

CRONICA

JOCELINI

DE BRAKELONDA,

DE REBUS GESTIS SAMSONIS

ABBATIS MONASTERII



SANCTI ÆDMUNDI.

Cronica de rebus gestis Samsonis abbatis

(Harl. MS. 1005 ff. 127r–170v)

Jocelin of Brakelond

*Compiled, reset and reprinted &c.*

R. Creswell

Oxford

MMXXI

*Frontispiece—*

G. F. Sargent and J. C. Varrall in *The Book of Shakespeare Gems: In a Series of Landscape Illustrations of the Most Interesting Localities of Shakespeare's Dramas*, Bohn, London, 1846.

*Latin text—*

Ed. T. Arnold: *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, Vol. 1, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores*, The Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, Under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls, London, 1890.

*English translation, introduction and footnotes—*

Trans. ed. L. C. Jane, intr. Abbot Gasquet: *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, Monk of St. Edmundsbury: A Picture of Monastic and Social Life in the XII<sup>TH</sup> Century*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1907.

*“Fly, noble English, you are bought and sold;  
Unthread the rude eye of rebellion  
And welcome home again discarded faith.  
Seek out King John and fall before his feet;  
For if the French be lords of this loud day,  
He means to recompense the pains you take  
By cutting off your heads: thus hath he sworn  
And I with him, and many moe with me,  
Upon the altar at Saint Edmundsbury;  
Even on that altar, where we swore to you  
Dear amity and everlasting love.”*



## EDITORIAL REMARKS.

The paragraphs, headings, and numbered footnotes are those of L. C. Jane's 1907 translation, with minor typographical errors corrected. Where not redundant, T. Arnold's (Rolls, 1890) marginalia and notes have been reproduced as obelus footnotes in the Latin text.



A VERITABLE MONK OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS IS WORTH ATTENDING TO, IF BY CHANCE MADE VISIBLE AND AUDIBLE. HERE HE IS; AND IN HIS HAND A MAGICAL SPECULUM, MUCH GONE TO RUST, INDEED, YET IN FRAGMENTS STILL CLEAR; WHEREIN THE MARVELLOUS IMAGE OF HIS EXISTENCE DOES STILL SHADOW ITSELF, THOUGH FITFULLY, AND AS WITH AN INTERMITTENT LIGHT.

Carlyle — *Past and Present*.

**F**EW mediæval documents have exercised a greater fascination over men's minds in these latter days than "The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond." More than sixty years ago the publication of the Latin text of this history, by the Camden Society, attracted the attention of the great Thomas Carlyle, and furnished him with material for sketching his picture of "The Ancient Monk," which occupied the entire second book of his *Past and Present*. Although the modern sage in his own rugged way affected no little contempt for what he called this "extremely foreign book," and for "the monk-Latin" in which it was written, it is evident that Jocelin's simple story of the wise, firm, yet withal gentle rule of a mediæval abbot over a great English monastery cast a spell over him, the influence of which can be detected in every page of his delightful and almost surprisingly sympathetic account of Abbot Samson and of Edmundsbury.

In this case the *Past*, as Carlyle read it in the "Chronicle," was so entirely different from the *Present*, as he knew it in his day, that the wonder is not that he was fascinated by it, but that he was able with its help to paint so true and living a

picture and to fashion so fitting a frame in which to set it. For to him, without doubt, the story dealt with what he regarded as “vanished existences”—“ideas, life-furniture, whole workings and ways,” which were not only *Past*, but gone beyond recall, and “covered deeper than Pompeii with the lava-ashes and inarticulate wreck of seven hundred years!”

And indeed it cannot be denied that the ideals and aspirations, as revealed to us in the history of Abbot Samson and, so far as we know, in the life story of his biographer Jocelin, are of a higher and almost a different order to those of our modern world. To men of their calling in those far-off times, the natural and the supernatural were united and intermingled in the simplest and most ordinary way. Their very notions of the unseen world are almost sufficient to take away the breath of those whose lots have been cast in this more material and prosaic age of doubts and disbeliefs. To Samson, and Jocelin, and their fellow-monks at Edmundsbury in the twelfth century, heaven, as a great writer has said of earlier English monasticism, was hardly even “next door.” The future life was merely the present continued, and each man went forth to his task as it came and laboured at it day by day, not with any idea of finishing it, but only of carrying on for the span of his allotted existence. They built, and planted, and wrote till the end came, and then they went to heaven and others stepped into their places and took up the common work. It was indeed a “simple life:” it was almost Arcadian in its picturesque simplicity, and, as Cardinal Newman says of the same life in the days of our Venerable Bede, it reminds us of those times in the dayspring of the world, when Adam delved and Abel watched the flocks, and Noah tended his vines, and angels visited them.

This living belief in the nearness and all-importance of the supernatural is the key-note of Jocelin’s charming story of a few brief years in the long history of an old English abbey, a new translation of which is here given to the public. As a story, however, Brakelond’s “Chronicle” is not wholly, nor indeed mostly, either mysterious or incredible: there are troubles, and trials, and difficulties enough recounted by the writer; and at every turn we may see evidences of human nature and even of human struggles and passions, which are sufficient, and as



some may perhaps think, more than sufficient, to show us that it is a history of men, and not of angels, which the old monk is setting forth so naturally and so truthfully. At any rate, there is quite sufficient of the human element in the narrative to give most of us a human interest in the story.

And this itself is proof that Jocelin is a true chronicler of what really took place, and no mere romancer tempted to edit or suppress entirely what might not be unto "edification." He manifests no desire to make himself or his brethren appear other than what they were in reality—that is, thorough Englishmen, with strong wills and human passions, which, though these same passions might occasionally appear to gain the mastery, they were at all times endeavouring to subdue unto God's service by the help of His grace and through the broad-minded provisions of St. Benedict's Rule. The actors who appear in this living drama, though they are for the most part monks, are obviously men, natural and human enough in all their works and words; but these men are at the same time also monks, endeavouring to raise their minds and hearts to supernatural ideals, and striving to attain to that personal communion with God which is the aim and object of all true religion and of all religious observance and practice. This is "another world truly," writes Carlyle, "and this present poor distressed world might get some profit by looking wisely into it, instead of foolishly. But at lowest, O dilettante friend, let us know always that it *was* a world, and not a void infinite of grey haze with phantasms swimming in it. These old St. Edmundsbury walls, I say, were not peopled with phantasms, but with men of flesh and blood, made altogether as we are. Had thou and I then been, who knows but we ourselves had taken refuge from an evil Time and fled to dwell here, and meditate on an Eternity, in such fashion as we could? Alas, how like an old osseous fragment, a broken blackened shinbone of the old dead Ages, this black ruin looks out, not yet covered by the soil; still indicating what a once gigantic Life lies buried there! It is dead now, and dumb; but was alive once and spake. For twenty generations, here was the earthly arena where painful living men worked out their life-wrestle,—looked at by Earth, by Heaven and Hell. Bells tolled to prayers; and men of many humours, various thoughts, chanted Vespers and Matins;—and round the little islet of their life rolled for ever (as

round ours still rolls, though we are blind and deaf) the illimitable Ocean, tinting all things with *its* eternal hues and reflexes, making strange prophetic music! How silent now!"

**The Author.**—Jocelin de Brakelond, the writer of the Chronicle called by his name, was a monk of Edmundsbury. The date of his birth is uncertain, but as he became a novice in that abbey in 1173, we may suppose that he was born not later than 1156. It has been conjectured that he was a native of Bury St. Edmunds, and that his name Brakelond was derived from that of an ancient street of the city, in accordance with the common practice of calling monks by the name of the place from which they came to religion. Little more is known about him than he tells us incidentally in the course of his narrative, but one of his contemporaries in the monastery speaks of him as "a man of excellent religious observance, as well as a power both in word and work"—*eximia religionis, potens sermone et opere*. Carlyle sees him in his writing as a man of a "patient, peaceable, loving, clear-smiling nature." A "wise simplicity," he adds, "is in him; much natural sense; a veracity that goes deeper than words." What more can we desire in a writer, especially when we may add that he shows himself to have been a cultured man, acquainted with the ancient authors, quoting Virgil and Horace and Ovid? His knowledge of the Bible is naturally extensive, and, as was common in those days, his very phraseology is obviously founded upon the sacred text. He once likewise cites, with acknowledgment, a short passage from the more modern Ralph de Diceto's *Imagines Historiarum*. Our latter-day philosopher praises him also because he shows himself to have "a pleasant wit; and to love a timely joke, though in a mild subdued manner; very amiable to see."

In A.D. 1173, as just noted, Jocelin entered the community and passed under the care of Samson of Tottington, who subsequently became abbot, but who was then Master of novices. The then abbot, Hugh, was old, and although a high standard of the religious exercises and of the monastic life inside the cloister was maintained, the temporalities were in a sad state, and year by year tended to get from bad to worse, so that Jocelin's early experiences of monastic life

were connected with anxieties about the load of debt to money-lenders under which Edmundsbury groaned.

He tells us that he had himself seen bonds for repayment made out to the Jews, under which, for failure to meet the sums falling due, the original loan had grown in eight years from £100 to £800. No wonder that the youthful religious questioned his Master of novices as to why some remedy was not found by those in authority for a state of things which meant temporal ruin and disgrace for the community of Edmundsbury.

In 1180 Abbot Hugh met with an accident and died. After a period of a year and three months the former Master of novices, Samson, then the provident Sacrist, was chosen in his place. It was during this period of vacancy that, in recording something which happened in the monastery, Jocelin incidentally makes mention of another literary work of his own, namely, the *Book of the Miracles of St. Robert*, a boy supposed to have been martyred by the Jews in 1181, who was entombed in the church at Edmundsbury.

On the election of Samson, Jocelin was appointed his chaplain, and this brought him into the closest connection with the abbot for six years. In 1198 and 1200 he was Guest-master, and in 1212 he held the office of Almoner. In all these offices the future chronicler had exceptional means of acquiring information, and these he utilised in writing the story of Abbot Samson's administration, which is introduced by a vivid sketch of the temporal disorder of the house in the closing years of Abbot Hugh. His Chronicle covers the period of the history of Edmundsbury from 1173 to 1190, and, as he says in the beginning, "he took care to write only what he himself saw and heard." The date of his death is uncertain.

**The "Chronicle."**—The Latin text of *Cronica Joceline* is found complete only in one manuscript—Harl. MS. 1005—in the British Museum. It was printed for the first time by the Camden Society in 1840 under the editorship of I. G. Gage Rokewood, who supplied a valuable Introduction and notes, of which subsequent editors have availed themselves. The text was likewise printed in

Mr. Thomas Arnold's *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey* (Rolls Series) I., pp. 209–336.

In 1844, under the title *Monastic and Social Life in the Twelfth Century, as exemplified in the Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, A.D. 1173–1202*, the work was translated by Thomas Edlyne Tomlins. Carlyle's work, *Past and Present*, published in 1843 had already drawn attention to the "Chronicle of Jocelin," and another edition of Mr. Tomlins' work was called for in 1849. This translation has since appeared at least once, but for the present edition a new English version has been carefully prepared from the original Latin text of the Chronicle.

**Abbot Samson.**—The central figure and, as we may say, "the hero" of Jocelin's story is, of course, Abbot Samson. He was born in 1135 at Tottington, near Thetford, in Norfolk. His father appears to have died when Samson was young, and a pretty legend of a boyish dream in which St. Edmund extended his protection to the child against the assaults of the devil, and the recognition of the place seen in the dream as the gate of the monastery of St. Edmundsbury, when his mother had taken him with her on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the saint, led to his taking refuge in the cloister. He had received his early instruction from a schoolmaster named William of Diss, and he attained the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Paris. In this place we are not concerned with the events of his life: these may be read for the most part in the Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond. What alone seems to be called for in this brief Introduction is some account of his person and character as it is manifested in the scattered evidences of his acts.

If we want a picture of the man let us take Carlyle's, who sketches "the substantial figure of a man with eminent nose, bushy brows, and clear-flashing eyes, his russet beard growing daily greyer," and his hair which, before his elevation to the abbot's chair, had been black, becoming daily more and more silvered with his many cares. We know something of the task that was before him when he gathered up the reins of office, and we may be sure he knew more. But as we see him in the pages of Jocelin, he was not the man to flinch from his duty, or to seek to let difficulties mend themselves by pretending that he did not see them.

From the time that he walked barefooted into his church to be installed in the abbatial chair, he let all see that he was abbot and had come to rule. He had set his whole strength to accomplish a great task and his shoulders to sustain an almost overwhelming burden, when in the hour of his election he walked to the altar singing the *Miserere mei* with his brethren. "His head was held erect," says the faithful Jocelin, "and his face showed no change," a portent which called from the king the remark: "This abbot-elect seems to think himself capable of governing an abbey."

"It is beautiful"—writes Carlyle in a philosophical appreciation of the principles of monastic government—"it is beautiful how the chrysalis governing-soul, shaking off its dusty slough and prison, starts forth winged, a true royal soul! Our new abbot has a right honest, unconscious feeling, without insolence as without fear or flutter, of what he is and what others are. A courage to quell the proudest, an honest pity to encourage the humblest. Withal there is a noble reticence in this Lord Abbot: much vain unreason he hears; lays up without response. He is not there to expect reason and nobleness of others, he is there to give them of his own reason and nobleness. Is he not their servant, who can suffer from them and for them; bear the burden their poor spindle-limbs totter and stagger under; and in virtue of *being* their servant, govern them, lead them out of weakness to strength, out of defeat into victory?"

Abbot Samson ruled over his house for thirty years, and when in 1212, ten years after the end of Jocelin's Chronicle, he died, he was followed to the grave by a sorrowing community whose unstinted reverence and affection he had won. An unknown monk of Edmundsbury, the author of another Chronicle of the house, thus wrote of him: "On the 30th December, at St. Edmund's, died Samson, of pious memory, the venerable abbot of that place; after he had prosperously ruled the abbey committed to him for thirty years and had freed it from a load of debt, had enriched it with privileges, liberties, possessions and spacious buildings and had restored the worship of the church both internally and externally, in the most ample manner. Then bidding his last farewell to his sons, by whom the blessed man deserved to be blest for evermore, whilst

they were all standing by and gazing with awe at a death which was a cause for admiration, not for regret, in the fourth year of the interdict he rested in peace.

The first business to which Abbot Samson applied himself after his election was the task of understanding and grappling with the deplorable financial state of his house. He insisted upon the immediate production of every claim against the monastery, and by personally visiting each of its many manors he gained a correct knowledge of its resources. Within twelve months he had formed his plans and had quieted every creditor: within twelve years the entire debt had been paid off, and he could turn his attention to building and adorning the house of St. Edmund. It is impossible to read the pages of Jocelin without seeing that the ruling idea of the abbot's life was his devotion to his great patron, St. Edmund. He was the servant, after God, of the saint, his representative and the upholder of his honour and privileges, the champion of his rights, the guardian of his property. Inspired by this thought he worked to make Edmundsbury worthy of its patron, and in his success he saw the result of the saint's intercession and protection.

"Apart from this special devotion to St. Edmund, it is easy to see," writes Mr. Thomas Arnold, "that Samson was an earnestly religious man, and not a Christian by halves. After the news had come of the capture of Jerusalem by the Saracens, Samson took the loss of the Holy Places so much to heart, that from that time he wore undergarments of hair-cloth and abstained from the use of meat."

He was, too, a thorough Englishman, and read admirably—*elegantissime*—the Bible in English—*scripturam anglice scriptam*—and "he was wont to preach to the people in English—but in the dialect of Norfolk where he had been born and bred." On one occasion he gives as a reason, and as some may think, a somewhat strange reason, for appointing a monk to an office, that "he did not know French." He was no doubt anxious to secure that St. Edmundsbury should be truly national, with its roots deep in the soil of his country, to teach it to build up its own traditions, and to let people see that it was a great *English* house.

But Samson's work was not accomplished without grave anxiety, none the less because it was unseen by others. Though he walked upright with a smiling face, and had ever the courage to battle for the rights of his house when there was need, in a way that might make people regard him as a man of iron nerve possessed of a soul that never felt any trouble, nevertheless in the first fourteen years of his administration his black hair was blanched as white as snow, and Jocelin speaks of hearing his beloved master walking about when all were in bed and relieving his pent-up feelings with sighs and groans. Once the chronicler took courage to tell his master that he had thus heard him in his night vigil, and to this the abbot replied: "Tis no wonder: you (as my chaplain) share in the streets of my office, in the meat and drink, in the journeys and the like, but you little think what I have to do to provide for my house and family, or of the many and difficult matters of my pastoral office, which are always pressing upon me: these are the things which make my soul anxious and cause me to sigh."

And so when Abbot Samson came to die, the thin veil which to him and his monks of Edmundsbury alone hid the world to come from their vision was parted, and the supernatural life eternal was revealed to him in the most natural of ways. He passed from labour for God and St. Edmundsbury, to rest in God and with his loved patron, carrying with him the full sheaves of his good works. Carlyle has only partially caught the idea when he writes: "Genuine work alone, what thou workest faithfully, that is eternal." "Yes," he concludes, "a noble Abbot Samson resigns himself to oblivion; feels it no hardship, but a comfort; counts it as a still resting-place, for much sick fret, and fever, and stupidity, which in the night-watches often made his strong heart sigh."

FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET,  
*Abbot-President of the English Benedictines.*





**Q**UOD vidi et audiui scribere curavi, quædam mala interserens ad cautelam, quædam bona ad usum, quæ contigerunt in ecclesia sancti Ædmundi in diebus nostris, ab anno quo Flandrenses capti sunt extra villam, quo habitum religionis suscepì, quo anno Hugo prior depositus est, et R. prior substitutus.

*How Abbot Hugh ruled the  
Church of St. Edmund.  
A.D. 1173.*

Tunc temporis senuit Hugo abbas, et aliquantulum caligaverunt oculi ejus; homo pius et benignus, monachus religiosus et bonus, sed nec bonus nec providus in sæcularibus exercitiis: qui nimis confidebat suis et nimis eis credebat, de alieno potius quam de proprio pendens consilio. Ordo quidem et religio

**I**HAVE undertaken to write of those things which I have seen and heard, and which have occurred in the church of Saint Edmund, from the year in which the Flemings were taken<sup>1</sup> without the town, in which year also I assumed the religious habit, and in which Prior Hugh was deposed and Robert made Prior in his room. And I have related the evil as a warning, and the good for an example.

In those days Abbot Hugh<sup>2</sup> grew old, and his eyes were dim.<sup>3</sup> He was a good and kindly man, a godfearing and pious monk, but in temporal matters he was unskilful and improvident. He relied too much on his own intimates and believed too readily in them, rather trusting to a stranger's advice than using his own judgment. It is true that discipline and the service of God, and all that pertained to the rule,

<sup>1</sup>The allusion is to the battle of Fornham, November, 1173. In this year the quarrel between Henry II. and his sons, culminated in a general rising both in Normandy and in England. Of the leaders of the rebellion in England, Robert de Bellemont, earl of Leicester, was the chief. Having gathered a force of mercenaries in the Low Countries, he landed at Walton, which he failed to take. After joining hands with Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, at Framingham, and capturing Haughley, he attempted to force his way to his own estates. Meanwhile, the justiciar Richard de Lucy and Humphrey Bohun hastened south from their campaign against the Scots, and having been reinforced by the local levies, they succeeded in intercepting Leicester at Fornham St. Geneveve, on the river Lark, four miles south from Bury St. Edmund's. The rebels were easily defeated, and Leicester taken prisoner; of his mercenaries only a few escaped. An account of the battle, not very accurate, from the point of view of the St. Edmund's monks, is to be found in Appendix E of the first volume of the *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, (Rolls Series). The escape of those mercenaries who did escape is attributed to the intervention of St. Edmund and St. Thomas.

fervebant in claustro, et ea quæ ad ordinem spectant; sed exteriora male tractabantur, dum quisque, serviens sub domino simplice et jam senescente, fecit quod voluit, non quod decuit. Dabantur villæ abbatis et omnes hundredi ad firmam; nemora destruebantur; domus maneriorum minabantur ruinam; omnia de die in diem in deteriorem statum vertebantur. Unicum erat refugium et consolationis remedium abbati, denarios appruntare; ut saltem sic honorem domus suæ posset sustentare. Non erat terminus Paschæ nec sancti Michaelis octo annis ante obitum ejus, quin centum libræ vel ducentæ ad minus crescerent in debitum; semper renovabantur cartæ, et usura quæ excrevit vertebatur in katallum.

Descendebat hæc infirmitas a capite in membra, a prælato in subjectos. Unde contigit quod quilibet obedientiarius haberet sigillum proprium, et debito se obligaret tam Judeis quam Christianis pro voluntate sua. Sæpe cappæ se-

flourished greatly within the cloister, but without the walls all-things were mismanaged. For every man, seeing that he served a simple and ageing lord, did not that which was right, but that which was pleasing in his own eyes. The townships and all the hundreds of the abbot were given to firm; the woods were destroyed, and the houses on the manors were on the verge of ruin; from day to day all things grew worse. The abbot's sole resource and means of relief was in borrowing money, that so it might at least be possible to maintain the dignity of his house. For eight years before his death, there was never an Easter or Michaelmas which did not see at least one or two hundred pounds added to the debt. The bonds were ever renewed, and the growing interest was converted into principal.

This disease spread from the head to the members, from the ruler to his subjects. So it came to pass that if any official had a seal of his own, he also bound himself in debt as he listed, both to Jews and Christians. Silken caps,

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<sup>2</sup>Hugh, prior of Westminster, was elected abbot in 1157, in succession to abbot Ording. According to Gervase (I., 163), he received his benediction from Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he made profession of canonical obedience. According to the *Chronica Buriensis* (*Mem.* III., 6) he was confirmed by the bishop of Winchester. In any case, abbot Hugh, as it related in the text of the *Chronicle of Jocelin* (p. 6), was freed from all obedience by pope Alexander III.

<sup>3</sup>Gen. xxvii., 1.

ricæ, et ampullæ aureæ, et alia ornamenta ecclesiæ impignorabantur, inconsulto conventu. Vidi cartam fieri Willelmo filio Isabel mille librarum et xl.; sed nec causam nec originem sciui. Vidi et aliam cartam fieri Isaac, filio Raby Joce, cccc. librarum, sed nescio quare. Vidi et tertiam cartam fieri Benedicto Judeo de Norwico, octies c. librarum et quater viginti; et hæc fuit origo et causa hujus debiti.

and golden vessels, and the other ornaments of the church, were often placed in pledge<sup>4</sup> without the assent of the monastery. I have seen a bond made to William Fitzlsabel for a thousand and two score pounds, but know not the why nor wherefore. And I have seen another bond to Isaac, son of Rabbi Joce, for four hundred pounds, but know not wherefore it was made. I have seen also a third bond to Benedict, the Jew of Norwich, for eight hundred and fourscore pounds, and this was the origin and cause of that debt.

Destructa fuit camera nostra, et recepit eam Willelmus sacrista volens vel nolens, ut eam instauraret; et occulte appruntavit a Benedicto Judeo xl. marcas ad usuram, et ei fecit cartam signatam quodam sigillo quod solebat pendere ad feretrum sancti Ædmundi, unde gildæ et fraternationes solebant sigillari, quod postea sed tarde fractum est, jubente conventu. Cum autem crevisset debitum illud usque ad c. libras, venit Judeus portans literas domini regis de debito sacristæ; et tunc demum patuit quod latuit abbatem et

Our buttery was destroyed, and the sacristan William<sup>5</sup> received it to restore whether he would or no. He secretly borrowed forty marks at interest from Benedict the Jew, and made him a bond, scaled with a certain seal which was wont to hang at the shrine of St. Edmund. With this the gilds and brotherhoods used to be sealed; afterwards, but in no great haste, it was destroyed by order of the monastery. Now when that debt increased to one hundred pounds, the Jew came, bearing letters of the lord king<sup>6</sup> concer-

<sup>4</sup>This was illegal. Rokewode (*Chron. Joc.*, pp. 106–7) gives instances of fines inflicted on Jews for taking church property in pawn, from the Pipe Rolls of Norfolk and Suffolk.

<sup>5</sup>William Wardell (*Mem. II.*, 291). His incompetence is mentioned in the *Gesta Sacristurum* (*ibid.*), and is described in the text.

<sup>6</sup>The Jews were legally the king's chattels, and debts due to them were due to the king. Accordingly, when debtors failed to pay, the Jews were able to invoke the royal authority to enforce payment.

conventum. Iratus autem abbas voluit deponere sacristam, prætendens privilegium domini papæ, ut posset deponere Willelmum sacristam suum, quando vellet. Venit autem aliquis ad abbatem, et, loquens pro sacrista, ita circumvenit abbatem, quod passus est cartam fieri Benedicto Judeo cccc. librarum, reddendarum in fine iiiij<sup>or</sup> annorum, scilicet pro c. libris quæ jam excreverant in usuram, et aliis c. libris quas idem Judeus commodavit sacristæ ad opus abbatis. Et sacrista suscepit omne debitum illud reddendum in pleno capitulo, et facta est carta sigillo conventus signata, abbate dissimulante et sigillum suum non apponente, tanquam illud debitum non pertineret ad illum. In fine vero quatuor annorum non erat unde illud debitum posset reddi; et facta est nova carta octies c. librarum et quater viginti librarum, reddendarum ad terminos statutos, annis singulis quater xx. librarum.

Habuit et idem Judeus plures alias cartas de minoribus debitis, et aliquam cartam quæ erat xiiij. annorum, ita quod summa debiti illius Judei erat

ning the sacristan's debt, and then at last that which had been hidden from the abbot and the monks appeared. So the abbot in anger would have deposed the sacristan, alleging a privilege of the lord pope that enabled him to remove William his sacristan when he would. However, there came one to the abbot, who pleaded for the sacristan, and so won over the abbot that he suffered a bond to be made to Benedict the Jew for four hundred pounds, payable at the end of four years, that is, a bond for the hundred pounds to which the interest had increased, and for another hundred pounds which the same Jew had lent to the sacristan for the use of the abbot. And in full chapter the sacristan obtained that all this debt should be paid, and a bond was made and sealed with the seal of the monastery. For the abbot pretended that the debt was no concern of his, and did not affix his seal. However, at the end of the four years there was nothing wherewith the debt might be discharged, and a new bond was made for eight hundred and fourscore pounds, which was to be repaid at stated times, every year fourscore pounds.

And the same Jew had many other bonds for smaller debts, and one bond which was for fourteen years, so that the sum of the debt owing to that

mille et cc. librarum, præter usuram quæ excreverat.

Veniensque R. elemosinarius domini regis significavit domino abbati rumorem talem venisse ad regem de tantis debitis. Et inito consilio cum priore et paucis aliis, ductus est elemosinarius in capitulum; nobisque assidentibus et tacentibus, dixit abbas: "Ecce elemosinarius regis, dominus et amicus noster et vester, qui, ductus amore Dei et sancti Ædmundi, nobis ostendit dominum regem quoddam sinistrum audisse de nobis et vobis, et res ecclesiæ male tractari et interius et exterius. Et ideo volo et præcipio in vi obedientiæ, ut dicatis et cognoscatis palam qualiter res se habeant." Surgens ergo prior et loquens, quasi unus pro omnibus, dixit ecclesiam in bono statu esse, et ordinem bene et religiose observari interius, et exteriora bene et discrete tractari, debito tamen aliquantulo obligatos nos esse sicut cæteros vicinos nostros, nec esse aliquod debitum quod nos graveret. Audiens hoc, elemosinarius dixit se valde lætum esse ex hoc quod audierat testimonium conventus, id est, prioris sic loquentis. Hæc eadem verba respondit prior alia vice, et magister Galfridus de Constantino, loquentes et excusantes abbatem, quando Ricardus archiepiscopus jure legatæ ve-

Jew was a thousand and two hundred pounds, over and above the amount by which usury had increased it.

Then came the almoner of the lord king and told the lord abbot that many rumours concerning these great debts had come to the king. And when counsel had been taken with the prior and a few others, the almoner was brought into the chapter. Then, when we were seated and were silent, the abbot said: "Behold the almoner of the king, our lord and friend and yours, who, moved by love of God and Saint Edmund, has shown to us that the lord king has heard some evil report of us and you, and that the affairs of the church are ill-managed within and without the walls. And therefore I will, and command you upon your vow of obedience, that you say and make known openly how our affairs stand." So the prior arose, and speaking as it were one for all, said that the church was in good order, and that the rule was well and strictly kept within, and matters outside the walls carefully and discreetly managed; and that though we, like others round us, were slightly involved in debt, there was no debt which might give us cause for anxiety. When he heard this, the almoner said that he rejoiced greatly to hear this witness of the monastery, by which he meant these words of

nit in capitulum nostrum, antequam talem exemptionem haberemus sicut nunc habemus.

the prior. And the prior, and Master Geoffrey of Coutances, answered in these same words on another occasion, when they spoke in defence of the abbot at the time when Archbishop Richard, by virtue of his legatine power, came into our chapter, in the days before we possessed that exemption which we now enjoy.

Ego vero tunc temporis novicius, data opportunitate, magistrum meum super his conveni, qui me docebat ordinem et cuius custodiæ deputatus fui, scilicet, magistrum Sampsonem, postea abbatem. “Quid est,” inquam, “quod audio? Utquid taces qui talia vides et audis, tu qui claustralis es, nec obedientias cupis, et Deum times magis quam hominem?” At ille respondens, ait: “Fili mi, puer noviter combustus timet ignem; ita est de me et pluribus aliis. Hugo prior noviter depositus est de prioratu suo, et in exilium missus; Dionisius et H. et R. de Hingham de exilio nuper domum redierunt. Ego similiter incarceratus fui, et postea apud Acram missus, quia locuti sumus pro communi bono ecclesiæ nostræ contra voluntatem abbatis. Hæc est hora tenebrarum; hæc

Now I was then in my novitiate, and on a convenient occasion talked of these things to my master, who was teaching me the Rule, and in whose care I was placed; he was Master Samson, who was afterwards abbot. “What is this,” I said, “that I hear? And why do you keep silence when you see and hear such things you, who are a cloistered monk, and desire not offices, and fear God rather than man?” But he answered and said, “My son, the newly burnt child feareth the fire, and so is it with me and with many another. Prior Hugh has been lately deposed and sent into exile; Dennis, and Hugo, and Roger de Hingham have but lately returned to the house from exile. I was in like manner imprisoned,<sup>7</sup> and afterwards was sent to Acre,<sup>8</sup> for that we spoke to the common good of our church

<sup>7</sup> Arnold (*Mem.*, I., xlv., note 3; 212), gives reasons for supposing that this alludes to a second imprisonment of Samson, distinct from that which he suffered on his return from Rome (see text, p. 77). The passage would appear to refer to a recent event, which the imprisonment after his Roman journey was not.

est hora qua adulatorum dominantur et eis creditur: confortata est potentia eorum, nec possumus ad eam. Dissimulanda sunt ista pro tempore: videat Dominus et iudicet."

*How the monastery was  
freed from legatine  
visitation.  
A.D. 1176.*

Cantuariensis vellet venire ad scrutinium faciendum in ecclesia nostra, auctoritate legatiae suae; et, accepto consilio, misit abbas Romam et impetravit exemptionem a potestate praedicti legati. Redeunte nuntio ad nos de Roma, non erat unde solvi poterat quod ipse promiserat domino papae et cardinalibus, nisi, ex circumstantiis, crux quae erat super magnum altare, et Mariola, et Johannes, quas imagines Stigandus archiepiscopus magno pondere auri et argenti ornaverant, et

Venit rumor ad abbatem H. quod R. archiepiscopus

ch against the will of the abbot. This is the hour of darkness; this is the hour in the which flatterers triumph and are believed; their might is increased,<sup>9</sup> nor can we prevail against them. These things must be endured for a while; the Lord see and judge!"<sup>10</sup>

There came a rumour to Abbot Hugh that Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>11</sup> purposed to come and to hold a visitation of our church by virtue of his legatine authority. And having taken advice, the abbot sent to Rome and obtained exemption from the power of the said legate. But when the messenger returned to us from Rome, there was not found means of paying that which he had promised to the lord pope and to the cardinals, unless in the circumstances use might be made of the cross which was above the high altar, and of a Mary, and a John, which images Archbishop Stigand had adorned with much weight

<sup>8</sup>In all probability this means Castle Acre, where was a famous Cluniac priory, founded by William de Warenne, as a cell to St. Pancras, Lewes. Acre, however, might mean either Castle Acre or West Acre, at both of which places were priories.

<sup>9</sup>Ps. cxxxviii., 6 (Vulgate).

<sup>10</sup>Ex. v., 21.

<sup>11</sup>Richard of Dover, a Norman, prior of Dover, was archbishop from 1173 to 1184. He was elected at the end of the three years vacancy which followed on the murder of Becket (Gervase, I., 244). As to the question of the legatine authority over the abbey, Rokewode (p. 107-8) collects details. He points out that abbot Hugh appears to have obtained first a special exemption from Alexander III. from all authority other than that of the pope or a legate *a latere*; and afterwards a further exemption from the authority of archbishop Richard.

sancto Ædmondo dederat. Dixerunt etiam quidam ex nostris qui abbatem familiarius diligebant, quod ipsum feretrum sancti Ædmondi deberet excrustari propter talem libertatem, non advertentes magnum periculum posse nasci de tali libertate; quod, si forte fuerit aliquis abbas noster qui res ecclesiæ voluerit dilapidare et conventum suum male tractare, non erit persona cui conventus possit conqueri de injuriis abbatis, qui nec episcopum, nec archiepiscopum, nec legatum timebit, et impunitas ausum præbebit delinquendi.

*Concerning Master Dennis  
the cellarer.*

In diebus illis celerarius, sicut ceteri officiales, appruntavit denarios a Jurneto Judeo, inconsulto conventu, super cartam supradicto sigillo signatam. Cum autem excrevit<sup>†</sup> debitum usque ad sexaginta libras, summonitus est conventus ad solvendum debitum celerarii. Depositus est celerarius; licet allegaret gravamen suum, dicens quod susceperat tribus annis hospites omnes in domo hospitum ad præceptum abbatis sive abbas fuerit præsens sive

of gold and silver, and had given to the blessed Edmund. Then some among our number, who were very intimate with the abbot, said that the very shrine of Saint Edmund itself ought to be stripped in order to win so notable a privilege. But they considered not the great danger that might ensue from so great liberty. For if by chance we should have an abbot who wished to waste the goods of the church and evilly entreat his monastery, then there would be no one to whom the monastery might make complaint of the evil deeds of the abbot, who would fear neither bishop, nor archbishop, nor legate, and whose impunity would give him boldness in wrongdoing.

Now in those days the cellarer, like the rest of the officers of the monastery, borrowed money from Jurnet the Jew, without the knowledge of the monastery, on a bond sealed with the seal mentioned above. But when the debt had grown to three score pounds, the monastery was called upon to discharge the debt of the cellarer. He was deposed, though he defended himself by saying that for three years he, by command of the abbot, had received all guests in the guesthouse, whether the abbot were at home or no, whom the

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<sup>†</sup> Excrevisset.



absens, quos debeat suscipere abbas secundum consuetudinem abbatiae.

Substitutus est magister Dionisius, qui per providentiam suam et cautelam minoravit debitum lx. librarum usque ad xxx. libras; de quo debito reddidimus xxx<sup>ia</sup> marcas, quas Benedictus de Blakeham dedit conventui pro maneriis Neutone et Wepstede tenendis: sed carta Judei usque hodie remansit apud Judeum, in qua continentur xxvi. libræ de katallo et de debito celerarii.

Tertio die postquam magister Dionisius fuit celerarius, ducti sunt tres milites cum armigeris suis usque in domum hospitum, ut ibi reficerentur, abbate domi existente et in thalamo suo residente. Quod cum audisset magnanimus ille Æacides, nolens pendere in bailiva sua,<sup>†</sup> sicut ceteri, surrexit et accepit claves cellarii, et ducens secum milites illos usque in aulam abbatis, veniensque ad abbatem, dixit: "Domine, bene novistis quod consuetudo abbatiae est, ut milites et laici recipiantur in curia vestra, si abbas domi fuerit; nec volo nec possum recipere hospites qui ad vos pertinent. Alioquin, accipite claves cellarii vestri, et alium constituite celerarium pro beneplacito

abbot ought to have received according to the constitution of the house.

In his stead Master Dennis was appointed, and by his economy and care reduced that debt of sixty pounds to thirty. Towards the extinction of that debt we paid the thirty marks which Benedict de Blakeham gave to the monastery for the manors of Newton and Wepstead. But the Jew's bond remains with the Jew to this day, and in it twenty-six pounds are written down as principal and for the debt of the cellarer.

On the third day after Master Dennis was made cellarer, three knights with their squires were brought into the guesthouse to be entertained there, the abbot being at home and sitting in his chamber. Now when that greathearted Achilles heard this, not wishing to fail in his office as did the others, he arose and took the keys of the cellar, and bearing the knights with him to the hall of the abbot, came himself into the abbot's presence. And he said to him, "Lord, you know well that the custom of the abbey is that knights and laymen be received in your hall, if the abbot be at home. I neither wish, nor am I able, to receive guests whose entertainment is your care. But if it be

<sup>†</sup>The owner of a bailiwick makes other people pay toll who enter it, but does not pay himself.

vestro.” Audiens hoc abbas, volens vel nolens recepit illos milites, et semper postea milites et laicos recepit secundum antiquam consuetudinem; et adhuc recipiuntur, abbate domi existente.

*How Abbot Hugh strove to win the favour of Master Samson.*

Volens aliquando abbas Hugo magistrum Sampsonem conciliare sibi in gratiam, subsacristam eum constituit; qui sæpius accusatus, sæpius de officio in officium est translatus; quandoque factus est magister hospitum, quandoque pitentarius, quandoque tertius prior, et iterum subsacrista; et multi ei adversabantur qui postea ei adulabantur. Ille vero aliter agens quam ceteri officiales, nunquam ad adulandum flecti potuit; unde dicebat abbas suis familiaribus, se nunquam vidisse talem hominem, quem non posset converti ad suam voluntatem, præter Sampsonem subsacristam.

otherwise, take the keys of your cellar, and appoint another cellarer at your pleasure.” When the abbot heard this, he received those knights perforce and ever after he received knights and laymen in accordance with ancient custom. And they are still so received when the abbot is at home.

At one time Abbot Hugh desired to win the favour of Master Samson, and made him his subsacristan. He was often accused, often transferred from one office to another. For he was made guest-master, and then pittance-master,<sup>12</sup> then third prior and finally again subsacristan. Then many strove against him who afterwards were his flatterers. But Samson did not bear himself as did the other officials, nor could he ever be brought to flatter. Wherefore the abbot said to his intimates that never had he seen a man whom he could not bend to his will, save Samson the subsacristan.

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<sup>12</sup>The official of the monastery who had charge of the distribution of the pittances to the monks, that is, additional allowances of food or drink, the result of some benefaction.

*How Abbot Hugh came by  
his death.*

A.D. 1180 Sep. 9.

Venit abbat  
ti Hugoni in  
mentem, an-  
no vicesimo  
tertio abbatiae suae, adire sanctum  
Thomam orandi gratia; arreptoque in  
itinere, in crastino nativitatis sanctae  
Mariæ prope Roucestriam miserabi-  
liter cecidit, ita quod patella tibiae de  
proprio loco exivit et resedit in poplite.  
Occurrerunt medici, et eum multis  
modis cruciabant, sed non sanabant.  
Reportatus est ad nos in feretro equi-  
tario, et devote susceptus, sicut decuit.  
Quid multa? conputruit crux<sup>†</sup> ejus,  
et ascendit dolor usque ad cor, et ex  
dolore arripuit eum febris tertiana, et  
in quarta accessione expiravit; et ani-  
mam reddidit Deo in crastino sancti  
Bricii.

Antequam mortuus esset, distracta  
fuerunt omnia a servientibus suis,  
ita quod nichil omnino in domibus  
abbatis remanserat, nisi tripodes et  
mensae quae asportari non poterant.  
Vix abbat remanserant coopertorium  
suum et duae stragulae quae veteres  
erant et fractae, quas aliquis apposue-  
rat qui integras abstulerat. Non erat  
aliquid ad pretium unius denarii quod  
possit distribui pauperibus pro anima

In the twenty-third year of his being  
abbot,<sup>13</sup> it came into the mind of Ab-  
bot Hugh to journey to the shrine  
of the blessed Thomas to pray there.  
And when he was almost at his  
journey's end, and was near unto Ro-  
chester on the morrow of the Nativity  
of the Blessed Mary, he most unhap-  
pily fell, so that his knee-pan was put  
out and lodged in the ham of his leg.  
Physicians hastened to him, and put  
him to pain in many ways, but they  
healed him not. So he was borne back  
to us in a horse-litter, and received  
with great concern, as was fitting. To  
put it shortly, his leg mortified and  
the sickness spread to his heart. Pain  
brought on a tertian fever, and in the  
fourth fit he died, rendering his soul  
to God on the morrow of Saint Brice's  
day.

Ere he was dead, all things were th-  
rown into disorder by his servants,  
so that in the abbot's houses there  
was nothing at all left, except stools  
and tables which could not be car-  
ried away. There hardly remained to  
the abbot a coverlet and quilts which  
were old and torn, and which someo-  
ne who had taken away those which  
were sound, had left in their place.  
There was not even some thing of a

<sup>13</sup>There is an account of this event in the *Chronica Buriensis* (Mem. III., 6).

<sup>†</sup>lege *crus*, Roke.

ejus. Sacrista dicit non pertinere ad eum ut hoc faceret, dicens se expensas abbati et familiæ suæ invenisse per mensem integrum; quia nec firmarii, qui villas tenebant, volebant aliquid dare ante tempus constitutum, nec creditores volebant aliquid commodare, videntes eum infirmum usque ad mortem. Quinquaginta tamen solidos invenit firmarius de Palegrava ad distribuendum pauperibus; hac ratione, quia firmam de Palegrava intravit illa die. Sed illi quinquaginta solidi erant postea redditus iterum bailivis regis, firmam integram exigentibus ad opus regis.

penny's value which might be given to the poor for the good of his soul. The sacristan said that it was not his affair to do this, declaring that he had found the money for the expenses of the abbot and his household for a full month, since neither would those who farmed the townships pay anything before the appointed time, nor would the creditors give any grace, as they saw the abbot to be sick unto death. However the tenant of Palegrave found fifty shillings for distribution to the poor, because he entered upon his tenancy of Palegrave on that day. But those fifty shillings were afterwards again paid to the king's officers, who exacted the full rent for the use of the king.

*How the death of Abbot Hugh was told to the king, and of those things which the servants of the king did.*

Sepulto abbate Hugone, decretum est in capitulo, ut aliquis nunciaret Ranulfo de Glanvill,<sup>†</sup> justiciario Angliæ, mortem abbatis. Magister Sampson et Magister R. Rufus, monachi nostri, cito transfretaverunt<sup>‡</sup> nunciantes hoc idem domino re-

Sepulto abbate Hugone, decretum est in capitulo, ut ali-

When Abbot Hugh had been laid to rest, it was decreed in the chapter that one should tell the death of the abbot to Ranulf de Glanvill,<sup>14</sup> Justiciar of England. Master Samson and Master Robert Ruffus hastened across the sea, bearing this same news to the lord King, and obtained from him letters directing that the possessions

<sup>†</sup> Ranulf de Glanville, author of the famous treatise *De legibus et consuetudinibus regni Angliæ*, which explains the forms of procedure observed in the *curia regis*, took the cross in the last year of Henry II.'s reign, and died at the siege of Acre in 1190.

<sup>‡</sup> "King Henry II. kept Christmas at Le Mans." (Roke.)

<sup>14</sup> Justiciar from 1180 to 1189. He was deprived at the accession of Richard, and died on the crusade at the siege of Acre (1190), whither he had preceded Richard I. The news of the vacancy was sent to the justiciar, owing to the absence of Henry II. in Maine.

gi, et impetraverunt literas, ut res et redditus conventus, qui separati sunt a rebus et redditibus abbatis, essent integræ in manu prioris et conventus, et reliqua pars abbatiae esset in manu regis. Data est custodia abbatiae Roberto de Cokefeld, et R. de Flamville senescallo, qui statim omnes famulos abbatis et parentes ejus, quibus abbas aliquid donaverat, postquam infirmus fuerat, vel qui aliquid de rebus abbatis abstulerant, posuerunt per vadium et plegios, et etiam capellanum abbatis, monachum nostrum, quem prior plegiavit; et intrantes vestiarium nostrum omnia ornamenta ecclesiae in chirographo subscribi fecerunt.<sup>†</sup>

*How the prior ruled the monastery, while there was no abott.*

Vacante abbazia, prior super omnia studuit ad pacem conservandam in conventu, et ad honorem ecclesiae conservandum in hospitibus suscipiendis, neminem volens

and revenues of the monastery, which were distinct from those of the abbot, should remain entirely in the hands of the prior and of the monastery, and that the rest of the abbey's property should be in the hands of the King. The wardship of the abbey<sup>15</sup> was given to Robert de Cokefield and to Robert de Flamvill the seneschal, who at once placed under surety and pledges those of the servants and relatives of the abbot to whom the abbot had given anything after he fell ill, or who had taken anything from the property of the abbot. And they also treated the chaplain of the abbot in the same way, for whom the prior became surety. And entering our vestry, they made a double inventory of all the ornaments of the church.

There being no abbot, the prior<sup>16</sup> took care, above all things, to preserve peace in the monastery and to maintain the repute of the house in the matter of receiving guests. He wished to disturb no one, to provoke no one to anger, that he might keep all men and all

<sup>15</sup>Rokewode (pp. 109–11) gives the accounts of the wardship from the Pipe Roll of Norfolk and Suffolk.

<sup>†</sup>The accounts of the wardens during the vacancy of the abbotship are still extant among the Pipe Rolls, and Mr. Rokewode has deduced from them that “the rental of the abbot of St. Edmund’s for year 1181, that is to say, from Mich. 1180 to Mich. 1181, according to the ancient assise, and exclusive of the sustenance of the monks, who had their own portion of lands, was 326l. 12s. 4d.”

<sup>16</sup>The prior was Robert, who was appointed on the deposition of prior Hugh (1173). He held office until his death, which took place about 1200 (see text, p. 194).

turbare, neminem ad iracundiam provocare, ut omnes et omnia in pace posset conservare; dissimulans tamen quædam corrigenda de obedientiariis nostris, et maxime de sacrista, tanquam non curaret quid ipse ageret de sacristia, qui, tempore quo abbatia vacavit, nec debitum aliquod adquietavit, nec aliquid ædificavit; sed oblationes et obventiones stulte distrahebantur. Unde prior, qui caput conventus erat, pluribus videbatur vituperandus, et remissus dicebatur. Et hoc memorabant fratres nostri inter se, quando perventum fuit ad faciendam electionem abbatis.

*How the cellarer and the sacristan behaved during the vacancy.*

ditionis essent, suscepit ad expensas conventus. Willelmus sacrista ex sua parte dabat et expendebat; homo benignus, dans danda et non danda, oculos omnium excæcans muneribus.

*Concerning the conduct of Samson the subsacristan during the vacancy.*

Samson subsacrista, magister super operarios, nichil fractum, nichil rimatum, nichil fissum, nichil inemendatum reliquit pro posse suo; unde conventum et

things in quiet. But he overlooked some acts of our officials which should have been corrected; and especially in the case of the sacristan, as if he cared not how that office was performed. Now the sacristan, while the abbey was vacant, neither paid any debt nor erected any building, but the offerings and accidental receipts were foolishly wasted. Wherefore the prior, who was head of the monastery, seemed to many to be blameworthy, and was called slack. And our brothers reminded each other of this when the time came for electing an abbot.

Our cellarer entertained all guests of whatever condition, at the expense of the monastery. William the sacristan, for his part gave and spent. Kind man! he spent indiscriminately, and blinded the eyes of all with gifts.<sup>17</sup>

Samson the subsacristan, who was master over the workmen, did his utmost that nothing which was broken, and no chink or crack, should remain unrepaired. In this way he won the favour of the monastery, and more especially of the cloistered monks. At that time,

<sup>17</sup> Deut. xvi., 19.

maxime claustrales sibi conciliavit in gratiam. In diebus illis chorus noster fuit erectus, Samsone procurante, historias picturæ ordinante, et versus elegiacos dictante. Attractum fecit magnum de lapidibus et sabulo ad magnam turrin ecclesiæ construendam. Et interrogatus unde denarios haberet ad hoc faciendum, respondit quosdam burgenses dedisse ei occulte pecuniam ad turrin ædificandam et perficiendam. Dicebant tamen quidam fratres nostri, quod Warinus monachus noster, custos feretri, et Samson subsacrista communi consilio surripuerunt, quasi furtive, portionem aliquam de oblationibus feretri, ut eam in usus necessarios ecclesiæ, et nominatim ad ædificationem turris, expenderent; hac ratione ducti, quia videbant quod oblationes in usus extraordinarios expendebantur ab aliis, qui, ut verius dicam, eas furabantur. Et ut tam felicitis furti sui suspicionem tollerent prænominati duo viri, truncum quendam fecerunt, concavum, et perforatum in medio vel in summo, et obseratum sera ferrea; et erigi fecerunt in magna ecclesia, juxta ostium extra chorum in communi transitu vulgi, ut ibi ponerent homines elemosinam suam ad ædificationem turris.

and under Samson's direction, was our choir built. He determined the subjects, the paintings, and composed elegiac verses for them. He made a great store of stone and sand for building the great tower of the church.<sup>18</sup> And when he was asked where he found the money for this work, he answered that some of the townsfolk had given him money secretly for the building and completing of the tower. But some of our brothers said that Warin our monk and custodian of the shrine, had agreed to take, or as it were to steal, some part of the offerings of the shrine, and to spend it for the necessary purposes of the church, especially for the building of the tower. They were led to this opinion by the fact that they saw the strange uses to which these offerings were put by others, who, to speak the truth, did steal them. And in order to remove from themselves the suspicion of so happy a theft, Samson and Warin made a hollow chest, in the middle of the cover of which there was a hole, and which was secured with an iron bar. This chest they caused to be placed in the great church near the door outside the choir, where all the people passed by, that men might

<sup>18</sup>The tower in the centre of the west front. It was begun probably either by abbot Baldwin (1065–97), or by abbot Robert I. (1100–02). It was blown down in 1210, before the death of Samson (*Ann. St. Edmund, Mem. II.*, 18).

*How the enemies of  
Samson prevailed against  
him, but only for a time.*

Willelmus vero sacrista socium suum Samsonem suspectum habuit, et multi alii qui partem ejusdem Willelmi fovebant, tam Christiani quam Judæi. Judei, inquam, quibus sacrista pater et patronus dicebatur; de cujus protectione gaudebant, et liberum ingressum et egressum habebant, et passim ibant per monasterium, vagantes per altaria et circa feretrum, dum missarum celebrarentur sollemnia: et denarii eorum in thesauro nostro sub custodia sacristæ reponebantur, et, quod absurdius est, uxores eorum cum parvis suis in pitanceria nostra tempore werræ hospitabantur.

Accepto itaque consilio qualiter irruerent in Samsonem inimici vel adversarii ejus, convenerunt Robertum de Cokefeld et socium ejus, qui custodes erant abbatiæ, et induxerunt eos ad hoc, quod illi prohibuerant ex parte regis, ne aliquis aliquod opus vel aliquod ædificium faceret, quamdiu abbatia vacaret; sed potius denarii ex oblationibus colligerentur et conservarentur ad faciendam solutionem alicujus debiti.

place therein gifts for the building of the tower.

But William the sacristan mistrusted his colleague Samson, as did many others, both Christians and Jews, who favoured the opinion of the same William. The Jews, I say, to whom the sacristan was said to be a father and a patron. And they did rejoice in his protection, having freedom to enter and to leave the monastery, and wandering all over it. For they walked by the altars and round the shrine while high mass was being celebrated; their money was lodged in our treasury under the care of the sacristan; and, a thing still more foolish, their wives and little ones were entertained in our pittance during time of war.

Therefore, having taken counsel together how they might attack Samson, his enemies and adversaries went to Robert de Cokefield and to his colleague, who had the wardship of the abbey, and persuaded them to forbid in the name of the king that any one should do any work or build anything while the abbacy was vacant, but rather should the money from his offerings be collected and saved for the payment of some part of the



Et sic illusus est Samson, et recessit ab eo fortitudo ejus; nec de cætero aliquid operari potuit, sicut voluit. Potuerunt quidem adversarii ejus rem differre, sed non auferre; quia resumptis viribus suis, et subversis duobus columnis, id est, remotis duobus custodibus abbatiæ quibus aliorum malitia innitebatur, dedit ei Dominus, processu temporis, potestatem perficiendi votum suum ut prædictam turrem ædificaret, et pro desiderio suo consummaret. Et factum est ac si ei divinitus diceretur: “Euge, serve bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa, &c.”

*How the monks disputed  
among themselves which of  
them should be abbot.*

Vacante abbatiâ, sæpe, sicut decuit, rogavimus Dominum et sanctum martyrem Ædmondum, ut nobis et ecclesiæ nostræ congruum darent pastorem, singulis ebdomadibus ter cantantes vii. psalmos pœnitentiales prostrati in choro, post exitum in capitulo: et erant aliqui, quibus si constaret quis futurus

debt. Thus was Samson mocked, and his strength went from him,<sup>19</sup> and he could not from that time do any work as he desired. But though his enemies could delay his work, they could not finally interrupt it. For he regained his strength and overthrew the two middle pillars,<sup>20</sup> that is, he removed the two wardens in whom the malice of the others trusted. And afterwards in course of time, the Lord gave him power to perform his vow that he would build the said tower, and to finish it according to his wish. And so it came to pass as though a voice from Heaven had said to him, “Well done, thou good and faithful servant;<sup>21</sup> thou hast been faithful over a few things; I will make thee ruler over many things.”

The abbacy being vacant, we often, as was right, made supplication unto the Lord and to the blessed martyr Edmund that they would give us and our church a fit pastor. Three times in each week, after leaving the chapter, did we prostrate ourselves in the choir and sing seven penitential psalms. And there were some who would not have been so earnest in their prayers if they had known who was to become

<sup>19</sup>Jud. xvi., 17; xvi., 19.

<sup>20</sup>Jud. xvi., 29.

<sup>21</sup>Matt. xxv., 21.

esset abbas, non ita devote orassent. De eligendo abbate, si rex nobis liberam concederet electionem, diversi diversis modis loquebantur, quidam publice, quidam occulte; et “quot homines tot sententiæ.”<sup>†</sup>

Dixit quidam de quodam: “Ille, ille frater, bonus monachus est, probabilis persona; multum scit de ordine et consuetudinibus ecclesiæ: licet non sit tam perfectus philosophus sicut quidam alii, bene potest esse abbas. Abbas Ordingus<sup>‡</sup> homo illiteratus fuit, et tamen fuit bonus abbas et sapienter domum istam rexit: legitur etiam in fabulis, melius fuit ranis eligere truncum in regem, super quem confidere possent, quam serpentem, qui venenose sibilaret, et post sibilum subjectas devoraret.” Respondit alter: “Quomodo potest hoc fieri? quomodo potest facere sermonem in capitulo, vel ad populum diebus festivis, homo qui literas non novit? quomodo habebit scientiam ligandi et solvendi, qui scripturas non intelligit? cum sit

abbot. As to the choice of an abbot, if the king should grant us free election, there was much difference of opinion, some of it openly expressed, some of it privately; and every man had his own ideas.

One said of a certain brother, “He, that brother, is a good monk, a likely person. He knows much of the rule and of the customs of the church. It is true that he is not so profoundly wise as are some others, but he is quite capable of being abbot. Abbot Ording<sup>22</sup> was illiterate, and yet he was a good abbot and ruled this house wisely; and one reads in the fable that the frogs did better to elect a log to be their king than a serpent, who hissed venomously, and when he had hissed, devoured his subjects.” Another answered, “How could this thing be? How could one who does not know letters preach in the chapter, or to the people on feast days? How could one who does not know the scriptures have the knowledge of binding and loosing?”<sup>23</sup> For the ru-

<sup>†</sup> Ter. Phorm. 2, 3, 14.

<sup>‡</sup> This was the abbot to whom Geoffrey de Fontibus addressed his work “De Infantia S. Eadm.”; see above, p. 93.

<sup>22</sup> Ording de Stowe was elected in 1138, when abbot Anselm was elected to the bishopric of London. Anselm was driven from his see soon afterwards on the ground that the election had taken place without the assent of the dean of London, and resumed his abbacy. On his death in 1148, Ording was again elected, and held the abbacy to his death in 1156. (*Chron. Bur., Mem. III.*, 5-6.)

<sup>23</sup> Cp. Matt. xvi., 19.

ars artium, scientia scientiarum, regimen animarum. Absit ut statua muta erigatur in ecclesia sancti Ædmundi, ubi multi literati viri et industrii esse dinoscuntur.”

Item dixit alius de alio: “Ille frater vir literatus est, eloquens et providus; rigidus in ordine; multum dilexit conventum, et multa mala pertulit pro bonis ecclesiæ: dignus est ut fiat abbas.” Respondit alter: “A bonis clericis libera nos, Domine: ut a baratoribus de Norfolchia nos conservare digneris, te rogamus audi nos.”<sup>†</sup>

Item dixit quidam de quodam: “Ille frater bonus husebondus est: quod probatur ex warda sua, et ex obedientiis quas bene servavit, et ædificiis et emendationibus quas fecit. Multum potest laborare et domum defendere, et est aliquantulum clericus, quamvis nimix literæ non faciant eum insanire: ille dignus est abbacia.” Respondit alter: “Nolit Deus ut homo, qui non potest legere, nec cantare, nec divina officia celebrare, homo improbus et injustus, et excoriator pauperum

le of souls is the art of arts, the highest form of knowledge. God forbid that a dumb idol be set up in the church of Saint Edmund, where many men are to be found who are learned and industrious.”

Again, one said of another, “That brother is a literate man, eloquent and prudent, and strict in his observance of the rule. He loves the monastery greatly, and has suffered many ills for the good of the church. He is worthy to be made abbot.” Another answered, “From good clerks deliver us, oh Lord! That it may please Thee to preserve us from the cheats of Norfolk;<sup>24</sup> we beseech Thee to hear us!”

And again, one said of one, “That brother is a good husbandman; this is proved by the state of his office, and from the posts in which he has served well, and from the buildings and repairs which he has effected. He is well able to work and to defend the house, and he is something of a scholar, though too much learning has not made him mad.<sup>25</sup> He is worthy of the abbacy.” Another answered, “God forbid that a man who can neither read nor sing, nor celebrate the holy

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<sup>24</sup>The allusion is to Samson, who was a native of Norfolk.

<sup>†</sup>The words of supplication are taken from the Litany of the Saints.

<sup>25</sup>Cp. Acts xxvi., 24.

hominum, fiat abbas.”

Item dixit aliquis de aliquo: “Ille frater homo benignus est, affabilis et amabilis, pacificus et compositus, largus et liberalis, vir literatus et eloquens, et satis idonea persona in vultu et in gestu, et a multis dilectus intus et extra; et talis homo ad magnum honorem ecclesiæ posset fieri abbas, si Deus vellet.” Respondit alter: “Non honor esset sed onus de homine qui nimis delicatus est in cibo et potu; qui virtutem reputat multum dormire; qui multum scit expendere et parum adquirere; qui stertit quando ceteri vigilant; qui semper vult esse in abundantia, nec curat de debitis quæ crescunt de die in diem, nec de expensis unde adquietari possint; solitudinem et laborem odio habens, nihil curans, dummodo unus dies vadat et alter veniat; homo adulatores et mendaces diligens et fovens; homo alius in verbo in alius in opere. A tali prælato defendat nos Dominus.”

Item dixit quidam de socio suo: “Ille vir fere sapientior est omnibus nobis, et in sæcularibus et in ecclesiasticis; vir magni consilii, rigidus in ordine, li-

office, a man who is dishonest and unjust, and who evil intreats the poor men, should be made abbot.”

Again, one said of another, “That brother is a kindly man, friendly and amiable, peaceful and calm, generous and liberal, a learned and eloquent man, and proper enough in face and gait. He is beloved of many within and without the walls, and such an one might become abbot to the great honour of the church, if God wills.” Another answered, “It is no credit, but rather a disgrace, in a man to be too particular as to what he eats and drinks, to think it a virtue to sleep much, to know well how to spend and to know little how to gain, to snore while others keep vigil, to wish ever to have abundance, and not to trouble when debts daily increase, or when money spent brings no return; to be one who hates anxiety and toil, caring nothing while one day passes and another dawns; to be one who loves and cherishes flatterers and liars; to be one man in word and another in deed. From such a prelate the Lord defend us.”

And again, one said of his friend, “That man is almost wiser than all of us, and that both in secular and in ecclesiastical matters. He is a man skilled in

teratus et eloquens et personalis statuerat: talis praelatus decet ecclesiam nostram.” Respondit alter: “Verum est, si esset rata et probata opinio. Fama ejus laborat, quæ forte mentitur, forte non mentitur; et licet ille homo sapiens sit, humilis in capitulo, devotus in psalmis, rigidus in claustris, dum claustrale<sup>†</sup> est, ex consuetudine tamen habet: quod si preest in obedientia aliqua, nimis indignans est, monachos parvipendens, sæculares homines familiarius diligens, et, si iratus fuerit, vix aliquid verbum ultro alicui fratri respondere, nec etiam interroganti.”

Audivi scilicet alium fratrem reprobatum a quibusdam, quia impeditioris linguæ fuerat; de quo dicebatur quod habebat pastum vel draschium in ore suo, cum loqui deberet. Et ego quidem, tunc teraporis juvenis, sapiebam ut juvenis, loquebar ut juvenis, et dixi quod non consentirem alicui ut fieret abbas, nisi sciret aliquid de dialectica, et sciret discernere verum a falso. Item dixit quidam, qui sibi videbatur sapiens: “Stultum et idiotam pastorem tribuat nobis omnipotens Domi-

counsel, strict in the rule, learned and eloquent, and noble in stature; such a prelate would become our church.” Another answered, “That would be true if he were a man of good and approved repute. But his character has been questioned, perhaps falsely, perhaps rightly. And though the man is wise, humble in the chapter, devoted to the singing of psalms, strict in his conduct in the cloister while he is a cloistered monk, this is only from force of habit. For if he have authority in any office, he is too scornful, holding monks of no account, and being on familiar terms with secular men, and if he be angry, he will scarce say a word willingly to any brother, even in answer to a question.”

I heard in truth another brother abused by some because he had an impediment in his speech, and it was said of him that he had pastry or draff in his mouth when he should have spoken. And I myself, as I was then young, understood as a child,<sup>26</sup> spake as a child; and I said that I would not consent that any one should be made abbot unless he knew something of dialectic, and knew how to distinguish the true from the false. One, moreover, who was wise in his own eyes, said, “May

<sup>†</sup> Claustralis? (Roke.)

<sup>26</sup> I. Cor. xiii., 11.

nus, ut necesse sit ei se adjuvare de nobis.” Audivi scilicet quendam virum, industrium, et literatum, et nobilitate generis splendidum, reprobatum esse a quibusdam prioribus nostris hac causa, quia novicius erat. Novicii dicebant de prioribus suis, quod senes valitudinarii erant et ad abbatiam regendam minus idonei. Et ita multi multa loquebantur, et unusquisque abundabat in suo sensu.

*How Samson the subsacristan bore himself while others discussed the vacancy.*

his conventiculis tempore minutio-  
nis (quo tempore claustrales solent  
alternatim secreta cordis revelare, et  
adinvicem conferre); vidi eum assi-  
dentem et subridentem et tacentem,  
et singulorum verba notantem, et ali-  
quam ex præscriptis sentiis in fine  
xx. annorum memorantem.

*How the author spoke his mind too hastily.*

Vidi Samso-  
nem subsacri-  
stam assiden-  
tem quidem

Quo audiente,  
solebam re-  
spondere ita

Almighty God give us a foolish and stupid pastor, that he may be driven to use our help.” And I heard, forsooth, that one man who was industrious, learned, and pre-eminent for his high birth, was abused by some of the older men because he was a novice. The novices said of their elders that they were invalid old men, and little capable of ruling an abbey. And so many men said many things, and every man was fully persuaded in his own mind.<sup>27</sup>

Then I saw Samson the subsacristan sitting by, for the time of this little council was a season of blood-letting,<sup>28</sup> when the cloistered monks were wont to reveal the secrets of their hearts in turn, and to discuss matters one with another. I saw him sitting by and laughing to himself, while he kept silence and marked that which each one said, so that at the end of twenty years lie was able to remember some part of the various opinions which I have set forth above.

And when I heard these things, I was wont to answer to those who so judged, and to say that if we had to wait

<sup>27</sup> Rom. xiv., 5.

<sup>28</sup> The monks practised blood-letting five times a year,—in September, before Advent and Lent, and after Easter and Pentecost, under the rule of St. Victor. An account of the manner in which it was practised at St. Edmund's is to be found in the *Liber Albus*. (Rokewode, p. 113, *Mem.*, I., 221, note.)

judicantibus, dicens, quod, si debemus expectare ad eligendum abbatem donec inveniamus aliquem qui sine omni reprehensione et macula fuerit, nunquam talem inveniemus, quia nemo sine crimine vivit, et nichil omni parte beatum.<sup>†</sup> Quodam tempore non potui cohibere spiritum meum quin præcipitarem sententiam meam, putans me loqui fidis auribus, et dixi quendam indignum abbatia, qui me multum dilexerat prius, et multa bona contulerat; et alium dignum duxi, et nominavi aliquem, quem minus diligebam. Loquebar secundum conscientiam meam, considerans potius communem utilitatem ecclesiæ quam meam promotionem; et verum dixi; quod sequentia probaverunt. Et ecce unus ex filiis Belial dictum meum revelavit benefactori meo et amico; ob quam causam, usque ad hodiernum diem nunquam postea nec prece nec pretio potui recuperare gratiam ejus ad plenum. Quod dixi, dixi;

Et semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum.<sup>‡</sup>

Unum restat; quod caveam mihi de cætero, et, si tamdiu vixero ut videam abbatiam vacare, videbo quid, cui, et quando loquar de tali materia, ne vel

to choose an abbot until we found one without spot or flaw, we should never find such an one, since there is none living without fault, and nothing altogether good. At one time I could not refrain my spirit, but put forward my own opinion only too readily, thinking that I was speaking to faithful ears. And I said that one was not worthy of the abbacy who had before loved me dearly and done much good to me. And I put forward another as worthy and named him, a man whom I loved but little. I spoke according to my conscience, thinking rather of the general wellbeing of the church than of my own promotion; and I spoke the truth, as subsequent events proved. And behold, one of the sons of Belial revealed my saying to my benefactor and friend, wherefore to this very day I have never been able, by prayer or present, to regain his full favour. What I have said, I have said. And the word once uttered flies beyond recall.

One thing remains for me,—that I take care henceforth; and if I should live long enough to see the abbey once more vacant, I will see what, and to

<sup>†</sup> Hor. Od. ii. 16.

<sup>‡</sup> Hor. Ep. i. 18, 71.

Deum offendam mentiendo, vel hominem importune loquendo. Ad consilium meum tum erit, si duravero, ut aliquem eligamus non multum bonum monachum, non multum sapientem clericum, nec nimis idiotam, nec nimis dissolutum; ne, si nimis sapiat, de se et de proprio sensu nimis confidat, et alios vilipendat; vel si nimis brutescat, in opprobrium aliis fiat. Scio quis dixerit: “medio tutissimus ibis;”<sup>†</sup> et illud, “medium tenuere beati.” Vel forte, sanius consilium erit omnino tacere, ut dicam in corde meo: “Qui potest capere, capiat.”

*How the archbishop of Norway dwelt in the abbot's lodgings while the abbacy was vacant.*

A.D. 1181.

rweie<sup>‡</sup> apud nos in domibus abbatis, habens per præceptum regis singulis

whom, and when I speak of so weighty a matter, that I offend not God by lying or man by hasty talk. Then it will be my care, if I live, that we elect one who is neither a very good monk, nor a very wise clerk, nor too foolish, nor too dissolute; lest, if he know too much, he have also too much confidence in himself and in his own opinion, and hold others of small account; or if he be too foolish, he be abused by others. I know that one has said, “You will walk most safely in the middle,” and that “Blessed are those who steer a middle course.” And perchance it is wiser counsel to be silent altogether, so that I say in my heart, “He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.”<sup>29</sup>

Vacante abbacia perhendi-  
navit Augustinus archie-  
piscopus No-

While the abbacy was vacant, Augustine, Archbishop of Norway,<sup>30</sup> dwelt with us in the abbot's lodgings, and by command of the king received ten shillings every day from the revenues of the abbot. He assisted us greatly to gain freedom of election, bearing wit-

<sup>†</sup> Ov. Met. ii. 137.

<sup>29</sup> Matt. xix., 12.

<sup>‡</sup> In 1180, Eystein (Augustinus), archbishop of Trondheim, refusing to crown Sverrir, a successful rebel, who had defeated Magnus, king of Norway, was driven into exile, and came to England (William de Newburgh, iii. 6). “It appears from the accounts of the wardens of the abbey . . . that the archbishop remained in the monastery from the vigil of St. Lawrence, 9 Aug. 1181, until about the time of the election of abbot Samson, in February following, and that the corrodies allowed him amounted altogether to 94l. 10s.” (Roke.) This Eystein wrote a remarkable biography of St. Olaf, recently edited from the unique MS. by my friend, the late Rev. F. Metcalfe, who was so long and so favourably known as a successful student of Scandinavian antiquity.



diebus x. solidos de denariis abbatiae; qui multum valuit nobis ad habendam liberam electionem nostram, testimonium perhibens de bono,<sup>†</sup> et publice protestans coram rege quod viderat et audierat.

*Of the martyrdom of Saint Robert.*

A.D. 1181, June 10.

et in ecclesia nostra sepultus, et fiebant prodigia et signa multa in plebe, sicut alibi scripsimus.

*How thirteen men were chosen, by command of the king, to elect an abbot in the presence of the king.*

A.D. 1182, February.

præcepit dominus rex per literas suas, ut prior noster et duodecim de conventu, in quorum ore universitatis concordaret sententia, apparerent die statuto coram eo ad eligendum abbatem.

Eodem tempore fuit sanctus puer Robertas martirizatus,

Post mortem Hugonis abbatibus, peracto anno cum tribus mensibus,

ness of the good, and publicly declaring in the presence of the king that which he had seen and heard.

In those days was the holy child Robert martyred,<sup>31</sup> and was buried in our church. And many signs and wonders<sup>32</sup> were wrought among the people, as we have related in another place.

Now when a year and three months had passed since the death of Abbot Hugh, the lord king commanded by his letters that our prior and twelve members of the monastery, by whose lips the opinion of the whole community might be expressed unanimously, should appear before him on a stated day to elect an abbot.

<sup>†</sup>Joh. xviii. 23.

<sup>30</sup>Eystein, archbishop of Trondheim, was banished from Norway for political reasons and came to England in 1180. Rokewode (p. 113) collects from the accounts of the wardship of the abbey that he received £94 10s.

<sup>31</sup>Bale states that there was an account of the martyrdom of this child by the Jews, written by Jocelin. The work, however, is not known to exist at the present day. Gervase (I., 296) relates the event in somewhat similar terms to those in the text: "In this year, at Eastertide, a certain boy, Robert by name, was martyred by the Jews at St. Edmund's, and he was afterwards honourably buried in the church of St. Edmund, and became famous, as common report goes, for many miracles." There is an account also in *Chron. Bur.* (*Mem.* III., 6) where the date (June 10th) is given.

<sup>32</sup>Acts v., 12.

In crastino post susceptionem litterarum, convenimus in capitulo de tanto tractaturi negotio. In primis lectæ sunt literæ domini regis in conventu; postea rogavimus et oneravimus priorem in periculo animæ suæ, ut xii. secundum conscientiam suam nominaret secum ducendos, de quorum vita et moribus constaret eos a recto nolle deviare.

Qui petitis annuens, dictante Spiritu Sancto, sex ex una parte chori et sex ex altera nominavit, et sine contradictione nobis satisfecit. A dextro choro fuerunt Galfridus de Fordham, Benedictus, magister Dionisius, magister Samson subsacrista, Hugo tertius prior, et magister Hermerus, tunc temporis novicius: a sinistro, Willelmus sacrista, Andreas, Petrus de Broc, Rogerus cellerarius, magister Ambrosius, magister Walterus medicus.

Unus autem dixit: “Quid fiet si isti tredecim non possunt coram rege concordare in abbate eligendo?” Respondit quidam: “Quia hoc erit nobis et ecclesiæ nostræ in opprobrium sempiter-

On the morrow after receiving the letters, we gathered in the chapter for the purpose of performing so important a task. And first the letters of the lord king were read in the assembly of the monastery; then we offered prayers, and bound the prior on the peril of his soul that he should conscientiously nominate to go with him twelve men, from whose life and manners he knew well that they would not stray from the right path.

Then he, by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, gave ear to these prayers, and named six from one side of the choir and six from the other, and he gave us satisfaction without any dispute arising. From the righthand side of the choir he named Geoffrey de Fordham, Benedict, Master Dennis, Master Samson the subsacristan, Hugh the third prior, and Master Hermer, who was then a novice. From the left side he named William the sacristan, Andrew, Peter de Broc, Roger the cellarer, Master Ambrose, and Master Walter the physician.

But one said, “What shall be done if these thirteen cannot agree on the choice of an abbot in the presence of the king?” One answered, “That would be a perpetual shame<sup>33</sup> to us

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<sup>33</sup>Jer. xxiii., 40.

num." Voluerunt ideo plures ut electio fieret domi antequam cæteri recederent, ut per hanc providentiam non fieret dissensio coram rege; sed illud nobis videbatur stultum et dissonum facere sine regis assensu, quia nondum constabat nobis posse impetrare a domino rege ut liberam electionem haberemus.

*How Samson suggested  
that the monastery should  
appoint men to make a  
secret choice of an abbot,  
and how this was done.*

hinc et inde periculum evitetur. Eligantur quatuor confessores de conventu, et duo ex senioribus prioribus de conventu, bonæ opinionis, qui, visis sacrosanctis, tactis evangeliis, inter se eligant tres viros de conventu, ad hoc magis idoneos juxta regulam sancti Benedicti, et eorum nomina in scriptum redigant, et scriptum sub sigillo includant, et sic inclusum committatur nobis ituris ad curiam; et cum venerimus coram rege, et constiterit nobis de libera electione habenda, tunc demum frangatur sigillum, et sic certi erimus qui tres nominandi erunt coram rege. Et constiterit nobis, si

and our church." For that cause many wished that the election might be made at home before the departure of the rest, so that by this means there might be no dissension in the presence of the king. But it seemed to us foolish and unbecoming to do this without the royal assent, since as yet we had no certain knowledge that we should obtain freedom of election from the lord king.

Then Samson the subsacristan, speaking by the Spirit of God,<sup>34</sup> said, "Let a middle course be taken, that so danger may be avoided on either side. Let four confessors be chosen from the monastery, and two of the older priors, men of repute, and let them look upon and take in their hands the most holy gospels, and choose among themselves three members of the monastery, men especially fitted according to the rule of the holy Benedict for this purpose. Then let them write down the names and seal that which is written, and let them give the writing thus secured to us on the eve of our departure for the court. And when we are come to the court, if it shall be determined that we have free election, then and not till then let the seal be broken, and so shall we know certainly the three

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<sup>34</sup>I. Cor. xii., 3.

dominus rex noluerit concedere nobis unum de nostris, reportetur sigillum integrum et sex juratoribus tradatur, ita quod secretum illorum imperpetuum celetur in periculum animarum suarum.”

who must be named in the presence of the king. Let it also be resolved that if the lord king will not grant us one of our own number, then the writing shall be brought back, with the seal unbroken, and delivered to the six sworn men, that so their secret may remain a secret for ever on the peril of their souls.”

Huic consilio omnes adquevimus, et nominati sunt quatuor confessores; scilicet Eustachius, Gilbertus de Alueth, Hugo tertius prior, Antonius, et alii duo senes, Turstanus et Rualdus. Quo facto, exivimus cantantes, “Verba mea,” et remanserunt prædicti sex habentes regulam sancti Benedicti præ manibus, et negotium sicut præfinitum fuerat impleverunt.

In this council we all agreed, and the four confessors were nominated, to wit, Eustace, Gilbert de Alueth, Hugh the third prior, and Anthony, with two other old men, Thurstan and Rualdus. And when this had been done, we went out chanting the “Verba mea,”<sup>35</sup> while the said six remained behind with the rule of St. Benedict in their hands, and completed the matter as had been ordained.

Dum illi sex hoc tractabant, nos de diversis eligendis diversa putabamus, habentes tamen omnes quasi pro certo Samsonem esse unum ex tribus, attendentes labores ejus et pericula mortis versus Romam pro bonis ecclesiæ nostræ, et qualiter tractus et compeditus et incarceratus erat ab H. abbate, loquens pro communi utilitate; qui nec sic flecti potuit ad adulandum, licet cogi potuit ad tacendum

While these six men performed their work, we had various opinions as to the choice of different men, but all considered it to be certain that Samson would be one of them. For they called to mind his labours and the danger of death, which he had endured in his journey to Rome<sup>36</sup> for the good of our church, and how he had been ill treated, and bound, and put in prison by Abbot Hugh, because he spoke to the

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<sup>35</sup>Ps. v., Vulgate.

<sup>36</sup>For Samson’s own account of this, see text, p. 77 ff.

common advantage. And they considered he was a man who could not be brought to flatter, though he might be driven to keep silence.

Facta autem mora, vocatus conventus rediit in capitulum. Et dixerunt senes se fecisse secundum quod præceptum eis fuerat.

So, after some delay, the whole monastery was summoned to return to the chapter. And the old men said that they had done as had been commanded them.

*How, on the advice of Samson, it was decided what should be done if the king would not grant freedom of election.*

Tunc prior quæsit, quid fuerit si dominus rex nollet aliquem ex il-

Then the prior asked what and if the lord king would not accept any one of the three whose names were written down. And it was answered that, since whomsoever the king wished to be received, must be received, there was but one course open to our church. It was added also that if those thirteen brothers should see in any writing aught that should be altered, they should make the alteration, according to God, unanimously and after consultation.

lis tribus in scriptis recipere; et responsum est, quod quemcunque vellet dominus rex suscipere, susciperetur, dum modo esset processus ecclesiæ nostræ. Adjectum est etiam quod, si illi tredecim fratres viderent aliquid in alio scripto quod emendari deberet, secundum Deum de communi assensu vel consilio emendarent.

Samson subsacrista sedens ad pedes prioris dixit: "Ecclesiæ expedire si omnes juraremus in verbo veritatis, ut super quemcunque sors electionis caderet conventum rationabiliter tractaret, nec capitales obedientiales mutaret sine assensu conventus, nec sacristam gravaret, nec aliquem monacaret sine voluntate conventus;" et hoc ipsum

Samson the subsacristan, sitting at the feet of the prior, said, "It would be for the good of the church were all to swear on the word of truth that on whomsoever the lot of election shall fall, that man shall treat the monastery reasonably, and not change the chief officials without the assent of the house, nor burden the sacristan,

concessimus, omnes dextras erigentes in signum concessionis. Provisum est quod, si dominus rex vellet aliquem extraneum abbatem facere, non reciperetur a tredecim nisi per consilium fratrum domi remanentium.

*How the chosen thirteen  
journeyed to the king.*

In crastino igitur iter arripuerunt illi tredecim versus curiam. Postremus omnium fuit Samson provisor expensarum, quia subsacrista erat, circa collum scrinium portans, quo literæ conventus continebantur, quasi omnium minister solus, et, sine armigero, froggum suum in ulnis bajulans, curiam exivit, socios sequens a longe.

In itinere versus curiam convenientibus fratribus in unum, dixit Samson bonum esse ut jurarent omnes, ut quicumque fieret abbas, redderet ecclesias de dominiis conventus in usum hospitalitatis; quod omnes concesserunt præter priorem, qui dixit: “Satis iuravimus; tantum potestis gravare abbatem, quod ego non curabo abbatiam.” Et hac occasione non iuraverunt; et hoc bene actum est, quia si hoc esset

nor make any one a monk without the consent of the monastery.” And we agreed on this matter, all raising their right hands in token of their approval. And it was provided that if the lord king willed that some stranger should be made abbot, the thirteen should not accept this man save with the advice of the brothers who remained at home.

On the morrow, therefore, these thirteen set out for the court. Last of all was Samson, who had charge of the expenses of the journey as being subsacristan. And he bore a letter-case round his neck, in which were contained the letters of the monastery, as if he were only servant of them all. So, with no attendant, and with his frock borne in his arms, he went out of the court, and followed far behind his comrades.

On their journey to the court, the brothers gathered together, and Samson said that it would be well if all were to swear that whoever might be made abbot, should restore the churches on the demesne lands of the monastery to the exercise of hospitality. To this all agreed save the prior, and he said, “We have sworn enough; you will so limit the power of the abbot, that I would not care to be abbot at all.” And for

juratum, non esset observatum.

*Of the dreams which the  
brothers dreamed  
concerning the election of a  
new abbot.*

Eodem die quo tredecim recesserunt, sedentibus nobis in claustro, dixit Willelmus de Hastings unus ex fratribus nostris: "Scio quod habebimus abbatem unum de nostris;" et interrogatus quomodo hoc sciret, respondit, se vidisse in somnis prophetam albis indutum stantem præ foribus monasterii, et se quæsisse in nomine Domini utrum haberemus abbatem aliquem de nostris. Et respondit propheta: "Habebitis unum de vestris, sed sæviet inter vos ut lupo." Cujus somnii significatio secuta in parte, quia futurus abbas studuit magis timeri quam amari, sicut plures dicebant.

Assedit et alius frater, Ædmundus nomine, asserens quod Samson futurus esset abbas, et narrans visionem quam proxima nocte viderat. Dixit se vidisse in somnis R. celerarium et H. tertium priorem stantes ante altare, et Samsonem in medio, eminentem ab humeris supra, pallio circumdatum longo et talari, ligato in humeris ejus, et stantem quasi pugilem ad duellum

this reason, they did not swear; and it was well that they did not do, for had this oath been taken it would not have been observed.

Then on the day on which the thirteen departed, while we were sitting in the cloister, William de Hastings, one of our brothers, said, "I know that we shall have one of our own number as abbot." And when he was asked how he knew this, he answered that he had beheld in dreams a prophet, clothed in white, standing before the gates of the monastery. Him he had asked in the name of the Lord whether we should have one of ourselves as abbot. And the prophet answered, "Ye shall have one of your own number, but he shall raven as a wolf among you." And this dream was partly fulfilled, since he that became abbot strove rather to be feared than loved, as many were wont to say.

Another brother also, Edmund by name, was sitting by, and declared that Samson would be abbot, relating a dream which he had seen on the previous night. For he said that he had seen in dreams Roger the cellarer and Hugh the third prior standing before the altar, and Samson in their midst, head and shoulders taller than they, and wearing a long and flowing cloak,

faciendum. Et surrexit sanctus Eadmundus de feretro, sicut ei somnianti visum fuerat, et quasi languidus pedes et tibias nudas exposuit, et accedente quodam et volente operire pedes sancti, dixit sanctus: "Noli accedere: Ecce! ille velabit mihi pedes," prætendens digitum versus Samsonem. Hæc est interpretatio somnii:—Per hoc quod pugil videbatur, significatur quod futurus abbas semper in labore existens, quandoque movens controversiam contra archiepiscopum Cantuariensem de placitis coronæ, quandoque contra milites sancti Eadmundi pro scutagiis integre reddendis, quandoque cum burgensibus pro purpresturis in foro, quandoque cum sochemannis pro sectis hundredorum; quasi pugil volens pugnando superare adversarios, ut jura et libertates ecclesiæ suæ posset revocare. Velavit autem pedes sancti martyris, quando turres ecclesiæ a centum annis inceptas perfecte consummavit.

Hujusmodi somnia somniabant fratres nostri, quæ statim divulgabantur, primo per claustrum, postea per cu-

fastened at his shoulders, and he was standing as it were like a champion about to engage in a duel. Then the holy Edmund arose from his shrine as it seemed to the brother in his dream and showed his feet and legs bare, as though sickness was upon him. Then when one rose and would have covered the feet of the saint, the saint said, "Come not near. Lo! he shall cover my feet," and pointed his finger towards Samson. This is the interpretation of the dream: In that a champion was seen, this signified that he who was to become abbot would be constant in labour, alike when disputing with the archbishop of Canterbury about the pleas of the crown, and when striving with the knights of St. Edmund for the full payment of scutages, or with the burghers about encroachments on the market, or with the sokemen for the suits of hundreds; and that he was as it were a champion anxious to overcome his enemies by fighting, that so far as in him lay he might recover the rights and liberties of his church. Moreover, he covered the feet of the holy martyr, when he completed fully the towers of the church, which had been begun a hundred years before.

Such dreams did our brothers dream, and at once told them first of all in the cloister and then in the court. And so



riam, ita quod ante vesperam publice dicebatur in plebe, ille et ille et ille electi sunt, et unus eorum erit abbas.

*How the thirteen came to the king and showed to him the names of those whom the confessors had selected.*

1182, February 21.

Prior autem et xii. cum eo post labores et dilationes multas tandem steterunt coram rege apud Waltham, manerium Wintoniensis episcopi, secunda Dominica quadragesimæ. Quos dominus rex benigne suscepit, et asserens se velle secundum Deum agere et ad honorem ecclesiæ nostræ, præcepit fratribus per internuncios, scilicet, Ricardum episcopum Wintoniensem et G. cancellarium, postea archiepiscopum Eboracensem, ut nominarent tres de conventu nostro.

Prior vero et fratres se divertentes, quasi inde collocuturi, extraxerunt sigillum et fregerunt et invenerunt hæc nomina sub tali ordine scripta,—Samson subsacrista, R. celerarius,

it came to pass that before vespers the people openly said that this and this and this man was elected, and that one of them would be abbot.

So the prior and the twelve with him, after many labours stood at last in the presence of the king at Waltham,<sup>37</sup> a manor of the bishop of Winchester, on the second Sunday in Lent. And the lord king received them graciously, and declared that he wished to act according to the will of God and for the honour of our church. Then he gave command to the brothers through his proctors, Richard bishop of Winchester<sup>38</sup> and Geoffrey the chancellor,<sup>39</sup> who was afterwards archbishop of York, that they should nominate three members of our monastery.

Then the prior and the brothers withdrew themselves, as it were to discuss this matter, and drew forth the seal and broke it, and found these names written down in this order,—Samson

<sup>37</sup> Bishop's Waltham, in Hampshire.

<sup>38</sup> Richard Toclive, archdeacon of Poitiers (1162–73), elected bishop of Winchester in 1173; died in 1188.

<sup>39</sup> Son of Henry II. by some woman of low birth. He became bishop-elect of Lincoln in 1173, but resigned his see and was made chancellor in 1182. In 1189 he secured the archbishopric of York by forgery, as his enemies asserted, and certainly by bribery. From that time his life was one long quarrel with Richard I. and John, and with the chapter of York and Hubert Walter, both as dean of York and as archbishop. Eventually, he fled into exile as the result of his refusal to meet the financial demands of John, and died in Normandy in 1212.

Hugo tertius prior. Erubuerunt inde fratres qui maioris dignitatis erant. Mirabantur etiam omnes eundem Hugonem esse electorem et electum. Quia tamen rem mutare non poterant, ordinem nominum de communi consilio mutaverunt, pronuntiando primum H. quia tertius prior erat; secundo R. celerarium; tertio Samsonem, facientes verbo tenus novissimum primum et primum novissimum.

the sub-sacristan, Roger the cellarer, and Hugh the third prior. And at this the brothers who were of greater dignity blushed. Moreover all marvelled that the same Hugh should be both an elector and one of the elected. But because they could not alter the thing they unanimously changed the order of the names, naming Hugh, because he was third prior, first, and Roger the cellarer next, and Samson third. Thus, as far as words went, they made the last first, and the first last.<sup>40</sup>

Rex vero, primo quærens an nati essent in sua terra, et in cujus dominio, dixit se non nosse eos, mandans ut cum illis tribus alios tres nominarent de conventu.

But the king, having first asked whether they were born in his land, and in whose lordship, said that he did not know them, and commanded that they should name three other members of the monastery with them.

*How the thirteen, by command of the king, chose three other names from the monastery, and three strangers.*

caput nostrum est:" quod cito concessum est. Dixit prior: "W. sacrista bonus vir est." Similiter dictum est de Dionisio, et concessum est. Quibus nominatis coram rege sine omni mora, mirabatur rex, dicens: "Cito fecerunt isti. Deus est cum eis."

Quo concessio, dixit W. sacrista: "Prior noster debet nominari, quia

And when this had been granted, William the sacristan said, "Our prior ought to be nominated, for he is our head," and this was readily agreed. Then the prior said, "William the sacristan is a good man." The same was said of Dennis, and was agreed. And when these were named in the presence of the king without any delay, the king marvelled, saying, "These men act quickly. God is with them."

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<sup>40</sup>Matt. xix., 30.

Postea mandavit rex ut propter honorem regni sui nominarent tres personas de aliis domibus. Quo audito, timebant fratres suspicantes dolum. Tandem consilium inierunt ut nominarent tres, sed sub conditione, scilicet, ut nullum reciperent nisi per consilium conventus qui domi fuit. Et nominaverunt tres, magistrum Nicholaum de Waringeford, postea ad horam abbatem de Malmsberi;<sup>†</sup> et Bertrandum priorem Sanctæ Fidis, postea abbatem de Certeseia;<sup>‡</sup> et dominum H. de Sancto Neoto, monachum de Becco, virum admodum religiosum et in temporalibus et spiritualibus admodum circumspectum.

And after that the king commanded that for the honour of the kingdom, they should nominate three persons from other houses. When they heard this the brothers feared, for they suspected a fraud. Yet did they agree to nominate three, but under conditions, namely, that they would receive no one save with the assent of the members of the monastery who were at home. And they named three, master Nicholas de Waringford,<sup>41</sup> who was afterwards for awhile abbot of Malmesbury, and Bertrand, prior of St. Faith's, who was afterwards abbot of Chertsey, and lord H. de St. Neots,<sup>42</sup> a monk of Bec, a most pious man, and in both secular and spiritual matters very prudent.

*How the list of names was reduced from nine to two.*

Quo facto mandavit rex, gratias agens, ut tres removerentur de novem, et statim remoti sunt alieni tres, scilicet prior Sanctæ Fidei, postea Certeseiensis abbas, et Nicholaus monachus Sancti Albani, postea abbas

When this had been done, the king sent them thanks and commanded that three of the nine should be removed, and the three strangers were at once removed, that is, the prior of St. Faith's, who was afterwards abbot of Chertsey, and Nicholas, the monk of St. Alban's, who was afterwards abbot

<sup>†</sup>“This Nicholas, a monk of St. Alban's, prior of Wallingford, succeeded Osbert Foliot as abbot of Malmesbury about the year 1183, and was deposed in 1187.” So Mr. Rokewode, from the *Monasticon*, “Ad horam” must therefore mean “for a season.”

<sup>41</sup> A monk of St. Alban's, prior of Wallingford. He became abbot of Malmesbury about 1163, but was deposed in 1187. (Rokewode, p. 114.)

<sup>‡</sup>“Bertrand [Bertan] succeeded Aymer, abbot of Chertsey” (Roke.); his successor, Martin, was elected in 1197.

<sup>42</sup> There was a Herbert, prior of St. Neot's in 1159 and in 1173. (Rokewode, p. 114.)

Malmsberiensis, et prior Sancti Neoti.

of Malmesbury, and the prior of St. Neot's.

Willelmus sacrista sponte cessit; remoti sunt duo ex quinque per præceptum regis; et postea unus ex tribus, et remanserunt tum duo, scilicet, prior et Samson.

William the sacristan of his accord withdrew, two of the five were removed by the order of the king, and finally one of the last three, so that there remained then two, namely, the prior and Samson.

*How Samson was elected  
abbot.*

Tunc tandem vocati sunt ad consilium fratrum prænominati internuntii domini regis. Et loquens Dionisius, unus pro omnibus, cœpit commendare personas prioris et Samsonis, dicens utrumque eorum literatum, utrumque bonum, utrumque laudabilem vitæ et integre opinionis, sed semper in angulo sui sermonis Samsonem protulit, multiplicans verba in laudem ejus, dicens eum esse virum rigidum in conversatione, severum in corrigendis excessibus, et aptum ad labores, et in sæcularibus curis prudentem, et in diversis officiis probatum.

Tunc tandem  
vocati sunt ad  
consilium fra-

Then at last the above-mentioned proctors of the lord king were summoned to the council of the brothers. And Dennis, speaking as one for all, began to commend the persons of the prior and Samson. He said that they were both learned men, both good, both praiseworthy in their lives and of unblemished reputation. But ever at the climax of his speech he put forward Samson, multiplying words in his praise, saying that he was a man strict in his conduct, stern in correcting faults, apt for labour, prudent in temporal matters, and proved in divers offices.

Respondit Wintoniensis: "Bene intelligimus quod vultis dicere; ex verbis vestris conjicimus quod prior vester vobis videtur aliquantulum remissus, et illum qui Samson dicitur vultis habere." Respondit Dionisius: "Uterque bonus est, sed meliorem vellemus ha-

Then the bishop of Winchester answered, "We know well what you would say, from your words we gather that your prior has appeared to you to be somewhat slack, and that you wish to have him who is called Samson." Dennis answered, "Both of them are good

bere si Deus vellet.” Cui episcopus: “Duorum bonorum magis bonum eligendum est: dicite aperte, vultis habere Samsonem?” Et responsum est præcise a pluribus et a majori parte, “Volumus Samsonem,” nullo reclamante, quibusdam tamen tacentibus ex industria, nec hunc nec illum offendere volentibus.

Nominato Samsone, coram domino rege, et habito brevi consilio cum suis, vocati sunt omnes, et dixit rex: “Vos præsentastis mihi Samsonem: non novi eum: si præsentaretis mihi priorem vestrum, illum reciperem quem vidi et agnovi; sed modo faciam quod vultis. Cavete vobis; per veros oculos Dei, si male feceritis, ego me capiam ad vos.”

Et interrogavit priorem si assentiret, et hoc vellet; qui respondit se hoc velle, et Samsonem multo majore dignum honore. Electus igitur, ad pedes regis procidens et deosculans, festinanter surrexit et festinanter ad altare tetendit, cantando: “Miserere mei Deus,” cum fratribus, erecto capite, vultu non mutato.

men, but we desire to have the better, if God wills.” Thereupon the bishop said, “Of two good things, the greater good should be selected. Say openly, do you desire to have Samson?” And many, and they a majority, answered plainly, “We wish to have Samson,” and none spoke against him. Some, however, were silent from caution, wishing to offend neither candidate.

Then Samson was nominated in the presence of the lord king, and when the king had consulted with his men for a while, all were summoned. And the king said, “You have presented to me Samson. I know him not. If you had presented your prior to me, I would have accepted him, for I have seen and know him. But I will only do what you will. Take heed to yourselves; by the true eyes of God, if you do ill, I will exact a recompense at your hands.”

Then he asked the prior if he assented to the choice and wished it, and the prior answered that he did will it, and that Samson was worthy of much greater honour. Therefore he was elected, and fell at the king’s feet and embraced them. Then he arose quickly and hastened to the altar, with his head erect and without changing his expression,

chanting the “Miserere mei, Deus”<sup>43</sup> with the brothers.

Quod cum rex vidisset, dixit astantibus: “Per oculos Dei,<sup>†</sup> iste electus videtur sibi dignus abbatiae custodiendae.”

And when the king saw this, he said to those that stood by, “By the eyes of God, this elect thinks that he is worthy to rule the abbey.”

*How the news of the election came to the monastery and how Samson was blessed.*  
A.D. 1182, February 28.

Hujus electionis rumor cum ad conventum perveniret, omnes claustrales vel fere omnes, et quosdam obedientiales, sed paucos, lætificavit: “Bene,” multi dicebant, “quia bene est.” Alii dicebant quod “non; imo, omnes seducti sumus.”

The news of this election came to the monastery, and all the cloistered monks or almost all of them were rejoiced, and also some of the officials, but few. “It is well,” said many, “because it is well.” Others said that this was not so, “Of a truth, we have all been bewitched.”

Electus, antequam rediret ad nos, benedictionem suam accepit a domino Wintoniensi, qui in eadem hora mitram capiti abbatis imponens et annulum digito, ait: “Hæc est dignitas abbatum sancti Eadmundi: diu est ex quo scivi hoc.”

Before he returned to us, the elect received his benediction<sup>44</sup> from the lord of Winchester, who in the same hour in the which he placed the mitre on the abbot’s head and the ring on his finger, said, “This man is worthy of the abbacy of St. Edmund, and for a long while have I known it.”

Abbas itaque tres monachos secum

Therefore the abbot retained with him

<sup>43</sup> Ps. 50, Vulgate.

<sup>†</sup> These strange oaths were constantly in the mouths of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings. William Rufus used to swear by “the holy Face of Lucca.”

<sup>44</sup> At Merewell, near Newport, I.W. He received his benediction from Richard of Winchester and Augustine, bishop of Waterford, on February 28th (*Chron. Bur., Mem.* III., 7, and *Ann. St. Ed., Mem.* II., 5). From the same sources we learn that Samson was received at St. Edmund’s on Palm Sunday, March 21st.

retinens, alios domum præmisit, nuncios adventum suum Dominica Palmarum, quibusdam commendans curam ad providenda necessaria in die festi sui.

*How Samson, having been made abbot, returned and was received at the monastery.*  
A.D. 1182, March 21.

servire; qui omnibus respondit, se esse contentum servantibus prioris, nec alios posse retinere, donec inde consulisset conventum suum. Unum tamen militem retinuit eloquentem et juris peritum, non tantum consideratione proximitatis, sed ratione utilitatis, causis quidem sæcularibus assuetum; quem suscepit in novitate sua quasi coadjutorem in mundanis controversiis, quia novus abbas erat, et rudis in talibus, sicut ipsemet protestatus est: quia nunquam ante susceptam abbatiam loco interfuit ubi datum esset vadium et plegium.

Cum debito honore et etiam processione receptus est a conventu suo, Dominica Palmarum.

Susceptus est autem dominus abbas hoc modo: proxima nocte jacuerat apud Chenteford, et accepta tempo-

three monks, and allowed the rest to return home. And he announced that he would himself come on Palm Sunday, and charged certain men with the care of providing those things which might be necessary for his feast.

On his homeward way a multitude of new relations met him, desiring to serve him. But he answered all of them that he was content with the servants of the prior, and that he was unable to maintain others until he had consulted the monastery on the matter. But one knight he did retain, a man who was eloquent and skilled in the law. This he did not only from consideration of their relationship, but from arguments of utility also, as he was indeed used to secular affairs. He received him as a novice and as his assessor in temporal disputes. For he was a new abbot and unskilful in such matters, as he himself protested, since until he received the abbacy he had never held any office in which surety and pledge was given.

On Palm Sunday he was received with due honour and with ceremony also by his monastery.

Now the lord abbot was thus received. The night before he had lain at Kentford, and at the proper moment we

ris opportunitate, ivimus contra eum solempniter, post exitum de capitulo, usque ad portam cimiterii, sonantibus campanis in choro et extra. Ipse vero multitudine hominum constipatus, videns conventum, descendit de equo extra limen portæ, et faciens se discalciari, intra portam nudipes susceptus est, priore et sacrista hinc et inde ducentibus eum. Nos vero cantavimus responsoria, “Benedictus Dominus,” de Trinitate, et post, “Martiri adhuc,” de sancto Eadmundo; ducentes abbatem usque ad magnum altare.

went to meet him in the solemn procession, after leaving the chapter, as far as the gate of the graveyard, while bells were rung in the choir and outside it. But he was surrounded by a multitude of men, and when he saw the monastery, dismounted from his horse without the threshold of the gate, and causing his sandals to be removed, was received within the door barefooted, the prior and the sacristan supporting him on either side. And we chanted the responses “Benedictus Dominus”<sup>45</sup> from the service for Trinity Sunday, and afterwards the “Martiri adhuc”<sup>46</sup> from that for St. Edmund, and conducted the abbot as far as the high altar.

Quibus peractis, siluerunt et organa et campanæ, et dicta oratione a priore, “Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, miserere huic,”<sup>†</sup> &c. super abbatem prostratum, et facta oblatione ab abbate, et deosculato feretro, rediit in chorum, et ibi recepit eum Samson cantor per manum, et duxit usque ad sedem abbatis ad occidentalem partem, ubi, eo

And when this had been done, the organs and bells were silenced, and the prior said the prayer “Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, miserere huic,”<sup>47</sup> over the prostrate abbot. Then the abbot made oblation and kissed the shrine, and returned to the choir. There Samson the precentor took him by the hand and led him to the abbot’s

<sup>45</sup> Response at matins after the second lesson on Trinity Sunday. (Rokewode, p. 18.)

<sup>46</sup> A response following the sixth lesson at matins on St. Edmund’s day. Rokewode (p. 115) gives the musical notes which accompany it from a life of the saint of the time of abbot Anselm. Rokewode seems to suggest that this was one of the antiphons composed in honour of St. Edmund by Warner, abbot of Rebaix, for which see Hermannus, *De Mir. St. Eadmundi* (*Mem. I.*, 69–70).

<sup>†</sup> Collect. Missæ Votivæ lxxi. in Sacrament. Gregor.—Liturgia Romana Vetus. Muratori, tom. ii, p. 90. (Rokewode.)

<sup>47</sup> Liturgia Romana Vetus. (Rokewode, p. 18, note 4.)



stante, in directum incepit cantor: "Te Deum laudamus;" quod dum decantabatur, deosculatur a priore et a toto conventu per ordinem.

Quibus expletis, ivit abbas in capitulum, sequente conventu et multis aliis. Dicto autem "Benedicite," in primis gratias egit conventui quod eum, ut aiebat, minimum eorum, non suis meritis, sed sola Dei voluntate, in dominum et pastorem elegerunt. Rogansque breviter ut orarent pro eo, convertit sermonem ad clericos et milites, rogans, ut eum consulerent ad sollicitudinem commissi regiminis.

Et respondens Wimerus vicecomes pro omnibus, dixit: "Et nos parati sumus vobis consistere in consilio et auxilio omnibus modis, sicut caro domino quem Dominus vocavit ad honorem suum et ad honorem sancti martyris Eadmundi."

Et deinde extractæ sunt cartæ regis, et lectæ in audientia de donatione abba-

chair on the western side of the choir, and while he stood there the precentor at once began "Te Deum laudamus," and while it was being chanted, the abbot was embraced by the prior and by the whole monastery.

And so, these ceremonies being completed, the abbot entered the chapter, the whole monastery and many others following. He said many times "Benedicite," and then he first returned thanks to the monastery that they had chosen him, the least of them all, as he said, not for his own merits but only by the will of God, to be their lord and pastor. And asking in a few words that they would pray for him, he addressed the clerks and knights, and asked them to advise him for the good of the monastery.

Then Wimer, the sheriff,<sup>48</sup> answered for them all, and said, "We also are ready to be with you in counsel and in helping you in every way, as with a dear lord whom the Lord has called for His honour, and for the honour of the holy martyr Edmund."

Afterwards the charters of the king concerning the donation of the abbacy

<sup>48</sup>Rokewode (p. 116) collects from the Pipe Rolls of Norfolk and Suffolk that Wimer was a sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in conjunction with Bartholomew Glanvill, and William Bardolf from the 16th to the 22nd years of Henry II.; and sheriff alone from then to the 34th year of Henry II.

tiæ. Facta autem oratione ab ipso abbate, ut ei Deus consuleret secundum gratiam suam, et responso “amen” ab omnibus, ivit in talamum suum, diem festivum agens cum plus quam mille comedentibus, in gaudio magno.

*How abbot Samson began  
to rule the monastery.*

Quando hæc fiebant, eram capellanus prioris, et infra quatuor menses capellanus abbatis factus, plurima notans et memoriæ commendans. In crastino ergo festi sui, convocavit priorem et alios quosdam paucos, quasi consilium ab aliis quærens: ipse enim sciebat quid esset factururus.

Dixit novum sigillum<sup>†</sup> esse faciendum, et cum mitra esse pingendum, licet prædecessores sui tale non haberent; sigillo autem prioris nostri hucusque usus fuerat, singulis literis in fine subscribens, quod proprium sigillum non habuit, unde et sigillo prioris oportuit uti ad tempus. Postea disponens domui suæ, diversos famulos diversis officiis deputavit, dicens

were brought forth, and were read in the hearing of all. The abbot himself also prayed that God would guide him according to His grace, and all answered “Amen.” Then he went into his own chamber, and celebrated his day of festival with more than a thousand guests and with great joy.

In those days I was prior’s chaplain, and within four months was made chaplain to the abbot. And I noted many things and committed them to memory. So, on the morrow of his feast, the abbot assembled the prior and some few others together, as if to seek advice from others, but he himself knew what he would do.

He said that a new seal<sup>49</sup> must be made and adorned with a mitred effigy of himself, though his predecessors had not had such a seal. For a time, however, he used the seal of our prior, writing at the end of all letters that he did so for the time being because he had no seal of his own. And afterwards he ordered his household,<sup>50</sup> and transferred various officials to

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<sup>†</sup> As the frontispiece to his edition of the Chronicle, Mr. Gage Rokewode gives an engraving of an impression from this seal, answering to the description in the text, which is still attached to a document among the archives of Christ Church, Canterbury.

<sup>49</sup> A reproduction of this seal appears as a frontispiece to Rokewode’s edition.

<sup>50</sup> John vi., 6.

se præcogitasse viginti sex equos in curia sua habendos; et ad plus asserens, "puerum prius repere, postea firmius stare et ire;" hoc super omnia famulis præcipiens, ut caverent ne in novitate sua possit infamari avaritia cibi vel potus, sed hospitalitatem domus solícite procurarent.

In his et in omnibus rebus agendis et constituendis de Dei auxilio et proprio sensu plenius confidens, inglorium duxit de alieno pendere consilio, tanquam ipse sibi sufficeret. Mirabantur monachi, indignabantur milites; damnantes eum arrogantia, et quodammodo infamantes eum apud curiam regis, et dicentes quia nollet operari secundum consilium suorum liberorum hominum. Ipse magnates abbatiæ, tam laicos quam literatos, sine quorum consilio et auxilio abbatia videbatur non posse regi, omnes a privato suo elongavit consilio; et hac occasione Ranulfus de Glanvill, justiciarius Angliæ, primo eum suspectum habebat, et minus propitius ei erat quam deceret, donec ei certis indiciis constaret abbatem tam in interioribus quam exterioribus negotiis provide et

other offices, saying that he proposed to maintain twenty-six horses in his court, and many times he declared that "a child must first crawl, and afterwards he may stand upright and walk." And he laid this especial command upon his servants, that they should take care that he might not be laid open to the charge of not providing enough food and drink, but that they should assiduously provide for the maintenance of the hospitality of the house.

In these matters, and in all the things which he did and determined, he trusted fully in the help of God and his own good sense, holding it to be shameful to rely upon the counsel of another, and thinking he was sufficient unto himself. The monks marvelled and the knights were angered; they blamed his pride, and often defamed him at the court of the king, saying that he would not act in accordance with the advice of his freemen. He himself put away from his privy council all the great men of the abbey, both lay and literate, men without whose advice and assistance it seemed impossible that the abbey could be ruled. For this reason Ranulf de Glanvill, justiciar of England, was at first offended with him, and was less well-disposed towards him than was expe-

prudenter agere.

*How the abbot met the  
demand of Thomas de  
Hastings that his nephew  
should be steward.  
A.D. 1182 April 1.*

Facta summonitione generali, conveniunt omnes barones et milites et liberi homines ut facerent homagium quarto die Paschæ: et ecce! Thomas de Hastingo, cum magna multitudo militum, ducens Henricum nepotem suum nondum militem, clamans senescaldiam<sup>†</sup> cum consuetudinibus suis, sicut carta ejus loquitur. Quibus abbas statim respondit: "Henrico non nego jus suum, nex negare volo. Si sciret in propria persona mihi servire, concederem ei et decem hominibus et octo equis necessaria in mea curia, sicut carta ejus loquitur; si præsentetis mihi senescaldum, vicarium ejus, qui sciat et possit senescaldiam regere, recipiam eum in tali statu, sicut prædecessor meus eum habuit die quo fuit vivus et mortuus, scilicet cum iiiij<sup>or</sup> equis et pertinentiis. Quod si

dient, until he knew well from definite proofs that the abbot acted providently and prudently, both in domestic and in external affairs.

A general summons was sent out, and on the fourth day of Easter all the barons, and knights, and freemen came to do homage. And, lo! Thomas de Hastings came also with a great multitude of knights, and brought with him Henry his nephew,<sup>51</sup> who was not yet a knight, and for whom he demanded the office of steward with the customary dues thereof, as his charter provided. And to this demand the abbot at once answered, "I neither deny, nor wish to deny, his right to Henry. If he were able to serve me in his own person, I would grant him the means of supporting ten men and eight horses in my court. And if you will present a steward to me, who knows how to fulfil the office of steward and is able to do so, I will receive him on the same terms as my predecessor had his steward on the day whereon he was alive and dead, that is, I will allow him four horses with the things needful for

<sup>51</sup> Rokewode (p. 116 ff) prints the charters upon which Henry de Hastings claimed to be hereditary steward of the liberty of St. Edmund's.

<sup>†</sup> A seneschal (*senscalcus*, *senescallus*, *senescaldus*) originally meant the servant placed over the household, as "marshal" (*mariscalus*) meant the servant placed over the horses. The origin of the first part of the word is unknown; probably it is some Teutonic word like *sin*, meaning "old." In the twelfth century the seneschal generally administered justice for his lord, and this was the case at Bury, as Samson's remarks on Gilbert's appointment show.

nolueritis, pono loquelam coram rege vel coram capitali justicia.”

Quo dicto, cepit res dilationem: postea præsentatus est ei quidam senescaldus simplex et idiota, Gilbertus nomine, quem antequam suscepisset, dixit familiaribus suis: “Si defectus fuerit de justitia regis servanda per inscientiam senescaldi, ipse erit in misericordia regis et non ego, quia senescaldiam vendicat sibi jure hæreditario: et ideo ad præsens malo istum recipere, quam alium magis argutum ad me decipiendum. Ego mihi ero senescaldus cum auxilio Dei.”

*How the abbot dealt with the lands of his house.*

Post homagia suscepta, petivit abbas auxilium a militibus, qui promiserunt ab unoquoque xx. solidos; sed in instanti inierunt consilium, et retraxerunt duodecim libras de duodecim militibus, dicentes, quod illi xii. debent adjuvare alios xl. et ad wardas faciendas et ad scutagia, similiter et ad auxilium abbatis. Quod cum abbas audisset, iratus est, et dixit familiaribus suis, quod, si posset vivere, redderet eis vicem pro vice et gravamen pro gravamine.

them. But if you will not agree to this, I will make complaint before the king and before the chief justiciar.”

When the abbot had so spoken, the matter was postponed. But afterwards a certain simple and foolish steward, by name Gilbert, was presented to him, and before he received him, the abbot said to his intimates, “If the ignorance of the steward leads to the ill-rendering of the justice of the king, then it will be he who will be responsible to the king and not I, for he gained the stewardship by hereditary right. For the time, therefore, I would rather accept him than another, even more incompetent, to my loss. By God’s help, I will be my own steward.”

When homage had been received, the abbot demanded an aid from the knights, and they promised twenty shillings from each fee of a knight. But they at once took counsel, and reduced the aid by twelve pounds from twelve knights, alleging that these twelve ought to assist the other forty to keep ward, and to make scutages, and also in assisting the abbey. When the abbot heard this, he was wroth, and said to his friends that should his life be spared, he would repay them like for like, and injury for injury.<sup>52</sup>

Post hæc, per unumquodque manerium abbatiae fecit abbas inquiri annuos census liberorum hominum, et nomina rusticorum, et eorum tenementa, et singulorum servitia, et in scriptum omnia redigi. Aulas autem veteres et domos confractas, per quas milvi et cornices volabant, reformavit; capellas novas ædificavit, et talamos et solia pluribus locis, ubi nunquam fuerunt ædificia, nisi horrea solummodo.

Plures etiam parcos fecit, quos bestiis replevit, venatorem cum canibus habens; et, superveniente aliquo hospite magni nominis, sedebat cum monachis suis in aliquo saltu nemoris, et videbat aliquando canes currere; sed de venatione nunquam vidi eum gustare.

Plura etiam assartavit et in agriculturam reduxit; in omnibus utilitati abbatiæ prospiciens: sed utinam super maneriis conventus commendandis consimili studio vigilaret! Maneria tamen nostra de Bradefeld et Rutham recepit ad tempus in manu sua, implens defectus firmarum per expensam xl. librarum, quæ postea resignavit nobis, audito quod murmur erat in conventu

After this, the abbot caused inquest to be made in every manor belonging to the abbacy as to the annual revenues of the free men, and the names of the villeins, and their holdings, and the services due from each, and caused all these details to be written down. Then he restored the old halls and ruined houses, through which kites and crows flew; he built new chapels, and rooms and seats in many places where there had never been buildings, save perhaps barns.

He also made many parks, which he filled with beasts, and had a huntsman and dogs. And whenever any important guest arrived, he used to sit with his monks in some retired grove, and watch the coursing for a while; but I never saw him interested in hunting.

He made many clearings and brought land into cultivation, in everything regarding the advantage of the abbacy. But would that he had watched with equal care over the grants of the manors of the monastery. For he received our manors of Bradfield and Rougham for a while into his own hand, making good the loss of rent by the expenditure of forty pounds, which he afterwards handed over to us when he

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<sup>52</sup>For the way in which this threat was carried out, see text, p. 104.

ex hoc quod maneria nostra tenuit in manu sua.

Eisdem etiam maneriis et omnibus aliis regendis, tam monachos quam laicos sapientiores prioribus custodibus constituit, qui et nobis et terris nostris consultius providerent.

Octo etiam hundredos<sup>†</sup> in manu sua, et post mortem Roberti de Cokefeld recepit hundredum de Cosford, quos omnes servantibus suis de mensa sua custodiendos tradidit; quæ majoris quæstionis erant ad se referens, et quæ minoris per alios terminans, et singula ad suum commodum retorquens.

Facta, eo iubente, descriptio generalis per hundredos de letis et sectis, de hidagiis et fodercorn, de gallinis reddendis, et aliis consuetudinibus et redditibus et exitibus, qui in magna parte semper celati fuerant per firmarios, et omnia redegit in scriptum, ita quod, infra iiij<sup>or</sup> annos ab electione sua, non erat qui posset eum decipere de redditibus abbatiae ad valentiam unius denarii, cum de abbatia custo-

heard that the monastery murmured because he held our manors in his own hands.

For the management of the same manors and for the management of all other affairs, he appointed monks and laymen who were wiser than those who had previously held the posts, and who made careful provision for us and our lands.

Then he received eight hundreds into his own hands, and when Robert de Cokefield died, he took the hundred of Cosford. All these he handed over to the care of the servants of his own table. Matters of greater moment were kept for his own decision, and those which were of less import were decided by his agents; all things he turned to his advantage.

By his command, a general account was drawn up for every hundred of the leets and suits, of the hidages and customary supplies of fodder, of the hens which ought to be paid to him, and of all the other customary dues, revenues, and expenses, which the tenants had always concealed to a great extent. All these things he reduced to writing, so that within four years of his election, no one could deceive him as

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<sup>†</sup>"Tenuit" desiderari videtur. (Roke.)

dienda nullum scriptum a predecesso-  
ribus suis recepisset, nisi schedulam  
parvam, qua continebantur nomina  
militum Sancti Eadmundi et nomi-  
na maneriorum, et quæ firma quam  
firmam sequi deberet. Hunc autem  
librum vocavit Kalendarium suum,  
quo etiam inscribebantur singula de-  
bita quæ adquietaverat; quem librum  
fere quotidie inspexit, tanquam ibi  
consideraret vultum probitatis suæ in  
speculo.

*Of that which was done at  
the abbot's first chapter.*

Prima die qua  
tenuit capitulum, confirma-  
vit nobis novo sigillo suo lx. solidos de  
Suthreia, quos prædecessores sui in-  
juste receperant primo ab Eadmund, a  
aureo monacho dicto, ut posset tene-  
re eandem villam ad firmam omnibus  
diebus vitæ suæ.

Et proposuit edictum ut nullus de cæ-  
tero ornamenta ecclesiæ invadiaret si-  
ne assensu conventus, sicut solebat fie-  
ri, nec aliqua carta sigillaretur sigillo  
conventus nisi in capitulo coram con-  
ventu;

to the resources of the abbey even to  
a penny's value, whereas he had recei-  
ved nothing in writing from his prede-  
cessors concerning the management  
of the abbey, except a little schedule  
containing the names of the knights  
of St. Edmund and the names of the  
manors, and the rent which attached  
to each farm. Now he called this book  
of his his Calendar,<sup>53</sup> in the which also  
were written down all the debts whi-  
ch he had paid. And he consulted this  
book almost daily, as if in it he saw the  
image of his probity as in a glass.

On the first day on the which he held a  
chapter, he confirmed to us under his  
new seal the sixty shillings for South-  
rey, which his predecessors had in the  
first instance unjustly received from  
Edmund, called the golden monk, that  
the same might hold the said township  
to farm all the days of his life.

And he proposed an edict that no one  
should pledge the ornaments of the  
church henceforth without the assent  
of the monastery, as had been done for-  
merly. He proposed also that no char-  
ter should be sealed with the seal of  
the monastery save in the chapter and  
in the presence of the whole commu-

<sup>53</sup> Rokewode (p. 121) mentions a transcript of the Calendar which was in a copy of the *Liber de Consuetudinibus S. Edmundi* in his possession.



nity.

et fecit Hugonem subsacristam, statuens ut Willelmus sacrista nichil omnino ageret de sacristia, nec in receptis nec in expensis, nisi per assensum ejus. Posthæc, sed non eodem die, antiquos custodes oblationum transtulit ad alia officia. Postremo ipsum W. deposuit; unde quidam diligentes Willelmum dicebant: "Ecce abbas! ecce lupus de quo somnium est! ecce qualiter sævit."

*How certain men wished to  
conspire against the abbot.*

et voluerunt facere quidam conspirationem contra abbatem. Quod cum abbati revelatum esset, volens nec omnino tacere nec conventum turbare, intrauit capitulum in crastino, extrahens sacculum plenum cartis cancellatis adhuc sigillis pendentibus, scilicet, prædecessoris sui, et partim prioris, partim sacristæ, partim camerarii, et aliorum officialium, quarum summa erat trium millium librarum et lii., et una marca, de pura sorte, præter usuram quæ excreverat, cujus magnitudo nunquam sciri poterat: de quibus omnibus pacem fecerat infra annum post electionem suam, et infra xii. annos omnia adquietavit.

Then he made Hugh sub-sacristan, ordaining that William the sacristan should do nothing in the office of sacristan, either as to receipts or as to expenses, save by his assent. Afterwards, but on the same day, he removed the former custodians of the oblations to other offices. And last of all he deposed William himself, whereupon certain who loved William said, "See the abbot! See the wolf of whom one dreamed! See how he ravens!"

Then some wished to conspire against the abbot. And when this was revealed to the abbot, as he wished neither to keep silence altogether nor to disturb the monastery, he entered the chapter on the morrow. And there he drew forth a small bag full of cancelled bonds, to which the seals were still attached, some of which were those of his predecessor, some of the prior, some of the sacristan, some of the chamberlain, and some of other officials. Of these the total was three thousand two score and twelve pounds, and one pure mark, over and above the increase due to usury, the amount of which none could know; and for all these he had made some arrangement within a year of his election, and within twelve

years he had paid them in full.

“Ecce,” inquit, “sapientia sacristæ nostri Willelmi! Ecce tot cartæ sigillo ejus signatæ, cum quibus impignoraverat cappas sericas, dalmaticas, turibula argenti, et textus aureos, sine conventu, quæ omnia adquietavi et vobis reconsignavi.” et multa alia adjecit, ostendens quare deposuerat W.; præcipuam tamen causam subticuit, nolens eum scandalizare.

And he said, “Observe the wisdom of our sacristan, William! See the number of bonds marked with his seal, in which he has pledged silken caps, dalmatics, silver vases, and books of the gospels bound in gold, without the assent of the monastery. And all these things I have settled and restored to you.” And he added many other words, showing wherefore he had deposited William. But on the principal cause he kept silence, not wishing to make him a public example.

Et cum substituisset Samsonem cantorem, nobis omnibus placentem et omni exceptione majorem, in pace facta sunt omnia. Abbas vero domos sacristæ in cimiterio funditus præcepit erui, tanquam non essent dignæ stare super terram, propter frequentes bibationes et quædam tacenda, quæ nolens et dolens viderat quando fuit subsacrista; et ita omnia complanari fecit, quod infra annum, ubi steterat nobile ædificium, vidimus fabas pullulare, et ubi jacuerant dolia vini, urticas abundare.

And all things became peaceful once more when he had replaced William with the precentor Samson, who was a man pleasing to all of us, and well known to be without fault. But the abbot ordered that the houses of the sacristan in the graveyard should be utterly destroyed, as if they were unworthy to stand above ground. And for this the cause was the frequent drinking bouts and certain things which cannot be mentioned, which he had seen when he was sub-sacristan with sorrow and pain. So he caused all the buildings to be levelled with the ground, and within a year, where there had stood a noble building we saw beans growing, and where casks of wine had lain we saw nettles in abundan-

*How the abbot journeyed  
through the lands of Saint  
Edmund, and how he  
escaped death at Warkton.*

et nostra, et per illa quæ confirmavimus in feudum firmariis, poscens ab omnibus et a singulis auxilium et recognitionem secundum consuetudinem regni; quotidie sæculari scientia proficiens, et ad exteriora negotia discenda et promovenda animum convertens.

Cum autem venisset apud Werketunam, et nocte dormisset, venit ei vox, dicens: "Samson, surge velociter," et iterum, "Surge, nimis moraris;" et surgens stupefactus, circumquaque respexit, et vidit lumen in domo necessaria, candelam scilicet, paratam cadere super stramen, quam Reinerus monachus ibi per incuriam reliquerat. Quam cum abbas extinxisset pergens per domum percepit ostium, quod unicum erat, ita obseratum quod aperiri non potuit nisi per clavem, et fenestras strictas, ita quod, si ignis excrevisset, ipse et omnes sui qui in solio illo dormierant extincti essent; quia non erat locus ubi exire vel quo effugere possent.

Post clausum Paschæ ivit abbas per singula maneria sua

ce.

After the end of Easter the abbot went through all his manors and ours, and through those which we had confirmed in fee to tenants. And from all and sundry he demanded an aid and recognition, according to the custom of the realm. Daily he grew skilled in earthly learning, and turned his attention to the acquisition of knowledge of external affairs and of providing for them.

But when he was come to Warkton and was at night sleeping, a voice came to him saying, "Samson, arise up quickly,"<sup>54</sup> and again, "Rise, thou tarriest too long." So he arose half dazed, and looking round about him saw in a necessary place a light, a candle which Reiner the monk had left there through carelessness, and which was about to fall on the straw. And when the abbot had put it out, he went through the house and found the door—for there was but one—so fastened that it could only be opened with a key, and the windows barred. Wherefore, had the fire grown, both he and all they who were sleeping in that building would have perished. For there was no way by which they might have gone out or escaped.

*How the creditors of the  
abbey demanded payment,  
and how the abbot took his  
manors into his own hand.*

tam Judei quam Christiani exigentes debita, turbantes et anxiantes eum, ita quod somnum amittebat, pallidus et macilentus effectus, et dicens, quod “nunquam cor meum quietum erit, donec finem debiti mei sciero.”

Veniente festo sancti Michaelis, omnia maneria sua in manu sua recepit cum parvis admodum implementis et paucis instauramentis; Waltero de Hatfeld condonavit xix. libras de firmis præteritis, ut libere reciperet <sup>iii</sup><sup>or</sup> maneria quæ abbas H. ei confirmaverat tenenda, scilicet Haregrava et Saxham et Cheventona et Stapelford;

*How the abbot did not then  
take Harlow into his own  
hand.*

Cum forte transitum faceremus in redeundo de Lundonia per forestam, domino abbate audiente, quæsi vi a vetula transeunte cujus hoc nemus esset, et de qua villa, et quis dominus, vel quis custos? et respondit, quia nemus erat abbatis Sancti Eadmundi, de villa de Herlava, et quod Arnal-

Quocunque  
ibat abbas,  
tunc temporis,  
occurrerant

Herlavam au-  
tem distulit  
abbas recipere  
hac occasione.

Now at that time, wheresoever the abbot went, there hastened to him both Jews and Christians demanding payment of the debts due to them. And they so disturbed the abbot, and caused him such anxiety, that he lost his sleep, and grew pale and thin. Then he said, “There will be no rest for my soul until I shall see an end of my indebtedness.”

When Michaelmas came, he took all his manors into his hand, with very few necessary implements and but little stock. He forgave Walter de Hatfield nineteen pounds of arrears of rent, in return for receiving from him the four manors in the which he had been confirmed as tenant by abbot Hugh, namely, Hargrave, Saxham, Chevington and Stapelford.

But the abbot delayed to receive Harlow, and for this cause. It chanced that once when we were returning from London through the forest, that in the hearing of the lord abbot I asked an old woman who passed us whose this wood was, and to what township it belonged, and who was its lord or who was warden over it. And she answered that it was a wood of the abbot of St. Edmund, of the township of Harlow, and that one called Arnald was

<sup>54</sup>Acts xxii., 7.

dus dictus esset custos ejus. De quo cum quærerem, qualiter se haberet versus homines villæ, respondit, quia demon vivus fuerat, inimicus Dei et excoriator rusticorum; sed timet modo novum abbatem Sancti Eadmundi, quem sapientem et cautelem credit esse, et ideo tractat homines pacifice. Quo audito, factus est abbas hilaris, et manerium recipere distulit ad tempus.

*How the abbot managed  
the lands which he farmed  
himself.*

Ex insperato venit tunc temporis rumor de morte axoris Herlewini de Rung, quæ cartam ad tenendam eandem villam in vita sua habebat; et dixit abbas: "Heri dedissem lx. marcas ad liberandum illud manerium; modo liberavit illud Dominus." Cumque sine omni dilatione illuc venisset et recepisset villam in manu sua, et in crastino isset Tilleneriam, membrum illius manerii, venit quidam miles offerens xxx. marcas, ut posset tenere illam carucatam terræ cum pertinentiis per antiquum servitium, scilicet iiij. libras; quod noluit abbas; et habuit inde illo anno xxv. libras, secundo anno xx. libras.

warden of it. And when I asked concerning him as to how he bore himself towards the men of the township, she answered that he had been a fiend incarnate, an enemy of God, and one who evil-intreated the poor. But now, she said, he fears the new abbot of St. Edmund, whom he believes to be wise and provident, and therefore treats his men well. And when he heard this the abbot was rejoiced, and delayed for a season to take that manor into his own hand.

Then there came the unexpected news of the death of the wife of Herlewin of Rungton. She held a charter by which she was to have that township for her life, and the abbot said, "Yesterday I would have given sixty marks to free that manor, now the Lord has freed it." Then when he had come and had received the township into his hand without any delay, and on the morrow had gone to Tilleney which was a part of that manor, there came to him a certain knight offering thirty marks that he might hold that carucate of land with what belonged to it on the same terms as before, namely, four pounds a year. This the abbot refused, and he took thence that year five and twenty pounds, and in the next year twenty pounds.

Hæc et consimilia fecerunt eum omnia tenere in manu sua; scilicet quod alibi legitur: “Omnia Cesar erat.”† Ille vero non segniter agens, horrea et boverias ædificare cœpit in primis; ad wainandas terras super omnia excolendas sollicitus, et ad boscos custodiendos vigilans, super quibus dandis vel minuendis ipse seipsum profitebatur avarum.

Unum solum manerium de Torp carta sua confirmavit cuidam Anglico natione, glebæ ascripto, de cujus fidelitate plenius confidebat quia bonus agricola erat, et quia nesciebat loqui Gallice.

*How abbot Samson was  
made a justice, and how he  
bore himself in this office.  
A.D. 1182, November.*

suam, et ecce! offerebantur ei literæ domini papæ constituentes eum iudicem de causis cognoscendis, ad quæ exequenda rudis fuit et inexercitatus, licet liberalibus artibus et scripturis divinis imbutus esset, utpote vir literatus, in scholis nutritus, et rector scholarum in sua provincia notus et approbatus. Vocavit proinde duos clericos legis peritos, et sibi associavit, quorum consilio utebatur in ecclesiasticis negotiis, decretis et decretalibus

This and other similar events led him to keep all things in his hand; as it is written in another place, “Cæsar was everything.” Nor was he slack, but caused first of all barns and cattlesheds to be built; he was anxious to cultivate the plough lands above all things; he was careful in maintaining the woods, and in giving and reducing these he made great profit for himself.

The one manor of Thorp alone he confirmed under his charter to a certain Englishman, a man adscript to the soil, in whose fidelity he had the fullest confidence, because he was a good farmer and because he knew no French.

Seven months had not yet passed since his election, and, behold! letters of the lord pope were sent to him appointing him a judge for hearing causes. In the performance of this work he was rude and inexperienced, though he was skilled in the liberal arts and in the holy scriptures, as being a literate man, brought up in the schools and a ruler of scholars, and renowned and well proved in his own work. He therefore associated with himself two clerks who were learned in the law and joined them with him, using their advice in church matters, while he spent his leisure in studying the

† Lucan Phars. iii., 108.

epistolis operam præbens, cum hora dabatur; ita quod infra breve tempus, tum librorum inspectione, tum causarum exercitio, iudex discretus haberetur, secundum formam juris in jure procedens. Unde quidam ait, "Maledicta sit curia istius abbatis, ubi nec aurum nec argentum mihi prodest ad confundendum adversarium meum!"

Processu temporis, in causis sæcularibus aliquantulum exercitatus, naturali ratione ductus, tam subtilis ingenii erat quod omnes mirabantur, et ab Osberto filio Hervei subvicecomite dicebatur: "Iste abbas disputator est; si procedit sicut incipit, nos omnes excæcabit quotquot sumus." Abbas vero in hujusmodi causis approbatus, factus est justiciarius errans, sed ab errore et devio se custodiens. Verum "summa petit livor."<sup>†</sup> Cum homines sui conquererentur ei in curia Sancti Ædmundi, quia nolebat præcipitare sententiam nec credere omni spiritui, sed ordine judicio procedere, sciens quod merita causarum partium assertionem panduntur, dicebatur quod nolebat facere justitiam alicui conquerenti, nisi intervenitu pecuniæ datæ vel promissæ; et quia erat ei aspectus acutus et pene-

decrees and decretal letters. And the result was that in a little while he was regarded as a discreet judge, by reason of the books which he had read and the causes which he had tried, and as one who proceeded in the cases which he tried according to the form of law. And for this cause one said, "Cursed be the court of this abbot, where neither gold nor silver profit me to confound my enemy!"

In course of time, he became somewhat skilled in temporal matters, being guided by his commonsense, for his mind was so subtle that all men wondered, and Osbert FitzHerbert, the under-sheriff, used to say, "This abbot is given to disputation; if he goes on as he has begun, he will blind us all, however many we be." But the abbot, being approved in these matters, was made a justice in eyre, though he kept himself from error and wandering. But "envy seeks out the highest." His men complained to him in the court of St. Edmund since he would not give judgment hastily or believe every spirit,<sup>55</sup> but proceeded in a judicial manner, knowing that the merits of the cases of suitors are made clear by discussion. It was said that he would not do justice to any complainant, un-

<sup>†</sup> Ovid. Rem. Am. 369.

<sup>55</sup> I. John iv., 1.

trans, et frons Catonis, raro blandiens, dicebatur magis declinare animum severitati quam benignitati; et, in misericordiis accipiendis pro aliqua forisfactura, dicebatur iudicium superexaltare misericordiam, quia, sicut visum fuit pluribus, cum perventum erat ad denarios capiendos, raro remittebat quod juste accipi potuit.

less money were given or promised; and because his aspect was acute and penetrating, and his face, like Cato's, rarely smiling, it was said that his mind lent rather to severity than to mercy. Moreover, when he took fines for any crime, it was said that judgment rejoiced against mercy,<sup>56</sup> for in the opinion of many, when it came to a matter of taking money, he rarely remitted that which he might lawfully take.

Sicut profecit sapientia, ita et providentia in rebus custodiendis et augendis et in expensis honorifice faciendis;

So his wisdom increased, as well as his care in managing affairs, and in improving his state, and in spending honourably.

*How some men made  
complaint against the  
abbot.*

sed ed hic multi detractores oblectaverunt, dicentes, quia accepit de sacristia quod voluit, propriis parcens denariis, permittens bladiuin suum jacere usque ad tempus caræ venditionis, et jacens ad maneria sua aliter quam prædecessores sui, onerans celerarium hospitibus ab abbate potius suscipiendis, per quod abbas posset dici sapiens et instauratus et providus in fine anni; conventus vero et obedientiales inscii et improvidi haberentur.

sed ed hic multi detractores oblectaverunt, dicentes, quia

But hereupon many of his adversaries raised objections. For they said that he received what he would from the sacristy, and spared his own money, and allowed his corn to lie in the barns until such time as the price should be high. They said that he managed his manors in a way different from that of his predecessors; that he burdened his cellarer with guests who should rather have been received by the abbot, so that the abbot might win repute as a wise man and one who was clever and provident at the end of the year, but the monastery and its officials be thought ignorant and wasteful.



Ad has detractones solebam respondere, quod si de sacristia aliquid accipit, ad utilitatem ecclesiæ illud convertit; et hoc nullus invidus negare potuit. Et, ut verum fatear, multo maiora et plura bona fuerunt patrata ex oblationibus sacristiæ, infra xv. annos post electionem suam, quam quadraginta annis ante.

Aliis objectionibus, quod abbas jacebat ad maneria sua, respondere solebam et excusabam dicens, quia abbas magis est lætus et hilaris alibi quam domi; et hoc utique verum fuit, vel propter conquærentium multitudinem qui occurrebant, vel propter rumorum relatores, unde sæpius contigit quod, propter exhibitionem rigidi vultus sui, ab hospitibus suis multum perdidit favoris et gratiæ, licet eis in cibo et potu satisfecerit.

*How the author talked with the abbot concerning the sadness of his manner.*

ei a secretis dixi: “Duo sunt quæ multum miror de vobis;” et cum quæsisset quæ duo: “Unum est, quod adhuc in tali statu fovetis sententiam Melu-

To these charges I used to answer that if he took anything from the sacristy, he employed it for the use of the church; and that no envious person could deny this. And to speak the truth, much more good and much greater good was done with the offerings of the sacristy during the fifteen years after his election than in the forty years preceding.

To the others who objected that the abbot went often to his manors, I was wont to answer and to excuse him by saying that the abbot was happier and in better spirits anywhere than at home. This also was the truth, whether on account of the constant complaints which came to him, or on account of those who told him rumours concerning himself. Accordingly, it often happened that his appearance was stern, and that so he lost much favour and grace with the guests, though he satisfied them with food and drink.

But I noticed this, and taking a favourable occasion, as I was with him alone, said, “There are two things in you which make me marvel greatly.” And when he asked what they were, I said, “One is, that you, in the circumstances in which you are placed, favour the opinion of those of Melun<sup>57</sup> who say

<sup>56</sup>Cp. James ii., 13.

nensium, dicentium ex falso nichil sequi, et cætera frivola." Quibus cum ipse respondisset quod voluit, adjeci ego: "Aliud nimirum est quod domini non exhibetis vultum propitium sicut alibi, nec inter fratres<sup>†</sup> qui vos diligunt et dilexerunt et in dominum sibi elegerunt, sed raro estis inter eos, nec tunc congaudetis eis, sicut dicunt."

Quibus auditis, vultum mutavit, et demisso capite respondit: "Stultus es et stulte loqueris. Scire deberes quod Salomon ait: Filiæ tibi sunt multæ: vultum propitium ne ostendas eis." Ego vero tacui, de cetero ponens custodiam ori meo.

Alia tamen vice dixi: "Domine, audi vi te in hac nocte post matutinas vigilantem et valde suspirantem contra morem solitum." Qui respondit: "Non est mirum; particeps es bonorum meorum in cibo et potu, et equitaturis, et similibus, sed parum cogitas de procuratione domus et familiæ, de variis et arduis negotiis curæ pastoralis, quæ me sollicitant, quæ animum meum gementem et anxium faciunt." Quibus respondi, elevatis manibus ad cælum:

that from a false premiss nothing can follow, and other foolish things." And when he answered what he would to this, I added, "The other thing at which I marvel is that you do not show a smiling face at home as you do elsewhere, nor remain among the brothers who cherish you, and love you, and have chosen you to be their lord, but are rarely with them, nor do you then rejoice with them, so they say."

When he heard this, his expression changed, and he answered, with bowed head, "You are a fool, and speak as a fool. You should know the saying of Solomon, Hast thou many daughters; show not thyself cheerful toward them." Then I was silent, and from that time placed a guard on my lips.

Yet on another occasion I said, "Lord, I heard you this night keeping watch after matins and breathing heavily contrary to your wont." And he answered, "It is not strange. You share my good things, food, and drink, and riding, and the like. But you think little of the toil of providing for the house and household, of the many and arduous labours which are a pastor's care. These make me anxious, and cause me to groan and to be troubled in spirit." Thereupon I

<sup>57</sup> Peter Abelard founded a school of dialectic at Melun.

<sup>†</sup> "Manetis" desiderari videtur. (Roke.)

“Talem anxietatem<sup>†</sup> mihi, omnipotens et misericors Dominus.”

Audiui abbatem dicentem, quod si fuisset in eo statu quo fuit antequam monacharetur, et habuisset v. vel sex marcas redditus cum quibus sustentari possit in scholis, nunquam fieret monachus nec abbas. Alia vice dixit cum iuramento, quod, si præsvisisset quæ et quanta esset sollicitudo abbatiæ custodiendæ, libentius voluisset fieri magister almarii et custos librorum, quam abbas et dominus. Illam utique obedientiam dixit præ omnibus aliis se semper desiderasse. Et quis talia crederet? Vix ego; nec etiam ego, nisi quia, cum eo vi. annis existens die ac nocte, vitæ scilicet meritum et sapientiæ doctrinam plenius agnoscerem.

*Concerning a dream which the abbot had when a boy.*

Narravit aliquando, quod, cum esset puer ix. annorum, somniavit se stare præ foribus cimiterii ecclesiæ Sancti Eadmundi, et diabolus expansis ulnis velle eum capere; sed sanctus Eadmundus, prope astans, recepit eum in brachiis suis; cumque clamaret somnians, “Sancte Ædmonde,

raised my hands to heaven and answered, “From so great anxiety, almighty and merciful Lord, deliver me!”

I heard the abbot say that if he were in that condition in which he had been before he became a monk, and had five or six marks income wherewith he might support himself in the schools, he would never become either monk or abbot. And on another occasion, he said with an oath that had he known beforehand what care there was in ruling an abbey, and how great that care was, he would far rather have been almoner or librarian, than abbot and lord. And he declared that he had ever longed for the post of librarian above all others. Yet who would believe such things? Not I; no, not I; but that as I lived with him day and night for six years, I know fully the merit of his life and the wisdom of his mind.

Once he told me how when he was a boy of nine years, he dreamed that he stood before the doors of the cemetery of St. Edmund, and that the devil wished to seize him with his outstretched arms. But the blessed Edmund, who stood near, received him into his arms; and when he had cried out in his sleep, “St. Edmund, help me!” though he had never heard the saint named

<sup>†</sup>“Aufur” desideratur (Roke.).

adjuva me,” quem nunquam prius audierat nominari, expergefactus est. Mater vero ejus de tanto et tali clamore obstupuit, quæ, audito somnio, duxit eum ad sanctum Eadmundum orationis gratia; cumque venissent ad portam cimiterii, dixit, “Mater mea, ecce locus! ecce eadem porta, quam in somnis vidi, quando diabolus volebat me accipere:” et cognovit locum, ut aiebat, ac si prius eum carnalibus oculis vidisset.

Abbas ipse exposuit somnium; significans per diabolum voluptatem hujus seculi quæ eum volebat allicere, sed sanctus Eadmundus eum amplexatus est, quando eum monachum ecclesiæ suæ fieri voluit.

*How the abbot restrained  
his temper that he might  
not offend.*

quidam de conventu murmurassent de quodam facto ejus, dixit mihi assidenti: “Deus, Deus,” inquit ille, “multum expedit mihi memorare somnium illud quod somniatum est de me antequam fierem abbas, scilicet quod sævirem ut lupus. Certe hoc est quod super omnia mundana timeo, ne conventus meus aliquid faciat, unde me sævire oporteat; sed ita est, cum

before, he awoke. Then his mother was amazed at his loud cry and at his words. And when she had heard the dream, she took him to St. Edmund’s, that he might pray there. So coming to the gate of the cemetery, he said, “Mother mine! see this place! See, the very door which I beheld in my dreams, when the devil would have taken me.” And he knew the place, he said, as if he had already seen it with his carnal eye.

The abbot himself explained the dream, saying that the devil in it meant the joys of this world which would have enticed him; but that the blessed Edmund embraced him, since he would have him become a monk of his church.

Once when it was told him that certain of those in the monastery murmured on account of some act of his, he said to me, as I was near him, “God, God, it is most expedient that I should be mindful of that dream which was dreamed concerning me before I became abbot, to the effect that I should raven as a wolf. Of a truth, I fear this above all earthly things, that my house may do something which may make it lawful for me to raven. But so it is, that when they say or do aught against my will, I call to mind that dream, and though I

dicunt vel agunt aliquid contra voluntatem meam; recolo illud somnium, et licet sæviam in animo meo, occulte fremens et frendens, vim mihi facio ne sæviam verbo vel opere: et,

Strangulat inclusus dolor et cor  
æstuat intus.”<sup>†</sup>

Cum autem esset colericus naturaliter, et facile accenderetur ad iram, iram tamen ratione dignitatis cum magna lucta animi refrænabat sæpius. De qua etiam re aliquando se jactitabat dicens: “Hoc et illud vidi, hoc et illud audiui, et tamen patienter sustinui.”

*How the abbot forbade  
secret accusations, and how  
he ordered the restoration  
of all private seals.*

verba quibus videbatur efficaciter venari favorem conventus. “Nolo,” inquit, “ut aliquis veniat ad me ad accusandum alium, nisi palam idem dicere voluerit; quod si aliquis aliter fecerit, nomen accusantis palam manifestabo. Volo etiam ut quilibet claustralis liberum habeat accessum ad me, ut mecum loquatur de necessitate sua quando voluerit.” Illud autem dixit quia magnates nostri, tempore H. abbatis, volentes nichil agi in monaste-

raven in spirit, groaning and gnashing my teeth in secret, I put force on myself that I may raven neither in word nor in deed. And hidden grief chokes me, and my heart burns within me.”

But though he was naturally choleric and easily moved to wrath, yet from respect for his office he generally restrained his anger, albeit with much grief of mind. Of this also he often spoke, saying, “I have seen this and that, I have heard this and that, and yet have I borne it patiently.”

Once as he sat in the chapter, the abbot spoke certain words whereby he seemed to court the favour of the monastery with success. “I will not,” he said, “that any come to me to accuse other, unless he will declare the same openly. But if any desire to act otherwise, I will publicly announce the name of the accuser. And I will also that every monk shall have free access to me, that he may talk with me of his needs when he will.” Now this he said because the chief men of our house in the days of abbot Hugh, wishing nothing to be done in the monastery save through them, decreed that no cloistered

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<sup>†</sup>Ovid. Trist. v. 1, 63.

rio nisi per eos, decreverunt nullum monachum claustralem debere loqui cum abbate, nisi prius ostenderet capellano abbatis quid et de qua re vellet loqui cum abbate.

Quodam die iussit in capitulo, ut quicumque sigillum proprium haberet, ei redderet; et ita factum est, et inventa sunt triginta tria sigilla. Rationem hujus præcepti ipse ostendit, prohibens ne aliquis officialis appruntaret aliquod debitum ultra xx. solidos, sine assensu prioris et conventus, sicut solebat fieri. Priori vero et sacristæ reddidit sigilla sua, et cætera retinuit.

*Concerning further regulations which the abbot made.*

Alia die, iussit sibi dari omnes claves ci-starum et almariorum et hanepariorum, prohibens ne de cetero aliquis haberet ci-stam nec aliquid obseratum, nisi per licentiam, nec alias aliquid possideret, nisi quod regula permetteret. Cuilibet tamen nostrum generaliter dedit licentiam habendi denarios usque ad duos solidos, si forte nobis caritative darentur; ita tamen ut in pauperes parentes vel in pios usus expenderentur.

monk should speak with the abbot, unless he had first shown to the abbot's chaplain that which he desired to say to the abbot and the reason.

One day he commanded in the chapter that all who had seals of their own should restore them to him, and so it was done; and thirty and three seals were found. He himself clearly declared the reason for this command, and forbade any official to contract any debt above the sum of twenty shillings without the consent of the prior and monastery, as had been wont to be done in the past. Then he restored the prior and sacristan their seals and retained the others.

At another time he ordered that all the keys of the chests, cupboards, and hampers should be given up to him, and forbade anyone henceforth to have any chest or anything locked up, save by permission, or to possess anything of any description except such things as the rule allowed. However, he gave general permission to all of us to have money to the value of two shillings, if perchance this should be given to us in charity. The leave was still conditional on the money being expended for the benefit of poor relations or in pious uses.

Alia vice, dixit abbas se velle conservare antiquas consuetudines nostras de hospitibus suscipiendis; scilicet, quando abbas est domi, ipse recipiet omnes hospites cujuslibet conditionis, præter viros religiosos, et præter presbyteros sæcularis habitus, et præter eorum homines, qui per eos se advocaverunt ad portam curiæ; si vero abbas non fuerit domi, omnes hospites cujuslibet conditionis recipiuntur a celerario usque ad tredecim equos. Si vero laicus vel clericus venerit cum pluribus equis quam tredecim, recipiuntur a servientibus abbatis, vel intra curiam vel extra, ad expensas abbatis. Omnes viri religiosi, etiam episcopi, si ipsi forte fuerint monachi, pertinent ad celerarium et ad expensas conventus, nisi abbas voluerit eum honorare, et ad expensas suas in sua aula recipere.

*Concerning the appearance  
and private character of the  
abbot.*

calvus, vultum habens nec rotundum nec oblongum, naso eminente, labiis grossis, oculis cristallinis et penetrantibus intuitus, auribus clarissimi auditus,

Abbas Samson mediocris erat staturæ, fere omnino

On another occasion the abbot said that he wished to maintain our ancient custom in the matter of the reception of guests, so that when the abbot was at home he should receive all guests of whatever condition, except religious men, and except priests of secular habit, and except their men, who should come to the doors of the court by instruction of their masters. If, however, the abbot should not be at home, all guests of whatever condition should be received by the cellarer, up to the number of thirteen horses. But if a layman or clerk should come with more than thirteen horses, they should be received by the servants of the abbot, either within or without the court, at the expense of the abbot. All religious men, even bishops, if by chance they were monks, were to be the care of the cellarer and entertained at the expense of the monastery, unless the abbot were desirous of showing them honour and of receiving them in his hall at his own expense.

Abbot Samson was below the average height, almost bald; his face was neither round nor oblong; his nose was prominent and his lips thick; his eyes were clear and his glance penetrating; his hearing was excellent; his eyebrows arched, and frequently shaded; and a little cold soon made him

superciliis in altum crescentibus et sæpe tonsis; ex parvo frigore cito raucus; die electionis suæ quadraginta et septem annos ætatis habens, et in monachatu decem et septem annos;<sup>†</sup> paucos canos habens in rufa barba, et paucissimos inter capillos nigros, et aliquantulum crispis; sed infra xiiii<sup>or</sup> annos post electionem suam totus albus efficitur sicut nix;

homo supersobrius, nunquam desidiosus, multum valens, et volens equitare vel pedes ire, donec senectus prævaluit, quæ talem voluntatem temperavit; qui, audito rumore de capta cruce et perditione Jerusalem, femoralibus cilicinis cœpit uti, et cilicio loco staminis, et carnibus et carneis abstinere; carnes tamen voluit sibi anteferri sedens ad mensam, ad augmentum scilicet elemosinæ. Lac dulce et mel et consimilia dulcia libentius quam cæteros cibos comedebat.

hoarse. On the day of his election he was forty-seven, and had been a monk for seventeen years.<sup>58</sup> In his ruddy beard there were a few grey hairs, and still fewer in his black and curling hair. But in the course of the first fourteen years after his election all his hair became white as snow.

He was an exceedingly temperate man; he possessed great energy and a strong constitution, and was fond both of riding and walking, until old age prevailed upon him and moderated his ardour in these respects. When he heard the news of the capture of the cross and the fall of Jerusalem,<sup>59</sup> he began to wear under garments made of horse hair, and a horse-hair shirt, and gave up the use of flesh and meat. None the less, he willed that flesh should be placed before him as he sat at table, that the alms might be increased. He ate sweet milk, honey, and similar sweet things, far more readily than any other food.

<sup>†</sup> This agrees sufficiently well with the statement of the unknown author of the MS., Harl. 447 (not John of Taxter, with whom Mr. Rokewode confounds him in his note on this passage), that Samson took the habit in 1166. If so, he was not a monk at the time of his mission to Rome during the schism of Octavian; infra, p. 252. This point has been discussed in the Introduction.

<sup>58</sup> The *Ann. St. Ed. (Mem. II., 5)* bear this out, as under 1166 there is an entry, "Abbot Samson was made a monk." (Cp. *Mem. I., xliv.*)

<sup>59</sup> Jerusalem was taken by Saladin on October 2nd, 1187.



Mendaces et ebriosos et verbosos odio habuit; quia virtus sese diligit, et aspernatur contrarium. Murmuratores cibi et potus, et præcipue monachos murmuratores condemnans, tenorem antiquum conservans quem olim habuit dum claustralis fuit; hoc autem virtutis in se habuit quod nunquam ferculum coram eo positum voluit mutare. Quod cum ego novicius vellem probare si hoc esset verum, forte servivi in refectorio, et cogitavi penes me ut ponerem coram eo ferculum quod omnibus aliis displiceret in disco nigerri-  
mo et fracto. Quod cum ipse vidisset, tanquam non videns erat; facta autem mora, pœnituit me hoc fecisse, et statim, arrepto disco, ferculum et discum mutavi in melius et asportavi; ille vero emendationem talem moleste tulit, iratus et turbatus.

Homo erat eloquens, Gallice et Latine, magis ratione dicendorum quam ornatui verborum innitens. Scripturam Anglice scriptam legere novit elegantissime, et Anglice sermocinari solebat populo, sed secundum linguam Norfolchiæ, ubi natus et nutritus erat, unde et pulpitem iussit fieri in ecclesia et ad utilitatem audientium et ad decorem ecclesiæ.

He hated liars, drunkards, and talkative persons; for virtue ever loves itself and spurns that which is contrary to it. He blamed those who grumbled about their meat and drink, and especially monks who so grumbled, and personally kept to the same manners which he had observed when he was a cloistered monk. Moreover, he had this virtue in himself that he never desired to change the dish which was placed before him. When I was a novice, I wished to prove whether this was really true, and as I happened to serve in the refectory, I thought to place before him food which would have offended any other man, in a very dirty and broken dish. But when he saw this, he was as it were blind to it. Then, as there was some delay, I repented of what I had done, and straightway seized the dish, changed the food and dish for better, and carried it to him. He, however, was angry at the change, and disturbed.

He was an eloquent man, speaking both French and Latin, but rather careful of the good sense of that which he had to say than of the style of his words. He could read books written in English very well, and was wont to preach to the people in English, but in the dialect of Norfolk where he was born and bred. It was for this reason that he ordered a pulpit to be placed in the church.

ch, for the sake of those who heard him and for purposes of ornament.

Videbatur quoque abbas activam vitam magis diligere quam contemplativam, qui bonos obedientiales magis commendavit quam bonos claustrales; et raro aliquem propter solam scientiam literarum approbavit, nisi haberet scientiam rerum sæcularium; et cum audiret forte aliquem prælatum cedere oneri pastoralis et fieri anachoritam, in hoc eum non laudavit. Homines nimis benignos laudare noluit, dicens: "Qui omnibus placere nititur, nulli placere debet."

*How abbot Samson dealt  
with flatterers.*

Primo ergo anno susceptæ abbatiae omnes adulatores quasi odio habuit, et maxime monachos; sed in processu temporis videbatur eos quasi libentius audire et magis familiares habere. Unde contigit quod, cum quidam frater noster, hac arte peritus, curvasset genua ante eum, et sub obtentu consilii dandi auribus ejus adulationis oleum infudisset, subrisi ego stans a longe; eo vero recedente, vocatus et interrogatus quare riserim, respondi, mundum plenum esse adulatoribus.

The abbot further appeared to prefer the active to the contemplative life, and praised good officials more than good monks. He rarely commended anyone solely on account of his knowledge of letters, unless the man happened to have knowledge of secular affairs, and if he chanced to hear of any prelate who had given up his pastoral work and become a hermit, he did not praise him for this. He would not praise men who were too kindly, saying, "He who strives to please all men, deserves to please none."

Now in the first year of his abbacy he seemed to hate all flatterers, and especially those who were monks. But in course of time he appeared to listen to them with some willingness, and to treat them more graciously. Once a certain one of our brothers, who was skilled in this art, had bent his knees before him, and under pretence of giving him counsel, had poured the oil of flattery into his ears, while I stood at a distance and smiled. Then when the brother had gone, the abbot called me and asked me why I had been smiling, and I answered that the world was full of flatterers.

Et abbas; “Fili mi, diu est quod adula-  
tores novi, et ideo non possum adula-  
tores non audire. Multa sunt simulanda  
et dissimulanda, ad pacem conventus  
conservandam. Audiam eos loqui,  
sed non decipient me, si possum, sicut  
prædecessorem meum, qui consilio eo-  
rum ita inconsulte credidit, quod diu  
ante obitum suum nichil habuit quod  
manducaret vel ipse vel familia sua,  
nisi a creditoribus mutuo acceptum;  
nec erat quod distribui potuit paupe-  
ribus die sepulturæ ejus, nisi quinquaginta  
solidos, qui recepti erant a Ri-  
cardo firmario de Palegrava, hac occa-  
sione quod eadem die intravit firmam  
de Palegrava; quos denarios idem Ri-  
cardus alia vice reddidit bailivis regis,  
integram firmam exigentibus ad opus  
regis.” His dictis confortatus fui.

*How abbot Samson  
managed his household.*

Ille vero stu-  
duit discipli-  
natam do-  
mum habere, et familiæ magnitudi-  
nem sed necessariam, providens sibi  
quod firma ebdomadæ, quæ prædeces-  
sori suo non sufficiebat ad expensam  
v. dierum, ei suffecit octo diebus, vel  
novem, vel decem, si esset ad maneria

And the abbot said, “My son, I have  
been flattered for a long while, and there-  
fore I cannot attend to flattery. There  
must be much pretence and much  
concealment that the peace of the mo-  
nastery may be preserved. I will hear  
them speak, but they will not deceive  
me, if I can prevent it, as they decei-  
ved my predecessor, who gave such  
unconsidered attention to them that  
for a long while before his death he  
had nothing wherewith to feed him-  
self or his household, save that which  
he borrowed from creditors. And on  
the day of his burial there was nothing  
which could be distributed among the  
poor, save fifty shillings which were  
received from Richard the tenant of  
Palgrave, because on the same day he  
entered on the tenancy of Palgrave;  
and this money the same Richard af-  
terwards paid again to the officials of  
the king, who exacted the full rent for  
the royal use.” And with these words  
I was reassured.

He laboured to secure a well regula-  
ted house, and a household large, but  
not larger than was right, and he took  
care that the weekly allowance which  
in the time of his predecessor had not  
been enough for five days, should last  
him for eight days, or nine, or ten, if he  
were on his manors and there were no  
great coming of guests. Every week,

sua sine magno adventu hospitum. Singulis vero ebdomadis, computationem expensæ suæ domus audiebat, non per vicarium, sed in propria persona, quod antecessor ejus nunquam solebat facere.

Septem annis primis quatuor fercula<sup>†</sup> in domo sua, postea nisia<sup>‡</sup> tria, præter xenia et præter venationem de parcis suis, vel pisces de vivariis suis. Et si forte aliquem retinuit ad tempus in domo sua prece alicujus potentis vel alicujus familiaris, vel nuncios, vel citharædos, vel aliquem hujusmodi, nacta opportunitate transfretandi vel longe eundi, a talibus superfluis se prudenter exoneravit.

*How the abbot treated  
those monks with whom he  
had been intimate before he  
became abbot.*

susceptam magis dilectos et magis familiares, raro promovit ad obedientias occasione pristinæ familiaritatis, nisi essent idonei; unde quidam ex nostris, qui ei erant propitii ad eligendum eum abbatem, dixerunt eum minus quam deceret diligere eos, qui eum antequam fuerat abbas dilexerant, et eos plus ab eo amari, qui eum et aperte

moreover, he audited the expenses of his house, not through an agent, but in person, a thing which his predecessor had never been accustomed to do.

For his first seven years he had four dishes in his house, afterwards only three, if one excludes presents, and game from his parks and fish from his ponds. And if he happened to keep anyone for a while in his house at the request of some great man or of one of his friends, or messengers, or minstrels, or any such person, he used to take any opportunity of crossing the sea or going a long journey, and so prudently freed himself from so great expense.

Monachos vero, quos socios abbas habuit ante abbatiam

Those monks whom the abbot, before he acquired the abbacy, had treated as his most cherished and intimate friends, he seldom raised to official positions on the score of his former intimacy with them, unless they were fit persons. Therefore some of our number, who had favoured his election as abbot, said that he showed them less favour than was their due, who had loved him before he was abbot, and that those rather were cherished by him who had slandered him both openly

<sup>†</sup>“Sumpsit” desiderari videtur.

<sup>‡</sup>= *non nisi*.

et occulte depravaverunt, et eum hominem iracundum, non socialem, paltenarium et baratorem de Norfolch, etiam in audientia multorum, publice nominaverunt. Verum, sicut ille pristinis amicis suis nihil amoris vel honoris indiscrete exhibuit post susceptionem abbatiæ sic et pluribus aliis pro meritis suis nichil rancoris vel odii exhibuit, bonum aliquando reddens pro malo, et benefaciens persequentibus eum.

Habuit etiam in consuetudine quiddam quod nunquam vidi hominem habere, scilicet quod multos affectuose dilexit, quibus nunquam vel raro vulum amoris exhibuit; hoc quod vulgus clamat, dicens, "Ubi amor ibi oculus." Et aliud mirum fuit, quod damnum suum in temporalibus a servientibus suis scienter sustinuit, et se sustinere confessus est: sed, sicut credo, hoc fuit in causa, ut congruum tempus expectaret quo rem consultius emendaret, vel ut majus damnum dissimulando evitaret.

*How the abbot treated his relations.*

Parentes suos mediocriter dilexit, nec mi-

and secretly, and in the hearing of many had publicly declared him to be a hot-tempered man, one who was unsociable, conceited, and a Norfolk cheat. But, just as after he received the abbacy he made no injudicious exhibition of affection or of a desire to honour his former friends, so also he did not show towards the others any of that rancour or hatred which they deserved, returning good for evil on many occasions, and doing good to those who persecuted him.

He had also a characteristic which I have never seen in any other man, namely, that he had a strong affection for many to whom he never or seldom showed a loving face, which the common saying declares to be usual, when it says, "Where love is, there the glance follows." And there was another noteworthy thing, that he wittingly suffered loss from his servants in temporal matters, and allowed that he suffered it; but, as I believe, the reason for this was that he waited for a fit season when the matter might be conveniently remedied, or that by concealing his knowledge he might avoid greater loss.

For his relations he displayed moderate affection, but yet no less tender than that which others are wont to show,

nus vero tenere sicut alii solent; quia nullum infra tertium gradum habuit, vel habere simulavit. Sed audiui eum dicentem quod habuit parentes nobiles et generosos, quos nunquam imperpetuum ut parentes cognosceret; quia, ut aiebat, plus essent ei oneri quam honori, si hoc scirent; sed eos voluit consanguineos habere qui eum consanguineum habuerunt quando fuit pauper claustralis.

Quosdam eorum, (eos secundum quod sibi utiles et idoneos æstimavit) diversis officiis in domo sua, quosdam villis custodiendis, deputavit. Quos autem infideles probavit, a se elongavit, sine spe redeundi.

Quendam hominem mediæ manus,<sup>†</sup> qui patrimonium ejus fideliter servaverat, et ei juveni devote servierat, pro caro consanguineo habuit, et filio ejus clerico primam ecclesiam in abbacia sibi commissa vacantem dedit, et cæteros filios ejus omnes promovit.

since he had no relatives within the third degree, or pretended that he had not. I have, however, heard him assert that he had relations who were noble and distinguished, but that he would never at any time recognise them as relations. For, as he said, they would be rather a burden than a source of advantage to him if they knew of their relationship. On the other hand, he wished to have as kin those who had claimed kinship with him when he was a poor cloistered monk.

Some of his relations, in cases where he thought them useful and capable men, he appointed to various offices in his house, and others he entrusted with the wardenship of manors. But any whom he proved to be unfaithful he drove far from him, without hope of return.

He held as his dear kinsman a certain man of low birth, who had managed his inheritance faithfully and served him devotedly in his boyhood. To this man's son, who was a clerk, he gave the first church which fell vacant after his accession to the abbacy, and he also promoted all the man's other sons.

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<sup>†</sup> Of lowly station.

*How the abbot was mindful  
of those who had shown  
kindness to him in the past,  
and how he treated those  
who had been harsh.*

Capell anum  
quendam, qui  
eum sustinue-  
rat in scholis  
Parisius quæ-  
stu aquæ benedictæ, quando pauper  
fuerat, mandari fecit, et ei ecclesiasti-  
cum beneficium quo sustentari possit,  
affectu vicario, contulit.

Cuidam servienti prædecessoris sui  
victum et vestitum concessit omnibus  
diebus vitæ suæ, qui imposuerat ei  
compedes ad præceptum domini sui,  
quando fuit positus in carcere.

Filio Eliæ, pincernæ Hugonis abbatis,  
facienti ei homagium de terra patris  
sui, dixit in plena curia: “Distuli jam  
capere homagium tuum vij. annis de  
terra quam H. abbas dedit patri tuo,  
quia illud donum erat in detrimentum  
aulæ de Elmeswell: modo victus sum,  
memor beneficii quod pater tuus mihi  
fecit quando in vinculis eram, quia mi-  
sit mihi portionem de ipso vino quod  
dominus suus biberat, mandando ut  
confortarer in Deo.”

There was a certain chaplain who had  
maintained him in the schools of Paris  
by the sale of holy water,<sup>60</sup> when he  
was poor. This man the abbot caused  
to be summoned to him, and confer-  
red on him an ecclesiastical benefice,  
with the position of vicar, whereby he  
might be supported.

He granted to a certain servant of his  
predecessor food and clothing for all  
the days of his life, this man being he  
who had placed fetters on him at the  
command of his lord when he was im-  
prisoned.

When FitzElias,<sup>61</sup> the cup-bearer of ab-  
bot Hugh, came to do him homage for  
his father's land, the abbot said to him  
in open court, “I have delayed now for  
seven years to receive your homage  
for the land which abbot Hugh gave to  
your father, since that gift was to the  
detriment of the manor of Elmswell.  
Now I give way, since I am mindful of  
the good which your father did to me  
when I was in bonds. For he sent to me  
some of the very wine which his lord  
drank, with a message that I should be

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<sup>60</sup>It was common practice to devote the money derived from the sale of holy water to the support of poor clerks. The synod of Exeter (1287) definitely provided that such profits should be so spent. (*Mem. I.*, 247, note b.)

<sup>61</sup>As to grants of land to Elias, by abbot Hugh, see Rokewode (p. 122). The total amounted to one hundred and forty acres, of which sixty were in Elmswell.

of good courage in God.”

Magistro Waltero, filio magistri Willelmi de Dice, petenti caritative vicariam ecclesiæ de Cheventona, respondit: “Pater tuus magister scholarum erat; et cum pauper clericus eram, concessit mihi introitum scholæ suæ sine pacto et caritative, et usum discendi; et ego, causa Dei, concedo tibi quod postulas.”

When master William, son of master William of Diss,<sup>62</sup> asked of his grace for the vicarage of the church of Chevington, he answered, “Your father was master of the schools, and when I was a poor clerk he allowed me to enter the school without terms and of his grace, and to have the opportunity of learning. And I, for the sake of God, grant you that which you ask.”

Duos etiam milites de Risebi, Willelmum et Normannum, cum iudicati essent forte in misericordia ejus, ita allocutus est coram omnibus; “Cum essem monachus claustralis missus Dunelmiam pro negotiis ecclesiæ nostræ, et illinc in redeundo per Risebi, vespere obscuro interceptus, petissem hospitium a domino Normanno, omnino repulsam sustinui; domum vero domini Willelmi adiens et hospitium postulans, ab eo honorifice susceptus sum: et ideo xx. solidos, scilicet misericordiam, sine misericordia, integram recipiam a Normanno; Willelmo autem gratias ago, et debitam miserationem xx. solidorum gratanter remitto.”

Two knights also from Risby, William and Norman, were by chance judged to be at his mercy, and he thus addressed them in the presence of all: “When I was a cloistered monk, I was sent to Durham on the business of our church. And as I was returning thence by way of Risby, I was overtaken by a dark night, and sought entertainment from the lord Norman, but suffered an absolute denial. Then I went to the house of lord William and prayed for lodging, and was honourably received by him. For this cause I will take twenty shillings, the full penalty, without pity, from Norman; but I give thanks to William, and gladly remit the due penalty of twenty shillings.”

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<sup>62</sup> This is the compiler of the passage which appears at the end of Jocelin's *Chronicle* (see note to p. 153).



*Concerning other good acts  
of abbot Samson.*

Quædam juven-  
cula vir-  
guncula, ostia-  
tim victum quærens, conquesta est  
abbati, quod unus ex filiis Ricardi filii  
Drogonis eam vi oppresserat; quæ  
tandem, procurante abbate, pro bono  
pacis unam marcam accepit. Abbas  
autem iij<sup>or</sup> marcas accepit ab eodem  
R. pro concessione concordie; sed  
omnes illas v. marcas jussit dari sta-  
tim cuidam mercatori, hoc pacto, ut  
præfatam pauperulam duceret in  
uxorem.

*Before A.D. 1198.*

In villa Sancti  
Ædmundi do-  
mos lapideas emit abbas, et eas sco-  
larum regimini assignavit, hac occa-  
sione, ut pauperes clerici in perpe-  
tuum ibi quieti essent de conductio-  
ne domus, ad quam conducendam de-  
narium vel obolum singuli scolares,  
tam impotentes quam potentes, bis in  
anno conferre cgebantur.

*How the Jews were driven  
from Saint Edmund's.*  
A.D. 1190.

Recuperatio  
manerii de  
Mildenhala  
pro mille mar-  
culis argenti et centum, et ejectio Ju-

A certain young girl, who was begging  
her bread from door to door, made  
complaint to the abbot that one of the  
sons of Richard FitzDrogo had assaul-  
ted her. This wrong, by the abbot's  
intervention, was at last settled for the  
sake of peace by the acceptance of one  
mark by the girl. The abbot further  
took four marks from the said Richard  
for leave to compound for his offence.  
But all these five marks he ordered to  
be given at once to a certain pedlar, on  
condition that he should marry the  
poor girl.

In the town of St. Edmund's the ab-  
bot bought stone houses, and appoin-  
ted them for the maintenance of the  
schools.<sup>63</sup> His reason for so doing was  
that thus the poor clerks might there  
be for ever free from paying rent for  
houses. Hitherto, for the payment of  
the rent, all the scholars, poor and rich  
alike, had been compelled to contri-  
bute a penny or a halfpenny twice a  
year.

The recovery of the manor of Milde-  
nhall for one thousand one hundred  
silver marks, and the expulsion of the  
Jews<sup>64</sup> from the town of St. Edmund's,  
and the foundation of a new hospital

<sup>63</sup>The date of the foundation of the school by abbot Samson is uncertain. But as there is a grant to the master in 1198, the foundation was probably made early in the abbacy of Samson. (Cp. Rokewode, p. 123.)

deorum de villa Sancti Ædmundi, et fundatio novi hospitalis de Babbewell, magnæ probitatis sunt indicia. at Babwell, were signs of great virtue.

Dominus abbas petiit a rege literas ut Judei ejicerentur<sup>†</sup> a villa Sancti Ædmundi, allegans quod quicquid est in villa Sancti Ædmundi, vel infra *ban-namleucam*, de jure Sancti Ædmundi est; ergo, vel Judei debent esse homines Sancti Ædmundi, vel de villa sunt ejiciendi. Data est ergo licentia, ut eos ejiceret, ita tamen quod haberent omnia katalla, scilicet et pretia domorum suarum et terrarum. Et cum emissi essent, et armata manu conducti ad diversa oppida, abbas jussit sollempniter The lord abbot sought letters from the king that the Jews might be expelled from the town of St. Edmund's, asserting that whatever is in the town of the blessed Edmund, or within the district subject to the jurisdiction of the monastery, belongs of right to the Saint, and that consequently the Jews ought either to be the men of St. Edmund, or else be driven from the town. Leave, therefore, was given to him to eject them, provided that they should have all their chattels, as well as the value

<sup>64</sup> Arnold (*Mem. I.*, 249, note) points out that, in the absence of any royal castle to which the Jews might retire for safety, their expulsion was really in their own interests. They would otherwise be always liable to massacre, and especially at this particular time, which was marked by an outburst of fanaticism against the Jews, who were massacred in many towns, especially at York. Diceto (*II.*, 75–6) mentions the massacre of fifty-seven Jews at St. Edmund's on Palm Sunday, 1190.

<sup>†</sup> Under the circumstances, this must have been the most humane course in the interest of the Jews themselves. All large English towns at this time were imperfectly policed, and the temper of the populace savage and uncertain. A riot having been once set on foot, the only hope of safety for the Jews was in taking refuge in some royal castle. Thus at Norwich, where there was a massacre of Jews about this time (Feb. 6, Diceto), those of them who were found in private houses perished; those who escaped to the castle were safe. So at Lincoln, the rumour of an intended attack having come to their ears, the Jews of the town sought shelter in the "munitio regia" (*Newb. iv. 9*) and saved their lives. At York, where the hideous tragedy of their fate was on so large a scale as to attract the notice of history, the Jews, having been admitted into the castle, would have escaped with life but for their own suspicious folly, which led them to shut the gates against the governor, when for some cause he had gone outside the walls. But at Lynn in January, and at Stamford on the 7th March, there being no royal castle at either place, the resident Jews had been killed and plundered with impunity. At Bury itself (*Harl. 1032*, sub an. 1090; Diceto, 651) there was a murderous outbreak on Palm Sunday (March 18) in which, according to Diceto, fifty-seven Jews perished. There was no castle at Bury; to the abbot alone could the survivors look for protection; and Samson knew that he had not sufficient force at his command to ensure it to them. To banish them therefore was the best thing that could be done.

excommunicari per omnes ecclesias et ad omnia altaria omnes illos, qui de cetero receptarent Judeos vel in hospitio reciperent in villa Sancti Ædmundi. Quod tamen postea dispensatum est per justiciaries regis, scilicet, ut si Judei venerint ad magna placita abbatis ad exigendum debita sua a debitoribus suis, sub hac occasione poterunt duobus diebus et ij. noctibus hospitari in villa, tertio autem die libere discedent.

of their houses and lands. And when they were sent forth, and under armed force were conducted to various towns, the abbot ordered that in every church and before every altar those should be solemnly excommunicated who should henceforth receive Jews or entertain them as guests in the town of St. Edmund's. This provision was afterwards modified by the justices of the king, to the effect that if Jews should come to the great pleas of the abbot in order to exact debts due to them from their debtors, then for this reason they might be entertained for two days and two nights in the town, and depart in peace on the third day.

*How the abbot secured the manor of Mildenhall, and endowed the hospital at Babwell.*  
A.D. 1189 September.

Abbas optulit regi Ricardo quingentas marcas pro manerio de Mildenhala, dicens illud manerium lx. librarum et decem, et pro tanto esse rollatum in magna rolla de Wincestria.<sup>†</sup> Et cum ita spem voti sui con-

The abbot offered king Richard five hundred marks for the manor of Mildenhall,<sup>65</sup> saying that the annual value of that manor was seventy pounds, and that it had been enrolled for that amount in the great roll of Winchester.<sup>66</sup> And when he thought that he would obtain his desire in this matter, the settlement of the affair was

<sup>65</sup>This manor was in the hands of the Crown in Domesday. It had, however, been granted to St. Edmund by the charter of Edward the Confessor, and was held by a certain Stigand during the life of Edward (*Mem.* I., 48 and 250, note *a*; cp. *Monasticon* III., 188). The present transaction is related by Benedictus (II., 91; cp. Hoveden, III., 18) "And Samson, abbot of St. Edmund's, bought from King Richard the manor, which is called Mildenhall, for one thousand marks, because it was said to have belonged originally to the abbey of St. Edmund's."

<sup>†</sup>Domesday Book; the returns forming the basis of which "were transmitted to a board sitting at Winchester, by whom they were arranged in order and placed upon record": Lingard, i. 249.

<sup>66</sup>That is, Domesday Book.

cepiſſet, cepit res dilationem uſque in crastinum. Interim venit aliquis dicens regi, manerium illud bene valere c. libras. In crastino ergo abbate petitioni ſuæ inſtante, dixit rex: “Nichil eſt, domine abbas, quod quæris, vel mille marcas dabis, vel manerium non habebis.”

postponed to the following day. In the interval there came one to the king and told him that the manor was worth quite one hundred pounds. And so when the abbot urged his request on the morrow, the king ſaid to him, “My lord abbot, it is uſeſſes for you to make this petition to me. Either you ſhall give me a thouſand marks, or you ſhall not have the manor.”

Cum autem regina Ellienor ſecundum conſuetudinem regni<sup>†</sup> deberet accipere c. marcas ubi rex cepit mille, accepit a nobis calicem magnum aureum in pretium c. marcarum, et eundem calicem nobis reddidit pro anima domini ſui regis Henrici, qui eum primo dederat Sancto Ædmundo.

But queen Eleanor, who according to the cuſtom of the realm, had the right to receive a hundred marks when the king received a thouſand,<sup>67</sup> took from us a great gold chalice of the value of a hundred marks, and reſtored this ſame chalice to us for the good of the ſoul of king Henry her lord, who had originally given it to St. Edmund.

A.D. 1193

Alia quoque vice, cum theſaurus eccleſiæ noſtræ<sup>‡</sup> portaretur Lundonias ad redemptionem regis Ricardi, eadem regina<sup>\*</sup> eundem calicem adquietavit pro c. marcis et nobis reddidit, accipiens cartam noſtram a

At a later date, when the treaſure of our church was carried to London for the ranſom of king Richard,<sup>68</sup> the queen redeemed the ſame chalice<sup>69</sup> for a hundred marks and reſtored it to us, and received from us a charter in proof of our promiſe, made on the word of tru-

<sup>†</sup> The “cuſtom” here alluded to is deſcribed by Blackſtone (*Commentaries*, i. 229, edition of 1844) as “an ancient perquiſite called queen-gold or *aurum reginæ*,” due, in proportion of ten per cent., from every perſon making a voluntary offering to the king. “As, if an hundred marks of ſilver be given to the king for liberty to take in mortmain, or to have a fair, market, park, chaſe, or free warren, then the queen is entitled to ten marks in ſilver, or (what was formerly an equivalent denomination) to one mark in gold.”

<sup>67</sup> This was the “*aurum reginæ*” or queen-gold, a due of ten per cent., to be paid by everyone whoe made a gift to the king. (Blackſtone, quoted by Arnold, *Mem. I.*, 250, note c.)

nobis in testimonium promissionis nostræ factæ in verbo veritatis, quod calicem illum nunquam pro aliquo casu ab ecclesia nostra alienabimus.

A.D. 1198

Cum autem persoluta esset tanta pecunia cum magna difficultate adquisita, sedit abbas in capitulo, dicens se habere aliquam portionem de tanto quæstu tanti manerii. Et responsum est a conventu quod hoc justum est, et ad voluntatem vestram fiat. Et dixit abbas, so posse vindicare de jure dimidiam partem, ostendens se plusquam cccc. marcas cum magnis laboribus expendisse, sed dixit se esse contentum quadam portione illius manerii, quæ dicitur Icklingham; quod concessum est ei libentissime a conventu. Abbas vero hoc audiens,

th, that we would never for any reason alienate that chalice from our church.

Now when this large sum of money had been collected with great difficulty and had been paid, the abbot, sitting in the chapter, said that he ought to share somewhat in so great an acquisition as that of so fair a manor. And the monastery answered, "That is just. Let it be done according to your will." And the abbot said that he might lawfully claim half of it, and showed that he had spent more than four hundred marks with great labour, but that he would be content with one portion of that manor, a place called Icklingham, and this was most readily granted to him by the monastery. Hearing this,

<sup>‡</sup>The exaction of a heavy ransom by a German emperor (Henry VI.) from an adversary who had fallen under his power, like the substantially similar transaction in 1871, was conducted with all the forms of courtesy. The sum demanded was 70,000 marks; and Richard declared (in the letter to his mother written from Hagenau on the 19th April 1193, in obedience to which St. Edmund's and all other monasteries in the kingdom handed over their gold and silver to royal commissioners), that the treaty of amity which he had concluded with the emperor was worth all the money, and that if he were free and at home in England, he would voluntarily pay as much or more money to obtain such a treaty! (Hoved. iii. 209).

\*"The Queen's release of the golden chalice is set forth in the Registr. Sacr., fol. 29 v., and is printed in Dugdale" (Rokewode).

<sup>68</sup>Richard was ransomed from Henry VI., for 100,000 marks of silver "according to the standard of Koln." (Hoveden, III., 215-6. Diceto, II., 110.) The demands made on the clergy and laity may be found in Hoveden (III., 208 ff.). All the monasteries were obliged to hand over their gold and silver, which was placed in the hands of royal commissioners appointed to superintend the raising of the ransom. (Hoveden, III., 210.)

<sup>69</sup>The charter of release is printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ed. 1846; Vol. III., 154).

dixit: “Et ego illam partem terræ recipio ad meum opus, non ut retineam in manu mea, vel ut parentibus meis donem, sed pro anima mea et pro animabus vestris communiter dono illam novo hospitali de Babbewell, in sustentationem pauperum et usum hospitalitatis.” Dixit, et ita factum est, et carta regis postea confirmatum.

the abbot said, “And I receive that portion of the land for my own purposes, not that I may keep it in my hand or to give it to my relations, but that for the good of my soul and of the souls of all of you, I give it to the new hospital at Babwell,<sup>70</sup> for the support of the poor and for the use of the hospital.” So he spoke, and so it was done, and the act was afterwards confirmed by a charter from the king.<sup>71</sup>

Hæc et consimilia facta, scriptis et laudibus æternanda, fecit abbas Samson. Nichil tamen se dixit agere, nisi posset facere in diebus suis dedicari ecclesiam nostram; post quod factum, asseruit se velle mori: ad cuius facti sollemnitatem dixit se esse paratum expendere duo milia marcas argenti, dummodo dominus rex ibi esset præsens, et res debito honore peragi possit.

These and other like things did abbot Samson, which are worthy to be written down and to be praised for all time. Yet he declared that he would have done nothing, unless in his time he could bring to pass that our church should be dedicated; and when that had been accomplished, he asserted that he was ready to die. Moreover, he said that for the doing of this thing he would expend two thousand marks of silver, if so the king might be present and the affair carried through with due ceremony.

*Concerning the church of Woolpit, and how it was secured for the abbey.*  
A.D. 1183

Nuntiatum est abbati, quod ecclesia de Wlpet vaca-

The abbot learnt that the church of Woolpit was vacant, for Walter of Coutances<sup>72</sup> had been elected to the bishopric of Lincoln. And presently he summoned together the prior and

<sup>70</sup>Traces of this are to be found in a small ruin near the railway bridge on the Thetford road. (Arnold, *Mem. I.*, 252, note a.)

<sup>71</sup>On this charter, see Rokewode (p. 124–5).

ret, Waltero de Constantiis<sup>†</sup> electo ad episcopatum de Lincolnia. Mox convocavit priorem et magnam partem conventus, et incipiens narrationem suam, et<sup>‡</sup> ait: “Bene scitis quod multum laboravi propter ecclesiam de Wlpet, propter quam habendam in proprios usus vestros iter arripui versus Romam per consilium vestrum, tempore scismatis inter papam Alexandrum et Octavianum, transivique per Italiam, illa tempestate qua omnes clerici qui portabant literas domini papæ Alexandri capiebantur, et quidam incarcerabantur, quidam suspendebantur, quidam, truncatis naso et labiis, remittebantur ad papam in dedecus et confusionem ipsius. Ego vero simulavi me esse Scottum, et Scotti habitum induens, et gestum

most of the monastery, and taking up his tale, said: “You know well what great labours I have undergone in the matter of the church of Woolpit, and how to secure it for your exclusive use I journeyed to Rome by your advice, in the days of the schism between Alexander and Octavian.<sup>73</sup> And I traversed Italy at the time when all clerks bearing letters of pope Alexander were seized, some of them being imprisoned and others hanged, and others, after having their noses and lips cut off, were sent back to the pope to his shame and confusion. I, however, pretended that I was a Scot,<sup>74</sup> and put on Scottish dress, and adopted the manners of a Scot. And I often shook my staff as they shake the weapon which they call a gaveloc at those who moc-

<sup>†</sup>Walter of Coutances, who, when archdeacon of Oxford, had been one of the witnesses to Henry II's will, was elected to Lincoln in July 1183, and consecrated in France, by Richard, archbishop of Canterbury. In the following year he was made archbishop of Rouen. Many interesting letters from him to Ralph de Diceto, dean of London, are preserved in the *Ymagines Historiarum* of the latter.

<sup>72</sup>Elected bishop of Lincoln and consecrated in 1183. In the next year he was translated to Rouen. He was one of Richard I's most trusted servants, and was sent to England to settle the disputes which arose between Longchamp and John after the departure of Richard on the crusade. He died in 1207.

<sup>‡</sup>*Sic.*

<sup>73</sup>On the death of Adrian IV., in 1159, Cardinal Roland was elected by a majority only, and took the name of Alexander III. The imperialist party, however, declared Cardinal Octavian pope under the name of Victor IV. Octavian was supported by the citizens of Rome and by the emperor, and recognised by the imperial synod of Pavia. Alexander took refuge in France. Victor died (1164) without the dispute having been finally settled. (Cp. Gregorovius, *City of Rome in the Middle Ages* (Eng. trans.) Vol. IV, p. 563 ff.)

<sup>74</sup>Arnold (*Mem. I.*, xliii.) gives as the reason for Samson's action the fact that Scotland favoured the party of Octavian, in opposition to the English support of Alexander.

Scotti habens, sæpe illis qui mihi il-  
ludebant baculum meum excussi, ad  
modum teli quod vocatur *gaveloc*, de  
more Scottorum voces comminatorias  
proferens. Obviantibus et interrogan-  
tibus, quis essem, nichil respondi, nisi:  
'*Ride, ride Rome, turne Cantwereberei.*'  
Sic feci, ut me et propositum meum  
celarem,

Tutius et peterem, Scotti sub  
imagine, Romam.

Impetratis autem literis a domino pa-  
pa pro voto meo, in redeundo transivi  
per quoddam castellum, sicut via mea  
ducebat ab urbe; et ecce ministri de  
castro circumdederunt me, capientes  
et dicentes: 'Iste solivagus, qui Scot-  
tum se facit, vel explorator est, vel por-  
titor literarum falsi papæ Alexandri.'  
Et dum perscrutabantur panniculos  
meos et caligas, et femoralia, et etiam  
sotulares veteres, quos super humeros  
portavi ad consuetudinem Scottorum,  
injeci manum meam in peram quam  
portavi cuteam, in qua scriptum do-  
mini papæ continebatur, positum sub  
ciffo parvo, quo bibere solebam: et Do-  
mino Deo volente, et sancto Ædmun-  
do, simul extraxi scriptum illud cum  
ciffo, ita quod, brachium extendens in  
altum, breve tenui sub ciffo. Ciffum

ked me, shouting threatening words  
in the manner of the Scots. To those  
who met me and asked me who I was,  
I answered nothing except, 'Ride, ride  
Rome, turne Cantwereberei.'<sup>75</sup> I acted  
thus that so I might conceal my pur-  
pose, and as a Scot might safely reach  
Rome. Then when I had obtained  
from the lord pope such letters as I de-  
sired, on my homeward way I passed  
by a certain castle as the road led me  
from the city. And, lo! the officers of  
the castle surrounded me, laying hold  
on me, and crying, 'This wanderer,  
who makes himself out to be a Scot, is  
either a spy or one bearing letters of  
the false pope Alexander.' And while  
they closely examined my clothes and  
boots and undergarments, and even  
the old shoes, which I carried on my  
shoulders in the Scottish manner, I  
put my hand into the little bag which  
I carried, and in which the letter of  
the lord pope was contained, lying  
under a little cup from which I was  
wont to drink. And the Lord God and  
St. Edmund willing it, I drew out the  
writing and the cup together, so that,  
stretching my hand on high, I held the  
writ underneath the cup. And they  
saw the cup, it is true, but they did not  
notice the writ. And so I escaped their

<sup>75</sup> Arnold (*Ibid.*, note 1) gives as the meaning of this, "I am riding towards Rome, turning from Canterbury." He adds, "If he had meant to say, 'returning from Canterbury,' he would at once have been taken for an English adherent of Alexander."



quidem viderunt, sed breve non per-  
ceperunt. Et sic evasi manus eorum  
in nomine Domini. Quicquid mone-  
tæ habui abstulerunt a me, unde opor-  
tuit me ostiatim mendicare, sine omni  
expensa, donec in Angliam venirem.  
Audiens autem quod ecclesia illa da-  
ta esset Galfrido Ridello, contristata  
est anima mea, eo quod in vanum la-  
boravi. Veniens ergo domum, feretro  
Sancti Ædmundi latenter me suppo-  
sui, timens ne dominus abbas me ca-  
peret, et incarceraret, qui nichil mali  
merueram; nec erat monachus qui me-  
cum audebat loqui, nec laicus qui mihi  
auderet victum ministrare, nisi aliquis  
furtive. Tandem, inito consilio, misit  
me abbas apud Acram in exilium, ibi-  
que diu moram feci. Hæc et multa alia  
mala innumerabilia passus sum prop-  
ter ecclesiam de Wlpet; sed benedic-  
tas Deus, qui omnia cooperat in bo-  
num; ecce! ecclesia, pro qua tot mala  
sustinui, data est in manu mea, et nunc  
potestatem habeo donandi eam ubi  
voluero, quia vacat. Et ego eam con-  
ventui reddo, et in suos proprios usus  
assigno antiquam consuetudinem vel  
pensionem x. marcarum, quam perdi-  
distis plus quam lx. annis. Integram  
libentius vobis eam darem, si possem;

hands, in the name of the Lord. Wha-  
tever money I had on me they took  
away, so that it was necessary for me  
to beg for my bread, spending nothing,  
until I came to England. But when  
I heard that the church was given to  
Geoffrey Ridel,<sup>76</sup> my soul was grieved  
with the thought that my labour had  
been vain. So when I reached home I  
secretly cast myself before the shrine  
of St. Edmund, for I feared that the  
lord abbot would seize me and cast  
me into prison, who had deserved  
no ill. And there was no monk who  
dared to speak with me, and no lay-  
man who dared supply me with food,  
save secretly. At length, the abbot  
took counsel and exiled me to Acre,<sup>77</sup>  
and there I long remained. These  
and many other countless ills I have  
suffered for the sake of the church of  
Woolpit. But blessed be God, Who  
maketh all things work together for  
good! Behold! the church for which  
I have borne so many hardships, is  
given into my hand, and now I have  
the power to give it to whomsoever I  
will, since it is vacant. And I restore it  
to the monastery, and for its sole use  
I assign the ancient customary due  
or pension of ten marks, which you

<sup>76</sup> Archdeacon of Canterbury, and a strenuous opponent of Becket. He was elected to Ely in 1173, and died in 1189. In the text of the *Chronicle* there will be found an account of a dispute between him and Samson, as to the bishop's right to demand timber (p. 113 ff.).

<sup>77</sup> As to this, see note to p. 6.

sed scio, quod episcopus Norwicensis mihi contradiceret, vel si hoc concederet, tali occasione subjectionem et obedientiam de vobis sibi vindicaret, quod est inconsultum et inconveniens. Faciamus ergo quod de jure possumus facere; ponamus clericum vicarium, qui episcopo respondeat de spiritualibus, et vobis de decem marcis; et volo, si vos consulitis, ut vicaria illa donec alicui consanguineo R. de Hengheham, monachi et fratris vestri, qui mihi fuit consors in illo itinere versus Romam, et eisdem periculis expositus et propter idem negotium.”

have lost for more than sixty years. I would give it in its entirety to you with pleasure were I able to do so; but I know that the bishop of Norwich would forbid this, or if he were to grant it, he would make it an excuse to demand subjection and obedience from you, which is neither wise nor convenient. Therefore let us do what we may lawfully do. Let us place there a clerk as vicar to answer to the bishop for the spiritualities, and to you for the ten marks; and I wish, if you agree, that the vicarage may be given to some relative of Roger de Hengham, a monk and your brother, who was my companion in that journey to Rome, and was exposed to the same dangers as I was and for the same cause.”

His dictis omnes surreximus et gratias egimus; et receptus est Hugo clericus, frater prædicti Rogeri, ad prædictam ecclesiam, salva nobis annua pensione x<sup>cem</sup> marcarum.

At these words we all arose and gave thanks; and Hugh, a clerk and a brother of the said Roger, was received in the said church, saving our annual pension of ten marks.

*How the abbot disputed  
with the archbishop  
concerning the manor of  
Eleigh.  
C. A.D. 1186*

In manerio monachorum Cantuariensis, quod dicitur Illegga, et quod est in hundredo abbatis, contigit fieri homicidium. Homines vero archiepiscopi noluerunt pati, ut illi homicidæ starent ad rectum in

In manerio monachorum Cantuariensis, quod dicitur Illegga,

In a manor of the monks of Canterbury, which is called Eleigh, and which is in the hundred of the abbot, there chanced to be a murder. But the archbishop's men would not allow the murderers to take their trial in the court of St. Edmund. Then the abbot made complaint to king Henry, and said that archbishop Baldwin<sup>78</sup> was

curia sancti Ædmundi. Abbas vero conquestus est regi Henrico, dicens, quod archiepiscopus Baldewinus vindicabat sibi libertates ecclesiæ nostræ, optentu cartæ novæ quam rex dederat ecclesiæ Cantuariensi post mortem sancti Thomæ.

Rex autem respondit, se nunquam fecisse cartam aliquam in præjudicium ecclesiæ nostræ nec aliquid sancto Ædmando velle auferre, quod habere solebat. Quo audito, dixit abbas consiliariis privatis suis: "Sanius consilium est, ut archiepiscopus conqueratur de me, quam ego de archiepiscopo. Volo me ponere in saisinam hujus libertatis, et post me defendam cum auxilio sancti Ædmundi, cujus jus hoc esse cartæ nostræ testantur."

Subito ergo, summo mane, procurante Roberto de Cokefeld, missi sunt circiter quater xx. homines armati ad villam de Ilegga, et ex inopinato ceperunt illos tres homicidas et ligatos duxerunt ad Sanctum Ædmundum, et in fundum carceris projecerunt. Conquerente inde archiepiscopo, Ranulfus de Glanvilla iusticiarius præcepit, ut

claiming the liberties of our church for himself, on the ground of a new charter which the king had given to the church of Canterbury after the death of the blessed Thomas.

Then the king answered that he had never given a charter to the prejudice of our church, and that he did not wish to take from the blessed Edmund anything which he had formerly possessed. On hearing this, the abbot said to his intimate advisers: "It is wiser counsel that the archbishop should make complaint of me than that I should make complaint of the archbishop. I wish to place myself in possession of this liberty, and then I will defend myself with the help of St. Edmund, in whose right our charters bear witness that this liberty is."

Accordingly, unexpectedly, and very early in the morning, with the help of Robert de Cokefield, about eighty armed men were sent to the town of Eleigh, and took those three murderers by surprise and brought them bound to St. Edmund's, and cast them into the dungeon of the prison. And when the archbishop made complaint

<sup>78</sup>Bishop of Worcester (1180–83). He was elected to Canterbury, after some dispute, on the death of Richard of Dover, December 1183. (Gervase, I., 311 ff.) Died, 1190, at the siege of Acre.

homines illi ponerentur per vadium et plegios ad standum ad rectum in curia qua deberent stare, et summonitus est abbas, ut veniret ad curiam regis, responsurus de vi et injuria, quam dicebatur fecisse archiepiscopo. Abbas vero sine omni exonio se pluries præsentavit.

of this, Ranulf Glanvill, the justiciar, commanded that those men should be bound by surety and pledges to stand their trial in the court wherein they ought to stand it; and the abbot was summoned to come to the court of the king and to make reply concerning the violence and injury which he was said to have done to the archbishop. And the abbot many times presented himself at the court, without attempting to make excuse.

A.D. 1187 February 11.

Tandem in capite jejunii steterunt coram rege in capitulo Cantuariensi, et lectæ sunt palam cartæ ecclesiarum hinc et inde. Et respondit dominus rex: "Istæ cartæ ejusdem antiquitatis sunt et ab eodem rege Ædwardo emanant. Nescio quid dicam nisi ut cartæ ad invicem pugnent."<sup>†</sup> Cui abbas dixit: "Quicquid de cartis dicatur, nos in saisina sumus, et hucusque fuimus, et de hoc ponere me volo in verumdictum duorum comitatum, scilicet, Norfolchiæ et Suthfolchiæ, se hoc concedere."

At last, at the beginning of the fasting time,<sup>79</sup> they stood before the king in the chapter-house of Canterbury, and the charters of the two churches were read publicly. And the lord king answered, "These charters are of equal age, and come from the same king Edward. I know not what to say, save that the charters are contradictory." To this the abbot replied, "Whatever may be said about the charters, we are seised of the liberty, and have been in the past, and on this point I will submit to the verdict of the two counties, Norfolk and Suffolk, which will allow

<sup>79</sup> Gervase (I., 353) mentions the meeting and supplies the date.

<sup>†</sup> In margine hic legitur: "Quia carta quam habemus de sancto Ædwardo antiquior est, quam carta quam habent monachi Cantuarienses. Quia carta, quam habent, non data eis libertatem, nisi inter homines suos tantum: et carta nostra loquitur de tempore regis Ædwardi et de tempore matris suæ reginæ Emmæ, quæ habuit viii. hundredos et dimidium in dotem, ante tempora sancti Ædwardi, et Mildenhale insimul" (Roke.).

<sup>80</sup> That is, will admit that the abbey has possessed this jurisdiction from time immemorial. (*Mem.*, I., 256, note.)

this.”<sup>80</sup>

Sed archiepiscopus Baldwinus, habito prius consilio cum suis, dixit, homines Norfolchiæ et Suthfolchiæ multum diligere Sanctum Ædmundum, et magnam partem illorum comitatum esse sub ditione abbatis, et ideo se nolle stare illorum arbitrio. Rex vero iratus inde et indignans surrexit, et recedendo dixit: “Qui potest capere capiat:” et sic res cepit dilationem, “et adhuc sub iudice lis est.”<sup>†</sup>

Vidi tamen, quod quidam homines monachorum Cantuariensium vulnerati fuerunt usque ad mortem a rusticis de villa de Meldingis, que sita est in hundredo Sancti Ædmundi; et qui sciverunt, quod actor forum rei sequi debet, maluerunt silere et dissimulare, quam inde clamorem facere abbati sive baillivis ejus, quia nullo modo voluerunt venire in curiam Sancti Ædmundi ad placitandum.

A.D. 1191.

Postea levaverunt homines de Illegga quoddam trebuchet, ad faciendam justitiam pro falsis mensuris panis vel bladi mensurandi, unde

Archbishop Baldwin, however, having first taken counsel with his men, said that the men of Norfolk and Suffolk loved St. Edmund greatly, and that a large part of those counties was under the rule of the abbot, and therefore he would not abide by their arbitration. But the king was angry and offended at that, and rising up, left the place, saying, “He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.”<sup>81</sup> And thus the matter was postponed, and is still undecided.

But I saw that some of the men of the monks of Canterbury were wounded to the death by the rustics of the township of Midling, which is situated in the hundred of St. Edmund, and as they knew that the prosecutor is bound to go to the court of the defendant, they preferred to be silent and to hide the matter, rather than complain of it to the abbot or his officers, since they were in nowise willing to come and plead in the court of St. Edmund.

After these things the men of Eleigh set up a certain measure for the doing of justice in cases where bread and corn had been measured with false measures, and the abbot made com-

<sup>81</sup> Matt. xix., 12.

<sup>†</sup> Hor. de Arte Poet. 78.

conquestus est abbas domino Eliensi episcopo, tunc justiciario et cancellario. Ille vero abbatem audire nolebat, quia dicebatur olfacere archiepiscopatum, qui vacabat tunc temporis. Cum autem venisset apud nos, et susceptus esset ut legatus, antequam recederet, orationem fecit ad feretrum sancti martyris; abbasque, nacta opportunitate, dixit, cunctis audientibus qui aderant: "Domine episcope, libertas, quam sibi vindicant monachi Cantuarienses, est jus sancti Ædmundi, cuius corpus præsens est, et quia non vis me adjuvare ad tuendam libertatem ecclesiæ suæ, pono loquelam inter te et ipsum. Ipse de cætero procuret jus suum." Cancellarius nichil dignatus est respondere; qui infra annum Angliam exire compulsus est, et divinam

plaint of this to the lord bishop of Ely,<sup>82</sup> who was at that time justiciar and chancellor. But he would not hear the abbot, because he was alleged to be scenting the archbishopric,<sup>83</sup> which was then vacant. When, however, he had come among us, and was received as legate, before he departed, he made prayer at the shrine of the holy martyr. And the abbot, seizing the opportunity, said in the hearing of all who were present, "My lord bishop, the liberty, which the monks of Canterbury claim, is the right of St. Edmund, whose body is here, and as you will not assist me to protect the liberty of his church, I put a complaint between you and him. Henceforth he may secure his right." The chancellor did not condescend to make any answer,<sup>84</sup> and within a

<sup>82</sup>William Longchamp, elected to Ely and made justiciar and joint regent at the accession of Richard I. He was driven from office in 1191, owing to the opposition of John and Hugh Puiset, bishop of Durham. He died in 1197.

<sup>83</sup>The archbishopric remained vacant from the death of Baldwin until 1191—over a year—when Reginald, bishop of Bath, was elected. He died less than fifteen days later. (Benedictus, II., 226–7.) The archbishopric then remained vacant again until the election of Hubert Walter, 1193.

<sup>84</sup>The pride of Longchamp is the common theme of all the chroniclers, who unite in attributing his fall to this fault. Having obtained the legation from Clement III., he claimed to be supreme over church and state alike, refusing (perhaps in accord with Richard's instructions) to admit that he had any colleague in the office of justiciar. His character is sketched in a letter of Hugh Nunant, bishop of Coventry, which is to be found in Benedictus (II., 215–20). "He was a man great among all the people of the west, as one having power over the kingdom and the authority of the apostolic see, being as it were ambidextrous. . . . He seemed, indeed, to divide the elements with God, leaving heaven alone to the God of heaven. . . . From sea to sea he was feared as God, and were I to say more than God, I should not lie, for God is long-suffering and merciful, but he did all things ill and in haste." William of Newburgh calls him "that rhinoceros." Richard of Devizes calls him "that three-named and threefold man."

ultionem expertus est.

A.D. 1193.

Cum autem idem cancellarius redisset de Almannia, et applicuisset apud Gippewic, et pernottasset apud Heggham, venit rumor ad abbatem, quod cancellarius vellet transire per Sanctum Ædmundum, apud nos missam in crastino auditurus. Prohibuit ergo abbas, ne celebrarentur divina, dum cancellarius esset in ecclesia præsens, quia dixit se audisse, apud Londonias, Londoniensem episcopum pronuntiasse cancellarium esse excommunicatum, et excommunicatum<sup>†</sup> recessisse ab Anglia, coram sex episcopis, et nominatim pro violentia illata archiepiscopo Eboracensi

year was forced to leave England, and suffered divine vengeance.

But when the same chancellor had returned from Germany<sup>85</sup> and had landed at Ipswich, and spent the night at Hitcham, a report came to the abbot that the chancellor wished to pass through St. Edmund's, and to hear mass with us on the morrow. Therefore the abbot forbade the celebration of the divine offices while the chancellor was present in the church, for he said that he had heard in London that the bishop of London had pronounced the chancellor excommunicate, in the presence of six bishops, especially for the violence which he had done to the archbishop of York,<sup>86</sup> at Dover, and that the said chancellor, while excommuni-

<sup>85</sup> Longchamp, after failing to persuade the regency to permit his return before, came back to England in 1193, with letters from Henry VI. as to the ransom of Richard. (Hoveden, III., 211.)

<sup>†</sup> In Dr. Lingard's *Hist. of Engl.* no mention is made of this excommunication. Yet the Chronicle of Bromton (Twys. 1225) distinctly says, that when in Oct. 1191, Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, on being released from confinement, came up to London, the archbishop of Rouen (Walter de Coutances) and six English bishops pronounced a sentence of excommunication against the chancellor who had imprisoned him. Diceto probably gives the real facts; he says that the archbishop and bishops pronounced the excommunication at Reading, in general terms, against "omnes qui consilium, vel auxilium, vel mandatum dederunt, ut archiepiscopus Eboracensis extraheretur ab ecclesia, tractaretur indigne, &c.," and specially against two confidential knights of the chancellor, Alberic de Marines and Alexander Puintel. (ii. 98, Rolls ed.). With this agrees in substance the account given by Gervase (i. 507, Rolls ed.). Newburgh, Hoveden, and bishop Hugh de Nunant (in the witty and abusive letter preserved by Benedictus Abbas) make no mention of any excommunication.

<sup>86</sup> Richard had forbidden Geoffrey to visit England for three years, but the archbishop landed at Dover. There he was arrested by order of Longchamp, but released on the intervention of John. (Benedictus, II., 106; 209–11.) As to the excommunication of Longchamp, this is mentioned by Benedictus (II., 211–12), and by Richard of Devizes (pp. 36, 43, 56). Ralph de Diceto (II., 98) makes the excommunication general only.

apud Doffram.<sup>†</sup>

Veniens ergo<sup>‡</sup> in crastino cancellarius apud nos, non invenit qui missam ei cantaret, nec clericum, nec monachum. Immo, sacerdos stans ad primam missam ad canonem missæ, et ceteri sacerdotes, ad altaria cessaverunt, stantes inmoti labiis, donec nuntius veniret dicens, illum recessisse ab ecclesia. Cancellarius omnia dissimulans, multa gravamina intulit abbati, donec, procurantibus amicis, hinc et inde ad pacis osculum reversi sunt.

*How the abbot wished to take the cross, and how he offered to seek king Richard in Germany.*

*A.D. 1188 January 21.*

nos orationis gratia, abbas ipse sibi fecit crucem occulte de lineo panno, et tenens in una manu crucem et acum et filum, petivit licentiam a rege, ut

Cum rex Henricus accepisset crucem et venisset infra mensem ad

cate, had departed from England.

Accordingly, when the chancellor came among us on the morrow, he found no one to chant mass for him, either clerk or monk. But the priest, indeed, who stood at the first mass and at the canon of the mass, and the other priests by the altars, ceased, and stood with unmoved lips, until a messenger came and said that he had left the church. The chancellor took no notice openly, but he did many ills to the abbot, until, by the mediation of friends, they both returned to the kiss of peace.

When king Henry had taken the cross<sup>87</sup> and was come less than a month later that he might pray among us, the abbot secretly made for himself in one hand the cross and a needle and thread, he sought leave from the king that he might take the cross. But leave was refused him, for John, bishop of Norwich,<sup>88</sup> opposed it, and said that it

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<sup>†</sup> Geoffrey, who had just been consecrated at Tours, by pope Celestine's order, to the see of York, had sworn to the king, his half brother, that he would not return to England without his leave. He did return however; and on his landing at Dover (Sept. 1191) was arrested by the chancellor's orders, and thrown into prison.

<sup>‡</sup> Longchamp fled the kingdom in 1191, after his fall from power. "He came to England in the following year, but was not suffered to proceed farther than Canterbury, and crossed the seas again. In 1193 the chancellor returned, bearing letters from the emperor, and met the Regency at St. Alban's. It was on this occasion that he passed through St. Edmundsbury, coming from his manor of Hitcham, after landing at Ipswich." (Rokewode.)

<sup>87</sup> At Gisors, 1188.



acciperet crucem; sed denegata est ei licentia, procurante episcopo Norwicensi Johanne, et dicente, quia non expediret patriæ, nec tutum esset comitatibus Norfolchiæ et Sutfolchiæ, si episcopus Norwicensis et abbas Sancti Ædmundi simul recederent.

A.D. 1193.

Cum rumor venisset Lundeniis de captione regis Ricardi, et incarceratione ejus in Alemannia, et barones convenissent pro consilio accipiendi, prosiliit abbas coram omnibus, dicens, se esse paratum quærere dominum suum regem, vel in tapinagio vel alio modo, donec eum inveniret, et certam notitiam de eo haberet; ex quo verbo magnam laudem sibi adquisivit.

was not well for the land, nor safe for the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, that the bishop of Norwich and the abbot of St. Edmund's should go away at the same time.

When news had reached London of the capture of king Richard,<sup>89</sup> and of his imprisonment in Germany, and the barons had met to take counsel on the matter, the abbot stood forth in their presence, and said that he was ready to seek his lord the king. He said that he would search for him in disguise or in any other way, until he found him and had certain knowledge of him. And from this speech he gained great praise for himself.

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<sup>88</sup> John of Oxford, elected to Norwich in 1175; died, 1200. As a matter of fact, John did not go to Palestine. He was waylaid and robbed on his journey, and obtained absolution from his vow from the pope. Richard made this excuse for levying a heavy fine. (Hoveden, III., 42. Richard of Devizes, p. 12.)

<sup>89</sup> Richard was captured in December, 1192, near Vienna, and imprisoned at Durrenstein. In the following year he was handed over to the emperor Henry VI. and imprisoned in various castles in Germany. Hoveden (III., 198) only mentions the abbots of Boxley and Robertsbridge as going to search for Richard, and it would seem that Samson merely offered to go, though it appears that he did subsequently visit Germany (see text, p. 87).