and to subjugate her to his rule. Swein, Osbert continues, had wanted to conquer the necks of Edward's people. Osbert then reveals the cause of Edward's laughter at the vision he had seen: for that same day Swein had boarded his ships with a well-supplied army, but, by God's just judgment, he had slipped, fallen, and died wretchedly by drowning.[778] Osbert ascribes Swein's death to Edward's merits, for God had intervened on Edward's behalf because the king was a favourite of his. Osbert tells the audience that the death of Swein pleased God because he threatened Edward's rule: the key of David (i.e. Christ) deigned to open the door of God's clemency to Edward.[779] Osbert then reverts to how Folcard's narrative originally ends. Finally, he notes that, after the miracle was proved true, the new ruler of the Danes (wearied with such fear) presented hostages, offered oaths, kept a promise of love and peace, and honoured Edward as his lord and father. Powerful tyrants of other islands, according to Osert, then made peace with him.[780]

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[778] 'Circa horam uero eandem qua salutaris uictima agni paschalis a populo percipitur, in cachinnum rex gloriosus erupit immoderatum, ita ut qui astarent mirarentur per circuitum. Quia uero solide grauitatis idem princeps extiterat et in illo nulla inconstantia uel leuitas apparere consueuerat, post acta sollempnia a suis inquiritur que in risu significatio teneatur. 'Rex' inquit 'Dacie cui Sueno iunior erat uocabulum cum infinita classe parauerat Anglie fines inuadere et suo principatui subiugare et, quia aui eius auis meis et proauis extiterunt semper inimici, et ceruices meorum infesto prorsus edomare nitebatur gladio. Naues hodie conscendebat cum exercitu copioso. Cumque de prora ad nauem in quam ingredi debebat pedem extenderet, iusto Dei iudicio, elapsus corruit, et demersus in mare miserabiliter exspirauit': *Ibid*, pp. 75-6.

[779] 'Hoc placuit Altissimo ut michi [i.e. Edward] reueletur e celo et siue extra corpus siue in corpore dignata est michi clauis Dauid clementie sue hostium reserare': *Ibid*, p. 76. The key of David is recorded in Isaiah 22:22. The key, in Isaiah, is given to Eliakim, who will be a father to Jerusalem's inhabitants. Eliakim, in Christian theology, prefigures Christ, who now holds the key of David: Revelation 3:7 records that the holy and true one (i.e. Christ) has the key. Osbert, in his *Life*, used the key, metaphorically, to signify Christ. The same metaphor is found, for instance, in the antiphon 'O Clauis David', which is recorded in the *Life of Alcuin* (written between 821 and 829). For the antiphon, see Anonymous, *Vita Alcuini, MGH SS 15.1* (Hannover, 1881), p. 196. For the date of the *Life of Alcuin*, see D. Dales, *Alcuin: His Life and Legacy* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 20.

[780] 'Tanta pertesus formidine, Danorum princeps obsides exibet, sacramenta prebet, promissam seruat dilectionem et pacem et eum [i.e. Edward] ut dominum ueneratur et patrem. Ceterarum tyranni et potentes insularum pacem cum ipso [i.e. Edward] faciunt': *Ibid*, pp. 76-7.

Osbert was clearly trying to weave a narrative that would supersede a miracle, associated with Edmund, which, as Licence demonstrates, caught the imagination of twelfth-century authors: the death of Swein Forkbeard.[781] There are matching details in the tradition wrought at Bury and the *Life of the Blessed Edward*. The most obvious point of comparison is that both antagonists of the saints are called Swein. This is even more striking because no king called Swein came to such an untimely end during Edward's reign. The only Swein who ruled during Edward's time as king was Swein Estridsson, who became king in 1047, but he died c. 1074 (i.e. eight years after Edward's death). Another detail common to both stories is the belief that both Edmund and Edward's role in the miracles was to rescue their people from a tyrannical invading king. When discussing the impact of Edmund's aid, Herman wrote: '[Aelwine] perceived that [Edmund's] saving intervention had not only allayed the plight of the poor in his town but had even curtailed the ravenous invasion throughout the whole of England, to the great relief of the poor, whose God forsakes them not.'[782] When concluding the miracle about the death of Swein 'the Younger', Osbert records that the destruction of this dangerous leader occurred so that Edward's common people might be immune and free from an unfortunate disaster ('ab infausta pernitie sit immunis et libera').[783] This reference echoes Edmund's request to Swein Forkbeard that the people of Beodricesworth (later Bury St Edmunds) should be immune from tribute, an oppressive tax. In delaying the point in the narrative at which the Danes agreed to make peace with Edward, Osbert provided himself with an opportunity to insert a miracle which he presumably hoped would outshine the signature miracle of Edmund.

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[781] *Miracles*, ed. Licence, pp. cxxviii-cxxix.

[782] '... cuius ereptione [Aelwine] sensit liberos non solum sue pauperes uille, sed etiam per Angliam totam deferbuisse inuasionem gulosam, ad releuationem pauperum, quorum non obliuiscitur Deus eorum': *Ibid*, pp. 24-5.

[783] 'Huiusque perniciosi capitis factum est exitio ut et pleps mea ab infausta pernitie sit immunis et libera': Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur', p. 76.

Whereas Edmund was credited with destroying just the one Viking invader, Osbert now proceeded to link Edward to the destruction of a second. The story he tells goes like this. In 1066, Harold Hardrada attempts to invade England. When Hardrada and his men, however, land at York, God wants to rescue His faithful people through Edward.[784] Edward then appears to Ælfsige, abbot of Ramsey, in a dream. He is told to make haste and inform King Harold II that he should hurry and fight the enemy. Edward, according to Osbert, said: 'I shall drive them back in flight, and I alone shall avenge your captivity'.[785] Hardrada was duly overthrown. Edward's glory now appeared to eclipse that of Edmund.

By opposing tyranny, Edward is shown as humbling the proud and exalting the humble. As William of Malmesbury's description of the martyr attests, this characteristic was an important aspect of Edmund's popularity by the mid-twelfth century. Osbert tried to capitalize on the same concept when promoting Edward, presumably in the hope that he could do for Edward what the community of Bury had done for Edmund. That said, Osbert's efforts do not seem to have won the same recognition for Edward. John of Salisbury, for instance, turned not to Edward but to Edmund when discussing the downfall of tyrants in his *Policraticus,* completed in 1159. It remained to be seen how Edward's cult would develop after his official canonization by the papacy on 7 February 1161, for which Aelred of Rievaulx updated Osbert's *Life*.[786]

In sum, Osbert attests the success of Edmund as England's patron saint by his decision to redesign Edward in his image and to emphasise what were, by the twelfth century, some of the most popular aspects of Edmund's patronal identity. Whether, given this boost, Edward managed to eclipse Edmund as

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[784] 'Subuenire Deus fidelibus suis per sanctum regem uoluit Eadwardum': *Ibid*, p. 114.

[785] 'Ego enim in fugam eos conuertam, et uisitabo per me captiuitatem uestram': *Ibid*, p. 114.

[786] E. Bozóky, 'The Sanctity and Canonization of Edward the Confessor', in Mortimer, ed., *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 173-86; N. Vincent, 'La biographie royale en France et en Angleterre: Henri II et Louis VII, Henri III et Louis IX', in C. Arringnon, M.-H. Debiès, C. Galderisi & E. Palazzo, ed., *Cinquante années d'études médiévales: à la confluence de nos disciplines: actes du colloque organisé à l'occasion du cinquantenaire du CESCM, Poitiers, 1er-4 Septembre 2003* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 29-40; B. W. Scholz, 'The canonization of Edward the Confessor', *Speculum* 36 (1961), pp. 38-60.

patron saint for both the ruling dynasty of England and their subjects is a question that awaits investigation elsewheree.[787]

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[787] The signs are not promising for the popularity of Edward's cult. Emily O'Brien, in her study of Edward's cult during a large part of the medieval period, found that Edward never attained popularity among the English as a whole: E. L. O'Brien, *The Cult of St. Edward the Confessor 1066-1399* (PhD Thesis, Oxford, 2001).

Conclusion

In the first five chapters of this thesis, I discussed the criticisms levelled against King William and his regime in the first decade of William's rule. In Chapter 1, I compared Jumièges's *Deeds of the Norman Dukes* with Poitiers's *Deeds of William*, specifically in relation to William's conquest of Maine. How did William's contemporaries perceive his actions in Maine? Why did Poitiers's narrative differ from Jumièges's?

I argue that Poitiers wrote during a time when William faced serious criticisms over his conquest of Maine, which, as my subsequent chapters showed, foreshadowed his controversial invasion of England. Poitiers's rationale for William's subjugation of Maine was founded on legal arguments. Central to Poitiers's account was the belief that William's invasion took place after Herbert II, count of Maine, died in 1062, supposedly having named William as his heir. When Walter, count of Mantes, usurped William's rights, the duke fought for what he claimed was his. Jumièges, writing contemporaneously with William's conquest of Maine and in praise of the duke, gives no such legal foundation for William's warfare in Maine. William's rationale for his mastery of Maine, according to Jumièges, was to regain his honour after it was besmirched by Geoffrey Martel. Jumièges offers no other explanation for William's invasion. By the 1070s, such a rationale for William's attack upon Maine was no longer thought acceptable, given the problems it posed for William's reputation. Poitiers aimed to remedy the situation. He made a point of recording that William did not humiliate his opponents when he had the chance. I argue that he rewrote Jumièges not only for posterity but also in reply to criticisms which William was facing by the 1070s. The simple explanation for the divergences between Jumièges and Poitiers is that the latter made up new arguments.

In Chapter 2, I identified a greater degree of criticism of the Conquest in Guy's *Song*. From the outset, the poem appears to fit Orderic's superficial description

of it as a work in praise of William. Poitiers, however, takes issue with poets in his *Deeds*, which I argue is because of Guy and his *Song*. Why did Poitiers take umbrage with Guy and his poem? Building on the work of O'Donnell, I reveal that there is extended, veiled criticism of William in the *Song*. At first they are hard to spot, but the criticisms come thick and fast in the poem when Guy begins treating the subject of the battle itself. He borrows material, for instance, from Jordanes's *Getica* in order to liken William and his army to their pagan ancestors, the Goths. Guy's interweaving of classical and Christian cosmologies also allows him to offer a less than flattering explanation as to why William was victorious over Harold. It is Mars, Fury, and Fortune who are given centre stage during the battle of Hastings. Indeed, Guy's apostrophe to the Christian God emphasises that deity's absence from the battlefield. Mars is offered as the alternative 'deus' who grants William victory at Hastings. William's invocation of Fortune also allows Guy to suggest the possibility that it is this 'omnipotens' (not the Christian God) who grants William all his desires.

Guy does not stop there. He characterises William as acting no better than a beast in battle when the duke dismembers his adversaries like a lion. He portrays William as pitiless when he attacks his own soldier. He mocks William's strength since the duke requires three associates to kill King Harold. He compares him to an ulcer filled with blood, thereby doubly underlining the fact that any comparison between the bloodthirsty William and Solomon was laughable. He depicts him as a perjurer. He subtly negates his claim that Edward promised him the throne. Finally, he ingeniously uses Dudo's *Deeds* to show that the duke was not living up to Dudo's prophecy, which applied to Rollo's descendants. This prophecy envisaged a time when Rollo's progeny would usher in an age of peace. It also hoped for a time when Fury, imprisoned, would have to sit on her arms. This is the opposite of what happened at Hastings, where Fury, in Guy's *Song*, appears in arms. I argue that Guy likens William to the pagan version of his ancestor Rollo. I contend that William is paralleled both to Fury and Turnus when he ravages the sheepfold (i.e. Gyrth and the English) in

battle. The criticisms of William in the *Song,* as previously identified by O'Donnell and Licence, are the tip of the iceberg.

In Chapter 3, I provided a close reading of parts of Folcard's *Life of King Edward.* Poem 3, the prose that follows it, and Poem 4 all contain criticisms of the Normans. I discussed the political crisis of 1051/2 in England, and how, in these parts of the *Life,* no less a Norman than Robert of Jumièges suffers more criticism than has hitherto been noticed. The inspiration for Folcard's imagery of cosmic dissolution at this point of the *Life* is Lucan's *Civil War.* My analysis reveals not only that Folcard uses sophisticated metaphors to make his points but also that his metaphors can be deciphered when they are placed within the broader context of the poetry and the prose.

On the back of these findings, I analysed the 'Vision of the Green Tree'. My interpretation of the vision was founded upon Folcard's own interpretation of the same sort of arboreal imagery in his *Life.* Folcard's narrative likens the current ruling regime (i.e. the Normans) to demons. I argued that the vision invites the *Life's* audience c. 1067 to look forward to the day when a rival claimant to the English throne, Edgar Ætheling, will be king. This interpretation makes sense because it accords with what happened after the *Life* was written, when there were revolts against William's rule between 1068 and 1070: Edgar, according to William of Jumièges, was appointed king in York during this period. Folcard, moreover, was in the circle of Ealdred, archbishop of York, in the 1060s, so it should come as no surprise that such a vision might allude to Edgar.

In Chapter 4, I analysed King William I's claim to the English throne. I looked at the three sources previously discussed in the foregoing chapters: that is, Guy of Amiens's *Song,* William of Jumièges's *Deeds,* and William of Poitiers's *Deeds.* I demonstrated that Guy of Amiens makes no distinction between the time periods in which Edward nominated William as his heir and Harold visited William, all of which would place the designation in 1065. I then argued that

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Jumièges revised these series of events, in reply to contemporary criticisms (such as those found in Guy's *Song*) of William's claim to the throne. Jumièges, for example, separates the initial point at which Edward supposedly made William his heir and the point at which Harold was sent to confirm the promise of the throne. Jumièges's description, however, is so vague about the period in which the original designation happened that his account is suspicious. I proposed, therefore, that this ambiguity was most probably intentional: he probably leaves it up to his audience to decide when Edward initially promised the throne to William so that his account could be read as flexibly as possible. By the time that Poitiers came to write his *Deeds*, William still appears to have had his critics, whom Poitiers felt the need to answer in relation to his claim to the throne. During this part of my discussion, I initially demonstrated that Poitiers was more indebted to Cicero's writings than previously thought. After establishing this point, I proposed that Poitiers, using Cicero's *De officiis* and *De inventione,* was replying in his *Deeds* to those who questioned why William's claim to the throne should take precedence over the right to the realm which Harold II claimed. Citing the case put forward by Poitiers, I demonstrated why Harold's claim that Edward bequeathed him the realm as a death-bed gift was null and void from the beginning. This chapter, therefore, established the setting for the sceptical political climate in which Herman the Archdeacon was operating when he wrote his *Miracles of St Edmund*.

In Chapter 5, I investigated Herman's *Miracles*. I argued, first, that Herman contributed to the ongoing discussion about the legitimacy of the Conquest, and, second, that he used the sceptical political climate in which he operated (discussed in the previous chapter) as a backdrop for promoting Edmund as England's patron saint. In relation to Herman's discussion about the legitimacy of the Conquest, I propose that Herman asked fundamental questions about the nature of God's providence in his *Miracles*. When does God either actively intervene in the world or passively allow events to unfold without his intervention? How does God intervene in the world? What forces are at play when God abstains from intervention? In answering these questions, I discover

that Herman did not associate the Conquest with divine favour. Instead, he partially ascribed the Conquest to the power of Fortune. This is, of course, one of the candidates that Guy offers in his *Song* as the one who grants William all his desires after Hastings. Herman was participating in the contemporary debate. I argued that Herman wrote about the concerns of Bury's monks (both for themselves and the English more generally) with regards to the changing, political landscape. In the process, he explored God's immutable will. Edmund, according to Herman, was the vehicle of God's intervention against the Vikings in the time of Alfred and Æthelred II, and Herman demonstrated that Edmund always favoured the English. The foregoing chapters, therefore, supplement the research previously undertaken by Elisabeth van Houts, who investigated criticisms of the Conquest from a continental perspective. There was greater hostility to the Conquest among commentators in England in the first decade of William's rule than has previously been recognised.

I also demonstrated that Edmund emerged out of Herman's *Miracles*, written in the aftermath of the Conquest, as England's patron saint. Herman reinterpreted English history with Edmund placed centre-stage in the theatre of God's providence. He is closely allied with part of God's chosen people, the English, and their kings: namely, Alfred, Æthelred II, Cnut, and Edward the Confessor. Indeed, Herman records that Cnut and Edward owed their peaceful and just reigns to Edmund's merits. The successes of Cnut and Edward are also Edmund's successes.

In Chapter 6, I examined whether the inhabitants of England recognized Edmund as their patron saint by the mid-twelfth century. Did they buy the narrative that Bury was selling them? I stipulated certain criteria, as set out in my Introduction, that should be met before a figure should be considered a patron saint. First, the evidence should be identified at locations distributed throughout the country. Second, the evidence should be datable to within a narrow window of time. (Chapter 6 looked at evidence between 1068 and the mid-twelfth century.) Third, the evidence should demonstrate the impact of the

saint on both the ruling elite and the wider community. In order to test the success of Edmund's cult beyond Bury, I surveyed material produced throughout England, between 1068 and the mid-twelfth century: locations of production included the royal court, Worcester, Malmesbury, Salisbury, and Durham. In the course of my analysis, I discovered the impact of Bury's efforts to promote Edmund's cult on the national stage. I drew the inescapable conclusion that, by the twelfth century, Edmund was widely regarded as the patron saint of England.

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